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Context and Subtext of Religious Art in Madrid during the Reign of Philip IV

Volume I

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Context and Subtext of Religious Art in Madrid during the Reign of Philip IV

Volume I: Text

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor in Philosophy at the History of Art Department, Trinity College, University of Dublin, June 2004

Marta Bustillo

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SUMMARY

This dissertation uses a contextual approach to study the devotional, social and political functions of religious art in Madrid during the reign of King Philip IV (1621-1665). It examines five case studies, each of them focusing on patronage of religious art by a different social group in the city: the crown, the aristocracy, the religious orders and the Madrid city council. Chapter one offers a panorama of the religious climate and devotional practices of 17th century Madrid. It examines the devotional issues that characterised this period through a study of the religious titles in the libraries of 17th century Spanish artists, including Vicente Carducho, Juan de van der Hamen, Diego Valentín Díaz, Antonio Arias, Juan Montero de Rozas, Francisco Ricci, and the *ensamblador* Francisco Velázquez. The chapter also examines the most popular votive images in 17th century Madrid, and focuses on the manner in which each of the different social groups of the city influenced religious art patronage. Chapter two covers royal patronage of religious art, by studying the decoration of the Capuchin convent of La Paciencia de Cristo, built to atone for the alleged desecration of an image of the Crucified Christ by a family of Portuguese *converso* Christians of Jewish origin. It also studies Domingo de Rioja's *Cristo de la Victoria*, an image which, although not strictly a royal commission, benefited from royal approval, which guaranteed the popularity of the iconography. Chapter three studies an aristocratic commission: the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano, founded in the church of Santo Tomás de Aquino by Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras, Marquis of La Lapilla and royal secretary. In this chapter, images of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* are shown to have functions beyond their devotional role in 17th century Spain, demonstrating that Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras' choice of chapel had strong political connotations. Chapter four studies a monastic commission: Vicente Carducho's cycle of 56 paintings on the life of Saint Bruno and the history of the Carthusian order for the Carthusian monastery of El Paular. The chapter analyses the iconographic program of the cycle by taking into account the possible viewers to whom the cycle was addressed; it also explores the impact of the Paular cycle on religious art of the period, by studying copies of the cycle from the Charterhouse of Granada and from the Museo de Bellas Artes in Castellón de la Plana. Chapter five studies the functions of religious images in public religious ceremonies, by focusing on the Madrid festivities for the 1622 canonisations of Saints Isidro, Teresa of Ávila, Ignatius Loyola, and Francis Xavier. The chapter explores the manner in which the established iconographies of the saints were used by the religious orders and the Madrid city council to convey very concrete messages about themselves and their status vis-á-vis the Spanish crown and the city of Madrid.

The common thread for all these case studies is the conviction that the study of religious art in 17th century Spain requires a multi-disciplinary approach, in which iconographic and formal issues are related not only to the devotional context, but also to the political and social climate of the period in which the image was created.

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Fig. 3.9. Anonymous. *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano.* Illustration on frontispsiece of Vicuña, Juan de and Londaiz, Pedro de, *Por el Príncipe de Astillano, con el Marqués de Leganés, sobre el Estado de Sanlúcar, Mairena y sus agregados. En el artículo de avocación que se pretende en el consejo del conocimiento de esta causa, que está pendiente en la Chancillería de Granada.* [s.l.], [s.d.].

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Fig. 3.11. Juan Bautista Maíno. *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano.* C. 1629-57. Oil on canvas, 203 x 134 cm. Saint Petersburg, Hermitage.

Fig. 3.12. Attributed to Juan Bautista Maíno. *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano.* Oil on canvas, 228 x 124 cm. San Sebastián, Museo de San Telmo.

Fig. 3.13. Attributed to Juan Bautista Maíno. *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano.* Oil on canvas. Segovia, Santa Eulalia.

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Fig. 3.29. Manuel Pereyra. *Madonna of the Rosary.* C.1636. Polychromed wood. Lisbon, Sao Domingos de Bemfica.

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Fig. 4.3. Vicente Carducho. *Saint Bruno retires to solitude with his six companions.* Oil on canvas, 345 x 315 cm. Madrid, Prado.

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Fig. 5.104. Wolfgang Kilian. Title page for Nicolas Trigault's *De Christiana expeditione apvd Sinas svscepta ab Societate Jesv.* Augsburg, 1615.

Fig. 5.105. Cornelis Galle. *Francis Xavier wearing surplice.* Engraving, 13.3 x 9.1 cm. Reproduced in König-Nordhoff 1981, fig. 261.

Fig. 5.106. Thomas de Leu. *Ignatius Loyola wearing chasuble.* Pendant with Francis Xavier. Engraving, 14.5 x 10.9 cm.

Fig. 5.107. Thomas de Leu. *Francis Xavier wearing surplice.* Engraving, 14.5 x 10.9 cm. Reproduced in König-Nordhoff 1981, fig. 232.

Fig. 5.108. Juan de Courbes. Frontispiece to Hernando Chirino de Salazar's *Pratica de la freqvencia de la Sagrada Comvnion.* Madrid, 1622. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

Fig. 5.109. Cornelis Galle. *Double portrait of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier.* Engraving, 6.5 x 9.2 cm. Reproduced in König-Nordhoff 1981, fig. 259.

Fig. 5.110. J. Waldor. *Double portrait of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier.* Engraving, 6.3 x 8.6 cm. Reproduced in König-Nordhoff 1981, fig. 239.

Fig. 5.111. Peter Paul Rubens. *Saint Ignatius Loyola.* 1622 Oil on canvas, 224 x 138 cm. Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, California.

Fig. 5.112. Peter Paul Rubens. *Saint Francis Xavier.* 1622. Oil on canvas, 216 x 135 cm. Formerly Asscher & Welker, London. Destroyed by fire in 1940.

Fig. 5.113. Schelte A. Bolswert. *Saint Ignatius Loyola.* 1622 Engraving after painting by Peter Paul Rubens.

Fig. 5.114. Schelte A. Bolswert. *Saint Francis Xavier.* 1622 Engraving after painting by Peter Paul Rubens.

Fig. 5.115. High altarpiece in the chapel of the Castillo de Javier with copies of the portraits of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier made by Rubens for the church of the Gesú in Rome in 1622.

Fig. 5.116. Schelte A. Bolswert. *Francis Xavier.* Engraving, 13.6 x 9.3 cm. Reproduced in König-Nordhoff 1981, fig. 191.

Fig. 5.117. Anonymous. *Portrait of Jesuit martyr Thomas Bensted.* Oil on canvas, 122 x 98 cm. English College, Valladolid.

INTRODUCTION

The presence of the court in Madrid has both benefited and hindered the study of religious art in the city during the 17th century. The very fact that the court settled permanently in Madrid made the art of the city worthy of attention by scholars, who from a very early stage spoke of a 'School of Madrid' in painting.[1] Since most of the art produced by Madrid artists during this period was religious, a substantial body of scholarly work on the subject exists already. Yet the meanings and functions of religious art works in Madrid and its environs are less well understood than those of cities such as Seville and Toledo. In the latter, a powerful ecclesiastical clientele was the main source of artistic patronage; thus the art they commissioned has been studied in some depth, not only in stylistic terms but also by placing it in the religious and social contexts of both cities. For instance, Jonathan Brown's study of the paintings by Murillo and Valdés Leal for the Hospital de la Caridad in Seville analyses the works both in terms of their stylistic and iconographical content, while at the same time providing a social and historical context to the ensemble, examining the patron's background and the history of the city at the time the paintings were made.[2] Similarly, studies on El Greco's life and works have incorporated research on the ecclesiastical elite of Toledo, which has provided an intellectual context to the artist's works and to other religious commissions carried out in the city.[3] Significantly, these contextual studies have resulted from researches on major painters such as Murillo and El Greco, both of whom were, primarily, religious artists.

In the case of Madrid, the most powerful source of patronage was the court, followed closely by the ecclesiastical clientele. Although the crown and the aristocracy were important patrons of religious art, iconographic and contextual studies of art in Madrid

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[1] See, for instance, Sentenach 1907 and Beruete y Moret 1909.

[2] Brown 1978.

[3] For contextual approaches to the art of El Greco in Toledo, see esp. Boston 1982; Brown 1982a; Brown 1982b; Brown and Pita Andrade 1984; Kagan 1982; Mann 1986 and San Román 1982.

have focused on other subjects, such as the decoration of royal palaces or the collecting habits of the ruling elite.[4] Partly, the reason for this is the fact that many of Madrid's 17th century churches are no longer extant, and it is therefore very difficult to reconstruct what they may have looked like. In addition, the most important artist working in Madrid during Philip IV's reign was court painter Diego Velázquez, whose religious output was quite small. Velázquez has attracted a large volume of scholarship throughout the 20th century, to the detriment of religious artists working in Madrid during the same period.

For a large part of the 20th century monographic studies of key artists were the norm in Spanish art history. These combined essential archival research and stylistic analysis of works in order to establish attributions to particular artists. The approach had distinct advantages, as it established a solid documentary and connoisseurial basis for 17th century Spanish art, including the religious works. At its most accomplished, this type of art history provided absolutely essential data about artists' biographies, contracts for commissions, and attributions of works, without which no other art historical approaches could progress. For art in 17th century Madrid, this methodology was applied most successfully and thoroughly by Diego Angulo and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez in their two volumes on the painting of the *Escuela Madrileña*, which still constitute essential research tools for specialists in the field.[5]

However, the format was more suited to monographic studies of individual artists (as, say, Velázquez) than to more thematic approaches to the different artistic genres. Particularly as regards the study of religious works, historians of Spanish art have become aware of the constrictions of the monographic format, and started applying other methodologies, in parallel to the documentary and stylistic approach, which reflect wider international art historical trends. Perhaps the most relevant of these has been the iconological method pioneered by Erwin Panofsky, which has been applied by a number

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[4] See, for instance, Brown and Elliott 1980 and Burke and Cherry 1997

of scholars such as Santiago Sebastián or José Fernández López with varying degrees of success.[6] Other contextual, multi-disciplinary approaches which use literary, historical, religious and sociological sources have also produced interesting findings.[7]

Iconographic analysis has yielded important results in the field of Spanish religious art history, by providing a much more rounded understanding of the manner in which the form and content of particular art works operated together to convey very precise theological and devotional meanings. As an example, our understanding of the art and architecture of Philip II's El Escorial has been greatly enhanced by iconographic analyses of its decorative programs which have clarified the religious ideology behind them and contributed to a much more precise understanding of the King's artistic choices.[8]

Yet at times a misguided application of the iconographic method to religious art has resulted in studies which treat the art work almost as a theoretical puzzle, reading it as a text, with the religious symbology of the work taking complete precedence over its formal and stylistic qualities, while ignoring the broader social and political context in which it was created.[9] The iconographic approach should be used in conjunction with other methodologies which can provide equally relevant data on the relationship between the formal characteristics and the functions of religious works, and on the social and

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[5] Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969and Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1983

[6] See Sebastián López 1985 and Fernández López 1991.

[7] It is significant, for instance, that in his study of Baroque painting, published first in 1992, Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez divided the work into two sections, the first of which dealt with aspects such as the different types of art patrons, artistic genres, the social status of artists during this period, and the religious background to the art of the period, while the second section was devoted to a chronological study of Baroque painting in Spain through monographs of individual artists. By combining these two sections, Pérez Sánchez was able to incorporate into his study methodologies that cannot be accommodated easily within the monographic and chronological approach. For a novel combination of the iconological method and more contextual approaches, see Stoichita 1995.

[8] On the iconography of the decoration of El Escorial, see Mulcahy 1992; Mulcahy 1994; Mulcahy 1998a; and Osten-Sacken 1984.

[9] An example of this type of iconographical scholarship is Sebastián López 1985, which covers an extraordinarily wide variety of religious art works, providing iconographic explanations of their meaning with little reference to the artistic, social and political context in which the works were created. Such an approach offers a distorted view of religious artworks as intellectual exercises with precise devotional meanings, but isolated from any social or political context. Yet the reality of how art works were created and the functions they played clearly indicates that art works often have political and social connotations which run parallel to their superficial devotional meanings. Without analysing these, it is difficult to understand how they were perceived by the contemporary public.

political circumstances in which the works were created, which can also have a bearing on their formal qualities.

Even when the monographic format is replaced by other types of approaches, such as studies of particular patrons, or of religious institutions, invariably the emphasis has remained upon documentary sources and attributions of particular works to individual artists, with scant attention paid to how documentary sources can contribute to a better understanding of the role played by the works under discussion in the devotional life of the period. For instance, despite having substantial documentary evidence on the building and decoration of convent churches such as La Encarnación and San Plácido in Madrid, we still have little comprehension of the devotional and social role that the images in those churches played in the religious life of the city, or even of the manner in which the works were displayed.[10]

In the past three decades, these gaps in our understanding of religious art have been acknowledged by art historians, and new methods have been applied in an attempt to bridge them. Most successful have been studies of religious ceremonies and their uses of religious imagery such as Vicente Lleó Canal's study of the Corpus Christi in Seville or Javier Portús' analysis of the same festivity in Madrid.[11] Through the use of contemporary documentation, literary sources and descriptions of the ceremonies published at the time, both authors have contributed enormously to our understanding of how religious art was used in this period, its interaction with other artistic forms that were also part of the festivities such as theatre, music and dance and, most importantly, how the ceremonial uses of the images may have influenced their formal characteristics and those of other similar works created during this period.

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[10] For the Encarnación and San Plácido, see Tormo 1917; Olaguer-Feliú y Alonso 1971; Agulló Cobo 1973; Agulló Cobo 1975; Bustamante García 1975; Tormo 1979; Antigüedad del Castillo-Olivares 1986; Sullivan 1986; and Torrón Durán 1992.

[11] Lleó Canal 1975 and Portús 1993a.

There is, however, a danger inherent in these new approaches to the history of 17th century Spanish art, such that, in an effort to provide the intellectual, social and historical context to the art of the period, once again theoretical aspects of the study can take over, and the art works become lost in the process, merely illustrative of abstract positions.[12]

To counter that trend, other more recent approaches to the history of religious art in Spain have combined rigorous documentary research, stylistic analysis of particular works, and contextual information about the manner in which the works were displayed, their ceremonial use, and the social context in which they were created. A prime example of this multi-disciplinary approach is Ángel Aterido's study of the Chapel of Christ in the church of the Colegio Imperial in Madrid, now San Isidro. In this article, the author tracks the different uses served by Juan de Mesa's image of the *Cristo de la Buena Muerte* in its chapel of the church of San Isidro in Madrid throughout the centuries, on the basis of documentary sources and a study of the changing socio-historical and devotional contexts in which the image was used. The methodology employed by the author produces a much more accurate, nuanced picture of the manner in which form and function interacted in Mesa's image than a simple stylistic or iconographic analysis could have yielded.

The present dissertation combines the iconographic and stylistic analysis of art works with a socio-historical, contextual approach, in an effort to clarify the complex artistic, devotional and social functions performed by religious art works in Madrid during the reign of Philip IV. The study is based on the premise that religious art during this period had several layers of meaning -i.e. artistic, religious, social, economic, political-, all of which operated simultaneously to create an overall experience for contemporary viewers.

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12 See, for instance, Javier Portús' study on Lope de Vega and contemporary engraving, Portús Pérez 1988, in which the engravings themselves are barely discussed, and become simple illustrations to the main arguments of the text.

My case is that it is not enough to simply analyse the iconographic and formal aspects of particular works. Once this level of understanding has been established, it is then necessary to examine other aspects, such as the social and political status of the patron, the various devotional functions the work was meant to fulfil, and the historical context in which it was created. Invariably, all of these aspects had a bearing on the formal characteristics of religious images, and on their ultimate meaning.

Studies that fail to focus on all of these separate layers of meaning, convey a much poorer, incomplete understanding of the art of the period, in which the works exist in isolation, and are therefore much less powerful as tools for communication. This dissertation studies the functions of religious art in Madrid during the reign of Philip IV, by analysing not only its devotional content, but also the social and political context in which it was created, which often determined the iconography of particular art works, and even the style in which artists chose to render them.

CHAPTER 1

A CONTEXT TO RELIGIOUS ART IN 17TH CENTURY MADRID

I. A DEVOTIONAL CONTEXT TO RELIGIOUS ART IN 17TH CENTURY MADRID.

Even forty years after the final session of the Council of Trent, the religious climate of 17th century Spain was still dominated by the ideology of the Counter Reformation. This was perfectly understandable, if we consider that the Protestant Reformation had affected Spanish territories in the Netherlands, and led to lengthy and bloody wars that lasted throughout the 17th century. Thus the Spanish church was intent on promoting those aspects of Catholic belief that differed most clearly from Protestantism, such as the devotion to the Virgin Mary and the saints as intercessors for humankind before God; the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist; and the validity of the use of religious images as aids to devotion. The religious images created during this period embodied these concepts, yet in order to understand the role such images played in everyday devotional practices, it is necessary to understand the religious issues that dominated Spanish daily life.

The basic tool for recreating that devotional context is the religious literature of the period, yet finding those titles which were particularly relevant to art is a difficult task. The libraries of 17th century Spanish artists, often listed in their post-mortem inventories, are a starting point. The religious titles listed in these inventories, while not necessarily including all the devotional books that the artists may have read, offer valuable insights

into contemporary devotions, especial religious ceremonies, and the role of religious images in everyday life in 17th century Spain.

Although several inventories of the libraries of 17th century architects and artists have already been published, almost invariably these studies focus on the books about art and architecture present in the inventories, which are seen as more directly relevant to the understanding of a particular artist.[1] The religious titles in these libraries, with the exceptions of the well-known authors such as Ignatius Loyola, Teresa of Ávila or Fray Luis de Granada, are often left unidentified, partly because the inventory entries rarely list the names of authors, and also because the titles given are too vague for secure identifications. Nevertheless, an effort at identifying these titles should harvest results, as the books can often help define an artist's social milieu; give clues to the iconography of works of art through the religious prints that illustrate them; and, most importantly, provide a background to the devotional environment in which the artists lived. Although it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to analyse in detail the manner in which religious books in individual artists' libraries influenced their art, a brief summary of the subjects covered by these titles can provide a general sense of the issues that were relevant to contemporary believers, as well as act as a starting point on which to build later scholarship.[2]

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[1] Published studies of libraries of 17th century architects and artists include the following: the library of Pablo de Céspedes in Ramírez de Arellano 1903-1904; the library of Vasco Pereira in Fernández López 1991, pp. 33-42; Diego Velázquez's library in Sánchez Cantón 1925; the library of Francisco de Ocampo in Bago y Quintanilla 1928; the library of the *ensamblador* and collaborator of Gregorio Fernández Francisco Velázquez in García Chico 1941, vol. 2, pp. 251-254; the library of Diego Valentín Díaz in García Chico 1941, vol. 3, part 2, pp. 97-104; Antonio Puga's library in Caturla 1952, pp. 54-59, with a study of its contents by Francisco J. Sánchez Cantón, pp. 83-95; Juan de van der Hamen's library in Jordan 1967, pp. 39-46; Vicente Carducho's library in Caturla 1968-1969, pp. 190-196; Juan de Herrera's library in Cervera Vera 1977; Juan Bautista Monegro's library in Marías 1981; El Greco's library in Marías and Bustamante 1981; the library of Antonio Arias in Agulló Cobo 1981, p. 20; Francisco Ricci's library in Barrio Moya 1983a; Francisco de Ocaña's library in Agüera Ros 1994, pp. 100-101; Bartolomé Esteban Murillo's library in Fernández López 1991, pp. 61-62; Vicente Salvador Gómez's library in Salort Pons 2001, pp. 406-424 and the library of Matías de Arteaga y Alfaro in Kinkead 1981, p. 355. For general overviews on the libraries of Spanish artists, see esp. Martín Gonzalez 1984, pp. 224-229; and Martín González 1985.

[2] Religious books in artists libraries have been only cursorily explored until recently, mainly because of the difficulty in identifying inventory entries that only listed the books' titles imperfectly, rarely mentioning authors. However, technological advances have facilitated this task, by making it possible to search for

Having examined the library inventories of thirteen 17th century Spanish artists, starting with Pablo de Céspedes' inventory, which was drawn up in 1608, and ending with Matías de Arteaga's inventory, drawn up in 1703, a number of religious subjects and even particular authors appear consistently throughout the century.[3] Most religious titles, and particularly those that appear in more than one inventory, reflect Tridentine concerns about issues of Catholic dogma such as the importance of the veneration of the saints and their relics, the cult of the Virgin Mary, the centrality of Christ's Passion to the salvation of mankind, and the cult of the Eucharist. By examining the manner in which each of these issues was reflected in artists' libraries, it will be possible to build a more complete picture of Spanish, and therefore Madrilenian, devotional practices during this period.

1. Veneration of the Saints.

Since the role of the saints as intercessors between humankind and the divinity was rejected by the Protestant Reformation, the Catholic Church was particularly eager to promote the lives of the saints as models of virtue and to emphasise the validity of their role in devotional practices. Therefore the seventeenth century saw an important number of canonisations, and large numbers of books on the saints being published. The entries *Flos sanctorum* or *Vidas de santos* appear in several libraries of artists in this period. The *Flos sanctorum* by Alonso de Villegas, the first edition of which was published in Toledo in

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religious titles by keyword on electronic bibliographical catalogues. See, for instance, REBIUN, the online catalogue for the Red de Bibliotecas Universitarias, and ARIADNA, the Biblioteca Nacional's online catalogue. It is therefore only now that analyses of religious titles in artists' libraries can be carried out with a certain degree of accuracy.

[3] Appendices 1.I-1.VII list the religious titles in the libraries of seven artists who worked in Castile during the 17th century: the *ensamblador* Francisco Velázquez and the painters Juan de van der Hamen, Vicente Carducho, Diego Valentín Díaz, Antonio Arias, Juan Montero de Rozas, and Francisco Ricci. The availability of inventories of artists' libraries dictated the choice for this sample, hence the introduction in the study, for instance, of Francisco Velázquez, the only *ensamblador* in the group, who has been chosen solely because his inventory has been published. His collaboration with Gregorio Fernández also makes him an interesting subject for this study.

1578, is mentioned by author in the inventories of Francisco Velázquez, Andrés de Ocampo, Vicente Carducho, Diego Valentín Díaz, Juan Montero de Rozas, and Vicente Salvador Gómez.[4] Individual volumes of the Jesuit Father Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum*, first published in Madrid in 1599, were owned by Andrés de Ocampo and by Vicente Salvador Gómez,[5] while unspecified *Flos sanctorum* and *Vidas de santos* appear in the inventories of Pablo de Céspedes, Vicente Carducho and Matías de Arteaga.[6] An unidentified 'Flor santorum de lauarisco' is also listed in Francisco Ricci's inventory.[7] Many of these works were profusely illustrated with woodcuts or engravings depicting episodes from the Old and the New Testament, as well as images of saints, which may have been used by artists as pictorial sources.[8]

In addition to this, the lives and works of recently canonised saints such as Teresa of Avila, Ignatius Loyola, and John of God appear in several inventories, with Saint Teresa as the most popular saint.[9] The appearance of these books in artists' libraries is far from surprising, since many of them had portrait engravings with the *vera effigies* of the saints, which would have been used as iconographic sources by artists.[10] In some cases, such as in the lives of the Franciscan Saint Diego of Alcalá written by Melchor de Cetina and Gabriel de Mata, or in Andrés Pérez's *Historia de la vida y milagros del glorioso sant Raymundo de Peñafort*, the books have detailed descriptions of the ceremonies that took place for the

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[4] See appendix 1.I, no. 3; Bago y Quintanilla 1928, p. 47; Appendix 1.III, no. 8; appendix 1.IV, no. 11; appendix 1.VI, no. 1; and Salort Pons 2001, p. 393.
[5] See Bago y Quintanilla 1928, p. 47 and Salort Pons 2001, p. 407.
[6] See Ramírez de Arellano 1903-1904, p. 36; Appendix 1.III, no. 111; and Kinkead 1981, p. 355.
[7] See appendix 1.VII, no. 2.
[8] For a study of the iconographic sources for the woodcuts from the five volumes of Alonso de Villegas' *Flos sanctorum*, see Roteta de la Maza 1985, pp. 125-166. In this study, the author identifies Rennaissance and Mannerist sources for Pedro Ángel's woodcuts, while also pointing out how the *Flos Sanctorum* engravings were used as sources by artists such as Antonio del Castillo and Zurbarán. (pp. 164-165).
[9] Her life and works are mentioned in the inventories of Juan de Van der Hamen, Vicente Carducho, Diego Valentín Díaz, Juan Montero de Rozas, Francisco Ricci, Vicente Salvador Gómez and Matías de Arteaga. See appendix 1.II, no. 4; Appendix 1.III, nos. 81, 82 & 84; appendix 1.IV, nos. 94-97; appendix 1.V, no. 17; appendix 1.VI, no. 3; appendix 1.VII, no. 6; Salort Pons 2001, p. 415; and Kinkead 1981, p. 355.
[10] See, for instance, the anonymous engraving in Yepes 1606, fig. 5.35.

canonisations.[11] Since many artists of this period were engaged in the building of temporary decorations for both religious and secular public ceremonies, these descriptions would have been valuable iconographic sources.

The lives of fathers of the Church such as Saint Augustin and Saint Jerome were also popular in artists' libraries,[12] as were the lives and works of the founders of religious orders such as Saint Benedict and Saint Bernard.[13] In 17th century Spain, convents of religious orders proliferated in all the major cities, and obliged the orders to compete against one another for aristocratic patronage. The sanctity of their founders was an important means of attracting aristocratic patronage, therefore many of the orders printed lives of their founders and commissioned religious cycles on them, as we shall see in chapter 4 of this dissertation. It is therefore not surprising that these titles would be present in artists' libraries. Yet this interest in sainthood was not confined to the saints of the universal church; the lives of less well-known, local Spanish holy men and women such as Luisa de Carvajal, the Blessed Francisco of Alcalá, Gregorio López, Juana of Orihuela or María Cerbellón are also listed in the inventories.[14] The popularity of local holy men and women must also be seen in the context of the Catholic Church's promotion of the role of the saints as intercessors for humankind before the divinity.

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11 Mata 1589, ff. 138r. -156r.; and Cetina 1609, ff. 270r. and following; Pérez 1601, pp. 418-419. These titles appear in Vicente Carducho's inventory, appendix 1.III, nos. 13 & 71.

12 Saint Jerome's *Epistolas* are listed in the inventories of Francisco Velázquez, Diego Valentín Díaz, Juan Montero de Rozas and Vicente Salvador Gómez. See appendix 1.I, no. 13; appendix 1.IV, no. 109; appendix 1.VI, no. 8; and Salort Pons 2001, p. 422. The *Meditaciones*, although attributed to Saint Augustin in the 17th century, have since been proved to be the work of Guigo II, General of the Carthusians. The book was listed in Vicente Carducho's inventory as *Meditación de San Agustín*; see Appendix 1.III, no. 13. Saint Augustin's *Confessions* were listed in the inventory of Vicente Salvador Gómez; see Salort Pons 2001, p. 417. A life of Saint Augustin was included in Francisco Ricci's inventory; see appendix 1.VII, no. 21. Another book of Saint Agustin's writings was listed in Pablo de Céspedes inventory; see Ramírez de Arellano 1903-1904, p. 35.

13 Works on Saint Benedict and his religious rule appeared in the inventories of Vicente Carducho, Diego Valentín Díaz and Francisco Ricci. See Appendix 1.III, no. 62; appendix 1.IV, no. 59 & appendix 1.VII, no. 24. The life and writings of Saint Bernard appear in the inventories of Vicente Carducho and Diego Valentín Díaz. See Appendix 1.III, nos. 12 & 64; and appendix 1.IV, no. 44.

14 The names of Luisa de Carvajal, Francisco de Alcalá and Juana of Orihuela appear in Vicente Carducho's inventory; see Appendix 1.III, nos. 70, 73 & 78. María Cerbellón is mentioned in Diego Valentín Dáaz's inventory; see appendix 1.IV, no. 13.

Although the veneration of relics was encouraged in books on the lives and miracles of individual saints, a work dealing specifically with this subject, 'Beneración de las santas reliquias', also appeared in Diego Valentín Díaz's inventory, very likely Sancho Dávila's *La veneracion que se debe a los cuerpos de los Sanctos y a sus Reliquias y de la singular con que se adora el cuerpo de Iesu - Christo Nuestro Señor en el Sanctissimo Sacramento*, published in Madrid in 1610. As its title indicates, the book also dealt with the importance of the cult of the Eucharist, which also featured prominently in artists' inventories.

Linked to the veneration of the saints was a subject which particularly concerned the theologians at the Council of Trent: the use of religious images as devotional aids. This subject is mentioned in an entry in Andrés de Ocampo's inventory, 'Tratado de las ymagenes', and also in Diego Valentín Díaz's inventory, with the entry 'Adoracion de las santas ymagenes.' They could refer to Jaime Prades' *Historia de la adoración y uso de las santas imagenes...*, published in Valencia in 1596, or perhaps to Johannes Molanus' *De historia sacrarum imaginum et picturarum*, published in Antwerp in 1617.[15] Given that all religious images in 17th century Spain were subject to ecclesiastical censorship, these titles would have been useful tools in an artist's library.[16] It is also noticeable that there was a palpable link between religious art and devotion in the minds of the religious writers of this period, as can be seen in two books in Vicente Carducho's inventory which discussed the topic at some length. They were Father Pedro Navarro's *Favores del rey del cielo hechos a su esposa la santa Jvana de la Cruz Religiosa de la Orden Tercera de Penitencia de N.P.S. Francisco*, published in Madrid in 1622,[17] and Juan Rodriguez de Leon's *El Predicador de las gentes San Pablo. Sciencia, preceptos, avisos y obligaciones de los predicadores Euangelicos con doctrina del Apostol.*[18] Juana de la Cruz belonged to the Third Order of the Franciscans, and one of the miracles associated with her involves an image of the Virgin. According to the legend,

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15 See appendix 1.IV, no. 27; and Bago y Quintanilla 1928, p. 47.
16 On censorship of religious images in 17th century Spain, see Pinto Crespo 1978-1979.
17 Appendix 1.III, no. 66.

there was in Sister Juana's convent an ancient image of the Assumption of the Virgin. The image was said to be miraculous, and all the nuns were extremely devoted to it, even though the image was far from beautiful.[19] Eventually, the nuns called a sculptor to model a new head for the Virgin. The result did not please all of them, and Sister Juana asked for the image to be placed on an altar in her cell, to avoid quarrels among the sisters. That night the Virgin appeared to her, and approved of the image; the following night Christ came down from the Heavens, dressed in pontifical vestments, blessed the image and adorned it with jewels and rich robes. This miracle leads the author to an interesting discussion on whether religious images should be beautiful, in order to move the faithful to devotion. The outcome of the discussion was completely in favour of beautiful images, even after acknowledging that what mattered was the concept represented, and not the actual image. [20]

Juan Rodríguez de León's book was published in Madrid in 1638, and it was meant to be a study of the fields of knowledge with which a preacher should be familiar, taking Saint Paul as a model. The author discusses in detail a great number of subjects which he believes the good preacher should master. Amongst them he cites a wide variety of arts and sciences, including perspective, painting and architecture, which he stated should be mastered by the ideal preacher. The author believes painting to be a liberal art. He quotes Paolo Lomazzo and Federico Zuccaro's descriptions of the art of painting, and finally recommends Vicencio Carducho's *Diálogos de la Pintura* to those readers who wish to

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[18] Appendix 1.III, no. 47.

[19] Navarro 1622, p. 646: 'Las monjas del conuento, q. ta[m]bien la estimauan, como a vna preciosissima reliquia y gran tesoro, por muchos milagros que obraua, y porque la sacaua[n] en procession a nueue de Março, dia del Aparecimiento de la Madre de Dios, sentia[n] mucho que no tuuiese en su rostro aquel primor y hermosura q. deuen tener las Imagenes que representan a la criatura mas hermosa del Cielo.'

[20] According to father Pedro Navarro, 'Communmente se dize, que las Imagenes de pintura son predicadores mudos, que sin hablar excitan la deuocion y mueuen los animos, y como entre los predicadores viuos, con lo que vno vierte yelos, y haze dormir y bosteçar al auditorio, otro de mejor espiritu y gracia le compunje, y le mueue a lagrimas, y deuocion, ansi entre las imagenes ay algunas tan mal talladas y figuradas, que en vez de despertar y mouer a deuocion, despiertan y mueuen a risa, y essas mismas diestra y primamente formadas, nos leuantan el espiritu, y sacan muchas vezes lágrimas de los ojos;

learn more about it.[21] The relevance of this book to the art historian, however, goes beyond the mere mention of Carducho's *Diálogos*. The work demonstrates the centrality of the visual image in the religious doctrine prevalent in early 17th century Spain. Rodríguez de León compares the art of the painter with the work of the Creator, and lists examples of cases in which a painted image converted a non-believer. He vigorously defends the effectiveness of religious images in moving the faithful to devotion, and as aids to prayer.[22] More importantly, the book underlines the strong link between religious devotion and visual imagery that existed in the minds of 17th century Spanish believers.

2. Veneration of the Virgin Mary.

Marian devotion is another subject which appears often in the religious books of 17th century Spanish artists, particularly through the cult of the Immaculate Conception. Vicente Justiniano Antist's *Tratado de la Inmaculada Concepción de la Virgen Santíssima*, first published in Valencia in 1593 and reprinted many times, is listed in Vicente Salvador Gómez's inventory, while Baltasar Porreño's *Libro de la limpia Concepcion de la Virgen Maria, madre de Dios y Señora Nuestra*, published in Cuenca in 1620, appears in Vicente Carducho's inventory. The latter also has an entry with the title 'De la concecion de nra. sra,' which could refer to numerous titles published on the subject in the early part of the 17th century, such as Alonso Remón's *De la Concepcion purissima de N. Sa*, published in Madrid in 1616; Juan Breton's *De la Concepcion de Nuestra Señora*, published in Burgos in 1616; José de Valdivielso's *Romance de la Inmacvlada Concepcion de la Virgen Maria Nuestra Señora; sin mancha de pecado original*, published in Seville in 1616; or Antonio Daza's *Libro de*

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porque es cosa natural (como dixe) yrse los afectos del alma, tras los objetos exteriores, propuestos de los sentidos.' Navarro 1622, p. 647.

21 'Quien deseare mayores elogios de la Pintura lea los que junto de grandes ingenios Vicencio Carduche en los Diálogos que ha escrito, adonde hallará mi alabança más dilatada', in Rodriguez de Leon 1638, f. 72r.

22 'Y auerse convertido grandes pecadores con deuotas pinturas ya lo afirmo san Basilio. Y es opinion antigua, que donde no llego el Euangelio de San Lucas, obraron las pinturas de su mano traslados de christo Saluador y de su Madre Virgen, a que dio principio este Euangelista, a instancia de San Dionisio Areopagita, que procuró mouissen los retratos a los que no conociessen los originales…..Veanse pues dize

la Pvríssima Concepcion de la Madre de Dios, published in Madrid in 1621. The fact that all these titles were published between 1616 and 1621 reveals the intensity of the debate on the subject during this period. For instance, in 1619 all members of the confraternity of the Santísimo Sacramento from the church of La Magdalena in Madrid took a special vow to defend 'the Purity and Privilege of the Virgin Mary';[23] in 1621 the Cortes of Castile swore an oath to defend the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, even though the dogma had not yet been approved by the Pope.[24]

As well as treatises on the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, there were also many titles on the life of the Virgin in artists' inventories. Several entries in Diego Valentín Díaz's inventory were devoted to this subject. The title 'Pasos de Nuestra Sra.' very likely referred to Alonso Ezquerra's *Pasos de la virgen Santissima Maria Madre de Dios Nuestra Señora*, published in Alcalá in 1629.[25] 'Otro tomo de afolio de la ystoria de maria segunda parte,' could perhaps refer to José de Jesús María's *Historia de la vida y excelencias de la sacratissima Virgen Maria Nuestra Señora*, published in Madrid in 1657. 'Otro libro del bautismo de nuestra señora' most likely referred to Alonso de Andrade's *Discursos del bautismo de Nuestra Señora*, published in Madrid in 1639.[26] An entry in Vicente Carducho's inventory, 'Preciosa margarita,' could be identified as Diego Flores's *Preciosa margarita de la vida, muerte y gloria de la ...Virgen Maria*, first published in Lima in 1611, which Carducho could have acquired through his brother-in-law Bartolomé de Astete, who was living in Perú and maintained regular relations with the painter.[27] Additionally, there were books encouraging devotion to the Virgin Mary as a means of salvation, such as Cristóbal de la

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san Pedro Damiano las imagenes de los Santos para juntar virtudes que imitar', in Rodriguez de Leon 1638, ff. 71v.-72r.

[23] Tello Giménez 1942, p. 161. Vicente Carducho was a member of this confraternity, therefore the Conceptionist books in his library were necessary aids, informing the artist of the history of the dogma in order to be able to fulfill the religious obligations that this special vow entailed.

[24] Stratton 1994, pp. 88-89.

[25] See appendix 1.IV, no. 79.

[26] See appendix 1.IV, nos. 9 & 49.

[27] See Appendix 1.III, no. 42. For Carducho's relations with his brother-in-law Bartolomé Astete, see Caturla 1968-1969, pp. 166-169.

Vega's *Deuoción a María: passaporte y salvo conducto que da passo franco para una buena muerte*, published in Valencia in 1666, which almost certainly corresponds to the entry 'Devocion a Maria' in Vicente Salvador Gómez's inventory.[28] Another entry in Diego Valentín Díaz's inventory, 'Tres tomos guia de la birtud,' was very likely Alonso de Andrade's *Libro de la guía de la virtud y de la imitación de Nuestra Señora* in three volumes, published in Madrid between 1642 and 1646, and which also encouraged the reader to imitate the Virgin Mary.[29]

In addition to the titles mentioned above, many of the artists surveyed owned books on the rosary, often in Italian. Since several rosaries published in Italy in the late 16th and 17th centuries had engraved illustrations, this might explain their popularity amongst artists.[30] Devotion to local images of the Virgin was also reflected in artists' libraries. Vicente Carducho's inventory had entries devoted to the Virgins of Atocha, of the Fuencisla, La Novena and the Virgin of the Pillar; Diego Valentín Díaz owned a book on the Virgin of La Salceda, while Vicente Salvador Gómez's inventory listed a work on the Virgin of Puig.[31] This profusion of Marian literature in artists' inventories clearly responds to an effort of the Catholic Church to promote the cult of the Virgin, in the face of Protestant rejection of her role as mediatrix between mankind and God.

3. Devotion to Christ and the Eucharist.

A large number of titles in artists' library inventories have as their theme the meditation on Christ's Passion. Such is the case with Antonio de Guevara's *Monte Calvario*, published

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28 Salort Pons 2001, p. 417. The title suggested by Salvador Salort et al. to identify this entry, Pedro Martir Moixet's *Dietario Virginal, en el qual los devotos a María hallarán muchos ejemplares de todos estados*, published in Barcelona in 1642, bears less relation to the inventory entry than the title suggested here, which was published in Vicente Salvador's native city of Valencia.

29 See appendix 1.IV, no. 76.

30 Vicente Carducho and Francisco Velázquez owned Italian rosaries, while Juan Montero de Rozas had a 'Rosario en lengua estranjera' and Diego Valentín Díaz's inventory listed some 'Ejercicios del rosario.' See appendix 1.I, no. 11; Appendix 1.III, no. 37; appendix 1.VI, no. 6 and appendix 1.IV, no. 34. Two examples of illustrated Italian books on the rosary are Luca Pinelli's *Libretto d'imagini, e di brevi medicationi sopra i quindici misterii del Rosario della Sacratissima Vergine Maria...*, published in Naples in 1594 and Alberto

first in Valladolid in 1545, with several later editions, and of Antonio de Aranda's *Loores del dignisimo lugar del Monte Calvario en que se relata todo lo que Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo hizo, y dixo en el*, published in Alcalá de Henares in 1551, both of which could correspond to the entry 'Monte Calbario' in Vicente Carducho's inventory.[32] Agustín de Benavente's *Luz de las luces de Dios y empleo del pensamiento cristiano en las llagas de Cristo*, a meditation on Christ's wounds published in Valladolid in 1628, was listed in the inventories of Francisco Ricci and Diego Valentín Díaz; the latter also included Francisco Hernández Blasco's *Universal redención, pasion y muerte y resurrección de nuestro Redentor Iesu Christo y angustias de su santíssima Madre*, published first in Madrid in 1609.[33] Luis de la Palma's *Historia de la Sagrada Pasión*, first published in Alcalá in 1624, appeared in Francisco de Ocaña's library.[34] Other titles on the subject of Christ were Juan Falconi's *Cartilla para saber leer en Cristo*, which appeared in Antonio Puga's inventory and was probably a school book;[35] and the entry in Vicente Salvador Gómez's inventory 'Triunfos de Christo de la Aysa,' which refers to Rodrigo de Loaysa's *Victorias de Christo nuestro redemptor y triunfos de su esposa la Santa Yglesia*, published in Seville in 1618.[36] In addition to this, entries such as 'Descripción de Jerusalem', which could correspond to Christian van Adrichem's *Breve descripcion de la ciudad de Ierusalem y lugares circunvecinos* or perhaps to Juan Ceverio de Vera's *Viaie de Tierra Santa y descripcion de Ierusalem, y del Santo Monte Libano*, include episodes from Christ's Passion in their descriptions of the sacred places in Jerusalem.[37] Many of these titles provided very descriptive, detailed accounts of Christ's Passion which may have

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Castellano's *Rosario della gloriosa Vergine Maria: di nuovo stampato con nuoue et bellissime figure adornato*, published in Venice in 1572. Both were reprinted several times.

31 See Appendix 1.III, nos. 1, 30 & 32; appendix 1.IV, no. 14 & Salort Pons 2001, p. 413.

32 See Appendix 1.III, no. 17.

33 See appendix 1.IV, nos. 29 & 60 and appendix 1.VII, no. 18.

34 Agüera Ros 1994, p. 100.

35 Francisco J. Sánchez Cantón could not identify this title, considering it a 'libro escolar de difícil e inútil identificación.' See Sánchez Cantón 1952, p. 91.

36 Salort Pons 2001, p. 422. This entry was not identified in Salort's article; the title mentioned here is my own suggestion.

37 The entry appears in Carducho's inventory, appendix 1.III, no 16. See esp. Adrichem 1628, pp. 41-42 & and Ceverio de Vera 1597, f. 37.

influenced religious images such as the Flagellations, Christ at the column and the Dead Christ produced by Spanish artists in the 17th century.[38]

Devotion to the Eucharist was also a prominent subject in artists' inventories of this period. Since this was one of the prime areas of disagreement with Protestant belief, which did not accept the real presence of the body of Christ in the Eucharistic host, the Catholic church in Spain had exalted its celebrations of the Eucharistic dogma. José de Valdivielso's *Romancero espiritual en gracia de esclavos del Santissimo Sacramento para cantar quando se muestra descubierto*, published in Madrid in 1627, was listed in Juan de van der Hamen's and Vicente Salvador Gómez's inventories.[39] Another work on the same subject by Valdivielso, *Elogios al Santísimo Sacramento, a la Cruz Santíssima y a la purisima Virgen Maria*, published in Madrid in 1630, was listed in Vicente Carducho's inventory.[40] Alonso de Rivera's *Historia sacra del Santissimo Sacramento contra las heregias destos tiempos*, published in Madrid in 1626, could correspond to the entry 'Historia Sacra' in Vicente Carducho's inventory.[41] The entry 'Discursos morales' in Diego Valentín Díaz's inventory might refer to another work on the Eucharist, Luis Dávila's *Discursos morales del Sanctissimo Sacramento del Altar*, published in Toledo in 1603. Books on the sacrifice of the Mass, such as the entry 'Misterio de la missa', which appears both in Vicente Carducho's and in Diego Valentín Díaz's inventories, were also linked to the cult of the Eucharist.[42] These titles

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[38] However, artistic representations of episodes of Christ's Passion are never as explicit as the literary references. In the words of Palma Martínez-Burgos, "en las representaciones pictóricas nunca presenciamos ese 'cuerpo de cardenales, rasgarse los huessos, reventar la sangre y correr a hilo por todas partes descrubriendo los huessos blancos entre la carne colorada' que sí conocemos por la literatura." Martínez -Burgos García 1990, p. 102.

[39] See appendix 1.II, no. 5 and Salort Pons 2001, p. 416. Both Van der Hamen and Valdivielso were membres of the confraternity of the Santísimo Sacramento, established in the church of La Magdalena in Madrid.

[40] Appendix 1.III, no. 10.

[41] Appendix 1.III, no. 40.

[42] Several titles correspond to this entry, amongst them Pedro Lopez de Montoya's *Los Quatro Libros del Mysterio de la Missa, con vnas annotaciones en lengua latina sobre el sagrado canon*, published in Madrid in 1591; Pedro Verdugo y Sarria's *Libro de los Mysterios de la Missa*, published in Madrid in 1594; Francisco Ambrosio's *Consideraciones sobre los misterios de la Misa*, published in Madrid in 1598, and Juan de los Angeles'

clearly emphasise the importance of this cult in Spanish religious life of this period, exemplified by the elaborate street decorations that used to be created for the festivities of Corpus Christi all over Spain.

As well as the subjects mentioned above, there were also certain authors whose names appear repeatedly in the artists' inventories. The most popular of these was the Dominican friar Luis de Granada.[43] His books have been termed by specialists on Spanish Golden Age literature as 'best-sellers', therefore it is hardly surprising to find them in artists' libraries.[44] As an example of the popularity of Luis de Granada's writings, a copy of the 1570 edition of his translation of Thomas A. Kempis' *Imitacion de Christo: Contemptus mundi*, was given to each of the Hyeronymite monks who first settled at the monastery of El Escorial for their private use.[45] The other authors mentioned in several inventories are Juan de los Ángeles, several of whose works may have appeared on the inventories of Vicente Carducho and Diego Valentín Díaz,[46] and Juan de Ávila, whose *Espistolario espiritual para todos estados*, published in Madrid in 1578, is listed in Francisco Velázquez's and Antonio Puga's inventories, while his *Vida y obras* are included in Vicente Carducho's inventory.[47] Most of these works were of a mystical nature, with no printed illustrations, which must indicate that there was a deep vein of religious devotion in most of the artists surveyed.

Tratado Espiritval de los soberanos Mysterios y Ceremonias santas del diuino sacrificio de la Missa, published in Madrid in 1604.

43 Luis de Granada is mentioned by name in the inventories of Vicente Carducho, Diego Valentín Díaz, Antonio Arias, Andrés de Ocampo, Antonio Puga and Vicente Salvador Gómez. See Appendix 1.III, nos. 3 & 9; appendix 1.IV, no. 22; appendix 1.V, nos. 3 & 15; Bago y Quintanilla 1928, p. 48; Sánchez Cantón 1952, pp. 91, no. 31; and Salort Pons 2001, p. 417.

44 Dadson 1998, chapter 2: Las obras de Luis de Granada en las bibliotecas particulares españolas, pp. 51-70.

45 Martín Abad 1991, vol. 2, p. 886.

46 See Appendix 1.III, nos. 80, 96 & 97; and appendix 1.IV, nos. 56 & 67.

47 See appendix 1.I, no. 8; Sánchez Cantón 1952, p. 90, no. 25; and Appendix 1.III, no. 99. The last entry is listed in Maria Luisa Caturla's transcription of Vicente Carducho's inventory as 'Vida y obras del padre frai Joan de Sibila en seis cuerpos los quatro tomos.' Caturla 1968-1969, p. 195. Having spent many fruitless hours trying to search for a Spanish writer called Joan de Sibila, I returned to the original document, AHPM Prot. 5023, f. 395v., which in fact clearly states 'Vida y obras del padre frai Joan de Abila en seis cuerpos los quatro tomos.'

An entry in Vicente Carducho's library inventory which cannot be included in any of the previous categories, 'Auto de la Santa Ynquisicion' [Auto da Fe], deserves special attention. The entry must refer to one of the many accounts of Auto da Fes that were published whenever one of these rituals took place. They are interesting because they describe every aspect of the ceremonies, including the procession that took the prisoners before the Tribunal, and all the decorations erected along the streets through which the procession passed. They also reproduced faithfully the charges of which the prisoners were accused. For this reason, they are valuable sources for understanding the religious climate and the uses of religious images in 17th century Spain. They can also be good sources for the history of art. For instance, Diego Osorio de Basurto's account of the Auto da Fe celebrated in Valladolid in October 1623 informs us that an altar was set up on the street through which the Procession had to go. According to Basurto, the structure was designed by 'Ferrer y Velazquez, famous architects'.[48] This Velázquez was probably the Valladolid *ensamblador* Francisco Velázquez, who often collaborated with the sculptor Gregorio Fernández.

The royal architect Juan Gómez de Mora wrote an account of the Auto de Fé held in Madrid in 1632, which constitutes a valuable primary source for the temporary decorations erected for the ceremony.[49] This 1632 Auto de Fé condemned the *converso* Christians who allegedly desecrated the image of the Cristo de la Paciencia. Carducho became a member of one of the penitencial confraternities created after 1632 to atone for the alleged desecrations, the Confraternity of the Cristo de la Fé in the church of the convent of Shod Trinitarians, which organised annual processions of atonement.[50] Therefore, it is more than likely that he would have had in his library a *relación* of the 1632 Auto.

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[48] Osorio de Basurto 1623 f. 318.
[49] Gomez de Mora 1632
[50] Caturla 1968-1969, p. 164.

The religious titles in 17th century artists' libraries are especially useful as keys to the ideological climate of the period, providing a devotional and doctrinal context against which to place the religious images of 17th century Madrid. This ideological context, however, must be completed with an understanding of the functions of religious images in everyday devotional practices in the city, which shall be the subject of the next section in this introductory chapter.

II. POPULAR VOTIVE IMAGES IN 17TH CENTURY MADRID.

Votive images in 17th century Madrid clearly reflected the religious concerns of the Spanish Crown, and of its people. Spanish national identity during this period was inextricably linked to the *Reconquista*, i.e. the recovery by Christian armies of areas of the Iberian Peninsula which had been occupied by Islam since 711. Hence, some of the most popular votive images had been found buried or hidden in caves, holes or ancient walls, where they had reportedly been placed by zealous Christians in order to protect them from desecration by 'the Moors.' This was the case, for instance, of the *Virgen de la Almudena* (fig. 1.1). These images played an important function, in reminding the people of their 'crusading' past. Since this sense of outrage against Islam was very much alive in 17th century Spain (the *moriscos* had been expelled from the country as recently as 1609), it was reflected in the religious devotion.

A second area of concern for Spanish Catholics during this period was the spread of Protestantism in Northern Europe, particularly in the Spanish Netherlands. As a consequence, much emphasis was placed on images that had been desecrated by Dutch 'heretics', which had been 'rescued' from the Netherlands by Spanish soldiers. The *Virgen de los Remedios* and *Virgen de la Inclusa* belonged to this category.

Finally, the strong current of anti-Semitism which ran through Spanish society during this period, despite the expulsion of the Jewish community from the country in 1492,

found its most disturbing expression in accusations against *conversos* (Christian converts of Jewish origin), involving desecration of images of Christ. This was the case of the *Christ of the Olive Grove* and the *Christ of Patience*, which enjoyed fervent cults during this period. This section will examine the most popular images of Christ, the Virgin and the Saints venerated in Madrid and its province, providing a devotional map of the city, while also outlining the iconographic conventions under which artists operated during this period.

1. VOTIVE IMAGES OF THE VIRGIN

The two most popular images of the Virgin in 17th century Madrid were the *Virgin of the Almudena* and the *Virgin of Atocha*; both were (and remain) official ecclesiastical patronesses of Madrid. Due to their antiquity, and their connection with the *Reconquista*, both were in receipt of royal patronage.

The *Virgin of the Almudena* was housed in the oldest parish church in Madrid, Santa Maria, no longer extant. According to legend, it had been miraculously found hidden in the city wall, after Alfonso VI (1072-1109) conquered Madrid from the Moors in 1083.[51] The image was supposed to have been brought to Spain from the Holy Land by San Calogero, a disciple of Santiago.[52] That original image is said to have perished in a fire in the church of Santa Maria during the reign of Enrique IV of Castile (1454-1474), and replaced by the present image, which is datable to the 15th century (fig. 1.1).[53]

The church of Santa María, which was situated between the present-day Calle Mayor and the Calle de Bailén,[54] was the oldest parish church in the city, and as such had a privileged status amongst Madrid churches. It was the first place the kings visited when entering the city, and all general processions, which were regularly attended by the King and the Court, left from this church. Whenever the image of the *Virgin of Atocha* was taken on

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51 Quintana 1980, f. 60r.-f. 60 v.
52 García Gutiérrez and Martínez Carbajo 1994, p. 283.
53 García Gutiérrez and Martínez Carbajo 1994, pp 283-284.

procession during rogations, it was deposited in the church of Santa Maria for three to nine days, and then returned to the monastery of Atocha.[55]

Devotion to the *Virgin of the Almudena* was an essential aspect of religious life in 17th century Madrid. The Virgin was made patroness of the city ca. 1645.[56] She was taken out on procession at times of public distress, and received numerous donations from the crown and the aristocracy. Philip III's daughter, Anne of Austria, donated the crown which she had worn during her coronation as Queen of France in 1616 to the *Virgin of the Almudena.*[57] Isabel of Bourbon, wife of Philip IV, organised a novena in honour of the *Virgin of the Almudena* towards the end of her pregnancy in 1624, to pray for the safe birth of her child, the future infanta Margarita.[58] Perhaps the clearest proof of the importance of devotion to the *Virgin of the Almudena* in 17th century Madrid was the creation of a confraternity in honour of the Virgin in 1640, the *Real Esclavitud de Nuestra Señora de la Almudena*, the first members of which were King Philip IV and his wife Isabel of Bourbon.[59]

The *Virgin of Atocha* is a small wooden sculpture of the Madonna and Child, carved in a transitional style between Romanesque and Gothic, and datable to the 13th century (fig. 1.2.) During the 17th century, it was believed to have been brought to Spain from Antioch by disciples of Saint Peter. According to Jerónimo de Quintana, it was thought to have been one of the images of the Virgin made by Saint Luke; the chronicler even suggested that the image could have been carved by Nicodemus, and coloured by the Evangelist.[60]

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54 It was demolished in 1868, to enlarge the Calle Mayor and Bailén. García Gutiérrez and Martínez Carbajo 1994, p. 285.
55 Quintana 1980, f. 57 v.- f. 58 r.
56 García Gutiérrez and Martínez Carbajo 1994, p. 284.
57 Quintana 1980, f. 61 v.
58 Quintana 1980, f.58 v.
59 García Gutiérrez and Martínez Carbajo 1994, p. 295.
60 Quintana 1980, f. 45v. Quintana gives a lengthy explanation of the reasons why Saint Luke, who was supposed to have been a painter, could also have created sculpted images: "A esto se ofrece otra nueua duda, y es que siendo el glorioso San Lucas pintor, no es possible hiziesse esta Santa Imagen de Atocha,

The *Virgin of Atocha* was one of the few Spanish votive images whose cult remained active throughout the Islamic occupation of the Iberian Peninsula. It was mentioned in Alfonso X's poems in honour of the Virgin, the *Cantigas de Santa María*, and the original hermitage that housed the image was an important pilgrimage site throughout the Middle Ages.[61]

In 1523 the Dominican monastery of Our Lady of Atocha was founded on the site of the sanctuary.[62] From the beginning, the monastery received lavish donations from the Spanish Crown and the nobility. Philip II financed the building of the altarpiece for the chapel of the *Virgin of Atocha*, which was consecrated in 1588, and later used for court ceremonial. In 1602 Philip III took over the patronage of the chapel, which then became a Royal Chapel.[63]

Royal devotion to the *Virgin of Atocha* guaranteed that its Chapel was always lavishly decorated, and that it received generous gifts of religious images, relics, jewellery and clothing from members of the aristocracy, as well as from personages involved in the Court's business. An example of this type of donation was a copy of the Christ of Lucca, which was donated to the Virgin by an ambassador of the Republic of Lucca in thanks for the intercession of the Virgin in the successful completion of his business at court. The image was first placed in the monastery's chapter room, and later taken to the

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por ser de talla; por lo qual, si alguna hizo seria de pinzel solamente. A esto se responde, que tambien es de talla la santa Imagen de Loreto, y la del Pilar de Çaragoça, y es tradicion recebida que son suyas, fuera de que no falta quien diga, que junto con ser pintor, fue estatuario, y quando no lo fuera, es muy creible que las que se hallan suyas de bulto, las hiziesse de talla Nicodemus, y el bienauenturado Euangelista las coloriesse y pintasse, porque de Nicodemus dizen algunos Autores, y se tiene por cierto que hizo algunas imagenes de Christo crucificado: por lo qual es muy verisimil que las que ay de bulto, que se tienen por de San Lucas, que las hizo Nicodemus, y el santo Euangelista las pintó y encarnó, como se ha dicho."

[61] García Gutiérrez and Martínez Carbajo 1994, p. 332.

[62] González Dávila 1623, p. 239.

[63] The contract stated that the crypt of the chapel would be exclusively used for royal burials; and that the royal coat of arms would be displayed on the walls. The king took the responsibility of funding the chapel, and upholding its property, rents and privileges. The monastery committed itself to celebrating two festivities a year in honour of the Spanish royal family: one on the feast day of the Apostles Saint Philip and Saint James (May 1st), and another on the feast of the Incarnation (March 25th). Vespers and a sung Solemn Mass, accompanied by a deacon and a subdeacon, would be celebrated on each festivity, with candle wax and church ornamentation at the monastery's expense. For a reproduction of the *Cedula Real* containing the terms of the patronage contract, see Quintana 1980, f. 409r.

church so that the public could venerate it.[64] Unfortunately the Christ seems to be no longer extant. Philip II looked upon religious gifts of this kind very positively, and members of the Court, as well as foreign dignitaries, would have sought to attract the king's favour through these types of donations.[65]

As a result of this royal patronage, the monastery of Atocha also received patronage from other aristocratic families, who were attracted by the prestige of a royal convent. The church's High Chapel, which was consecrated in 1598, was under the patronage of the Counts of Nieva, who had endowed it with 2,000 ducats in annual rent, and had the exclusive use of the crypt for family burials.[66]

Together with the *Virgin of the Almudena*, the *Virgin of Atocha* was the most revered religious image of 17th century Madrid. There was a confraternity devoted to her cult, and she was taken out on procession regularly, particularly on rogations at times of general hardship. Legend had it that the patron saint of Madrid, San Isidro, was very devoted to the Virgin, and this reinforced devotion to her. The kings were also extremely devoted to the Virgin, as is demonstrated by the fact that Philip III had her image taken to his deathbed, in order to die in her presence. Philip IV also visited the image frequently.[67]

There were of course many other images of the Virgin venerated in Madrid during this period. Some of them had been found in quite unlikely places, and were assumed to have been hidden for protection against 'heretics'. The sculpture of *Our Lady of Constantinople*, which was housed in a chapel of the convent church of the *Salutación de Nuestra Señora*, also known as convent of Constantinopla, of Franciscan nuns, was one of these 'found' images. According to legend, the image was a copy of a statue that had saved a hermit in

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64 Quintana 1980, f. 410r.-410v.
65 For the role of religious artworks as diplomatic gifts during the reign of Philip II, see Goldberg 1996 and Mulcahy 1998.
66 Quintana 1980, f. 408v.

the desert of Constantinople from attack by the Turks. The hermit decided to return to his homeland in Naples, and made two copies of the image, one of which was sent to Rome, and another which had been left in Naples. Centuries later, the latter was found buried in the stables of a Hyeronymite monastery in the city. Two stable boys heard heavenly music, and saw a great light shining on the area where the image was buried. The prior of the monastery was alerted, and he ordered the area to be excavated, upon which the image of the Virgin was found, and later sent to the convent of the Salutation of Our Lady in Madrid. Legend also has it that both Queen Isabel of Valois and Queen Anne of Austria, wives of Philip II, had wanted copies of the image. Despite sending 'the best court painters' to copy it, who 'confessed and took communion' in order to be successful, they were all unable to make a 'portrait' of the image.[68] *Nuestra Señora de Constantinopla* was renowned for the miracles she performed every Tuesday of March; for this reason festivities in her honour were performed during those days. The image is no longer extant.

Several images of the Virgin in 17th century Madrid were supposed to have been 'desecrated' by 'heretics', and 'saved' from them by Spanish Catholics. One of the best known was *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, in the monastery of friars of La Merced. The image had been 'rescued' by a Spanish soldier in a town in Zealand, where it was going to be burnt as firewood. On his return from the Spanish Netherlands, the soldier took the image to a Mercedarian monastery in Cuenca, from which it was transferred to Madrid in 1573. The patroness of the Madrid monastery of La Merced was the daughter of the Counts of Chinchón, and widow of the third Marquis of Valle, doña Mencía de la Cerda. It is therefore quite likely that devotion to the *Virgen de los Remedios* was associated with its

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[67] García Gutiérrez and Martínez Carbajo 1994, p. 332. According to the account of a clergyman, Philip IV visited the Virgin of Atocha 3,400 times.
[68] Quintana 1980, f. 403 v.

patron and her family.[69] The monastery was devoted to ransoming Catholic prisoners from foreign jails. It was therefore quite fitting that an image that had been 'rescued' from 'Dutch heretics' by paying a ransom would be donated to this monastery. The image soon gained a reputation for miracles; its chapel received numerous donations, and is described as lavishly decorated by contemporary chronicles.[70] A confraternity was established to honour the image, which still exists today.

A similarly 'rescued' image was *Nuestra Señora de la Inclusa*, which had been brought back to Spain from Holland in the 16th century by a soldier, who rescued it from a fire after the island of L'Ecluse, or Inclusa in Spanish, was lost to Protestant forces. The soldier gave it to his landlady, who drew lots to decide which church she should donate the image to, and the name that kept coming up was that of the Hospital de Niños Expósitos [Hospital of Exposed Children], which later came to be known as 'La Inclusa'. A contemporary chronicle comments on the many miracles that were attributed to the image, 'not the least of which is the very abundant support that is provided by means of the image to over three thousand children that are brought up in the Hospital until they are of an age to go into service.'[71]

Images of the Virgin were often venerated as a result of the miraculous nature of their creation. Perhaps the best known example of these was *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*, which had been commissioned by Isabel of Valois, wife of Philip II, from the sculptor Gaspar

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69 González Dávila 1623, pp 253-254.

70 Relación milagros Virgen de los Remedios [1614] 1982, p. 92: "….oy tiene suntuosa Capilla, con sacristia, coro, organo y rico retablo, gran numero de vestidos de mucho precio, abundantes joyas de valor, oro, plata, y perlas, coronas, candeleros, ornamentos, todo mucho, bueno y de gran precio, cerca de cien lamparas de plata la mayor parte muy grandes, una ilustre y devota congregacion de lo mas luzido de la Corte, muchas reliquias y abundancia de trofeos de las marauillas que ha obrado , y obra cada dia con sus devotos." For details of miracles associated with this image, see Relación verdadera Virgen de los Remedios [1639] 1982.

71 Relación milagros Virgen de los Remedios [1614] 1982, p. 92: "…nuestra Señora de la Inclusa es venerada y visitada de sus deuotosen Madrid, en la iglesia de los niños de la cuna, haziendo innumerables milagros, y no es el menor venir por su medio el sustento muy abundante de mas de tres mil niños que alli

Becerra. It was destined for the monastery of La Victoria, of Friars Minor of St. Francis of Paula. According to Jerónimo de Quintana, the chapel of *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad* in La Victoria was one of the great Madrilenian sanctuaries, because the image was considered to be extraordinarily miraculous.[72] The process of its creation was recounted at length by Antonio Palomino in his life of Becerra.[73] According to Palomino, Becerra was asked to create an image "of the same subject as, and in imitation of, the painted one in the [queen's] oratory, where he should demonstrate everything of which art is capable." The painting in the oratory was taken to the sculptor's house, and Becerra set to work. It took the sculptor a year to create the image, but when he presented it to the Queen, she did not like it. He made a second image, which the Queen still disliked, and was ordered to make another one "if he thought he could do it better, for otherwise another artist would do it." Becerra went home and started to sketch the image afresh. While working late into the night, he fell asleep, and heard a voice speaking to him in a dream, saying: "Awaken, rise, and sculpt your idea in that thick log that burns in that fire, and you will attain your aims, extracting from it the image that you want."[74] The artist did so, and finally produced the image of *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*, which pleased the Queen greatly. Palomino, who called the sculpture "a miracle of art", believed the image to express "beauty, sorrow, affection, tenderness, constancy, and acceptance but, above all, that she is a refuge for our sufferings, a remedy for our afflictions, a respite from our travails, and a dispenser of divine mercy." Because the *Virgen de la Soledad* was an *imagen de vestir*, destined to be clothed, only the hands and face of the image were actually carved; it therefore seems all the more extraordinary that the Queen rejected the sculpture twice, and makes one wonder about the devotional or aesthetic criteria that were being applied.

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se crian hasta edad de seruir…" This account underlines the fact that often religious images were used for very concrete, material purposes, in this case to attract funding for the hospital of orphaned children.

[72] Quintana 1980, f. 418r.

[73] Palomino 1987, pp. 19-21.

[74] Palomino 1987, p. 21.

Unfortunately the image, which after the disestablishment of the monasteries in the 19th century was venerated in a chapel of the Cathedral of San Isidro, was destroyed in 1936, making it impossible for the present day art historian to estimate its aesthetic merits.[75]

Nuestra Señora de la Soledad was an extraordinarily successful image in devotional terms; her chapel in the monastery of La Victoria was always full of offerings in remembrance of miracles performed through the intercession of the Virgin.[76] Yet according to Nina Ayala Mallory, the image was "far from being the 'miracle of art' that Palomino praises."[77] Was Palomino praising the image solely on the basis of its aesthetic merits, or was he impressed by the successful marriage of devotional and aesthetic values in it? More to the point, what was considered to be successful in artistic terms in 17th century Spain? This aspect of religious art in Spain will be dealt with in later chapters.

It is clear from the success of the *Virgen de la Soledad* that images supported by royalty became particularly popular in 17th century Spain. Another example of this was the *Virgen de los Dolores*, housed in the church of the College of Santo Tomás de Aquino, of Dominican friars.[78] The image stood in the private chapel of the Confraternity of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, which had been founded by Empress Maria of Austria in 1590, and was based in the church of Santo Tomás since 1592. It was a carved figure of the Virgin with seven daggers pointing towards her heart, referring to her seven sorrows. The image is no longer extant.

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75 I have been unable to locate any photographs of the image.
76 Quintana 1980, f. 418r.
77 Palomino 1987, p. 22, note 12.
78 Quintana 1980, f. 424r.

2. VOTIVE IMAGES OF CHRIST.

According to William A. Christian, votive devotion to images of Christ became particularly popular in Castile from the latter part of the 16th century. Even before the Council of Trent, the Catholic Church had placed particular emphasis on Christ's sacrifice for the salvation of mankind (with special reference to the sacrifice of the Mass), and the Counterreformation was to reinforce this belief. As a result, votive shrines with images of the Crucified Christ or some episode of the Passion multiplied "with a special concentration in the towns around Madrid."[79]

Images of Christ played a central role in the religious life of 17th century Madrid, as did the relics that were held by some of the major religious institutions in the city. A small crucified Christ, reportedly made from the wood of the Cross by Saint Jerome, and one of the nails from Christ's Cross were kept in the King's private oratory. The convent of the Descalzas Reales also had a piece of the wood of the Cross, and several thorns from Christ's crown were supposed to be in the possession of several Madrid convents and monasteries, among them El Carmen, Nuestra Señora de Atocha, Santo Domingo el Real, Nuestra Señora de Constantinopla, the Concepción Jerónima, the Concepción Francisca and the Jesuit Novitiate.[80] The convent church of the Concepción Francisca housed an image of the Veronica that had belonged to the Franciscan Saint Juana de la Cruz. According to legend, the saint was praying before this image at her uncle's home, when it turned into the real face of Christ, and spoke to her.[81] Two copies of the Turin shroud were kept in the church of the Jesuit Imperial College. They belonged to the

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79 Christian 1981, p. 182.
80 Quintana 1980, f. 443v.
81 The relic had been donated to the Concepción Francisca by the granddaughter of the founder, Doña Aldonza de Haro, who had been an abbess of the convent, and had inherited the relic from her grandmother. Quintana 1980, f. 407 r.

Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception, which had been founded by the Jesuits in 1604, and had its own chapel within the church.[82]

Both Jerónimo de Quintana and Gil González Dávila mention several images of Christ that were 'very ancient and of great devotion'. One of these was the Crucified Christ venerated in a chapel of the parish church of San Ginés, which according to them existed from the time of king Pedro of Castile (c.1350-c.1369).[83] The parish of San Ginés is one of the oldest churches in Madrid, and was originally a Mozarabic building. The present chapel of the Holy Christ in San Ginés was built by Juan Ruiz between 1651 and 1659. One of the most powerful brotherhoods in Madrid, the Hermandad del Cristo de San Ginés, was created to attend to the cult of this particular image, and is still strong in numbers today. The Crucified Christ to be found in the chapel today was carved by Alfonso Giraldo de Bergaz; the author of the original image, however, is unknown. [84]

Some of the most popular votive images of Christ in 17th century Madrid were considered to have been desecrated by heretics. One of these was the *Christ of the Shrine of Atocha*, which was a small street shrine in the outskirts of the city, near the Dominican monastery of Atocha. According to legend, the Christ had been whipped, dragged through the streets and broken into pieces by 'English heretics' in 1564. Philip II had ordered the image to be re-assembled, and taken to the monastery of Atocha in solemn procession, which the royal family and the entire Court attended. He also re-built the street shrine, and the image was again placed in it in 1598.[85] According to the chronicles, the desecration was perpetrated in an olive grove, which went dry after the incident, and the Christ came to be known as the *Cristo del Olivar*. The entire episode was clearly a piece

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82 An inventory of April 8, 1614 listed in the 'relics cupboard' two copies of the shroud of Turin. Archivo Histórico Nacional: Clero. Jesuítas. Libro 313j. Quoted by Simón Díaz 1952, p. 42.
83 Quintana 1980, f. 64 r.; and González Dávila 1623, p. 226.
84 For the chapel of the Christ of San Ginés, see García Gutiérrez and Martínez Carbajo 1994, p. 119 and Tormo 1979, pp. 121-126.

of Catholic propaganda, intended to exacerbate hostility against Protestantism, the spread of which was, as we have seen, a major concern of the Spanish monarchy during this period.

In 1607 the Christ, which until then must have stood in the rebuilt oratory, was taken to the Dominican monastery of Atocha.[86] A Crucified Christ by the sculptor Manuel Pereira may be related to the desecrated image. Pereira's Crucifixion is now in the Oratorio del Olivar, in Madrid (fig. 2.20), and was commissioned by the Dominicans to replace the original *Cristo del Olivar*. It has been dated 1647, and it depicts an expiring Christ, with carved crown of thorns in the Sevillian manner, and three nails.[87] The Oratorio del Olivar, built by the Real Congregación de Indignos Esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento in the second half of the 17th century, was created in 1607 in Madrid, to atone for the desecration of some Holy Hosts in a Catholic church in London. The Congregation must have felt that it was fitting to build an oratory for an image that had also been desecrated.

Perhaps the most famous desecrated image of Christ in 17th century Madrid was the *Christ of Patience*, which was allegedly destroyed by a Jewish family of Portuguese origin in 1632. To atone for the 'sacrilege', a church and convent were built on the original site of the house in which the family lived; the desecrated Crucifix was replaced by a new one donated by the Lerma family, and a chapel was built to house the image, which was soon reported to have miraculous powers. The building and decoration of this new church will be dealt with in chapter 2; for now it is sufficient to say that the Christ of Patience became one of the best-known images of 17th century Madrid, and played an enormously important role in the religious life of the city. The church became an obligatory stop for

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[85] Quintana 1980, f. 455r.
[86] García Gutiérrez and Martínez Carbajo 1994, pp. 386-389.
[87] Gómez Moreno 1963, p. 113. Although Gómez Moreno states that the Christ is documented as having been commissioned in 1647, there is no reference to the documentary source. Later scholars such as Jesús

Easter Processions, with religious confraternities basing themselves in the new church and adopting copies of the Christ of Patience as their processional images. The convent was demolished in the 19th century.

The *Cristo de Medinaceli* also belongs to the category of desecrated images, in this case by 'Muslim heretics'. According to legend the image, which was a Sevillian processional sculpture from the first half of the 17th century, was commissioned by the Capuchin friars in Seville. They took it to North Africa, to aid in their proselytising activities c.1681, and it was reportedly captured by Muslims, whipped and dragged through the streets, and finally 'rescued' by the Trinitarian friar Pedro de los Angeles, who found it in a stable and ransomed it, the story goes, for thirty pieces of silver. Finally, the image arrived back in Seville, and was sent to Madrid in August 1682. It was immediately taken under the patronage of the Dukes of Medinaceli, hence its current name, and was sent to the monastery of Discalced Trinitarians, founded by their family, where it stayed until the 19th century. Copies of the *Christ of Medinaceli* can be found all over Spain and Spanish America. It is a full-length image of the "Cristo de la Sentencia", which shows the moment when Pilate presents Christ to the people of Jerusalem, dressed in kingly robes, and sentences him to death. It was designed to be clothed, and has an articulated body, but the head and hands are extraordinarily life-like, which probably explains its effect on the faithful (fig. 1.5) It is difficult to decide what importance the artistic quality of the figure had in its success as a devotional image. What is clear, however, is that the patronage of the Dukes of Medinaceli gave great impetus to the cult of this image.

Urrea in Urrea 1977, p. 261 and J. J. Martín González in Martín González 1998, p. 259, simply quote Gómez Moreno, without disclosing the documentary source for this date.

3. VOTIVE IMAGES OF THE SAINTS.

In 17th century Madrid the cult of the saints was as central to religious life as the cult of the Virgin Mary. Virtually every Madrid church or convent owned important relics of the saints, which commanded intense devotion from the faithful. According to the chronicles, forty five whole bodies of saints, beatified holy men and women, and martyrs were venerated in Madrilenian churches in the first half of the 17th century. In addition to them, a hundred and thirty two heads of saints were also venerated in several Madrilenian churches and convents.[88] Many of these had been donated by members of the royal family, and were deposited in royal foundations. The convent of the Descalzas Reales, where Empress Maria of Austria spent her final years and her daughter Margaret took religious vows, housed fifty heads of the 11,000 virgins, the head of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary and several others. These relics were kept in elaborately ornamented reliquary urns, which were in themselves important works of art.

Perhaps the most widely venerated relic of a saint in 17th century Madrid was the body of Saint Isidro, which up to 1656 was housed in a silver urn in the parish church of San Andrés, where the saint himself had been a parishioner in the early 12th century.[89] San Andrés was one of the oldest churches in the city, and had been a royal chapel in medieval times. Legend had it that after dying, Saint Isidro appeared in a vision to a friend, and asked to be removed from the cemetery of San Andrés, where he was buried, to the inside of the church. In 1656 the parish church collapsed, and a new building was erected, with a separate chapel for the body of Saint Isidro. The chapel was a domed structure, with frescos by Francisco Rizi and Juan Carreño de Miranda, and decorated in rich materials such as marble and jasper. It was financed by contributions from all the towns in the kingdom of Castile, including its American possessions, which must be a measure of the level of devotion commanded by the saint, particularly after his

canonisation in 1622, which shall be studied in chapter 5. Isidro's body was finally transferred to the new chapel in 1669. Unfortunately the building was badly damaged in 1936.[90]

During the reign of John II of Castile (1406-1454), after a period of persistent plague, each parish church in Madrid made a special vow to a particular saint, ostensibly hoping that the saints would act as advocates before God and 'placate His ire'. The saint's feast day was celebrated annually with a solemn procession. For instance, the church of San Luis Obispo de Tolosa had an image of him, which was taken on procession around the church every year on his feast day.[91] Similarly, the parish church of Santos Justo y Pastor, which had made a vow to Saint Peter, took an image of the saint on procession to the church of San Pedro on his feast day.[92]

There were several images of saints in Madrilenian churches and convents which were considered to be 'miraculous'. The convent of the Descalzas Reales housed a miraculous image of Saint Anthony of Padua, still extant and of unusual iconography. The image, a 16th century sculpture by an unknown artist, portrayed the saint as an older man, with a beard and a more mature face, holding the Infant Christ, who was sitting on a book on the saint's right arm (fig. 1.6.) The image is very different in iconographic terms from the usual images of Saint Anthony of Padua, which depicted the saint as a young man without a beard.[93] According to legend, the sculpture was commissioned by the Master of the Order of Montesa at the behest of Fray Nicolás Factor. The latter, a confessor to the nuns of the Descalzas Reales, had a vision of Saint Anthony of Padua, who requested that the friar had an image made of him in the guise in which he had seen him in the

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88 Quintana 1980, f. 445r.
89 García Gutiérrez and Martínez Carbajo 1994, p. 73.
90 García Gutiérrez and Martínez Carbajo 1994, pp 77-79.
91 Quintana 1980, f. 64v.
92 Quintana 1980, f. 74v.
93 Ruiz Alcón 1987, p. 46

vision. Fray Nicolás made a drawing, which was reportedly the design on which the image was based.[94] It was believed that this image had spoken to several nuns.

An image of Mary Magdalene in a shrine in the orchard of the Descalzas Reales was supposed to have guarded the enclosed nature of the convent, by preventing a woman from entering the orchard through a hole in the wall.[95] The image is currently in a large glass urn in the chapter room, and has been attributed to Gregorio Fernández (fig. 1.9.)[96]

In the church of the Hospital of San Antonio de los Portugueses there was an image of its patron saint, Anthony of Padua, which was believed to be very effective as an intercessor before God. The faithful used to bring petitions to the saint, which they would place inside the sleeves of his Franciscan habit, removing them when the wish was granted.[97] The altarpiece of the church was renovated in 1633, and the sculptor Manuel Pereira was commissioned to make the new image of the titular saint, which is still extant. However, it is impossible to know to what extent Pereira followed the style and iconography of the previous image, since the latter does not exist any longer.

Clearly these 'miraculous' images were certainly influential upon the art of the period. For instance, there are some 16th and 17th century images of Saint Anthony of Padua which depict the saint with an unshaven face, as in the sculpture in the Descalzas Reales. A sculpture in the National Sculpture Museum in Valladolid, attributed to Juan de Juni, depicted the saint in this manner, although some iconographic aspects are different from the sculpture in the Descalzas Reales (fig. 1.7.) Fray Juan Rizi's depiction of the saint in Burgos Cathedral, painted ca. 1656-1659, also shows Saint Anthony with an unshaven

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94 Quintana 1980, f. 415r. and Ruiz Alcón 1987, p. 46.
95 Quintana 1980, f. 415 r.
96 Ruiz Alcón 1987, p. 86.
97 Quintana 1980, f. 450 v.

face, standing in an ordinary room, with the Child Christ in his arms, and probably the donor of the painting looking at the scene from the door (fig. 1.8.).[98]

The image of Mary Magdalene in the Descalzas Reales was one of many images of the saint with this iconography, depicting the saint dressed in a garment made of woven dry reeds.[99] This iconography continued to be used throughout the 17th century, as witnessed by the sculpture of the saint in the Prado, carved by Pedro de Mena in 1664, for the Jesuit Casa Profesa in Madrid (fig. 1.10.)[100] Unfortunately, it is difficult to ascertain whether the popularity of the iconography had any connection with the fact that the Magdalene in the Descalzas Reales was supposed to be a miraculous image, since contemporary *relaciones* –i.e., accounts of extraordinary events or religious festivities- make no reference to other miracles connected to this image. More likely, the success of the image was due to its profound emotional appeal, and the successful combination of aesthetic and devotional values.

At no time was the social function of votive images in 17th century Madrid more evident than in 1631, when on July 7th, at 2 a.m. the Plaza Mayor caught fire. At the time the Plaza was both a commercial and a residential area, and the fire spread so rapidly that very little could be saved. According to an anonymous chronicler, all the convents, monasteries and parish churches of the city went with their religious images to the area of the fire, setting up temporary shrines on the streets with their most revered images.[101] The parish churches of San Miguel, San Ginés and Santa Cruz each brought the Holy Sacrament, and placed it on street altars; the monastery of La Victoria brought Becerra's *Virgen de la Soledad* on procession; the Dominican College of Santo Tomás brought the

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98 Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1983, Plate 288.

99 A similar image of Mary Magdalene exists in the church of San Miguel, in Valladolid, which according to Martín González could have been a copy of an original by Gregorio Fernández, made for a Jesuit church. Martín González 1998, p. 215.

100 Arias Martínez 1995, p. 76.

Virgen de los Dolores and the monastery of Atocha the *Virgen de Atocha. Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* came from the monastery of La Merced; the parish of Santa María brought the *Virgen de la Almudena*, and the parish of San Sebastián the *Virgen de la Novena.* The body of Saint Isidro was brought from the parish of San Andrés and Saint Claudius's bones were brought from the monastery of the Holy Trinity, since July 7th was the feast day of his martyrdom.

Although the fire was devastating, with many dead and wounded and a large amount of property destroyed, the few cases in which people were rescued from burning buildings were attributed to divine intercession. For instance, a clergyman and an ordinary citizen were trying to rescue an image of the *Soledad* from a house on fire, when the floor collapsed under their feet and they fell four storeys, landing on their feet unscathed, which was attributed to the intercession of the Virgin.[102]

The fact that all these images were brought on procession to the Plaza Mayor while it was still on fire demonstrated the extent to which votive images were part of the Madrilenians' consciousness and everyday life. The images were thought to be as necessary –if not more so- as medical assistance or water to quell the fire. How this fact influenced the way in which artists created religious artworks will be discussed in subsequent chapters in this dissertation.

This survey of the most popular votive images of 17th century Madrid was aimed at tracing the connections between Madrid churches and certain votive images. It also intended to establish the relationships between nobility –including the royal family- and religious institutions in the city, which will prove relevant for the study of religious commissions in 17th century Madrid.

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[101] Relación incendio Plaza Mayor 1982, p. 406
[102] Relación incendio Plaza Mayor 1982, p. 407.

Even though earlier iconographic models were often used to create religious images in 17th century Madrid, the great artists still managed to 'recreate' an iconography and make it their own. Pedro de Mena's image of the *Penitent Magdalene* was very clearly a copy of an earlier Castilian image, yet his skilful carving and the depth of emotion conveyed in the figure combined to create an image which successfully integrated aesthetic and devotional values, making this subject almost a trademark of the artist. In other words, whatever iconographic restrictions existed when creating a religious image, in the hands of a gifted artist they could become a source of inspiration rather than a reason for producing works of poor quality. Above all, what mattered was making the stylistic and aesthetic aspects of the image completely relevant to the iconography, so that they enhanced its devotional value.

This survey of votive images in 17th century Madrid reveals a number of patterns that influenced religious art created during this period. The most important of these was the fact that the popularity of a votive image was greatly enhanced, if not actively promoted, by royal or aristocratic patronage. The Virgins of the Almudena, Atocha, Gaspar Becerra's *Soledad*, and the *Virgen de los Dolores* were all patronised by the royal family. The royal patronage of the Virgin of Atocha attracted aristocratic families such as the Counts of Nieva to become patrons of chapels in the church of Atocha, no doubt as a means of expressing loyalty to the Crown. The success of images such as the *Virgen de los Remedios* was also due to aristocratic support, as was that of the *Cristo de Medinaceli.* This created a climate in which new religious images made in Madrid tended to be copies of earlier works that had particular significance for the Crown and the nobility at Court. They, in turn, were copied outside Madrid, which explains why certain iconographic types such as the *Cristo de la Victoria* and the *Cristo de Medinaceli* became so prevalent in 17th century Spanish art. It is perhaps worth remembering that processions and religious festivities, as

well as expressing devotion to particular images, were also opportunities for the nobility to demonstrate their power, by promoting devotions associated with their families, perhaps attracting the attention of the King through their funding of spectacular religious festivities, as will be explored further in the next section of this chapter.

III. PATRONAGE OF RELIGIOUS ART IN 17TH CENTURY MADRID.

The general view of Spanish religious art in the 17th century is that it was mostly commissioned by ecclesiastical patrons. In Jonathan Brown's words,

> "...the home market was confined mainly to an ecclesiastical clientele, which as ministers and guardians of the faith was bound to give precedence to content over form."[103]

Although this general view is to a large extent valid for religious art in 17th century Madrid, it is also, unfortunately, a simplification of the complex reality of art patronage during this period. Firstly, the statement homogenises the ecclesiastical clientele by labelling them simply as 'ministers and guardians of the faith.' In fact, the nature of ecclesiastical patronage of religious art in 17th century Spain is extremely varied, ranging from the poor parish priest in a remote village in Castile, to the wealthy bishops of aristocratic birth, whose artistic tastes would have been much more sophisticated.

In addition to this, the ecclesiastical clientele were not only 'guardians of the faith', solely concerned with the religious content of the art they commissioned. They were often closely involved with the aristocracy and the royal family, and completely immersed in the affairs of the world, partly because the high ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and of the religious orders were filled with members of the aristocracy. For instance, the first archbishop of Toledo of the 17th century was Cardinal Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, uncle of Philip III's favourite, the Duke of Lerma. His successor was the Cardenal

Infante Don Fernando, who was made a cardinal in 1619, aged ten.[104] Perhaps the clearest connection between the religious orders and the Spanish nobility was the Jesuit Order: Francisco de Borja, General of the Jesuits between 1565 and his death in 1572, was Duke of Gandía and the Duke of Lerma's grandfather. This connection with the Jesuit order was actively promoted by the Duke of Lerma, who founded the Jesuit 'Casa Profesa' in Madrid in 1617, established to provide a suitable resting place for the body of his beatified uncle.

These strong links between the church and the nobility add a further dimension to the religious art created during this period. In many cases, as well as embodying certain religious dogmas and having concrete devotional values, works of art also encompassed other functions, reflecting political allegiances and even acting as badges of identity for particular individuals or families. This was the case, for instance, of images of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic Soriano*, which were at the time identified with the Count-Duke of Olivares' Guzmán clan, as we shall see in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

There was little separation between the religious and the secular during this period of Spanish history, therefore it is a mistake to treat the religious art of the time as separate from the secular context in which it was created. The ecclesiastical clientele were often important power brokers and operated within a network of social and political allegiances in the secular world. As a consequence, although ecclesiastical patrons were naturally concerned with the devotional aspects of the religious art they commissioned, there were other political and social dimensions to religious comissions that need to be explored.

1. Royal Patronage of Religious Art in 17th century Madrid.

Royal patronage had enormous influence on religious art in 17th century Madrid, both in stylistic terms and in terms of subject matter. The crown founded convents, endowed

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[103] Brown 1998, p. 3.
[104] González Dávila 1623, pp. 117-118.

chapels and provided funds for church building. Philip II had been a keen patron of religious institutions in Madrid during the 16th century; contemporary chroniclers report that he was even involved in designing the ground plan for the convent of the Holy Trinity, founded in Madrid in 1562.[105] The convents of the Descalzas Reales and of the Encarnación were royal foundations, and this interest in religious patronage by the Spanish crown continued during the reign of Philip III.[106] According to the royal chronicler Gil González Dávila, Philip III donated over 9,000 ducats for the building of the convent of Discalced Carmelites of San Hermenegildo in Madrid. Philip IV also contributed royal funds to the building of several churches and convents, including the Comendadoras de Santiago, Las Maravillas, Caballero de Gracia, Montserrat and the Capuchin convent of La Paciencia de Cristo.[107] This royal involvement with religious institutions had direct consequences on the religious art of the period.

Royal convents tended to hire the most gifted artists of the period, often royal painters, to work for them. Although these commissions were, strictly speaking, ecclesiastical, royal patronage of these institutions meant that they could afford to hire prestigious artists. In the early part of the century, royal religious commissions contributed to the propagation in Castile of the Reform style of painting, brought by the Italian painters from El Escorial. Paintings such as Bartolomé Carducho's *Descent from the Cross* (fig. 1.11) for the convent of San Felipe el Real, his *Last Supper* for the Queen's oratory (fig. 1.12) or Vicente Carducho's various canvases for the royal convents of the Descalzas Reales and

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105 See González Dávila 1623, p. 251 and Quintana 1980, f. 418 r.

106 A clear example of royal patronage during Philip III's reign is Empress Maria of Austria's enormous legacy to the Jesuit order after her death in 1603, which provided the funds for the building of the Imperial College. See Simón Díaz 1952, pp. 33-40 for further information on this legacy.

107 See the royal secretary's Antonio de Contreras' letter to Philip IV on the subject of the number of religious institutions under royal patronage in 1655, Biblioteca Nacional, Mss. 6734, "Consultas del Consejo y Cámara de Castilla y de d. Antonio de Contreras....al rey Felipe IV, sobre diferentes asuntos": "V. Magd asido seruido en estos años pasados mandarme acuda a muchas obras de Piedad como son el Conuto de las Comendadoras de Santiago= la casa Yglesia y Retablo de nra señora de las Maravillas a la yglesia y conuto del Cauo de Gracia= y de la Yglea de Monsarate= y al conuto de la Paçiencia y la enfermeria y guerta que los faltaba= el entierro del rey don Pedro todo lo qual se ua haciendo. Monsarate y Las

the Encarnación, such as the *Annunciation* (fig. 1.13), must be considered as royal commissions, as they were created for royal institutions.[108] The work of these painters spread the Italian style of the Escorial painters throughout Castile, thus changing the course of Spanish painting. This change was the direct result of royal patronage of religious art.

In the later part of the century, works such as Francisco Ricci's *Virgin and Child with Sts. Philip and Francis*, painted in 1650 for the Capuchin convent of El Pardo, another royal foundation, introduced the High Baroque style into Spanish painting (fig. 1.14). Herrera the Younger's *Saint Hermengild*, painted in 1654 for the Carmelite convent of San Hermenegildo, further revolutionised painting in Madrid (fig. 1.15). Since Philip IV's birthday was on Saint Hermengild's feast day,[109] and we know that Philip III had contributed considerable funds to the building of the convent of San Hermenegildo, it is not far fetched to consider Herrera the Younger's work as the product of indirect royal patronage. In other words, some of the defining landmarks of 17th century painting in Madrid were created for royal convents, and must therefore be considered as royal commissions.

In terms of subject matter, royal patronage and devotional preferences also influenced religious art in Madrid greatly. A clear example of this is the Capuchin convent of La Paciencia and its image of the *Cristo de la Paciencia*, which will be studied in chapter 2 of this dissertation. Initially the cult of the desecrated image of the *Cristo de la Paciencia* was promoted by Philip IV's aunt Margarita de la Cruz, a nun in the convent of the Descalzas Reales.[110] Her religious zeal attracted the support of members of the aristocracy, who organised ceremonies of atonement, with the result that images of the Crucified Christ

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Marauillas estan acauadas pero con empeño considerable de los maestros…" Consultas del Consejo 1655, f. 158r.

108 Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, pp. 36-37; & 114-117.

109 García Gutiérrez and Martínez Carbajo 1994, p. 143.

110 Pulido Serrano 2000, chapter 3.

proliferated in Madrid after 1632, as reminders of the desecrated image. Eventually, a convent was built on the site of the alleged sacrilege, and Queen Isabel of Bourbon insisted on holding its patronage. Therefore the works of art commisioned for it, particularly the series of paintings by Ricci, Camilo, Francisco Fernández and Andrés de Vargas depicting the alleged desecration of the Christ, must be considered as the result of royal patronage, particularly since we know that the building project was closely supervised by royal secretary Don Antonio de Contreras.[111]

As well as through the patronage of religious institutions, royal influence on religious art in 17th century Madrid was also manifested in other ways. Royal tapestries were often displayed during public religious ceremonies, and members of the royal family contributed funds for the organisation of countless religious festivals.[112] As will be clear in chapter 5, which analyses the festivities for the canonisations of Saints Isidro, Teresa, Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier in 1622, religious institutions which enjoyed royal patronage built street altars and decorations emphasising this fact. The iconography of their altars included key elements which exalted the role of the Spanish monarchy as world-wide defenders of the Catholic faith..

In addition to this, royal support for a particular image usually meant that the work became instantly successful, and its iconography copied throughout Spain. This was the case, for instance, of Gregorio Fernández's image of the *Dead Christ* in the Capuchin convent of El Pardo (fig. 1.16), to which King Philip III was particularly devoted, thus popularising the iconograpy.[113] Similarly, Domingo de Rioja's *Cristo de la Victoria* was

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111 On Antonio de Contreras' involvement with the building of the convent of La Paciencia, see Pulido Serrano 2002, p. 317.

112 See, for instance, the royal family's involvement in the *octava* for the collocation of the image of Saint Dominic Soriano in the convent of Santo Domingo el Real, in Colocacion Santo Domingo Soriano 1638.

113 Although there were previous examples of images of the *Dead Christ* by Gregorio Fernández in the convents of Santa Clara in Lerma, and in the church of San Pablo in Valladolid, the Pardo Christ gave further impetus to the iconography. As a result, similar images were commissioned for the Jesuit Casa Profesa and the convents of the Encarnación and San Plácido in Madrid, the convents of Santa Clara in Medina de Pomar (Burgos), Santa Clara in Monforte de Lemos and Segovia Cathedral. Hernández Díaz, Martín González, and Pita Andrade 1982, pp. 261-263 & Martín González 1998, pp. 62-63.

greatly admired by Philip IV, which led to several copies of the image being carved not only in Madrid, but also in the rest of Spain.[114]

Overall, royal influence on religious art in 17th century Madrid was visible not only on direct commissions, but also on the use of images by different institutions during religious festivities, and on the popularity that certain images acquired through royal support, which in turn influenced aristocratic and ecclesiastic commissions of religious art.

2. Aristocrats and Courtiers as patrons of religious Art in 17th century Madrid.

Aristocratic patronage of religious institutions in 17th century Spain, which included commissioning religious art, reflected not only the personal devotion of individual aristocrats, but also more earthly interests. The Spanish nobility resorted to the organisation of religious festivities and to the foundation of private chapels in Madrid churches as a means of self-promotion, political advancement, and even political criticism of rival aristocratic factions. This trend can be traced back to the reign of Philip II, when the King decided that he would bring to Spain the relics of Spanish and other saints from foreign churches, which were at risk of attack from Protestant 'heretics'. In order to curry favour with the king, members of leading aristocratic families searched for relics, payed for lavish ceremonies transferring them to Spain, and even funded the building of special chapels to house the relics.[115]

In 17th century Spain, proximity to the king was a measure of royal favour; for this reason the high ranks of the aristocracy lived in Madrid to stay close to the King. Although they often chose to have their family burial chapels in their own estates, they also founded or became patrons of religious establishments in Madrid. A case in point is the Duke of

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[114] For the origins of this image and its sanctuary, see [Castillo 1849]; Hernández Perera 1952 and Cantera 1993.

Lerma, who was a patron of several religious institutions in Valladolid and Lerma, and had his burial chapel in the church of San Pablo in Valladolid. By commissioning Pompeo Leoni to create the bronze funerary sculptures of the Lerma family in the church of San Pablo, in Valladolid, emulating the royal funerary sculptures in El Escorial, the Duke of Lerma was making a political statement about his personal status at court. At the same time, he also founded in Madrid the Capuchin convent of San Antonio del Prado, the Jesuit Casa Profesa, and the Convent of Barefoot Trinitarians, later known as the Jesús de Medinaceli.

Often devotion and family glorification were virtually indistinguishable in aristocratic religious commissions. An example of this is the high altarpiece of the church of Discalced Hyeronymite nuns of the Corpus Christi, also known as Las Carboneras, founded by Beatriz Ramírez de Mendoza, Countess of Castellar, in 1607. The altarpiece was carved by Antón de Morales, and finished c. 1622 (fig. 1.17). It consisted of a central canvas of the *Last Supper* by Vicente Carducho flanked by the statues of Saints Jerome and John the Baptist, carved by Morales, and by two small paintings of the *Vision of Saint Teresa* and *Saint Francis and the Good Shepherd*, also by Carducho. The predella had a number of reliquaries with painted doors depicting various saints, and the attic was a large Calvary with the crucified Christ, the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist, also sculpted by Antón de Morales. The iconography of the piece was designed to reflect the liturgy which was carried out every Thursday in the church, known as the *Misa del Santísimo Sacramento* or *Misa del Milagro*, in which the Eucharist was shown to the faithful three times, in remembrance of the desecration of three holy hosts in the church of Saint Gudula, in Brussels. The liturgy had been brought back from Flanders by Doña Beatriz's uncle, Philip II's ambassador Don Bernardino de Mendoza, and was therefore associated with Doña Beatriz's family. By celebrating this liturgy in the church of which she was

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115 See, for instance, the Duke of Infantado's involvement in the repatriation of the relics of Santa Leocadia

patron, Doña Beatriz expressed her devotion to the Eucharist and at the same time honoured the memory of a family member. The works of art in the altarpiece also fulfilled this double function through their iconography, for instance by depicting saints whose names were common in Doña Beatriz's family, such as Saints Anne, Francis, Joseph and Lawrence. In this altarpiece, religious devotion was indistinguishable from familial glorification.[116]

During the reign of Philip IV, aristocratic families continued to found religious institutions in their own lands, as demonstrated by the examples of the Count of Monterrey, who founded the convent of Recollect Augustinian nuns in Salamanca in 1635 and decorated it with paintings by Jusepe de Ribera; and the Count Duke of Olivares, who founded the convent of Dominican nuns of Loeches, built by Alonso de Carbonel and with sculptures by Manuel Pereira. By doing this, they exported the religious art of the court to other areas of Castile, and often commissioned works that were influenced by royal tastes and devotions. For instance, the central image of the high altarpiece in the Count of Monterrey's convent in Salamanca was a painting of the Immaculate Conception by Jusepe Ribera. Philip IV was particularly devoted to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, therefore the aristocracy also supported the doctrine, and this was reflected in the religious art of the period.

The only religious institution founded by an aristocrat during the reign of Philip IV was the Dominican convent of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, founded by Don Octavio Centurión, Marquis of Monesterio and *mayordomo* to queen Isabel of Bourbon. The Marquis followed the tradition of adopting the royal tastes, by commissioning Manuel Pereira, who was the unofficial royal religious sculptor, to carve the famous image of the

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to Toledo in Martínez -Burgos García 1990, pp. 142-143.

116 Tovar Martín 1972. For a study of the iconography of the altarpiece, see Bustillo 2002.

Cristo del Perdón, polychromed by Francisco Camilo.[117] It is also quite likely that he commissioned a copy of Domingo de Rioja's *Cristo de la Victoria*, known as the *Cristo de los Dolores* (fig. 2.35), which could be seen in the funerary chapel of the marquises of Monesterio until 1936. Domingo de Rioja's version of the *Cristo de los Dolores* for the chapel of the V.O.T. was polychromed in 1643, in the same year as the foundation of the convent. Devotion to the *Cristo de la Victoria* must have been at its height then, and it is not surprising that the Marquis would have wished to have a copy in his church, particularly since Rioja's *Cristo de la Victoria* was greatly admired by King Philip IV.[118]

Although there were no other aristocratic religious foundations in Madrid during the reign of Philip IV, the aristocracy at court continued to patronise chapels and religious confraternities, and to favour particular religious images. For instance, the Count Duke of Olivares became the patron of the church of the Dominican convent of Santo Tomás in 1623, with the right to build a burial chapel in the presbytery. This never happened, as he eventually founded the Dominican convent of Loeches, and transferred the family burials there. Nevertheless, the church of Santo Tomás was known throughout Philip IV's reign as a Guzmán foundation, which explains, for instance, the presence of an image of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* in the church since, as we shall see in chapter 3, the subject was also linked to the Guzmán family.

Aristocrats often supported the cult of certain religious images for political purposes, as was the case with the Almirante de Castilla, who became particularly involved with the cult of the *Cristo de la Paciencia* after 1632, participating in annual ceremonies of atonement and financing religious ceremonies connected with it, in a bid to stir political opposition against the Count-Duke of Olivares.

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[117] This sculpture was destroyed in 1936. A copy also attributed to Pereira survives in the palace of the Marquis of Comillas, in Comillas, Santander. Gómez Moreno 1963, p. 114.
[118] Hernández Perera 1952, p. 282.

Non-aristocratic courtiers followed the example of the nobility in their approach to religious patronage, and also founded religious institutions in Madrid which held their family burials. One of the most prominent of these foundations during the reign of Philip IV was the Benedictine convent of San Plácido, founded in 1624 by the *Protonotario* of Aragón Don Jerónimo de Villanueva, an extemely influential courtier and collaborator of the Count-Duke of Olivares who had, nevertheless, no aristocratic title. The scandal involving accusations of heresy against the nuns in San Plácido, which also affected Don Jerónimo de Villanueva, is well documented and will not be entered into at present.[119] After the fall of the Count-Duke of Olivares in 1643, Villanueva was re-arrested by the Inquisition, and eventually died in Zaragoza in 1653. His nephew Don Jerónimo de Villanueva Fernández de Heredia inherited the patronage of the convent, and was responsible for building the church, which was designed by Fray Lorenzo de San Nicolás, and built between 1655 and 1658.[120] The decoration of the church was carried out by the most prominent artists of the period: there were frescoes by Francisco Ricci, the paintings on the altarpiece were by Claudio Coello, and the sculpture by Manuel Pereira.[121] The second don Jerónimo eventually became Marquis of Villalba, and permanent *regidor* of the city of Madrid. The church of San Plácido was decorated in a deliberately grandiose style, which would have been in keeping with Don Jerónimo's wish for ennoblement. By building and decorating a church like San Plácido, he was not only creating one of the most beautiful ensembles of Baroque art in Madrid; he was also accruing respectability through the project, which would have counter-acted any negative image the family may have had as a result of the first Don Jerónimo's disgrace after the fall of Olivares.

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119 Agulló Cobo 1975b.
120 Agulló Cobo 1975b, p. 41.
121 For the decoration of the churh of San Plácido, see Olaguer-Feliú y Alonso 1971, pp. 155-172; Agulló Cobo 1975b; and Sullivan 1986, pp. 118-125.

3. THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS AS PATRONS OF RELIGIOUS ART IN 17TH CENTURY MADRID.

Madrid became the capital of Spain in 1561. Before this, there was a moderate number of religious institutions in the city -a total of eleven convents before the beginning of Philip II's reign in 1556. After the establishment of the capital in the city, however, the religious orders flocked to Madrid, and by 1621 there were as many as forty-four convents, with nine more being founded during Philip IV's reign.[122] The orders sought royal or aristocratic patronage for their foundations, which would secure the survival of the new institutions. This meant there were often very close links between members of the aristocracy or the royal family and individual convents, and often the convents became involved in the political rivalries between the different factions at court, each showing allegiance to their own aristocratic patrons.[123]

In an effort to promote themselves and attract the much needed patronage for their convents, the orders lobbied for the canonisation of their members, published hagiographies of their founders and chronicles of their history, built lavish convents and churches, and decorated them with works of art that had a double function: they reminded the faithful of the order's virtues, and were also visually appealing enough to confer prestige on the patrons of the institution.

In Madrid, this self-promotion by the orders took many forms. The most visible was the organisation of festivities for the beatifications and canonisations of their founders and members, in which the entire city was decorated, and street altars were set up to glorify the saints. In 1622, Madrid saw festivities for the canonisations of Saint Isidro, Saint Teresa of Ávila, Saint Ignatius Loyola and Saint Francis Xavier. The decorations set up by the various religious orders for these festivities conveyed very concrete meanings about the orders and their place in the social structure of the city, which will be fully

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122 Guerra de la Vega 1996, pp. 3-7.

explored in chapter 5 below. The festivities also emphasised the close links between ecclesiastic and aristocratic patronage of religious art, as in many cases, the decoration of individual churches was funded by members of the aristocracy.

Another important form of self-promotion by the religious orders was the commissioning of cycles of paintings and series of engravings on the lives of their founders and the history of each order. These cycles acted as the visual equivalent of the written hagiographies and chronicles of the religious orders, promoting their values and historical achievements.[124] For instance, Juan de Mesa painted a series of sixteen paintings on the life of Ignatius Loyola and his foundation of the Jesuit Order c.1600, for a gallery of the Jesuit Imperial College in Madrid.[125] The series had enormous projection through the engravings designed by the Galle brothers in Antwerp, based on Mesa's paintings. The Jesuits also had painted cycles of martyrdoms and portrait galleries of Jesuit martyrs in their colleges in Italy and Spain, reproduced in series of engravings which circulated widely throughout Europe, and served as a reminder to believers of the order's sacrifices in the service of the Catholic Church.[126] They exercised an extremely tight control over their imagery, thus conveying a very specific image of their order that remained consistent throughout the 17th century, and became known not only in Europe, but also in Spanish America and Asia, through the painting cycles in the Jesuit convents in those continents.

Painting cycles depicting the history of the religious orders had a number of themes in common with the written chronicles that were also being produced in the seventeenth

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123 See, for instance, the close relationship between the Dominican convent of Santo Tomás in Madrid and its patron the Duke of Medina de las Torres, explored in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

124 For an early analysis of the role played by cycles of paintings in promoting the accomplishments of the religious orders, see Jonathan Brown's study of Zurbarán's paintings for the sacristy of the monastery of Guadalupe, in Brown 1978.

125 For this series, see below, chapter 5, p. 311.

126 On this subject, see Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 2002, which will be discussed in chapter 5.

Heaven to present a divinely created portrait of Saint Dominic to a monk in the convent of Soriano in Italy (fig. 3.1). This image became extremely popular, particularly in Madrid, from the 1620s, and was used as a means of demonstrating the Virgin Mary's approval for the Dominican order.[130] When the church of the Dominican convent of Santo Tomás de Aquino in Madrid burned down on the eve of the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, August 14th 1652, the locals believed that the fire was the Virgin's punishment for the Dominican rejection of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and subjected the friars to intense abuse.[131] Therefore when the new convent church was finished in 1656, the ceiling of the central nave had a very precise iconographic program with five paintings which exalted both the Dominican order and the Virgin Mary, as we shall see in chapter 3 below. In this manner, the Dominicans were using religious art as a means of conveying a very specific message.

Having provided an overview of the devotional trends and the manner in which religious images were used in Madrid during the reign of Philip IV, the present dissertation will procede to discuss five case studies of religious art in 17th century Madrid, organised according to the hyerarchical status of the patrons, from the King to the public institutions.[132] Chapter two will analyse two examples of religious art linked to royal patronage: the convent of La Paciencia de Cristo and Domingo de Rioja's image of the *Cristo de la Victoria*. The convent of La Paciencia is an example of direct royal patronage of a religious commission, and will explore the social and political circumstances that led to the foundation of the convent, and the role played by images of the *Cristo de la Paciencia*

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130 Although I have found no art historical sources linking the popularity of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* in Spain with the Immaculist controversy, the iconography was promoted at a time when the controversy was at its height. I believe, therefore, that promoting this image was the Dominican response to allegations that they were disrespectful to the Virgin by not accepting the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

131 See León Pinelo 1971, pp. 348-349, and discussion in chapter 3 below.

132 I am grateful to Dr. Peter Cherry for suggesting this hyerarchical organisation of the chapters.

in furthering the political aims of those who supported the devotion. The Cristo de la Victoria, while not a royal commission in the strict sense of the word, was greatly admired by Philip IV, who took it to the royal chapel, where it stayed for two years. The popularity of the iconography, with innumerable copies made all over Spain throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, led to the foundation of an Augustinian convent and sanctuary for the image, which eventually did attain royal patronage, as Queen Marianna of Austria is listed amongst those who made donations and paid for masses in the convent. Chapter three studies a commission by a minor nobleman: the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano founded by Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras, Marquis of La Lapilla and Secretary of Philip IV's *Despacho Universal.* The chapel is a clear example of a religious foundation which combined personal devotion with a political agenda designed to enhance the founder's status at court. Chapter four examines a monastic commission: the cycle of 56 paintings by Vicente Carducho for the monastery of El Paular, which comprises episodes from the life of Saint Bruno and the history of the Carthusian order. The study will analyse the different messages conveyed by the images to the Carthusians and to the ecclesiastic and secular viewers who may have had access to them, demonstrating that the series was devised to project a very concrete image of the Carthusian order. Finally, chapter five analyses the uses of religious images in public ceremonies, focusing particularly on the festivities for the canonisation of Saints Isidro, Teresa of Ávila, Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier.

The common thread for all these case studies is the conviction that the study of religious art in 17th century Spain requires a multi-disciplinary approach, in which iconographic and formal issues are related not only to the devotional context, but also to the political and social climate of the period in which the image was created.

CHAPTER 2

ROYAL PATRONAGE OF RELIGIOUS ART IN MADRID DURING PHILIP IV'S REIGN: THE CRISTO DE LA PACIENCIA AND THE CRISTO DE LA VICTORIA.

I. A CASE OF RELUCTANT ROYAL PATRONAGE?: THE CHURCH OF THE CAPUCHIN CONVENT OF LA PACIENCIA.

On July 4th 1632, an Auto de Fé took place in Madrid in which several Portuguese *converso* Christians of Jewish origin were burnt at the stake, accused of having desecrated an image of the Crucified Christ. The incident was alleged to have occurred in the house where they lived, in Madrid's Calle de las Infantas, and was supposed to have involved whipping and eventually burning an image of the Crucified Christ, which miraculously spoke to them and shed real blood. The reports of the desecration originated in the testimony of a six year old child, the son of one of the families who, by all accounts, was mentally handicapped. Despite this, the Toledo tribunal of the Inquisition chose to believe the testimony, and staged a most solemn Auto de Fé in which those guilty of the imputed crimes were punished, thus 'placating God's wrath' at the desecration, and giving rise to a new religious devotion in Madrid, that of the Cristo de la Paciencia. In fact, the Auto de Fé was only the start of a series of ceremonies of atonement which were then repeated annually, some of them lasting up to the nineteenth century.[1]

The house in the Calle de las Infantas had been razed to the ground, and the site of the desecration sprinkled with salt. Soon afterwards, an oratory was set up on the site, and later a small church in one of the neighbouring houses.[2] Directly after the Auto de Fé suggestions were made about the need to create a sanctuary on the site of the desecration, so that the events would never be forgotten. A special committee was set up

by King Philip IV to deal with the matter of building the sanctuary and eventually, after several delays, Queen Isabel founded a convent of Capuchin friars on the site in 1639, with the title of Convento de La Paciencia de Cristo [Convent of Christ's Patience]. The church for the sanctuary was finished in 1651.

The truth is that the Portuguese families accused of the crime were innocent victims, caught up in the political struggle against the King's favourite, the Count Duke of Olivares, opposed by certain sectors of the ecclesiastical authorities and the aristocracy at court.[3] The Count Duke, in a bid to improve the ailing finances of the Spanish crown, had granted privileges to and enlisted the aid of a group of Portuguese financiers throughout the 1620s, most of whom were of *converso* origin.[4] This supplied his opponents within the church and the aristocracy at court with the ammunition they required to launch a damaging political campaign against him, in which they questioned his allegiance to the Catholic Church.[5] Opposition was promoted under the guise of religious ceremonies in atonement for the desecration of an image of Christ by those very same Portuguese *conversos* that Olivares was encouraging to become involved in Spanish commercial and financial activities. Although indirectly, the intrigue surrounding the Cristo de la Paciencia did contribute to the eventual downfall of the Count Duke of Olivares in 1643.

The building of a sanctuary for the Cristo de la Paciencia was secretly but very effectively stalled by the Count Duke of Olivares and his circle, yet devotion to the Christ was long-lasting, and although nothing effectively happened until after the fall of Olivares, a church was eventually built between 1644 and 1651, decorated with images of the

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[1] For contemporary sources on the Auto de Fé, see Gomez de Mora 1632; Argüello 1632, AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1263, ff. 173r, - 193v.; and Soto Aguilar [1632], BN, Mss. 6751, ff. 53r. – 62v.

[2] See Argüello 1632, f. 62v. and Anguiano 1704, pp. 236-237.

[3] The political and social circumstances of the events are studied in depth in Pulido 2002.

[4] For Olivares financial policies and relationship with *conversos*, see esp. Caro Baroja 1962, vol. 2, chapters 2 & 3; Gutiérrez Nieto 1990 and Alpers 2001, chapters 3-6.

desecration. Ignacio Pulido has demonstrated that Olivares' opponents kept devotion to the Christ alive from 1632 through the creation of religious confraternities devoted to the desecrated Christ, constant processions, and annual religious ceremonies of remembrance and atonement.[6] Part of the support for these religious ceremonies came from royal quarters: the first *octava* of atonement was organised by the King's aunt, sister Margarita de la Cruz, who was a nun in the convent of the Descalzas Reales. It was followed by a special day of atonement in the royal chapel itself, and another *octava* in the royal convent of the Encarnación.[7] Queen Isabel insisted in holding the patronage of the convent and church that were to be built on the site of the desecration.[8] In addition to this, the confraternity of the Santísimo Cristo de las Injurias, based in the church of San Millán and founded in 1633 to commemorate the desecration of the Cristo de la Paciencia, had as its patrons King Philip IV and Queen Isabel, while its protectors were the Duke of Alba and his son the Condestable de Navarra.[9] The convent of La Paciencia de Cristo was a royal foundation, and therefore the art works displayed in it must be considered as the result of royal patronage, although, as we shall see, the aristocracy also contributed to the eventual decoration of the church.

Although the historical, social and political circumstances of this event have already been examined in depth by scholars, one aspect of the episode has never been sufficiently studied: the crucial role played by religious images of the Cristo de la Paciencia in the preservation of this cult. Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, when discussing the images for the chapel of the Cristo de la Paciencia, rightly indicated the political dimension of the

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[5] The Count-Duke of Olivares' great-grandfather, Lope Conchillos, was also of *converso* origin. This fact may have been used by political opponents to question Olivares' loyalty to the Catholic Church, particularly at times when his financial policies were most controversial. See Alpers 2001, p. 46.

[6] See specially Paravicino 1633, section 7: "Memoria, antijudasímo y devoción religiosa."

[7] See Peña 1632, Gomez de Mora 1632, ff. 21v. - 24r. and Anguiano 1704, pp. 226-236.

[8] This was despite offers from the confraternity of San Pedro Mártir, who were intent on obtaining the patronage of the institution and had gathered considerable financial support for the building from its own members. See Paravicino 1633, pp. 277-279.

[9] Congregacion del Cristo de las Ynjurias 1721, f. 3 and Congregación del Cristo de las Injurias [1740], pp. 6-7.

images, as did Michael Scholz-Hänsel, who emphasised how the entire episode became accepted as real simply because there were images that depicted it.[10] Yet the manner in which images of the event kept the case alive from 1632 until the death of the Count Duke of Olivares in 1644, and the function played by those images in devotional life in Madrid during the second half of the 17th century has never been sufficiently studied. The present chapter aims to examine the role of paintings, engravings and sculptures of the Cristo de la Paciencia in the propagation of its devotion, within the context of the social and political circumstances in which they were created. The analysis will demonstrate that these images constituted an important part of the political strategy of the nobility against the Olivares regime; without them, the anti-Semitic -and therefore anti-Olivares message being conveyed would have been much less powerful. Yet just as the images helped reinforce the political message, the influences also operated in the opposite direction, and the episode in itself had a deep impact on artistic developments in Madrid and the rest of Spain during this period. As I shall demonstrate in the course of this chapter, there were other images of the suffering Christ created during this period which cannot be properly understood without reference to the episode of the Cristo de la Paciencia.

1. THE *CONVERSOS* OF THE CALLE DE LAS INFANTAS AND THEIR CONFESSIONS.

Episodes of supposed desecration of Crucifixes by *conversos* were nothing new in Spain. During the second half of the 16th century, when persecution against judaizing *converso* Christians was at its height, the Inquisition dealt with many such cases in all regions of Spain. In an Auto de Fé in the town of Calahorra in 1546, two men were condemned for insulting and behaving indecently before two images of the Crucified Christ and of the Virgin. Later in the century, the *converso* Christian Beatriz de Olivera was condemned in

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[10] See Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, p. 208, ill. 152; Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1983, pp. 367-368, no. 23, ill. 374; Pérez Sánchez 1986, p. 292, no. 129; and Scholz-Hänsel 1994, pp. 311-317.

Logroño for whipping, stabbing and eventually throwing a Crucifix into the river.[11] Yet these cases never acquired the prominence of the episode of the Cristo de la Paciencia; there were no shrines built for the desecrated images and the aristocracy failed to organise yearly *octavas* of atonement. All this changed, however, in the case of the Cristo de la Paciencia, mainly because certain sectors of the aristocracy were intent on using the episode to undermine the Olivares regime, and put in place a powerful propaganda machine that ensured the event was never far from peoples' religious consciousness.

According to father Mateo de Anguiano, the Capuchin friar from the convent of La Paciencia who provided the earliest description of the chapel of the Cristo de la Paciencia in a book published in 1704, there were four paintings in the chapel, which depicted the various episodes of desecration of the Christ according to the confessions of the *conversos* involved.[12] These confessions were obtained under duress, prompted by the testimony of the two youngest children of one of the accused, Miguel Rodríguez, who were questioned while their parents were in jail. The youngest, Andresillo (aged 6) declared that his parents used to hang a crucifix from the ceiling of the kitchen and thrash it with thorn branches, and that they used to burn it in the fire. When questioned about the veracity of these statements some months after the first testimony, he also added that when the Christ was being thrashed, He would speak, asking why they were ill treating him. This testimony was corroborated by his sister Ana, aged 12, who implicated her parents, sister and some neighbours, a total of eight people, in the acts of desecration.

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11 The two men condemned in Calahorra 'daban pugeses e higas al Santísimo Sacramento, mostrando sus partes vergonzosas a las imágenes del Crucifijo y de Nuestra Señora, por vituperio y escarnio.' Quoted in Reguera 1993, p. 256, which also refers to the case of Beatriz de Olivera.

12 Anguiano 1704, p. 300. Anguiano's statements are quite vague. Although on p. 300, he explained that there were four canvases that depicted five episodes, earlier on page 142 he stated that there were five paintings. This has created confusion, leading Ignacio Pulido to conclude, in my view incorrectly, that there was a fifth painting, now lost, probably by Francisco Rizi and depicting the Auto de Fé in which the conversos were condemned to the stake. See Pulido Serrano 2002, p. 329. This subject will be discussed later in the chapter.

Later on, through the forced confessions of the accused, it was also reported that the Christ had shed blood.[13]

Miguel Rodríguez and his wife Isabel Núñez were Portuguese *conversos* who had arrived in Madrid with their three children at the end of 1628. Miguel Rodríguez was a small-scale textile merchant who settled in Madrid after the 1626 royal edict which permitted Portuguese *conversos* to emigrate to Spain and settle there permanently.[14] The family found lodgings in a house owned by a clergyman in the Calle de las Infantas, in the parish of San Ginés, where other Portuguese families involved in the textile business were also living. The latter included Fernán Báez and his wife Leonor Rodríguez, and Beatriz Núñez, a widow who lived in the same house with two of her daughters, Violante and Victoria Méndez.[15]

The Inquisitorial process against these three families started in May 1629 with a denunciation by one of their neighbours, Juana de Silva, a *conversa* from the same region of Portugal in which the others originated, who reported them as secret Jews.[16] Although they were immediately arrested by the Inquisition, their process could have ended relatively safely, if they had confessed their heresy and repented. Although their property may have been confiscated, they would have come out of the process alive. This, however, became impossible when the testimony from Andresillo was deemed acceptable by the Toledo tribunal: the miraculous image of Christ, who 'spoke' and 'shed

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[13] See AHN, Inquisición, legajo 140, caja 2: "Declaraciones de Andresillo contra Miguel Rodríguez e Isabel Núñez," and legajo 140, caja 1, f. 6, quoted in Pulido Serrano 2002, pp. 134-147. The testimony from Andresillo was at first treated very sceptically by the Inquisitor Juan Dionisio de Portocarrero, who wrote in his report: "este muchacho es de poca razón y capacidad, como tontillo." Nevertheless, the testimony was forwarded to the tribunal of the Inquisition in Toledo, where the accused were being held. When the documentation reached the Inquisitor Cristóbal de Ibarra, who was a noted opponent of the Count Duke of Olivares together with the then Inquisitor General, Cardinal Zapata, it was decided to admit it and use it to accuse the Portuguese *converso* Miguel Rodríguez. See Pulido Serrano 2002, p. 137. For the eight Inquisitorial processes, see AHN, Inq. Legajo 140, No. 4-158: "Cristo de la Paciencia. 8 causas conocidas con dicho nombre contra varios Iudios que maltrataron y ultrajaron un Santo Cristo (1630 a 1633)." I have consulted the photocopy of this report which exists in the Archivo Provincial de Capuchinos de Castilla, ref. 3-2-23.

[14] Alpers 2001, p. 56.

[15] Pulido Serrano 2002, pp. 112-122.

[16] Pulido Serrano 2002, p. 124.

blood' when it was being desecrated, sealed the fate of the accused, as the alleged perpetrators of the desecration had to receive the most severe punishment, in order to atone for their sin. The fact that the testimony of a mentally handicapped child was accepted as evidence to convict the *conversos* from the Calle de las Infantas suggests that there were ulterior motives for their sentences. They had become pawns in a dangerous political game, about which they themselves were completely ignorant. In the event, of the eight people from the house in the Calle de las Infantas who had been arrested, five were condemned to the stake.[17] After their deaths, the prints and paintings of their reported sacrilege became the only manner in which they were remembered by posterity. The case of the Cristo de la Paciencia prepared the ground for the prosecutions of more influential Portuguese *conversos* living in Spain, such as the financier João Nunes Saraiva, who was arrested in Madrid in the summer of 1632, and finally tried in October 1637, having lost all his wealth and influence in the process. The proliferation of images of the Cristo de la Paciencia and its desecration after 1632 reinforced suspicions against Portuguese *conversos* in general; their influence went beyond the purely devotional, to incorporate clearly political issues.

2. THE POLITICS OF ATONEMENT: THE *OCTAVAS DE DESAGRAVIOS* AFTER THE AUTO DE FÉ OF 1632.

Soon after the Auto de Fé in July 4th 1632, the political nature of the sentence became even clearer. On Tuesday July 6th, the act of demolishing the houses in which the *conversos* had lived in the Calle de las Infantas was stage-managed by the Supreme Council of the Inquisition to become a particularly impressive ceremony, in which the Inquisitor of Toledo Don Cristóbal de Ibarra y Mendoza was accompanied by the Almirante de Castilla and the Duke of Medina de las Torres on horseback followed by numerous *familiares* of the Inquisition, the royal Guarda de los Alabarderos, and an army of masons

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[17] AHN, Inquisición, legajo 3105, caja 2: "Carta del Tribunal de Toledo al Consejo de la Suprema. Toledo,

and craftsmen who set about demolishing the building.[18] Shortly after this, the main religious institutions of Madrid started celebrating *octavas* of atonement for the desecration. These consisted of processions and sermons that took place over eight days, in which the alleged sacrilege was described in lurid detail, often criticising the Count Duke of Olivares' policies towards Portuguese *converso* financiers. In all of these ceremonies, religious images played the crucial role of making the desecration become real, as they provided the apparent proof of what had allegedly happened.

The first of these *octavas de desagravios* [octaves of atonement] was organised by Philip IV's aunt, the Infanta Sor Margarita de la Cruz, in her convent of the Descalzas Reales. It started on Friday July 16th, feast of the Triumph of the Cross, less than two weeks after the Auto de Fé. A contemporary compilation of sermons preached during this *octava* starts with a very crude description of the sacrilege: "These perfidious [people] lived in the calle de las Infantas in Madrid, where they gathered to pursue their evil ways, and at night after supper they used to whip an image of the Crucified Christ, for their own enjoyment and to pass the time, and this they did many times, and they would drag him around the house, hang him from his feet and neck with a rope, and they would remove him from the Cross, and putting him through the flames they finally burned him. During these repeatedly iniquitous actions the Holy Christ spoke to them sometimes, saying 'Why do you ill treat me, if I am your God?' And when one of the evil ones replied: 'Because you are a piece of wood', the holy image started to shed blood."[19] The tenor of the above description was followed in most subsequent accounts of the episode.[20]

21-5-1632." Quoted in Pulido Serrano 2002, p. 153.

[18] Gomez de Mora 1632, f. 21r.

[19] Peña 1632, f. 1v.

[20] For similar descriptions of the supposed sacrilege, see Madrid Moncada 1644, f. 3r.; Palma 1636, f. 176, and Anguiano 1704, Libro primero.

Although contemporary chroniclers remarked on the Infanta Margarita's religious zeal on behalf of the Hapsburgs,[21] her actions were more likely governed by political interest regarding the Count Duke of Olivares' regime and his policies towards Portuguese *conversos*. Recent research indicates that Sor Margarita had links with two noted political enemies of Olivares: the papal nuncio Cesare Monti, and the Inquisitor General Cardinal Zapata, both of whom were bitterly opposed to several of Olivares' policies, including the granting Portuguese *conversos* the right to travel freely inside Spain or to manage the Crown's finances.[22] Organising this *octava* so soon after the Auto de Fé served to undermine Olivares' position on this matter before the King, particularly because the festivities were attended by the royal family, who would have been a captive audience for preachers promoting an increasingly antisemitic message. For instance, the Augustinian preacher Father Francisco Suárez demanded in his sermon of Tuesday 20th July that the King expelled 'the Hebraic nation' from the country.[23] Sor Margarita also stipulated in her will that an *octava de desagravios* to the Cristo de la Paciencia was to be celebrated annually in the Descalzas Reales, thus creating opportunities for anti-Olivares dissent on this subject to be aired from the pulpit of the convent regularly.[24]

Despite the clearly political reasons behind the promotion of the cult of the Cristo de la Paciencia, the public had to be won over to the cause through deep religious sentiment, and this was achieved by means of constant sermons and, more importantly, through images of the Christ and of the alleged desecration. Although there was no material evidence of the sacrilege that had taken place in the Calle de las Infantas, since the desecrated image of the Crucified Christ was said to have been burned to ashes, the

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21 See, for instance, Peña 1632, ff. 1v. - 2r.: "...a las afrentas desta santa Imagen consagraron sus queridas Esposas esta fiesta y octaua, mouidas de la deuocion de su Alteza, para que se vea que siempre la Fé de la Casa de Austria es aguila que mira de hito en hito al Sol de los misterios...";

22 Pulido Serrano 2002, part VI, chapter III: "El cardenal, la monja y el nuncio: fiesta de desagravio en la iglesia de las Reales Descalzas."

23 Peña 1632, f. 7v., cited in Pulido Serrano 2002, p. 235.

24 Palma 1636, f. 177r.

religious institutions used their own images of the Crucified Christ, as true embodiments of the desecrated image. It seems likely that at the time, the image of the Crucified Christ would have brought to the mind of the faithful the memory of the Cristo de la Paciencia; therefore, every Crucified Christ in every Madrid church had the potential to be metaphorically transformed into the desecrated image and demand ceremonies of atonement. Thus, for instance, an image such as Velázquez's *Crucified Christ* from the convent of San Plácido, now in the Prado (fig. 2.21), would have immediately brought to mind the Cristo de la Paciencia. Although Jonathan Brown speculated that the Christ may have been a token of penance by Don Jerónimo de Villanueva linked to the San Plácido scandal, in fact, it is more likely that, if Villanueva did commission this Christ, it was with the expectation that he would obtain the patronage of the convent of La Paciencia.[25] When this expectation failed, the Christ was sent instead to San Plácido. Unfortunately, there are no documents regarding this commission, therefore the above hypothesis must remain uncorroborated.[26]

The idea that any image of Christ could at this time symbolise the *Cristo de la Paciencia* is borne out by the engravings that accompanied *relaciones* of acts of atonement by the different institutions, which often simply showed a standard print of the Crucified Christ, with no particular attributes that identified it as the Cristo de la Paciencia. An example of this is Juan Antonio de la Peña's *relación* of the *octava de desagravios* at the Descalzas Reales, which simply shows a Christ crucified with three nails against an urban landscape (fig. 2.8).[27] It is also quite clear that all the religious images used during these ceremonies acquired a very precise devotional meaning, which can only be understood by analysing the ceremonial context in which they were shown.

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[25] See Brown 1986, p. 161. For Villanueva's interest in the patronage of the convent of La Paciencia, see Pulido Serrano 2002, p. 283.

[26] I wish to thank Father Alonso de Ceballos for discussing with me the possible relation of Velázquez's *Crucified Christ* with the Cristo de la Paciencia.

[27] Peña 1632, title page.

In the Descalzas Reales, the image displayed during the *octava de desagravios* was a Crucified Christ which had been donated to the convent by the Countess of Osorno over sixty years before, when two of her daughters professed as nuns in the convent, which had been carved in Valladolid.[28] The Crucifix, normally in a chapel near the choir, was moved to the high altar, where it was placed inside a large heart-shaped flower arrangement, which ended in two gilded flames. The entire arrangement must have looked similar to the Crucified Christ inside a heart of gilded flames which currently stands above the tomb of Mother Mariana of San José in the convent of the Encarnación (fig. 2.23).

For the procession on the final day of the *octava*, the square outside the convent was adorned with the tapestries of the *Conquest of Tunis* and Rubens' tapestries of the *Triumph of the Eucharist*, which were a gift from the regent of the Low Countries, Isabel Clara Eugenia, brought by Rubens to the convent in 1628.[29] The use of these tapestries strengthened both the political and theological points being made, as they represented the victory of the Catholic faith over paganism and heresy (such as the Portuguese *conversos* had shown in the case of the Cristo de la Paciencia), and an exaltation of the Eucharist as the body of Christ. Two street altars were also set up in the square, one outside the house of the Almirante de Castilla, and another at the church of San Martín. Unfortunately, no description of these survives. Nevertheless, it is significant that the Almirante, a declared enemy of Olivares, participated in the religious celebrations by setting up an altar.[30]

After this first *octava* in the Descalzas Reales, several other institutions organised ceremonies of atonement for the desecration of the Cristo de la Paciencia. The royal

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[28] Peña 1632, f. 2r.

[29] For a description of the decorations in the square of the Descalzas, see Peña 1632, f. 11v.

[30] For the circumstances that led to the rivalry between Olivares and the Almirante de Castilla, see Pulido Serrano 2002, pp. 195-196. The Almirante had also been in charge of carrying the banner of the

palace celebrated a special Day of Atonement on September 14th, which was also the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross.[31] The corridors of the palace were richly adorned for the procession, with four altars set up. In these altars, images of Christ which had existed before the 1632 Auto de Fé, took on the identity of the desecrated Cristo de la Paciencia, conveying a message of victory of the Catholic faith against the 'tide of heresy' that was threatening the Spanish empire.

For instance, the second altar, set up by the royal convent of the Encarnación on behalf of Prince Baltasar Carlos, had as its central image a Christ at the Column, almost certainly Gregorio Fernández's sculpture (fig. 2.24), surrounded by a multitude of reliquaries, crosses and candelabra. Although Fernández carved his Christ at the Column before the episode of the Cristo de la Paciencia,[32] the sculpture became a symbol of the desecrated Christ during this day of atonement. The image of Christ tied to the column after the flagellation, His body covered in bloody wounds, pitifully looking towards the viewer with His mouth open as if about to speak, would immediately have brought to mind the Cristo de la Paciencia's reported words: "Why do you whip me, if I am your true God?" Similarly, images of the Crucified Christ which belonged to the royal family also took on the identity of the Cristo de la Paciencia for this ceremony. The third altar, for instance, set up on behalf of Queen Isabel, had at its centre an image of the Crucified Christ with God the Father and the Holy Spirit above it, inscribed inside a fleur de lys which was surrounded by an oval of gilt rays. Below this were the letters IHS. The fourth altar, set up on behalf of the King, had a bronze Crucified Christ, larger than life-size, covered by

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Confraternity of San Pedro Mártir, of *familiares* of the Inquisition, on the day of the Auto de Fé, July 4th 1632.

[31] Although Philip IV should have been opposed to any ceremony which channelled opposition against the Count Duke of Olivares, he was also a deeply religious man, and may also have been influenced in his decision to hold this Day of Atonement by the advice of his aunt Sister Margarita de la Cruz. Nevertheless, the fact that he decided to have only one day of ceremonies, instead of an entire *octava*, might indicate a compromise between his religious duties and his political concerns.

[32] Possibly some time circa 1620. See Martín González 1998, p. 60.

a canopy adorned with precious stones and pearls.[33] On the steps leading up to the altar were silver vases with bouquets of flowers, and on the last step a reliquary ark with the head of Saint Margaret. A second ark with relics was placed on the altar itself. This multitude of relics served to underline the message of the martyrdom inflicted on the Cristo de la Paciencia by the *conversos* from the Calle de las Infantas. The corridor on which this altar stood was decorated with tapestries showing personifications of the seven planets and the elements over which each of them ruled, clearly as a metaphor for Philip IV's rule over the Catholic world.[34]

In the procession at the royal palace participated many political adversaries of the Count Duke of Olivares, who in these types of religious ceremonies had easier access to the King without the supervision of his *valido*. Amongst them were the Duke of Alba, the King's *mayordomo mayor*, his son the Condestable de Navarra, the Marquis of Velada, the Duke of Híjar, the Almirante de Castilla and Cardinal Zapata.[35]

After the Day of Atonement in the royal palace, the royal convent of the Encarnación also organised an *octava de desagravios* for the Cristo de la Paciencia, along similar lines as the ceremonies in the Descalzas Reales, and after that, many other religious institutions in Madrid and also in the rest of Spain carried out similar ceremonies.[36]

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[33] One wonders whether this larger-than-life-size bronze Crucifix could have been Pietro Tacca's work, now in the Sacristy of El Escorial. Tacca's Christ is documented in El Escorial at least from September 1648, when it was gilded, but had been made by at the latest 1642, when Baldinucci mentions it in reference to Giovanni Battista Crescenzi's work in the Royal Pantheon at El Escorial. It is also said that it was already in Spain by 1635, the year of Crescenzi's death, therefore there is a possibility that the Christ may have been in Madrid already in 1632, and used in the Day of Atonement organised in the royal palace. This idea can only be suggested as a hypothesis, for lack of documentary evidence to prove it. See Portela Sandoval 1994, pp. 220-221.

[34] Gomez de Mora 1632, f. 22v., quoted in Anguiano 1704, pp. 225-229.

[35] The Duke of Alba and his son had to leave the Court in 1634, after a strong confrontation with Olivares; the Marquis of Velada and the Almirante de Castilla were also expelled from the court in the same year, after refusing to raise armies for the defence of the realm; the Duke of Híjar's conspiracy finally brought about Olivares' fall in 1643. Ignacio Pulido points out that for some time certain aristocratic circles had pointedly refused to appear in public ceremonies with the King and Olivares, therefore this show of strength during the religious ceremonies for the Cristo de la Paciencia at the palace, as well as in the Descalzas Reales and in the Encarnación, must have had political aims. See Pulido Serrano 2002, p. 237.

[36] Palma 1636, f. 177r: "Terció luego el Real Conuento de la Encarnación, haziendo también solemnissima Octaua: y despues, con santa emulación, y Christiano espíritu se han ido, y van continuando en esta Corte, y en otras partes del mundo, los desagrauios de Christo, con admirable fervor."

In the spring of 1633, the confraternity of San Pedro Mártir, of *familiares* of the Inquisition, organised an *octava de desagravios* in Santo Domingo el Real in Madrid. Many members of the circles of opposition against Olivares in the court, such as the Almirante de Castilla and several Genoese bankers (who were badly affected by Olivares' decision to give charge of the Crown's finances to Portuguese *conversos*) had hastily joined the confraternity the previous June, just in time to march in the procession for the Auto de Fé.[37] Although members of Olivares' circle also joined the confraternity at this time, in an effort to neutralise the opposition, this *octava* in 1633 must be seen as a continuation of the efforts to galvanise opposition against Olivares under the guise of religious ceremonies to honour the Cristo de la Paciencia. The festivities involved the setting up of richly decorated street altars, some of them designed by Cosme Lotti, music from the royal chapel and even a poetry contest.[38] Most importantly, there were sermons by the most influential preachers of the Court, including the Trinitarian Father Hortensio Paravicino who, despite avoiding any obvert criticism of Olivares' policies, still showed his strong disaproval of the 'hombres de la Nacion', a contemporary euphemism which described Portuguese *conversos* of Jewish origin.[39]

The Congregación de San Pedro Mártir continued to organise yearly ceremonies of atonement for the desecration of the Cristo de la Paciencia at least until the end of the century,[40] as did the Descalzas Reales and the Congregación del Cristo de las Injurias.

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37 Pulido Serrano 2002, pp. 193-200.

38 Pulido Serrano 2002, p. 244-245. According to the account book of the Congregation for the year 1633, the festivities involved the setting up of street altars and viewing balconies at a cost of over 2,650 reales, and also set decorations by the royal designer Cosme Lotti, who received 1,600 reales from the Congregation in April 1633. The poetry contest took place on the final day of the *octava* and was attended by the king. See AHN, Inquisición, Libro 8, ff. 137v. - 147v.

39 See Paravicino 1633, cited in Pulido Serrano 2002, pp. 248-250.

40 See, for instance, AHN, Inquisición, Libro 8, f. 206r., in which the *mayordomos* of the congregation present the accounts for the year 1643-1644, having received 3,050 reales to spend on several festivities, including "los desagrabios ala S^{ma} ymaxen de xpto nro s^{r}." See also Congregación de San Pedro Mártir 1685, p. 56: "Ordenamos que se guarde, y cumpla el voto que tenemos hecho de celebrar fiesta a Christo Crucificado (en desagravios de los malos tratamientos, que a su Imagen hizieron en las casas, que oy son el convento Real de Capuchinos de la Paciencia, Miguel Rodríguez, y Isabel Nuñez Alvarez su muger, y otros judayzantes hereticos, condenados por el Santo Oficio el año passado de mil seiscientos y treinta y dos) en el dia tres de Mayo de cada año, que celebra la Iglesia la Invencion de la Santa Cruz..."

Because of this, the episode of the Cristo de la Paciencia cast its shadow over religious devotion not only in Madrid but in the rest of Spain throughout the 17th century, long after it had outgrown its usefulness as a political tool against the Olivares regime. These yearly ceremonies also implied a continued presence throughout the century in Madrid of images of Christ which directly or indirectly were connected with the Cristo de la Paciencia.[41]

3. The promotion of atonement: images of the Cristo de la Paciencia

Before discussing the manner in which images of the Cristo de la Paciencia were propagated throughout Spain and abroad, it is worth remembering that this was not the first desecrated Christ to which Madrilenians were devoted. Devotion to these types of images existed long before the episode of the Cristo de la Paciencia. The most popular of these was the Christ of the Shrine of Atocha, also known as the Cristo del Olivar or Cristo de la Oliva, allegedly desecrated by 'English heretics.'[42]

Earlier episodes of alleged desecration of images of Christ were a fertile ground for the development of the cult of the Cristo de la Paciencia. There was only a short step between believing in the desecration of the Cristo del Olivar and accepting that the family living in the Calle de las Infantas could have committed a similar sacrilege. Yet it was the propagation of devotional prints, and the building of a convent devoted to the Cristo de la Paciencia with paintings depicting the sacrilege, that provided the impetus for the devotion to grow. A crucial aspect of the religious propaganda campaign organised after 1632 was the fact that prints of the sacrilege against the Christ or of its image alone, sometimes loose and sometimes included in *relaciones* of the episode, were sent from Madrid to convents, churches and private individuals, not only in the rest of Spain, but

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41 The influence that this episode had on religious devotion of the 17th century can be gauged from the numerous *relaciones* published to commemorate ceremonies related to the Cristo de la Paciencia or its associated images. See, for instanceTroconiz y Lazcano [1664], Tineo de Morales 1674; Fernandez 1674; Letras Cristo Injurias 1688; Elogios poéticos 1693 and Compendio historico [c.1722]

42 Quintana 1980, f. 455r. For a discussion of this image, see above, chapter 1.

also abroad.[43] Very few of these loose prints survive, but there are illustrations in books of sermons and novenas which provide an insight into the type of images that were being propagated.

One of the earliest prints of the sacrilege was engraved by Juan de Courbes for the frontispiece of a book of sermons that were preached in the afternoons of Lent Sundays in 1634, and were meditations on the 'opprobrium during Christ's Passion, caused by the almost eternally ungrateful Hebraic nation.'[44] The frontispiece consists of two halves separated by the inscription dedicating the book to the Count Duke of Olivares (fig. 2.10). At the centre of the top half is the coat of arms of the Count Duke, flanked by the title inscription. In another version of this frontispiece, the upper half has four ovals with the title of the book and publication details, and a dedication to the Crucified Christ: "Dedicado al mesmo Iesus Cruçificado: mientras mas abatido mas ençalçado." There is no mention of the Count-Duke of Olivares (fig. 2.9). That one of the frontispieces dedicates the book to Olivares is a mark of the political nature of the Cristo de la Paciencia episode, given that at this very same time Olivares had placed the Crown's finances in the hands of Portuguese *conversos*, and the last thing he would have wanted was to be reminded of a religious scandal involving families of *converso* origin. Nevertheless, the author attempts to convince the Count-Duke of the perfidy of the judaizing *conversos*, and persuade him to change his policies.[45]

The lower half of the engraving is the same in both versions, and shows two men and two women engaged in whipping and dragging a Crucified Christ towards a flaming brazier. The man on the left has a rope over his shoulder, attached to the bottom of the cross. The two women have whips in their hands, and point with their fingers towards

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[43] Anguiano, p. 240: "Con motivo de la noticia de los ultrajes de la sagrada imagen, muchos piadosos se dedicaron a abrir laminillas de ella, otros formaron relaciones del suceso: unos en prosa y otros en verso, y los remitieron con estampas a otros países, con lo que se consiguió que andubiese muy viva la memoria de la pasión y muerte de nuestro Divino Redentor."

[44] Rojas Nieto 1634, title page. Catalogued in Matilla 1991, p. 117, no. 100.

the Christ. The man on the right is holding the cross with his right hand and has a whip in his left hand. The image of Christ shows a halo around the head, three nails and a philactery issuing from his mouth with the words 'Porque me açotais Siendo vuestro Dios.' ['Why do you whip me, if I am your God]. At the centre of the image is a round brazier, with flames and clouds of black smoke. What is curious about this print is that the engraver has failed to convey the fierce nature of the supposed attack on the Christ through the expressions of the figures. They are well dressed, mild-looking men and women, and their attitudes do not in fact correspond to the activity in which they are supposedly engaged. It is quite possible that the sources for these figures were prints of sixteenth-century costume, totally unrelated to the subject of the desecration.[46] Nevertheless, the images of Christ speaking and the flaming brazier were enough in themselves to clarify the subject matter of the print.

Courbes' image must have become emblematic, since the same print was used over a century later to illustrate the book of the Constitutions of the Congregación del Cristo de las Injurias from the church of San Millán, which was founded in 1633 to atone for the sacrilege against the Cristo de la Paciencia (fig. 2.11). When the church burned down in 1721, the images and books of the confraternity were destroyed, and the members were forced to order a copy of their constitutions from the royal archive in Simancas.[47] In 1740 they published an amended and expanded version of those constitutions; it was accompanied by a print which was identical to Juan de Courbes' image, with the plate altered to incorporate a cartouche with a Crucified Christ on the top half.[48] This suggests that the confraternity could have owned the plate, and re-used it in 1740. Although there

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[45] Matilla 1991, pp. 48-50.

[46] In fact, the clothing of the figures looks similar to English costume in Elizabethan England. One wonders whether the source for this print could have been an image of the desecration of the Cristo del Olivar in 1564, which was also whipped, supposedly by English heretics. I have been unable to find such an engraving, therefore this idea must remain a conjecture.

[47] Archivo de la Parroquia de San Justo y Pastor, Libro de cosas notables de la Yglª, f. 35r.: "Yncendio de la Yglesia de San Millan;" Congregacion del Cristo de las Ynjurias 1721. [BHM, Mss. MO-50]

[48] Congregación del Cristo de las Injurias [1740]

were very good engravers in eighteenth century Madrid, the Congregación del Cristo de las Injurias preferred to use a plate that was over a century old to accompany their new, expanded constitutions. Setting aside financial reasons, which may have played a part in this decision, perhaps the image had become so closely associated with the Cristo de la Paciencia and its confraternity of the Cristo de las Injurias, that the members of the confraternity preferred to maintain that continuity and include it in their constitutions.

Other prints connected with the Cristo de la Paciencia presented the Crucified Christ with attributes that identified him as the desecrated image. Some of these were loose prints, and others illustrated books of sermons and ceremonies organised by the confraternities and convents linked to this devotion. One anonymous loose print (fig. 2.12) shows the Crucified Christ in an altarpiece which has a set of curtains that have been withdrawn to reveal the image. A phylactery issues from the mouth of Christ with the words 'Porqve me maltratays siendo vuestro Dios verdadero.' [Why do you ill-treat me when I am your true God.] In the print the Christ's eyes are open and a halo surrounds his head. He has long straight hair, a crown of thorns and a loincloth gathered up on the right hand side of the image.[49] The cross consists of plain, flat planks, and it stands against a neutral background. At the top of the altarpiece are the coats of arms of Queen Isabel of Bourbon, flanked by the *Arma Christi*, and Franciscan emblems.[50] At the bottom of the altarpiece an inscription in a cartouche identifies the image as the 'Portrait of the Most Holy Cristo de la Paciencia of Madrid.' On either side of the cartouche are two scenes that represent the sacrileges allegedly perpetrated on the crucifix by the *conversos* from the Calle de las Infantas. The scene on the left shows four people, two men and two women, in the process of burning the crucifix in the brazier. Two of them are brandishing what look like thorn branches. Although this scene has some elements in

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[49] The long hair might indicate that the real image was fitted with a wig, as was common for miraculous images of Christ of this period in Spain.

common with Courbes' engraving from 1634, the poses of the figures are more aggressive, and the crucifix is lying on top of the brazier. The scene on the right shows the crucifix leaning against a tall desk, and four people brandishing thorn branches aggressively towards the image, while a man on the right seems to have a torch in his hand, and a little boy looks on. The latter is probably a reference to Andresillo, Miguel Rodríguez's son, whose testimony was used to condemn his parents and sisters.

The coats of arms at the top of the engraving indicate that it must be dated after 1639, when Queen Isabel founded the Capuchin convent of La Paciencia. It is difficult to say, however, whether the engraving reflects the manner in which the image hung in the church consecrated in 1651. The curtains seem to indicate this was the way in which the image was displayed. However, in this engraving the niche in which the Christ is displayed has a neutral background, although descriptions of the chapel of the Cristo de la Paciencia do not accord with this depiction. According to Anguiano, the Christ was in a painted altarpiece, in a closed *camarín*. At the top of the cross was a relic of the *lignum crucis*, and at the bottom a small sculpture of the Virgin of the Soledad.[51] Yet since Anguiano was writing in 1704, it is possible that the arrangement of the altar could have changed since 1651. On the other hand, we also know that the chapel and niche of the Christ had been painted by Matías de Torres, therefore it is unlikely that the background was plain.[52]

Another engraving of the Cristo de la Paciencia (fig. 2.13) illustrates a novena to the Christ, almost certainly written in the second half of the 18th century by the Capuchin

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[50] As we shall see later, Queen Isabel was the patroness of the Capuchin convent of La Paciencia, built on the site where the alleged desecration took place between 1644 and 1659.

[51] Anguiano 1704, p. 303: "El retablo del Santo Christo no es de talla, sino de perspectiva, dentro del qual está la Sagrada Imagen en su Camarín cerrado, por ser el mismo sitio de aquel espacio de suelo, adonde cayó la Sangre Milagrosa, y de donde se sacan los polvos que se dan por devocion, y reliquia a los fieles y enfermos, y con que ha hecho su Magestad innumerables milagros. En el remate de la Cruz, sobre su Santa Cabeza, ay un pedazo considerable del Lignum Crucis, en que nos redimió: y al pie de la misma Cruz, ay vna Imagen pequeña aunque muy devota de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, de talla."

[52] Palomino 1987, p. 374 and Bedat 1968, f. 34.

chronicler fray Francisco de Ajofrín (1719-1789).[53] Although the book was published in the 18th century, the naïve style of the woodcut, and stylistic features such as the simple decorative frame surrounding the image, the clumsy anatomy of the Christ, the phylactery issuing from His mouth, and the simple knot used in the loincloth, suggest that it was a seventeenth century print. The fact that it was used to illustrate an eighteenth century prayer book might indicate that the plate was owned by the convent of Capuchinos de la Paciencia itself, and reused over a century later in the same manner as the Congregación del Cristo de las Injurias re-used Juan de Courbes' print in their Constitutions. This practice of repeatedly using prints as illustrations for devotional books decades after they were first created is well documented, particularly in cases in which the religious community or confraternity itself owned the original plate.[54]

What is interesting about this particular print, however, is that it may show the manner in which the image of the Cristo de la Paciencia was originally displayed. Since according to Anguiano, the image was exhibited in a painted altarpiece, it is very likely that the background to the image would have shown an urban landscape with church spires and towers similar to the one depicted in this print. Seventeenth century images of the Crucified Christ were often placed against similar painted backgrounds, as was the case with the Crucified Christ in the Barrionuevo chapel in the church of San Ginés (fig. 2.22), and with Manuel Pereira's Cristo del Olivar (fig. 2.20).

Although the real image could not have had a phylactery issuing from its mouth, this would have been used in the woodcut as the identifying attribute of the Cristo de la Paciencia. Despite the simplicity of the image, features such as the long hair, the

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[53] [Ajofrín [n.d.]. The booklet, currently in the Archivo Provincial de Capuchinos de Castilla in Madrid, was published anonymously and has no date or place of publication. However, another copy is in existence in the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid, bound in a volume with other novenas, devotional and philosophical tracts. This bound volume has a handwritten note at the front identifying its owner as father Francisco de Ajofrín (O.F.M. Cap.), and the title page for the novena of the Cristo de la Paciencia also has a handwritten note, which strikes out the sentence "compuesta por un deuoto" and replaces it with "compuesta por Fray Francisco de Ajofrín". The authorship of the novena helps establish the approximate date of the publication, confirming that it was published in the 18th century.

phylactery, the three nails and the manner in which the cartouche with the letters INRI curls at the top of the Cross, make the Christ in this woodcut quite similar to the image in the 'Retrato de el SS° Christo de la Paciencia de Madrid.' This suggests that the basic images themselves must have been quite close to the original sculpture, while the surrounding ornamentation may or may not represent the original arrangement.[55]

The use of 17th century prints of the Christ of Patience in 18th century publications shows the extent of the popularity of these images. Given the fragility of the medium, it is quite likely that there were many more similar prints of the same type created to spread the devotion throughout the Spanish Empire in the 17th century, even though only these three have been located so far. Nevertheless, it is likely that the large scale production of these images was an important factor in the development of popular devotion to the Christ.

This popularity continued up to the 19th century, as demonstrated by two more engravings of the Christ of Patience from the 18th and early 19th centuries. The first of these (fig. 2.14) was engraved in 1779 by Bartolomé Vázquez, after a design by José Ramos.[56] It shows the image of the Cristo de la Paciencia standing on a podium, at the feet of which are three kneeling Capuchins. Two of these have inscriptions identifying them as Saint Serafín de Montegranaro and Saint Felix Cantalicio. The Crucified Christ is surrounded by clouds and winged cherubs. At the bottom of the image there is an inscription with the words "IMAG^{N} DEL SS^{MO} CHRISTO DELA PACIENCIA Vene.^{do} en el Conb.^{to} de PP.^{s} Capp.^{s} de este Nombre en Madrid." [Image of the Most Holy Christ of Patience venerated in the convent of Capuchin Fathers of this name in Madrid.] On either side of the inscription two cherubs hold oval shields depicting scenes of the sacrilege: one with the flagellation of the Christ, and another with the attempt to burn the

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[54] Carrete Parrondo 1990, p. xviii.

[55] The possible decoration of the niche in which the Christ was displayed will be discussed in greater detail in the next section of this chapter.

image. Above the inscription, another oval shield held up by laurel wreaths and crowned by a cross also shows another episode in which the image is being put through the fire. Although the general composition of the scenes is reminiscent of those included in the loose print of the "Retrato", they vary slightly in numbers of figures and poses.

A later print of the image of the Cristo de la Paciencia was designed by Mariano Maella and engraved by Manuel Salvador Carmona in 1803 (fig. 2.15).[57] In this engraving, a pair of curtains have opened to reveal the image of the Christ, also surrounded by swirling clouds and cherubs. At the foot of the Cross a frieze alternates short decorative pilasters with three ovals also showing the scenes of the sacrilege. A ribbon curls over the three ovals with the three sentences which the image was supposed to have spoken: "Porque me maltratais siendo vuestro Dios verdadero;" "O! hombres decidme que mal os he hecho yo para que me tratéis así;" and " Bueno está, basta que os he hecho yo para que así me azotéis." The first image from the left is similar in composition to Francisco Rizi's painting for the chapel, in which the Christ is shown hanging upside down and being whipped by a group of men and women. The number of figures, however, is smaller in the engraving, and their attitudes also vary greatly from the canvas. In the second scene, a Crucifix is lying on the fire, while also being whipped by four men and women. In the third scene, a Crucifix is also shown lying on the floor, being thrashed with thorn branches.

At the foot of the engraving, an inscription identifies the image as the 'SS. CHRISTO DE LA PACIENCIA Como se venera en la Real Capilla del Convento de PP. Capuchinos de esta Corte. Lo dedica á su venerable Comunidad el R. P. Guardian Fr. Fidel de Zarauz. El Emmo. Sr. Cardenal Patriarca de las Indias conçede 100 dias de Indulgencia rezando un credo ante esta estampa del santisimo Christo.' This inscription

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[56] See Arte y devoción 1990, p. 140, no. 138.

[57] Engraving from the Archivo Provincial de Capuchinos de Castilla, Convent of the Cristo de Medinaceli, Madrid. Reproduced in Carrocera 1973

explains in a nutshell the popularity of the Cristo de la Paciencia and of its images: the faithful could gain one hundred days of indulgence by saying the Credo before this print of the image. Although this particular engraving dates from 1803, it is quite likely that the indulgences had been granted long before that, by praying before earlier engravings of the Christ.

The fact that both Maella's and José Ramos' designs incorporated swirling clouds and winged cherubs in the background of the Christ's niche might indicate that at some point this was the actual decoration of the chapel, but we have no way of knowing whether this decoration was the original, painted by Matías de Torres, or it was re-decorated in the 18th century. The four engravings discussed above maintain a number of common features that give us a clear idea of what the image actually looked like. All four show a long-haired Christ crucified with three nails, and a cross made of flat planks of wood. Christ's head is leaning towards the right hand side, and the eyes look up.

As well as prints, there were also many paintings and sculptures created to commemorate the desecrated Christ, both in Madrid and in the rest of Spain and Spanish America. They were placed not only in churches and hermitages, but also in small oratories in the streets, and in private homes. In addition to this, there were several confraternities created in 1632 to honour the desecrated Christ, which also had their own images. The work of these confraternities in the promotion of the cult of the Cristo de la Paciencia was crucial. They took on the task of preserving the outrage by promoting a cult that had initially been started by the aristocracy, among the wider community.[58] Religious images had a fundamental role in this promotional exercise.

The first of these confraternities was the Cofradía del Santo Christo de los Desagravios, which was initially based in the convent of La Paciencia, and later moved to the church

of San Luis Obispo when the Capuchins decided that their activities were disturbing the peace of the community.[59] The confraternity was in charge of organising the feast of the Cristo de la Paciencia on July 4th. When they moved to the church of San Luis Obispo, they took as their new image a Crucified Christ donated by a believer. There is strong evidence that the image of the Cristo de los Desagravios survived until the 20th century, under a different title. An image known as the Cristo de la Fé, which was destroyed in 1936 during the fire in the church of San Luis Obispo, was said to have come from the church of the convent of La Paciencia after the latter was destroyed (fig. 2.17.)[60] The image was a dead Christ, therefore it cannot have been the one venerated in the chapel of the Cristo de La Paciencia. Quite likely, the Cristo de la Fé from the church of San Luis Obispo belonged to the confraternity of the Cristo de los Desagravios, initially based in the church of La Paciencia. A late 18th century engraving of the Cristo de los Desagravios by Manuel Alegre (1768-1815) has many common features with the Cristo de la Fé from San Luis Obispo (fig. 2.18.) It is a dead Christ, with a prominent crown of thorns, three nails, and His head leaning towards the left, just as the image of the Cristo de la Fé did. An inscription on the engraving promises one hundred days of indulgence to those who said the Credo or Our Father before the Christ or before prints of it.[61] This suggests that there may have been some miracle associated with the image, which would warrant the granting of indulgences to those who prayed before it.

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58 Pulido Serrano 2002, p. 293.

59 This confraternity had existed previously as the Cofradía de San Roque y María de la O. See Pulido Serrano 2002, p. 292.

60 Gómez Moreno 1963, p. 109 and fig. 85, citing Madoz.

61 Arte y devoción 1990, p. 137. The inscription identifies the image as the 'V.ro R.to del SSMO CHRISTO DE LOS DESAGRAVIOS, sacado de su original existente en la Iglesia Parroq.l de S. Luis Obispo, venerado por su antigua y Real Cofradía de S. Roque. El Emo. Cardenal de Cordova, Arzobispo de Toledo, concedio cien días de Indulgencia a todas las personas que rezaren un Credo ó Padre nro. ante la referida Imagn ó sus estampas rogando a Dios pr la extirpacn de las heregias, exaltacion de la Sta. Fée catolica, paz y concord.a entre los Principes Cristianos, y conversion de Pecadores." Curiously, it mentions the initial name of the confraternity, Cofradía de S. Roque, which preceded their later name of the Cofradía del Santo Cristo de los Desagravios.

According to Anguiano, the confraternity used to carry their image of the Cristo de los Desagravios in procession from the church of San Luis Obispo to the convent of La Paciencia on the Friday before Palm Sunday, placing it in a temporary altar on the presbytery. A sermon was preached before the image, and then the confraternity returned with the Christ to the church of San Luis Obispo.[62] This procession exemplifies the manner in which images of Christ were venerated in Madrid after the alleged profanation of the Cristo de la Paciencia. The Christ in the chapel of La Paciencia was considered as an archetype for all desecrated images of Christ; the images owned by the confraternities inherited the qualities and history of the archetype, and were forever linked to it.[63]

Another confraternity created to honour the desecrated image of the Cristo de la Paciencia was the Hermandad del Santo Christo de las Injurias, based in the church of San Millán and founded in 1632 by Gaspar Isidro de Argüello, secretary of the Council of the Inquisition.[64] Argüello had himself been involved in the legal process against the *conversos* of the Calle de las Infantas; he published a *relación* of the 1632 Auto de Fé;[65] and had participated in the *octava de desagravios* organised by the Confraternity of San Pedro Mártir in 1632. He commissioned an image of the Crucified Christ and founded the new confraternity with the aim of providing the means of honouring the desecrated Christ in his local parish of San Millán. He also financed the building of a chapel for the image.[66]

The confraternity of the Cristo de las Injurias also celebrated their feast day on July 4th, festivity of the Exaltation of the Cross. In addition to this, they carried out Miserere services on every Lent Wednesday, as well as organising an annual procession to the convent of La Paciencia in the early morning of Good Friday. They placed the Cristo de

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62 Anguiano 1704, pp. 277-279.

63 It is significant that three of the confraternities created in 1632 were founded by men who also belonged to the Real Congregación de Esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento, mentioned above, whose oratory housed the image of the Cristo del Olivar at least from 1647. Pulido Serrano 2002, pp. 292-296. The theme of atonement for desecrations of holy images truly defined devotional life in Madrid throughout the 17th century, and this was reflected in the images that were venerated.

64 Pulido Serrano 2002, p. 293.

65 Argüello 1632

las Injurias on a portable altar in the square outside the church, where a sermon on Christ's Passion was preached. At the end of the ceremony, the Capuchin monks from La Paciencia came out to bid farewell to the image, which returned to the high altar of the church of San Millán.[67]

Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing what the original image looked like. However, a very rough woodcut which illustrates the booklet with the lyrics of the music that was sung in the *octava* celebrated when the Christ was moved to a new altar in 1688, demonstrates the complete identification of the image of the Cristo de las Injurias from San Millán with that of the Cristo de la Paciencia.[68] The woodcut simply shows a Crucified Christ, with a phylactery issuing from his mouth with the words 'Por que me maltr^{ais} q. soi vuestro dios verdadero' [Why do you ill treat me if I am your true God] (fig. 2.16). A phylactery with these words was the attribute of the Cristo de la Paciencia, yet this woodcut demonstrates that subsequent images related to it were given the same attribute. The actual poems, in the form of romances, demonstrate the success of the propaganda campaign carried out after the 1632 Auto de Fé through sermons and images: fifty six years after the Auto, the episode of the desecration of the Cristo de la Paciencia was still alive in the minds of the faithful.[69]

Two more confraternities were created to honour the desecrated image, both with the common name of Cofradía del Santísimo Cristo de la Fé, one based in the parish church of San Sebastián and the other in the church of the Shod Trinitarians. The confraternity in the church of the Shod Trinitarians was also founded in 1632 by Bartolomé Fernández, a notary of the Inquisition, barrister in the Royal Councils, and member of the confraternity of San Pedro Mártir. Unfortunately, little is known about the image of

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[66] Alpers 2001, pp. 176-177.
[67] Anguiano 1704, pp. 279-280.
[68] Letras Cristo Injurias 1688.
[69] See, for instance, verses 13-16 of the first romance: "Bien sabeis, que en las Infantas/ os maltrató el vil Hebreo,/ y que vuestra Sacra Imagen,/ se quexó de sus excessos." Letras Cristo Injurias 1688, p. 2.

the Cristo de la Fé in this church or its cult, since no engravings of the image have been located. On the other hand, the Confraterniy of the Cristo de la Fé in the church of San Sebastián, founded by Juan Fernández Velasco, owned an image of Christ which became extremely popular, and it is possible to reconstruct what it looked like from 18th and 19th century prints. One of these, engraved in 1807 by Alejandro Blanco y Asensio and Angel Monasterio, shows a dead Christ nailed to the Cross by four nails, the drapery knotted on the right hand side and standing before a landscape background with rocky mountains and a view of castles, town walls and churches on the right (fig. 2.19). According to the inscription at the bottom of the image, 300 days of indulgence were granted to those who said a Credo before the image.[70]

Undoubtedly, there were many more images of the Crucified Christ produced after 1632 in connection with the Cristo de la Paciencia, which either have not come down to us, or have been divested of their devotional context in such a way as to prevent us from making the connection with the sacrilege. The persistence of the imagery was aided greatly by the building of a convent and church devoted to the Christ, with a chapel in which the different scenes of the alleged desecration were shown in four paintings, with an explanatory plaque that identified each of the episodes. The *octavas de desagravios* performed in the church of La Paciencia yearly up until the 19th century kept the cult alive in Madrid through a mixture of sermons, prayers and religious imagery.

4. The Capuchin convent of La Paciencia.

After the houses in the Calle de las Infantas were demolished and sprinkled with salt, a small oratory was set up on the site to honour the desecrated image of the Christ. Devotion to it was so strong, however, that it was soon felt that a church should be erected on the site. A royal Junta was set up for the purpose of finding the necessary funds and taking steps to commence the building. On July 12th 1632 King Philip IV

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[70] Arte y devoción 1990, p. 42, no. 40.

wrote a letter to the Duke of Medina de las Torres, President of the Supreme Council of Italy, asking the Council to find the financial means by which a church could be built on the site.[71] On October 21st 1632, after consultation with the Council of Italy, King Philip IV decreed that 10,000 ducats from the rents of the vacant archbishopric of Monreal, in Sicily, should be sent to Spain for the purpose of establishing this foundation. These would then be followed annually by 4,000 ducats from the same archbishopric, until there was enough capital to earn 2,000 ducats in yearly rent, which would support the foundation.[72] Yet despite this decree, the funds from the archbishopric of Monreal kept being delayed, mostly because there were other, more pressing business that necessitated funding. As late as 1639, the secretary Iñigo Aguirre was still reassuring the Junta's secretary Juan Valero Díaz that he was putting pressure on the right quarters so that the decree could be put into effect by the Council of Italy.[73]

The problem partly stemmed from the fact that the entire business had been left in the hands of Olivares' supporters. The Junta dealing with the matter was composed of trusted members of the Olivares clique, including Don Antonio de Contreras, the Marquis of Jodar Miguel Carvajal y Mejía, Pedro Pacheco and the Protonotario of Aragón Don Jerónimo de Villanueva, with Juan Valero Díaz as secretary. The composition of the Junta, together with the fact that the Council of Italy, whose president was Olivares' son-in-law, was entrusted with finding funds for the project, clearly indicates that the King had little inclination to support a project which undermined his *valido*, and was trying to delay the project while appearing to support it.[74]

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71 "...mi animo sea mouido a hazer en estas casas (donde nro. sr fue tan ofendido) una fundacion, conq. Sea alauado, venerado y seruido, para cuya execucion pensara ese Conso en los medios q. se podran hallar para sacar con q llevar a efecto este intento y medara quenta dellos luego." AGS, Secretaría Provincial de Sicilia, leg. 1343. Document referenced in Carrocera 1973, vol. 1, p. 152.

72 AGS, Secretaría Provincial de Sicilia, leg. 1343. The King to the Duke of Medina de las Torres, October 21st, 1632.

73 AGS, Secretaría Provincial de Sicilia, leg. 1343. Iñigo Aguirre to Juan Valero Díaz, November 2nd, 1639.

74 The King issued a consultation paper to the Consejo de la Cámara de Castilla on August 23rd, 1636, regarding the building of a church on the site of the desecration, and was advised that it was unnecessary. AHN, Consejos, Leg. 13,197, exp. 145: "Vease en el Consejo de la Cámara la consulta inclusa de una Junta

It is for this reason that the convent of La Paciencia should be considered as a case of reluctant royal patronage. On the other hand, Philip IV's wife, who was opposed to Olivares' policies, insisted on the project going ahead under her patronage and, eventually, imposed her will.

The Queen's wish to be patron of the church was used as an excuse to reject the proposal of the Confraternity of San Pedro Mártir of *familiares* of the Inquisition, who had offered to build a church dedicated to Christ's Passion on the site of the desecration out of their own funds, in exchange for the patronage of the foundation. This was a political victory for the Olivares camp, since the confraternity was a focus of political dissent, and their patronage of the new foundation would have granted them new opportunities to organise religious ceremonies in which disapproval of Olivares' policies could be expressed.

The Capuchin friar Juan de Monzón, chronicler of the Order and one of the first monks to occupy the convent of La Paciencia de Cristo, described in detail the process of foundation of the convent. According to Monzón, the Protonotario of Aragón Jerónimo de Villanueva was intent on obtaining the patronage of the church to be built on the site, and when it was denied to him, placed as many obstacles as he could to paralyse the foundation.[75] Eventually however, the economic problems were overcome and King Philip IV agreed to allow the foundation of a church and convent on the site, which would be occupied by the Capuchin order. Houses in the area were purchased from their original owners, including the site of the alleged profanation, on which a chapel was eventually built. It was decided that the Holy Eucharist and an image of the Crucified

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donde se ha tratado y trata de la fabrica de la iglesia donde halla de estar el cristo que fue azotado por los judios que fueron castigados en esta corte. Y consultareseme lo que se ofreciere y pareciere. En Madrid, a 23 de agosto de 1636. Al Arzobispo de Granada." On the margin of this consultation paper there is a handwritten note: "Consulta diciendo a su Mag^{d} que esto se puede escusar." Document cited in Pulido Serrano 2002, p. 285, note 51.

[75] Villanueva's patronage over the convent would have stifled the political opposition that could be expressed through ceremonies to honour the desecrated image if the foundation had been in the hands of Olivares' enemies .

Christ would be transferred in solemn procession to the new church on December 13th 1639, feast of Saint Lucy.[76]

At the front of the procession was once again that old political enemy of Olivares, the Almirante de Castilla, carrying the banner of the Inquisition, and accompanied by the Court's nobility, one hundred Capuchin friars carrying candles, and the musicians from the royal chapel. They were later joined by the friars from the royal convent of San Gil. The image of the Crucified Christ was carried by four friars and escorted by four pages of Cardinal Spinola. Ending the procession was Cardinal Spinola with the clergy of Madrid.[77]

The image of Christ carried in the procession, which became the titular image in the altar of the Cristo de la Paciencia, had an interesting past. It was originally donated to the Capuchin convent of El Pardo by the Duke of Lerma, and was carved in South America from a special paste made out of bamboo cane.[78] Anguiano described it as a 'live' Christ, larger than life-size. The image was miraculous, as it had reportedly spoken twice to the Capuchin friar Fray Cristóbal de Morentín. The first time the Christ spoke was at the Corpus Christi procession that took place during the Prince of Wales' visit to Madrid in 1623. The friar was concerned at the little adornment with which the Christ had been taken on procession, and the Christ told him that there would be a time when this image would be greatly venerated. The second occasion was in 1639, when the convent of La Paciencia was given to the Capuchin order, and the Christ told fray Cristóbal that the

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[76] Fray Juan de Monzón (O.F.M.Cap.), who died in 1648, was an eyewitness to all the events, and his testimony is therefore particularly valuable. In his account, Monzón emphasises the difficulties that had to be overcome for the foundation of the convent, and even for its survival afterwards: "Si assido esta fundacion de gran gloria a nro. s[r] por la veneracion que aquel sitio se a dado, y ala Religion de mucha honrra por la eleccion que los Reyes hicieron della, y comun aplauso de la Corte, assido no menos de mucho trabajo cuidado y solicitud, que como a dependido el acomodar el convento de personas tan grandes el despacho era dificultosso y assi en sus principios como hasta ora causa de no pequeño desasosiego a los Religiosos, siendo la falta del dinero muy grande..." [Monzón [before 1648], ff. 49v. -52r. For information on Monzón's manuscript, see Carrocera 1973, vol. 1, p. xx.

[77] [Monzón [before 1648], f. 51r.

[78] A 17th century Crucified Christ carved in this same material now exists in the convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid, in the chapel of the Annunciation. See Ruiz Alcón 1987, p. 42.

time had arrived when he would see the image venerated as he wished, in a place where the faithful could visit him frequently.[79]

The fact that this Christ had been a donation of the Duke of Lerma to the Capuchins is no coincidence. Although the Duke had died in 1625, the Sandoval family were still an important faction at court in 1639, even though the second duke had died without an heir in 1636. They were bitterly opposed to the Count-Duke of Olivares, whom they considered responsible for the fall in their family's fortunes, therefore the choice of this particular image of the Crucified Chist for the convent of La Paciencia must be seen as further proof of the political dimensions of the cult of this image. The Lerma family was involved in the devotion to the Cristo de la Paciencia throughout the 17th century. In 1664, for instance, the Duchess of Lerma paid for the festivities on one of the days of the *octava de desagravios* which the convent celebrated annually. Unfortunately the image seems to have disappeared when the convent was demolished in 1837.[80]

After 1639, the building of the church and convent of La Paciencia started to gather pace. Don Antonio de Contreras was made overseer of the building in April 1642, and the building work was given to Cristóbal de Aguilera on June 6th, 1643.[81]

According to Anguiano, the church was tidy and big enough to accommodate the faithful who visited the chapel of the Christ, but not beautiful.[82] It was a plain building, in the form of a cube, lacking all ornamentation, as befitted a Capuchin church.[83] It had tribunes on the upper storey, for the use of the nobility, and several chapels, the most important of which was the chapel of the Cristo de la Paciencia..

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[79] Anguiano 1704, pp. 315-316.
[80] The convent stood in the current Plaza de Vázque Mella. For information on the disappearance of the building, which was considered of little architectural merit, see Gaya Nuño 1961, p. 390; Ruiz Palomeque 1976, p. 104; and Gea Ortigas 1992, p. 26, no. 14.
[81] See AHPM, Prot. 5354, ff. 308r.-311v., which lists the conditions for the contract. Reproduced in its entirety in Barrio Moya 1981.
[82] Anguiano 1704, p. 298.
[83] Barrio Moya 1981, p. 191.

Anguiano describes the chapel in some detail, explaining that the altarpiece in which the Christ was displayed was painted, rather than carved, and that it was enclosed in a *camarín*, to protect the earth which had been covered in the blood shed by the Christ when it was being whipped. This dust was given to the believers as a relic of the desecrated image, and for this reason, the site was extremely precious.[84]

The Crucified Christ that came from the convent of El Pardo was, reportedly, quite plain. It was a live Christ, showing the moment in which He spoke to God the Father on the Cross, uttering the words 'Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me?' [My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?]. The fact that the image of Christ donated to the church of La Paciencia was alive has some significance, since the desecrated image allegedly spoke to its tormentors. The altar on the site of the desecration had to have an image that would remind the faithful of the sacrilege, therefore it had to be 'alive.'

The decoration in the altarpiece was by Matías de Torres, an expert in temporary decorations such as those created for the entry of Queen Marie Louise of Orleans into Madrid in 1680.[85] According to Palomino, Torres specialised in 'altares de perspetivas', i.e. painted altarpieces with tromp l'oeil columns, sculptures and other decorative elements. This was exactly the expression used by Anguiano to describe the altar in the chapel of the Cristo de la Paciencia.[86] If the two engravings by José Ramos and Mariano Maella (figs. 2.14 & 2.15) were in any way faithful to the original image, then it is quite likely that the decoration in the niche for the Cristo de la Paciencia featured swirling clouds and winged cherubs, and perhaps even a tromp-l'oeil set of curtains, given that those also appeared in the engraving of the 'Retrato del SS° Christo de la Paciencia de Madrid' (fig. 2.12). In that case, the landscape background which appeared on the

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[84] Anguiano 1704, p. 303.
[85] Palomino 1987, p. 374; Bedat 1968, f. 34;
[86] Anguiano 1704, p. 303.

illustration in the Novena to the Christ of Patience (fig. 2.13) may simply have been imaginary, or perhaps corresponded to an earlier stage in the decoration of the chapel. Above the Cross there was a relic of the *lignum crucis*, and a small sculpture of Our Lady of Solitude could be seen at the foot of the Cross.[87] The latter would have been quite similar to José de Mora's small image of the same subject currently in the Museo Nacional de Escultura in Valladolid (fig. 2.25).

The chapel was rectangular in shape, and had on its walls four paintings depicting scenes of the desecration of the Cristo de la Paciencia by Francisco Camilo, Francisco Ricci, Francisco Fernández and Andrés de Vargas, two on each side.[88] At the entrance to the chapel there was a plaque with inscriptions describing each of the scenes.[89] Anguiano explained that, although the inscriptions described five scenes, including the Auto de Fé at which the sacrilege was punished, in fact there were only four paintings, two on each wall, and the fifth scene had been incorporated into the fourth painting which, according to the inscription, depicted the burning of the Crucifix. Confusingly, although this painting is indeed divided into two separate scenes, the second scene to the right depicts the moment when the image was broken into pieces and burned, instead of the punishment for the sacrilege. Unfortunately, the painting was itself destroyed during a

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[87] An image of the Virgin of Solitude was also paired with the Cristo de las Injurias, from the church of San Millán, and it may have been the case that the confraternity of Las Injurias wished to emulate the chapel of the church of La Paciencia by incorporating this image of the Virgin of Solitude to their chapel. The painting, found in Juan Carreño de Miranda's workshop after his death in 1685, was transferred to a specially erected altarpiece in the chapel of the Cristo de las Injurias at a solemn ceremony in the church of San Millán in July 1693. The image was used by Carreño as a model for his paintings of the Soledad, and was taken to San Millán by father José de Canalejas, from the royal convent of San Gil, who believed Carreño's image should be properly venerated. See Elogios poéticos 1693. This painting by Carreño has never been mentioned in the standard biographies of the painter, such as Palomino de Castro y Velasco 1988, Ceán Bermúdez 1800, Pérez Sánchez 1985, or Pérez Sánchez 1986. Unfortunately, it must have perished in the 1720 fire in the church of San Millán.

[88] Palomino, Felipe de Castro and Ponz believed the works to have been painted by Félix Castelo, Andrés de Vargas and Francisco Ricci. However, a painting from the series, deposited by the Prado in the Museo Victor Balaguer in Vilanova y Geltrú, is signed by Francisco Camilo. Another painting from the series deposited in the Ayuntamiento of Setados (Pontevedra), is signed by Francisco Fernández. None of them seems to be by the hand of Félix Castelo. See Palomino 1987, pp. 126, 223 & 265; Bedat 1968, f. 33; Ponz 1988, vol. 2, p. 145; Angulo Iñíguez 1959, pp. 96-97 & plate IV; Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, pp. 203 & 207 & plate 152; Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1983, p. 367-368 & plate 374; and Madrid 1994 1994, p. 90.

[89] For a transcript of the inscriptions, see Appendix 3.

fire in the Ayuntamiento of Porriño (Pontevedra), and the only extant photograph is very poor. There may have been a scene in the background to the right depicting the Auto de Fé through a window, but it is invisible in the photograph.

With the exception of the fifth scene described in the inscription, the four paintings correspond exactly to the scenes described. Francisco Camilo's painting (fig. 2.1) shows the first scene described, in which the heretics had the Crucifix hidden, hanging upside down from the chimney, and would take it out to whip it with cords and tree branches. Camilo shows us a man distributing cords and branches for the flagellation in the foreground, while the Crucifix is being lowered from the chimney in the background. All the characters (three men and seven women) are dressed in contemporary Spanish costume, with no physical features that could distinguish them as new Christians of Jewish origin. The woman sitting on the left foreground has the fingers of the left hand arranged in an insulting gesture called 'higas', and is facing in the direction of the Crucifix. This gesture alerts the viewer to the fact that a sacrilege is taking place, since the hand directs our gaze towards the scene in the background. The man behind her points with his index finger towards his eye, perhaps to indicate to the viewer to watch events in the background, or perhaps, within the context of the painting, to indicate to the others the need for vigilance, lest they be caught.

Despite the numerous figures and the difficulty of depicting such an event, Camilo successfully blended the foreground and background scenes, creating a dynamic composition that incorporated all the details essential to the narrative: a Crucifix prominently hanging upside down from the chimney, the instruments of the sacrilege, i.e. cords and tree branches, displayed on the floor in the foreground and in the background, and the required number of characters.[90]

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[90] In fact, all four paintings depict more characters than were actually punished for the sacrilege. The Inquisition record only speaks of eight people who took part in the sacrilege. See AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 140, no. 158.

Francisco Ricci's painting (fig. 2.2) corresponds to the second scene described in the inscription, in which the Crucifix hangs upside down from the ceiling, and is being whipped until it bleeds. Ricci's composition is more compact, as there was no need to depict two scenes at the same time. The number of figures changes to eleven, and he included a little girl, probably a reference to Ana Rodríguez, the twelve-year-old whose testimony helped to convict her parents and sister. Some of Ricci's characters, such as the old woman sitting on the wooden chest to the right, and the men in the group on the right, have prominent noses and chins. They are reminiscent of the caricatures of 'the Jew' which often appeared in images of Christ's passion, unlike Camilo's figures, which have no distinctive physical features to identify them as *conversos*. The darkness in Ricci's painting contributes to the feeling of menace that the picture conveys.

Francisco Fernández's canvas (fig. 2.3) depicts the third scene in the inscription, in which the *converso* men and women were dragging the Crucifix around and whipping it, when Christ spoke the words 'Porque me maltratais siendo vuestro Dios verdadero.' In the painting, the Crucifix is being dragged with cords by a man on the right, and held by an old woman kneeling on the ground and a tall bearded man standing on the left. There are ten characters in the painting, most of them brandishing thorn branches or cords. The painter included Christ's words in the painting, issuing in a diagonal line from Christ's body towards one of the men facing the viewer on the right hand side. At the centre of the composition, just above the Christ, is the figure of a young boy, perhaps a reference to Andresillo, whose testimony was paramount in the building up of the sacrilege case. Fernández's image is less successful in artistic terms than those of Camilo and Ricci, having borrowed certain aspects of his composition, such as the manner in which the Crucifix is being dragged, and the position of the feet of the man on the left, from Juan de Courbes' 1634 print (figs. 2.9 & 2.10) or, more likely, from the source of Courbes'

print, since Fernández's figures are in a reverse position to those in Courbes' image. Yet he still manages to convey the viciousness of the purported attack on the Crucifix.

Andrés de Vargas' painting (fig. 2.4), although awkwardly divided into two scenes, preserves a compositional clarity within each scene that makes it easy to understand the narrative. The scene on the left shows the first attempt at burning the Crucifix, which was unsuccessful because the fire would not destroy the image of Christ, hence the amazed expressions and hand gestures of the women kneeling by the brazier. The luminosity of the image indicates that a miracle is taking place. On the right, the Crucifix is being hacked into pieces, so that, once the image was unrecognisable as a Crucifix, the fire would destroy it. By contrast with the scene on the left, this second scene is darker and more menacing.

Regardless of their artistic quality, the four paintings were extremely successful as narrative scenes, even if the events were also explained in an inscription in the same chapel. The combination of the words of the inscription with the four paintings, made the alleged sacrilege into a reality for the faithful who visited the chapel. This can be clearly seen in the yearly sermons preached during the *octava de desagravios* to the Cristo de la Paciencia, in which often the preacher would point to the paintings as proof of the events, as if the mere fact that the episode had been depicted on canvas gave it reality.[91]

The painting in the high altar of the church of the Cristo de la Paciencia also encouraged the faithful to meditate on the sacrilege against the Christ. It was a large canvas of the *Disrobing of Christ*, by Francisco Ricci (figs 2.5 & 2.6). In it the figure of Christ, His hands bound behind His back, a rope around His neck, and His head bent down, looks particularly pitiful, surrounded by the cruel, distorted faces of the henchmen who are

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91 See, for instance, Cavallero de Isla 1659, f. 6v.: "Pero que después de muerto, despues de resucitado, quando viue impassible, aya buelto a derramar sangre, aya padecido en golfos de llamas la tormenta de vn incendio: bueluo a dezir que no lo entiendo! No? Pues buelue, buelue los ojos á aquel quadro, lee aquellas lineas, imprime con reuerencia en tu corazon a aquellos lastimados caracteres, que en ellos veras estampada esta profecia de Ezequiel."

disrobing Him and erecting the Cross in the background. The large size of the canvas (527 x 352 cm), together with its very impressive composition and handling of paint, must have made an enormous impact on the believers visiting the church, who would have considered the scene as mirroring the sacrilege allegedly carried out in the Calle de las Infantas.

The church of the Cristo de la Paciencia, with its four scenes of the desecration, its miraculous speaking Christ and the dust from the site of the desecration, sold as a relic to the faithful, served to preserve the cult of the desecrated Christ for over two centuries. This devotion was also aided by other images owned by confraternities connected to the Cristo de la Paciencia, and by prints and accounts of the sacrilege, sold not only in Spain, but also abroad. Although the devotion was initially backed mainly by the aristocracy as a means of political opposition to the regime of the Count-Duke of Olivares, it spread rapidly to the popular classes, and soon took on a religious significance that went beyond any political manipulation that may have been intended. This enormous influence of the Cristo de la Paciencia extended not only to devotional practices in 17th century Spain, but also to the religious images created during this period. Images of Christ other than Crucifixions or depictions of the desecration could also be linked directly to the episode of the Cristo de la Paciencia, as we shall see next.

II. THE CRISTO DE LA VICTORIA.

The *Cristo de la Victoria* is one of those images of Christ created in 17th century Madrid which can only be understood in the context of the religious climate which existed in the city after the alleged profanation of the Cristo de la Paciencia and the 1632 Auto de Fé. The image was carved by Domingo de Rioja, and is now in its own sanctuary at the convent of Recollect Augustinian nuns in the town of Serradilla, Cáceres. It shows a full-length Christ, His body covered in the wounds of the Passion, holding an upright cross which crushes the head of a snake, and stepping on a skull (fig. 2.26). The iconography seems to have originated in a Dominican friar's vision, in which Christ appeared to him in this manner, asking: 'What more could I have done for mankind?' The friar proceeded to commission an image of the vision, which was venerated in the church of his monastery of Atocha. The holy woman Francisca de Oviedo saw this image and decided to commission a copy of it, which became so famous that versions of it were soon created all over Spain.

1 FRANCISCA DE OVIEDO'S IMAGE.

In 1632, the holy woman Francisca de Oviedo was in Madrid, collecting funds for a hospital she intended to build in the town of Serradilla, in Cáceres. At this time there were processions in Madrid to atone for the profanation of the Cristo de la Paciencia; Francisca de Oviedo saw the Atocha Christ as it was carried on one of these processions. An image of this type would have been particularly appropriate in this devotional climate, as it reminded the faithful of the extent of Christ's sacrifice for humankind, moving them to atone for the profanation of the Cristo de la Paciencia. Francisca was so affected by this image of Christ that she decided to commission the sculptor Domingo de Rioja to carve a version of it for her hospital in Serradilla. The Cristo de la Victoria is, therefore, directly related to the cult of the Cristo de la Paciencia. The popularity of the image of the suffering Christ, with His body covered in bloody wounds, must be understood

within this context of atonement for the desecration of the Cristo de la Paciencia. Nevertheless, the Cristo de la Victoria soon became a subject of deep devotion in its own right, and its popularity spread rapidly throughout the rest of Spain.

Unfortunately, there are no contemporary descriptions of the Christ in the convent of Atocha, and therefore it is difficult to know whether Rioja's sculpture was close to the original.[92] Father Francisco Ignacio del Castillo in his *Principio y origen de la milagrosa imagen del Santísimo Cristo de la Victoria*, published in Madrid in 1675, mentions the Atocha image that Francisca de Oviedo saw on procession, calling it 'una imagen', without specifying whether it was a painting or a sculpture. However, the terminology he uses in connection with the image, such as the verb 'fabricar' instead of 'pintar' for the making of it, suggests that it may have been a sculpture.[93] In his modern study of the history of the Christ of Serradilla, Father Eugenio Cantera (O.S.A.) also believed that the original image in the convent of Atocha was a sculpture.[94] On the other hand Jesús Hernández Perera in his 1952 article about the image suggested that the possible source for Rioja's sculpture could be a painting of the Ecce Homo which stood on the main staircase of the convent of Atocha. Since Father Castillo's account specified that the image was in the *camarín* of Atocha, Hernández Perera's suggestion is probably mistaken.[95] An inquisitorial censure of a sculpted copy of the Cristo de la Victoria from the town of Tacoronte, in the Canary

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92 See, for instance, Quintana 1980, ff. 407v.-410v, which makes no mention of such an image.

93 [Castillo 1849, p. 10: "Asistió a la procesión Francisca de Oviedo, con gozo espiritual dando gracias al Eterno Padre de ver las honras que se hacian a su santisimo Hijo: y estando en este gozo, le llevó la devoción una imagen de Cristo bien nuestro que iva en la procesión, que está en el camarín del religiosísimo y real convento de N. S. de Atocha, que es tradición, la hizo hazer un santo religioso (bien se conoce por el suceso su virtud) del dicho convento, como se le habia aparecido en una vision. En pie con la cruz en las manos, la muerte, y serpiente a sus pies, todo llagado, todo lastimado, y derramando sangre por todas las heridas de su santísimo cuerpo, diciendole estas palabras ¿que mas pude hacer yo por los hombres? Causó tal devoción en el santo religioso esta visión, que hizo se fabricasen la imagen de Cristo Señor nuestro, según la había ideado, para que no le faltase a la vista lo que tenia impreso en el corazon."

94 Cantera 1993, p.18.

95 See Hernández Perera 1952, pp 267-286. All subsequent scholars who discuss Domingo de Rioja's image, such as Maria Elena Gómez Moreno, J. J. Martín González, and Alain Saint Saens, quote Hernandez Perera's account. Both Gómez Moreno and Saint Saens state that the friar's vision had been represented in a picture. Saint Saens draws important conclusions from this, stating that 'What is particularly original in this case is that the sculpture derived from a painting.....showing that sometimes sculpture could be envisioned as going further in the evocation of a theme.' See Saint-Saens 1995, p. 64.

Islands, mentions the existence of a similar image in the convent of Atocha, which suggests that the Atocha Christ must have been a sculpture.[96]

Father Castillo's account of the process by which Domingo de Rioja made the sculpture conveys the sense of the miraculous that seems to have been connected with this image from its creation. According to the writer, Rioja, having finished his sculpture, cried out: "This is not mine but God's work; and it will be known because His Divine Majesty will work many miracles through this image."[97] This phenomenon of the artist who recognised his art as the work of God had a well-established tradition in Spanish art of the 16th and 17th centuries. Similar legends were connected with sculptors Gaspar Becerra, Gregorio Fernandez, and Juan Martínez Montañés.[98]

The Cristo de la Victoria is striking because of its unusual iconography. On the one hand its subject matter is clearly Tridentine, as it focuses on Christ's suffering for mankind. As it now stands in its sanctuary of Serradilla, the image is usually seen frontally and from below. From this viewpoint, the main compositional lines of the sculpture are reinforced through its polychromy, which directs the spectator's gaze towards Christ's wounds and face (fig. 2.27). The long vertical bruise on the left upper arm and shoulder is parallel to the line of the Cross on the right, with the long knot on the Cross almost mirroring the wound on the arm. On the lower half of the left arm, the wound on the elbow is linked with the hand through a trickle of blood, which emphasises the arm across the chest. A diagonal line moving upwards links the wounds on the two knees and the right hand. The line then curves around the cross, and guides the viewer's eye towards Christ's face.

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96 AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 4432, exp. 17. Quoted by Pinto Crespo 1978-1979, pp. 34-35.

97 [Castillo 1849, p. 12: "Fue tal la ansia de la sierva de Dios por ver su imagen acabada, que un instante no se apartaba del madero que le habia señalado el escultor; el cual movido del cielo, viendo la asistente devoción de la beata fabricó su imagen tal, que él mismo dijo admirado, esta no es obra mia, sino es de Dios y se conocerá en que su Magestad por ests santa imagen ha de obrar muchos milagros."

98 See Palomino 1987, pp 17-22, 70-71 and 106-107 for accounts of the lives of Gaspar Becerra, Gregorio Fernández and Juan Martínez Montañés. See also Verdi Webster 1998, pp 3-4 for a discussion of Martínez Montañés's reaction to seeing his sculpture of the Christ of Passion in procession.

From below, the sad, veiled eyes and parted lips of the image seem to be addressing the viewer, almost as if speaking.

The Christ is also visible from close up, as a staircase behind the baldacchino allows the faithful to see the image from behind and, in times past, even to walk around it. At present, there are mirrors on either side of the Christ, which show the image in profile. In this profile view, the face looks almost classical, while also reminiscent of Dürer's engravings of the Man of Sorrows. From behind, the figure is bent over, the skin showing several deep wounds on the back and right hip, a criss-crossing of red cuts and welts and long vertical trickles of red paint. Through this marriage of carving and polychromy an image of enormous emotional impact was created, which conveyed the message of salvation through Christ's suffering in an extremely effective manner, characteristic of Counterreformation art.

At the same time the image is quite uncommon, as it combines two moments of the Passion which are normally presented independently from one another: Christ as Man of Sorrows and the Resurrected Christ, who triumphs over death and evil. The origins of this novel iconography were studied by Jesús Hernández Perera, who believed the image combined the medieval Man of Sorrows, which would have been well known in Spain through Dürer's engravings, and Michelangelo's *Christ holding the Cross* from Santa Maria sopra Minerva.[99] The latter would have been known in Spain through contemporary engravings such as that by Nicholas Beatrizet (fig. 2.46), or the frontispiece to the Spanish edition of the works of Ludovicus Blosius, published in 1598, which also reproduced Michelangelo's sculpture (fig. 2.47).[100]

The orthodoxy of religious images was of particular concern to the Catholic Church during the seventeenth century, as testified by the *constituciones sinodales* of numerous Spanish dioceses, in which constant reference is made to the need for images to follow

an agreed representational tradition, and to seeking the bishop's approval for new images.[101] Yet the original iconography of Domingo de Rioja's Cristo de la Victoria never raised criticism from the church authorities in Castile; in fact, it enjoyed royal and aristocratic approval from the moment of its creation. On the other hand, a copy of the image sent to the town of Tacoronte in the Canary Islands in 1662 drew the attention of the Inquisition for its unusual iconography, as we shall see shortly.

After Domingo de Rioja finished the Christ in 1635, Francisca de Oviedo was so taken with the sculpture that she exhibited it in the parish church of San Ginés.[102] According to Father Castillo, the image of the Cristo de la Victoria became so popular that Philip IV had it transferred to the royal palace, in order to be able to admire it personally.[103] The image stayed in the palace from 1635 to 1637, and was only returned to Francisca de Oviedo through the intervention of Don Diego de Castrejón, President of the Council of Castile. The royal coat of arms in silver now visible at the top of the cross of the Cristo de la Victoria was a gift from Philip IV. It is almost certain that the stay in the royal palace enhanced the popularity of the image, and that royal favour contributed to the proliferation of copies of the image in Madrid and elsewhere.[104]

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[99] Hernández Perera 1954, pp. 52-57.

[100] Blosio 1598, title page, mentioned in Carrete Parrondo, Checa Cremades, and Bozal 1988, p. 82.

[101] See, for instance, Rojas y Sandoval 1601, f. 11r. and Cardenal Infante Don Fernando 1622, ff. 9v. - 11r.

[102] The custom of exhibiting works of great artistic skill in churches so that they could be seen by the public seems to have been quite common in seventeenth century Madrid, indicating that there was an interest in the artistic quality of religious images. We know, for instance, that when he was only eighteen Francisco de Solís exhibited one of his paintings in the convent of La Paciencia in Madrid before it was sent to its final destination in the Capuchin convent of Villarrubia de los Ojos. King Philip IV saw the painting and commanded the artist to sign it and write his age on it. Palomino 1987, p. 260.

[103] During its time in Madrid the image in fact had no particular title. The first reference to the image as Cristo de la Victoria appears in the document of cession of the image by the town of Serradilla to the convent of Augustinian nuns, in 1657. In fact, this title was given to the Christ by the bishop of Plasencia, Diego de Arce y Reinoso, because of all the tribulations that had to be overcome in order to bring the image to Serradilla and have a sanctuary built there. See Cobos Sánchez 1997. This article was included in a special issue of a newspaper published in Serradilla, with a compilation of articles by local historians on the subject of the Cristo de la Victoria.

[104] [Castillo 1849], p. 13. Although Hernández Perera mentions that Domingo de Rioja made a copy of the Christ for the royal palace, there is no mention of this in father Castillo's account, and such a copy has never been found. Hernández Perera 1952, p. 278.

It took Francisca de Oviedo six years (from 1635 to 1641) to transfer the image from Madrid to Serradilla, via her hometown of Plasencia (Cáceres), where it arrived in late 1639, and was exhibited in the parish church of San Martín. By this time the image was reported to be miraculous and, according to Father Castillo, several more miracles were supposed to have occurred during its stay in Plasencia.[105] The Christ finally arrived in Serradilla in 1641, and it was initially placed in the parish church of the Asunción. Later, a small church was built with alms collected by Francisca de Oviedo, where the image was placed in 1648. Finally, a sanctuary and convent of Recollect Augustinian nuns was built in the town to honour the image, where it is now venerated.[106]

The process of building the sanctuary and Augustinian convent in Serradilla was in itself 'miraculous'. In 1648 sister Isabel de Jesús, a nun who for years had visions of the Cristo de la Victoria, died in the convent of Augustinian nuns of San Juan Bautista, in the town of Arenas de San Pedro (Ávila). In her visions, Christ prophesised that her convent would found another in the town of Serradilla, in which the Cristo de la Victoria would be venerated. After her death, another nun in the same convent, sister Isabel de la Madre de Dios, started having similar visions, in which Christ appeared to her in the guise of the Cristo de la Victoria, commanding her to found a sanctuary in Serradilla. Sister Isabel was so insistent about these visions, that finally her confessor father Ignacio del Castillo travelled to Serradilla and approached the local authorities about finding funds for a convent in the town which would serve as a sanctuary for the Christ. The local officials agreed to his request and, after overcoming several difficulties to obtain ecclesiastical and royal licence for the new foundation, the first Augustinian nuns moved into their convent in Serradilla in 1661.[107]

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105 [Castillo 1849], p. 14.
106 [Castillo 1849], pp. 19-50.
107 See Madre de Dios 1660, [Castillo 1849], pp. 28-50; Cantera 1993, pp. 33-41 and Tomé 1999, pp. 8-9.

The miraculous visions of Isabel de Jesús and Isabel de la Madre de Dios gave even more popularity to the image of the Cristo de la Victoria. It was reproduced in prints illustrating the life of Isabel de Jesús (fig. 2.41), and also in paintings such as the anonymous canvas in the convent of Serradilla (fig. 2.40).[108] After that, the popularity of the devotion increased steadily, and it is quite likely that these miraculous visions further encouraged the creation of copies of the Christ in others parts of Spain.[109]

The decoration of the sanctuary of the Cristo de la Victoria in Serradilla (fig. 2.29) was the result of this enormous popularity. The altarpieces were financed through a donation made by Mother María de Cristo, who used to be the wife of the royal secretary Pedro Jáuregui, and retired to the convent of Serradilla some years after the latter's death, in 1698, at the age of seventy six. The gilding of the altarpieces was carried out thanks to funds donated by prominent members of the court such as Queen Mariana of Austria, the Marquis of Canales and the Marquis of Monroy.[110] The Christ was placed in its new altar on September 13th 1705, and the festivities for the collocation were financed not only by the town of Serradilla and the convent of Augustinian nuns, but also by the Marquis of Monroy, the Duke of Béjar and the Marchioness of Canales.[111]

What is so extraordinary about Rioja's Cristo de la Victoria is that its artistic qualities seem to have been completely linked to the devotional value of the image. The sculpture was initially admired for its skilful, expressive carving, but almost immediately miracles were attributed to it. Its cult spread rapidly, and soon devotion to the image was reported

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[108] Prints of the Christ of Serradilla must have been popular by the 1650s, since Isabel de la Madre de Dios writes about one such print given to her by her confessor in December 1657: "Este mesmo dia [December 15th, 1657] reciui un retrato del santimo Xpto de la Seradilla que me enuio mi confessor y aunque no se me hiço de nuebo el uer asu Magd que me acuerdo que le ui de la misma manera quando me lleuo en espiritu aquella tierra aunque este esde papel y el otro parece de carne viua con su copia me alegre ynfinito." Madre de Dios 1660, f. 30v.

[109] Certainly the fact that the Christ of Tacoronte was donated to an Augustinian convent seems no coincidence, as we shall see later.

[110] The baldacchino for the Christ was carved between 1699 and 1701 by the Madrid *ensamblador* Francisco de la Torre, while the side altars were carved by José de Pomar and Juan de la Rosa, also from Madrid. For the documentation regarding the building of the altarpieces, see Cantera 1993, pp. 64-72.

[111] Cantera 1993, p. 66.

to have saved soldiers in Philip IV's army, for instance, during the siege of Olivenza in the war against Portugal.[112] The Christ's sanctuary received large donations from the court and the royal family. A brief glance at the list of benefactors who founded chaplaincies, gave donations for the building of the sanctuary and paid for masses to be said in honour of the Christ reveals influential names in the Spanish court, including the Count of Torrejón, the Marquis of Castel Rodrigo, the Duke of Alba, the Count of Oñate, several knights of Calatrava and even Queen Mariana of Austria.[113] Aristocratic support for the image must have contributed significantly to its popularity, encouraging the spread of its devotion. Just as the cult of the Cristo de la Paciencia was predominantly promoted by certain sections of the aristocracy at court, so the devotion to the Cristo de la Victoria was quickly taken up by the aristocracy, perhaps as a result of its stay in the royal palace. This guaranteed that, despite the remoteness of the sanctuary in Serradilla, there were regular donations to it and members of the court often attended the annual festivities to the Christ on September 14th.[114] As a result of this, copies of the Cristo de la Victoria and paintings based on it were soon commissioned all over Spain.

2 The Cristo de los Dolores in the chapel of the Third Order of Saint Francis in Madrid.

One of the best known versions of the *Cristo de la Victoria* in Madrid is the image of the *Cristo de los Dolores* in the chapel of the same name of the Third Order of the Franciscans or V.O.T. (fig. 2.30). This Christ was also carved by Domingo de Rioja, who was himself a member of the V.O.T. and had arranged to be buried in the chapel of the order in

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112 [Castillo 1849], pp. 53-54.
113 Cantera 1993, pp 98-103.
114 Among the members of the court and aristocrats who visited the Christ during its annual *romeria* in the seventeenth century Father Cantera lists the Count of Puerto and his wife, the Count of Oñate, the Count and Countess of Oropesa, the royal secretary Pedro de Jáuregui and his wife, and the royal secretary Francisco Suárez de Zúñiga, whose daughter became a nun in the convent of Serradilla. Many more donated alms, jewellery and religious images to the sanctuary. See Cantera 1993, pp. 96-104.

exchange for charging one third less of the original price for the image.[115] A female member of the V.O.T. in Madrid gave alms to pay for the image, and it was polychrome in 1643 by the painter Diego Rodríguez.[116] Since the first miracles connected to the Cristo de la Victoria occurred between 1639 and 1641, it is far from surprising that copies of the image were being commissioned circa 1643.

Since Domingo de Rioja himself carved the *Cristo de los Dolores* for the V.O.T., it is easy to see the reasons behind the commission: the confraternity would have been anxious to have Rioja, the same sculptor who created the Christ for Serradilla, and a brother in the confraternity, create an image which would attract similar devotion. The *Cristo de los Dolores* in the V.O.T. was initially a subsidiary image -the high altar of the old chapel was devoted to the Virgin of Las Viñas. Yet it was sufficiently important for the confraternity to decide in a meeting on July 12th 1643 to build a side altar for the image.[117] In 1659, the Archbishop of Toledo Don Baltasar de Moscoso granted one hundred days of indulgence to those who said the words "Lord, I sinned, have mercy upon me" before the Christ, as well as to those who attended the penitential exercises which took place nightly in the chapel.[118] The prominence that this decree gave to the *Cristo de los Dolores*

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115 AHP Madrid, Prot. 7465, f. 366r. 20-03-1654: "Quando la boluntad de dios nro. sr sea seruido de lleuarme desta prester bida mi cuerpo sea sepoltado con el auito de nro pe san franco de donde soy hermo Profeso en la capilla de los terceros que esta en el convento de nro pe san franco a los pies del sto xpto de los dolores que yo hiçe que ansi me lo prometieron la hermandad y hermo mayor quando le hiçe y por esta rraçon le hiçe un tercio menos de lo que balia..." Cited in Barrio Moya 1989, p. 45. The artistic quality of this image has always been underestimated, leading scholars to affirm that it was not by Rioja. See Hernández Perera 1952, p. 281: "Atribuirla ciertamente a Domingo de Rioja es rebajar las dotes y la celebridad del imaginero madrileño." See also Martín González 1998, p. 265 However, close inspection of both the Serradilla and the V.O.T. images reveals the superb quality of the carving in both, and anatomical similarities which could only have been created by the same hand, as corroborated in the documentation published by Barrio Moya.

116 Archivo de la V.O.T. Libro 1o de acuerdos desde 28 de diciembre de 1609 hasta 1o de henero de 1656. Libro 3o, f. 40 r.: "Dio qta en esta Junta [de 8 de marzo de 1643] el Pe fr. Gabriel martínez como sele estauan deuiendo a Diego Rodríguez Pintor mill y docientos Rs dela encarnacion y pintura de un sto xpo q. se yba haciendo y pa su hechura hauia dado una hermana cierta limosna = Acordose que se le paguen al susodicho dentro de seys meses. y para q. entregue esta hechura sele de certificaon de como laorden se obliga a pagarselos a este plaço." See also Castrillo 1918, p. 273.

117 Archivo de la V.O.T., Libro Primero de Acuerdos, Libro tercero, f. 46 v: "...que se aga altar para el santo christo de los Dolores cortando un poco del palo dela Cruz leuantando lo quese pudiere."

118 A print of the *Cristo de los Dolores* engraved by Marcos de Orozco and dated 1674, has the following inscription: "Milagrosa imagen del SSo Christo de los Dolores que esta en la Capilla de la Tercera Orden de nro. Pe San Francisco de Madrid. A concedido su Eminencia cien dias de Indulgencia a las personas q

explains why, when the order decided to build a new chapel in 1662, the Christ became the *imagen titular.*

Fortunately the chapel of the V.O.T. is still extant, virtually unchanged from when it was first built and decorated in the seventeenth century.[119] This allows us to view the Cristo de los Dolores in its original religious context, and to understand the devotional relationship between all the different artworks in the space. Although the chapel has been studied before, it is worth summarising the building's history here. The chapel was designed jointly by the Jesuit Father Francisco Bautista and the royal architect Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo, and built by the *maestros de obras* Marcos López and Luis Román.[120] The chapel has a basilical plan, with a single nave, a crossing covered by a dome and lantern, a presbytery, and sacristy. The decoration of the church is soberly classical, with rounded arches, pilasters in the Tuscan order, and geometric plaster mouldings throughout.

The most spectacular element in the chapel is the baldacchino-altarpiece, also designed by brother Francisco Bautista, and perfectly in consonance with the architecture of the chapel. It consists of a stepped marble and jasper pedestal in the shape of a Greek cross, carved by Baltasar González and Ignacio de Tapia, on which stands the main section of the altar, made of gilded and polychrome wood. This is a *tempietto* structure, designed around four round arches, each standing on the ends of the arms of the Greek cross. The arches are supported by pairs of composite columns and square pilasters, topped by an entablature. On the angles between the arches, the space is articulated by a lintel above the entablature. This *tempietto* structure is covered by a dome consisting exclusively of the

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devotamente digeren delante de esta Imagen Señor peque habed misericordia de mi y pidieren por la exaltacion de la Fee y paz entre los Princ^{s} Xpt^{s} y salud de sus Magestades."Archivo de la V. O. T., Libro Primero de Acuerdos. Engraving between libro 1 and libro 2, after f. 249v.

[119] Although there was a drastically misguided renovation of the chapel in the 1960s, it was soon returned to its original condition after a restoration campain carried out by Patrimonio Nacional. See Tormo 1979, p. 61.

[120] Castrillo 1918, pp. 273-274; Tormo 1979, pp. 58-61; and Errasti 1982, p. 9.

ribs which support the structure, decorated with mouldings, and leaving the space around them open. Equally, the lantern that tops the design is an octagonal structure consisting of eight hollowed-out planes, with Corinthian columns on either side. The dome in the baldacchino echoes that of the chapel itself. A figure of Faith crowns the altar.[121]

The openness of the baldacchino allows sunlight to filter inside the structure, providing better visibility for the image of the Cristo de los Dolores, housed inside it. Since there are no solid walls in it, the viewer can walk around the entire altar and see the Christ from different viewpoints, framed by the wooden pilasters, columns and mouldings that define the structure. This allows for surprising variety, as every time one changes position, the Christ is framed or shadowed by a different architectural element, making it seem as if it changed position, or even as if its expression also changed (figs. 26-30).

The niches on the crossing of the nave and presbytery house the sculptures of four Franciscan saints carved by Baltasar González: Saint Louis of France, Saint Roch, Saint Margaret of Cortona, and Saint Elizabeth of Portugal, polychromed by Juan de Villegas in 1666.[122]

The four large canvases that decorate the presbytery and the space under the dome of the chapel of the V.O.T. are the work of the painter Juan Martín Cabezalero, and represent four episodes from the Passion: the *Ecce Homo*, the *Fall on the way to Calvary*, the *Crucifixion*, and *Longinus wounding Christ on the side* (figs. 44--47). The paintings were commissioned in 1667, and Cabezalero was paid 1,550 *reales* for each. Although initially the subjects included the *Descent from the Cross*, this was later replaced by the *Fall on the way to Calvary*.[123] The canvases hang on the walls surrounding the baldacchino, in such a manner that they provide a narrative context to the devotional image of the *Cristo de los Dolores*. The viewer looks from one painting to the next, learning how Christ came to be

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121 Tovar Martín 1983, pp. 75-81; Cámara Muñoz and Camacho Valencia 1995, pp. 225-226;
122 See Castrillo 1918, p. 276 & Barrio Moya 1987, p. 146.
123 Alonso Anareta 1915, pp. 33-34.

in the state in which he appears in the baldacchino. Cabezalero's moving canvases, which combine the emotional qualities of Van Dyck's religious works with the painterly, sketchy brush technique of Venetian painting, create a sharp contrast with Domingo de Rioja's image. The latter, compared to the colourful variety and movement of the paintings, looks somehow more real, more pitiful, as if the viewer was having a true vision of the suffering Christ. The combined effect of paintings and sculpture was designed to elicit a deeply emotional response from the viewer, which would have been reinforced by the paintings on the nave of the chapel, also on subjects from the Passion of Christ, including the *Washing of the Feet*, *Prayer in the Garden*, *Christ before Caiaphas*, *Christ before Pilate*, the *Mocking of Christ*, and the *Flagellation.*[124]

Perhaps this devotional experience afforded by the images in the chapel contributed to the popularity of the Cristo de los Dolores, and could explain the fact that the Christ was considered miraculous by 1659, when the archbishop of Toledo granted 100 days of indulgence to those who prayed before the Christ. The implication of this privilege was that not only was the Cristo de la Victoria from Serradilla considered to be miraculous, but its copies also attained the same status. Since the V.O.T. had amongst its members prominent aristocrats and courtiers such as the Cardenal Infante, the Duke of Villahermosa or the Marquis of Villamayor, one wonders whether this contributed to the popularity of the *Cristo de los Dolores* in the chapel of the V.O.T. The devotional success of the V.O.T. image may also explain the proliferation of copies of this sculpture not only in Madrid but also in other regions of Spain.

For instance, another image of the Cristo de los Dolores exists in the church of the Hospital del Pozo Santo, in Seville. The hospital belongs to the V.O.T. of Saint Francis, and was founded in 1667, with the church built between 1669 and 1682. The image of the Cristo de los Dolores, dated circa 1680, stands on the high altar of the church, and

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124 The latter were almost certainly painted by another hand, possibly in the late 17th or early 18th centuries,

has been attributed to the circle of Pedro Roldán (fig. 2.38).[125] Since the image of the Cristo de los Dolores in the V.O.T. chapel in Madrid was installed in its baldacchino in May 1668 after a solemn ceremony, it is unsurprising that other V.O.T. confraternities in the rest of Spain would commission similar images after this date.[126]

A nineteenth century engraving by Luis Fernández Noseret reproduces another image with the iconography of the *Cristo de los Dolores*, with the inscription "Verdadero retrato del Cristo de los Afligidos, Patron de la V. Ordn. Tersera de Penitencia de N. S. P. S^{n} Francisco de la Villa de Zafra," (fig. 2.45).[127] This image was carved in the late 1700s, and belonged to the Third Order of the Franciscans in Zafra, who had a chapel in the convent of San Benito, founded in 1840. The image is now in the ante-sacristy of the parish church of La Candelaria, in the town of Zafra.[128]

These two images of the *Cristo de los Dolores* from V.O.T. institutions outside Madrid suggest that this particular iconography became associated with the Franciscan Third Order also in other areas of Spain. Consequently the V.O.T. in Madrid acted as a propagator of the iconography, quite possibly by means of religious prints such as Marcos de Orozco's in the archive of the V.O.T., sent to branches of the order in the rest of the country. As demonstrated by the Zafra image, the Cristo de los Dolores was still popular in the 19th century.

3 Other copies of the Cristo de la Victoria.

A sculpted version of the *Cristo de la Victoria* from the church of the Marquises of Monesterio, in Madrid, destroyed in 1936 (fig. 2.35), was heavily dependent on the *Cristo de los Dolores* from the chapel of the Third Order of the Franciscans. The image was a seventeenth century sculpture that could be seen in the church of the Dominican

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and badly re-painted in the 19th century. See Tormo 1915, pp. 110-111.

125 Gestoso y Pérez 1984, vol. 2, p. 367; Morales, *et al.* 1989, pp. 154-156; Ropero Alonso 1997, p. 22.

126 Errasti 1982, p. 9.

127 Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Inventario de Grabados, No. 51,094.

128 Ropero Alonso 1997, p. 21.

convent of the Rosary until the early years of the twentieth century.[129] The convent had been founded by Don Octavio Centurión, first Marquis of Monesterio, in 1643. In the early 20th century the same image could be seen in the burial crypt of the Marquis of Monesterio, in the church built by the Marchioness.

Another version of the same subject can be found in the church of San Jerónimo el Real, in Madrid (fig. 2.36) There is no documentation about this image, yet stylistically it must be dated towards the second half of the seventeenth century, particularly because of the Baroque sense of movement of Christ's loincloth. The carving is less detailed and subtle than Rioja's image, and the iconography presents slight variations from the original. No contemporary descriptions of San Jerónimo el Real, or any Hyeronymite literature make any reference to an image of this kind. For this reason, Hernández Perera believes that the image must have been taken to San Jerónimo as a deposit from another institution, perhaps after the French invasion in the nineteenth century.[130]

Painted images such as Antonio de Pereda's *Cristo de los Dolores* of 1641, now in the Prado, have also been linked to Rioja's *Cristo de la Victoria* (fig. 2.43) However, it is difficult to decide whether Pereda's image was related to Domingo de Rioja's sculpture, or if it represented an earlier iconography, such as Saint Gregory's vision of Christ as Man of Sorrows.[131] A closer painted version of the *Cristo de la Victoria* is in the Museo Lázaro Galdiano in Madrid, attributed by Pérez Sánchez to an anonymous artist from Antonio de Pereda's circle (fig. 2.42).[132] In this painting, a figure of Christ holding the Cross appears in a vision to Saint Peter. The image of Christ in this painting is extremely close in pose and iconography to another painting in the convent of Serradilla, in which the beata Francisca de Oviedo, who commissioned the Christ, and Mother Isabel de la

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129 Hernández Perera 1952, pp. 281-282.
130 Hernández Perera 1952, p.283.
131 Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1983, p. 191, No. 72, & Plate 171.

Madre de Dios, founder of the convent of Augustinian nuns in Serradilla, are praying before a vision of the Cristo de la Victoria (fig. 2.40). Unfortunately, since the provenance of the Lázaro Galdiano painting is unknown, it is unclear whether it was commissioned for an institution or individual connected with the Cristo de la Victoria.

A canvas by Juan Carreño de Miranda of the *Cristo de los Dolores*, which according to Palomino hung in the convent of Capuchin nuns in Madrid, undoubtedly reproduced Rioja's image from the V.O.T., although with a few differences (fig. 2.44).[133] It showed the Christ holding the cross with the left hand against a landscape background, which suggests that Carreño may have based his composition on a print after Rioja's image, which would have shown it in a reversed position. Carreño's painting is demonstrably linked to Rioja's image through the pose of the Christ and all the iconographic elements included in the image. The existence of all these versions of the iconography demonstrate the popularity of both the Cristo de la Victoria and the Cristo de los Dolores from the V.O.T. in Madrid.

4 Challenging the iconography of the Cristo de la Victoria: the Cristo de Tacoronte.

Although the iconography of the Cristo de la Victoria in Serradilla or the Cristo de los Dolores in Madrid had never been the subject of Inquisitorial censure, the same could not be said for all their copies outside Madrid. For instance, Hernández Perera provided information about a particular image of the *Cristo de la Victoria* that could be found in the church of the Augustinian convent of the village of Tacoronte, in Tenerife (fig. 2.37).[134] This image was brought to Tacoronte from Madrid by Captain Don Tomás Pereyra de Castro y Ayala, the royal tax collector in the island, c. 1661.[135] Don Tomás intended to

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[132] Pérez Sánchez 1978, unpaged, Plate 51.
[133] Pérez Sánchez 1985, p. 71.
[134] Hernández Perera 1952, p. 284.
[135] Since the visions of Isabel de la Madre de Dios had continued up to 1658, the popularity of the Cristo de la Victoria was at its height in 1660, and it is not surprising that copies of it were being sent to other

become a patron of the Augustinian convent of San Sebastián in Tacoronte, and agreed to build the high chapel of the church, place in it the image of Christ that he had brought back from Madrid, and fund the lamp of the Holy Sacrament.[136] Yet the iconography of the image was so radically different from all the other images of Christ known in the islands, that it attracted the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities in the bishopric, who requested that four *calificadores* or judges from the Inquisition be sent to examine the image.

The concern of the inquisitors regarding the unusual iconography of the image is far from surprising, particularly in the light of some articles from the *Constituciones Sinodales del Obispado de Gran Canaria*, published in 1634, which emphasised the importance of having all religious images reviewed by officials from the bishopric, to avoid doctrinal errors being depicted.[137] The idea that don Tomás Pereyra, despite being the patron of the convent, could bring an image of Christ from Madrid and place it on the altar without it being examined by the diocesis' ecclesiastical *visitador* is unlikely. What is more surprising, however, is that the *visitador* requested the opinion of the Inquisition. The letter is somehow confusing, as it refers to the image initially as a *pintura* rather than as a sculpture, as if the author of the letter had not seen the image in person.[138]

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provinces of Spain. In addition to this, the Augustinian nuns settled in Serradilla in 1661, therefore it is unsurprising that Don Tomás Pereyra wished to donate his image to an Augustinian convent.

136 This information is known through a decree published by the Augustinian Order of the Province of Santa Clara de Montefalco, during the regional chapter celebrated by the order in November 1661, in which Don Tomás agreed to 'labrar la Capilla maior y colocar en ella la Imagen de N. S. Jesu Xpto de las Congoxas que a traido de Madrid y doctar la lampara del Ssmo. Sacramento, se le de el dho patronato, con todos los honores que suelen y acostumbran tener los Patronos Particulares de conventos de nra Sagrada Religion." Hernández Perera 1952, p. 269. Since the Augustinian nuns from Arenas had moved to Serradilla in 1661, it would have been natural for a carving of the Cristo de la Victoria to be donated to another Augustinian convent.

137 "Porque se suelen causar errores y abusiones de pinturas de Santos: ordenamos y mandamos que en ninguna Iglesia deste Obispado se pinten historias de Santos en retablos, ni en otra parte, ó lugar pio, sin que primero sean vistas, y examinadas por nos, ó nuestro Prouisor, y Visitadores, para que vean si conuiene que se pinten assi....Otrosi, porque con vana deuocion se suelen pintar algunos milagros no autenticos, ni recebidos en la Iglesia, mandamos que no se puedan pintar milagros nueuos, o antiguos, q no sean comun y generalmente recebidos, sin especial licencia nuestra." Cámara y Murga 1634, f. 212r. Although this refers to painted images of Saints, we must assume that these constraints also applied to sculpted images of Christ.

138 AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 4432, exp. 17. Cited by Hernández Perera 1952, pp. 270-271, from a different source: Manuscrito de la Biblioteca del Museo Canario, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, I-D-7, doc. 11, f. 316.

The report sent by the local ecclesiastical officials to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in Madrid drew special attention to the very bloody wounds on the image, 'which cause horror', and to the combination of two different types of images in one: that of Christ the Redeemer, triumphant from the Passion, and that of the *Cristo de los Dolores*. They also suggested that don Tomás Pereyra was of Jewish origin, which increased their concern for the orthodoxy of the image. Despite these concerns, the four *calificadores* from the Inquisition in the Canary Islands sent a favourable report to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, because they felt that since there were similar images in Madrid, there must have been a superior motive, possibly a vision, for the church authorities to approve them. Nevertheless, they qualified their opinion by stating that the image itself was irregular, both because of the explicitly bloody wounds on the Christ and also because it depicted both the sorrowful and the glorious mysteries of the life of Christ without distinguishing between the two.[139] Interestingly, the *calificadores* made no mention of the Cristo de la Victoria in Serradilla, but were well informed of the existence of two similar images in Madrid: one in the convent of Atocha, and one in the chapel of the V.O.T. The *censura* confirms the existence of the Atocha image, and the close iconographical relationship it had with Domingo de Rioja's Cristo de la Victoria. In addition to this, it also proves the existence of engravings of the Cristo de los Dolores in the V.O.T. from at least 1662, since the *calificadores* were able to comment on its iconography. They commented on the fact that because the image was in ink, the wounds on the Christ's body were less visible. This indicates that they must have been given an engraving of the Madrid image to aid them in their decision. The fact that the archbishop of Toledo had granted several days of indulgence to those praying before the V.O.T.'s

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Document from the AHN cited by Pinto Crespo 1978-1979, pp. 31-35. For a transcript of the documentation, see Appendix 4.

139 See AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 4432, exp. 17: "Censura que han dado los calificadores de aquel tribunal a una pintura de vn S^to^ christo que tenia D. Thomas Pereyra de Castro. 24 de abril de 1662." Quoted in Pinto Crespo 1978-1979, p. 317.

Cristo de los Dolores convinced the *calificadores* from the Inquisition in the Canary islands of the validity of the iconography. Again, there must have been prints of the Cristo de los Dolores from the chapel of the V.O.T. long before 1674, the date of the engraving by Marcos de Orozco in the Libro de Actas of the confraternity.

The final decision about the Tacoronte image belonged to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in Madrid. The latter took three years to respond, and in 1665 a meeting of five representatives of the various religious orders decided by four votes to one that the image should be tolerated. The Carmelite father Blas Tostado disagreed with the verdict, explaining that the image had more than the five wounds that Christ had at the resurrection, and that this could lead to errors.[140]

Virgilio Pinto wonders whether this verdict reflected a more flexible attitude by the Inquisition towards the orthodoxy of images. In fact, the verdict demonstrates the weight that royal and aristocratic patronage had in the success of the image of the Cristo de la Victoria. Without it, the Inquisition would have felt free to ban the iconography. Domingo de Rioja's image of the Cristo de la Victoria for Serradilla posed no problems for the Inquisition, because it enjoyed royal 'protection' from the moment of its creation, as demonstrated by the royal coat of arms on the cross. The copy in the chapel of the V.O.T. in Madrid was blessed by the cardinal archbishop of Toledo, and indulgences were gained from praying before it. Yet when a copy of the same image was taken to Tacoronte, away from the influence of the Court in Madrid, its iconography was considered sufficiently different to warrant an inquisitorial investigation. There is, of course, the possibility that the investigation had little to do with the iconography of the image, and was in fact intended to harm the reputation of the royal tax collector don Tomás de Castro Pereyra, who was described as being 'de nación hebrea.' Nevertheless, it is also clear that the popularity of the image among the Madrid nobility inclined the

ecclesiastical authorities in Madrid to approve the iconography, even disregarding the very real concerns about its orthodoxy.

Although the supreme artistic quality of Domingo de Rioja's Cristo de la Victoria must have encouraged the creation and dispersal of copies, royal and aristocratic devotion to the Christ also played an essential role in the spread of the cult. The popularity of the copy in the chapel of the V.O.T. in Madrid also encouraged the propagation of images throughout the rest of the country, possibly aided by the distribution of prints of the image in the general chapters that the Third Order of Saint Francis celebrated every few years. Clearly, the image had an enormous impact in the religious life of 17th century Spain, and its popularity continued up to the present, as demonstrated by the copy of the image which still exists in the church of San Cayetano, in Madrid, a work by the sculptor Victor González Gil commissioned in 1959, which replaced an image of identical iconography destroyed in 1936 (fig. 2.39).[141] Ultimately the success of Domingo de Rioja's Cristo de la Victoria and its numerous copies and versions must be linked to the effective combination of artistic and devotional values in the image, together with the particular interest of the aristocracy in promoting its devotion.

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[140] See AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 4432, exp. 17: Letter of April 25th, 1665. Quoted in Pinto Crespo 1978-1979, pp. 33-34.

[141] For an account of the creation of this modern copy, see Peña 1632, p. 23.

AN ARISTOCRATIC COMMISSION:THE CHAPEL OF SAINT DOMINIC SORIANO IN THE CHURCH OF SANTO TOMÁS, MADRID.

On September 12th 1652, the friars of the Dominican convent of Santo Tomás in Madrid, also known as the College of Atocha, signed a contract with the royal secretary Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras, later Marquis of La Lapilla, by which they granted the latter the patronage of the chapel of Saint Dominic Soriano in the church of their convent. The deed stated that the chapel would be the designated burial place for Don Fernando and his family, and listed the conditions under which the patronage of the chapel would be held. One of those conditions was that an image of Saint Dominic Soriano would be placed inside the chapel in perpetuity, and that there could be no other altar in the church of the convent of Santo Tomás with the same dedication.[1] The decoration of the chapel and burial chamber was paid for by the patron, who commissioned the painting of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* (fig. 3.1) from Antonio de Pereda.[2]

Unfortunately the church of Santo Tomás burned down in a fire in 1872, leaving Pereda's painting, now in the Museo Cerralbo in Madrid, as the only extant work from the entire commission.[3] Yet at the time, the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano in the church of Santo Tomás typified the patronage of religious art by the minor aristocracy

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[1] See Puerta Rosell 1988, pp. 351-352 for a list of the main conditions in the deed of patronage. The convent agreed to finish the building of the chapel, and to supply an altar to celebrate the masses in honour of the patron's family until the work in the chapel was finished. The price for the patronage of the chapel was 16,060 ducats. [Although this information was extracted from the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos in Madrid, the author does not supply the concrete protocol number in which this deed of patronage can be found.]

[2] For Pereda's *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano*, see Díaz del Valle 1981, p. 471; Palomino 1987, p. 206; Ceán Bermúdez 1800, pp. 65-67; Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1983, pp. 143, 161, 173-174 & Plate 197; and Navascués Benlloch and Conde de Beroldingen Geyr 1998, pp. 58-61.

[3] For the fire of 1872 and the subsequent demolition of the convent between 1876 and 1879, see Gaya Nuño 1961, pp. 396-400.

and the administrative classes in Madrid. Don Fernando's choice of religious institution and of the saint to which the chapel was dedicated had clearly political connotations. The former patron of the church of Santo Tomás had been Don Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivares and a member of the same Guzmán family to which Saint Dominic was believed to belong. After the death of Olivares in 1645, the church continued under the patronage of another prominent Guzmán, the Duke of Medina de las Torres. Since the Spanish monarchs had always shown particular devotion to Saint Dominic, Don Fernando's choice of chapel linked him to the substantial section of the Spanish aristocracy of this period who belonged to the Guzmán family, as well as to the King. This was wholly in keeping with Don Fernando's status at court, as secretary of State for Spain and secretary to the *Despacho Universal*, working in close collaboration with the king and the new favourite Don Luis de Haro, Marquis of Carpio and nephew of the Count-Duke of Olivares.

This chapter will serve as a case study for religious art patronage in Madrid among the lower nobility and the administrative class. It will place the concrete artistic aspects of the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano in the context of the political, social and devotional role that the chapel played for its patron. After a general introduction to the subject of patronage of religious art in Madrid by courtiers and palace administrators, the focus will shift to the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano itself. The history of the Dominican College of Santo Tomás and the development of the devotion to images of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* in Spain will be examined, in conjunction with the personality of the patron, his artistic tastes, his devotional preferences and his status within the court. Having set the background to the commission, the art in the chapel will then be studied. This will involve an analysis of Spanish images of *The miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* which predate Pereda's painting, as well as studies of the individual artists who participated in the commission, examining both stylistic matters and issues of

professional status which might have influenced their being chosen for the project. Additionally, since the church of Santo Tomás is no longer extant, an attempt will be made to reconstruct the original appearance of the chapel of Saint Dominic Soriano, and to examine its significance against the other works of art present in the rest of the church.

The broader aims of this chapter are twofold. First, to examine the devotional functions of a commission by a minor nobleman and prominent courtier, analysing the manner in which the patron's status at court influenced the subject matter and the artists appointed for the project; second, to study questions of image transmission, examining the process by which an image that was initially foreign to Spanish devotional practices gained popularity through aristocratic support in the seventeenth century.

I. THE CHAPEL OF SANTO DOMINGO SORIANO IN SANTO TOMÁS: SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT.

Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras became patron of the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano in the church of Santo Tomás in September 1652, only a month after the old church of the convent had been destroyed by fire on August 14th 1652. The terms in the deed of patronage stipulated that the convent was obliged to fund the building of the chapel, which was situated on the Epistle side of the church and could be accessed through the atrium and through the Calle de Atocha. The convent was forbidden from building windows and *tribunas* or balconies looking from the church into the chapel unless the patron gave his permission. The decoration of the chapel interior would be the responsibility of the patron. In addition to this, the convent had to provide an alternative

altar for the celebration of masses for the salvation of the patron, until the actual chapel was ready for use.[4]

The patronage of the chapel benefited both the convent, which received a considerable sum for it, and the patron, who secured the salvation of his soul by means of the masses to be said by the Dominicans in perpetuity.[5] However, there were also political aspects to the commission which need to be understood, particularly as it related to the history of the convent of Santo Tomás, and to the devotion to Saint Dominic Soriano in Madrid.

1. A Brief History of the Dominican Convent and College of Santo Tomás in Madrid.

The convent of Santo Tomás in Madrid was also known as the College of Atocha. It was founded in 1565 by Don Pedro Renxifo de Santo Domingo and his wife Ana de Arteaga, who wished to provide a base in Madrid city for the Dominican friars from the convent of Atocha who went to preach there, as well as a hospital for them which was nearer to the court than the convent of Atocha. The foundation was initially a vicarage, dependent on the convent of Atocha, and since it was the wish of the founders that a lecture in Moral Theology was read daily in this house, it came to be known as the College of Atocha. In 1584 the College was granted the status of convent, independent from Atocha; the archbishop of Toledo Don Gaspar Quiroga gave licence for the foundation of a new Dominican convent and church in the city of Madrid dedicated to Saint Thomas Aquinas. The Holy Sacrament was installed in the new church on February 2nd, 1589. According to the contemporary chronicles King Philip II, several bishops and archbishops including the Patriarch of Valencia, Juan de Ribera, and many of the state councils contributed alms for the building of the church.[6]

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[4] Puerta Rosell 1988, p. 352.
[5] The convent received 16,060 ducats for the patronage of the chapel. Puerta Rosell 1988, p. 352.
[6] See Lopez 1615, pp. 597-599; Quintana 1980, ff. 423r.-424r.; González Dávila 1623, p. 266 & Martínez Escudero 1900, pp. 17-21. The fullest account of the history of the convent of Santo Tomás in Madrid was gathered from Dominican chronicles and documents from the convent's archives by Father Antonio

In 1591 Doña Magdalena de Guzmán, Marchioness of Valle, became the patroness of the high chapel of the church, and several members of her family were subsequently buried in a chamber opened for this purpose under a wall next to the high altar. The marchioness relinquished her patronage in 1613, when after her imprisonment by the Duke of Lerma she could no longer fulfil the obligations that had been agreed with the convent.[7] This had a very adverse effect on the progress of building the new church, which was very slow from then on, due to lack of funds.[8]

The high chapel of Santo Tomás remained without a patron until 1626, when the Count-Duke of Olivares, another Guzmán, took over the patronage of the entire church. The conditions in the deed of patronage stipulated that the patrons could place their coats of arms anywhere in the church, except in the private chapels, and that they could also erect their sepulchres in the high chapel, on condition that they were built in alabaster, jasper, porphyry or some other precious material. There were also several conditions regarding Masses to be said in perpetuity for the salvation of the souls of the patron and his family, as well as for the health of King Philip IV while the latter was alive, and for his salvation after his death.[9] Olivares' daughter Maria, who died in childbirth in July 1626, was buried in the church of Santo Tomás. Despite this, the high chapel of Santo Tomás never became the definitive resting-place for members of the Olivares family. A convent of Recollect Dominican nuns was built in Loeches to accommodate the Olivares burial

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Martínez Escudero, who was a friar in the convent from 1783 to 1807. For this reason, the information summarised in this section comes chiefly from Martínez Escudero 1900. Unfortunately the sources used by Escudero must have burnt during the fire of 1872, as they are not in the documentation for the convent of Santo Tomás in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, or in the Diocesan Archive in Madrid.

[7] For the circumstances of Magdalena de Guzmán's fall from grace at court, see Benigno 1994, p. 44 and passim; and Sánchez 1998, pp. 100 and passim.

[8] Doña Magdalena's husband, Don Martín Cortés, who had died in 1589 and was the second Marquis of Valle and son of the conquistador Hernán Cortés, was buried in the church of Santo Tomás together with five other children and grandchildren of the couple. After 1613, the tombs were moved to the convent of Shod Mercedarians in Madrid. See Martínez Escudero 1900, pp. 23-25.

[9] For a detailed list of the conditions of patronage, see Martínez Escudero 1900, pp. 37-43.

chapel.[10] Eventually Maria's remains were transferred to the church of Loeches after the death of the Count-Duke in August 1645.[11]

After the fire of 1652, the Duke of Medina de las Torres was mentioned as patron of the church of Santo Tomás in a book which reproduced the poetry contest that took place during the 1656 festivities celebrating the collocation of the holy sacrament in the newly rebuilt church.[12] It is clear therefore, that the church of Santo Tomás was linked to the Guzmán family from the late 16th century, and that by becoming patron of a chapel in this church, Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras would inevitably have been associated with this Guzmán patronage.

In addition to these aristocratic associations, some of the most influential religious confraternities in seventeenth-century Madrid were based at the church of the convent of Santo Tomás, including the confraternity of the Name of Jesus and the Rosary and the confraternity of Nuestra Señora de los Siete Dolores.[13] After the latter was established in the church in 1592, the image of Our Lady received numerous devout offerings from prominent members of the court, including several silver lamps donated by the Marchioness of Villanueva, the Countess of Alcaudete, the Countess of Osorno and Don Gerónimo Barrionuevo de Peralta, Knight of Saint James and *regidor* of the city of Madrid, as well as a canopy donated by the Marquis of Valle.[14] The Confraternity of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows was famous in Madrid for its Good Friday processions, which left from the church of Santo Tomás. The confraternity took on procession seven

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10 For the church of Loeches, see Marañón 1992, pp. 447-448, 539-540 & 603-605; López 1952; Brown and Elliott 1980, pp. 61 & 222; & Elliott 1986, p. 475.

11 See Marañón 1992, pp. 347 & 497; and Elliott 1986, p. 671.

12 Miranda y la Cotera 1657, f. 7r.

13 The confraternity of the Name of Jesus and the Rosary was founded in this church in 1589, and had an image of the Virgin of the Rosary which was thought to be miraculous. The confraternity of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows, founded by Empress María of Austria, was based in the church of Santo Tomás since 1592, and owned an image of Our Lady of the Seven sorrows carved by Juan de Porres. See Martínez Escudero 1900, pp. 26-27. For Juan de Porres, see Saltillo 1953, Gómez Moreno 1963, Portela Sandoval 1986; Estella 1987, and Martín González 1998. None of these sources make any reference to an image of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows carved by Porres.

sculptural groups or *pasos*, depicting the seven sorrows of the Virgin.[15] The image of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows was carried in these processions by the guild of painters.[16]

The convent of Santo Tomás gained prominence in the religious devotion of Madrilenians because of an image of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic in Soriano* painted by the Dominican friar and painter Juan Bautista Maíno in 1629.[17] The image was placed in an altarpiece in the chapel of the Chapter, where the friars from the convent were buried, in a solemn ceremony on May 13th 1629, and it was reported that several miracles connected with it took place that day.[18]

The convent and church of Santo Tomás burned down in a fire in 1652. The prior Father Diego Ramírez started an energetic fund-raising campaign after the fire, in order to complete the building of the convent and of the new church as quickly as possible. The monies collected were eventually sufficient for the building of the outside walls of the church, the façade, the chapels of Our Lady of the Rosary and of Saint Dominic, the decoration of the interior of the church, and the entire convent building.[19]

The confraternities based in the church resumed their ceremonies in it only months after the fire. For instance, Juan de Porres's image of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows, destroyed in the fire, was replaced with a sculpture by Domingo de Rioja. On March 18th,

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[14] Martínez Escudero 1900, p. 29.

[15] Although Herrero-García only mentions four *pasos* taken on procession by the Confraternity on Good Friday, it is clear from Father Domingo de Mendoza' inventory of the objects that belonged to the Confraternity, summarised by Martínez Escudero, that the Confraternity took out seven *pasos*, one for each of the Virgin's Sorrows. See Herrero-García 1935, pp. 25-26; & Martínez Escudero 1900, pp. 31-32. This is also corroborated by Moreno Puertollano 1986, p. 53

[16] The Confraternity of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows eventually became involved in a number of lawsuits with the guild of painters, which lasted between 1644 and 1751. The dispute arose after in 1634 a group of painters who were also members of the confraternity, contracted the obligation, in the name of the entire guild of painters, of taking the image of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows in procession every Good Friday in perpetuity. In later years the painters who were not members of the confraternity refused to participate in the procession, in what became a dispute about the dignity of painting. See Herrero-García 1935, pp. 53, 55, & 56; Lafuente Ferrari 1944, pp. 90-103 & Moreno Puertollano 1986.

[17] For the manner in which the image came about, see below, pp. 124-125.

[18] Martínez Escudero 1900, p. 58.

[19] According to the documents consulted by Escudero, the decoration of the church included 'cinco pinturas, que son de las mas excelentes que hai en esta Corte.' See Martínez Escudero 1900, p. 65. These were very likely the paintings of *Saint Thomas Aquinas* by Juan de Toledo; *Saint Peter Martyr* and the *Holy*

1653, Rioja's image was taken to the church of San Salvador to be blessed by the vicar of Madrid, Don Rodrigo de Mandia y Parga, and the archbishop of Toledo, Don Baltasar Moscoso y Sandoval. After a day of religious festivities in San Salvador, the image was taken in procession to the church of Santo Tomás, where eight days of festivities -an *octava*- in its honour followed.[20] This must mean that the refurbishment of the church got under way quite quickly, even if the entire building project took four years.

The Holy Sacrament was placed in the new church with great ceremony and a solemn procession in October 1656. The Dominican Order requested the help of the Council of Madrid to organise the festivities, and the latter agreed to have a general procession as at Corpus Christi, with the participation of all the religious orders. There were twelve street altars along the processional route, two of them erected by the Duke of Medina de las Torres and the Marquis of Lapilla Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras, and the rest by the convents of all the religious orders present in Madrid. The streets were also hung with tapestries lent by the Duke of Medina de las Torres and several other members of the nobility. Seventeen days of festivities followed. The expense for the celebrations was covered by donations from the King and Queen, the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, the Council of Madrid, the royal councils and several of the grandees, as well as the patron of the church, the Duke of Medina de las Torres.[21]

A poetry contest was organised to celebrate the occasion, which clearly reveals the extent to which both the image of Saint Dominic Soriano and the church of Santo Tomás in

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Trinity by Francisco Camilo; the *Assumption of Our Lady* by Juan Montero de Rojas; and Juan Carreño de Miranda's painting of the *Dream of Pope Honorius*. See Palomino, pp. 187, 220, 259 & 277-278.

[20] Martínez Escudero 1900, p. 32. Unfortunately, nothing is currently known about Rioja's *Virgin of the Seven Sorrows*, which very likely perished in the fire of 1872. For the sculpture of Domingo de Rioja, see Hernández Perera 1952; Hernández Perera 1954; Gómez Moreno 1963; Agulló Cobo 1978; Barrio Moya 1989; Martín González 1998; & Tomé 1999. None of these sources make reference to an image of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows for the confraternity of the same name carved by Domingo de Rioja.

[21] Martínez Escudero 1900, pp. 58-65 and Barrionuevo 1968-1969, vol CCXXII, p. 2.

Madrid were linked at this time to the Guzmán family.[22] One of the themes of the contest was specifically devoted to extolling the virtues of the House of Guzmán in twelve tercets, with particular mention of the Duke of Medina de las Torres.[23] The rest of the poems also emphasised the help that the Guzmán family gave for the rebuilding of the church, and their family relationship with Saint Dominic.[24]

Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras had talks with the convent of Santo Tomás regarding the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano from at least August 28th 1652, when the friars signed a written agreement conceding the patronage of it to him. Subsequent partial agreements were signed on September 2nd and 3rd, while the official deed of patronage was signed on September 12th.[25] Given the aristocratic history of the convent and the popularity of the religious devotions connected with it, a burial chapel in Santo Tomás must have brought with it great social prestige. However, since the church was at that time in ruins, it is difficult to understand the reasons Don Fernando may have had for his choice of religious institution. Perhaps the very fact that the church had to be rebuilt anew was an incentive for prospective patrons, because the new building would have been more in keeping with contemporary tastes. It may also have been the case that

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[22] The book in which the contest was published was dedicated "al nobilissimo señor don Fernando de Fonseca Ruiz de Contreras, Marques de la Lapilla, Caballero de la Orden Militar del Señor Santiago, de los Consejos del Rey nuestro Señor de Guerra, y Indias, y Camara de ellas, de las Iuntas de Guerra de España, y Guerra de Indias. Secretario de Estado de la Negociación de España, y de la uniuersal, cerca de la Real Persona." Miranda y la Cotera 1657, title page.

[23] The entry for this theme reads as follows: "Assumpto IX. Vease si ay de donde usurpar lumbre de gloria, a cuyo cotejo en proporción resplandezcan los lucimientos de la casa de Guzman: cuya cabeça esplendida es el Excelentissimo Señor Don Ramiro Felipez de Guzman, Marques del Toral, duque de Medina de las Torres. Musa mas leuantada de estilo, en doze Tercetos, celebre la dignida excelsa Nobilissima de la casa de Guzman, de gozar Coronas, Bastones, Coroneles, Capelos, Mitras, Dignidades, Gouiernos: y entre todo esto, Ilustre: la grandeza que le prouiene de ser origen del grande Patriarca Santo Domingo de Guzmán, y de la gloria que le procede de su fundacion Religiosa, tan sabia, tan santa, tan llena de todos titulos verdaderos: lo qual todo ceda principalmente en parabien al mismo Señor Excelentissimo Duque, como Patron de este su gran Conuento de Santo Thomas." Miranda y la Cotera 1657, ff. 6v. - 7r.

[24] See, for instance, the *Glossas* to the building of the church, "A la obra Magnifica del Nueuo hermoso Templo, dedicado al Angelico Doctor Santo Thomas de Aquino". The *Glossa* by Don Carlos Magno reads as follows: "De los Guzmanes lleuado,/ Tanto puerto han conseguido,/ Que los Guzmanes han sido/ Los que nueua luz le han dado." Another by the *Licenciado* Miguel Ximenez also linked the family and the church: "Los primores mas galanes/ que de la hermosura admira[n],/ Oy en la beldad, se miran,/ Del Templo de los Guzmanes." Miranda y la Cotera 1657, ff. 89r. & 104r.

[25] Puerta Rosell 1988, p. 351.

Father Diego Ramírez's fund-raising drive targeted members of the court such as Don Fernando. At the same time, there was a distinctly political tint to Don Fernando's choice, since the patron of the church was the Duke of Medina de las Torres who, at the time, was involved in a fierce power struggle with the Marquis of Carpio Don Luis de Haro, for the post of *valido* to King Philip IV. Quite likely, the decision to found a burial chapel in the church of Santo Tomás took into account both the political and the devotional considerations. Thus in order to understand this religious commission, it is necessary to examine both the devotion to Saint Dominic Soriano in Spain, and Don Fernando's interests as a patron.

2. The Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano: How Devotion to the Image Developed.

According to the Dominican chronicles, the miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano took place on September 15th, 1530, in the church of the Dominican convent in the town of Soriano, in the kingdom of Naples. The sacristan of the church, Fra Lorenzo da Grotteria, saw three beautiful ladies inside the church, who handed him a roll of canvas with an image of Saint Dominic, instructing him to deliver it to the prior of the convent and place it on the church altar. Another friar later had a vision in which it was revealed that the three ladies were the Virgin Mary, Saint Mary Magdalene and Saint Catherine of Siena, and that the painting had a divine origin.[26] For seventeenth-century commentators, the fact that no painter had ever been able to copy it successfully, together with an otherworldly quality about the colours used, were proof that the Soriano painting was created through divine intervention.[27]

The image of Saint Dominic at Soriano is interesting because the majority of copies after it were not direct reproductions of the image of the saint itself (fig. 3.5), but scenes

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[26] Breve relacion Santo Domingo Soriano 1629, f. 176.

depicting the moment in which the Virgin handed the image to the friar. Accounts of the event specify that the image was given to Fra Lorenzo in a roll of canvas, which was only later unrolled, when the prior of the convent received it.[28] Thus strictly speaking, images of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* such as Antonio de Pereda's painting (fig. 3.1) depict an imaginary scene that, even by Dominican accounts, never took place. The iconography is therefore a construction, almost certainly created with specific doctrinal purposes in mind. It contains two key elements, which make it an extremely successful piece of Tridentine propaganda: the painting of Saint Dominic, and the presence of the Virgin Mary. By putting together these two elements, the validity of using images of the saints as devotional aids is forcefully emphasised. In the thinking of the period, if images of the saints were not pleasing to God, the Virgin Mary would never have given one to the Dominicans at Soriano. Contemporary Dominican chronicles comment specifically on this issue, pointing out that the miracle at Soriano, which allegedly took place in 1530, soon after the 'Lutheran heresy' started in 1517, was proof that God wanted religious images to be used by the faithful as devotional aids.[29] It is for this reason that the iconography of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* developed. A simple copy of the portrait of Saint Dominic at Soriano would not have made the doctrinal point so clearly, whereas the depiction of the actual miracle in which the Virgin Mary handed the canvas to the monk in Soriano became certain proof that God approved of religious images.

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[27] See, Pacheco 1990, pp. 695-696; Breve relacion Santo Domingo Soriano 1629, f. 176v; & Claveria 1649, p. 15.

[28] "Estando assi suspenso, vna destas señoras la mas venerable, le llamó, y preguntó: 'como se llama esta Iglesia, y que Image[n] teneys en ella? Respo[n]dio, la Iglesia se llama de S. Domingo y no ay otra image[n] del Sa[n]to, sino vna al te[m]ple pintada en la pared, delante de la qual se dize Missa, y la señora le dixo. Pues lleua esta a tu Perlado, y di q. la po[n]gan sobre el Altar, y dizie[n]do esto saco vn emboltorio de lienço y diosele. Quedo ta[n] fuera de si el Religioso de lo q. via, q. sin despedirse, ni pregu[n]tar quienes er[n], ni como auia[n] entrado, se fue al Vicario del Co[n]uento, q. venia co[n] los demas padres a Maytines, y les co[n]to el suceso." Breve relacion Santo Domingo Soriano 1629, unpaged. The difference between the painted iconography and the written narratives of the event was pointed out in Civil 1999, p. 354.

[29] See, for instance, Gómez 1640, f. 117: "VI. Imbia Dios del cielo la Imagen de Santo Domingo nuestro padre, para arguir, y convencer con ella la obstinacion de los hereges que oy tiene Alemania, Fra[n]cia y Ingalaterra: que sacrilegos, degenerando de sus principios, niegan el culto de las Imagenes de los Santos."

Therefore the Dominican order set about promoting this iconography by producing prints of the miracle, such as the anonymous engraving currently held in the Raccolta di stampe Bertarelli, in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan, (fig. 3.6).

Devotion to Saint Dominic Soriano in Spain seems to have developed quite late. An account from 1638 states that the first news about the image arrived in Madrid in 1610, via an Italian Dominican who was visiting the city, and spoke to the nuns of Santo Domingo el Real about the miraculous deeds associated with it.[30] Yet a Spanish chronicle of the Dominican Order published in 1615 makes no mention of the miracle at Soriano.[31] In fact, the first written account of the miracle at Soriano seems to have been published in Messina in 1621, recording miracles associated with the image of Saint Dominic between 1609 and 1620.[32] In Spain, no written accounts of the image at Soriano existed until in 1626 Father Diego de la Fuente, prior of the convent of Santo Tomás in Madrid, ordered a translation into Spanish of an Italian book on the image, probably Frangipane's work.[33] It seems quite significant, therefore, that this translation from the Italian seems to have been ordered around the same time as the Count Duke of Olivares became patron of the church of Santo Tomás.[34] Very likely, the promotion of the image of Saint Dominic Soriano by the convent of Santo Tomás was a means of glorifying the family of

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See also Claveria 1649, pp. 18-19; and Suñer 1651, chapter 16. The anti-Protestant element in the narrative was noted inCivil 1999, p. 353.

[30]Colocacion Santo Domingo Soriano 1638, p. 2. Also reproduced partially in Colocación De La Milagrosa Imagen Del Glorioso Patriarcha Sto. Domingo De Soriano. Procesión y Octavario Solemne Que Se Celebró En Su Capilla 1964.

[31] Lopez 1615.

[32] See Frangipane 1646, the first edition of which was published in 1621.

[33] See Breve relacion Santo Domingo Soriano 1629.

[34] The year 1626 is supplied in Martínez Escudero 1900, p. 52. The author himself relates the two events: "Por el mismo tiempo en que fue hecha la 1ª escritura del Patronato con el Excmo. Sr. Donde Duque año de 1626, siendo Prior el R. P. Mro. Fr. Diego de la Fuente, como queda dho. dio noticia el referido Padre como en roma, donde avia estado, havía leído un librito, que contenia la historia y milagros de la Imagen de nro. Pe Sto. Domingo en Soriano; por lo que dió mucho deseo de ver el libro traducido en romance."

their patron. In later years, images of Saint Dominic Soriano were closely associated with the House of Guzmán.[35]

The translator of the Italian text, Father Francisco Pinelo, became very ill after finishing the work, and vowed to make a pilgrimage to the convent at Soriano if he was cured. He eventually made the journey, and on his return brought back a copy of the portrait of Saint Dominic in Soriano, and 'a print of the story'.[36] The latter was the source for the painting of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* by Juan Bautista Maíno, which was eventually placed in the church of Santo Tomás in 1629. The process by which the image was produced is worth recounting, as it reveals a number of issues connected with the transmission of devotional images.

According to Martínez Escudero, a copy was made of the portrait of Saint Dominic brought back from Soriano by Father Pinelo, intended for the convent's church; a Dominican friar from the convent offered to provide an altarpiece and the necessary ornaments for the image. However, once the altarpiece was made, the new prior Father Francisco de Sotomayor decided that neither the image brought back by Father Pinelo from Soriano nor its copy were of sufficient quality to be displayed in it, and resolved to have another copy made, possibly by a better artist. When it was finished, it was considered to be 'an excellent painting', yet it had no resemblance to the original portrait of Saint Dominic in Soriano. This was also deemed unsuitable, and eventually, at the request of Don Luis Hurtado, gentleman of the King's chamber (d. 1658), the latter was rejected, and a new painting was made of 'the story of the said Image, as it was in the

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[35] That Olivares was interested in the image of Saint Dominic at Soriano seems to be born out by the fact that a copy of Silvestro Frangipane's book on the image, published in Messina in 1634 and currently kept in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, is described in the library's manual catalogue as having the coat of arms and bibliographic ornament of the Count-Duke's library. Unfortunately, I have been unable to see this volume personally, and have found no other references to it except the card catalogue in the Biblioteca Nacional. It is also worth noting that Olivares' father, Don Enrique de Guzmán, had been Viceroy of Naples between 1595 and 1599, and may have learnt about the miraculous image at this time. See Elliott 1986, p. 12.

[36] Martínez Escudero 1900, p. 52.

print that came from Soriano.'[37] The new painting was commissioned from Juan Bautista Maíno, who was at the time a friar in the convent of Santo Tomás, and paid for by Don Luis Hurtado. The final image was reportedly so beautiful, that it caused great devotion in all who saw it, compelling them to ask for Saint Dominic's intercession before God in times of need.[38] The painting was placed in its chapel of the convent of Santo Tomás on May 13th, 1629 and soon enough, miracles were attributed to it, and other copies of the image were placed in churches all over Spain, in imitation of it.[39]

This account of how Juan Bautista Maíno's image came into existence is important on several levels. First, it reveals the role of the religious orders in the dissemination of religious iconography through copies and prints. Second, it shows that the narrative image of the miracle eventually took precedence over the devotional image with the portrait of Saint Dominic. The explanation for this at the time was that the copy of the latter was not of sufficient quality; this, of course, emphasised the supposedly divine origin of the Soriano image, which no earthly painter was able to reproduce correctly. Yet the end result was that the narrative image, with its symbolic references to the doctrinal

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[37] Pérez Sánchez misinterprets Luis Hurtado's reasons for requesting that another image be made, stating that "no quiso autorizar el culto de la estampa, sin duda por fidelidad a las normas de Trento sobre las imágenes 'no usadas'." See Pérez Sánchez 1997, p. 114. As shown above, this could not be further from the truth: in fact, Maíno's painting was based on the print brought back from Italy.

[38] Martínez Escudero 1900, pp. 52-53: "el R. P. fr. Francisco de Soto maior, Prior, que ia era de este Convento, viendo que la Imagen que se avia trahido, ni su copia, no era tan buena pintura, como el quisiera, se resolvio de hacer pintar una excelente pintura, lo qual se hizo, y salio tan aventajada, que no se podía pedir mas: mas no representaba en nada la imagen del Soriano; y asi Luis Hurtado, Registrador de esta Villa, y Ayuda de Camara de su Magestad, mui devoto del Sto. Y gran bienhechor de este Convento, pidió con mucha instancia a el dho, Pe Prior, no se pusiese la Imagen, que de nuevo se havia pintado, pues en nada se parecia a la del Soriano, sino que se pintase la historia de la dha. Imagen, como estaba en la Estampa, que vino del Soriano; que el pagaria la costa de la pintura.
Hizose asi, y salió tan acabada, que cuantos la veían, les causaba tan grande veneracion, que les obligaba a pedir , con afecto, y confianza, remedio en sus necesidades por intercesion de nro. Pe Sto. Domingo nro. Sr. Y el Pe fr. Juan Bautista Mayno, Religioso en este Convento, que fue el que la pintó, decía, que sin acordarse, que el havia pintado tal Imagen, las veces que se ponia delante de ella, le causaba los afectos dhos."

[39] The issue of the miraculous nature of both the image at Soriano and its copies is constantly remarked upon by contemporary writers. See, for instance, Madera [1640], f. 11v.:"...no se que se a tenido esta Imagen, que de repente qualquier copia suya en todos los lugares, donde está colocada, y venerada obra prodigios, y marauillas, que no parece sino que todas son caydas del Cielo...". A copy after Maíno's painting of Saint Dominic Soriano was placed in the convent of Santo Domingo in Jerez de la Frontera on

issues discussed above, became the standard iconography for later depictions of the miracle in Spain. Third, the account very clearly underlines the importance of both the artistic quality and the devotional content of the image for the convent and its patrons. Although the first copy was unsuitable because of its poor quality, the copy ordered by prior Francisco de Sotomayor was also rejected because despite its artistic quality, it lacked any resemblance to the original. Moreover, it was a patron of the convent, and not just the friars themselves, who objected to the prior's image being placed in the church. This indicates the influence that private devotion had on the images displayed in Madrid churches. Eventually, Maíno's painting must have struck the right balance between artistic quality, resemblance to the original portrait and appropriate religious content.

Unfortunately, Maíno's image perished in the fire of 1652. There are, however, at least three extant versions of the subject which can be securely attributed to Maíno, and provide an indication of what the Santo Tomás image may have looked like: one in the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg (fig. 3.11); another in the church of Santa Eulalia, in Segovia (fig. 3.13), and another in the Museo de San Telmo in San Sebastián, on deposit from the Prado (fig. 3.12).[40] According to contemporary sources, Maíno painted at least two other versions of his *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* in Santo Tomás, one for the convent of Dominican nuns of Santa Ana in Madrid, and another for the parish church of Santa Olalla, just outside Segovia.[41] Copies after Maíno's image also exist in the

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September 14th, 1629, only four months after the collocation of Maíno's image in its chapel in Madrid. See Breve relacion Santo Domingo Soriano Xerez [1629].

[40] See Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, pp. 314-316; and Collar de Cáceres 1989, pp. 381 & 784, fig. 546.

[41] The image for Santa Ana is mentioned in Martínez 1988, p. 200. The image for the church of Santa Olalla is described in Gómez 1640, f. 157. Since Olalla is another form for Eulalia, it is quite possible that the painting currently in the church of Santa Eulalia was initially placed there in 1639. The painting was seen in this church by Elías Tormo, who attributed it to Maíno. It was later sold to a private collector in Madrid, and finally re-bought by the *ayuntamiento* of Segovia, and placed in the church of Santa Eulalia c. 1970-71. See Collar de Cáceres 1989, p. 381.

parish church of Ibdes in Zaragoza, in Toledo Museum, and in the convent of Santa Clara in Villacastín, Segovia.[42]

Another popular image of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* was placed in a chapel in the church of the convent of Santo Domingo el Real, also in Madrid, in June 1638. The convent had been founded by Saint Dominic in 1219, and still preserved a well that the saint himself had dug up, which was reported to have miraculous powers.[43] According to the convent's chronicle of the festivities on the collocation of the image, the nuns of Santo Domingo el Real received a copy of the portrait of Saint Dominic at Soriano donated by Don Luis Ortiz de Matienzo, Secretary of the Council of Italy, who had it specially copied from the original at Soriano at an unspecified date.[44] This portrait was placed in one of the side altars in the church of the Santo Domingo el Real; devotion to it spread so quickly that the nuns decided to celebrate an annual festivity in honour of Saint Dominic Soriano, moving the image to a chapel especially devoted to it. Juan Gómez de Mora was commissioned with redesigning an old but very spacious chapel in the church of the convent, in order to make it suitable to house the Soriano image.[45] The rebuilding of the chapel was financed through a special fund- raising campaign, and the Duke of Medina de las Torres, then viceroy of Naples, contributed generously towards it. When the portrait was ready to be placed in its new chapel in 1638, it was decided to

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[42] Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, p. 315.
[43] Quintana 1980, f. 391 v. - 397v.
[44] See Colocacion Santo Domingo Soriano 1638, ff. 2-4. The summary of the festivities in honour of the image of Saint Dominic Soriano that follows is entirely based on this source.
[45] The work was carried out according to Mora's designs by the architect Bartolomé Díaz. For a detailed description of the architecture of the redesigned chapel see Colocacion Santo Domingo Soriano 1638, f. 4v.-5r. The convent decided not to decorate the chapel with hangings for the festivity of Saint Dominic Soriano, so as not to hide the beauty of its architecture. See f. 4v.: "Parecio que adornar la capilla de colgaduras, por ricas que fuessen, seria encubrir la hermosura de su arquitectura, y estragar su candidez y blancura."

commission a new painting which would have 'the required grandeur and disposition'.[46] The new image was painted by Vicente Carducho (c.1576-1638), and the copy brought from Soriano was then placed in the enclosed area of the convent, for the private devotion of the nuns. An inscription accompanying an engraving of Carducho's image, made by Pedro de Villafranca, (fig. 3.21) specified that it was placed in the chapel of Saint Dominic's well.[47] The current whereabouts of Carducho's *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* are unknown. However, it is clear from Villafranca's engraving that the composition could have been quite similar to Maíno's work of the same subject, painted nine years earlier for the convent of Santo Tomás. In the Hermitage version of the same subject by Maíno, mentioned above, the figures of the three female saints and of the monk have been arranged similarly, but in a reversed position.[48]

The festivities that accompanied the collocation of Carducho's painting in its new chapel testify to the support that the Soriano image had at the time from the Court and the aristocracy. The festivities started on Sunday July 13th, 1638, when the image was taken in procession from the church of the convent of the Descalzas Reales, to the church of Santo Domingo el Real.[49] Eight days of masses, sermons and religious ceremonies in honour of Saint Dominic Soriano followed, with each day of festivities organised and funded by a member of the Court or an institution connected with it. The ceremonies of Monday 14th were financed and organised by Queen Isabella; on subsequent days they

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[46] Colocacion Santo Domingo Soriano 1638, f. 4r.: "Acabada la capilla, se trató de colocar esta santa Imagen, y para que la pintura fuesse de la grandeza y disposicion que se requeria, se hizo una nueua pintura por Vicencio Carducho, Pintor de su Magestad, y eminentissimo en su facultad, cuyas alabanças se hazen inmortales en sus mismas obras, que es la que se ha colocado, guardando el Conuento dentro de su clausura la que se truxo de Soriano."

[47] Illustration in Colocacion Santo Domingo Soriano 1638, reproduced in Mulcahy 1988, fig. 21.

[48] Mulcahy 1988, p. 32.

[49] On that same day the convent of the Descalzas Reales celebrated the festivity of Saint Anthony of Padua, and the church was decorated with Rubens's tapestries of the Triumph of the Eucharist, acting as the backdrop for the images of Saint Anthony of Padua and of Saint Dominic Soriano which were being honoured. The Saint Dominic in Soriano was placed on an altar that had been erected for the occasion on the steps leading to the high altar, decorated profusely with flowers and candles. Colocacion Santo Domingo Soriano 1638, ff. 8v.-9r.

were organised by the *Villa*; the Viceroy of Naples, Duke of Medina de las Torres; Doña Juana de Córdoba, Marchioness of Almazán; the Countess of Oropesa; Father Antonio de Sotomayor, the Inquisitor General; and the Congregation of Saint Peter Martyr, of *familiares* of the Inquisition.[50] The *octava* finished on Monday, July 21st, with a festivity organised by Prince Baltasar Carlos.[51] The coats of arms of all the organisers appeared on the frontispiece of the *relación* of the festivities (fig. 3.22). Some days later, the Duchess of Medina de Rioseco organised another day of celebrations in honour of the Soriano image. According to the *relación*, since the chapel still lacked an appropriate altarpiece to house the image, the painting was placed under a rich canopy donated by the Queen, surrounded by paintings of angels and of Dominican saints.[52]

After this *octava* in Santo Domingo el Real, images of Saint Dominic Soriano could be found all over Spain. A contemporary Spanish chronicle of the image mentions copies of it being placed with solemn ceremony in churches in Burgos, León, Valladolid, Salamanca, Toledo, Ávila, Plasencia, Zamora, Palencia, Vitoria, San Sebastián, Pamplona, Tudela, Aguilar de Campoo, Segovia and many other cities. More importantly, the author mentions the support for the image by prominent members of the nobility, such as the Condestable de Castilla and the Marquis of Aguilar.[53]

The image at Soriano had gained particular notoriety in 1638, when an earthquake devastated the region of Calabria. When the faithful went to the monastery at Soriano to pray for Saint Dominic's intercession, they found that the Saint's face had changed to

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[50] By 1638, the sculptor Manuel Pereira , who carried out the sculpture for Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras' chapel, was a *familiar* of the Inquisition. He very likely participated in the festivities at Santo Domingo el Real as a member of the Congregation of Saint Peter Martyr, and may have even been involved in the decoration of the church that day. For Pereira as a *familiar* of the Inquisition, see Agulló Cobo 1978a, p. 259.

[51] Colocacion Santo Domingo Soriano 1638, ff. 9r.-35r.

[52] Colocacion Santo Domingo Soriano 1638, f. 36v.

[53] "Estos mismos aplausos a tenido mi milagroso Padre en su Image[n] en Valladolid, Salamanca, Toledo….y en los estados del Condestable de Castilla….Por lo menos asegura nuestro Grande Predicador vn festejo singular, que preuiene a esta milagrosa Imagen el Excelentissimo Marques de Aguilar; que quiere

show anger. A penitential procession was then organised, to beg for forgiveness for humankind's sins from God, after which the face of the image returned to its peaceful expression, while a star reportedly shone on its forehead.[54] It is likely that these miraculous events would have been transmitted to the Court in Madrid, and perhaps the copy of the portrait at Soriano was brought to the convent of Santo Domingo el Real in 1638 as a result of the renewal of devotion to the image after this miracle.

Such strong devotion to the image of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* on the part of the Spanish monarchs and the nobility must have partly stemmed from the fact that the village of Soriano was in the kingdom of Naples, then a Spanish possession. In addition to this, the involvement of Queen Isabella and Prince Baltasar Carlos in the festivities at Santo Domingo el Real in 1638 responded to the traditional devotion of the Spanish monarchs to Saint Dominic.[55] Since the convent enjoyed royal patronage, royal participation in any festivities celebrating Saint Dominic would have been natural.

On the part of the Dominican order, promoting images of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* was a means of countering the negative propaganda against the order which was caused by their refusal to accept the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. By showing an episode in which the Virgin was delivering a gift to the Dominicans, they symbolically demonstrated the Virgin's approval of the order and, by implication, of their maculist opinions.

Yet it was the members of the Guzmán family who were most interested in promoting the cult of Saint Dominic Soriano. This explains, for instance, the strong involvement of Don Ramiro de Guzmán, Duke of Medina de las Torres and Viceroy of Naples between 1637 and 1644, in the financing and organisation of the festivities at Santo Domingo el

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su excelencia ya que nacio tan superior en sangre, emularse en el afecto, y tener en la cabeça de sus nobles Estados el Retrato de vn Santo…" Gómez 1640, f. 152v.

[54] Claveria 1649, p. 40.

Real in 1638, and at the convent of Santo Tomás in 1656. Medina de las Torres was also Olivares' son-in-law, and had become Viceroy of Naples through the Count-Duke's influence.[56] As the legitimate heir of the central branch of the House of Guzmán, the Duke of Medina de las Torres would have been particularly interested in promoting devotion to an image of Saint Dominic, a saint the Count-Duke counted amongst his ancestors.[57] Another member of Olivares' circle amongst the organisers of the festivities in Santo Domingo el Real was Father Antonio de Sotomayor, the King's confessor, who had obtained that post through the Count-Duke's intercession, and as a Dominican would have been equally eager to promote images of the founder of his order.

The relation between Saint Dominic Soriano and the Guzmán family can be clearly seen if we analyse a sample of seventeenth and early eighteenth century Spanish inventories of aristocrats and courtiers.[58] Paintings described as portraits of Saint Dominic Soriano, or simply given the title of 'Santo Domingo Soriano' were listed in the inventories of the VII Duchess of Alburquerque (d. 1658);[59] the Marchioness of Villanueva del Fresno (d. 1639);[60] the IV Marchioness of Carpio (d. 1647);[61] the Marquis of Montealegre (d. 1678);[62] the IV Marchioness of Aytona (d. 1680);[63] the IX Countess of Oñate (d. 1684);[64]

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55 Philip IV was baptised in the blessed stone font of Saint Dominic, a royal heirloom, and given Domingo as his second name. See Stradling 1988, p. 5.

56 For the Duke of Medina de las Torres, see Marañón 1992, pp. 342-351; Elliott 1986, pp. 166-168, 260-264, 278, 376, 396, 420, 429, 477-78, 561, 592-593, 632, 648-649, 669-672, and plate 30; and Stradling 1976.

57 For Saint Dominic Guzmán as an ancestor of Olivares, see Martínez Calderón [1642]. This lengthy eulogy of the House of Guzmán was finished in 1642. Chapter 3 of book 5, in volume 2 of the work, is devoted to "Don Felix de Guzmán Padre del glorioso patriarcha Santo Domingo, y nacimiento del Santo, su educaçion, predicaçion, y fundaçion de la Orden de Predicadores. Between ff. 219 and 220 of this chapter, there is an added piece of paper with the history of the image of Saint Dominic at Soriano. The author cites as his sources the work by Silvestro Frangipani and the 1638 *relación*, Colocacion Santo Domingo Soriano 1638. Chapter 23 of book 18, in volume 3 of the work, is entitled "Sumario de 129 santos y principes de aprouada vida, parientes transuersales de Don Gaspar de Guzmán, Conde Duque de Olivares, los 12 primeros son descendientes de su casa..." Number 10 of the saints mentioned is Saint Dominic. The manuscript is cited in Elliott 1986, p. 188.

58 Out of the 140 inventories included in Burke and Cherry 1997, 14 listed images of Saint Dominic Soriano.

59 See Burke and Cherry 1997, p. 551 and Getty Provenance Index, document E-323, item 21.

60 See Burke and Cherry 1997, p. 338 and Getty Provenance Index, document E-137, item 39.

61 See Burke and Cherry 1997, p. 449 and Getty Provenance Index, document E-602, item 158.

62 See Burke and Cherry 1997, p. 793 amd Getty Provenance Index, document E-732, item 11.

63 See Burke and Cherry 1997, p. 714 and Getty Provenance Index, document E-754, item 116.

the Count of Peñaranda (d. 1689);[65] and of the court officials Luis Fernández de Vega, treasurer in the Council of the Indies (d. 1654);[66] Don Antonio Carnero, Knight of Santiago, Secretary of the Universal Bureau and member of the King's Council (d. 1661);[67] and Juan de Echauz, Knight of Santiago and Gentilhombre de la Boca (d. 1687).[68]

Several of the above were also members of the Count-Duke of Olivares' circle or of the Guzmán family. Catalina Fernández de Córdoba y Aragón, IV Marchioness of Carpio, was married to Luis Méndez de Haro y Guzmán, Marquis of Carpio and Olivares' nephew.[69] The Marquis of Montealegre was Pedro Núñez de Guzmán, president of the Council of Castile, and another member of the Guzmán family.[70] The Marchioness of Aytona was the widow of Guillén Ramón de Moncada, IV Marquis of Aytona, whose father, Francisco de Moncada, was a close collaborator of the Count-Duke of Olivares, and may have passed the painting of Saint Dominic Soriano on to his son.[71] The Count of Peñaranda, viceroy of Naples between 1658 and 1664, was don Gregorio Genaro de Bracamonte y Guzmán, another member of the Guzmán family, and close associate of Don Luis Méndez de Haro, Olivares' nephew. Antonio Carnero was the Count-Duke of Olivares' most trusted private secretary.[72]

There is little doubt that in the Spanish court of this period, devotion to Saint Dominic must have been associated with the Guzmán family, of which the Count-Duke of Olivares, and after his death his son-in-law the Duke of Medina de las Torres, and his

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64 See Burke and Cherry 1997, p. 805 and Getty Provenance Index, document E-629, item 147.
65 See Burke and Cherry 1997, pp. 881 & 887 and Getty Provenance Index, document E-716, items 69 & 191.
66 See Burke and Cherry 1997, p. 527 and Getty Provenance Index, document E-206, item 9.
67 See Burke and Cherry 1997, p. 569 and Getty Provenance Index, document E-257, item 15b.
68 See Burke and Cherry 1997, p. 812 and Getty Provenance Index, document E-757, item 37.
69 Burke and Cherry 1997, p. 437.
70 For the Marquis of Montealegre, see Fayard 1979, pp. 154, 172, 247, 281, 404, 460, 462, and passim.; and Burke and Cherry 1997, p. 792.
71 See Stradling 1988, pp. 102 & 186-187; and Burke and Cherry 1997, p. 708.
72 See Elliott 1986, pp. 67, 286, 560 and passim.; and Burke and Cherry 1997, p. 568.

nephew Don Luis de Haro, were the most prominent members during the seventeenth century, by virtue of their position as favourites to King Philip IV. Although some of the owners of images of Saint Dominic Soriano must have had devotional reasons for having the images, it is certain that, for members of the Guzmán family, the image was a badge of identity. The fact that the Virgin Mary appeared to a monk in Soriano with a painting of Saint Dominic would have been seen not only as a mark of divine favour for Saint Dominic and his order, but also for the Guzmán family.

This association between the House of Guzmán and the image of Saint Dominic at Soriano is visually stated in a legal pamphlet published by the Duke of Medina de las Torres in connection with his litigation against the Marquis of Leganés over the inheritance of the Duchy of Sanlúcar after the death of the Count Duke of Olivares. The frontispiece of the pamphlet was illustrated with two engravings: one of the Virgin of Atocha, and another of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic Soriano* (fig. 3.9).[73] The use of these religious images in the document could simply have been an indication of the Duke's devotion to the Virgin and Saint Dominic; yet the context in which the images were used -an inheritance feud between two members of the Guzmán family- strongly suggests that the inclusion of both the Virgin of Atocha -a Dominican image- and of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* on the title page was a visual means of establishing the Guzmán ancestry of the litigant, and therefore his right to the Sanlúcar inheritance. The artistic significance of the print of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* will be discussed later in this chapter.

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[73] Vicuña and Londaiz [n.d.], title page.

3. Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras, Patron of the Chapel of Saint Dominic Soriano.

Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras (d. July 18, 1660) was born into a long line of royal officials. His great-grandfather, Juan Ruiz de Contreras, had been appointed overseer [*veedor*] of the Spanish royal household in 1508; his grandfather, Fernán Ruiz de Contreras, was *guardajoyas* of Empress Maria of Austria;[74] and his father was the Knight of Santiago Don Juan Ruiz de Contreras, Secretary of the Council of the Indies, who had been a royal secretary since 1604.[75] Don Fernando himself became royal secretary in December 1621, and succeeded his father as Secretary of the Council of the Indies after the latter's death in July 1625.[76]

Don Fernando was appointed secretary to the land section of the Council of War in 1635, initially as a temporary replacement for Gaspar Ruiz Escaray, but becoming permanent soon afterwards, while also keeping his post in the Council of the Indies.[77] This brought him into the circle of the Count-Duke of Olivares' closest secretaries, serving in the Council of War at a particularly stormy period of Spanish history. For instance, he was secretary during the Portuguese riots of Evora in 1637, collaborating closely with the then Secretary of State for Portugal, Diego Suárez, and his assistant Miguel de Vasconcelos.[78] In the late 1630s, Don Fernando was also secretary to the Junta de Ejecución, a body created by Olivares in 1634 to co-ordinate the war effort against France, which later became a sort of advisory war cabinet, comprising members from the

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[74] Titulos Marqués Lapilla , f. 248r., 'Arbol de la Genealogía de D. Fer^{do} Ruiz de Contreras mi s^{r} p^{a} las pruebas de su auito.'

[75] Saltillo 1946, p. 234. Throughout the seventeenth century, court functionaries initially had to be given the generic post of royal secretary, so that they could then be assigned as secretaries to any of the individual government councils and *juntas*. See Escudero 1969, vol. II, p. 325-327, and vol. III, p. 706.

[76] Escudero 1969, vol. III, p. 707. When Don Fernando drew up his father's post-mortem inventory in July 1625, he was listed as 'Secretario de SM en el Real de las Indias', indicating that he was already secretary in the Council of the Indies. See Getty Provenance Index, description of archival document E-830, quoting AHPM, Prot. 2339, ff. 94-98v. & 117-141v.

[77] Escudero 1969, vol. III, pp. 694-695.

[78] Elliott 1986, p. 528.

councils of War, Finance and State.[79] Don Fernando's services as secretary to all of the above bodies must have been highly valued, as he was awarded fully-fledged membership of the Council of the Indies, an appointment which was socially a cut above that of royal secretary, in 1640.[80]

Despite his close links with the Olivares regime, Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras survived the fall of his master, becoming secretary of the *Despacho Universal* and of State for Spain in 1648.[81] The appointment was mostly due to his association with the Count of Castrillo who, as governor of the Council of the Indies, had launched Don Fernando's administrative career, and became one of the most powerful men at court after the fall of Olivares in 1643. When the Count of Castrillo fell from favour in June 1648 by refusing to accept the presidency of the Council of Castile, he appealed both to Don Luis de Haro and to Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras to intercede on his behalf before the King. This in itself is a measure of Don Fernando's political influence. Nevertheless, he seems to have been a pragmatic politician; when the new *valido* Don Luis de Haro distanced himself from the Count of Castrillo in the early 1650s, Don Fernando left his former patron to follow the new political star.[82] He became a close collaborator of Don Luis de Haro and, because of his daily contact with the King as secretary to the *Despacho Universal*, he was considered by his contemporaries as the third person of a political trinity which

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[79] Elliott 1986, p. 560. For the role of the Junta de Ejecución, see Elliott 1986, pp. 512, 560, 569, 570, 578, 579, 583, 594-595, 598-599, 623, 629 & 644; & Stradling 1988, pp. 24-25, & 72.

[80] Titulos Marqués Lapilla , ff. 180r. - 181r.: "M^{d} 5 de M^{co} de 1640. Titulo de su Mg^{d} a D^{n} Fernando Ruiz de Contreras mi s^{r} de plaza del Consejo Rl delas Indias de Capa y espada." See also Escudero 1969, vol. II, p. 569.

[81] Titulos Marqués Lapilla , f. 193r.: "Md. 30 M^{co} de 1648. Titulo de S^{rio} de Estado de la parte de España a Don Fernando Ruiz de contr^{ras} mi s^{or} con 1q.U de mrs. de salario." See also Escudero 1969, vol. I, pp. 247-248 & 257; Elliott 1986, p. 668 and Stradling 1988, p. 261. Don Fernando succeeded the Protonotario de Aragón Don Jerónimo de Villanueva in the secretariship of State for Spain -which had been abolished between 1643 and 1648, an took over from Andrés de Rozas as secretary of the Despacho Universal.

[82] Don García de Haro y Avellaneda, Count of Castrillo, was the uncle of Don Luis de Haro. For his relation with Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras, see Malcolm 1999, pp. 82 & 181-183.

also included the King and Haro.[83] According to the *avisos* for this period, Don Fernando was held in the highest esteem by Philip IV.[84]

Don Fernando married his first wife Doña Rita de Tocq in 1621, and they had one daughter, Doña Mariana Ruiz de Contreras, who married Don Luis Nieto de Silva in 1644.[85] After the death of his first wife, Don Fernando married Doña Maria Felipa de Fonseca, Marchioness of La Lapilla, in 1654, thus becoming Marquis of La Lapilla, and adding 'de Fonseca' to his other surnames.[86] This wedding was crucially important for Don Fernando's social aspirations. By marrying the Marchioness of La Lapilla, he became head of that aristocratic family, and therefore a *Titulo de Castilla.*[87]

In accordance with his status as a nobleman and the highest ranking court official, at the time of his death in 1661 Don Fernando owned three homes: one in the Calle de Carretas, near the convent of Santo Tomás; a *casa jardín* or summer residence in the Calle de la Alameda, near the Prado de Atocha; and the small house he built next to the chapel

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[83] This expression was used by the Marquis of Castel Rodrigo's agent in Madrid, while advising his master to cultivate Don Fernando's friendship. Cited by Malcolm 1999, p. 181. As an illustration of his close relationship with Carpio, in his will and testament Don Fernando asked the Marquis to exert his authority to make sure that his testament was carried out according to his wishes: "Y suplico al s^{r} Don Luys Méndez de Haro Marqués del Carpio, Conde Duque de Olivares cauallerizo mayor de Su Mg^{d} que en continuazion de las honras y mrds. que me ha hecho y haze, se sirua de interponer su authoridad en todo lo que convenga, para que tenga entero cumplim^{to} todo lo contenido en este mi testamento..." AHPM, Prot. 7154, f. 1126r.

[84] See, for instance, the comment by the writer of the appendix to Jerónimo de Barrionuevo's *Avisos* in July 20, 1660, on the death of Don Fernando: "Mucho se ha sentido esta muerte en toda esta Corte, y con razón, porque don Fernando fue un ministro muy apacible en su trato, muy amigo de la justicia y sumamente inclinado a hacer bien; y siendo así que Su Majestad le estimaba en tanto como es notorio, y al mismo nivel el señor don Luis [Méndez de Haro, the new favourite], nada de esto le envaneció jamás, ni por ello minoró en nada el agrado con que recibía y despachaba a todos, y así generalmente es sentida y lamentada su falta, como lo será de cualquiera otro que siguiere su templanza en el valimiento." Barrionuevo 1968-1969, vol. CCXXII, p. 228.

[85] Philip IV awarded Don Luis Nieto de Silva the title of Vicount of San Miguel and Count of Alba de Yeltes in 1649, as a reward for his father-in-law's and his own services. AHPM, Prot. 7154, f. 1123v. and Titulos Marqués Lapilla , f. 249r.: "M^{d} 14 de nou^{bre} de 1649. Traslado simple de un decreto de su mg^{d} por el qual haze mr^{d} de titulo de Vizconde al Sr. D. Luis nieto de Silva Yerno de Don Fer^{do} mi s^{or} y en consider^{on} de los serui^{os} de ambos."

[86] Fonseca Almeyda 1654; Saltillo 1946, pp. 235-241;Barrionuevo 1968-1969, vol. 2, p. 43.

[87] Titulos Marqués Lapilla , f. 215r., letter of April 2nd, 1656. In this letter, the King grants Don Fernando the right to be addressed as a *titulo de Castilla*, as the husband of the Marchioness of La Lapilla. The King starts the letter with the phrase 'Marqués pariente.'

of Santo Domingo. All three houses were filled with luxury furnishings and art works.[88] Don Fernando's taste for collecting must have been inherited from his father, whose art collection, valued after his death in 1625 by the painters Andres López and Domingo de Carrión, listed 117 paintings and 41 sculptures.[89] In addition to the customary religious paintings and sculptures, Don Juan Ruiz de Contreras owned a substantial number of secular paintings, including two series of still lives representing the Twelve Months, and another series of landscapes depicting the Four Seasons. There were also several portraits of members of the royal family and one of the Duke of Lerma, as well as mythological paintings of Orpheus and Venus. The most expensive work in Don Juan's collection was a painting of the 'Castle of Emaus', valued at 2000 *reales*. Several of these were inherited by his son.[90]

Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras was a collector on quite a larger scale than his father. His post-mortem inventory lists a profusion of fine furniture, silver, jewellery, clocks, tapestry hangings, paintings and sculpture.[91] An entire chamber on the second floor of his house in the Calle de Carretas was occupied by a set of glass cabinets or *escaparates* in which silver, china, and all manner of curiosities were displayed.[92] In the same house there were also several long galleries, which lent themselves to the display of paintings.

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[88] The inventory and valuation of Don Fernando's estate are in AHPM, Prot. 8725. Cited in Moreno García 1988, p. 335. I thank Dr. Alistair Malcolm for kindly providing me with this reference.

[89] See Appendix 5.I.

[90] The art works from Juan Ruiz de Contreras' collection which reappear in Don Fernando's valuation are as follows: a pair of paintings of Noah's ark and Orpheus; a portrait of Cristóbal de Mora; the painting of the Castle of Emaus; *láminas* of Saint Michael, Christ the Saviour, Our Lady, the head of John the Baptist, the Way to Calvary and the Marriage of Saint Catherine; four paintings of the seasons; eight landscape paintings with frames in black and gold; a painting of Saint Agnes with a gilded frame; and a sculpture of the Christ child sleeping on a red velvet pillow. See appendices 1 & 2.

[91] His clocks were made in Italy, Germany and France, and the tapestry hangings depicted subjects such as 'Mark Anthony and Cleopatra' and 'The Liberal Arts'. See AHPM, Prot. 8725, ff. 18v. - 19r & 90r. - 90v.

[92] The room was called 'el camarín de los escaparates', and some of these displayed landscape scenes with figures. See, for instance, inventory number 433: "Vn escaparate de ebano y palo santo de tres quartas de alto con un pais dentro de çera y un pastorcillo de bulto y un perrillo de lo mismo con sus vidrieras cristalinas por delante y a los lados y ençima un cofrecillo de tarco de françia guarnecido destaño de una tercia de ancho y encima del Vn san Juan de çera pequeño encima de Vn açafatillo de vidro." AHPM, Prot. 8725, f. 29r. [Pagination in this Protocolo re-starts after f. 79r., which is the beginning of Don Fernando's inventory.]

Don Fernando's painting collection was valued after his death in 1660 by the painters Cristóbal García and Andrés Lados, and consisted of some 370 items (including *láminas* and pen drawings). Although religious paintings were an important part of the collection, a significant number of the works listed had secular subjects, including landscapes, still lives, genre and mythological paintings. The most expensive individual work in the collection was 'a painting with four figures of a woman, a child, and two men leaning back', and it was valued at 300 *ducados de vellón*. The work may have depicted a *fete champetre* after the manner of Giorgione.[93] The second most expensive work was 'a fruit painting with a black woman holding a musical instrument,' valued at 2,400 *reales*. This could have been a painting in the manner of Caravaggio's early works depicting musicians, perhaps by one of his Northern followers.[94] There was also a small devotional painting of a Madonna and child attributed to Correggio, which may have been a copy, given that it was only valued at 30 ducats.[95] Don Fernando seems to have been particularly interested in painting series. One of the most highly priced of these was a set of four large paintings in the second gallery on the top floor, possibly depicting mythological subjects, which were valued at 1,000 *reales* each, and attributed to the School of Rubens.[96] There was also a set of five large paintings on the life of Saint John, valued at 5,000 *reales*;[97] six battle paintings valued at 3,300 *reales*;[98] and several other less

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93 "Otro quadro donde ay quatro figuras de Vna muger Vn nino y dos honbres Recostados de dos baras de Alto y tres de ancho con su marco negro de molduras tasado en treçientos Du^{os} V^{on}."

94 'Un frutero con vna negra con un ynstrumento de musica en la mano de tres baras de ancho y dos y quarta de alto con marco negro con su perfil dorado Alcanto tasado en Dosçientos Reales de aocho' [which at the time seem to have been worth 12 *reales de vellón* each]. See Appendix 5.II, p. 68

95 "Vna pintura de nuestra señora con el niño en los Braços de media bara de alto y una terçia de ancho con su marco de ebano y un rrotulo en el marco que diçe correxio tasada en treinta ducados." The low price given to the painting may also have been due to its small size, at only 41.7 x 27.8 cm [1 *vara* was the equivalent of 835 mm.]

96 "Quatro Paises de flandes de diferentes fabulas de la escuela de Ruenes de quatro Varas de ancho y tres de Alto tasadas a mill Reales V^{on} cada Vna con sus marcos negros." Although the subject of the paintings is unclear, the word *fábulas* might suggest mythological paintings. See appendix 5.II, p. 71.

97 "Çinco quadros de la Vida de san Juan de tres Baras de ancho y dos y media de alto con sus marcos negros tassados a Mill Reales V^{on} cada Vno." See Appendix 5.II, p. 66.

98 "Seis Paises de Batallas de ados Baras de ancho y bara y media de alto con marcos dorados y negros a quinientos y çinquenta Reales V^{on} cada Vno." See Appendix 5.II, p. 67.

expensive series, such as a set depicting the Twelve Months of the year;[99] eight genre paintings with animals and children;[100] twelve portraits of famous men;[101] and twelve sybils.[102] These would have been ideal for display on the long galleries of the house in the Calle de Carretas.

In addition to these secular subjects, Don Fernando owned several portraits. It is quite likely that some of the portraits of royal sitters in the collection were copies after paintings by Velázquez. This was the case, for instance, of a painting of Prince Baltasar Carlos as a child in hunting costume with a dog, almost certainly a copy of the Prado painting of the same subject.[103] We must remember that, according to Palomino, Velázquez painted a portrait of Don Fernando, perhaps one of those listed in the valuation.[104]

Interestingly, although there were three images of Saint Dominic Soriano listed in the valuation of Don Fernando's paintings, they were simply devotional images of little

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[99] "Doçe Paises de los doçe messes del año de dos Baras y quarta de ancho y una de Alto con sus marcos negros tasados a quatroçientos reales V^on^ cada Vno." See Appendix 5.II, p. 65

[100] "Ocho paises con ocho niños y diferentes animales cada Vno de dos baras y media de alto y media de ancho con sus marcos negros con Vn perfil dorado alcanto tasados a dosçientos y Veinte Reales V^on^ cada Vno." See Appendix 5.II, p. 68

[101] "Primeramente tasaron Doçe Retratos de los doçe de la fama de cuerpo entero con sus marcos negros a çiento y çinquenta Reales de V^n^ cada uno." See Appendix 5.II, p. 62.

[102] "Doçe Sibilas de media vara de Alto en quadro tasadas a doçe rreales cada Vna." See Appendix 5.II, p. 77.

[103] "Vn Retrato del Principe Don Baltasar bestido de caçador con Vn perro de caça con marco negro en çiento y diez Reales V^on^ ." See Appendix 5.II, p. 67.

[104] There are two portraits of Don Fernando listed in the valuation, one as a young man, valued at 100 *reales*, and another without a frame valued at 400 *reales*. See appendix 5.II, pp. 71-72. Neither of these seems to have been valued highly enough to have been painted by Velázquez, although valuation prices of this period are difficult to gauge. For Velázquez's portrait of Don Fernando, see Palomino 1987, p. 154. Some scholars have identified this portrait as the *Knight of the Order of Santiago* in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Dresden, with inventory number 698. López Rey quotes Allende Salazar's opinion that the sitter for this painting might be Don Fernando de Fonseca y Ruiz de Contreras. See López Rey 1996, p. 272, catalogue number 110. Apart from Palomino's statement, there is further evidence of Don Fernando's dealings with Velázquez in contemporary documents. For instance, he writes several letters to the Duke of the Infantado in Rome at the time of Velázquez's second trip to Italy, with instructions for the painter on behalf of the king. See, for instance, a letter dated April 20th, 1650: "Su mag^d^ me manda decir A VE que pues ya Diego Velazquez tendra tan adelante la obra que se le encargo que VE de calor a que con suma brev^d^ la perficione, si acasso nolo huuiere hecho y que se venga con la misma porque su mag^d^ dessea veerle ya aca y que procure no seretarde su venida..." AHN, Toledo, Sección Nobleza, Osuna, Leg. 1981/ 128-2. For several other letters in this vein, see AHN, Toledo, Sección Nobleza, Osuna, Leg. 1981/ 128 & Leg. 1982/ 1. See also Harris 1960.

artistic value.[105] However, it is significant that one of them, listed as an *estampa* or devotional print, was unusually large for a print, measuring two *varas* in height and three quarters of a *vara* in length, i.e. 167 x 62.6 cm. The image was printed on yellow taffeta, and had a black frame. Its large size may be an indication that it was an important devotional image, even though it was hanging in an ordinary room, the *quinta pieça*, instead of being placed in one of the oratories.[106]

The subjects and attributions in Don Fernando's collection indicate that he was a discerning connoisseur who, like most of his contemporaries at court, followed to some extent royal tastes. Rubens was one of Philip IV's favourite painters, and his works were highly sought after at court. The presence of paintings attributed to the School of Rubens in Don Fernando's collection would have been a mark of his prestige both as a courtier and as a collector. Yet in addition to this, the listing in the valuation of still lives, mythological subjects and genre scenes, perhaps even of a Caravaggist work, indicates that Don Fernando was well acquainted with the artistic and collecting trends of his time. The existence of a *galería de escaparates* in his home shows him to be part of a refined elite of collectors amongst the administrative class at court.

When commissioning the decoration for his chapel, Don Fernando would have sought artists with a high professional status, who could create works of high quality. His choice of painter, in particular, must have been influenced by his personal artistic preferences. Given his interest in still life, he must have been well acquainted with Antonio de Pereda's work, even if the painter's name was not mentioned in the inventory and valuation. It is therefore not surprising that he commissioned the paintings for the chapel's altarpiece from Pereda. Yet the professional qualifications of all the artists

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[105] One of them was a painting without a frame, measuring two *varas* in height and half a *vara* in width, or 167 x 41.7 cm, and valued at 30 *reales*. The other painting had a black frame, measured 167 x 83.5 cm, and was valued at 36 *reales*. See appendix 5.II, pp. 64 & 67.

involved in the commission need to be analysed in order to understand why they were selected for the project.

The fact that Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras chose to acquire the chapel of Saint Dominic Soriano in the convent church of Santo Tomás for his burial is far from surprising, given that the former patron of the church was his master the Count-Duke of Olivares. After the Count-Duke's death the patronage passed onto the new head of the Guzmán family, the Duke of Medina de las Torres, who was a rival of Don Luis Méndez de Haro for the post of *valido* to the King.[107] Thus by founding a burial chapel in the church of Santo Tomás, dedicated to a saint so clearly associated with the Guzmán family, Don Fernando was overtly reaffirming his links with the Count-Duke's son-in-law and protegée, the Duke of Medina de las Torres. Yet since Don Fernando was also a close collaborator of the Duke's rival, Don Luis Méndez de Haro, it seems puzzling that he would have become linked with the church of Santo Tomás and its patron.[108] Since the Marquis of Carpio and the Duke of Medina de las Torres were the two men closest to the King during the 1650s,[109] it is likely that Don Fernando's choice of chapel had strong political connotations: as a prudent courtier, and in his capacity as secretary of the *Despacho Universal*, he seems to have established close ties with the heads of both factions

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[106] "Vna estampa de Santo domingo soriano de tafetan Pajiço con su marco negro de dos baras de Alto y tres quartas de ancho en Veinte y quatro R^{s} V^{n}." See appendix 5.II, p. 65.

[107] For the origins of the rivalry between the Duke of Medina de las Torres and the Marquis of Carpio, see Stradling 1976, pp. 3-9; and Stradling 1988, pp. 108-117.

[108] The re-opening of the church after the fire in 1656 gave Medina de las Torres an opportunity for pomp and display, in which Don Fernando participated willingly, as shown in p. 10 above. The fact that the King and Queen and many courtiers attended the festivities must have been a source of annoyance for Don Luis de Haro, given that these types of ceremonies were often used as a means of currying favour and gaining the confidence of the King. For the festivities, see Miranda y la Cotera 1657; Martínez Escudero 1900, pp. 58 - 65; and Barrionuevo 1968-1969, vol CCXXII, p. 2.

[109] Although Don Luis de Haro was considered to be the political power behind the throne during this period, Medina de las Torres was *sumiller de corps* to Philip IV, managing all matters related to the royal household. The extent of Medina's political influence during this period remains unclear, yet in public ceremonies he sat as close to the King as Haro; this was always an indication of great political clout. For a discussion of Medina's influence at court, see Stradling 1976, Stradling 1988, pp. 253-268, & Malcolm 1999, pp. 93-94.

rivalling for power, miraculously managing to stay on good terms with both, while maintaining his own influence with the King.[110] The chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano can be seen as part of this political strategy.[111]

Nevertheless, there were also devotional reasons for founding the chapel, which become clear when examining the terms included in the deed of patronage. According to those, after Don Fernando's death the convent was under the obligation to celebrate twelve sung masses for his soul annually. Nine of these had to coincide with the nine annual festivities devoted to the Virgin Mary, while the rest would be said on Ascension day, Corpus Christi and the feast of Saint Joseph (March 19th). A further nine requiem masses had to be officiated annually on the *octava* of ceremonies after All Souls. Additionally, High Mass would be celebrated at the altar of the chapel during any festivities devoted to the image of Saint Dominic Soriano throughout the year. The antiphon and prayers that the convent said in the chapel daily after Compline in honour of Saint Dominic, would also be dedicated to the salvation of the souls of Don Fernando and his family.[112]

The above conditions reveal the usual preoccupation with the afterlife that was characteristic of Spanish seventeenth century testaments, as well as a particular devotion to Saint Dominic Soriano.[113] In his last will, Don Fernando also mentioned that he was negotiating permission to allow the Eucharist to be exposed in his chapel every Tuesday

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[110] He was described as being 'cerca de la real persona' on the title page of Miranda y la Cotera 1657.
[111] We know that Don Fernando was capable of ruthless political expediency, as he demonstrated in his behaviour towards his former patron the Count of Castrillo. Should Don Luis de Haro's political fortunes change, Medina de las Torres' friendship would have helped Don Fernando maintain his influence at court.
[112] These conditions were cited in Don Fernando's will of December 31st 1659, AHPM, Prot. 7154, [ff. 1103r. - 1129v.], f. 1108r. - 1109v. Extended extracts of this were transcribed in Saltillo 1946, pp. 237-252.
[113] In the conditions of patronage, Don Fernando stated his "particular devoción y muy especialmente para la imagen del Soriano." See Puerta Rosell 1988, p. 352.

of the year.[114] This cult of the Eucharist is also consistent with Catholic devotion in Counter-Reformation Spain.[115]

Don Fernando attached enormous importance to his patronage of this chapel, as he included it, as well as the adjoining house, in a *mayorazgo* that he founded and included in his will of 1659.[116] This meant, in practice, that the works of art inside the chapel could never be sold at auction or alienated from the family inheritance by Don Fernando's heirs. Since the chapel contents were destined to become part of the family patrimony, it is likely that Don Fernando would have been particularly interested in employing artists of a certain professional standing in the project. It is this aspect of the commission that will be explored next.

II. ARTISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE CHAPEL OF SANTO DOMINGO SORIANO.

1. The Miracle of Saint Dominic Soriano in Spanish Seventeenth-century Art.

Antonio de Pereda's painting of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic Soriano* (fig. 3.1) was a replacement for Juan Bautista Maíno's image of the same subject, destroyed during the 1652 fire in the church of Santo Tomás. In order to assess the artistic and iconographic qualities of Pereda's painting, it is necessary to compare it to other contemporary Spanish images of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic Soriano.*

Since Juan Bautista Maíno's painting was based on a print of the miracle brought back from Soriano by Father Francisco Pinelo, it will be useful to examine some Italian prints of the subject, to see whether any of them could have been the source utilised by Maíno.

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[114] See AHPM, Prot. 7154, f. 1109r., transcribed in Saltillo 1946, pp. 245-246.
[115] Don Fernando's devotion to the Eucharist is reflected in his library, which contained a copy of the Dominican Alonso de Rivera's *Historia sacra del Santissimo Sacramento contra las heregias destos tiempos*, published in Madrid in 1626. AHPM, Prot. 8725, f. 21r., Inventory number 322.
[116] See AHPM, Prot. 7154, f. 1108, transcribed in Saltillo 1946, pp. 244-245.

Perhaps the best known of these is an engraving of the miracle currently kept in the Raccolta di stampe Bertarelli, in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan (fig. 3.6).[117] It consists of a central image of the apparition of the Virgin Mary to the friars at Soriano, surrounded by fourteen square vignettes showing miracles associated with the *vera effigies* of Saint Dominic at Soriano. At the top of the engraving, an inscription identifies it 'Della miracolosissima imagine di Santo Domenico in Soriano vero retratto.' The central image shows Mary Magdalene, the Virgin Mary and Saint Catherine of Siena holding up a canvas with a full-length image of Saint Dominic. The saint has a book in one hand and a bouquet of lilies in the other. The book seems to be miraculously protruding from the canvas, a feature common to many depictions of Saint Dominic Soriano, which may explain why the image was considered to be so difficult to copy. The Virgin and female saints are lined up behind the canvas, their heads leaning towards the right. Whilst the figures of Mary Magdalene on the left, and Saint Catherine on the right, are partially visible and identifiable by their attributes, the figure of the Virgin Mary is only recognisable by the royal crown on her head and the larger halo, since her body is almost completely hidden behind the canvas. On the right hand side of the image there are three kneeling Dominican friars, one of them holding the edge of the canvas, while the other two seem to be praying. The figures stand against a black background. At the bottom of the image, another inscription explains how the image was brought from Heaven by the Virgin Mary, Saint Mary Magdalene and Saint Catherine to Soriano, in 1530, and makes reference to the 'libro stampato dei suoi Miracoli.' The miracles are arranged in small vignettes around the central image, each with an explanatory inscription. They are the same miracles listed in Silvestro Frangipane's book, which attributes to the image the

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[117] Published in Pérez Sánchez 1997, fig. 1.

power to heal the sick, resurrect the dead, give sight to the blind, aid women giving birth, and many other miracles.[118]

The various editions of Silvestre Frangipane's account of the Soriano image and the miracles associated with it also included prints of the image. In the 1646 Naples edition (fig. 3.7), the Virgin holds the image of the saint, flanked on the left by Mary Magdalene and on the right by Saint Catherine, both of them standing on clouds and holding their attributes. There are no Dominican friars present in the engraving except for saint Dominic himself, who holds the customary attributes of the book and the lilies. At the bottom of the image there is an inscription with the title and publication details of the book, flanked by a Dominican coat of arms on the left, and an unidentified coat of arms, perhaps belonging to an Italian nobleman, on the right. The Virgin and the two saints are presented frontally, but the image of Saint Dominic Soriano covers most of the space in the engraving.

The frontispiece for Agostino da Soriano's *Raccolta de miracoli…* also has an image of the *Miracle at Soriano* (fig. 3.8). In it once again the Virgin appeas holding the painting of Saint Dominic, flanked by Mary Magdalene on the left and by Saint Catherine on the right. A Dominican friar is kneeling at the bottom left hand side of the print, holding Saint Dominic's painting with both hands. In this example, the canvas with the painting is smaller, so that the Virgin Mary is more visible.

Despite the obvious differences between them, the three engravings discussed above have one feature in common: in all of them the Virgin is holding the canvas, with the consequence that her figure is mostly obscured by the miraculous image of Saint Dominic. In contrast, in Spanish images of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* the figure of the Virgin is never behind the canvas, but to one side of it, often pointing towards it.

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[118] Frangipane 1646.

In devotional terms, this makes for a more effective image, as it gives more prominence to the Virgin Mary, thus emphasising the message of the painting about divine approval for images of saints.

This is the case, for instance, in Juan Bautista Maíno's Hermitage painting of the same subject (fig. 3.11), which may be a version of the canvas that burned in the fire in Santo Tomás. Maíno's composition is quite different from the Bertarelli print (fig. 3.6).[119] The position of the figures has been reversed: there is only one kneeling Dominican on the left hand side of the picture, looking towards the right, while the Virgin Mary and the Magdalene look towards the left. Only one of the three female figures, Saint Catherine, holds up the canvas, her pose quite similar to that of the Virgin in the Bertarelli print. The image of Saint Dominic is also quite close to the print; the book he is holding seems to protrude out of the painting, just as it does in the print, and the position of the hand holding the lilies is quite similar. On the other hand, the figure of the kneeling Dominican has some features in common with the friar in the print illustrating Agostino da Soriano's book on the miracle at Soriano (fig. 3.8). The most important aspect of Maíno's image, in which the painting differs most from both prints, is the fact that the full-length figure of the Virgin Mary is completely visible, as she is standing to the right of the canvas. In addition to this, Maíno's painting places the figures in an architectural setting, with stone walls behind the figures, and a set of columns and windows inside pointed arches just behind the Virgin Mary.

As for whether Maíno's Hermitage painting is in any way similar to the original in Santo Tomás, the engraving illustrating the legal pamphlet published by the Prince of Astillano, better known as Duke of Medina de las Torres, against the Marquis of Leganés might provide some clues on this matter (fig. 3.9).[120] The pamphlet must have been published

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[119] The Bertarelli engraving is cited as a source for Maíno's painting in Pérez Sánchez 1997, p. 115.
[120] Vicuña and Londaiz [n.d.].

after 1651, since the Marquis of Carpio, who was initially also involved in the lawsuit but settled out of court in 1651, is not mentioned. Given that the Duke of Medina de las Torres was the patron of the church of Santo Tomás, it is quite possible that the print of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* on the title page of the pamphlet, identified as the 'Retrato verdadero de S^to^ Domingo Soriano' by an inscription at the bottom, reproduced Maíno's painting in that church. The print repeats almost exactly the composition in the Hermitage painting, with the exception of the architectural background, more extensive in the print than in the Hermitage canvas, and the space between the figures, which seems less compressed in the print. If we accept that this engraving must have reproduced the image by Maíno from the church of Santo Tomás, then the evidence from it suggests that the painting in Santo Tomás would have been larger than the Hermitage painting, but had the same basic composition. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that another painting by Maíno of the same subject, currently in the church of Santa Eulalia in Segovia, also reproduces the same composition (fig. 3.13).

The marked differences with the three Italian prints discussed, and the fact that at least another, probably earlier Spanish painting of the same subject repeats Maíno's composition in its main elements, suggests that there may have been another print which was used as a source by Spanish painters, and came closer to Maíno's composition. The work in question is Zurbarán's painting of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* for the Dominican monastery of San Pablo el Real, in Seville, now church of the Magdalena, painted c. 1626-1627 (fig. 3.10).[121] Zurbarán's copious use of Flemish and Italian prints as compositional sources for his paintings is well known. The main elements of Zurbarán's image are very similar to Maíno's painting. There are four main figures in his

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[121] The painting was part of a series of 21 works that Zurbarán painted for this convent. For a summary of the contract for this series, see Hernández Díaz 1927-1946, p. 182. For references to this painting and its iconography, see Soria 1953, p. 9 & cat. no. 5; Gállego and Gudiol 1977, p. 73, cat. no. 3 & figs. 4 & 6; Brown 1991, p. 52 & colour plate 3; & Cueto 1994, pp. 678-680.

composition, standing against a dark background: the kneeling Dominican on the left hand side of the painting; Saint Catherine, holding up the canvas with the *vera effigies* of Saint Dominic; the Virgin Mary, wearing a crown and sceptre and prominently holding a rosary, while pointing to the image of Saint Dominic; and Mary Magdalene, wearing an overskirt gathered up at the front and holding her attribute, the jar of ointment. The placing of the figures is very similar to Maíno's work, and there are certain elements, such as Saint Catherine's floating veil, and the Magdalene's overskirt, pinned up at the front, that are repeated in other paintings and suggest the use of a particular print by all. The other alternative could be, of course, that they all saw Zurbarán's painting and copied his composition. However, since Zurbarán is not known for his compositional inventiveness, it is much more likely that there was an earlier print involved which, for the moment, remains unidentified.

Maíno's composition was enormously successful, as demonstrated by the various versions of the image currently extant. A Sevillian artist, Juan del Castillo (c.1590-1657/8), painted the *Miracle of Saint Dominic Soriano* several times.[122] One of these works is in the convent of Santo Domingo in Osuna (Seville), datable c.1630-1635, and repeats Maíno's composition in virtually every detail (fig. 3.15). Particularly similar are the figures of Mary Magdalene, who both wear the same overskirts and hold the jar of ointment in the same manner, the sleeves of their dresses very similar in shape, their necks and heads in the same position. Since it is known that Maíno's image for Santo Tomás was based on a print, Castillo could have used the same print for his Osuna painting. The legal pamphlet mentioned above demonstrates that there were prints made after Maíno's

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[122] The earliest version of this subject attributed to Castillo was in a side altarpiece in the presbitery of the convent of Montesión in Seville, which according to Ponz, Ceán Bermúdez and González de León was devoted to Saint Dominic Soriano. The altarpiece was built between 1617-1618; if Castillo's work was painted at that same time, it was one of the earliest examples of a painting of Saint Dominic Soriano in Spain. Unfortunately, the painting was seized by French troops in 1810, and very likely taken to France. Its

painting in Santo Tomás, and Castillo may also have had access to one of those.[123] We also know of at least one image of Saint Dominic Soriano, quite likely a copy after Maíno's painting in Santo Tomás, which was in the church of Santo Domingo in Jerez de la Frontera since 1629, which Castillo may have seen.[124]

Another image of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* which repeats Maíno's Hermitage composition almost exactly, but without the architectural background, can be found in the National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin. (fig. 3.14). The painting has been attributed to Jusepe Leonardo on stylistic grounds, and can be dated between c. 1635-c.1645.[125] Unfortunately nothing is known about its original provenance; but it is clear that the artist was influenced by Maíno's composition, either because he used the same engraving as a source, or because he knew Maíno's canvas or a print of it.

A similar composition was used by the Valencian painter Jerónimo Jacinto de Espinosa (1600-1667) in an altarpiece for the Dominican convent of Castellón, painted in the 1650s. In it Espinosa maintains the general arrangement of the figures, but has the Virgin Mary holding the image of Saint Dominic by its right corner, while she also points at it with her hand. The painting, which was the only extant work of the entire commission for the Castellón Dominicans, was destroyed and is now only known through an old photograph (fig. 3.16).[126]

Although Maíno's image was perhaps the most popular compositional type for the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* in seventeenth-century Spain, there were also other versions with different compositions painted before Pereda's painting of 1655.

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present whereabouts are unknown. For Castillo's paintings of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano*, see Valdivieso and Serrera 1985, pp. 354-356.

[123]The existence of an engraving made after Maíno's painting in Santo Tomás, which would have been the source for Castillo's and later paintings of the subject with the same composition, was already suggested in Mulcahy 1988, p. 32. However, no prints with this composition are currently known.

[124] Breve relacion Santo Domingo Soriano Xerez [1629].

One of the most famous Madrid images of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* not based on Maíno's composition was painted by Vicente Carducho (c. 1576-1638) for the church of the convent of Santo Domingo el Real in 1638. The whereabouts of Carducho's image are not known at present, but an engraving of the painting by Pedro de Villafranca still survives (fig. 3.21).[127] Villafranca's engraving shows four figures inside a church interior. The Dominican friar is kneeling before the image of Saint Dominic on the right hand side of the picture, holding a lamp. A bunch of keys are visible on the floor to the left of the friar, indicating that he was the sacristan. Standing a step higher are the figures of Mary Magdalene, holding her ointment jar; the Virgin Mary, pointing towards the image of Saint Dominic while holding the canvas with her right hand; and Saint Catherine of Alezandria, her body partially hidden behind the canvas she is holding, carrying the palm of martyrdom with her right hand, the spiked wheel visible behind her. Above the figures hovers the dove of the Holy Spirit enveloped in a halo of light. In the background, an altarpiece with an unidentified image is visible.

If one compares the print of Carducho's composition with Maíno's Hermitage painting, the latter has a more concentrated devotional impact, because of the confined space in which the figures have been placed. There is a serenity and stillness to Maíno's work which is lacking in Carducho's composition. On the other hand, Carducho has constructed a more easily legible narrative. The Dominican friar's occupation is clearly identified by the lamp and keys. Saint Catherine of Alexandria is more easily recognised by the wheel of her martyrdom. The presence of the Holy Spirit proclaims the message of the miracle, i.e. divine approval for images of saints, more directly.

Carducho had already painted the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* in a previous commission for the Dominican monastery of Santo Domingo de Bemfica, near

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[125] Mulcahy 1988, p. 32.
[126] Pérez Sánchez 2000, pp. 49-50.

Lisbon.[128] In that painting (fig. 3.20), the image of Saint Dominic Soriano was held up by two angels, while Mary Magdalene, the Virgin Mary and Saint Catherine of Siena stood to the left of the painting. The rest of the image was quite similar to his later work for Santo Domingo el Real. By reducing the cast of characters to four figures, the latter was more effective in devotional terms, as the viewer's attention concentrated on the main characters of the scene.

The *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* in Santo Domingo el Real is a good example of how religious commissions came about and religious imagery was propagated in seventeenth century Spain. The process started with Carducho being commissioned to paint a number of Dominican images for the monastery of Santo Domingo de Bemfica.[129] The patron of the project, prior João de Vasconcelos, was appointed prior of the monastery in 1623 and immediately set about building a new church.[130] The decoration of the church started as soon as the building was finished, and the *Adoration of the shepherds*, painted for the same church, was signed by Carducho in 1626.[131] It is likely that the rest of the canvases were painted between that year and 1636, the date when the count of Figueiro commissioned the sculptures of Saint Dominic and Saint Peter Martyr from Manuel Pereira .[132] Clearly, the commission for Santo Domingo el Real in Madrid must have come about, at least partly, as a result of Carducho's work in Bemfica.[133] The

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[127] Illustration for Colocacion Santo Domingo Soriano 1638, reproduced in Mulcahy 1988, fig. 21.

[128] The paintings for Santo Domingo de Benfica, commissioned by the prior of the convent Fray João de Vasconcelos, were attributed to Carducho in Ferrer de Valdecebro [1668], Libro primero, f. 43v. & Libro segundo, f. 18r. For a description of the paintings, see Cacegas and Sovsa 1662, ff. 98r.-101r. Both sources were cited in Cerqueira 1946, pp. 216-217; Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, pp. 143-144; and Martín González 1983.

[129] Although Cruz Cerqueira believed that seven paintings in the church were by Carducho's hand, Angulo & Pérez Sánchez only accept an attribution to Vicente Carducho for four paintings. See Cerqueira 1946, pp. 216-220 & Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, pp. 143-144.

[130] He was later appointed Provincial of the Dominican province of Portugal, preacher in the royal chapel, and member of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition. Cacegas and Sovsa 1662, f. 97r.

[131] Martín González 1983, p. 287.

[132] Agulló Cobo 1978a, pp. 259 & 268-269.

[133] By 1638 Carducho was a well known religious painter, having completed his Carthusian series for El Paular between 1626 and 1632. Nevertheless, a recommendation from Prior Vasconcelos would also have influenced the nuns of Santo Domingo el Real in their choice of painter.

connection between the two Dominican monasteries can be easily demonstrated, as prior Vasconcelos celebrated mass on Friday, June 18th 1638, the fifth day of the *octava* celebrating the collocation of Carducho's image in Santo Domingo el Real.[134] The latter repeated the figures of the Virgin Mary, the Magdalene, Catherine of Siena and the kneeling Dominican friar from the Bemfica picture, as well as placing them in a similar space. By eliminating the figures of the angels, the painting has greater focus and devotional impact.

The other prominent Spanish artist who painted versions of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* which are completely different from Maíno's composition was Alonso Cano. His painting of the subject in the Gómez Moreno collection in Madrid shows the Virgin sitting on a cloud supported by two angels on the right hand side, and pointing towards the image of Saint Dominic on the left. (fig. 3.23) The canvas is held by both Mary Magdalene and Saint Catherine, and a Dominican friar kneels on the left, pointing to the painting with his right hand. The Virgin is less prominent in Cano's painting than in the composition by Maíno, because she is seated. The Dominican friar's right hand partly obscures the image of Saint Dominic, which makes Cano's painting less successful in devotional terms. Nevertheless, an engraving by Diego de Obregón in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (fig. 3.24) reproduces this painting, which demonstrates the popularity of the composition.

A drawing in the Prado Museum (fig. 3.25), also by Cano, depicts the same subject again. This time the Virgin is standing up on the right of Saint Dominic's image, pointing towards it with her right hand, while making a gesture of salutation with her left hand. Saints Mary Magdalene and Catherine are holding the image of Saint Dominic, each with

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[134] See Colocacion Santo Domingo Soriano 1638, f. 21v.: "Dixo la missa el mui Reuerendo Padre Maestro frai Iuan de Vasconcelos, de la Orden de santo Domingo, dignissimo Inquisidor de Portugal, aunque estaua señalada para el Ilustrissimo don frai domingo Pimentel, Obispo de Cordoua, hermano de su Excelencia [la condesa de Oropesa], que se tuuo por cierto llegara a esta Corte a tiempo."

their attributes of the jar of oil and the palm of martyrdom. On the bottom left hand side, the Dominican friar is kneeling before the image with his back against the viewer. Once more, however, the figure of the friar obscures the image of Saint Dominic, making the miracle less legible. A painting in the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg, attributed to Alonso Cano's workshop, is very close in composition to this drawing.

Juan del Castillo also painted at least two versions of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* which were different from Maíno's composition: one currently in the convent of the Madre de Dios in Carmona, Seville, datable c. 1625 (fig. 3.17), and another in the Dominican convent of the Madre de Dios in Seville, datable c. 1635-1638 (fig. 3.18).[135] In terms of composition, the Carmona version is slightly different from Zurbarán's or Maíno's works. It presents the four figures against a Gothic architectural background of severe vertical lines, reminiscent of Seville Cathedral. The placing of the figures is similar to the paintings mentioned above, but their poses are different, since the canvas with the *vera effigies* of Saint Dominic is held by both Saint Catherine on the left and the Virgin Mary on the right. Castillo has positioned the canvas in a manner that does not completely cover the bodies of the Virgin and Saint Catherine. In the background to the right a Crucified Christ and a kneeling figure at the foot of the Cross are visible, very likely a reference to the Dominican devotion to the Crucified Christ.

Castillo's painting in the Dominican convent of the Madre de Dios in Seville (fig. 3.18) changes the composition notably. It places the Dominican friar at the bottom right hand side of the painting, while the images of the Virgin, Saint Catherine and Mary Magdalene stand on a higher level. The Virgin Mary stands on the left, pointing towards the image of Saint Dominic which is being held by Mary Magdalene and Saint Catherine.

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[135] Valdivieso and Serrera 1985, pp. pp. 354-356.

A painting by Castillo's disciple Pedro de Moya (1610-1674), datable to the early years of his career, when he was still quite influenced by his master's models, also alters slightly Maíno's composition (fig. 3.19).[136] Moya presents the four figures in an indeterminate interior, with the elderly friar kneeling before the image of Saint Dominic on the left hand side. The figure of Mary Magdalene stands on the left, holding the ointment jar and looking out towards the viewer. Saint Catherine of Siena, in the centre, holds up the canvas with the *vera effigies* of Saint Dominic. The Virgin Mary stands on a cloud on the right hand side of the picture, a halo around her head and pointing towards the canvas. The *vera effigies* itself shows Saint Dominic in a reversed position, holding the lilies on the left hand and the book on the right, unlike the other images of the same subject discussed above and, crucially, unlike the Soriano image itself. The overall composition of Moya's painting, with the exception of the reversed pose of Saint Dominic, is quite similar to the illustration on the title page of Agostino da Soriano's 1656 work (fig. 3.8). Since religious prints were often used to illustrate books many years after they were first created, it is possible that the print in this 1656 edition had a previous existence, and therefore Moya could have seen it in the 1630s. However, Moya has made the Virgin stand on the right hand side of the painting, while Saint Catherine holds the canvas, and the figure of the Magdalene on the left is slightly different, as it gazes at the viewer.

These were some of the images of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* that preceded Pereda's painting for Santo Tomás. While there are great stylistic differences among them, there are also many similarities in content and composition. In addition to this, certain characteristics apply to most of the paintings mentioned above. One of them is that none of the images of Saint Dominic bears much resemblance to the *vera effigies* in Soriano. The latter (fig. 3.5) showed the saint standing in a narrow space, with yellow

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[136] See Montaner López 1986 & Montaner López 1987, p. 158.

walls, a brown floor, and a window to the left showing some distant landscape. The image also presents Saint Dominic holding a book and some lilies. This iconography varies slightly from the standard image of Dominic with a star and a dog holding a flaming torch in his mouth. Although the Soriano image was supposed to be a divinely created new *vera effigies* of Saint Dominic, images with a similar iconography were painted long before 1530.[137] It is interesting to notice that, despite the importance given to this *vera effigies*, Spanish paintings of the *Miracle of saint Dominic at Soriano* reproduced the iconography only in its essential elements -the saint holding a book and lilies- but failed to present him indoors, and never reproduced the physical characteristics of the Soriano image. The explanation for this may be that, because the Soriano image was of divine origin, no painter felt they had the skill to reproduce it faithfully, and therefore opted for painting an image that was altogether different. It is certainly true that none of the engravings analysed in this chapter bear much resemblance to the original Soriano painting, and this may also have applied to the copies of the Soriano painting brought to the convents of Santo Tomás and Santo Domingo el Real.

Another feature shared by some of the images above is the depiction of scenes from the life of Christ or the Virgin in the background. In Juan del Castillo's painting in the convent of the Madre de Dios in Carmona (Seville), the Virgin appears kneeling at the foot of a Crucifix in the background to the right (fig. 3.17). In the Osuna version of the same subject by Castillo (fig. 3.15), the Annunciation appears in the background. Maíno's painting in the Museo de San Telmo in San Sebastián (fig. 3.12) also shows the Annunciation in the background, while Villafranca's engraving of Carducho's painting for Santo Domingo el Real shows an altarpiece in the background, with an unidentified scene. These scenes clearly have a particularly Dominican significance, almost certainly

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[137] See, for instance, Francesco Traini's Saint Dominic, in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa. Reproduced in Domingo Iturgaiz's article on the Dominican order in Turner 1996, vol. 9, p. 107.

related to the devotion to the Rosary, and the meditation on the fifteen Joyful, Sorrowful and Glorious mysteries of Our Lady. The Annunciation is one of the joyful mysteries, while the Crucifixion is one of the sorrowful mysteries. Pereda's painting for Santo Tomás also included a scene from the life of the Virgin in the background, the Assumption, which is one of the Glorious mysteries. In the seventeenth century, Saint Dominic was attributed with the introduction of the devotion to the rosary, therefore these scenes would have been understood as references to that devotion by contemporary viewers.

Having studied a number of Spanish paintings of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* painted before 1655, they have provided us with a pictorial context in which to place Pereda's painting. As we shall see later, there are clear differences between most of these paintings and Pereda's work, in terms of size, composition and rendering of colour. These differences will serve to explain the choice of Pereda among the artists employed in the chapel of Saint Dominic Soriano in Santo Tomás.

2. Artists Employed in the Decoration of the Chapel.

There is abundant documentation relating to the decoration of the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano in the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos in Madrid.[138] According to these records, the altarpiece in the chapel was commissioned from Sebastián de Benavente on May 2nd, 1654, and had to be built according to a design by Alonso Carbonel, *maestro mayor* of royal works.[139] Bartolomé Sombigo was in charge of the jasper pedestals in the altarpiece.[140] In March 1654, before the official contract for the altarpiece was signed, Manuel Pereira and Bernabé Contreras signed a contract for two sculptures of Saints Peter and Paul which were to be placed on the altarpiece, according to plans

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138 The contracts for the entire project have been studied by Puerta Rosell 1988.
139 Benavente was paid 14,000 reales for the altarpiece. See Puerta Rosell 1988, p. 352.
140 Sombigo received 24,000 reales for the jasper pedestals, which must have been commissioned at the same time as the altarpiece. See Puerta Rosell 1988, p. 353.

that had already been drawn up. Eventually the sculptures were carved by Pereira alone.[141]

According to Lázaro Díaz del Valle, the image of *Santo Domingo Soriano* destined for the altar of Don Fernando's chapel was painted by Antonio de Pereda.[142] Palomino added the information that Pereda received 2,000 ducats, as well as the post of *ujier de cámara* in the royal palace for his son Joaquín, as payment for the painting.[143] Although the latter has been corroborated by the artist's will, archival research has uncovered that the payment for the painting was in fact 2,000 *reales*, which, although still a considerable sum, was nowhere near the extraordinary figure of 2,000 ducats -i.e. 22,000 reales- reported by Palomino.[144] Pereda also painted an image of the *Holy Trinity* for the attic of the altarpiece,[145] and it is even likely that the 2,000 reales were meant as payment for both paintings.

The gilding and polychromy of the altarpiece was carried out by Pedro Pérez de Araújo and Clemente de Ávila, and the coats of arms of Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras that adorned the altarpiece were painted by Andrés Lados.[146]

Other elements in the decoration of the chapel included an ironwork grille carried out by Lorenzo Hernández de Medina and gilded by Pedro Pérez de Araújo and Clemente de Ávila; wooden doors for the entrances to the chapel decorated with the coats of arms of

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[141] The contract was signed on March 29th, 1654, and Pereira was paid 4,000 reales for the work. Saltillo 1946, pp. 259-261.

[142] Díaz del Valle 1981, p. 471.

[143] Palomino de Castro y Velasco 1988, vol. 1, book 2, chapter 5, section 5, p. 291.

[144] A letter of payment dated April 27th, 1656, indicates that Pereda received 1,500 reales for the work, in addition to another 500 reales that he had been given previously. See Puerta Rosell 1988, p. 353. According to Pereda's will of January 1678, the post of *ujier de saleta* for his son Joaquín was achieved through the painter's skill: "y para descargo de mi conciencia le di cuando se caso muebles de casa regulados a 700 reales, el cuarto de la casa que ocupó y más un oficio de Ugier de Saleta de su Magestad cuya merced saqué en su cabeza por mis servicios e inteligencias, que gozo hasta que se murio…" Transcribed in Tormo 1910, p. 508.

[145] See Palomino 1987, p. 206.

[146] The contract for the gilding and polychromy was signed on May 21st, 1655, and the artists were paid a total of 15,660 reales. Andrés Lados was paid 300 reales for painting the coats of arms. See Puerta Rosell 1988, p. 353. Lados was also the valuer for Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras' painting collection after the latter's death in 1660, together with Cristóbal García. See appendix 5.II.

Don Fernando, carved by Juan de Leitado and Juan de Torres; a wooden grill for the balcony overlooking the chapel, made by Tomás Domínguez; several silver objects for the altar and the chapel; a lamp designed by Francisco de Alderete; and some glass panes to close over the dome of the chapel, designed by Gabriel Martínez. The architectural work for the dome of the chapel was financed by Don Fernando himself, rather than by the convent of Santo Tomás, and carried out by Juan Marroquín.[147] The latter also built the façade of the chapel, according to a design by the architect Pedro de la Torre.[148]

Having outlined the main steps involved in the building and decoration of Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras' chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano, it is now necessary to examine in detail the professional status of the artists selected, as well as the work they carried out for the chapel.

a) The architects: Alonso Carbonel, Sebastián de Benavente and Pedro de la Torre.

As indicated above, the altarpiece of the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano was designed by Alonso Carbonel and built by Sebastián de Benavente, according to a contract signed in May 1654. The façade for the entrance to the chapel from the Calle de Atocha was designed by Pedro de la Torre, and erected by the stonemason Juan Marroquín.

Alonso Carbonel (c.1590-1660) could be considered as the official architect of the Olivares regime, having been in charge of the building work in the Buen retiro palace after Giovanni Battista Crescenzi's death in 1635.[149] He also worked for the Count-Duke of Olivares in the latter's burial chapel in the church of the convent of Dominican nuns of Loeches, built between 1637 and 1640.[150] When the altarpiece for the chapel of Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras was commissioned in 1654, Carbonel had just finished

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147 See Puerta Rosell 1988, pp. 354-355.
148Puerta Rosell 1988, p. 354.
149 For Carbonel's role in the building of the Buen Retiro palace, see Brown and Elliott 1980, pp. 57-59, 74, 81, 90, 220-222 & tables II & III.

remodelling the chapel of the royal pantheon in El Escorial, for which he designed the entrance corridor.[151]

Carbonel was also an expert altarpiece designer and sculptor. Between 1612 and 1619 he designed altarpieces for the church of Santa María Magdalena in Getafe, the chapel of Gaspar Ruiz de Montalbán in the church of Santos Justo y Pastor in Madrid; the chapel of the German ambassador in the church of San Jerónimo el Real in Madrid; and the chapel of Don Sebastián de la Huerta, Secretary to the Council of the Inquisition, in the church of the convent of Benedictine nuns of Santo Domingo el Antiguo, in Toledo.[152] Carbonel's mature style was characterised by a simplification of structures, with altarpieces that consisted of a large central painting with sculptural niches to the sides, as can be seen in a drawing by his hand in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, dated c. 1620-1625 (fig. 3.32).[153] He was also interested in the play of light and shade provided by deeply carved surface decoration. An example of this can be seen in the contract for the altarpiece for the chapel of Sebastián de la Huerta in Santo Domingo el Antiguo, in Madrid, which included striated Corinthian columns, an entablature with vegetable decoration and a cornice with dog's tooth and egg and dart mouldings. Similar ornamentation was required in the altarpiece for the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano, which had a profusion of vegetable motifs.[154]

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[150] For the convent of Loeches, see López 1952 & Brown and Elliott 1980, pp. 60-61.

[151] Kubler 1957, p. 68-69. Don Fernando was particularly interested in the architecture of El Escorial; his post-mortem book inventory lists a copy of Fray Francisco de los Santos' *Descripción del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, única maravilla del mundo*, published in Madrid in 1657. AHPM, Prot. 8725, f. 21r., Inventory number 314.

[152] For these commissions, see Pérez Pastor 1914, p. 773; Corella Suárez 1973; Marías 1977, p. 323-324 & fig. 7; Agulló Cobo 1978a, pp. 37-38 and Cámara Muñoz and Camacho Valencia 1995, pp. 212-214.

[153] Pérez Sánchez 1995, pp. 62-63.

[154] The altarpiece in Santo Domingo el Antiguo called for "columnas corintias o compuestas estriadas" and the frontispiece had to have "un arquitrabe con tres fajas, con rosarios o cuentas, y talón; un friso con 'cogollos de talla y ojas' y una cornisa con modillones, óvalos y dentellones." See Marías 1977, p. 324. The altarpiece in the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano called for "cuatro columnas estriadas corintias; en el adorno del cornisamiento principal se emplearon hojas arpadas para los modillones y en las demás molduras óvalos y dentellones."Puerta Rosell 1988, p. 352.

Alonso Carbonel's career before his work for the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano was completely linked to the court. As Brown and Elliott indicated, Carbonel was Olivares' choice for the Buen Retiro palace because, unlike Juan Gómez de Mora, he had no links with the previous regime of the Duke of Lerma.[155] As *aparejador de obras reales*, he consistently participated in court projects. He was, therefore, ideally suited to provide a design for an altarpiece in the chapel of a courtier such as Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras.

Appropriately, the sculptor in charge of the jasper pedestals for the altarpiece in Don Fernando's chapel was Bartolomé Zumbigo,[156] who had collaborated with Carbonel in the Buen Retiro, in the palace of La Zarzuela, and in the royal pantheon at El Escorial, and was therefore equally associated with court projects.[157]

The career of the architect and *ensamblador* Sebastián de Benavente is more difficult to track, since most of his altarpieces no longer exist. The first documented works by him were the high altarpiece and the altarpiece in the chapel of San Alberto in the church of the Carmelite convent in Madrid, commissioned in 1654.[158] Unfortunately, the high altarpiece in the church of El Carmen was replaced by a Neoclassical altarpiece in the early 19th century, and is therefore no longer extant.[159] However, there is a possibility that the altarpiece for the chapel of San Alberto might still be extant. In the church of El Carmen there is an altarpiece devoted to the Immaculate Conception in which all the sculptures are modern, but the paintings and the altarpiece itself can be dated to the mid-seventeenth century (fig. 3.33). Since some of the paintings depict subjects from the life

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155 Brown and Elliott 1980, p. 57.
156 Puerta Rosell 1988, p. 353.
157 For Zumbigo, see Brown and Elliott 1980, pp. 92 & 221; Kubler 1957, p. 69; & Martín González 1998, p. 244.
158 Agulló Cobo 1973, pp. 391-392.
159 Cámara Muñoz and Camacho Valencia 1995, p. 305.

of San Alberto, one wonders whether this altarpiece could be the one that Sebastián de Benavente built for that saint's chapel. Certain details, such as the mouldings around the paintings, the striated Corinthian columns, and the vegetable decoration surrounding the paintings and sculptures, are reminiscent of the altarpiece for the chapel of Luis García Cerecedo in the church of Aldeavieja, Ávila., which is documented as having been built by Benavente in 1662.[160] The contract for the altarpiece in the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano was signed in 1654, so it is likely that Benavente was working on the Carmelite and the Dominican altarpieces at the same time. Benavente would have contributed a skill in carving Baroque ornamentation, such as the vegetable motifs visible in the church of Aldeavieja, to the altarpiece in the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano.

The third architect involved in the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano was Pedro de la Torre, who designed the plans for the façade of the chapel in the Calle de Atocha. On November 28th, 1658, the stone mason Juan Marroquín signed a contract with the convent of Santo Tomás in which he agreed to build the façade of the chapel according to Pedro de la Torre's design.[161] At this time Pedro de la Torre (d. 1677) was a royal architect and *ensamblador*, who had participated in very prestigious architectural projects and altarpieces, including the chapel of the Ochavo in Toledo cathedral, which he carried out in collaboration with the Jesuit architect Francisco Bautista between 1632 and 1653; and the chapel of San Isidro, in the church of San Andrés in Madrid, built between 1643 and 1669. He also designed the throne of the Virgin of the Sagrario in Toledo cathedral (1654) and the burial chapel of King Don Pedro of Castile, in the convent of Santo

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[160] This altarpiece is considered anonymous in Cámara Muñoz and Camacho Valencia 1995, p. 224. For a comparison with the altarpiece in the church of Aldeavieja, see Agulló Cobo 1973, pp. 3392-393 and plate 1, figs. 1, 2 & 3. This is the only extant altarpiece built by Benavente.
[161] Saltillo 1946, p. 253.

Domingo el Real.[162] These projects demonstrate the architect's love of Baroque theatricality and use of textured surfaces to create movement through the play of light and shade.[163] Although the façade of the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano no longer exists, it may well have had these same characteristics.

b) The sculptor: Manuel Pereira.

On April 29, 1654, the sculptors Manuel Pereira and Bernabé de Contreras signed a contract with Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras to carve the statues of SS. Peter and Paul for the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano in the new church of the convent of Santo Tomás in Madrid.[164] Bernabé de Contreras died in July 1654, and Pereira carried out the commission alone.[165] He received the final payment for the work on June 25, 1655.[166]

The contract stipulated that the sculptures had to be approved by the architect of the chapel's altarpiece, Alonso de Carbonel, and by the *secretario* Bartolomé de Legasa. The latter was a court official like Ruiz de Contreras. He had been in the royal service since c. 1631, acting among other things as overseer and accountant for royal works. He became secretary for the president of the Council of Finance in 1643, and from then on he acted as secretary for numerous *juntas*. He became secretary of state for Italy in 1675 and died in 1679.[167] Legasa's post-mortem inventory listed a collection of 96 paintings, which included works by Angelo Nardi, Pedro de Orrente and Juan de Arellano, as well as

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[162] For Pedro de la Torre's architecture see Tovar Martín 1975 and Hernández Díaz, Martín González, and Pita Andrade 1982, pp. 486-489. His altarpieces are studied in Tovar Martín 1973.

[163] See Kubler 1957, p. 71, who quotes Ceán Bermúdez's academic prejudices against the Baroque tendencies in Torre's work: "En tiempo de Torre ya decaía el buen gusto de la arquitectura y se sospecha que haya contribuído a ello."

[164] AHPM, Prot. 6262, f. 1001, transcribed in Saltillo 1946, pp. 259-260.

[165] Agulló Cobo 1978, p. 43

[166] AHPM. Prot. 6266, f. 872, transcribed by Saltillo 1946, p. 261.

[167] Escudero 1969, vol. III, pp. 659-661. The document transcribed by Escudero concerns Legasa's appointment as Secretary of State for Italy in 1675, and mentions his work for the *Junta de Obras y Bosques*: "...haviendo servido al mismo tiempo de veedor y contador delas Obras y Bosques Reales, con particular aprovación del Rey mi señor (que santa Gloria haya) [Philip IV] en todas las que se hicieron y corrieron por vuestra mano por el espacio de 30 años..."

copies after works by Raphael, Bassano and Snyders.[168] As a collector and overseer with the *Junta de Obras y Bosques*, he would have been considered as a good judge of artistic quality -hence his participation in the contract for Pereira's sculptures. Legasa's involvement indicates that Don Fernando was particularly concerned with the quality of the work carried out in his chapel, possibly because works of high quality would be seen as status symbols amongst his peers.

In 1654 Manuel Pereira (1588-1673) was one of the most prolific sculptors in Madrid, having worked both for the aristocracy and the Church. He was born in Oporto, Portugal, and little is known of his early artistic training.[169] His earliest known works date to 1624, when he carved four stone sculptures of SS. Ignatius, Francis Xavier, Peter and Paul for the façade of the Jesuit church in Alcalá de Henares.[170] In the following years he worked in several royal religious commissions. These included the church of San Antonio de los Portugueses, where he carved the wooden image of Saint Anthony of Padua for the high altar and the stone sculpture of the same saint for the portico; the convent and church of San Felipe el Real, where he carved the image of Saint Augustin for the niche above the portico and the statue of Saint Philip for the niche above the side entrance; the convent of Montserrat, for which he carved the statue of Our Lady of Montserrat; and the convent of Las Maravillas, where he carved the image of the Virgin and two stone coats of arms for the façade.[171]

He also worked for the religious orders and confraternities, with sculptures such as the *Cristo del Olivar* (fig. 2.20), commissioned in 1647 by the Confraternity of the Santísimo

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[168] Burke and Cherry 1997, pp. 691-693. Legasa's most expensive painting, at 3,300 reales, was a Flemish *Venus and Adonis*. A set of ten hunting scenes after Snyders listed in his collection had also been copied in Flanders, perhaps even in Snyders' own workshop, and were worth 10,000 reales. Originals by Snyders were very fashionable in the Spanish aristocratic collections of this period, and this set of expensive copies would have been the next best thing after the Snyders originals. See Cherry 1997, p. 44.

[169] Caturla 1949, p. 335.

[170] See Palomino 1987, p. 193; Gómez Moreno 1963, p. 109 & Urrea 1977, pp. 258-259.

Sacramento for their oratory; or the two Saint Bruno images, one in wood and one in stone (fig. 3.28), that he carved for the Carthusian monastery of El Paular in 1652. More importantly, Pereira had also worked for other Dominican institutions before 1654, such as the College of Santo Tomás in the University of Alcalá de Henares, where he was commissioned to carve an image of the Madonna of the Rosary in 1638 by the royal secretary Francisco de Oviedo; and the convent of Dominican nuns of Loeches, where the Duchess of Sanlúcar, widow of the Count-Duke of Olivares, commissioned him to carve two stone sculptures of Saint Dominic and Saint Catherine of Siena.

In relation to the contract for the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano in Santo Tomás, Pereira's most relevant Dominican commission was his work for the convent of Santo Domingo de Bemfica, in Portugal. In 1636, Pereira signed a contract with Don Francisco de Vasconcelos, Count of Figueiro, to carve the images of Saint Dominic Guzmán and Saint Peter Martyr for the convent.[172] He also carved the Crucified Christ and the Virgin of the Rosary for the same convent, but only the contract for the two saints has been found. The prior of Santo Domingo de Bemfica, father Joao de Vasconcelos, was probably a relative of the Count of Figueiro, which explains the latter's involvement in the commission.[173] That Prior Vasconcelos hired the most renowned Portuguese sculptor in Madrid to carve the four images for the church of Bemfica is hardly surprising. As Inquisitor General for Portugal, he was a member of the Council of the Inquisition, which met in Madrid. He therefore must have known Pereira's works in Madrid

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[171] For an overview of Pereira's sculpture, see Gómez Moreno 1963, pp. 109-118; Urrea 1977; Agulló Cobo 1978a; Hernández Díaz, Martín González, and Pita Andrade 1982, pp. 371-382; Portela Sandoval 1986, pp. 70-74 & Martín González 1998, pp. 257-262.

[172] AHPM, Prot. 2593, ff. 112-113, partially transcribed in Agulló Cobo 1978a, p. 269.

[173] The first references to the four images carved by Pereira for the convent of Santo Domingo de Bemfica appeared in a history of the Dominican order in Portugal published in 1662. Although Pereira's name is not mentioned in it directly, the author explains that the four images came from Castile, and had been carved by an eminent Portuguese sculptor born in Oporto. See Cacegas and Sovsa 1662, f. 99v. According to a contemporary biography of prior Joao de Vasconcelos, published c.1668, the four sculptures cost three thousand silver *escudos*. See Ferrer de Valdecebro [1668], f. 44r. For further references to these images, see

churches. In addition to this, Pereira was appointed as *familiar* of the Holy Office of the Inquisition c. 1635.[174] Prior Vasconcelos may even have known Pereira personally in the latter's capacity as a *familiar* of the Inquisition.

The church of Bemfica was an obvious model for Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras' chapel, since it had a painting of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic Soriano* by Vicente Carducho, as well as an image of Saint Dominic Guzmán by Pereira himself. Ruiz de Contreras must have known Prior Vasconcelos from the period of the Portuguese riots in Evora in 1637. At this time, Don Fernando was deeply involved with Portuguese affairs as secretary to the Council of War, as was Vasconcelos, who was sent to negotiate with the Evora rebels as the Count-Duke of Olivares' personal envoy.[175] This is precisely the time when the decoration of the church of Bemfica was being completed, and Ruiz de Contreras could have heard positive remarks about Pereira's work personally from Prior Vasconcelos.

Clearly, as the most prominent sculptor in Madrid during this period, Pereira was extremely well placed professionally to be commissioned the statues of SS. Peter and Paul for Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras' chapel. He also moved in the right social circles to be given this commission. Pereira's son-in-law, don José de Mendieta, was the son of Pedro de Mendieta, personal secretary to the Seventh Duke of Medinaceli (1607-1671), with whom Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras must have been acquainted.

Cerqueira 1946; Macedo 1956, p. 29; Gómez Moreno 1963, p. 111; Martín González 1961, p. 19, 45-46; Urrea 1977, p. 260; Martín González 1998, pp. 258-259.

[174] A *familiar* was an unsalaried official of the Inquisition, involved in helping the tribunal with their investigations. The post was often filled by members of the lower social orders, and required an investigation into the *limpieza de sangre* of the applicant. The appointment was often a means for individuals of lower rank to increase their social status, since once their *limpieza de sangre* had been established, their descendants had the possibility of marrying above their class, or even entering one of the knightly orders. For further information on *familiares*, see Haliczer 1990, chapter IV, pp. 184-204. In Pereira's case, his daughter married the son of the Duke of Medinaceli's secretary in 1651, and his grandson was accepted into the Order of Santiago. The proceedings to establish Pereira's *limpieza de sangre*, which were necessary for his appointment to the post of *familiar del Santo Oficio*, were initiated in 1635. See Agulló Cobo 1978a, p. 259, who retrieved the information from the application to enter the Order of Santiago of Pereira's grandson, Manuel de Mendieta y Pereira , in AHN, Ordenes Militares, Santiago, Expediente 5138 de Manuel de Mendieta y Pereira, 1690.

Unfortunately, only a handful of the works mentioned above have survived, and they do not include the sculptures of SS. Peter and Paul for the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano. However, Antonio de Pereda's painting of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* may provide an indication of what the images looked like. In the painted Baroque altarpiece in the background of Pereda's canvas, there are two figures of saints on either side of the arched upper section of the altarpiece. The saint on the right has a long, wavy beard, and holds a book against his thigh. The saint on the left has a shorter beard, and is carrying an indeterminate object in his left hand. The physical types of the images, and their tunics and cloaks suggest that they may be images of Peter and Paul. Pereda's painting was commissioned after Pereira's sculptures, and it is likely that by that time, the two statues had already been finished and perhaps even polychromed, which means the painting very likely depicted those two sculptures as Pereira made them.

Pereira had an elegant and sophisticated style. His saints combine portrait-like realism in their faces, with sober, elegantly rendered draperies, as can be seen in his stone Saint Bruno for the hostel of El Paular in Madrid (fig. 3.29). His images of the Virgin have an idealised sweetness with influences from Sevillian sculpture, as is evident in his Madonna of the Rosary for the church of the convent of Santo Domingo de Bemfica. He was also well known for the dignified classicism of his Crucified Christs, characterised by their slender anatomy and the restraint in the modelling of the suffering faces (see figs. 3.29 & 3.30). This sobriety and elegance would have been particularly appropriate in a chapel founded by a prominent court official, particularly when combined with Pereda's painting of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano*, which also has a sedate, sober atmosphere, focused on the graceful figures of the Virgin, Saint Mary Magdalene and Saint Catherine of Siena.

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[175] Elliott 1986, pp. 527-528.

c) The painter: Antonio de Pereda.

Antonio de Pereda (1611-1678) was commissioned to paint the *Miracle of Saint Dominic Soriano* for the chapel of Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras between 1655-1656. Although the contract for the painting has yet to be found, a letter of payment dated April 27, 1656, indicates that the painter was still working on the image at that time.[176]

By 1655, Pereda was at the summit of his painting career, having worked for some of the most prominent religious institutions in Castile, as well as having painted the *Relief of Genoa* for the Hall of Realms in the Retiro Palace, and numerous still lives which were eagerly sought after by private collectors (fig. 3.27). The religious institutions for which he worked included the parish church of San Miguel de los Octoes in Madrid (1634);[177] the convent of Filipenses in Alcalá de Henares (1637); the Capuchinos del Campo Grande in Valladolid (1639);[178] the convent of Discalced Carmelites in Toledo (1640); the convent of Discalced Carmelite nuns of Las Maravillas in Madrid (c.1644); the convent of Capuchin nuns of San Bernardino in Madrid (1655) and, most importantly, the royal convent of La Encarnación in Madrid (1650).[179]

As well as these artistic credentials, Pereda had other qualifications that made him a suitable candidate to paint the altarpiece for the chapel of Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras. Pereda started his painting career, after training in the workshop of Pedro de las Cuevas, as the protegée of don Francisco de Tejada.[180] The latter was a judge in the Royal Council, member of the Council of Castile between 1619 and 1634, and part of the Olivares circle.[181] As a member of several councils and *juntas* during the Olivares regime, Don Francisco de Tejada must have been acquainted with Don Fernando Ruiz de

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[176] Puerta Rosell 1988, p. 353.
[177] For this commission, see Cherry 1987.
[178] Guinard 1931.
[179] For an overview of Pereda's painting career, see Tormo 1910, Contreras 1966; Pérez Sánchez 1978; Valverde Madrid 1978and Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1983, pp. 138-239.
[180] Díaz del Valle 1981, p. 471 & Palomino 1987, p. 205.

Contreras, and the latter may have known Pereda from his early years as Tejada's protegée. According to Carducho, Don Francisco de Tejada had a "discreet museum" in his house.[182] Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras' acquaintance with Francisco de Tejada, as well as the latter's reputation as an art connoisseur, may have had some influence on Don Fernando's choice of Pereda as the painter for his chapel. Very likely his initial impression of the young painter was later reinforced by Pereda's success as a religious artist, which would have made him a particularly suitable candidate for the commission.

Pereda's artistic talent was spotted by Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, Marquis of La Torre and superintendent of works for the Retiro Palace, while the young painter was still under Tejada's protection. He soon became Crescenzi's protegée, and with the guidance of his new patron developed his artistic talent further, to the extent that "when he reached the age of eighteen he was an excellent painter, so much so that his early works seemed to have been painted by very experienced artists."[183] It was through Crescenzi's influence that Pereda obtained the commission to paint the *Relief of Genoa* for the Hall of Realms of the Retiro Palace in 1634.[184] Unfortunately, Crescenzi died in 1635, and after this Pereda received no other commissions from the Palace.[185] Despite this obvious setback, Díaz del Valle indicated that "fortune did not abandon him", and by the 1650s Pereda was held to be one of the outstanding artists of his time.[186] Despite the fact that he painted no more secular works for the Palace, he did carry out another royal

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[181] In 1630, for instance, Tejada was a member of the *Junta Grande*, an institution set up by the Count-Duke of Olivares to tackle the financial crisis in the country.Fayard 1979, p. 118.
[182] Carducho 1979, p. 446.
[183] Díaz del Valle 1981, p. 471.
[184] For payments for this commission, see Caturla 1960, pp. 337-338 & 349.
[185] Since Olivares seems to have disliked Crescenzi, after the latter's death his protegée was no longer welcome in the palace.
[186] Díaz del Valle 1981, p. 471: "Aunque le faltó el mejor tiempo el amparo del Marqués con la muerte q[e] corto la hebra de sus esperanzas, no le desamparo la fortuna, por q[e] prosiguiendo en sus estudios, se adelanto tanto con su natural e inclinacion a la pintura, q[e] hoy generalmente es tenido por uno de los mas valientes artífices q[e] honran en estos tiempos los pinceles." For a re-interpretation of Pereda's artistic fortunes which dismisses the idea that the lack of Palace commissions was a handicap for Pereda, see Aterido Fernández 1997, esp. pp. 276-277.

commission in 1650, a painting for the convent of the Encarnación celebrating the entry of Philip IV's daughter into the order of Saint Augustin at that convent, *Profession of Sor Ana Margarita to Saint Augustine* (fig. 3.26).[187] As well as this royal commission, there are other indications that Pereda's painting and his artistic expertise were highly regarded among art connoisseurs at court. Certainly the fact that the Almirante de Castilla hung the *Vanitas* or *Disillusionment of the World* (fig. 3.27) by his hand in the *Pieza de Españoles*, a room in the Almirante's palace dedicated to the paintings of eminent Spanish artists, points in that direction.[188] Since Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras was himself a keen collector of still lives, this painting by Pereda must have impressed him greatly. Equally, Pereda's appointment as valuer for the painting collection of the Count of Monterrey in 1653 suggests that his artistic connoisseurship was sought after.[189]

All the above factors must have been important in Don Fernando's choice of Antonio de Pereda to paint the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* for his funerary chapel, particularly since the commission came only five years after Pereda's royal painting for the Encarnación. Nevertheless, more fundamental reasons for the commission are to be found in Pereda's painting style.

The essence of Pereda's style is a combination of rich Venetian colour with a Flemish interest in the meticulous rendering of different surfaces and materials, paired with a compositional clarity inherited from the painters of the earlier part of the century such as Carducho and Nardi. Although he was a quasi-contemporary of the Spanish painters of

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[187] This Palace rehabilitation seems to have come about only after Olivares' death in 1645.

[188] As Jordan and Cherry stated in their catalogue for the 1995 National Gallery exhibition on Spanish still life, "in 1634 the picture must have astonished the artistic community of Madrid, such was its confident technical mastery, the eloquence of its symbolic imagery and the ease with which it assimilated the best from foreign schools." The painting is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. For a comprehensive discussion of the origins and meaning of this work, see Jordan and Cherry 1995, pp. 79-84 & cat. no. 26.

[189] For Pereda as valuer of the Count of Monterrey's painting collection, see Pérez Sánchez 1977, & Burke and Cherry 1997, pp. 501-502, 510-520 & 529-532.

the full Baroque, such as Juan Carreño de Miranda and Francisco Rizi (both b.1614-d.1685), Pereda never quite mastered the dynamic compositions and sketchy, atmospheric brushwork absorbed by these Madrid artists from the works of Rubens and the influence of the Italian Baroque.

All the characteristics of Pereda's style are evident in the *Profession of Sor Ana Margarita to Saint Augustine* (fig. 3.26), painted in 1650 for the convent of La Encarnación. In this painting, Pereda has arranged the figures in a triangular composition, with the Virgin and Child at its apex, Saint Augustine on the left angle and mother Mariana of San José, superior of La Encarnación, on the right angle. Sor Ana Margarita kneels in the centre of the triangle, creating a central axis with the figure of the Madonna above her. In the heavenly scene, the angels are arranged in a circle around the Virgin Mary, and although they are shown in quite lively, varied poses with an attempt at *di sotto in su* perspective, there is a certain symmetry between the angels on left and right, which makes the scene quite static. The painting has beautifully rich colouring; the textures of the fabrics on Saint Augustine's chasuble, the table cloth and the carpet have been meticulously rendered; and there is a pleasant freshness in the physical types of the angels and the Virgin and Child. Yet Pereda's work completely lacks the drama and dynamism of contemporary paintings such as Francisco Rizi's *Virgin and Child with Saints Philip and Francis* for the Capuchin convent of El Pardo, painted in the same year. Nevertheless, Fernando Ruiz de Contreras gave the commission of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* to Pereda. Quite likely Don Fernando's artistic tastes were somewhat conservative, and he preferred a painter who could deliver a sober, dignified composition, with beautiful colours and a sensitive rendering of materials.

When one compares Pereda's painting of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* with the paintings of the same subject studied above, a number of features stand out immediately. First, the monumentality of the composition, which is mostly due to the size of the

painting: Pereda's work measures 470 x 310 cm while, for instance, Zurbarán's painting for the convent of San Pablo el Real (fig. 3.10) measures 190 x 230 cm., Maíno's Hermitage painting (fig. 3.11) measures 203 x 134 cm, and the painting attributed to José Leonardo in the National Gallery of Ireland measures 199.5 x 152 cm. Pereda's work was destined for the main altarpiece of the chapel, which was designed in such a way as to give prominence to the central painting. The large size of the painting, which must have been in keeping with the size of the chapel itself, would also have functioned as a statement of the high social status of its patron. Compositionally, the painting's size allowed Pereda to introduce a fully developed church setting into the scene, which occupied the entire upper half of the canvas, lending the image an even greater sense of grandeur.

The architectural space in Pereda's *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* is so convincing, that it makes the viewer wonder whether it depicts a real church. It has a mixture of Gothic, Rennaissance and Baroque elements. Despite the presence of the slender pillars and ribbed ceiling characteristic of the Gothic style, the windows on either side of the altar are round rather than pointed, as are the arches of the side chapels. In addition to this, the gilded columns of the side altarpieces, visible behind the Magdalene and the Virgin, are distinctly classical, with Corinthian columns and entablatures, characteristic of the Renaissance. On the other hand, the spiral columns of the altarpiece in the background are typically Baroque. Taking into consideration this mixture of elements from different styles, there is no known church with which it could be identified.[190] The fact that the scene occurs just before the crossing between the nave and the transept, and that there seem to be chapels on either side of the nave, confirms that this architectural setting is

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[190] The building we are looking for must have a combination of Gothic pillars and ribbed vaults with round windows, in a church with one nave and side chapels with round arches. Such a combination does not occur in any of the prominent Spanish Gothic churches, such as the cathedrals of Seville, Burgos, Toledo, León, Segovia, or Salamanca.

too large to represent the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano itself. Neither could it depict the church of Santo Tomás which, after the fire of 1652, would have been reconstructed in the Baroque style.[191] It could, perhaps, be a depiction of the church of Santo Tomás before the fire, but since there are no contemporary drawings, or even written descriptions of the building, it is impossible to know whether this was the case.

Gothic architectural elements were also used in Juan del Castillo's painting of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* in Carmona (fig. 3.17), but again none of the well known Spanish Gothic churches has any relation with this painted background. Since there seems to be no connection between the architectural backdrops in these paintings and any concrete Spanish building, it is more likely that the use of Gothic architectural elements in them was a means of expressing the fact that the miracle of Soriano had taken place in the historical past. Nevertheless, Pereda in particular was extremely successful in creating the illusion that the miraculous event was happening in a real space, in which the viewers could really have been present.

Pereda's introduction of a Baroque altarpiece in the background also brought the painting, at least in artistic terms, back to the present. As Angulo and Pérez Sánchez rightly point out, this background altarpiece was more Baroque in style than anything that Pereda had painted so far.[192] It incorporated, if very cautiously, the lessons in movement, dynamism of composition and lightness of brushwork that were apparent, for instance, in Herrera the Younger's *Triumph of Saint Hermengild* for the Carmelite convent of San Hermenegildo in Madrid, painted in 1654. Pereda's characteristically meticulous rendering of surfaces and materials gave way in this background altarpiece to a dissolution of the paint into atmospheric brushwork, while still preserving his trademark rich Venetian colouring.

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191 At least the cloister of the convent, designed by Rodrigo de Carrasco c. 1655, was Baroque. See Hernández Díaz, Martín González, and Pita Andrade 1982, p. 493, fig. 466.

The presence of the Assumption of the Virgin in this imaginary altarpiece referred to the date of the 1652 fire, 14th of August, which was the eve of the feast of the Assumption. This is almost certainly the reason why this was included in Pereda's painted altarpiece, and why Juan Montero de Rozas painted another version of the subject for the ceiling of the main nave of the church. In addition to this, the subject was also related to the personal devotion of the patron of the chapel. Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras established in his will that the convent of Santo Tomás had to celebrate High Mass annually in his chapel on the nine feasts of the Virgin.[193] Since the Assumption was one of those, including an image of the Assumption of the Virgin in the painting for the altarpiece would have been particularly appropriate for these celebrations.

In contrast with the sketchy brushwork of the painted altarpiece in the background, the foreground scene in the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* preserves all the characteristics of Pereda's painting at its best: the Venetian colouring, the lavish rendering of the rich fabrics in Mary Magdalene's and the Virgin's tunics and cloaks, the portrait quality of the kneeling Dominican friar's head, and a sense of decorous stillness and calm, almost of quiet wonder, shared by the four figures.

Compositionally, the painting is slightly different from all of the images of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* discussed above. Pereda has placed Saint Catherine behind the canvas, while the Virgin Mary stands, fully visible, on the right hand side. The Dominican friar kneels on the left hand side of the painting, looking towards the right. Unlike in Maíno's Hermitage painting, the figure of the Magdalene stands on the left, and certain

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[192] Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1983, p. 161.

[193] In connection with the devotion to the rosary, the house that Don Fernando built adjacent to the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano had a series of fourteen paintings depicting the fifteen Mysteries of Our Lady. AHPM, Prot. 8725, f. 87r., inventory number 1672: "Mas, se pone por Ynbentario Vna Casa questa Yncorporada en la dhaCapilla. Y en ella Abia catorçe Pinturas de los quinçe misterios de nuestra señora

elements of her pose, such as her head tilted towards the right, and the manner in which she holds the ointment jar with her left hand, are reminiscent of the Magdalene in Carducho's painting for Santo Domingo de Bemfica (fig. 3.20), which may have been very similar to his work for Santo Domingo el Real in Madrid. On the other hand, the figure of the Virgin Mary retains the simply cut red tunic and blue cloak that she was wearing in Maíno's Hermitage painting, while the *vera effigies* of Saint Dominic is also similar in pose and physiognomy to Maíno's image.

The artist's compositional choices were far from fortuitous, as demonstrated by a sheet of preparatory drawings for the painting preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (figs. 3.3 & 3.4).[194] The recto of the sheet has a sketch with the figure of a man kneeling in the foreground to the left, the Virgin Mary holding up the canvas with Saint Dominic's *vera effigies*, and Saint Catherine of Siena standing on the right. The figure of the Virgin, recognisable by the crown she wears, is almost hidden behind the canvas; Saint Catherine is wearing a simple dress with a bodice and a skirt.[195] Radical changes occurred between this preparatory drawing and the final painting. In the drawing, the figure kneeling on the left is in layman's clothes. Since the Soriano narrative describes him as a sacristan, Pereda may have assumed that he was not a monk, but had to dress him in Dominican habit in the painting to comply with the standard iconography. The position of the two female figures also changes in the painting, placing Saint Catherine behind the canvas, and the Virgin Mary standing to the right of the image, holding it up with her left hand.

Doloros. y glorios. questan en Vna sala dela dicha casa del quarto baxo de Bara y quartta de Alto, y una de ancho sin marcos."

194 See Sinués y Urbida 1917.

195 Sinués de Urbida believes that the female saints in the drawing are positioned in the same order as in the painting: "La Virgen, sin manto en el dibujo, conserva la misma actitud que en el cuadro; únicamente en éste ha de inclinar ligeramente la cabeza, manifestando la dulzura que le anima; la santa que en último término del grupo sostiene con sus manos el lienzo, no sufre variante alguna." Sinués y Urbida 1917, p. 22. A closer inspection of the drawing, however, reveals significant differences. It is more believable to assume that the figure wearing the crown in the drawing is the Virgin Mary, particularly since the female saint on the right is wearing a dress, rather than a tunic and cloak.

The verso of the sheet shows two sketches for the figure of Mary Magdalene on the left, and a sketch for one of the cherubs. The more clearly visible drawing of the Magdalene shows her in a very similar pose to the final painting, except for the fact that her head is tilted towards the left. It is clear that this aspect of the figure bothered the artist, since he drew the Magdalene's head once more in the same sheet, this time showing her in a slightly more erect position. By tilting the Magdalene's head towards the right in the final composition, Pereda created a sort of 'bracket' framing figure, as well as emphasising the left side of an imaginary triangle consisting of the Magdalene on the left, the Virgin on the right, and at its summit the figure of the Virgin of the Assumption in the background altarpiece.

The altarpiece in the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano had a second storey with a painting of the *Holy Trinity*, also by Pereda's hand.[196] This painting of the Trinity has long been considered lost, but it is possible to reconstruct its appearance from other paintings of the same subject by Pereda. For instance, in the *Holy Trinity* Pereda painted for the church of the Shod Carmelites, the figure of Christ is seated on the left hand side of the painting, with a red cloak covering his legs, just as He appears in the painted altarpiece of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano*, although in a slightly different pose.

Another painting of the Trinity by Pereda, now in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts, (fig. 3.2), also shows an image of Christ sitting on the left, a reddish cloak covering his legs. Although the size of this canvas does not correspond to the measurements of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* -the Budapest Trinity is 230,5 cm wide, as opposed to the 310 cm of the Soriano painting-, there are certain features in this painting that make it a likely candidate for the *Holy Trinity* that Pereda painted for the upper storey of the Santo Domingo Soriano chapel. First, Christ's head is in exactly the same tilted position

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[196] Mentioned in Palomino 1987, p. 206.

and shares similar features with Mary Magdalene's head in the Soriano painting. In addition to this, the light coming through the heavenly glory at the top of the Soriano painting has a very similar orange hue to the light in the Budapest Trinity. This device could have been used by Pereda as a means to link the two canvases. Finally, the treatment of drapery, particularly when comparing the zigzagging folds in God the Father's cloak with those in the Virgin Mary's cloak, is very similar in both paintings.

The Budapest Trinity came from the Esterhazy collection, which in turn acquired it at the Edmund Bourke sale in Paris, in 1821. At the time of its acquisition, the painting was believed to have come from the convent of Santa Teresa in Madrid. However Angulo and Pérez Sánchez indicated that no such painting by Pereda was mentioned in the convent of Santa Teresa by any of the contemporary sources, and suggested that this may have been the canvas seen by Ceán in the staircase of San Felipe el Real in Madrid.[197]

The physical similarities between the Christ in the Budapest Trinity and *Christ the Saviour* for the church of the Discalced Capuchin nuns in Madrid, painted in 1655, indicate that the Budapest painting must have been painted around this same period.[198] Therefore despite the size differences, there is a strong possibility, on stylistic and compositional grounds, that Pereda's *Holy Trinity* in Budapest was the upper canvas for the altarpiece in the chapel of Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras. In any event, the *Holy Trinity* for the Soriano chapel would have looked very similar to the Budapest painting, even if the latter was not originally destined for that altarpiece.

Antonio de Pereda's painting of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* for the chapel of Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras in the church of the convent of Santo Tomás combined the quiet dignity, Venetian colouring and meticulous attention to detail of Pereda's earlier religious paintings, with a grandeur that had never been seen in previous

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[197] See Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1983, p. 198, no. 90, and Madrid & Bilbao 1996 1996, pp. 132-134.

depictions of this subject in Spanish painting. It was therefore a fitting pictorial achievement for the chapel of such a prominent courtier. This will become clearer by comparing Pereda's painting with the other art works in the church of Santo Tomás.

3. Iconographic Context for the Chapel.

After the fire of 1652 in the church of Santo Tomás, the convent set about refurbishing the building, and commissioned five paintings to decorate the ceiling of the church. These were works by Francisco Camilo, Juan Carreño de Miranda, Juan de Toledo and Juan Montero de Rojas.[199] According to Palomino, "the best artists that were then in the Court were chosen [to paint in the church of Santo Tomás]."[200] At least three of the artists mentioned above -Camilo, Carreño and Montero de Rojas-, as well as Pereda, had trained in the workshop of Pedro de las Cuevas. The fact that all of them were called to paint in Santo Tomás suggests that there may have been an element of rivalry amongst ex-pupils of the same master in this commission, and that each of the painters would have striven to produce their best work. This may explain Pereda's unaccustomed stylistic change in the background of his painting; by introducing a Baroque element in the background, he demonstrated that he was as capable of producing that type of image as any of the other artists, while in the foreground keeping to the characteristic mixture of realism, Venetian colouring and attention to the different textures of objects which was so appreciated by his patrons.

The subjects of the five paintings in the main body of the church were quintessentially Dominican. Francisco Camilo's works depicted the Holy Trinity and the Dominican Saint Peter Martyr.[201] The latter was one of the first Dominican martyrs, allegedly murdered by Cathar heretics and often depicted with a knife or a hatchet embedded in

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[198] Madrid & Bilbao 1996 1996, p. 134.
[199] It is unclear whether these paintings were frescoes or canvases, although in the case of Juan Carreño, Palomino seems to suggest that his painting was a fresco. See Palomino 1987, p. 276.
[200] Palomino 1987, p. 188.

his skull. It was compulsory for Dominican churches to have an image of Saint Peter Martyr in addition to one of Dominic.[202] Juan Carreño's painting depicted the *Dream of Pope Honorius*, in which Saint Dominic Guzmán and Saint Francis of Assisi appeared in a vision to Pope Honorius, holding up the Lateran church on their shoulders, thus preventing it from falling. The image commemorated the papal confirmation of the rules of the Dominican and Franciscan orders, which was considered as the official foundation of the Dominican order. This painting seems to have been a fresco work, since Díaz del Valle calls it a "work of perspective", like the 'quadrattura' paintings which characterised Carreño's and Rizi's work during the 1660s, and Palomino remarks that it was praised by the fresco painter Michele Colonna.[203]

Juan de Toledo's painting depicted *Saint Thomas Aquinas offering his writings to the Crucified Christ*; [204] while Juan Montero de Rojas painted the *Assumption of Our Lady* in the vault over the choir.[205] The entire iconography of the ceiling was a eulogy to the Dominican order, representing its foundation; its first martyr in the shape of Saint Peter Martyr; Thomas Aquinas as the Order's most prominent scholar, and the Assumption of the Virgin as a reference to the Glorious mysteries of the rosary, the devotion most associated to the Dominican order. The entire program was presided over by the Holy Trinity.

The iconography also made veiled references to the controversy over the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin in which the Dominicans were involved.[206] By depicting *Saint*

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[201] Díaz del Valle 1981, p. 473 & Palomino 1987, p. 220.
[202] Turner 1996, vol. 9, p. 111.
[203] Díaz del Valle 1981, p. 475 & Palomino 1987, pp. 277-278 & 280, note 19 & 20.
[204] Palomino remarks that 'this is an excellent picture, and the proof of the great reputation he [Juan de Toledo] had in this Court is that he was called to paint in this church, for which the best artists that were then in the Court were chosen. Palomino 1987, pp. 187-188.
[205] Palomino 1987, p. 259.
[206] León Pinelo reported that after the fire in Santo Tomás, the few Dominican friars left in the ruins had to protect themselves against the attacks of the faithful, who thought that the fire was a punishment to the Dominican order for its Maculist views: "Y siendo esta desgracia tan casual i lastimosa empeço luego el puebloa glosarla aplicandola a la opinion de la Concepcion por ser la iglesia de la Virgen Santissima cuyas

Thomas Aquinas offering his writings to the Crucified Christ; the convent was emphasising Christ's approval of Thomas Aquinas' writings, which included the concept that the Virgin was only cleansed of the original sin after conception. Similarly, by including the *Dream of Pope Honorius* in the iconographic program for the ceiling, the convent was stating that the Dominicans had as much right to call themselves 'pillars of the church' as the Franciscans, who were their rivals in the Immaculist controversy. Finally, the inclusion of an image of the *Assumption of the Virgin* not only commemorated the date of the fire in the church, but also emphasised the Dominican cult of the Virgin Mary. Unfortunately all five paintings seem to have perished in the fire of 1872. Nevertheless, Pereda's painting of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* fits in perfectly in the overall iconographic scheme, which ultimately emphasised the Virgin Mary's approval for the Dominican order and its achievements.

Because the Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin was based in the church of Santo Tomás, and the painters of Madrid carried the image of their Virgin in procession every year, the painters as a collective visited the church of Santo Tomás every Easter. Therefore artists who painted for the church must have been aware of the kind of scrutiny that their works would be receiving, and would have wished to produce their best work for it. This was certainly the case with Pereda's *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano*, which is now rightly considered as one of his masterpieces. It is unfortunate that none of the other works have survived and cannot be compared with Pereda's canvas.

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imagenes se salvaron i de S. Tomas, cuya imagen no aparecio…De que resulto (entre la gente vulgar) notable atrevimiento para con los Religiosos Dominicos diciendoles no pocos pesares." León Pinelo 1971, pp. 348-349."

4. Reconstruction of the Chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano.

Although Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras' funerary chapel is no longer extant, the documentary sources -i.e. contracts and letters of payment for the different artists and craftsmen involved in the project, and Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras' post-mortem inventory- provide us with enough evidence to be able to describe the chapel in some detail. There is also a visual source for some of the elements in the altarpiece: Pereda's painting of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic Soriano*. The background altarpiece in this painting shares three features with the real altarpiece in the chapel: the two pairs of columns flanking the central painting; the tabernacle in the middle of the predella, and the statues of SS. Peter and Paul standing on top of the columns and cornice on either side.

The chapel was situated on the Epistle side of the church of Santo Tomás, and consisted of the chapel itself, a sacristy and a funerary crypt. It could be accessed from the Calle de Atocha and from the atrium of the church. The chapel was separated from the atrium of the church by an ironwork gate, and there was a set of wooden doors for the portico, bearing Don Fernando's coats of arms. The funerary crypt in the basement was connected to the chapel by a set of stairs. Don Fernando also built a small house next to the chapel, which had a *tribuna* or balcony connecting it with the chapel, in such a manner as to facilitate the family's entrance to the chapel from their private quarters. The balcony was closed off with a *celosía* or iron grill painted blue and gold which covered the entire length of the balcony, and had wooden shutters with small glass windows. The dome finished in an *oculum* closed by a set of glass panes.[207]

The altarpiece in the chapel had two storeys, and it was built in Valsaín wood that was later gilded and polychromed.[208] It stood on jasper pedestals sculpted by Bartolomé Sombigo, and the tabernacle carved by Sebastián de Benavente must have stood in the

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[207] Puerta Rosell 1988, p. 355 and AHPM, Prot. 8725, ff. 87r.-87v., inventory numbers 1673 & 1674.
[208] For the different elements of the altarpiece, see Puerta Rosell 1988, p. 352.

centre of the lower section of the altarpiece, perhaps between the jasper pedestals, much as it appears in the altarpiece in the background of Pereda's *Miracle of Saint Dominic Soriano*, or in the drawing of an altarpiece by Alonso Carbonel in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (fig. 3.32).

The first storey consisted of a central painting -Pereda's canvas of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic Soriano*- flanked by two striated Corinthian columns on either side, in a similar manner as the altarpiece in Carbonel's drawing in the Biblioteca Nacional, except that there were no sculptural niches between the pairs of columns. The columns stood against flat pilasters, and the moulding that framed the central painting consisted of leaves and beads. The cornice separating the first from the second storey was supported by modillions in the shape of large leaves,[209] and consisted of a series of dogtooth and egg-and-dart mouldings.[210] It also had cartouches framed by vegetable motifs, on which lettering or numbers would usually be included.[211]

The second storey had at its centre Pereda's painting of the *Holy Trinity*.[212] The lower section was a large frieze that rested on the cornice, and there may have been pilaster-like mouldings on either side of the painting, since Sebastián de Benavente was commissioned to carve two *bichas* for two pedestals of pilasters on that upper storey.[213] According to Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras' post-mortem inventory, it is almost certain that the two statues of SS. Peter and Paul by Pereira were flanking the painting of the *Holy Trinity*, above the first storey columns and cornice, just as the statues in Pereda's

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[209] These types of leaf-shaped modillions can be seen for instance in the small altarpieces in the church of the convent of Cistercian nuns in Alcalá de Henares, supporting the top entablature. See Cámara Muñoz and Camacho Valencia 1995, p. 185.
[210] Puerta Rosell 1988, p. 352.
[211] See, for instance, the *cartelas* for the date of the work in the altarpiece of Saint Michael in the parish church of San Vicente Mártir in Braojos, Madrid, in Cámara Muñoz and Camacho Valencia 1995, p. 199.
[212] Palomino 1987, p. 206
[213] Puerta Rosell 1988, p. 352.

painted altarpiece in the background of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic Soriano* stood on either side of the top section of the painting.[214]

The entire altarpiece was lavishly gilded and polychromed.[215] The capitals of the columns had to be first gilded and then polychromed, with *sgraffito* areas that would let the gold show through. The same polychromy and *sgraffito* techniques had to be used for the pilasters behind the columns on the first storey, the cornice, the cartouches, the pilasters on the second storey and the *bichas*. The moulding for the central painting may have either been simply gilded or, in case it was deemed necessary, the leaves could have been polychromed. The frieze over the cornice and the *cerramiento* or external moulding for the entire altarpiece would be polychromed without *sgraffito* work, with painted birds and *bichas*. The coats of arms of Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras were also included in the altarpiece, and painted by Andrés de Lados.[216]

As for the rest of the decoration, we know, for instance, that the silversmith Francisco de Alderete created a pair of lamps [*arañas*] for the illumination of the chapel. [217] There was also a small silver image of the Ecce Homo standing on an ebony pedestal which could also have been designed by him.[218] Pereda's painting was normally covered by two half curtains in white taffeta, and a long net curtain.[219] We also know that there was an image of Christ carved from cane in the crypt of the chapel, under a black velvet canopy.[220]

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214 See AHPM, Prot. 8725, f. 86v., inventory number 1663: "Vna capilla del Glorioso s^to^. Domingo Soriano questa en esta uilla en el colesio de santo tomas de horden de pedricadores con Vn Retablo del Glorioso s^to^. Domingo con sus colunas y san Pedro y san Pablo al fin dellas de bultto." I am interpreting the phrase 'al fin dellas' to mean that the sculptures were placed on top of the columns.

215 This description of the polychromy of the altarpiece comes from the contract with the gilders, partially transcribed in Saltillo 1946, pp. 256-257, quoting from AHPM, Prot. 6266, f. 550.

216 Puerta Rosell 1988, p. 353.

217 Puerta Rosell 1988, pp. 354-355.

218 AHPM, Prot. 8725, f. 86v., inventory number 1668: "Vn exçeomo de plata de quatro dedos de Alto sobre vna peana de ebano.

219 AHPM, Prot. 8725, f. 86v., inventory number 1664: "Dos medias cortinas de tafetan blanco y una cortina entera de gasa."

The chapel of Saint Dominic Soriano in the church of the convent of Santo Tomás in Madrid was a lavish, richly decorated funerary chapel for one of the most prominent courtiers of the second half of Philip IV's reign: Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras, Secretary of the Despacho Universal. Through his choice of the church of Santo Tomás and the dedication of the chapel to Saint Dominic Soriano, Don Fernando was expressing not only his devotion to Saint Dominic, but also his lasting allegiance to the Guzmán family, of which the two men closest to the King at this time, the Duke of Medina de las Torres and the Marquis of Carpio, were members.

There is strong evidence that devotion to the image of Saint Dominic Soriano developed in seventeenth century Madrid through the support of members of the Olivares circle and the Guzmán family. Rather than a popular cult, it was a devotion encouraged by a section of the aristocracy through lavish festivities and rituals in which even members of the royal family participated. A prominent court official would wish to be linked to that devotion not only for reasons of personal belief, but also for political reasons. Hence Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras' eagerness to associated himself with the cult of Saint Dominic Soriano, through the patronage of a funerary chapel dedicated to the saint.

As befitted a courtier and a man of refined tastes, Don Fernando entrusted the design and decoration of his chapel to artists and architects of renown, who had previously been involved in royal or court commissions, and employing them would have been a source of personal prestige for him before his peers. His choices for the chapel were very likely influenced by his social connections within the administrative class of court officials serving in the different councils. He requested the assistance of one of those colleagues, the royal secretary Bartolomé de Legasa, in assessing the quality of the work carried out in the altarpiece by Carbonel and Pereira. In addition to this, both Pereda and Pereira had

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220 AHPM, Prot. 8725, f. 87r., inventory numbers 1670 & 1671: "Ytten se pone por Ynbentario Vn dosel de terciopelo negro Viexo con Vn s^to^. Cristo de cana questa en la bobeda de la dicha Capilla donde esta

worked for court officials and members of the aristocratic ruling class before 1654. Pereda had been the protegeé of Francisco de Tejada and Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, while Pereira worked for the royal secretary and art collector Francisco de Oviedo[221] and was personally related through his daughter's marriage to Pedro de Mendieta, secretary to the Seventh Duke of Medinaceli.[222]

In artistic terms, the chapel of Saint Dominic Soriano is interesting on several levels. Since its altarpiece replaced an image believed to have miraculous powers -Maíno's *Miracle of Saint Dominic Soriano*-, the project underlines the lasting artistic influence that particular devotional images could have in seventeenth-century Spain, both through their miraculous qualities and through aristocratic and ecclesiastical support for them.

Pereda's painting was successful because it fulfilled a number of unspoken requirements. It depicted the miracle at Soriano in a clear narrative style, that gave the characters in the legend their rightful place within the story, while putting them in a large, spacious architectural setting that emphasised the wonder of what was taking place. It did so by using two different types of techniques within the painting: in the foreground, a graceful, sedate composition with meticulous rendering of textures and surfaces in rich Venetian colours, that aided the clarity of the narrative. In the background, a more Baroque image, which maintained the rich Venetian colouring, while employing quick, atmospheric brushwork and a dynamic composition that enhanced the general sense of the miraculous in the painting. By including the image of the Assumption of the Virgin in the background, the painting also fulfilled a ceremonial role, since the feast of the Assumption was celebrated in the chapel yearly. The sumptuous setting of the painting

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enterrado el dicho señor Don fernando."

[221] For Francisco de Oviedo's collection, see Burke and Cherry 1997, Document 73.

[222] As Janine Fayard already pointed out in her study of the members of the Council of Castile, the collective corporate sense amongst members of the administrative bodies at court was very strong, and this would have influenced every aspect of their daily lives, including their artistic choices. Fayard 1979, esp. chapters 15 & 16.

and the rich colours employed emphasised the patron's wealth and status, while displaying Pereda's technical mastery before the members of the painting profession that visited the church every Easter carrying the image of the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows. At the same time, the painting would have been in competition with the works of other Madrid masters in the rest of the church

By founding a funerary chapel in the church of the Dominican convent of Santo Tomás, decorating it in this lavish style, and including it in his *mayorazgo*, Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras was making a statement about his political allegiances, social status and personal prestige that would be inherited by his descendants and inalienable from his family.

A MONASTIC COMMISSION: VICENTE CARDUCHO'S PAINTINGS FOR EL PAULAR[1]

In August 1626 Vicente Carducho signed a contract to paint a series of 56 paintings on the life of Saint Bruno and the history of the Carthusian Order for the large cloister of the Carthusian monastery of El Paular, Segovia. The patron of the commission was prior Juan de Baeza, who furnished Carducho with an iconographic program listing the different episodes of the life of Saint Bruno and the history of the Carthusian Order that he wanted included in the pictorial cycle.[2]

The Paular commission is interesting on two accounts: the large number of canvases involved, and the copies made after them. The scale of the commission necessitated the production of large numbers of preparatory drawings and oil sketches, many of which still survive today. They constitute an invaluable record of the manner in which the iconography of a religious work evolved in the artist's hands, until it accurately reflected the devotional or narrative function the work was meant to fulfill. In addition, a number of copies of the paintings, which vary greatly in quality, still survive. They provide important clues about the manner in which religious iconography was created and transmitted.

The Paular series is the largest religious cycle ever painted in Europe, and had an enormous impact on Spanish religious art of the seventeenth century. For this reason, it

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[1] Some sections of this chapter dealing with the history of El Paular and the iconography of the series are based on Bustillo 2000.

[2] This iconographic program was mentioned in Ceán Bermúdez 1800, vol. I, p. 249 and Cruzada Villaamil 1866, p.81-96 & 111-136. It was studied by Delgado López 1998-1999. See also Ystoria Cuadros Paular [s.d.], Mss. S5698 in the Biblioteca del Congreso de los Diputados in Madrid.

deserves to be studied in greater depth than it has been so far.[3] This chapter will examine the cycle in terms of the message about the Carthusian order that Prior Baeza wished to convey through Carducho's paintings. It will focus on the history of the monastery of El Paular, the personality of the patron, the professional status of the painter in charge of the commission, and the message about the Carthusian order conveyed by the iconography. The chapter also seeks to examine the role of the religious orders as image makers, by studying the copies of the Paular cycle currently in existence.

I. EL PAULAR: A BRIEF HISTORY.

The Charterhouse of El Paular is located in the valley of the Lozoya River, between Segovia and Madrid. El Paular was the first Carthusian monastery built in Castille. King John I of Castille laid its foundation stone on August 29, 1390, on the site of a hermitage near a royal hunting lodge. The date of the foundation is important for Carducho's work: August 29 was also the date chosen by prior Baeza to sign the contract for the painting cycle. The first Carthusian community had been established in Grenoble on August 29, 1084; and August 29 was also the feast day of the Beheading of John the Baptist, who was the patron saint of King John of Castille, and was made protector of the monastery of El Paular, together with the Virgin Mary, on the day of its foundation.[4]

There was a close relationship between the Spanish monarchy and the monastery of El Paular, with each generation of monarchs adding to the privileges given to the monastery by their predecessors. John I's successor, Henry III (1390-1406), enlarged the original royal residency adjacent to the monastery, which was used by subsequent generations of Spanish monarchs as a place for retirement and meditation. John II supplied the funds

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[3] The most comprehensive studies of the Paular cycle so far are Cuartero y Huerta 1950-1952; Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, pp. 122-142; Crawford-Volk 1977, pp. 175-239 and Beutler 1998.
[4] Vallés 1792, p. 196-204.

for building the monastery's church, which was finished during the reign of Henry IV.[5] The latter used to stay in the monastery, and follow the rigorous rule of the Carthusians. Emperor Charles V referred to the monks as 'my Carthusians of El Paular'.[6]

El Paular was the principal Charterhouse in the province of Castille. It was one of the wealthiest Carthusian monasteries in Spain, with large herds of cattle and sheep, vast expanses of agricultural land, and a paper mill.[7] Indeed, the wealth generated by the monastery was a matter of concern for the order. Already in 1589 and 1590 the General Chapter of the Carthusian Order had urged the monks from El Paular to pay more attention to God's affairs than to secular matters, and this seems to have been an issue that kept being raised in connection with El Paular.[8] The monastery was supported financially by prominent members of the Spanish aristocracy and the ecclesiastic hyerarchy. For instance, the Duke of Lerma granted El Paular an annual pension.[9] There are also several entries in the account books for the period between 1619 and 1644 that refer to a pension provided by the Cardinal of Jaén.[10] In other words, El Paular was a wealthy monastery, with important sources of income, and this would have afforded it a status within Spain not unlike that enjoyed by the Grande Chartreuse within the international Carthusian Order.

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[5] Chueca Goitia 1982, pp. 102-104.
[6] Vallés 1792, p. 200-204.
[7] The first edition of Cervantes's *Don Quixote* was printed on paper produced in El Paular. See Gómez 1984, p. 39.
[8] Hogg 1982, p. xvi-xxiii.
[9] Francisco de Sandoval y Rojas, Duke of Lerma and Cardinal of San Sisto, died in 1625. An entry in the *Libro de arcas del dinero entrado y sacado de ellas desde 1619 a 1644*, registers in the accounts for 1632 a lodgment of 200 ducats "which were received on account of the pension that Cardinal Sandoval gives us." Alternately, it may also be possible that this pension was granted by Cardinal Sandoval y Rojas, uncle of the Duke of Lerma and Archbishop of Toledo, who died in 1618. See AHN, Clero Secular Regular, El Paular, Libro 8090, f. 123r.
[10] See Libro 8090, *Libro de arcas del dinero entrado y sacado de ellas desde 1619 a 1644*, Quentas de 1634: "Este dia [June 19] nos cargamos de miliseicientos Rl. que el p^{e} Asian cobro a q^{ta} de la pension de seuilla quenos da el señor cardenal de Jaen." Similar entries occur in the accounts for 1635, 1636, & 1638. AHN, Clero Secular-Regular, El Paular, Libro 8090, f. 123r.-124v.

The General Chapter of the Carthusians, which met annually at the Grande Chartreuse in Grenoble, France, was the governing body of the Order.[11] The prior of the Grande Chartreuse presided over the Chapter, and any decision concerning individual monasteries had to be approved by it. This led to continuous delays and grudges against a central authority which was too far away to have a clear idea of the necessities of the Spanish Charterhouses. In addition to this, the Spanish monarchs had a particular interest in separating Spanish monasteries from any foreign central authority. At the request of Philip II, Pope Gregory XIII issued a papal brief in February 1577, which granted the Spanish Carthusians the right to establish a National Congregation. The priors of the Carthusian provinces of Castile and Cataluña met in El Paular in May 1577, and elected the first Vicar General of the Spanish Carthusians. However, after the death of the first Vicar General Dom Juan de la Parra, Prior of El Paular a mere seven months after having been elected, the Spanish Congregation of Carthusians decided to return to the obedience due to the General Chapter. There were subsequent attempts at separating from Grenoble under Philip III and Philip IV, notably at periods when the Spanish Charterhouses were obliged to contribute large amounts of funds in order to support foreign monasteries. However, the definitive separation only took place in 1785.[12]

II. PRIOR JUAN DE BAEZA.

Juan de Baeza entered the Carthusian Order in 1609, and professed as a Carthusian in 1610. He became a Doctor of Canon Law and was elected Prior of El Paular in 1616. However, priorates in the Carthusian Order were only temporary, and Juan de Baeza served as a prior in several charterhouses in Spain: Aniago, near Valladolid (1617-1620), Miraflores (1620-1623), El Paular (1616-1617, 1625-1629 and 1634-1637) and Las

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[11] The Grande Chartreuse was the first monastery founded by Saint Bruno.

Cuevas, near Seville (1638-1641). He was a prolific writer, as well as a good administrator. Among his works were a commentary of Dionisius the Carthusian, *Commentaria in librum Sancti Dyonisii de divinis nominibus*; a work on the importance of reciting the office of the Virgin Mary, *De gravi obligatione recitandi Officia Beatae Mariae et defunctorum in eodem Ordine*; a history of the monastic life, *De antiquitatibus monasticis*; a work on Carthusian maryrdoms, *Cathalogus martyrum Carthusiae*; a work on the necessary preparations on the death of monks, *Preparationes ad mortem pro religiosis*; and *Una carta que un monje envió a otro, amigo suyo, sobre el Gobierno de la Cartuja.* The only preserved work is the latter, which exists in manuscript form in the archives of the charterhouse of Aula Dei and in the Archivo de Aragón, in Barcelona.[13]

Baeza' s views on the government of the Carthusian Order may have influenced his program for Carducho's cycle of paintings. In his *Una carta que un monje*..., he defended the pre-eminence of the Carthusian General Chapter at Grenoble, which seems to indicate that he was against the separation of the Spanish Carthusians.[14] This aspect of Baeza's views on the Order had important repercussions for the iconographic program of Carducho's cycle.

III. THE ARTIST: VICENTE CARDUCHO.

Since El Paular was a royal monastery, it is not surprising that Prior Baeza gave the commission to a royal painter, Vicente Carducho. He was a specialist in religious painting and had a large and efficiently organised workshop, perhaps the only one in Madrid capable of handling a project of this magnitude. Yet to understand this choice fully, one

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[12] Gómez 1984, p. 161-187.
[13] Cuartero y Huerta 1950-1952, p. 351-353.
[14] Gómez 1984, p.270.

needs to examine Carducho's origins, his painting style and his social and professional standing at the time of the commission.

a) Carducho's artistic activity.

Vicente Carducho was the younger brother of the Florentine painter Bartolommeo Carducci. He was born in Florence in c.1576, and arrived in Spain in 1585 with his brother, who was a member of the team that Federico Zuccaro had assembled to work in El Escorial at the invitation of King Philip II.[15]

Vicente learnt his art with his brother Bartolomé, but little is known about his early years as an artist. In a memorandum he sent to the king in 1601 to apply for the post of royal painter after the death of Miguel Barroso, he stated that he had carried out painting work, both in fresco and in oil, at El Escorial since at least 1591.[16] Ceán Bermúdez mentions fresco work done by Vicente Carducho in the royal palace in Valladolid c. 1597, and a document from the chancery in Valladolid demonstrates that he was working on the triumphal arches erected for the entry of Queen Margaret, wife of Philip III, in Madrid in 1599.[17]

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[15] Most scholars accept 1576 as Carducho's date of birth, despite some contradictory documentary evidence. See Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, p. 104-105. However, in 1967 Antonio Gambacorta published a baptismal certificate for a certain Vincentio di Dionigi di Francesco Carduchi, born in Florence on August 6, 1570. The document was accepted by Alfonso Rodriguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos as referring to the painter Vicente Carducho. Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 1975, p. 264. This date has not been widely accepted by scholars of Spanish painting. See for instance Pérez Sánchez 1976, p. 294. Indeed, the documents of enrolment of the two Carducho brothers in the Florentine Academy name them respectively as 'Sr Vincenzo di Santi Carduzzi' and 'Bartolomé di Santi Carducci'. See Accademia del Disegno, Entrata e Uscita, 1625-1632, Signature 104-F, f.21 v: "... a 16 di apprile 1630...dal Sr Vincenzo di Santi Carduzzi pittore dal re di Spagna lire ventesette tre soldi e quatro per principio e resto di sua matricola porto claudio donsello...," and Accademia del Disegno, Giornale di Negoci, partiti e ricordi del proveditore 1586-1594, Signature 27-B, F. 139: "Addi 2 di Maggio 1593...Ando a partito p essere acca in corppo di nostra accademia Bartolomé di Santi Carducci Pittore....". Documents transcribed in Crawford-Volk 1977, p. 88. Their surnames in these documents seem to indicate that Vicente Carducho is not the Vincentio di Dionigi di Francesco Carduchi of the document published by Gambacorta.

[16] See Pérez Sánchez 1976, p. 295: "Sr: Vincencio Carduchy, pintor, dice que ha mas de 10 años que ha pintado en S. Lorenzo el Real, así al olio como al fresco en compañía de Bartolomé Carduchi su hermano; y porque desea continuar en servicio a V. M. suplica le haga merced se le dé la plaza y salario que tenía Miguel Varroso, difunto, que la servirá con el cuidado que pudiere maior y en ello recibirá mucho bien y merced." Since he could only have been around fifteen years of age in 1591, Vicente's work in El Escorial must have been as an apprentice in his brother's workshop, and therefore very minor.

[17] See Ceán Bermúdez 1800, Vol. I, p. 245-246; and Martí y Monsó 1898-1901, p. 280.

It is likely that Carducho underwent a sort of apprenticeship in El Escorial, working under his brother Bartolomé's orders. As well as having his brother as a teacher, Vicente must also have been influenced by the techniques of the other Italian painters brought by Philip II to work in the monastery, particularly by Federico Zuccaro and Pellegrino Tibaldi, with whom his brother worked closely.

One of the most lasting influences of Carducho's Escorial training was the use of drawing as a means of devising a composition.[18] This was one of the important legacies of the Italian artists from El Escorial, particularly of Federico Zuccaro. From his extremely sketchy, fluid first drawings in pen and ink with sepia washes, to the much more finished compositional drawings, Zuccaro's techniques as a draftsman became part of Spanish artistic training, thanks mostly to the Carduchos' workshop practice (figs. 4.34 & 4.35).[19] This discipline of designing his compositions through drawing before attempting the final painting served Carducho well during his work for El Paular, as he was able to maintain the compositional clarity of the cycle by planning his designs through several preparatory drawings.[20]

It is quite likely that Carducho worked with his brother Bartolomé in Pellegrino Tibaldi's frescoes for the large cloister and the library of El Escorial. Tibaldi, who as well as being an accomplished fresco painter had also been the architect of Milan cathedral, working

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[18] Carducho gives enormous importance to the practice of drawing. See, for instance Carducho 1979, p. 202: "Creeme por cosa infalible, que si el Pintor no pasa por las ciencias y disciplinas por donde pasó aquel a quien llamamos perfecto Pintor, no podrá llegar a serlo si no dibuja, si no medita, raciocina y discurre, y si no ha leido, entendido, ó entendiere las facultades necesarias para la teorica, y la practica de nuestra Pintura, y no le vieres ensayar en uno y muchos esquicios (que son las primeras intenciones, e ideas exteriores) deshaciendo y borrando muchas vezes, con la razon y especulacion, con el lápiz, o pluma (en su modo) propone, arguye, replica, y concluye, haziendo dibujos de la conclusion (que son actos positivos del saber, poderes en causa propia del entendimiento) para executarlos con colores sobre lienzo, pared ó tabla, es cansarse en vano, pensar que ha de llegar a saber y merecer el titulo de docto, y estimable Pintor."

[19] Pérez Sánchez 1986, p. 137. A comparison between figs. 4.34 & 4.35 reveals several elements in common between Zuccaro's and Carducho's drawings, specially in their use of sepia washes and white lead highlights.

[20] This issue will be discussed at length at a later stage in this chapter. Carducho's inventory listed a book with 77 drawings for El Paular, of which only 27 survive now. Caturla 1968-1969, p. 183. For Vicente Carducho's drawings, see Barcia y Pavón 1906, pp. 18-25; Angulo Iñíguez 1927b; Museo del Prado 1972,

for archbishop Carlo Borrommeo (later *San* Carlo Borrommeo), was completely attuned to Tridentine ideology, and understood perfectly the devotional demands of Philip II's monastery.[21] He was able to create works which blended the technical virtuosity and grandeur of Michelangelo's painting, with the decorum and sobriety of forms required by Tridentine art, while at the same time providing drama and emotion. In the cloister of El Escorial, which clearly influenced El Paular's paintings, Tibaldi achieved this through his mastery of draughtsmanship and use of crisp, cool colours which gave each scene simplicity and clarity. He used the imposing forms of classical architecture to give grandeur to the scenes, and the quasi-Mannerist poses of his figures provided the necessary drama (fig. 4.33). Many of these lessons were later incorporated by Carducho in the Paular series, particularly in his use of classical architectural backgrounds and the clear, narrative quality of the scenes (fig. 4.7).

Vicente Carducho inherited from his brother the compositional clarity and an interest in the realistic depiction of physical types and still life objects. He was also extremely influenced by works from El Escorial in his taste for warm, Venetian colours and in the depiction of emotion in his figures. For instance, the influence of Navarrete el Mudo's mixture of carefully designed compositions and Venetian brushwork is clearly visible on works by Vicente Carducho such as the *Beheading of John the Baptist*, whose composition derives directly from Navarrete's *Martyrdom of Saint James* (figs. 4.36 & 4.37).[22] In fact, Carducho's martyrdom scenes in the Paular series have many elements in common with Navarrete's paintings. The suffering face of the monk kneeling in the foreground of the *Martyrdom of Carthusians at the Charterhouse of Roermond* (fig. 4.32), with his eyes rolling upwards, is clearly reminiscent of Saint James in Navarrete's painting.

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pp. 64-70; Brown 1973; Muller 1976; Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1977, pp. 32-36; Brown 1983 and Pérez Sánchez 1986b, pp. 157-162.

[21] For Tibaldi's style in El Escorial, see esp. Zarco Cuevas 1932; Mulcahy 1986, pp. 72-74; Mulcahy 1992, esp. pp. 60-65 and 125-168; and Béguin and Giampaolo 1993.

Carducho's painting was a combination of the many different styles he had the opportunity to study in El Escorial, as well as of his brother's teachings. His specialisation in religious painting -he must really be considered as the official royal religious painter for this period,- is partly due to the combined characteristics of his art, which produced paintings with clear narratives, imposing buildings and dignified figures, using warm Venetian colouring to add interest to the images. He was also particularly successful in creating figures that looked as if they were painted from the model although, in fact, he had a stock of physical *types* that kept reappearing in his paintings. Yet Carducho's careful rendering of bone structure, skin tones and textures made these figures seem startlingly real.[23]

To continue with Carducho's biography, from 1600 to 1606 the two Carducho brothers worked for the King and the Duke of Lerma in Valladolid and the Lerma estate. They were involved in the painting and decoration of the Royal Palace in Valladolid, of the Duke of Lerma's recreational villa of La Ribera, also in Valladolid, of the ducal palace complex at Lerma, and of the Duke's country house of La Ventosilla. They painted religious works for altarpieces and walls in the churches of San Diego and San Pablo in Valladolid, and in the church of the monastery of the Mother of God in Lerma. They did decorative painting work for parades and religious ceremonies, including the tumulus for the funerary rites of the Archduchess Mary of Bavaria, Queen Margaret's mother.[24] Bartolomé was also commissioned in 1606 to paint, together with Juan Pantoja de la

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[22] For Navarrete's painting, see Mulcahy 1999.

[23] I am grateful to Leticia Ruiz and the team from the Estudio ROA for their helpful suggestions on this subject, born of their close examination of the paintings during the restoration process.

[24] Pérez Sánchez 1976, p. 296.

Cruz, the high altarpiece in the church of the convent of San Agustín in Valladolid, although the work was never carried out.[25]

In addition to all of the above, however, later scholarship has revealed that Bartolomé Carducho had an important executive role in the Duke of Lerma's decorative projects in Valladolid. Correspondence from the Florentine legation in Madrid indicates that the elder Carducho acted as building supervisor and artistic advisor to the Duke of Lerma. Bartolomé's Tuscan connections made him the perfect intermediary between the Florentine legation, who were eager to attain influence over Spanish diplomats by means of artistic gifts, and the Duke of Lerma. Through Bartolomé's mediation, the Florentine legation offered two fountains for the Duke of Lerma's palace gardens in Valladolid as state gifts: Giambologna's *Samson and a Philistine*, and Cristoforo Stati's *Samson rending the lion's jaws*.[26] It has also been suggested that Bartolomé acted as curator for the Lerma collection, since the Carducho brothers compiled the first inventory of the collection in 1603, and some of the works in that inventory had been bought by Bartolomé himself.[27]

These early years working with his brother provided crucial training for Vicente Carducho's later activity. In business terms, during these years of collaboration with his brother Bartolomé, Vicente learned about the management of a large artistic enterprise. The work carried out by the Carducho brothers in Valladolid reflected the practices of the big painting workshops of the period. They were not solely 'artistic' enterprises, but

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[25] For documentary sources on the Carducho brothers' work in Valladolid and Lerma, see Martí y Monsó 1898-1901, p. 602-612, as well as Cervera Vera 1967, Bustamante García 1968-1969, Caturla 1968-1969, Pérez Sánchez 1976 and Crawford-Volk 1977.

[26] See Goldberg 1996, Part I, p. 112, & Part II, pp. 529-533. In a letter from Domizio Peroni, of the Florentine legation in Madrid, to Belisario Vinta in Florence, Peroni indicates that Bartolomé Carducho had virtually replaced Tomás Angulo, the Duke of Lerma's treasurer and overseer of the work in Valladolid, as building supervisor, and that Bartolomé was the person to consult regarding any building work for the Duke in Valladolid.

[27] See Schroth 1990, pp. 22-30; pp.104-107 & Inventory 1, p. 189, signed by "Vicencio Carducho." The author points to the unusual prevalence of Florentine paintings in Lerma's collection, and suggests Bartolomé Carducci's influence as the Duke's agent.

took on all activities connected to painting, from the most humble, which would have been carried out by workshop or hired hands, to the most creative, which were left to the master and his most trusted assistants. In 1600 Vicente was already 24 years of age, and very likely held a responsible position within his brother's workshop. His involvement in paying for materials such as gold leaf, paint or walnut oil, as well as the fact that he paid wages to other painters, indicates that he was in charge of a team of painters who did a variety of painting jobs, as part of his brother's workshop.[28] This would be particularly true if Bartolomé had an executive and supervisory role in the Duke of Lerma's decorative projects in Valladolid.

In 1607 Vicente Carducho was enlisted to do painting and decorating work in the Pardo Palace in Madrid, together with his brother Bartolomé, Patricio and Eugenio Cajés, Francisco López, Juan de Soto, Francisco de Carvajal, Julio César Semín, Fabricio Castelo, Pedro Guzmán and Gerónimo de Mora. This commission ultimately led to a lengthy lawsuit between the painters and the Palace over the appraisal and valuation of the work.[29] Bartolomé Carducho died in November 1608, leaving his brother as the executor of his will. It is quite clear that Vicente became the head of his brother's workshop after his death, since as late as 1619 he was responsible for paying the assistants that his brother had hired for the work in the Pardo.[30]

In January 1609 Vicente Carducho was granted the post of Royal Painter left vacant by his brother's death, with an annual salary of 50,000 maravedíes.[31] From this date until his death in 1638 he was involved in the most important religious commissions carried out in Madrid, both for private patrons and for the religious orders, and most often in royal

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[28] For the work carried out by the Carducho brothers in Valladolid and Lerma, see Martí y Monsó 1898-1901 and Cervera Vera 1967.

[29] Martín González 1958, p.133-139.

[30] In a document addressed to the king in February 1619, "Vicencio Carduchi" asked for payment for the work done by his brother and himself in the Pardo palace, explaining that he had no money to pay the

religious foundations. This concentration on religious work must be due to his painting style, which was particularly suited to religious narrative, as it was characterised by correct draftsmanship and compositional clarity.

Much of the work Carducho carried out pointed to the existence of a large workshop in his charge, which allowed him to work on several projects at a time, as well as on large-scale commissions. For instance, in 1614 Vicente Carducho and Eugenio Cajés signed a contract with the canon of Toledo Cathedral, Sebastián de Garay, for the decoration of the Sagrario Chapel in the Cathedral, which was under the patronage of Cardinal Bernardo de Rojas y Sandoval, uncle of the Duke of Lerma. The contract stipulated that Carducho and Cajés had to paint all the figures of evangelists and doctors of the church on the dome and walls of the chapel by their own hand, while the grotesques and angels and other decorative figures could be done by proficient assistants following the designs of the two masters.[32] This suggests the involvement of a workshop in the project, although unfortunately no names of assistants are mentioned in the contract. However, one third of the painting work -the decorative part- was eventually transferred to Lorenzo de Aguirre, who may well have been one of the assistants in Carducho's workshop.[33]

Between 1614, when he started work in Toledo cathedral, and 1626, when he received the Paular commission, Carducho had no other large-scale painting projects, but he had a constant stream of ecclesiastical commissions, often for royal foundations for which he, as a royal painter, would have been the natural choice. In Madrid, he worked for the royal convents of the Encarnación and the Descalzas Reales, as well as for non-royal religious

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assistants they had hired for the work, and that the latter were suffering great privations and imprisonment for debts. Crawford-Volk 1977, p. 310.

[31] Royal decree transcribed in Crawford-Volk 1977, p. 289.

[32] Contract transcribed in Crawford-Volk 1977, p. 367. For Carducho's and Cajés' work in Toledo cathedral, see also Pérez Sedano 1914, esp. pp. 88-129.

institutions, such as his parish church of San Sebastián and the convent church of Las Carboneras.[34] Outside Madrid, he worked for the Hieronymite monastery of Guadalupe and the Capuchin convent of El Pardo, two more royal foundations, as well as for the parish church of Algete.[35] At the same time, he was also painting secular works and carrying out restorations of paintings for the Alcázar and the Pardo palace, as well as other projects such as the decoration of the funerary tumulus for Philip III, which was set up in the church of San Jerónimo in Madrid in 1621.[36] Clearly, all this work required the existence of a permanent workshop, if probably smaller than the one required for the Paular project, for which Carducho would have hired extra hands.

It is undeniable, however, that from 1626 Vicente Carducho must have managed a large workshop in order to cope with the Paular commission, as well as with all the other work he carried out at the same time. The contract for the series was signed in August 1626, and the work occupied him until 1632; yet during this period he also carried out several other projects. These included the *Expulsion of the Moriscos*, painted in 1627;[37] the high altarpiece of the church of Valdehermoso, outside Madrid, contracted in 1628;[38] altarpieces in the church of San Gil, another royal foundation, in 1631;[39] paintings for the high altarpiece and nave of the church of the Santísima Trinidad, in 1632;[40] and the altarpiece of the church of San Antonio de los Portugueses, also in 1632.[41] Unless

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[33] Marías 1978, p. 423. There is a possibility that Aguirre also did some of the work for the altarpiece of the church of El Parral in Segovia. See Collar de Cáceres 1985.

[34] See Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, pp. 106-107; and Crawford-Volk 1977, pp. 321-328.

[35] Crawford-Volk 1977, pp. 360-364 ; Marías 1978, p. 423; Martín González 1958, p. 132; Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, p. 107.

[36] Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, pp. 107-108; Azcárate 1970, p. 46-47; and Crawford-Volk 1977, p. 311.

[37] For this painting, see Orso 1994, pp. 49-51.

[38] Crawford-Volk 1977, pp. 370-372.

[39] Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, p. 109.

[40] Crawford-Volk 1977, pp. 338-339, and Carlos Varona 1999. I wish to thank Mari Cruz de Carlos for providing me with a copy of her 1999 article.

[41] Crawford-Volk 1977, pp. 349-352.

Carducho had a large workshop at his command, it would have been impossible to be working on projects of such magnitude at the same time.

Carducho owes a large part of his fame to his work as an art theoretician in his treatise on painting, the *Diálogos de la pintura*, which he wrote in 1633.[42] The book is structured as a series of eight dialogues between a master painter and his disciple, in which the latter learns about theoretical and practical aspects of the art of painting, its history, and its practioners. The 'approvals' for the book were written by Father Micael Avellán, royal preacher and confessor to the Infanta Sor Margarita de la Cruz in the Descalzas Reales; and by the mathematician and close friend of Carducho Julio César Firrufino.[43] The treatise starts with two laudatory poems by Juan Fernández de Ayuso, parish priest of the town of San Miguel de Escalona, and by José de Valdivielso, playwright and Chaplain of Honour to the Cardinal Infante. Each of the dialogues ends in a poem on the subject of the preceding dialogue, written by literary personalities such as Lope de Vega, Valdivielso, the religious poet Francisco López de Zárate, and the playwright Juan Pérez de Montalbán. They were all members of Carducho's social circle, and were active in several Madrid institutions in which Carducho was also involved, as we shall see later.

The *Diálogos* was the first Baroque Spanish treatise on painting and, as such, had enormous relevance to contemporary Spanish artists, despite the fact that, in terms of artistic content, the book was already old fashioned, as it mostly followed the Vasarian view of the history of painting. Nevertheless, Carducho also incorporated into the treatise the theories of authors such as Lomazzo and Zuccaro, who had broken away from Vasari's views, and he introduced concepts which were wholly relevant to the aesthetic of the Baroque, such as a critique of the realistic approach to painting, or a

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[42] Carducho 1979.
[43] Carducho 1979, pp. xlix-l.

Tridentine view of the role of religious painting in the propagation of the Catholic faith.[44] The ultimate aim of the treatise, however, was to promote painting as a liberal art and, as scholars have already noted, to act as a sort of manifesto for the Madrid painting academy.[45] It is significant, for instance, that many of the poets who collaborated with their poems in Carducho's treatise also included their testimony in a memorandum that the painters sent to the King in order to achieve the exemption of painting from guild taxes.[46]

Carducho was involved in attempts to create an academy of painting in Madrid since at least 1606, the year in which a contract established the headquarters of the Academy in premises belonging to the Convent of La Victoria[47] Despite the eventual failure of the academic project in seventeenth-century Madrid, Carducho did win a victory in the cause of the nobility of painting, as he, together with Eugenio Cajés and Angelo Nardi, won exemption from the guildsman tax on painting from 1633.[48]

The seventh dialogue in Carducho's treatise, *De las diferencias, y modos de pintar los sucesos e historias sagradas con la decencia que se deve*, describes painting as the most important aid to the understanding of the divine, citing Saint Gregory's often-quoted statement that paintings were the 'Bible of the illiterate'.[49] Although Carducho spends most of the dialogue explaining that the artistic skill is only secondary to the religious content of a

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[44] For detailed studies of the artistic theories in the *Diálogos*, see Kubler 1965; Crawford-Volk 1977, chapter 4; Francisco Calvo Serraller's introduction to the *Diálogos* in Carducho 1979, esp. pp. xxv-xliii; and Wázbinski 1990.

[45] See Wázbinski 1990.

[46] *Memorial informativeo por los Pintores en el pleyto que tratan con el señor Fiscal de su Majestad en el Real Consejo de Hazienda sobre la esempcion del arte de la pintura*, Madrid 1629. See Calvo Serraller 1981, pp. 339-368. The witnesses in this memorandum were Lope de Vega, José de Valdivielso, Lorenzo van der Hamen y León, Juan de Jáuregui, Juan Alonso de Butrón, Antonio de León, and Juan Rodríguez de León.

[47] For the attempts to create an academy of painting in Madrid, see Cruzada Villaamil 1867; Matilla Tascón 1981; and Pérez Sánchez 1982. Carducho's involvement in the Academy is discussed in Crawford-Volk 1977 chapter 3; Francisco Calvo Serraller's introduction to the *Diálogos*, Carducho 1979, esp. pp. xvi & xvii; Crawford-Volk 1979; Calvo Serraller 1981, pp. 159-162 & 261-267; and Wázbinski 1990.

[48] See Angulo Iñiguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, p. 108.

[49] Carducho 1979, p. 356.

painting,[50] he also states that a beautiful painting is more likely to move the faithful to devotion than a bad image.

This brief outline of Carducho's life and professional activity serves to establish Carducho's professional standing at the time of the Paular commission. Yet another aspect of his life, i.e. his involvement with religious confraternities, may also have contributed to his success as a religious painter.

b) Carducho's involvement in the devotional life of Madrid.

An important part of Carducho's known social activity was related to his membeship in prominent religious confraternities in Madrid. Undoubtedly, his involvement in the devotional life of the city can also help to explain his dedication to religious painting. His will of 1635 reveals that he was a member of three of the most influencial religious confraternities in seventeenth century Madrid: the Venerable Third Order of Saint Francis, the Confraternity of the Santísimo Sacramento from the church of La Magdalena, and the Confraternity of the Santísimo Cristo de la Fé, based in the church of the Santísima Trinidad.[51] Although little is known about his membership of the last two confraternities, research in the archive of the Third Order of Saint Francis has yielded some new information.

By 1626 Vicente Carducho was a highly influential member of the Venerable Third Order of Saint Francis in Madrid.[52] Although so far the date of Vicente Carducho's

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[50] "...no importa que la imagen en quien se haze la oracion, ó el sacrificio, esté hecha con arte, ó sin ella; porque no obra ni la forma ni la materia (sino lo que representa, y no mas)....Dios nos quiere enseñar, que el milagro es de su poderosa mano, hecho por medio de la imagen santa, sin atender a arte, ni ciencia, que solo quiere de nosotros que le pidamos con fee." Carducho 1979, p. 367.

[51] Caturla 1968-1969, p. 164.

[52] The Franciscan Order decided to promote the Third Order of Saint Francis in Spain at the General Chapter of 1606, and admittance into the Order was a source of great public prestige. Applicants had to be "Catolicos, de ningun error sospechosos, cuyos padres, y abuelos no ayan sido penitenciados por el Santo Oficio, ni viciosos, ni escandalosos, ni de malos tratos, no infames, ni de ruin opinion." Torres 1631, fol. 4r. Vicente Carducho was a cultivated man, and a member of the circle of intellectuals who met around the bookseller Pérez, which included literary names such as Juan Pérez de Montalbán, Lope de Vega, Jáuregui, and Valdivielso. See Carducho 1979, p. xv. At least two members of this cultural circle, Lope de Vega and

entrance into the order is not known, by 1625 he was a member of its governing council, with the right to vote in committee meetings. His involvement with the Order may have dated back to the time of his brother Bartolomé's death in 1608, since the latter was buried in the church of San Francisco el Grande in Madrid, but his membership in the Order at this time is not as yet documented.[53] Vicente also painted the *Saint John the Baptist Preaching* for the same Franciscan church in 1610, which might indicate his involvement with the Order from that early date.[54]

Vicente Carducho is first mentioned in the minutes of the governing committee of the Third Order in 1625. His function within the Order at this time was highly responsible; he was a *Discreto Seglar*, involved in investigating the suitability of lay applicants for entrance into the Order.[55] Members of Carducho's immediate circle also belonged to the order, including Julio César Firrufino,[56] his brother-in-law Gapar Astete[57], his two nephews Joseph and Luis Carducho,[58] his neighbour the presbyter Pablo de los Ríos[59] and the painter Angelo Nardi.[60]

Juan Pérez de Montalbán, also belonged to the Third Order of Saint Francis, while Valdivielso belonged to the Confraterniy of the Santísimo Sacramento in La Magdalena.

[53] Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, p. 27.

[54] Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, p. 105.

[55] See Torres 1631, esp. f. 236v.- 245v.

[56] Firrufino was *discreto seglar* in 1618. See Archivo de la V.O.T., *Libro primero de acuerdos, desde 28 de diciembre de 1609 hasta 1° de henero de 1656*, Libro primero, Junta de 30 de Septiembre 1618, f. 69r.: "Primeramte se acordo que la capilla no se aga conforme ala traça que estaua echa por no conbenir asi por el mucho gasto que conforme a la dha traça se gastara y por la mucha descomodidad que asi terna por las Juntas. Yten que conforme la traça presente y otra o otras que se aran se vean en la primª Junta que se hiciere para que vistas se elija y tome la planta que mas util y de menos costa sea a la dicha terçera orden. Y ansi lo acordaron y firmaron – deque yo el Sº doy fee y lo firme: Fray Lope Paez, Francisco Marcos, Lᵈº de la Barreda discreto eclesiastico, el Lᵈº Alº Fernandez Sº dela 3ª orden, el Dᵒʳ Franᶜº Xuarez, el Dᵒʳ Pº Marañon, el Lᵈº Augⁿ de Chaues y Zumarraga, discreto eclesiastico, Julio Cesar Ferrufino discreto seglar, Grmo. Fdz. Discreto seglar, Felipe de Çavala, discreto seglar, Franᶜº Martinez, Vicario del culto Divino, Joan de Castro, Procurador General."

[57] Gaspar de Astete was a *contador* in the governing council of 1625. See Archivo de la V.O.T., *Libro primero de acuerdos, desde 28 de diciembre de 1609 hasta 1° de henero de 1656*, Libro primero, Eleccion de oficiales, 27 diciembre 1625, f. 130r-133v.

[58] In the election of council members for 1634, Carducho's nephew Joseph Carducho appears as a *discreto eclesiástico*, involved in investigating the suitability of ecclesiastics for entrance into the Order. He appears again in the committee meetings of 12th and 21st December 1638, after Vicente's death. In the election of officials for 1639, Joseph Carduchi is elected *Calificador* [ecclesiastic censor] in the parish of San Sebastián, while Luis Carduchi is *Celador* [lay censor] in the same parish. Archivo de la V.O.T., *Libro primero de acuerdos, desde 28 de diciembre de 1609 hasta 1° de henero de 1656*, Libro 2, ff. 62r.-72r, and ff. 188-189.

Vicente Carducho's role within the governing council of the Third Order evolved through the years. In 1626 he was re-elected as *discreto seglar*, and was also put in charge of supervising the building and decorating work in the chapel of the order.[61] By December 1627 he was elected *co-adjutor* to the Minister of the Order, who at the time was Juan de la Peña y Nisso, the chaplain of the church of San Miguel de los Octoes in Madrid.[62] Amongst the members elected to the Council of the Third Order in December 1627 were the playwright Lope de Vega Carpio, the clergyman Lorenzo van der Hamen y León, brother of the painter Juan van der Hamen, and the chronicler Gerónimo de Quintana, rector of the Hospital of La Latina, all of whom were members of Carducho's intellectual circle. They were all *discretos eclesiásticos*.[63]

In subsequent years Carducho was once again *discreto seglar*, but he must have been highly respected within the Order, since by the elections of December 1634 he was granted 'perpetual vote'. By this time, the Third Order of Saint Francis in Madrid was patronised by very influential members of the aristocracy. For instance, in 1634 the Cardinal Infante

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[59] Pablo de los Ríos figures as Carducho's neighbour in Archivo Diocesano de Madrid, Parroquia de San Sebastián, Libro Tercero Bezerro de Memorias, f. 163r.; he was mentioned as a *discreto eclesiástico* in 1627, in Archivo de la V.O.T., *Libro primero de acuerdos desde 28 de diciembre de 1609 hasta 1° de henero de 1656*, Libro 1, f. 196r.

[60] Nardi was elected *celador* in the parish of San Ginés in 1639. Archivo de la V.O.T., *Libro primero de acuerdos, desde 28 de diciembre de 1609 hasta 1° de henero de 1656*, Libro 2, ff. 62r.-72r, and ff. 188-189.

[61] Archivo de la V.O.T., *Libro primero de acuerdos, desde 28 de diciembre de 1609 hasta 1° de henero de 1656*, Libro 1, Eleccion de Ministros, 27 Diziembre 1626, f. 145r.: 'Que el hermano Vicencio Carducho discreto acabe todo lo que falta de la Capilla ansi en razon de bajar el altar mayor y colaterales como en lo q toca ala porteria y lo rresuelba todo ynsolidun que para ello se nombra por comissario para q en nombre de toda la terçera orden lo haga y disponga.' Several entries in the minute books refer to Carducho's supervision of the building and decorating of the chapel. For instance, in June 1626 the Order seems to have had problems with the progress of the building, and they ordered 'Q. el señor Vicencio Carducho sebea con los Maestros de Obras desu Mag^{d} y ely ellos tomen el medio mas suabe que pudiere ser con el Mro. q hace la capilla para que seacave y ajuste el modo que hade hauer enesto.'. Archivo de la V.O.T., *Libro primero de acuerdos, desde 28 de diciembre de 1609 hasta 1° de henero de 1656*, Junta del 13 Junio 1626, f. 147v.

[62] A *co-adjutor* was charged with carrying out the day-to-day business of the order, given that in some cases the Minister was a member of the aristocracy, a prominent ecclesiastic or a high civil servant, who was too busy to attend personally to the business of the order. This seemed to be a problem in the Third Order, since Ioan de Torres comments on it: "... bueno es para ministro el Principe q con su generosidad se califique el oficio, y este defendida la orden mejor si adjuntamente fuesse Eclesiastico, para que con sus rentas ampare las obras de piedad que professan los deste instituto, pero el vno, ni el otro son a proposito si tienen ocupaciones que impiden la continua assistencia con los subditos..." Torres 1631, f. 250r. For information on Juan de la Peña y Nisso, see Matilla Tascón 1993, p. 125.

[63] Archivo de la V.O.T., *Libro primero de acuerdos, desde 28 de diciembre de 1609 hasta 1° de henero de 1656*, Eleccion de Ministros y oficiales Diciembre 1627, f.195r.-196v.

was 'Protector' of the Order, while the Marquis of Cañete was its Minister, with Lorenzo Van der Hamen as his *co-adjutor*. Amongst the *discretos eclesiásticos* for that year were Don Diego de Guzmán, Patriarch of the Indies, royal chaplain and *limosnero mayor*; and the writer Juan Pérez de Montalbán. The Seventh Duke of Villahermosa, Carlos de Borja y Aragón,[64] and the Marquis of Villamayor were *discretos seglares* together with our painter.[65] Carducho was elected as *co-adjutor* once again in December 1637, only a year before his death.[66] Throughout, he was in charge of the building and decorating work in the chapel of the Order. This must have constituted a source of great prestige for the artist, and perhaps of commissions too. Unfortunately, nothing remains of this original chapel of the V.O.T., which was replaced by the present one in the 1660s. Nevertheless, it is known that Carducho painted at least two works for the chapel of the Third Order in Madrid: the *Stigmatisation of Saint Francis* (fig. 4.38), now hanging on the second floor of the Hospital of the V.O.T. in Madrid, and *Saint Francis bringing souls out of Purgatory* (fig. 4.39), in the ante-sacristy of the chapel of the Order.

Carducho is last mentioned in the minutes of the governing council of the V.O.T. on October 10, 1638. One of the issues discussed at this meeting was the building of temporary altars by the V.O.T. for the forthcoming festivity of San Bartolomé Cumano. Several members of the governing council were in charge of setting up these altars, which were decorated with scenes from the life of St. Francis. Vicente Carducho as *co-adjutor*, together with Don Duarte Méndez, looked after the altarpiece inside the chapel; Gerónimo de Quintana was in charge of the altarpiece of the Porciúncula; Diego de Escobar and Daniel Celi dealt with the altarpiece of St. Francis's Stigmatisation; and

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[64] Don Carlos de Borja y Aragón was a relative of Don Francisco de Borja y Aragón, Prince of Esquilache, whose collection is described in the *Diálogos de la pintura*. Carducho 1979, p. 420. It is possible that Carducho's acquaintance with the Duke of Villahermosa may have helped him gain access to Esquilache's collection.

[65] Archivo de la V.O.T., *Libro primero de acuerdos, desde 28 de diciembre de 1609 hasta 1º de henero de 1656*, Libro 2, f. 96v.-102r.

finally, Francisco de Aguilera and Francisco de Herrera were responsible for setting up the altar with the scene of St. Francis's death.[67]

It is quite probable that the altarpiece of Saint Francis' Stigmatisation could have had at its centre Carducho's painting of the same subject, currently hanging in the upper cloister of the Hospital of the V.O.T. in Madrid (fig. 4.38). There are some oddities about this work, particularly because the foreshortening of Christ's left arm and other elements, such as Saint Francis' feet, and the Christ's wings, have been left unfinished.[68] One wonders whether Carducho was painting this canvas for the festivity of San Bartolomé Cumano, and died in 1638 before finishing it. Nevertheless, it is a striking, moving work, one of Carducho's most mystical devotional paintings. Saint Francis is shown hovering above the ground, drifting towards the Crucified Christ with the palms of his hands facing Him. The figure of Saint Francis, with the exception of the feet, is well finished; the brownish-grey habit of Saint Francis has been meticulously rendered, with carefully drawn folds and cord. Francis' sensitive, finely drawn face has been created through a combination of ochres and greys, delicately modelled with small white highlights on the forehead and nose. An extraordinary rapport is visible between Francis and Christ, the eyes of both figures locked in an intense gaze, with Saint Francis enraptured at this vision of the Crucified Christ with the wings of a seraph. There is a startling contrast between the material reality of Francis, and the ethereal image of Christ. The two figures stand frozen against a background of sky which was probably blue originally, but has now

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[66] Archivo de la V.O.T., *Libro primero de acuerdos, desde 28 de diciembre de 1609 hasta 1° de henero de 1656*, Libro 2, f. 164v.

[67] Archivo de la V.O.T., *Libro primero de acuerdos desde 28 de diciembre de 1609 hasta 1° de henero de 1656*, Libro 2, f. 181. The Third Order celebrated every year the feast day of one saint of the Order; the name of the saint to be honoured in any particular year was decided on a meeting on Christmas day, by drawing lots. The only festival that the Third Order abstained from celebrating was the feast of the Stigmatisation of St. Francis, which presumably was left to be organised by the Franciscans themselves. See Archivo de la V.O.T., *Libro primero de acuerdos desde 28 de diciembre de 1609 hasta 1° de henero de 1656*, Libro 1, f. 65v., meeting of November 26, 1617.

[68] According to the Franciscan legend, the Crucified Christ appeared to Saint Francis during the Stigmatisation as a winged seraph.

turned green-grey through deterioration of the pigment. The area below them, with Francis' companion fallen on the ground in astonishment at what he is seeing, is very cursorily rendered.

A second painting by Carducho in the sacristy of the chapel of the V.O.T. depicts *Saint Francis bringing souls out of purgatory*, and shows a similar figure of Francis, with a similar facial type, holding a red banner with a Cross on it and descending into a purgatory populated by naked figures with their hands linked in prayer. Since one of the street altars for the festivity of San Bartolomé Cumano was dedicated to the death of Saint Francis, *Saint Francis bringing souls out of purgatory* could have been part of it, illustrating what happened to the saint after his death.[69] Both paintings seem to be similar in size, although only the *Stigmatisation* has been measured.[70] It is probable that they were both painted at the same time, and had the same devotional role, although there is no documentary evidence to support this.

Vicente Carducho's name failed to appear in the minutes of the following committee meeting, which took place on November 14, 1638. The inventory of his estate was made after his death, beginning on November 20th 1638.[71] Therefore Carducho must have died between October 10th and November 20th 1638.[72] In his will of 1630, he left 100 ducats

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[69] Since there is no documentary evidence to support the idea that either of the paintings were used in street altars, it is difficult to know whether this was the function of the paintings. One also wonders whether Bartolomé Carducho's *Death of Saint Francis*, which was painted in 1593 but the provenance of which is unknown, could have been painted for the V.O.T., and used to decorate street altars devoted to the same episode. Unfortunately, alhtough we know that Bartolomé was buried in the church of Saint Francis wearing the habit of the V.O.T., nothing is known about his membership of it, as the *Libro primero de acuerdos* in the Archivo de la V.O.T. starts in 1609, one year after Bartolomé's death.

[70] The painting measures 160 x 120 cm. Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, p. 168, nos. 422 & 423. Angulo and Pérez Sánchez do not seem to have seen *Saint Francis bringing souls out of purgatory* when they included it in their catalogue, as they only cite references by Ceán and Palomino, but give no other details about the painting.

[71] See Caturla 1968-1969, p. 177.

[72] Archivo de la V.O.T., *Libro primero de acuerdos desde 28 de diciembre de 1609 hasta 1° de henero de 1656*, Libro 2, f. 181reales - 188v. The date of Carducho's death has been uncertain until now, although Palomino pointed out that he had died in 1638. See Palomino 1987, p. 96

to the Third Order;[73] Joseph Carduchi delivered the deed with the bequest on January 1st, 1640.[74] Carducho was held in high regard within the Third Order, even after his death. A biographical entry in an 18th century manuscript booklet with the lives of some of their most pious members, held in the Archive of the Third Order, remarks favourably on his charitable activities, his piety and stoicism.[75]

The complex web of social connexions that Carducho had both within the Italian artistic community and through the Third Order of Saint Francis hints at various possible sources of religious commissions, although at times it is difficult to untangle all the social links which may have led to a contract. For instance, Julio César Firrufino was married to Ana Maria Ramírez de Mendoza, who was a relative of the Countess of Castellar, Beatriz Ramírez de Mendoza. Around 1622 Carducho painted three canvases for the high altarpiece of the convent church of Discalced Hieronymite Nuns of the Corpus Christi in Madrid, which was founded by the Countess of Castellar. It is possible that Carducho's friendship with Firrufino may have led to this commission. On the other hand, a fellow committee member of the V.O.T., the chronicler Gerónimo de Quintana, was also Rector of the Hospital of La Latina, a charitable institution founded in the 15th century by an ancestor of doña Beatriz Ramírez de Mendoza, Beatriz Galindo, and still patronised by Doña Beatriz's family. Quintana may well have known Carducho through

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[73] See AHPM, Prot. 5023, f. 295r.:"Mandamos por una bez cada uno de nos a la dha terçera orden de nuestro gloriosso padre señor san francisco çien ducados yencargamos nos encomienden a dios en las ocasiones que hazen oraçion por sus difuntos y diga por una bez por cada uno de nos una misa reçada."

[74] Archivo de la V.O.T., *Libro primero de acuerdos desde 28 de diciembre de 1609 hasta 1° de henero de 1656*, Libro 2, f. 213r: "Trujo a la Junta el s[r] D. Joseph Carduchi la escriptura de los çien ducados de zento q. el s[r] bicen[o] carduchi su tio dexo a la orden = acordose sela entregase su m[o] al s[r] Duarte mendez Con[or] de la orden p[a] q. tome la rrazon deel y la meta en el archivo." The actual document can be found in Legajo 425, Document 7.

[75] Archivo de la V.O.T., Carpeta 123, 123/F, 300, Entrada 24, f. 4v.:"Bicencio carduchi fue muchos años coadjutor de ministro fue muy birtuosso y de gran caridad sustento mucho tiempo a una persona noble en su enfermedad lleuandole la cama a cuestas linpiandole y enterrandole a su costa y a otras muchas personas yba a socorrerlas su necesidad y dandole con un cohete en un ojo alabo a Dios y dijo gracias a Dios que tengo un enemigo menos murio por diz[e] de 1637, está enterrado en las carmelitas descalças" As is clear from this entry, even by the 18th century there was confusion over the date of Carducho's death.

the Third Order of Saint Francis before the latter became member of the governing council in 1625, and could have been the source of the commission for the altarpiece. Equally, we know that the work for the high altarpiece of the parish church of Saint Sebastian was commissioned from Carducho by Pablo Sebastián Ontiveros, who was the *mayordomo* of the church. Since Carducho lived in the parish of Saint Sebastian, Ontiveros may have known him simply through Carducho's church attendance or as a neighbour. However, the fact that Ontiveros was also a *discreto eclesiástico* in the V.O.T. could have been a deciding factor in the decision to commission the work for the altarpiece from Vicente Carducho.[76]

It is also quite likely that Carducho's membership of the V.O.T., sharing posts in the governing committee with prominent aristocrats such as the Duke of Villahermosa, a relative of the Prince of Esquilache, whose art collection had been praised in the *Diálogos de la pintura*, could have helped Carducho in his artistic career. In any case, in 1626 Carducho was a royal painter, the foremost specialist in religious painting in Madrid, and deeply involved in the devotional life of the city through his membership of three religious confraternities. His ability as a manager of decorative projects had been proved through his work in the Sagrario chapel of Toledo cathedral, and also in the chapel of the V.O.T., as well as in the other royal religious foundations for which he painted. All the above factors must have contributed to the decision by the community in El Paular to commission the paintings for the large cloister from him.

IV. THE PAINTING CYCLE.

Cycles of paintings on the history of the Carthusian Order existed in other European and Spanish monasteries before Prior Baeza commissioned the cycle for El Paular.[77] Of

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[76] Archivo de la V.O.T., *Libro primero de acuerdos desde 28 de diciembre de 1609 hasta 1° de henero de 1656*, Libro 1, f., f. 196r.
[77] Beutler 1998, pp. 73-79.

particular relevance for El Paular was the cycle of paintings on the life of Saint Bruno by Giovanni Lanfranco in the Charterhouse of Naples, painted shortly after the saint's canonisation in 1623, and later reproduced in print by Theodor Kruger. It is very likely that either the Charterhouse of El Paular or Carducho himself had a copy of the Lanfranco/Kruger engravings, because several iconographic details in Carducho's cycle are similar to the prints, as we shall see later.

Considering these precedents, Prior Baeza's commission was hardly original. Yet his was to be the largest Carthusian cycle ever commissioned in Europe, allowing for the opportunity to introduce new scenes that had never been previously included in Carthusian paintings. It is in this respect that the Paular series is completely unique. When prior Baeza commissioned Vicente Carducho to paint the cloister cycle, there were no narrative paintings on the life of Saint Bruno in El Paular, and there was no sense of a unified pictorial program for the monastery. Baeza commissioned the cycle in order to achieve precisely this.

The fact that Prior Baeza appointed an artist who had first hand experience of the work at El Escorial was far from accidental. El Escorial was a Hieronymite monastery, and there had always been close links between the Spanish Carthusians and the Hieronymite Order: the first General Chapter of the Hieronymite Order in 1415 was presided over by two Carthusian monks.[78] In addition, Carducho very likely participated as an apprentice in Pellegrino Tibaldi's cycle of large-scale religious paintings decorating the main cloister of El Escorial, which were also arch-shaped, like Carducho's paintings for the cloister in El Paular. An element of rivalry with other religious orders, and particularly with the Hieronymites, cannot be dismissed when considering prior Baeza's motives for the

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[78] Gómez 1984, p. 40.

commission. After all, Carducho had also painted some of the altarpiece pictures in the church of the Hieronymite monastery of Guadalupe.

a) The contract for the commission.

The Paular cycle consisted of 56 canvases: 27 works on the life of Saint Bruno, founder of the Carthusian Order, another 27 works on the history of the Carthusian Order, and two paintings depicting the royal coat of arms and the coat of arms of the Carthusian Order, all following a chronological sequence. The contract was signed on August 29th 1626, and there were twelve conditions that had to be accepted by the artist, which made it clear that Prior Baeza had complete control over the iconographic program.[79] In these twelve conditions, the prior established that Carducho had to use fifty-six seamless canvases, which had to fit into the lunettes of the monastery's cloister. The colours had to be mixed with walnut and lavender oil, using also petrol and white spirit. The paintings had to be originals by Carducho, made from his own drawings according to the manner and size prescribed in a design given by the prior to the artist, and they all had to be signed.[80] Prior Baeza also stated that when the canvases were finished, they had to be wrapped in paper and taken to the urban residence that El Paular had in the Calle de Alcalá, in Madrid, not far from Carducho's own workshop. When the first paintings were put in place in the monastery, Carducho would travel to El Paular at his own expense to ensure they were hung in the best possible manner. The paintings were to be valued by two painters, one appointed by the monastery and another by Carducho, and the artist agreed to donate one fourth of the estimated value of each painting to the monastery.[81]

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[79] See appendix 2.
[80] Recent restoration work has revealed that the paintings are, indeed, all signed.
[81] Cruzada Villaamil 1866, pp. 84-85.

One of the most important aspects of the contract was the fact that the subject matter of each scene was set out by Prior Baeza in an *historia* or iconographic program that he supplied to Carducho. Although the original document has not survived, a manuscript in the library of the Congreso de los Diputados in Madrid may be an 18th century copy of the original *historia.* This manuscript copy has been discussed and reproduced in its entirety in Félix Delgado's study of the Paular cycle.[82] In this study, the author provides convincing arguments to support the hypothesis that the manuscript with signature S5698, volume 2, in the library of the Congreso de los Diputados, is in fact an 18th century copy of Prior Baeza's iconographic program.[83] Delgado's argument is further strengthened by the fact that a series of copies of the Paular cycle now in the Fine Arts Museum in Castellón bear inscriptions explaining each episode, with a wording virtually identical to the manuscript studied by him.[84] For this reason, the manuscript will be used in this chapter as the basis for an explanation of the iconography of the cycle and its message. However, it is also necessary to point out that in some cases the paintings do not accurately reflect the episodes listed in Prior Baeza's program, and we must therefore surmise that further instructions were given to the artist after the program was delivered. This is clearly demonstrated by some of the preparatory drawings for the cycle, which seem to show traces of Prior Baeza's instructions to the artist, or could even constitute Carducho's instructions to his own assistants. For instance, in the compositional study drawing for *Apparition of the Virgin to a Carthusian lay brother* (fig. 4.15) there are written notes, probably in Carducho's hand, describing the elements that should be included in the scene: 'un relijioso fraile estando acostado ve entrar en el aposento muchos demonios en figura de perros feissimos y fieros y en medio un demonio mas grande como un gigante que echava fuego por narices y ojos y con un garabato grande y …santo y como

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82 See Delgado Lopez 1998-1999.
83 Ystoria Cuadros Paular [s.d.], BCD, Mss S5698, unpaged.

apareciese m.ª s.ª con una varilla muy gloriosa y los echa de alli....". A separate note in the same drawing states: "....mas pequeña con....figurada....la cama no haya lienzo sino la almohada."[85] The first inscription is extremely close to the entry for the same scene from the manuscript in the library of the Congreso de los Diputados, although it provides more descriptive detail for how the scene should be presented, such as the mention of fire coming out of the Giant's nose and eyes, and the Virgin Mary's wand.[86] The second inscription provides further information about how the monk should be depicted.

The most striking aspect about Carducho's contract for El Paular is the scale of the enterprise. El Paular was a so-called 'double charterhouse', and housed twenty four monks, i.e. twice the number that an ordinary charterhouse would accommodate. In addition, a number of lay brothers also lived in the monastery.[87] Nevertheless, despite the charterhouse's wealth, a cycle of 56 paintings measuring 345 x 315 cm. and costing over 6,000 ducats must have constituted a considerable investment of money and effort for a religious institution during the seventeenth-century.[88] In addition, the rule of the Carthusian Order dictated against excessive ornateness in their monasteries. In previous centuries El Paular had been reprimanded for excessive expenditure on the buildings that were being erected, and in 1502 the community was criticised for some of the images in

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[84] Olucha Montins 1996.

[85] Barcia y Pavón 1906, pp. 21-22.

[86] Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, pp. 192 & 199: "28. Aviendose acostado un religioso fraile sele entraron enla celda muchos Demonios en figuras de Puercos muy feos, y uno en Figura de Gigante que amenazaban ael Sto Baron el cual llamando a Nra Señora de quien hera mui devoto sele aparecio y los hizo huir y ael le consolo y dio docmtos provechosos."

[87] According to James Hogg, the members of the community totalled 60 in 1674. See Hogg 1982, p. xxi.

[88] In fact,the contract stipulated that 6,000 ducats would be paid in four years, but there was a further condition that dealt with the payment of any outstanding amount after that, which Cruzada did not include in his transcription (see appendix 2). From the calculations in the contract, the monks expected to pay around 150 ducats per painting, which would have amounted to over 8,000 ducats in total. The monastery's account books for the period between 1623 and 1640 show that Carducho was owed 2,000 ducats for his work in the cloister c. 1635, and the monastery, "being short of funds and not having enough at present to pay off the debt", undertook to pay the painter interest on the 2,000 ducats, until they had enough funds to liquidate the debt. The painter only acknowledged payment of the debt in January 8, 1638. See Agulló Cobo 1975, p. 66-67; and Crawford-Volk 1977, p. 336-337.

their new altarpiece.'[89] Prior Baeza must have been aware of these criticisms, yet he still commissioned a large pictorial cycle. The motive for this commission must be found in the message that the iconography of the paintings conveyed.

b) The iconography of the cycle and its message.

Four essential themes run through Vicente Carducho's paintings for El Paular: episodes from the lives of prominent Carthusians; the involvement of the Order with important historical figures; miracles performed by saintly Carthusians; and the martyrdoms suffered by Carthusian monks throughout the centuries. These essential themes constituted the bases of most written histories of the religious orders and lives of saints published in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus it is to be expected that a visual equivalent of the former would rest on the same principles. The Carthusian Order had a particularly important reason for self-promotion, since Saint Bruno was one of the last medieval founders of the orders to be canonised. Other religious orders had criticised the Carthusians for lacking a canonised founder, and for the fact that their foundation had not been officially sanctioned by the papacy. Saint Bruno's canonisation of 1623 also fulfilled the objective of providing official acceptance of the Carthusian order by the papacy. Therefore Prior Baeza's iconographic program was very likely designed to draw attention to aspects of the history of the Carthusians which would place them in an advantageous position over the other religious orders.

(1) Prominent Carthusians

The most prominent Carthusian depicted in Carducho's cycle is, of course, Saint Bruno himself. He was born in Cologne in 1035, and was a lecturer of theology at Rheims. After

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[89] 'Prior novus de Paulari habeat cum conventu bene videre indecentiam imaginarum novarum factarum in altare majori, et illas tollat si non conveniunt Ordini, alias Capitulum mittet Commissarios qui hoc facient.'

personally witnessing the miraculous events at the funeral of Raymond Diocres (fig. 4.1), Bruno decided to change his life completely, by abandoning the world. According to the legend, Raymond Diocres, a famous professor of theology in Paris, died in 1082. He had been considered a saintly man during his life, but during his funerary rites his corpse sat up on the bier and spoke to the mourners on three consecutive days, uttering the words 'I have been accused', 'I am being judged' and 'I have been condemned'. Profoundly affected by the events he had witnessed, Bruno retired to solitude with six companions, and founded a monastic community, which was named after the valley of Chartreuse where the community settled.

The fact that the Paular cycle starts with a scene depicting the funeral of Raymond Diocres is, in itself, significant. After Saint Bruno's canonisation in 1623, the story of Diocres' funeral was included in the lessons that were read during Saint Bruno's office. The canons of the University of Paris complained to the Pope, arguing that the episode was apocriphal. The reading was removed from Saint Bruno's office by Urban VIII in 1631, to make it shorter. By having Diocres' funeral as the first scene in the cycle, Prior Baeza was reaffirming the truth of the episode.[90]

The section of Carducho's cycle devoted to Saint Bruno's life emphasised Saint Bruno's involvement with the papacy and the high clergy. According to Carthusian legend, Bruno was called to Rome to act as advisor to Pope Urban II, who had been his former pupil at Rheims. Four works in Carducho's cycle depict Saint Bruno's stay at Rome: *Saint Bruno and his companions before Pope Urban II*, *Saint Bruno bidding farewell to his companions*, *Pope Urban II in conversation with Saint Bruno*, and *Saint Bruno renounces the archbishopric of Reggio di Calabria*, (fig.4.7).[91] These depictions were particularly important to the Carthusian Order.

Dom Maurice Laporte: "Ex Chartis Capitulorum ab initio usque ad annum 1951,"in *Domo Cartusiae*, 1953, Admonition 2051. Quoted in Hogg 1982, p. xviii.

[90] Respuesta Doctor Parisiense [n.d.], BCD, Mss. S5698, unpaged

[91] Beutler 1998, p. 163-169.

Saint Bruno's involvement with Urban II, prominently displayed in the paintings, would have put paid to any allegations regarding the illegitimacy of the Order. The manuscript in the library of the Congreso de los Diputados demonstrates how important these scenes of Saint Bruno with the Pope were to the Carthusians, as the *historia* always emphasised the Pope's confidence in Saint Bruno.[92] The scene of *Saint Bruno renouncing the archbishopric of Reggio di Calabria* (fig. 4.7) was extremely relevant, since it demonstrated both Saint Bruno's dedication to the monastic life and his close connection with the affairs of the world. The saint had been offered the archbishopric of Reggio by the Pope, in an attempt to establish a 'French' cleric in the South of Italy, where the church had allied itself with the Normans against the Byzantines. Saint Bruno refused the offer, and retired to the wilderness in Calabria. This decision had an enormous impact on the Carthusian Order, which was since particularly reluctant to become involved in the affairs of the world.

Other prominent Carthusians depicted in Carducho's cycle include Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, Anthelm of Chignin, Dyonisius the Carthusian and Saint Niccoló Albergati. Hugh of Avalon, later bishop of Lincoln, lived between 1135-1200. He was born in Burgundy, and entered the Grande Chartreuse in 1160. He was called by Henry II to England, to become founding prior of the first English Charterhouse at Witham, and accepted the archbishopric of Lincoln in 1186, after some hesitation. Hugh of Lincoln was depicted twice in Carducho's cycle: first, while receiving a miraculous apparition from Basil of Burgundy, in *Appearance of Father Basil of Burgundy, eighth General of the Carthusians, to Saint Hugh of Lincoln* (fig. 4.18), in which Hugh of Lincoln was helped to overcome temptation by his superior Basil of Burgundy; and secondly in *Appearance of an*

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[92] See, for instance, the description of the scene of Pope Urban II in conversation with Saint Bruno, in Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 198: "18. El Pontífice Urbano 2º comunicaba con N.P.S. Bruno las cosas de sugobierno baliendose de su Consexo que esperimento ser mui acertado, en lo espiritual, y lo temporal, para remedio de las calamidades de aquellos tiempos."

angelic choir to Saint Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, a depiction of the miracle which prompted Hugh to accept the bishopric of Lincoln.[93]

Anthelm of Chignin was a member of a noble family from Savoy, who entered the Carthusian Order and was appointed bishop of Belley in 1163. His relevance lays in the fact that he called the first General Chapter of the Carthusian Order in 1140, gathering the priors of all the Charterhouses, and producing a *Charta Capituli Generalis*, setting out a series of rules for the Order, which were later approved by Rome. The General Chapter decided that the Carthusian monasteries would be under the direct authority of the General Chapter and the prior of the Grande Chartreuse, and exempted from the authority of the bishop.[94] Curiously, prior Baeza neglected to include this episode, which was later considered as the real foundation of the Carthusian Order, in his program for the cycle in El Paular. Instead, he chose to depict Anthelm of Chignin's appointment as bishop of Belley.[95] The reasons for this choice will be discussed later in this chapter.

Dionysius van Rijkel, known as Dionysius the Carthusian c. 1402-1471, was perhaps the most famous Carthusian depicted in Carducho's cycle. He was a monk in the monastery of Roermond, in the Low Countries, and a celebrated scholar and mystic whose works of meditation on Christ's Passion and exegesis of Holy Scripture had enormous impact on Catholic thought. After Luther's reformation, the Cologne Carthusians published Rijkel's complete works as a means of counteracting the influence of Luther's writings. Prior

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[93] Prior Baeza's program describes this scene as follows: "34. Sn Hugh sien[do] electo obispo de Lincon en Yngalaterra pidiendo gracia ael Sor para exercer su oficio sele aparecieron los Angel y le Cantaron un verso deel profeta abacuc enque se le aseguravan yen el mismo dia sele vino un cisne que le acompaño toda su vida." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 199.

[94] Beutler 1998, p. 211-212.

[95] Prior Baeza's program describes this scene as follows: "35. Sn Antelmo 7º General dela Orden fue obligado a ser obispo de Belay, por Alejandro 3º que le consagro por su misma persona. No mudo las costumbres antes crecio en el rigor. Fue gran celador dela ynmunidad eclesiastica ypor quien Dios hizo grandes milagros." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 199.

Baeza had a particular interest in Dionysius the Carthusian, since he wrote a commentary on one of his works, the *Commentaria in Librum Sancti Dionysii de Divinis Nominibus.*[96]

Niccolo Albergati was a member of the Colonna family, and entered the Carthusian Order in Bologna, in 1395. He was elected bishop of Bologna in 1417, and became Cardinal of Santa Croce, in Rome, in 1426. He was a papal legate since 1437 and was involved in several church councils, notably the Council of Ferrara, which temporarily reunited the Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches, and the Council of Basle.[97]

By including these historic Carthusians in the painting cycle, prior Baeza demonstrated the variety of roles which Carthusian monks had performed throughout the centuries, further emphasising the prominence of the order in the history of the Catholic Church.

(2) Other historical figures.

Depictions of prominent Carthusians in Carducho's cycle present the monks as saintly and scholarly, but also as good ecclesiastics, favoured by the papacy and the higher ranks of the clergy. This subject matter leads to the second theme in the cycle, which is the connection between the Carthusian Order and prominent personages throughout history. The emphasis in the cycle on the good relations between the Carthusian Order and the papacy, as depicted in paintings such as *Pope Urban II conversing with Saint Bruno*, and *Anthelm of Chignin receiving the bishopric of Belley*, has already been explained above. However, the cycle also linked the Carthusian Order with other prominent figures, both ecclesiastic and lay. For instance, seven paintings depicted Bishop Hugh of Grenoble, who was a Benedictine monk and an important benefactor of the first Carthusian community, having allowed Saint Bruno and his six companions to settle on land belonging to his

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[96] Cuartero 1950, p. 352.

[97] Prior Baeza's *historia* described Cardinal Albergati as follows: "40. El Veato P. Dn. Nicholas Albergato ovispo de Bolonia y Cardenal de Sta Cruz eminente en santidad y Letras y desprecio deel mundo diole Dios gracia singular para concordar los principes. Crio en su casa a dos sumos Pontifices, Nicolao 5º y Pio 2º fue venerado de todos en vida y muerte y le gratifico el Papa Venedicto 14." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 199.

diocesis.[98] The paintings emphasised Bishop Hugh's generosity towards the Carthusians and his wish to remain in the Chartreuse.

Another prominent historical figure that appeared in two of Carducho's paintings was Roger I, Count of Sicily and Calabria. According to Carthusian legend, after renouncing the archbishopric of Reggio Saint Bruno retired to the wilderness of Calabria. Count Roger of Sicily went hunting one morning with his pack of dogs when, suddenly, the dogs went silent. When the Count reached the spot where the dogs had stopped, he saw Saint Bruno in prayer with other Carthusians. Miraculously, the dogs had abstained from attacking the monks.[99]

Roger I, Count of Sicily and Calabria, meets Saint Bruno while hunting (fig. 4.8) is a particularly important episode within the Paular cycle, as it links Bruno with the Spanish monarchy, who inherited the privileges of the rulers of Sicily. In it, Count Roger appears standing before the saint, dressed in Roman armour and holding a lance. The figure's stance suggests royalty. In his discussion of the painting, Werner Beutler wonders whether Carducho (or rather, Prior Baeza) wished to suggest a connection between Roger I and a Spanish king.[100] The answer to this question must be affirmative, since there was a well-known link between Count Roger of Sicily and the Spanish monarchy.

Cardinal Baronio in his 1605 life of Urban II, in volume 11 of his *Annales Ecclesiastici*, sparked a heated debate in Spain about the legitimacy of the privilege of the Monarchia Sicula, which was held by the Spanish kings as heirs to Count Roger of Sicily and

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[98] They were the *Vision of Saint Hugh, Bishop of Grenoble; Saint Bruno and his six companions before Saint Hugh* both in the Museum of Fine Arts in La Coruña, Galicia; *Saint Hugh taking Saint Bruno and his six companions to the valley of the Chartreuse* in the Charterhouse of Miraflores; *Saint Hugh taking the Carthusian habit* Museum of Fine Arts in La Coruña; *Humility of Saint Hugh*, Prado; and *Saint Bruno advises Saint Hugh to leave the Charterhouse and return to his bishopric*, Museum of Fine Arts in La Coruña.

[99] Madariaga 1596, f. 47r. Prior Baeza's program describes this episode as follows: "22. Andando a caza Dn Rogerio conde de Calabria sus perros hallaron a N. P. S. Bruno y compañeros alagandose con el se estubieron quedos asta que llego el conde, y abiendo llegado y sabido su modo de vida se alegro detenerlo en su tierra y despues los bisitava y acia limosna." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 199.

Calabria. The Monarchia Sicula was the maximum power that could be offered by a Pope to a king. Urban II, out of gratitude towards Roger I for freeing Sicily from the Moors, issued a bull on January 5, 1098, *Quia propter prudentiam*. The bull guaranteed to Roger of Sicily and his legitimate heirs that the Papacy 'would not send, while he or his son Simon or any other legitimate heir rules, any legate of the Roman church to your lands against your wish or advice. Furthermore, what We would normally do through the mediation of a Legate, We wish to execute through your mediation, as Vice-legate....If a [Church] Council meets, I commission you to send to it as many bishops and abbots from your lands as you wish.'[101] This document was interpreted by the Spanish kings, as heirs to Roger I of Sicily, and particularly by Philip II, as giving them the powers of a papal legate. Cardinal Baronio wrote against the legality of the privileges of the Monarchia Sicula, and the eleventh volume of his *Annales Ecclesiastici* was banned all over the Spanish Empire. On the same year, 1605, Juan Beltrán de Guevara wrote his *Discvrsos del origen, principio y vso de la Monarchia de Sicilia*, in which he vigorously defended the privileges arrogated by the Spanish crown over religious affairs on the basis of the Monarchia Sicula.[102] This debate made it unlikely that Prior Baeza would have been unaware of the link between Count Roger of Sicily and the Spanish kings. The relationship was certainly emphasised through the figure's clothing, given that it was not unusual to associate the king of Spain with a Roman Emperor.[103] Yet what were the implications of linking Count Roger of Sicily with the Spanish kings in this cycle? The second painting of Roger of Sicily in Carducho's cycle provides the answer.

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[100] 'We wonder whether those involved in El Paular,...-priors and artists- were aware of the fact that the Spanish sovereign, as heir to the Norman territory in Sicily and the south of Italy, was also monarch of the Charterhouse of La Torre in Calabria.' Beutler 1998, p. 177.

[101] González Novalín 1980, p. 65.

[102] According to Guevara, Pope Urban II not only confirmed Count Roger's ecclesiastic jurisdiction; he enlarged it and gave the Count greater powers, by making him Legatus Natus a Latere in the kingdom of Sicily. See Beltrán de Guevara 1605, f. 14v. Other works published on the Monarchia Sicula hailed Philip III as the new Count Roger of Sicily and Calabria, for having expelled the Moors from his country. See Diago 1610 and Sancta Columba 1714.

Saint Bruno appears to Count Roger of Sicily and Calabria (fig. 4.9) depicted the moment in which Count Roger of Sicily saw Saint Bruno appearing to him in a vision during the siege of Capua on March 1st 1098, to warn him of imminent danger. According to Carthusian legend Count Roger, betrayed by the Greek Commander of his personal guard, was going to be killed by the Capuan Commander while sleeping, but the attack was prevented by an apparition of Saint Bruno to Roger, warning him of what was afoot.[104] Count Roger, thankful for Saint Bruno's intervention, donated the land of La Torre to the Carthusians, where they founded the second Charterhouse. Urban II granted Roger of Sicily the privilege of the Monarchia Sicula in July 1098, as a result of his defeat of the Moors in Sicily and his other merits as defender of the Faith. Indirectly, the depiction of this episode in Carducho's cycle suggested that the Spanish monarchy owed its privileges in Sicily to the Carthusian Order, since without Saint Bruno's intervention, Count Roger of Sicily would have died at the hands of the Capuans and would have been unable to receive the privileges of the Monarchia Sicula. Prior Baeza's program emphasises Count Roger's gratitude towards the Carthusians, and it is likely that the inclusion of this episode in the cycle was intended to produce the same effect on any members of the Spanish royal family and courtiers who visited the monastery.

The second nobleman in Carducho's cycle for El Paular was Count William of Nevers, and he appears in *Humility and disregard for earthly riches in the Carthusian Order* in the Diocesan Museum in Valladolid Cathedral (fig. 4.20). Count William was an advisor to King Louis VII of France, but abandoned the world to enter the Carthusian Order as a

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[103] See, for instance, Bartolomé Campi's armour for Philip II, reproduced in Checa Cremades 1998, p. 45.
[104] Prior Baeza's program describes the scene as follows: "23. El principe de Capua trahia Guerra con el conde rogerio y soborno a un capitan suio para que sele entregase una Noche, y biniendo aeste con su gente estando durmiendo el Conde se le aparecio N. P. S. Bruno y le desperto diciendo tomase las armas y desaparecio, el conde lo hizo asi y se libro y por esto hizo grandes Donacciones a los Nros." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 199.

lay brother in 1147.[105] The scene depicted by Carducho showed William of Nevers' son visiting his father in the Chartreuse in Grenoble. Count William appears carrying a big sack of wool on his shoulders, and his son kneels before him. According to the Carthusian chronicles, Count William was covered in worms that were coming out of the wool. His son, shocked at his father's appearance, asked him whether he did not mind the worms, to which Count William replied that it was better to endure earthly worms than the fires of Hell after death.[106] The iconography of the painting manages to bring together the theme of the humility of the Carthusians, with the relationship between the Carthusian Order and members of the nobility throughout history.

The prominent historical figures depicted in Carducho's cycle include not only members of the nobility, but also the founder of a religious order, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, in *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux visiting Guigo I in the Grande Chartreuse* (fig. 4.13). Carducho's work presents a group of monks in the foreground to the left, two of which are embracing one another. They are standing by an arched entrance, presumably to a monastery. In the middle ground, a richly bridled horse is being held by a groom. In the background, a standing monk hands over a book to two more Carthusians who are kneeling before him.[107] Two iconographical aspects of the painting are puzzling: firstly, the prominence of the richly bridled horse, which although in the middle ground, is at the centre of the painting.[108] Secondly, the group of monks in the background, whose presence in the painting has been unexplained so far. Both aspects are clarified in Prior Baeza's *historia*:

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105 Beutler 1998, p. 204-205.

106 Cuartero y Huerta 1950-1952, p. 485. Prior Baeza's program describes the scene as follows: "32. Fray Gerardo que antes hera conde de Nevers francia, dexo el estado asu Hijo y se hizo Lego nro fue mui Sto humilde y Mortificado, viniendo deel Ganado cargado con una Saca de lana ablo asu Hijo que le vino aver y le enseño adespreciar lo terreno con obras y Palabras." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 199.

107 Prior Baeza's program describes the scene as follows: "27. Vino avesitar Sn Vernardo a N. P. Dn. Guigon Prior dela Gran Cartuxa y recivelen todos con grande amor y el P. Dn. Guigon, reparo en un Cavallo que trahia bien enjaezado enque el Sto. No abía reparado según venía de absorto en Dios./ el P.Dn. guigon escrive las Costumbres dela Orden y las da alos Monges por mandado de Sn. Hugo." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 199.

108 This detail was explained by Cuartero y Huerta 1950-1952, p. 197.

The first refers to Guigo's questioning of Saint Bernard's horse's luxurious accoutrements, and the group at the back represent Guigo handing the Carthusian *Consuetudines* to the monks. The *Consuetudines* were the rules that all Carthusian monasteries had to follow, and were particularly relevant to the Spanish Carthusians because they established the preeminence of the Grande Chartreuse over all other Carthusian monasteries. The fact that this episode was included in this particular painting has enormous relevance to the overall message of the cycle, since it establishes the validity of the *Consuetudines*, and therefore of the role of the Grande Chartreuse as mother house of all other Carthusian monasteries.

As we have seen, the Paular cycle presents the Carthusians as having close relations with Popes, high members of the clergy, noblemen, and founders of other orders. The cycle also emphasises their saintliness, and this is done through the inclusion of miraculous events in the narrative.

(3) Miracles.

There were fifteen paintings in Carducho's cycle that depicted Carthusian monks involved in miraculous events and visions. This theme was undoubtedly the most important in Carducho's cycle, since miracles are signs of God's favour and approval for the order.

The *Miraculous spring at Saint Bruno's tomb*, in the Museum of Fine Arts in La Coruña (fig. 4.12), is one of the key works in the cycle, as it depicts an episode which justifies Saint Bruno's canonisation. Saints had to be documented as having performed miracles, whether while alive or after their deaths. The miraculous spring at Saint Bruno's tomb is therefore one of the foundation stones of Bruno's sainthood. According to the legend,

after Saint Bruno's death a fountain sprang from the saint's tomb, with water that had healing powers, and was visited by the sick in the area.[109]

Many of the paintings in this cycle presented Carthusian monks having visions of the Virgin Mary, or of angelic choirs. Carducho's skills as an artist are most evident in some of these. For instance, *Apparition of the Virgin to a Carthusian lay brother* in the Charterhouse of Miraflores (fig. 4.17) ranks amongst the most accomplished compositions in Carducho's oeuvre. It shows a Carthusian lay brother in his bed, accosted by fierce-looking demons; the friar prays to the Virgin Mary, who appears to him in a vision, and drives the demons away with a magic wand.

A similar Marian vision is shown in *The Virgin Mary appears to Peter Faverius before his death*, now in the Prado (fig. 4.24). Peter Faverius entered the Carthusian Order in the Grande Chartreuse, and eventually became prior of the charterhouse of Sainte-Croix-en-Jarez, in Aquitaine, and representative of the Carthusian Order at the papal court in Avignon. At the time of his death, he was full of fears, and according to the sources, demons accosted him, tempting him to doubt his salvation. He prayed to the Virgin Mary, who appeared to him with the Christ Child in her arms and surrounded by a glory of angels, driving the demons away.[110]

It is remarkable that amongst these paintings of miracles and visions of Heaven, only one image depicted a vision by a Spanish Carthusian: *The Virgin Mary appearing to Juan Fort*, in Cordoba Cathedral (fig. 4.30). Juan Fort was born in 1404, and entered the Charterhouse of Scala Dei, in Aragón, in 1425. Father Fort assiduously practiced meditation on the divinity through the aid of prayer. In one of these visions the Virgin appeared to him and promised that her son would look after him. Subsequently, he had several visions in

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[109] Cuartero y Huerta 1950-1952, p. 194. The *historia* describes this episode as follows: "26. Enterraron a N.P.S. bruno en una Yglesia pequeña de aquel desierto que llaman de Sn Esteban y luego nacio desu sepultura una fuente de donde vebiendo los enfermos sanan y ace Dios alli muchos milagros." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 199.

which Christ revealed to him the nature of the divinity. The fruit of these visions was his *Liber revelationum*. One day, Father Fort was praying before the iron Crucifix that was placed between the Charterhouse of Aula Dei and the house where the novices were lodged. At a certain point, the image of Christ on the Cross leaned towards the monk in a gesture of respect, and remained in that leaning position long after the miracle.[111]

Juan Fort was the Spanish counterpart of Dyonisius the Carthusian, combining the meditative life with the life of the scholar. The significance of his inclusion in Carducho's cycle will be discussed later in the chapter. What is clear, however, is that these types of images were aimed at emphasising the privileged relationship that the Carthusian Order had with the Divinity, and helped convey the saintly image that the Spanish Carthusian Order wanted to project.

Other miracles depicted in the Paular cycle were aimed at demonstrating the monastic virtues by which the Carthusian Order wished to be known. The virtues of obedience, poverty and chastity were, according to Saint Bruno's Spanish biographer Fray Juan de Madariaga, the fundamental virtues upon which a religious order should be built.[112] Many of the miracles depicted in Carducho's cycle make reference to these virtues. For instance, the virtue of obedience was extolled in *Obedience of the Carthusians in the afterlife* (fig. 4.19). The painting depicted an episode of Carthusian legend which occurred under the Priorate of Lancelino at the Grande Chartreuse. According to the Carthusian chronicles, a very saintly monk died in the Chartreuse and his tomb became a centre of pilgrimage for those seeking to be cured of their ailments. Several healings occurred, and the saint's tomb soon became famous, attracting visitors from all over the countryside.

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[110] Cuartero y Huerta 1950-1952, p. 498-499; Beutler 1998, p. 218-219.

[111] Cuartero y Huerta 1950-1952, p. 143-150. Prior Baeza's program describes the episode as follows: "48.El v. P. d. Juan fort Monje dela Cartuja de Scala Dei, SS. Varon y tan favorecido de Nra. Sra. como un hijo de Su Madre rezando su oficio qdo tomaba venia, le dava a vesar su mano, y haciendo reverencia a un Santo Crucifixo, la Cruz sele inclino y se quedo assí." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 200.

[112] Madariaga 1596, f. 53v.

Finally, the crowds gathered at the monk's tomb started to disturb the peace of the Carthusian community. Prior Lancelino invoked the obedience vow and addressed the dead monk exhorting him to stop the miracles, in order that peace could return to the Chartreuse. The dead monk stopped performing miracles, and eventually the crowds of pilgrims to the Charterhouse stopped.[113]

The virtue of chastity is the theme of *Father Basil of Burgundy appears to his disciple Saint Hugh of Lincoln* in the Prado (fig. 4.18). The painting depicts the moment when the future Saint Hugh of Lincoln was suffering from carnal temptation; praying for help to Heaven, his former teacher Father Basil of Burgundy appeared to him, cut his chest open with a knife and took out an incandescent tumour. Then he blessed him, and Hugh felt cured of the temptation.[114]

There were also other Carthusian virtues emphasised by the iconographic program of Carducho's cycle. For instance, the effectiveness of the monks' prayers was shown in the *Miracle of the spring* in the Prado Museum in Madrid, which depicted the moment when Saint Bruno and his companions run out of water while building the Chartreuse. They prayed to God, and water started flowing from a crack on the rock.[115] *The miracle of the Holy promise* (formerly in the Municipal Museum of Tortosa, Tarragona; went missing during the Spanish Civil War), referred to the Carthusians' abstinence from meat. The painting depicted an episode from the Carthusian legend according to which Bishop

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[113] Cuartero y Huerta 1950-1952, 481-485. Prior Baeza's program described the scene as follows: "31. El Venerable P. Dn. Jancelino General Decimo tubo el oficio sesenta años Santisimo varon Mando aun Monge muerto que acia muchos milagros que no los pidiese mas a Dios por q con el concurso delos seglares se ynquietava la casa, el cual le obedecio, y desde entonces no hubo mas milagros Publicos." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 199.

[114] Cuartero y Huerta 1950-1952, p. 199-201. Prior Baeza's program described the scene as follows: "30. El P. Dn. Basilio octabo general gran varon en Santidad y letras se aparecio despues de muerto Glorioso a Sn Hugo su discipulo que estava mui tentado dela Carne y le Saco deel pecho una cosa como de fuego conque quedo libre, a semejanza delo que escriven Sn Gregorio y Juan Casiano."Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 199.

[115] Cuartero y Huerta 1950-1952, p. 370. The *historia* describes the scene as follows: "8º En el puesto que abían escogido no tenían agua y N.P.S. Bruno con sus Compañeros juntos en oracion suplicaron a Dios sela diese y su misericordia hizo que deuna Peña saliese una fuente que hoy llaman de sn Bruno." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 198.

Hugh of Grenoble had sent the monks from the Chartreuse a gift of meat to be eaten on the Sunday before Lent. The monks could not decide whether it was appropriate to eat it, and debated over the subject for so long that they fell asleep over their meat dishes. Three days later, on Ash Wednesday, Bishop Hugh went to see the monks, and found them as they were awakening from their miraculous sleep, with the meat dishes still on the table. When the bishop explained to them that it was now Ash Wednesday, and not the previous Sunday, the monks were distressed at having meat on their table. To their astonishment, the meat turned into ashes before their eyes, and this was interpreted by the community as a sign that they should keep complete abstinence from meat.[116] The episode was particularly relevant to the community in El Paular. In 1557 the General Chapter of the Carthusian Order condemned some of the charterhouses of Castile for partially relaxing their abstinence from meat. However, in 1558 the Chapter clarified that their criticism was not directed towards the charterhouses of El Paular and Granada, which had always observed their vow of abstinence strictly.[117] It is also known that Emperor Charles V was particularly fond of the Carthusians and used to spend long periods of meditation in the monastery of El Paular, but found it difficult to get used to the rule of abstinence from meat. Eventually the General Chapter at Grenoble gave the Emperor special licence in 1542, allowing the prior of the charterhouse of Miraflores, in Burgos, to designate an area of his monastery for the exclusive use of the Emperor and his court, where they could eat meat without contravening the rule of the Carthusian

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[116] Cuartero y Huerta 1950-1952, 371-372. The *historia* describes the episode as follows: "9º Embiole San Hugh para la Dominica de Quinquagesima carne que comiesen y altercando sobre comerla ono sequedaron dormidos asta el Miercoles Santo yenbiando el Sto obispo un criado, averlos se deesifico biendola en aquel dia, ysabiendolo, bino ala cartuxa, y entonces despertaron, y dandole gracias por el regalo les pregunto que dia hera, respondieron ser Domingo de Quinquagesima diciendole la Altercacon. Que abian tenido y reconociendo el criado las pitanzas bio heran las mismas que aun estaban umiando, y tocandolas se hicieron ceniza, conque conocieron hera boluntad de Dios que nunca la comiesen." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 198.

[117] Hogg 1982, p. xix.

Order.[118] In other words, the Carthusians of El Paular preferred to shun the attentions of the Emperor rather than break their rule of abstinence. By including the *Miracle of the promise* in the cycle, Father Baeza was drawing attention towards the exemplary manner in which his community kept its vows. Unfortunately, the painting was lost in 1936, and only an old black and white photograph of it remains.

While the theme of miracles constituted an important part of Prior Baeza's iconographic message, demonstrating the saintliness of the Carthusians and the divine favours that had been bestowed on them, it was also very important to underline the sacrifices that the Order had suffered in defense of the Catholic faith. This was done through scenes depicting Carthusians martyrdoms, a theme about which Prior Baeza must have been extremely knowledgeable, since he wrote a book about it.[119]

(4) Martyrdoms.

There were no less than eleven paintings depicting this subject in the cycle, with martyrdom episodes from the charterhouses of Prague, Seitz in Slovenia, Mauerbach in Austria, London, Bourg Fontaine in France, and Roermond in the Low Countries. The choice of martyrdom scenes in Carducho's cycle was far from accidental, since the locations of the charterhouses had links both to the Hapsburg dynasty and to Spanish foreign policy of the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

The Charterhouse of Mauerbach, near Vienna, was founded by the Hapsburg ruler Duke Frederick the Fair. Queen Margaret of Austria, mother of Philip IV, was a Hapsburg from Vienna, and would have been familiar with this Charterhouse.[120] Mauerbach was

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[118] Brans 1956, p. 29.
[119] *Catalogus marthyrum Carthusiae*, Cuartero y Huerta 1950-1952, p. 353.
[120] Beutler 1998, p. 236-237.

attacked by the Turks in 1529, and the Paular cycle devotes one painting to this episode, now in the University of Seville (fig. 4.25). [121]

Four paintings in the cycle depicted martyrdoms of London Carthusians. The first of these was *Martyrdom of the priors of the Charterhouses of London, Nottingham and the Isle of Axholme*, now in the Prado Museum in Madrid. It presented the monks lying on a platform made of reeds, being dragged through the streets by a team of horses, in the direction of the scaffold, which can be seen in the distance (fig. 4.28).[122] The second painting of London martyrdoms was the *Martyrdom of four monks and six lay brothers from the Charterhouse of Our Lady of the Annunciation, London*, now in Diocesan Museum in Valladolid (fig. 4.29). It shows the imprisonment of the remaining Carthusians from the Charterhouse of London, who were in prison for years, and eventually left to die of hunger.[123] The third scene was the *Martyrdom of Father John Rochester and Father James Walworth from the charterhouse of London*, which shows the execution of two Carthusians, with one monk already hanging and the other climbing up to the scaffold.[124] Finally the fourth scene of London martyrdoms was the *Martyrdoms of Humphrey Middlemore, William Exmew and Sebastian Newdigate, from the charterhouse of London*, in which the three monks are

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[121] Prior Baeza's program describes this episode as follows: " Los Padres Dn Segismundo, Dn Modesto, Fray Sebastian, redito, sacerdote, fray Herardo y Fray Miguel, legos todos dela Cartuja de viena, en Alemania murieron por la Sta fe amanos delos turcos, cuando cercaron aquella ciudad, año de 1529." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 200.

[122] According to Beutler, this painting represents instead the martyrdom of Humphrey Middlemore, William Exmew and Sebastian Newdigate, vicar and monks from the charterhouse of London, and should be considered as the last in the group depicting martyrdoms of English Carthusians. See Beutler 1998, p. 238-239. However, Prior Baeza's program lists this episode as number 45, the first in the group of martyrdoms of London Carthusians, and describes it as follows: "45. Los Stos Padres Dn Juan Huton, Prior dela cartuja de Londres, Dn Roberto Laur. Prior de Nothinga, y Dn Agustin Vvebster fueron arrastrados aorcados y descuartizados en Ynglaterra por la Sta Yglesia Romana a 4 de Mayo de 1535." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 200.

[123] Cuartero y Huerta 1950-1952, p. 137-141. Prior Baeza's program describes the scene as follows: "En la persecucion de Enrique 8 de Ynglaterra murieron en la carcel de maltratamiento los PP. Ricardo Beczer, d. Thomas Jounson. D. Juan Greentz Sacerdotes. Y d. Juan Damo diacono: fr. Willelmo Grenevvote. Fr. Thomas Schinen. Fr. Roberto Salter. Fr. Ubabtero Person. Fr. Thomas Reding: año de 1537: y fr. Ubillelmo Horne su compañero aviendo padecido quatro años despues le desquartizaron a 4 de nobiembre de 1541. Todos hijos de la Cartuja de Londres." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 200.

[124] Beutler 1998, pp. 242-243. Prior Baeza's program describes the scene as follows: "47. Por mandado de Enriq.e 8. fueron ahorcados de dos cadenas los PP. d. Juan rostecher y d. Juan waurnert: monjes dela

standing up, chained to three columns, while in the background a scene with their martyrdom and death can be seen.[125]

Scenes of religious martyrdom in England were particularly associated with the Jesuit Order, which had famous martyrs like Edmund Campion and Robert Southwell. Therefore these four canvases fulfill the role of reminding the viewer of the sacrifices that the Carthusian Order had also undergone for the defense of the Catholic faith, which equalled those by the Jesuits. The four paintings depict episodes which were well documented in 16th and seventeenth-century literature.[126] By depicting the martyrdoms of the London Carthusians in such a consciously dramatic manner, Carducho made their sacrifice more real to the viewers.

The depiction of the martyrdoms of French Carthusians in the Paular cycle must be considered in the context of the history of the Spanish Carthusians, with Philip II intent on separating Spanish religious orders from their central, 'foreign' authorities. By demonstrating that French Carthusians had also lost their lives in defense of the Catholic faith, Prior Baeza was underlining their loyalty, and that of their central authority in the Grande Chartreuse, to the Catholic cause.

The Charterhouse of Bourg-Fontaine, in France, was attacked by Huguenots in 1567. *Martyrdom of Carthusians at Bourg-Fontaine* in the Prado Museum in Madrid (fig. 4.31) depicts the martyrdom of three Carthusian monks at the hands of Huguenot soldiers inside the monastery church.

The Charterhouse of Roermond, in the Low Countries, which was where Dyonisius the Carthusian professed, was sacked by the troops of William of Orange on July 23, 1572.

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cartuja de Londres, y estuvieron assi hasta que se cayeron a pedazos: padecieron por la fee de la iglesia romana a 11 de Maio de 1537." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 200.

125 Cuartero y Huerta 1950-1952, pp. 150-152; Prior Baeza's program describes the scene as follows: "49. El P. d. Humfrido Middelmore vicario dela Cartuja de Londres y d. Willelmo Mene y d. Sebastian nendegate Monjes estuvieron atados con cadenas por el cuello y cuerpo 14 dias y despues desquartizados

Despite the fact that the attack only lasted one day, three paintings were devoted to the event in Carducho's cycle. This concentration on Roermond may be due to Prior Baeza's personal interest in Dionysius the Carthusian, and therefore in the monastery in which he entered the Order. The first painting of the three, *Martyrdom of Carthusians at Roermond*, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in La Coruña, depicted the beginning of the attack, when the troops of William of Orange butchered the porter and two other brothers at the entrance to the monastery (fig. 4.32).[127] The second, *Martyrdom of four monks at the Charterhouse of Roermond, Holland*, now in the Prado Museum in Madrid presents a similar scene, this time with two monks kneeling in the foreground, and their attackers brandishing swords.[128] The third painting, *Martyrdom of the Venerable Fathers Vinzenz Herck and Jan van Loewen of the charterhouse of Roermond*, shows a Carthusian monk falling backwards after being shot by a Huguenot soldier, while another monk lies dead on the floor.[129]

Once again, these paintings act as reminders of the strength of the Carthusian commitment to the defence of the Catholic faith, at a time when Spain was still waging war against Protestantism in the Low Countries. The surrender of Breda had only taken place one year before the signing of the contract for El Paular.

As Werner Beutler points out, the concept of a 'martyr gallery' had first been introduced in Madrid by the Jesuits, who decorated the Jesuit College with paintings of 102

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por mandado de Henriq.[e] 8 de Inglaterra por la fee dela Iglesia romana a 16 de Junio de 1535." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 200.

[126] See, for instance, Relacion martirios cartujos 1534-1541

[127] Cuartero y Huerta 1950-1952, p. 156-160. The *historia* describes the scene as follows: "51. El año de 1572 a 23 de Julio en odio de la fee Catholica los hereges entraron en la cartuja de Ruremunda para saquearla y mataron a tres donados qe encontraron luego al herm. Esteban portero quebrandole la caveza con unos picos y alos hermos Alberto y Juan dandoles de estocadas."Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 200.

[128] Cuartero y Huerta 1950-1952, p. 160-162. Prior Baeza's program describes the episode as follows: "52. Prosiguieron su crueldad los hereges en la cartuja de Ruremunda mataron a los PP. D. Mathias de Colonia, d. Erasmo Traniect: d. Senera d. Guillelm Wellen Procur. Que dieron la vida con grande alegria por la fee de la Yglesia romana." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 200.

[129] Cuartero y Huerta 1950-1952, pp. 162-163; Prior Baeza's program describes the scene as follows: "53. Despues de hauer los Hereges hecho grandes desprecios a los PP. d. Vicente Herck sacristan de la cartuja

individual martyrs.[130] Yet Carducho's works for El Paular are narrative paintings, full of action and drama, thus more likely to affect the viewer's emotions. Their function, however, was identical to the Jesuits' martyr galleries, i.e. to exalt the sacrifices made by their Order in the name of the Catholic Faith.

(5) Message of the paintings.

Having analysed the themes depicted in Carducho's paintings for El Paular in detail, it is now necessary to consider the message that they were intended to convey to their viewers. Naturally, a propaganda campaign must be planned with a certain target audience in mind. In the case of the 56 paintings for El Paular, only two types of viewers had access to the paintings: the monks from El Paular themselves, and the select group of visitors who were allowed to visit the monastery cloister. The latter consisted of, first, members of other Spanish charterhouses and other clerics, who regularly visited the monastery on business or for more extended periods.[131] In addition, members of other religious orders were allowed to spend time in El Paular. For instance, a biography of the Dominican friar and Inquisitor General for Portugal Fray Juan de Vasconcelos (c.1590-1652) mentioned that he stayed in the monastery of El Paular over an Easter vacation, which must have occurred sometime between 1627, when he was made prior of the convent of Santo Domingo de Bemfica in Portugal, and the time of his death in 1652. The author remarked on the fact that despite the difficulty of access to the convent, many people visited it every year, and all were given adequate accommodation, according

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de ruremunda, y d. Juan Luodiens, los martirizaron a escopetazos fuera del monasterio el mismo dia 23 ed Julio de 1572." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 200.

130 Beutler 1998 p. 243.

131 We know, for instance, that in 1636 El Paular received the visits of, amongst others, a 'Fray don Garzo from Scala Dei' and of the Prior of the Charterhouse of Miraflores, in Burgos, as well as regular visits from preachers on religious festivities such as Saint Peter's feast day or Ascension day. See Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Sección Clero Secular-Regular, El Paular, Libro 8089: Libro ordinario y extraordinario desde el año 1633-1653.

to their rank.[132] Father Vasconcelos stayed in the monastery's hostel, and attended the monks' prayers in the church daily. Although the large cloister, where Carducho's paintings hung, was on a different part of the monastery from the hostel, which initially was the palace of the Castilian Kings, one wonders whether it would have been out of bounds to visiting clerics.[133]

Secondly, El Paular also had visits from lay people, particularly the King and members of the court.[134] The monastery received many gifts from the Spanish royals during the seventeenth century. For instance, Philip IV gave the monks a silver brazier that had been a gift from William Godolphin, English ambassador in Madrid. Sister Margarita de la Cruz, emperor Maximilian's daughter and a nun in the convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid, gave the then prior of El Paular, Manuel Deza, a minuscule piece of wood in the shape of a walnut, with episodes from the life of Christ sculpted inside.[135] This indicates that the monastery was in contact with the royal family, thus prior Baeza would have been interested in creating a painting cycle with a message that emphasised that link between the Carthusians and the Hapsburgs.

As regards other members of the aristocracy and the Spanish court, we know, for instance, that Don Baltasar de Zúñiga, son of the Counts of Monterrey, a high official in the Order of Saint James, president of the Council of Italy and uncle of the Count-Duke of Olivares, chose to be buried in the monastery of El Paular.[136] Zúñiga died in 1622. His

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[132] Ferrer de Valdecebro [1668], f. 79: " ...con que los que vienen a este gran Convento que son por el discurso del año muchos llamados de la grandeza del nombre, o a visitar sus Santos moradores. Baxan por sendas algo escabrosas y agrias, pero nada peligrosas. Tienen todos decente, y abundante hospedaje, porque ay hospederia para todo linage de personas, segun el porte de cada vna, a que assisten con tanta Caridad como limpieza, y regalo, de que están generosamente servidos quantos llegan a aquella Santa Casa."

[133] Ferrer de Valdecebro [1668], f. 82v.

[134] With reference to visits by the Spanish monarchs to El Paular, Ponz believed that statues of the four kings who were involved in the foundation and endowment of the charterhouse should be placed in the square after the main entrance "porque al primer paso que se diese por las puertas verían todos una patente señal de gratitud a los insignes bienhechores, y no podía por menos de hacer en nuestros soberanos, que con frecuencia van a aquel sitio, favorabilísima impresión hacia la Comunidad." Ponz 1988, Vol. III, Book X, p. 263. It is clear, therefore, that the Charterhouse of El Paular was often visited by royalty.

[135] Ponz 1988, Vol. III, Book X, p. 256.

[136] AHP Madrid, Protocolo 2031, ff. 541 – 546.

funeral took place in the royal church of San Gil in Madrid, and his coffin was accompanied by members of the court to the outskirts of Madrid, then taken to El Paular by the Count of Monterrey and his retinue. Zúñiga's wife and mother-in-law died the following year, and were also buried in El Paular. Their coffins were accompanied to the monastery by the Bishop of Segovia and the Lord of Horcajada and Count of Cantillana respectively.[137] In 1643 a memorial service was held in the church of El Paular for Don Baltasar de Zúñiga, when the family decided to transfer their burial chapel to the church of the convent of Augustinian nuns in Salamanca. Many members of the aristocracy and the Court must have attended such a service, and they may have had access to the paintings in the large cloister.[138] Members of other aristocratic families had also been buried in El Paular. For instance, the Dukes of Frías had a burial chapel in the monastery.[139] In addition to this, the Vicechancellor of the Crown of Aragón Don Cristóbal Crespi de Valdaura is documented as having spent several Easter holidays in the monastery of El Paular during the second half of the seventeenth century.[140] This suggests that Carducho's paintings would have been seen by many members of the Spanish court, who must have been very aware of any references to the royal family that appeared in the paintings.

Let us now examine briefly the impact that Carducho's paintings would have had upon the monks of El Paular. We must once again remember that the first secession of the Spanish Carthusians from the Grande Chartreuse and the General Chapter of the Order was decided in El Paular in 1577, and it was quite likely that this 'secessionist spirit' survived in El Paular even after the Spanish Carthusian Order 'returned to the fold.' On

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137 Simón Díaz 1982, p. 181, 194 & 266.
138 Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Clero Secular-Regular, El Paular, Libro 8090: Arcas desde el año de 1619 a el de 1644, f. 127 r.
139 Ponz 1988, Vol. III, Book X, p. 261.

the other hand, Prior Baeza himself was a staunch supporter of the Annual General Chapter, and would have been keen to impress on the minds of his monks the importance of a united, catholic, i.e. international Carthusian order, dependent on the authority of the Grande Chartreuse in France. The cycle of paintings did precisely this: of the 56 paintings comprising the cycle (54 if we discount the two coats of arms), only one depicted an episode concerning a Spanish Carthusian, *The Virgin Mary appearing to Fray Juan Fort*. The rest of the works constituted an impressive narrative of the central role played by the Carthusian Order internationally in the affairs of the Catholic Church. The monks and visitors who strolled through the Gothic cloister of El Paular and spent hours in silent meditation, looking at those images, were daily made aware of the international dimension of the Order, and its enduring role in ecclesiastical affairs over the centuries, through the variety of subjects depicted in Carducho's paintings.

One of the arguments put forward by the 1577 meeting of Spanish priors, in favour of the creation of a separate Spanish Carthusian Congregation, was the fact that the Grande Chartreuse's claim for supremacy over the rest of the Order had no legal basis, since it had been established only through decisions made over the centuries during successive Annual General Chapters.[141] The Grande Chartreuse invoked the Carthusian Rule, established in Anthelm of Chignin's *Charta Capituli Generalis* and approved by Rome in 1140, to justify their preeminence. Yet Prior Baeza failed to include this first General Chapter called by Anthelm of Chignin, in which the Carthusian rule was established, amongst the episodes depicted in Carducho's cycle. Since we know from his writings that Baeza was wholly in support of the authority of the General Chapter, it is likely that he would have wished to avoid depicting controversial episodes which may have revived

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[140] Crespi de Valdaura [n.d.], ff. 110r. and 172r.
[141] Gómez 1984, p. 175-177.

dissension within the monastery.[142] Nevertheless, he still chose to depict Anthelm of Chignin, but in his role as a Bishop. Chignin's image would immediately have been associated with the institution of Annual General Chapters in the Carthusian Order; but depicting him as he was appointed Bishop of Belley made his image a source of pride for the Carthusians, rather than a source of conflict.[143] In addition to this, by including in *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux visits Father D. Guigo I, fifth prior of the Carthusians at Grenoble* a scene in which Guigo hands over the Carthusian *Consuetudine* to his monks, Prior Baeza underlined the importance of following the Carthusian rule, which was firmly based on the *Consuetudines*, and established the Grande Chartreuse as the mother house of the Carthusians.

Carducho's fifty-six canvases presented Carthusians in situations that must have come close to seventeenth-century Carthusian experience: the fulfilments of the monastic life were represented in the visible form of communication with the Divinity, visions of the Virgin Mary and of Christ, and prayer; yet the sacrifice involved in being a Carthusian monk was also present, in the forms of martyrdom and the struggle with temptation. Carducho's images, in their carefully crafted compositions, must have made the monks feel part of a wider religious community, involved in the common goal of upholding the Catholic faith.

On the other hand, Prior Baeza's pictorial program also had several layers of meaning for the lay viewers. Firstly, the cycle offered the entire history of the Carthusian Order as a model of sacrifice for the Catholic faith. Carthusian monks were presented as papal advisors, visionaries, martyrs and scholars, often deeply involved in the affairs of the

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142 See Gómez 1973

143 The entry for this scene in the manuscript from the library of the Congreso de los Diputados makes an oblique reference to Chigning as the enforcer of the Carthusian rule: "San Antelmo 7º General dela Orden fue obligado a ser obispo de Belay, por Alejandro 3º que le consagro por su misma persona. No mudo las costumbres antes crecio en el rigor. Fue gran celador dela ynmunidad eclesiastica ypor quien Dios hizo grandes milagros." Delgado Lopez 1998-1999, p. 199.

Catholic Church. By creating a cycle in the most important Spanish Charterhouse which barely referred to the Spanish Carthusians, he was deliberately pointing to the importance of a united Carthusian Order, and refusing to present the Order as a grouping of separate national congregations. A Spanish king or courtier would have been invited to view the cycle as a reminder that no Carthusian monastery, not even those in foreign lands, should be considered as belonging to an enemy power, since Carthusian monks from all over Europe had always been ready to sacrifice themselves for the good of the Catholic Church. To be sure, several episodes in the finished cycle demonstrated the important services rendered by the Order to the Spanish monarchy, e.g. Saint Bruno preventing Count Roger I of Sicily from being murdered, and the sufferings of martyred Carthusians of charterhouses which had been founded by the Hapsburg kings, such as Mauerbach, or were under Hapsburg rule, such as Roermond. The date of the contract for the cycle of paintings, August 29, 1626, indicated an attempt to link the decoration of the cloister with the initial foundation of El Paular by King John of Castille. In addition to this, the inclusion of an episode showing the appointment of Anthelm of Chignin as bishop of Belley in the cycle may have had other political connotations. Chignin was appointed bishop of Belley in 1163, during a period of confrontation between the papacy and Emperor Frederick II which involved disagreements about royal and ecclesiastic prerrogatives. As bishop of Belley, Chignin jealously guarded his episcopal prerrogatives against the aspirations of Count Humbert of Savoy.[144] The depiction of his appointment may well have been conceived as means of indicating the order's disapproval of lay involvement in ecclesiastical affairs.

It is clear therefore that the Paular paintings were designed to present the best possible image of the Carthusians, in competition with other religious orders, perhaps in an effort

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[144] See Cuartero y Huerta 1950-1952, p. 494-495.

to attract royal favour, but also to emphasise the importance of a united, international Carthusian Order, completely committed to the defence of the Catholic faith. At the same time, the paintings fulfilled a precise educational and devotional role within the religious community of El Paular, providing models to be emulated by the monks who lived in the charterhouse or visited it. The latter was perhaps the most important function the paintings were meant to fulfill.

c) The paintings and their compositions.

Prior Baeza's choice of painter clearly indicates the style that he wished to use for the cycle. Vicente Carducho was first and foremost a narrative painter; his success lay on his ability to create scenes that maintained a dramatic coherence, through tightly controlled compositions. He was also a good workshop master, with assistants whose work blended smoothly into the finished cycle, making it virtually impossible to distinguish the different hands that had participated in a certain project. These characteristics were essential for the success of the Paular cycle. Since the paintings had very specific messages to convey, the compositions had to be tightly designed to reflect their contents accurately. This is precisely what Carducho managed to achieve.

This section will study the compositional techniques and use of colour through which the Paular paintings conveyed the messages that Prior Baeza intended for them. Since Carducho fervently believed in the importance of drawing, and in working out his compositions through several sketches, we have quite an extensive visual record of the different stages involved in creating the Paular series, from the preparatory drawings to the final paintings. By comparing the surviving preparatory drawings and oil sketches to the final paintings, it will be possible to discover Carducho's compositional objectives in each of the paintings, and to assess the extent to which they managed to convey their message successfully.

One aspect of the Paular paintings that has been little remarked upon is the fact that the oil sketches, which had an oblong shape, were all painted with a set of curtains covering the top of the arches, and a painted frame all around them. These 'curtains' and painted frames disappeared in the final paintings, but it is interesting to note their existence in the oil sketches, as they conveyed the impression of unveiling a theatrical tableau that was taking place before the viewer.[145] Yet at the same time, by disposing of the curtains and the painted frames in the finished paintings, the scenes themselves, with their life-size figures, became more immediate, as if they were taking place in the cloister of El Paular itself, and not on a theatrical stage. Thus the effect of the compositions and their subjects upon the beholder was heightened.

There are a number of compositional devices that contribute to the cohesiveness of the Paular cycle, and its effectiveness as a narrative. Primary amongst those is the use of frieze-like compositions with several standing figures, as if a procession of prominent Carthusians was progressing through the walls of the cloister in El Paular. Some of these act as links between the paintings, guiding the viewer through the narrative. For instance, both in the first painting in the series, *Conversion of Saint Bruno* (fig. 4.1), and in the second painting, *Saint Bruno and his companions retire to solitude* (fig. 4.2), the figure of Saint Bruno appears on the right hand side of the canvas, dressed in the same black and white ecclesiastical garments and the black birreta on his head. Although the position of his hands is not the same in both paintings, his overall pose is sufficiently similar –standing in a three-quarter profile view- to provide a visual clue as to the identity of the figure, aimed at guiding the viewer through the narrative of the story.

A second device is the structuring of the images along diagonal lines that create triangular and diamond-shaped compositions. This is clear, for instance, in *The Virgin Mary as*

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145 The use of painted curtains to frame an image is a typically mannerist device, wich was used to great effect, for instance, in Pellegrino Tibaldi's frescoes in the Sagrario of the Basilica of El Escorial. See

patroness of the Carthusians, with Saint Joseph and Saint John the Baptist (fig. 4.4). In this painting, the image is divided into two sections: heaven and earth. In the heavenly section, the figures of Christ, God the Father and the Holy Spirit have been arranged like an inverted triangle, making a visual reference to the Trinity. The clouds around the figures also echo this trianglar shape. In the earthly section, the head of the Virgin Mary forms the apex of a triangle, with her arms and the backs of the habits of the two Carthusians kneeling at her feet creating the sides of the triangle, the base formed by the ample folds of the Carthusians' habits. The overall composition looks like a large X-shape, which guides the viewer's gaze from the bottom of the painting upward towards the Virgin's face, and then further up to the heavenly Trinity. The device is often used in other Paular paintings, functioning as an effective tool for providing the images with a coherent, clearly legible yet dynamic structure.

Another device utilised by Carducho in this series is the use of framing shapes such as trees or arches, which echo the poses of the human figures in the paintings, drawing attention to them. This can be clearly seen in *Saint Bruno bidding farewell to Saint Hugh* (fig. 4.6), in which the two figures of Bruno and Hugh stand at either side of a background arch which seems to frame them, emphasising the scene being played at the centre of the picture. Similarly, in *Humility and disregard for earthly riches in the Carthusian Order* (fig. 4.20) the leaning tree on the left-hand side of the painting echoes the figure of Count William of Nevers, bent over with the weight of a sack of wool, and underlines his humility.

A hand pointing towards the main event in a painting is another device that appears often in the Paular cycle, in paintings such as *Saint Bruno renounces the archbishopric of Reggio di Calabria* (fig. 4.7), *Saint Bruno appears to Roger I of Sivily and Calabria* (fig. 4.8), or *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux visits Guigo I in the Grande Chartreuse* (fig. 4.13). All these devices

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Mulcahy 1992, p. 132-136.

contribute to heightening the sense of narrative in the paintings, making their iconography easier to understand.

In order to demonstrate the manner in which the iconography of the paintings is conveyed through their composition and use of colour, a sample of Paular pictures dealing with each of the iconographic themes discussed above will now be examined, analysing the preparatory drawings and oil sketches, and comparing them with the final painting. The changes between the initial ideas and the final works will establish the process by which Carducho's compositions were carefully adapted to the iconographic demands of the paintings.

On the subject of Saint Bruno, the first painting in the series, *Conversion of Saint Bruno*, will be discussed. In this painting, which depicted Raymond Diocres' funeral (fig. 4.1), Carducho created a fittingly dramatic image, which sets the tone for the rest of the cycle. The scene takes place inside an austerely classical church, reminiscent of the architeture of El Escorial. The central section of the canvas is occupied by the bier on which Diocres' corpse sits up and reports on the judgement of his soul. The figure of Saint Bruno can be seen standing on the right hand side, and there is a mother with a child in her arms on the left hand side, perhaps a personification of the virtue of charity, which would have been required when contemplating Diocres' plight. Several onlookers in the background react with horror to the situation.

There are significant differences between Carducho's oil sketch (fig. 4.2) and the final painting.[146] Whereas in the sketch the viewer's attention is drawn towards Diocres' corpse in the middle of the composition, in the final work the figure of Saint Bruno gains more

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[146] The oil sketch was first published in Longhi 1938, plate 2, with the title *Conversione di San Bruno.*

prominence. This is achieved by placing Diocres' corpse further into the background, thus narrowing the perspectival viewpoint. Yet Diocres' wide open mouth still emphasises the horror of the situation. At the same time, Bruno's face, in strict profile, is more visible in the final work, in such a way that the viewer's attention shifts from Bruno's standing figure to Diocres' corpse. It is clear from this image that part of Carducho's "remit" was to preserve Saint Bruno's prominence throughout the cycle, thus reminding the viewer of his canonisation and of his relevance as founder of the Carthusian Order.

Other versions of this episode include Theodor Kruger's print of Lanfranco's 1621 painting for the Charterhouse of Naples and Sánchez Cotán's 1615 painting for the Charterhouse of Granada (fig. 4.40). The latter is a highly dramatic scene, with Diocres' corpse at its centre and a very expressive use of hand gestures –hands with spread out fingers- that may have inspired some areas of Carducho's painting. However, in Sánchez Cotán's version the figure of Saint Bruno -on the right hand side- is hardly distinguishable from the other clerics in the picture. As we have seen above, Carducho had to avoid this at all costs.

The theme of prominent Carthusians is represented in this compositional study by *Saint Niccolo Albergati, cardinal of Santa Croce* (fig. 4.22). In this painting, the composition has been divided into two sections. On the left hand side, Niccoló Albergati kneels in what looks like the entrance to a palace or church, with two marble columns, against a dark background –perhaps a curtain?. He is wearing a red cardinal's mozzeta over his white Carthusian habit, has a halo around his head, and looks up towards a shaft of light coming diagonally from the top of the painting. In the background, two Carthusians look from behind the dark screen towards the same shaft of light. On the right hand side of the painting, a crowded scene takes place in the background. Albergati stands among

emperors and church dignitaries, presumably trying to pacify rival rulers, or perhaps participating in a church council. The scene takes place against a background of classical architecture, which gives it particular dignity and grandeur. On the ground lie two drums and the muzzle of a canon, which possibly make reference to the end of war. Hovering in the air are two female figures in Greek costume, one carrying a cornucopia and the other a torch, signifying abundance and triumph.[147]

There are slight differences between the oil sketch for this painting, now in the Louvre (fig. 4.23) and the finished work.[148] In the oil sketch a cardinal's hat can be seen hanging on Albergati's back. There are no Carthusians in the background to the left, and the floor on which Albergati is kneeling is completely plain, unlike in the finished painting, where it is tiled. There are no allegorical figures or drums and guns on the floor in the oil sketch, and the shaft of heavenly light comes in at a more acute angle in the final painting. These changes contribute to making the narrative of the scene much more readable in the final painting.

Of the historical figures featured in the Paular cycle, Count Roger I of Sicily and Calabria is possibly the most important in terms of the cycle's message, already discussed above. *Saint Bruno appears to Count Roger of Sicily and Calabria* (fig. 4.9) is therefore a particularly crucial painting. Carducho's composition combines two scenes: in the foreground to the left, Saint Bruno's apparition to Roger, and in the background to the right the Count's enemies preparing for their attack. In order to achieve the degree of drama that this scene conveys, the painting has been carefully composed, as can be observed by comparing the differences between the preparatory drawing, the oil sketch and the

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147 Beutler 1998, p. 226.
148 First published in Longhi 1938, plate 12.

finished painting (figs. 4.9 - 4.11).[149] The latter is clearly divided between two areas, light to the left and dark to the right, separated by an invisible diagonal line which runs from the top of the curtain on the left hand side of the painting to the lower right hand corner. This division is also a moral comment: 'good' on the side of light and 'evil' on the side of darkness.[150]

The left hand side of the composition forms a triangle, with Bruno as the ascending diagonal from the bottom left to the centre of the painting, and Count Roger and the bed as the descending diagonal. The base of this 'invisible' triangle consists of the foot of the bed and the bundle of Roger's clothes. Yet there is a connection between this and the other half of the painting, because Roger's sword is prominently placed in the foreground to the left, set at the same angle as the lances that can be seen in the distant background on the right.

The preparatory drawing for this painting, in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (fig. 4.10), differs slightly in composition from the finished work. In the drawing we see less of Saint Bruno's habit, and his right arm forms an almost perfect right angle with his body, while his left hand barely touches Count Roger. This positioning means that the triangular composition in the finished painting, with its apex at Bruno's head, is much less apparent in the drawing. In addition to this the sword, which constitutes such an important element in the finished painting, is absent from the drawing, while the sphinxes at the foot of the bed face forward instead of sideways.

In the oil sketch (fig. 4.11), Bruno leans further forward towards Roger, creating a much closer rapport between the two figures. In addition to this, the sword is already present in the same position as in the final painting, drawing attention to Roger's weaponless vulnerability. The position of the bed has also changed slightly, in such a way that the

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[149] The oil sketch was first published inLonghi 1938, plate 6.
[150] Beutler 1998, p. 178.

foot of the bed looks wider, and the sphinxes now face sideways. The light shining all around Bruno has a pyramidal shape, which will become more rounded in the final work. Finally, in the finished painting Carducho uses colour to articulate the narrative of the scene: the abandoned sword on the left hand side of the painting leans against a bright red cloak, which clearly signifies the danger in which Count Roger finds himself.

It is important to note that the main elements in this scene: the hovering saint pointing with his index finger to the man in the bed, the prominently displayed sword and the bed with sphinxes as legs, are already present in a much earlier work by Carducho: the mural of the *Revelation of Dionisius to Ercoldo*, in the Sagrario chapel in Toledo Cathedral. Carducho's busy practice once more forced him to use earlier models for figures in the Paular cycle.

The scenes involving miracles are amongst the most spectacular in the Paular cycle. *The Virgin Mary appears to a Carthusian lay brother* (fig. 4.14), a recently restored canvas, is particularly representative of the theme, with some of the most efective figures of demons in the cycle, which the recent restoration has revealed are by Carducho's own hand. A preparatory oil sketch for this painting was in the Contini Bonacossi collection in Florence in the 1930s[151] (fig. 4.17) and at least two preparatory drawings survive in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. One of them is a study of the chief demon on the right hand side of the painting (fig. 4.16) and the other is the overall compositional study (fig. 4.15).

A comparison between the preparatory drawings, the oil sketch and the final painting reveals slight compositional changes that contribute to the more dramatic effect of the finished painting. First of all, the preparatory drawing of the chief demon (fig. 4.16) differs quite notably from the compositional drawing, the oil sketch or the finished

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[151] Longhi 1938, plate 14.

painting. In the individual drawing, the chief demon looks tall and has well-proportioned limbs, a wolf's head with small horns, a dog's tail and hairy arms and legs, with hands ending in menacing-looking claws. However, by the time the compositional drawing is created, the chief demon, although maintaining its main characteristics, has a much broader, stronger looking torso and a large, more menacing dragon-like head.

The figure of the Virgin is less prominent in the compositional drawing, being placed closer to the left edge of the drawing, her head covered by her mantle. In the oil sketch, the Virgin becomes more visible, but she is not carrying a wand yet and her head is still covered. Lastly, in the final painting the Virgin is carrying a wand, and her hair is loose over the mantle, while her entire figure is more visible. The effect of the gradual changes introduced in the figure of the Virgin is that she looks more beautiful and saintly in the finished painting, drawing the viewer's attention more.

As for the demons and monsters on the ground, there are also some changes regarding them between the compositional drawing and the finished painting. In the drawing, the winged devil on the bottom left has been rapidly sketched, and is looking towards the outside of the chamber, where the chief devil stands. In the oil sketch, this devil has been more carefully drawn, with flaring nostrils, long ears, a scaly body and long teeth. It is still looking towards the chief devil. However, in the finished painting the demon on the left, which now looks clearly like a small dragon, with fire coming out of its mouth, has turned its whole body towards the bed with the saintly Carthusian. In this manner, more of the demon's body is visible, and the coiled tail looks even more menacing than previously. Another compositional change pertains to the chief devil; while both in the compositional drawing and in the oil sketch this devil is almost as tall as the door frame, in the final painting the square opening to the monk's cell is larger, and the devil is shorter, so that its head is at a slightly lower level than the Virgin's head, and it looks back at her almost in terror. Thus, the Virgin's victory is expressed also in visual terms,

by placing her above the tallest devil. At the same time however, a lizard-like creature is creeping up the devil's staff and attaching itself to the top part of the opening to the monk's cell, in a very threatening manner.

The contrast between the heavenly light in the monk's cell and the dark areas outside it, as well as the simple, clear composition, manage to convey easily the message of the Virgin's superiority over the devils, and of her concern for the Carthusians.

The most dramatic images in the Paular cycle, and also the most complex compositionally, are the paintings with scenes of martyrdom. The preparatory drawings and oil sketches for some of these are known, and they reveal significant changes between the initial idea and the final compositions, as can be seen, for instance, in *Martyrdom of Carthusians at Mauerbach* (fig. 4.25). The scene takes place in what looks like a monastery cloister. In the foreground, a Carthusian monk lying on the floor is being speared by a Turkish soldier. Behind them to the right, another monk kneels in prayer while a soldier raises his sword in the act of beheading him. A large pillar separates the interior of the cloister from the outside patio, where on the left hand side a Carthusian is murdered with a sword by a Turk, and on the right a lay brother is being clubbed to death, while a spear protrudes from the chest of another monk behind him. The composition has been arranged in a diamond shape, defined by the line of the banister in the background, and the spear in the foreground to the left, which create an intersection of diagonals. This arrangement lends dynamism to the overall composition; on the other hand, given the terrible circumstances depicted in the painting, the characters – particularly the monks- remain curiously unmoved.

A preparatory drawing and an oil sketch for this painting survive.[152] The differences between the three point to changes in the attitude of the artist –or perhaps of the patron- towards the scene. In the drawing (fig. 4.27) there is no dog on the right hand side of the composition, to add an element of fierceness to the scene. The left foot of the attacker in the foreground to the left is hidden under the fallen monk's habit, and his head has been placed further forward, while the monk is looking upwards in a more strained position than in the final painting, his mouth open. In the middle ground, the kneeling monk's head has been placed further forward, thus offering a better target for the attacker's sword, and his habit is less bulky. The left leg of the attacker is less visible, since his tunic covers most the thigh. His sword reaches further up the wall, coming closer to the painting of the Ecce Homo that presides the entire scene. In the background on the left hand side, there is no figure to the left of the attacker, neither is there another Carthusian monk to the left of the man clubbing a laybrother to death on the right hand side. The floor in the foreground has no tiles.

The preparatory sketch (fig. 4.26) introduces certain changes to the composition first laid out in the drawing. A dog has been added, but he is only escaping from the scene in the foreground to the right. The profile of the attacker in the foreground is less visible, as his head has been turned slightly to the left, and his foot now steps on the edge of the monk's habit. In the middle ground, the attacker's left leg is now more visible, and his sword has been lowered, so that it comes less close to the image of the Ecce Homo. On the right hand side however, there is still only one monk being killed by one attacker.

In the final painting there are still several changes from the oil sketch; in the foreground, the dog on the right is now a fierce animal, barking at the attackers. The Turkish soldier's left foot steps fully onto the monk's habit, and his turbaned head has been placed further

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[152] See Angulo Iñíguez 1927, Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1977, p. 35, No. 162 & Plate XIII; & Longhi 1938, plate 15.

in, his neck less defined, to create an uninterrupted line with his arm that communicates a greater sense of menace. The monk's head is still looking up, but not in such a strained manner as before, and his mouth is now closed, while his hands are not so spread apart on the floor, thus diminishing the horror of the scene. In the right foreground, an extra monk has been added, no doubt to reflect the Carthusian accounts of this episode, in which five monks were killed.

The overall result of these changes in the final painting is to convey a sense of serenity in the deaths of these monks, however violent they were. The drama has been transferred to the background, where the addition of more figures conveys a sense of chaos. In the foreground, however, the violence seems to have shifted from the figures of the monks themselves, to the dog. In other words, the image has lost action and gained in serenity and dignity.

An important aspect in this work is the inclusion of a votive painting of the Ecce Homo in the cloister wall, which seems to have been covered with a dark velvet curtain that has been opened to reveal the image. The function of this image is two-fold: firstly, it creates a symbolic parallel between the suffering Christ and the suffering Carthusians. Secondly, according to Ponz, in the chapel of the Rosary in the cloister of El Paular there was a painting of *Christ as Man of Sorrows*, a copy of an original by Sebastiano del Piombo.[153] By including a painting like this in a scene of martyrdom that takes place in a cloister, the artist achieves an identification of the prospective viewers –Carthusian monks- with the image, as a scene which could have been taking place in their own cloister.

Although many other paintings in the Paular cycle deserve a close compositional analysis, it is outside the scope of this dissertation to do so. The above study outlines the manner

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[153] Ponz 1988, Vol X, p. 261.

in which Carducho's paintings conveyed their meaning through composition and colour. They achieved this so successfully, that the paintings became a sort of 'master series', which was copied and sent to other Carthusian monasteries in Spain.

d) Copies of the Paular cycle.

The best known sets of copies of Carducho's paintings for El Paular are now in the Charterhouse of Granada and in the Fine Arts Museum in Castellón de la Plana. Whereas the copies in Granada are extremely close to the originals (see figs. 4.41 & 4. 42), and very likely done by painters from the Carducho workshop, the Castellón copies are done by painters entirely outside Carducho's sphere of influence, and much less talented (see figs. 4.43 & 4.44).

There are twelve copies of the Paular paintings in the Charterhouse of Granada, eight of them currently hanging in the chapter room, and the other four in the chapel for lay brothers.[154] Only three of the twelve copies depict episodes from the life of Saint Bruno. They are *Vision of Pope Victor III*; *Saint Bruno renounces the archbishopric of Reggio di Calabria*; and *Miraculous spring at the tomb of Saint Bruno.* Of the nine remaining works, five depict Carthusian martyrdoms and the other four show three Carthusian miracles and a scene involving a historical figure. They are *The Virgin appears to Fray Juan Fort*; *The Virgin appears to Fray Pedro Faverio on his deathbed*; *Appearance of an angelic choir to Saint Hugh, bishop of Lincoln*, and *Humility and disregard for earthly riches in the Carthusian Order.* The paintings are smaller in size than those in El Paular, measuring 250 x 232 cm., and the canvases are oblong, unlike the arch-shaped canvases of the originals. These differences in the shape and size of the canvases lead to some small changes in the compositions.

Manuel Gómez Moreno, in his 1892 guide to Granada, believed the copies after Carducho's Paular cycle in the Charterhouse of Granada to be reproductions painted by

Carducho himself. However, this is hardly likely, since Carducho's busy practice would not have allowed him to be personally involved in making copies of his own work. As Angulo and Pérez Sánchez rightly pointed out, they are workshop copies.[155]

Little is known about how these paintings arrived in the Charterhouse of Granada; archival documentation about the monastery makes no mention of the paintings.[156] However, the Charterhouse of the Assumption of Our Lady in Granada –such is its official name- was founded in 1516 through the efforts and financial support of the Charterhouse of El Paular, and the first monks in Granada also came from El Paular.[157] The motherhouse never ceased to provide its Granada foundation with aid for different projects. These included the building and decoration of the Sagrario in Granada, which was mostly financed by El Paular in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.[158] Given the close relationship between the two monasteries, it would not have been unusual for El Paular to send copies of its cloister paintings to Granada. Unfortunately, the sending of these is as yet undocumented, even though archival research indicates that El Paular often provided paintings for other Spanish Carthusian monasteries throughout the seventeenth-century.[159]

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[154] Since the origin of these copies is not known, it is difficult to establish whether there was originally a complete set of fifty-six copies, or whether only the twelve were made.

[155] See Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, p. 143. The authors believe the copies to be of uneven quality. However, a close study of the paintings reveals them to be of consistently high quality.See figs. 14-16.

[156] See AHN, Clero secular-regular, Libros 3606, 3610, 3612-3614, 3619, and Carpeta 1953.

[157] See Vallés 1792, p. 346-348; Orozco Díaz 1976, p. 10-19 & Monumentos Españoles: Catálogo De Los Declarados Histórico-Artísticos 1844-1953 1984, p. 351.

[158] AHN, Clero secular regular, Libro 3619, *Estado que tiene la S^ta y R^l Cartuxa de Granada hasta el dia 22 de Junio deeste año de 1705 = Obras que sean hecho desde el dho año de 1695 hasta dicho mes de Junio de 1705,* f. 18v: "Obra del Sagrario: Yten aunque en la obra del sagrario se costeo todo lo principal con la limosna que N^a Madre el Paular hizo para este efecto, se deuen reputar por deeste estado los gastos que pusso la Cassa de su maestro de Avañile^a y algunos oficiales, comida de toda la gente, carreterias, y borricos para la conducion de los materiales."

[159] While working in El Paular, Eugenio Orozco painted works for the charterhouses of Seville (1638 & 1644) and Monte Alegre (1638), although it is not known whether they were copies after original works from El Paular; José Donoso made a painting for the charterhouse of Valdecristo between 1675 and 1677; Fray Cristóbal Ferrado, from the charterhouse of Las Cuevas in Seville, was "un lindo copiador" and stayed in El Paular doing painting work between 1629 and 1651. See Agulló Cobo 1975, p. 68, 69 & 74.

Although very close to the originals, the Granada copies introduce slight changes in the compositions that make for a less successful narrative, and highlight Carducho's accomplishments in El Paular. This will become clear by comparing one of the Granada copies with one of the best known paintings in the Paular cycle, *Saint Bruno renounces the archbishopric of Reggio di Calabria*, in the Prado (fig. 4.7).

Carducho's painting depicts the moment when Saint Bruno reasserts the importance of the monastic life for him by renouncing Urban II's offer of the Archbishopric of Reggio di Calabria. The scene takes place in a cloister interior, the austere classicism of which is reminiscent of El Escorial. The composition is tightly structured to convey a very clear message: at the centre of the scene is a richly embroidered archbishop's chasuble, a white silk rochet with lace trimmings, a crozier and an archbishop's mitre, laid out on a low table covered in a grey velvet cloth with a fringe. To the left is the Pope's party, consisting of the Pope himself and three ecclesiastics, one of which holds the papal tiara. The Pope points with his right hand towards the archbishop's garments, and with his left hand towards Bruno. The rich papal garment contrasts starkly against the severe dark brown wall behind him. On the right hand side, Saint Bruno and one of his companions, dressed in black travelling cloaks to indicate their intention to leave the papal court, stand against the background of an arched cloister that opens out into a landscape beyond. The crozier acts as a link between the two main characters in the painting, touching both the Pope and Bruno on either end. Bruno's head leans back from the archbishop's garments towards his companion, almost as if he was physically withdrawing from the high office being offered to him. The brightness of the arched gallery behind Bruno contrasts with the dark brown wall behind the Pope, almost suggesting that Bruno's chosen life is more enlightened than life in the papal court.

The painting is an excellent example of Carducho's skill at rendering different textures and materials, as well as of his ability as a colourist. From the red velvet of the papal

mozetta and hat to the silk and lace of the white rochet or the gold and gems of the tiara, each material looks real to the viewer. The subtle thread-like white highlights over the rich red pigment successfully convey the feel of velvet on the Pope's garment, while the thick darker black lines which create the folds in the monks' cloaks immediately suggest the feel of heavy wool. The richness of the orange and gold of the archbishop's chasuble creates a striking contrast with the simple black and white garments of the monks. The artist has also contrived to include six figures in very different poses and attitudes in the painting, who manage to convey the narrative very clearly simply through hand gestures and facial expressions.

The copy of *Saint Bruno renounces the archbishopric of Reggio di Calabria* (fig. 4.41) is currently too dirty for its use of colour to be assessed fairly. However, the architectural backgrounds and their relation to the human figures have been skilfully rendered. On the other hand, in terms of composition the Granada copy is much less successful than the original. The figures are much more elongated and taller in relation to their surroundings than in the original work, as seen in the figure of Pope Urban II. This distorts the link established in the original between the Pope's hands, the archbishop's accoutrements in the centre and Bruno's hand; the archbishop's mitre has been placed slightly outside the triangle created in the centre by the three hands, which shifts the focus of attention upwards, from the mitre to a point slightly above it. Bruno's hand is too close to the mitre in the copy, and its relationship to the background landscape is less clear. This makes the narrative of the scene confusing, as the saint's decision to reject the archbishopric and retire to the desert is visually much less obvious. The length of the figures makes their heads and hands look too small, thus hindering the accurate interpretation of their gestures and expressions by the viewer.

Despite their closeness to the originals, the Granada copyists lacked real understanding of the narrative significance of certain compositional arrangements present in the original

works. As for the authorship of these works, it is difficult to ascribe them to a particular painter, since little is known of the identity of the members of Carducho's workshop. It may be safe to assume that Felix Castelo, whose works were so close to Carducho's style, could have had a hand in these copies. If the copies were made soon after the Paular cycle was finished, i.e. c. 1632-1633, there is even a possibility that Castelo might still have been a member of Carducho's workshop.[160] In addition to this, a painting in El Escorial, catalogued by Vicente Poleró as *Agonía de un santo monje* and attributed to Francisco Camilo, seems to be a copy of an episode from El Paular, *The Virgin Mary appearing to a Carthusian lay brother.* The painting came from the 'Casa de Nuevo Rezado,' in Madrid. If the attribution was correct, then we may add Camilo's name to the list of possible copyists of the Granada paintings.[161]

The second set of copies of the Paular cycle consists of thirty-two canvases now in the Fine Arts Museum in Castellón de la Plana, which came from the Charterhouse of Valdecristo. According to the Carthusian chronicler Joaquín Vivas, there were originally 44 canvases, which were commissioned by a believer, and when he died c. 1653 they were sold to the Charterhouse of Valdecristo.[162] After the disestablishment of Valdecristo in 1849 the paintings went to the Fine Arts Museum in Castellón.[163]

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[160] See Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, p. 191.

[161] Poleró y Toledo 1857, p. 51: "Incorporado en su lecho e implorando el auxilio de la Virgen, se le aparece ésta sobre un trono de nubes, ahuyentando con su presencia los espíritus infernales, que en diversas formas discurren por la celda."

[162] The Carthusian Joaquín Vivas, in his 1773 manuscript *Fundación de la Real Cartuxa de Valdechristo*, describes the acquisition of the Castellón copies as follows: "Los 44 lienzos con sus guarniciones doradas que adornan las paredes de nuestra Yglesia mayor que representan la ystoria de nuestra Sagrada Religion y martires de Yngalaterra, que los inteligentes alaban su pinzel, se ignora su pintor por descuido de nuestros Antiguos; solo se sabe que son copias de los que ay en la cartuxa del Paular, en su claustro mayor, que se los hizo pintar un devoto y afecto a nuestra Santa Religion que residia en Madrid, y muerto este los vendieron a Valdechristo y costaron solo los lienzos 443 libras 10 sueldos. Y las guarniciones doradas 524 libras en el año de 1653." Díaz Manteca 1991, p. 115.

[163] Olucha Montins 1996, p. 534.

Of the forty-four original copies, only thirty-two remain at present. They are oblong in shape and smaller than the originals at El Paular, measuring 160 x 103 cm. The smaller size and different shape led the copyist to introduce changes to the compositions which, although justified by the lack of space in the canvases, detract greatly from the overall effect of the paintings.

All the Castellón copies have a caption at the bottom of the canvas, which explains the episode depicted. Previous scholars have noticed that some of the captions do not correspond with the episodes depicted in the paintings.[164] The origin of the captions themselves is now quite clear: their wording is often almost identical to the entries in the manuscript in the library of the Congreso de los Diputados studied by Félix Delgado. The captions in the Castellón paintings must have been copied from the same source as this document. This points to the idea that a copy of Prior Baeza's program was made available to the copyists, or to the persons who added the captions, in order to help identify the different episodes. However, the persons involved in adding the captions were unfamiliar with the Paular cycle and the episodes it depicted, hence the mistaken captions on some of the paintings.[165]

Technically, the Castellón copies are much less impressive than the originals. This is due to several factors. The colours used in them are much more muted, possibly less expensive than in the originals. They are also applied in a much less sophisticated manner, with less subtlety in terms of the gradation of light and shade, or the application of glazes. In terms of composition, they also lack the complexity of the originals, the structure of which was closely linked to their iconography. For instance, the copy of *Saint Bruno renounces the archbishopric of Reggio di Calabria* (fig. 4.7) shares all these characteristics;

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[164] Olucha Montins 1996, p. 535.

[165] The copies with mistaken captions were *Saint Bruno and his disciples retire to solitude*; *Saint Hugh taking Saint Bruno and his six companions to the valley of the Chartreuse*; and *Saint Bruno advises Saint Hugh to leave the Charterhouse and return to his bishopric*. Olucha Montins 1996p. 537, 538 and 540.

the smaller size of the canvas has forced the artist to squeeze the composition into a narrower space. This means that the architectural setting is more schematic, allowing for no vistas of arched cloisters into the landscape beyond. The perspective in the painting is slightly wrong, and this diminishes the symbolic effect that the architectural setting had in the original work. The features of the figures are conveyed through very simplified brushstrokes, with no sophisticated rendering of wrinkles in the skin or of the texture of beards. The hands, which play such an important role in the narrative, are here disproportionately large, with none of the mastery in foreshortening shown in Carducho's works. Finally, the colouring is uninspired and murky, with little attempt to render the different textures of fabrics, flesh, metal or stone wall accurately.

These characteristics are applicable to all the Castellón copies: they show a poor understanding of anatomical detail and linear perspective; the physical types are radically different from those used in the original works, and the colouring is consistently murkier, less subtly applied. In short, they were made by a much less competent painter(s).

The identity of the possible copyist is as yet unknown. The paintings were commissioned by a devout person from Madrid, perhaps connected in some way with the Carthusian order, and familiar with the Paular paintings. It is therefore possible that he may have commissioned the copies from one of the lesser masters working at El Paular, whose work would have been more affordable. The copies were carried out between 1632 – when the last paintings in the Paular cycle were signed- and 1653, the date of purchase of the frames for the copies sold to Valdecristo. During this period, a number of minor masters were working at El Paular, some of them carrying out copies of works owned by the monastery. For instance, in 1649 the Carthusian monk and painter Fray Cristóbal Ferrado, from the charterhouse of Las Cuevas in Seville, was staying at El Paular, and carried out copying work for which he required colours and canvas. He was referred to

as "a beautiful copyist."[166] Curiously, a letter from the Prior of Valdecristo Fray Jerónimo de Frígola to Fray Miguel Jiménez from El Paular, written in February 1651, mentions that Fray Cristóbal Ferrado was sending him a painting by his own hand. Another letter written in September 1651 describes the painting as an image of the Virgin and Child with Saint Joseph.[167] Is it possible that the Castellón copies of the Paular cycle were also carried out by Father Ferrado, who knew the Paular paintings through his stay in the monastery, and had connections with the Prior of Valdecristo? Unfortunately, no reference to the author of the paintings appears in the documentation from Valdecristo, neither are any paintings by Fray Cristóbal Ferrado, which could have allowed a comparison with the Castellón copies, known to survive.[168]

There were other paintings of the life of Saint Bruno in the Charterhouse of Valdecristo: twelve in the Reliquary chapel in the sacristy, painted by Gregorio Bausá in 1631; an unspecified number in the cloister of the *cisterna*, which were commissioned by Prior Jerónimo de Frigola from an unknown painter by the name of Urbano; and another set painted by the Carthusian monk Dom Ginés Dias in 1639 for the high altarpiece of the remodelled church of Valdecristo. The latter set also had paintings by Pedro Orrente and the Flemish painter Jorge Sibile.[169] Unfortunately, none of the above-mentioned artists is documented as having carried out the Paular copies, neither is it likely that the identity of the copyist will be revealed, unless some extraordinary archival or similar find is made.

The existence of the two sets of copies of the Paular cycle in Granada and Castellón raises a number of issues regarding the dissemination of religious iconography in

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166 "Tenemos en Casa al padre don Cristoual Ferrado, hijo de las Cueuas, pintor aunque no muy antiguo, lindo copiador, y por la peste de Málaga y Seuilla no se pueden traer colores de allá." AHN, Clero, Legajo 4302. Quoted by Agulló Cobo 1975, p. 69.

167 AHN, Clero, Legajos 4302 & 4304. Transcribed by Agulló Cobo 1975, p. 69-70.

168 See AHN, Clero secular-regular, carpetas 691-692, legajos 1848, 1852, and libro 8460.

seventeenth-century Spain. The very existence of an 18th century copy of Prior Baeza's iconographic program points to a conscious effort by El Paular to preserve the meaning of the images and transmit it, in order that they might be used by other charterhouses. Ironically however, the fact that some of the captions in the Castellón copies were written on the wrong images also indicates how quickly those meanings were forgotten.

The Granada copies were accurate reproductions of the master series, and point to El Paular's role as an 'image factory', a central authority that disseminated a prescribed iconography for images of the history of the Carthusian Order. These copies also provide an opportunity to understand some of the functions fulfilled by painters' workshops, i.e. the workshop as another 'image factory'.

The Castellón paintings are interesting as a means of assessing the process by which a high quality religious image became corrupted in the hands of a lesser artist. The Castellón copyist had no connection to the Carducho circle; he lacked both the skill and the understanding of the close link between colour, composition and narrative content that characterises succesful religious images such as those in the Paular cycle. Consequently, the paintings produced were of a much lesser quality. Finally, the Castellón paintings emphasise the importance of hiring a successful artist to create a series of this calibre. As mentioned above, Carducho's Paular cycle must have been seen by members of the aristocracy, even by the royal family. Therefore prior Baeza could not risk commissioning the paintings from a lesser artist, as they were going to be seen by those who were used to having paintings of high quality in their own homes. By hiring Carducho to create this painting cycle, prior Baeza was making certain that the message he intended to convey with those images was not lost through the lack of skill of the painter.

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[169] For paintings of the life of Saint Bruno and Carthusian history in the monastery of Valdecristo, see the following: Díaz Manteca 1991, p. 115, 116 & 118; Martín Gimeno 1985, p. 563; Pérez 1936, p. 257-258;

Another interesting insight supplied by the Castellón copies relates to their distribution within the church. According to the Carthusian monk Joaquín Vivas, of the 44 paintings, 22 hung in the choir for lay brothers and 22 in the monks' choir. The paintings in the choir for lay brothers narrated the life of Saint Bruno, while those in the monks' choir were martyrdom images.[170] This distribution of themes emphasises the educational role of the cycle: the images of the life of Saint Bruno supplied the lay brothers with edifying narratives of the virtues of their founder, and provided a role model to follow. The lay brothers in Carthusian monasteries usually carried out the physical labour, and the most menial tasks in the life of the monastery. The paintings in the lay brothers' choir were thus designed to inspire them to a life of obedience and prayer, based on the teachings of their founder. On the other hand, the images hanging in the monks' choir presented the suffering that Carthusian monks had undergone in defence of the Catholic faith, and of the fate that could await those who joined the Order. The monks, who had a higher status within the monastery, were thus reminded of their responsibilities as Carthusians, and of the strength that was required to perform their duty as their predecessors had done before them. These two mutually enhancing messages were ultimately the reason why the original Paular cycle was created; they also explain the enduring popularity of the images witin the wider Carthusian Order.

Ribes 1985, p. 663; and Simón Aznar 1998, p. 222 & 324.

[170] See Díaz Manteca 1991, p. 115.

CHAPTER 5

USES OF RELIGIOUS IMAGES DURING PROCESSIONS AND RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS IN SEVENTEENTH - CENTURY MADRID.

Religious ceremonies played a central role in the everyday lives of 17th century Madrilenians. As well as the regular religious festivals that formed part of the ecclesiastical calendar, there was a multitude of other ceremonies which celebrated extraordinary events in the religious and political life of the whole country, such as beatifications and canonisations of saints, and the births and deaths of members of the royal family or of the grandees. All of these ceremonies involved elaborate rituals during which the entire city was decorated with numerous altars, balcony hangings and all manner of street ornamentation. The professional activity of most artists of 17th century Madrid was inevitably linked to the work generated by these festivities.[1] Their artistic styles must also have been greatly influenced by the manner in which religious images were used during these celebrations, if for no other reason than they constituted a rich source of visual imagery, which became part of Madrilenian consciousness. Although public religious celebrations were also common in other Spanish cities, the fact that Madrid was the seat of government meant that its festivities were often paid for by the crown or by prominent members of the aristocracy, which added an extra brilliance.

Listing individually every single street procession or religious celebration that took place in 17th century Madrid would be a virtually impossible task, given that not just the most

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[1] Even highly regarded artists are recorded as having contributed to street decorations during this period. For instance, as part of the celebrations for the beatification of St. John of God, in March 1631, the royal painter Vicencio Carducho painted the banner that was to be carried in the procession, with an image of St. John of God on one side, and the papal and royal coats of arms on the other. See San José 1982; San José 1982,p. 401: " El Estandarte, que era de una rica tela, llevaua de la una parte pintada la figura del Santo, y de la otra los escudos de armas de su Santidad, y Rey: que lo pintó, por servir en esto al Santo, el famoso Pintor, que lo es de su Magestad, Vicencio Carducho."

important events in the religious life of the period merited a procession, but even small events such as the opening of a new local church or the transferral of a convent to a different building also involved elaborate ceremonies. However, it is important to consider some of the most significant religious celebrations of this period, in order to flesh out the environment in which religious art was created in Madrid during the seventeenth century. This chapter will be devoted to describing these ceremonies, both the regular festivals and the extraordinary celebrations.

I. REGULAR RELIGIOUS FESTIVITIES.

There were several religious festivals that were celebrated by the citizens of Madrid annually. They included ecumenical festivities, such as Christmas, Easter and Corpus Christi, and other feast days, such as the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary (December 8th), and the feast of Saint Sebastian (January 20th).

The vows to celebrate the feasts of the Immaculate Conception and Saint Sebastian were made in 1438, at a time when the city was badly afflicted with plague, and the citizens hoped to enlist the help of the Virgin Mary and the saint to intercede for them before God. On December 8th there was a general procession to the parish church of Santa María, and manual work was forbidden during the procession. On January 20th the procession went to the church of Santiago. Vows were also made in 1598 to honour the feast days of Saint Anne and Saint Roch.[2]

On April 25th, the festivity of Saint Mark the Evangelist, the image of Saint Mark was taken on procession to the church of San Miguel de los Octoes. On Palm Sunday there was a procession to the church of Santa Cruz, and another one on February 2nd, feast day of the Purification of Our Lady, from the Hospital General to the church of Atocha. On

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[2] Quintana 1980, f. 383v.-385v.

May 15th, festivity of Saint Isidro, the body of the saint was taken on procession from the church of San Andrés, touring the entire city and returning to the same church.[3]

However, the two most important regular religious festivals in 17th century Madrid were Easter and Corpus Christi. Each of them involved particular processions and ceremonies, in which religious images played very precise roles, which will now be examined briefly.

An account by a Sevillian clergyman, Francisco Luque, who spent the Easter of 1601 in the convent of the Caballero de Gracia, in Madrid, offers a glimpse into the types of sermons and the rituals that were observed in the city during the Lent and Easter periods.[4] At the time of Francisco de Luque's stay in Madrid the church of the Caballero de Gracia was not attached to any convent, after the Friars Minor had left in 1594; in 1603 the building was given to the convent of Franciscan nuns of the Pure Conception.[5] Luque described the church as "un Relicario del cielo, que arrebata, y lleua tras de si los coraçones, alentando a deuocion a aquellos que la visitan".[6] From his account we discover that in this particular church there were special sermons with guest preachers from all the orders every day of the week during Lent, except on Tuesdays. On Friday afternoons the 'Miserere' was sung, and a sermon on some particular verse of it would also be preached. On Saturday afternoons a sermon on the verse 'Ego sum lux mundi' was preached. Finally, on Sunday afternoons the sermons were devoted to the different stations of the Cross. According to Francisco de Luque's account: "Domingos en la tarde fueron celebres en esta santa Iglesia, donde se predicaron los passos de la passion de nuestro Señor Iesu Christo, ya que no con figuras de bulto como en Seuilla, a lo menos con imagenes de pinturas famosas, poniendo cada Domingo un cuadro del misterio que se predicaua en un altar frontero del pulpito cubierto con una cortina de tafetan, la qual

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[3] Quintana 1980, f. 386r.-386v.
[4] Luque 1982
[5] León Pinelo 1971, p. 59.
[6] Luque 1982, p. 46.

se corria al tiempo que el predicador hazia su oracion, pareciendo el retablo cercado de muchas luzes y hachas de cera blanca, que todo combidaua a deuocion y lagrimas… Los passos que se predicaron son estos: Oracion de Huerto, Açotes, Coronacion, Ecce Homo, Cruz a cuestas, y el Monte Caluario…"[7]

Luque's description emphasises the close link existing between religious images and liturgy in seventeenth-century Madrid: these paintings of the Passion of Christ were no mere decorations, but played an active role in the religious rituals performed in the church of the Caballero de Gracia during Lent. Unfortunately, it is not known whether any of these paintings survive, and therefore we can draw no conclusions from their iconography or artistic style.

The general Easter celebrations in Madrid started on Holy Wednesday, and lasted until Easter Sunday. Four traditional confraternities constituted the nucleus of the processions, and several craft guilds were associated with them. They were responsible for carrying certain processional images and providing the necessary wax for candles, as well as penitential dress for the participants.[8] On Holy Wednesday, the church of the monastery of Shod Carmelites was opened to the public, and the Confraternity of Santa Elena y Ánimas del Purgatorio, which was based in that church, went on procession with the image of St. Helen at two o'clock. The brothers of this Confraternity were members of the guild of bakers; they were joined by other guilds, such as the ironmongers, who carried the image of *Nuestra Señora de las Angustias*, the Royal Mint workers, with their processional group of the Holy Burial, and the coal delivery workers, who carried the Holy Cross. When the processions returned to the church, there was a special service in several churches of Madrid, known as *Las Tinieblas*, or the "Service of Darkness". At the

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[7] Luque 1982, p. 47.

[8] This and the following information about the Easter week ceremonies in Madrid has been summarised from Herrero-García 1935. His information was transcribed from the *Libros de Gobierno de la Sala de Alcaldes de Casa y Corte* for the 17th century in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid.

end of the service all candles in the churches were extinguished and a long drum roll was played, while the churches were in complete darkness. Popularly, the darkness in the church was associated with the hand of Judas, betraying Christ.[9] The impact that this type of service had on the faithful must have been dramatic, and one wonders to what extent religious images for altarpieces and other areas of the church could have been created with this particular service in mind, by painting or carving them in ways that would render them relatively visible even during this service.

On Holy Thursday the king performed the ceremony of the Washing of the Feet on thirteen of the town's poor. There were two processions in the afternoon, all leaving at two o'clock from different churches. The Brotherhood of the Vera Cruz, based in the small hermitage of Nuestra Señora de Gracia, left from the Plaza de la Cebada with several processional groups, amongst them the *Santa Vera Cruz,* which was carried by the guild of altar attendants, and *Nuestra Señora del Traspaso*, carried by the guild of tailors. The confraternity of Nuestra Señora de las Angustias formed the nucleus of a procession which left from the hospital and convent of the Holy Passion, with several processional groups: the *Washing of the Feet*, *Christ carrying the Cross*, the *Lifting of the Cross*, the *Crucifixion*, the *Holy Burial*, and *Our Lady of Sorrows*. Finally, the Brotherhood of the Vera Cruz y Nuestra Señora de Gracia, based in the church of the Shod Trinity, accompanied by the guild of cloth merchants, took the image of the *Holy Crucified Christ* on procession.

Traditionally, after the processions the public visited the tabernacles of all the different churches, which were especially decorated, since the Eucharist was going to be exhibited

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[9] The churches where the Service of Darkness was sung were, according to documents from 1650, the following: Calatravas, Nuns of Pinto, Vallecas, Hyeronymite Conception, the Trinity, the church of the Magdalene, the Descalzas Reales, the church of Los Angeles, the church of the convent of Mercy, the Encarnacion, the Carmelites, the Franciscan Conception, the convent of Constantinople, San Felipe and the Corpus Christi. Herrero García 1935, p. 10.

in them the following day. A night vigil would be established in front of them to "guard the holy body of Christ" until the morning of Good Friday.[10]

There were two major processions on Good Friday. The first was organised by the Confraternity of Nuestra Señora de los Siete Dolores, based in the church of the Dominican College of Santo Tomás. They left the church at six o'clock in the morning, carrying seven processional sculpture groups representing the seven sorrows of the Virgin, as well as the image of the *Virgen de los Siete Dolores*. The guilds of cobblers, rope makers, glass workers and painters took part in this procession.[11] A minor procession took place at twelve o'clock from the church of the Inclusa, organised by the Confraternity of Nuestra Señora de la Salud y Niños Expósitos. The guild of carpenters participated in it, carrying the processional group of *Our Lady of the Flight to Egypt*. Finally, at three o'clock in the afternoon the second major procession took place, with the Esclavitud de Nuestra Señora carrying Gaspar Becerra's image of the *Virgen de la Soledad* from the church of the monastery of La Victoria.[12]

The last important procession of Madrid's Easter Week took place in the early morning of Easter Sunday. It was organised by the Esclavitud de Nuestra Señora, and was known as the procession of the Resurrection of Our Lord. The procession was divided into two sections, both leaving from the monastery of La Victoria. One section carried the image of the *Virgen de la Soledad*, shrouded entirely in black; a second section carried the Holy Eucharist and, when the two halves of the procession met at the Puerta del Sol, the image of Our Lady was uncovered, revealing the white tunic and rich jewellery that

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[10] Herrero-García 1935, pp 12-23.

[11] The lawsuit between the painters' guild and the Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows, with the painters refusing to take the image on procession, is well documented. See Lafuente Ferrari 1944and Moreno Puertollano 1986This type of legal battle between the guilds and the religious confraternities seemed to be common throughout the seventeenth century. For this reason one wonders whether the processions were exercises in religious belief or in social cohesion, or both.

[12] Herrero-García 1935, pp. 26-28.

adorned it, upon which both groups returned to the convent of La Victoria, where a sermon of thanks was preached.[13]

All of the above processions had two obligatory stops: the royal Alcázar, and the convent of the Descalzas Reales, whose church was visited by all the processional groups.

The Corpus Christi festivities in Madrid have been studied in depth by Javier Portús.[14] Consequently, I will only briefly describe the ceremonies. The Corpus Christi was one of the paradigmatic religious ceremonies of 17th century Spain, as it expressed a quintessentially Tridentine concern: the cult of the Eucharist as a symbol of the body of Christ and His sacrifice for human kind.

The Madrid procession was organised by the *villa* [local council] and involved enormous expense, given that the entire city was adorned with temporary street altars. Many of these displayed paintings that acted as showcases for the local artists that created them.[15]

The procession carried the Holy Host, exhibited in a heavily ornate monstrance, through a fixed itinerary, which had as its focus the Royal Alcázar, where the procession was greeted by the King. Neighbouring the Alcázar were some of the oldest parish churches in Madrid, such as San Salvador, San Nicolás and San Juan, as well as the palaces of influential members of the nobility such as the Count-Duke of Olivares, the Prince of Esquilache, the Dukes of Pastrana and Uceda, the Counts of Monterrey and Lemos, and the Marquises of La Laguna, Cañete and Alcañices.[16] All of them used to participate in the Corpus procession, with the honour of carrying the *palio* or canopy covering the Holy Sacrament often reserved for important members of the aristocracy and the Royal Council.

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[13] Herrero-García 1935. P. 33.
[14] Portús Pérez 1993.
[15] Portús Pérez 1993, p. 26.
[16] Portús 1993, p. 49.

After the feast of the Corpus Christi, an *octava* –i.e., eight days of masses and prayers for the Holy Sacrament in every church of Madrid- was celebrated, with daily processions between the different churches.

Since the Corpus Christi festival was a periodical event, there are virtually no contemporary *relaciones,* or accounts of the ceremonies. These were usually written to describe unique events, rather than festivals that took place annually. Fortunately, two events in 17th century Madrid that occurred during the Corpus Christi festivities and merited written accounts: the visits of the Prince of Wales in 1623 and of Cardinal Barberini in 1626. Accounts of these visits include detailed descriptions of the Corpus Christi processions.[17] For instance, in his account of the feast of the Corpus Christi on June 11th, 1626, during the visit of Cardinal Barberini, Juan Antonio de la Peña described how the streets were adorned with rich hangings, and the square at the royal palace had tapestries on display on each side, depicting the Conquest of Tunis, the Apocalypse, the Deeds of the Apostles, and the story of Noah, among others.[18] The chronicler also mentioned the fact that part of the Corpus Christi procession was composed of secular, burlesque elements, such as giants and buffoons, who led the procession, and were followed by representatives of the confraternities, religious orders, and parish churches, each of them carrying banners and crosses.[19] During the *octava* of the Holy Sacrament, the area around the convent of the Encarnación (which was linked to the royal palace by a passageway) was adorned with street altars set up outside the houses of Don Pedro de Tapia, of His Majesty's Council and a member of the Council of the Inquisition, and also

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[17] See, for instance, Fiestas Corpus [1623] 1982, and Peña 1982..

[18] Peña 1982, p. 354.

[19] Peña 1982, p. 355. For a thorough discussion of the role of the secular elements in the Corpus Christi procession, see Portús 1993.

outside the Duke of Sessa's urban residence. Processions carrying the Holy Sacrament would stop at each altar, saying a prayer and singing *villancicos* [popular religious songs.][20]

II. EXTRAORDINARY RELIGIOUS FESTIVITIES.

There were many different types of extraordinary events in the life of 17th century Madrid which merited religious ceremonies. For instance, in 1610 there was a general procession from Santa María to the Descalzas Reales, which was attended by King Philip III, in 'thanksgiving' for the expulsion of the Moriscos. In 1611 the funerary rites after the death of Queen Margaret of Austria, wife of Philip III, involved the building of an elaborate tumulus in the church of San Jerónimo el Real, consisting of several storeys which were decorated with sculpted and painted images of the virtues, personified by biblical figures. The high altar of the church was covered with black mourning drapes, with the royal coat of arms painted in gold on them.[21]

The most important extraordinary religious events of the 17th century in Spain were the beatifications and canonisations of saints, which were numerous during the first half of the century. The first of these were the beatifications of John of Sahagun in 1603 and Raymond of Peñafort in 1605. They were followed by the beatifications of Ignatius Loyola in 1609, Luis Beltrán in 1613, Teresa of Avila in 1614, Tomás of Villanueva and Pascual Bailón in 1618, and Francis Xavier and Isidro in 1620. These led to the joint canonisations in 1622 of Ignatius of Loyola, Teresa of Avila, Francis Xavier and Isidro, together with the Italian Philip Neri. In 1625 the General of the Jesuits and uncle of the Duke of Lerma, Francisco de Borja, was beatified, and later canonised in 1672. In 1627 twenty three Spanish and Japanese martyrs of the Franciscan order were jointly

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[20] Anonymous 1626, p. 355.
[21] Gómez de Mora 1982, pp 72-74.

canonised; in the same year St. Theresa of Avila was made patroness of the kingdom of Castile. In 1631 John of God was beatified.

This extraordinary number of beatifications and canonisations of Spanish saints in such a short period of time is a reflection of the enormous power that the Spanish monarchy, in its role as defender of the Catholic Faith, had over the papacy. Each of these involved elaborate processions, *octavas* and other religious ceremonies which were particularly spectacular in Madrid, where the aristocracy and the Crown funded many of the celebrations.

The festivities in honour of the multiple canonisations of 1622 were particularly impressive, since one of the saints, Isidro, was of Madrilenian origin and for this reason they will now be discussed in detail.

III. USES OF IMAGES OF SAINTS DURING THE 1622 CANONISATION FESTIVITIES IN MADRID.

On Sunday, June 19th 1622, the city of Madrid began nine days of festivities to celebrate the canonisation by Gregory XV of four Spanish saints: Isidro, Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, and Teresa of Avila, together with the Florentine Philip Neri.[22] The five saints had been canonised in the basilica of Saint Peter's in Rome on March 12th 1622. Among those attending the ceremonies was the Count of Monterrey, representing Philip IV, who was received by the Pope with all the pomp and ceremony due a representative of the king of Spain.[23] News of the event reached Madrid on Wednesday April 6th, at 11 o'clock at night.[24] The *villa* immediately organised a thanksgiving procession, ordering the entire

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[22] Ponce 1622, f. 255(13)r.

[23] Monterrey 1622, unpaged.

[24] Principio de las reales fiestas 1982 p. 163. The messenger who delivered the news received a reward of 800 *escudos*, which had been offered by the Madrid council to the first person to bring the long awaited tidings.

city be specially illuminated for three days to celebrate the event.[25] However, the larger celebrations were postponed initially to June 6th, and then June 19th. This gave the different bodies involved in the organisation of the festivities, i.e. the *villa*, the religious orders, the parish churches, confraternities and many other minor institutions, enough time to prepare for the celebrations with the magnificence that the occasion required. Although initially the *villa* wanted to organise separate festivities for Saint Isidro, the king insisted on a joint ceremony for the five saints, consisting of a general procession on Sunday 19th, followed by an *octavario*, or eight days of religious festivities devoted in turn to each of the four Spanish saints.[26]

The coordination of the festivities organised by the *villa* to celebrate the 1622 canonisations was placed in the hands of a commission consisting of the playwright Lope de Vega, the architect Juan Gómez de Mora, and a representative of the council, Francisco de Acuña.[27] They were in charge of organising three different types of events: religious ceremonies, allegorical pageants, and secular diversions. The religious events included the arrival of the images of the saints in procession into the church of San Andrés -where the body of Saint Isidro was kept- on Saturday, June 18th; the general procession in the afternoon of Sunday, June 19th; vespers in the church of San Andrés on Monday, June 20th, and masses in the same church on the mornings of June 19th, 20th and 21st. The allegorical events involved designing a Castle of Fame, chariots for the pageant of the Four Elements, and sets for the religious plays. The secular entertainment included games, dances and fireworks.

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[25] See Principio de las reales fiestas 1982, p. 163-164.
[26] Portús Pérez 1988, p. 31. See also Río Barredo 1998, p.160-162, who mentions the negative reaction from the Madrid *villa* to the multiple celebration, and believes that Saint Isidro was obscured by the other saints during the festivities in Madrid.
[27] Portús Pérez 1988, p. 31.

In Counter Reformation Europe, the canonisation of a saint was a long and complicated process, which demanded an enormous financial and diplomatic effort.[28] We know, for instance, that the *villa* first set about having the local holy man Isidro the Farmer canonised in 1563, and they had envoys in Rome dealing with this matter since at least 1599. The real impulse to the process, however, was given in 1616, when alderman of Madrid Don Diego de Barrionuevo was sent to Rome to deal exclusively with the business of promoting the canonisation.[29] Barrionuevo received over 700,000 *reales* to aid the process during the six years he spent in Rome; the funds had been raised through alms collecting campaigns and from local taxes.[30] Given that Ignatius of Loyola was beatified in 1609, Teresa of Avila in 1615, Isidro in 1619 and Francis Xavier in 1620, it is easy to understand that the multiple canonisations of 1622 were the result of a long-term, concerted effort by the religious orders, the town of Madrid and the Spanish crown, involving both financial and diplomatic pressure on the Vatican. For Philip IV, who had been crowned in 1621, a religious event of this magnitude constituted an ideal opportunity to reaffirm the identity of the Spanish monarchy as defender of the Catholic faith throughout the world. It was also a favourable sign of the support of the Vatican for the new king and for Spanish policy. These political aspects of the canonisations were distinctly present in the ceremonies organised to celebrate the event in Madrid.

For the purposes of our inquiry, the most important aspect of the 1622 canonisation festivities was the decoration of churches and streets, which acted as a backdrop for the daily processions, pageants and theatrical performances that celebrated the event. As was

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[28] For a summary of the different steps involved in the canonisation process, and the power politics involved, see Burke 1989a and Fernández Ruiz 1983, pp. 190 & 192.

[29] Río Barredo 1998, p. 150-157.

[30] Matilla Tascón 1983, p. 136-142 quotes the figure of 18,500 ducats, i.e. 203,500 reales. However, research carried out in the municipal archive in Madrid reveals that at least twice that amount was spent by Barrionuevo. His expense accounts list large amounts devoted to gifts for the Pope and the cardinals likely to be favourable to the cause of the canonisation, from small items such as sweets, gloves, amber satchels and wax to more expensive items such as emerald rings, paintings and, of course, dinners, comedies and

to be expected in ceremonies of this kind, religious images played a key role in communicating specific messages through their iconography, both in the decorations and in the processions. This chapter is concerned with how images of the four canonised saints were used during the festivities in Madrid. Since covering every possible aspect of these festivities is beyond the scope of this dissertation, the present chapter will concentrate on three aspects of the ceremonies which were particularly relevant in terms of how religious images were used: the general procession on Sunday 19th of June; the street altars and ornamentation of the processional route; and the Jesuit masque.

However, in order to understand the uses of images of the four saints in all these contexts, it will be necessary to provide an outline of the development of their iconography before 1622.

1. The Iconography of the Saints during the 1622 Canonisation Festivities.

When Saints Isidro, Teresa, Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier and Philip Neri were canonised in Rome in March 1622, the church of Saint Peter's was adorned with their images, which had a distinctly recognisable iconography. This iconography appeared also in the engravings produced to commemorate their canonisation, one of which, signed by Matthaus Greuter, still survives in the archive of Santa Maria in Vallicella, in Rome (fig. 5.1).[31] The engraving consists of a central section showing the decorations in the church of Saint Peter's, flanked by four prints featuring the five canonised saints and their most famous miracles. The central section reproduces the 'theatre' created for the occasion in the basilica of Saint Peter's, which was commissioned by Madrid's town council, the *villa*,

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other entertainment organised for the Pope and his relatives in the residence of the Spanish ambassador in the Vatican, but financed by the *villa*. See Río Barredo 1998, p. 156-157.

[31] In fact, there seem to be two versions of this engraving: one with the inscription 'Superiorum permissu Romae 1622 Matthae Greuter exc. cum privilegio' inside the frame of the cartouche at the bottom of the central panel, and one with no inscription. The latter was reproduced in Mâle 1932, fig. 57, from an image in Charles Clair's life of Saint Ignatius, published in 1891 and with no reference to the original source of

from the architect Paolo Guidotti, as the inscription at the bottom of the engraving indicates. The entrance to this so-called 'theatre' consisted of a structure resembling a triumphal arch, with three arches separated by rectangular 'windows' and topped by a cornice. A balustrade barred the bottom of the arches, with the exception of the central arch, and giant figures acted as columns, supporting the cornice. Above the central arch was an octagonal panel with the image of Saint Isidro holding his hoe, and a winged figure above it. On top of the cornice there were several seated figures holding candelabra, as well as two standing figures on left and right. Inside the church itself, the arched structure and cornice continued along both sides of the nave, leading towards the altar, and there were banners with images of the saints hanging from the dome of the basilica.

Images of each of the five canonised saints appear on either side of the central section of Greuter's print. These consist of a central aedicule with decorative rolls on the top left and right hand corners, in which stand the images of the saints, who are identified by an inscription at the bottom. The aedicule is flanked by eight compartments showing scenes of the saint's miracles, four on each side - in the case of Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis Xavier, since both are depicted in the same image, there are only four miracles per saint. The miracles would have been listed on each saint's canonisation bulls.

The iconography chosen for each of the saints was not devised specifically for the commemorative print; rather it reflected the pictorial tradition of each saint, which had been established long before 1622. Part of the information gathering process for a canonisation consisted in investigating the imagery of the holy person, to establish whether there was a tradition of depicting them as saints.[32] For instance, in the case of

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the print. See Lavin 1968, p. 42, nos. 14 & 15. The only known copy of Greuter's engraving is now in the archive of the church of Santa María in Vallicella, in Rome.

[32] On this topic, see for instance the studies on Saint Ferdinand's iconographic tradition in Quiles 1999 and Wunder 2001.

Saint Isidro, the information on his life and miracles sent to Rome in 1598 to start the canonisation process included the questioning of witnesses on the existence of sculptures and paintings depicting Isidro as a saint."[33] In the case of Teresa of Ávila, Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier, who had been dead less than a century, their respective orders had created a distinct iconography for them through publications of print series, which projected the particular virtues and values that the order wished to promote. Thus the images in the canonisation engravings featured iconographies that were well established. Limitations of space in the present dissertation forestall an in-depth discussion of the iconographies of the four canonised Spanish saints.[34] Rather, the focus will be upon the way the iconography of each of the four saints developed before 1622, with a view to establishing the kinds of images with which contemporary Madrilenians would have been familiar.

a) Saint Isidro.

As part of his propaganda campaign in Rome to aid the canonisation of Isidro, Alderman of Madrid Diego de Barrionuevo commissioned prints of the saint.[35] Although none of these have been found, it is likely that the iconography of these prints would have been very similar to the image of Isidro in Matthaus Greuter's commemorative engraving.

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[33] ASA, 2-285-1, f. 38r., question no. 148: "Ytten si sauen ettc..queen honor y Reuerencia del bienauenturado sant Isidro de madrid ay en esta dicha villa muchas pinturas y esculturas del dicho sancto y sus milagros en espeçial en el arca dondesta su santto cuerpo y en la praed del circuito del arco dondesta collocada y en su primera sepoltura y en la hermita antigua questa sobre su fuente y en entrambas partes sean uisto y ueen tres Retratos de bulto del dicho sancto y de pinçel esta puesto en el retablo del altar mayor de santandres con elmilagro de ayudalle a arar los Angeles y en una tabla de la cofradia del sntíssimo sacramento y en la portada de la dicha yglessia de santandres y en el estudio de la villa y en el altar mayor de nuestra señora de atocha y en otras partes y en todas esta pintado como santo con diadema y resplandor y se venera y Reuerencia como tal sin contradicion ninguna digan…"

[34] These have been studied by several scholars; see esp. Lafuente Ferrari 1954; Gutiérrez Rueda 1964; Croix 1970; Freiwald-Korth 1981; Orihuela Maeso 1980; König-Nordhoff 1981 and García Gutiérrez 1998.

[35] See entry in ASA, 2-272-30, f. 3r., year 1622: "Ha de hauer en 14 de junio 2,244U mrs. por balor de 4U900 escudos de las estampas de que diose letra para Roma, sobre Ascanio Prospero y Juº Jorge Corta agudo. La pagara don Diego de Barrionueuo, a quien se los remitio esta villa para pagar los gastos de la canonicacion del Sr Sn Ysidro y aunque esta letra conforme al conçierto y escritura que se hiço hauia de ser de 8U500 escudos de las ocho estampas, no la dio de mas cantidad por entonces porq por acuerdo de los Sres de la Junta se ordeno que este dinero se tomare lo demas que sobraba par acudir a los gastos de las ifestas questa uilla haçia por la dha canonicacion…"

Greuter's engraving shows the five saints' banners presiding over the 'theatre' created for the canonisation ceremonies in Saint Peter's. Since the 'theatre' and the decorations for the festivities were financed by the *villa* of Madrid, the image of their patron saint Isidro had a place of honour in the decorations. As well as the banner hanging from the vault of saint Peter's with the image of the saint, there was also a panel above the central arch in the arcade which marked the entrance to the 'theatre', showing the image of the saint in his characteristic pose striking the earth with his hoe. A preparatory drawing for that particular section of the decorations, now in the Albertina in Vienna, includes a panel showing the image of Saint Isidro, with his master Juan de Vargas kneeling before him, a horse to the left of the saint and the angels ploughing the field with the pair of white oxen in the background (fig. 5.2.)[36]

An engraving signed by N. d. Matheniere reproduces the section on the upper left half of Greuter's commemorative print, with the figure of Saint Isidro in a niche in the centre and the miracle of the angels ploughing the field in the background, surrounded by rectangular scenes with the saint's miracles (fig. 5.3).[37] Isidro strikes the earth with his hoe, making a miraculous fountain spring. The left hand side of the print has four scenes representing miracles that happened during the saint's lifetime, including the angels ploughing the fields; the donkey saved from the wolf through the saint's prayers; the beggar fed from the miraculously replenished pot of soup; the confraternity dinner in which Isidro's portion multiplied, and the healing properties of the miraculous fountain that sprung when the saint struck the earth with his hoe to give water to his master Juan de Vargas. On the right hand side of the print appear scenes of miracles that occurred after the saint's death, including the finding of his incorrupt body, the bells of all the

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[36] Lavin 1968, fig. 22. Since the architect in charge of the decorations was Paolo Guidotti, the drawing in the Albertina may be by his hand.

[37] This engraving was reproduced in Portús Pérez 1988, as the cover for the journal's title page, and shows the miracles on either side of the central figure in a reverse position to those in the original by Greuter.

churches in Madrid tolling when the body was transferred to the church of San Andrés, and the cart being saved from falling down a cliff by praying to Saint Isidro. All the miracles listed were described in the canonisation bull, and would have been included in all images commemorating the event.[38] Yet it is important to learn how Isidro's iconography developed into what we see in Greuter's and Matheniere's prints.

According to contemporary chronicles, Isidro was a humble farm labourer, renowned for his piety. His body was found incorrupt in the cemetery of the church of San Andrés forty years after his death, which according to the chronicles occurred approximately in 1275. His life was recounted in a medieval Latin manuscript which was believed to have been written by a certain 'Juan Diácono', and expanded upon by later hagiographers such as Alonso de Villegas and Jaime Bleda, who based their work on the researches of the Dominican friar Domingo de Mendoza.[39] Diácono's manuscript narrates a number of miracles associated with Isidro, which appear often in 17th century images of the saint. These include the miracle of the angels ploughing the fields with a pair of oxen while Isidro was at prayer; the miraculous fountain that sprang after Isidro struck the earth with his hoe to give his master a drink of water; Isidro feeding the birds in winter with grain meant to have been taken to the mill for grinding, and collecting as much flour from the mill as if he had never fed the birds; the miraculous survival of a donkey which was attacked by a wolf, after the saint said a prayer for him; and Isidro feeding a beggar from a pot of stew that had miraculously replenished itself, after the saint and his wife thought there was no more food left in it. Diácono also included in his account miracles that occurred after Isidro's death, such as the finding of his incorrupt body forty years after his death; the bells of all the churches in Madrid tolling of their own accord when the body of Isidro was transferred from the cemetery to the church of San Andrés; and

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[38] López 1921, pp. 68-77; Mâle 1932, p. 98.

several instances of the healing powers of the relics of the saint. Although Diácono's manuscript was the basis for Isidro's biography, many miracles that never appeared in it were later added to accounts of the saint's life by Bleda and Villegas.[40] Among these, the most famous was the miracle of the well into which Isidro's son fell and drowned, but was revived through the prayers of the saint and his wife, which made the waters of the well rise and deliver the boy to his parents. Another important miracle was that in which Isidro's wife, María de la Cabeza, proved her purity by crossing the waters of the river Jarama standing on her floating shawl, after Isidro had been tempted by the devil to believe that she was unfaithful.[41] These later miracles also became very popular and were often depicted in paintings and prints.[42]

The earliest known images of Saint Isidro appear on the ark which, according to legend, was donated by King Alfonso VIII (1158 - 1214) to keep the remains of the saint, in thanksgiving for Isidro's intervention in the battle of the Navas de Tolosa.[43] The ark, currently in the church of San Isidro, is made of wood and covered by a leather casing, decorated with painted scenes from the life of the saint. The decoration on the back and lid of the ark is now virtually lost, but the scenes at the front are better preserved. They comprise eight narrative scenes, presented within an architectural framework of painted Gothic arches (fig. 5.4). From left to right, the first four scenes show the miracle of the angels ploughing the fields; the next two show Isidro feeding the doves; the final two scenes show Isidro and his wife María de la Cabeza feeding soup to the beggar from the miraculously replenished pot. The figures of Saint Isidro and his wife, María de la

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[39] On the re-creation of Isidro's identity by father Mendoza, see Río Barredo 2000, p. 101-105 & Río Barredo 1998, p. 153-155.

[40] The miracles included in the canonisation bull are those that were listed by Juan Diácono. See López 1921, pp. 65-77.

[41] Bleda 1622, pp. 214-.

[42] Delgado Cebrián 1983, p. 244.

[43] For a summary of the legend that identifies Isidro with the shepherd who appeared to king Alfonso VIII (1158-1214) at the battle of the Navas de Tolosa (1212) and helped him defeat the Moors, see Cordero de Ciria 1988, pp. 74-78 & Ruiz Alcón 1983, p. 211.

Cabeza, are clearly visible in the seventh scene, dressed in Medieval Castilian garb -Isidro is clearly identifiable through the halo around his head. He is wearing what look like skin boots, gaiters and a long dark smock split at the sides. Over that he wears a hooded garment with two panels of fabric falling over his front and back. He also has a beard. C. R. Post dates the paintings towards the early part of the 14th century, and associates their style to that of the miniatures that decorate king Alfonso X's book of poems to the Virgin Mary, the *Cantigas de Santa María.*[44] We must therefore conclude that the legend which believed the ark to have been donated by king Alfonso VIII was inaccurate.

In the 17th century, the ark of Saint Isidro was kept in the church of San Andrés. The church had many images of the saint, described in detail in a late 16th century document from Isidro's beatification. According to this description, the high altar in San Andrés, which had an altarpiece with a sculpture of Saint Andrew surrounded by eighteen paintings of other saints, included a picture of the miracle of the angels ploughing. In it Isidro appears in the same costume as in the ark, carrying his attributes of the hoe and the plough.[45] To the Gospel side of the altar, there was an arched niche for Isidro's ark, decorated with mural paintings of the saint's miracles, in which he looked the same as in the painting from the altar. Inside the arch there was also a statue of the saint, wearing the same clothing, with a dark beard, which is how he is represented in later centuries. This was possibly the *vera effigies* of the saint that belonged to Catalina de Luján, mentioned by Miguel de León in his *relación* of the canonisation festivities.[46] Another sculpture of Saint Isidro also in the church of San Andrés was dressed in a black garment with gilded enamel, and carried a hoe in one hand and a rosary in the other, an iconography that would be quite common in later images of Isidro. The statue was taken

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[44] Post 1930, p. 154-156.
[45] Transcribed in García Villada 1922, vol. 62, pp. 172-176: "vestido con una vestidura larga y blanca a manera de capote de sayal con su capilla…..en la una mano una aguijada, y en la otra el cabo del arado."
[46] León 1622, f. 1.

on procession annually with the Virgin of Atocha on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin.[47]

After the images in San Andrés, the next stage in the development of Isidro's iconography is the print in the title page of Lope de Vega's poem about the saint, *Isidro. Poema castellano*, published in 1599 (fig. 5.5). In this image, Isidro is shown barefoot, wearing a coarse habit tied at the waist by a cord, with wide long sleeves and a hood. He has a long beard and moustache. In his left hand he is holding a rosary while in his right hand he holds a hoe. The iconography of Isidro in this woodcut was very likely supplied by the Dominican friar Domingo de Mendoza, who first set out to find documentary evidence to back Isidro's claim to sanctity in 1588 and was instrumental in promoting the cause of his canonisation.[48] Some of Mendoza's notes are currently kept in the Archivo de la Villa in Madrid; a section of them entitled "Del hábito y vestiduras de San Isidro" stated that Isidro should be dressed "de religioso, ermitaño, o donado de Nuestra Señora de Atocha."[49] Since Lope de Vega based large sections of both his epic poem *Isidro* and his three plays about the life of the saint on Mendoza's advice, it is clear that the print in his 1599 poem shows Isidro as a hermit.[50]

Nevertheless, the costume and general appearance of Isidro in the title print in Lope de Vega's 1599 edition of the *Isidro* are very rare. The only other image in which the saint wears a garment reminiscent of a religious habit is Bartolomé González's *Saint Isidro praying*, signed and dated 1622 (fig. 5.10), which was probably commissioned for the

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[47] García Villada 1922, vol. 62, pp. 175-176.
[48] For a concise summary of Mendoza's role in the *Villa*'s efforts to canonise Isidro, see Río Barredo 1998, p. 150-156.
[49] Río Barredo 1998, p. 153-154.
[50] The correspondence between Domingo de Mendoza and Lope de Vega is reproduced in the 1599 edition of *Isidro. Poema castellano*. See Vega Carpio 1599, and Río Barredo 1998, note 12, p. 155. For descriptions of Isidro in Lope de Vega's plays, see Vega Carpio 1622, unpaged, which also includes the two plays on the childhood and the youth of Saint Isidro.

canonisation festivities.[51] In this painting Isidro, wearing a long garment with a hood resembling a religious habit, is kneeling with his hands clasped and his eyes looking up towards heaven in prayer. Two doves at his feet refer to the miracle of feeding the birds, and in the background are the angels ploughing the field with white oxen. In the distant background, the outline of the royal Alcázar in Madrid can be discerned, establishing a link between Madrid, the Spanish monarchy and the saint, which is consistent with the prominence of Spanish royalty in the canonisation festivities of 1622.

An engraving by Pedro Perret which was included in the information sent to Rome in 1615 to plea for the canonisation of Isidro's wife, María de la Cabeza, shows Isidro dressed as a late 16th or early 17th century farm labourer (fig. 5.6). Perret's engraving is divided into two sections. The upper section shows the coats of arms of Isidro and María de la Cabeza, accompanied by inscriptions in praise of both saints. They flank an image of the Eucharist on an altar table, surrounded by small cherubim. The bottom section represents the miracle of María's crossing of the river standing on her shawl. Isidro is dressed in a simple smock tied around the waist with a belt and reaching to his knees, with a small collar, gaiters and rustic shoes tied with ribbons up to his knee. He is holding the characteristic hoe. To his right María stands in the middle of the river, holding a candle and a rosary in her right hand, and an oil jar in her left, to signify that she was on her way to the hermitage of the Virgin of La Cabeza, to pray before the image of the Virgin. The small building on the left is the hermitage, and a statue of the Virgin can be seen through the doorway, while at the same time a vision of the Virgin Mary appears in the sky on the left. To the right of María, a second image of her husband appears again, as he hides behind a tree trunk to observe her unnoticed. In the sky above are the coats of arms of the Papacy, the Spanish crown, the archbishopric of Toledo and

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[51] Pérez Sánchez 1990, p. 79.The original patron of the painting is not known. The work belonged to the royal convent of Recollect Augustinian nuns of Santa Isabel in Madrid, founded in 1589 by Philip II, but it

the town of Madrid.[52] At the bottom of the print are the coats of arms of the towns near Madrid where the two saints lived and worked. The print summarises the double role played by Isidro and his wife as saints. They both were representatives of Madrid and its rural hinterland; however, they were also linked to the highest institutions of the Catholic church and to the Spanish crown. While the *villa* was intent on asserting the rural and agricultural past of the city through the image of Isidro, the monarchy and the court used the image of the saint to project the re-defined identity of Madrid as seat of the Spanish Court. The association of the Spanish kings with Saint Isidro was also a means of asserting the credentials of the Crown as defender of the Catholic faith. However, for Isidro to be an appropriate representative of the monarchy and the aristocracy, his image had to undergo a subtle transformation, which resulted in his costume and general appearance becoming ever more 'gentrified.'[53]

In the brief biography of Isidro that precedes the *Justa poética* celebrating the saint's beatification in 1620, Lope describes the saint as "alto de cuerpo y bien hecho, los ojos claros, la nariz mediana, la barba bien puesta, y el cabello por los hombros peinado y pardo, el vestido humilde, de los labradores de aquella edad, en que yerran tanto, por no informarse, los pintores, con sus abarcas de cuero con lazadas de cintas."[54] Despite this reference to 'humble costume', Isidro's clothes quickly developed some decorative details, even in prints from Lope's works. For instance, in the engravings by Juan de Courbes in the title pages of Lope de Vega's *Ivsta poética* of 1620 (fig. 5.7), and in his *relación* of the 1622 canonisation festivities (fig. 5.8), Isidro is wearing a smock with a

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is uncertain whether it was initially commissioned for that convent.

[52] Río Barredo 2000, p. 114.

[53] For illuminating discussions on the changing identities of Saint Isidro during the 17th and 18th centuries, see Río Barredo 1993, p. 112-113; Ibidem 1998; & Ibidem 2000, Ch. 3: "San Isidro y la Crónica de una capital incierta (1590-1620)."

[54] Vega Carpio 1856, p. 144.

diagonal line of buttons and a short collar, while the sleeves are wider at the top than at the wrist, and have a scalloped motif around the shoulders. The rustic shoes in Perret's print of 1615 have been replaced by more elegant looking slippers and stockings. His hair is very short at the front, and longer at the back. In the 1622 print, the figure of Isidro is exactly the same image as in the 1620 print, but the head is reversed.

The scalloped motif on the shoulders of Isidro's smock also appears in later images, such as José Leonardo's *Saint Isidro and the miracle of the spring* (figs. 5.15 & 5.16); Antonio del Castillo's image of the saint (fig. 5.13) and the anonymous painting in the Municipal Museum in Madrid (fig. 5.14). It is also noticeable that in the Spanish prints Isidro looks slightly older. Other Spanish depictions of Saint Isidro such as Agustín Pujol the Younger's sculpture in the church of Vilanova i Geltrú (fig. 5.20) included more decorative elements such as a ruffed collar and shirt cuffs, as well as patterns around the hem of the tunic that were reminiscent of embroidery. Even Alonso Cano's depiction of the saint in his *Saint Isidro and the Miracle of the Well* (fig. 5.17), while resembling remarkably the image of Isidro in Perret's print of 1615, had a small ruff. In fact, depictions of Saint Isidro in which he appears poorly dressed and barefoot, such as Juan de van der Hamen's painting in the National Gallery of Ireland (fig. 5.6a), are quite rare after 1620. By the eighteenth century representations of Isidro show him in much more elaborate clothing, wearing outfits which used many more lengths of fabric -something that an ordinary farm hand would have been unable to afford-, and wider ruffs: see, for instance, the print commissioned by the confraternity of Saint Isidro in 1753, which shows Saint Damasus, flanked by images of Isidro and María de la Cabeza, (fig. 5.26). The same applies to images of María de la Cabeza: the later images show a more 'glamorous' María, very different from the Spanish matron that appears in Perret's 1615 and Courbes's 1622 prints. By the 18th century her clothing has undergone several

changes: she wears an apron and a bodice; her skirt has many more lengths of fabric and she looks more youthful and attractive (see figs. 5.22 & 5.23).

This subtle process of 'gentrification' of images of Isidro and María de la Cabeza reflects the dual nature of Isidro's role, both as representative of Madrid's rural past, and of its status as the seat of the court, with links both to the *villa* and to the crown. This double nature was encapsulated in one painting of the saint: Alonso Cano's *Saint Isidro and the miracle of the well* (fig. 5.17). Cano's painting was commissioned by the confraternity of Nuestra Señora de la Almudena, and placed in the high altar of the same church, above the image of the Virgin. When it was hung in the church, the image was instantly successful, because it combined a number of characteristics which made it representative both for the people of Madrid and to the aristocracy.[55]

The image narrated an episode in which the saint's son is saved from drowning through Isidro's and María's prayers. Cano managed to create a perfectly clear narrative (which incorporated all the necessary iconography) through a masterful use of colour and composition. By placing the child dressed in yellow in the foreground, and the window in the background along the same vertical line, the painting is divided into two halves, with Isidro's son and the rosary at the centre of the image, emphasising the saint's devotion to the Virgin which, at the same time, linked Isidro with the city of Madrid.[56] The details of the small dog licking the water from the floor, and the child placing his open hand in the cascade of water coming from the well, give the entire scene a sense of everyday reality, which paradoxically contributes to its success as a devotional image. If one compares Cano's work with an anonymous 17th century canvas of the same subject (fig. 5.18), it

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[55] Palomino described the reception of this painting by his contemporaries as follows: "At that time he painted various public and private works, especially the celebrated picture of he Miracle of San Isidro at the Well that is in the second tier of the high altar of the parish church of Santa María in this Court, a painting so successfully drawn and colored that it is truly a miracle. After seeing it, Fray Juan Bautista Maíno praised it in such terms to King Philip IV that His Majesty went to see it with the pretext of praying to Nuestra Señora de la Almudena, venerated in that sacred temple." Palomino 1987, p. 236.

becomes clear that Cano conveyed the message of the picture far better, making it a more effective devotional aid. In the anonymous painting María de la Cabeza is placed on the right hand side, expressing amazement at the miracle but not holding the child. The little dog looks up towards her rather than the child, so the viewer's attention becomes divided. In addition, the introduction of the vertical line of the hoe detracts from the centrality of the rosary, making the painting less effective.

Yet these formal details fail to provide enough information on the social and political role of this image. For this kind of information, we must turn to an anonymous copper engraving, datable to the 1670s, which reproduces the altar of the Virgin of the Almudena in the church of Santa María. In it, the Virgin appears in the centre of the altar, flanked by images of John the Baptist and Saint Joseph. In the attic directly above the Virgin is a reproduction of Alonso Cano's *Saint Isidro and the miracle of the well* flanked by busts of Philip IV and Isabella of Bourbon surrounded by laurel wreaths. At the bottom of the print, king Charles II, his wife Marie Louise of Orleans and his mother Maríana of Austria, kneel in prayer before the altar. An inscription at the bottom of the print reads: "Portrait of the very ancient and miraculous image of Our Lady of the Almudena, only patroness of the very noble and crowned city of Madrid." (fig. 5.24). This engraving must be considered as part of the propaganda battle between supporters of the Virgins of the Almudena and Atocha for the title of patroness of the city of Madrid. By associating the Virgin with the patron saint of Madrid, she also indirectly acquired that title. In addition to this, the Virgin of the Almudena had become closely associated with the cult of the Immaculate Conception, of which the Spanish kings were leading champions. It is not surprising, therefore, that portraits of past and present kings

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[56] Azcárate 1983, p. 256.

would be included in a print of Our Lady of the Almudena.[57] What is significant about the image for our purposes, however, is the prominent link between the image of Isidro, the Virgin of the Almudena, and the Spanish royal family. It demonstrates that by the 1670s Isidro was firmly installed in the pantheon of royal patron saints, an aspect of Isidro's iconography which was also very prominent during the 1622 canonisation festivities.

Images of Isidro served a primary role during the 1622 canonisation festivities as a symbol of the city of Madrid, with its rural past of fierce defence of Christianity. However, both the Madrid Council and the Spanish crown were interested in associating Isidro as patron saint of Madrid with the Spanish monarchy: the Madrid Council thereby securing the permanence of Madrid as the capital of the Spanish empire, the Spanish crown commanding the loyalty of the inhabitants of Madrid through its appropriation of Isidro as patron saint, as well as re-affirming their Catholic credentials. The various religious and secular institutions involved in the building of street decorations in 1622 made use of the image of Isidro in either of his two roles to promote their own interests vis-à-vis the Court or the *villa*. Thus the patron saint of Madrid became the symbol of the re-definition of the city's changing identity.[58]

b) Saint Teresa of Avila.

In Matthaus Greuter's commemorative print, Saint Teresa of Avila appears standing before a table on which a book and an inkwell are visible. Her sandalled feet, as symbols of the Barefoot Carmelites, are clearly visible, and there is an angel hovering over the table, pointing an arrow in the direction of her flaming heart. Like in Isidro's image, there

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[57] For a brief summary of the disputes involving the Virgins of the Almudena and Atocha, see Río Barredo 2000, p. 187-190.
[58] Río Barredo 2000, p. 118.

are small vignettes surrounding the central image, with scenes from Teresa's miracles. Greuter's imagery of Teresa combines two aspects of the saint's life: her activity as a religious writer and her mystical experiences. These were also the two aspects of Teresa's personality most emphasised in the 1622 canonisation festivities. In order to understand why those two elements in Teresa's biography were deemed so important, it is necessary to examine the manner in which Teresa's image developed, and the functions it played, both within the Carmelite order and with the public at large.

There is much less information in the contemporary *relaciones* about the images of Saint Teresa used during the 1622 canonisation festivities. This stems from the fact that no Carmelite chronicles of the festivities have been found.[59] Lope de Vega's account was commissioned by the *Villa*, and therefore focused particularly on images of Saint Isidro and the festivities organised by the *villa*; Monforte was a Jesuit, and gave more prominence to the Jesuits' celebrations; and both Manuel Ponce's account and that in the *Sumptuosas fiestas*.... were too brief for any detailed description of the decorations in the Carmelite churches. Thus we have only the briefest of references to the images of Saint Teresa during the Madrid canonisation festivities, yet even these scant descriptions are enough to indicate certain iconographic patterns in the images, which had been established before 1622.

The most popular iconographic types of Teresa in Spanish art, and also the most relevant to the images of the saint which appeared in the 1622 canonisation festivities, were the half-length portrait of Teresa praying to the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove; the full-length figure of the Saint, holding a book in one hand and a quill or some other symbolic object in the other; and Teresa seated, writing her religious works.

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[59] Oddly, although there were detailed Carmelite accounts of the Beatification festivities in different Spanish cities in 1614-15 -see, for instance, San Joseph 1614, San Joseph 1615, Beatificación Santa Teresa n.d., Dalmav 1615, Páez de Valençuela 1615, there are no equivalent accounts for the 1622 Canonisation celebrations in Madrid.

The first portrait of Teresa of Avila was painted during her lifetime, by the Carmelite friar and painter Giovanni Narducci, also known as Fray Juan de la Miseria. It was painted by order of Father Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Saint Teresa's confessor, on June 2nd, 1576. Father Gracián himself narrates the event in his autobiography, explaining that Fray Juan was a mediocre painter, and that the portrait was not as true to life as it could have been.[60] According to Palomino's biography of Fray Juan de la Miseria, the painter was a native of Naples, who arrived in Spain on a pilgrimage to visit the tomb of Saint James. He was said to have learned the art of painting in the workshop of royal painter Alonso Sánchez Coello, and entered the Carmelite Order together with his compatriot Ambrogio Maríano, after being introduced to Teresa of Avila by Doña Leonor de Mascareñas.[61] Palomino mentions several copies of Saint Teresa's portrait by the hand of Juan de la Miseria, which were distributed among the convents of the Carmelite Order.[62] The original, however, seems to be the portrait now in the sacristy of the convent of San José, also known as Las Teresas, in Seville.[63]

This original image is a half-length portrait, showing the saint in a three-quarter pose, looking towards the left, her hands held together in prayer (fig. 5.27). She is wearing the Carmelite habit, with black veil and a white mantle, and surrounding her head is a phylactery with the words "Misericordias domini in eternvm cantabo" [I will sing the mercies of the Lord for eternity]. From the top left hand side, the Holy Spirit as dove flies down towards the saint, enveloped in a shaft of light. On the left hand side of the

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[60] Father Gracián de la Madre de Dios: *Peregrinación de Atanasio*, Burgos, 1905, p. 229, quoted in Barcia y Pavón 1909, p. 2: "...y al cabo la retrató mal, porque aunque era pintor, no era muy primo, y assi decia la M.e Theresa con mucha gracia: Dios te lo perdone, Fr. Juan, que ya que me pintaste, me has pintado fea y lagañosa. Y este es el retrato que agora tenemos de la Madre, que hubiera me holgado hubiera sido mas al vivo, porque tenia un rostro de mucha gracia y que movía a devoción."

[61] Doña Leonor de Mascareñas was Philip II's and Prince Don Carlos's governess. For the relationship between Giovanni Narducci and Doña Leonor de Mascareñas, see Sánchez Cantón 1918, in which a portrait of this lady is attributed to Narducci.

[62] Palomino 1987, p. 74-76.

image there are three inscriptions. The first identifies the sitter as "B. V° Teresa de Jesus". Below this, a tromp l'oeil cartouche bears the inscription "Anno svae/ aetatis/ 61/ 1576/ die secvdo me-/sis Ivnii." Finally, the inscription at the bottom reads "Este retrato fue sa-/cado de la Madre/ Teresa de Jhesus/ Fundadora de las Des-/ Calsas Carmelitas/ Pinctolo Frai Juan/ de la Miseria reli-/ gioso de la dicha or-/den."

There are a number of elements in the painting which were very likely added at a later stage. Teresa's hands, for instance, look completely out of place, springing from the middle of her body in an awkward position. Ángel Barcia believes that the portrait was painted hastily, probably in just one session; this would only have allowed the painter to work the face in detail, adding the hands and rest of the figure only sketchily, and finishing the entire image later, when the sitter was no longer present.[64] This would account for the contrast between the concentrated vivacity of the face, and the stiffness and lack of subtlety in her habit and hands.

Although the tromp l'oeil cartouche and the lettering below may have been part of the original work -presumably added after the only session with the sitter-, the reference to Teresa as B. V° [Beata Virgo], as well as the halo around her head, must have been added after her death in 1582, or even after her beatification in 1614. On the other hand, the dove of the Holy Spirit and the phylactery must have been present in the original before 1588, when the first edition of the works of Teresa, *Los libros de la M. Teresa de Jesús*, was published in Salamanca. A print with the image of Teresa that illustrated this edition (Fig. 5.31), clearly based on Miseria's portrait, showed her already with the dove and the phylactery as attributes, which suggests that they must have been an integral part of Teresian iconography by the time of the publication of the book.[65] This indicates a

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[63] Pacheco 1990, p. 225-226, note 36.

[64] Barcia y Pavón 1909, p. 2-3.

[65] Angel Barcia suggested that the dove and the phylactery must have been added at the time of the Beatification. SeeBarcia y Pavón 1909, p. 9. However, a later survey of Teresian iconography rightly

conscious effort on the part of the Barefoot Carmelites to create a specific iconography for Teresa.

After Teresa's death, the Barefoot Carmelite Order, and in particular Teresa's confessor, father Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, embarked on a campaign to have Teresa's works published, which resulted in the publication of *Los libros de la Madre Teresa de Jesús* in Salamanca in 1588, followed by several other editions in various languages published in subsequent years.[66] These works included prints of the Saint's portrait which, in some cases, where commissioned by father Gracián himself, and derived from fray Juan de la Miseria's first portrait.[67] By the early 1600s, a number of painted and engraved portraits of Teresa of Avila incorporated the dove of the Holy Spirit and the phylactery in them, as well as often referring to Teresa as 'Beata Madre', long before her official beatification by the Vatican.

Countless oil paintings made after Fray Juan de la Miseria's first portrait incorporated all the attributes now visible in the original. Two representative examples of these are a portrait of Saint Teresa in the convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid, which is thought to be a replica of the Seville portrait by Fray Juan de la Miseria himself (fig. 5.28);[68] and a copy in the convent of Barefoot Carmelite nuns of Alba de Tormes, founded by Saint Teresa (fig. 5.29). The reason for the popularity of these portraits is that the original was considered to be miraculous, and in the thinking of the period, the power of the original was transferred to the copies.

Francisco Pacheco painted a copy of Fray Juan de la Miseria's portrait of Saint Teresa in 1602 (fig. 5.30). The painting incorporates the usual attributes of the dove and the

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pointed out the existence of this anonymous early print, which incorporated both attributes long before the 1614 Beatification. SeeCroix 1970, p. 229-230. The print appears in Teresa de Jesús 1588

[66] For a concise bibliography of Teresa's works, see Serrano y Sanz 1975.

[67] Father Gracián was in Italy in the 1590s; in a letter written to a Barefoot Carmelite nun in Spain in 1597, he mentioned some impressions of the portrait of Teresa which had come out very well. Barcia y Pavón

phylactery, and it establishes beyond doubt that by 1602 the two atributes -dove and phylactery with the inscription 'Misericordias domini in aeternvm cantabo'- were present in Fray Juan's painting and had become essential elements of Teresian iconography.

These two attributes are related to well-known aspects of the Saint's life. Teresa had several visions of the dove of the Holy Spirit that she recounted in her writings. She described the most famous of this as follows: "One day on the vigil of Pentecost I went to a secluded spot after Mass where I often prayed, and I began to read about this feast in a volume by [Dyonisius] the Carthusian. Reading of the signs beginners, proficients (sic), and the perfect must have in order to recognize whether the Holy Spirit is with them [...] While I was reflecting on this, a great impulse came upon me without my understanding the reason. It seemed my soul wanted to leave my body because it didn't fit there nor could it wait for so great a good. [...] While in this state I saw a dove over my head. It was very different from doves on earth since it didn't have earthly feathers, but the wings had little shells that gave off great brilliance. It was larger than a dove. It seems to me I heard the noise it made with its wings. It fluttered about for the space of a Hail Mary. My soul was already in such a condition that in losing itself it lost sight of the dove."[69]

The inclusion of the dove of the Holy Spirit in Teresa's imagery can be interpreted in two different ways. The most obvious is the dove as a reference to Teresa's visions. Yet the dove she describes in the excerpt above, larger than an earthly dove and with feathers like golden shells, is not the bird that appears in her first portrait and subsequent copies, i.e. a white dove with ordinary feathers. On the other hand, the dove is also an attribute of the Doctors of the Church. The latter, which included prominent Church Fathers

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1909, p. 6: "Lo que me manda que haga del retrato de la Sancta M^{e} para en pequeña forma, se hará luego; entre tanto resciba estos registros que para ir sincolores ninguna estampa ha salido tan buena a mi parecer."

[68] Ruiz Alcón 1982, p. 22.

such as Augustine of Hippo, Thomas Aquinas, Jerome, Gregory the Great and Isidore of Seville, were ecclesiastical writers whose contribution to the Catholic faith was especially recognised by the Church.[70] The inspiration for their writings was considered to have come from the Holy Spirit, rather than from their intellect. The white dove as their attribute embodied the concept of divine inspiration. Including the dove of the Holy Spirit in images of Teresa before she was even beatified was, in fact, an astonishingly bold step on the part of the Barefoot Carmelites, since it was the first time that a woman was given the attribute reserved for a Doctor of the Church.[71] This symbology must be analysed within the religious climate of the period just after Teresa's death.

When Fray Luis de León published the first-ever edition of the collected works of Teresa of Ávila in 1588, the controversies about orthodoxy that had arisen even during the Saint's lifetime, causing her to be called before the Inquisition on several occasions, re-surfaced with greater intensity. Theologians such as Alonso de la Fuente, Juan de Orellana and Juan de Lorenzana sent memoranda to the Council of the Inquisition condemning Teresa's writings as unorthodox.[72] They questioned Teresa's authority to write or teach on doctrinal matters; they rejected Teresa's views on the importance of mental prayer for the improvement of the soul, and criticised Teresa's doctrines on mystical union with God as heretical. The debates between critics and supporters of the Saint were particularly bitter during the years 1591-1593, while a characteristically Teresian iconography, including the dove of the Holy Spirit and the phylactery, developed between c.1588 and 1602. This iconography quickly began to incorporate elements that reflected in visual form the image of Teresa that her supporters wished to

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[69] Teresa of Avila 1987, chapter 38: 9-10, p. 333-334. For the original Castilian text, see Teresa de Jesús 1861, p. 117.

[70] For a full list of Doctors of the Universal Church, see the entry for Doctors of the Church in the online Catholic Encyclopedia at www.newadvent.org/cathen/05075a.htm.

[71] Croix 1970, p. 230.

convey. For instance, Juan de Lorenzana argued in the memorandum he sent to the Inquisition in 1593 that only people who were considered as Doctors by the church had the authority to discuss certain matters of Christian doctrine.[73] This of course excluded 'unlettered' women such as Teresa. Yet at the same time portraits of Teresa illustrating her works appeared with the attribute of the Dove of the Holy Spirit, always associated with Doctors of the Church. Since it was Spain where most of this controversy about Teresa's right to write religious works was raging, it is not surprising that the Spanish Barefoot Carmelites sought to project an image of their founder as teacher, theologian and Doctor of the Church, by depicting her holding books and quills, and receiving inspiration for her writings from the Holy Spirit.

The situation changed when the Inquisition, after careful scrutiny of Teresa's works, decided to allow their publication. At the same time, with the strong support of Philip II and several very influential members of the Spanish aristocracy, Teresa's beatification process began. The collection of information for Teresa's beatification had already started in 1591. The Congregation of Rites opened an official investigation into Teresa's miracles in 1604, and the final verification process began in 1609. An official Life of the saint was compiled by the ecclesiastical authorities in 1609-1610 as part of the investigative process for Teresa's beatification. The *Vita* consisted of 117 statements listing the main episodes of her life and praising her virtues. Although it listed twelve miracles performed by the Saint after her death, it placed special emphasis on Teresa's mystical experiences, which were considered to be of divine origin because she had consulted thirty-five theologians in order to ensure that she was not being deceived by the devil. The *Vita* emphasised Teresa's virtues of humility, obedience, charity, penitence

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[72] For a comprehensive discussion of the arguments put forward by Teresa's critics, seeAhlgren 1996, chapter 5, p. 114-144.
[73] Ahlgren 1996, p. 120.

and poverty, which were held up as examples to follow by other religious women.[74] Crucially, it also stated that the doctrines in Teresa's writings were infused by God through the medium of prayer, and that for this reason she had been and was still painted with a dove over her head. This official *Vita* also pronounced Teresa's books as wholly orthodox and beneficial to the Church.[75] Thus an iconography which had begun as a defence of Teresa by her Order, was eventually approved and encouraged by the Catholic Church.

The second attribute, the inscription "Misericordia Domini in Aeternum Cantabo" on the phylactery that appears above Teresa's head in the portraits, is a reference to the Saint's strong belief in God's mercy. In the book of her life, Teresa talks about God's mercy often;[76] a year before her death, she wrote to Pedro de Castro, canon in Avila cathedral, regarding the book on her life, and explained that she wished to call it "The book of God's mercy."[77]

Many of the countless numbers of copies of Juan de la Miseria's portrait of Saint Teresa would have been used in the beatification and canonisation festivities, either as part of street altars or in the decoration of churches. Unfortunately none have been identified,

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[74] For a comprehensive analysis of the construction of Teresa's persona as a saint during the beatification and canonisation processes, see Ahlgren 1996, chapter 5.

[75] "La doctrina de estos libros, como se echa de ver por su eminencia, y asi publica y comunmente , es tenido y reputado que no fue adquirida por industria humana, sino infundida por Dios por medio de la oración; y por esta causa haber sido pintada y pintarse la Virgen [i.e. Teresa] con una paloma encima de su cabeza, la cual ella vio sobre sí en cierto dia del Espiritu Santo. Iten, que la doctrina de los libros no solamente es santa y catolica, mas muy provechosa a la Iglesia, y que se ha seguido grande aprovechamiento a las almas con la lección de estos libros, y se han visto maravillosas conversiones y mudanzas de costumbres." Ahlgren 1996, p. 160. For the Church's interpretation of the authorship of Teresa's books, see also Slade 1995, chapter 6: 'The role of Teresa's books in the canonization proceedings.'

[76] Teresa of Avila 1987, chapter 15:10, p. 138: "Is it possible, Lord, that there be a soul that reaches the point where You bestow similar favours and gifts, and understands that You are to be with it, that goes back to offending You after so many favours and after such striking demonstrations of love You have for it which cannot be doubted since the effects of it are obvious? Yes, there certainly is one, and not one who has done this once but done it many times- for it is I. [...] But even from this evil, Your infinite goodness has drawn out something worth-while; and the greater the evil, the more resplendent the wonder of Your mercies. And how many are the reasons I can sing your mercies forever!"

[77] Quoted by Croix 1970, p. 231.

but it must be the case that when portraits of Saint Teresa are mentioned in the *relaciones*, they reproduced Juan de la Miseria's *vera effigies* of the saint.

Gradually, the iconography of Teresa's attributes expanded further. When Father Gracián moved to Brussels in 1607, he commissioned images of Saint Teresa from Flemish engravers, which were based on his personal copy of the saint's portrait. For instance, two portrait engravings by Hieronymous Wierix (figs. 15 & 16) were made after this image.[78] The second print of the two reproduces Fray Juan de la Miseria's portrait of Teresa with her hands held together in prayer, the phylactery and the dove of the Holy Spirit, and also incorporates a number of other elements in the background. A distaff symbolising Teresa's feminine virtues leans against the wall on the left hand side, and in the background to the right there is a table with an open book and an inkwell placed against a window, as references to her religious writings. Above the latter is a phylactery with the words 'O morir o padecer', a motto which was often associated with images of the saint, and is mentioned in her canonisation bull.[79]

The portrait of the saint illustrating the *relación* of the festivities celebrated all over Spain for Teresa's beatification was a modified version of this engraving, printed by Adriaen Boon, with a different inscription at the bottom (fig. 5.34).[80] It was used in the 1614 compendium of the festivities for Teresa's beatification as an image that included all the different iconographic elements that the Barefoot Carmelites wanted to associate with the Saint.

In 1613 Teresa's friend and fellow Barefoot Carmelite nun Ana de Jesús, who at the time was prioress of the Barefoot Carmelite convent at Brussels, commissioned a series of twenty-five plates depicting key episodes of the life of the Saint, chosen by herself with

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[78] Macquoy-Hendrickx 1978-1982, Vol. 1, p. 387-388, Nos. 1921 & 1922, plate 290.
[79] Bula Santa Teresa 1970, unpaged: "De la inuencible paciencia de esta sancta virgen, dan testimonio las palabras con que a voces decia a Dios: Señor, o padecer, o morir."
[80] Illustration in San Joseph 1614. See also Páez Ríos 1966-1970, Vol. 5, No. 9207-6.

the blessing of father Gracián.[81] The series was engraved by Adrian Collaert and Cornelis Galle, and had enormous influence on later images of Teresa.[82] It is interesting that the title of this work incorporates the word 'beata' [Vita B. Virginis…] a year before Teresa was officially beatified. Ana de Jesús's commission of the series of engravings was the visual equivalent to the written *Vita*; its publication may have been a result of the Carmelite Order's conviction that Teresa was going to be beatified in the near future. This would explain the use of the word 'beata'.

The series depicted the best known episodes of Teresa's life, including several of her visions of Christ and the saints, her Transverberation, several miracles and also an image of her in the act of being inspired to write by the Holy Spirit. Plate 2 of the series, the first after the title plate, showed a half-length portrait of Teresa inside an oval shield supported by two angels (fig. 5.36). The basic structure of the image derives from Fray Juan de la Miseria's portrait: Teresa in a three-quarter pose, her eyes looking up towards the dove of the Holy Spirit, and a phylactery with the words 'Misericordias Domini in aeternum cantabo.' This suggests that Cornelis Galle knew Fray Juan's composition, either from a print, or perhaps even from Father Jerónimo Gracián's portrait of the Saint. This basic composition was expanded with the addition of a crucifix with a phylactery inscribed with the words 'Avt pati avt mori'; the Saint's left hand pointed towards the source of inspiration for her writings, the dove of the Holy Spirit, while her right hand rested on the base of the Crucifix, which had a skull on the front.

Several of the prints in the *Vita B. Virginis* were used as sources by Spanish artists who painted images of Teresa. For instance, the anonymous painting of *Teresa's vision of the*

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[81] Croix 1970, p. 238.

[82] See Collaert 1613. A set of these prints is kept in the Sala Goya of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, with signature ER-1638. Joannes Galle published another edition of the series in Antwerp in 1630, using exactly the same plates, with the exception of the frontispiece, which read *Vita S. Virginis Teresiae a Iesv* , calling her Saint Teresa after her canonisation in 1622. See Collaert 1630. A set of the prints from this

resurrected Christ in the convent of Barefoot Carmelite nuns in Alba de Tormes (fig. 5.44) is loosely based on plate 10 of the *Vita B. Virginis.* (fig. 5.43).[83] Another painting in the same convent, *Christ's gift of a nail from the Cross to Saint Teresa*, attributed to the circle of Lorenzo Aguilar, may be loosely based on plate 13 from the *Vita B. Virginis* (figs. 5.45 & 5.46).

The iconography of Teresa sitting at a table writing was in fact a development from the first portrait of the Saint by Fray Juan de la Miseria.

Images of Teresa seated at a table developed from the theme of Teresa as a religious writer, and also incorporated the attributes first introduced in the portrait by Juan de la Miseria. They are consistent with the emphasis placed on Teresa's doctrine by the official *Vita* compiled in 1609-1610. Saint Augustine, in his commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, stated that "He who teaches, is seated, as [this] is appropriate to the dignity of his magisterium."[84] Therefore Teresa, as a teacher and theologian, is presented seated.

For instance, a print in Father Diego de Yepes' *Vida de Teresa de Jesús*, published in Zaragoza in 1606, shows the saint sitting behind a table (fig. 5.35).[85] The figure of the saint derives from Juan de la Miseria's portrait, but as a result of transferring the image onto print, it has been inverted, so that now Teresa looks towards the right. The inscription at the bottom of this print reads "La Bª Madre Teresa de Iesvs fvndadora de los Descalços Carmelitas," calling her 'Beata' [Blessed] eight years before her actual beatification. Undoubtedly, the iconographic content of the image is also consistent with the aim of achieving Teresa's beatification: she is shown sitting at a table, on which can be seen an open book with the motto "Avt Pati avt mori", i.e. "O morir o padecer."

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second edition is now in the department of prints and drawings of the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute, London.

[83] Montaner López 1987, p. 120 & fig. 91.

[84] Quoted by Croix 1970, p. 251.

Two of the major Spanish artists of the seventeenth century created images of Saint Teresa sitting at a table, receiving inspiration from the Holy Spirit for her writings: José de Ribera and Francisco de Zurbarán. Ribera's painting in the Museum of Fine Arts in Seville (fig. 5.41), signed and dated 1630, shows Teresa sitting at a writing table with an inkwell, an open book and some other papers on it. The saint is looking up towards Heaven, represented by the heads of four cherubs and a shaft of light, which seems to have in its midst the shape of a red arrow. Teresa has her right hand against her chest, and her left hand stretched out with her fingers wide open. In fact, Ribera has subtly combined in one image iconographic elements from two episodes in the saint's life: her inspiration by the Holy Spirit, and her transverberation. In this manner, he has very successfully combined the two aspects of Teresa's personality as a saint most emphasised by the Church: her mysticism and her theological writings.[86]

Zurbarán's painting in Seville cathedral is less visionary (fig. 5.42). It shows Teresa sitting at a table, holding a quill in her right hand, and with her left hand clutching some pages of the book on which she is writing. On the table another open book, as well as other volumes and a skull are visible. To the right of the painting, a sowing basket indicates Teresa's feminine virtues. On the top left hand side, dark clouds in which the heads of a multitude of cherubs are outlined open to reveal the dove of the Holy Spirit enveloped in light. The composition itself is reminiscent of Zurbarán's portrait of bishop Gonzalo de Illescas in the monastery of Guadalupe, painted in 1639-1640; stylistically the painting must be dated between 1641 and 1658.[87]

Several anonymous works in the Prado Museum, with provenance from the Museo de la Trinidad, also depict Teresa sitting at a table writing. The painting with inventory number

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[85] Yepes 1606 and Páez Ríos 1966-1970, Vol. 5, 9207-3.

[86] I am analysing the image as it currently appears in the literature; however, since it has been badly restored a number of times, it is difficult to ascertain whether the red shape of the arrow discernible in the light was present in the original painting. See Junta de Andalucía 1991, p. 126-127.

3393 has been catalogued as a copy after Ribera's painting in Seville, but is in fact a different compositional type. In the Prado painting, Teresa is holding a quill, her left hand rests on the book on the table, and the dove of the Holy Spirit is clearly visible on the top left hand corner.[88]

The image of Teresa sitting at a table, inspired by the dove of the Holy Spirit to write, was particularly common in prints. This was partly because many of the prints illustrated editions of Teresa's writings or biographies of the saint, but there were also loose engravings with this iconography. One of the best known prints of this iconographic type is plate 23 of Adriaen Collaert's and Cornelis Galle's *Vita B. Virgine Theresia.* The plate shows Teresa sitting at a writing table in a sparely furnished room (fig. 5.36). On the table are four volumes with the titles of her books, a crucifix, an hourglass, an inkwell, and a desk with an open book on which the Saint was writing. The upper half of the image is occupied by a cloud with the dove of the Holy Spirit encircled in flaming light, and a shaft of divine light coming from the top left, just above the crucifix, from which issue the words 'Spiritu intelligentiae repleuit illam' [The Spirit replenishes her with intelligence]. Teresa's head rises above the clouds, surrounded by a halo, and touched by diagonal rays of light coming from the dove of the Holy Spirit and from the light on the left. By placing Teresa's head in the celestial realm, above the boundary between Heaven and Earth created by the cloud, the image makes a clear theological statement: Teresa's wisdom came from God; her writings were the product of divine inspiration, not of her own intellect. The Saint was shown wearing the Carmelite habit and her feet, shod in open sandals to symbolise the Barefoot Carmelites, are visible under the table. She holds a quill with her right hand, and looks up towards the light on the left, even though the

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[87] Gállego and Gudiol 1977, p. 104 & fig. 297.
[88] Museo del Prado 1991, Vol. 2, Number 476, Inventory number 3393.

dove of the Holy Spirit is behind her. The cuffs in the sleeves of her habit are slightly ragged. This was an iconographic convention in some of Teresa's images, to symbolise that she had abandoned her earthly concerns to the point of not taking care of her appearance.

An anonymous print currently in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid also presents a full-length image of Teresa sitting at a writing desk (fig. 5.39). The iconography in this print is even more complex than in Collaert's plate. It shows the saint sitting in a room, writing the words 'avt pati avt mori' and 'misericordia domini in etern...cant...' on an open book which rests on a writing desk. The table is very small and crowded, with three volumes of her works propped against the desk, an inkwell on top of the desk, and an hourglass and a skull resting somewhere to the right of the Saint, on an unseen surface. At the feet of the table, to the left, are a sewing basket, two more books, and what look like wooden boxes or perhaps a stool on which a set of chains can be seen. Teresa is wearing the Carmelite habit, with a rosary hanging from her waist, and a halo inside which is the inscription 'Spiritv intelligentie replevit illam'. On the top left hand corner, the dove of the Holy Spirit enveloped in light breaks through the dark clouds. The Saint seems rapt in contemplation of the Holy Spirit, while writing at the same time. In the background, the shadowy figure of another nun peeking through a door can be discerned. The image has all the elements necessary to convey the idea of her writings being divinely inspired. Other details, such as the chains and the sowing basket, refer to her life of penitence and her feminine virtues. The fact that the scene is being witnessed by a nun in the background suggests that the print might be a representation of a Carmelite's testimony for Teresa's canonisation process. The complex iconography suggests a date close to the Saint's beatification in 1614, or perhaps even later.'[89]

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[89] The print is currently catalogued as 'anonymous Spanish, seventeenth century, ca. 1600. Páez Ríos 1966-1970, Vol. 5, 9207-21.

A 1646 edition of Teresa's *Obras* published in Madrid also incorporates a print of the saint sitting at a writing table in its frontispiece, engraved by Juan de Noort (fig. 5.40). The page is structured like a classical niche on three levels. It consists of a central oblong with the title, framed by an egg-and-dart moulding and flanked by Corinthian pilasters, against which stand the images of Elijah on the left, holding a flaming sword, and Saint Angelo on the right, holding a crucifix and displaying the instruments of his martyrdom. The two figures of the saints stand on square pedestals with plaques bearing the book's publishing details. Above the title, and separated from it by a cornice, are the image of Saint Teresa and two Carmelite coat of arms. Teresa's image is framed by a cartouche in the shape of a coat of arms. Noort presents the Saint sitting in a frontal position, at a table on which the edge of a Crucifix, a skull and an inkwell can be seen, as well as the book on which Teresa is writing. The Saint is surrounded by a halo, and holding a quill in her right hand, while looking up towards the dove of the Holy Spirit. A shelf with books can be seen behind her.

Another popular iconographic type in Teresa's images is also linked to her status as a religious writer. It consists of images of Teresa standing, holding a book in her left hand and a quill or -less often- another symbol such as a bouquet of flowers. This iconography became extremely popular in Spanish sculpture of the seventeenth century. One of the earliest sculptures that we know about -although the image itself has disappeared- is Juan de Porres' image for Don Francisco Guillamas, the contract for which specified that the image should be full length, and show the saint as if writing. Similar sculptures were created by many others, including Gregorio Fernández in 1614 and 1624 for the convents of the Carmen Extramuros and the Shod Carmelites in Valladolid (see figs. 5.47 & 5.48); Antonio de Paz in 1628 for the chapel of Don Antonio Almansa in Salamanca Cathedral (fig. 5.49); and Alonso Cano circa 1629 for the Carmelite convent of San

Alberto, in Seville (fig. 5.50). Although each of these images has very specific stylistic characteristics, which emphasise different aspects of the sculptures, they all share a similar iconography: all of them present Teresa holding a book in her left hand, and almost all show her with a quill in her right hand.

Alonso Cano's Saint Teresa, made for the Carmelite convent of San Alberto in Seville, and now in the church of the Buen Suceso, is a representative example of this type (fig. 5.50). The Saint is shown in a fully frontal position, eyes looking up as if awaiting divine inspiration, her right hand posed in mid air holding a quill, and a book opened flat on her left hand. The folds of her cloak and habit fall vertically, except in the area around her sleeve, in which they create a swirl of drapery that emphasises the importance of the hand that holds the quill -her writing hand. This gives the image a sense of movement and interest. The expression on Teresa's face is serene, but not mystical, perhaps because her mouth remains closed. It is an elegantly balanced image, with beautifully detailed carving on her face and on the folds of her cloak and habit.[90] In some reproductions, Cano's sculpture appears with a Doctor's bonnet. It is unclear whether this element existed originally; the carving seems much less detailed and skilful than the rest of the image, and was probably not made by Alonso Cano.[91] Nevertheless, the fact that the bonnet was added at some later stage indicates the importance given by the Carmelites to Teresa's status as a Doctor of the Church.

Cano's sculpture was the central image for an altarpiece in a chapel owned by Francisco de Hortega in the church of the college of San Alberto, in Seville.[92] The contract for this

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[90] Gómez Moreno 1963, fig. 168; Martín González 1998, p. 198.

[91] See Pareja López 2000, p. 102-103 & Junta de Andalucía 1991, p. 44-45.

[92] Ponz 1988, Vol. 3, Tomo IX, Carta 13, p. 93, No. 44: "En el colegio de Carmelitas Calzados, bajo la advocación de San Alberto, hay pinturas muy apreciables en los altares de la nave de la iglesia. Las del retablo junto a la sacristía son del racionero Cano [...] No son de inferior mérito los retablos de las capillas de enfrente. En medio del de Santa Teresa se ve su imagen de escultura, y así esta como las demás obras pintadas que pertenecen a la misma santa y a otros asuntos devotos, con los retratos de los fundadores, son de Cano." See also Ceán Bermúdez 1800, Vol. 1, p. 217.

commission was signed on November 27, 1628.[93] The contract states that the altarpiece would also have several paintings by the same artist. The predella of the altarpiece had to include a painting of the Christ Child on the door of the tabernacle, and images of Saint Sebastian and Saint Roch on the pedestal, between the columns. Portraits of the donors Francisco de Hortega and his wife doña Sebastiana de Alderete would be placed on either side of the pedestal. The first storey of the altarpiece had to include a painting of the *Transverberation of Saint Teresa* on one side, and *Christ's gift of a nail from the Cross to Saint Teresa* on the other; above these two larger canvases were smaller paintings of John the Baptist, Saint Francis of Assisi, Saint Blaise and Saint Francis of Padua (sic). On the second storey of the altarpiece there would be a painting of the *Mystic marriage of Saint Teresa*, accompanied by other paintings of unspecified subjects on the sides. This is the only group of paintings of the life of Saint Teresa commissioned from any major Spanish artist of the seventeenth century. It demonstrated the manner in which these episodes, which had been included in Collaert's and Galle's *Vita B. Virginis Theresiae* in 1613, could be arranged within an altarpiece glorifying Saint Teresa. Unfortunately, most of the paintings for this altarpiece have been lost since the disestablishment of the male convents in the nineteenth century. Harold Wethey in his monograph on Cano believed that paintings from this altarpiece were shown at an exhibition held by the invading French in the Alcázar of Seville in 1810 and had subsequently disappeared, although perhaps still held in private collections.[94] Subsequently, a painting of *Saint Teresa's vision of the resurrected Christ* by Cano (fig. 5.51) has been linked to the San Alberto altarpiece, although the subject was not specifically mentioned in the contract.

Teresa also appeared in a similar pose in countless Spanish prints and devotional paintings of the seventeenth century, of which Pedro Perrete's engraving for the 1631

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[93] First published by Celestino López Martínez in 1952 and then by Harold Wethey in 1953. For a fresh transcription of the document, see Aterido Fernández 2002, p. 97-98.

edition of the Theology Course of the Carmelite College in Salamanca is particularly representative. The print has a frontispiece in the shape of a temple front, and images of Saint Teresa and Saint John of the Cross flanking the central title (fig. 5.53.)[95]. Teresa's image is holding a book and a quill, but not actively writing on the book. A phylactery with the words "Misericordias Domini in Aeternum Cantabo" issues from her mouth, and there is a further inscription at the feet of the Saint, in which she is identified as a teacher of prayer: "M.[Mater] et magistra orationis: Teresa." The lower part of the temple front has three medallions with the images of Thomas Aquinas in the centre, and Cyril of Alexandria and Cyril of Jerusalem on the left and right. Thomas Aquinas had been declared a Doctor of the Universal Church by Pius V in 1568 and, although Cyril of Alexandria and Cyril of Jerusalem were only promoted to that status officially in 1883, they had been considered as Doctors of the Eastern Church since medieval times.[96] It is clear that in this title page the Carmelite Order equated Teresa with those other Doctors of the Church. In addition to this, the inscription 'magistra orationes' emphasised the orthodoxy of her views on prayer, which had been a source of concern for the Inquisition.[97]

Teresa was only given the official status of Doctor of the Universal Church by Paul VI in 1970.[98] Yet there were seventeenth century books on the Saint in which she was already given the title of Doctor. For instance the 1662 edition of Saint Teresa's letters, compiled by Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, Bishop of Osma, was entitled *Cartas de la serafica doctora S.*

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[94] Wethey 1955, p. 179 & fig. 29.
[95] The full title for this book is *Collegii Salmanticensis fratrum discalceatorum Beatae Mariae de Monte Carmeli parenti suo Eliae consecrati cursus theologicus Summam Theologicam Angelici Doctores Divi Thomae complectens.* See García Vega 1984, Vol. I, p. 225-226 & vol. II, p. 353 and fig. 688.
[96] See entries for Cyril of Alexandria and Cyril of Jerusalem in the Catholic Encyclopaedia online, at www.newadvent.org/cathen.htm.
[97] Ahlgren 1996, p. 143.
[98] See entry for Saint Teresa of Avila in the Catholic Encyclopaedia online, at www.newadvent.org/cathen.htm

Theresa de Jesvs.[99] Gregorio Forstman's engraving for the title page of the book showed a half-length image of Teresa, with a halo around her head, holding a quill and a book, while looking up towards the dove of the Holy Spirit (fig. 5.53a). The image was surrounded by a garland consisting of flowers and fruits; a phylactery at the top had the inscription 'Misericordias Dñi.in aeternum cantabo.' As usual, the principal elements of Teresa's iconography -the dove and the philactery- were present. The book and the quill visually reinforced the statement in the title of the book, by reminding the viewer of Teresa's activity as a theologian. The garland surrounding Teresa is reminiscent of the manner in which images of saints were framed with floral decorations in religious festivities of this period.

There was another facet of Teresa's saintly persona which was greatly emphasised by the Catholic Church: her mystical experiences. Many of these were often depicted in Spanish seventeenth century art, but none was more popular than the episode of her Transverberation.[100] Plate 8 in Adriaen Collaert and Cornelis Galle's *Vita B. Virginis Teresiae* is one of the earliest images to depict Teresa's miracle of the Transverberation (fig. 5.54). The print shows Teresa kneeling at the centre of a room as if about to faint, her arms spread outwards and looking up towards the dove of the Holy Spirit and the resurrected Christ. The dove and Christ are inside a semi-circular cloud, and on the edges of it are a group of angels. The largest of these is holding a very long arrow, aiming it

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[99] Teresa de Jesús 1662.

[100] The Saint narrates it in her Life as follows: "This time, though, the Lord desired that I see the vision in the following way: the angel was not large but small; he was very beautiful, and his face was so aflame that he seemed to be one of those very sublime angels that appear to be all afire. [...] I saw in his hands a large golden dart and at the end of the iron tip there appeared to be a little fire. It seemed to me this angel plunged the dart several times into my heart and that it reached deep within me. When he drew it out, I thought he was carrying off with him the deepest part of me; and he left me all on fire with great love of God. The pain was so great that it made me moan, and the sweetness this greatest pain caused me was so superabundant that there is no desire capable of taking it away; nor is the soul content with less than God. The pain is not bodily but spiritual, although the body doesn't fail to share in some of it, and even a great

towards Teresa's heart. The diagonal line of the arrow, the fluttering drapery of the angels and the curved cross-hatching of the clouds lend great dynamism to the image. Yet the iconography is slightly different from the Saint's account, given that in Teresa's narration the angel holding the arrow was small, whereas in this engraving he is the largest of the five. It is clear, however, that this image influenced later representations of the same episode.

Similarly, a print by Anton Wierix also shows the saint kneeling, supported by two angels, one of which is pointing an arrow towards her heart. The top part of the print is occupied by the figure of God the Father with his arms spread out, and a number of cherubs and angels, dropping flowers on Teresa. The floor in the foreground is also strewn with flowers. There are several versions of this print, including one in which the inscription at the bottom says 'B. Virg. et M. Teresa a Iesv' and one in which the inscription starts with 'S. Virg. et M. Teresa a Iesv.' As mentioned earlier, the expression 'Beata' was used in images of Saint Teresa long before her actual beatification in 1614. Therefore the plate with the inscription 'B. Virg....' could have been engraved by Anton Wierix II, even though he died in 1604.[101] The plate with the inscription 'S. Virg...' was exactly the same plate, amended in 1622 after Teresa's canonisation. Anton Wierix II also engraved an unusual variant on the theme of Teresa's Transverberation (fig. 5.55). In it, the arrow is being shot by the Christ Child, who appears on the left-hand side of the print, accompanied by the Virgin and Saint Joseph, while Teresa collapses on the right. This print seems to have had great influence on Spanish artists. Paintings copying this composition almost exactly can be seen, for instance, in the parish church of Nava de

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deal."Teresa of Avila 1987, p. 252, chapter 30, no. 13. For the original Castilian text, seeTeresa de Jesús 1861, Vol. I, p. 89.

[101] Turner 1996, Vol. 33, p. 169-170.

Sotrobal, Salamanca (fig. 5.56) and in the convent of Barefoot Carmelite nuns in Salamanca (fig. 5.57).[102]

A painting of Teresa's Transverberation in the church of the Carmelite convent in Toledo, attributed to Antonio de Pereda (fig. 5.59), combines elements from both Wierix's print of the Transverberation with the Holy Family and Collaert's Plate 8 from the *Vita B. Virginis Theresiae*....[103] The Saint is depicted kneeling, leaning back as in the Wierix print; her arms, however, are stretched out and she is looking up towards Heaven, as in the Collaert print. A small angel on the top left aims an arrow towards Teresa, while two other angels hold her and a third places a crown of martyrdom on her head. Although the individual elements in the composition differ from those in Collaert's print, the overall structure of the painting, with the strong diagonal axis from left to right and the position of Teresa's arms, are certainly reminiscent of Collaert's plate. The concerned attitudes of the angels who hold Teresa, particularly the small angel with his arm around the saint, also link this image to Wierix's Transverberation (fig. 5.55). Despite the possible printed sources, the Toledo painting follows more closely Teresa's own description of the event, by depicting a small angel aiming the arrow towards her; this would have been considered more consistent with the rules of decorum.

Other interpretations of this same subject include Felipe Diricksen's painting for the altar of the chapel of Mosén Rubí in Ávila, signed and dated 1629 (fig. 3); [104] and Andrés Vargas's Transverberation of Saint Teresa in the Carmelite convent of San José, in Guadalajara, painted in 1644 (fig. 5.60),[105] both of which differ completely from Collaert's print.

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[102] Montaner López 1987, p. 120 & 142 & figs. 90 & 120.
[103] Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1983, p. 140 & Plate 226.
[104] Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, p. 340 & 344 & Plate 284.
[105] Angulo Iñíguez and Pérez Sánchez 1983, p. 368 & Plate 358.

The examination above is meant to provide an iconographic and social context for the images of Saint Teresa used in the 1622 canonisation festivities in Madrid. By examining the different iconographic elements associated with images of Saint Teresa throughout the seventeenth century, it has been possible to establish the doctrinal issues behind the iconographies. These same issues were relevant in the images for the canonisation festivities in 1622: while the processional image taken to the church of San Andrés on Saturday evening held a book and a quill, thus presenting Teresa as 'doctora', the sculptural group in the altar of the Hospital de la Latina emphasised the Saint's mystical experiences -in this case, her Transverberation.

There is even the possibility that the Carmelites may have wanted to address criticisms of Teresa made during her lifetime and shortly after her death through the images they used in the canonisation festivities. For instance, the theologian Alonso de la Fuente, in a memorandum sent to the Inquisition shortly after the publication of the 1588 edition of Teresa's books, categorically stated that Teresa's doctrine of the mystical union with God was heretical. Yet in their street altar for 1622, the Madrid Carmelites presented Teresa as the main mast of the ship of the Church, with heretics drowning in the sea. Overall, what is clear is that the iconography of the images and the manner in which they were used are only understandable with reference to the religious and political context in which they developed. Even taking into account the lack of detailed descriptions of Teresa's images in the 1622 canonisation festivities in Madrid, it is still important to note that the images used emphasised the two aspects of the Saint's life that most interested the Catholic Church at the time: her doctrine -infused by God- and her visions.

c) Saint Ignatius Loyola and Saint Francis Xavier.

Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier appeared together in Matthaus Greuter's commemorative print of the 1622 canonisation ceremonies in Rome, both dressed in their black cassocks. Ignatius is shown holding the open book of the Jesuit Constitutions

with the Society of Jesus' motto "Ad maiorem dei gloriam" [To the greater glory of God] and Francis Xavier is holding his cassock open, as if to reveal his burning heart to the bright circle of light shining from above with the letters IHS (fig. 5.1). The latter refers to a moment in the life of Francis Xavier, when in ecstatic rapture, he wants to reveal his heart to God, and cries out 'Satis est, domine…' [It is enough, my Lord].[106] They appeared together in the engraving partly because their iconography was often intertwined, and for this reason they will also be discussed together in the present section. Jesuit iconography has been studied in detail by many scholars, therefore this chapter will only offer a summary of the types of images of Ignatius and Francis Xavier which were familiar to the public before 1622, which will help clarify the symbolic meanings of the imagery used in the processions and street altars in the Madrid festivities.[107]

The creation of an identifiable imagery of Ignatius Loyola by the Jesuit Order started immediately after his death in July 31st, 1556. That same day the painter Jacopino del Conte was called to paint a portrait of the dead Ignatius (fig. 5.62), and a plaster death mask was made, from which at least three models were later cast: a wax mask, now kept in the Jesuit Archive in Rome; another wax mask which was taken by Pedro de Ribadeneyra to the Jesuit College in Madrid, and a plaster head currently kept in the Jesuit *Casa Generalizia* in Rome (fig. 5.61).[108] Pedro de Ribadeneyra, who had published his biography of Ignatius in Latin in 1572, took the wax death mask to Madrid in 1574, and commissioned a clay head based on it from the Jesuit brother and sculptor Domingo

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[106] García Gutiérrez 1998, p. 32.

[107] For an introduction to Ignatian iconography, see Tacchi Venturi 1929, Hornedo 1956b, König-Nordhoff 1981, Gil Varon 1990-1991, Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 1991, Plazaola 1991; the iconography of Francis Xavier has been studied among others by Sánchez Cantón 1952, Lafuente Ferrari 1954, and García Gutiérrez 1998.

[108] The process of creation of Jacopino del Conte's portrait and of the death mask was narrated in *Relación de la forma que se tuvo de hazer el retrato de N. S. P. Ignacio…*, reproduced in *Monumenta Historica Societati Iesu*, "Monumenta Ignatiana," IV series, I, Rome, 1965, and cited in Tacchi Venturi 1929.For summaries of the

Beltrán. Unhappy with Jacopino del Conte's painted portrait and the copies made after it,[109] in 1584 Ribadeneyra also commissioned a portrait of Ignatius from the royal painter Alonso Sánchez Coello, whom he gave precise instructions regarding the colouring and features of the image, which was also based on the wax effigy (fig. 5.65). The sources mention that Sánchez Coello made no less than sixteen copies of the original portrait, although it is more likely that members of his workshop painted most of these (figs. 5.66).[110]

Engraved portraits of Ignatius were also commissioned after his death, based mostly on Jacopino del Conte's portrait. One of the best known of these is an engraving by Hieronymous Wierix (1553-1619), which shows the bust of Ignatius, wearing a biretta and Jesuit cassock as in Jacopino del Conte's portrait (fig. 5.63). The central oval is surrounded by a square with a scene from the life of Ignatius at each corner, and an inscription at the bottom with the text "P. Ignatius de Loyola author atqe fundator Societatis Iesu. Obijt a° Dni. 1556 aetatis suae 65." The engraving is signed "Hieronymus Wierix fecit et excud." Although the print is undated, it must have been engraved before 1600, as the inscription refers to Ignatius as P[ater] rather than as B[eatus].[111] Several later portraits of Ignatius are versions or copies of this print by the eldest Wierix.[112]

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events after Ignatius' death and the types of effigies made, see Leturia 1943, Dalmases 1956and Hornedo 1956b.

[109] In his Spanish edition of Ignatius' biography, published in 1583, Ribadeneyra expressed his discontent with the lack of accurate portraits of Ignatius in the final paragraph: "Y porque tratamos aquí de la disposición de Ignacio, quiero avisar que no tenemos ningún retrato suyo sacado tan al proprio que en todo le parezca, porque aunque se deseó mucho retratarle mientras él vivió, para consuelo de todos sus hijos, pero nunca nadie se atrevió a hablar de ello delante de él, porque se enojara mucho. Los retratos que andan suyos son todos sacados después de él muerto." Ribadeneyra 1967, p. 241.

[110] For references to Jacopino del Conte's and Sánchez Coello's portraits, see Tacchi Venturi 1929, pp. 17-18. A detailed account of all the different portraits of Ignatius made after his death, and references to copies of Coello's portrait made for the Portuguese Jesuits and for El Escorial, is given in Hornedo 1956b.

[111] In 1600, nine years before Ignatius' official beatification, the Pope issued a permit by which the Jesuits were allowed to print images of their founder with a halo and the title 'Beatus' before his name. See Civil 1999, p. 358.

[112] See, for instance, an engraving in the Biblioteca Nacional which, although attributed to Cornelis Cort because it is signed CC sculp. Anno 1556, lacks the quality of genuine Cornelis Cort engravings, and was very likely a copy after Wierix with an added surrounding plate featuring Ignatius in a landscape with trees. The engraving is discussed in Lamalle 1951.

The frontispieces for the various editions of Ignatius' biography published in the late 16th and early 17th centuries often had engraved images of the saint. An example of this is Sadeler's engraving for Ribadeneyra's 1580 Rome edition, in which Ignatius appeared in profile, his hands held together in prayer and holding a rosary, before a crucifix.(Fig. 5.69) This profile image is remarkably similar to a painted portrait now in the museum in Sondrio, Italy (fig. 5.68). According to an inscription on the back of the painting's frame, the portrait was painted in 1543, while Ignatius was still alive, and given as a present by Father Bobadilla to Giovanni María Guicciardini. Some scholars disagree on the authenticity of the inscription, and assume that the painting was in fact based on Sadeler's 1580 engraving. The painting itself simplifies Ignatius' features too much to constitute a true portrait of the saint.[113] Whether the print was based on the painting or the other way around, the fact is that the image was extremely successful, and was used in a number of copies, altering the plate with different backgrounds, and placing Ignatius looking from left to right or viceversa, to illustrate biographies of Ignatius and also as individual prints.[114] (Figs. 5.70 & 5.71)

Another type of engraved portrait with Ignatius praying presents him in three-quarter view, against a dark background, his hands held together in prayer before the Crucifix. Perhaps the most beautiful version of these was Lucas Vosterman's engraving of 1621, dedicated to the Antwerp dean and canon Juan del Rio (fig. 5.74).[115]

There were also other types of engraved portraits of Ignatius, which were popular before 1622. In some of them he appears half-length, dressed in the black Jesuit cassock, and holding an open book, the Jesuit Constitutions, with the inscription "Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam". The prototype for these was created by Hieronymous Wierix (1553-1619)

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113 Nevertheless, it could have been painted from memory while Ignatius was still alive.

114 Ursula König-Nordhoff has doubts about the date of the Sondrio painting, but still relates the engravings to it. See König-Nordhoff 1981, pp. 206-214. Father Ceballos believes the painting to be based on Johannes Sadeler's 1580 engraving. See Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 1991, p. 107.

(figs. 5.76 & 5.77),[116] possibly after an anonymous late 16th century painting now in one of the chapels in Ignatius' chambers in the Gesú, in Rome (fig. 5.75).[117]

From c.1590, there were a number of images of Ignatius published which consisted of a central plate with his portrait, surrounded by scenes from his life. Such was the case with a plate engraved by Thomas de Leu (1560-1612) and published in Paris, and with the Ingolstatt edition of Ribadeneyra's biography of Ignatius, both published in 1590, and both consisting of a copy of Sadeler's engraved portrait of Ignatius at prayer before the Crucifix, surrounded by scenes from Ignatius' life (figs. 5.72 & 5.73). The Ingolstatt edition, by an engraver with the initials AM, presents Ignatius against a neutral background, surrounded by seven scenes from his life.[118] Thomas de Leu's engraving has a slightly different version of Ignatius' profile portrait, which includes a window with a view of Rome in the background, a rosary hanging from Ignatius' hands, and an open book, instead of a biretta, on the table next to the Crucifix. The sixteen scenes from the life of Ignatius have explanatory inscriptions at the bottom, as does the central portrait.[119]

Ribadeneyra himself commissioned an engraved portrait of Ignatius from the royal engraver Pedro Perret in 1597 (fig. 5.67), which was used to illustrate his Spanish edition of Ignatius' biography, published that year. The portrait is based on Sánchez Coello's painting, with some alterations.[120] It presents Ignatius without a biretta, wearing the black Jesuit cassock, eyes looking up towards a shaft of divine light coming down from the top left, with his head surrounded by a halo. The bust of Ignatius appears inside an oval, framed by the following inscription: "B. Ignatii de Loiola, Societ: Iesv Fvndatoris, Vera

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115 Reproduced in König-Nordhoff 1981, fig. 147. See Páez Ríos 1966-1970, 4459-13.
116 Reproduced in König-Nordhoff 1981, figs. 204-206
117 Reproduced in König-Nordhoff 1981, fig. 201.
118 Ursula König-Nordhoff has tentatively identified the engraver as Alexander Mair of Augsburg. See König-Nordhoff 1981, p. 248
119 For a detailed discussion of the iconography of these, see König-Nordhoff 1981, pp. 109-115 & 247-249.

Effigies. Natvs Ann 1491. Obiit 1556. Conversionis svae 35. Aetatis 65." Outside the oval there are four scenes from the life of Ignatius, with explanatory inscriptions at the bottom. They include Ignatius being healed by Saint Peter, the apparition of the Virgin Mary to Ignatius, the Vision at Storta and the approbation of the Society of Jesus by Pope Paul III. A scroll at the bottom of the oval had the inscription "Ad Maiorem Gloriam Dei". Since the print is dated 1597, it is surprising to find the B[eatus] in the inscription in front of Ignatius name, before permission was given by the Pope in 1600 to use this title. This gives an idea of the propagandistic aims with which these images were created: the miraculous scenes from the life of Ignatius included in the engraving justified his beatification, even before it was officially approved.

Ribadeneyra was also responsible for commissioning the first cycle of paintings of the life of Ignatius, painted by Juan de Mesa c.1600 for a gallery of the Jesuit Imperial College in Madrid, and consisting of sixteen canvases, now lost.[121] The paintings covered the life of Ignatius from his conversion to the religious life to his death, and had inscriptions explaining each scene, and referring the viewer to the appropriate chapter in Ribadeneyra's biography.[122]

Ribadeneyra later commissioned a series of fourteen engravings on the life of Ignatius, based on Juan de Mesa's paintings, from the Antwerp engravers Theodor and Cornelis Galle. The series had engravings by the Galle brothers, Adrian and Jan Collaert and Karel van Mallery. It was published by the Galle brothers in 1610, after the beatification of

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[120] Although Father Ceballos believes this print to be based on a copper portrait of Ignatius, whereabouts unknown, rather than on Coello's painting, the copper portrait itself, reproduced in König-Nordhoff 1981, fig. 56, is clearly based on Coello's painting. See Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 1991, p. 110.

[121] There are numerous studies of the iconography of the various painted and engraved cycles of the life of Ignatius. A detailed analysis can be found in König-Nordhoff 1981. Good summaries of the development of the different cycles are provided in Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 1991, Cendoya Echániz and Montero Estebas 1993, and Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 1994.

[122] For Juan de Mesa's painting cycle, see Ceán Bermúdez 1800, vol. IV, p. 140; König-Nordhoff 1981, pp. 60-62 & 261; and Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 1991, pp. 110-111.

Ignatius in 1609, with the title *Vita Beatis Patris Ignatii Loyolae religionis Societate Iesv fvndatoris ad vivum expressa ex ea qvam P. Petrvs Ribadeneyra eivsdem societatis theologvs ad dei gloriam et piorvm hominvm vsvm ac vtilitatem olim scripsit, deinde Madriti pingi, postea in aes incidi et nvnc demvm typis excvdi cvravit.*[123] (Fig. 18) The series was re-printed for the canonisation of Ignatius in 1622, and there was a third edition published at an unknown later date, as well as the copy of the series published in Paris in 1612 by J. Le Clerc.[124]

Another, much more extensive life of Ignatius was engraved in Rome to coincide with his beatification. The series was commissioned by the Jesuit Father Niccoló Lancicio and the rector of the German Jesuit College Filippo Rainaldi; it consisted of 79 plates plus a title page and a portrait of Ignatius, and was published in 1609 with the title *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesv fundatoris* (Figs. 5.79 & 5.80).[125] A second edition published in 1622 included an extra plate featuring Ignatius' canonisation by Pope Gregory XV. This series was widely known, since the Jesuit Father General Claudio Acquaviva officially sanctioned it, and sets of it were sent to numerous Jesuit houses world-wide.[126] During the canonisation festivities in Rome in March 1622, fifteen of the scenes from this series were painted and hung on the façade and inside the church of the Gesú.[127]

The authorship of the 1609 Rome *Vita* has been the subject of debate among art historians for a long time. The current consensus seems to be that the series was engraved by Jean Baptiste Barbé, and that some of the designs for the plates were by Rubens, while others remain anonymous.[128]

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123 A complete series of this *Vita* is kept in the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum, signature 157* a2.
124 Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 1991, p. 111.
125 A modern edition of the series was published by the Theology Faculty of Granada University in 1992. See Rubens and Barbe 1992.
126 The series was also copied in Ausburg by Wolfgang Kilian, and underwent a number of editions published in several German cities. See Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 1991, p. 113.
127 Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 1991, p. 113.
128 For detailed discussions about the authorship of the designs and the actual engravings, see Held 1972 and König-Nordhoff 1981, pp. 278-308. The latter also studies at length the iconography of the series and its influence on later depictions of Ignatius.

Another series consisting of twelve plates was engraved by Hieronymous Wierix, probably sometime after 1609. The series focused on miracles performed by Ignatius, rather than on scenes from his biography, and it may have been commissioned as part of the canonisation campaign, after beatification had been achieved (fig. 5.81).[129]

Several scholars have analysed the influence of the aforementioned engraved series on painted cycles of the life of Ignatius, particularly on those created in Spain and South America during the 17th and 18th centuries.[130] It is clear from such studies that Jesuit houses provided their painters with sets of these engravings from which to copy the scenes they wanted depicted in their painted cycles. The paintings usually hung in cloisters in the public areas of the convents, where they could be seen by lay people. This suggests that the message promoting the virtues of the founder of the order in these paintings, was directed towards the laiety who visited the Jesuit houses, rather than towards the members of the order themselves.[131]

The more talented artists, such as Juan de Valdés Leal in his series on the life of Ignatius for the Jesuit Casa Profesa in Seville or for the College of San Pablo in Lima, based their paintings on prints from more than one series, and chose the scenes that were most appropriate for their purposes, changing the compositions whenever necessary to suit their own narrative aims.[132] On the other hand, the more mediocre painters simply copied the engravings, as can be seen in Cristóbal de Villalpando's cycle on the life of

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129 A reproduction of this series in Macquoy-Hendrickx 1978-1982, vol. II, pp. 142-143, nos. 1038-1050. Although Alfred Hamy, in his edition *Vie de St. Ignace gravée par Jerome Wierix*, published in Paris in 1887, dates the series c. 1590, Ursula König-Nordhoff believes it to have been engraved later, probably after the beatification in 1609. See König-Nordhoff 1981, pp. 257-260 and Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 1991, p. 113.

130 See Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 1991; Cendoya Echániz and Montero Estebas 1993; Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 1994; García Mahíques 1995; and García Mahíques 1996.

131 Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 1991, p. 114.

132 For Valdés Leal's Jesuit series, see Gué Trapier 1960, pp. 61-; Kinkead 1978, pp. 247-; Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 1966, pp. 245-248; and Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 1991, pp. 116-122.

Ignatius for the Noviciado de San Francisco Javier in Tepozotlán, Mexico, which was mostly based on the Rubens/Barbé engravings.[133]

Apart from the death mask and subsequent wax effigies, there is little evidence of sculptures of Ignatius being commissioned immediately after his death. In Spain, the first documented sculptures of Ignatius were commissioned for the beatification festivities in 1610. However, we know that he was venerated in Jesuit institutions in Spain long before his beatification in 1609. The Casa Profesa in Valencia, for instance, celebrated the anniversary of Ignatius' death on July 31st annually from 1600, and it is likely that they had sculptures of their founder for those celebrations.[134] Nevertheless, the first firm references to sculptures of Ignatius Loyola being commissioned in Spain date to 1610. The Casa Profesa in Valencia commissioned a carved image from an anonymous sculptor in February 1610, for the beatification festivities.[135] In Seville, the Congregation of the Holy Trinity, based in the church of the Jesuit College of San Hermenegildo, commissioned the statue of Ignatius from Juan Martínez Montañés also in 1610, for the beatification festivities (fig. 5.82).[136] In Madrid, an image of Ignatius was also commissioned for the beatification festivities in 1609.[137]

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133 Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 1994.

134 García Mahíques 1995, p. 277.

135 Juan Bautista Bosquete, *Historia y primer centenar de la Casa profesa del Espiritu Santo y Compañía de Jesús de Valencia, dividida en ventinueve Prepositos, que desde el año 1579 hasta el fin del 1679 la governaron.* Unpublished manuscript from the Casa Profesa in Valencia, f. 99: "Por Febrero de 1610 se fabrico y doro la Imagen devotissima de N. s. Padre Ignacio, de relieve, y cuerpo entero, que hoy dia se venera en su capilla, y se estrenó entonces en las fiestas de su beatificación." Quoted in García Mahíques 1995, p. 277.

136 See Pacheco 1990, pp. 709-710 and Proske 1967, p. 77. Montañés' sculpture was an *imagen de vestir*, i.e. a processional image in which only the head and hands were carved, while the body was a life-sized mannekin, dressed in real robes. Although the body and arms of the image are currently covered in fabric stiffened with glue, this is probably a later addition. See National Gallery of Scotland 1996, cat. no. 7, p. 110.

137 Relacion beatificacion Madrid 1982, p. 69: "En medio de la capilla mayor auia un altar con frontal de brocado de 3 Altos donde estaua la imaen de bulto de N. Sto. Padre dorada y grauada, tambien hecha y acabada que costo 300 ducados, tenia en la mano derecha un jesus leuantado en alto y en la izquierda un libro abierto arrimado a la cintura, sore la cabeça una Diadema de Plata con 13 piedras preciosas engastadas en ella."

Also famous was the image of Ignatius carved by Gregorio Fernández for the Jesuit College in Vergara in 1614 (fig. 5.86), which became an emblematic image of the saint, often copied by later sculptors. Other versions of Ignatius' sculpture by Gregorio Fernández, such as the Ignatius that forms a pair with an image of Francis Xavier on the side altars of the church of San Miguel in Valladolid, a former Jesuit church, (figs. 5.84 & 5.85) or the pair of Ignatius and Francis Xavier in the Museum of the Colegiata de San Luis in Villagarcía de Campos (figs. 5.87 & 5.88), were also very influencial, although their dating is still doubtful.[138]

It is clear that after Ignatius' death on July 31st, 1556, the Jesuit Order set about obtaining a Vera Effigies of their founder, seeking to establish a definitive iconography which could be used later during the beatification and canonisation campaigns. Having established this, they commissioned series of paintings and engravings depicting Ignatius' life and the miracles allegedly performed through his intercession, also with the aim of achieving his canonisation. They also produced single images of Ignatius in paintings, prints and sculptures which were often based on the death mask or the portraits by Jacopino del Conte and Alonso Sánchez Coello. Thus by the 1622 canonisation festivities, the image of Ignatius and the outline of his life were firmly established in the minds of the Catholic faithful, and could be used to promote specific messages about the Society of Jesus, as we shall see shortly.

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138 Rafael Hornedo and María Elena Gómez Moreno consider the Ignatius and Francis Xavier in Valladolid to have been carved in 1613. Jesús Urrea, on the other hand, suggests that the Ignatius in Villagarcía de Campos and its pair the Francis Xavier, formerly attributed to José Mayo but which he attributes to Gregorio Fernández, were originally carved in 1613 for the side altar in the church of San Miguel in Valladolid, and later transferred to the church of Villagarcía de Campos, which was then the Jesuit mother house in Castile. Juan José Martín González suggests that the images currently in the church of San Miguel were commissioned for the 1622 canonisation festivities in Valladolid. See Hornedo 1956a, pp. 307-108; Gómez Moreno 1963, pp. 73-74; Urrea 1980, pp. 376-378; Martín González 1998, pp. 67-68; Urrea 1999, p. 112.

In the case of Francis Xavier, the situation is slightly different. Although his body has been preserved uncorrupted in the Jesuit church in Goa (India) to this day, there were no death masks or portraits made at the time of his death in 1552, perhaps because then Ignatius was still alive, and may not have been willing to promote a beatification process for any member of his order. Nevertheless, there seems to have been a *vera effigies*, a portrait sent to the Jesuit general Claudio Acquaviva from Goa by the Jesuit Alessandro Valignano in 1583. According to a letter written by Valignano, the portrait was painted "with the clothes that he used to wear around here, lifting his cassock from the chest and with his eyes raised to the Heavens, because according to what people say, he used to walk around in that manner."[139] Two engravings of Saint Francis Xavier currently in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, one by Albert Clowet (1636-1679) and another by Gaspare Massi (figs. 5.90 & 5.91) have the inscription "Vera effigies S. Francis Xaverij Societ: Iesu Indiarum Apostoli desumpta ex originali Goa Romam misso" [True portrait of Saint Francis Xavier of the Society of Jesus Apostle of the Indies designed From the original in Goa sent to Rome.][140] Since paintings and engravings of Francis Xavier of any century often reproduce the same iconography, it is clear that there was an original *vera effigies*, the whereabouts of which are currently unknown.

Perhaps because the campaign for the canonisation of Ignatius Loyola (who died in 1556, only four years after Francis Xavier) was deemed more important, there were no extensive engraved lives of Francis Xavier commissioned before his beatification in 1619, although they did exist afterwards. This is the case, for instance, of a plate with the

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139 "Pintose con los vestidos con que acostumbraba a ir por acá, alevantando con las manos la sotana del pecho y con los ochos (sic) alevantados al cielo, porque muchas veces iba de aquella manera, conforme lo que dicen." See Sánchez Cantón 1952, pp. 45-46, quoting from *La Canonizzazione dei Santi Ignazio de Loiola, Fondatore della Compagnia di Gesú, e Francesco Saverio, Apostolo dell'Oriente*. Roma, Grafia S.A.I. 1929, p. 123.

140 See Páez Ríos 1966-1970, nos. 3309-11 & 3309-22.

central image of Francis Xavier in ecstasy surrounded by twelve scenes from his life engraved by Jean Baptiste Barbé at an unknown date after 1622 (see fig. 5.96).[141]

There were, however, numerous individual engravings published before 1619 which placed the letter "B." before the name Francis Xavier. For instance, the frontispiece for Nicolas Trigault's book *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas svscepta ab Societate Jesu*, published in Augsburg in 1615, shows a temple front with the title in the central square, flanked by images of Francis Xavier and Father Matthew Ricci (S.J.) standing on pedestals (fig. 5.104). The inscription on Francis Xavier's pedestal reads "B.P.F. Frāciscvs Xaverivs", i.e. assigning the title 'Beatus' to Francis Xavier before his official beatification in 1619. These examples indicate a will on the part of the Society of Jesus to promote Francis Xavier's beatification through visual means, even before the status of Beatus was given to Francis Xavier.

There were two iconographies of Francis Xavier which would have been most familiar to the faithful in seventeenth-century Spain. One showed him wearing the black Jesuit cassock and mantle, holding the front of his cassock with his two hands as if to reveal his heart,[142] while also holding a bouquet of white lilies. According to contemporary sources, a painting of this type, which was coupled with another of Ignatius Loyola, existed in the church of the Gesú since at least 1599. This pair is now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, and Sánchez Cantón attributed it to Juan de Roelas (figs. 5.99 & 5.100).[143] The face of Francis Xavier looks very similar to that in the engravings by Clowet and Massi, which indicates it must have been based on the same *vera effigies*. The iconography was extremely

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141 The inscription at the bottom of the plate identifies him as 'Iesv Christo Apostolis Sancto Francisco Xaverio'. The expression 'Sancto' was never used before the canonisation, therefore the plate must have been engraved after 1622.

142 According to his biographers, Francis Xavier was constantly engaged in prayer, and when the divine favours he received from it became too intense for him to bear, he would place his hands on his heart, as if opening his cassock to reveal his chest, and looking up towards heaven would exclaim 'That is enough, my Lord, that is enough!' [Satis est, domine, satis est]. See Ribadeneyra 1967, p. 212.

143 Sánchez Cantón 1952, p. 47, quoting from Ottavio Panciroli's *Tesori nacosti dell' alma cittá di Roma*, published in 1625.

successful, and appears often in later works, sometimes with slight variations. For instance, in Theodore Galle's bust engraving of Francis Xavier, included in Horatius Tursellinus' biography, he appears in the reverse position, looking from left to right (as would normally happen with engravings) and without the white lilies, but the position of his hands on his cassock and his eyes looking towards heaven is the same (fig. 5.92).An anonymous print derived from Matthaus Greuter's engraving with the *theatrum* erected in Saint Peter's for the canonisation festivities, and the images of the five saints, also shows Francis Xavier with the Jesuit black cassock and in a similar position to the Roman painting, but without the white lilies (fig. 5.101).[144]

Another variation on this iconography presents Francis Xavier with his hands crossed over his chest, rather than holding his cassock. He is shown like this in an engraving by Hyeronymous Wierix, which was created before the beatification in 1619, since the inscription at the top of the image calls him 'P.[ater] Franciscvs Xaverius' (fig. 5.93).[145]

A further variation on this iconography shows Francis Xavier kneeling, wearing the same Jesuit cassock, with his hands in the same position as in the painting, but with no lilies, as he is seen in an engraving by Anton Wierix (fig. 5.94) and in two engravings by Jean Baptiste Barbé's (figs. 5.95 & 5.96).[146]

In contrast, sculpted images of Francis Xavier in Spain tend to show him more holding a Crucifix or a staff, as a symbol of his missionary work in Asia, than holding his cassock. Gregorio Fernández's image of Francis Xavier in the church of San Miguel in Valladolid (fig. 5.85) shows him holding a staff, with his mantle hanging folded across his body to hang over the right arm. Nevertheless, there are some examples in which he does appear with one hand on his heart, such as in an image in Medina de Rioseco (fig. 5.98), or

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144 Reproduced in König-Nordhoff 1981, fig. 233.
145 Reproduced in König-Nordhoff 1981, fig. 129.
146 See Macquoy-Hendrickx 1978-1982, p. 207, no. 1147, plate 152; and König-Nordhoff 1981, figs. 317 & 387.

opening his cassock to reveal his heart, such as in an image in the church of Santa María la Real in Sangüesa, Navarra (fig. 5.97).

The second iconographic type familiar to the public attending the 1622 canonisation festivities in Madrid was that of Francis Xavier in clerical garb, wearing a white surplice and a stole over a black cassock. Although the attire changes in this type, the pose of the saint and the attributes are often the same as in the type discussed above. This is because they both represent the same moment in the life of Francis Xavier, when in ecstatic rapture, he wants to reveal his heart to God, and cries out 'Satis est, domine…'. Thus the position of his hands, holding his surplice as if to show his heart, or sometimes simply crossed over his chest, is the same as in the previous type. Similarly, he is shown holding a bunch of lilies, except when his hands are crossed over his chest, as in Rubens' painting for the Gesú (fig. 5.111). The position of the head and the eyes are often the same in both types.

Francis Xavier was shown in clerical garb long before his beatification in 1619. For instance, in Wolfgang Kilian's 1615 engraving for the frontispiece of Nicolas Trigault's *De Christiana expeditione* (fig. 5.104), Francis Xavier appears wearing a surplice and stole and carrying a bunch of lilies, his hands holding the surplice out from his chest in the same position as in the images of the first type. This particular iconography was extremely successful, but because it was used by several engravers, both in full-length images and in busts of the saint, it is difficult to know who was the originator of the iconography. Examples of full-length images of this type are Cornelis Galle's and Thomas de Leu's engravings (figs 5.105 & 5.106), which were both based on the same design, since even the landscape background is similar.[147] Often images of Francis Xavier in clerical surplice were paired with images of Ignatius Loyola wearing a chasuble. Bust

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[147] Reproduced in König-Nordhoff 1981, figs. 228 & 261.

portraits of this type include J. Waldor's double engraving of Ignatius and Francis Xavier (fig. 5.110).[148]

The frontispiece to Father Chirino de Salazar's *Pratica de la freqvencia de la sagrada comvnion...*, published in Madrid in 1622, has images of Ignatius and Francis Xavier engraved by Iuan de Courbes flanking the central title (fig. 5.108).[149] The images are similar in iconography, although not identical, to many contemporary prints of the two saints. Francis Xavier's image looks remarkably similar to the engravings by Thomas de Leu and Cornelis Galle mentioned above.

Peter Paul Rubens' painting of Francis Xavier for the church of the Gesú, painted c. 1622 as a pair with the image of Ignatius Loyola (figs. 5.111 & 5.112), was in fact a slightly different version of this iconography, which had been in existence long before Rubens created his works. Rubens, however, showed the saint with his hands crossed over his chest and without the lilies. His version became extremely well known through the engravings made after it by Schelte A. Bolswert (fig. 5.113 & 5.114). The impact of these two images of Ignatius and Francis Xavier by Rubens was enormous, with countless paintings and prints deriving from them; not least in Spain where, for instance, the paintings that adorn the altar of Francis Xavier's home in the Castle of Javier derive from Rubens' designs (fig. 5.115). Many prints were created after Rubens' version of this iconographic type, including, for instance, engraved busts by Bolswert himself (fig. 5.116).[150]

Having discussed the manner in which the iconographies of the four saints developed before 1622, it is now easier to reconstruct what the images of the saints looked like in the street decorations and processions organised to celebrate the canonisations in

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[148] Reproduced in König-Nordhoff 1981, fig. 239.

[149] See Chirino 1622, title page. Referenced in Páez Ríos 1966-1970, no. 527-6 and reproduced in Matilla 1991, p. 81, cat. no. 11. The engraving is signed 'I de Courbes Sculpsit', which clearly indicates that the design of the images was devised by somebody else.

Madrid. By analysing the manner in which the images were used in these, it will be possible to understand the functions they fulfilled in the overall message the orders, the *villa* and even the monarchy wished to convey.

2. The Canonisation Procession.

The first major ceremony in the nine days of the 1622 canonisations was the General Procession which took place on Sunday 19th of June.[151] The King had ordered that the Sunday should be dedicated to all five saints, therefore images of all of them were taken in procession from the church of San Andrés, where they had been placed on Saturday evening. The body of Saint Isidro was buried in San Andrés, and for this reason it was considered as the most appropriate church to house the five saints before the general procession. All the parishes in Madrid and surrounding villages participated in the procession, together with the regular clergy of the *Cabildo*, the religious orders, and members of all the Councils, which included a large section of the aristocracy, as well as the king.

Sunday started with High Mass in the church of San Andrés, which was celebrated by the Bishop of Cuenca Don Enrique Pimentel, son of the Count of Benavente. The Friars Minor of the convent of La Victoria had been in charge of decorating the church for this special occasion. The walls of the nave had rich brocade hangings, representing the twelve months of the year, with the twelve signs of the zodiac and the twelve children of Israel. The ceiling was covered in silk tapestries.[152] In the centre of the high altar was a

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150 Reproduced in König-Nordhoff 1981, fig. 191.

151 For the following description of the procession see Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 33v. - 36r.; and Ponce 1622, f. 255(18)v. - 255(19)r.

152 Although 17th century churches in Spain had austere interiors, with large expanses of plain walls, they were rarely left bare. Particularly during special ceremonies, the churches were decorated with very rich wall hangings and tapestries, which were often lent for the occasion by prominent members of the aristocracy. Thus the supposed austerity of these interiors was, in fact, very far from the truth. See Cámara Muñoz 1982, p. 54.

statue of Saint Isidro, possibly the *vera effigies* that belonged to Catalina Luján; below it, a gold cross with a relic of the Lignum Crucis.

The procession took place in the afternoon. Images of the saints were carried in the order in which they had been canonised: first of all, an image of Saint Philip Neri, dressed in very costly priestly robes, was carried by four clerics of the Cabildo. Next was Saint Teresa's banner, carried by the General of the Discalced Carmelites, followed by the image of the saint herself, dressed in a brocaded tunic, and holding a book and a quill.[153] This iconography is characteristic of Spanish images of Saint Teresa, and was already prevalent by 1613, a year before Teresa's beatification. It was then that Don Francisco Guillamas commissioned the sculptor Juan de Porres to carve the sculpture of Saint Teresa for the church of San José in Ávila, as mentioned above. The image emphasises the concept of the divine origin of Teresa's theological writings, for which she was given the title of Doctor of the Church.[154] This prototype seems to have been particularly successful, since a similar image stood on a platform decorated with artificial flowers in the church of the convent of San Hermenegildo, during the festivities for Teresa's beatification in Madrid in 1615. The image used in the procession of 19th June 1622 had similar characteristics. The latter could have come from any of the four Carmelite convents that existed in Madrid at the time: San Hermenegildo, of Barefoot Carmelite friars; Santa Ana, of Discalcaed Carmelite nuns; El Carmen, of shod Carmelite friars, or Las Maravillas, of Barefoot Carmelite nuns. Unfortunately, after the disestablishment of the convents in the 19th century and the consequent displacement of the images they housed, it is now impossible to ascertain whether the image that was used in the procession of 1622 still exists. Nevertheless, Gregorio Fernández's sculpture of 1614-1615, as well as his later version for the convent of Shod Carmelites in

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153 Sumptuosas fiestas 1982, p. 168.

Valladolid, which was completed by 1625 (fig. 5.48), can both serve as illustrations of what the image in Madrid may have looked like.[155] The only difference found in the Madrid image was, since it wore a brocaded garment, that it may have been an *imagen de vestir*, with only the face and hands carved, while the rest of the body was covered by the garment made in real fabric. Alternately, the garment may have been put on a fully carved image, as a special addition for the canonisation celebrations.

After Teresa's image came the banners of Saint Francis Xavier and Saint Ignatius, accompanied by members of the leading aristocratic families in Navarra and Guipúzcoa, homelands of the two saints, and their two processional images. Both Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis Xavier were *imágenes de vestir*, i.e. sculptures in which only the hands and faces were carved and polychromed, because the rest was meant to be covered by the clothes they wore. These were expensively embroidered black velvet cloaks and cassocks, donated by Queen Isabel of Bourbon.[156] The images had halos made of pearls and diamonds. Saint Ignatius held in his right hand the letters IHS surrounded by rays of light, all studded with pearls and diamonds.[157] Saint Francis Xavier had a bouquet of white lilies in his right hand; the stems of the flowers were made with emeralds, to simulate the colour green and the flowers themselves were made of pearls of different sizes. The saint's left hand was placed on his chest, opening his cassock to reveal a burning heart, in the same pose as in the canonisation print (fig. 5.1).[158]

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154 For a discussion of the evolution of Teresa's iconography to incorporate this aspect of the saint as a writer of theology through divine inspiration and Doctor of the Church, see Croix 1970.

155 Martín González 1998, p. 68.

156 According to Jesuit account books for 1622, the Queen donated 41,800 *reales* for embroidering the tunics of Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis Xavier. See AHN, Clero. Jesuítas. Libro 313j. (Agosto 1622). Quoted by Simón Díaz 1952, p. 59.

157 Monforte comments that the image of Saint Ignatius, looking fixedly at the letters IHS that he held in his right hand, was "as they paint him." This demonstrates just how standardized this iconography of the saint was even by the time of his canonisation in 1622. See Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 17r.

158 Monforte describes Francis Xavier's pose "as he ordinarily is", obviously referring to the standard iconography of the saint which appeared in his canonisation print. See Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 17r.

Images with the same attributes had been used in beatification and canonisation festivities in many other Spanish towns, which indicates that the iconography was firmly established since at least 1609. For instance, the processional image of Ignatius carved by Juan Martínez Montañés for the 1610 beatification festivities in Seville also had an IHS device in his right hand, with the eyes of the image focused on it (fig. 5.82).[159] In the beatification festivities in Toledo, the image of Ignatius held both the IHS device and the open book of the Jesuit Constitutions, as did the image used in the beatification festivities in Salamanca.[160] The images of Francis Xavier and Ignatius used in the 1622 canonisation festivities in Bilbao were almost certainly *imágenes de vestir*, their attire remarkably similar to the images in Courbes' engraving for Father Chirino's book (fig. 5.108.) Ignatius was dressed in priestly robes, and held an IHS device in his right hand, surrounded by rays of light, and the book of the Constitutions in his left hand. Francis Xavier wore a velvet cassock adorned on the borders with golden buttons, covered by a surplice and a stole. In his right hand he held a Crucifix and in his left hand a bouquet of white lilies.[161]

The place of honour at the end of the procession was occupied by Saint Isidro. The clergy of Madrid carried the saint's banner, which was followed by the body of the saint, carried in a richly decorated silver urn with a silver statue of Isidro on top. This had been donated to the church of San Andrés by the guild of silversmiths of Madrid in 1620, to celebrate the festivities of the beatification of the saint.[162] The image presented the saint as a young man wearing a beard, dressed like a 17th century farm labourer and holding a

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159 Luque Fajardo 1610, f. 4v. The IHS device has now been replaced with a cross.
160 Martín González 1991, pp. 468-469.
161 The anonymous author of this *relación* explains that the rays of light surrounding the IHS letters were symbols of the light and warmth that Ignatius had received from Heaven, which had encouraged him to carry out so many good works. Francis Xavier's Crucifix referred to the marvellous works that the saint did in the name of the Cross, while the white lilies referred to his purity. Montero Estebas 1994, p. 227.
162 Ponce 1620, f. 536r.

hoe with his left arm.[163] This was the same type of iconography used in the 1622 canonisation print (fig. 5.19), indicating that it was already firmly established by the time of the saint's beatification, in 1620. The only noticeable difference was that in the canonisation print, as well as in the preparatory drawings for the decorations in the church of Saint Peter's, Isidro held the hoe across his body, creating a very strong diagonal line that would become representative of the image of the saint. Although the saint on top of the urn drawn by Herrera Barnuevo held the hoe with his left hand, parallel to the line of his body, the costume and pose are sufficiently similar to the 1622 prints to warrant comparison.

Despite the fact that this was a religious procession, it also had secular elements, such as the dances commissioned by the Madrid council, which followed the final section of the procession. Secular elements were an established tradition of Spanish religious processions, which also featured prominently in other religious festivities such as the Corpus Christi.[164] The most popular of these secular elements in the 1622 canonisations was the Dance of the Four Elements, which had four triumphal chariots, each representing one of the elements, and accompanied by teams of dancers dressed in appropriate costumes.[165] There were obvious connections between the religious and the secular elements of the procession; for instance, in the dance of the elements, the chariot of the Earth was accompanied by a group of dancers dressed as farm labourers, carrying sickles, mattocks and hoes.[166] Since Isidro was a farm labourer, the dance also symbolised him.

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[163] The image was reproduced in Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo's project for a baldacchino for the chapel of Saint Isidro in the church of San Andrés in Madrid, which included a drawing of the urn (see fig. 24). The project was never realized.

[164] See Portús 1993a.

[165] AHPM, Prot. 3771, June 6th 1622, f. 618r. - 621v., and Matilla Tascón 1983, p. 146. The design for the entire dance, including sets and costumes, was devised by Don Francisco de Silva. The chariots themselves were built by the carpenters Manuel Pastor, Juan Mateo and Francisco Magaña, who contracted to do them at a price of 9,000 reales.

[166] Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 34v.

The streets of the city were elaborately adorned with altars and other symbolic structures during these festivities, which served as a framework along which the procession progressed. The following section will describe these structures, analysing the manner in which religious images were used in them to convey very specific devotional messages.

3. Street Altars and Decorations for the 1622 Canonisation Festivities.

In order to understand how religious images were used during the 1622 canonisation festivities in Madrid, it is important to describe in detail the decorations created for the festivities and the processions and pageants that took place. The primary sources for these descriptions are the contemporary chronicles of the festivities, the most important of which are the *relaciones* by Lope de Vega, Miguel de León, Fernando de Monforte y Herrera, and Manuel Ponce, as well as two anonymous *relaciones*: *Sumptuosas fiestas que la villa de Madrid celebró a XIX de Iunio de 1622* and *Principio de las reales fiestas, desta corte y villa de Madrid, en la santa canonización de su glorioso patron S. Isidro Labrador, con los otros quatro compañeros S. Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Compañía de Iesus, y S. Francisco Xauier su compañero, S. Teresa de Iesus fundadora de los Descalços Carmelitas, y de S. Phelipe Neri florentin.*[167] There are also scattered references to the canonisation festivities in the contemporary diaries of the sculptor Miguel de Soria, Antonio León de Soto and León Pinelo, as well as in the anonymous *Noticias de Madrid, 1621-1627.*[168] In addition to this, there is archival documentation regarding contracts for the creation of street decorations, designs for masques and processions, and other aspects of the celebrations.[169] A combination of the

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[167] SeeVega Carpio 1622; León 1622; Monforte y Herrera 1622;Ponce 1622; and Simón Díaz 1982, pp. 163-164 & 164-168.

[168] Miguel de Soria [BN, Mss. 9856] , León Soto [BN, Mss. 2395], León Pinelo 1971 & Noticias De Madrid, 1621-1627 [BN, Mss. 2513].

[169] For a comprehensive summary of the documentation, see Matilla Tascón 1983. See also Tovar Martín 1981, p. 1709-1710; Tovar Martín 1983, p. 428; and Tovar Martín 1986, p. 152. Portús Pérez 1988 provides invaluable new data regarding the authorship of the pyramids erected for the festivities, which contradicts the information given by Virginia Tovar in the above references. The source documents are in AHPM, Protocolos 2670, 3771, 4902 & 5065; and Archivo de la Villa, A.S.A. (Archivo de la Secretaría del Ayuntamiento de Madrid) 2-272-30.

three types of primary sources will allow us to recreate the festivities, the decorations designed for them, and the practical uses of religious images during the ceremonies.

There are, however, difficulties in recreating the decorations accurately. They arise from the sometimes incomplete, and sometimes contradictory descriptions provided in each of the *relaciones.*[170] Nevertheless, in the context of an examination of the function of religious images, the discrepancies between the different *relaciones* are interesting in themselves, because they indicate possible alternative uses of certain images. Of the six *relaciones* that occupy us, Fernando de Monforte y Herrera's seems closest to the reality of the events, as it narrates the problems caused by the weather on the decorations of the street altars, as well as the reaction of the public to some of the designs.[171] For this reason, the present analysis will rely greatly on his *relación.* However, the alternative versions provided by the other texts will also be summarised and studied, both to supplement Monforte's information, and because they provide further insights into the use of religious imagery during the festivities.

The backdrop for all these events were street decorations erected by the *villa*, the parish churches and the religious orders.[172] Most visually striking of these was a set of eight 'pyramids' designed by Juan Gómez de Mora, and carried out by a team of sculptors led by Alonso Carbonel, Francisco Esteban and Alberto Ribero.[173] They were erected in pairs

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[170] On the subject of the faithfulness of official narrations of festive events to the events they narrate, see Díez Borque 1990, which explores *relaciones* of the 1623 *Juego de Cañas* in Madrid, concluding that the *relaciones* themselves are celebratory, rather than informative texts. They form part of the celebration, and are therefore not completely reliable for truthful descriptions of events.

[171] There is a suggestion that Fernando de Monforte y Herrera was a peudonym for the Jesuit father Fernando Chirino de Salazar in Simón Díaz 1952, vol. 1, p. 55.

[172] Unfortunately, there is little archival documentation regarding the decorations erected by the religious orders and the parish churches. We have to rely on the contemporary chronicles for this aspect of the celebrations. See SeeVega Carpio 1622; León 1622; Monforte y Herrera 1622;Ponce 1622; and Simón Díaz 1982, pp. 163-164 & 164-168.

[173] Although documentation in the Archivo de Protocolos de Madrid published by Virginia Tovar indicated that the pyramids had been erected by Lorenzo de Salazar, Antonio de Herrera and Julio César Semín, Javier Portús has demonstrated, through information found in the Archivo de la Villa, Archivo de la Secretaría del Ayuntamiento de Madrid, book 2-272-30, as well as through data found in Pérez Pastor 1914,

in the Plaza de San Salvador, the Puerta de Guadalajara, the Calle de Toledo and the Plaza de la Cebada. Although initially triumphal arches were planned for this celebration, the chronicles mention that *pyramids* were erected instead. Lope de Vega attributes the change from the triumphal arches to the *pyramids* to lack of time to build the former, while León Pinelo comments on the novelty of the pyramids.[174] Since triumphal arches had been erected by the *villa* during the festivities for the beatification of Saint Isidro in 1620, they may have felt that a change was needed to mark the greater importance of the 1622 celebrations. The so-called pyramids were in fact more like obelisks, measuring 56 feet in height, supported on 12.5x7x18 feet bases. They very likely referred back to the obelisks brought to Rome by Pope Sixtus V, which were considered by their contemporaries as symbols of the victory of the true religion over paganism.[175] This is perhaps a more likely explanation for the change: the symbolic significance of these obelisk-like structures was more appropriate to a celebration of the "Church triumphant" such as we see in the multiple canonisations of 1622. On all sides of these 'pyramids' were smaller pedestals with gilded sculptures of saints, prophets and virtues, all of which measured 8.5 feet in height. The pyramids had hieroglyphs on their bases and coats of arms at the top, which further strengthened their symbolism of victory of the true church.

Madrid's religious orders built nine street altars for the festivities, which will be studied individually in the coming section, together with the pyramids erected by the *villa*.

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p. 490; Saltillo 1953, p. 139-141 and González Muñoz 1981, p. 177, that the pyramids were in fact erected by Alonso Carbonel's team, which also included Urbán de Barahona, Jerónimo Cascajo, Diego Zapata, Agustín Carbonel, Antonio de Riera and Jusepe Porres. See Tovar Martín 1981, p. 1709-1710 and Portús Pérez 1988, p. 38, 40 (Note 4) and 41 (Notes 63-71.)

174 Portús Pérez 1988, p. 35-36.

175 Checa Cremades 1994, p. 266.

a) The Franciscan altar and the garden in the Plaza de la Cebada.

The Franciscans erected their altar in the *humilladero* near the Plaza de la Cebada. It was a *retablo* or altarpiece, with a central body in the form of a temple front, built of papier mache. At the centre of this was an image of the Virgin, and there were two side altars profusely adorned with flowers and paintings. However, the most admired element on this altar was a painting of Saint Isidro, which was placed on the cornice above the image of the Virgin. It presented the saint ploughing a field with a pair of oxen, and was painted by an unnamed Franciscan friar. The chroniclers comment on the fact that the face of the saint and the animals were visible from every viewpoint, due to the perfect perspective of the painting, making it seem as if the figures moved, and looked back at the spectators.[176] The painting was framed by pilasters on either side, a frieze with a frontispiece and cornice on top, and the royal coat of arms crowning the whole.

The only extant image in which Isidro himself appears ploughing is a drawing in the Prado attributed to José Leonardo (see fig. 5.9).[177] However, the image on the altar of the Franciscans was praised because both Isidro and the oxen faced the viewers, and their eyes seemed to follow them as they walked. The Prado drawing shows Isidro from the back, therefore it is unlikely it could be related to the Franciscan decorations.

The placing of the painting of Isidro above the image of the Virgin Mary is an oblique reference to the saint's Marian devotion, which was an integral part of the mythos of Isidro as a Madrid saint, devoted to both the images of Our Lady of the Almudena, and of the Virgin of Atocha. He was often depicted in devotional paintings of the period praying before the Virgins of Almudena and Atocha (see figs. 5.11 & 5.12) The royal coat

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176 Sumptuosas fiestas 1982, p. 165; Vega Carpio 1622, f [9v.]; Ponce 1622, f. 255(15)r., and Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 18v. - 19v.

177 For information on this drawing, see Museo Municipal 1979, p. 139, cat. No. 338. The drawing is here attributed to José Leonardo, through association with the style of his master, Eugenio Cajés, and a 17th century inscription, unfortunately partly missing, with the letters 'leon…'

of arms above the painting established the first link between the image of Isidro and the Spanish monarchy to be seen in the 1622 street altars.

In the centre of the Plaza de la Cebada itself, there were two pyramids, one with a gilded statue of Saint Teresa of Avila and the Carmelite coat of arms on top, and the other with a gilded statue of Elijah, and the papal coat of arms on top. The pyramids acted as the entrance to an orchard which was created by the town's guild of gardeners, with a multitude of plants, trees, flowers, fountains and a central path through which the procession progressed. In this orchard there was a tableau vivant with actors representing Saint Isidro and two angels, ploughing the field with a set of three live oxen, thus creating a living parallel to the image of the saint that could be seen on the altar of the Franciscans.[178]

b) The altar of the Hospital of La Latina.

The second altar was erected at the start of the calle de Toledo, by the Hospital of La Latina. The rector of the Hospital, chronicler Gerónimo de Quintana, was in charge of the design. There are two contradictory versions of the decorations on this altar: Monforte's version and Ponce's version. According to Monforte, the altar of La Latina stood on a stage covered in rich carpets, with decorations including candelabra and artificial flowers. A second stage standing above this had four large silver candelabra, with a silver urn in the centre of them donated by the Queen, and two ebony and ivory reliquaries on either side. This second stage supported an altarpiece in the shape of a pyramid, with gradated steps leading to it, covered in gauzy silver fabric and flowers. The altarpiece was divided into three arched sections. The central section had a throne on which stood an image of Saint Isidro on a silver pedestal, dressed as a ploughman, holding a gilded plough and a hoe. These same attributes were used in Juan de Courbes's

prints of 1620 and 1622 (figs. 5.7 & 5.8), which are now all that remains of the imagery of the saint used in Madrid for his beatification festivities in 1620 and for the canonisation festivities.[179]

Isidro's costume was embroidered in silver and gold thread with symbols such as ears of wheat, hoes, and anagrams of the name of the saint. Whilst everything in Isidro's legend indicated that he was a humble farm hand, and should therefore be shown wearing very simple clothes, this decorum was hardly ever kept in Spanish representations of the saint. Instead, the images often showed him dressed in costly garments, as in this case, with the embroidery in gold and silver. The chronicler Gerónimo de Quintana, rector of the hospital of La Latina, included a lengthy biography of Isidro in his 1629 history of Madrid. In it he stated that Isidro, far from having humble origins, came in fact from a family who need not have worked with their hands, and that he chose to follow the ploughman's trade out of humility. In other words, the city of Madrid, capital of the Spanish empire, must not have a simple ploughman as its patron saint. Therefore Quintana contrived to give Isidro a more elevated social status, explaining that it was his virtue and not his origins that made him become a farm hand.[180] Accordingly, the image of the saint in the altar of La Latina showed him as a 'gentrified' ploughman, wearing embroidered costumes and carrying gilded farm implements.[181] He was also placed in the centre of the altar, surrounded by the other canonised saints, thus giving more prominence to his image as patron of the city than to those of the other saints.

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178 See Sumptuosas fiestas 1982, p. 165; Vega Carpio 1622 f. [9v.]; Ponce 1622, f. 255(15)r; and Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 18v. - 19v.

179 Engravings on the title pages of Vega Carpio 1620 and Vega Carpio 1622.

180 Quintana 1980, f. 113r.: "…los padres de nuestro glorioso Santo no fueron labradores, como se apunto a dezir arriba, sino gente de mas suerte, y que tenian para passar la vida, cumplidamente lo necessario…..Supuesto lo dicho, bien se infiere que nuestro Isidro pudo passar la vida sin el trabajo de sus manos, por tener con que pasarla sin el, sino que por responder a la diuina mocion, y por mayor humildad escogio passarla con trabajo y sudor, repartiendo su patrimonio a pobres el nueuo amador de la pobreza, siguiendo las pisadas de muchos Santos, que por seguirla hizieron otro tanto, y despreciando el mundo escogieron oficios humildes con que poder acudir al socorro de la necesidad de sus personas."

The arch on the right had the image of Saint Ignatius standing on a throne, holding the IHS device surrounded by a circle of golden sunrays, and dressed in a tunic embroidered with the letters IHS. Kneeling at his feet was an image of Saint Francis Xavier, holding a bunch of white lilies in his right hand, and dressed in a tunic embroidered with silver lilies, to symbolise his virginity. The attributes of both saints were the same as in the Jesuit processional images: Ignatius held an IHS device surrounded by a circle of golden rays, while Francis Xavier had a bouquet of lilies, to symbolise his virginity.[182]

The arch on the left had a throne on which stood an image of Saint Teresa, kneeling in ecstasy, the right hand on her breast and the left arm spread out, palm outstretched. An angel stood at her side, dressed in a white tunic with a red cassock, a diadem on his forehead, all richly decorated in silver embroidery. The angel held an arrow in his right hand, to symbolise Teresa's Transverberation.[183] The Transverberation was the scene depicted in Teresa's section of Matthaus Greuter's 1622 canonisation print. Certain elements from the print, such as the angel aiming an arrow towards Teresa's heart, are reminiscent of the descriptions of the sculptural group in the altar of La Latina. However, the image described by Monforte was a sculptural group, rather than a painting, which made it more unusual as there are no known extant sculptural groups of this type.

According to Ponce, the altar of La Latina did indeed have a proliferation of artificial flowers, candelabra and silver fabric, and was in the shape of a pyramid, but was also topped by an image of the Immaculate Conception.[184] However, Ponce made no mention of images of the four saints. Monforte's description must be closer to reality, as it

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[181] For a discussion on the suitability of having a simple farm hand as the patron saint of the Spanish court, see Río Barredo 2000, Chapter 3.
[182] Monforte y Herrera 1622, ff. 20v. - 21v.
[183] Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 20v. - 21v.
[184] Ponce 1622, f. 255(15)r.

included all the traditional images of the canonised Spanish saints.[185] Yet the iconography described by Ponce can also be linked to the founder of the Hospital, Doña Beatriz Galindo, who founded two convents in Madrid devoted to the Immaculate Conception: the Concepción Francisca and the Concepción Jerónima.[186] Very likely the two descriptions complemented each other, and the altar had both the images of the canonised saints and the Immaculate Conception on top.

c) The Castle of Pamplona and the Jesuit altar.

Further down the calle the Toledo was the Jesuit Imperial College, known at the time as the *Estudios*. Since the festivities were in honour of two Jesuit saints, the Jesuit decorations were particularly lavish. They erected two different structures outside their building: a castle, and a street altar. The castle symbolised the Castle of Pamplona, where Ignatius was wounded before his conversion to the religious life. It was built imitating stone masonry, with bands of silver and black along the walls, and consisted of five large cubes or towers, the middle one higher than the rest, and joint together by temporary wall screens. The towers were crenellated and had imitation windows and embrasures, which displayed numerous relics and paintings. From the wall screens protruded bronze arms holding bunches of flowers, and Latin inscriptions explaining the symbolism of the structure. On the higher, central tower was the Imperial coat of arms, and on its battlements stood images of Saints Peter and Ignatius, the latter armed with a sword and a shield. The images referred to the episode of the healing of Ignatius' wounds by Saint Peter, and of Ignatius' earlier career as a soldier.[187] On the battlements of the four lower cubes stood images of the other four canonised saints: Francis Xavier, Isidro, Teresa and Philip Neri. Clearly the Jesuits were presenting a hierarchy of holiness in the manner in

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185 The iconographic sources of the images of each saint will be studied in depth at a later stage in this chapter.

186 See Vega Carpio 1622, f. [10r.]

187 For details of Ignatius' biography, see Ribadeneyra 1967.

which all the saints were displayed in the Castle, with the most 'prominent' saints, Ignatius and Peter, on the higher tower. All the sculptures were seven feet high, with silver faces and hands, and the rest gilded.

In addition to this, there were reliquaries in the shape of busts of Jesuit martyrs on the battlements. On the window above the main entrance to the castle there was a carved and polychromed image of the Blessed Luis Gonzaga, who had been beatified that year. Opposite there was an image of the Blessed Stanislaw Kostka holding the Christ child, also carved and polychromed. At the main entrance to the castle, there was an image of the Immaculate Conception which had been donated by the Inquisitor General Don Andrés Pacheco, covered by a canopy of rich brocade. Kneeling at the feet of the Virgin there was an image of Saint Ignatius, dressed as a pilgrim, with a sword and dagger resting on the floor as offerings to the Virgin. This was a reference to an episode in the life of Ignatius when, after recovering from his wounds, he spent many nights praying before the Virgin of Montserrat, and finally decided to give up the military life.

The iconographic messages of the Jesuit castle and altar were related to the role that the Jesuit order sought for itself within the Catholic Church, and to its links with the Spanish monarchy. Multiple imperial devices and coats of arms appeared both in the central tower of their castle and in their altarpiece. The two pyramids at the Puerta de Guadalajara, which had niches with gilded images of Ignatius, Francis Xavier and the blessed Aloysius Gonzaga (beatified that same year), were crowned by the Jesuit and the Imperial coats of arms.[188] Since the Imperial College in Madrid was the only Jesuit institution in the world which carried that title,[189] granted by its patroness Empress María

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188 Sumptuosas fiestas 1982, p. 167.

189 I wish to thank Father Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos for imparting this information.

of Austria, the proliferation of imperial symbols in the Jesuit decorations in Madrid was only to be expected.[190]

This idea of using a castle in these type of festive decorations was not new, as Jesuit castles with identical symbolic meanings had already been erected in 1610 for the beatification festivities in Salamanca and Seville.[191] In the Madrid castle, by showing Ignatius at the top, armed with a sword and shield, the Jesuits made reference not only to their founder's earlier career as a soldier, but also to the order's function as the Catholic Church's elite force. This message was reinforced by placing reliquaries in the shape of busts of Jesuit martyrs on the battlements of the castle. Since the Jesuits had been established as a religious order relatively recently, they demonstrated their credentials by emphasising the sacrifices their members had made for the defence of the Catholic faith. This trend was already visible in the decoration of Jesuit institutions in Rome, such as the Noviciate of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale or the church of the English College, Saint Thomas of Canterbury, both of which had fresco cycles depicting Jesuit martyrdoms.[192] In Spain, Father Pedro de Ribadeneyra commissioned Juan de Mesa to paint a series of over one hundred portraits of Jesuit martyrs, holding the attributes of their martyrdom, for the Imperial College in Madrid, and copies of them were sent to Jesuit houses all over Spain.[193] Similar paintings hung in the Jesuit seminary of Saint Alban's, in Valladolid, where there were images of former seminarians who had undergone martyrdom in

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190 The College was founded by the Jesuits in 1601, and after Empress María of Austria died in 1603, she bequeathed over 4,000 ducats in perpetual rent to it. The bequest was contested by Empress María's heirs, but a settlement was reached in 1609, by which the Jesuits received a total of 10,000 ducats in rent. In exchange they had to re-name their school "Imperial College", and erect a new building and church, in which they had to devote a chapel to Empress María, which would have a sculpture of the Empress in alabaster or gilt bronze; they also had to say memorial masses in honour of the Empress daily, and include her in their prayers. See Simón Díaz 1952, pp. 33-36.

191 See Martín González 1991, p. 464 & Luque Fajardo 1610, ff. 8r.-9r.

192 The frescoes in Sant'Andrea al Quirinale were reproduced in print in Louis Richeome's *La peinture spirituelle ou l'art d'admirar aimer et louer Dieu in toutes ses oeuvres et tirer de toutes profit salutare*, published in Lyon in 1611. A portion of the frescos in Saint Thomas of Canterbury, painted in 1582 by Nicholas Circignani il Pomarancio, depicted the martyrdom of Edmond Campion and his Jesuit companions, and were engraved in 1584 by Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri in the book *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophea*. See Hibbard 1972, pp. 30-31 and Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 2002, p. 88.

England, holding palms of martyrdom, with the scenes of their torment in the background, and an explanatory inscription at the bottom (fig. 5.117).[194]

It is likely, therefore, that the reliquaries in the shape of Jesuit martyrs consisted of portrait busts. By placing them side by side with the images of Ignatius and Saint Peter at the top of the castle, they created the impression of a militant order, whose members were prepared to sacrifice their lives in defence of the Catholic church, and whose founder had the support of the Apostle Saint Peter.[195] Similar busts of martyrs were used in the festivities for Ignatius' beatification in Salamanca.[196]

At the entrance to the Jesuit castle in Madrid, there was an image of the Immaculate Conception donated by the Inquisitor General Don Andrés Pacheco,[197] with Ignatius in pilgrim's garb kneeling at her feet. The cult of the Immaculate Conception was particularly prominent in Madrid in 1622. According to Jerónimo de Quintana, the city had made a vow to celebrate the feast of the Immaculate Conception as early as 1438, after a serious plague epidemic.[198] The Cortes of Castile swore an oath to defend the doctrine in 1621, and in 1622 the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, with the approval of Gregory XV, issued a decree forbidding statements that the Virgin was conceived in

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193 Simón Díaz 1952, p. 119.

194 Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos 2002, p. 95.

195 In addition to this, the use of an image of Saint Peter had special significance for the Madrid Jesuits, given that the Imperial College had a copy of the 'true portrait' of the apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul kept in the sacristy of Saint Peter's in Rome. This copy, painted in 1584 'por vn famoso pintor', enjoyed great veneration in this period. See Quintana 1980, f. 416r.

196 In that city, the Jesuits erected a temporary castle inside the presbytery of their church, also placing busts of martyrs on the battlements: "...algunos mártires de la Compañía, de bulto, vestidos de sus hábitos, llenos de joyas y oro, y en la cabeza o pecho de cada uno atravesada alguna lanza, espada o insignia de su martirio y enla mano derecha una palma." Martín González 1991, p. 464.

197 There is no reference in Monforte's or any other *relación* to whether this image was a painting or a sculpture. If it was a painting, it may have belonged to the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception, which was based in the Imperial College. An inventory of the possessions of the confraternity from 1614 listed "dos ymagenes de nra señora de la conpçeçion con sus marcos dorados." See AHN, Clero. Jesuítas, Libro 235j, "Inbentario delas cosas que ay enla congregacion del titulo de nra señora de la comcebion sita en el Colegio Imperial de la Compañia de Jesus dela uilla de Madrid fecho en ocho de Abril del año de mil y seisçientos y catorçe...", f. 1r. Referenced in Simón Díaz 1952, p. 42.

198 Quintana 1980, f. 383v.

sin.[199] The Jesuits, together with the Franciscans, had shown especial devotion to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, and the *Congregación de la Inmaculada* had been established in the Imperial College in 1604. It is therefore not surprising to find an image of the Immaculate Conception at the entrance to the Jesuit castle.

A curious aspect of the above structure was that it was surrounded by large polished spheres on gilded stands, which acted as distorting mirrors, and caused great merriment amongst the visitors.[200]

The second Jesuit structure was a large altarpiece, taller than the castle, with steps covered in reliquaries in the shape of half bodies of Jesuit martyrs leading to its main body. This consisted of a central altarpiece, and two side altars. The central altar had a carved and polychromed image of Saint Isidro in the middle, with Saint Teresa on the right and Saint Philip Neri on the left. This altar supported two gilded relic urns, on which stood two black eagles. They were covered by a large cloud, which supported another altarpiece. In it there was another gilded relic urn, on which stood a large pelican, made of white feathers touched with gold, its breast open to reveal a trickle of blood.[201] The urn was held in the middle by two carved and polychromed images of Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis Xavier, who were standing by two gilded columns. A lion lay at the feet of Saint Ignatius, and a dragon at the feet of Saint Francis Xavier. Above the pelican there was a cloud with the letters IHS surrounded by golden rays of light, against a backdrop of black satin, decorated with all manner of jewellery and precious stones. On either side of the device were two angels, carrying sprigs of flowers.[202]

The iconography of this second structure was even more complex than that of the castle, with several layers of meaning implied. The reliquaries in the shape of Jesuit martyrs on

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199 Stratton 1994, pp. 88-89.
200 Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 21v. - 23v.
201 The image of the pelican with blood trickling from its chest was often used in Counter Reformation imagery to refer to Christ's sacrifice on the Cross.

the steps leading to the altar continued the motif of the 'Catholic militia,' this time leading the faithful to the images of Saints Isidro, Teresa and Philip Neri. By placing Isidro in the centre of this section of the altar, the Jesuits were acknowledging the pre-eminence of the city's patron saint. However, the images of Ignatius and Francis Xavier appeared on an altar erected above this section, supported by two golden eagles which stood on two gilded relic urns, thus implying their superior status visually. The eagles acted as imperial references, which reminded the viewers of Empress María's support for the Imperial College in Madrid.[203]

This second, higher altar in the structure, rested on a cloud above the eagles, and consisted of another gilded relic urn, on which stood a white pelican, showing a trickle of blood on its breast. The pelican was a symbol of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. The urn on which the bird stood was held by the polychromed images of Ignatius and Francis Xavier, who stood by two gilded columns crowned by two spheres. Directly above the pelican there was a cloud with the letters IHS surrounded by rays of light against a black satin backdrop. The symbology of the entire structure must have been quite clear to contemporary onlookers: Saints Ignatius and Francis Xavier, pillars of the church, held the pelican, symbol of Christ, between them, just as the Society of Jesus had adopted that name to fulfill Ignatius' wish to follow Christ.[204] The columns were also symbols of the saints' fortitude. To complete the metaphor, a lion lay at Ignatius' feet, symbolising heresy surrendered, while a dragon could be seen at the feet of Francis Xavier, referring to idolatry conquered.[205]

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[202] Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 24r. - 24v.

[203] Monforte interprets the eagles as symbols of the speed with which Ignatius and Francis Xavier had propagated the name of Jesus throughout the world. Nevertheless, the use of eagles rather than any other bird must have also been linked with imperial symbology in the minds of the viewers. Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 24v.

[204] The name of Jesus was also associated, in contemporary minds, with the blood of Christ at the Crucifixion, just as the image of the pelican was. See Hibbard 1972, p. 30, quoting from Mâle 1951, p. 431.

[205] Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 24v. The motif of the two Jesuit saints stepping on heresy and idolatry came directly from the canonisation festivities in Rome. In those, the façade of the church of the Gesú had

A further level of meaning was introduced by two paintings on either side of the altarpiece, which rose the entire length of the structure, from the steps at the base to the IHS letters at the top. The painting on the right showed an old man who contemplated with sadness the sun setting before him, and pointed towards it with his right hand. With his left hand, the old man pointed towards an image of Saint Ignatius, who stood on a sphere on which the chariot of the sun was painted. Ignatius had the reins of the horses in his hands to prevent the sun from disappearing from the West. According to Monforte's *relación*, the iconography referred to how much Ignatius had enlightened the West with his doctrine and his religious zeal.[206] Yet this symbology also emphasised the universal vocation of the order, whose spiritual influence could be equalled to the Spanish earthly empire, on which the sun never set.

The painting on the left depicted Saint Francis Xavier also holding the reins of the chariot of the sun. At the top of the painting, a young man with the inscription *Oriens* looked happily towards the rising sun, as a symbol of the Christian faith banishing the darkness of idolatry from the Orient thanks to the missionary campaigns of the Jesuits. The iconographic content of both paintings was completely consistent with the overall message that the decorations were built to convey, i.e. to present Ignatius and Francis Xavier (and therefore the Society of Jesus itself), as victorious soldiers of Christ, who succeeded in defending and propagating the Catholic faith world-wide. The decorations also emphasised the links of the Society of Jesus with the Empire and the Spanish crown.

This overall message was stated in all the other ceremonies and pageants organised by the Jesuits for the 1622 canonisation festivities. It was summarised visually in the poster commissioned to advertise a poetry contest organised by the Jesuits in honour of the five

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been adorned with images of Ignatius and Francis Xavier in niches; both were represented treading on symbols of heresy and 'the Gentility.' See Copia cartas jesuítas 1622, in BN, Mss 2353, p. 257.

canonised saints, which was due to take place during the *octava* of the canonisations in June 1622.[207] The poster consisted of an engraving, showing Ignatius and Francis Xavier standing on top of a globe of the world, supporting the heavens with one hand each, while in the other hand Ignatius held the IHS device, and Francis Xavier a bouquet of white lilies. On either side of the saints, two angels held the Imperial coat of arms of Empress María of Austria, and the royal coat of arms.[208]

Unfortunately, the whereabouts of this print is currently unknown. Nevertheless, the use of an engraving of the two saints to advertise the poetry contest is significant in itself, as it shows the varied roles that images of the saints had in these festivities. This use of an engraving for the poster advertising a poetry contest had already occurred in the festivities for the beatification of Ignatius. In Seville, where the beatification was celebrated in January 1610, the Jesuit College of San Hermenegildo organised a literary contest in honour of Ignatius. To advertise it, they arranged a parade of over three hundred students of the college, accompanied by music, and carrying eight long silver poles from which hung posters explaining the rules of the contest. The posters consisted of an engraving of the Blessed Ignatius at the top, surrounded by two unidentified coats of arms, and with texts in Latin and Spanish advertising the different sections of the contest at the bottom. The large sheets of paper used for the purpose were lined at the back with fabrics of different colours, and surrounded with artificial flowers. Each of the eight posters was placed on prominent buildings, such as the Cabildo, or the College of Santa María of the University of Seville.[209] Although there are no descriptions of the engraving itself, except to say that it was very fine, it very likely was Francisco de Herrera

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[206] Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 25r.

[207] The engraving was quite large in size. Monforte mentions a 'pliego de marca mayor', which is larger than an A3 sheet. See Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 4.

[208] Monforte explains the symbology of the engraving as Ignatius' and Francis Xavier's victory over the temptations of the world. See Monforte y Herrera 1622, ff. 3v. - 4v. Nevertheless, the triumphalist message

the Elder's print of Saint Ignatius, which also appeared on the frontispiece of Francisco Luque's *relación* of the festivities (fig. 5.83).

Francisco Luque himself used an engraving of Ignatius during the beatification festivities in Seville as part of a banner in which he advertised prizes for the best fireworks displays in his street on the night of February 6th, before the feast of the blessed Ignatius.[210]

d) The altar of the Mercedarians.

There are two versions of the decorations in the fourth street altar, set up by the Mercedarians. In Monforte's version, an image of Isidro imitating bronze stood in the centre of the first storey of the altar, in the act of ploughing with two oxen. Flanking it were the imitation bronze statues of Ignatius Loyola and Teresa of Avila on one side, and those of Francis Xavier and Philip Neri on the other. Above this, on the second storey, there was an image of the Immaculate Conception in the centre, the IHS device on the left, and a sculpture of Saint Joseph on the right. Since none of the five saints belonged to the Order of Mercy, Isidro took the central position in the altar of the Mercedarians, as patron saint of Madrid. Directly above him was the image of the Immaculate Conception, once again establishing a visual link between Isidro and the Virgin Mary.[211]

The anonymous author of *Sumptuosas fiestas* describes the altarpiece differently, only mentioning the image of the Immaculate Conception and a frieze above it with paintings of the five canonised saints. No description is given of these painting or how they were arranged, therefore it is difficult to comment on the images of the individual saints.[212] These paintings could have shown any of the iconographies of the saints that have been

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conveyed by this image about the Jesuit order's militant role within the Catholic church must have been obvious to contemporary viewers.

[209] Luque Fajardo 1610, f. 2v.

[210] Luque Fajardo 1610, f. 11v. It is almost certain that the image used by Luque was also Herrera the Elder's engraving. The prizes advertised in the banner consisted of different Masses (of Our Lady, of the Holy Spirit, of Saint John the Baptist and of the Souls in Purgatory) for the winners.

[211] Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 26r. & v.

[212] Sumptuosas fiestas 1982, p. 166.

discussed above, but were not described in the *relaciones*. Nevertheless, there is a multitude of small anonymous paintings of the four canonised saints that very likely date from this period, and give an idea of what was being shown in these temporary altars. Typical examples of these are two paintings of Saint Ignatius and Francis Xavier currently in the visitor's room in the convent of Discalced Hyeronymite nuns of the Corpus Christi, also known as Las Carboneras (figs. 5.102 & 5.103). They are half-length images of the two saints, dressed in the traditional Jesuit black cassock and mantle. Ignatius holds an IHS device, and Francis Xavier a bouquet of lilies.

e) The Dominican altar.

At the end of the Calle de Toledo, in front of the Puerta Cerrada, stood two pyramids, one with the image of Saint Philip Neri, and the other with Saint Peter of Alcántara, the Discalced Franciscan friar who had been beatified that same year.[213] Entering the Plaza Mayor, at the corner leading to San Salvador, stood the street altar erected by the Dominicans. The altar stood on a seven-foot tall stage, composed of two platforms. It imitated the shape of a mountain, with half mountains on either side, made of small steps. At the summit of the central mountain stood an urn supporting an image of the Virgin. The steps leading towards the image were covered in silver fabric and flowers. At the top of the two side-mountains were two niches with four columns each, and arches in silver fabric and artificial flowers, surrounding coats of arms of the Dominican order embroidered in gold. Inside the two niches were images of Saint Teresa and Saint Isidro. One of the important aspects of the legend of Saint Isidro promoted by the Dominican friar Father Domingo de Mendoza for his canonisation was the saint's devotion to the miraculous image of Our Lady of Atocha.[214] It is therefore very likely that the image in

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213 According to Ponce, the two saints depicted in the pyramids in front of the Puerta Cerrada were Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis. See Ponce 1622, f. 255(16)r. However, since the pyramids at the entrance to the Puerta de Guadalajara also depicted Jesuit saints, it is more likely that Monforte's account is correct.
214 Río Barredo 2000, p. 104.

the centre of this altar was that of the Virgin of Atocha, which also appeared next to Isidro in the altar erected by the Dominicans for the festivities in honour of his beatification in 1620.[215] Several contemporary paintings show Isidro praying before the Virgin of Atocha, such as *Saint Isidro praying before Our Lady of Atocha* in the Municipal Museum in Madrid (fig. 5.11), in which the saint kneels before a very cursorily rendered altar table with the image of Our Lady of Atocha on it. He is holding his hoe in the characteristically diagonal position, which instantly identifies him as Saint Isidro, despite the unusual iconograhy, as he is shown without a beard.[216]

From the foot of the two side-mountains sprung two pyramids, with niches holding images of Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis Xavier. No descriptions of the images are given in any of the *relaciones*, yet since they were sculptures in the round, they may have looked quite similar to Gregorio Fernández's images of the two saints for the church of San Miguel in Valladolid and the Jesuit seminar in Vergara (figs. 5.84 - 5.86). An image of Saint Ignatius Loyola commissioned from Juan de Mesa in 1622 for the Jesuit College in Puerto de Santa María, in Cádiz, (fig. 5.89) also provides an insight into how the images may have looked. Inside the central, pineapple-shaped structure of the altar, was the monstrance of the Holy Sacrament, which was taken out on procession from the church of Santa María every year on the feast of the Corpus Christi.[217]

The iconography of the altar of the Dominicans reinforces the idea that different institutions were using the image of Saint Isidro for their own purposes. By emphasising Isidro's Marian devotion in the altars they erected for the beatification and canonisation festivities in Madrid in 1620 and 1622, the Dominicans were indirectly promoting the miraculous image of Our Lady of Atocha, of which they were the guardians.

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215 Ponce 1620, f. 534v.-535r.
216 See Pérez Sánchez 1990, p. 88, Inventory Number 3342.

f) The Trinitarian altar.

The sixth street altar was erected by the Trinitarians. In it the images of the five canonised saints stood on the steps leading to the altar, which imitated a temple front. On the frieze above the arches of this temple front, there were painted portraits of the Pope, the king and queen and the princes. Inside the central arch stood sculpted images of the Holy Trinity. Although there are no descriptions of the individual images of the saints, the chronicles remark upon the fact that they were all dressed in embroidered costumes.[218]

The first Trinitarian foundation in Madrid, the convent of the Santísima Trinidad, was founded by Philip II in 1562. Their street altar emphasised the fact that they were under royal patronage, by introducing paintings of the king and queen and the princes, and creating a visual link between the papacy, the royal family and the canonised saints. However, in order to create this relationship between the Catholic monarchs and the saints, the latter could not be shown wearing humble clothing, which would have been inappropriate in the presence of the King. Therefore the saints appear dressed in embroidered costumes.

g) The Augustinian altar.

A similar link between the Spanish monarchy and the five canonised saints was established in the altar of the Augustinians. The structure consisted of a central altarpiece and two side altars. Standing on a silver throne at the top of the central altar was an image of the resurrected Christ. From Christ's hands, feet, and side wounds emanated five red ribbons which fell onto chalices held by angels at the bottom of the altar. Below Christ was a personification of the Church as a woman wearing a dress of silver fabric with a red background, her hair loose over her shoulders and strewn with roses, and

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217 See Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 27r. - 27v; and Sumptuosas fiestas 1982, p. 167

sitting on a throne made up of many bodies of saints, with a coat of arms at her feet with the inscription "Ecclesia irrigata multiplicat" -the irrigated Church multiplies.- Below the image of the church was the bust of Saint Augustin, with several volumes of his writings in front of him, and two coats of arms depicting weapons with an inscription that read "Philippus Hispaniarum & Indiarum Rex defensor Ecclesiae" -Philip, King of the Spains and the Indies, defender of the Church.- On either side of the central altar were two kneeling figures of the King and Queen, made in wax, with canopies in red brocade over them. On the side altars there were four pyramids made of flowers, at the top of which stood the figures of the four canonised saints wearing tunics embroidered in silver and jewels. At their feet, large vases supported four coats of arms made of silver with blue enamel, bearing inscriptions relating to each of the saints. Between the coats of arms were four golden statues, symbolising virtues. Next to Isidro's coat of arms was the virtue of Faith, next to Ignatius' Prudence, next to Francis Xavier's Fortitude, and next to Teresa's the virtue of Wisdom.[219] The entire structure represented the garden of the Church, fertilised by the blood of Christ, and defended by the Spanish monarchy.[220]

Since the Augustinian convent of San Felipe el Real was a royal foundation, there was a concrete link between the convent and the monarchy, which was very explicit in their street altar. Again, the costumes of the saints were covered in silver embroidery and jewels, as befitted sculptures that belonged to a royal foundation. The Augustinian altar exemplified most clearly that the 1622 canonisation festivities were a propaganda exercise by the Spanish monarchy, aimed at emphasising the Catholic agenda of the new king Philip IV.

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[218] Vega Carpio 1622, f. [12r.]; Ponce 1622, f. 255(16)r. and Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 28r.

[219] Saint Teresa's canonisation bull emphasised that the saint had been given the 'spirit of wisdom' by God. This is an aspect which will be particularly emphasised in the street decorations in 1622. See Bula Santa Teresa 1970, unpaged.

[220] See Vega Carpio 1622, f. [12v.]; Ponce 1622, f. 255(16)r. - 255(16)v; and Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 28r. - 29v.

h) The pyramids in the Plaza de la Villa.

The next set of pyramids was erected in front of the *ayuntamiento*, and deserve a separate section because of their complex iconography. The first pyramid had pedestals with images of Saint Damasus -one of the early Popes who was reputedly born in Madrid-, Saint Isidro and a personification of Spain. The second had the images of Philip IV, María de la Cabeza, and a personification of Madrid.[221] On the front of each pedestal there were inscriptions and hieroglyphs painted in gold, relating to the images standing on them.

The hyeroglyph accompanying the image of Saint Damasus showed Ursa minor with seven stars, and the papal tiara in a halo above it, also surrounded by stars, with the inscription: "Through the light from my son I ascend from the soil of my homeland to become the image of heaven." The 'son' of the inscription presumably makes reference to Saint Isidro, 'enlightening' the path of Saint Damasus to heaven through the splendour of his saintliness. The hieroglyph relating to the saint showed an ox in a field, with a garland of ears of wheat around its neck, and the inscription "Such was your obedience, and such was the fruit that came from it, divine ploughman." Both image and text made indirect reference to the miracle of the angels ploughing the field. The hieroglyph relating to María de la Cabeza made reference to her chastity; it showed a city surrounded by a fence, and the face of a woman in the sky with the inscription "As a crown to the male, the wise man entrusts the strong city to you, illustrious María." Philip IV's hieroglyph showed a lion with his paw over a cornucopia, holding Mercury's caduceus on his shoulder, with the inscription: "With advice from the powerful, the good of the Republic augments, sustaining peace and abundance." The image of Spain was accompanied by a hieroglyph showing a woman dressed in rich garments, wearing a crown and sceptre, and

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221 See Vega Carpio 1622, f. [5v.] - [6v.]; Sumptuosas fiestas 1982, p. 167.

sitting on two globes of the world, with the inscription: "Because of you divine Philip, dusk and Aurora recognise me as their mistress." The hieroglyph relating to Madrid showed a peacock with its eyes superimposed on the face of the Sun, and its tail feathers spread out as if they were sunrays, with the inscription "The presence of Philip, divine Spanish Caesar, makes my [tail] wheel become the Sun."

As can be deciphered from this complex iconographic program, the pyramids in the Plaza de la Villa had several religious and political agendas. Firstly, they promoted Pope Damasus and Saint Isidro as worthy sons and representatives of Madrid. Secondly, and quite significantly, the figures of Philip IV and Madrid stood side by side in the same pyramid. This made a strong connection between the city and the monarchy, by stating that the splendour of the city depended on the presence of the king in it. Such a statement must be read in the context of the recent history of the city: when the Spanish court moved from Madrid to Valladolid between 1600 and 1606, two years after Philip III's accession to the throne, it had disastrous repercussions for the economy of Madrid. The *villa*, fearing that the newly crowned king might want to move the Court once again, must have been anxious to emphasise to Philip IV the importance of the presence of the Court in Madrid for the welfare of the city. The *villa* also took the opportunity to flatter Philip, by presenting the figure of Spain as mistress of the world, through the efforts of the king.

Although no drawings or engravings of this pyramid survive, the iconographic message of the structure remained relevant throughout the seventeenth century. A loosely similar combination of images can be found, for instance, in a 1678 print by Marcos de Orozco in Melchor Cabrera de Guzmán's *Madrid, patria verdadera del diamante de la fé, del martillo de los hereges, de San Dámaso el primero* (fig. 5.25). The engraving has a triumphal arch structure, with the image of Pope Saint Damasus in the central arch, sitting on a throne. Saint Jerome, with his lion, is kneeling before Damasus and offering him a volume of his Biblia

Sacra. On the key to this central arch hangs a coat of arms of Madrid, crowned by a papal tiara and Saint Peter's keys. On the attic there is an image of Our Lady of Atocha over the central arch, flanked by roundels with the images of Saint Melchiades -another Madrilenian pope- and saint Isidro. Below them, on either side of the central arch are the figures of Philip III and Charles II, with the royal coats of arms above them. They are standing on pedestals which have the inscriptions: "Philip III, born in Madrid" and "Charles II, born in Madrid". The fronts of these pedestals bear coats of arms of the city. Between them, below the figure of Saint Damasus, is a personification of Madrid as a woman in a chariot drawn by two lions. She wears a crown and carries the royal crown and sceptre in one hand and the papal tiara and the keys in the other, to symbolise that Madrid was the homeland of kings and popes, with an imperial destiny and a divine mandate. Although the precise details of the iconography in this engraving are not completely similar to the pyramid erected in 1622 in the Plaza de la Villa, there are many points of contact. The engraving also associates kings, popes and saints with the city of Madrid, as well as incorporating an allegorical figure of the city which resembles that of the personification of Spain in the 1622 structure. In addition to this, even though the engraving shows a triumphal arch rather than a pyramid, the arrangement of the figures and the combination of heraldic symbols in it is a useful indicator of what these decorative structures may have looked like, given that we have no visual record of the originals.

i) The Carmelite altar.

The Carmelite altar was set up inside a large galley ship, standing on a sea of fish, seashells and grass, symbolising the ship of the Church. The altar had a large image of Saint Teresa standing against the main mast. On the topsail was an image of the Virgin. The ship hung from a pulley, and two children dressed as angels rocked it in such a manner that it seemed as if it was floating on the water. At the bow and the stern were

images of the Prophet Elijah and of Eliseus. In the body of the ship there was an image of Saint Dionysius, pope and Carmelite monk, as well as Saint Cyril of Alexandria, Saint Spyridion, and Thomas Waldensis, all of them Carmelite saints who had fought against heresy. There was also a statue of Saint Isidro.

Thematically, it was quite appropriate to place Isidro amongst saints who had fought heresy, since according to his biographers he was a Mozarabic Christian, i.e. a Christian who lived in territory occupied by the Moors, and had remained true to his faith.[222] Images of Nestorius, Arrius, Calvin and other figures symbolising heresy were painted drowning in the sea. The side altars imitated two large rocks on which stood images of Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis Xavier. The rocks were covered in natural and artificial flowers, candles and many valuable objects.[223] The entire altarpiece symbolised the Carmelite Order as the ship of the Church, defending it against heretics.[224]

This imagery of the ship was not new for the Carmelites. During the 1615 festivities for Teresa's beatification in Barcelona, an altar in the shape of a ship had been erected outside the church of Sant Joseph. According to the chronicler, the ship represented those guilty of apostasy, who 'floated through the seas of this world with the uncertainties of their depraved conscience. Hanging from a balcony of a house above the ship was a crocodile which had been brought from Egypt, which symbolised 'the Devil, seeing and defending apostates and heretics.' [225]

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[222] See, Quintana 1980, f. 110r.

[223] See Vega Carpio 1622, f. [13]; Ponce 1622, f. 255(16)v. - 255(17)r.; *Sumptuosas fiestas*....in Simón Díaz 1982, p. 167; and Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 30r. - 30v. Although Monforte mentions that the side altars had images of Saint Ignatius, Saint Francis Xavier, Saint Isidro and Saint Philip Neri, all the other chroniclers agree in stating that the image of Saint Isidro stood inside the ship, and that the two side altars only had images of Ignatius and Francis Xavier.

[224] Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 30r.; Ponce 1622, f. 255(16)v.-255(17)r.

[225] Dalmav 1615, f. 8.

j) The altar of the Friars Minor of Saint Francis of Paula.

The last street altar was erected by the friars of the convent of La Victoria, of the order of Saint Francis of Paula, against the Gospel wall of the church of Saint Peter, near the Segovia Bridge. Their altar was in the shape of a folding altarpiece, with the side panels open, built in the Doric Order. Above the central section was a painting of Charity, a humbly dressed woman, holding several children in her arms. The central image of the altarpiece was a painting with Christ the Saviour, dressed in a red and blue tunic, his arms outstretched. Under Christ's arms was Saint Francis Paula, with other saints of the Order.[226] On the right panel of the altarpiece there was a picture depicting Saint Francis of Paula kneeling before the Virgin Mary and the Holy Trinity. He was surrounded by angels carrying the insignia of the four vows of the Order. Over this painting there was a hieroglyph, showing the King in full armour, and a personification of Spain wearing a crenellated crown. Between the two figures a ladder rose up to the sky; descending down the ladder were four angels, carrying the coats of arms of the four Spanish saints canonised. The inscription read: "Philippo Augusto, España religiosa, cielos pueblan, gozando eternidades, sacra veneracion a sus deidades." The left panel depicted the finding of the True Cross in Jerusalem by Saint Helena. The hieroglyph above this painting showed three coats of arms forming a triangle; the two on top bearing the royal and the papal arms, the one at the bottom with the arms of Madrid.

Next to the papal coat of arms there was an image of Saint Damasus; next to the royal coat of arms an image of Saint Isidro, and next to the Madrid coat of arms an image of Isidro's wife, María de la Cabeza. The altarpiece ended in four pilasters; between them were a statue of saint Isidro and another of Saint Francis of Paula. Outside the pilasters were gilded figures of virtues: faith and penitence on the right hand side, symbolising

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226 Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 31r.

Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis Xavier, and humility and chastity, symbolising Saint Isidro and Saint Teresa. On the steps leading up to the altarpiece there were many reliquaries, prints, silver vases, and many other adornments, including a figure of Saint John the Baptist made of gold.[227]

The iconography of this altarpiece also linked the papacy, the Spanish crown and the four canonised Spanish saints: above the image of Saint Helena on the left there was an inscription with a hieroglyph showing a triangle formed by the papal and royal coats of arms on top and the arms of Madrid on the bottom. Next to the papal arms was an image of Saint Damasus; next to the royal coat of arms was an image of Saint Isidro - presumably as patron saint of the Spanish crown,- and next to the arms of Madrid was the image of María de la Cabeza.

In addition to this, flanking the side panels of the altarpiece there were sets of pilasters, and between them images of Saint Isidro on the right and of Saint Francis Paula on the left. Monforte describes the image of Isidro as follows: "vestido de labrador, sayo y polainas de raxa buriel, cuello pequeño con muchas trenzas: afectose en todo la propiedad, y por eso no se le quaxó el vestido de piedras."[228] Outside the pilasters there were four figures of virtues: Faith referred to Ignatius Loyola; Penitence for Francis Xavier; Humility symbolising Isidro; and Chastity in reference to Saint Teresa.[229] Having assigned the virtue of humility to Isidro, it was fitting to have his image dressed like a simple ploughman, without superfluous adornments. Significantly, this was one of the only street altars in which decorum with reference to Isidro's clothing was pointedly kept.

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[227] Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 31r.-33r.

[228] Monforte y Herrera 1622, f. 32r.

[229] Chastity was considered as Teresa's most outstanding virtue in her canonisation bull, thus it is not surprising that it was associated to her in the altar of the convent of La Victoria. See Bula Santa Teresa 1970, unpaged.

These were the street decorations that served as a backdrop for the processions, pageants and ceremonies that took place in Madrid in June 1622 to celebrate the multiple canonisations of Saints Isidro, Teresa, Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier. In many cases, the images of the saints were not described at all, very likely because their iconography was so well known to contemporaries that it needed no description. This means that in most cases, the images of the saints had very similar iconographies in all the altars. Yet it is clear that, despite this similarity of imagery, the saints were used to convey different meanings by each of the institutions involved. The religious orders and the *villa* conveyed very precise messages with their structures, not only of a devotional nature, but also political and social. For instance, the royal convents of San Felipe or the Santísima Trinidad emphasised their links with the monarchy by introducing portraits of the king and queen in their designs, thus enhancing the prestige of their respective orders. The Jesuits devised a comprehensive iconographic program, in which they projected themselves as a Christian elite force which defended and propagated the Catholic faith all over the world, in the name of the papacy and of the Catholic monarchs of Europe. The Carmelites focused on their fight against heresy, thus reaffirming the orthodoxy of Saint Teresa's writings. The Dominicans on the other hand linked the image of their Virgin of Atocha with Saint Isidro, thus equating them as patrons of Madrid in the minds of the viewers. The *villa*, who coordinated all the festivities, created a complex iconographic program for their pyramids, in which they underlined the connection between the city of Madrid and the Spanish monarchy, presenting both as defenders of the Catholic church by linking them to Saint Isidro and María de la Cabeza.

Throughout these very different structures, the images of the saints had a more or less consistent iconography. Therefore the iconography in itself is insufficient to explain the roles that the images played in these festivities. It is necessary to place them in the overall

context of the decorations and processions, in order to understand how they were perceived by believers and what functions they fulfilled.

The general procession and the street decorations are only two aspects of the entire program of festivities devised for the 1622 canonisations in Madrid. There were other features in that program which also deserve further attention, including the dances, masques, fireworks displays and theatrical performances, in all of which the images of the saints had a key role to play. However, it is outside the scope of this dissertation to cover all aspects of the 1622 canonisations in their entirety. Nevertheless, by analysing how religious images were used in the street decorations and in the general procession, this chapter has established a model for how the information provided by the contemporary documents can be used to re-create the manner in which religious images were perceived in these ceremonies. This model can then be applied to other aspects of the festivities, and indeed to other religious festivals of this period.

CONCLUSION

In the course of this dissertation we have examined the functions of religious art in 17th century Madrid by means of five different case studies, each of which is representative of a particular type of religious work and of art patronage in the city and can be used as a tool for exploring the meaning and function of other similar religious commissions. This focus on a reduced number of commissions has been deliberate, as the large amount of religious art that was produced in Madrid during the reign of Philip IV means that, if every religious commission that took place in Madrid during this period had been examined, this study would by necessity have been more superficial, resulting in a less focused, and less nuanced analysis of the social and political elements which influenced the production and contemporary perception of religious art during this period.

The most important conclusion that can be drawn from the artistic projects and art works analysed in each of the case studies is that religious art of this period had several interrelated layers of meaning, covering not only the religious aspects of the image, but also the social and political functions that the images had. All these levels operated simultaneously to convey complex messages to contemporary viewers. Thus while the convent of La Paciencia de Cristo was built to atone for the alleged sacrilege of an image of the Crucified Christ by a group of Portuguese *converso* Christians, the images of Christ created in remembrance of the event, be they sculptures, paintings or prints, had a much more concrete function at the time, i.e. to act as focal points for opposition to the political regime of the Count Duke of Olivares. Similarly, the images of Saint Dominic Soriano integrated theological, devotional, social and political meanings into one single iconographic concept. All of these layers of meaning must be taken into account when studying Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras' chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano in the church of the Dominican convent of Santo Tomás. The most superficial level of

interpretation of the iconography rightly concludes that depictions of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* were quintessentially Tridentine images, in which the apparition of the Virgin Mary to a monk in the convent of Soriano, carrying a picture of Saint Dominic for the church of the convent, must be interpreted as a sign of divine approval for the use of religious images as aids to devotion. Though this meaning is essentially correct, a more subtle analysis of the images is necessary in order to understand the manner in which they were perceived by contemporary viewers, and the wider social role they played. By examining the religious, social and political context in which the images became popular, it is possible to assign two much more concrete meanings to the iconography. One relates to the precarious position of the Dominican Order in Spain during the 17th century as a result of their rejection of the concept of the Inmaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. By presenting the Virgin Mary giving such a precious gift to a convent of the order, the Dominicans were stating the Virgin's approval for their order, opposing accusations from the Immaculist orders that they were showing disrespect to the Virgin. The second meaning is much more political, as it relates images of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* with the powerful Guzmán family, whose head had been the Count Duke of Olivares, and to which Don Luis de Haro, patron and mentor of the owner of the chapel of Santo Domingo Soriano Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras, belonged. Finally, it is even possible to add an extra layer of meaning to Antonio de Pereda's painting of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic at Soriano* for Don Fernando's chapel, when we learn that the image was meant to replace another by Juan Bautista Maíno which had perished in the fire of 1655. Since the fire had occurred on August 14th, on the eve of the festivity of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, Pereda's canvas had a depiction of the Assumption of the Virgin in the background, clearly meant to commemorate the event. All of these different pieces of information contribute to the overall message that Pereda's image conveyed to contemporary viewers.

Vicente Carducho's paintings for the monastery of El Paular also had several layers of meaning, conveying diverse messages to different categories of viewers. For the monks from El Paular themselves, the series had an exemplary function, in which the virtues and qualities necessary to become a good Carthusian were illustrated in the paintings through the lives of prominent members of the order. For viewers from outside the order, including the various members of the aristocracy that had burial chapels in the monastery, or even the royal family, who had close links with the monastery since its foundation in the 14th century, the series of paintings presented the Carthusians as loyal servants and defenders of the Catholic faith, who were prepared to surrender their lives in the service of the Church.

Another important conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that the nature of the patronage of religious art in 17th century Madrid is more complex than has hitherto been acknowledged. While religious commissions mostly originated from ecclesiastical patrons, these patrons themselves depended on the patronage of the crown and the aristocracy to fund their building and decorative projects. As a result, the art commissioned by some religious institutions responds not only to the devotional tastes and practices of the individual religious order itself, but more often also to those of the aristocracy and the crown. The festivities for the canonisations in 1622 of saints Isidro, Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier and Teresa of Avila are a clear example of this 'mixed patronage'. While the street altars that decorated the processional route were set up by the religious orders, the iconography of some of them (such as the altars of the Trinitarians and of the Augustinians), reflects the fact that the convents themselves were funded by the crown, incorporating royal symbols and devotions into what would normally have been a strictly ecclesiastical commission. Since members of the aristocracy funded the decorations of these street altars, and also contributed to the adornment of churches throughout the *octava* of the canonisations, the entire festivity must be

considered as a mixture of ecclesiastic, royal and aristocratic patronage. We must not forget that the ceremonies themselves were a means of asserting King Philip IV's status, after only one year on the throne, as The Most Catholic King of Europe.

It has also been demonstrated that some of the most popular religious images of 17th century Madrid acquired this status primarily through royal or aristocratic endorsement rather than popular acclaim. The chief example for this is the image of the Christ of Victory, greatly admired by King Philip IV, and whose convent in Serradilla attracted both royal and aristocratic patronage. The copy of the Christ of Victory in the Augustinian convent of Tacoronte, in the Canary Islands, was investigated by the local Inquisition because of its unorthodox iconography. Yet the fact that the original image and its Madrid copies enjoyed the approval of the King and the aristocracy was deemed enough to allow the Tacoronte image to remain in place, despite the qualms of some of the Inquisition's censors. Similarly, the spread of the popularity in Spain of images of the *Miracle of Saint Dominic Soriano* was clearly due to its promotion by the Guzmán family and its aristocratic followers. Given aristocratic and royal support, images like the foregoing must also be studied in the context of the functions they might have in court politics. As we saw, religious issues in 17th century Spain were often also political, and religious images were used as the means to score political points before the King or before prominent aristocrats.

All of which leads to the final conclusion that can be drawn from these researches, that religious images themselves must be considered as part of the social and political context which influenced later religious art. For instance, the alleged desecration of the *Cristo de la Paciencia* created a religious climate in Madrid which turned *every* Crucified Christ into a desecrated image. This significantly influenced the images of Christ created after the event, by establishing a spiritual and material link between the images by the different confraternities, to the extent that they would be taken on procession to 'visit' one

another, as was the case with the *Cristo de la Fé* from the church of San Luis Obispo, which paid homage yearly to the image of La Paciencia by being paraded on procession from its own church to the Capuchin convent. Equally, the incident of the *Cristo de la Paciencia* created a fertile ground for images of the suffering Christ to become popular. Without this devotional atmosphere, it is conceivable that Domingo de Rioja's *Cristo de la Victoria* may not have risen to the prominence it later had. It was this exalted religious climate that made it possible for the iconography of Rioja's Christ to spread so rapidly and with such success.

Something of the kind occurred with iconographic programs promoted by the religious orders, as can be seen in the case of Vicente Carducho's Carthusian cycle for El Paular. The relevance of the Paular cycle in terms of its rendering of the history of the order quickly turned the images into *the* canonical way of depicting the history of the Carthusian order. For this reason, they were copied for other convents such as Granada and Valdecristo, and became a sort of visual-historical record for the Spanish Carthusians. The popularity of the iconography within the order itself must lie in the fact that it promotes the image of the order which the Carthusians wished to project. By doing so, Carducho's works themselves became part of the social and political context in which the Carthusians lived, and affected the work created by other Carthusian monasteries.

Ultimately, religious images created in Spain during this period were themselves both art *and* context, and existed within a very concrete devotional, social and political environment. An important part of the art historian's task consists in unravelling the many levels of meaning which each individual religious art work incorporates within itself, in order to clarify the various functions they fulfilled, and how they themselves provided an artistic, devotional, social and political context which influenced the formal characteristics and the iconographic content of later religious images.