

SPANISH PAINTING

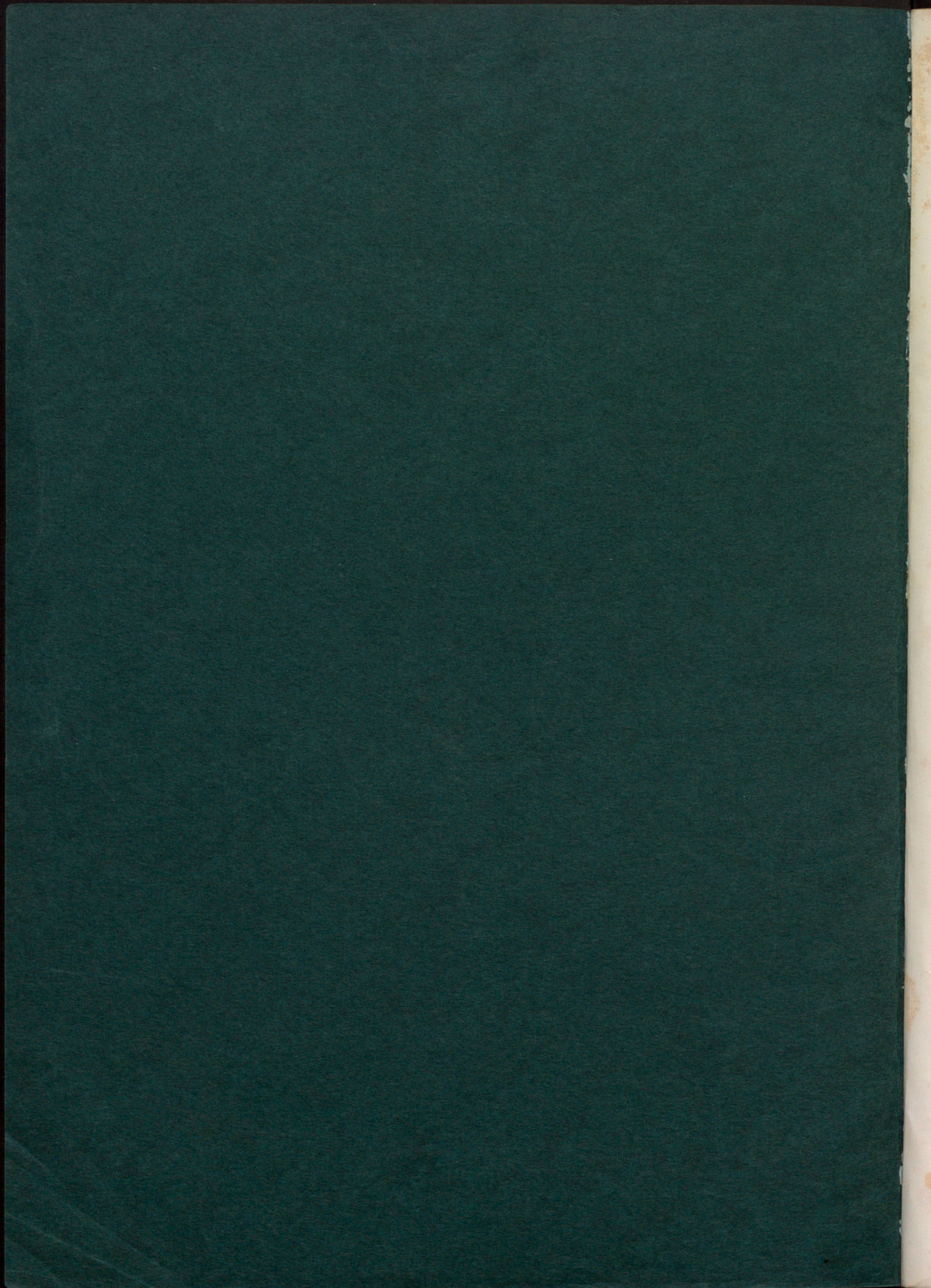
1941

THE TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

THE TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART
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SPANISH
PAINTING

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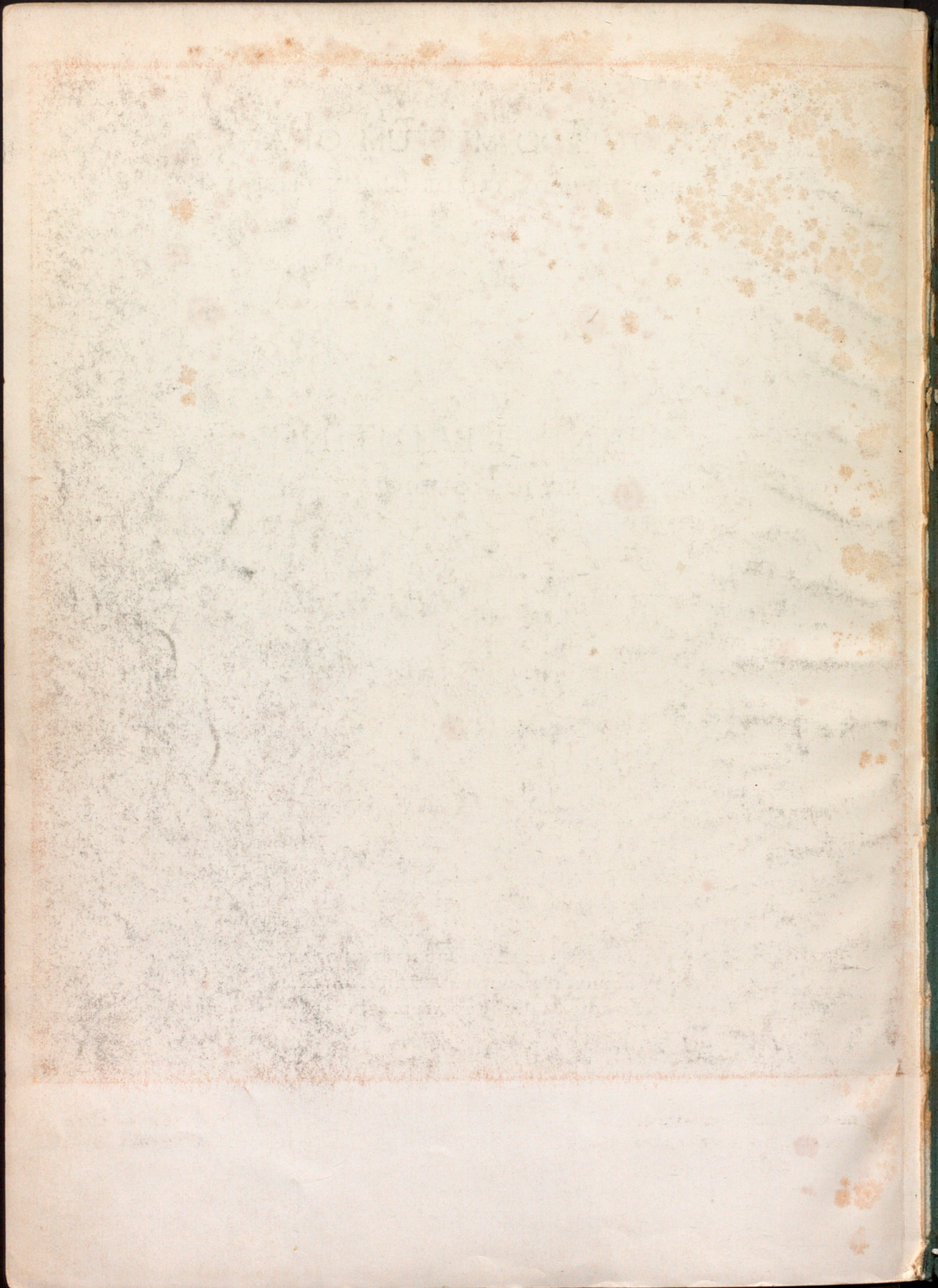
GUDIOL ; RICART (1941)

THE TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART
FOUNDED BY EDWARD DRUMMOND LIBBEY

SPANISH PAINTING

BY JOSÉ GUDIOL

PUBLISHED BY THE TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART
IN CONNECTION WITH AN EXHIBITION HELD
FROM MARCH 16 TO APRIL 27, 1941





DIEGO DE SILVA Y VELÁZQUEZ
MAN WITH A WINE GLASS, CA. 1624

OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

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FOREWORD

Spanish painting challenges the eyes, the emotions and the mind. It reiterates accepted realities and leads on to subtle discoveries. Spain in its landscape and its art stretches perception to fresh boundaries wherein the strange becomes familiar, and remote possibilities seem intimate.

Its portraits bare the sitters' inner character, and their thoughtful integrity attracts us to these faces. Stoicism and religious fanaticism armor its saints against the deathly details of Christian martyrdom. In the paint of her artists is reflected Spain's native drama of color and contour, her exciting contrasts of ruddy soils with flaring green vegetation, ominous gray rocks and mountains pulsating above heat waves from a blinding sky, or shimmering in the twilight mist. These painters see men and things with an intensity and assurance that bridges centuries of technical variety and binds Spanish art into a unity of national feeling. Realism expands to include the mystic, the dramatic, the religious. Spiritual austerity looks forth from the magnificence of pomp and circumstance. Lighter moods are vivacious, capricious, amusing. Restraint and elegance distinguish numberless details in El Greco's cosmic compositions. Lovers of nineteenth and twentieth century art recognize in Goya, Velázquez, El Greco the great spring from which Daumier, Manet, Cézanne drank deeply.

This rich field was chosen as the subject for the current Annual Professorship of the Toledo Museum. A leading scholar therein, José Gudiol, was entrusted with expounding it through classes, lectures, an exhibition and a catalogue thereof. This is in conformity with the plan which we presented to the Carnegie Corporation of New York in seeking their subsidy.

The exhibition which has been assembled gives, within the limits of borrowing possibilities, a more comprehensive picture of the development of Spanish painting than could be found elsewhere outside the boundaries of that country. That alone would be reward enough for those who visit it.

But to prolong their enjoyment, and for the benefit of others remote from the showing, this volume has been published. While it serves as a guide to the exhibition, it is more than a catalogue. It presents in concise and factual way the history of painting in Spain. It is illustrated largely with paintings in the exhibition, wholly with those owned in America. It offers a compact source of reference heretofore unavailable.

On behalf of institution and author, the Museum expresses gratitude to the Carnegie Corporation of New York whose grant has financed the whole scheme, to the lenders listed herein who have made the exhibition possible, to collectors and museums who have provided photographs, to Professors Chandler R. Post and Harold E. Wethey who have assisted in the editing of the text, to all of the members of the staff and students in Museum classes who have contributed in so many ways, and particularly Mable Lintner whose assistance in the preparation of this volume has been outstanding.

BLAKE-MORE GODWIN

THE EXHIBITION OF SPANISH PAINTING IN THE TOLEDO
MUSEUM OF ART HAS BEEN MADE POSSIBLE THROUGH
THE GENEROSITY OF THE FOLLOWING:

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Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Cincinnati Art Museum
City Art Museum of St. Louis
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OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS, $70\frac{3}{4} \times 48\frac{5}{8}$ IN.
FRICK COLLECTION, NEW YORK 142
- 99 DETAIL OF NO. 98 143
- *100 FRANCISCO JOSÉ DE GOYA Y LUCIENTES
ESCAPE FROM A BURNING TOWN, CA. 1815
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS, 42×34 IN.
F. KLEINBERGER AND COMPANY, INC., NEW YORK 144
- *101 FRANCISCO JOSÉ DE GOYA Y LUCIENTES
DETAIL OF DON JUAN ANTONIO CUERVO, 1819
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
GODFREY S. ROCKEFELLER, GREENWICH 145
- *102 FRANCISCO JOSÉ DE GOYA Y LUCIENTES
A BULLFIGHT, CA. 1820
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS, $36\frac{1}{2} \times 25\frac{1}{8}$ IN.
TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART 146
- *103 FRANCISCO JOSÉ DE GOYA Y LUCIENTES
ST. PAUL, 1820-1825
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS, 29×26 IN.
LILIENTFIELD GALLERIES, NEW YORK 147

* INDICATES PAINTINGS INCLUDED IN EXHIBITION OF SPANISH PAINTING AT TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

SPANISH PAINTING

I

ROMANESQUE PAINTING TENTH TO THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The frescoed mural decorations of Santa Eulalia de la Bóveda, San Julián de los Prados and San Miguel de Linio are sufficient proof that the Roman tradition of painting was maintained throughout the pre-Romanesque period in Spain. A few early Romanesque examples of paintings such as those at Campdevánol, Pedret, and Tarrasa express the qualities of the religious mural decoration during the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. The art of this entire group is very crude and the technique a degenerate formula of that employed in classical frescoes.

Romanesque paintings in Spain extend over the geographical region occupied by the Christians during the twelfth century and they are always decorations of churches. The iconography of Spanish Romanesque painting conforms to the general scheme of the whole European group. The general formula includes a Pantocrator in a mandorla, placed in the semi-dome of the main apse, accompanied by angels, or by the symbols of the Evangelists, or by archangels carrying scrolls with the inscriptions "Peticius" and "Postulacius." The semi-circular wall of the apse is decorated with standing figures of saints, or with sacred narrative, or both—each occupying a different zone. Sometimes the Pantocrator is replaced by a Madonna and Child as the central figure of an Epiphany. Among other elements often comprised in the decoration of the apses are seraphim, prophets, the Blessing Hand of God, the Agnus Dei, and Cain and Abel. It is very interesting to observe that in certain cases the donor or donors are portrayed standing in the lower zone, generally with candle in hand. The splayed areas are embellished with geometric and other ornamental motifs similar to those of the friezes which frame and divide the compositions. In some cases the lateral apses are also frescoed, in similar arrangement, with various scenes—usually of sacred narrative; and in rare preserved instances the decoration is extended to other walls of the church. The general scheme of decoration, however, is frequently changed for architectural reasons.

The technique in which Spanish Romanesque paintings were executed was rarely true fresco work, as the colors, dissolved in water, were merely laid on a thin layer of white-wash while this was still wet. In most instances the paintings were retouched with color dissolved in limewater or some other medium, which often has not been strong enough to keep the color from rubbing off the wall. With few exceptions the final retouching was in tempera. The effects obtained with this mediocre technique are sometimes surprisingly good. Most Spanish Romanesque mural paintings have astonishingly bright colors and are very successful imitations of their original models, the Mediterranean mosaics.

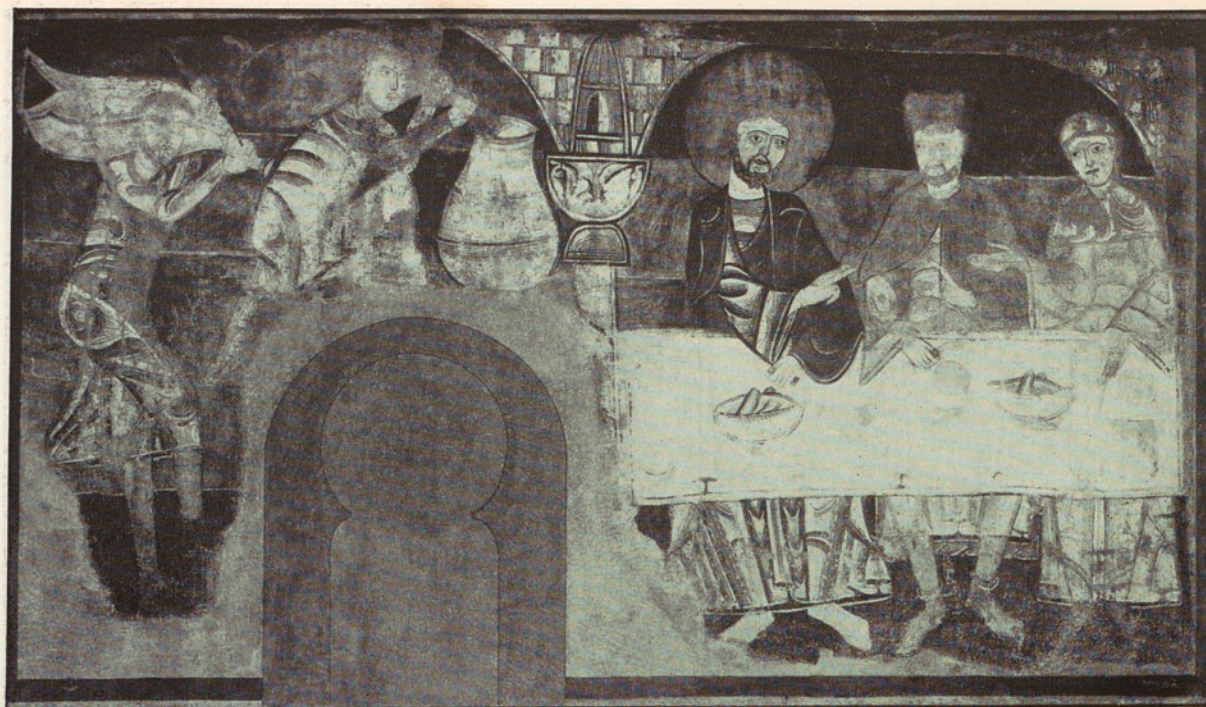
We cannot classify Spanish frescoes according to the political divisions of the early kingdoms of Spain. The styles in Leon, Castile, Aragon and Catalonia were absolutely interwoven, not only among themselves, but also—as in the case of Romanesque sculpture—with French and Italian Romanesque art. In spite of this, it is possible to establish vague stylistic groups. In one may be included several paintings close to the spirit and character of the early Spanish illuminated manuscripts. The paintings of this group, profoundly Spanish, are characterized by a very high degree of stylization, by the strong architectural feeling of the whole composition and by the simplicity with which the colors are displayed and combined. The figures are commonly placed against a banded background and the ornamental friezes frequently composed of floral and plant motifs.

The earliest examples of Spanish Romanesque murals included in this group, judging from their style, are from San Juan de Bohí (Barcelona Museum). They were probably painted at the very beginning of the twelfth century because the characteristic stylization of the group is not yet fully developed. The masterpiece of Hispanic-Romanesque murals is the apse of San Clemente de Tahull (Barcelona Museum), which is dated by an inscription, 1123. Each figure is a marvelous work of stylization, and the general ensemble the most harmonious and perfectly planned that Romanesque art ever produced in Spain. The church of Santa María, in the same town, was completely decorated with frescoes (Barcelona Museum) executed in the same period by a group of painters unquestionably derived from the great anonymous MASTER OF SAN CLEMENTE. The paintings in the apse of Santa María de Tahull are very closely connected with some mural decorations in Leon and Castile, especially those of Santa Cruz de Maderuelo and San Baudelio de Berlanga (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5). The latter, a Mozarabic church, was completely decorated with frescoes—large Biblical scenes and several non-religious subjects such as a very impressive hunting scene. The frescoes were removed and are now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and in the Dereppe Collection. The largest and most important Romanesque painting in Leon is the decoration of the Panteón de los Reyes in San Isidoro, probably executed during the reign of Ferdinand (1157–1188), who is portrayed in the painting. The decorations from San Pedro de Arlanza (Cloisters, New York) show an evident Moorish influence. The apse from Santa María de Mur (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) (Fig. 6) is one of the most complete and best preserved examples of murals related to Spanish illuminated manuscripts.

The second group of Spanish Romanesque mural paintings is remarkably related to the Mediterranean School and is essentially based on Italo-Byzantine formulas. The draughtsmanship is freer and less geometric in these paintings than in those of the previous group, and the attitudes of the figures, in spite of Byzantine influence, are less rigid. The nucleus of this group are the paintings in Pedret, Santa María de Esterri de Aneó, and San Pedro del Burgal, which were probably painted under the direction of a single master active about the middle of the twelfth century. The paintings of the central apse of Pedret (Barcelona Museum) reveal a frank tendency toward realism, some of the elements apparently having been copied from nature. A large number of Romanesque paintings found in Catalonia are essentially derived from the anonymous MASTER OF PEDRET-BURGAL-ESTERRI, but their authors, generally lesser craftsmen, also took elements from the first group. Such works are the frescoes from Orcau, Argolell, Esterri de Cardós, Ginestarre, Estahón, and Sorpe, all in the Barcelona Museum. This style of painting was carried on throughout the twelfth century.



1 SKETCH OF THE INTERIOR OF THE MOZARABIC CHURCH OF SAN BAUDELIO
DE BERLANGA WITH ITS ROMANESQUE MURAL PAINTINGS, EXECUTED CA. 1150



2-3 ROMANESQUE PAINTINGS FROM THE MURAL DECORATION OF SAN BADELIO
DE BERLANGA, CA. 1150
WEDDING AT CANA AND ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM
GABRIEL DEREPE, NEW YORK



4 DETAIL OF THE HOLY WOMAN AT THE SEPULCHRE FROM THE MURAL DECORATION
OF SAN BAUDELIO DE BERLANGA
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON



5 ROMANESQUE PAINTING FROM THE MURAL DECORATION OF SAN BAUDELIO
DE BERLANGA, CA. 1150
HUNTING SCENE
GABRIEL DEREPEPE, NEW YORK

A few twelfth-century paintings preserved in Roussillon and the northeastern part of Catalonia are technically and stylistically connected with contemporary French mural paintings. San Martín de Fenouillar and La Clusa, painted by a single master, are the best examples in Roussillon. The paintings of Osormort, Brull, and Belcaire in Catalonia were painted by a single artist closely related to the author of the frescoes of the crypt of San Savin sur Gartempe, France. The paintings of San Miguel de La Seo de Urgel (Barcelona Museum), a link between Spain and Toulouse, must be included in this group.

The traditional Romanesque style was continued in the decoration of churches during the thirteenth century. Despite the fact that the general plan of the iconographical schemes was not much altered, the apocalyptic visions and symbols became merely an element of routine and were overshadowed by elaborate sacred narrative. In Catalonia the mural decorations of Santa María de Tarrasa, painted during the first half of the thirteenth century, are stylistically related to those of Polinyá and Barbará. The style and movement acquired by the figures and also the obvious attempt to portray third dimension imparts to these paintings a new and opposite character to the twelfth century paintings, preparing the ground for the transformation of Romanesque into the Gothic style. In the Aragonese region, mural painting was introduced rather late. The paintings of Roda and Uncastillo, both belonging to the thirteenth century, are the most representative examples. The frescoes in El Cristo de la Luz in Toledo, with interesting human being representation, betray a strong influence of the Moorish style and have been classified as works executed at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Spanish Romanesque painting was developed simultaneously in the decoration of altar furniture such as antependia (frequently completed by side panels), retables, canopies, crosses, etc. Most of such specimens have been preserved in the Catalan and Ara-



6 ROMANESQUE MURAL PAINTINGS FROM THE MAIN APSE OF THE CHURCH OF SANTA
MARÍA DE MUR, CA. 1150
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

gonese regions. Compositions painted on antependia follow a few iconographical formulas, modified according to the dedication of each church. The Blessing Pantocrator occupies the center, encircled by a mandorla upheld by the symbols of the Evangelists or by angels. On either side appear figures of saints or sacred narrative. The panel is framed with a wide decorative border and completed with inscriptions. Sometimes the Pantocrator is replaced by a Madonna and Child; in very rare cases the entire surface of the panel is filled with large standing figures. In late examples the whole face of the panel is divided into horizontal zones or into regular compartments to accommodate sacred narrative. The sides of the altar are frequently decorated with similar subjects, generally large figures covering the entire height of the panel. The usual form of the canopy is simply a large square panel placed over the altar and decorated with the Pantocrator accompanied by angels or Evangelists. The retables are merely single short panels with standing figures presided over by Christ or the Virgin.

These paintings are executed in egg tempera with a complete scale of colors on a wooden panel prepared with several layers of gesso. In some instances the composition is emphasized by various elements in relief, made of stucco; and in a few cases, the entire subject is of painted stucco relief. Occasionally parts of the composition are enriched by the inclusion of metal foil.

Panel paintings were executed in workshops, in which iconography and technique were passed on from father to son. This explains the repetition for nearly three centuries of identical techniques and monotonous iconography. These religious wooden paintings represent the link between mural decorations and the miniatures of the Romanesque manuscripts illuminated in the scriptoria of monasteries and cathedrals. Consequently there is a group related to the monumental paintings and another whose style is connected, to a great extent, with illuminated manuscripts.

In the first group may be listed antependia of the following subjects: the Ascension of Christ from Martinet (Worcester Art Museum) (Fig. 7), painted by the author of the frescoes of Ginestarre de Cardós; San Quirico from Durro (Barcelona Museum), related to those of Bohí; the Pantocrator and Apostles (Espona Collection) and a canopy (Vich Museum), both from the region of Ripoll, St. Stephen in Llanars, and the Bishops from Escaló (Barcelona Museum) in the style of the Tahull frescoes; and Apostles from Seo de Urgel and Ix, related to paintings of San Miguel de la Seo.

Most of the paintings belonging to the second group have been found in the regions of Vich and Ripoll where, in the early Romanesque period, there existed two of the most important scriptoria, the Cathedral of Vich and the Monastery of Ripoll. Antependia in this style, all in the Vich Museum, are: St. Martin from Montgrony; St. Lawrence from Dosmunts; St. Margaret from Torelló; and a Madonna and Child.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, with the decadence of mural painting, the workshops of the painters assumed a more and more important position. The liturgy of the church gradually admitted larger wooden structures for altar decoration, and the small retables were increased in size, making the work of the painter much more significant. Among the thirteenth century paintings on wood must be mentioned the antependia with Virgin and Epiphany (Vich Museum), related to the St. Thomas frescoes of Tarrasa; Apostles (Gualino Collection); Apostles in Greixa; and St. Andrew from Sagàs (Vich Museum).



7 ROMANESQUE ALTAR FRONTAL FROM MARTINET, CA. 1175
CHRIST, THE VIRGIN AND APOSTLES
TEMPERA PAINTING ON PANEL
WORCESTER ART MUSEUM



8 ROMANESQUE ALTAR FRONTAL FROM THE PYRENEES, DATED 1250
PANTOCRATOR AND SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. MARTIN
TEMPERA PAINTING ON PANEL
WALTERS ART GALLERY, BALTIMORE

The Italo-Byzantine influence, already seen in a cycle of Romanesque frescoes, appears also, although in a much more advanced style, in a group of wooden paintings of very high artistic quality, undoubtedly painted during the thirteenth century. The antependium from Solanllonch and a complete altar table with antependium and side panels from the Llusanés region (Vich Museum) were executed by a single artist, the LLUSANÉS MASTER. The VALLTARGA MASTER painted the altar frontals in Oreillá, France, and Valltarga (Barcelona Museum). One of the most interesting specimens belonging to this group is an antependium in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (Fig. 8), dated 1250, which is stylistically close to an altar frontal in Angustringa, France.

In the region of Lérida and in east Aragon numerous antependia have come to light which obviously are works of a single workshop, probably active during the thirteenth century—perhaps in the city of Lérida itself. These altar frontals are characterized by the combination of painting and stucco relief. The figures are painted in the same technique employed in the paintings on wood previously mentioned, but the backgrounds are monotonously patterned with a repetition of small motifs in stucco, generally covered with metal foil and painted. The best preserved specimens are two frontals devoted to the Virgin (Barcelona Museum); the frontal of St. Vincent from Treserra (Lérida Museum); and the St. Martin antependium (Barcelona Museum), signed "Johannes Pintor Me Fecit."

II

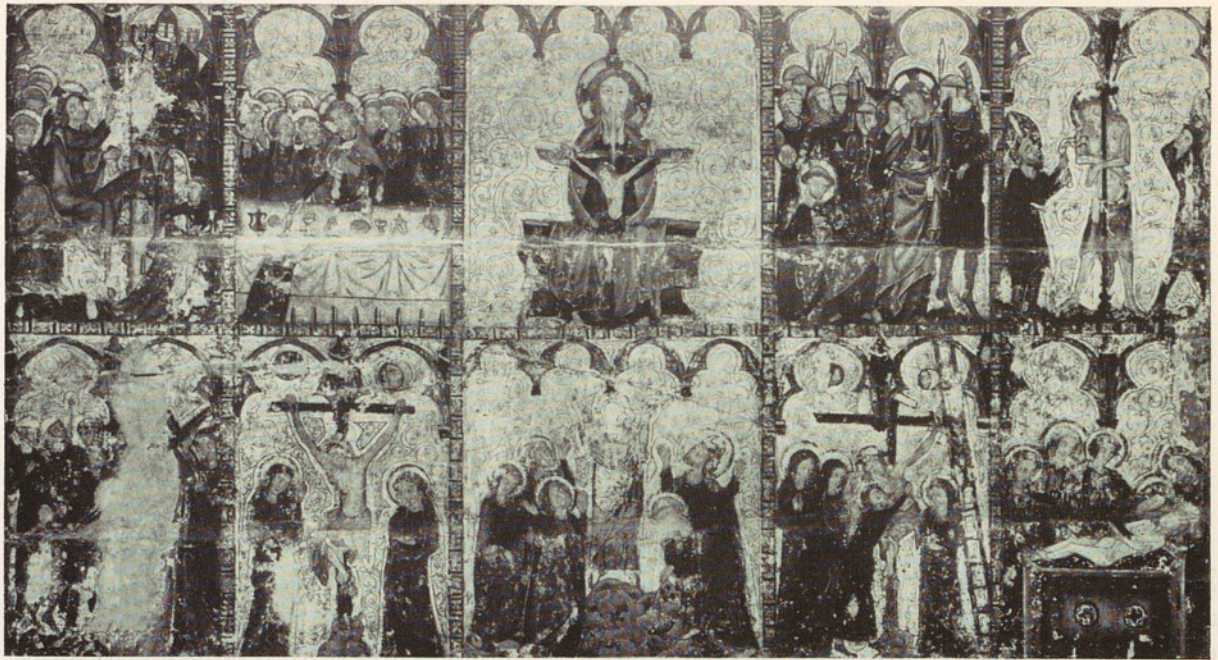
FRANCO-GOTHIC STYLE THIRTEENTH TO FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

The evolution of the Gothic style from the Romanesque was gradually effected during the thirteenth century by successive incorporation of naturalistic elements, by the abandonment of stylized schemes, and by the introduction of new iconography. The artistic transformation was a slow process because of the attachment of Spanish workshops to the tradition of the Romanesque style and because no great master appeared who was powerful enough to impose a new formula on the school.

In Spanish paintings of the beginning of the Gothic period, models were copied from nature, elements of landscape with anecdotal details were included, and the compositions show an indication of chiaroscuro. Technically they still have the characteristics of the Romanesque—opaque colors of vivid tonalities applied in hard, uniform layers over a panel smoothly prepared with plaster. Thick lines, usually black, outline the drawing, and the general composition is made up of monochromatic areas, as in stained glass. The backgrounds of some panel paintings of the beginning of the fourteenth century are decorated with floral or geometric themes, lightly incised with a sharp instrument. Following this operation the backgrounds were covered with metal foil, commonly tin or silver, and then painted with transparent colors. Most of the paint employed was basically egg tempera, but in rare cases an oil base was used. Mural paintings were never executed in real fresco, but in tempera or oil. As the taste for sacred narrative increased with the progression of the Gothic style, the retablo developed from the elementary horizontal type to a large rectangular panel, ultimately becoming a structure of great height made up of many scenes.

About 1300 a large number of paintings were produced which, although still essentially Romanesque, incorporated elements of the Franco-Gothic style. Paintings from the Bohí Valley (Barcelona Museum) which are immediate followers of the antependia with backgrounds of stucco relief of the school of Lérida, the mural paintings of Roda de Isábena and Seo de Urgel, and the panel paintings from Suriguerola and Mosoll (Barcelona Museum) and Frontanyá (Solsona Museum) are significant examples.

In northern Aragon the early Gothic style manifested itself in mural decorations of numerous churches, the most important murals being in San Nicolás de Bierge, San Miguel de Barluenga, and the Virgin del Monte de Liesa. The Romanesque tradition is still very strong in a group of early Gothic Aragonese antependia, of which those of San Martín de la Valdonsera and Liesa are examples.



9 FRANCO-GOTHIC ALTAR FRONTAL FROM THE REGION OF NAVARRE, CA. 1300
THE HOLY TRINITY AND SCENES FROM THE PASSION
TEMPERA PAINTING ON PANEL
DIKRAN G. KELEKIAN, NEW YORK

A group of antependia are examples of early Gothic painting in Navarre and are similar to, but richer and more elaborate than contemporary Aragonese and Catalan works. The figures are painted in brilliant colors and the patterned backgrounds include delicate gilded foliage. St. Peter, St. Christopher, and a Madonna and Child (Barcelona Museum), a Life of Christ (Kelekian Collection) (Fig. 9) and the altar of St. Peter (Brussels Museum) are representative.

A few paintings of the end of the thirteenth century, such as the altar of St. Andrew from Añastro (Cloisters, New York) prove that in Castile the transition from the Romanesque style into the Gothic exactly paralleled the development in Aragon and Navarre.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, most of the paintings executed in Catalonia were entirely of the Franco-Gothic type. The most important of these are the murals of San Pablo de Casserras, the Parish Church of Cardona, and San Domingo de Puigcerdá; the retables of Vilobí and Alcover; and antependia of Santa Perpétua de Moguda and San Cipriano de Cabanyes. The painted tombs of San Miguel de Foces, the large room decorated with battle scenes in the Castle of Alcañiz, the mural painting of San Miguel de Daroca, and a retable in Castro, dated 1303, are well-developed fourteenth century works in Aragon. The panels with Scenes from the Life of Christ in the Wildenstein Collection (Fig. 10) are very remarkable early Franco-Gothic paintings, similar in style to these Aragonese works. In Navarre there are important, although somewhat damaged, examples of the Franco-Gothic style in mural paintings in the Cathedral of Pamplona, where there is also a very fine Crucifixion panel. In the regions of Castile and Leon, the Franco-Gothic style is represented by such mural paintings as the later additions to the Romanesque frescoes of the Panteón de los Reyes at San Isidoro of Leon, the decoration signed by ANTONIO SÁNCHEZ OF SEGOVIA in the Chapel of St. Martin of the

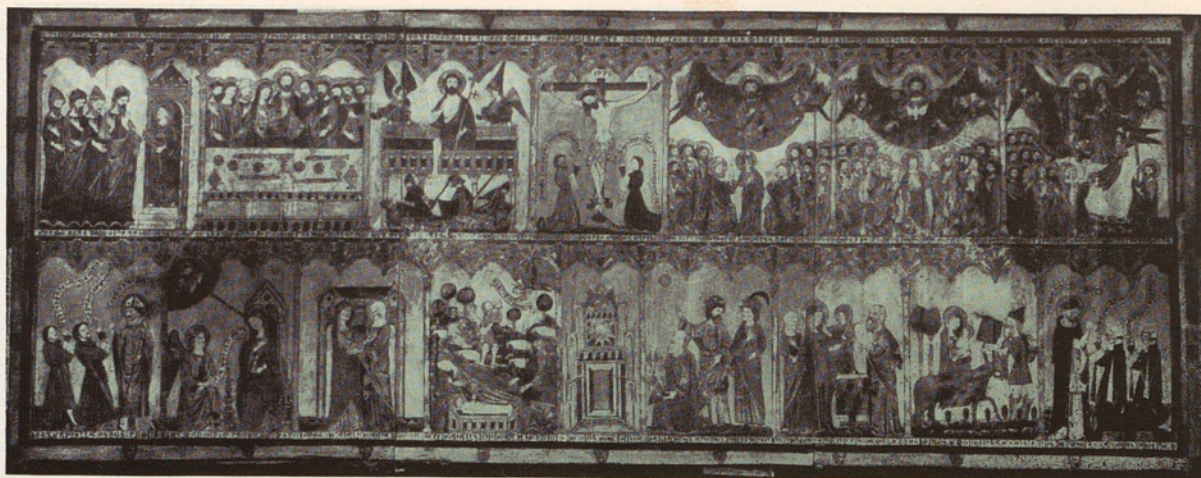


10 FRANCO-GOTHIC PAINTINGS FROM A RETABLE FROM ARAGON, CA. 1300

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF CHRIST

TEMPERA PAINTING ON PANEL

WILDENSTEIN AND COMPANY, INC., NEW YORK



11 FRANCO-GOTHIC ALTAR FRONTAL GIVEN IN 1399 TO SAN JUAN DE QUEJUANA
BY DON PEDRO LÓPEZ DE AYALA, CONSTABLE OF CASTILE
TEMPERA PAINTING ON PANEL
ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

old Cathedral of Salamanca, and the frescoes of Peñafiel. The Franco-Gothic style is also represented there by the retablo of San Millán de Suso, the tomb from Mahamud, and by a late product of the style, the large retablo of Pedro López de Ayala, dated 1396, from San Juan de Quejuana (Art Institute of Chicago) (Fig. 11).

One of the most important manifestations of the Franco-Gothic style in Spain was the decoration of wooden ceilings in houses, palaces and churches, in which a great number of Moorish elements were included. The ceiling of the Cathedral of Teruel, probably begun in 1335, and the ceilings in the Cloister of Silos and in the Church of Sinovas are the best examples. Two small ceilings in the Franco-Gothic style in the Alhambra, Granada, are unusual examples of Spanish painting at the end of the fourteenth century.

ITALO-GOTHIC STYLE, FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The Italo-Byzantine current that gave form and color to an important group of Romanesque paintings scattered throughout Catalonia, Roussillon, and Aragon brought the new spirit of the school of Rome, which rivaled the powerful influence of the Franco-Gothic style, and prepared the foundation for the florid future of Italian influence. The magnificent paintings in the chapter house and in the main chapel of the Monastery of Sijena, unfortunately badly damaged during the recent Spanish Civil War, are the most outstanding manifestations in Spain of this Mediterranean current. They were probably painted about 1300 by a great master unmistakably connected with the Italo-Byzantine schools. The retablo of St. Dominick from Tamarite de Litera (Barcelona Museum), the antependium with the Pantocrator and Apostles (Lérida Museum) and two antependia from Vallbona (Barcelona Museum) are greatly imbued with the Italian style, and prove that the Sijena murals were not a sporadic case of Italo-Gothic influence at the end of the thirteenth century.

The growing popularity of the Italian schools of painting in western Europe, as well as the strong Sieneese influence resulting from the stay of Simone Martini at the papal court of Avignon, gave impetus to the current of the Italo-Gothic style in Spain. The technique employed in fourteenth century Spanish paintings was fundamentally Sieneese because the Sieneese models, more stylized than the Florentine, were easily adapted to the

industrialization of most Spanish workshops. Panels were prepared with layers of gesso before the application of egg tempera; heads and hands were painted in a glaze over a smooth green preliminary color; robes of bright colors were sprinkled with flowers, or painted to resemble brocades. Backgrounds were of smooth unpatterned gold, sometimes interrupted by delicate lines and bordered with geometric motifs.

Majorca, which later became a pictorial colony of Catalonia, was a point of contact between Siena and Barcelona. The earliest Italo-Gothic painting in Majorca is the Retable of St. Clara in Palma, which may be dated at the beginning of the fourteenth century because of its Byzantinism combined with a Siennese adaptation of Gothic types. A Madonna and Child and a Crucifixion panel, in Palma, are in the canon of the followers of Duccio. The Retable of St. Bernard from the Templars Oratory, Palma, shows a combination of the influence of Italian art before Simone Martini with a strong Franco-Gothic influence. Two Majorcan altarpieces devoted to St. Quiteria and St. Eulalia, in the youthful style of Lorenzetti, are so close to the illuminated manuscript "Privileges of the Kings of Majorca" (Palma) dated in 1334, and to "The Palatine Laws of James II of Majorca" (Royal Library of Brussels) that it is very possible that all were executed by the same artist.

The artistic relationship with Italy was probably further strengthened by visits of Catalan artists to Italy and to Avignon. Ferrer Bassa, Arnau de la Penna, and the Serra brothers transformed the style of the school of Barcelona into Italo-Gothic, and their pupils and followers carried it into the whole Aragonese kingdom.

FERRER BASSA (1324-1347) * led the transformation of the artistic spirit of the Catalan school of the fourteenth century. His works include the Retable of St. Bernard (Vich Museum); his masterpiece, the Coronation from Belloch; and the murals in the Chapel of St. Michael in Pedralbes (Barcelona) painted in 1345-1346. Ferrer Bassa, with a rich and warm palette, united the traditional Spanish forms with a stylized idealism fundamentally Siennese. He shows a tendency to synthesize volumes and accentuate dynamism and expression. The elements of his landscapes are frankly realistic, and he employed a fast, unwavering technique. The Retable of St. Vincent from Estopiñán (Barcelona Museum) reveals an anonymous pioneer of Florentine influence in Catalonia.

A great number of panel paintings found in Catalonia, which were undoubtedly painted in the middle of the fourteenth century, indicate the successive incorporation of elements of the Italo-Gothic style into the products of the Spanish workshops. However in combination with these new ideas still remain traces of the Romanesque and Franco-Gothic styles. The SANTA OLIVA MASTER, an anonymous painter derived from Ferrer Bassa, whose masterpiece is the Retable of San Vicente dels Horts (Barcelona Museum); the anonymous author of the Retables of St. Bartholomew (Tarragona Cathedral) and St. John from Santa Coloma de Queralt; MASTER JOAN DE TARRAGONA, who painted, in 1359, the Retable of Pared Delgada; and MARC DE VILLANOVA, who in 1387 signed a St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, are artists who betray strong Italianate traits together with traditional forms.

ARNAU DE LA PENNA (1355-1385), painter and illuminator, executed the miniatures of the "Libre Vert" of Barcelona (1380) and other manuscripts. The Retable from Cardona (Barcelona Museum and the Crane Collection, New York), the Retable of St. James

*The dates given in parentheses following names of artists are not in all cases dates of birth and death, but are documented dates referring to earliest and latest recorded existence of the artists.



12 ARNAU DE LA PENNA
 SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF CHRIST AND THE VIRGIN—POLYPTYCH
 BARCELONA, CA. 1375
 TEMPERA PAINTING ON PANEL
 PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY, NEW YORK



from the Convent of Junqueres (Barcelona Museum), the Retable of St. Mark in Manresa, a Polyptych in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Fig. 12) and other paintings have been attributed to him by Dr. Millard Meiss because of stylistic relationship.

The Serra Brothers. JAIME SERRA (1361-1395) was already a royal painter in 1361 when he executed the Retable of the Holy Sepulchre of Saragossa. PEDRO SERRA (1363-1400) collaborated with Jaime from 1363 to 1370, but was contracting for his own work in 1368. In 1394 he painted the Retable of the Pentecost of Manresa, and the Retable of St. Bartholomew and St. Bernard (Vich Museum) in 1395. These documented paintings by the Serras, as well as works attributed to them, form a homogeneous unit and indicate the existence of a methodically organized family workshop. They show an unvarying technique, repetition of the same iconographical models, use of identical tools to incise the gold background, and the use of a single type of wooden structure.

The problem of determining authentic works of the Serra brothers is complicated by the large number of contemporary paintings stylistically related to them. The following are lists of the works attributed to each brother. To Jaime: The Retable in Palau de Cerdanya, France, St. Stephen from Gualter (Barcelona Museum), and the Nativity (Montllor Collection, New York) (Fig. 13). To Pedro: The Madonna and Child from Santa Clara de Tortosa (Barcelona Museum), Christ before Pilate (Vich Museum), Retable of St. Julian and St. Lucy in the Convent of St. Sepulchre of Saragossa, the Pentecost of San Lorenzo de Morunys, an Annunciation (Brera Gallery, Milan), Retable of St. Clara and St. Eulalia in the Cathedral of Segorbe, Retable of San Pedro de Cubells (Barcelona Museum), and others in which he was extensively assisted.

There are a number of retables which are closely related to the known work of Jaime Serra. The Retable of St. Martha in Iravalls, France, heads the group which includes the panel of St. Clara and St. Catherine and the predella of St. Onofrius, both in the Cathedral of Barcelona, the Retable of St. Vincent from San Celoni (Barcelona Museum), St. Matthew and other saints (panels in the Barcelona Museum and Museum of Lille), and a small Pentecost (Barcelona Museum). The Retable of the Passion in the Church of St. Nicholas of Saragossa is stylistically related to the retable from Sijena (Barcelona Museum), the Madonna in Moyá (Moyá Museum), the Calvary from Balenyá (Vich Museum), the Nativity in the Oppenheim Collection, Frankfurt, the Retable of St. Nicholas (Amatller Collection, Barcelona) and the Retable of Tobet (Roman Vicente Collection, Saragossa). If these two groups were painted by Jaime Serra, they must be the products of two early stages of his career by reason of their archaic character. If they are not by him, they must be the products of an older workshop which the Serra Brothers continued and from which they inherited their technique and iconographical formulas. The Retable of All Saints from San Cugat del Vallés (Barcelona Museum) and the Retable of Abella de la Conca, Lérida, seem the result of the collaboration of both brothers.

The work of the Serras gave the pictorial Catalan school of the second half of the fourteenth century a most profound and permanent influence. A great number of minor painters followed their style. The most interesting are DOMINGO VALLS of Tortosa (1366-1398) who spread the Serra style into Aragon and Valencia; the MASTER OF THE PENTECOST OF CARDONA; the RUSIÑOL MASTER; and others. The style of the Serras appears also in paintings executed in the workshops of Roussillon during the second half of the fourteenth century. The Italo-Gothic school of painting in Majorca likewise became closely dependent on the style of the Serras. The earliest Gothic paintings of the school of Valencia are very Italianate; the best example being the Retable of St. Michael of Sot de



13 JAIME SERRA
 ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS—SECTION OF A RETABLE, BARCELONA, CA. 1360
 TEMPERA PAINTING ON PANEL
 JOSEPH MONTLLOR, NEW YORK

Ferrer. The Serra influence was brought to this school by a Catalan painter, the TORROELLA MASTER, anonymous author of the Madonna of Humility from Torroella de Montgrí, a group of retables in Albaracín, Villahermosa, and Penelles, and the Retable of the Carpenter's Guild of Valencia. The Sienese style popularized by the Serras is very apparent in the early Italo-Gothic paintings in Aragon, such as the reliquary from the Monastery of Piedra and the Retable of St. Philip and St. James from the Cathedral of Huesca.

The Italo-Gothic style in Castile, however, took on a Florentine aspect. It is recorded that the Florentine painter Starnina was employed by John I, and his influence is perhaps seen in some paintings in the altar of St. Julian in the Cathedral of Toledo. This cathedral also possesses the most important manifestation of the Giottesque style in Spanish painting, the mural decoration of large compositions signed by RODRÍGUEZ DE TOLEDO in the chapel of St. Blaise, built between 1395 and 1396.

INTERNATIONAL STYLE, FIFTEENTH CENTURY

A new stylistic movement, defined as the "International Style," was developed in the European schools of painting toward the end of the fourteenth century. The new style was characterized by a growing naturalism and by a consciousness of third dimension. Anecdotal details and humorous elements were included in many compositions, and the representation of the human figure, architecture, furniture, and landscape became increasingly realistic.

In the school of Barcelona the most remarkable artists of this period were Luis Borrassá and Ramón de Mur, founders of the two tendencies within the style popularized by many contemporary imitators. Borrassá more truly represents the new International Style, while the second artist is more traditional.

LUIS BORRASSÁ (1380-1424). The following retables are documented as his works or attributed to him: St. Anthony and St. Margaret (Vich Museum) and St. George (Villafraanca), which still retain the formula of the Serras; the Savior, 1404 (Barcelona Museum), St. Michael (Cruilles), St. John (Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris), Three Saints (Brusi Collection), St. Michael (Antwerp), and the Deposition, 1408 (Manresa), which show the formation of the Borrassá mature style so well developed in the retables of St. Peter, 1411 (Tarrasa), St. Clara, 1415 (Vich), Life of the Virgin, contracted by Gerardo Gener, 1416, from Santes Creus, St. Andrew, 1417, from Gurb, the Virgin, 1417, from Seva, St. Francis and Scenes from the Passion, from Gerona (E. and A. Silberman galleries) (Fig. 14), and St. Andrew, from the Barcelona Cathedral.

RAMÓN DE MUR (Master of Guimerá) (1402-1435). Works by him are: Retable with Biblical Scenes, 1402-1412, from Guimerá, Madonna of Humility, from Cervera, and Retable of St. Peter, 1420, from Vinaixa.

The artistic manner evolved by these masters was followed by other less gifted painters as LUCAS BORRASSÁ, slave and collaborator of Luis Borrassá, and the already mentioned GERARDO GENER who executed the Retable of St. Isabel and St. Bartholomew, 1401 (Cathedral of Barcelona); MASTER OF THE ANAEMIC FIGURES; FONOLLOSA MASTER; ROUSSILLON MASTER, who painted the Retables of St. Andrew (Metropolitan Museum of Art), and John the Baptist (Roussillon) and the MASTER OF PEÑAFIEL, who executed the Retables from Peñafiel, St. James from Vallespinosa, St. Martin and St. Ambrose (Cathedral of Barcelona), a retable in Cagliari, and the Entombment (Gerona Cathedral). Other



14

LUIS BORRASSÀ

CHRIST BEFORE PILATE—SECTION OF A RETABLE, BARCELONA, CA. 1420

TEMPERA PAINTING ON PANEL

E. AND A. SILBERMAN GALLERIES, NEW YORK

contemporary painters in Catalonia are: JAIME CABRERA (1399-1427) who painted the Retable of St. Nicholas of Manresa, 1406, a Madonna and Child (Vich Museum) and the Retable of San Martín Sarroca; and JAIME FERRER I (1400-1430), founder of the Ferrer workshop in Lérida, whose Retables of Albatarrac, Castellón de Farfanya, Granadella, Albelda, and Tamarite are works of his first period when he was dependent on the Seras. Works of his second period, dependent on Borrassá, are the Last Supper in Solsona, and a signed Retable of the Life of Christ in Lérida. MATEO ORTONEDA (1417-1433), whose signed works are the Triptych of St. Catherine (Barcelona) and the Retable of the Life of the Virgin (Cathedral of Tarragona), was a follower of Ramón de Mur.

Some of the most distinguished Spanish exponents of the International Style may be found in a group of painters active in Valencia. These artists reveal a strong Italian feeling, as well as a remarkable German tendency explained by the activity in Valencia of Marçal de Sas, who probably came from Saxony.

LORENZO ZARAGOZA (1365-1402), who worked in Barcelona and Valencia, probably painted the Retable of the Virgin in Jerica in 1395, archetype of earliest Valencian paintings in the International Style. PEDRO NICOLAU (1390-1410), follower of Lorenzo Zaragoza, painted the Retable of Sarrión, 1404, and perhaps a Madonna in the Boston Museum. The Incredulity of St. Thomas, 1400 (Valencia Cathedral), and the Retable of St. George (Victoria and Albert Museum, London) with typically German figures, are works by the previously mentioned MARÇAL DE SAS (1394-1410). The collaboration of Marçal and Nicolau is apparent in some paintings which show an intermingling of their styles. The Retable from the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem at Valencia (Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Hispanic Society of America) is a remarkable work by the GIL MASTER. From the enormous quantity of Valencian paintings of the first third of the fifteenth century, the Retables of Burgo de Osma (parts of which are in the Louvre) and of St. Martin from Portacelli (Valencia Museum) may be attributed to the anonymous MASTER OF THE RETABLE OF ST. BARBARA (Barcelona Museum). Stylistically related to him is GONZALO PÉREZ (1405-1423), who is documented as a partner of Gerardo Gener. Among the anonymous Valencian paintings of the first half of the fifteenth century must be mentioned the Retable of St. Michael and the Trinity Adored by All Saints (Metropolitan Museum of Art) (Fig. 15).

The International Style in Catalonia and Valencia affected the traditional formulas of the painters of Navarre and Aragon. JUAN DE LEVÍ (1400-1407), author of the Retable of St. Catherine (Tarazona Cathedral), the Retable of St. Helen (San Miguel de Estella), and others, is one of the earliest artists whose works exemplify the style in Navarre, but he still retains many elements of the region's archaic models. The signatures of PEDRO ZUERA and JACOBUS appear in two Aragonese retables executed in this new manner. BENITO ARNALDÍN and NICOLÁS SOLANA are two Aragonese painters following this trend. The outstanding anonymous products of this school are the Retable of the Marriage of the Virgin, ca. 1423 (Cathedral of Tudela), the Retable of St. Eulalia, 1414 (Bañastás), and the Retable of St. Michael from Arguis, ca. 1430.

During the first quarter of the fifteenth century, Majorcan painters employed Borrassá's formulas in an Italianate manner. The most remarkable are the Death of the Virgin in Santa Eulalia (Palma) and the Retable of the Church of Montesión.



15 VALENCIAN RETABLE, CA. 1420
 RETABLE OF ST. MICHAEL AND THE TRINITY BY ALL SAINTS
 TEMPERA PAINTING ON PANEL
 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

Painters in Castile, like artists in other Spanish regions, also adopted the International Style, as may be seen in the group of works ascribed to the unknown MASTER OF SIGUENZA, author of the Retable of St. Andrew and St. Vincent (Sigüenza Cathedral), the Retable of St. John the Baptist and St. Catherine (Prado Museum), and other works.

The International Style in the Andalusian School originated in Seville. The earliest extant works are a Madonna and Child in the Cathedral of Seville, which became the model for several Andalusian replicas, and the frescoes of the Arcos de la Frontera, which reveal a very strong Florentine influence. Very few paintings belonging to the Andalusian School of the early fifteenth century are preserved, but most of them are signed. The Massacre of the Innocents in Salamanca is signed by GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ OF SEVILLE, mentioned in 1407; and the Madonna and Child Triptych (Lázaro Collection) is signed by JOHANNES HISPALENSIS (John of Seville). The frescoes of San Isidoro del Campo, Santiponce, painted between 1431 and 1436, are the most important Andalusian paintings in the International Style.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE in the Spanish schools of painting during the fifteenth century shows a very strong revival of indigenous characteristics. In Catalonia, Bernardo Martorell combined some of the naturalistic traits evolved in Italy by Gentile da Fabriano (1360–1427) with those of the beginning of the Franco-Flemish international movement essentially represented in the magnificent miniatures of the great manuscript "The Très Riches Heures of the Duke of Berry." Martorell's style was continued until the end of the fifteenth century by Jaime Huguet and his circle. In Valencia the growth of the style was led by Jacomart, who incorporated traits of early Flemish painters with elements of the budding Italian Renaissance. In Castile the International Style, soon overthrown by the powerful Hispano-Flemish, had in the middle of the fifteenth century, however, two great exponents—the Florentine Dello Delli and Nicolás Francés.

BERNARDO MARTORELL (Master of St. George) (1427–1452) was the greatest Spanish painter of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and his workshop the most important in Barcelona during that period. He transformed the formula of the International Style evolved by Borrassá and Ramón de Mur into the genuine Gothic style of Catalonia which survived until the end of the fifteenth century. The earliest record of Martorell is in 1427, but he had probably already been active as an artist for ten years. A few paintings by Martorell are dated, but from a stylistic analysis of them the following chronological list may be ascertained.

Panels with the Life of St. Anthony (Vich Museum) and the Retable of St. John the Baptist (Barcelona Museum) are early works, painted under the influence of Luis Borrassá. The Retable of St. Eulalia from the Cathedral of Vich shows the beginning of his second and miniature-like period. The Retable of the Magdalen (Vich Museum) reveals the development of his style, definitely formed in the Predella with Scenes of the Passion (Barcelona Cathedral). The Retable of St. Lucy (Paris) and Scenes of the Life of St. Lucy (Barcelona) must be contemporary with the latter. In the Retable of St. George, the central panel of which is in the Art Institute of Chicago (Fig. 16) and the lateral panels in the Louvre, Martorell reached his climax. The figure of St. George and his white horse are among the most naturalistic and handsome creations produced by the new realistic mode into which the international movement had grown. The Retable of St. Vincent from Poblet (Barcelona Museum) is contemporaneous with the St. George, and the Adoration of the Shepherds (Berlin) is a subsequent effort.



16 BERNARDO MARTORELL (MASTER OF ST. GEORGE)
RETABLE OF ST. GEORGE, CA. 1430
TEMPERA PAINTING ON PANEL
ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

The late style of Martorell appears in the Retable of Púbol, 1444, where his miniaturist manner is transformed into a much broader and more monumental one. Evidence of the collaboration of assistants is obvious as in all the productions of his later period. Stylistically close to the Púbol altarpiece are the Retable of St. Michael from Pobla de Ciervoles and the miniatures of a book of hours (Mestres Collection, Barcelona). The Retable of the Savior (Barcelona Cathedral) is the masterpiece of the last phase of Martorell's career. All its elements are careful studies from nature, and in this painting he achieves new and original formulas of composition. The Triptych of the Deposition in Lisbon and the Retable devoted to the Saints John from Vinaixa must be placed next in the chronological list. It is very possible that the panels in the Wildenstein Collection (Fig. 17) were the lateral compositions of the Vinaixa retable. The Retable of Santa María del Mar, painted in 1450, conforms to the late style seen in the Púbol Retable. The backs of some of Martorell's panels show sketches executed with charcoal and chalk, remarkable studies of heads, hands, feet, and elements of drapery, taken from living models. They explain the great step taken by Martorell toward mastering the representation of nature.

Several contemporary painters followed the style of Martorell, among them the AMPURIAS MASTER, author of the Retable of St. Michael in Ampurias, an anonymous artist very close to him and almost as great a painter. JAIME CIRERA (1425-1452) was author of the Retable from Ferreróns, 1431 (Vich Museum), the Retable of St. Peter and St. Michael from Seo de Urgel, and the Retable of St. Anne (Muntadas Collection, Barcelona) which is however signed with the initials of BERNARDO PUIG, collaborator of Cirera. JAIME FERRER II, probably the son of Jaime Ferrer I, active in Lérida, painted the retables of St. Anthony Abbot from Monzón, ca 1435, St. Julian of Aspa, the Virgin of the Paheria (Lérida Museum), the Verdú altarpiece (Vich Museum), panels with the Adoration (Fig. 18) and Epiphany (Ginn Collection, Cleveland), and the Retable of Alcover, in 1457. The LANAJA MASTER, active in Saragossa and very close to Jaime Ferrer II, executed the Triptych in Belchite, 1439, the Madonna from Albalate, 1431-1456, and the Retables of Lanaja, Anento, Ontiñena, Siresa, Maluenda, and Villaroya del Campo. PASCUAL ORTONEDA (1437-1443), related to the Lanaja Master and author of the Retable of St. Anthony Abbot, 1437 (Embid de la Ribera); the BURNHAM MASTER, who painted the Madonna in Frankfurt and the Retable in the Burnham Collection, Boston; and the TORRALBA MASTER, author of the Retable of Torralba de Ribota, the Crucifixion (Keck Collection, New York) and the Entombment (Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City) are also contemporary followers of Martorell.

The active workshop of Martorell was continued by his young son of the same name under the guidance of a succession of several painters. MIGUEL NADAL was the first in charge of Martorell's workshop and painted there the Retable of SS. Cosmas and Damian, 1454 (Barcelona Cathedral). The ST. QUIRSE MASTER continued Nadal's job in the shop. His works, the Retable of St. Clara and St. Catherine (Barcelona Cathedral) and the Retable of St. Quirse (Barcelona Museum) and many others, foreshadow Huguet. PEDRO GARCÍA, a third Martorell successor, is the author of a signed Enthroned Virgin (Barcelona Museum) and the Retable from Benavent. He was followed by a group of minor painters in the Lérida region, such as PEDRO ESPALARGUES and the ARÁN MASTER. Other adherents were JUAN FIGUERA, who painted the Retable of St. Bernardine in Sardinia, 1455, and the Retable in the Tozzi Collection, New York, and VALENTÍN MON-



17 BERNARDO MARTORELL (MASTER OF ST. GEORGE)
SCENES FROM THE LIVES OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST
AND ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, CA. 1445
TEMPERA PAINTING ON PANEL
WILDENSTEIN AND COMPANY, INC., NEW YORK



18 JAIME FERRER II
 ANNUNCIATION, CA. 1540
 TEMPERA PAINTING ON PANEL
 POWEL-JONES COLLECTION, GATES MILL, OHIO



19 VALENCIAN RETABLE, CA. 1430
VIRGIN AND CHILD
TEMPERA PAINTING ON PANEL
WALTERS ART GALLERY, BALTIMORE

TOLIU, who was active from 1433-1469 in Tarragona and in Castellón and painted the Retable of Llosar, 1455, the Retable of St. Barbara of La Mata, 1467, and panels in Ibiza.

Martorell's style is paralleled in Valencia by a group of anonymous painters. The very refined manner of the circle of Marçal de Sas and Pedro Nicolau had prepared the ground well for the production of a large number of very fine paintings, of which the Virgin and Child in the Walters Art Gallery (Fig. 19) is a good example.

JAIME HUGUET (1451-1489), possibly the son of PEDRO HUGUET (1424-1448), was the greatest exponent of the Catalan School of the second half of the fifteenth century. He inherited the style of Martorell through the St. Quirse Master, but he also incorporated in his paintings Flemish elements, possibly from Dalmáu. As in the case of other Catalan painters, the work of Huguet is weakened by the collaboration of assistants, employed to facilitate the task of executing the huge retables popular at the time. Also, the artistic quality of his creations is lowered by the Catalan predilection for covering backgrounds with gilded motifs in stucco relief. These elaborate decorations contrast strangely with the simple rendering of figures and drapery by Huguet, certainly taken from living models.

Between 1453 and 1456 Huguet painted the Retable of St. Anthony Abbot (destroyed) and the Predella from Ripoll (Vich Museum). The Retable of the Retailers' Guild, painted about 1456, shows the work of assistants. In 1461 he produced the altarpiece devoted to SS. Abdon and Sennen for Tarrassa, the figures of which are remarkable for their simple and clear expression of chastity and spiritual content. One panel of the retable executed for the Bridle Makers in 1462 is preserved. Two years later Huguet painted his first masterpiece, the Retable of the Constable of Portugal for the Royal Chapel in Barcelona, in which, with the use of a very simple technique, he achieves great expressionism. It is one of the finest Spanish paintings of the middle of the fifteenth century.

In his subsequent period he had a number of assistants, among them the painter Rafael Vergós, whose hand appears in the Retable of St. Bernardine and the Guardian Angel in the Cathedral of Barcelona, probably painted about 1470. The style reveals all the characteristics of Huguet's last period in which the spirit of the Renaissance becomes increasingly apparent in spite of strong medieval traits. About 1480, with much assistance, he painted the Retable of San Celoni and the undocumented Retable from Sarria (both in the Barcelona Museum) finished by later artists. His final production was the enormous altarpiece of St. Augustine, painted between 1464 and 1486, of which he executed only one of the panels, the Consecration of St. Augustine. Huguet attains here the level of the great Renaissance painters. The other panels were painted chiefly by Rafael Vergós.

The Vergós were a family of painters whose record extends over the entire fifteenth century. The earliest artist was JAIME VERGÓS I (1434-1460). The workshop was continued by JAIME VERGÓS II (1460-1503), his son, and in turn by his grandsons, Pablo and Rafael. The superior artistic qualities of PABLO VERGÓS made him head of the shop. Unfortunately he died in 1495 and left unfinished his only documented extant work, the Retable of Granollers, which was completed by his father, Jaime, and his brother, Rafael. The Granollers panels painted by Pablo prove that he was a remarkable artist, almost equal to Huguet and to Bermejo who influenced him extensively. Paintings which may be attributed to Pablo Vergós are the Triptych of St. George (Barcelona and Berlin Museums) and the Way to Calvary (Carreras Collection, Barcelona).



20 RAFAEL VERGÓS
 DOMINICAN SAINT, CA. 1490
 TEMPERA PAINTING ON PANEL
 HENRY P. MC ILHENNY, PHILADELPHIA

RAFAEL VERGÓS (1470-1503) was a secondary painter who, as mentioned, worked in the Huguet workshop for a long period and later engaged in partnership with PEDRO ALEMANY. The panels with saints owned by Henry P. McIlhenny, Philadelphia, one a Dominican Saint (Fig. 20), are among the most remarkable of his paintings. GABRIEL GUARDIA and FRANCISCO SOLIBES may also be listed among the followers of Huguet.

The school of Huguet virtually became the common denominator of Catalan and Aragonese painters of the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Several of these Aragonese artists, fairly proficient painters, were very faithful disciples of Huguet, adhering closely to his style. One of the retables executed by an artist of this group, the lost retablo of Pallaruelo de Monegros, was signed by MARTÍN DE SORIA, a painter recorded in Saragossa from 1475 to 1487. Its style was close to the Retable of St. Anthony and St. Michael (Paul Drey Gallery) (Fig. 21).

During the second half of the fifteenth century, the school of Valencia possessed a very striking stylistic unity. Most of its paintings may be assigned to one large circle, in which the Valencian formula of the International Style was modified by Italian and Flemish influence. JACOMART (Jaime Baco) (1443-1461), court painter of Alfonso V and John II, probably was the generator of this style. The problem of his personality is intricately involved with that of JUAN REIXAC (1431-1484), his partner. In 1468 the latter signed the Retable of Cubells, the style of which is convincing proof that he was the author of various retables contracted for by Jacomart. Among the attributions to Jacomart must be included the retables of St. Augustine, ca. 1455, (Játiva), St. Martin (Segorbe), and St. Helen and St. Sebastian (Játiva), and the panel with three feminine saints (F. Kleinberger and Company) (Fig. 22). The elements of the Italian Renaissance incorporated in these paintings may be explained by the visit of Jacomart to Naples.

Works by Reixac are the Retable of Catí, contracted by Jacomart in 1460; the Epiphany in Rubielos de Mora, ca. 1464; the Cubells Retable, signed in 1468; the Magdalen (Játiva); the Virgin and Angels (Nichols Collection, Boston); St. Anthony Abbot (Paul Collection, Boston), and the Death of St. Giles (Johnson Collection, Philadelphia).

The style of these two painters had a legion of followers in Valencia during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Among them may be mentioned JUAN PONS who signed an Epiphany (Berkshire Museum) in 1477, and JUAN BARCELÓ who signed a retablo in Cagliari, Sardinia. Some of these followers were imbued with the budding Renaissance influence brought to the Valencian school by Bermejo and Osona. The outstanding masters in this instance are the PEREA MASTER, the ARTÉS MASTER, the JÁTIVA MASTER, the MARTÍNEZ MASTER, the BORBOTÓ MASTER, the ST. LAZARUS MASTER, the CABANYES MASTER, and the GABARDA MASTER.

The Majorcan School of the second half of the fifteenth century derived its manner from Huguet and from the last group of Valencian painters. The Catalan influence is seen in the work of the MASTER OF THE PREDELLAS, a fine painter, and RAFAEL MOGER (1458-1479). MARTI TORNER (1480-1497) was related to the Valencian School.

The development of the International Style in Castile was led by the Florentine painter DELLO DE NICOLÒ DELLI, author of some paintings in the Cloisters of Santa Maria Novella, and active in Spain from 1433-1470, where he was called Nicolás Florentino. In 1455 he painted the Last Judgment in the old Cathedral of Salamanca, which permits attribution to him of the large retablo in the same chapel. In 1470 he executed a test work in the Cathedral of Valencia and he died shortly thereafter.



21 MARTÍN DE SORIA
 RETABLE OF ST. ANTHONY ABBOT AND ST. MICHAEL, END OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY
 TEMPERA PAINTING ON PANEL
 PAUL DREY GALLERY, NEW YORK



22 JACOMART (JAIME BACO)
 THREE FEMININE MARTYR SAINTS—SECTION OF A RETABLE, CA. 1460
 TEMPERA PAINTING ON PANEL
 F. KLEINBERGER AND COMPANY, INC., NEW YORK



23 JÁTIVA MASTER
 ADORATION OF THE MAGI, CA. 1500
 OIL PAINTING ON PANEL
 TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

In the middle of the fifteenth century Leon became the seat of an important school of the International Style, characterized by strong indigenous qualities with a few Italian elements. The most significant exponent of this school was the painter NICOLÁS FRANCÉS (1425-1468), whose documented works are the high altar, 1434, and the decoration of the wall of the Cloister, 1459-1468, in the Cathedral of Leon. Among the attributions to him are several other paintings in the same cathedral and in Santa Clara de Tordecillas, and the large retablo from Leon in the Prado. He was a fine painter and his work in the typical formula of the International Style contributed to the development of a very important Castilian school in the middle of the fifteenth century. JUAN DE BURGOS, whom we know for his signed Annunciation (Fogg Art Museum) (Fig. 24) represents the last phase of the International movement in Castile under the influence of Dello Delli and Nicolás Francés. Among important Castilian works of this period, attention must be called to the retables of Torres de Medina (Toledo).

HISPANO-FLEMISH STYLE, SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The Flemish influence was introduced very early in the eastern Spanish regions. The rulers of Aragon and Catalonia during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries employed Flemish sculptors who created significant masterpieces in these regions. As a matter of fact, early Flemish sculpture cannot be better studied than in Catalonia, Valencia and Majorca.

Castilians quickly developed a keen taste for the art of the Flemings, for their cathedrals and palaces possessed paintings by Van Eyck, Van der Weyden, Petrus Christus, Dirk Bouts, Justus of Ghent, Hugo van der Goes, Memling and others—during the lifetime of those artists. The visit of Van Eyck to Spain and Portugal during 1428 and 1429, when he executed several portraits, very likely impressed Spanish painters.

The true Flemish style was brought to the school of Barcelona by Luis Dalmáu during the second quarter of the fifteenth century, but the tradition of the International Style was so strong there that he succeeded in impressing only a few of its elements on Huguet and his circle. The Castilian school of painting became involved in the Flemish style later than the period of Dalmáu's work, but the influence became strong enough to effect a drastic change in the active nucleus of the school. Flemish elements were not incorporated in Castilian paintings in as faithful a manner as in Dalmáu's work. The painters of Castile endeavored to produce the Flemish effect by using a broader fashion of brush work without the nicety of Flemish methods, but they acquired a much more vivid realism in the rendering of countenances. During the third quarter of the fifteenth century the complete Hispanization of the Flemish style was achieved, and this manner became popular in even the most remote workshops of central Spain. The style of the School of Tournai found especial favor, although later the manner of Gerard David and his followers was preferred. Dutch painters contributed to this new flow of ideas, and the great popularity accorded the engravings of Schöngauer was an important source of the German influence at the end of the fifteenth century.

The leader in Hispano-Flemish painting, LUIS DALMÁU (1428-1459), was active in Valencia when he was sent by Alfonso V on a royal mission to Castile, where he probably first came into contact with Flemish art. In 1431 he went to Flanders for the purpose of securing tapestry weavers for Valencia, and he was still there the next year when the great Ghent altarpiece was completed. He had, however, returned to Valencia by 1436.



24 JUAN DE BURGOS
 ANNUNCIATION—SECTION OF A RETABLE, CA. 1450
 TEMPERA PAINTING ON PANEL
 FOGG MUSEUM OF ART, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE

A few years later he was commissioned to paint the Virgin of the Councillors for the Chapel of the City Hall of Barcelona, signed by him in 1445. The enthroned Virgin is derived from the Van der Paele painting in Bruges and the singing angels from Van Eyck's Ghent altarpiece, but the characterful portraits of the Councillors are original creations and the best portraits executed in Spain in the middle of the fifteenth century. Dalmáu contracted for several other paintings during his activity in Barcelona, and his workshop was continued by his son, ANTONIO (1450-1499).

The influence of Dalmáu is noticeable in the very distinguished anonymous PEDRALBES MASTER, author of the Epiphany (Vich Museum) and the Madonna and Angels (Muntades Collection, Barcelona), and in the GERONA MASTER who executed several excellent paintings in the Gerona Cathedral.

PEDRO NISART, a notable although sporadic case of the Flemish style in Majorca, is the author of the large Retable of St. George (Cathedral of Palma) painted in 1468 in collaboration with Rafael Moger. He was a remarkable follower of Van Eyck, and his St. George is one of the outstanding masterpieces of Hispano-Flemish painting.

In Valencia, the Flemish style is the chief factor in a few paintings, such as an Annunciation in the Valencia Museum, and the Transfiguration and the St. Gregory of the Cathedral of Valencia. This influence is also apparent in the Annunciation of the Mascarell Collection, Valencia, and in the Coronation of the Virgin (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), both works by the anonymous MASTER OF ALACUÁS, probably active between 1450 and 1470.

The earliest dated Hispano-Flemish painting in Castile is the St. Anne Retable from Buitrago, executed by JORGE INGLÉS (George, the Englishman) about 1455. Its style, related to that of Van Eyck and Roger Van der Weyden, permits attribution to the same hand of the Retable from Mejorada (Valladolid Museum). But the first Castilian painter in the Hispano-Flemish manner whose life and work can be satisfactorily reconstructed is FERNANDO GALLEGO. It is probable that he visited the low countries, for his style is closely related to that of his contemporary, Dirk Bouts. However he was not a servile imitator, as his work possesses an unmistakable Iberian cast—which tendency contributed to his sober color gamut of green, gray, and soft blues. His earliest work is probably a signed Crucifixion (Weibel Collection, Madrid). He also signed, about 1467, the Retable of St. Ildefonso (Cathedral of Zamora) and the Triptych with a Madonna (Cathedral of Salamanca). His later works include the fresco with astronomical themes in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca, painted between 1479 and 1493; the high altar of San Lorenzo at Toro, ca. 1500; the Retable in Santa María at Trujillo, painted soon after the latter; a Flagellation and Nativity in the Church of Campo de Peñaranda; a Coronation at Villaflores and the Epiphany in the Toledo Museum of Art (Figs. 25 and 26), and others.

Productions of the Gallego workshop are countless. Among the best are the Retable of the Church of Arenillas and the Retable from Ciudad Rodrigo (Cook Collection, Richmond). Payment for the Retable of St. Catherine in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca is recorded as having been made in 1500 to FRANCISCO GALLEGO, who was probably a relative of Fernando since their work is very similar. The two wings, painted on canvas, of Fernando Gallego's Zamora altarpiece are works of PEDRO BELLO, done in 1503. They prove that he was a rather inferior imitator of Gallego.



One of the most difficult problems encountered by Professor Post in his *History of Spanish Painting* was to classify for the first time the enormous quantity of paintings produced in Castile and Leon during the second half of the fifteenth century. Archive research and photographic work had not been sufficiently thorough to permit an accurate study of the countless panel paintings in Hispano-Flemish style—most of which had never been published. Apparently every important Castilian city had its own group of painters and workshops working in the Hispano-Flemish style.

One of the prominent figures in Leon was the PALANQUINOS MASTER, related to Gallego. Despite the fact that he was active at the very end of the fifteenth century, a debt to Roger Van der Weyden is very perceptible in his work. His paintings, the Retable of Palanquinos, the panels with SS. Cosmas and Damian (Cathedral of Leon), and the Retable of Santa Marina at Mayorga, reveal him as an original personality in transforming Flemish models to the Iberian fashion. His influence is apparent in most of the contemporary painting in the diocese of Leon and is also found, combined with stylistic characteristics of Gallego, in retables of the region of Palencia. The outstanding anonymous artists from this region are the MASTER OF THE VISITATION (Cathedral of Palencia), the FROMISTA MASTER, and the CURIEL MASTER—author of the Visitation in the Art Institute of Chicago.

The prominent painter of Burgos during its Hispano-Flemish period was the BURGOS MASTER, who may be ALONSO DE SEDANO—author of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, executed in 1488 (Cathedral of Palma). His paintings, most of which are preserved in Burgos, brought to the Castilian School a touch of Italian influence and contributed to the development of the style of painters and workshops of the region, such as the ST. NICHOLAS MASTER, the MASTER OF THE LARGE FIGURES, and the important circle of the School of Oña.

The AVILA MASTER, tentatively identified with GARCÍA DEL BARCO (1465–1476), shows a free adaptation of Van der Weyden in his triptych in the Lázaro Collection, 1470–1475, and in his paintings of El Barco de Avila. His virile style is noticeable in a great number of paintings in Avila and Toledo, such as the panels from the Monastery of La Sista, based on Schöngauer prints. The greatest exponent of the Toledo School, however, was the LUNA MASTER, author of the Retable of Don Alvaro de Luna, painted in 1488, for the Cathedral of Toledo. The contract for this retable is signed by the artists SANCHE DE ZAMORA and JUAN DE SEGOVIA. FRANCISCO CHACÓN, painter to Isabella of Castile, mentioned in 1480, signed a Pietà now in the Escuelas Pias of Seville.

The Hispano-Flemish style in Valladolid was led by the SAN ILDEFONSO MASTER, author of the St. Ildefonso (Louvre), the St. Louis of Toulouse (Valladolid Museum), and the panels in the Convent of Mercy of Valladolid. His Flemish inspirer was the Master of Flémalle. Most of the paintings in the region of Valladolid reveal the influence of Gallego. An anonymous Hispano-Flemish Master, active in Valladolid at the very end of the fifteenth century, was the author of a magnificent retable distributed among various American collections (Fig. 27). The heraldic insignias appearing in several panels refer to marriages uniting the imperial families of Burgundy and Austria with the Spanish royal family in 1496 and 1497. The style discloses a distinct, but thoroughly Hispanized, dependency on Roger Van der Weyden. To the same master may be attributed the Triptych of St. Ildefonso (Valladolid Museum) and the Circumcision (Lázaro Collection). The Castilian training of PEDRO DÍAZ DE OVIEDO, particularly derived from





27 VALLADOLID MASTER
 WEDDING OF CANA—SECTION OF CATHOLIC KINGS' RETABLE, 1496–1497
 OIL PAINTING ON PANEL
 PRESTON POPE SATTERWHITE, NEW YORK



28 CASTILIAN SCHOOL—HISPANO-FLEMISH STYLE
 MASS OF ST. GREGORY, CA. 1480
 OIL PAINTING ON PANEL
 ARNOLD SELIGMANN, REY AND COMPANY, NEW YORK

the Avila Master, is obvious in his retable in Tudela, painted in 1489. He inspired several works in the region of Navarre, especially the Retable of the Cathedral of Tarazona and the Triptych in the Parmgianini Collection, Reggio, Emilia. The SEGOVIA MASTER, author of the St. Ildefonso and St. Martin of Segovia, painted in 1470, does not belong to the circle of Gallego; he is stylistically related to the anonymous author of the beautiful painting of St. Jerome in His Study (Lázaro Collection, Madrid). The Retable of St. Mark and St. Catherine (Cathedral of Sigüenza), a rather distinguished painting with strong Flemish traits and painted about 1500, is signed "Antonius," a signature which has been identified with ANTONIO CONTRERAS, active in Sigüenza in 1496. A Retable in the Lafora Collection and a panel in the Bilbao Museum belong to the circle of the Sigüenza retable. The Mass of St. Gregory (Seligmann, Rey and Company) (Fig. 28) is an excellent example of the Hispano-Flemish style of the last quarter of the fifteenth century and is stylistically related to the BUDAPEST MASTER.

Isabella of Castile employed several Flemish painters, among whom were MIGUEL SITHIUM and JUAN DE FLANDES (John of Flanders). The latter was active in Palencia from 1496 to 1519 and painted a Predella in the University of Salamanca, 1505; the high altar of the Cathedral of Palencia, 1508; and the famous miniature altar of Isabella, now distributed among several private collections (Fig. 29). The Retable of St. Michael in the Cathedral of Salamanca, a group of frescoes in the University of the same city, and several other panels have been attributed to Juan de Flandes. A strong influence from David, the Master of Moulins, and from Fouquet is apparent in his work.

JUAN FLAMENCO (John, the Fleming) (1496-1499) is probably the author of the panels with the History of St. John the Baptist from the Monastery of Miraflores, Burgos (Prado). He exhibits stylistic relation to Gallego.

By the middle of the fifteenth century, the painting of the School of Seville began to be modified by the Flemish influence received through the Castilian School. PEDRO SÁNCHEZ signed an Entombment (Budapest Museum) and also a head of Christ in a private collection in Italy. Both were probably painted at the very end of the fifteenth century and show a very strong influence from Roger Van der Weyden and Hugo Van der Goes, combined with some touches from the Italian schools. Several paintings can be grouped in the circle of Pedro Sánchez, as for example a Crucifixion in the Lázaro Collection, Madrid. ANTÓN and DIEGO SÁNCHEZ signed a Via Dolorosa (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England) which still retains much from Dello Delli. Painters of the same name are recorded as working in Malaga in 1487.

A crucifixion in the Cathedral of Seville is signed by JUAN SÁNCHEZ. JUAN NÚÑEZ, a painter mentioned in a document of 1480, signed a Pietà in the Cathedral of Seville. He shows an evident influence from both the Italian and Flemish schools. The panel of the Virgen de Gracia in the Cathedral of Seville signed by JUAN SÁNCHEZ DE CASTRO has the same Flemish influence but still preserves a strong medieval Spanish feeling. This painter, who is mentioned in a document of 1454, signed as well a St. Christopher in the church of St. Julian in Seville and a Salvador Mundi (private collection, Seville) dated 1471. A painting on canvas, Seville Museum, is signed by PEDRO SÁNCHEZ, but the craftsmanship is so inferior to the Budapest Entombment that we must concede that two painters of the same name existed simultaneously. Apparently most of the workshops of Seville were owned by people related to the Sánchez family.



29 JUAN DE FLANDES
 CHRIST CROWNED WITH THORNS—SECTION OF A RETABLE PAINTED
 FOR ISABELLA OF CASTILE, CA. 1500
 OIL PAINTING ON PANEL
 DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

The city of Cordova became the home of the best Andalusian painters of the second half of the fifteenth century. A magnificent panel in the Cathedral of Cordova with an Annunciation surrounded by several saints and portraits of donors is signed by PEDRO DE CORDOVA and is dated 1475. It shows the hand of a refined master and has connection with some of the painters of the School of Avignon. PEDRO FERNÁNDEZ DE CORDOVA is an inferior master who signed a Nativity (Pickman Collection, Seville). BARTOLOMÉ RUIZ OF CORDOVA, mentioned in several documents between the years 1475 and 1507, signed a Pietà (Lisbon Museum). DIEGO PAREJA signed a large retablo in Santa María Arjona, Jaen. The two greatest painters of the School of Cordova in the second half of the fifteenth century, Alfonso and Bermejo, because of the great role they played in the transformation of medieval painting into the Renaissance style, will be studied subsequently.

III

THE RENAISSANCE

A group of Spanish painters of the second half of the fifteenth century, although basically Hispano-Flemish, were thoroughly modified by the growing Renaissance style. This group was led by the three foremost Spanish painters of the time: Master Alfonso, Bartolomé Bermejo, and Pedro Berruguete. Alfonso and Bermejo, painters from Cordova, worked most of their lives in Aragon; and, as in the case of Jacomart, the most satisfactory explanation of their style is to assume they visited Naples, a city which had been an Aragonese dominion since 1443 and was the seat of a very important school of painting combining early Italian Renaissance and Franco-Flemish styles. To support the theory that Master Alfonso had been in Italy is the known fact that he married a Neapolitan lady and we have definite proof of a long Italian sojourn by Berruguete, Castilian painter.

These three great masters effected the transformation in Spanish painting from the Gothic into the Renaissance style; Alfonso and Bermejo in Aragon and in Valencia, and Berruguete in Castile. A group of French and Flemish painters led by Juan de Borgoña and established in Toledo at the end of the fifteenth century contributed to the artistic movement headed by Berruguete. In Andalusia the change was brought about by Alejo Fernández.

MASTER ALFONSO was mentioned as a painter from Cordova in 1465, when payment was made to him for decorations in the Royal Palace of Barcelona. In 1473 he painted the Retable of San Cucufate del Vallés, the two extant panels of which represent the Martyrdom of St. Cucufas and a Warrior Saint. Both are executed in oil with a complete knowledge of the resources of this technique, and they are among the finest paintings ever produced by the Spanish School. Every element has been studied and painted with the greatest mastery. The nude body of the saint, the figures of the executioner and the three standing witnesses to the martyrdom, and the reclining dog and the basket with knives combine the most advanced Flemish techniques and the human realism of the greater Renaissance artists.

The true name of BARTOLOMÉ BERMEJO (1474-1499) was very likely Bartolomé de Cárdenas, and Bermejo (meaning reddish) probably was merely a nickname. However he signed a Pietà of the Cathedral of Barcelona with the name Bermejo, adding the word "Cordubensis" (from Cordova). The Dormition (Kaiser Friedrich Museum) and four panels found in Guatemala representing the Descent into Hell, the Entry into Paradise, the Resurrection of Christ, and the Ascension, are the most archaic paintings by Bermejo.

In Bermejo's earliest dated work, the panel of Santo Domingo de Silos (Prado) painted for Daroca in 1474, he emerges as a mature artist—a great artistic personality possessing complete knowledge of technique. This panel still retains typical Gothic elements, but the realistic quality of faces and hands and the small allegorical figures are somewhat in the spirit of the Renaissance. The manner of Jan Van Eyck and Roger Van der Weyden is still apparent, but Bermejo rivals the Belgians in his faithful definition of accessories, in the use of foreshortening, and in the solution of difficult perspective problems. A Predella in Daroca, probably painted in the same period, reveals Bermejo's ability in rendering landscapes with good linear and aerial perspective. The Santa Engracia (Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston) (Fig. 30) is apparently contemporary with the Santo Domingo de Silos panel.

The masterpiece of Bermejo's Valencian period is the signed St. Michael (London), the most Flemish of all his works. The kneeling donor is beautifully painted in the manner of the portraits of Van der Weyden. The painting of Christ Seated on the Tomb, which was also found in Valencia, was realized in a period very close to the execution of the Acqui Madonna. The realism of the anatomical details is a most unusual accomplishment for a Spanish painter. The holy tomb bears a Hebrew inscription which, in addition to the physical types depicted in his paintings, suggests that Bermejo belonged to the Jewish race.

The Pietà of 1490 in the Cathedral of Barcelona reveals Bermejo's advancement into the mature style of the Cinquecento. In this painting Bermejo is a thoroughly Renaissance master, but his Flemish origin is still unmistakable in the composition, types, and technical methods. The figure of the donor is one of the best portraits painted in Europe during this period. Bermejo's fantasy is shown in the landscape, which includes so many details copied from nature and a variety of meteorologic conditions. This painting has a close counterpart in the Triptych of Acqui, probably painted about 1485, for a Spanish family, who gave the picture to Acqui. Post attributes to Bermejo the Epiphany in the Cathedral of Granada, which tradition asserts belonged for many years to the collection of Isabella of Castile. The imperial shield represented in the painting indicates as late a period as 1496 or 1497, the dates of marriage of the royal children into the family of Maximilian. In 1495 Bermejo designed the stained glass window, a Noli Me Tangere, for the Baptistery Chapel of the Cathedral of Barcelona. His latest extant work is the Veronica from the Cathedral of Vich, in which town Bermejo worked in 1498.

Not only was Bermejo a most distinguished master, but his style became the model for an important group of painters in Valencia and Aragon, where there were no native pictorial leaders at this time.

It is known that in 1477 the painter MARTÍN BERNAT (1474–1496) agreed to finish the Daroca altarpiece in Aragon begun by Bermejo in 1474. His style may be studied in other documented paintings by him. In them he is revealed as a very faithful imitator of Bermejo, although he is artistically much inferior. If he was the author of the Retable of St. Martin in the Collegiata de Daroca, it is possible that some of the heads were begun by Bermejo. Bernat was often associated with another painter called MIGUEL JIMÉNEZ (1466–1496). He painted the lost Retable of Tamarite de Litera, for which his son JUAN painted several panels. He also signed a predella with Scenes of the Passion (private collection, Madrid). Both artists were derived from the style of Bermejo.



30 BARTOLOMÉ BERMEJO
SANTA ENGRACIA, CA. 1475
OIL PAINTING ON PANEL
ISABELLA STEWART GARDNER MUSEUM, BOSTON

RODRIGO DE OSONA THE ELDER is mentioned in a document of 1464; and in 1476 he signed the large Crucifixion in St. Nicholas in Valencia, the style of which indicates a very close relationship between Osona and Bermejo. The beautiful Nativity now in the Town Hall of Castellón, the standing figure of St. Vincent Ferrer (Museum of Valencia), and St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist (Santa María Alicante) may be attributed to Osona's earliest period. They still retain the spirit of Jacomart's compositions, but essentially there is embodied in them the new combination of Italian and Flemish influence introduced in Valencia by Bermejo. The similarity between Osona's St. Peter (Barcelona Museum), Bermejo's panel of Santo Domingo de Silos, and the doors of Bermejo's Acqui Triptych, attributed to Rodrigo de Osona, are conclusive evidence of the relationship between these two masters. Post attributes to Osona the Elder a group of panels, in which are included the Madonna of Montesa (Prado), an Epiphany (Bayonne Museum) and an Annunciation (Munich), which are much advanced into the canon of the Renaissance. If they are by Osona, they must belong to his last period.

RODRIGO DE OSONA THE SON signed an Epiphany (National Gallery, London) in which he is seen as a very weak although faithful follower of his father's style. The Epiphany permits attribution to him of several paintings, executed in collaboration with his father. Of them, probably the most significant are the Epiphany (Duveen Bros. Collection) (Fig. 31), the panel with the Mass of St. Regulus (Cathedral of Valencia), and the Retable of the Church of Jesús in Ibiza.

Several masters, of Renaissance manner, originated in Valencia from the Osona style, the most important being the ST. NARCISSUS MASTER who painted the St. Narcissus Retable in the Cathedral of Valencia. The similarity of this painter to Lorenzo Costa inspires the belief that the Narcissus Master was one of the several Italian artists imported by Rodrigo Borgia to Spain.

PABLO DE SAN LEOCADIO (1472-1514) was an Italian painter belonging to this group. In 1501 he agreed to paint the altar for the Collegiata of Gandía; and by reason of stylistic similarity to this known work, a Holy Family and Resurrection (Valencia Museum), a Crucifixion (Játiva Collegiata), Christ Carrying the Cross (private collection, Játiva), and a retable from Villareal (Castellón) have been attributed to him. The large canvases in the Cathedral of Valencia are thought to be his last documented work.

The ST. FELIX MASTER painted the main altar of the church of St. Felix of Gerona—a work of high quality and well advanced into the spirit of the Renaissance. This skillful anonymous master copied his figures from nature and displays a great passion for dynamic forms. He is also the author of the Retable of St. Andrew in Valencia, an early work by him, which proves his Valencian origin and his relationship to Osona. He trained a Catalan assistant, named MATAS.

The School of Barcelona at the end of the fifteenth century fell into a state of extreme decadence. The rather secondary masters of this school, most of whom are still anonymous, became involved in the late Flemish Renaissance style. One of the most celebrated works in this circle is the Retable of St. Eloy (Barcelona Museum), painted about 1500. JUAN GASCÓ must be mentioned as an artist of this group. He came from Navarre and established himself in Vich during the last years of the fifteenth century. Essentially Gothic, he gradually incorporated elements of the Renaissance into his painting. The MASTER OF SIJENA flourished at the same moment.

PEDRO BERRUGUETE (1477-1504), born in Paredes de Nava, was no doubt trained as a painter in the Gallego style. He probably went to Italy early in his career and very likely is the Pietro Spagnuolo who worked in Urbino in 1477. Pablo de Céspedes prob-



31 RODRIGO DE OSONA
EPIPHANY, CA. 1500
OIL PAINTING ON PANEL
DUVEEN BROTHERS, INC., NEW YORK

ably refers to Berruguete when he mentions a Spanish artist who painted several portraits of famous men for the Ducal Chamber in the Palace of Urbino. Several panels (Louvre, Windsor Castle and the Barberini Gallery), representing single figures and formerly in the Palace of Urbino, are definitely related to documented paintings by Berruguete. He worked in the Cathedral of Toledo from 1483 until 1495, when he established himself in Avila—remaining there until his death. He painted the main altar of the Cathedral there, but died before it was finished.

In the region of Avila many paintings have been preserved which can be attributed to Berruguete, as three retables in Paredes de Nava, the retable devoted to the Life of the Virgin (Episcopal Palace in Palencia), the high altar of St. Thomas in Avila, the Retables of St. Dominick and St. Peter Martyr from St. Thomas in Avila (now in the Prado), and the Mass of St. Gregory (Cathedral of Segovia). Berruguete is the greatest Castilian master of the late fifteenth century—a most energetic personality, yet one who displays elegance and high dignity. Because of his feeling for space and atmosphere, he is one of the most significant figures of the early Renaissance in Spain.

Berruguete had several followers, one of whom was his son, ALONSO, the famous sculptor, who was influenced by the style of Michelangelo; BERNARDO DE CASTRO, who signed an Enthroned St. Dominick (Lázaro Collection); and the anonymous author of the altar of St. Peter (Cathedral of Avila). Berruguete's style is evident in most Castilian painting produced about 1500 in the regions of Avila and Palencia. The most remarkable anonymous works in this group are the Retable of the Life of the Virgin in Navianos de Valverde, the side altars in Santa María Villalcazar de Sirga, and the Retable of Perdición in Toro.

The successor to Berruguete in the painting of the high altar of the Cathedral of Avila was SANTA CRUZ, a rather distinguished painter derived from the Florentine masters of the early Renaissance. He died in 1508, leaving the altar of Avila still unfinished. It was JUAN DE BORGONA (John of Burgundy) who finally completed the high altar of Avila. He was an artist probably trained in Italy, as he follows the style of Ghirlandajo closely. His drawing is meticulous and his paintings are compositions of considerable refinement. He worked the greater part of his life in Toledo, where he was particularly engaged in painting for the Cathedral. From 1495 to 1499 he executed the decoration of the Cloister, and in 1500 he painted scenes from the lives of Mary and St. Ildefonso, Biblical scenes, and portraits of the archbishops of the Cathedral in the Chapterhouse. This painting was interrupted by the execution of decorations for Alcalá de Henares and by his completion of the high altar of Avila. He painted the Library in the Cathedral of Toledo and, with the collaboration of several assistants, the frescoes representing the Campaign of Cardinal Cisneros in the Mozarabic Chapel. He later executed the high altar of the Convent of St. Ursula in Toledo, and he worked in the Cathedral as late as 1533.

The School of Toledo developed under the influence of Juan de Borgoña and followed his accurate and conscientious technique very closely. The most important collaborators of Juan de Borgoña were ALONSO SÁNCHEZ; LUIS DE MEDINA; ANDREAS FLORENTINO; and JUAN CORREA DE VIVAR, who worked as late as 1550 and painted the Dormition (Santa María del Transito), a subordinate altar in the Chapel of San Salvador, and many other works for the region of Toledo. A group of paintings in Segovia have been attributed to the painter AMBROSIUS BENSON (d. 1559), pupil of Gerard David.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Like Berruguete, several Spanish painters of the sixteenth century went to Italy. Some of them remained there and others returned to Spain, bringing with them the manner of the Italian Renaissance. JACOPO DA VALENZA (1485-1509) established himself in Venice. Signed works by him, revealing close similarity to Bartolommeo Vivarini, include paintings in the Cathedral of Ceneda and in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin—as well as a Savior with St. Augustine and St. Francis, and a Madonna with St. Augustine and Justina, dated 1509, both in the Academy of Venice. GIOVANNI DA PIETRO, known as Lo Spagna, belonged to the Umbrian School and was one of the finest painters in the circle of Perugino. JUANOS HISPANUS signed a Pietà in Milan. MANUEL FERRANDO, after his visit to Italy, executed the painting representing the founding of the Monastery of Valdemosa in Majorca.

FERNANDO DE LOS LLANOS and FERNANDO YÁÑEZ DE LA ALMEDINA were Castilian painters trained in Italy. One was probably the Fernando Espagnolo who assisted Leonardo da Vinci when he painted in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence from 1503 to 1505. In 1507 these artists agreed to paint Biblical scenes on the wings of the main retable of the Cathedral of Valencia. Fernando Yáñez is thought to be the author of the Meeting at the Golden Gate, the Presentation in the Temple, the Visitation, the Adoration of the Shepherds, the Dormition, and the Resurrection; to Llanos may be attributed the Birth of the Virgin, the Epiphany, the Flight into Egypt, the Purification, the Ascension, and the Pentecost.

Yáñez, who followed the style of Fra Bartolommeo, is a better artist than Llanos, who is very Leonardesque. The retables in the Albornoz Carillo Chapel of the Cathedral of Cuenca, according to Palomino, were painted in 1526 by Yáñez. The Last Judgment (Collegiata, Játiva), the Marriage of the Virgin (Murcia Cathedral) dated 1516, and St. Anne, Virgin and Child (St. Nicholas, Valencia) are also attributed to Yáñez. A Resurrection in the Valencia Museum is attributed to Llanos. Both painters executed the Retable of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the Valencia Cathedral.

JUAN VICENTE MACIP (1505-1550) inherited the style of the two painters above mentioned. His only documented work is the large retable of the Cathedral of Segorbe, 1530. He possesses a good sense of monumentality and, like Yáñez, he strives for accuracy in the study of every detail. Several paintings in Valencia and in the Prado have been ascribed to him, but the Baptism of Christ, ca. 1535 (Cathedral of Valencia), is his masterpiece.

JUAN DE JUANES (1523-1579), son of Juan Vicente Macip, undoubtedly began his career as an assistant to his father. Several works, such as a group of paintings in St. Nicholas of Valencia, may possibly have been executed by the collaboration of both masters. The Virgin Surrounded by Saints with the Venerable Agnesio (Valencia Museum) is one of the finest works by Juan de Juanes. In his portrait of Don Luis Castellá (Prado) he reveals an influence from Moro. His most famous work is the Retable of St. Stephen of Valencia (Prado) 1564; and his religious paintings, the Last Supper, Salvador Mundi, and Ecce Homo, copied and reproduced by his followers, made Juan de Juanes one of the most popular of Spanish painters. The last reference to him is in 1578, when he agreed to paint the main altar of Bocairente. His son, JUAN PORTA, and FRAY NICOLÁS BORRÁS (1530-1610) must be mentioned as followers of Juan de Juanes.

Andalusia, being the commercial center for American colonization, at the end of the fifteenth century came into a period of tremendous prosperity. The construction of monumental religious buildings and the need for their decoration attracted to the region many painters. The city of Seville became a very important artistic center and to it the spirit of the Renaissance was early brought by a group of foreign painters and several Spanish artists trained in Italy. Among the former were Alejo Fernández, Peter de Kempeneer and Ferdinand Sturm. The Spanish Renaissance masters were led by Luis de Vargas and Pablo de Céspedes.

ALEJO FERNÁNDEZ (1498–1543) was established in Cordova as early as 1498. Although probably of German origin, like so many contemporary painters in Spain he incorporated gradually in his work elements of the Italian Renaissance. In his case, he was particularly attracted by the art of the Venetians. Stylistically, he is related to a group of Portuguese painters derived from Quentin Metsys. Important works by him are the Retable in the Cathedral of Seville in 1516; the Altars of St. John in Marchena and Santiago in Ecija; and the Virgin of the Conquerers and the Retable of the Chapel of the Seminar, both in Seville, executed in 1520.

The style of Fernández influenced his collaborators, PEDRO FERNÁNDEZ and ANTONIO SÁNCHEZ; his son SEBASTIÁN (1500–1539), author of the Retable in the Collegiata of Osuna; CRISTOBAL DE MAYORGA (1511–1533); MIGUEL SÁNCHEZ DE GUADALUPE (1505–1530); his brother ANTONIO (1505–1533); PEDRO FERNÁNDEZ DE GUADALUPE (1509–1542), who executed the Bewailing of Christ (Cathedral of Seville) dated 1527; and CRISTOBAL DE MORALES (1509–1526), author of the Deposition in the Cathedral of Seville.

LUIS DE VARGAS (1502–1568) followed Michelangelo. After residing in Rome for twenty-eight years, he established himself in Seville, where he painted and signed in 1555 the Adoration of the Shepherds for the Cathedral. The painting is involved in the Italian mannerism of Raphael's pupils and is remarkable for the rendering of volumes and lights, and for textural quality. The style of Vargas became more Hispanized in his later works, such as the Pietà (Santa María la Blanca, Seville), dated 1564. A Calvary Scene in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia is signed by Luis de Vargas (Fig. 32). A Holy Family (Museum of Seville) executed about 1560 is attributed to him.

His best pupil was PEDRO VILLEGAS (1520–1596), author of the Annunciation and Holy Family in San Lorenzo de Seville, which despite the Vargas style, betray traces of the medieval Andalusian tradition. His later manner may be seen in a signed Virgin and Child (San Vicente, Seville).

VASCO PEREYA belongs to the group of Italianists painting in Seville. A St. Sebastian (San Lucas de Barrameda) signed in 1562 and a St. Onofrius (Dresden) are interesting for their rendering of landscape.

PABLO DE CÉSPEDES (1538–1608), like most artists of the Renaissance, was a poet, philosopher, architect, sculptor, and painter. After studying in Alcalá de Henares in 1559, he went to Rome where he worked with the Brothers Zuccaro and executed frescoes in the Vatican and Santa Trinità del Monte. In 1557 he was in Cordova, where classical studies were the impelling force, and painted several works. On his return from Rome he was accompanied by the painter CESAR DE ARBASIA who worked in Malaga and Seville.

The Sevillian School of painting reached a high point in the Renaissance style with PETER DE KEMPENEER (Pedro de Campaña). An excellent Flemish painter, established in Seville before 1555 when he painted the Altar of Don Diego Caballero (Cathedral of



32 LUIS DE VARGAS
 CHRIST NAILED TO CROSS, CA. 1525
 OIL PAINTING ON PANEL
 JOHN G. JOHNSON ART COLLECTION, PHILADELPHIA

Seville), he was strongly related to the style of Raphael. The Deposition for the Chapel of Santa Cruz, painted about 1558, is his most celebrated painting in Seville. He also signed the Crucifixion in San Juan de la Palma in Seville. The Deposition in the Fabre Museum and the Madonna and Child in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum have been attributed to him.

The manneristic style of this group of painters of the School of Seville was adopted by LUIS MORALES (1540–1586), an artist from Badajoz and one who worked there all his life. He enjoyed such great popularity that he was called "El Divino" (The Divine); and his works were copied and reproduced everywhere in Spain even after his death. The most genuine representative of Spanish religious sentiment, he maintained the traditional medieval spirit in the sixteenth century. He created and employed throughout his life a relatively small number of simple models, which were repeated by his assistants and imitators.

The earliest work by Morales is a Madonna dated 1546 (Church of the Conception, Badajoz). The triptych in the Cathedral of Seville and two paintings of the Ecce Homo, strongly German in feeling, (Hispanic Society of America) (Fig. 33), and (Academy of San Fernando, Madrid) are subsequent works. Between 1560 and 1567 he executed the Retable of Arroyo del Puerco and the Retable of the Treasure House in Madrid—to which altarpiece the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (Prado) originally belonged. The large Retable of San Martín de Plasencia is dated 1567. Masterpieces of a later period when Morales began abandoning his Flemish and German manner for the style of the Italian Renaissance, include two large works—a Pietà and a Holy Family (Cathedral of Salamanca), and a Crucifixion and Resurrection (Grasses Collection, Barcelona) formerly in Salamanca. Morales continued to simplify detail and accentuate dramatic feeling until, in the last period of his career, he achieved a maximum of religious expression in such works as the Holy Family (Hispanic Society of America), a Pietà (Hermitage, Lenin-grad), Christ at the Column with St. Peter (Cathedral in Madrid) and countless numbers of devotional panels portraying Pietàs, Madonnas, and the Ecce Homo.

It was the misfortune of Philip II to build the Monastery of the Escorial during one of the weakest periods in the history of European painting. The Spanish School was in a bad state of decadence; the successors of the early Spanish Renaissance masters did not maintain the artistic level of their predecessors. The great Italian masters such as Titian, who had worked for the Spanish court for many years, Michelangelo, and Raphael, were dead or too old to participate in such an enterprise. Therefore, in spite of the fact that Philip II desired the Escorial to be decorated by the best artists of the world, under existing circumstances he succeeded in securing only very mediocre artists for the purpose. His great fault was his inability to understand El Greco, who probably came to Spain with the hope of being painter to Phillip II, but was instead obliged to confine himself to Toledo.

Such Spanish painters as Philip II could get for the Escorial—El Mudo and his followers—could only paint the altars with mediocre compositions and lacked the training to execute the frescoes planned for the decoration of the enormous Monastery. It was necessary to employ painters from Italy, where the technique and tradition of fresco was well developed; accordingly, successive groups of Italian artists worked in the Escorial. They brought the manneristic style of the late sixteenth century and originated what has been called the "School of the Escorial."



33 LUIS MORALES
 DETAIL OF ECCE HOMO, CA. 1560
 OIL PAINTING ON PANEL
 HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, NEW YORK

Philip II also had in his service a group of portrait painters who, led by the Flemish Antonio Moro and later by Sánchez Coello, became the glorious school of court painters culminating in Velázquez under Philip IV.

ANTONIO MORO (Antonio van Dashorst) (1512–1575), born in Utrecht, was a prominent Flemish painter. It is known that by 1549 he had worked for some time in the service of Cardinal Granvella, Bishop of Arras, who later introduced him to the imperial house of Spain. In 1550 Moro copied the Danaë in Rome, painted by Titian in 1545, and also traveled to Portugal in the service of the Prince of Brazil, returning to Rome the next year. In 1552 he painted the portrait of Philip II in Madrid and in the year following, in the commission of the Spanish king, went to England, where he painted his astonishing portrait of Mary Tudor. He painted another portrait of Philip II in 1557 and became "pintor de cámara." His portrait of Anne of Austria was executed in 1570. Although primarily a portraitist, there is a signed Crucifixion by him, dated 1573, in the Museum of Valladolid.

ALONSO SÁNCHEZ COELLO (1515–1588), born in Benifaro, lived with Antonio Moro in the house of Cardinal Granvella before 1550 and probably accompanied this artist to Portugal. At the death of the Prince of Brazil, Sánchez Coello was recommended to Philip II and was appointed "pintor de cámara."

His style is a reflection of his master's, and he never attempted to deviate from the manner of Moro. The best paintings by Coello are portraits of the Royal Family and nobles, such as those of the Infant Carlos (Descalzas Reales, Madrid), dated 1564; the Infanta Isabella, daughter of Philip II (Prado), 1566; Isabella and her sister Catherine (Prado), 1574; and another of Isabella (Prado), dated 1579; Don Carlos (Prado); Queen Isabelle de Valois (Prado); the Princess of Eboli (private collection, Madrid); and the Portrait of a Prince (Wildenstein Collection) (Fig. 34). He alternated his work of portraiture with such religious compositions as the main altar of Espinar, 1574–1577, and the St. Catherine for the Escorial (Prado) dated 1578. In 1582 he signed the most famous of his religious paintings, a Trinity with the Virgin, St. Sebastian, St. Bernard, and St. Francis, for the Church of San Jerónimo el Real, Madrid. In 1583 he painted for the church of Alcalá de Henares. It is well recorded that he worked on altars for the Monastery of the Escorial between 1578 and 1586. Most of these paintings constitute pairs of saints, frequently signed and dated, which are still *in situ*.

The royal portraits of Coello were copied by various followers and contemporaries. FELIPE DE LIAÑO (d. 1625) is one of the best, and a portrait of Princess Isabella Clara Eugenia (Prado), painted about 1583, is attributed to him.

PANTOJA DE LA CRUZ (1551–1608), born in Valladolid, was a faithful follower of Coello and succeeded him as royal painter to Philip II. Pantoja held the same office also under Philip III. He was active principally as portraitist of the royal family, and the best specimens of his work are preserved in the Prado and in the Escorial. They follow the traditional formula of the Royal School of Madrid and, although inferior to the works of Sánchez Coello, they reveal considerable skill.

JUAN FERNÁNDEZ NAVARRETE (El Mudo) (ca. 1526–1579), born in Logroño, received his artistic education in Italy. He was an energetic worker of good training and an excellent draughtsman, greatly admired by his contemporaries.



34 ALONSO SÁNCHEZ COELLO
PORTRAIT OF A PRINCE, CA. 1575
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
WILDENSTEIN AND COMPANY, INC., NEW YORK

The earliest known work by him is the Baptism of Christ (Prado) in the style of the Florentine mannerists of the first half of the sixteenth century. A Crucifixion, copied from Van der Weyden, was one of his first paintings in the Escorial. In a St. Jerome, dated 1569, he betrays independence of his Italian training. In 1571 he painted the Martyrdom of St. James from an engraving by Cort; and in 1575 the Nativity of Christ, Christ at the Column, and St. John the Baptist with the Virgin and Child. A Holy Family, a charming family scene with many anecdotal details, also in the Escorial, belongs to the period of the Nativity; and the unfinished Burial of St. Lawrence is in similar style. In 1576 El Mudo agreed to paint thirty-two canvases for the altars of the Escorial, and in the next year he signed the St. Peter, St. Paul, St. James and St. Andrew and received payment for the St. Simon and Judas.

LUIS DE CARVAJAL (1534-1607) was born in Toledo and trained under Juan de Villaldo. He painted in the Escorial from 1580 to 1590 where most of his works are still preserved. Among them are the Nativity, the Epiphany, and several standing saints following the composition of El Mudo groups.

JUAN GÓMEZ, born in Cuenca, became painter to Philip II in 1593. He belongs to the same artistic family as Barroso and Carvajal.

MIGUEL BARROSO (1538-1590) arrived in Toledo in 1585; soon after he was appointed by Philip II as painter in the Escorial, where his academic style was greatly influenced by El Mudo.

The first Italians to arrive in Madrid were a group of Florentine mannerists in 1567, who, if not fine artists, were good technicians. Among them were GIOVANNI BATTISTA CASTELLO (called El Bergamasco) (1509-1569) and his sons, NICHOLAS GRANELLO (d. 1593) and FABRIZIO, who were later named royal painters. Nicholas Granello was an imitator of Michelangelo and an excellent draughtsman; and works by him in the Escorial, most of which were executed in collaboration with his half-brother Fabrizio, are the decorations of the Sacristy and Library and the ceilings of the Chapterhouse and the Room of Battles. ROMULO CINCINATO (d. 1600), pupil of Salviati, was one of the best Italian artists in the Escorial where he painted several compositions from the lives of St. Jerome and St. Lawrence, a Transfiguration in the manner of Raphael, and the Martyrdom of St. Maurice—to replace the painting by El Greco. In Cuenca, Cincinato painted his most famous work, a Circumcision. Soon after the death of El Mudo, a Genoese, LUCA CAMBIASO (called Luqueto) (d. 1586) came to the Escorial, where he painted the vaults of the choir, the main chapel, and the great staircase. He was usually assisted by HORACIO and LÁZARO TAVARÓN. At the death of Luqueta, FEDERIGO ZUCCARO and BARTOLOMMEO CARDUCCIO came to paint in the Escorial. Carduccio decorated the Cloister walls, but the paintings by Zuccaro were replaced by frescoes of PELLEGRINO TIBALDI, pupil of Vasari and an inferior imitator of Michelangelo. He began work in the Escorial in 1586 and continued there until 1593. He decorated the Library vault and the Chapel of the Sacrary. PATRICIO CAXES (d. 1612), another Florentine, collaborated with Tibaldi in various paintings in the Escorial; and his son, EUGENIO, painted in the Royal Palace in Madrid. DIEGO DA URBINO, who painted the main altar of Pozuelo de Alarcón and a Retable of Colmenar Viejo, was appointed Royal Painter in 1582. The Venetian artist, BERNARDINO DE AGUA, worked in the Escorial in 1612, painting the Coronation of the Virgin and the Appearance of Christ to His Mother.

IV

EL GRECO

EL GRECO (Domenikos Theotokopoulos) (1541–1614). According to a declaration given by El Greco to the tribunal of the Inquisition of Toledo in May, 1582, he was born in Candia, Crete in 1541. Although a great number of theories have been published about El Greco's early artistic training, nothing of certainty is known. It is quite likely that when he arrived in Venice, about 1565, he was already a painter. It is very possible that the small Triptych of Modena, signed "Domenikos" in Greek capital letters, was painted by El Greco. It must be his earliest known work and therefore confirms the theory that he received his training under the discipline of the Greek workshops producing religious icons in the traditional and monotonous formula of the Greco-Byzantine style. The relation between some of the compositions of the triptych and later signed works by El Greco is undeniable. A landscape of Mount Sinai (Budapest), also attributed to El Greco, is a duplicate of a composition in the Modena Triptych and must therefore have been executed about the same time.

The Cleansing of the Temple (Cook Collection, Richmond) and St. Francis (Zuloaga Collection), signed with Greco's full name in Greek capital letters, are very close to the style of the Venetian painters and must have been executed during El Greco's stay in Venice. A large number of paintings, on stylistic grounds, have been attributed to the Venetian period of El Greco.

A letter from Julio Clovio in 1570, asking Cardinal Farnese to lodge El Greco in his palace, indicates that by this time Greco was working in Rome. The letter also mentions that El Greco had been a pupil of Titian and that he had painted a self-portrait which was the admiration of all the Roman painters. The artist's style during his Roman period may be studied in a rather large group of paintings, most of them signed in Greek capital letters; and a somewhat hypothetical order of chronology may be established in them by analysis of their artistic development. They are: The Annunciation (Contini-Bonacossi Collection); the Annunciation (Prado); the portrait of Julio Clovio (National Museum, Naples); another version of the Cleansing of the Temple (Minneapolis Institute of Art) (Fig. 35) with portraits of Titian, Michelangelo, Julio Clovio, and an unidentified man; the Healing of the Man Born Blind (Parma), obviously copied from an anonymous painting in Dresden; the portrait of Vincentio Anastagi (The Frick Collection) (Fig. 36); a portrait supposedly of Palladio (Copenhagen); two versions of the Pietà (Johnson Collection, Philadelphia and Hispanic Society of America); and perhaps several replicas of the Boy Blowing the Charcoal.



35 EL GRECO (DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPOULOS)
THE CLEANSING OF THE TEMPLE, CA. 1571
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
MINNEAPOLIS INSTITUTE OF ARTS

El Greco probably left Rome about 1573 for Spain, very likely attracted by the idea of employment by Philip II in the decoration of the Escorial. The paintings of Santo Domingo el Antiguo, begun in 1576, have generally been considered his earliest works in Spain. However, it is not difficult to prove that several paintings found in Spain were executed there between his Italian period and 1576. They are St. Sebastian in the Cathedral of Palencia; St. Francis (Doria Collection); the Veronica (Chappaqua, New York); the Portrait of a Man with his hand on his chest (Prado); and the study for the Dream of Philip II (Stirling Collection). These compositions are still signed in the Greek capitals typical of his Italian period. This type of signature was ultimately replaced by a script form, as is seen in the Santo Domingo el Antiguo paintings.

The stylistic analysis of this group of paintings shows the development of El Greco's style and the successive steps from his Roman period to his well-dated Spanish paintings. St. Jerome as a Cardinal (National Gallery, London), the earliest replica of the subject, and a third version of the Cleansing of the Temple (The Frick Collection) (Fig. 37) show a very similar technique and both may be placed shortly before 1576.



36 EL GRECO (DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPOULOS)
DETAIL OF VINCENTIO ANASTAGI, CA. 1573
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
FRICK COLLECTION, NEW YORK



37 EL GRECO (DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPOULOS)
DETAIL OF CLEANSING OF THE TEMPLE, SHORTLY BEFORE 1576
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
FRICK COLLECTION, NEW YORK



38 EL GRECO (DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPOULOS)
PORTRAIT OF AN OLD MAN, CA. 1576
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

The Portrait of an Old Man (Metropolitan Museum of Art) (Fig. 38), is very close in style to the Prado Portrait of a Man with his hand on his chest and therefore cannot be the self-portrait of El Greco, who was at this time still a young man. The group compositions of Santo Domingo el Antiguo, executed from 1576 to 1579, which originally included the Nativity, Resurrection, St. John the Baptist and Evangelist, and St. Veronica, the magnificent Assumption of the Virgin (Fig. 39), and the Trinity (Prado), are executed in a very broad manner and with great freedom, but the study of composition and detail is accomplished according to the strictest canons of the Italian Renaissance and the very bright colors employed are still Italianate in character. Between 1578 and 1579 he alternated his work in Santo Domingo el Antiguo with the painting of one of his greatest compositions, the Espolio (Sacristy of the Cathedral of Toledo). This composition is taken from a lost model painted by El Greco, perhaps when he was still in Italy.

Simultaneously with the paintings of Santo Domingo el Antiguo and the Espolio, El Greco probably painted St. Peter and St. Paul (Barcelona Museum), a Crucifixion (Louvre), the Head of the Virgin (Strassburg), and other small paintings. Several of these works were perhaps executed with the help of an Italian painter named FRANCISCO PREBOSTE, born in 1554, and an assistant of El Greco in Toledo until 1607. It is known that El Greco sent a group of paintings to Seville for sale through a merchant, and the Greco workshop was probably very active in painting such religious works to be sold on the market while the master executed his larger commissions.

Between 1580 and 1584 he painted the St. Maurice, commissioned by Philip II for the Monastery of the Escorial. The king however did not like this magnificent painting, although it is one of El Greco's greatest works. In the St. Maurice, which includes all his technical discoveries and all the types developed up to this moment of his career, El Greco initiated his distortions and elongation of figures. Two years later he painted the Burial of the Count of Orgaz, another of his most successful creations. During the period of these two enormous canvases he probably painted the Annunciation in the Coe Collection (Fig. 41); the Virgin with two feminine saints and the St. Martin (Widener Collection) (Fig. 42) from San José in Toledo, earlier in style than the St. Joseph painted for the main altar of the same church in 1597; the Holy Family in the Cleveland Museum; and a variation of the latter subject in the Hispanic Society of America. The Holy Family with St. John (Fig. 43) was probably painted about 1590, being the model for several replicas existing in Madrid and Toledo. The Agony in the Garden (Arthur Sachs Collection) (Fig. 44) may be dated about 1580 and other versions of the subject, especially those in which the composition has undergone a complete change, belong to a later period and are to a great extent shop work. Christ with the Cross (Fig. 45) must have been painted at a time close to the Crucifixion in the Louvre, ca. 1580. In the nineties he probably painted such portraits as the early versions of the Brothers Covarrubias, Cardinal Tavera—who also appears in the crowd of Elect in the Burial of the Count of Orgaz, several anonymous gentlemen—most of which are in the Prado, and the St. Jerome in The Frick Collection (Fig. 46).

The profound stylistic transformation characteristic of El Greco's last period is discernible in the group of paintings which may be dated in the last five years of the sixteenth century. They are the previously mentioned St. Joseph in Toledo painted in 1597, the Annunciation in Villanueva y Geltrú and the Baptism of Christ in the Prado—



39 EL GRECO (DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPOULOS)
ASSUMPTION OF VIRGIN, 1576–1579
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS



40 DETAIL OF NO. 39



41 EL GRECO (DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPOULOS)
ANNUNCIATION, CA. 1586
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
RALPH M. COE, CLEVELAND



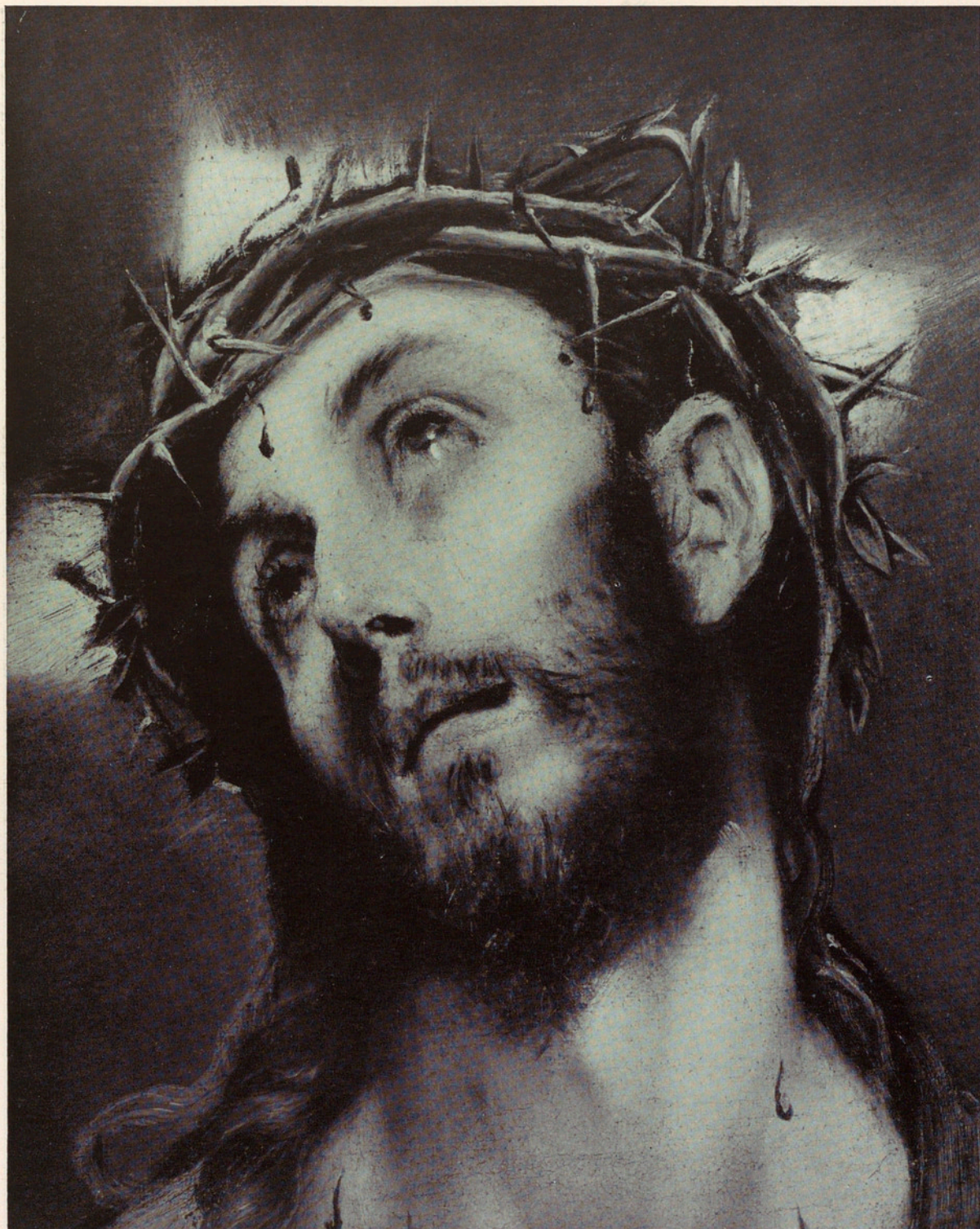
42 EL GRECO (DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPOULOS)
ST. MARTIN, CA. 1586
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
JOSEPH E. WIDENER, ELKINS PARK



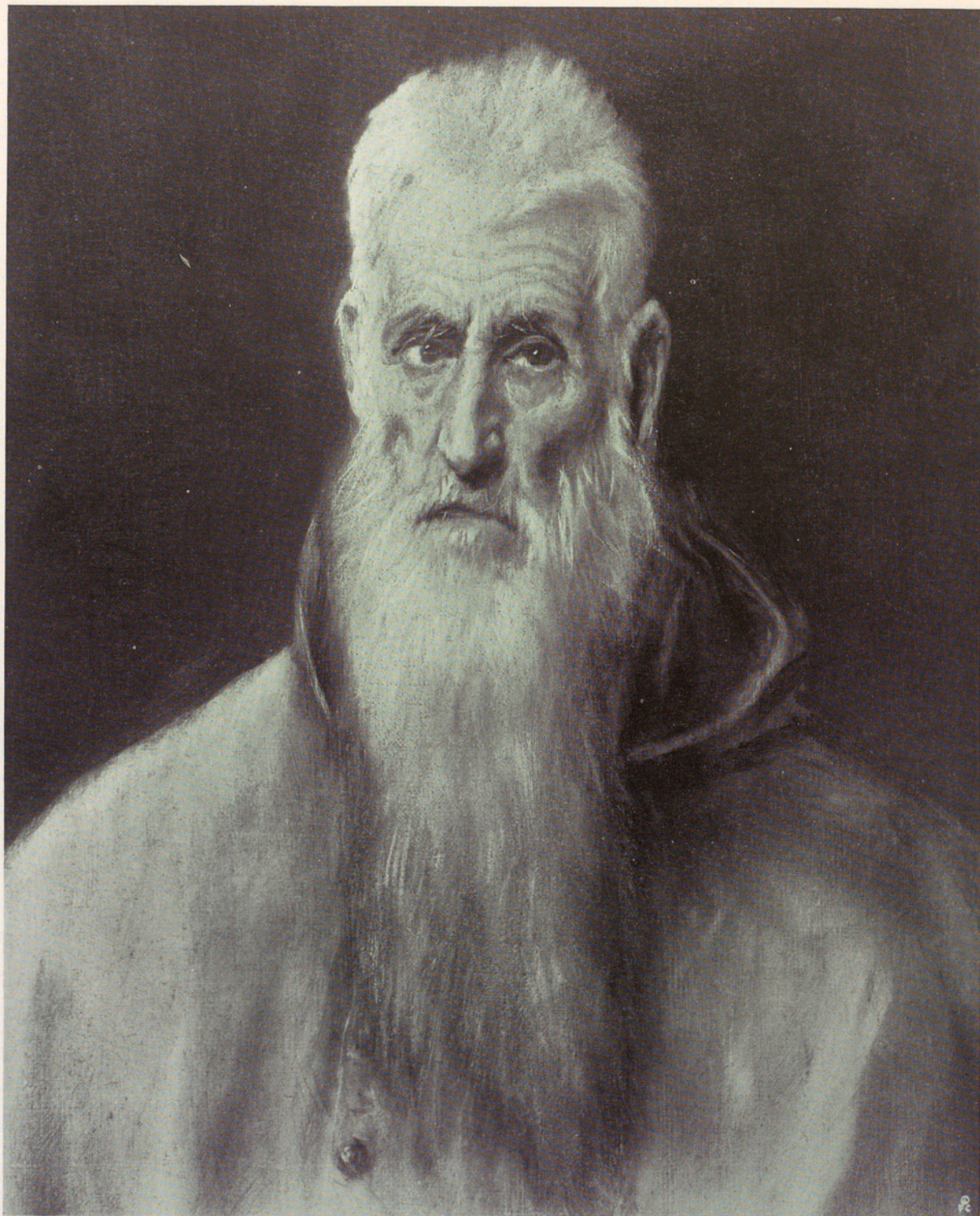
43 EL GRECO (DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPOULOS)
HOLY FAMILY, CA. 1590
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS



44 EL GRECO (DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPULOS)
AGONY IN THE GARDEN, CA. 1580
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
ARTHUR SACHS, NEW YORK



45 EL GRECO (DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPOULOS)
DETAIL OF CHRIST WITH THE CROSS, CA. 1580
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS



46 EL GRECO (DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPOULOS)
DETAIL OF ST. JEROME, CA. 1590
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
FRICK COLLECTION, NEW YORK



47 EL GRECO (DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPOULOS)
 CRUCIFIXION WITH VIEW OF TOLEDO, CA. 1610
 OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
 CINCINNATI ART MUSEUM, CINCINNATI



48 EL GRECO (DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPOULOS)
PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL DON FERNANDO NIÑO DE GUEVARA, CA. 1595-1600
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK



49 EL GRECO (DOMENIKOS THEOTOKOPOULOS)
DETAIL OF HEAD OF FRAY FELIX HORTENSIO PARAVICINO, CA. 1600
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

the latter being a section from the retable painted between 1596 and 1599 for the College of the Augustinians of Madrid. They show a continuity in the conception of composition, but the phosphorescent qualities first revealed in the upper part of the Burial of the Count of Orgaz have been intensified. The inner light transforms material qualities into ethereal effects, and the subtle and lyric elongation of forms creates feverish and ecstatic attitudes and gestures. Spots and masses of color produce striking contrasts of light and shade, achieving a vaporous and fantastic effect.

Although he did not receive any great commissions around 1600, El Greco undoubtedly was very active painting countless replicas of the compositions already mentioned and single representations of saints. He probably also began his series of apostles at this time. In all these works he was very likely assisted not only by Preboste but by his son, JORGE MANUEL, who was born in 1578. Among the favorite holy representations produced by the dozen in the Greco shop, are St. Francis in various attitudes, St. Peter, Magdalen, and the Crucifixion of Christ with a view of Toledo in the background (Cincinnati Art Museum) (Fig. 47). El Greco continued his portraiture, probably executing a portrait of his son (Seville Museum), the superb portrait of the Cardinal Niño de Guevara (Metropolitan Museum of Art) (Fig. 48), and the impressive portrait of Fray Felix Hortensio Paravicino (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) (Fig. 49).

In 1603 he painted the St. Bernardine in Toledo and the main altar for the Hospital of Illescas and, in 1607, he executed St. Ildefonso in Illescas, the Ascension in St. Vincent of Toledo, and possibly the Crucifixion in the Prado. He received the commission for the paintings in the Hospital of St. John the Baptist in Toledo in 1608 and, in 1609, the commission for the main altar of Titulcia, later completed by his son. Pacheco visited El Greco in 1611 and, in spite of his own academic feeling, he was extremely impressed with El Greco's technique and his ideas. He later described the models of wax and clay used by Greco.

The most remarkable works of the last period of El Greco's career are the Resurrection and Pentecost (Prado), The Baptism of Christ and the Assumption in San Vicente of Toledo, The Baptism of Christ in the Hospital of St. John the Baptist in Toledo, the Laocoön (Belgrad), and the so-called Opening of the Fifth Seal (Zuloaga Collection). He died in 1614, leaving a large collection of oil paintings—some of them unfinished and most of them models for his compositions. The number of paintings however appears to have been increased in a second inventory made by his son several years later.

There is urgent need for a study of the styles of Jorge Manuel and the other assistants of El Greco before a final chronological list of Greco paintings may be determined.

V

The Spanish schools of painting, although they were always rather intermingled, were marked by various characteristic and clear differences during the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. At the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, however, as a consequence of vanishing political differences, of the absolute religious unity, and of traveling artists, these schools became practically unified. The School of Catalonia, so brilliant in the middle ages, entered an era of decadence and never again produced a prominent artist. The School of Valencia was continued by a group of artists trained in Madrid, the most outstanding of which was Ribalta; Ribera, a born Valencian, flourished in Naples. The painters of Madrid and Toledo did not understand the great lesson to be learned from El Greco, and followed the academic mannerism of the Italian artists established in those cities. By this time Seville had contributed to the scroll of Spanish painters such prominent masters as Roelas, Pacheco and Herrera, who transformed the lingering Italianism into what was to be the naturalistic Spanish style of the seventeenth century, later brought to Madrid by Velázquez.

PEDRO ORRENTE (1560–1644), born in Murcia, has been called the Spanish Bassano. He worked in Toledo, where he died, most of his life, but he began his career in the Valencian School. St. Sebastian in the Valencian Cathedral and Scenes of the Life of St. John were executed in 1616. He was in Toledo in 1617, where he became a friend of the Greco family. In this year he painted the Miracle of San Leocadio in the Sacristy of the Cathedral of Toledo.

About 1641 he traveled throughout Spain, visiting Murcia, Seville and Cordova and executed a Doubting Thomas for the Cathedral of the latter city. He painted several religious scenes in typical Bassano genre form. His masterpieces in this manner are the Adoration of the Shepherds (Bilbao), the Sacrifice of Isaac (Valencia Museum) and Jacob (Madrid Academy), with landscape details of exceptional quality. Other religious scenes by him are the Martyrdom of St. Catherine, the Supper at Emmaus (Bilbao) and St. Bruno (Hermitage). The Prado and the Academy of Valencia possess several studies of landscape and genre scenes by him.

JUAN SÁNCHEZ COTÁN (1561–1627), a Carthusian monk, pupil of BLAS DE PRADO, painter of Toledo, worked in Granada the last fifteen years of his life. His paintings are preserved principally in the monasteries of Andalusia. In 1602 he signed a very realistic still life in the Alfonso de Bourbon Collection; between 1615 and 1617 he executed four paintings, considered his masterpieces, devoted to St. Bruno for the Carthusian Monastery in Granada. Cotán's still lifes are particularly celebrated (Fig. 50).



50 JUAN SÁNCHEZ COTÁN
STILL LIFE, CA. 1615
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
ARNOLD SELIGMANN, REY AND COMPANY, INC., NEW YORK

LUIS TRISTÁN (1586–1640) was one of the most faithful followers of El Greco, but his similarity to him is only external. His earliest work is the Beheading of St. John the Baptist in the Carmelites of Toledo, dated 1613. In the same year he painted several works in the Refectory of the Convent of La Sisa, and the Resurrection of Christ and the Pentecost in the Convent de la Reina in Toledo. He probably painted the Bearded Man (Museum of Toledo) and St. Anthony Abbot (Prado) after this period. Tristán's masterpieces are the high altar of the parish church of Yepes executed in 1616 and the high altar of Santa Clara in Toledo. In 1620, he signed the Adoration of the Shepherds (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) and the Adoration of the Magi (Budapest). Following these works he probably painted the Holy Trinity (Cathedral of Seville), which as well as his Portrait of Sandoval (Cathedral, Toledo), painted in 1624, shows a revival of the Greco influence. The manner of the School of Madrid modified his style, as may be seen in the Crucifixion (Greco Museum, Toledo), probably painted about 1630.

JUAN B. MAINO (1505–1649), a Dominican Monk, was born in Milan and artistically formed in the School of Brescia. About 1611 he was established in Toledo, where he executed several paintings in the Cathedral (lost) and the frescoes of the Church of St.



51 JUAN BAUTISTA MAINO
PORTRAIT OF A MAN, CA. 1634
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
M. KNOEDLER AND COMPANY, INC., NEW YORK

Peter Martyr. In 1612 he completed for the main altar of this church, several compositions now in the Prado and other Spanish museums whose style is very close to Caravaggio. In Madrid in 1621 he was professor of drawing to the future Philip IV. His paintings of this period, an Adoration in the Hermitage, a Pentecost in St. Jerome of Madrid, and St. John the Baptist in a private collection of the same city, reveal that Maino retained much of his Italian training. In 1627, as judge in a competition between Velázquez, Carduccio, Caxes and Nardi, he awarded the prize to the first. At this time he was working on the decoration of the Palace of Buen Retiro. In his large painting, *The Reconquest of the Bay of St. Salvador*, (Prado) finished in 1634, his style has been transformed under the influence of Velázquez. A *St. Jerome in Sweden* and a *Portrait of a Man* (M. Knoedler & Co., Inc.) (Fig. 51) are in the manner of this last period.

The earliest work of FRANCISCO RIBALTA (1564–1628), *The Nailing of Christ to the Cross* (Hermitage), signed in Madrid in 1582, reveals his training under the influence of El Mudo and is executed in the precise and laborious Roman-Florentine technique characteristic of the Escorial School. This picture was probably the test work for his acceptance as a master. Ribalta's familiarity with masterpieces of the great foreign artists is evident from the inclusion in his compositions of figures copied from works of Bassano and Titian, from engravings by Dürer, and from the series of engravings produced in 1597 by Cornelius Cort.

An engraved plate in the Museum of Bilbao, signed by Ribalta, is attributed to his Madrid period; and on its reverse side is painted a small Nativity, obviously derived from Bassano. A canvas with *St. Matthew and St. John* (Prado), probably painted at the end of the sixteenth century when Ribalta worked in the Convent of Augustinians, where El Greco painted the main retable between 1596 and 1600, reveals in color and technique a very strong influence of El Greco.

In 1601 Ribalta was established in Valencia and, in partnership with BARTOLOMEO MATARANA, painted the retable for the main chapel in the Church of the College of Corpus Christi. He had become greatly impressed by the artistic conception of the Italianate Valencian School of painting, by this time fallen into decadence. *The Beheading of Santiago*, from his *Santiago Retable* in Algemesi—executed between 1603 and 1610—includes a replica of one of the themes painted by El Mudo in the Escorial, but the manner of Juan de Juanes has effected a modification in the composition and a change in the style of Ribalta. Later additions to this retable representing the *Vision of King Alfonso* and the *Return of the Apostles to Jerusalem* are free from the Italo-Valencian influence, and approach the characteristic quality of his best period. His work at Algemesi was interrupted, from 1604 to 1605, to paint the *Appearance of Christ to St. Vincent Ferrer* and the *Last Supper* for the College of Corpus Christi. In the first, an influence from Zuccaro is apparent; and the second has been copied from an engraving by Cort.

The signed *Christ Bearing the Cross* (National Gallery, London), dated 1612 and inspired by a Sebastiano del Piombo in the Escorial, marks the beginning of Ribalta's last and finest period. Never a gifted composer, Ribalta was however an excellent draughtsman—strongly dominated by the prevailing exaggerated piety. About 1616, a time when his shop was the most prosperous and famed in Valencia, he painted his two famous compositions, the *Vision of St. Francis* (Prado) and *St. Francis Embracing the Crucified Christ* (Valencia Museum). The portrait of Tomás de Villanueva (Valencia)



52 JOSÉ RIBERA
ST. PETER, CA. 1630
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
TOMAS HARRIS, LIMITED, LONDON

and *The Singer* (Prado) are the finest works of his career and also belong to this period. In 1627, in collaboration with his son and many assistants, he began his last work, the *Retable of Portacelli*.

JUAN RIBALTA (1596–1628), son of Francisco and one of the most active members of his studio, executed a *Christ Nailed to the Cross* as his test painting. He painted for the Church of Torente, the St. Bruno and various other saints in the *Retable of Portacelli*, and other canvases following his father's style. In 1622 he received first payment for the paintings of Andilla, which were however executed almost entirely by his brother-in-law, VICENTE CASTELLO, another of the workers in the Ribalta shop.

JOSÉ RIBERA (1591–1652), born in Játiva, very early went to Naples, then a Spanish dominion, where he married the daughter of the Italian painter Azzolino in 1616. Under the patronage of the Duke of Osuna, Viceroy of Naples, Ribera became a prominent painter in Italy and was admitted to the Academy of St. Luke in Rome. It is known that Pacheco and Velázquez journeyed to Naples with a commission from the Spanish king to purchase Ribera paintings, and most of Ribera's paintings were executed for Spanish destination. His work grew in popularity and was so much appreciated everywhere that his studio gradually became a workshop in which his own models were reproduced in series.

Although a great painter, Ribera was perhaps even a greater draughtsman. The construction of each figure is fully rendered, even when hidden by strong light contrasts. He painted with thick pigment and applied brush strokes to the surface in such a way as to describe volume and convey tactile quality.

Ribera signed and dated most of his paintings. His earliest dated works are etchings, such as the St. Peter dated 1621 and the group dated 1624 which reveal his great personality. The *Assumption of Magdalen* (Academy of St. Ferdinand, Madrid), dated 1626, is one of his earliest paintings, and of it there are many contemporary replicas — such as the fine example in the Hispanic Society of America. St. Jerome (Leningrad) and the St. Bartholomew (Prado) follow compositions used in his etchings. St. Sebastian (Leningrad) and the *Martyrdom of St. Andrew* (Budapest) are dated 1628. In the *Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew* (Prado), probably painted in 1630, more atmosphere is introduced and the violent groups, illuminated from above — as are all groups of Ribera — appear combined with a very blue and unusually large sky. In the same year he painted the impressive and very realistic figures of Archimedes and a Philosopher (Prado), which are very nearly photographic portraits, and probably the St. Peter in the Tomas Harris collection (Fig. 52). In them, Ribera has caught the dynamic expression of a fleeting moment. The bust of the Savior (Prado) is a more human representation of a Juan de Juanes model. The portrait of the blind sculptor, Giovanni Gambasio (Prado), one of the few portraits painted by Ribera, is dated 1632. This, like the portrait of a man dressed as a knight of Santiago (Contini-Bonacossi Collection, Florence) possesses the same characteristics as all the crudely lighted half-length figures of apostles and saints of similar dramatic expression that Ribera painted in such profusion. In the same year he painted the *Prometheus* (Prado), studies of the details for the painting having already appeared in the etchings of his first Neapolitan period; and in it Ribera endeavored to portray a real expression of horror and suffering.

The large *Triumph of Bacchus*, destroyed in the fire of the Royal Palace of Madrid in 1734, was also painted in 1632. Only a few fragments of the painting remain



53

JOSÉ RIBERA
THE GEOGRAPHER, 1638

OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

(Prado) — beautiful heads, disclosing in Ribera the budding of a new style. A St. Andrew is dated in 1634, and the Mass of St. Gregory (Amiens Museum) is likewise a product of this year. In 1635 he painted the large canvas of the Immaculate Conception for the Convent of the Augustinian nuns in Salamanca and the attractive composition of Jacob Presented to Isaac. St. Sebastian (Berlin) and St. Anthony (Academy de Bellas Artes, Madrid) are dated 1636. One of Ribera's most productive years was 1637, when he painted St. Onuphrius (Leningrad), St. Peter and St. Paul (Vitoria), Cleopatra (Prado), a saint and child warrior, Apollo Flaying Marsyas (Brussels), the impressive Pietà of San Martino, Naples, a mathematician (Vienna), Diogenes (Prado), and possibly the Trinity (Prado). In 1638 he painted such portraits as the Astronomer (Worcester Museum), the Geographer (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) (Fig. 53), a Jesuit (Milan), and the Musician (Toledo Museum of Art) (Fig. 54), all of which are extremely powerful paintings and, like all of Ribera's work, technically perfect.

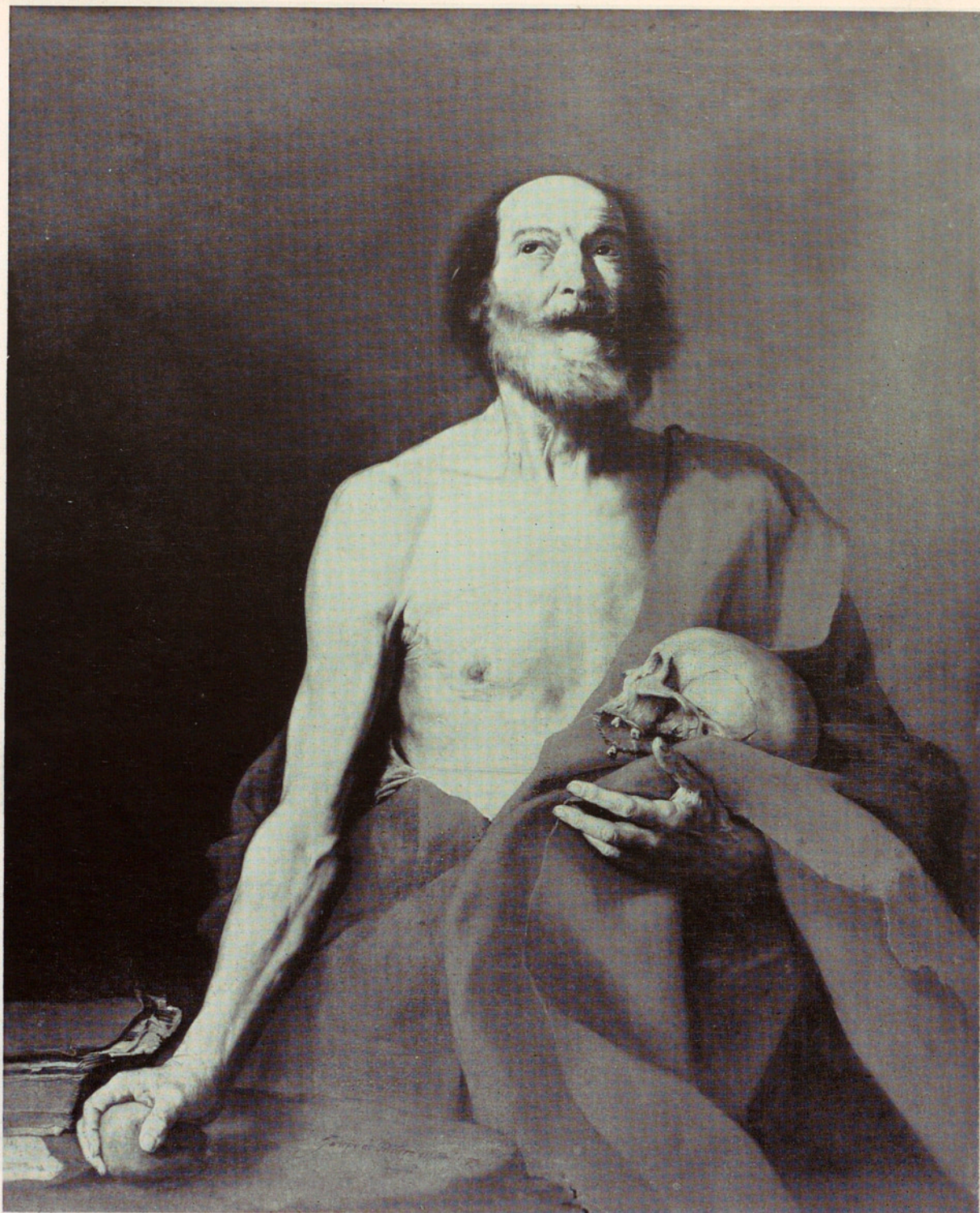
A group of paintings dated in 1640, despite the differences of subjects, are very similar and in them the landscape plays an important role. Of this group are the Hermit, Magdalen, St. Bartholomew, and St. John the Evangelist — all in the Prado. The landscape is simply composed with a few barren trees and rather desolate, rocky mountains set against a very blue sky, paralleling several of Titian's landscapes. To the same list may be added St. John the Evangelist as a Shepherd (National Gallery, London). A St. Jerome (Fogg Art Museum) (Fig. 55), also dated in 1640, is one of the best examples of a nude old man at half-length—one of the greatest and most popular creations of Ribera. The quality of the aged skin has been rendered with a crude realism never since equalled. In 1641 he painted the St. Agnes (Dresden), supposedly the portrait of his daughter, a very sweet painting in the Andalusian style; and St. Mary of Egypt (Montpelier), of which several replicas exist.

The impressive club-footed boy (Louvre), like the Dwarf with a Dog (Vienna), painted in 1643, is a single figure bathed in light. Other works of 1643 are the marvelous Nativity (Valencia Cathedral), similar to the larger painting of the same subject (Paris), dated 1650. From 1644 are several single saints (Prado) and the extraordinary Dead Christ (Califano Collection). The large Dream of Jacob (Prado) was painted in 1646 and follows the formula of the group of figures with landscapes painted six years before. The Holy Family with St. Catherine (Metropolitan Museum of Art) (Fig. 56), dated 1648, is one of the outstanding masterpieces of Ribera. The composition is in the double diagonal scheme characteristic of his last period. He graduates from the incorporation of sharp contrasts in every figure, typical of his first period, to a combination of entirely lighted or entirely shaded figures.

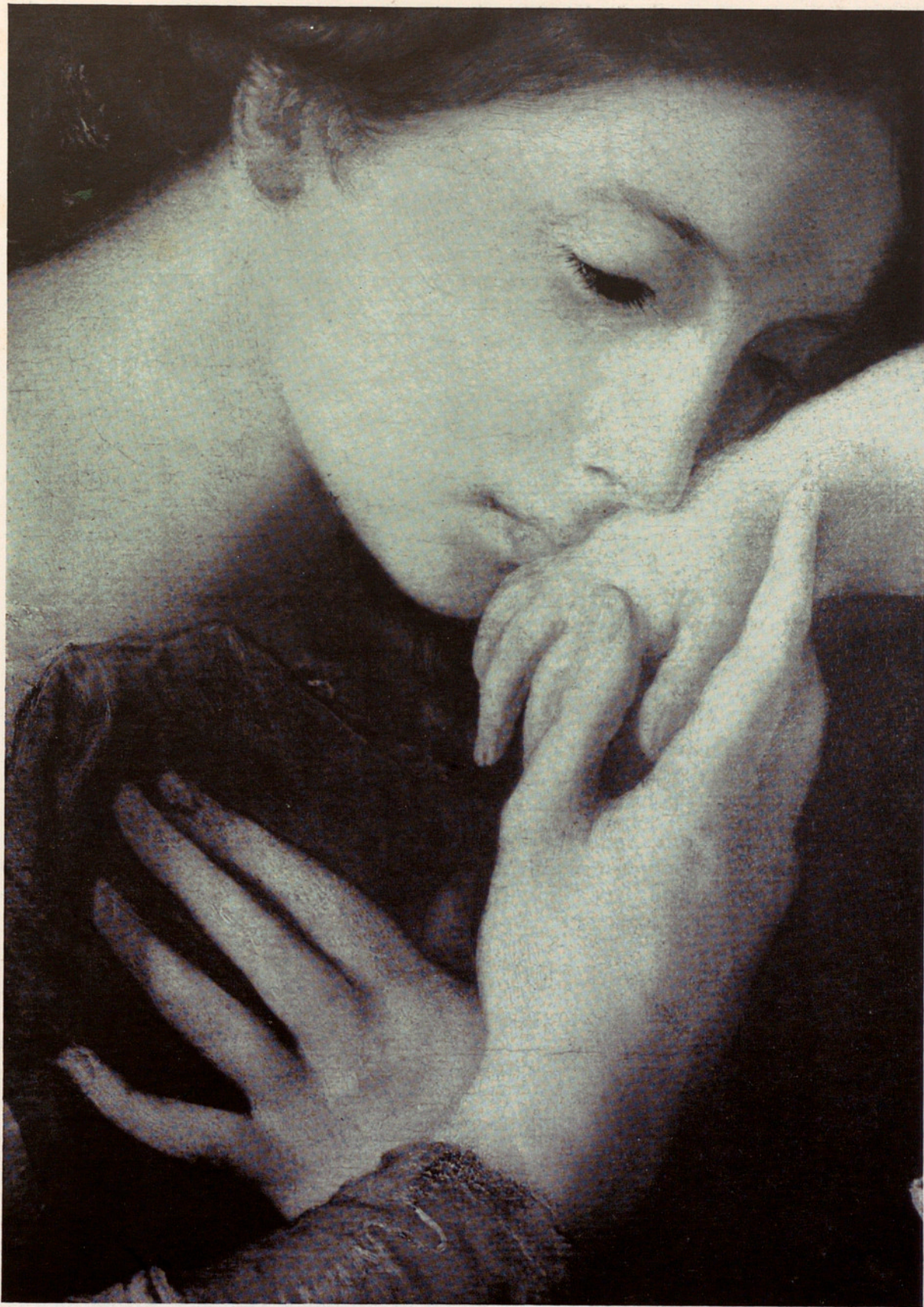
From this time on to the end of his life, the Ribera studio repeated in great number his old compositions and saints, which replicas appear in galleries and private collections all over the world. However, from this period, there are several paintings which may be safely attributed to the master's own hand, such as the marvelous St. Mary of Egypt (Naples), dated 1651, another portrait of his daughter. Also dated in 1651 are the St. Sebastian of Naples, the most human representation of the subject; St. Jerome (Naples); and the large canvas of the Communion of the Apostles (San Martino, Naples) — the most Italian of his compositions and his last masterpiece. Ribera's last known dated painting is the St. Jerome in the Prado, executed in the year of his death, 1652.



54 JOSÉ RIBERA
PORTRAIT OF A MUSICIAN, 1638
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART



55 JOSÉ RIBERA
ST. JEROME, 1640
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
FOGG MUSEUM OF ART, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE



56 JOSÉ RIBERA
DETAIL OF THE HOLY FAMILY WITH ST. CATHERINE, 1648
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

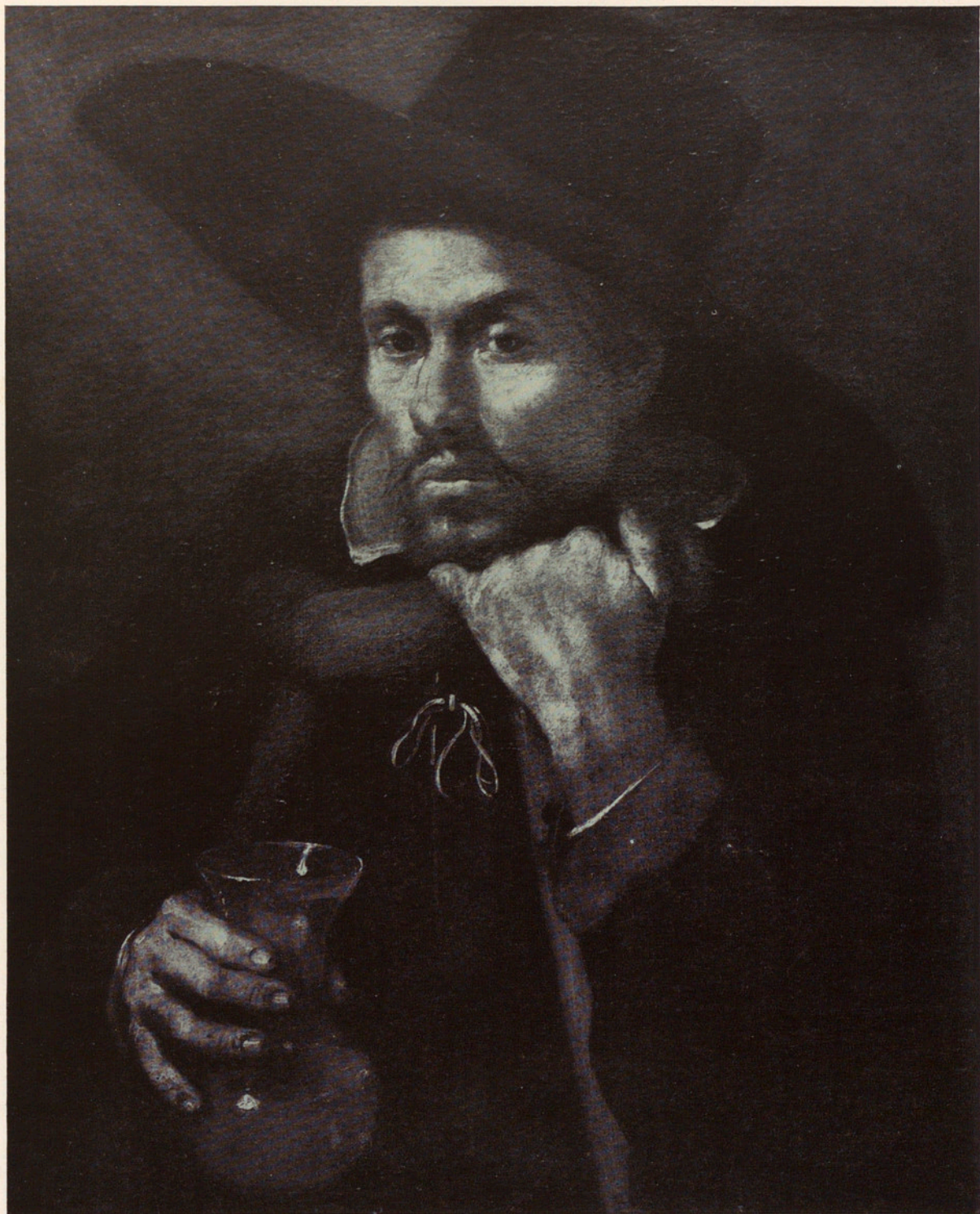
ESTEBAN MARCH, who died in Valencia in 1660, was rather a talented master, influenced by Ribera. A Last Supper, St. Roche, several scenes of St. Michael, and various battle scenes are works by him in Valencia. The Prado possesses his powerful self-portrait and a Crossing of the Red Sea. His son, MIGUEL MARCH, worked in Italy a long time.

JERÓNIMO JACINTO ESPINOSA (1600–1680) was a Valencian painter and the best follower of Ribalta. A painter called Espinosa appears in connection with El Greco in Madrid and another member of this family was a painter to Philip III. The earliest works of Jerónimo are the Christ of Rescate and Holy Ambrose and Joachim of Merania, painted in 1623. In the following year he painted the Holy Virgin with Her Parents, San Marcelo Crowned by Angels, and a Madonna with a Crown of Roses for the Convent of St. Martin in Segorbe. The latter is one of the most successful works by Espinosa. In 1627 he painted the Holy Eucharist for the College of Corpus Christi in Valencia and, in 1638, the eight large canvases now in the Museum of Valencia for the Church of the Carmelites. St. Peter Martyr painted for the Church of St. Nicholas of Valencia dates from 1640, and the Birth of the Virgin, Birth of St. John the Baptist, and the Birth of Christ probably belong to the same year. In 1645 he painted the Mass of St. Gregory and Joachim and Anna in the Hospital of Valencia, and a group of paintings of the Life of St. Beltran (Valencia Museum) and the high altar of Santa María de Morella in subsequent years. The Appearance of Christ to St. Ignatius of Loyola (Valencia Museum) was accomplished in 1653 and, after 1656, the altar of Alcalá de Chisbert, St. Thomas of Villanueva (Valencia Museum), and a group of paintings of the Life of St. Peter Nolasco. The Communion of St. Magdalen (Valencia Museum), dated 1665, is one of the finest works of Espinosa. His last documented work is a Nativity in the town of Chelva.

A great number of undated paintings have also been attributed to him but they reveal the workmanship of assistants. Espinosa, followed by his son, marks the end of the baroque school of Valencia.

Other painters of the period connected with Valencia are PABLO PORTA (b. 1598); GREGORIO BAUSÁ (1590–1656), who worked in Majorca as well as Valencia; and PABLO PONTÓNS, who painted several compositions in the cloister of the Mercenarians of Valencia and collaborated with Espinosa.

JUAN DE ROELAS (ca. 1558–1625) was the first Sevillian painter to combine naturalism and mysticism, a combination which became the characteristic of the Sevillian School. He banished the gray, brown and black shades and the cold modelling of the Sevillian mannerists, and modelled in his developed style with warm tonalities. His earliest works are scenes from the Life of the Virgin painted in 1603 for the Church of Olivares. The evolution of his style may be studied in the Death of San Hermengild in the Hospital of Seville, St. James in the Battle of Clavijo, painted in 1609 for the Cathedral of Seville, and the Death of St. Isidoro in the same cathedral. Although an advanced work, in the Liberation of St. Peter (Seville) he still retains elements from his Mannerist beginnings, but they have entirely disappeared in the paintings for the reredos in the Chapel of the Jesuit University and in his masterpiece, the Martyrdom of St. Andrew (Seville Museum). In 1616 he was in Madrid and presented himself as a candidate for the vacant post of royal painter, but the post was unjustly given to Bartolomé González. Roelas then returned to Seville, where he continued his active life.



57 FRANCISCO HERRERA
THE DRINKER, CA. 1635
OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS
WORCESTER ART MUSEUM

FRANCISCO PACHECO (1571–1654), besides being a painter, was also a poet, biographer, archaeologist, and art theorist. His elaborate studies apparently awakened in him a creative impulse and he became a painter in the school of the Sevillian Luis Fernández. Pacheco's perseverance and methodical force gave him a painfully acquired skill, for his paintings are rigidly correct in conception and rendition.

The Way to Calvary, copied from Luis de Vargas and signed in 1589, is his earliest known work. Between 1590 and 1591 he traveled abroad, and in 1600 he painted the series of compositions on the life of St. Ramon for the Convent of Mercy in Seville. They portray an interesting symphony in white and put Pacheco on a remarkable artistic level. Figures and landscape show an attractive simplicity quite opposite to the exaggerated and baroque spirit of his contemporaries. The Immaculate Conception (Cathedral, Seville) is painted with similar restraint, and was the source of various early works by Velázquez and Zurbarán.

In 1611 Pacheco visited Madrid and Toledo, where he met El Greco. This visit changed his palette and caused his inventions to become more natural. In 1612 he painted the Death of St. Albert and the large Last Judgment for the Convent of St. Isabelle, which he considered his masterpiece. The St. Sebastian of 1616 shows his characteristic dry and cold style.

The number of works by Pacheco is enormous; he always received more commissions than he could fulfill, although in general Pacheco was not greatly appreciated by his contemporaries. Palomino said that his house was the "golden prison of art." He was, however, a good teacher for his pupils and assistants; he never tried to restrict them to his own rules. Pacheco's reaction against baroque painting was a very happy circumstance for the Sevillian School. In 1649 he published his book, "The Art of Painting," a theoretical resumé of his long experience in art. Pacheco also wrote a very interesting "Book of Portraits," which includes the portraits and biographies of most of his famous Spanish contemporaries.

FRANCISCO HERRERA (1590–1656). His broad sculptural treatment of details and free composition appear in such of his earliest dated works as the Pentecost, 1617, with a remarkable influence from El Greco. In the St. Lawrence, also painted in 1617, for the Convent of Mercy of Huelva, the virility and massiveness of his figures and the general sombre tonality foreshadow his first large painting, the Triumph of St. Hermengild (Seville Museum) painted about 1624. In it he was inspired by Vargas, Roelas and Pacheco. In 1626 he frescoed the church of San Bonaventura, which compositions show influence of Zurbarán; and two years later he finished the Last Judgment in San Bernardo of Seville. There is little change of style in his dark flesh tones of the St. Jerome painted in 1636 or in the Descent of the Holy Ghost and a St. Anne painted for the Convent of Santa Inés. The style of his last period is seen in the paintings of the Life of St. Basil (Seville Museum and Louvre), painted in 1638 and 1639, and in The Drinker (Worcester Art Museum) (Fig. 57). In 1647 he executed several large Biblical compositions for the arch-episcopal palace of Seville (Academy of Madrid). The St. Joseph with the Infant Jesus (Lázaro Collection), signed and dated 1648, is his last dated painting. In 1650 he established himself in Madrid, where he died. His art was followed by his son of the same name, who exaggerated to an even greater degree his father's baroque style.