



The Sacred Made Real

Spanish Painting and Sculpture 1600–1700

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In 1627, Francisco de Zurbarán made a painting of Christ on the Cross for a small oratory attached to the sacristy of the Dominican friary of San Pablo in Seville. It was quickly recognised as a masterpiece (fig. 1 and cat. 25).¹ Those who saw it were impressed above all by the illusion of its three-dimensionality. When in the early years of the eighteenth century the Spanish art historian and painter Antonio Palomino (1653–1726) recorded the details of his visit there, he wrote: ‘there is a crucifix from his [Zurbarán’s] hand which is shown behind a grille [*reja*] of the chapel (which has little light), and everyone who sees it and does not know believes it to be sculpture.’²

Palomino’s observation is revealing. It is significant that in this case the illusion of three-dimensionality is identified with that in polychrome sculpture, not with that in painting. Although it is generally accepted that the realism of seventeenth-century Spanish painting reflects pictorial traditions, especially as manifested in the art of Caravaggio and his followers, and in Netherlandish prints, it will be argued in this essay that the very act of painting three-dimensional sculptures also played a major role. Indeed the paintings and polychrome sculptures discussed here would seem to reveal that the influence was more widespread and profound than proposed hitherto. It is partly as a result of this dialogue between the arts of painting and sculpture that the sacred was made real in such a distinctive way.

Realism manifested itself in many different ways in painting throughout seventeenth-century Europe. In Italy, Caravaggio developed a mode of painting in

which ordinary people were made to pose and re-enact episodes from the Bible. By using strong contrasts of light and shade, his compositions were transformed into dramatic ‘tableaux vivants’, giving the faithful a sense of direct access to the scene depicted. Such careful staging, controversial at first for reasons of decorum, was soon modified and sanctioned by the Church in its concern to shock the senses and stir the soul.

In Spain, a very different and a much starker brand of realism developed. Although painters such



2 Juan de Mesa (1583–1627)
Christ on the Cross, known as the *Cristo de la Buena Muerte*, 1620
Polychromed wood, life-size
Chapel of the University of Seville

Opposite: 1 Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1644), *Christ on the Cross*, 1627 (cat. 25), as it would originally have been displayed, with an arched top



3 Juan Martínez Montañés (1568–1649)
Christ carrying the Cross, known as the *Cristo de la Pasión*, 1619, in procession during Holy Week
Cofradía del Cristo de la Pasión, Collegiate Church of El Salvador

as Zurbarán would have certainly been aware of Caravaggio's art through at least one original work by him and several copies available in Spain,³ they had access to an art form that was exceptionally real in its very nature and part of their own religious and cultural heritage: painted wooden sculptures. Works such as Juan de Mesa's (1583–1627) life-size polychromed sculpture of *Christ on the Cross*, for example, commissioned in 1620 for the Jesuit house in Seville, were hugely venerated (fig. 2). Popularly known as the *Cristo de la Buena Muerte* ('Christ of the Good Death'), Christ is vividly depicted moments after his death, his body rigid, his head down, his flesh colour white. Hyper-real sculptures such as these made the sacred truly palpable. To approach this sculpture was to feel that one was truly in the presence of the dead Christ.

In their original context such sculptures, whether positioned on altars and lit by candles or processed through the streets on religious feast days, would have had a strong impact not only upon the faithful but also on painters' visual imaginations. Today, when the *paso* (float) carrying Juan Martínez Montañés's (1568–1649) sculpture of *Christ carrying the Cross* (1619) is carried on the shoulders of thirty men during Holy Week in Seville, the effect is astounding (fig. 3).⁴ The movement of the *paso* as it sways from side to side endows the sculpture with a disconcerting sense of life, as if the streets of Seville had suddenly turned into the streets of Jerusalem. Similarly, Francisco Ribalta's (1565–1628) painting of the *Vision of Father Simón* shows the priest kneeling in the streets of Valencia as he has a vision of Christ carrying the cross, and one can imagine that Ribalta himself witnessed such a scene during Holy Week processions (fig. 4).

The tradition of painting sculpture began before recorded history. Neolithic cult objects were painted and the Ancient Egyptians, Greeks and Romans routinely coloured the sculptures of their gods to maximise the impression of divinity.⁵ Spanish sculpture of the seventeenth century derives most clearly from the tradition of polychroming wood that began in the Middle Ages throughout Europe; moreover, the majority of the stone portals of cathedrals, churches and monasteries were covered

with lively colours.⁶ The practice was so popular that Saint Bernard of Clairvaux criticised this opulence, caustically observing that for a figure of a saint displayed in a church, 'the more coloured it is, the holier it is held to be' (see cat. 10).⁷ The practice nevertheless continued uninterrupted particularly in Germany and in the Southern Netherlands; in the latter, between 1380 and 1550, large carved altarpieces were mass produced and sold on the open market, ending up as far afield as Sweden and Spain.⁸

The Spanish mystic Saint John of the Cross (1542–1591), who had himself spent part of his youth in a sculptor's workshop, wrote of the value of polychromed sculptures, which he said were useful and even necessary to inspire reverence for the saints,



4 Francisco Ribalta (1565–1628)
The Vision of Father Simón, 1612
Oil on canvas, 210.8 x 110.5 cm
The National Gallery, London (NG 2930)

to move the will, and to awaken devotion (see cat. 17).⁹ Contemporary preachers such as Francisco Fernández Galván believed sculpture to be far more effective than painting as an art form.¹⁰ As Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos explains elsewhere in this volume (see pp. 45–57), it was believed that faithful representations of sacred subjects or a lifelike Saint Francis or Saint Bruno enabled those contemplating them to relive the experiences of these figures and imbibe their Christian messages. Compared with Italy, where during the Renaissance the plain colours of unadorned marble gradually replaced the polychroming of sculpture, in Spain the practice of painting wooden statues continued uninterrupted in the service of the Church and remains alive today.¹¹

The seventeenth century – the period on which this essay focuses – was exceptional in Spanish art history for the levels of realism to which its artists aspired. In contrast to sculptors from the sixteenth century such as Alonso Berruguete (1488–1561) and Gaspar Becerra (1520–1568) who emulated the Italian idealisation of Michelangelo, seventeenth-century sculptors like Juan de Mesa attempted instead to make their sculpture increasingly lifelike and realistic. Some sculptors introduced glass eyes and tears, and even ivory teeth. To simulate the effect of coagulated blood on the wounds of Christ, the bark of a cork tree, painted red, was often employed. It is this shocking realism that makes Spanish seventeenth-century sculpture such a contrast to the more idealised bronzes and marbles produced in Italy in this period.

Palomino's comment that Zurbarán's painting *Christ on the Cross* was so realistic that it could be mistaken for a sculpture raises interesting artistic questions about the realism found in the art of not only Zurbarán but also in the religious paintings of many of his contemporaries. The trend towards realism had a strong effect on Francisco Pacheco (1564–1644), Diego Velázquez (1599–1660) and Alonso Cano (1601–1667) early in their careers. This may be due to an aspect of their training which has been less emphasised by scholars, namely the requirement for all young painters in Spain in this period to learn the art of painting wooden sculpture.

The close relationship between Spanish painting

and sculpture resulted from a number of factors. At an institutional level the two arts were to some degree distinct. However, at a practical level their interdependence was more apparent. The production of religious sculptures in Spain (as in the rest of Europe) was strictly governed by guilds, the Guild of Carpenters (*carpinteros*) for the sculptors (*escultores*), and the Guild of Painters for the painters who polychromed them. Sculptors would carve their sculptures and gesso them 'in white' (*en blanco*) but were strictly prohibited from painting them themselves. This was reserved for a specially trained painter commonly known in Spain as a '*pintor de ymaginería*', a 'painter of [religious] imagery'. The title appears on all the *cartas de examen*es (diplomas) awarded to painters who had been examined before the painters' guild.

A recently discovered contract confirms that Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664) painted a wooden sculpture right at the beginning of his career. In 1624, he was commissioned by the Mercedarian monastery in Azuaga, near Llerena, in the western province of Extremadura (see map, p. 11), to carve and paint a life-size wooden sculpture of the Crucifixion.¹² Although the whereabouts of the sculpture is not known, this document would appear to illuminate a previously unknown aspect of Zurbarán's artistic activity. Whether or not he subcontracted the actual carving to a sculptor, it is significant that Zurbarán was responsible for the polychromy.¹³

THE ART OF PAINTING SCULPTURE

In the past, when art historians discussed polychrome sculpture they tended to consider only the sculptor, ignoring the polychromer.¹⁴ Although sculpture and painting are traditionally executed by different hands, a polychromed sculpture was conceived as a single, seamless work of art. A good polychrome sculpture should appear so lifelike that one is at first unsure if it is alive or not.¹⁵ Sculptors and painters were therefore dependent on each other's skill. A sculptor had to create a figure whose form was clearly defined, while the painter had to respect the undulations of the surface he was painting.¹⁶

Successful partnerships between sculptor and

painter have existed since Antiquity. The ancient Greek sculptor Praxiteles is said to have favoured the painter Nikias as the polychromer of his sculptures because he made them look so real.¹⁷ In the fourteenth century, the Netherlandish sculptor Claus Sluter and the painter Jean Malouel together created what was said to have been an extraordinary feat of realism, the so-called *Well of Moses* at the Charterhouse of Champmol, just outside Dijon, which has since been irreparably weathered by the elements and the polychromy severely damaged.¹⁸ But it was in Spain during the seventeenth century that some of the most successful partnerships existed between sculptor and painter: in Seville, Juan Martínez Montañés and Francisco Pacheco, Pedro Roldán and Juan de Valdés Léal; in Madrid, Manuel Pereira and José Leonardo and Francisco Camilo; and in Valladolid, Gregorio Fernández and Diego Valentín Díaz.

Probably the most celebrated and best documented collaboration between a painter and sculptor in the first half of the seventeenth century in Spain was that of the painter Pacheco and Montañés, a sculptor so revered that he was known as ‘el dios de la madera’ (‘the god of wood’) by his contemporaries. Pacheco’s *Arte de la Pintura*, published posthumously in 1649, is our most important source of information about the production of sculpture and painting in seventeenth-century Seville. A successful painter in his own right, Pacheco also ran a thriving workshop that taught painting, including the polychromy of sculpture. He is now perhaps best known as the teacher and father-in-law of Velázquez. The third and final part of Pacheco’s treatise, entitled ‘On the practice of painting and all its uses’, contains a section on how one should paint sculpture.¹⁹ He believed it was colour which gave life to such works,²⁰ and the technique of painting in flesh tones was in fact known as *encarnación* (incarnation) – literally, made flesh.

Montañés had trained as a sculptor in Granada before settling in Seville in 1587 where he set up a successful workshop. He executed numerous altarpieces and individual figures of saints, some for the city and others for export to Peru.²¹ His *Niño Jesús* (Christ Child) for the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in 1606 and *Inmaculada* (Virgin of the Immaculate Conception) made in the same year for the

church of Santa María de la Consolación, El Pedroso (see cat. 7), were reproduced in variant forms by Montañés himself, as well as by his followers, establishing standard types which were to be imitated long after his death.

Pacheco and Montañés worked together on several occasions. One of their most ambitious commissions was the multi-tiered altarpiece made for the Hieronymite monastery of San Isidoro del Campo, Santiponce, just outside Seville (1609–12) (fig. 5). For the central niche they produced a life-size figure of *Penitent Saint Jerome*, of which Pacheco later proudly said, ‘among present-day sculpture and painting it has no equal.’²² As well as multi-figured altarpieces, Pacheco and Montañés collaborated on a number of single life-size statues of religious figures, notably a sculpture of Francis Borgia, the sixteenth-century Jesuit who had died in 1572 and was beatified in 1624 (he was canonised in 1671). To celebrate this event, the Jesuits in Seville commissioned a life-size sculpture of him (see cat. 14 and front cover). This sculpture was originally an ‘*imagen de vestir*’, that is, a manikin that was dressed in real fabric: only the head and hands were carved and painted.

In his treatise, Pacheco discusses the technique of *encarnación*, or the painting of flesh tones and, by extension, of facial expression (for more on this see the essay by Daphne Barbour and Judy Ozone on pp. 59–71). There were essentially two ways of painting flesh tones: *polimento* (glossy) and *mate* (matt, that is, lustreless). The *polimento* technique consisted of grinding together lead white and pigments with an oil medium or a light clear varnish, and applying this over the white gessoed surface of the wooden sculpture, which was then polished with a dampened scrap of glove leather or a *veriga*, a pig’s bladder, and varnished. The overall result was a glossy and shiny surface.

Pacheco had especially strong opinions about the effect glazed flesh tones (*polimento*) had on sculpture, believing them to be distracting because the way in which they reflected light did not approximate the true quality of human flesh. For this reason, he advised that *polimento* flesh tones be used on inferior works: ‘It is good to use over bad sculptures because the shininess and brightness of the *encarnación* diminishes defects.’²³



5 Juan Martínez Montañés (1568–1649) and Francisco Pacheco (1564–1644)
Penitent Saint Jerome, in the large retable in Santiponce, 1609–12
Polychromed wood, life-size
Monasterio de San Isidoro del Campo, Santiponce

He cautioned against using it on better works because of its heaviness and tendency to mask 'the expressive carving of good sculpture'.²⁴ On the other hand, the practice of employing a matt finish, which he claims to have revived and introduced in Seville in 1600, satisfied his desire for a more realistically painted statuary: 'God, in His mercy, banished from the earth these glazed flesh tones (*platos vedriados*) and caused the more harmonious matt flesh tones to be introduced.'²⁵ Contracts, particularly in southern Spain, frequently specified matt *encarnación* rather than *polimento*, as was the case with Zurbarán's contract for the sculpture of the Crucifixion.²⁶

The preparation of matt *encarnación* was a simpler process. When painting sculptures by Montañés, or by Gaspar Núñez Delgado, active in Seville 1581–1606, Pacheco says their skill was such that the surface rarely needed extra preparation; a simple coat of glue-size was applied and then two or three layers of unpolished gesso and white lead. This was sanded down until 'hair and beard and all the elevations and depressions remain without a single rough spot'.²⁷ For flesh, a coloured priming was then applied, a mixture of white and vermilion for female saints and children, and

ochre or red earth for 'penitents and aged people'.²⁸

When polychroming the head and hands of *Saint Francis Borgia* (cat. 14), Pacheco employed the matt technique he had developed himself, onto which he built up darker flesh tones and facial features. The final effect is a skin colour that absorbs light rather than reflects it and therefore appears more natural and real. Borgia's skin is tanned and leathery, taut with youthful energy as he focuses on the skull he holds. Almost like a make-up artist, Pacheco has applied darker shades of brown so that the hollows caused by the cheekbones are emphasised and the aquiline character of the nose sharpened. Relief combined with subtle colouring define details such as the veins and lines around the eyes. There are flecks of white in the irises to make them look more alive, and for the eyelashes, Pacheco said, 'I do not use eyelashes [of real hair] because they spoil sculpture but rather strokes of colour smoothly blended together.'²⁹ The final touch which Pacheco believed brought 'life' to a sculpture was to 'varnish the eyes only with a very clear dark varnish, regardless of the material [of the sculpture]. An egg-white varnish, applied twice, is very good for this because, as everything else is matt, the faces come alive and the eyes sparkle.'³⁰

For Pacheco, the work of a sculptor was imperfect until the painter had completed it. He would have considered lifeless, for example, the unpainted wooden sculpture of Saint Francis attributed to Montañés, in the Convent of San Francisco in Cádiz (fig. 6), compared to the same artist's *Saint Bruno* (cat. 12).³¹ In Pacheco's opinion, the application of colour revealed 'the passions and concerns of the soul with great vividness' (see pp. 144–5). Alonso Cano, a pupil of Pacheco, was among the foremost sculptor-painters. His *Saint John of God* shows how startlingly lifelike polychromy could be (see fig. 8 and cat. 6). Although no documentary proof has yet been found to confirm Cano's training as a sculptor, other documents establish that he entered Pacheco's workshop in 1616 and obtained his diploma as a *pintor de ymagería* in 1626.³²

In order to avoid the inevitable conflict of interests between the guilds, Cano often engaged another artist to polychrome his sculptures, although he probably



6 Attributed to Juan Martínez Montañés (1568–1649)
Saint Francis, about 1630
Wood (without polychromy), life-size. Convento de San Francisco, Cádiz

7 Juan Martínez Montañés (1568–1649) and unknown polychromer
Saint Bruno meditating on the Crucifixion, 1634 (cat. 12)

painted his own works later in his career, such as the *Saint John of God*.³³ The different techniques Cano has used to indicate the hair on his head and the more bristly eyebrows are exemplary. In accordance with Pacheco's teaching, Cano first painted over the sculpted hair and then, with a fine brush, painted individual strands that continue the hairline from the scalp to the forehead and neck: 'And where the hair meets the forehead or the neck, use a middle tone made from the same flesh colours and a darkening element, lightening the colour where it meets the flesh, so that it does not look chopped off and hard.'³⁴ Where Cano diverged from Pacheco's instructions – and actually went against his advice – is in his introduction of glass eyes. To do this, Cano carved the front part of Saint John's face separately and inserted from the back two small glass 'cups', which were painted brown and white from the inside. The front part of the face was then attached to the rest of the head.

In combining the roles of a carver of sculpture, a polychromer of sculpture and a painter, Cano was an exception to the rule. Although the arts of polychromy and sculpture were interdependent, they were in practice kept very much separate, at least, as we shall see, for the first half of the seventeenth century. Pacheco felt strongly that this should remain the case and when in 1621 Montañés was assigned complete control, that is, control of all the sculpture, painting and gilding of the altarpiece of the convent of Santa Clara in Seville, and declared he intended to keep three-quarters of the 6,000 ducat payment, leaving the rest for the painter Baltasar Quintero (documented between 1622 and 1632), whom he had subcontracted, Pacheco threatened to take him to court.³⁵ The news of this breach of contract outraged the painters'



8 Alonso Cano (1601–1667)
Saint John of God, about 1660–5 (cat. 6)

Opposite: 9 Juan Martínez Montañés (1568–1649)
and Francisco Pacheco (1564–1644)
Saint Francis Borgia (detail), 1624 (cat. 14)

guild as a violation of their essential rights.

Pacheco's response was a short tract signed and dated 16 July 1622, and entitled, 'A los profesores del arte de la pintura', which explains in detail the position of the painters (see pp. 144–5).³⁶ Not only does he cite examples from Antiquity – such as the sculptures by Praxiteles painted by Nikias – as exemplary models, but he also defines the rights and limits of each branch of polychrome sculpture citing the different clauses imposed by the civic ordinances (*ordenanzas de Sevilla*) drawn up in 1527 and which were to be reprinted in 1632.³⁷ In essence, Pacheco argued, if an artist had not received the right training and had not passed the

When Cano was already in his death throes, the priest took him a sculpted Crucifix (which was not by a good artist) in order to exhort him with it, and Cano told him to take it away. The priest became so alarmed that he was about to exorcise him and said 'My son, what are you doing? Look, this is the Lord who redeemed you and who will save you.' And he answered, 'I so believe, my father, but do you want me to get angry because it is poorly done and have the Devil take me? Give me a bare cross, that I will venerate and revere Him there with my faith as He is in essence and as I behold Him with my idea.'

FROM PALOMINO'S LIFE OF ALONSO CANO





*el dho Xpo crucificado a de estar bibo antes de auer espirado con la cabeça ynclinada
sobre el lado derecho mirando a qualquiera Persona que estuuire
orando a El pie del, como que le está el mismo Xpo Hablandole, y como quexandose
que aquello que padeçe es por el que está orando. y assi a
de tener los ojos y Rostro con alguna seberidad y los ojos del todo abiertos.*

FROM THE ORIGINAL CONTRACT FOR
CRISTO DE LA CLEMENCIA

appropriate examination to practise the art of painting sculpture, a sculpture would be badly painted and lose its quality and power to communicate higher ideals, be they artistic or religious. He also claimed the supremacy of painting over sculpture, because in his opinion, it was colour that brought a sculpture to life.

One understands what he means when one looks closely at what is probably the most famous sculpture Pacheco and Montañés ever conceived together – a Crucifixion, better known as the *Cristo de la Clemencia* ('Christ of Clemency') (figs 10 and 20). It was commissioned in 1603 for the private chapel of Mateo Vázquez de Leca, archdeacon of Carmona. Leca had definite ideas of how Christ should look. The contract stresses that Christ was 'to be alive, before He had died, with the head inclined towards the right side, looking to any person who might be praying at the foot of the crucifix, as if Christ Himself were speaking to him'³⁸ (quoted above). Montañés and Pacheco fulfil this to the letter. Christ's flesh has not been given the pallor of the dead but the matt pink tone of a man still alive. Blood from the crown of thorns has just started to trickle down his body. This is an image of Christ just before the moment of death.

One of the remarkable aspects of the *Cristo de la Clemencia* is that Pacheco, as he did for *Saint Francis Borgia*, has also painted shadows, using a darker tone of the same flesh colour to suggest the hollows beneath Christ's ribs and under his armpits. This is of course

a technique more usual in painting, where the artist always has to add the fall of light and shade on figures, but Pacheco's decision to add shadow to Christ's body here is testimony to his training as a painter and points to the crossover techniques between the two art forms (see cat. 2). He himself remarks on this technique in his treatise, saying that by using 'shadows in the flesh part', 'the figures are made to appear more rounded as in pictures'.³⁹

Pacheco also knew that the bold painted details of Christ's face, quite crude in close-up, appear convincingly lifelike from a distance. The lips, the shading under the nose, the thick dark line emphasising the edge of the eyelid, all dramatically define Christ's facial expression. The three tears on each side of his nose are also remarkable. Painted transparent white, outlined in black, and with a (painted) highlight at the centre, they are almost more effective than glass tears, thanks to the illusory volume and reflection created by the painter's skill. The polychromy of such a work must have had a profound impact on contemporary painters.⁴⁰

The dispute between Pacheco and Montañés that took place in 1622, however, indicates that relationships between sculptors and painters were not always harmonious. Sculptors were increasingly becoming frustrated by the fact that they had to hand over their sculpture to a professional painter and were therefore unable to see their creation through to its final stage, which disbarred them from receiving the full financial reward. The solution for Montañés was to subcontract the painter Baltasar Quintero, something he continued to do later, regardless of Pacheco's complaints.⁴¹ The next generation of Sevillian sculptors

10 Juan Martínez Montañés (1568–1649) and Francisco Pacheco (1564–1644) *Christ on the Cross*, known as the *Cristo de la Clemencia*, 1603–6, detail of fig. 20 Polychromed wood, h. 190 cm Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville (on long-term loan to Seville Cathedral)

such as Pedro Roldán (1624–1699) actually took the exam of *pintor de ymageria* in order to obtain greater autonomy.⁴² When working on large and ambitious commissions such as the high altarpiece of the Hospital de la Caridad in 1670–1, Roldán did, however, work very closely with the painter Juan de Valdés Léal (1622–1690), though it seems that they, like Montañés and Pacheco earlier, had set up a business deal together (Valdés Léal was to be godfather to one of Roldán's daughters). And when Cano returned to Granada in 1652 and produced some of his best carvings, among them the *Immaculate Conception* for the cathedral (see fig. 38), he tended to paint them himself, a skill he was to teach his two best sculpture students, Pedro de Mena (1628–1688) and José de Mora (1642–1724).

As the art of polychromy gradually ceased to be the

responsibility of the painters, a completely new style of realism was developed by sculptors, who rejected Pacheco's concepts in favour of employing glass eyes and tears and real hair for the eyelashes. The polychromy, particularly the flesh tones, became more strident and expressive. This can be seen particularly in José de Mora's *Ecce Homo* and *Virgin of Sorrows* from the Convent of Santa Isabel, Granada (figs 11–14). Mora has applied touches of blue around the Virgin's eye sockets to capture the effect of tender flesh, and for the blood that oozes from Christ's crown of thorns he has used a thickly impastoed red paint in the most dramatic way, letting it trickle into and out of Christ's mouth. The glass eyes add to the reality, and the falling tears are slightly bloodied, details that Pacheco would have found excessive.



11 José de Mora (1642–1724)
The Virgin of Sorrows (Mater Dolorosa), 1680s
Polychromed wood, 49 x 46 cm
Convento de Santa Isabel la Real, Granada



12 José de Mora (1642–1724)
Ecce Homo, 1680s
Polychromed wood, 49 x 46 cm
Convento de Santa Isabel la Real, Granada

13 and 14 Details of fig. 11 (top) and fig. 12 (bottom)



‘SCULPTURAL’ PAINTERS

The three-dimensional nature of sculpture could serve as a useful visual aid for painters. Some painters owned and worked from wax and plaster models,⁴³ while others found sculptures such as Pietro Torrigiano’s (1472–1528) *Penitent Saint Jerome* from the Hieronymite Monastery of Buenavista in Seville, particularly useful in order to learn the basics of anatomy.⁴⁴ It was also common in Spain for painters to make painted copies after popular religious sculptures.⁴⁵ The still-life painter Tomás Yepes (c.1610–1674), for example, made an exact copy in 1644 of the much venerated Gothic statue of the *Virgen de los Desamparados* (‘Virgin of the Helpless’) in Valencia for the nuns of the Descalzas Reales, Madrid, which appears so real that it functions almost as a *trompe l’oeil*. Like icons, such painted copies were meant to uphold the sacredness of the original.



15 Tomás Yepes (about 1610–1674)
Virgen de los Desamparados, 1644
 Oil on canvas, 206 x 130.5 cm
 Convento de las Descalzas Reales. Patrimonio Nacional,
 Madrid (00610871)

When it came to painting a figure on a two-dimensional surface, however, the experience painters would have gained as part of their training when colouring sculpture must have had some effect on their concept of volume and texture. For an artist like Pacheco, who had painted many sculptures, this experience was powerfully brought to bear when painting on canvas or panel, although he was probably better at polychromy than painting. The majority of his religious paintings could be categorised as watered-down versions of Italian Mannerism and were largely dependent on print sources, but for a picture like *Christ on the Cross* in 1614 (see fig. 18 and cat. 2), his skills as a polychromer and his familiarity with sculpture in general were to his advantage. More specifically, we may note that the brush marks applied to provide the pools of shadow beneath Christ’s armpits and across his left arm, as well as the trickles of blood, are extraordinarily close to the way the sculpture of the *Cristo de la Clemencia* is painted.

An artist who must certainly have known the *Cristo de la Clemencia* as well as Pacheco’s *Christ on the Cross* was Pacheco’s most celebrated pupil, Velázquez. Although no documents survive to identify pieces of sculpture that Velázquez painted, he would have received training as a painter of sculpture. On 14 March 1617 he was examined before the Guild of Saint Luke in Seville and was granted the title ‘pintor de ymaginería y al óleo y todo lo a ello anexo’ (‘master painter of religious images and in oils and in everything related thereto’) certifying him as an independent artist.⁴⁶

Velázquez’s exposure to polychrome sculpture seems to have had an impact on some of his religious compositions. Perhaps the most obviously ‘sculptural’ painting Velázquez executed was the *Christ on the Cross* painted for the sacristy of the Benedictine convent of the Encarnación de San Plácido in Madrid in the early 1630s (fig. 21). The way in which he situates the body of Christ in isolation from a narrative context and illuminates it against a dark background makes it stand out. The strong shadows beneath the armpits and in the palms of Christ’s hands closely resemble those cast by the fall of light on a wooden sculpture. Indeed, the silhouette of Christ’s body on the cross even casts a shadow into the void behind; perhaps

Velázquez intended a deliberate play between his painted crucifixion and a wooden one.

Velázquez's debt to sculpture is particularly apparent in one of the first paintings he executed as an independent artist in around 1618, *The Immaculate Conception* (see fig. 16 and cat. 8). The somewhat brittle folds of the Virgin's mantle draped around her body and the flexed right knee are remarkably similar to the presentation of the Virgin in surviving sculptures of the subject carved by Montañés and polychromed by Pacheco (see fig. 17 and cat. 7). These sculptures would have been a readily available model for the young Velázquez in his master's studio. The sharp contours of the edges of the Virgin's bodice and the crisp definition of each painted fold echo the volumetric forms of a sculpture. What is unexpected is the face of the young Virgin; so unidealised and down to earth are her features that Velázquez must have used a life model.⁴⁷

In his painting of *Christ after the Flagellation*

contemplated by the Christian Soul (see cat. 19), the figure of Christ bears a striking resemblance to Gregorio Fernández's sculptural representations of Christ (cat. 18). Fernández (1576–1636) worked chiefly in Valladolid and Madrid and was one of the most sought-after sculptors in Castile. He specialised in Passion scenes and his work was particularly known for its gory and bloody nature, often incorporating such realistic touches as eyelashes, fingernails made from horn, and simulated coagulated blood made from cork (see cats 20 and 27).

Fernández often portrayed the figure of Christ in a distinctly classical manner, almost like an antique sculpture, which reveals a sophisticated understanding of the human body. His knowledge of anatomy may have derived from his familiarity with the Duke of Lerma's collection in Valladolid, which contained excellent examples of antique sculpture as well as contemporary Italian statuary such as Giambologna's



16 Diego Velázquez (1599–1660)
The Immaculate Conception, 1618–9
Oil on canvas, 135 x 101.6 cm
The National Gallery, London
Bought with the aid of The Art Fund, 1974 (NG 6424) (cat. 8)



17 Juan Martínez Montañés (1568–1649) and
Francisco Pacheco (1564–1644)
The Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, 1606–8
Polychromed wood, 128 x 55.5 x 53 cm
Parish Church of Nuestra Señora de la Consolación, El Pedroso (cat. 7)



18 Francisco Pacheco (1564–1644)
Christ on the Cross, 1614
Oil on cedar, 58 x 37.6 cm
Instituto Gómez-Moreno de la Fundación Rodríguez-Acosta, Granada
(cat. 2)

Samson and a Philistine (London, Victoria and Albert Museum). It is highly probable that Velázquez would have seen and been inspired by a work like Fernández's *Ecce Homo* (see cat. 18). An intriguing aspect of Velázquez's *Christ after the Flagellation* is that while we, as viewers, see Christ's body from the side, the angel and Christian soul contemplate the lacerations on his back and we are aware that they see his body in the round. Following Pacheco's advice, Velázquez has concealed the gore and focused the viewer's attention on Christ's psychological condition.⁴⁸ By contrast, a polychrome sculpture by Fernández obliges the viewer to look at Christ in three dimensions and take in the atrocity of his physical sufferings. Certainly there is a strong sense of staged drama in Velázquez's painting, which perhaps derives from his experience of seeing sculptures such as these being worshipped by the



19 Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664)
Christ on the Cross, 1627
Oil on canvas, 290.3 x 165.5 cm
The Art Institute of Chicago. Robert A. Waller Memorial Fund
(1954.15) (cat. 25)

faithful during Holy Week. Fernández's *Christ at the Column* (about 1619) is in fact still carried through the streets of Valladolid on Good Friday by the *Cofradía de la Vera Cruz* (Brotherhood of the True Cross) (see fig. 34).

Pacheco's other star pupil was Alonso Cano who, as we have seen, had also trained as a sculptor. A few paintings that date from Cano's early career reveal an interest in introducing sculptural forms to a two-dimensional format.⁴⁹ His painting of Francis Borgia (see cat. 13), for example, made in 1624 for the Jesuits in Seville, contains a type of realism that is extremely close to the polychrome sculpture of the saint that Montañés and Pacheco executed that same year (cat. 14). The pose of Saint Francis staring into the hollow eye sockets of the skull, the plasticity of the black Jesuit garb, and especially the head and facial



20 Juan Martínez Montañés (1568–1649) and Francisco Pacheco (1564–1644)
Christ on the Cross, known as the *Cristo de la Clemencia*, 1603–6
Polychromed wood, h 190 cm
Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville (on long-term loan to Seville Cathedral)

expression seem to have been closely based on the sculpture. Since Cano was still working in Pacheco's workshop at the time, he quite possibly saw Pacheco in the process of polychroming the work, enabling him to study the process in detail. Although Cano's painterly style developed away from this kind of realism following his move to Madrid in 1638, he remained aware of the visual relationships between the two arts.⁵⁰ In his painting of Saint Bernard and the lactating Virgin, instead of representing the Virgin as in a vision, as is often the case with representations of this miracle, he shows a polychrome sculpture coming to life (see cat. 10).⁵¹

Francisco de Zurbarán is the only artist, apart from Pacheco, whose early work as a polychromer of sculpture is documented. Born in Fuente de Cantos, a small town in the western province of Extremadura,



21 Diego Velázquez (1599–1660)
Christ on the Cross, early 1630s
Oil on canvas, 248 x 169 cm
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (P-11670)

Zurbarán, unlike Velázquez and Cano, was not a pupil of Pacheco. However, as a painter, he seems to have relied on sculpture more than any other artist of the period, and his paintings achieved a level of hyperrealism and illusionism that was unsurpassed. That he deliberately invites his viewer to contemplate different levels of reality is illustrated by his painting *Saint Luke contemplating the Crucifixion* (see cat. 4). Zurbarán depicts Saint Luke, the patron saint of painters, holding a loaded palette and brushes while looking up at Christ on the cross. Is Saint Luke having a vision or is he painting a picture of Christ on the cross or perhaps even polychroming a sculpture of Christ on the cross? There is deliberate ambiguity here, and the play between the real and the fictive was a feature that was particularly characteristic of Zurbarán's early work.⁵²

Zurbarán's illusionistic masterpiece is without a doubt his *Christ on the Cross* (see figs 1 and 19 and cat. 25). Made for a small oratory lit only by two windows on the right and candles on the altar, the almost three-metre-tall canvas, originally arched, would have dominated the chapel and was intended to be viewed from behind a grille. The figure of Christ emerges dramatically from the total blackness beyond, the right side of his body illuminated by a strong shaft of light, leaving the other side in darkness. Areas of deep shadow such as the space between Christ's legs give the sensation that his body is falling forwards slightly into our space. His voluminous white loincloth is stiff and creased, each fold masterfully captured in sharp focus.

There seems little doubt that Zurbarán used certain visual aids to achieve this level of reality. In the *Christ on the Cross* there is an overriding sense that he was attempting to emulate in paint the palpability of a wooden polychrome sculpture. For the extraordinary

white sheet wrapped around Christ's waist (fig. 22), which is not only sculptural, but almost architectural in its construction of folds, it seems likely that Zurbarán turned to the age-old practice of stiffening white fabric with size, known in Spain as '*tela encolada*'. On occasion sculptors quite literally added a piece of '*tela encolada*' to their sculptures (see fig. 23), but Zurbarán has been able to reproduce this in paint. Like Pacheco earlier and Velázquez later (figs 18 and 21), he isolates the Crucifixion from its narrative and so encourages the viewer to believe he is witnessing a 'real' event, which makes such paintings so poignant.

For the three large canvases commissioned for the sacristy of the Charterhouse just outside Seville, the Cartuja de Santa María de la Cuevas, Zurbarán seems to have used prints, sculpture and life studies in order to construct his subjects. The centrepiece of the installation was *The Virgin of Mercy*, which shows the Virgin with her cloak outstretched to protect the living



22 Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664)
Christ on the Cross, 1627, detail of cat. 25

Gregorio is regarded as venerable for his many virtues; he did not undertake to make an effigy of Christ Our Lord or of His Holy Mother without preparing himself first by prayer, fast, penitence, and communion, so that God would confer his grace upon him and make him succeed

FROM PALOMINO'S
LIFE OF GREGORIO HERNÁNDEZ [FERNÁNDEZ]

members of the order (see cat. 11). The overall design of the composition is based on a print by the Dutch engraver Schelte Bolswert (1581–1659) that represents *Saint Augustine as Protector of the Clergy* (see fig. 75),⁵³ but while the image of the Virgin is reminiscent of a Gothic polychromed sculpture, the monks beneath are marvellously lifelike individualised portraits. Zurbarán must have spent a considerable amount of time at the monastery and we know that at least two of the monks were based on actual members of the order.

What has not been previously noted, however, is the striking connection between Zurbarán's painting and a polychrome sculpture by Montañés carved in 1634 that was in a chapel of the monastery depicting the founder of the Carthusians, Saint Bruno, meditating on the Crucifixion (cat. 12). The sculpture was on display on the altar of the chapel and would have certainly been seen by Zurbarán. Saint Bruno's gaunt face is extraordinarily lifelike and the flesh tones and the painted stubble visible on the unshaven parts of his tonsure make him all the more convincing.



23 Gregorio Fernández (1576–1636)
Ecce Homo, before 1621, detail of cat. 18

What is especially remarkable about this piece is the quality of carving of Saint Bruno's long white robe, which was the distinctive habit of the order. The polychromer, whose identity is not known,⁵⁴ applied gold leaf beneath the white pigment (visible in some areas where the paint has been scratched off) and although it has been suggested that Saint Bruno's habit was originally intended to be decorated in the *estofado* technique (that is, gilded cloth decoration) (see cat. 12), it seems unlikely that Saint Bruno would have worn such an ostentatious garment. Instead, as with Manuel Pereira's (1588–1683) celebrated *Saint Bruno meditating on the Crucifixion* (about 1635) for the Cartuja de Miraflores (see fig. 35), the gold probably functioned as a way of softening the whites, so that the light falling on the folds of the drapery creates a diffused and rounded appearance, comparable to real white cloth.

In the same way that Zurbarán's depiction of Christ's loincloth in the *Christ on the Cross* was extraordinarily three-dimensional, so too is his painting of the monks' white robes in *The Virgin of Mercy*. The folds of the cloth are deep and fall in heavy creases around their bodies. The sculpture of Saint Bruno would have provided an ideal model and the manner in which Zurbarán has painted the monks' white habits in solid and rigid folds is very reminiscent of Montañés's carving (figs 24 and 25). While Schelte Bolswert's engraving gave Zurbarán an idea for the design of the composition, it is the volume provided by the sculpted drapery and the way light falls on each fold that would have assisted him in giving his drapery a solid quality. One can imagine how striking an image it must have been for the members of the order and the sense of continuity they must have felt with the monks in the painting, and with the figure of Saint Bruno, like themselves all dressed in white and inhabiting the same space.

24 Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664)
The Virgin of Mercy of Las Cuevas, about 1644–55, detail of cat. 11

25 Juan Martínez Montañés (1568–1649) and
unknown polychromer
Saint Bruno meditating on the Crucifixion, 1634, detail of cat. 12



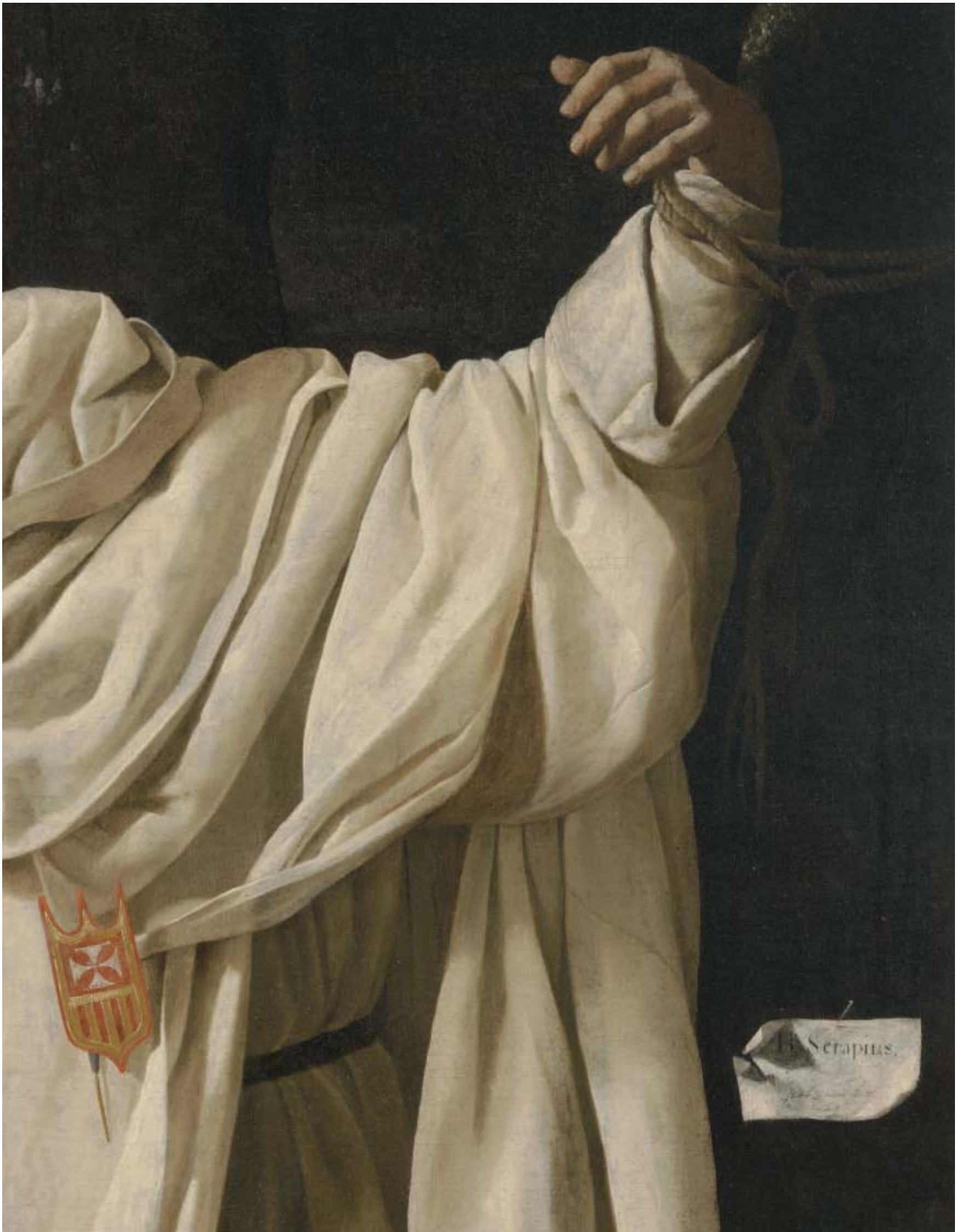


A painting that takes Zurbarán's illusionism to another level is his *Saint Serapion* (fig. 26 and cat. 35). Zurbarán has suppressed all details of the saint's suffering, and instead has focused on his white unblemished habit.⁵⁵ Voluminous and heavy, it cascades in deep folds around his collapsed body. Its extraordinary tangibility is rendered with great skill and the way in which Zurbarán has painted the areas onto which the light falls and the crevasses of deep shadow give the figure a compelling physicality. This naturalistic portrayal of a young man whose tousled hair seems to crumple forward into our space presents us with a striking image of someone hovering between life and death. There are no known sculptures of this subject and Zurbarán probably based the pose on a live model.

To perpetuate the painting's illusion of palpable reality Zurbarán has painted a piece of paper as if pinned to the canvas surface on which his signature, the date '1628' and the name 'B.[eatus] Serapius' are inscribed. As with the signature pinned to the foot of the cross in *Christ on the Cross*, Zurbarán leaves one in no doubt ultimately that this is a painting and in showing off his skill he is effectively demonstrating that painting can not only do what sculpture can naturally do, but can also play with the different levels of reality in a way that a sculpture cannot aspire to emulate.⁵⁶

26 Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664)
Saint Serapion, 1628, detail of cat. 35





THE SPANISH PARAGONE

That there was indeed some kind of ‘competition’ – or at the very least ongoing comparison – between painting and sculpture is suggested by the fact that in 1663 the sculptor Pedro de Mena, who was trained in Granada by Cano but mainly worked in Málaga, produced a sculpture of Saint Francis (fig. 27), reproducing exactly Zurbarán’s painting *Saint Francis standing in Ecstasy*, dating from some twenty years earlier (see fig. 28 and cats 31 and 32). Zurbarán’s, which was probably painted for a Franciscan friary, depicts the saint in deep contemplation. According to legend, Saint Francis, who had long been dead, was discovered standing upright in his tomb by Pope Nicholas V in 1449, in an uncorrupted state and with an ecstatic expression on his face.

The essence of the legend lies in the physical presence of Saint Francis’s body and it is possible that Zurbarán was himself influenced by sculptural representations of this subject.⁵⁷ He places the full-size figure of Saint Francis in a dark alcove. The coarse texture of his habit is reproduced with great precision, the knots on the rope around his waist casting their own shadow. He illuminates him with an intense golden glow. It is as if we are approaching him with a candle. Illusionistically the difference between painting and sculpture has been blurred.

Pedro de Mena translated Zurbarán’s figure of Saint Francis into sculpture. His most famous version of the subject is the one he presented to the cathedral of Toledo in 1663 (see fig. 27 and cat. 33). The sculpture is an extraordinary fusion of painted fictive realism and real physical objects: diagonal rough-edged paint strokes simulate the weave of the saint’s coarse habit, while a real knotted rope hangs from his waist. Glass eyes communicate his trance-like state and he has ivory teeth. It is as though Mena has tried to outdo Zurbarán’s painted rendition by showing that his sculpture combines both art forms in one.

The art of painting and of polychrome sculpture in seventeenth-century Spain shared a common objective: both strove for a realistic depiction of sacred subjects so that a ‘stepping stone’ could be created to bring the faithful closer to the divine. The possibility that

the two art forms were trying to outdo each other, however, remains a matter of conjecture. Yet, there are several instances when one feels that an element of competition did exist.⁵⁸ For example, in an attempt to prove the superiority of their artistic inheritance, sculptors claimed that the first artist on earth was a sculptor in the form of God himself who according to the Book of Genesis created Adam out of clay.⁵⁹ In response to this, painters claimed that it was when God added colour to Adam that he came to life.⁶⁰

One of the few writers to discuss the relationship between painting and sculpture in Spain was the poet Juan de Jáuregui (c. 1570–c. 1640) who composed a treatise entitled *Diálogo entre la naturaleza y las dos artes pintura y escultura* (1618), a Spanish interpretation of the celebrated artistic debate known in Italy as the *paragone* (literally ‘comparison’), which sought to establish whether painting or sculpture was the superior art.⁶¹ The debate might be thought somewhat unnecessary in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain since painters and sculptors and polychromers frequently collaborated. Despite this, Jáuregui’s treatise was widely read, not least by Pacheco, who was a close friend of the author, and in an attempt to improve their artistic status it was often quoted by painters, along with other Italian treatises.

Sculpture: *Your humble genealogy should make you silent.*

Painting: *Well, yours is not astonishing either.*

Sculpture: *You began in shadow.*

Painting: *And you, in idolatry.*⁶²

Sculpture’s most persuasive claim to its superiority over painting was that it was three-dimensional and was therefore by its very nature better able to simulate the divine. Jáuregui, however, touches on the danger of a sculpture breaking the fourth and fifth Commandments: ‘Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image’ and ‘Thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them’ (Exodus 20: 4–5).

27 Pedro de Mena (1628–1688)
Saint Francis standing in Ecstasy, 1663 (cat. 33)

28 Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664)
Saint Francis standing in Ecstasy (detail), about 1640
Oil on canvas, 209 x 110 cm
Musée des Beaux Arts de Lyon (A 115)



Although there is an element of literary conceit to all of this, there were also significant religious implications. Polychrome sculpture, as we have seen, had tremendous religious power. Indeed, sculptures such as Juan de Mesa's *Cristo del Gran Poder* in Seville (see fig. 29), and the *Cristo de Medinaceli* in Madrid, attracted (and still do) such devout praise that they were revered almost as divine objects. Some sculptors inserted written confessions inside images of Christ before sealing them as a way of appealing to Christ to intercede and transmit their prayer to God.⁶³ The sculptors themselves were even endowed with a degree of piety for having been the hand that created the images. When in 1621 the priest Bernardo de Salcedo gave his *Ecce Homo* by Gregorio Fernández (see cat. 18) to the Confraternity of the Santo Sacramento, in Valladolid, his will stipulated that the sculptor

should be commemorated in the canon of the Mass.⁶⁴

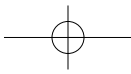
Sculpture was treading a thin line between the 'representation' of a sacred subject and becoming the sacred subject itself, which according to the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent in 1563 was to be scrupulously avoided.⁶⁵ As Saint Ignatius Loyola reminded his readers in his *Spiritual Exercises* (1548), statues should be venerated not for what they are but 'according to what they represent'.⁶⁶ Perhaps this was the fundamental way in which painters, by 'implying' the real, defended the superiority of painting over sculpture; with a painting, the faithful were less likely to commit idolatry. In this respect, Zurbarán's *Christ on the Cross* is a supremely successful religious image: by fusing the arts of painting and sculpture Zurbarán created a convincing illusion of the reality of the sacred.

In the Royal Monastery of La Merced there is a prodigious image of Jesus of Nazareth bearing the Cross called of the Passion, also by his hand, which has an expression of such sorrow that it moves to devotion even the most tepid of hearts; and it is said that when this sacred image was taken out during Holy Week, the artist himself would go out to meet it in the streets, saying that it was impossible that he could have executed such a marvel.

FROM PALOMINO'S
LIFE OF JUAN MARTÍNEZ MONTAÑÉS



29 Juan de Mesa (1583–1627)
Christ carrying the Cross, known as the *Cristo del Gran Poder*, 1620
Polychromed wood, life-size
Basílica de Nuestro Padre Jesús del Gran Poder, Seville

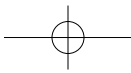


NOTES

- 1 On 27 June 1629, Rodrigo Suárez proposed to the Seville city council that Zurbarán should be given permission to practise as an artist in that city. As proof of his skill he adds: 'By those that are completed and by the painting of Christ which is in the sacristy of San Pablo, one can judge that he is a consummate artist.' See Cascales y Muñoz 1918, p. 137.
- 2 Palomino 1715–24 (1947), p. 938. For English translation see New York–Paris 1987–8, cat. no. 2, pp. 76–7. For a recent discussion of this illusionism see Stoichita 1995, pp. 70 and 72.
- 3 The 8th Conde de Benavente brought back from Naples in 1610 Caravaggio's *Crucifixion of Saint Andrew*, now in Cleveland Museum of Art, see London 2005, cat. 5, pp. 109–10. For a copy of Caravaggio's *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* in Valencia see Seville–Bilbao 2005–6, cat. 23, p. 174.
- 4 For a full discussion on the role of religious confraternities as patrons of polychrome sculpture see Verdi Webster 1998.
- 5 For the most recent study on the polychromy of antique sculpture see V. Brinkmann and J. S. Østergaard in Los Angeles 2008, pp. 18–39 and 40–61.
- 6 Most of these portals have lost their polychromy. An exceptional survival, however, is the late thirteenth-century 'Majesty Portal' of the Collegiate Church of Toro in central Spain: see Katz 2002, pp. 3–14.
- 7 Quoted in Malibu 2008, p. 65. Saint Bernard (c. 1090–1153), Cistercian monk and abbot of Clairvaux, was one of the most influential personalities in the cause of reform.
- 8 For an excellent study on Netherlandish carved altarpieces see Jacobs 1998. See also Müller 1966.
- 9 Saint John of the Cross, *Subida al Monte Carmelo*, chap. XXXV; cited in Checa 1983, p. 312, and Trusted 2007, pp. 28–9.
- 10 In a sermon given in 1615 in Madrid, Galván spoke of the merits of sculpture over painting, sculpture being the better art form for representing sacred subjects: 'Los pintores, y escultores tienen diferencia entre sí, sobre qual es mas excelente arte: pero en las imágenes espirituales tienen mucha la ventaja la estatuaría; porque la pintura consiste en sombras, y en poner una tinta sobre otra; y esto en lo espiritual huele a hipocresía: pero la estatuaría consiste en cortar y desbatar.' (See Dávila Fernández 1980, p. 120.)
- 11 There were of course some exceptions in Italy, the principal example being the painted wooden and terracotta sculptures that illustrate the life of Christ and his Passion installed in a series of chapels that form part of the Sacro Monte complex near the town of Varallo in Piedmont. See Freedberg 1989, pp. 192–201.
- 12 Delenda and Garraín Villa 1998, pp. 125 and 134: 'de hacer un Cristo del natural de dos varas de alto de madera y enbarnizado de encarnación mate y la cruz labrada con cáscara todo hecho y acabado con toda perfección para el día de señor San Francisco.'
- 13 Since Zurbarán is not known as a sculptor, it is possible that he subcontracted the carving of the crucifix to a sculptor and then polychromed it himself.
- 14 Unless a contract survives, the identity of the

- polychromer is often unknown, although there are very rare instances when a painter has signed a sculpture such as the fifteenth-century *Standing Virgin* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which bears the signature 'Juan de Córdoba me pinto A. D. MIIILXXV'.
- 15 There are many accounts in Spain of how some sculptures were so lifelike that they appeared miraculously 'real' to their viewers. The most famous account is Palomino's: on seeing Luisa Roldán's sculpture of Christ carrying the Cross he was so 'thunderstruck at its sight that it seemed irreverent not to be on my knees to look at it, for it really appeared to be the original itself'. See Palomino 1715–24 (1987), pp. 341–2. For a full discussion of this sculpture see Nancarrow Taggard 1998, pp. 9–15.
 - 16 In a contract signed in 1570 by the polychromer Juan Tomás Celma (1515–1578) to polychrome a group of sculptures by Juan de Juni in the church of San Benito el Real, Valladolid, it was stipulated that the polychromer should not 'cover or overwhelm the shapes and forms of the sculpture'. See García Chico 1946, p. 186: 'tapar ni aogar los sentidos que la obra tiene en su escultura y talla'. See also Arias Martínez 2000, pp. 17–20.
 - 17 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, Book XXXV. See Pliny the Elder (1876), p. 157.
 - 18 See Nash 2005, pp. 456–67, Nash 2006, pp. 798–809, and Nash 2008, pp. 724–41.
 - 19 Pacheco 1649 (1990), Chapter VI, pp. 494–503. For English translations of this text see Enggass and Brown 1970, pp. 217–22, and Véliz 1986, pp. 79–84.
 - 20 F. Pacheco, 'A los Profesores del arte de la pintura' (Seville, 16 July 1622), published in. Sánchez Cantón 1941, pp. 267–74. For English translation see Enggass and Brown 1970, pp. 221–6. 'The figure of marble and wood requires the painter's hand to come to life.'
 - 21 Montañés is recorded as having sent a Crucifixion to Lima, see Proske 1967, pp. 42–3, and Hernández Díaz 1987, p. 180. He also sent a whole altarpiece dedicated to Saint John the Baptist for the Convent of La Concepción, Lima (still in situ), see Proske 1967, pp. 52–6, and Hernández Díaz 1987, pp. 126–33.
 - 22 Pacheco 1649 (1990), p. 498. See also Enggass and Brown 1970, p. 218.
 - 23 Pacheco 1649 (1990), p. 496. For English translation see Véliz 1986, p. 81.
 - 24 Pacheco 1649 (1990), p. 502. For English translations see Enggass and Brown 1970, p. 221, and Véliz 1986, p. 84.
 - 25 Pacheco 1649 (1990), p. 497. For English translations see Enggass and Brown 1970, p. 217, and Véliz 1986, p. 81.
 - 26 A good example is the detailed contract signed by Pacheco and Montañés in 1606 for the now destroyed altarpiece of the Sagrado Corazón in the friary of San Francisco, Huelva: 'es condicion q(ue) todas las encarnaciones de la escultura ... rostro, manos, y pies ... se an de encarnar de encarnacion mate al olio.' For the full contract see Hernández Díaz 1928, pp. 148–52.
 - 27 Pacheco 1649 (1990), p. 499. See Enggass and Brown 1970, p. 219, and Véliz 1986, p. 82.
 - 28 Pacheco 1649 (1990), p. 499. See Enggass

- and Brown 1970, p. 219, and Véliz 1986, pp. 82–3.
- 29 Pacheco 1649 (1990), p. 500. See Enggass and Brown 1970, p. 220.
 - 30 Pacheco 1649 (1990), p. 502. See Enggass and Brown 1970, p. 221.
 - 31 See Hernández Díaz 1987, pp. 256–8.
 - 32 Cano was contracted as a 'maestro ensanblador y escultor' in 1629 when he took over the Lebríja commission: see Granada 2002, pp. 197–8. In 1635, the guild of architects and sculptors invested Cano with their power of attorney to represent them in a legal matter: see Bago y Quintanilla 1930, p. 67. And in 1638, Cano was given the power of the 'maestros escultores y arquitectos y ensanbladores' of Seville, to represent them in their appeal against being taxed in the same bracket as carpenters, for which they needed to prove that they were in a nobler profession: see López Martínez 1932, p. 264.
 - 33 An example of this is the high altarpiece of the church of Santa María de la Oliva, Lebríja: the polychromy was subcontracted to the painter Pablo Legot. See Granada 2002, pp. 197–8, for the most recent discussion of the contract.
 - 34 Pacheco 1649 (1990), p. 499. Enggass and Brown 1970, p. 219.
 - 35 For the Santa Clara commission see Proske 1967, pp. 99–109, and Hernández Díaz 1987, pp. 194–220.
 - 36 See note 20.
 - 37 *Ordenanzas de Sevilla*, Seville 1632, pp. 162–3. For an analysis of these, see Okada 1991, pp. 233–8. For an excellent study on the guilds in Seville and the making of altarpieces see also Palomero Páramo 1983.
 - 38 'Escritura de convenio de Juan Martínez Montañés con Don Mateo Vázquez de Leca para hacerle un crucifijo de escultura' (5 April 1603), published in Cuartero y Huerta 1992, Documento XLVII, pp. 131–2. For a discussion of the contract see Proske 1967, pp. 40–1, Palomero Páramo in Seville 1992, cat. no. 9, pp. 18–19, and Palomero Páramo 1992.
 - 39 Pacheco 1649 (1990), p. 500. For English translation see Brown and Enggass 1970, p. 220. For an excellent appreciation of Pacheco's polychromy of the 'Christ of Clemency' see Dexter 1986, pp. 161–5.
 - 40 Although Leca originally commissioned the 'Christ of Clemency' for his private oratory, he donated it in 1614 to the Carthusian monastery of Santa María de la Cuevas, Seville, where it was installed two years later in the chapel of the Santo Cristo (see Cuartero y Huerta 1988, vol. 1, pp. 25–6). Following the Secularisation Act of 1836, the sculpture became state property and although it legally belongs to the Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville, it has been on loan to the cathedral of Seville since the late nineteenth century.
 - 41 Baltasar Quintero was employed again by Montañés in 1632 to polychrome and gild his altarpiece of Saint John the Baptist in the Convent of San Leandro, Seville. See López Martínez 1932, p. 262: 'baltasar quintero pintor soy concertado con juan martinez montañés escultor y arquiteto en tal manera que me obligo de dorar y encarnar de mate las figuras del retablo de san juan ebangelista que el dho juan martinez montañés a hecho para el conbento de san leandro desta ciudad



- el qual rretablo a de ir dorado y estofado y encarnado en la forma y con las calidades que tiene el rretablo...'
- 42 Salazar 1949, p. 319, and Bernalles Ballesteros 1973, p. 28.
- 43 El Greco owned plaster and wax models which he used as visual aids for his compositions, see Trapier 1943, pp. 3 and 5, and Bray 2007. Pacheco too owned several models: see Salazar 1928, p. 158, and Cherry 1996, p. 72.
- 44 See Cherry 1996, pp. 70–2. Saint Jerome's emaciated body complete with sinews and muscles made it a masterpiece of anatomy and an ideal teaching tool for students, as well as a highly expressive piece of devotional art. Also useful to artists were sculptures of the Crucifixion. Surviving drawings attributed to Vicente Carducho and Francisco Collantes, for example, which are taken from a low viewpoint, suggest that a sculpture may have served as their model. See Angulo Iniguez and Pérez Sánchez 1977, no. 127, p. 30, and no. 267, p. 49.
- 45 Alonso Cano, for example, made a painted copy of Gaspar Becerra's celebrated sculpture, the *Virgen de la Soledad* (1565) for the Chapel of San Miguel in Granada Cathedral, see Granada 2002, pp. 454–5. For a full discussion of such images see Pérez Sánchez 1992, pp. 139–55.
- 46 See *Varia velázquezueña* 1960, II, p. 217, doc. 10.
- 47 Pacheco's account of his student confirms that Velázquez used life models for his *bodegones* paintings. See Pacheco 1649 (1990), pp. 527–8. For Velázquez's response to Montañés's sculpture, see Edinburgh 1996, p. 156, where it is also suggested that Velázquez may have used his sister as a model. See also Trapier 1948, p. 7, who was the first to remark on Velázquez's training as a painter of sculpture and its possible influence on his early work.
- 48 Pacheco 1649 (1990), p. 301.
- 49 A painting of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception discovered in 1994, which undoubtedly comes from Pacheco's studio and has tentatively been attributed to Velázquez but is more likely to be by Cano,

- possesses a similarly sculptural quality (see Sotheby's 1994, lot 64, and Pérez Sánchez 1999b, pp. 386–90). This painting was recently acquired by the Fundación Focus-Abengoa, Seville (see Navarrete Prieto 2009a, pp. 1–2, and Navarrete Prieto 2009b). For more on Cano as painter and sculptor see Sánchez-Mesa Martín 2001.
- 50 Cano's paintings for an altarpiece in Santa Paula, Seville, of 1635, have a strong sense of plasticity. The seated posture and the heavy drapery of *Saint John the Evangelist* from the Musée du Louvre, Paris, for example, reveal a strong connection with his later sculpture of the *Virgin and Child* ('Virgen del Belén') in Granada Cathedral.
- 51 Freedberg 1989, p. 288.
- 52 Stoichita 1995, pp. 70–7.
- 53 See Kehrler 1918, pp. 66–71, and Kehrler 1920–1, pp. 248–52. Interestingly, Bolswert's engraving was also adapted for sculpture. One such example is the large polychrome carving traditionally attributed to Montañés in Campion Hall, Oxford, which shows Saint Ignatius protecting his newly founded order. For an illustration of it, see the cover of Loyola 1996.
- 54 Since Montañés continued to collaborate with the painter Baltasar Quintero in the early 1630s, it is possible that he was also the painter of this carving of Saint Bruno. See López Martínez 1932, p. 262.
- 55 Remón 1618, folios 165–6.
- 56 Stoichita 1995, p. 72.
- 57 Some of the first sculpted interpretations of the subject seem to have been produced by Gregorio Fernández; one is in the Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Valladolid (c. 1620); another is in the church of Santo Domingo in Arévalo (Ávila) (c. 1625–30). See Martín González 1980, p. 249, and Valladolid 1989–90, cat. no. 1, pp. 22–3.
- 58 For an excellent study on the relationship between painting and sculpture in seventeenth-century Spain see Dexter 1986. For the *paragone* debate in Spain see Calvo Serraller 1981, pp. 180–3, Brown 1978, pp. 49–51, Cherry 1996, pp. 67–8, and especially Hellwig 1999a, pp. 175–252.

- 59 Pacheco 1649 (2001), p. 87.
- 60 'el soplo del Señor, dándole vida, lo pinto y retocó de variedad de colores...haciendo una perfetísima encarnación mate': Pacheco 1649 (2001), p. 89. Pacheco is here paraphrasing the *Poema de la Pintura* (undated) by the painter and humanist scholar Pablo de Céspedes (1538–1608) which survived in fragments and was partly published by Pacheco in his *Arte de la Pintura*.
- 61 Jáuregui (1618), pp. 151–6.
- 62 Jáuregui (1618), p. 151. Translation taken from Brown 1971, p. 49.
- 63 Sculptors such as Juan de Mesa and José de Arce inserted paper notes into their sculptures (often in the head of the figure) recording the date, the cost of the commission and the identity of the patron (see Gálvez 1928, and Agulló y Cobo 2005, pp. 32–3). Most extraordinary of all, however, is a note by Nicholas de Bussy (1650–1706) containing his confession and addressed to Christ, which was recently found inside his sculpture of the 'Christ of Blood' ('Cristo de la Sangre') belonging to the Cofradía del Carmen, Murcia (see Murcia 2003, p. 183).
- 64 Plaza Santiago 1973. I am grateful to David Davies and Angel García Gómez for their assistance in interpreting this clause of the contract.
- 65 *The Canons* (1851), p. 214: 'Moreover, that the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints, are to be had and retained particularly in temples, and that due honour and veneration are to be given them; not that any divinity, or virtue, is believed to be in them, on account of which they are to be worshipped; or that anything is to be asked of them; or, that trust is to be reposed in images, as was of old done by the Gentiles who placed their hope in idols.'
- 66 Loyola 1996, 'Rules to follow in view of the true attitude of mind that we ought to maintain [as members] within the Church militant', [360], rule 8, p. 357.