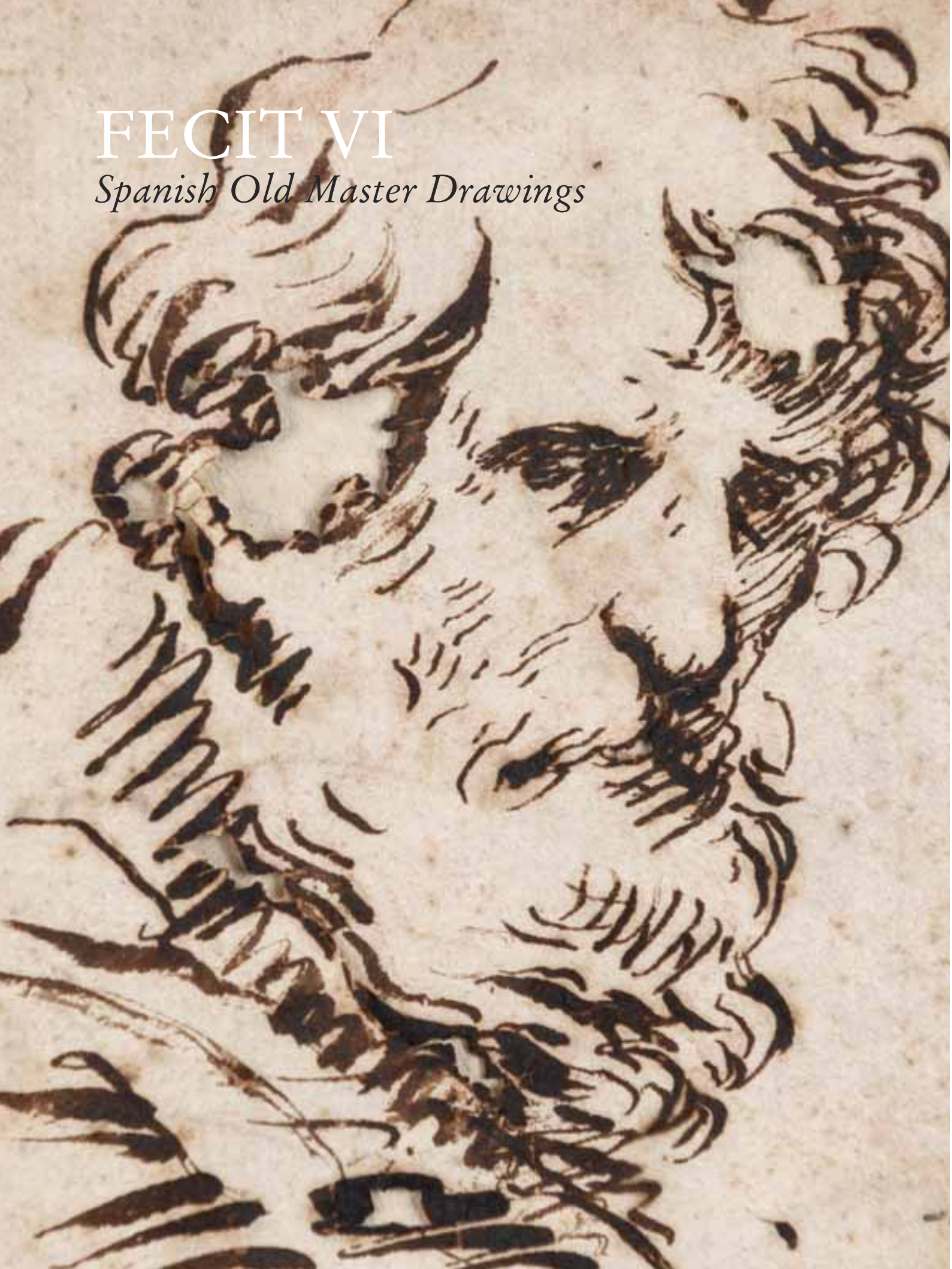


FECIT VI

Spanish Old Master Drawings



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DELA MANO

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CATALOGUE

[1]

ROMULO CINCATATO

(Florence, c. 1540 – Madrid, c. 1597)

Christ washing the Disciples' Feet

c. 1587-1590

Pencil, pen, ink and grey-brown wash on paper

555 x 145 mm

INSCRIBED

“60 Rs”, lower left corner

PROVENANCE

Madrid, private collection

Philip II manifested a notable interest in both the construction and the pictorial decoration of El Escorial.

The building was not yet completed when the King began to have paintings sent to the monastery, the arrival of which are recorded in the *Libros de entregas* [delivery books].¹ He was also personally involved in seeking out and employing the artists who worked there on the creation of series of paintings or decorative fresco schemes. A key figure in this project was the Spanish ambassador to the Vatican, Luis de Requesens, who acted as royal agent in attracting artists, particularly fresco painters, into the King's service.² Through his mediation painters of the stature of Federico Zuccaro, Patricio Cajés and Romulo Cincinato arrived at El Escorial.

Cincinato was born in Florence at an unknown date around 1540. According to traditional sources he trained with Francisco

Salviati³ but in recent years it has been thought that he may have learned his profession in the studio of Taddeo Zuccaro due to the similarities evident between some of his works and models used by Zuccaro.⁴ Nonetheless, Cincinato's work reveals a rigidity, an obsession with form and a degree of academicism much greater than that of his master. This led him to be criticised by some of his contemporaries, who considered that he was “a man of little invention”.⁵

Following his arrival in Spain in 1567 he began to work for Philip II, first under the direction of Gaspar Becerra on the mural decorations for El Pardo and Valsaín then following Becerra's death in the Alcázar in Madrid under the direction of Giovanni Battista Castello, “il Bergamasco”. After Castello's death in 1569 Cincinato and Cajés were placed in charge of decorative schemes for royal palaces, leading Philip II to commission Cincinato with the

¹ The *Libros de Entregas* are housed in the Archivo General de Palacio, Patronato de San Lorenzo, Leg. 1995. The one relating to paintings was published by Zarco (1930) and has more recently been the subject of study. See Checa, Mancini and Vázquez (2013). On 16 June 1567 Felipe II wrote to Requesens asking him to seek out skilled painters in Rome: “Don Luis de Requesens com[en]dador m[ay]or por la memoria que os mando embiar con esta entendereis los pintores que de preste son menester para nras obras, encargos que conforme a lo que en ella se dize los hagais buscar y concertar que sean hombres de bien y bueos officiales y que vengan quanto antes...”. Archivo General de Simancas, CC, Libro 145, f. 55v, in Pérez de Tudela (2001), p. 471.

² Ceán Bermúdez (1800), vol. I, p. 332.

³ This idea was proposed by Ángel Rodríguez Rebollo in a lecture given at the Museo de Guadalajara in June 2014.

⁴ This criticism is recorded by both Father Sigüenza and by Palomino. See, respectively, Sigüenza (1881), p. 307 and Palomino (1715-1724/1947), p. 817.





Fig. 1 Romulo Cincinato, Triptych of *The legal Supper of the Lamb*, (open) c. 1587-1590. Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Patrimonio Nacional, inv. no. 10014871



Fig. 2 Romulo Cincinato, Triptych of *The legal Supper of the Lamb*, (closed) c. 1587-1590. Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Patrimonio Nacional, inv. no. 10014871

fresco paintings for one of the sacristies in El Escorial (1570-71). The success of these works brought the artist professional opportunities outside the court and he was invited to Cuenca to execute the paintings for the principal altarpiece of the Jesuit church, and to Guadalajara to execute fresco decorations in the palace of the Duke of El Infantado. In 1582 Philip II once again summoned Cincinato to work at El Escorial. First he commissioned him to paint a new version of *The Martyrdom of Saint Maurice and the Theban Legion*, which the King had previously commissioned from El Greco with results that did not satisfy him. Philip subsequently commissioned

Cincinato to execute various decorative projects at the monastery of El Escorial, including paintings for two large reliquary altars in the Lower Cloister of the Evangelists.⁶ In 1773 Ponz described one of these paintings in volume II of his *Viaje de España*: “The paintings in the corners are in oil. Each depicts two subjects [...] The other two corners towards the South are: the first, by Peregrino Tibaldi, and the other, by Romulo Cincinato [...] Romulo Cincinato executed *The Transfiguration* and *The Last Supper* of the Lord. Both Suppers are present, in other words the legal or figurative and the sacramental, one on the interior and the other on the doors,

on the exterior, which have *The Washing of the Feet* and *The Entry into Jerusalem* on their reverse [...] These paintings in the corners, by which I mean those that are covered up, are not opened except when there are processions around the cloisters. They look today as if they had just been painted.”⁷

The present drawing is the final study for one of the doors of the reliquary altar described by Ponz. The triptych is dedicated to *The legal Supper of the Lamb* and remains today in its original location for which it was created (Patrimonio Nacional, inv. no. 10014871). With the doors closed it shows (*The Paschal Supper* fig. 2), which is the precise moment

when Christ, surrounded by the standing Apostles, blesses the food, as stipulated in the holy texts. The open triptych has a central scene of *The Institution of the Eucharist*, *Christ’s Entry into Jerusalem* on the left and *Christ washing the Disciples’ Feet* on the right (fig. 1). It is this episode, recounted in John 13:1-20, that Cincinato translated from paper to panel with only a few slight variations. The present sheet is a precise and highly finished final drawing that is squared up for use on the intended support of the finished work. It was initially executed in pencil then reworked by the artist in pen and grey-brown ink with delicate washes of the same tone through

⁶ Palomino (1715-1724/1947), pp. 817-818.

⁷ Ponz (1772-1794/1947), pp. 176-177.

which Cincinato creates the volumes and shadows. The grandeur of the fully classical architectural setting is perfectly conveyed and creates a greater sense of depth and perspective in the drawing. Cincinato was aware of his skills in this field and transformed the architecture and setting into one of the key elements in his composition in a way never previously seen in Spain.⁸ Located in the foreground is Peter, who with an expression of compunction seems to be addressing Christ and saying “Lord, dost thou wash my feet”, as in John’s account (13:6). Christ is depicted kneeling before Peter and supporting the calf of his lower leg, which the Apostle has just lifted out of a basin. Behind them are the other Apostles, who form an animated group in which the gazes and gestures direct the

viewer’s attention from one to another. There are almost no changes or significant variations between the figures in the drawing and those in the final panel although some beardless ones acquire beards. The most notable changes are to the setting: whereas the background of the drawing includes a flight of steps and some distant figures, this element is completely removed in the oil and replaced by a blind wall. In addition, the right side of the architectural setting in the drawing has an arched opening in the wall whereas in the final panel this becomes a low door with a relief above it. Overall however, the principal difference between the oil and this preparatory study is the loss of freshness and the rigidity of the final painting in comparison with the present drawing.



⁸ For the use and importance of the backgrounds in Cincinato’s work, there are interesting opinions in Ibáñez (1991), pp. 444-445.

[2]

JUAN DE UCEDA (Seville?, c. 1570-Seville, 1631)

A Bishop Saint

c. 1623

Pen and brown ink washes, with pencil and white chalk, on laid paper

158 x 90 mm

SIGNED

“J^o de Uçeda.”, in ink, lower left

INSCRIBED

Stamp of the Santarelli collection, lower right; stamp of the Duke of Genoa and Savoy collection, on the reverse

PROVENANCE

Giovanni Filippo Michelozzi collection; Santarelli collection; Alberto Vittorio, Duke of Genoa and Savoy collection; Morris and Adele Bergreen collection (USA)

This is the only drawing that has been assigned to the Andalusian Mannerist painter and polychromist Juan de Uceda, an attribution made possible by the presence of the signature at the lower left corner. Uceda was born into a family of Sevillian artists, probably around 1570. His first known work dates from 1593 when he collaborated on the pictorial decoration of the Easter Thursday monument in the cathedral in that city.¹ Uceda's first known canvas is *The Transition of Saint Hermenegild*, now in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla (inv. no. DO0138P) of 1602, for which he painted the figures of the angels at the top of the composition following the departure of Alonso Vázquez (1564-1608), who had started the painting, for South America.² This fact suggests the Uceda could have studied with Vázquez, thus assimilating from him the Mannerist forms that characterise his few known works.

In the first decade of the 17th century Uceda's commissions brought him into contact

with leading artists in Seville, such as the painter Francisco Pacheco and the sculptor Juan Martínez Montañés. Nonetheless, the fierce competition that prevailed in the city at that time, which made it difficult to secure important commissions, meant that in 1608 the artist left for South America, for the city of Lima in order to head “the altarpiece paintings workshop”.³ In January 1610 he was, however, once again in Seville where he was contracted with Montañés to execute the *Altarpiece of Saint John the Baptist* for the convent of Santa María del Socorro, for which Uceda was to polychrome the structure of the work and the sculptures.⁴ The static forms of his figures and their Mannerist colours, which were already out of date by the second decade of the 17th century, meant that Uceda was obliged to diversify his activities and focus more on polychromy than on painting canvases. Despite this, he achieved renown in Seville and in 1616 was appointed joint chief overseer of the guild of painters with Francisco Pacheco, examining



¹ Valdivieso & Serrera (1985), p. 189.

² Valdivieso & Serrera (1985), p. 189 and Halcón (2002), p. 374.

³ Navarrete (1997), p. 331.

⁴ Halcón (2002), pp. 380-381.



Fig. 1 Juan de Uceda, *The Virgin of the Rosary*. Seville, Museo de Bellas Artes, inv. no. DJ1433P



Fig. 2 Juan de Uceda, *The Holy Family*, 1623. Seville, Museo de Bellas Artes, inv. no. CE0139P

artists of the stature of Velázquez and Francisco de Herrera.⁵

The present drawing depicts a standing *Bishop Saint* holding a book against his waist in his right hand and a pennant in his left. The body is frontally positioned while the head, with a thick beard and wearing a mitre, is slightly turned to the right. The saint wears a heavy cope that falls over his back with almost no suggestion of movement. However, the vestment beneath it is almost transparent in the lower part and thus reveals the figure's legs, indicating that the artist copied from life when executing his models.

This sketch is created with firm lines in pen and brown ink and light washes that emphasise the figure's volumes and the shadow that it casts on the ground. In some points the artist has made use of white chalk to produce highlights. By employing all these resources Uceda has created a notably three-dimensional figure that seems to be closer to a sketch for a sculpture than a painting. As noted, the artist was also active as a polychromist of altarpieces

and although he did not produce the sculptures himself he could have supplied the designs for some of the figures, which were then sub-contracted to other sculptors.⁶ However, the saint's closed, restrained form and its slightly static pose relates it to some of the artist's known paintings, such as *The Virgin of the Rosary* in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla (fig. 1, inv. no. DJ1433P) and the Saint Joseph in *The Holy Family* (fig. 2, Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla, inv. no. CE0139P). In the case of the latter figure, its closed, weighty form as well as the position of the cloak falling over the shoulders and resting on one of the arms is an almost direct transposition of the present drawing. In addition, the type of male face is very similar in both cases. The relationship that can thus be established between the present drawing and that oil on canvas, which the artist signed and dated in 1623, allows the present drawing to be dated to that period, in which Juan de Uceda primarily focused on the polychromy of sculptures and altarpieces.

⁵ Valdivieso & Serrera (1985), p. 190 and Halcón (2002), p. 381.

⁶ On this issue, see Valdivieso & Serrera (1985), p. 195.



[3 & 4]

FRANCISCO DE HERRERA

THE ELDER (Seville, c. 1590-Madrid, 1654)

Bearded Head in half-profile

c. 1642

Reed pen with grey-brown ink on laid paper
98 x 70 mm

PROVENANCE

New York, private collection

Head of an old bearded Man

c. 1640-1645

Reed pen with grey-brown ink and wash on laid paper
100 x 78 mm

PROVENANCE

New York, private collection

“Francisco Pacheco’s brushes and famous pen make painting, poetry and prose equal. If Apelles were from Seville, and if the planet under which Herrera was born, and being a ray of his same sphere, with his arrival and within it, where Herrera is the sun, Pacheco is the star.»¹ With these verses Lope de Vega praised the artist Francisco Herrera the Elder in his *Laurel de Apolo* [Apollo’s laurel wreath], and there is no doubt that, together with Francisco Pacheco, Herrera was the most important artist in early 17th century Seville. Son of the painter, illuminator and engraver Juan de Herrera y Aguilar, Herrera probably trained in his father’s workshop, although Palomino states that he studied with Pacheco.² Whatever the case, it is primarily in the artist’s drawings, characterised above all by their forceful lines, that Herrera

reveals his debt to the art of illumination and engraving practised by his father. His sketches, with their clear, broad lines executed with reed pen in dark, grey-brown ink and some use of diluted washes, reveal that training in printmaking as well as the artist’s own dry, acerbic character which led him to become involved in numerous court cases and disputes.

Herrera the Elder’s powerful artistic personality is particularly evident in the numerous heads that he drew with the aim of capturing the uniqueness of human nature, the character of his sitters and their range of movements, appearances, states of mind and different ages. These heads are either combined on a single sheet, as in *Six Heads* in the Uffizi (inv. no. 10232S), accompanied by other elements such as hands, as in *Study of three Hands and the Head of an elderly bearded Man* also in that museum (inv. no. 10239S), or



¹ Palomino (1715-1724/1947), p. 882.

² Palomino (1715-1724/1947), p. 880.



Fig. 1 Francisco de Herrera the Elder, *Head of an Old Man*. Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. no. 100231S



Fig. 2 Francisco de Herrera the Elder, *Apostle*, 1642. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, cat. D006017



depicted individually, as in the present images. Herrera used this repertoire for both the preparation of his paintings and to teach the artists training in his studio, thus giving rise to a type of drawing manual for learning the art of painting.³ His workshop was extremely celebrated and important in Seville and it is known, for example, that Velázquez entered it at a very young age as an apprentice of Herrera but that after just a few months he was unable to endure the artist's difficult temperament and he moved to that of his future father-in-law, Francisco Pacheco.⁴

The first of these two drawings is the bearded head of a man in half-profile who looks directly at the viewer. His features are defined with lively lines, either unidirectional or zigzagging, executed in a reed pen with sepia iron gall ink. The result of the use of this type of ink, which contains iron, means that in the areas where the pen was more highly charged the paper has torn, resulting in some losses,⁵ but this does not prevent a clear reading and an appreciation of the image. The dishevelled, wavy hair and thick beard can be compared to what seems to be the same figure in *Head of an*

³ Navarrete (2016), p. 324, cat. 193.

⁴ Palomino (1715-1724/1947), p. 881.

⁵ This is also the case with other drawings by the artist, such as *Head of an old Man* in the Uffizi (inv. no. 100231S), see fig. 1, and *Six Heads* (inv. no. 10232S).



Fig. 3 Francisco Herrera the Elder, *Study for an Apostle*, c. 1630-1640. Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. no. 38560

Old Man and in *Saint John the Evangelist on Patmos* in the Uffizi (fig. 1, inv. nos. 100231S and 10291S),⁶ as well as the *Apostle* in the Museo del Prado (fig. 2, D006017).⁷ This suggests a repeated study of the same models, either relatives, people from the streets of Seville or workshop members, which allowed Herrera to precisely analyse unique traits of expression and body movement. Given that both the *Apostle* in the Prado and other drawings from the same series are signed and dated and also reveal the use of a reed pen,⁸ the present sheet can be dated to around 1642.

In addition, it can be suggested that both this drawing and the one in the Uffizi were preliminary studies for the definition of physical types and characters for that series.

The second face is that of an old man with a thick white beard and abundant hair. His melancholy, self-absorbed gaze and his sad, taciturn expression are perfectly conveyed through the rapid strokes of the reed pen and the use of very diluted grey-brown wash which increases the sense of an enigmatic personality. The use of wash, another resource that Herrera the Elder employed for his sketches, brings this study close to those for the twelve *Apostles* in the Hamburger Kunsthalle (inv. nos. 38552 to 38563), which are created solely from diluted areas of grey ink of varying intensity.⁹ The appearance of one of those *Apostles*, with thick hair and a dense white beard, is similar to that of the present head (fig. 3, inv. no. 38560), suggesting that it is the same man. However, in *Head of an old bearded Man* Herrera went further in his experimentation with drawing and made use of the two techniques referred to in relation to the previous sheet and those in Hamburg, combining the powerful use of the reed pen that constructs the figure with washes that define the shadows around the outlines of the face in order to emphasise the whiteness of the beard and the self-absorbed gaze with greater intensity. This combination reveals the artist's mastery and artistic maturity and allows the present drawing to be dated to the early 1640s, the period when Herrera the Elder received some of his most important commissions and in which his sketches acquire a distinctive character and unique characteristics that make them easily recognisable.

⁶ See respectively Martínez Ripoll (1978), p. 224, fig. 87; Angulo & Pérez Sánchez (1985), p. 24, cat. 45 and Navarrete (2016), pp. 324-326, cat. 194; Angulo & Pérez Sánchez (1985), p. 23, cat. 36 and Navarrete (2016), pp. 334-335, cat. 206.

⁷ Martínez Ripoll (1978), p. 226 and Angulo & Pérez Sánchez (1985), p. 19, cat. 5.

⁸ On the *Apostles* series, see Angulo & Pérez Sánchez (1985), pp. 18-19, cats. 1-8.

⁹ Angulo & Pérez Sánchez (1985), pp. 19-21, cats. 9-20 and *Dibujos españoles* (2014), pp. 38-51, cat. 12.



[5]

ALONSO CANO (Granada, 1601-1667)

The Death of Mary Magdalen

c. 1645-50

Pen and grey-brown ink on laid paper

90 x 192 mm

PROVENANCE

Madrid, private collection

LITERATURE

Navarrete (2001), p. 438, fig. 5; Véliz (2011a), p. 420, cat. 91

This very small sketch, executed in pen and grey-brown ink, is a masterly example of the expressive and narrative powers achieved by Alonso Cano at the height of his artistic powers. Using rapid, zig-zagging strokes of different thicknesses for the background and figures, the artist creates a symphony of curved and straight lines through which he depicts the figure of a woman lying on a bed, holding a cross and with her head resting on a pillow at the moment of her death. In an almost magical way, Cano conveys the silence of the space and the peace of the figure as she yields to the final moments of her earthly life. Next to her on the right are a pair of winged figures that suggest small angels, indicating that this is not an everyday scene but rather an episode with a religious content. In addition, the fact that the angels have small haloes over their heads suggests that the recumbent figure is a saint. Within the context of religious iconography, a peaceful deathbed episode of this type generally refers to one of two female figures. The first is the Virgin Mary in the so-called “Dormition of the Virgin”, which is the moment of the glorification of the Virgin’s body and soul as both ascend together to heaven and in which

the Virgin’s body is surrounded by the Apostles, as depicted in the painting by Andrea Mantegna (MNP, P000248). The other female figure shown at the moment of her death is Mary Magdalen. According to Jacopo de Voragine, after retiring to a cave where she lived apart from the world for thirty years, the Magdalen died and was borne by angels to the oratory of Saint-Maximin in Aix-en-Provence. At the moment of her death her face shone in such a way that “any person would have more easily endured the sun’s rays on their eyes than the brilliant glow emanating from that face.”¹ While this episode was not as popular as that of the penitent Mary Magdalen, it was among those employed in the Baroque period to depict this saint. Examples include the small sculptural group by Luisa Roldán in the Hispanic Society of America in New York (fig. 1, inv. no. D822) and the drawing by Juan Niño de Guevara, on the same subject, in the Uffizi (fig. 2, inv. no. 10420S). The sole presence of angels in the present sketch and the figure’s gesture of seemingly taking her last breath thus suggest that the subject is *The Death of Mary Magdalen*, an opinion expressed by Benito Navarrete and seconded by Zahira Véliz, expert on Alonso Cano’s



¹ Vorágine (1982), vol. I, p. 389.



Fig. 1 Luisa Roldán, La Roldana, *The Death of Mary Magdalen*, 1691-1692. New York, The Hispanic Society of America



Fig. 2 Juan Niño de Guevara, *The Death of Mary Magdalen*, c. 1660-1665. Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi

drawing.² Nonetheless, it would appear that this initial sketch was not used for a final canvas or at least not one currently known given that there are no known works on this subject by the artist.

With regard to the drawing's date, the rapidity and deftness of the technique relate it to other pen studies by the artist executed between 1645 and 1650. They include *Figure Study* and *Venus, Cupid and a Satyr*, both in the Uffizi (inv. nos. 10254S and 10260S),³ and the *Figure of a male or female Saint* presented in this catalogue, of which the technique and size are very comparable to the present work. In addition, the small angels on the right are similar to those in the lower part of *The*

Triumph of Apollo in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (sign. DIB/15/2/1).⁴ This drawing can thus be considered a work from Cano's mature period, executed during his time in Madrid. It is interesting to note that just before those years, in 1644, the artist's wife, María Magdalena de Uceda, was murdered. Cano was accused of the crime and was tortured to extract a confession from him, although he was finally acquitted. While the present sketch can naturally not be associated with that event, the emotion and silence that fills the scene seems strikingly real. Furthermore, despite being very summarily depicted, the figure's face has notably specific features.

² See Navarrete (2001), p. 438, fig. 5 and Véliz (2011a), p. 420.
³ Véliz (2011a), pp. 414 and 424, cats. 89 and 93.
⁴ Véliz (2011a), p. 430, cat. 96.



[6]

ALONSO CANO (Granada, 1601-1667)

Figure of a male or female Saint

c. 1645-50

Grey-brown ink and charcoal on paper

140 x 71 mm

SIGNED

"[A]lon/ [so] cano/ facie/ bad", in pen, centre left

PROVENANCE

Madrid, Marquis of Casa-Torres collection; Madrid, private collection

Rapid, agitated, almost electrical strokes executed in pen and grey-brown ink bring this small sketch of a male or female figure to life.

The economy of means and the effects achieved by the artist with those means reveal his mastery, even though the lack of specific attributes and definition in the image prevents a precise identification of its subject. Movement, a sense of volume and the elegance of the forms are all conveyed through just a few lines of different thicknesses, attesting to the technical virtuosity, expressive maturity and facility of the stroke attained by the creator of this drawing: Alonso Cano, the great painter, sculptor and architect from Granada. In his account of the artist's charitable generosity, Palomino refers to Cano's tremendous facility to execute and invent figures: "[...] it very frequently happened that when he came across some poor and needy person, and having already used up the money that he kept for the purpose, he went into a shop and asked for a sheet of paper and pen and ink, and with the pen he would draw some figure, or head, or some other thing such as a cartouche or other architectural ornament and he would say to the

poor person: 'Go to so-and-so's house (the name of someone whom he knew to appreciate him) and tell him to give you so much for this drawing.' Thus by this method he never failed to give alms and he had so much facility for drawing anything that he left behind numerous drawings [...]."¹

The attribution to Cano of this previously unpublished drawing is not only supported by the signature at the centre left, which reads "[A]lon/ [so] cano/ facie/ bad", but also by its technical, expressive and formal similarity to other sketches and paintings by the artist, as detailed below. Cano produced numerous informal and spontaneous figure studies of which the largest number depict saints. All are executed in pen and ink with vigorous strokes and are small in scale, as Zahira Véliz has studied and demonstrated.² Two clear examples that are very similar to the present sheet in terms of technique, dimensions and concept are the sketches for the figures of *The Blessed Gonzalo of Amarante* (fig. 1, RABASE, 159 x 90 mm, inv. no. 2117) and *Christ gathering his Garments* (BNE, 91 x 87 mm, sign. DIB/15/2/13). Both are again of small size, executed in pen and grey-brown ink and



¹ Palomino (1715-1724/1947), p. 994.

² Véliz (2011a), pp. 29-32.



Fig. 1 Alonso Cano, *The Blessed Gonzalo of Amarante*, 1645. Madrid, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando



Fig. 2 Alonso Cano, *The Miracle of the Well* [detail of Saint Isidore], 1638-1640. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

on largely cut-down sheets. They are rapid, *alla prima* drawings which nonetheless achieve a pronounced sense of volume in the figures. Works of this type date from Cano's mature period, around 1645-50 when he was in Madrid in the service of Philip IV as court painter and at a date when he had fully developed all his artistic resources, enabling him to give his figures a powerful expressive charge through great economy of means.

There is also another detail that allows this sketch to be directly associated with Alonso Cano. A series of sketches by the artist have numerous spots of vivid red on them that are not directly related to the subject depicted, as is the case in the middle zone of this figure. It is also found on works such as *The Archangel Michael* in the Uffizi (inv. no. 10259S) and *Saint Joseph with the Christ Child* in the Museo

del Prado (cat. D000066). These spots seem to have been transferred from some material in the studio and given that these drawings were frequently used in these working spaces, one sheet may have become stained and then affected others.

The composition of the figure, shown standing with the weight shifted towards one foot and the arms open to create a balanced diagonal, is typical of Cano's figures, particularly those from his Madrid years, as noted above. A similar pose is to be seen in the figure of Saint Isidore in *The Miracle of the Well* (fig. 2, MNP, P002806) and in the *Juno* of this same period (private collection),³ as well as in the above-mentioned *Blessed Gonzalo of Amarante*. The present drawing can thus be assigned to that chronological period, specifically towards the end of the artist's years in Madrid.

³ On this painting and its possible dating, see Requena Bravo de Laguna (2005-2006).



[7]

ALONSO CANO (Granada, 1601-1667)

Allegorical Figure of Hope

c. 1649

Pen and grey-brown ink wash on laid paper
118 x 97 mm

SIGNED

“A.C.”, in pen, lower right corner

PROVENANCE

Granada, Manuel González collection; Madrid, Luis Fernández-Guerra y Orbe collection; Madrid, private collection

LITERATURE

Véliz (2011a), p. 410, cat. 87

Acquired by a private collection, New York

This rapid but firmly defined sketch in grey-brown ink depicts a seated woman supporting an anchor in her left hand which rests on the ground. The volume of the figure is created through the use of light greyish washes applied to the folds and areas of shadow, achieving an effect close to sculpture through great economy of means. This small but remarkable drawing has been catalogued by the specialist Zahira Véliz as an example of the creative genius of the Granada-born artist Alonso Cano,¹ as the initials “A.C.” applied with the same pen at the lower right corner of the sheet also indicate.

With regard to the work’s iconographic meaning, the only attribute that allows the figure to be identified is the anchor. This identification is based on both a biblical text, Saint Paul’s *Epistle to the Hebrews*, and on Cesare Ripa’s *Iconology*. The former states that: “Which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast, and which entereth into that within the veil”

(*Hebrews* 6: 19), which is the origin of the iconography of Christian Hope as a firm anchor. Ripa offers various descriptions of Hope, of which the most recognisable and widely used is that of a matron with plants or lilies in her hands,² or a woman breastfeeding a putto.³ However, in the *Nuova Iconologia*, Hope is also represented as a “donna vestita di giallo [...] & nella sinistra terrà un anchora.”⁴ In addition, the *Iconologia Cristiana* states that Hope’s attribute of a ship’s anchor represents that which “supports and consoles us during misfortunes and dangers.”⁵

The present drawing is thus clearly an allegorical depiction of Hope but the purpose for which Cano created it is not known. It can be dated around 1645-55 on the basis of its similarities to other works by the artist, particularly its resemblance to some of the female figures by the artist in the “The Life of the Virgin” cycle for Granada cathedral.⁶

It would appear that for the creation of this figure Cano was inspired by one in the engraving of



¹ Véliz (2011a), p. 410, cat. 87.

² This is the principal description of Hope in the first edition of Ripa (1593/1987), vol. I, pp. 353-356.

³ In his *Nuova Iconologia* this is now the principal description. Ripa (1618), p. 491.

⁴ Ripa (1618), p. 492.

⁵ Pastor (1866), p. 130.

⁶ Véliz (2011a), p. 410, cat. 87.



Fig. 1 Hieronymus Wierix, *Faith, Hope and Charity* (detail of the figure of Hope), engraving after a drawing by Gerard van Groeningen, 1572

Faith, Hope and Charity by Hieronymus Wierix, based on a drawing by Gerard van Groeningen (fig. 1). The fact that Hope is shown seated, the manner of supporting the anchor with the left hand and the position of the raised right hand with one finger also raised all appear to be directly derived from that print, even though the bird on the hand present in the print is not included. Cano habitually based himself on engravings, as Palomino recounted in his *Lives*: “Cano was not particular about making use of the most insignificant little prints, even if they were *coplas*: because by adding and removing he made full use of them to devise marvellous concepts: and when some painters said this was an activity unworthy of an eminent inventor he replied ‘Let them do the same with me, I forgive them for it.’ And he was right, as this was not stealing but rather making good use; as in the end what he produced was no longer what he had initially seen.”⁷

In 1648 Cano illustrated Francisco de Quevedo’s *El Parnaso Español*, for which he devised the front cover and the nine Muses that would subsequently be engraved by Hermann Panneels and Juan de Noort.⁸ All the Muses are depicted seated, in three-quarter profile and gesticulating, for example the figure of *Melpomene* (BNE, sign. R-4418). The theological Virtues were not included in that book but there is a clear relationship between the Muses and the present image of *Hope*, indicating that Cano must have been inspired by those figures for another commission.

Some experts have pointed to Cano’s possible participation in 1649 in the entry into Madrid of Mariana of Austria,⁹ for which Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo produced a temporary decoration installed opposite the Torrecilla del Prado of *Mount Parnassus* which was based on Panneels and Noort’s engravings.¹⁰ It is thought that Cano was involved in the decorations of the Puerta de Guadalajara and that he may also have produced designs for other decorations along the entry route¹¹ with which the present figure of *Hope* could be related.¹² The *di sotto in su* viewpoint used for the figure and its markedly sculptural character indicate that it was intended to be located high up and that it was a design for a three-dimensional work, which would be coherent with a possible ephemeral decoration. However, although the theological Virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity were widely employed images for the reception of sovereigns as they made direct reference to their virtues, there is no record of their presence on the Puerta de Guadalajara, nor is it absolutely certain that Cano participated in its decoration.¹³

⁷ Palomino (1715-1724/1947), p. 988.

⁸ Blas, De Carlos Varona & Matilla (2011), pp. 553-554, nos. 775-776 and pp. 607-609, nos. 859-862.

⁹ Early sources refer to this participation: Lázaro Díaz del Valle and Palomino were the first to refer to Cano’s involvement in these celebrations. See, respectively, García López (2008), p. 330 and Palomino (1715-1724/1947), p. 986.

¹⁰ Zapata (2016), pp. 135-162.

¹¹ On Cano’s possible ephemeral decorations for the entry of Mariana of Austria, see Suárez Quevedo (2001).

¹² This was also suggested by Zahira Véliz in the catalogue entry on the work. Véliz (2011a), p. 410.

¹³ Zapata (2016), p. 284, does not consider Cano’s participation in the entry of the new Queen to be demonstrated, not even with regard to the arch of the Puerta de Guadalajara.



[8]

JUAN NIÑO DE GUEVARA

(Madrid, 1632-Málaga, 1698)

*The Apparition of the Virgin and Child to Saint Francis
and the Vision of the Cross*

c. 1652-1660

Pen, sepia ink and grey-brown wash on paper

212 x 153 mm

PROVENANCE

Madrid, private collection

LITERATURE

Véliz (2002), p. 189, fig. 5

Although born in Madrid in 1632,¹ the artist Juan Niño de Guevara is considered one of the most important artists of the 17th century in Málaga.² While still a young child he moved with his family to that city and at the age of just twelve he signed an apprenticeship contract with the painter of Flemish origins Miguel Manrique for a term of three years, from 1644 to 1647.³ After that date it is not clear if he went to Madrid and there entered the studio of Alonso Cano or if the two artists' paths crossed in Granada⁴ in 1652 when Cano was commissioned to paint *The Virgin of the Rosary*.⁵ What is certain is that Niño de Guevara was profoundly influenced by Cano's art and radically modified his own manner of painting, becoming his closest follower to the point that the attribution of some works is still debated between the two artists.⁶ Niño de Guevara not only derived his manner of painting from Cano but also the typology of his figures, the physical model of his Virgins

and the compositional structures, all of which he used for the creation of his own works. This is fully evident in the present drawing.

This sketch depicts *The Apparition of the Virgin and Child to Saint Francis and the Vision of the Cross*, thus combining two episodes from the life of Saint Francis in a single image.

Firstly, it depicts the vision of the cross, which took place in the church of San Damiano in Foligno, and secondly, the apparition of the Virgin and Child. Both miraculous events took place before Francis decided to renounce his worldly life and dedicate himself to the service of God. Despite the complicated task of combining two different episodes in a single scene, Niño de Guevara successfully achieves a comprehensible reading, masterfully managing the proportions and orthogonals and creating a triangle between the three principal elements (the cross, the Virgin and Saint Francis) which steers the viewer's gaze from one to the other in rigorous order. Both the Virgin's face and the compositional structure as well as the typology



¹ Antonio Palomino's biographical account continues to be the principal source for the artist's early years and for many of his commissions. Palomino (1715-1724/1947), pp. 1074-1077.

² In the most important study on the artist he is in fact defined as a painter from Málaga. Clavijo García (1998).

³ Camino Romero & Cabello Díaz (1999), pp. 29-34.

⁴ Palomino (1715-1724/1947), p. 1075 and Ceán Bermúdez (1800), vol. III, p. 233.

⁵ Clavijo García (1974), pp. 76-77; Pérez Sánchez (1996), p. 388 and Véliz (2002), pp. 187-188.

⁶ This is the case, for example, with the drawing of *The Vision of Saint Augustine* in the Courtauld Institute of Art in London. Wethey (1953), pp. 140-141, fig. 10 and Véliz (2011b), p. 202, cat. 67.



Fig. 1 Alonso Cano, *The Annunciation*, 1645. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, cat. D003819



Fig. 2 Juan Niño de Guevara, *The Virgin and Child with Angels*. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, cat. D005982

of the angels can be traced to various works by Alonso Cano. These include the drawing of *The Apparition of the Virgin to Saint Felix of Cantalice* (Museo Nacional del Prado, D000071), in which the physical model of the Virgin is the same and the setting is closely comparable, and *The Annunciation* (fig. 1, Museo Nacional del Prado, D003819), which makes use of the same physical type for both the Archangel and the Virgin.

The technique employed by the artist for this drawing also resembles that to be seen in some of Alonso Cano's numerous works on paper. The overall composition is established in pen, with vigorous, defined strokes that perfectly outline the figures. The artist then applied washes of grey-brown ink of different intensities; more diluted for the faces and more intense for the folds of the clothing and the angels' wings, thus creating volume and modelling the areas of light and shade. This same technique is also to be found in the

above-mentioned *Annunciation* by Cano (see fig. 1) and is again present in the few drawings securely attributed to Niño de Guevara.⁷ They include *The Virgin and Child with Angels* (fig. 2, Museo Nacional del Prado, D005982), which also reveals the confident definition of the forms of the figures and the use of washes of varying intensity to create the setting.⁸

Finally, no canvas on this subject by Niño de Guevara is known, but Ceán Bermúdez records that for the monastery of San Francisco in Malaga the artist executed: "The paintings for the high altar and the paintings for the chapel of the Third Order."⁹ It can be assumed that those works would have depicted episodes from the life of Saint Francis, for which reason the present drawing could have been a preparatory study for one of the scenes. Sadly, those paintings are now lost and it is thus not possible to securely demonstrate that the present sheet corresponded to one of the works for that commission.

⁷ Only *The penitent Magdalen* in the Courtauld Institute and *The Death of Mary Magdalen* in the Uffizi, together with the two drawings of *The Virgin and Child* in the Apelles collection and the Museo del Prado have been securely attributed to Niño de Guevara. For the Courtauld and Apelles drawings, see, respectively, Wethey (1953), p. 140, fig. 8; Véliz (2002), pp. 186-189, cat. no. 42, and Véliz (2011b), p. 205, cat. no. 68. For the Uffizi drawing see Navarrete (2016), p. 357, cat. 227.

⁸ Villaescusa Bequest (1993), p. 117, cat. no. 23.

⁹ Ceán Bermúdez (1800), vol. III, p. 235.



[9]

VICENTE SALVADOR GÓMEZ

(Valencia, 1637-1678)

The Apparition of Christ to Saint Vincent Ferrer

c. 1655-1665

Pen and brown ink on laid paper

293 x 208 mm

SIGNED

“Salvador”, in ink, lower left

INSCRIBED

“Carpeta XVII-2.056”, in black chalk, on the reverse of the paper on which the drawing is laid

PROVENANCE

Madrid, collection of the Marquis of Casa-Torres; Madrid, private collection

Vincent Ferrer was a Valencian Dominican monk to whom various miracles are attributed, leading to his canonisation in 1455, just thirty-six years after his death. From that moment he became the patron saint of both the city of Turia and the Kingdom of Valencia, with the consequent production of numerous depictions of him for private oratories, churches and religious houses in this region. The large number of images of Ferrer and of various episodes from his life mean that previously devised models were often reused due to their successful reception or as one more working or teaching method within artists' workshops. This is the case with the present drawing.

Vicente Salvador Gómez was born in Valencia into a family of artists and at the age of just ten or twelve entered the studio of the most important Valencian painter of the day, Jerónimo Jacinto Espinosa,¹ whose style was principally influenced by Francisco Ribalta, the most successful Valencian painter of the early

17th century. In the late 1650s Gómez established himself as an independent artist and in 1663 received his first important commission, the creation of four large canvases on the life of Saint Vincent Ferrer for that saint's chapel in the monastery of Santo Domingo. Two survive *in situ*: *The Restitution of the Crown to King Ferdinand* and *Saint Vincent's Prophecy in the Plaza del Born in Barcelona*, both of vertical format and signed and dated 1665.² The success of this commission brought fame to the artist and over the following years he received many more, some of which also relate to the iconography of Vincent Ferrer, such as the now lost image of the saint commissioned by the Duke and Duchess of Segorbe in 1671,³ or the principal painting for the chapel of the saint that was in the monastery of Santo Domingo.⁴

Among surviving paintings by Gómez none depict the iconography of the present drawing, *The Apparition of Christ to Saint Vincent Ferrer*, although the drawing's vertical



¹ For the limited amount of biographical information available on the artist, see Orellana (1930/1995); Pérez Sánchez (1980) and Marco García (2006), pp. 31-48.

² Marco García (2006), pp. 118-121.

³ Marco García (2006), p. 227.

⁴ Ceán Bermúdez (1800), vol. IV, p. 318; Orellana (1930/1995), p. 264 and Marco García (2006), p. 226.



Fig. 1 Francisco Ribalta, *The Apparition of Christ to Saint Vincent Ferrer in the presence of Saint Dominic of Guzmán and Saint Francis of Assisi*, 1605. Valencia, Colegio del Corpus Christi



Fig. 2 Francisco Ribalta, *The Apparition of Christ to Saint Vincent Ferrer in the presence of Saint Dominic of Guzmán and Saint Francis of Assisi*, 1605. Barcelona, Museo Nacional de Arte de Cataluña, inv. no. 6611-D

format may reflect one of the paintings executed for the saint's chapel in the monastery of Santo Domingo. Nonetheless, the similarity between this sketch and a work by Francisco Ribalta, and more specifically with the preliminary sketch for the final canvas, suggests that with the present sheet Gómez was in fact practising drawing through copying a work by another artist, a habitual method of training in artists' studios. Ribalta had painted various works for the Colegio del Corpus Christi in Valencia, among them the canvas of 1605 for the principal altarpiece of the chapel of Saint Vincent Ferrer, depicting *The Apparition of Christ to Saint Vincent Ferrer in the presence of Saint Dominic of Guzmán and Saint Francis of Assisi*, which is still *in situ* (fig. 1). There is also a surviving drawing by Ribalta which relates to that canvas (fig. 2, Barcelona, Museo Nacional de Arte de Cataluña, inv. no. 6611-D). The fact that its composition is almost identical to the present work not only suggests that Gómez knew and admired Ribalta's work but also that he had access to his drawings. A careful examination of the two sheets reveals that they

share more elements in common than are to be found between Gómez's drawing and Ribalta's final painting. The gestures of the hands and facial expressions of the four figures, for example, are identical in the drawings but there are differences in the canvas, including Saint Francis's gesture of raising his hand to his breast. In addition, Saint Vincent's beardless face is the same in the drawings but is notably different in the painting, in which he is shown as younger and bearded.

Whether a learning exercise or a revision of Ribalta's composition, this is probably a youthful creation by Salvador Gómez. Nonetheless, it already reveals his characteristic mesh of strokes created with delicate grey-brown ink and cross-hatched, parallel lines that produce the contrasts of light.⁵ This would become the artist's characteristic and recognisable technique, to be seen in other sketches from his mature period such as *The Apparition of the Christ Child to Saint Anthony* and *The Immaculate Conception*, both in the Museo Nacional del Prado (cats. D000191 and D002192).

⁵ On the artist's drawings, see Pérez Sánchez (1986), pp. 316-317 and Angulo & Pérez Sánchez (1988), pp. 75-79, cats. 381-408.



[10]

JUAN DE VALDÉS LEAL (Seville, 1622-1690)

The Apparition of Christ to Saint Ignatius on the Road to Rome

c. 1660

Black and red chalk on paper

314 x 232 mm

PROVENANCE

Madrid, private collection

Acquired by the Meadows Museum, Dallas (inv. no. MM.2013.05)

Juan de Valdés Leal was one of the most multi-faceted and outstanding artists of the Andalusian Baroque. His oeuvre encompasses not only important paintings but also a significant corpus of drawings. This is reflected in the description of him by the painter and writer on art Antonio Palomino: “[...] Our Valdés was a great draughtsman, expert in perspective, architect and excellent sculptor.”¹ Valdés Leal was born in Seville in 1622 and received his initial training there with Francisco de Herrera the Elder. He lived in Cordoba in the 1640s and 1650s where he followed in the wake of the painter Antonio del Castillo in works such as the altarpiece for the Shod Carmelite church, for which he executed a series of oils that were, in his own words: “extremely well finished, in fine, clear colours, to the satisfaction of all men who were experts in art [...], according to the *modello* and drawing that I have done.”² That work marked the end of his Cordovan phase and in 1656 he returned to his native Seville. In 1660 he entered the

Academia de Pintura founded there by his master Herrera the Elder and Murillo, of which he would subsequently become president. The 1660s marked the height of the artist’s career, crowned by commissions that included one from the early years of that decade to execute a pictorial cycle which is among the most outstanding of Sevillian Baroque art. This is the cycle dedicated to Saint Ignatius of Loyola for the courtyard of the city’s principal Jesuit church, now the parish church of the Anunciación.³

The cycle for the Jesuits, comprising around fifteen paintings, was funded by donations from the devout public, for which reason it can be assumed that Valdés Leal’s fees were not particularly high. This may explain why the quality of some of the works in the series, the majority now in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Seville, is somewhat variable.⁴ However, this is not the case with the episode from the cycle with which the present drawing is associated, *The Apparition of Christ to Saint Ignatius on the Road to Rome*, which was



¹ Palomino (1715-1724/1947), p. 1053.

² Quoted in Valdivieso (1988), p. 57.

³ “The cloister was adorned with paintings on the life of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, by Pablo de Céspedes, Herrera the Elder, Cano, Juan and Lucas Valdés, the ones that, following the expulsion of the Jesuits, were taken to a room in the Alcázar in that city, where they remain, for the purpose of public instruction.” Ortiz de Zúñiga (1796), vol. V, p. 48.

⁴ On the cycle, see Kinkead (1978), pp. 433-443, cat. nos. 117-125; Valdivieso (1988), pp. 106-117 and 244-246, cat. nos. 83-94 and Valdés Leal (1991), p. 32. The exact number of canvases in the series is not known but there is evidence that it comprised at least the nine paintings now in the Museo de Bellas Artes, another in the convent of Santa Isabel in Seville, and five now lost ones that are recorded in the 1810 inventory of the Alcázar in that city.



Fig. 1 Juan de Valdés Leal, *The Apparition of Christ to Saint Ignatius on the Road to Rome*, c. 1660. Seville, Museo de Bellas Artes



Fig. 2 Juan de Valdés Leal, *The Apparition of Christ to Saint Ignatius on the Road to Rome*, c. 1660. Germany, Private collection

particularly studied by the artist. For its execution Valdés Leal looked to the series of prints by Jean-Baptiste Barbé on *The Life of Saint Ignatius of Loyola*, published in Rome in 1609. Some of those prints are based on drawings by Rubens. The final canvas survives for this subject (fig. 1, Seville, Museo de Bellas Artes, 217 x 150 cm, inv. no. CE0192P), as does another, smaller canvas that could be the *modello* intended to be shown to the Jesuits (fig. 2, 130 x 100 cm, Germany, private collection), and the present drawing.

These compositions depict one of the most notable episodes in the life of Saint Ignatius of Loyola: the apparition of God the Father and Christ bearing the cross as the saint was travelling to Rome to obtain the pope's confirmation of the Rule of the Jesuit Order which he had just founded. In their appearance, God and Christ confirmed to him that his proposal would be accepted by the pope.

The drawing, executed in black and red chalk, is relatively close to the composition of both the preliminary oil sketch and the final painting for the Jesuit church. There are some

small differences, such as the fact that the background landscape behind Ignatius, in which a Jesuit is pursued by a man on horseback, is less developed in the drawing than in the final canvas, and that the long beam of the cross does not appear in the drawing but is present in the final oil. These are, however, minor details that do not affect the work's overall composition, which is already perfectly defined in the drawing.

The combination of black and red chalk was habitually used by Valdés Leal in drawings intended to have a more finished appearance, for which this use of two colours was essential. It is also employed in *Warrior with a Sword* (Alcubierre Album) and *The Vision of Saint Anthony of Padua* (Hamburg, Kunsthalle).⁵ The definition of the forms, the precise strokes and the painstaking detail indicate a fully defined drawing that presents the definitive composition for the painting. This sheet is thus an important example of the artist's careful working method. In addition, few preliminary drawings by Valdés Leal for his pictorial cycles have survived.

⁵ On these drawings, see *Dibujo español de los siglos de oro* (1980), p. 110, cat. no. 248 and Pérez Sánchez & Navarrete Prieto (2009), pp.153-155, cat. no. 60. On Valdés Leal's drawings, see also Pérez Sánchez (1986), pp. 286-290.



[11]

JOSÉ BENITO DE CHURRIGUERA

(Madrid, 1665-1725) Attributed to

Decorative Motif

c. 1692

Pen and sepia ink with grey washes on laid paper

209 x 268 mm

INSCRIBED

“Coello”, in pencil, lower right

PROVENANCE

Collection of Queen María Cristina de Borbón y Borbón; collection of the ducal house of Sánchez-Toca; Almería, Antonio Moreno Martín collection; and by descent

LITERATURE

Dibujo español (2008), pp. 186-187, cat. 44

Shells, rocaïlle work, fleshy, twisted acanthus leaves, garlands of fruit and flowers, ribbons and putti are natural and man-made elements that perfectly combine in this image to create a decorative motif brimming with life, curves and motifs that attract the gaze in a *horror vacui*. Judiciously executed with sinuous lines of ink and grey washes applied with infinite nuances and gradations, the volumetric nature of this drawing, which is almost three-dimensional and seems as if it could be touched, indicate that it was created to enhance a sculptural object. This piling-up of decorative forms first emerged in Spain in the last decade of the 17th century when the French style began to take hold at the Spanish court. Among the artists who proved most able to incorporate these foreign stylistic innovations was José Benito de Churriguera. A notable architect, urban designer, altarpiece designer and sculptor, Churriguera's interest in an abundance of decorative motifs in his works has led this type of rich and complex Baroque mode to be termed “Churrigueresque”. Although the term was first used in a negative sense by the Neo-classicists, who considered Churriguera's art to be excessive

or tasteless,¹ it in fact defines a period of splendour in Hispanic Baroque art and a form of artistic expression that was unique in Europe.

José Benito de Churriguera belonged to a large family of artists, of which he was the most outstanding. He trained with his father and his adoptive grandfather. His fortunes changed when in 1689 he won the competition to design and execute the tomb of Queen María Luisa de Orleans, for which he competed against fourteen prestigious architects and painters.² Just a year later, Charles II appointed him one of his court architects. Churriguera not only worked for the King but also received numerous commissions in other provinces of Spain thanks to his contacts at court. These include the altarpiece for the chapel of the Sagrario in Segovia cathedral (1689-90) and the one for the monastery of San Esteban in Salamanca (1692), which fully established the artist's reputation both at court and beyond. For that project he worked with Claudio Coello, one of the unsuccessful competitors in the competition for the tomb of María Luisa de Orleans, who was now commissioned to paint the large-scale canvas as the principal work for the altar, to depict *The*



¹ Blasco Esquivias (2006), p. 6.

² Carderera (1851), p. 8. See also De la Mano (2011a), p. 342.



Fig. 1 José Benito de Churriguera, *Cartouche*, 1715. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, sign. DIB/15/10/8



Fig. 2 Matías de Irala, *Allegory of Philip V*, 1715. Engraving based on a drawing by José Benito de Churriguera. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, sign. INVENT/12922

Martyrdom of Saint Stephen.³ Churriguera produced an altarpiece of colossal dimensions which occupied the entire space behind the high altar, articulating through a skilled interplay of convex volumes that create different planes of depth. These are in turn emphasised by the contrasts of light and shadow created by the carved sculpture installed across the entire surface of the altarpiece and which becomes its principal feature, albeit without overshadowing the architectural framework and the six Solomonic columns that articulate the principal structure. For the first time, the foliate cartouches, garlands, clusters of leaves, florets, small angels and other motifs acquire an importance here which would become increasingly notable in Churriguera's work. Some of the altarpiece's decorative elements, such as the pedestals of the niches for the sculptures or the crowning elements of its lateral doors, include the presence of shells, twisted acanthus leaves, garlands of flowers and putti which combine together to create extremely striking elements. These motifs can be associated with the present drawing, although there are compositional differences that could be attributed to the

difficulty of sculpting a design of this complexity. In addition, the possible relationship between this sketch and the altarpiece for Salamanca may explain the presence of Coello's name at the bottom as this sheet could have been part of the documentation of the altarpiece in which the royal painter played an important role, leading to a confusion in its attribution.⁴

Other surviving examples of drawings by Churriguera are similar in type and style to the present work due to their exuberant, decorative nature, their use of voluptuous forms and the presence of shells and fleshy acanthus leaves. One example is the *Cartouche* in the Biblioteca Nacional (fig. 1, sign. DIB/15/10/8)⁵ which has been referred to in this context due to its affinity with the engraving by Matías de Irala based on a drawing by Churriguera of an *Allegory of Philip V* (fig. 2, Biblioteca Nacional, sign. INVENT/12922).⁶ The similarities between that drawing, its related print and the present work, all of which have elements in common, such as the ribbons at the bottom of the design in both the print and the present drawing, make it possible to attribute this work to José Benito de Churriguera.

³ See Rodríguez G. de Ceballos (1987), pp. 175-178.

⁴ There is another ornamental drawing of similar dimensions and character that was also in the collection of María Cristina de Borbón, and which can also be attributed to José Benito de Churriguera on the basis of its technique. See *Dibujo Español* (2008), vol. I, pp. 188-189, cat. 45.

⁵ See *Dibujos de arquitectura y ornamentación* (2009), cat. 34. That drawing has already been associated with the present work but without attributing it to Churriguera, in *Dibujo español* (2008), p. 186.

⁶ Bonet Correa (1994).



[12]

JOSÉ RODRÍGUEZ CARNERO

(?, 1649-Puebla, Mexico, 1725) Attributed to

Portrait of Don Pedro de Carranza Olarte y Gaztelu

1693

Tempera colours, with touches of gold, on vellum

273 x 195 mm

INSCRIBED

Cartouche: "Brus Invtraque Sophia D.D. Petrus de Carrança Olarte et Gastely. Parrochus, et judex Eces olim in oppido. Sti Apostoli Andre de Calpaz mene in Ciuitate Sn Michaelis de Huexotzinco. Anno Domini- 1693" / Reverse: sealing wax seal: "Hochschild Kohn, Baltimore"

PROVENANCE

Saint Michels, Maryland (USA), late 19th century; Madrid, private collection

In 1519 the Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés arrived in the area of the Puebla-Tlaxcala valley and from there set out with his troops for the capital México-Tenochtitlan. Cortés established various commercial ties in the region with the people of the Huejotzingo dominion and set up an *encomienda* [labour-tribute system] in the village of Calpan, which belonged to Huejotzingo. The *encomienda* was passed to the conquistador Diego de Ordaz in 1530, whose descendants continued to benefit from its tributes until the late 16th century. Immediately after the arrival of the conquistadors the first missionaries appeared in the area, where they began to construct religious buildings. In 1548, for example, work started on the construction of the Franciscan monastery of San Andrés in Calpan, under the direction of Friar Juan de Alameda, who was also responsible for the monasteries at Huejotzingo and Huaquechula. The architectural style of the monastery is a mixture

of Spanish architecture, with a typically Plateresque façade, and ancient, indigenous techniques and methods, for example the use of quicklime, bees' wax and prickly pear mucilage in the building materials. Following the completion of the monastery the parish church of San Andrés (fig. 1) was constructed in the 17th century, receiving the visit of Bishop Juan Palafox y Mendoza in 1644.¹ Palafox was bishop of the region of Puebla and also acting viceroy. His desire to manifest his political and religious authority led him to commission numerous painted and engraved portraits of himself, thought to number around 3,000 (fig. 2).² This can be related to a context in which, with the increasing organisation of Spain's South American dominions following the conquest, a political, social and religious elite came into existence that wished to express its status and importance in an overt manner. This was often done through portraits, in which the sitters were more interested in manifesting their status than in a lifelike depiction.



¹ Palafox y Mendoza (1997), p. 57.

² Fernández Gracia (2000).



Fig. 1 Present-day view of the parish church of San Andrés in Calpan

One of the artists commissioned to produce portraits for galleries of prominent individuals and who also executed series of episodes from religious history was José Rodríguez Carnero, or de los Santos (1649-1725), as he signed some of his works, including *The Dream of Saint Joseph* in the Museo Nacional del Virreinato in Tepotzotlán. The son of the painter Nicolás Rodríguez Carnero, whose second surname he adopted following his father's death in 1677,³ his first known works are the portraits of *Palafox* (now lost) and of the *Archbishop of Mexico, Friar Marcos Ramírez de Prado*, now in the metropolitan cathedral (fig. 3). Around 1684 Rodríguez Carnero moved from Mexico City to Puebla where he became one of the most important local painters, together with Juan de Villalobos, Cristóbal Talavera and Antonio de Santander. Surviving works by the artist include nine canvases for the chapel of the Rosary in

the church of Santo Domingo of around 1690; the allegory of *The Triumph of the Jesuits and Jacob's Ladder* in the sacristy and choir of the Jesuit church, respectively; and three signed canvases for the church of San Diego de Alcalá in Huejotzingo. One of the latter, which depicts *Saint Diego's Corpse performing a Miracle* (fig. 4), has the inscription: "A devoción del Sr. Lizdo. Dn Pedro de Carranza Olarte, Cura por su Magestad, de esta Ciudad, de huexogo".⁴ Depicted in the lower right corner is the patron of the work, the parish priest Pedro de Carranza Olarte, who is the figure depicted in the present drawing.

Pedro de Carranza Olarte y Gaztelu was the parish priest of the church of San Andrés in Calpan where he also acted as the local judge. Of Basque origins, earlier members of his family had taken part in the conquest of Mexico.⁵ The above-mentioned canvas of *Saint Diego* is signed "Carnero, ft" and the date on it



Fig. 2 Diego Borgraf, *Portrait of Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*, 1643. Puebla cathedral



Fig. 3 José Rodríguez Carnero, *Friar Marcos Ramírez de Prado*, 1667. Mexico City cathedral

has until now been read as 1604. However, the dating of the present drawing, executed in 1693, and the dates when José Rodríguez Carnero is known to have been active (between the last third of the 17th century and his death in 1725),⁶ suggest that the date of the painting should be read as 1694. This is also indicated by the appearance of Pedro Carranza in both works, in which he is shown at the same age and in exactly the same way. Given the similarity between the two portraits, their chronological proximity and the relationship that must have been established between the sitter and the artist, it can be suggested that Rodríguez Carnero was responsible not only for the canvas of *Saint Diego* but could also have executed the present drawing. For the moment, however, no other drawings by the artist are known that could allow for a stylistic comparison which might corroborate this suggestion.

The format of the portrait follows the model established in the early galleries of portraits in 16th century Hispano-America and which is also to be seen in the portraits of Palafox and Ramírez de Prado (figs. 2 and 3). The sitter is shown standing with a curtain behind him, accompanied by his coat-of-arms and an oval cartouche to one side that identifies the person portrayed. Finally, there is a table with various items on it that refer to his social status.⁷ The portrait thus corresponds to the format used for sitters of social prestige at this period and no innovative elements are introduced.

The axis of the composition is created by the figure of Pedro de Carranza, who is depicted full-length, wearing a cassock, a clerical collar and a black cloak. In his left hand he holds a small book that is probably a missal, while his right hand rests on another book in a pose that seems to refer to his position as a

³ Ruiz Gomar (1997), p. 63.

⁴ García Granados & McGregor (1934), p. 287.

⁵ Azcona Pastor (2004), pp. 34-35.

⁶ Ruiz Gomar (1997).

⁷ Rodríguez Moya (2001), p. 80 and Rodríguez Moya (2009), pp. 27-28.



Fig. 4 José Rodríguez Carnero, *Saint Diego's Corpse performing a Miracle*, 1694. Huejotzingo, Church of San Diego de Alcalá. Depicted in the lower right corner is the patron of the work, Pedro de Carranza

judge. The setting is a room framed on the right by a gold-fringed, red curtain with a decoration of foliate motifs and on the left by a wall. On the upper part of the wall is the sitter's coat-of arms in the form of a quartered shield with a decorative Baroque, curling surround. The left quarter has the arms of the Carranzas, represented in the quartered field by a rampant wolf on argent and a castle on vert. The right quarter encloses the arms of the Olartes, with a quarter of crosses and another of bars, gules and argent. Immediately below the coat-of-arms is a table covered with a green cloth with gold embellishment. On the table are objects referring to the sitter: a biretta and what appears to be a legal book on which he rests his hand. Finally, at the lower left is an oval cartouche that is elaborately ornamented with rocailles and has a lamb at the top. It bears an inscription in Latin that refers to the

sitter's positions as the parish priest of the church of San Andrés in Calpan, Huejotzingo, and judge of that locality. It also includes the date of the drawing: 1693.

The singularity of the present work lies in the fact that it is a drawing not produced as a preliminary study for a larger oil painting but as a finished work. This is evident from the use of polychromy, the detailed, painted decoration of the curtain and the use of gold to add greater richness to the decoration of some elements. Most surviving portraits from the viceroyalty of New Spain are oils, particularly those executed in the 18th century. As a result, it can be said that this drawing is an exceptional example that points to the production of portraits on this type of support and to the interest on the part of the less elevated social classes in presenting themselves in the manner of the great aristocrats, viceroys and bishops.



[13]

PEDRO DUQUE CORNEJO

(Seville, 1678-Cordoba, 1757)

The Immaculate Conception, Saint Ferdinand and a seated Angel

c. 1720-1730

Pencil, grey-brown ink and greyish wash on paper

320 x 195 mm

INSCRIBED

“Desendimiento en las faldas/ de nra. Señora / las Crus aCuestas –”, in ink, upper left; “los misterios de/ nuestra Señora/ desposorios = 1/ laencarnasion/ nacimiento/ (denuestra Señora)/ pre sentacion/ a el templo/ disputa entre/ los doctores de/ la lei/ Santaisabel–/ Reina deungri/ a”, in ink, at the right; “Alonso Cº”, in ink, lower left corner, covered over with a greyish wash

PROVENANCE

Oxford, private collection

LITERATURE

Fecit II (2010), pp. 17-21, cat. 4; García Luque (2018a), pp. 230-231, cat. VI.13 and García Luque (2018c), pp. 43-45, fig. 6

Pedro Duque Cornejo belonged to a large and important family of Andalusian Baroque artists. His father was the sculptor José Felipe Duque Cornejo and his mother was the painter Francisca Roldán, daughter of the sculptor Pedro Roldán. Pedro Duque Cornejo principally trained as a sculptor in his grandfather's studio, which was one of the most active in Seville in the last quarter of the 17th century. Working there were artists of the stature of his aunt, Luisa Roldán, and it was in that context that he learned all the skills of sculpture, painting and the polychromy of carved wooden images. He subsequently trained in the architectural design of altarpieces with Jerónimo Balbás in Seville and Francisco Hurtado Izquierdo in Granada. Duque Cornejo's artistic activities principally took place between in those two cities and in Cordoba, where he spent his final years. As an artist he is considered to represent the

culmination of the Sevillian and Granadan school of sculpture.¹

The present drawing is extremely interesting as it allows us to see how the artist approached various different subjects on occasions. It includes three separate sketches for different figures. Firstly, the centre of the sheet is occupied by a highly worked figure of the Immaculate Conception, executed in pen and grey-brown ink with greyish wash. The Virgin's volumetric figure stands on an orb of clouds and heads of cherubim, her hands joined in prayer and her gaze lowered. The only element that breaks with the solidity of the figure is her billowing mantle. On the left of the principal figure and on a much smaller scale is a half-kneeling *efigie regia* wearing a crown and holding an orb in his left hand. This figure can be identified as Saint Ferdinand.² It is much less finished than that of the Virgin and is rather a rapid, spontaneous sketch executed entirely in grey-brown ink. Finally, to the right of the



¹ For further information on the life of Pedro Duque Cornejo, see García-Hidalgo (undated) and García Luque (2013), pp. 60-61.

² The presence of Saint Ferdinand in this sketch indicates that it was executed after the artist arrived in Seville, probably between 1720 and 1730. See García Luque (2018c), pp. 43-45.

Immaculate Virgin is an angel with outstretched wings. This motif is also sketchily drawn using rapid, zig-zagging strokes and solely in pen. It is slightly larger in scale than the figure on the left but is smaller than the principal image. Next to the three figures, at the top of the sheet and on the right, are a series of annotations that principally make reference to “*los misterios de nuestra Señora*” [The mysteries of Our Lady], referring to the episodes from the Marian cycle. The handwriting of these annotations is identical to that found on some autograph letters by the artist which are now in the Archivo Histórico Diocesano in Huelva.³

With regard to the principal figure of the Virgin, Duque Cornejo produced an extremely large body of work on Marian subjects, particularly the Immaculate Conception. He executed numerous sculptures on this subject, as well as drawings that study the figure of Mary. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has five of these sheets, all depicting her in different poses and with varying degrees of finish, indicating the range of compositions that the artist designed on this subject.⁴ Some of the drawings reveal the influence of Murillo, such as the sketch in which the Virgin has her hands crossed on her breast (Metropolitan Museum, inv. no. 56.235.58), but the most direct reference for the Virgin with a tapering body of the type seen here (fig. 1, Metropolitan Museum, inv. no. 56.235.34) are those by Alonso Cano.⁵ This has in fact led the present drawing to be attributed to his circle,⁶ while many of Duque Cornejo’s sculptures have also been considered to be by Cano.

The angel would appear to be a sketch for one of the lamp-bearing angels that Duque Cornejo habitually included as flanking figures in his altarpieces. The position of the wings,



Fig. 1 Pedro Duque Cornejo, *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception Standing on Clouds*. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 56.235.34

right arm and legs specifically recalls those in the church of San Luis de los Franceses in Seville, which reinforces the suggested date for this drawing of between 1720 and 1730. The fluid, energetic technique of this work can be compared to the drawings in the Metropolitan of *An Angel wearing a laurel Wreath* and *An Angel with a Palm Branch* (inv. nos. 56.235.65 and 56.235.66).

The varying degrees of modelling of the figures, their differing scales and subjects and the annotations on the sheet suggest that this was a working drawing in which Duque Cornejo set down different ideas for his compositions. As such it is a valuable document that indicates how paper was valued as a scarce commodity and was often reused for the simultaneous study of different figures.

³ García Luque (2018c), p. 45.

⁴ García Luque (2018b), pp. 51-52, figs. 6 and 7.

⁵ There is an *Immaculate Conception* by Duque Cornejo in Dartmouth College, The Hood Museum of Art, which is very similar to the present image but in which the mantle billows out to the right rather than to the left, as here. García Luque (2018c), pp. 42-43, fig. 5a.

⁶ Fecit II (2010), pp.17-21, cat. 4.



[14]

FRANCISCO VIEIRA DE MATOS,

KNOWN AS VIEIRA LUSITANO (Lisbon, 1699-1783)

Spes Altera. Commemorative medal for the birth of the Princess Maria, future Maria I of Portugal

1734

Counterproof. Red chalk on laid paper
114 x 120 mm, paper / 95 mm ø medal

INSCRIBED:

“SPES ALTERA.”, top centre; “NATALIS PRINCIPIS BERIAE XVI/ KAL · IANVARI · ANNO / MDCCXXXIV”, lower centre (both texts reversed); “Carpeta [?]/ 1132”, in pencil, on the paper on which the drawing is laid

PROVENANCE

Madrid, collection of the Marquis of Casa-Torres; Madrid, private collection

Although the painter Francisco Vieira de Matos, better known as Vieira Lusitano, was one of the leading Portuguese artists of the 18th century the notoriety of the events of his private life meant that he did not receive the recognition due to him as an artist.¹ From an early age Vieira Lusitano showed a marked interest in drawing, devoting himself in Lisbon to its study and to the humanities. His drawings came to the attention of the Marquis of Abrantes, who was at that date appointed ambassador to Rome and who suggested that the artist accompany him there to complete his training. At the age of just twelve Vieira Lusitano thus left Lisbon and became a pupil of Benedetto Luti in Rome. At the same time, he produced drawings for the Marquis of Abrantes for the festivals and religious events that took place in Rome, while also depicting the liturgical objects that adorned the various altars of Saint Peter's. Following the Marquis's return to Lisbon, Vieira Lusitano remained in Rome for a further two years where he studied with

Francesco Trevisani and where he received one of the prizes awarded by the Accademia di San Lucca for his painting *The drunken Noah before his Sons*. In 1719 he returned to Lisbon after a period of seven years in Rome where he gained the nickname of “Il Lusitano”.²

Following his return he rapidly secured a commission from João V, but in Lisbon the artist fell in love with a young woman from a noble family, Inés Elena de Lima e Mello, but in order to ensure that they remained apart her family obliged her to enter the convent of Santa Ana. Vieira Lusitano attempted to secure the king's help in freeing Inés and in the light of his refusal he returned to Rome in 1721 to obtain an audience with the Pope. He secured a papal bull to annul Inés's vows but was obliged to remain in Rome given that his life was in danger, being made an academician of San Lucca in 1728. That same year Vieira Lusitano again returned to Lisbon where he succeeded in liberating Inés although he was wounded in the process by a bullet fired by her brother.



¹ Da Cruz Leal (2015), p. 68.

² Turner (2007), p. 367.

After marriage to Inés, Vieira Lusitano took refuge between 1730 and 1731 in the monastery of Santa Catalina, where he painted a series of hermit saints in the crossing of its church. Realising that he was still in danger, in 1732 he decided to return to Rome but stopped on route in Seville where the Spanish court was residing at that moment. There he worked for Philip V.³ However, one year later the artist was summoned back to Lisbon by João V to succeed the deceased royal painter Pierre-Antoine Quillard (1701-1733). Vieira Lusitano then enjoyed forty years of professional success and reputation until the death of his wife Inés. In 1774 he retired to the monastery of the Beato Antonio where he spent his last years writing his memoirs.⁴

Shortly after his return to Lisbon, the year 1734 saw the birth of the first child of the Portuguese heir to the throne, José of Portugal (1714-1777), and Maria Victoria de Borbón (1718-1781), daughter of Philip V of Spain and Isabella Farnese. The first-born child was a girl named Maria Francisca Doroteia. Her parents then had three further daughters, for which reason and following the death of José I in 1777, Maria ascended the throne of Portugal as Maria I. The birth of this first child was celebrated at court and the present drawing for a medal by Vieira Lusitano relates to these festivities. It is inscribed in the upper part “Spes Alta” [Hope for the future], a Latin phrase widely used on commemorative medals that celebrated the birth of an heir at the various European courts.⁵ In the centre, and revealing the artist’s interest in classical mythology, is a scene of Juno holding a baby in her arms and a baton of command, a reference to the position of power that Maria as heir to the throne would one day occupy. At Juno’s feet is a peacock, the attribute of the goddess and a reference to

glory. In addition, during the Roman era the peacock was a personal symbol of princesses and empresses, thus associating the new-born girl with the power of these figures. The baby has a serene, triumphant expression and is juxtaposed with the figure of the god Pan who, in parallel and on the opposite side, tries to attract her attention with a grimace and by offering her music and playthings. The scene can thus be read as an allegory of the responsibilities attendant on children destined to rule from birth and who must thus leave behind the distractions and amusements of life.

This design is the counterproof of a drawing for a medal in the Museo de Évora (inv. no. ME699).⁶ This was a technique derived from engraving that Vieira Lusitano learned in Rome and which he frequently used as a method to duplicate his designs (see the next drawing by the artist in this catalogue). The counterproof is achieved by pressing the original drawing between printing plates onto a blank sheet of paper while the red chalk is still fresh, thus imprinting a reversed image of the original design. This also explains why red chalk was the artist’s preferred medium for drawing, as it allowed him to “copy” them more easily.

Vieira Lusitano’s oeuvre includes various designs for commemorative medals, including the *Portrait of João V* (Museo de Évora, inv. no. 684/1-4), and those for *The Recompense of Virtue* and *Spring* (Museo de Évora, inv. no. 674/1-5). They reveal not only the artist’s preference for red chalk and the fact that some of them are counterproofs, but also his use of mythology and classical Roman symbols to devise allegories that endow these images with the erudition and intellectual weight which he habitually displayed, thus demonstrating the nobility of the art of painting.⁷

³ Fernández Martín (2002-2003).

⁴ Vieira Lusitano (1780). The memoirs have been studied and analysed by Arruda (2015).

⁵ Espanca (1969), no. 43, was the first to associate this medal with the birth of the Princess Maria Francisca, the future Maria I.

⁶ Pereira (1903), p. 8, no. 48.

⁷ On this subject, see Da Cruz Leal (2015).



[15]

FRANCISCO VIEIRA DE MATOS,

KNOWN AS VIEIRA LUSITANO (Lisbon, 1699-1783)

Orpheus in the Underworld

1727

Reworked counterproof. Red chalk on paper

470 x 760 mm

SIGNED

“F.V.LUSIT.INV.FECIT” (reversed), on the band across Orpheus’s chest

PROVENANCE

Collection of Queen María Cristina de Borbón y Borbón; collection of the ducal house of Sánchez-Toca; Almería, Antonio Moreno Martín collection; and by descent

LITERATURE

Dibujo español (2008), pp. 304-305, cat. 91

During the seven years between 1721 and 1728 that Vieira Lusitano spent in Rome, to where he fled to avoid the wrath of the family of Inés, the woman with whom he was in love, he achieved some degree of fame in the city and was made a member of the Accademia di San Lucca. While in Rome Vieira also made several attempts to secure the intercession of King João V of Portugal and to regain his favour and employment at the court in Lisbon. One of these took the form of sending the monarch an oil painting of *Orpheus in the Underworld*, dispatched by the Portuguese diplomat Alexandre de Gusmão on the artist’s behalf. The composition represented an allegory of the situation in which Vieira and his beloved found themselves at the time. The original canvas was lost, possibly in the earthquake in

Lisbon of 1755,¹ but various drawings of it survive, including the present sheet. Vieira was an avid reader of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, using it as a constant source of inspiration for images and narratives in his works and with the present composition he demonstrated his knowledge of classical mythology through which, and combined with the skill of his brushes, he attempted to secure the intercession of the Portuguese monarch.

The drawing has a complex composition with a large number of figures. It is in fact Vieira’s most ambitious work and one of the most significant within his oeuvre, for which reason it is described in detail in his autobiography, published in 1780.² Celebrated for his mastery at playing the lyre, the Thracian poet Orpheus is shown kneeling in the foreground. After his wife, the nymph Eurydice,



¹ Turner (2007), p. 378 and Arruda (2015), p. 271.

² “He represented in the other/ From the cruel Pluto/ The atrocious Court and workshop/ Of the endless flagellations./ The tenebrous King/ was sitting/ on his horrendous throne/ With Proserpine seizing/ arrogantly the sceptre./ The Eumenides and Harpies/ and The Gorgons the ugly/ shadows were courting/ Their tremendous Sovereigns./ The inexorable three Fates/ Were sat on the right side/ From the Lethal Throne/ they could be seen/ with their fatal instruments./ In front of the obscure Prince/ Of the Darkness Orpheus demonstrated/ Marvellous Chanting/ With the sound of his own Lyre;/ And interceding for his own and honest/ Eurydice/ he moved the inhuman/ Imperators of the Hades/ With an allegorical manner/ Vieira wanted one example/ Signifying in this excerpt/ with hopes of gaining results./ For that in the light/ of so great pardon/ from the terrible King/ Could be moved the benign/ and Just one to favour him:/ to free from the painful/ enclosure, almost hell/ The consort/ by an indulgent law/ But all his hopes/ were not fulfilled/...”. Vieira Lusitano (1780), pp. 6-9, translation in Arruda (2015), p. 271.



Fig. 1 Vieira Lusitano, *Orpheus in the Underworld*, 1727. Counterproof. Museo de Évora, inv. no. 672

died from a snake bite Orpheus decided to descend into the Underworld in order to bring her back. He used his skill at playing the lyre before Pluto, god of Hades, in order to plead for his wife's release. Pluto and his wife Proserpina are seen here seated opposite Orpheus on a large throne on a raised platform flanked by two columns. Eurydice is visible slightly further back into the composition, shown half-nude and modestly trying to cover her body. She is located on the edge of the Underworld rather than actually in it given that she represents Inés, who had taken her holy vows on entering a convent and could thus not be in Hell. In one of the lower corners are the Fates, the three spinning sisters who personify the thread of life from birth to death, while in the opposite corner is the snake whose bite killed Eurydice. In the background Vieira included the Underworld with a column with flaming torches in the centre. Around it are some of the most celebrated mythological inhabitants of that region: King Midas lying on the ground; Ixion tied to a burning wheel with a mocking Juno next to him; Charon steering his boat across the Styx; and the giant Tityus whose liver is being devoured by an eagle.

The scene has a clear allegorical significance. Vieira depicts himself as Orpheus in one of his first self-portraits. His beloved Inés is Eurydice,

who in real life had been sent to a convent and whose freedom Vieira was attempting to secure through the mediation of João V, represented by Pluto in the drawing. The fact that Vieira sent his painting to the monarch can thus be seen as a plea for help discreetly disguised as a mythological image.

As noted above, the painting was sent to Lisbon in 1727 and was lost in the earthquake of 1755 but various drawings of it survive. The present one is a counterproof of the sheet in the Museo de Évora (fig. 1, inv. no. 672).³ Both are executed in red chalk and are of exactly the same size (470 x 760 mm) and composition, although the counterproof is naturally in the reverse direction to the original. The artist's signature, located on the strap across Orpheus's chest, clearly indicates which is the original and which is the counterproof.⁴ Having made this reverse image, Vieira Lusitano reinforced its principal lines to give it more definition and in order to be able to take another counterproof. That second one, which is logically in the same direction as the original in the museum in Évora, has recently reappeared and is characterised by its faint colour and lack of precision in the details (Lisbon, private collection). It is thought to be the one that the artist gave to Alexandre de Gusmão in thanks for having sent the painting to the Portuguese monarch.⁵ Finally, there is one more version in the Martin von Wagner Museum in Würzburg (inv. no. NZ9868. Red chalk on paper, 460 x 765 mm). In that work, however, there are significant differences in the image: Orpheus is playing the violin rather than the lyre, there are fewer figures and the execution is freer, suggesting that it could be an initial version for the painting.⁶ What is clear is that the existence of various surviving drawings of this composition reveal the artist's clear intent to ensure a visual record of his work, considered one of his most important creations.



³ Pereira (1903), p. 3, no. 3; European Master Drawings (2000), cat. 109; Turner (2007), pp. 376-377, fig. 20 and Arruda (2015), p. 270.
⁴ The Évora sheet is inscribed "F.V.LVSIT.INV.FECIT", while the present drawing has the same inscription but in reverse.
⁵ See Arruda (2015), pp. 270-271, fig. 5.
⁶ Turner (2007), pp. 376-379, fig. 19.

[16]

ANTONIO GONZÁLEZ RUIZ

(Corella, Navarre, 1711-Madrid, 1788)

The Archangel Gabriel intervening before the Virgin of Good Council for a Knight of the Order of Calatrava

c. 1755-1760

Black chalk and sepia washes on paper
250 x 180 mm

SIGNED

“Antonio Gonzalez”, in pencil, lower centre

PROVENANCE

Collection of Queen María Cristina de Borbón y Borbón; collection of the ducal house of Sánchez-Toca; Almería, Antonio Moreno Martín collection; and by descent

LITERATURE

Dibujo español (2008), pp. 212-214, cat. 55

Son of the minor painter Manuel González Crespo, after the death of his parents Antonio González Ruiz left for Madrid at the early age of fifteen to try his fortune at court. He entered the studio of the landscape painter Michel-Ange Houasse, remaining there until the latter's death in 1730. Two years later he decided to fund his own travels around Europe in order to pursue his studies and it was during this trip that his work assimilated the prevailing European academicism. González Ruiz returned to Madrid in 1737 and made contact with court circles through his decision to continue his training in the studio of the sculptor Giovanni Domenico Olivieri. In 1739 he married Antonia Palomino y Oropesa, daughter of the engraver Juan Bernabé Palomino, court engraver to Philip V. The marriage facilitated his first royal commissions and his appointment as painter to the king in 1744.¹ That same year González Ruiz became a member of the Preparatory Committee for the founding of the future Academia de Nobles Artes, where he would be appointed one of the

two senior professors of painting, together with the French painter Van Loo. Following the Royal Decree of 12 April 1752 that founded the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, González Ruiz was made one of the honorary directors of painting. He devoted the remaining thirty-six of his life to the Academia, becoming Director General from 1768 to 1771. His significant position at that institution and at court earned him a large number of commissions for portraits, a genre in which he revealed his early training with masters such as Houasse and Ranc, continuing their characteristically French orthodoxy in terms of iconography.

The present drawing is a sketch for the creation of a work that was possibly intended to be transferred to canvas. It represents the first idea for a complex composition with several figures. The agile, rapid drawing style, with a pronounced diagonal and vigorous, linear strokes is also evident in other sketches by González Ruiz, such as *Study for a Portrait of a Writer or Jurist* (Museo Nacional del Prado, cat. D003475) and *Allegory of Time unveiling Truth*



¹ Paredes Giraldo (1992), p. 302.



Fig. 1 Juan Bernabé Palomino, *The Archangel Raphael*, c. 1755-1760. Engraving. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, sign. INVENT/30065



Fig. 2 Antonio González Ruiz, *A Knight*, c. 1755-1760. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, cat. D003478

(Museo Nacional del Prado, cat. D003474). These initial sketches, in which the artist aimed to define the principal lines of the composition, have another point in common with the present work, which is the signature in pencil, “Antonio González”. This was previously thought to be false but the presence of the same handwriting with the same calligraphic traits on all three sheets indicates that the artist signed his early sketches. This signature is quite different to the monogram “AG” to be found on González Ruiz’s more finished drawings.

The composition of the present sketch is structured around the figure of the Archangel Raphael. Standing in the foreground, he creates a link between the earthly realm in which the Knight of Calatrava is kneeling, and the heavenly one, where various small angels hold up a painting of the Virgin of Good Council. The figure of the Archangel is taken from a print by Juan Bernabé Palomino (fig. 1, Biblioteca Nacional, sign. INVENT/30065), González Ruiz’s father-in-law. In that work Raphael wears a crown and a dalmatic and holds a basket of bread and a fish in his right hand, a relatively common iconography in images of the Archangel associated with the

Order of Hospitallers. The image in the print reproduces a sculpture in the Order’s monastery in Madrid, as the inscription indicates. The donor, shown kneeling and with his right hand on his breast, is a knight of the Order of Calatrava, as indicated by the cross on his breast. This figure is studied in another sketch now in the Museo Nacional del Prado which includes both an overall study of the figure and a detail of the face (fig. 2, MNP, D003478). All the above indicates the particular working manner of González Ruiz, who would produce several sketches of both the composition as a whole and of details of its figures as part of a detailed preparatory process for the final paintings.

The tradition of religious compositions that include the presence of a donor dates back to the medieval period and culminated in the Renaissance. Through these works donors sought the protection of their patron saints and solicited prayers after their death. It is interesting that González Ruiz returned to this tradition, which was somewhat archaic by the 18th century but which singles him out as an artist who assimilated a wide range of teachings and trends.²

² This is one of the principal characteristics of the artist’s work, as observed by Paredes Galindo (1992), p. 304.



[17]

JOSÉ DEL CASTILLO (Madrid, 1737-1793)

Apollo killing the Pythian Serpent

c. 1756-1758

Black chalk and pencil, heightened with white, on ochre-coloured laid paper
270 x 328 mm

INSCRIBED

“2rs”, in ink, lower right; “34”, in ink, inside a triangle, upper centre

PROVENANCE

Collection of Queen María Cristina de Borbón y Borbón; collection of the ducal house of Sánchez-Toca; Almería, Antonio Moreno Martín collection; and by descent

LITERATURE

Dibujo español (2008), pp. 220-221, cat. 58; López Ortega (2014), vol. II, D. 473, p. 321 and vol. III, fig. 743, p. 292

In 1756 Corrado Giaquinto designated a series of artists to draw and copy various works by Giordano for the creation of tapestries to decorate the Royal Palace in Madrid. Among those chosen for this undertaking was the painter José del Castillo.¹ Castillo had been Giaquinto's student in Rome between 1751 and 1753 while he was studying there with a grant from the Academia de San Fernando in Madrid. His initial contact with Giordano's work would prove decisive and he subsequently became so familiar with the Neapolitan artist's models that he became one of his best “imitators.”² In 1777 Castillo made renewed contact with Giordano when he was entrusted with the restoration of one of the frescoes in the Casón del Buen Retiro, a project for which he was paid 9,000 *reales de vellón* for “retouching and going over the fresco painting in the Casón of this Royal Residence.”³

Castillo not only restored the ceiling but also copied the nine *Labours of Hercules* that hung on the walls of that room (Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, inv. nos. 1127 to 1135). This endeavour and the prints after those works allow them to be known, given that the originals are now lost.

In addition to these documented works, José del Castillo also executed other studies of works by Giordano, possibly as personal study exercises or as models for tapestries.⁴ At least two of these studies are exact copies of the works that had decorated the Chamber of Charles II in the Royal Palace of Aranjuez, a project executed by Giordano around 1697.⁵ The iconography of that group of canvases was intended to exalt the origins of the world and fertility, an irony for the bedroom of a monarch who died without heirs. The decoration of this room was dismantled, possibly during the reign



¹ Frutos Sastre (2006), p. 59.

² There are various copies of Giordano's portraits of Charles II and Mariana of Neuburg which are thought to be by Castillo. A pair was sold at auction at Ansorena in Madrid in January 1990.

³ Úbeda de los Cobos (2008), pp. 61-62.

⁴ Dibujo español (2008), p. 220.

⁵ For Giordano's activities at Aranjuez, see Jordán de Urrés (2004). The drawing of Apollo and the Pythian Serpent was first related to the decoration of Aranjuez in the text “Luca Giordano en el Palacio Real de Aranjuez: el Despacho y la Cámara de Carlos II”, published on 29/03/2016 at Blog Investigart: <https://investigart.wordpress.com/2016/03/29/luca-giordano-en-el-palacio-real-de-aranjuez-el-despacho-y-la-camara-de-carlos-ii/>



Fig. 1 José del Castillo, *Deucalion and Pyrrha*, c. 1756-1758. Private collection

of Philip V, but the canvases that comprised it were kept at Aranjuez until the division of Charles III's estate.⁶ They included two overdoors depicting *Deucalion and Pyrrha* and *Apollo killing the Pythian Serpent*. The two episodes (both recounted by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*) are related as they recount Apollo's victory over the beast after the flood that devastated the Earth (*Metamorphoses*, 435-450), from which only Deucalion and Pyrrha survived (fig. 1, *Metamorphoses*, 310-415). Castillo copied the two canvases on sheets of ochre-coloured laid paper, using strokes of black chalk to firmly define the figures and other softer, more diffused ones for the landscape, finally adding a few white chalk

highlights. This technique corresponds to the one used by the artist's early drawings, for which reason the present work could date from after his return from Italy, when he worked at Aranjuez with Giaquinto and was entrusted with copying Giordano's works as models for tapestries. The mythological episode unfolds from left to right: Apollo appears first, standing and in profile, holding his bow in his left hand and making a gesture with his right that indicates that he has just shot the arrow that has mortally wounded the Pythian Serpent, which lies dead, resembling a dragon rather than a snake. On the ground between the figure of the god and the monster is a lyre, an attribute closely linked to Apollo and which allows for his definite identification.

Castillo's drawing of *Deucalion and Pyrrha* literally copies Giordano's canvas (Patrimonio Nacional, inv. no. 10022576),⁷ and it can be assumed that the same is the case for *Apollo killing the Pythian Serpent*, but in that case the oil no longer survives. It is last referred to in the will of Charles III, as noted above. As with the *Labours of Hercules*, José del Castillo's drawing thus provides a record of a lost work by Giordano, through which it is possible to reconstruct a room that the latter designed with a complete decorative and iconographic programme. As a result, this sketch is not only important in artistic terms, documenting Castillo's early activity at court and revealing his skills at copying, but also has great art-historical value.

⁶ The two canvases referred to here that were copied as drawings by Castillo were both in the rooms of the Cuarto del Príncipe, number 436 in the corridor between the *Pieza del Cubierto* and the antechamber, and number 481 in the *Última Pieza del Cuarto del Príncipe* N.S. Fernández Miranda (1989), pp. 48 and 52.

⁷ For this drawing, see Fecit II (2010), pp. 43-45, cat. 9 and López Ortega (2014), vol. II, D. 474, pp. 321-322 and vol. III, fig. 744, p. 292.



[18]

MANUEL SALVADOR CARMONA

(Navas de Rey, Valladolid, 1734-Madrid, 1820)

Self-portrait

1759

Red chalk with light strokes of black chalk, on laid paper

189 x 140 mm

SIGNED

“Man^l Salvador carmona, desin, 1759.”, in red chalk, lower left corner

PROVENANCE

Madrid, Valentín Carderera collection, until his death in 1880; Madrid, Eduardo Carderera Ponzán collection, until his death in 1922; Madrid, María del Pilar Carderera collection, c. 1929; Madrid, Luis Carderera collection

LITERATURE

Exposición (1922), p. 134, no. 468, pl. XII; Carderera (1950), p. 40.

Acquired by the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (cat. D008755)

In 1752, Manuel Salvador Carmona, a young and promising draughtsman and the nephew of the prominent sculptor Luis Salvador Carmona (1708-1767), received a grant to continue his artistic studies in Paris, particularly in the fields of drawing, engraving and etching. There he coincided with three other artists who were completing their academic training: Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla, Tomás López and Alfonso Cruzado. In memory of that period of friendship and study, nine years later, in 1761, and while still in Paris Carmona executed an engraving in which he depicted himself and his companions (fig. 1, BNE, sign. IH/8433/2).

In that work the face in profile of each of the four figures is contained in a medallion that seems to sprout from the branches of a tree, while in the centre are two chained hearts crowned with a laurel wreath, an iconography

referring to the fact that the artists were the fruit of a new generation destined to change the course of art in Spain.¹ The four medallions are also linked by a thick cord or chain. Completing the scene at the bottom is a fictive plaque with the phrase “LONGÉ ET PROPÉ”, meaning “separated but united”, which alludes to the fact that although he has completed his training,² returned to Spain and gone his separate way, Carmona will always be united with his companions and with France, the country that had welcomed and trained him.

In his print Carmona is located at the lower right, his image based on the present drawing. This was executed in 1759, as inscribed at the lower left corner, and is executed in red chalk, like most of the artist’s sketches.³ Carmona depicts himself as a young man with plump features, a lively gaze and a certain air of bonhomie. Making use solely of red chalk



¹ Carderera (1950), pp. 39-41 and Carrete Parrondo (1980), no. 27.

² Carmona completed his training in Paris in 1761 but in the light of the success and fame he had achieved in France, Charles III extended his study grant for another year. On the artist and his formative period, see Carderera (1950); Gallego (1979), pp. 280-283; and Salvador Carmona (1989), pp. 19-35.

³ See Pérez Sánchez (1986), pp. 411-414.



Fig. 1 Manuel Salvador Carmona, *Tomás López, Alfonso Cruzado, Juan de la Cruz and Manuel Salvador Carmona*, 1761. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, sign. IH/8433/2



Fig. 2 Nicolas Gabriel Dupuis, *Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Lemoine le Fils*, 1755. Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, inv. no. LP65.115.1

applied with subtle gradations of greater or lesser intensity, the artist achieves a powerful expressivity and a rigorous representation of the details of the face, revealing his exceptional gifts for portraiture. This sketch was almost undoubtedly made as an individual self-portrait for a subsequent engraving that was ultimately not produced. Carmona's intention was to depict himself following the model used by his master Nicolas Gabriel Dupuis (1695-1771), with whom he had studied at the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Paris and through whom he became a consummate master of engraving. His portrait thus closely follows the model used in the portraits by his master of *Jean-Baptiste Lemoine le Fils* of 1755 (fig. 2, Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, inv. no. LP65.115.1) and of the historian and jurist *Léon Ménard* (Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, inv. no. LP70.83.2). Both include the large stone border around the figure, with the sitter in profile and a large bow at the top of the border which aims to create the trompe-l'oeil effect of a suspended medallion.

Shortly after he produced this print, in 1763 Carmona was summoned to the Spanish court by Charles III. His training in France and remarkable talents allowed him to totally

transform the practice and art of engraving in Spain. He began by producing devotional images then soon moved on to illustrating some of the most important literary editions of the time, such as the *Sallust* for the Infante don Gabriel in 1772, Iriarte's poem *La música* of 1779, and Ibarra's edition of *Don Quijote* of 1780. In 1783 Carmona was made engraver to Charles III after he executed an engraved portrait of the monarch based on Anton Raphael Mengs's painting, demonstrating the perfection of imitation and chromatic gradation that he was capable of achieving in his prints.

This drawing was disseminated through a lithograph by Rufino Casado, published by Valentín Carderera, who at that date owned the drawing, with the purpose of illustrating the biography of the artist published in the illustrated magazine *El Arte en España*, edited by Gregorio Cruzada Villaamil, in 1862. A printed text below the image reads: "Fac-simile del retrato dibujado por el mismo en 1759. De la Colección del Sr. Valentín Carderera". There is no doubt that this was taken from the present drawing given that the text also states that: "his bust totally resembles the print published by this journal, taken from another beautiful drawing made in red chalk."⁴

⁴ *El Arte en España*, 1862, p. 62.



[19]

CHARLES FRANÇOIS DE LA TRAVERSE (Paris, 1726–c. 1787)

Lot made drunk by his Daughters

1760

Ink and grey-brown wash on paper

310 x 204 mm

INSCRIBED:

“La Mort l’arrache à la Terre pour la livrer à L’Eternité, Settembre 1760” (on the reverse)

PROVENANCE

Madrid, Félix Boix collection; Madrid, private collection

This drawing depicts the biblical episode narrated in Genesis (19: 31–35) in which Lot moved into a cave with his daughters following their escape from the destruction of Sodom. Unable to find men to continue their family line, the daughters made their father drunk in order to achieve this purpose. Lot is the male figure in the centre of the composition, holding a glass. His daughters are located on either side of him, one sitting next to him and attempting to seduce him and the other one standing, filling her father’s glass with wine from a pitcher in order to make him drunk. This subject was widely represented after the Council of Trent due to its markedly moralising nature and the potential that it offered artists to depict female nudes in sensual poses. Interest in this iconography declined in the 18th century but some artists, including Charles François de la Traverse – who worked in all the pictorial genres and who was noted for his “enormously fertile invention and great erudition in composition”¹ – offered his interpretation of this biblical episode.

Few details are known of Charles de la Traverse’s biography: he was born in Paris in 1726 and first trained with François Boucher (1703–1770). In 1748 he was awarded a grant to study in Rome, after which he went to Naples in order to see the discoveries being made at the archaeological excavations at Herculaneum. There he met the French ambassador in Naples, the Marquis D’Ossun.

The present work dates from shortly after the artist’s arrival in Spain, to where he followed the ambassador following the latter’s appointment to Madrid after the ascent to the Spanish throne in 1759 of the King of Naples, who became Charles III of Spain. Having arrived in Madrid, De la Traverse devoted his activities to teaching, with pupils who included Luis Paret y Alcázar (1746–1799). As in his own work, De la Traverse encouraged his students to make use of models taken both from antiquity and from life, which was contrary to the widespread practice of copying from prints.² This use of classical models as the starting point for drawings and prints is clearly evident in the present drawing, in which the depiction of one



¹ Ceán Bermúdez (1800), Vol. V, pp. 74–77.

² Ceán Bermúdez (1800), Vol. IV, p. 53.



Fig. 1 Hellenistic sculpture, *Medici Venus*, late 2nd century-early 1st century B.C. Marble, 153 cm (height). Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. 1914, no. 224



Fig. 2 Charles de la Traverse, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1759. 304 x 200 mm. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, sign. DIB/16/30/20

of Lot's daughters reveals the influence of the *Medici Venus*, which became one of the most highly esteemed Hellenistic sculptures following its rediscovery in the 16th century (fig. 1). The figure is seen from behind, the spine slightly foreshortened and the weight of the body resting on one foot. The same sculpture had previously inspired the 17th century painter Francesco Furini (1603-1646) for one of his figures in a canvas on the same subject (MNP, P000144). Given as a gift from Ferdinand II, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, to Philip IV of Spain, it remained in the Buen Retiro until, at a date prior to 1772, it entered the studio of Andrés de la Calleja in the Royal Palace in Madrid where De la Traverse could have seen it. The composition of this present drawing also relates to that of Furini's painting, based on three figures and devoid of any specific spatial references. Also repeated is the seated, profile pose of the daughter who caresses her father Lot as he grasps her around the shoulders. Nonetheless, despite its

references to Furini's composition, De la Traverse's drawing has a markedly personal style due to the soft, zig-zagging lines and the contrasts of light produced by the judiciously distributed sepia ink washes. This distinctive and very recognisable style is to be found throughout the artist's extensive output of drawings, which reveal a rigorous classical training and a use of sinuous lines and sepia washes that model the lights and shadows. Most of De la Traverse's sketches have survived, constituting a corpus of seventy-eight in the Biblioteca Nacional de España.³ Their technique and dimensions are almost identical to the present example. Within the group is a series on biblical subjects, including *Joseph interpreting the Pharaoh's Dream* (304 x 199 mm, DIB 16/30/15), *Moses on Mount Horeb* (304 x 197 mm, DIB 16/30/16), and *Susanna and the Elders* (fig. 2, 304 x 200 mm, DIB 16/30/20), all sheets with dimensions, compositional characteristics and techniques close to those of the present work.

³ Of the 78 drawings by De la Traverse in the Biblioteca Nacional, 62 are from an album of drawings that belonged to González de Sepúlveda, a close friend of Luis Paret y Alcázar, while the rest are from different sources. See Barcia (1906), pp. 789-794, no. 9177 to 9254; Sandoz (1972) and Santiago (1992), p. 129.



[20]

JOSÉ CAMARÓN BONANAT

(Segorbe, Castellón, 1731-Valencia, 1803)

Cartouches for the Map of the Archbishopric of Valencia (recto)

1761

Black chalk and ink on laid paper

Models for various Bookplates and a small sketch for a scene with a sword shop (verso)

Pen with grey-brown and black ink on laid paper

253 x 415 mm

PROVENANCE

Madrid, private collection

Rocaille can be defined as asymmetrical decoration that imitates the forms of shells. This exuberant, excessive, undulating motif was widely used during the 18th century, giving its name to the Rococo style. It is used here in the present drawing by José Camarón Bonanat for his depiction of the sea and was applied by him to the borders of decoration in other works. The artist was one of the leading Valencian painters of the second half of the 18th century and a representative of the Spanish Rococo style, together with Antonio Carnicero (1748-1814) and Luis Paret y Alcázar (1746-1799).

Camarón achieved renown not just as a painter but also as a printmaker and illustrator. He trained in Valencia and Madrid, attending classes at the Academia de San Fernando in the latter city then returned to Valencia in 1754 where he was one of the founders of the Academia de San Carlos in 1768, becoming its director of painting and overall director from 1796 to 1801. Despite his academic posts, Camarón was a highly prolific artist who made use of a range of genres and techniques.

Notable within his oeuvre is an important corpus of religious works consisting of twenty altarpieces painted for Valencia cathedral between 1781 and 1783 and a series of canvases for San Francisco el Grande in Madrid of 1788-1789.¹ A large number of drawings by the artist have survived, the majority produced as designs for prints. Among his most celebrated series of illustrations are those for the *Vida, excelencias y muerte del gloriosísimo Patriarca San José* and the thirty-one designs that he made for the prints for José Pellicer's edition of *Don Quixote*.²

The present drawing is among the many by the artist intended for prints, in this case depicting decorative cartouches to surround and embellish a map of the Archbishopric of Valencia. Executed in fine lines of black chalk and reed pen with black ink, Camarón precisely defined a series of clearly Rococo elements to be used to frame the texts that would appear on the map. In the 16th and 17th centuries use was generally made in Spain of maps from Venice, Flanders and Paris, translated into Spanish. However, in the second half of the 18th century



¹ For further information on the series for San Francisco el Grande, see Fecit I (2010), pp. 41-43, cat. 10.

² For further information on the artist's life, see Ossorio y Bernard (1868), pp. 119-120 and Rodríguez Culebras (1968).

a local tradition of mapmaking arose, and it is in this context that the *Map of the Archbishopric of Valencia* can be seen. Produced in 1761, the cartographer was Tomás Vilanova while the printer was Hipòlit Ricarte.³ It depicts both the diocese of Valencia and that of Segorbe and includes the area of Vilafermosa that belonged to Valencia until 1960 (fig. 1). Also marked out on the map is the projected new bishopric for the city of Xátiva, which aimed to obtain this ecclesiastical status.

The map is notably rich and ornate in style due to the presence of Camarón's decorative motifs and rocaille work. In the upper left corner, a triangular shield richly decorated with rocaille, vases of flowers, clouds and the heads of small angels, surrounds an image of the Virgin enthroned with the Christ Child. In the opposite corner an angel with sinuous forms appears in the sky, holding up an elaborate curtain to reveal the map's principal inscription. Finally, at the lower centre is a large area of rocaille decoration suggesting a giant wave, behind which are a caravel and a sea monster. This decorative surround frames the map's explanatory notes and the indication of scale. The present drawing is a study for these exquisite decorative motifs, with the difference that the drawing lacks the texts and the image of the Virgin, indicating that the artist received precise instructions when producing his design. The map's elegant, sumptuous appearance is strikingly different to that of another map made a year later in 1762 by Tomás López de Vargas Machuca in which all efforts are concentrated on the precision of the cartographic symbols and the shoreline, omitting any decoration or



Fig. 1 Tomás Vilanova, cartographer and Hipòlit Ricarte, printer, *Map of the Archbishopric of Valencia*, 1761. Engraving. Valencia, Universidad Politécnica, Luis Giménez Lorente Foundation Collection

flourishes and thus coming closer to the approach of modern map-making.⁴

The reverse of the present sheet has a series of sketches for what appear to be bookplates, in the form of small cartouches with a name inside. Some are allegories of Literature and Painting, thus indicating the profession or interest of the person for whom the bookplate was made. In addition, on one side of the sheet are two small scenes taking place in a sword shop. Both images depict the same subject but with the position of the principal figures changed from the left to the right. Camarón depicts the sword-makers tempering the blades and another figure who has weighed them and is hanging them up for sale in the shop window. Particularly striking is the marked contrast between the crisp, exquisitely detailed style of the drawings for the *Map of Valencia* and the disordered, synthetic and sketchy nature of these images.

³ There are numerous copies of this map in libraries and archives, including the BNE, sign. MV/9.
⁴ Roselló Verger (2002).



[21]

RENÉ-GABRIEL RABIÉ (c. 1700/1725-1785)

View of the Royal Palace and the Plaza Mayor in Mexico City

c. 1768

Ink, coloured crayons and wash on laid paper

234 x 374 mm

SIGNED

“Rabié Del.” in ink at the lower right corner

INSCRIBED

“Vista del Real Palacio, y Plaza mayor de Mexico, con parte de la Cathedral, y su nuevo Sagrario.”

in ink, at the bottom

PROVENANCE

Paris, private collection

Acquired by the Hispanic Society of America, New York (inv. no. LA2378)

Following Christopher Columbus’s discovery of South America in 1492, a new world opened up, not only geographically but also in economic and cultural terms. During the early post-conquest years the principal interest for the colonisers lay in locating and extracting minerals such as gold and silver. From the 16th century onwards, however, political structures of government began to be created. In 1535, for example, the Viceroyalty of New Spain was officially created and its capital, Mexico City, founded. The Viceroyalty initiated and organised a wide range of economic activities such as livestock raising, agriculture, mining and commerce, while together with the Catholic Church it also established the principal guidelines for the education and health of the indigenous population. The exoticism of the new regions described by travellers and explorers meant that in the 16th and 17th centuries some artists ventured to South America in order to reflect this new culture while figures such as Montezuma, an individual of great presence and royal dignity, entered the European imagination through the

theatre, novels and the opera. Nonetheless, the vision that these artists conveyed of the New World at this period went no further than the recording in prints and drawings of anthropological and ethnic curiosities and the documentation of certain new scientific species.¹

The dawn of the Enlightenment in the 18th century saw the rise of a new conception of the world and of man and South America and its peoples were of renewed interest. At this point we see the arrival in the continent of scientific expeditions that set out to study the region’s flora, fauna, archaeology, peoples and customs as well as its urban landscape.

Accompanying these exhibitions were artists who were employed to visually document and disseminate the different natural and artistic features of South America. One of the areas of most importance for this activity was the Viceroyalty of New Spain given that it combined ancient culture through the survival of Aztec archaeological ruins, exuberant vegetation and thriving city life and monumental modern architecture. The centre of almost all attention was its capital, Mexico City, which had been



Vista del Real Palacio, y Plaza mayor de Mexico con parte de la Cathedral, y su nuevo Sagrario.

¹ See Romero de Terreros (1990) and Rubial García (1994).

built over the old México-Tenochtitlán. In order to fulfil its new role as the political, financial and administrative centre of the Spanish territories in the New World, the authorities set out to embellish the city to the greatest degree possible, filling it with large buildings of the colonial type, combining indigenous and European elements. Among these projects, the Plaza Mayor or Zócalo in Mexico City became the heart and stage of New Spain. Located over the site of the old ceremonial centre of Tenochtitlán, the great esplanade was surrounded on all four sides by the city's most important buildings: the cathedral, viceregal palace and the City Council buildings. Logically, the Plaza was thus the focus of attention on the part of travelling artists visiting the city, who must have been impressed by what was considered the largest and most beautiful metropolis in Spanish South America. An example of this fascination is the drawing presented here, depicting a *View of the Royal Palace and the Plaza Mayor in Mexico City, with part of the Cathedral and its new parish Church*. Executed in ink with coloured crayons, it uses subtle washes to lightly sketch in the cloudy sky and ground. The almost photographic detail allows the viewer to study in detail the state of the buildings surrounding the Plaza, the clothing of the figures, which corresponds to the reign of Charles III, and the type of carriages used at this date. The present drawing is thus an exceptional document for knowledge of the Plaza Mayor in Mexico City in the second half of the 18th century.

On the far left of the sheet is the cathedral, truncated by the edge of the composition to show only one of the two towers, of which only two sections had risen from the ground by this date. Next to the cathedral is the recently completed *Sagrario*, which combines the functions of cathedral parish church, sacristy and place to house the Host. This structure was consecrated in February 1768.² These two buildings, the cathedral and its accompanying

church, allow the present drawing to be precisely dated as there is an oil painting of 1764 in the Franz Mayer collection that depicts *Mexico City Cathedral under construction*, showing these buildings as less complete. In the painting, for example, the cathedral's tower lacks the sloping roof that appears in the present drawing. In the centre of the composition is the viceregal palace, rebuilt from 1711 onwards in a colonial Baroque style. Opposite it is the Column or Pyramid of Ferdinand VI, erected in honour of the Spanish monarch following his proclamation in 1746, and the Octagonal Fountain, installed in 1713 and crowned by a metal eagle. The remainder of the scene is occupied by the esplanade of the Plaza, which is filled with a wide range of figures: soldiers engaged in exercises and dressed in their striking uniforms; street musicians; playful dogs; carriages moving from one side to the other; Indians transporting goods; people buying and selling local products such as bananas from the typical stalls positioned around the square, and so on. The artist offers us a complete portrait not just of the architecture and urban design of this location but also of the people and range of social classes that populated the city at this date.

The author of this drawing is René-Gabriel Rabié, as indicated by the signature «Rabié Del.» which appears in its lower right corner. Rabié, member of a family of French sailors, lived for a long time in Haiti and the Caribbean. During those years he worked as an architect, cartographer and naturalist. The plants and animals shown in his series of excellent illustrations, including some species of butterflies, were created even before they were formally described. His pictures helped in the detailed study of a large number of birds carried out by ornithologists of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Towards 1768 he moved to Mexico City as part of an expedition to document in detail the life and singularities of the great Viceregal metropolis.



² La Catedral y Sagrario de México (1917).

[22]

VENTURA RODRÍGUEZ

(Ciempozuelos, Madrid, 1717–Madrid, 1785)

Initial sketch for the principal altar of the Colegiata de San Isidro

1768

Black chalk and grey wash on laid paper

291 x 157 mm

INSCRIBED:

“Carpeta XIX/ N° 2.926”, in pencil, on the reverse

PROVENANCE

Madrid, collection of the Marquis of Casa-Torres; Madrid, private collection

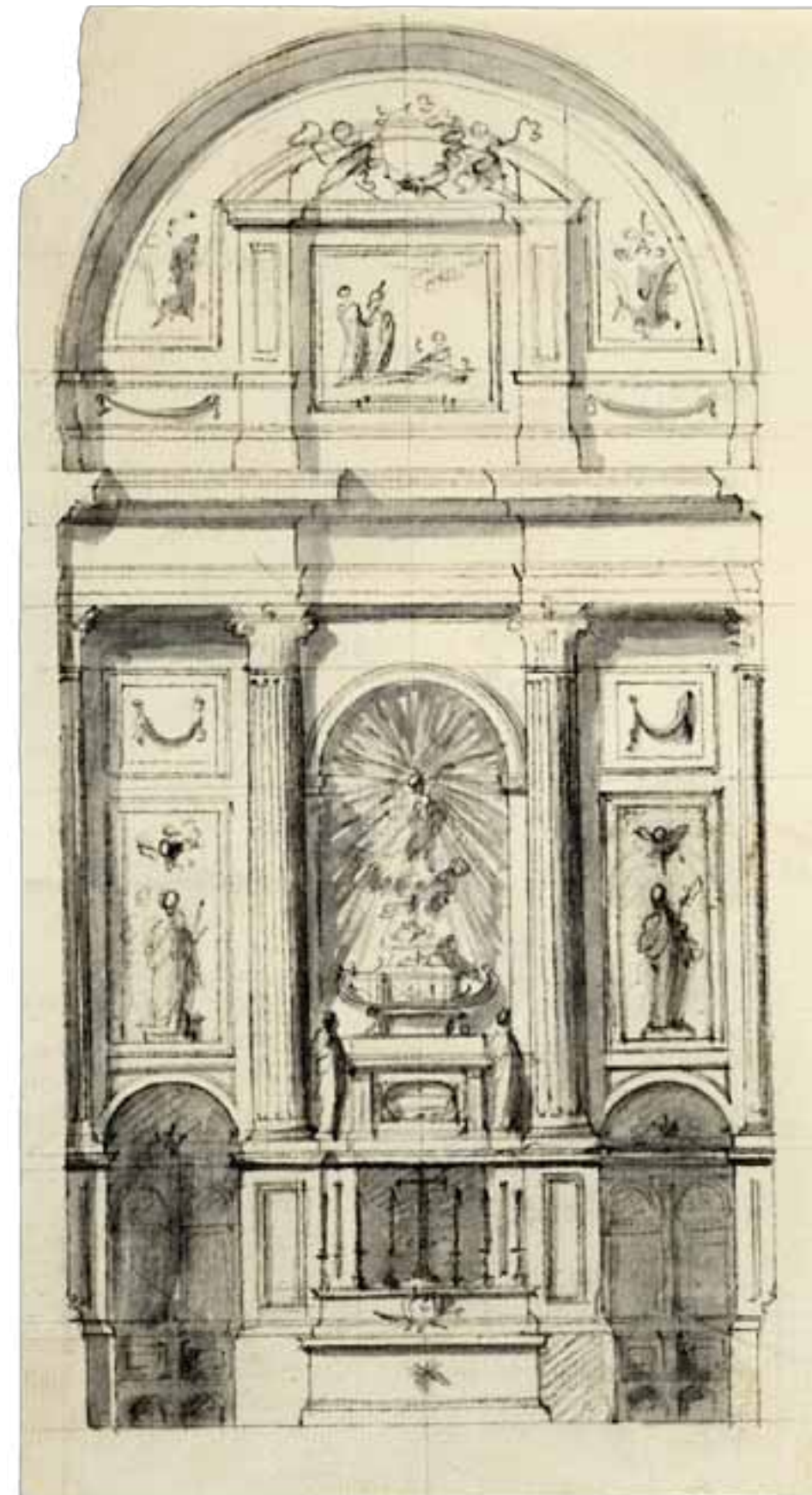
In 1567 the Company of Jesus inaugurated a small chapel dedicated to Saint Peter and Saint Paul on calle Toledo, to which a seminary would subsequently be attached. In 1622 the chapel was demolished in order to build a new church, in accordance with the instructions of the Empress Maria of Austria, daughter of Charles I, who bequeathed her fortune to the Jesuits with the aim of constructing the new building. It was designed by the architect Pedro Sánchez although construction was subsequently supervised by Francisco Bautista and Melchor de Bueras. On 23 September 1651 the church was consecrated and dedicated to Saint Francis Xavier. At the moment of its consecration the church was not yet finished but it seems that the principal altarpiece was installed, comprising three storeys crowned at the top with a large painting commissioned in Antwerp from Cornelis Schut the Elder and depicting *Saint Francis Xavier baptising the indigenous South Americans*, painted in 1648.¹

In 1767 the Jesuits were expelled from Spain due to their excessive political and financial power. On 2 April of that year Charles III signed the *Prágmatica Sanción* drawn up by Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, lawyer of the Council of Castile.² This document authorised the suppression of the religious Order in all territories of the Spanish Crown and decreed the seizure of their possessions. A year later, in 1768, Charles III decided to transform the Colegio Imperial, dedicated to Saint Francis Xavier and the principal religious house of the Jesuits in Madrid, into a church dedicated to Saint Isidore the Labourer, the city's patron saint. For this reason, in 1769 Isidore's remains, which rested in the chapel of San Andrés in Madrid, were transferred together with those of his wife Saint Mary of the Head, in order to be venerated in the new church.³ A series of alterations were also undertaken to transform the church into a collegiate one with a new dedication.

¹ On this now lost canvas, see Gálvez (1926), pp. 670-674 and 736-737; Gutiérrez Pastor (2007), pp. 105-106, 112, 114, 116 and Sanzsalazar (2013), p. 203.

² On the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain, see Pinedo (1996).

³ Ventura Rodríguez (2018), p. 299.



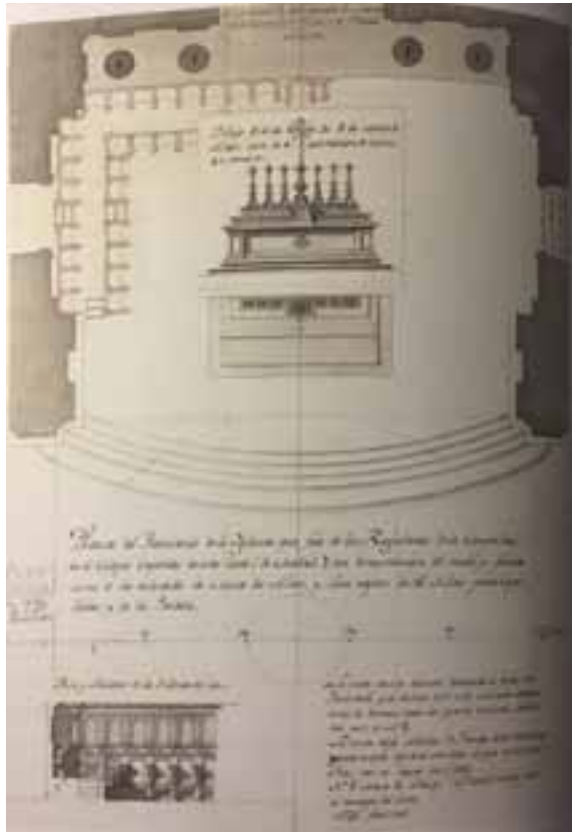


Fig. 1 Ventura Rodríguez, *Floor of the Presbytery of the Church that was of the Regulars of the Company*, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Consejos Suprimidos, MPD 691

As architect to the Council of Castile and one of the most prestigious in Spain, Ventura Rodríguez was commissioned to undertake this remodelling, described by Antonio Ponz just five years after work was completed: “[In the presbytery] in place of the old and capricious architectural order, [Ventura Rodríguez] designed Corinthian pilasters and an entablature; he adorned the vault with excellent taste; he installed the organs, also of Corinthian design, in two tribunes; he installed the altar table in the middle and around it designed the chaplains’ choir. He retained the old altarpiece, of which the first level had four composite

columns, gilding the elements that ought to be gilded and painting the rest to imitate different marbles; and in a large niche in the centre he placed the urns of the two saints, on a throne of clouds a statue of Saint Isidore by Juan Pascual de Mena, and to either side two allegorical statues, one by Francisco Gutiérrez and the other by Manuel Álvarez. As a complement to all this, on the second level he installed a large painting by Anton Raphael Mengs, representing a glory with the Holy Trinity... Between the pilasters of the pillars and looking towards the presbytery he installed various statues of labourer saints in the niches, sculpted by the above-mentioned Pereira, which were formerly in the old chapel of Saint Isidore.”⁴

Four drawings by Ventura Rodríguez are known for this project: two ground-plans of the church and some of its adjoining buildings; a ground-plan and elevation for the remodelling of the presbytery; and an elevation of the organ.⁵ However, until now no drawing was known relating to the remodelling of the principal altar, one of the most important elements of Ventura Rodríguez’s project for the redesign of the presbytery. The present sheet is an initial sketch for its redesign, respecting the previous architectural masses and different elements but completely rethinking the decoration. The drawing depicts an altarpiece divided into three horizontal and three vertical sections separated by four composite columns, as the previous altarpiece had, according to Ponz. The bottom storey shows the new form of the altar, which now projects forward into the presbytery in order to allow for the installation of choirstalls for fifty-six chaplains, as required by the liturgy in the case of a royal collegiate church. The two lower arches that enclose a series of double arcades are thus the initial idea for the installation of the choirstalls

⁴ Ponz (1772-1794/1947), pp. 435-436.

⁵ Only two of these drawings are signed by the architect; however, the other two are also considered to be by his hand due to his direct involvement in the work to remodel the church into a collegiate one. Ventura Rodríguez (2018), pp. 299-304.



Fig. 2 Joaquín Sigüenza y Chavarrieta, *The Meeting of the Chapter of the Military Orders for the Investiture of Alfonso XII as Grand Master*, c. 1857-1858. Madrid, Senate

to either side of the altar, their appearance and arrangement over two levels conforming to the elevation of this element in the drawing for the *Presbytery* in the Archivo Histórico Nacional (fig. 1, AHN, Consejos Suprimidos, MPD 691). In this initial sketch by Ventura Rodríguez it would seem that the choirstalls did not completely surround the altar but rather that two double stalls were adapted at the base of the lateral sections of the altarpiece. Nor was the back part completely covered by stalls, as was finally the case, as Ponz described. In addition, two later visual sources show what was finally executed prior to the fire that destroyed the altarpiece in 1936. These confirm that the structure of the choirstalls completely surrounded the presbytery, leaving the altarpiece set back. This can be seen in the painting by Joaquín Sigüenza y Chavarrieta of around 1857-58, *The Meeting of the Chapter of the Military Orders for the Investiture of*

Alfonso XII as Grand Master (fig. 2, Madrid, Senado), and in another by Joaquín Muñoz Morillejo, *High Mass in the Cathedral of Madrid*, of 1921 (fig. 3, Madrid, Museo de San Isidro, inv. no. 1496).

In the drawing, the second storey of the altarpiece is divided by four striated composite columns. The central, much wider section had a large niche with a round-arched top which housed the urns of Saint Mary of the Head and Saint Isidore the Labourer, one above the other. The latter was crowned with a sculptural group representing *The Glorification of Saint Isidore* set on a large throne of clouds from which a multitude of luminous beams emerge. Two sculptures accompanied this work. The contents of the present sketch perfectly correspond to what was finally carried out (see figs. 2 and 3), with the group by Juan Pascual de Mena presiding over the altarpiece and framed at the sides by the figures of *Faith*,



Fig. 3 Joaquín Muñoz Morillejo, *High Mass in the Cathedral of Madrid*, 1921. Madrid, Museo de San Isidro, inv. no. 1496



Fig. 4 Cornelis Schut, *Saint Francis Xavier baptising the indigenous South Americans*, 1648. Bruges, Belgium, Saint Walburga Church



Fig. 5 Ventura Rodríguez, *Altarpiece in the Chapel of Our Lady of Bethlehem in the Church of San Sebastián*, 1784. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, cat. no. D001680

executed by Manuel Álvarez, and *Humility*, by Francisco Gutiérrez. In this initial sketch the lateral sections of the altar, which were narrower, include a large rectangular niche that housed the figure of a saint crowned by a small angel. Above this was a rectangular compartment framing a decorative garland. The final arrangement of the lateral sections varied considerably with regard to the sketch; as can be seen in the above-mentioned 19th and 20th century paintings that show the interior of the collegiate church of San Isidro (figs. 2 and 3), this arrangement was replaced by the installation of two niches with rounded tops housing labourer saints: on the left, from top to bottom, Saints Alexander and Eustace; and on the right, Saints Elisha and Orentius. These four sculptures were executed by Manuel Pereira for the chapel of San Isidro around 1657 and were moved to the Colegiata and painted white to adapt to them to Neo-classical taste

and to their new location. Above them, at the height of the capitals of the columns, an architectural frame with an inset garland was retained but was much smaller in scale than the one initially present.

The top storey of the altarpiece occupied the semicircle below the barrel vault which spanned the presbytery. This rested on an entablature and a frieze that is shown without decoration in the drawing and which appears in the above-mentioned, later paintings with interlaced garlands that are gilded to produce an elaborate effect. In the sketch the central section of the top storey still seems to refer to Cornelis Schut's large-scale painting of *Saint Francis Xavier baptising the indigenous South Americans*, of which the composition is known from a preparatory oil sketch in the Jesuit church in Bruges (fig. 4),⁶ and in which the three principal figures seem to be the ones in Ventura Rodríguez's drawing. An arch-topped

frontal completed the central vertical section which housed two small angels bearing a laurel wreath, crowning the entire work and executed in stucco. In the lateral sections two coats-of-arms are lightly suggested. The sketchy presence of Schut's painting locates the execution of this first idea for the remodelling of the altarpiece's decoration to a date later than January 1769 on the basis of a letter of that date which refers to the substitution of that painting with *The Holy Trinity* by Anton Raphael Mengs: "In the second storey of the altar is a painting measuring 23 feet high by 13.5 wide [approx. 644 x 378 cm] depicting S. Francis Xavier baptising Jews; a rather commonplace painting and out of date [...] and I considered it appropriate that don Antonio Mengs should

see it, and in accordance with this don Ventura Rodríguez stated that it would not serve as it was in such bad condition as well as being inappropriate and not in harmony with the others in the altarpiece or with their meaning. For this reason it has been necessary to commission Mengs to paint another of the Throne of the Holy Trinity, with the Immaculate Conception below it on the right and on the other side Saint James, Saint Lawrence and Saint Damasus positioned as if receiving the Holy Throne as it ascends to heaven; and I consider it most appropriate. The painting is typical of the artist and I hope that it receives general approbation and attracts attention from the public for its magnificence and gravity."⁷ Mengs painted his large-scale

⁶ Begheyn (2006) and Gutiérrez Pastor (2007), pp. 115-116, fig. 15.

⁷ Letter from Pedro de Ávila y Soto to Manuel de Roda. See González Arribas & Arribas Arranz (1961), pp. 176-177 and Roettgen (1999), vol. I, p. 492, cat. QU48.

work rapidly, completing it in forty days, which suggests that he had studio assistance.⁸ He charged a fee of 60,000 *reales* which was paid to him by the Count of Campomanes, one of the key figures in the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain.⁹

The present sheet is thus an initial sketch for the decorative remodelling that Ventura Rodríguez intended to undertake on the Jesuit altarpiece in order to make it the principal axis of the Colegiata in honour of Saint Isidore. As observed above, this drawing includes a series of elements that would appear in the final design, including the central zone with the urns and the sculpture of *The Glorification of Saint Isidore* by Juan Pascual de Mena. It also includes elements that the architect was still considering, such as the placement of the choirstalls, the arrangement of the sculptures in the lateral sections of the altarpiece and the canvas at the top. The preliminary nature of this design explains why it was not executed in Indian ink and rather entirely in a soft chalk that allowed the figures to be more easily suggested, with some light grey washes added to emphasise the shadows. Here the only element that really interested Ventura Rodríguez was the structure of the altarpiece (defined with a finer and harder chalk), which undoubtedly reflected the disposition of masses

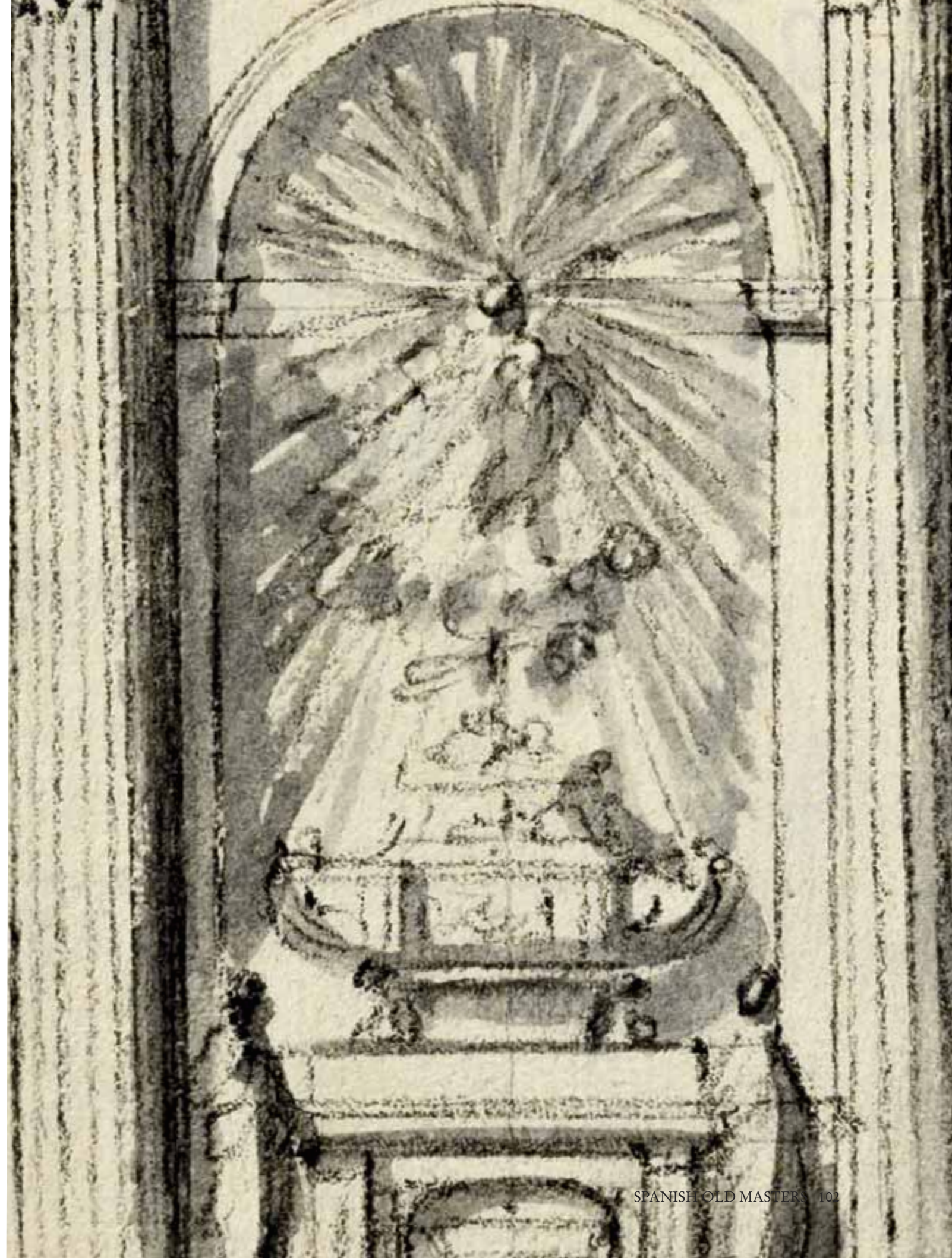
of the Jesuits' original altarpiece, while the figures and ornamental elements are rapidly indicated, revealing Ventura's primary concern as a good architect to convey the structure from the outset. Furthermore, for a project of this type, in which the altarpiece was already executed and was merely being remodelled with regard to its decoration, there was no need for heights and measurements, which are thus absent from the drawing.

A drawing comparable to the present one is the design for the *Altarpiece in the Chapel of Our Lady of Bethlehem in the Church of San Sebastián*, in which the architecture is also much more defined than the figures and ornamentation (fig. 5, Museo Nacional del Prado).¹⁰ In addition, in both cases the fact that these are initial designs means that the ornamental elements are only very schematically rendered while the two works do not have the date and signature that the artist usually applied in the case of finished projects. Finally, the fact that the drawing is by an architect is also indicated by the presence of a small sketch of an architectural structure on the reverse. Thus, both drawing of the architecture and the sculpture and the known involvement of Ventura Rodríguez in this project means that the present sheet can be securely attributed to that Madrid architect.

⁸ Roettgen (2010), p. 235. Mengs is known to have had a large studio which assisted him in the creation of the majority of his works. The painting was destroyed by fire in 1936 during the Civil War but a preliminary oil sketch survives. In addition, the above-mentioned visual sources show its composition. See Fecit II (2010), pp. 37-41, cat 8.

⁹ Carrete Parrondo (1978), p. 171.

¹⁰ Ventura Rodríguez (2018), pp. 526-527, cat. 132.



[23]

MARIANO SALVADOR MAELLA

(Valencia, 1739-Madrid, 1819)

Maria Luisa of Parma, Princess of Asturias

1773-1780

Pencil, sepia wash and pink ink on laid paper

295 x 195 mm

SIGNED

“D Maria Luisa Princesa de Asturias. Maella”, in pencil, lower centre

PROVENANCE

Madrid, Valentín Carderera collection, until his death in 1880; Madrid, Eduardo Carderera Ponzán collection, until his death in 1922; Madrid, María del Pilar Carderera collection, c. 1929; Madrid, Luis Carderera collection

LITERATURE

Honisch (1965), p. 106; Roetgen (1999-2003), vol. I, pp. 251-252; De la Mano (2009), pp. 80-81 and p. 91, note 21; De la Mano (2010), p. 84; De la Mano (2011a), vol. I, pp. 304-306, cat. no. IV.2; De la Mano (2011b), p. 506

Acquired by the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (cat. D008754)

Princess Maria Luisa of Parma was born in 1751 to Philip of Parma, son of Philip V of Spain, and Luisa Isabel of Bourbon, daughter of Louis XV of France. In September 1765 and aged just thirteen, she married her cousin Charles of Bourbon in the palace of La Granja de San Ildefonso. At that date Charles was Prince of Asturias and thus heir to the Spanish throne. Soon after that event the future monarchs were portrayed in the form of two pairs of canvases by Anton Raphael Mengs, first court painter to Charles III, with the aim of disseminating the young couple's appearance. Surviving from those early works by Mengs are the three-quarter-length versions in the collection of the Museo del Prado, on deposit with the Palacio Real in Aranjuez (MNP, P002188, and P002189). They depict *Charles Anthony of Bourbon in hunting*

dress and Maria Luisa of Parma in court dress, the latter set in a landscape which appears to be the gardens at Aranjuez (fig. 1).¹

Mengs also produced two full-length portraits of the Prince and Princess of Asturias but these are unfortunately lost. They were used as models by artists in his studio for portraits that disseminated the images of the royal couple, among them Mariano Salvador Maella, who in 1765 had returned to the court from a period in Rome in order to join the royal studio directed by Mengs.² From that moment on he became the Bohemian artist's principal assistant, acquiring increasing prestige at court which led to his appointment as painter to the king in 1774.³ One year after that appointment Maella was commissioned to copy Mengs's full-length portraits of the Prince and Princess in order for them to be sent to the portrait gallery of the



¹ For Mengs's portrait of the Princess of Asturias, see Antonio Rafael Mengs (1980), pp. 36-37, cat. 10 and Roetgen (1999), vol. I, pp. 250-252, cat. 180.

² De la Mano (2011b), p. 91.

³ De la Mano (2011b), p. 107.



Fig. 1 Anton Raphael Mengs, *Maria Luisa of Parma in court dress*, c. 1765. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, on deposit with the Palacio Real in Aranjuez, cat. P002189



Fig. 2 Mariano Salvador Maella, *Maria Luisa of Parma, Princess of Asturias*, 1780. Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, inv. no. GE-4591

Russian Empress Catherine the Great at the palace of Chesmensky near Saint Petersburg.⁴ There was a subsequent commission in 1780 for a second delivery of portraits of Charles III, the King and Queen of Naples, and the Prince and Princess of Asturias, also by Maella. Of these, the portraits of Charles III and of the Prince and Princess of Asturias, Charles of Bourbon and Maria Luisa of Parma, are now in the Hermitage (inv. nos. GE-4474, GE-4433, and GE-4591, fig. 2).⁵

In the canvas the Princess of Asturias appears as she does in Mengs's original three-quarter-length model, but now depicted full-length. Furthermore, rather than standing before a balustrade in a garden, Maria Luisa is shown in a palace interior, in front of a red velvet sofa and with a side table to her right with flowers and a clock on it. This setting is similar to the one to be seen in the portrait which the Lyons-born painter Laurent Pecheux

executed to mark her marriage to Charles of Bourbon (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 26.260.9). The present drawing is a combination of the two images with the only notable difference being the handkerchief in the sitter's left hand rather than the closed fan to be seen in the Prado and Hermitage versions. Maella's drawing is executed with great skill and agility, making use of rapid strokes of pencil that are extremely schematic in some elements, such as the background setting, and with the application of a very diluted sepia wash that differentiates the figure from the setting. This sketch was attributed by various experts to Mengs and was thought to be preparatory for the full-length painting that he executed on the arrival of the Princess in Spain.⁶ However, in 2009 it was correctly attributed to Maella and has thus joined the corpus of more than 400 known drawings by this Valencian artist.⁷

⁴ A letter from the Marquis of Grimaldi to Monteleagre of 6 February 1773 stipulates that both Mariano Maella and Francisco Bayeu should copy the portraits by Mengs of 1766 for this commission. The commission was ultimately assigned to Maella alone. See Morales & Marín (1997), p. 189, cat. no. 124 and Renaissance to Goya (2012), pp. 210-211, fig. 29.

⁵ Kagané (2007), pp. 37-44; De la Mano (2009), pp. 79-81; De la Mano (2011a), pp. 304-306, cat. no. IV.2; and De la Mano (2011b), pp. 505-506, cats. VI.1 to VI.3.

⁶ Honisch (1965), p. 106 and Roetgen (1999-2003), vol. I, pp. 251-252.

⁷ De la Mano (2009), p. 91, note 21.



[24]

ANTONIO GONZÁLEZ VELÁZQUEZ (Madrid, 1723-1794)

*Flos Carmeli. The Apparition of the Carmelite Virgin
to Saint Simon Stock*

1780
Black chalk, sepia ink and grey-brown wash on laid paper
378 x 293 mm

SIGNED
“dibujada por Antonio Velázquez” (in pencil, lower left)
PROVENANCE
Madrid, private collection
LITERATURE
Arnáiz (1999), p.139, cat. no. D46

Saint Simon Stock was undoubtedly one of the leading figures of the Carmelite Order. Born in England in the 13th century, in 1247 he was elected sixth general of the Order and is considered to have transformed it from its original nature as a body of hermits to a mendicant one. However, tradition has it that the most important episode in his life was the apparition to him of the Virgin Mary on 16 July 1251. On that day Simon was praying to her to ask for some sign of protection for the Order, which had been obliged to move from Palestine to Europe. His prayer ran: “Flower of the Carmelites, flowering vine, splendour of the Heavens, fertile, only Virgin, peaceful Mother, unknown to any man, give favours to your Carmelites, Star of the sea.”¹ According to the description in the *Flos sanctorum*, the Virgin appeared in the company of numerous angels: “She came in all her grace wearing the Carmelite habit, her hair loose and an

Imperial Crown on her head.”² In her hands she held a scapular,³ which she gave to Simon Stock as a sign of protection from dangers and with the promise that anyone who died wearing it would not suffer the fires of eternal punishment.

The iconography described in the *Flos sanctorum* is exactly the one depicted in the present drawing.⁴ The Virgin, in the centre, has her hair loose and wears the Imperial crown and the Carmelite habit. She is seated on a platform of clouds with a multitude of small angels around her. Kneeling at her feet is Saint Simon Stock with the scapular given to him by the Virgin above his head, which an angel assists him to put on. The drawing is executed in sepia ink with light, grey-brown washes. The composition is enclosed in a rectangle, outside of which the artist tried out in chalk some of the figures that he subsequently located in the central part. They include studies for some of the small angels and the saint’s hands. At the bottom, also in black



¹ “Flos Carmeli/ Vitis Florigera/ Splendor coeli/ Virgo puerpera/ Singularis y singular/ Mater mitis/ Sed viri nescia/ Carmelitis/ Sto. Propitia/ Stella Maris”. Ribadeneyra (1688), p. 580.

² Ribadeneyra (1688), p. 580.

³ Definition of a scapular in the Oxford English Dictionary: “A symbol of affiliation to an ecclesiastical order, consisting of two strips of cloth hanging down the breast and back and joined across the shoulders.”

⁴ The drawing first published by Arnáiz (1999), p. 139, cat. no. D46.



Fig. 1 Antonio González Velázquez and Manuel Salvador Carmona, *Flos Carmeli. The Apparition of the Carmelite Virgin to Saint Simon Stock*, 1780. Engraving



Fig. 2 Castilian School, 18th century, *The Apparition of the Carmelite Virgin to Saint Simon Stock*. Segovia, convent of the Barefoot Carmelites

chalk, is a faint suggestion of the cartouche with text that would accompany the final engraving, signed inside by the artist, Antonio González Velázquez.

Between 1771 and 1773 González Velázquez embarked on a series of drawings intended for reproduction as a collection of prints to be engraved by Juan Antonio Salvador Carmona (1740-1805). The theme was *The Saints of the Days of the Year* and the publication went on sale at Bayló's bookshop on calle Carretas. Both artists believed that this would be a profitable project but the only engravings printed were the ones for the thirty-one days of January and the first ten days of February.⁵ For his preparatory drawings González Velázquez was inspired by the descriptions in the *Flos sanctorum*, as we see with the present sheet. However, the characteristics of the *Flos Carmeli*, which is larger and later in date – 1780, as stated

on the print – suggests that this drawing was devised more as a devotional image than as part of *The Saints of the Days of the Year*.

Furthermore, there are engravings after this drawing that exactly repeat it but have different accompanying texts (fig. 1).⁶ The one illustrated here indicates that the print reproduces the sculpture on the high altar of the convent of the Shod Carmelites in Segovia, which was a free-standing, 18th century sculpture by the Castilian School (fig. 2). Following the Disentailment of the Monasteries in the 19th century it was taken to the convent of the Barefoot Carmelites in the same city, where it can now be seen on the high altar next to a modern altarpiece.⁷ Beside González Velázquez's name on the print is that of the engraver, Manuel Salvador Carmona (1734-1820), brother of the above-mentioned Juan Antonio and possibly the leading Spanish academic printmaker.⁸

⁵ Arnáiz (1999), pp. 60-61.

⁶ In his book Arnáiz published an engraving from the *Flos Carmeli* accompanied by the text: "Flos Carmeli: Carmelitis dat, Privilegia: Pignore: Sui, Caelestis Scapularis". Arnáiz (1999), p. 150, cat. no. G7.

⁷ There is no documentary evidence to prove that the sculpture reached the convent of the Barefoot Carmelites after the Disentailment. What is known is that there was a serious fire at the convent of the Shod Carmelites in 1861. It may have been at that date that many of its works of art passed to the Barefoot Carmelites. For more details on the fire and the removal of works of art to the Episcopal Palace, see Sánchez Díaz (2007), p. 415.

⁸ On Manuel Salvador Carmona and his long and prolific career, see Carrete Parrondo (1989) and Carderera (2010).



[25 & 26]

JOSÉ DEL CASTILLO (Madrid, 1737-1793)

Portrait of Leonardo da Vinci

c. 1784

Black chalk on yellowish laid paper
190 x 127 mm

INSCRIBED

“LEONARDO DE VINCI / PINTOR FLORE [...]”, On the parchment held by the cherubs; “Juan del Castillo f”, in oak gall ink in 19th century handwriting in the lower right corner outside the frame

PROVENANCE

Madrid, collection of the Marquis of Casa-Torres; Madrid, private collection

Portrait of Leon Battista Alberti

c. 1784

194 x 130 mm

INSCRIBED

“LEON BAUTISTA ALBERTI / ARQUITECTO FLORENTINO”, In the cartouche imitating a sheet of parchment below the portrait; “Juan del Castillo f”, in oak gall ink in 19th century handwriting in the lower right corner outside the frame

PROVENANCE

Madrid, collection of the Marquis of Casa-Torres; Madrid, private collection

The year 1784 saw the publication of the annotated translation by Diego Antonio Rejón de Silva (1754-1796) of Leonardo da Vinci and Leon Battista Alberti's treatises, based on the edition by Rafaele Trichet du Fresne (1611-1661) published in 1651.¹ Rejón de Silva's edition was entitled *El tratado de la Pintura por Leonardo da Vinci, y los tres libros que sobre el mismo arte escribió León Bautista Alberti* (Madrid, Imprenta Real). A great devotee of art, which he practised at one point in his career, in the 1780s Rejón de Silva embarked on a significant activity – under the patronage of the Count of Floridablanca – as a theoretician in the support and promotion of the arts.² Pursuing Enlightenment policies of his time, and with the aim of “promoting as far as I can the use and utility” of the “philosopher”

painters, in other words those who founded the practice of painting on the study and application of the sciences, Rejón de Silva translated the above-mentioned works into Spanish, adding notes to clarify the texts. The illustrations for his publication were inspired by various prints by Charles Errard the younger (1606-1689) based on the drawings by Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) used for the Paris edition. The drawings for the Spanish edition were executed by José del Castillo (1737-1793) and most of them were engraved by Juan Barcelón (1739-1801) and José Jimeno (1757-ca.1807). “While the approach is the same, in order to avoid the opinion offered by experts on Errard's, they have been given a more elegant and slender appearance, as suitable for academic figures. Studies from life have been made where considered necessary in order

¹ Du Fresne (1651).

² Distribución de los premios (1799), pp. 22-23.





Fig. 1 Juan Barcelón, *Portrait of Leonardo da Vinci*, c. 1784. Engraving after a drawing by José del Castillo



Fig. 2 Juan Barcelón, *Portrait of Leon Battista Alberti*, ca. 1784. Engraving after a drawing by José del Castillo

to ensure that everything is as perfect as possible.” These illustrations included the portraits of the authors of the treatises: Leonardo da Vinci and Leon Battista Alberti.³

In the present preliminary drawing for the final design, José del Castillo followed Poussin’s portrait of Leonardo da Vinci produced for the frontispiece of the 1651 edition, adding numerous ornamental elements. While he retained a profile bust in an oval, the garland only covers the right half of the frame and Castillo introduced various allegorical elements at its foot that refer to the arts practised by Leonardo. These include a palette and brushes, in a clear reference to the art of painting; a hammer and chisel referring to sculpture; a set square in allusion to architecture; a lyre and musical score, referring to music; and a book and sheet of parchment in reference to his activities as a theoretician, scientist, philosopher and poet. Flanking the portrait and completing the composition are two small cherubs holding a partly rolled parchment with the name of the subject.

The technique of the drawing, based on discontinuous lines drawn with the point of the

chalk at a pronounced slant, with some lines more heavily defined than others, and the use of parallel lines to create the shadows and the volume of some of the elements are all notably characteristic of José del Castillo. The cherubs are similar to the ones executed in stucco by Leonardo Reti for the aisle of the church of the Gesù in Rome which Castillo copied on so many occasions in the pages of his Italian notebooks.⁴

The drawing by Castillo that was ultimately used as the basis for Juan Barcelón’s print is notably different to the present sheet (fig. 1). In a more restrained way, the portrait is set in a circle with a border of pearl motifs within an architectural structure. The pedestal on which it rests is omitted, as is the laurel wreath around the border and the bow that tops Poussin’s portrait engraved by Errard for the 1651 edition.⁵ The result was a portrait that more closely reflected the taste of Diego Rejón de Silva, whom Ceán Bermúdez stated to have seen in Madrid drawing and copying works by Mengs.⁶

On 11 January 1785 the *Gaceta de Madrid* included an advertisement for *El tratado de la Pintura por Leonardo da Vinci, y los tres libros*



³ See the prologue to the work by Rejón de Silva (1784).

⁴ Reuter (2013).

⁵ Unpublished doctoral thesis by Lopéz Ortega (2014), Vol. II, G.72, p. 418 and Vol. III, fig. 921, p. 343.

⁶ Ceán Bermúdez (1800), Vol. IV, p. 164.

que sobre el mismo arte escribió León Bautista Alberti, translated and with some notes by Diego Antonio Rejón de Silva, “considered to be outstanding for the instruction of painters in the scientific aspect of art; for which reason they have been translated and are published on higher orders.” This was a quarto volume with a price of 34 *reales* in a paper binding and 36 softbound, accompanied by a series of illustrations “for the better understanding of the precepts set out in this work”, engraved by Juan Barcelón and José Jimeno after the drawings by José del Castillo, including “the portrait of da Vinci and Alberti at the start of the life of each.”⁷

Like the portrait of Leonardo da Vinci, this initial sketch by Castillo of Alberti was a study for the portrait to precede the life of that author by Raffaele du Fresne.

Castillo followed Charles Errard’s engraving based on Poussin’s drawing but transformed the rectangular format with chamfered corners in which the portrait is set into an oval in a moulding with a pearl motif. Castillo omitted the decoration of garlands and ribbons emerging from the mask at the upper part and replaced them with a decorative ribbon with a bow fastened in the centre to a circular supporting element that is very close to the motif used at the top of the tapestries for the bedroom of Charles III in the Royal Palace in Madrid, a project in which Castillo was involved.⁸ The artist maintained the partly rolled-up parchment with the sitter’s name, albeit with slight variations in the inscription, and embellished the sides of the oval with elements referring to the artistic materials and disciplines discussed by Alberti: a pair of compasses, a palette with various brushes, a

tragic mask, birds’ feathers for writing, and books. The overall result is similar to the preparatory drawing of Miguel de Cervantes which Castillo produced for the illustration of the edition of *Don Quixote* published by the Academia Española de la Lengua in 1780.⁹

The final image engraved by Juan Barcelón for Rejón de Silva’s edition has significant changes with respect to this sheet (fig. 2). All the ornamental and allegorical elements are removed and the subject is set in a tondo with a border of pearl motif moulding within an architectural frame from which a pedestal with the inscription emerges at the bottom below the portrait. The inscription also reveals differences: in Castillo’s preparatory drawing Alberti is referred to as an architect whereas in the engraving he is described as a painter.¹⁰ Like its pair, there are visible squaring-up lines which divide the image into four squares in order to subsequently transfer it to a new support. Once again, the image of Alberti is constructed from soft strokes that are subsequently reinforced in specific areas while the drawing acquires greater liveliness through Castillo’s characteristic use of parallel lines for the shadows, creating a subtle and exquisite play of light and shade.

Both drawings also have an apocryphal signature in ink at the lower right corner of the sheet. The one on the image of Alberti reads “J. del Castillo” and on that of Leonardo “Juan del Castillo”, possibly on the basis of a now concealed inscription on the back of that sheet. Both drawings are laid down on sheets of card, the one of Leonardo inscribed “1913”, indicating that both were in the collection of the Marquis of Casa Torres in Madrid.

JESÚS LÓPEZ ORTEGA

⁷ *Gaceta de Madrid*, January 15 1785, no. 3, p. 24 and *El memorial literario, instructivo y curioso de la corte de Madrid*. Madrid, Imprenta real, January 1785, Vol. IV, pp. 16-17.

⁸ López Ortega (2015) and Sancho Gaspar (2016).

⁹ *Portrait of Miguel de Cervantes*, José del Castillo, inv. no. Mss. 417-7, black chalk with white highlights on blue tinted laid paper. Image size 210 x 145 mm, sheet size 262 x 178 mm. See *De la Palabra a la imagen* (2006), pp. 44-46, no. 2.1 and pp. 150-151.

¹⁰ López Ortega (2014), Vol. II, G.72, p. 418.



[27]

ZACARÍAS GONZÁLEZ VELÁZQUEZ (Madrid, 1763-1834)

Studies for Mary Magdalen and Head of an Arab

1793

Black chalk and wash, heightened with white, on grey tinted paper

270 x 395 mm

PROVENANCE

Madrid, private collection

Acquired by the Meadows Museum, Dallas (inv. no. MM.2013.06)

Careful study of the human figure, its characteristics, expressions and the light and shadow surrounding it, was one of the bases of 18th century academicism. Before embarking on a painting, students at the fine arts academies of that period had first to study each of the figures that would form part of the whole, leaving no line or stroke to chance. Initially working in chalk on paper then transferring the designs to small canvases, this process gave rise to the finished painting. This detailed procedure became ingrained in the habits of numerous students, who continued to use it during their careers as mature artists. One example is Zacarías González Velázquez, the artist who created these two drawings. Having first trained with his brother-in-law Mariano Salvador Maella, González Velázquez then entered the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid in 1777 of which his father, the painter Antonio González Velázquez, was director. After completing his training Zacarías

was made an academician in 1790, and would eventually become the director himself between 1828 and 1831.¹

González Velázquez worked in the service of the Spanish court, executing frescoes for royal residences such as El Pardo and the Casa del Labrador in Aranjuez, combining these activities with commissions for religious works for destinations across Spain. He thus painted alongside Goya in the Santa Cueva in Cadiz, for Toledo Cathedral, the Oratorio del Caballero de Gracia in Madrid, the cloister of the church of San Francisco el Grande, also in Madrid, and the Sacristy of Jaen cathedral.

For the latter commission the artist was required to paint the two canvases for the side altars, depicting *The Crucifixion* and *The Martyrdom of Saint Pedro Pascual*, while Mariano Salvador Maella was selected to execute the oil painting for the high altar, depicting *The Assumption of the Virgin*.² The Sacristy, designed by Ventura Rodríguez (1717-1785), was begun in 1764 and was in the final



¹ For information on the life of Zacarías González Velázquez, see Ossorio y Bernard (1868), pp. 304-305 and Núñez (2000).

² For this commission, see Ulierte Vázquez (1981), pp. 71-75; Núñez (2000), p. 178 and De la Mano (2011b), pp. 460-463, cat. V.56.



Fig. 1 Zacarías González Velázquez, *Preliminary oil sketch for 'The Crucifixion'*, c. 1793. Private collection

stages of decoration by 1791. In 1792, after Rodríguez's death, the director of works, Manuel Martín Rodríguez, was responsible for selecting the subjects for the canvases and the artists. One year later, in 1793, González Velázquez had completed his commission, for which he would be paid a total of 28,000 *reales*.³

Both canvases are extremely large in size, measuring 410 x 228 cm. Although painted in a short space of time they are carefully prepared and devised compositions. This is evident both in the present drawing, which is a detail of Mary Magdalen in the scene of *The Crucifixion*, and of the head of an Arab from *The*

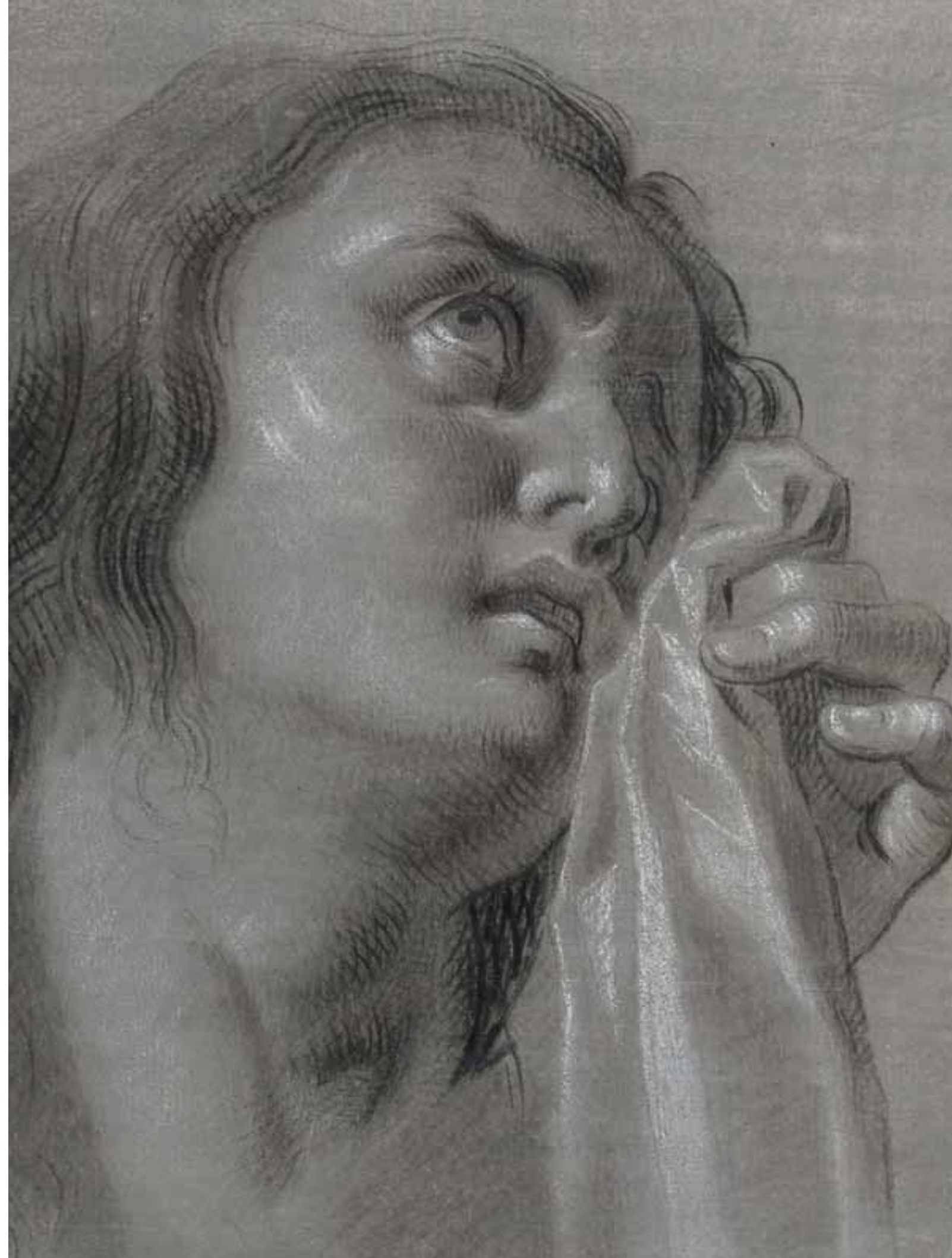
Martyrdom of Saint Pedro Pascual, and in various oil sketches in different collections that depict the two final compositions.⁴ Certain changes are evident between the oil sketches and the final works. For example, in the preparatory oil sketch for *The Crucifixion* (fig. 1), the Virgin and Mary Magdalen sadly observe the dead Christ while Saint John is depicted weeping. However, in the final canvas the two women are weeping while Saint John looks at Christ with a sorrowful gaze. These changes point to the fact that the changes that González Velázquez made to his works were more expressive than compositional in nature. This is what makes the present drawing particularly interesting, in which the artist analyses two figures that are secondary in the canvases but on which much of the drama of the final paintings rests.

Both figures are executed with a firm, smooth line, with strong shadowing created from cross or parallel hatching and with the highlights delicately indicated with lead white. The result is a superb, confident, academicist drawing which the artist used to give detailed form to the figures before transferring them to the final canvas. So exhaustive is the study of them that these figures lose something of their freshness in the final work and have a slightly cold air. Nonetheless, the artist's satisfaction with the two canvases must have been considerable as when he applied for the post of First Court Painter in 1798, González Velázquez referred to them as among his most admirable creations.⁵ Three years later, in 1801, Charles IV made him honorary Painter to the Privy Chamber, which allowed González Velázquez to join the ranks of the most important artists of the day.

³ Ulierte Vázquez (1981), p. 72.

⁴ It would seem that only one preparatory oil sketch for *The Crucifixion* survives, sold at Alcalá Subastas in Madrid in May 2012, lot 19 (27.8 x 20.8 cm). At least two have survived for *The Martyrdom of Saint Pedro Pascual*: the first (74.5 x 39.5 cm) is in a private collection in Madrid and the second was auctioned in 1988 in Madrid (Subastas Durán, June 1988, lot 21). Of almost the same size as the first one (74 x 38.5 cm), it is now in a private collection in Barcelona. For all these sketches see Núñez (2000), pp. 178-179 and 196, cat. nos. 48, 102 and 103.

⁵ Ulierte Vázquez (1981), p. 73.



[28]

MARIANO SALVADOR MAELLA

(Valencia, 1739-Madrid, 1819)

Portrait of Christopher Columbus

1793

Black chalk and grey and sepia ink washes on laid paper

145 x 110 mm

PROVENANCE

Madrid, Valentín Carderera collection, until his death in 1880; Madrid, Eduardo Carderera Ponzán collection, until his death in 1922; Madrid, María del Pilar Carderera collection, c. 1929; Madrid, Carlos Carderera collection

In 1793 Mariano Salvador Maella, by that date an artist fully established both at court and at the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid, received the commission to produce various proposals to illustrate the frontispiece of the book by Juan Bautista Muñoz (1745-1799) *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*. Muñoz, a professor of philosophy and logic at the University of Valencia, had been made chief cosmographer to the Indies in 1770. He was commissioned by the Spanish monarch to produce a general history of South America that would correct the inaccuracies present in two works published in the 1770s on the Spanish conquest of that region, namely those by Guillaume-Thomas Raynal¹ and William Robertson.² Maella presented three options for the project. The first was an *Allegory of Christopher Columbus* (fig. 1, Madrid, Real Academia de Historia, Fondo Juan Bautista Muñoz, vol. II, fols. 43-44),³ in which the bust of the navigator is dignified with a laurel wreath held by a small angel who has a trumpet in reference to Fame in its other hand. At the base of Columbus's image is a female figure holding a

nautical chart and at her feet a book, a terrestrial globe and an anchor, referring to Columbus's maritime explorations. Terminating the composition behind the sculptural bust are two columns with the motto *Plus Ultra*, an allusion to Hercules and the mythical origins of Hispania. This first option was rejected by the author, who only wanted "[...] to tell the simple truth without recourse to fiction or embellishment",⁴ meaning that as a front cover illustration, Maella's composition did not reflect the principle of historical truth to which he aspired.

The second of the drawings presented by Maella and rejected by Muñoz was a *Portrait of Columbus* set in a tondo surrounded by a laurel wreath, in another allusion to Fame (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Fondo Juan Bautista Muñoz, vol. II, fols. 43-44).⁵ The motif is crowned by a bow in the manner of a medal and is comparable to the artist's invention for his portrait of Sallust to illustrate *The Catiline Conspiracy* published by Ibarra in 1772. Like the previous proposal, Maella's design is inspired by models from the classical antiquity so in vogue in artistic circles at this period.

¹ The first edition of *L'Histoire des deux Indes* was published in 1770, running to 4 editions of which the last was published posthumously in 1820.

² His *The History of America* was first published in 1777 in 3 volumes.

³ De la Mano (2011a), vol. I, pp. 338-341, cat. IV.12.

⁴ De la Mano (2011a), vol. I, p. 338.

⁵ De la Mano (2011a), vol. I, pp. 342-343, cat. IV.13.





Fig. 1 Mariano Salvador Maella, *Allegory of Christopher Columbus*, 1793. Madrid, Real Academia de Historia, Fondo Juan Bautista Muñoz, vol. II, fols. 43-44



Fig. 2 Fernando Selma, *Portrait of Christopher Columbus*, engraving after a drawing by Mariano Salvador Maella, 1793. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, sign. IH/2151/14/1

The last of Maella's proposals is the present work, which offers a direct, simple portrait of Christopher Columbus. Wearing armour and a ruff, his features and clothing are the same as those in the earlier drawings but here the artist omits any reference to fame or glory, thus coming closer to the author's idea of objectivity, as a consequence of which it was the design selected for the book. As Muñoz himself indicated in the prologue to his text, Columbus's appearance was based on the portrait: "in the house of his Excellency the Duke of Wervick [sic] and Liria, a descendant of our hero; a life-size figure seemingly painted in the last century by an average copyist, but which reveals signs of the hand of Antonio del Rincon, a celebrated painter of the Catholic Kings. The indications provided by Fernando Colon regarding his father's face have been used to select the closest image, and to correct the defects evident in some features or misunderstood by the artist, or disfigured by the effects of time."⁶ Thus, despite later criticisms by scholars such as Valentín Carderera, who considered that the image

showed Columbus as too young and "with a moustache, ruff and other inconsistencies in the face and clothing", Muñoz aimed to secure the closest and most lifelike depiction possible of Columbus's features,⁷ once again revealing his typically Enlightenment desire for veracity in both the information included in his book and the iconography of its subject.

After this proposal was accepted by Muñoz the drawing was sent to the engraver Fernando Selma (1752-1810) to be reproduced on copperplate. The drawing, which is highly finished and executed with the precise lines typical of Maella, was thus transformed into an engraving in which Columbus lost some of the affability of his gaze and in which his arms are clad in a shirt rather than an armour (fig. 2, Biblioteca Nacional, sign. IH/2151/14/1).⁸ Until recently only Selma's print that was used as the frontispiece for Juan Bautista Muñoz's *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* was known, for which reason the presentation of this previously unpublished drawing completes the group of three works presented by Maella for that ambitious historical study.

⁶ De la Mano (2011a), p. 340.

⁷ Carderera (1851), p. 8. See also De la Mano (2011a), p. 342.

⁸ Fernando Selma (1993), cat. 143.



[29 & 30]

ANTONIO CARNICERO

(Salamanca, 1748-Madrid, 1814)

Study for the Figure of Godoy for the engraved frontispiece of the "Real Picadero"

c. 1796-1798

Pencil on paper

273 x 195 mm

INSCRIBED

"Carpeta XVII/ n° 2.269", in pencil, on the reverse

PROVENANCE

Madrid, collection of the Marquis of Casa-Torres; Madrid, private collection

Manuel Godoy mounted on a Horse at walking gait

c. 1796-1798

Pencil and grey washes on paper

324 x 198 mm

PROVENANCE

Madrid, Valentín Carderera collection, until his death in 1880; Madrid, Eduardo Carderera Ponzán collection, until his death in 1922; Madrid, María del Pilar Carderera collection, c. 1929; Madrid, Carlos Carderera collection

LITERATURE

Antonio Carnicero (1997a), p. 177

Acquired by the Abelló Collection, Madrid

In 1796 the scholar and writer Francisco Cerdá y Rico (1739-1800) was commissioned by Charles IV to translate the *Pratique de l'équitation, ou l'art de l'équitation réduit en principes* by Louis-Charles Mercier Dupaty de Clam and published by Lacombe in Paris in 1769. The manuscript of this text had been read and annotated by the monarch himself and by Manuel Godoy. By translating Dupaty's book Cerdá's idea was not only to combat "the great ignorance that habitually prevails in Spain with regard to the noble exercise of horsemanship" but also to separately publish the translations of two other treatises on this

subject, by Mottin de la Balme and the Baron of Bohan.¹ This ambitious project was to feature two profusely illustrated editions, one in large folio format and the other a quarto edition. The first was entitled *Real Picadero de Carlos IV* and Antonio Carnicero was commissioned to produce its illustrations. In 1788 Carnicero had been made an academician of merit at the Academia de San Fernando in Madrid, and in 1796 he was appointed court painter to Charles IV, producing numerous portraits of members of the royal family from that date onwards, both in the form of canvases and prints. Carnicero was ideally suited to producing the drawings for



¹ VV.AA. (2004), vol. I, p. 289.



Fig. 1 Antonio Carnicero, *Manuel Godoy on horseback*, c. 1796. Pencil on paper. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, cat. D008567



Fig. 2 Manuel Salvador Carmona, *Frontispiece for the Real Picadero*, c. 1796-1800, after a drawing by Antonio Carnicero. Ronda, Malaga, Biblioteca de la Real Maestranza de Caballería de Ronda

this project as he had already executed twenty plates for Ibarra's edition of *Don Quijote* published by the Real Academia de la Lengua between 1780 and 1782. He had also been involved in the illustration of the series of *Retratos de los españoles ilustres* (Real Calcografía, 1788) and Book IV of the *Colección de trajes de España* (Real Calcografía, 1778-1784).²

In the numerous plates for the *Real Picadero de Carlos IV* Carnicero depicted the principal members of the royal family: Charles IV, Luis de Borbón, the Prince of Parma, and the Prince of Asturias, together with Manuel Godoy, the monarch's all-powerful prime minister, shown engaged in the different exercises of the art of horse riding. The second edition was entitled *Cartilla de equitación* and the original drawings intended to be reproduced as approximately 30 prints to illustrate it were commissioned from Cosme Acuña y Troncoso (1760-c. 1814). In the end, thirteen prints were made for the first edition between 1797 and 1801,

and only five for the second. They were engraved and printed at the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando by the finest printmakers of the day. Neither of the two editions was in fact completed due to the scale of the project and the fact that neither the artists who made the drawings nor the engravers were paid.

During the process of making their drawings, both artists daily attended the riding exercises at the Real Picadero [Royal Riding School] in Aranjuez, for which they were paid 40 reales a day. The drawings are known to have been completed by 8 April 1798,³ and intermediary pencil studies have survived for many of them (fig. 1, MNP, cats. D-008566 and D-008567), as well as some of the final drawings to be reproduced as engravings (Calcografía Nacional, inv. nos. D296 and D132).⁴ Nonetheless, as noted above, only eighteen plates were finally engraved, subsequently entering the archive of the Calcografía between 1799 and 1800.⁵



² For Carnicero's biography, see Antonio Carnicero (1997a) and Antonio Carnicero (1997b).

³ AHN, Estado, Leg. 3014. See VV.AA. (2004), vol. I, p. 291.

⁴ See Gallego (1978), pp. 72-73, nos. 31-32. *El Papel del dibujo en España* (2006), pp. 142-147, nos. 51-53; and Fecit II (2010), pp. 47-51, cat. 10.

⁵ VV.AA. (2004), vol. I, pp. 289-294.

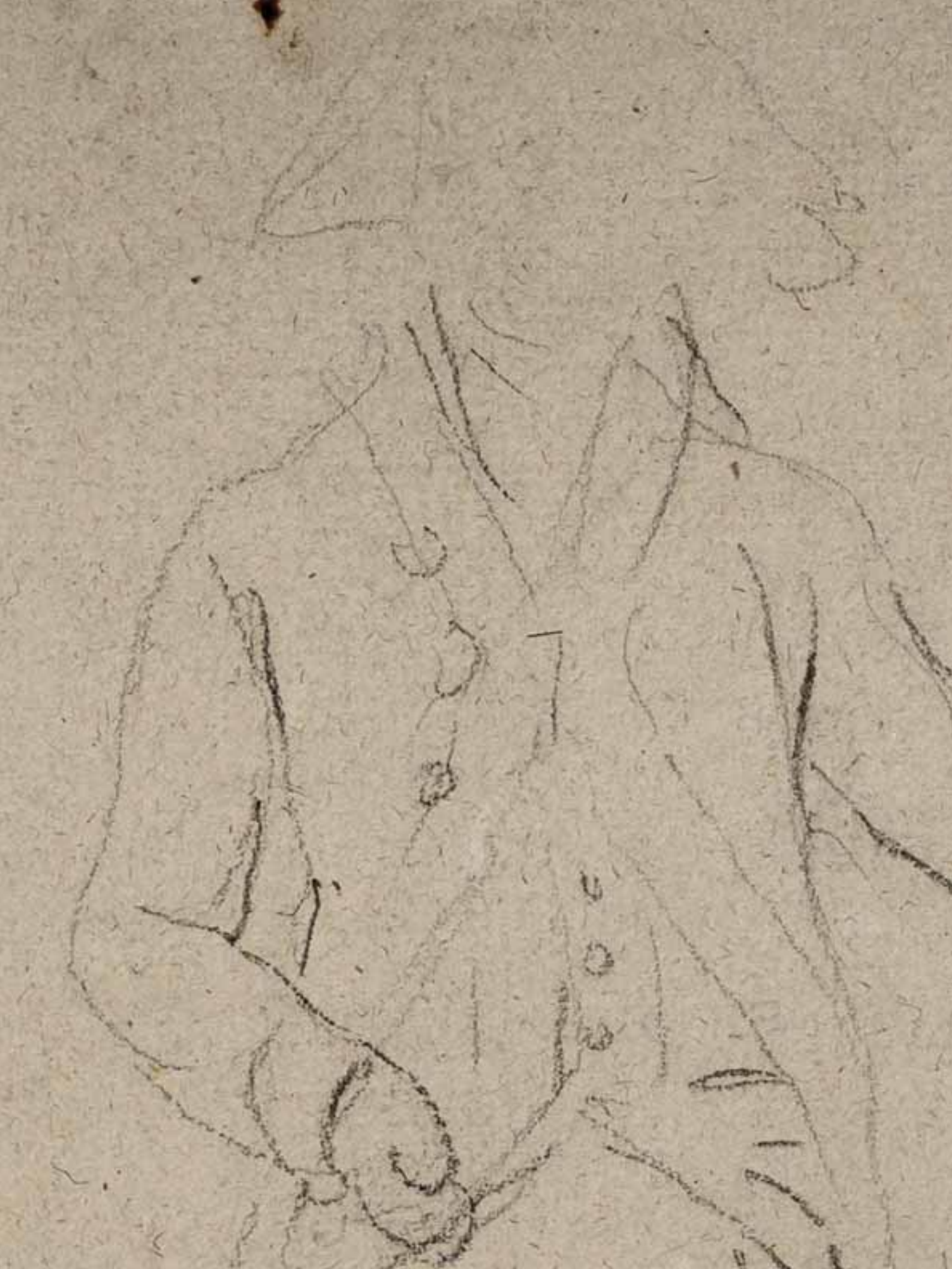


Fig. 3 Francisco Muntaner Moner, *Walking gait*, 1800, after a drawing by Antonio Carnicero. Madrid, Calcografía Nacional, inv. no. R.3015

The present drawings are a fine example of the creative process undertaken by Antonio Carnicero for the publication of the *Real Picadero de Carlos IV*, given that they represent two very different states in the creation of the project. The first, a very summary and schematic sketch, is an initial idea for the figure of Manuel Godoy for inclusion in the book's frontispiece. Godoy is depicted standing and wearing riding gear: a riding coat, breeches and boots. His face is not even suggested but he wears a tricorne hat. The image essentially focuses on a rapid definition of the figure's form. Carnicero's ability to capture movement through just a few brief pencil strokes reveals both his abilities and the spontaneity of this drawing, which was undoubtedly made from life. The position of the figure, with the left foot forward and the right suggesting action, and the left arm stretched out while the right is bent in towards the body at waist level, is almost identical to Godoy's pose in the frontispiece

plate as it was engraved by Manuel Salvador Carmona (see fig. 2, Biblioteca de la Real Maestranza de Caballería de Ronda). Slight differences are evident between the initial sketch and the figure finally engraved, such as the fact that in the print Godoy is wearing a cummerbund and a sash across his chest. Nonetheless, it is clear that the essence of the composition and the artist's idea for it are already present in the initial drawing. Carnicero only made some small changes to the figure, turning the body slightly to the right in contrast to the frontal pose of the sketch in order to adapt it to the group of figures present in the print and thus establish a better dialogue with them. It is in these rapid and spontaneous pencil sketches that the artist most clearly reveals his mastery and expressive powers.

In contrast, the second drawing is highly finished and ready to be reproduced as a print. Depicting *Manuel Godoy mounted on a horse at a walking gait*, it was engraved by Francisco Muntaner Moner (1743-1805), one of the leading engravers of the period and an academician of San Fernando. The print was made in 1800 and it is known that Carnicero was paid 1,000 *reales* for his drawing for it. The engraving exactly reproduces the drawing with regard to the horse's movement and anatomy but it reveals some differences in the setting and rider. In the case of the former, the print exactly reproduces the strictly architectural lines, with a high dado, a striated pilaster and even the diagonal shadow that divides the upper right area of the background. However, the decorative motif in the form of a cartouche surrounded by rocaille work is no longer present in the upper left of the image. In the case of the rider, the engraver replaced the portrait of Manuel Godoy with a conventional face⁶ with a rounded nose and wearing glasses (fig. 3, Calcografía Nacional, R.3015).⁷



⁶ Fortaleza Oliver (2009), p. 89.
⁷ VV.AA. (2004), vol. I, p. 291.

[31]

MARIANO SALVADOR MAELLA

(Valencia, 1739-Madrid, 1819)

Saint Lawrence in glory

c. 1800-1802

Black chalk and grey and sepia ink washes on laid paper. Squared up in chalk
328 x 185 mm

PROVENANCE

Madrid, Félix Boix collection; Madrid, Pedro Vindel bookshop; Valencia, José Navarro Alcácer collection; Madrid, private collection

LITERATURE

Exposición (1922), p. 120, cat. no. 333; De la Mano (2011a), Vol. II, p. 950, cat. no. IX.86

Acquired by The Morgan Library, New York (inv. no. 2013.91)

Saint Lawrence was one of the most important saints for the Spanish kings and the titular saint of not just the monastery founded by Philip II at El Escorial but also of a large number of churches and chapels across the whole of Spain.

Depictions of Lawrence invariably include the gridiron on which he was martyred and which in the present sheet he holds in his right hand as a symbol of that episode. The fact that Lawrence is a martyr saint is emphasised by the youthful angel on his right who holds the traditional martyr's palm. The direct presentation of the saint, located in the foreground and standing on a base of clouds, indicates that the drawing was associated with a painting for an altarpiece in an as yet unidentified church.¹ Furthermore, the fact that the image is squared-up indicates that it was the final design and was ready for transfer to canvas.

With regard to the composition, this sketch reveals similarities with Maella's preparatory drawing for a canvas painted for

the church of San Esteban in Valencia as a commission from Charles IV and depicting *The Glorification of Saint Stephen* (fig. 1, Barcelona, Museo Federic Marés, inv. no. 3019, on deposit with the Real Acadèmia Catalana de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi, inv. no. 963).² Both works have markedly ascending and pyramidal compositions, with the saints wearing dalmatics, located in the central foreground of the composition on a throne of clouds, flanked by child and youthful angels and raising their respective gazes to the heavens in an act of devotion. Maella replaced that design for the church of San Esteban with one that offers a more direct depiction of the saint's martyrdom with various men stoning Stephen (Valencia, church of San Esteban Protomártir, lateral chapel),³ for which reason it is possible that he reused the idea of the saint in glory for the subject of Saint Lawrence. This explains why the dating of the present sheet coincides with that of *Saint Stephen*, 1800-1802. It should be noted in this regard that Maella was an artist

¹ The drawing was studied by De la Mano (2011a), vol. II, p. 950, cat. IX.86, in which no conclusions were reached as to the intended location of the final work.

² De la Mano (2011b), pp. 471-472, cat. no. V.67

³ De la Mano (2011b), p. 470, cat. V.65.





Fig. 1 Mariano Salvador Maella, *The Glorification of Saint Stephen*, c. 1800. Barcelona, Museo Federic Marés, on deposit with the Real Acadèmia Catalana de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi, Barcelona



Fig. 2 Mariano Salvador Maella, *Saint in glory*, c. 1780-1790. Madrid, Real Biblioteca, Álbumes de Fernando VII

greatly in demand not only by the monarchy but also by private clients and numerous religious institutions, with the result that his oeuvre includes a large number of devotional works. Given the enormous number of compositions that he was obliged to elaborate, it is not surprising that he “recycled” his designs. However, two earlier chalk drawings of around 1780-90 show very comparable images of a *Saint in glory* (fig. 2, Madrid, Real Biblioteca, Álbumes de Fernando VII, vol. II, fol. 70, dib. 114, and fol. 68, dib. 110, respectively), suggesting that the artist repeated successful models when devising some of his commissions.

With regard to its technique, the present sheet is executed in black chalk with discreet touches of grey and sepia wash that emphasise the shadows. The chalk strokes are defined and precise for the lines that define the saint and the angels in the lower part of his throne of clouds, and less emphatic and more rapid in the definition of the setting. Thus the empty area above Lawrence’s head, framed by two zones of parallel, sloping lines where a group of small angels observes the scene, allows the white paper to play an important role and ensures a perfect depiction of the glory surrounding the saint through the use of this pictorial device.



[32]

ALEXANDRE-HYACINTHE DUNOUY

(Paris, 1757-Jouy-en-Josas, 1841)

*The French Imperial Princess, wife of Joseph I Bonaparte,
Marie Julie Clary, and her two daughters Zenaida
and Carlota Bonaparte, with two ladies-in-waiting*

c. 1806

Pen and grey ink washes, on laid paper

176 x 189 mm

PROVENANCE

Collection of Queen María Cristina of Borbón and Borbón; collection of the ducal house of Sánchez-Toca; Almería, Antonio Moreno Martín collection; and by descent

LITERATURE

Dibujo Español (2008), vol. II, pp. 406-407, cat. 126

On March 18 1798, Joseph Bonaparte, brother of the then First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte, acquired the castle and park of Mortefontaine, located in the Oise Department, in the Region of Hauts-de-France.¹ From that moment until 1814 this place became the country residence of Joseph Bonaparte, where he hosted many important parties and other social and political events. In 1800, the Treaty of Mortefontaine that sealed the friendship between France and the United States was signed there. That same year, it hosted the wedding of Joachim Murat and Carolina Bonaparte. In 1802, the preliminary talks of the Peace Agreement of Amiens took place in the castle. The predilection that Joseph Bonaparte felt for this place led him to embellish the enormous park in which the castle was located by building a dozen constructions: bridges, towers, ruins, etc. which

would add livelihood to the place, following the English fashion.² His wife, Julie Clary, lived almost permanently in the castle of Mortefontaine due to her fragile health. For this reason, when José Bonaparte was appointed in 1806 King of Naples and later on, in 1808, King of Spain, she remained in Mortefontaine, defending the interests of her husband. It is in 1806, right before Joseph Bonaparte leaves for Naples, that he orders from the landscape painter Alexandre-Hyacinthe Dunouy two views of the park that surrounded the castle of Mortefontaine³ (figs. 1 and 2, Private Collection), in which his family appears portrayed.

Dunouy started his painting career in Paris around the decade of 1780. He then left for Italy and started to create views of Rome and Naples, showing a special taste from that moment on for the Italian-style landscapes. In fact, the first work he presented in the Paris



¹ Dubois (1985), p. 20.

² Dubois (1985), p. 21.

³ Miller (2013), p. 15.



Fig. 1 Alexandre-Hyacinthe Dunouy, *A view of the Parc at the Château de Mortefontaine*, oil on canvas, 89,5 x 130 cm. Signed and dated lower left, "A. Dunouy 1806"



Fig. 2 Alexandre-Hyacinthe Dunouy, *Joseph Bonaparte and his family beside a lake at the Château de Mortefontaine*, oil on canvas, 89,5 x 130 cm. Signed and dated lower left. "A. Dunouy 1806"

Fair of 1781 was an Italian view. The success he reached in that fair with his compositions brought him official orders. In the first decade of the XIX century, Dunouy received numerous requests to paint views of rural farms close to Paris. Among them, he recreated the Château of Fontainebleau of Empress Josefine and the park of the Château of Mortefontaine of Joseph Bonaparte, mentioned before.

Starting in the XVIII century, parks had been acquired for the castles of Ermenonville, Malmaison, Montmorency, Mortefontaine and Saint-Cloud with the aim of transforming them, following the English style, into natural views with picturesque spots. The two views created by Dunouy of the park of the Castle of Mortefontaine exemplify the French ideal landscape of the time and they show the influence of the paintings created in Italy almost two centuries before by the also French

authors Claude Lorrain and Nicolas Poussin. In their works, the landscape has a preeminent role but there were always figures present, human or allegorical, that provided a reason for the painting. This is also the case in Dunouy's works. His education as a history painter often led him to include figures in his paintings. In this case, in both views of the Castle of Mortefontaine, Dunouy introduces the family of Joseph Bonaparte, which includes his wife Julie Clary and their two daughters Zenaida and Charlotte, both very young at the time. The drawing we present here was created for this portrait and it reveals the exact location of the characters in the canvas (see fig. 1). It shows a clearly neoclassical composition structure, inserting the figures in a triangle. The Princess, her daughters and ladies-in-waiting wear elegant Empire-waist dresses, following the fashion of the time.



[33]

DOMINGOS ANTONIO DE SEQUEIRA (Lisbon, 1768-Rome, 1837)

A Mother holding her Child in her Arms

c. 1812-1814

Pencil on light ochre-coloured paper

97 x 90 mm

SIGNED

“Siquira”, in pencil, lower left corner; “org. de Sequeira Portug”, in pencil, lower centre

PROVENANCE

Collection of Queen María Cristina de Borbón y Borbón; collection of the ducal house of Sánchez-Toca; Almería, Antonio Moreno Martín collection; and by descent

LITERATURE

Dibujo español (2008), pp. 400-401, cat. 123

Domingos Antonio de Sequeira was born into a modest family. He received his first training in art as a draughtsman at the Royal College of Drawing and Painting in Lisbon. In 1788 he went to Rome where he was taught by Antonio Cavallucci and Domenico Corvi, who introduced him to Anton Raphael Mengs's art theories. Sequeira achieved some reputation in Rome and was awarded various second prizes for his drawings. In 1792 this earned him an honorary membership of the Accademia di San Lucca, enabling him to return to Portugal in 1794 with an established reputation. Just a few years later, in 1802, he was made first court painter and from that point onwards executed numerous portraits of the royal family, including the depictions of the Portuguese monarchs *Carlota Joaquina* and *João VI* in the Museo de Arte de São Paulo in Brazil (inv. nos. MASP.00228 and 00229). These are works that perfectly reflect the persistence of the Neo-classical style in late 18th century portraiture,

also evident in the work of artists such as Goya. With the French invasion of Portugal in 1807 Sequeira allied himself with the invaders, painting a portrait of General Junot (*Allegory of Junot protecting the City of Lisbon*, 1808. Oporto, Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis), but he soon changed sides and was one of the artists who produced gifts for the English generals fighting to free the country from the French.¹ At the end of the first decade of the new century Sequeira married and started a family, marking a period of personal happiness. During those years he produced a series of works that reveal both this personal satisfaction as well as the use of a more tender and intimate idiom that he used to depict those close to him and which reveals a new Romantic sensibility.

Among these works is the present drawing of *A Mother holding her Child in her Arms*. The figure of the mother is shown from waist-up, leaning on a surface that is not actually shown and on which the child is sitting. The woman's face, framed by her dark, curly hair,



¹ For a fuller biography of the artist, see Reis Gomes (2013) and Mourisca (1972-1975).



Fig. 1 Domingos Antonio de Sequeira, *Domingos and Mariana Benedita Vitória de Sequeira*, c. 1816. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. no. 1085 Pint



Fig. 2 Domingos Antonio de Sequeira, *Mariana Benedita Vitória playing the Spinnet*, c. 1822-23. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. no. 1086 Pint

rests against that of her child, who raises a hand to gently touch her cheek. Executed in pencil with rapid but deft strokes, the immediacy, simplicity of line and intimate character of this drawing has led to the suggestion that it depicts the artist's wife, Mariana Vitoria Verde, with one of their children, either Domingos or Mariana Benedita. The latter was born in 1812 and Domingos in 1814, dying just two years later in 1816. Of a similar date but much more finished and with the faces defined and elaborated is the artist's drawing of a *Mother and Daughter* (c. 1813-14) in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon (inv. no. 2840DES).² This sheet is also characterised by its intimate, personal mood and reveals the way in which Sequeira placed increasing importance on the expressivity of the sentiments, thus coming close to spirit of the Romantic movement in his work. A similar approach is evident in the two best-known oils of the artist's family: the unfinished portrait of his

children *Domingos and Mariana Benedita Vitória de Sequeira*, of around 1816 (fig. 1, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, inv. no. 1085 Pint), which was probably not completed due to the death of the young Domingos; and the canvas of *Mariana Benedita Vitória playing the Spinnet* of around 1822-23 (fig. 2, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, inv. no. 1086 Pint). Executed just before the couple went into exile in France, the latter work again has an intimate, tender mood that brings the viewer close to the sitter. In these portraits Sequeira succeeded in establishing an emotional connection between his family and the viewer, going beyond the sheet of paper or the canvas to introduce us into his world, his feelings and the personality of his loved ones; a notably complex endeavour which the artist achieved in a simple, direct manner. This simplicity is equally evident in the pencil strokes of the present small sheet.



² See *En el umbral de la modernidad* (2013), pp. 86-87, cat. 13.

[34]

VICENTE LÓPEZ PORTAÑA

(Valencia, 1772-Madrid, 1850)

Portrait of Francisco Tomás de Longa y Anchía

c. 1814

Pencil, pen and brown ink washes on paper

214 x 149 mm

PROVENANCE

Massachusetts (USA), private collection; Madrid, private collection

Francisco Tomás de Longa y Anchía was born in Mallabia, Vizcaya on April 19 1783. He started his work as a blacksmith's apprentice. In 1808, after the Napoleonic invasion of Spain he joined the Party of the Hundred Men for the defense of the nation, that will engage in guerrilla warfare in the lands of Burgos and Álava. These men used to attack the Napoleonic convoys that arrived to the Iberian Peninsula, they neutralized them and took control of their mail and provisions. The growth in size of these troops was spurred by its effectiveness, eventually becoming a real military unit, that took the name of Iberian Division. In 1812, this unit took control of Castro Urdiales and a year later it reached its greatest moment in the battle of Vitoria, under the orders of Thomas Graham, Baron of Lynedoch. Their men acted as explorers in the advance of the allied army on the city. The outstanding military actions of Francisco Tomás de Longa were recognized by King Ferdinand VII with the Cross of Distinction of the Seventh Army and his appointment as field marshal.

This drawing is a portrait of Francisco Tomás de Longa and it was made by Vicente López probably after the return of the artist to Madrid. His extraordinary mastery in capturing in the canvas the idiosyncrasies of the characters portrayed led King Ferdinand VII to demand his presence in the Spanish court. On March 1th of the following year, Vicente López was appointed First Chamber Painter. A proof of his value is that his portraits of important commanders of the French army would not become an obstacle for his appointment, in contrast with Antonio Carnicero (1748-1814), who was removed from his position because it was interpreted that he served a foreign king. From then on, Vicente López will be the most requested painter of the aristocracy and wealthy bourgeoisie of Madrid. He combined these private orders with his work in the Palace, his teaching activity and his other official positions.¹ It is probably his appointment by Fernando VII and the fact that he became the most sought after painter of his time, what led Francisco Tomás de Longa, Field Marshal of the Royal Armies in 1814, to request his service



¹ For further information about the biography of the artist see Ossorio y Bernard (1868), pp. 388-390 and Díez (1999).



Fig. 1 Vicente López, *Francisco Tomás de Longa y Anchía*, c. 1814. Spain, private collection

for this portrait.² This drawing, unknown until now, is a preparatory sketch of the Valencian artist to compose a big canvas that it is still kept by the family of Marshal Longa (fig. 1). The thoroughness of Vicente López made him tirelessly draw and sketch most of his works, whether they were mural decorations, composition paintings of religious, historical or portrait themes, copies of big masters, landscapes, academies or preparatory works for engravings.³ Both in the sketch as well as in the final canvas, Vicente López portrays the character in a respectful way, objective and realist as it is typical of the style of this artist. Francisco Tomás occupies the center of the scene and displays a proud demeanor. The magnificence of the figure is highlighted even more by the slight *sotto in su* perspective in which he appears and its scale, almost

monumental. The character, displayed as a marshal, shows over his uniform as a General, the Cross of the Seventh Army and a sash, typical of his rank. In his right hand he has a baton, while in his left hand he holds a *bicornio*. His left hand is sustained over a honor sable that Lord Wellington gave him in the name of the Prince Regent of England after the battle of Vitoria. The scenery in which he appears represented is a landscape in a hillock with a military camp. On his left, there is a sketch of a field tent and on his feet an artillery cannon. In the background on the right, the troops that took part in the Battle of Vitoria are sketched. This is the most important battle in which Longa took part and the main reasons for which he obtained the highest military honors, the remembrance of which Vicente López wanted to preserve with his paintbrushes.

² Fernández Martín (1954), p. 42.

³ About the drawings by Vicente López see Díez (1999), vol. I, pp. 401-429.



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