

OLD
SPANISH
MASTERS



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COLE

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OLD SPANISH MASTERS

TO THE
ARTISTS



THE CONCEPTION OF THE VIRGIN. BY MURILLO.
PRADO MUSEUM, MADRID.

OLD
SPANISH
MASTERS
ENGRAVED BY
TIMOTHY COLE

WITH HISTORICAL NOTES BY
CHARLES H. CAFFIN
AND COMMENTS BY THE ENGRAVER



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OLD SPANISH MASTERS

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A NOTE ON SPANISH PAINTING

I

IT is not until the end of the fifteenth century that the story of Spanish painting begins to emerge into clearness. Starting at the moment when Italian art was entering upon the supreme achievements of the High Renaissance, it survived the latter's decay, reached its own independent climax in the seventeenth century, and received a supplementary chapter at the end of the eighteenth.

As a connected narrative it may be said to have begun with the birth of a United Spain in 1492. Paintings of an earlier time, however, are still extant, but little record of their painters has been preserved. In the Escorial, for example, and the National Library and Academy of History is a collection of illustrated manuscripts, the miniatures in which are assumed to date from the first century after the Moorish Conquest (1087-92). To the same period probably belong some mural paintings, executed in dry fresco; figures of saints in the little Church of El Cristo de la Luz at Toledo, and scenes from the Passion on the vaulted ceiling of the Chapel of Saint Catherine in San Isidoro of Leon. Again, with the introduction of the architecture of Northern France, there came in a style of drawing evolved from it, traces of which are to be found on the monuments of the old cathedral of Salamanca. Of the three mural paintings of the Virgin in Seville, those of Nuestra Señora de Roca-

mador at San Lorenzo and of Nuestra Señora del Corral in San Ildefonso probably date from the fourteenth century. The third, in Capilla de la Antigua in the cathedral was painted over in the sixteenth century. Moreover in the fourteenth century two Tuscan painters of the school of Giotto, Starnina and Dello, are known to have worked at the court of Juan I and Juan II of Castile; and while no authenticated specimens of their work survive, the vault paintings of San Blas in the cloisters of Toledo are undoubtedly Giottesque. Further Italian influence is discoverable in the "Lands of the Limousin Dialect": Valencia, Catalonia, and Majorca. In this district, from the fifteenth century a style prevailed which is akin to that of the early Tuscan and old Cologne schools. Its characteristics are light tempera coloring, animated and graceful movement, flowing drapery, and fine and even beautiful forms. The retablos on which these paintings are found may be recognized by their flat gilded frames, with Gothic tracery and ornamentation.

The influence, however, which has left most trace upon the earlier period is that of the Flemish school. Many of these pictures were introduced by traders; others painted in Flanders to the order of Spanish patrons, while some were the work of Flemish painters visiting or residing in Spain. Jan van Eyck, for example, in 1428, despatched by the Duke of Burgundy on a special mission to Portugal, paid a visit to Madrid, and it has been suggested that the "Fountain of Life," in the Prado, may be a work of his hand. The most remarkable example of the Flemish influence is a retablo painted by Luis de Dalman for the chapel in the City Hall of Barcelona. Produced about ten years after the famous altarpiece of the Van Eycks at Ghent, it exhibits the oil technique, the forms, and even the singing angels of that masterpiece, but translated into Catalonian types.

"Those who pass from village to village," writes Carl Justi, "in almost any Spanish province will receive the impression that in the fifteenth century every church possessed one or more painted retablos, so great is the number that have escaped (mostly in the poorer places) the 'churrigueresque' mania for restoration. Most of these

works date from the second half of the century and show the general characteristics of the early Flemish school. The figures are lean, the outlines sharp, the colors rich and aided by gold. Local types and customs and peculiarities of dress and ornamentation are frequently used. The legends are represented with drastic vigor, and the painter is often quite unique in his way of relating Bible events. In delicacy of workmanship and charm of color they are, however, inferior to the Flemish works of the same kind. In Navarre, Aragon, and Roussillon a French element is noticeable; in Catalonia we see French, German and Italian influence at work side by side; in Valencia and the Balearic Isles the Italian influence is predominant."

IN 1492 Ferdinand and Isabella entered Granada in triumph. With the loss of their capital the power of the Moors was fatally broken, and the fair province of Andalusia was added to the kingdom already formed by the union of the crowns of Aragon and Castile. All Spain was united under the sway of the Catholic sovereigns. The same year brought to Isabella the first fruits of her support of Columbus. A New World had been discovered, the wealth from which was shortly to make Spain the most powerful country in Europe. Meanwhile forces elsewhere were in fermentation, that, stimulated by the discovery of the New World, were to change the order of the Old. But in the benefit of these Spain was to have no share. Her sovereigns, clinging to the title of Catholic, and arrogant from excess of wealth, were to become champions of the old order, and in the passing of the latter their own power was to be swept away. Indeed, the rapid growth of Spain in the sixteenth century, and her equally rapid decay in the following one, are among the most significant facts of history, and not without their bearing on Spanish painting.

The latter from the beginning took on a character that, with only occasional impairment, it maintained to the end of the eighteenth century. The determining factor was the deeply religious spirit, inherent in the Spaniard. In the long struggle against the Moors a race of iron warriors had been bred, soldiers of the Cross, inured to

privations and pain, upheld by the holiness of their cause. Even to this day a marked gravity of demeanor distinguishes a Spanish gentleman. In the fifteenth century he was still a champion of the Truth; at his best, imbued with religious chivalry; at his worst, a fanatic and cruel. The characteristics, then, of Spanish painting are its preoccupation with religious subjects and its gravity even in portraiture; and, corresponding with this feeling, a preponderance of dark and somber coloring.

II

THE consistency with which these characteristics were maintained is due to the nature of the patronage. Its main sources were the church and monastic orders, and in Castile, the heart of the monarchy, the king. Political power being centered in the one and ecclesiastical authority concentrated in the other, there was not in Spain that variety of patronage which in Italy was one of the results of her civilization; no splendid rivalry of enlightened despots, or proud self-expression of free communes. Moreover, in Italy, these secular influences, perpetually in conflict with the temporal power of the papacy, encouraged the spread of humanistic literature and with it a fondness for legends of Greek mythology and a devotion to the beauties of Greek sculpture. Pagan as well as Christian subjects were demanded; the nude assumed an importance in art, and ideals of beauty found one of their chief expressions in types of feminine charm. On the other hand in Spain the pagan subject found no foothold, except in occasional works by foreigners; the nude was actually forbidden, and the portraiture of women, or even the painting of women as women, apart from their necessary connection with some sacred story, discouraged. In actual life a woman of good position was secluded from the public gaze with a jealousy that had its counterpart, if not its origin, in the harems of the Moors; and, when she attended church or took the air, went veiled. For ceremonies within doors a costume had been devised which displayed only her face and neck and hands, preserved her feet invisible, and, by means of the huge farthingale, or "lady-protector" (*guarda infanta*), kept the bystander at a distance from her

person. It was with these disfigurements of form that the painter had to contend, on the rare occasions in which the fact that he was a man was overlooked in the desire to use him as an artist. When we remember how the Spanish lady following the oriental custom, daubed herself with chalk and vermilion, reddening even the tips of her shoulders and her hands, we may believe that the artist joined in the husband's unwillingness that her already painted charms should be exposed on canvas. He turned with more relish to the simple sunburnt faces and lithe free forms of flower-girls and peasants, and introduced them as Madonna or Saint into his sacred pictures.

For another characteristic of Spanish art is its unwavering naturalism. Every school of art has been developed at its start upon nature-imitation, but other schools, having gained a mastery over natural forms, proceeded to idealize them. Spanish artists, however, even Murillo, painter of the "Conception," clung, like the Dutch of the seventeenth century, to the actual types of nature. In the case of the Dutch it was due to their single-hearted preoccupation with themselves and their own life; in that of the Spanish to their corresponding devotion to religion as a natural part of their actual lives.



THE PRODIGAL SON FEASTING. BY MURILLO.
PRADO MUSEUM, MADRID.

III

It is impossible to form a just estimate of the spirit of Spanish art, unless one realizes how intimately and naturally religion entered into the lives of the highest and the lowliest. As in Italy, it did not necessarily exclude a laxity of morals. It is one of the anomalies of Spanish civilization, that a king, so severely Catholic as Philip II, could reconcile his orthodoxy with the keeping of mistresses, and even go to the length of permitting Titian to introduce him into a picture, gazing at the unveiled charms of one of them. And a similar taste for wandering beyond the restrictions of marital fidelity distinguished all the kings of the Hapsburg line, and was not unknown among the great nobles. On the other hand, the church in Spain was free from such reproaches. While Alexander Borgia, a Spaniard by birth, but Italianized by education, was polluting the Vatican with sensuality, and the elegant epicurean, Leo X, banqueted gaily with pagan wits, or hunted and hawked in the woods around Viterbo, the miter of Toledo was worn by the Franciscan Ximenes, once a hermit in the caves of the rocks, who had not doffed the hair shirt when he assumed the archiepiscopal vestments. And this is an example characteristic of the dignitaries of the church, as a body. They were at once thorough-going and consistent. The proof they gave of this, so far as it concerns art, was twofold. On the one hand they exercised a restraint over the painter, and on the other secured his popularity by insisting that his art should be intelligible to the people.

In a great degree, at any rate, the sobriety and purity of imagination which distinguished the Spanish painters is to be attributed

to the control exercised by the Inquisition. Palomino quotes a decree of that tribunal, forbidding the production or exhibition of immodest paintings and sculpture, on pain of excommunication, a fine of fifteen hundred ducats, and a year's exile. The Holy Office also appointed inspectors whose duty it was to see that no such works were exposed to view in churches and other public places. Palomino himself occupied this position at Madrid, and Pacheco, the father-in-law of Velasquez, a painter and writer on art, at Seville. He lays down in his writings that to treat a sacred subject in an indecorous manner was an offense that merited personal punishment. He relates that he knew a painter at Córdoba imprisoned for introducing into a picture of the crucifixion the Blessed Virgin in an embroidered petticoat and farthingale, and Saint John in trunk hose, and adds that the penalty was a "justly deserved chastisement." Pacheco, who is supposed to have received his data from his friends in the Jesuit College at Seville, also formulates rules for depicting the Madonna, covering the position of the figure, and the color of her draperies and hair. His argument against immodest altarpieces is enforced by a curious anecdote. He received it, he says, from a pious bishop, who was himself the hero of the tale. The picture was a "Last Judgment" by Martin de Vos (a Flemish, not a native, painter, it is to be noted) that once hung in the Church of the Augustines but is now in the Seville Museum. It is a composition of considerable power, the principal figures being well drawn and full of interest and character. But the gravity of the whole is disturbed by accessory episodes of broad caricature. In one a grotesque devil with a blow of his fork and vigorous kicks is keeping the damned within bounds; while in another direction is a group of nude women, one of whom, conspicuous for her flowing hair and abundant form, is being dragged off by a demon. It was on this figure, "a woman remarkable for her beauty and the disorder of her person," says Pacheco, "that the eye of the friar chanced to rest, as he was celebrating mass. The poor man fell into a condition of mental discomposure, such as he had never known before. "Rather than undergo the same spiritual conflict a second time," he explained

afterward when he had become a bishop and had made a voyage to America, "I would face a hurricane in the Gulf of Bermuda. Even at the distance of many years I cannot think of that picture without dread."

But the most complete code of rules, governing the manner of sacred pictures, is one by Fray Juan del Ayala, a doctor and professor of Salamanca. It was not published until 1730, but probably brings together a mass of formularies that custom had already sanctioned. Written in Latin, it was entitled: "The Christian Painter Instructed: or considerations of errors which occasionally are admitted into the painting and sculpturing of sacred subjects." It is a fine specimen of pompous and prosy trifling, dealing with such subjects as the proper shape of the Cross, and the condemnation of those painters who represent it as a T instead of in the Latin form; the number of the angels, whether one or two should appear, in pictures of the resurrection morning, and, as the Gospel accounts differ, the advisability of following both alternately; the unnecessary display of the figure, especially of the feet, and the right of the devil to his horns and tail.

On the other hand, while the painter was subject to the restraints of orthodoxy, he was regarded as enjoying the special favor of heaven. Many of them, like Fra Angelico, were filled with pious enthusiasm and believed that their imagination was quickened and their hands were guided by heavenly inspiration. Thus Luis de Vargas sought to purify his style by disciplining his body with scourging and by keeping a coffin beside his bed, in which he would lay himself and meditate on death. Vincente Joanes, again, was wont to prepare himself for a new work by prayer and fasting and by partaking of the Holy Eucharist. Of him is recorded one of the numerous legends that represented artists as being supernaturally inspired. In this case the Virgin herself had appeared to a certain Fra Martin Alberto, of the Order of Jesus, commanding that a picture of herself should be painted by Joanes, and giving instructions as to the dress. On another occasion she honored the devout painter Sanchez Cotan with an actual sitting; and the picture, like the one

by Joanes and numerous others, produced under similarly supernatural circumstances, became an object of special veneration and celebrated for the miracles which it wrought. Sometimes the miraculous virtue existed in the picture before it was finished. For Lope de Vega relates that, while a certain painter was engaged in painting Our Lady and the Holy Child, the lofty scaffold on which he was working suddenly gave way and he would have been precipitated to the floor, had not the Virgin put forth from the picture her one finished arm and held him suspended, until the monks could rescue him with a ladder. The painter having been rescued, the hand was withdrawn into the picture, "a thing," says the pilgrim into whose mouth Lope puts the tale, "worthy of wonder and tears, that the Virgin should leave holding her son, to uphold a sinner who, falling, might peradventure have been damned." Another Madonna of great fame in Castile, Nuestra Señora de Nieva, restored to life a painter who had fallen from a scaffold while painting the dome of her chapel. But, while the devout artist was frequently rewarded, punishment would fall on the profane. Thus Our Lady of Monserrate struck blind a painter who was about to retouch with color her celebrated image that had been carved by Saint Luke and was the object of special adoration in the monastery of Monserrate. He remained blind for many years, until, having duly repented, the Virgin was pleased to restore his sight, whilst he was chanting "Profer lumen caecis" with the monks.

It would be easy to regard these legends as impudent frauds, concocted to enslave the conscience of the faithful for the pecuniary benefit of the church or monastery. But such a view, even though some ground might be found for its support, would not help the student in his comprehension of the art of Spain, for it leaves out of account the conditions that made the growth and perpetuation of such legends possible. No plant will take root and flourish except in congenial soil, and the soil in which these legends flourished was the religious conscience inherent in the Spanish people. It was an actually existing vital fact of race, bred of a mingling of Gothic intensity with the passionate ardor of the South, to which, at most,

the church could but point the moral, while the artists adorned the tale. Indeed, we shall only reach the heart of the matter if we regard the union of religion and art in Spain as a natural and inevitable expression of race, realized alike by the priesthood, the artists, and the people.

This fact very naturally affected the character of religious painting in Spain, giving it a simplicity and ingenuousness of motive. The ecclesiastics, while desirous on the one hand of beautifying the sacred edifices for the glory of God and in pious rivalry of one another, never lost sight of the other purpose of instructing the people. As Juan de Bartron, a writer on art in the reign of Philip IV, observes, "For the learned and the lettered written knowledge may suffice; but for the ignorant, what master is like painting? They may read their duty in a picture, although they cannot search for it in books." The painter, therefore, was regarded in some sense as a preacher, one whose gift could bring home to the hearts of the people the dogmas of the faith, the passion of the Saviour, and the examples of the martyrs and saints. And, so far from chafing under this rôle, many of the painters, as we have noted, gloried in the privilege which Providence had vouchsafed to them, while all, even the most worldly-minded, rejoiced in the opportunities of craftsmanship which it permitted. For the requirements of the church that the sacred matter should be presented in a manner thoroughly intelligible to the people, enabled them to indulge their own inclination toward naturalism.

IV

THIS naturalistic tendency, it should be remembered, was not confined to Spanish art. It existed in Italy at this period, and was appearing in Holland. In the latter country it was the continuation of the early Flemish preoccupation with the real appearances of form that distinguished Jan van Eyck and Memlinc, and made its influence felt in Germany in the persons of Dürer and Holbein the Younger. It represented a characteristically northern devotion to the actual and true, in contrast to the racial genius of the Italian, which, expressing all forms of intellectual activity in terms of beauty, often deviated from the truth and idealized the appearances of nature. This idealizing ran its course in Italy, reaching in the High Renaissance an elevation of line and color beyond which, in pursuance of the principles involved, no further ascent was possible. But art, like life, moves on continually. In Italy, therefore, its only course was downward. The mannerists tried to stem the decline, by imitating the manner of the giants without possessing their power; and their failure was supplemented by the equally vain efforts of the so-called eclectics, who, under the leadership of the five Carracci, proposed as a panacea to combine Michelangelo's line with Titian's color, and tincture the mixture with Correggio's light and shade and Raphael's grace of expression. In opposition to these grew up in Naples a school led by Caravaggio which was at least sound in purpose, since it went back to nature for suggestion, but developed that symptom of decadence—a fondness for extravagance. For its models it chose the more desperate class of the Neapolitan populace,

the robbers and brawlers; pushed dramatic vigor to a melodramatic extreme, and sacrificed the sobriety of truth in favor of picturesqueness. Yet the work of the Neapolitan naturalists, despite its frequent coarseness and exaggeration and its violent opposition of lights and shadows, represented something vital, for at least it was true to its own times, a characteristic expression of the storm and stress of the age.

In the above paragraph we have anticipated the course of events, for the naturalists of Naples did not grow to prominence until the last quarter of the sixteenth century, a hundred years after the date we have selected for the beginning of the history of Spanish art painting. During these years the Spanish love of naturalism was due to other causes; partly, no doubt, to the influence already mentioned that was exerted by the introduction of the Flemish pictures, but chiefly to the primitive instinct for imitation of nature that distinguishes the beginnings of all schools of painting. The point of peculiar significance is that the Spanish school continued to be faithful to this instinct, notwithstanding that for a time the painters, in imitating the Italians, became mannered. It began by being naturalistic, later found its naturalism confirmed by the example of the Neapolitans, and naturalistic to the end it remained.

The reason for this may to some extent be due to that national trait, which still appears to be the characteristic of the Spaniard, that makes him not only indifferent to, but haughtily intolerant of, outside influences. Thus the painter Theotocopuli, of Greek family, born in Venice and possibly a pupil of Titian, so thoroughly identified himself with the *amour-propre* of his adopted country, that when he found his work was thought to resemble the great Venetians, he altered his style, giving it a dryness of color and harshness of line that lost him the patronage of Philip II. But a more signal instance of this trait of independence is seen in Velasquez. In the royal galleries were fine examples of Titian and other Venetian masters; but neither these nor the two visits that he paid to Venice could stir Velasquez from his path of naturalism. They did suggest to him, as we shall note later, some lessons useful to himself, yet he was as

blind to their allurements, as he had been to the powerful influence of Rubens.

But another reason can be traced to the church's encouragement of pictures that made a simple and direct appeal to the knowledge and sympathy of the people. The same feeling that impelled Dürer to incorporate in his woodcuts of the life of the Virgin the familiar surroundings of the German workshop and cottage of the period, actuated the Spanish artist in his presentation of the sacred subject. He brought it down as closely as possible into relation with the daily habit and experience of the people. Did he paint a Holy Family? It represents an incident to be found in hundreds of happy homes. Or the ecstatic vision of some saint? The radiant air becomes filled with the forms of healthy human babes. Or if it be the anguish of some martyr, the faithful shall be made to realize the poignancy by the sight of blood, the gaping wound, or mutilated limb. He shall be roused to emotion by a forcible appeal to his own experience of pain.

This naturalism in the service of religion was carried so far in Spain, that even in sculpture the resemblance to life was increased by color, and by the still more barbarous device of dressing up the statue in clothes. The sculptor in such cases was concerned only with the head and hands, and worked as often in wood as in the more durable and difficult medium of marble. Indeed, many of the most famous statues celebrated far and near for their miraculous powers, and shown only on great occasions of festival or penance, were mere billets of wood with attachments of modeled heads and hands. This use of color on statues was entirely different from that employed by the Greeks, who, it has been discovered of late years, used color freely. But their intention was to increase the decorative effect and their use of color was conventional, whereas the naturalistic tendency of the Spaniards, when carried to extreme, caused the dignity of sculpture to evaporate into the semblance of a doll.



EL GRECO (DOMENICO THEOTOCOPULI). BY HIMSELF.
SEVILLE MUSEUM.

V

ONE other fact of Spanish naturalism is to be noted. The painters, with only two or three exceptions, paid no heed to landscape. Velasquez, in a limited way, is one of the exceptions. During his stay in Rome he painted two pictures of the gardens of the Villa Medici, where he lodged, and left also views of the palace-grounds of Aranjuez. But these after all are scarcely landscapes, since they represent the studied effects of verdure in combination with architectural and sculptural detail. His widely comprehending mind, however, had studied and absorbed the appearance and significance of the landscape around Madrid, and he incorporated it into his portraits. It is characterized by a largeness of design, unembarrassed by detail, wherein no trivialities encumber the main structural features. As Mr. Stevenson remarks "it is a country in which the figure dominates. You see it on the dry stony foregrounds of empty rolling plains, which are ringed round with sharp, shapely sierras in the broad blue distance." This reads as if it were the description of the background in one of the artist's open-air portraits. And indeed it might be, for with just such natural accessories Velasquez imparts to these canvases an heroic quality, while securing predominance for the figure. For this, it is to be observed, is his main motive. Like the great majority of the other painters of Spain, though with higher skill and feeling, he paints the landscape as subsidiary to the figure, not as an object of study, desirable for its own sake and sufficient in itself. Yet during his lifetime artists in Holland, Ruisdael, Hobbema, and others, were extending the naturalistic motives of their school to the painting of landscape, pure and

simple. How came it that the naturalists of Spain, with few exceptions, ignored it?

While it is not an explanation, it is a fact, that the love of landscape is a characteristic of the northern countries. Titian and others carried the rendering of landscape to a high pitch of perfection, but with them it still remained subordinate to the figures. In fact in southern countries, where outdoor life is easier, nature has not fastened itself upon the imagination with an appeal so tenacious and powerful as in hardier climates, where the struggle for existence is more exacting. It is as if the conflict of man with nature produced a better understanding of its worth. In the case of the Spaniard the generic indifference of the southerner may have been increased, on the one hand, by his self-concentration, the unit of the national exclusiveness, and, on the other, by his religion, both of which demanded satisfaction, respectively, in portraits and figure-pictures.

Nature, however, while disregarded as a pictorial subject, has left its impress upon Spanish painting, for the different schools owe their general color characteristics to the suggestion of the local landscape, as they do their types of head to racial variations. The school of Castile is distinguished, as a rule, by dark and sober coloring, gray backgrounds and clouded skies, while the type of female head is generally inferior to the male in dignity and interest, the features coarse and showing a predominance of Gothic over Moorish blood. On the other hand, the schools of Seville and Valencia were affected by the fairer natural conditions of those regions. The browns and reds of the soil around Seville, as well as the golden yellow of the sunshine, were reflected in the pictures of that school, while the painters of Valencia, the Riviera of Spain, learned from the coloring of her hills a fondness for violet hues, and, from the abundance and brilliance of her flora, a special fondness for flower-subjects. Moreover, in the pictures of both these schools the Madonna and women saints exhibit the arched brows, lustrous eyes, and delicate features inherited from their Arabian ancestry.

These three schools of Castile, Andalusia, and Valencia are alike distinguished for their treatment of drapery, at once natural,



PORTRAIT OF KING PHILIP IV AS A SPORTSMAN. BY VELASQUEZ.
FRANCO MUSEUM, MADRID.

simple, and full of dignity. For everywhere the national "capa" or cloak, worn by all classes with an instinct for picturesque arrangement, afforded suggestive studies to the painter, while even the beggars that swarmed in the streets and countryside, carried their rags with elegance. Moreover Spain abounded with monasteries, and pictures in honor of the several religious orders were in constant demand. Thus Murillo and Espinosa were much employed by the brown-habited Franciscans; Carducho and Zurbaran by Carthusian white-friars, and Roelas by the black-frocked order of the Jesuits. The ample masses and simple folds of these plain-colored habits were a constant example to the painter of the effectiveness of broad simplicity. Thus the Spanish school brought the treatment of draperies to a pitch of dignity that has never been excelled.



EARLY NATIVE ART AND
FOREIGN INFLUENCE



CHAPTER I

EARLY NATIVE ART AND FOREIGN INFLUENCE

THE PERIOD OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA

(1492-1516)

THE reign of Ferdinand and Isabella represented the most brilliant epoch of Spanish history. It was a dawn flushed with victorious achievement, full of golden promise, a period of high enthusiasm. For not only had a new continent been discovered, but there were opening up new worlds of intellectual enterprise. History, drama, and painting claimed attention. Pulgar, the father of Castilian history; Cota, whose dramas were a foretaste of Lope de Vega's and Calderon's, and Rincon, the first native painter of note, were prominent amid the throng of courtiers that gathered in the presence chamber of Isabella.

The enchanting beauty of the Alhambra and the palaces, gardens and fountains of Granada had helped to fire the imagination of the conquerors to emulate the arts and learning of the vanquished. Especially during this reign was progress made in the art of architecture. The queen herself set the example of building monasteries and churches and endowing them as centers of learning and of sumptuous worship. Even Ferdinand, the Spanish counterpart in craft, as well as the contemporary, of Henry VII of England, though too parsimonious and immersed in state intrigues to bestow much thought on the arts, recognized the advantage of their cultivation, and approved, if he did not much aid, the magnificent patronage of his queen.

I

SCHOOL OF CASTILE

ANTONIO RINCON, of the school of Castile, is the first Spanish painter mentioned by Palomino. He was born at Guadalajara, a province of Castile, in 1446, and is supposed to have studied in Italy under Castagno or Ghirlandajo. But this seems to have been an assumption based on the fact that he was the first to soften the stiffness of the Gothic style by giving his figures something of the grace and proportions of nature, and that the influence of the Italian quattrocentists was at this period finding its way into Spain. It was felt especially in Toledo, where much of Rincon's life was spent. He enjoyed the patronage of the cathedral chapter and of Ferdinand and Isabella, by whom he was appointed court painter and honored with the Order of Santiago. Portraits of these sovereigns, painted by him, hung over the high altar of the Church of San Juan de los Reyes, in Toledo, until they disappeared in the wars of the French usurpation. Similar portraits were likewise possessed by the Church of San Blas, in Valladolid, but were removed at the beginning of the nineteenth century to the staircase of the chaplain's house, near San Juan Letran in that city. They were suffering from exposure to the open air, when seen by Bosarte, who praises them for the curious exactness of their costumes.

In the Royal Gallery in Madrid hang two full-length portraits of the Catholic sovereigns, copied from Rincon and, perhaps, from the Toledo or Valladolid originals. Of these Stirling-Maxwell writes that both seem to have been painted when the sitters were in the

prime of life. Ferdinand has the dignified presence and the fine features, clothed with "impenetrable frigidity," ascribed to him by Prescott. His hair, usually spoken of as bright chestnut, is dark here, and being cut short and combed over the brow, enhances the cunning keenness of his eyes. Over a cuirass he wears a surcoat and black cloak, and holds a paper, apparently of accounts. The queen's portrait is no less true to history than her husband's. Her bright auburn hair and blue eyes are among the points of resemblance that she bears to the English Elizabeth, recalling the latter as she appears in an early portrait by Holbein, at Hampton Court. But in beauty of person the Castilian far excelled her. Isabella's forehead is high and full, and her eyes are softly lustrous. The finely formed mouth indicates energy, tempered with gentleness; and the whole expression of the head and bearing of the figure are not unworthy of the woman upon whose person and character so much deserved praise has been bestowed. Her dress is a crimson robe, trimmed with gold, over which falls a dark mantle. In her hand is a little breviary, as fitting and characteristic a companion of the pious queen's leisure, as is the financial statement between the fingers of her lord.

At the village of Roblada de Chavila, a few miles west of the Escorial, Cean Bermudez, author of the "Dictionary of the Fine Arts in Spain," mentioned the existence of an altar decorated with seventeen pictures of the "Life of the Virgin," painted entirely by Rincon, which he praises for their "drawing, beauty, character, expression, and excellent draperies." Many of Rincon's works were burnt in the fire which destroyed the Palace of the Prado, in 1608. He died in 1500, leaving a son, who assisted Juan de Borgoña in various works at Toledo.

This painter, although, as his name declares, a foreigner, became by reason of his influence at this early period a part of the story of Spanish painting. For, a Burgundian by birth, he represented the Flemish tradition, modified by contact with the Florentine quattrocentists. Carl Justi suggests that Ghirlandajo may have been his master; and, notwithstanding a certain crudity and stiffness of type

in his figures, he recalls the Florentine's firmness and breadth of drawing, and clear sprightliness of color. He enjoyed a high reputation at Toledo under the patronage of the great Archbishop Ximenes de Cisneros. His frescos in the cathedral cloisters have disappeared beneath the over-paintings of the eighteenth-century Bayeu, but on the walls of the Chapter House his works may still be seen, well preserved and admirable for their brilliant color and tasteful draperies. The end of the room is occupied by a large composition, representing "The Last Judgment," which is remarkably suggestive of the imagination of the time. Immediately beneath a figure of Christ, a hideous fiend, in the shape of a boar, roots a woman out of her grave with his snout, twining her long amber locks around his tusks. To the left are drawn up in line allegorical embodiments of the several vices, the name of each appearing on a label above the head, in Gothic letters. On their shoulders sit little malicious imps of monkey-shape, while flames curl round their lower limbs.

That Borgoña was also a skilful painter in oils is proved by the retablo in the cathedral of Avila. In these he was assisted by the court painter, Pedro Berruguete, and Santos Cruz, for the work exhibits two styles beside his own: one that of a follower of Perugino, as Berruguete is credited with being, and the other that of a purely Castilian painter. The realistically conceived racial types, the vigorous coloring, the firmness of the drawing and perspective, and the skilful handling of the gilded surfaces make the retablo take rank as one of the most characteristic performances of early Spanish art. (Justi.)

A work of great archæological interest is the series of portraits of the primates of Spain, down to and including Cardinal de Fonseca, which Borgoña painted in the Winter Chapter Room. Most of the fabulous and early prelates seem to have been drawn from a single model; but the authentic portraits of his contemporaries are distinguished by dignity and character. The painter has betrayed his Flemish propensity in the care and patience bestowed upon the vestments and accessories. The collection, indeed, affords an extraordinary opportunity to the student of ecclesiastical details; with

its innumerable and gorgeous specimens of episcopal ornament, of crozier, pallium, pectoral cross, gloves, and miters. The artist sometimes furnished designs for church plate. His name ceases to appear in the cathedral records in 1533, when, it is supposed, he died.

Under the enlightened munificence of its archbishops Toledo became at this time the metropolis of art. The Cardinal-Archbishop Mendoza erected at his own cost the magnificent building of the Foundling Hospital of Santa Cruz, while his successor, Ximenes de Cisneros, was even more munificent in his patronage of art and letters. Under his supervision the sculptor, Vigarny, achieved the noble high altar of marble in the cathedral, while the latter's archives still preserve the cardinal-archbishop's missal, in seven folio volumes, embellished with paintings and illuminations by artists whose names the work has saved from oblivion. At Alcala de Henares, the birthplace of Cervantes, some twenty miles from Madrid, he founded a university that in the sixteenth century was attended by as many as twelve thousand students. It was here that the celebrated Polyglot Bible, known as the Complutensian, was compiled at Ximenes' expense.

II

SCHOOL OF ANDALUSIA

BUT while Castilian art had found its metropolis in Toledo, the seat of government, for the court was not finally transferred to Madrid until the reign of Philip II, beginnings had been also made of native schools in Andalusia and Valencia. These were under the no less munificent patronage of the church. The founder of the former school was Juan Sanchez de Castro, who as early as 1454, that is to say, before the accession of the Catholic sovereigns, painted for the cathedral of Seville the pictures of the old Gothic altar, which, though stiff and languid in design, still preserved their freshness of color, when seen by Cean Bermudez, three hundred years afterward. For the church of San Julian, he painted in fresco a giant Saint Christopher in a buff tunic and red mantle, who bears more than the usual burden assigned to him; for, beside the Holy Child who holds the world in his hand, the saint supports the weight of two palmers in habits of the Middle Ages, who hang by his leathern girdle, and so pass the river dry shod. But the figures have been repainted and the signature is almost all that remains of the original work. Pictures of Saint Christopher are common in Spanish churches and are usually placed near the entrance, to enforce humility on the worshipers. A follower of Sanchez de Castro was Juan Nuñez, whose best work is in the cathedral, representing the Virgin supporting the dead body of the Lord, with accompanying figures of Saint Michael and Saint Vincent Martyr, and of an ecclesiastic kneeling beneath the group.

III

SCHOOL OF VALENCIA

IN Valencia, always particularly susceptible to Italian influence, early names are those of Francisco Neapoli and Pablo de Aregio, who are supposed to have been pupils of Leonardo da Vinci. To them has been ascribed the series of scenes from the "Life of the Virgin" painted on the doors of the great side altar in La Seo, the cathedral of Valencia. They were presented to the city by Pope Alexander VI, of the Valencian house of Borgia; and it was in recognition of their beauty that Philip IV remarked: "The altar is of silver, but the doors are of gold."

Most important, however, of the early Valencian painters, writes Carl Justi, was Pablo de San Leocadia, highly appreciated by his contemporaries, yet overlooked by the writers of biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias. His large retablo at Gandia and the now dismembered retablo of Villareal, reveal him as a painter who did for Valencia what Juan de Borgoña did for Castile. He is distinguished by deep culture, nobility of form and expression, delicate sensibility, and close observation of life.

It was not, however, in painting, but in architecture and sculpture, that the high enthusiasm of the time was most signally expressed. The Pointed or Gothic style, originally derived from France, now became enriched by German and Flemish artists, who introduced a rapidly increasing profusion of ornament, a decorative treatment, often very realistic, of animal and plant forms. The heart of this movement was the diocese of Burgos, from which archi-

itects and sculptors were summoned to various parts of the country, especially to Seville. This was the period of great tomb-building, and famous among the builders were the Siloes of Burgos, father and son, sculptors as well as architects. Gil, the father, is best known for his magnificent tombs of King Juan II and his Queen Isabella of Portugal, the parents of Isabella the Catholic, and for the tomb of the latter's young brother, Don Alfonso. These are the chief glory of the Carthusian convent of Miraflores, and among the finest in Europe. The massive plinths which bear the recumbent figures are octagonal in shape, with two lions at each angle, supporting the royal escutcheon. The sides are embellished with statues, set beneath canopies that in their intricate filigree work of leaves, branches, fruit, flowers, and birds, are marvels of fantastic imagination and untiring craftsmanship.

The remains of the Catholic sovereigns themselves rest beneath stately tombs in the Chapel Royal of the cathedral in Granada, the city of their great triumph. These magnificent mausoleums were erected to their order by Felipe Vigarny, otherwise called Philip de Borgoña, an architect and sculptor trained in Italy, and their style is that of the Cinquecento. Their grandson, Charles I, enlarged the chapel, finding it "too small for so great glory," and added tombs in honor of his parents, Philip of Austria and the mad queen, Juana, employing for the purpose an artist of Burgos. When it is remembered that Charles had no fondness for his Castilian subjects, this choice of a native artist in preference to an Italian, Pietro Torrigiano, points to the rapid progress achieved by the arts in Spain during this glorious epoch.

BEGINNINGS OF ITALIAN
INFLUENCE

CHAPTER II

BEGINNINGS OF ITALIAN INFLUENCE

THE PERIOD OF CHARLES I

(1516-1556)

FERDINAND survived Isabella thirteen years. At his death, in 1516, his grandson became Charles I of Spain, the Indies, all lands west of the Atlantic, and the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily. He was sixteen years old, and, through his father's death, had already been for ten years archduke of the Netherlands and Franche-Comté. Three years later, in 1519, upon the decease of his paternal grandfather, Maximilian, he was elected by the Diet Emperor of Germany, under the title of Charles V.

It is significant that he is better known under the latter title than as Charles I of Spain. Until a year after his accession he never set foot in Spain. Born in Ghent, and brought up in Brussels, he was at heart a Netherlander. But even if his interest in Spain had been far greater than it was, his multifarious duties and ambitions, spread over and beyond his vast dominions, would have left him little time or opportunity to watch over her welfare. He made occasional visits to Spain, during which he threw himself with characteristic ardor into various public schemes, and from a distance exercised a general control over his viceroys. But the continuity of the reforms instituted by Isabella, and the steady development of political unity that followed them, were interrupted. Allured on the one hand by the wealth of the New World, and drawn on the other into Charles's

European intrigues and wars, Spain gradually relinquished her national progress to become a nation of adventurers. About to enter upon a period of spectacular supremacy, she was already on the path that was to end in her decay. It is with these conditions that her art is intimately connected. The drama previously seen in Italy is to be reënacted in Spain, of national art and political life proceeding in inverse ratio; the art to reach its climax on the ruins of the nation.

So the reign of Charles, viewed in relation to Spanish painting, is a period of transition. The gradual development of native art is interrupted; the Spaniard goes abroad to absorb the influence of Italy, and it is not until nearly a hundred years later, in the reign of Philip IV, that the influence will have been thoroughly digested, and an art truly native will assert itself in Murillo and Velasquez.

With the sagacity of his grandfather, Ferdinand, Charles inherited also much of the fine taste of Isabella. In the midst of wars and intrigues he found time to notice and reward many of the chief artists of foreign countries as well as of his own broad domain. As a patron of art, he was as well known in Nuremberg and Venice as in Antwerp and Toledo. In architecture he left several monuments. At Madrid was rebuilt the greater part of the Alcázar, which, after being embellished by his successors, perished by fire in the reign of Philip V. He restored and enlarged the hunting-lodge at the Prado; commenced, but never completed, a palace at Granada, and added a noble court to the citadel of Toledo. Nothing remains of it but the shell, yet the façade of the front, the interior arcade, and the grand staircase, still attest the grandeur of conception of the architects, Covarrubias and Vergara.

Painting, however, was the art in which Charles especially delighted and displayed a cultivated and discriminating taste. He lavished honor on Titian, feeling that it redounded to his own. No other hand, he declared, should draw his portrait, since he had thrice received immortality from the pencil of Titian. And, when worn out with fifty-five years of life, old before his years, he resigned the empire to his brother Ferdinand, and Spain and the Netherlands to his son Philip II, and retired to the monastery of San Yuste, it was



DON BALTASAR CARLOS (DETAIL). BY VELASQUEZ.
MADRID MUSEUM.

Titian's so-called "Gloria" that hung in his bedroom. Before this apotheosis of himself, he died, leaving directions that it should be removed with his body to the Escorial. The order was carried out, and the picture is now with the other Titians in the Prado.

One of the last acts of Charles's official life was an imperial pre-script, permitting the wives of goldsmiths in Spain to wear silk attire, a luxury forbidden by the sumptuary laws to the class of artisans and craftsmen. But in consequence of the enormous flood of precious metals pouring into the country from the New World, the art of the goldsmiths had assumed an extraordinary importance. It was no longer a craft merely of metal-workers, but enlisted the finest imagination of artists. The goldsmiths, in fact, had become architects and sculptors in plate. For, in addition to the smaller objects that enriched the ceremonial of the church and the palaces of royalty and nobility, gold and silver was fashioned into tabernacles and shrines, and into that characteristic adornment of Spanish cathedrals, the custodia. The latter was an ark or tabernacle, for the reservation of the Host, surmounted by a canopy, that rose in tiers of architectural design until it resembled an edifice in miniature. Nine feet is the height of the celebrated example in the Toledo cathedral, that has escaped the fate of many of those miracles of design and workmanship, which were melted down by the French in the War of Independence. The creation of Henrique d'Arphe, a native of Germany, who settled in Leon early in the century, it is a Gothic structure, somewhat resembling the Scott monument in Edinburgh, though far exceeding it in richness of design and luxuriance of decoration. From an octagon base rise eight piers and pointed arches, supporting as many light pinnacles, clustered around the beautiful filigree spire. Beneath the canopy is a smaller shrine for the Host, fashioned of purest gold, and blazing with jewels. The whole is a dazzling mass of fretwork and pinnacles, flying buttresses, pierced parapets, and decorated niches, among which are disposed two hundred and sixty exquisite statuettes. The apparently inexhaustive inventiveness lavished on this custodia, so that there is no tedium of repetition, but every detail has been the creation of a fresh

impulse, has gained for it the reputation of being the most beautiful piece of plate in existence. The work of Henrique d'Arphe was carried on with equal brilliance by his son, Antonio, who, however, reflecting the influence of Italy, substituted for the Gothic style the classic orders, as used by the architects of the Italian Renaissance. The example of these artists and of other workers in plate was gradually adapted by the architects of Spain to the treatment of large surfaces of buildings, enriched by the sculptors with a profusion of ornament and statuary; and this florid style is characterized in Spain by the name of "plateresque."

While Charles was enriching Spain with Italian masterpieces, and at the same time precipitating the ruin of Italy by making it the chess-board on which he played his game for supremacy with the French king, Francis I, a peaceful invasion of that country was being made by Spanish students, in search of scholarship and art. Italy, the fountain and source of both, was explored by intellectual adventurers no less characteristic of the ferment of the times than those who were pushing their material exploits beyond the western ocean. Nor was it long before there was a reciprocity of intellectual commerce between the two peninsulas. Spanish students flocked to the universities and botteghe of Italy. But the Spanish genius soon asserted itself, as it had done during the Roman occupation, when, having quickly assimilated the new civilization, it reënforced the literature of Rome with men of letters, such as the three Senecas, Lucian, Martial, and Quintilian. So now, in the early part of the sixteenth century, Spaniards became distinguished as professors in the Italian universities and welcomed as patrons by the Italian artists; many of the latter secured honor and emolument in Spain, and Italians were to be found among the students of the Valladolid university. Of the Italianized Spanish painters of this transition period, it will be sufficient to mention three, Berruguete, Vargas, and Joanes, representing, respectively, the three schools of Castile, Andalusia, and Valencia.

I

SCHOOL OF CASTILE

FIRST of the trio in age and importance was Alonzo Berruguete, born about 1480, in the province of Old Castile. He received his first instruction from his father, Pedro, already mentioned as coöperating with Borgoña and as showing the influence of Perugino. After his father's death, he moved to Italy and entered the school in Florence of Michelangelo, whose example he subsequently followed by becoming famous as architect, sculptor, and painter. In 1503 he made a copy of the celebrated cartoon, "The Battle of Pisa," which Michelangelo had made in competition with Leonardo da Vinci's "Battle of the Standard," and the following year accompanied his master to Rome. Here his proficiency was recognized by Bramante, who selected him as one of the sculptors to model the Laocoon, for the purpose of casting it in bronze, but the competition was won by Sansovino. Returning to Florence he was employed by the nuns of St. Jerome to complete a picture, left unfinished by Filippo Lippi at his death, and for many years enjoyed the friendship of the chief artists of the time, especially of Bandinelli and Andrea del Sarto. In 1520 he returned to Spain and settled in Valladolid, then the seat of the court, where he soon attracted the notice of Charles, who appointed him one of his painters and later conferred on him the chamberlain's key.

The pictures attributed to him in Valladolid, Salamanca, and Palencia, show "a strange and yet intelligent reproduction of Raphaelesque forms." But it was as an architect in the "plateresque"

style and, even more, as a sculptor, that he chiefly impressed his personality on the period. While some of his work, such as the alabaster statuettes in the choir of the cathedral at Toledo, show a remarkable power of inventing expressive attitudes, gained from his study with Michelangelo, a great deal is characterized by the extravagant mannerism into which the followers of that master both in Italy and in Spain were betrayed by superabundance of energy and inventiveness. Although this so-called "Grotesque style" appeared in Spain twelve years before Berruguete's return home, his name, through the number and importance of his works, has been particularly identified with its development. The most notorious examples of his art in this manner are the statues and carvings in the museum at Valladolid, which originally formed the embellishment of the high altar in the Church of Saint Benito, belonging to the Benedictine monastery. These are likened by Carl Justi to the creations of a madman.

II

SCHOOL OF ANDALUSIA

IN Andalusia, where the absence of imperial patronage was amply filled by the magnificence of the church and monasteries, the chief artist of the transition was Luis de Vargas. Born in Seville in 1502, he early devoted himself to painting, and found means to visit Italy where, on the evidence of his style, he is supposed to have studied with Perino del Vaga, one of Raphael's assistants in the decoration of the Vatican Stanze. The first picture he painted upon his return to Seville, after some twenty-four years' absence, was a "Nativity" still to be seen in the chapel of the cathedral, dedicated to that event. The Virgin has much of the charm of Raphael's manner, while a peasant who kneels at her feet, offering a basket of doves, is a study from nature, anticipating the naturalistic rendering of local types that became so usual in Sevillian pictures. His finest work is the altarpiece in the Chapel of the Conception, in Seville Cathedral, representing the "Temporal Generation of Our Lord." It is a sort of allegory, showing the human ancestors of the infant Saviour adoring him as he lies in the lap of the Virgin. In the foreground kneels Adam, concerning one of whose legs there is a tradition that Perez de Alasio, an Italian painter, declared it was worth the whole of a colossal "Saint Christopher" that he himself had painted in another part of the cathedral. Hence the picture is popularly known as "La Gamba." On the outer wall, in the court of orange trees, Vargas painted in fresco a "Christ Going to Calvary." It was known as the "Christ of the Criminals," because it was customary for the

condemned to pass it on their way to execution and stop in front of it for a final prayer. It is said to have been an excellent work, but has perished, as also have the frescos of Sevillian saints and martyrs painted by this artist in the Moorish niches of the Giralda. Only on the north side could be seen, when Stirling-Maxwell visited Seville, the "faded and oft repainted ruins" of Santos Justa and Rufina, represented, according to the ancient custom, bearing the Giralda in their hands, to commemorate its miraculous preservation in a storm that laid low a great part of the city. In the roar of the tempest, says the legend, a voice was heard near the top of the tower, crying: "Down with it! Down with it!" whereat another voice made answer: "It cannot be, for Justa and Rufina are upholding it."

Vargas lived on into the reign of Philip II, dying in 1568. He had the reputation of being a great painter, founded, it seems likely, particularly on his frescoes, and, as we have already remarked, was celebrated also for his piety and austerities. That he was likewise a man of humor, appears from the answer he is reputed to have made to one who desired his opinion of an indifferent picture of "Our Lord on His Cross." "Methinks," replied Vargas, "that He is saying 'Forgive them, Lord, for they know not what they do.'"

III

SCHOOL OF VALENCIA

VALENCIA, being the native province of the Borgias, was enriched by them with masterpieces from Italy, especially with works of the school of Leonardo da Vinci. The latter, we have already observed, was supposed to have been the master of the early Valencian painters, Francisco Neapoli and Pablo de Aregio; and now, in this transition period, another meets us of whom the same report is made. This is Vincente Juan Macip, commonly known as Juan de Joanes, who was born in 1523, probably in the village of Fuente de Higuera, amongst the hills which divide Valencia from Murcia. But there is nothing except surmise to warrant the belief that he was ever in Italy, and it is more probable that he, as well as the earlier men, gained his style, which is a mingling of Leonardo and Raphael, from the study of imported pictures. He was a man of very pious life, who, regarding his art as a sacred gift, painted only religious subjects and only for ecclesiastical patrons. We have already recalled the legend of the Virgin personally commissioning him to paint her picture; and the story has significance in showing the kind of reputation that he had. He was celebrated for his own devoutness and for the devotional beauty that he gave to the faces of the holy personages, especially of the Virgin and Christ. "Moreover, his numerous and generally small pictures are attractive through their warm and deep colors, their vigorous handling, and rich warm landscapes. Yet these qualities do not conceal their poverty of invention, nor the uniformity of the types, attitudes, expression, and grouping."

(Justi.) He executed some admirable portraits, among them one of Juan de Ribera, Archbishop and Viceroy of Valencia, known after his canonization as "el beato." This great and pious churchman, born of an Andalusian family illustrious for taste and munificence, founded the College of Corpus Christi at Valencia, and it was under his patronage and inspiration that Joanes painted so many pictures of the Saviour. For the most part they represent Him in the act of dispensing the Holy Elements. Joanes died in 1579.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITALIAN
INFLUENCE

CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITALIAN INFLUENCE

I

PERIOD OF PHILIP II

(1556-1598)

THE second half of the sixteenth century, comprised in the reign of Philip II, is notable, on the one hand, for the influx of Italian painters into Spain, and, on the other, for the excellence attained under Italian influences by certain painters of native birth, though many of them, by the dryness of their imitation of Raphael and others, are known as "Mannerists."

Philip inherited from his father a discriminating love of the arts and lavished a generous patronage alike on architects, sculptors, and painters. The great monument of his reign was the Escorial, built in fulfilment of a pledge to his father that he would found a fitting mausoleum for the Spanish kings, and of a vow to Saint Laurence, on whose festival his generals won the battle of St.-Quentin. Reared on the rock terraces of the Guadaramas, the stupendous pile is at once a convent, college, palace, church, and royal mausoleum. In contrast to the profuse ornamentation of the "Plateresque" style and to the exaggeration of the "Grotesque," the design is in the severest simplicity of the Greco-Roman. The planning and commencement were the work of Juan Baptista de Toledo, who had studied in Rome and practised his art in Naples; and after his death, in 1567,

the building was carried to completion by his pupil and assistant, Juan de Herrera, an Asturian. The latter is said to have been responsible for the plan of the church, which has been described as one of the happiest examples of classical architecture adapted for Christian worship. So admirable are its proportions, that St. Peter's itself, in spite of its unapproached magnitude, does not at first sight impress the mind with a stronger sense of its vastness or awaken a deeper feeling of awe.

For the embellishment of the Escorial the Sierras of Spain contributed marbles; the mountains of Sicily and Sardinia, jaspers and agates; Italy, pictures and statues. Madrid, Florence, and Milan supplied the sculptures of the altars; Guadalajara and Cuenca, grilles, and balconies; Toledo and the Netherlands, lamps, candelabra, and bells; Zaragoza, the gates of brass; the New World, the finer woods, and the Indies, both East and West, the gold and gems of the custodia and the five hundred reliquaries. The tapestries were wrought on Flemish looms; and for the sacerdotal vestments the nunneries of the empire, from the rich and noble orders in Brabant and Lombardy to the poor sisterhoods of the Apulian hills, sent their gifts of needlework. The Escorial, in fact, was the embodiment of the empire's vastness, and a treasure-house of its arts and crafts. But in the year that it was consecrated, 1595, the Spanish arms were disastrously defeated by the French at Fontaine Française; and when, three years later, Philip died, he left the empire prostrated almost to exhaustion. Spain's adventurous spirit had bowed to the English and the Dutch; her manhood and her industries had been drained by foreign wars, and all that despotism and fanaticism had left of her old, high enthusiasm was a pride, begotten of the past.

In his eagerness to secure perfection in the decorations of the Escorial, Philip was inclined to overlook the merits of the native painters and rely upon Italians. Foremost among the artists represented was Titian, while the most famous and prolific of the decorators was the Genoese, Luca Cambiaso. Philip also welcomed to his court the Flemish portrait-painter, Antonio Mor.

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MADONNA AND CHILD. BY LUIS DE MORALES.
BOSCH COLLECTION, MADRID.

II

LUIS MORALES

MEANWHILE the native school was becoming thoroughly Italianized. The most renowned representative of Castile during this period was Luis Morales (1509-1586). He was called by his countrymen "El Divino," in recognition not only of the devout character of his pictures but of the unaccustomed charm of his style. For next to Alonzo Berruguete, who was really more architect and sculptor than painter, he was the earliest of the sixteenth-century painters who enriched Spanish art with something of Florentine skill of drawing and Venetian beauty of color. Nor was he a mere imitator of the Italian manner, as most of the Spaniards of this period became. Morales' style, though marked by a close truth to nature and by painter-like qualities that suggest the influence of Italy, was nevertheless a personal one. Whence he derived it is not known, for he lived and worked in obscurity and the records concerning him are meager.

He seems to have been born about 1509, at Badajoz, in the province of Estremadura. Nearly half a century later there appears in the register of the cathedral of Frexenal, a small town on the Andalusian border, an entry, dated November, 1554, recording the baptism of his son Cristobal, and mentioning his wife's name, Leonora de Chaves. About 1565 he was commanded by Philip II to repair to Madrid to paint some pictures for the Escorial, which had just been commenced. Palomino relates that he appeared at court in magnificent attire, and that the king, displeased at his ostentation, ordered

him to be paid a sum of money and dismissed. However, Morales made his peace with Philip by explaining that he had spent all he possessed in order to appear in a manner befitting the dignity of his majesty. The explanation served, but he seems to have painted only one picture during his residence at court, a "Christ Going to Calvary," which was presented by the king to the church of the Jeronimites at Madrid. After this he probably returned to Estremadura, and the next notice of him is another entry in the archives of the cathedral of Frexenal, recording that he had sold for one hundred ducats some vineyards which he possessed in the neighborhood of Mérida. For, as old age crept upon him, with failing eyesight, he lost the steadiness of his hand, and fell into extreme poverty.

In 1581 the king paid a visit to Badajoz, and Morales appeared before him, in a condition very different from that in which he had first courted the royal favor. "You are very old, Morales," said the king. "Yes, sire, and very poor," replied the painter. Turning to his treasurer the king ordered that a pension of 200 ducats be paid out of the crown rents to the old man, "for his dinner." "And for supper, sire?" interposed Morales. The begging jest was awarded with another hundred ducats. Morales, after enjoying his pension for five years, died in 1586. Badajoz has honored his memory by naming after him the street in which he lived.

These scant details throw practically no light on the question of how Morales learned to invest religious sentiment with the beauty of Italian expression. The only suggestion they afford is that during his stay in Madrid he probably had an opportunity of studying the pictures in the Royal Gallery. But he must already have manifested some superiority of style, otherwise, living as he did in the remote wilds of Estremadura, he would scarcely have received a summons to court. Moreover, the fact which Mr. Cole mentions of an existing copy by Morales, of one of Michelangelo's pictures, while it may supply a hint of how he acquired correctness of drawing and the power of expressing sentiment by gesture, will not explain the delicacy of feeling of the "Mother and Child," here reproduced. This picture, however, is an exceptional instance of refinement of style

and feeling. The other example which Mr. Cole has engraved is rather to be characterized as filled with a lovable devoutness. Nor was the devoutness of Morales always lovable. His "Ecce Homo" and "Mater Dolorosa" are lamentable caricatures which show to what a depth the taste of the period had sunk. They have been attributed to his later years.

But may not such subjects have also been the work of his early years; products of his own piety, tinged with the austerities of the obscure life he lived in the little hill-parishes of Estremadura? And may it not have been his reputation for just such dolorous subjects that attracted Philip, "the cloistered king and sceptred monk"? Then, when Morales, in the Royal Galleries, came face to face with the Italian masterpieces, it may well have been that the artist in him was awakened; that he realized that painting had a mission of its own, that it was not merely an interpreter of Christian faith, but an independent means of reaching the human heart through beauty.

This at least was the kind of awakening that must have come to many of the Spanish painters of the sixteenth century, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that it represents the experience of Morales. The native characteristic of the Spaniards, derived possibly from the tradition of Flemish pictures, was to take nature as a model and to study its actual appearance. It needed only a man with a clearer-seeing eye and a more facile hand than his fellows, to discover for himself the principles of correct drawing. It is not unjust to assume that Morales was such a man. And there is confirmation, perhaps, of this in his tendency to see too much of detail and to over-elaborate the little effects. Such a tendency could scarcely have been the result of a study of Michelangelo, or the Venetian masterpieces; it is essentially a characteristic of primitive schools and self-taught painters. It is also particularly dear to the popular taste. And Morales, while in his early work securing detail in his own search after truth, may in his after-life have been compelled by his patrons, against his own matured taste, to sacrifice the large significance of truth to pettiness of observation and rendering. And the beauty that he had learned from Italian pictures may have seemed to the simple-minded clerics

of Estremadura very mundane, calculated to enamor the people of the joys of life rather than to elevate their imaginations above the things of this world.

In fact, in the scattered glimpses that one gets of Morales' art here and there of so matured a feeling for beauty, otherwise so esthetically barren, so Gothic in its extravagant intensity, the imagination readily perceives a type of the man born before his time, laboring amid inauspicious conditions, compelled to serve a public that was unable to appreciate his best and clamored for what his own taste condemned.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

AMONG the few of Spain's greatest artists Morales is reckoned first in chronological order. In point of merit he occupies a position analogous, perhaps, to that of Perugino among the Italians. He is called by his countrymen "the Divine," not only from his having painted none other than sacred subjects, but from the exquisite feeling with which he imbued them, and also because of their wonderful grace and delicacy of finish. And in this respect they are remarkable.

His subjects were always devotional, sad, and sublime in conception and expression. He lingered lovingly and long over each with the fond and fastidious care of the early Flemings, working them up to a very high degree of finish, which fact may account for the scarcity of his works. His hair, for instance, is elaborated so that each separate ringlet, curling like the little rings of the vine, is visible, and yet it is evident he was

careful that the whole as a mass should not suffer. His coloring, likewise, though in many of his works it is sober and often cold and grayish, in his best and well-preserved examples is wonderful for brilliancy, warmth, and richness. He painted always upon panels, laid with a *gesso* ground in the manner that was general with the early Florentines and Flemings, whom he resembles not only in his coloring but in the cleanliness and decision of his drawing. It is not known that he had any teacher, it being believed that his knowledge of art was entirely self-acquired, though there were many Flemish and Italian artists in Spain in his day, and the fact of his painting upon panels prepared in the same way as was customary with these artists points strongly to the assumption that his knowledge of other matters of art came from the same source. He benefited doubtless in his youth by the instructions of traveled artists, and



MADONNA OF THE LITTLE BIRD. BY LUIS DE MORALES.
IN THE COLLECTION OF THE MARQUÉS DE REMISA, MADRID.

may have numbered among the scholars of Berruguete, the foremost artist of that time in Spain, who studied in Italy under Michelangelo, and to whom all that was good in painting and sculpture between 1500 and 1560 was attributed. In confirmation of this last supposition there exists in a convent of nuns at Évora, in Portugal, a copy from a picture by Michelangelo, made by Morales, of Christ on the cross, with the Virgin and St. John at the foot, which for a long time used to be thought an original work by the great Florentine. Nothing is certain, however, except that Morales far excelled any painter who could possibly have been his instructor.

But, speaking of the Madonnas by Morales, Sir William Stirling-Maxwell is not sufficiently informed when he tells us that "the Virgin whom he offers to the contemplation of the pious is never the fair young mother gazing on the beauty of her Babe Divine, but the drooping Mater Dolorosa, wan and weary with unutterable anguish." There are several examples of the fair young mother sweetly gazing on the babe at her bosom—here in the Madrid Museum, and one in the Lisbon gallery. But undoubtedly the most beautiful example of this kind, and one which is a masterpiece in every respect, by the artist, is the "Mother and Child" in the collection of Señor Pablo Bosch of Madrid. This, besides being well preserved, has all the finest qualities of Morales—his marvelous brilliancy of coloring, exquisite finish, and cleanness and decision of drawing. I had been working for more than a fortnight on a somewhat similar subject, then lately acquired by the Madrid gallery,

when, by good fortune, I suddenly encountered this beautiful panel in the house of its owner, and it seemed to me then that the veil had been lifted and I beheld Morales in all his splendor. As Señor Bosch generously offered to let me engrave it, I forthwith set about it, giving no more thought to the previous subject. Señor Bosch tells me that he obtained it from the heirs of a certain old deacon who lived at Avila, in Estremadura, who, during his life, kept it in his bedroom and would not part with it for any consideration.

"The Madonna of the Little Bird" is cited by Cean Bermudez, in his "Diccionario Historico," as existing in the Parroquia de la Concepcion, in Badajoz, Spain. It is now the property of Señorita Maria Moret y Remisa, and is in the collection of the Marques de Remisa at Madrid. I am indebted to Señor de Beruete of Madrid, son-in-law of the marquis, for this information, and for the access to the painting.

It is a large work, probably the largest by Morales in existence, measuring seven feet high by five feet four and a quarter inches wide, and the figures are larger than life. It was painted on wood, but the marquis had it transferred to canvas—a very delicate operation, which consisted of gluing many sheets of paper over the surface, then chiseling away the wood from the back until the ground of the painting was reached, when the whole was mounted with white lead upon canvas, and the surface relieved of its protective covering of paper. The result was perfectly successful.

The colors, by time, have slightly faded, but the picture is still remarkably well preserved. The Madonna

and Child are seated upon a rock in the open, and behind them is hung a heavy drapery from a tree, forming a dark and tender background. This in color is a deep lake of a maroon cast. The white robe of the Virgin is shot with purple in the shades of the folds, and the overgarment is a deep, rich blue. There is a very delicate veil about her golden hair, which is scarcely visible as it falls over her breast.

The effect of light and shade is simple and striking, and the grace of

the Madonna's pose, as well as the sweetness of her cheerful expression, cannot fail to impress one. The lower portion of the face has tenderness and innocence, but the eyes, from their fullness and heaviness, are inclined to be voluptuous. This full eyelid is reminiscent of the Italians —of Da Vinci and Correggio. From the cheerfulness of this subject it will be seen that Morales did not confine himself to doleful themes, as is generally supposed by writers.

T. C.

III

OTHER PAINTERS OF THE SCHOOL OF CASTILE

IN his own day scarcely less famous than Morales was Juan Fernandez Navarrete, known as "El Mudo," the dumb painter. Born at Logroño, in Navarre, in 1526, he was attacked in his third year by an acute disorder which deprived him of his hearing and consequently of the faculty of speech. In his efforts as a child to make himself understood, he made sketches in chalk or charcoal, and so taught himself to draw as other children learn to speak. Taking advantage of this natural bent, his father placed him in a monastery of the Jeronymites, under the care of one of the monks who had some knowledge of painting. Later he spent some years in Italy, visiting Florence, Rome, Naples, and Milan, and studying for a time, it is said, in the school of Titian in Venice. News of his progress reached Philip, who invited him to Madrid and appointed him one of the royal painters. As a specimen of his abilities he had brought with him a small picture of "Our Lord's Baptism," "admirably painted," says Cean Bermudez, "though in a style different from that which he afterward followed." It was probably, like others of his early pictures, painted after the style of the "mannerists," in imitation of Raphael's, whereas his later works, nineteen of which still exist in the Escorial, show how well he had profited by the example of Titian. Indeed, he is known in Spain as the Spanish Titian. He died in 1579, and was buried in the Church of San Juan de los Reyes, in Toledo.

It is related that when Titian's celebrated picture, the "Last Sup-

per," arrived at the Escorial, it was found to be too large for its intended space on the refectory wall, whereupon the king gave orders for it to be cut. But El Mudo, horrified at the outrage, made signs that at the risk of his head he would complete a copy of the desired size in six months. But Philip was too impatient to wait, and the "Cena" was mutilated. Indeed, it was not until after his death that the king fully understood El Mudo's worth. When, however, he had been disappointed at the achievements of some of the foreign painters, such as Zuccaro, engaged at immense cost, he used to declare that among all his Italian artists there was none who could equal the dumb Spaniard.

Another able painter, also a Toledian, was Blas del Prado. There is some doubt as to the date of his birth, but it probably occurred about 1540. He was a follower of Alonzo Berruguete and like Gasparo Becerra, another of the school, belongs rather with the "mannerists," though his pictures were highly esteemed by his contemporaries. His principal works were executed in connection with Luis de Carbajal for the chapter of Toledo Cathedral. In the Academy of Saint Ferdinand in Madrid, he is represented by a "Virgin and Child," and in the Prado by a still finer example, in which the Virgin, Infant, and Saint Joseph are attended by Saint John and Saint Ildefonso, and adored by Alfonso de Villegas, the historian of the calendar, who was probably the donor of the picture. There is something of the charm of Andrea del Sarto in the expression of the Virgin, while the head of Saint Joseph is raphaellesque.

In 1573 the emperor of Morocco applied to Philip II for the loan of a painter. The king replied that in Spain there were two sorts of painters, the ordinary and indifferent, and desired to know which his majesty preferred. "Kings should always have the best," replied the Moor, and accordingly Blas del Prado was despatched to Fez. There he painted various works for the palace and a portrait of the emperor's daughter. His services were so well recompensed that he returned to Toledo a rich man. His death probably occurred in 1600.

The first of the great Spanish portrait-painters of Castile was

Alonso Sanchez Coello. Nothing is known of his early history, but he appears to have formed his style on Italian models, because he left several careful and excellent copies of works by Titian. However, he certainly owed much to Mor, whom he accompanied in 1552 to Lisbon, where he entered the service of Don Juan of Portugal. Upon the latter's death, his widow, the Spanish Infanta Juana, recommended him to her brother, Philip II. Mor, having left the king's service for some reason that has not been cleared up, Coello was appointed painter-in-ordinary and became to Philip II what Velasquez was to be to the Fourth Philip. He was lodged in the treasury buildings, adjoining the palace and connected with it by a private door, of which the king kept the key. Philip was wont to call him his Portuguese Titian, and, when absent on some royal progress, without the companionship of his favorite, would write to him as his "beloved son Alonso Sanchez Coello." He was a favorite also of the whole royal household and the court, while the Popes, Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, Cardinal Alexander Farnese, and the dukes of Florence and Savoy, bestowed on him marks of favor. "Seventeen royal personages," says Pacheco, "honored him with their esteem, and would sometimes recreate and refresh themselves under his roof, with his wife and children."

He painted the king many times, both on foot and on horseback, but these and many others of his portraits perished in the fire of the Prado. In the present Museo is his portrait of the Infanta Don Carlos, the pathetic hero of Schiller's tragedy. He appears in this picture as a youth of seventeen or eighteen years; but without any suggestion of deficient intellect. It will be remembered that he was of a violent temper, and distrusted by his father; that having attacked the Duke of Alva with a poniard, he was handed over to the Inquisition, which pronounced him guilty; and that he died mysteriously a few months later, in his twenty-third year. Here he has the pallid features, the cold gray eye and suspicious and dissatisfied expression that is characteristic of the early portraits of Philip by Titian. Beside this "Don Carlos" hangs the portrait of his half-sister, the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, afterward that resolute arch-

duchess of the Netherlands whose linen, unchanged during the three years' siege of Ostend, gave the name to the tawny tint known to the French dyers as the "colour Isabelle." Coello has represented her about the age of her half-brother, and with a face and expression strongly resembling her father's, who loved her above all his children and spoke of her on his death-bed as the "light and mirror of his eyes." Coello's portraits are distinguished by the air of refinement which he imparted to the heads and by a Flemish-like skill and patience in the rendering of the costumes and jewelry. He died in 1590, leaving many pupils, among whom the best was Juan Pantoja de la Cruz. The Hispano-Greek painter, Domenico Theotocopuli, called "El Greco," will be considered in a later chapter.

IV

PAINTERS OF THE SCHOOL OF ANDALUSIA

ANDALUSIA, during the second half of the sixteenth century, produced one of those rare examples of versatility of genius, which, spread over many fields of intellectual enterprise, stimulated the general culture of the period. This was Pablo de Céspedes, known in Italy as Paolo de Córdoba, from the place of his birth, which occurred in 1538. His parents, originally of good Castilian stock, gave him a "learned education," which he supplemented by the study of Oriental languages. Engaged in the service of the Inquisition, he spent many years in Rome, during which he obtained instruction in painting from one of Michelangelo's pupils and also distinguished himself in sculpture. At the same time, by travel in various parts of Italy, he made himself familiar with the works of modern art and with the remains of antiquity.

In 1577 he returned to Italy to assume the position, conferred upon him by the Pope, of a canonry in the cathedral of Córdoba. Between this city and Seville, where he spent his vacations, the rest of his life was divided. In the intervals of his official duties he found time to practise architecture, sculpture, and painting, to compose poetry, and a "Discourse of Modern Painting and Sculpture," and to engage in archæological researches. He thus became a potent factor in stimulating and directing the spirit of culture for which Seville was already famous and was to be yet more distinguished in the following century. Of his painting examples still exist in the cathedral of Córdoba, and in the Chapter House and Contaduria Mayor of the cathedral of Seville. They show him to have been a

good colorist, influenced by the manner of Correggio, and help to confirm the tradition that it was from Céspedes that the painters of Seville learned the fine tones of their flesh tints. He died in 1625, at the advanced age of eighty-seven.

But, if Céspedes showed the way, it was another cleric painter, Juan de las Roelas, who finally headed off the school of Andalusia from the affectations of the mannerists and set it firmly on the path which led to the triumphs of the next century. He brought it to the study of life, of color, and of chiaroscuro. Born in 1555 or 1560, at Seville, of an illustrious family, he received a university education and then proceeded to the degree of licentiate, receiving in 1603 a prebendal stall in the Collegiate Church at Olivares, a town in the neighborhood of Seville. Thirteen years later he was an unsuccessful candidate for the post of a painter at court. He remained, however, at Madrid, for three years, after which he returned to Seville, and lived there until within a year of his death, which occurred at Olivares in 1625.

His broad, free, and yet soft, drawing; light and warm key of color, and yellowish brown tones have led to the supposition that he studied in Venice; but of this there is no record. His finest work is the great altarpiece in the Church of St. Isidoro in Seville, representing "The Transit" or death of the saint. "Clad in his vestments and a dark mantle, the prelate kneels, expiring in the arms of a group of venerable priests, whose snowy heads and beards are finely relieved against the youthful bloom of two kneeling choir-boys. The background shows the vista of an aisle, crowded with sorrowing people, while overhead in a blaze of light appear Our Lord and the Virgin, amidst a hovering band of angels. In beauty of design, depth of feeling, and richness of color, the picture is worthy of the devotion that inspired it; and in its sureness of touch and powerful rendering of Spanish character-types was not surpassed by Roelas's great pupil, Zurbaran. Moreover, the choir of singing and playing angels is filled with an Andalusian gaiety, not unworthy of the angelic concerts of Murillo." Other fine works of Roelas are in the museum and the university chapel of Seville.

V

SCHOOL OF VALENCIA

IN the school of Valencia the first painter to exhibit a mastery of the "broad manner" of the Italians was Francisco de Ribalta, whose style was perpetuated by his son, Juan Ribalta. The father, born probably in 1551, worked with some unknown master in Valencia where he imbibed the strong religious feeling that characterized the painting of that province. He then visited Italy, studying particularly, it would appear, the works of Raphael and Correggio, following the latter in the way that the contemporary school of Bologna, of the Carracci, was going. After his return home he attracted the notice of the pious archbishop, Juan de Ribera, and became the most admired painter in Valencia, whose churches and religious houses teemed with examples of his industry and ability. The chapel of the College of Corpus Christi still contains his "Last Supper"; the museum of Valencia, a considerable number of his works; the finest, "Our Lady of Sorrows," whose bosom is pierced with the seven emblematic swords. The Virgin's head is expressive of grief and resignation; before her on a table are spread the instruments of Our Saviour's Passion, while in the foreground St. Ignatius Loyala and St. Veronica kneel in adoration. Behind them, also kneeling, are groups of penitents, male and female, of whom the latter, with the exception of one girl, are old and ugly. His figures, indeed, are usually big-boned and muscular, and often rude and coarse in type, in which he is very different to Correggio, whose violent attitudes and foreshortenings, however, he occasionally followed. It is in the

use of chiaroscuro that he came nearest to the beauty of his exemplar, employing it to give plastic roundness to the figures, and to fuse the colors into tone. Ribalta died in 1628, so that his life, as those of some of the other painters of the period, passes over into the reign of Philip III.

CONCLUSION OF ITALIAN
INFLUENCE

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION OF ITALIAN INFLUENCE

I

PERIOD OF PHILIP III

(1598-1621)

PHILIP III, an easy-going man, inherited some of his father's taste but was wholly destitute of his energy and talent. Averse to, and incapable of, the cares of state; born to be ruled rather than to rule, as his father used to say of him, he helped on the decadence of his country. The most notable act of his reign, at once a crime and a blunder, was the expulsion of the Moors, by which the cities were drained of a large number of their thriftiest and most industrious citizens, and the economic exhaustion of the country was precipitated. The royal initiative being weakened, the power of the noble families was correspondingly increased, so that a characteristic of the period is the building of many private palaces and the forming of collections of works of art by individual nobles. Thus the weak and amiable Cardinal-Duke of Lerma, who enjoyed the king's confidence, erected in the town of Lerma in Old Castile a huge square pile, esteemed by some Spaniards next in magnificence to the Escorial, which it somewhat resembled in architecture.

The king, who, even in the selection of his wife, refused to have any choice, languidly continued the embellishment of the royal palaces, retaining in his service the painters who had been appointed by

his father. The only new ones of note whom he personally engaged were Vincenzo Carducho and Eugenio Caxés. The former was by birth a Florentine, but had been brought by his brother, Bartolomeo, to Madrid, in 1585, as a child, and reckoned himself a Castilian. He learned his art in the Escorial under the instruction of his brother, at whose death he succeeded to his place. Although much employed in the royal palaces, he found time to work for the church, and gained especial renown for his series of fifty-four large pictures, originally painted for the Carthusian monastery at El Poular, but now in the Prado. Thirty-six of those scenes represent the life of St. Bruno, from his conversion in Notre Dame, while attending the funeral of Raymond, who announced from his bier the fact of his own damnation, until the close of his saintly career in the wilds of Calabria. The two compositions on the death of Bruno are full of grace and feeling and abound in noble heads. Among the pictures that treat of his followers, are three very striking subjects of the sufferings endured by the English Carthusians during the Reformation. In two of these the scene is a prison with emaciated monks, dead or dying, chained to pillars, while through the doors are views of Catholic martyrs in the hands of Protestant tormentors. In the third, three Carthusians are being dragged to execution on a hurdle; a man lashes the horses to a gallop, and some spectators mockingly point to the distant gallows. These paintings, apart from extravagances incidental to the legend, viewed simply as works of skill and imagination, exhibit a vigor of fancy, power of execution, and rich coloring, that vindicate the high esteem in which Carducho was held by his contemporaries. In 1633 he increased his reputation by publishing his "Dialogues on Painting," which have earned him a notable position among Spanish writers on art. His services were continued by Philip IV, and, though he was superseded in the royal preference by Velasquez, he seems to have borne no grudge. He died in 1638.

His colleague in several important works, Eugenio Caxés, was born at Madrid in 1577. He was the son of a pupil of Patricio Caxés, or Caxesi, an Italian painter in the service of Philip II. With

his father he was employed by Philip III in decorating the ceiling of the king's audience chamber with a "Judgment of Solomon," and a variety of allegorical figures and landscapes. After his appointment as king's painter he coöperated with Carducho in a series of frescos in the cathedral of Toledo, and later executed several independent works for the same building. During the reign of Philip IV he supplied for the decoration of the palace of Buen Retiro a large composition, representing the "Repulse of the English under Lord Wimbledon at Cadiz, in 1625." It was a following, at a distance, of the standard established by Velasquez in the "Surrender of Breda," in competition with which, unfortunately for itself, it now hangs in the Prado. Caxés died in 1642.

II

EL GRECO (DOMENICO THEOTOCOPULI)

LIKE Caxés and Carducho, Domenico Theotocopuli was of foreign birth, and his career, as theirs did, bridged over the reigns of the three Philips. But it may well be considered during this period of Philip III, since it marks the beginning of a change in the point of view of Spanish painters—a departure from the imitation of Italy.

There were three painters in Spain, contemporaries, each of whom, because of his Greek origin, was known as El Greco. They were Pedro Serafin of Barcelona, Nicolas de la Torre, a painter of illuminations, employed at the Escorial, and the most famous, with whom the surname is now exclusively associated, Domenico Theotocopuli. According to tradition he studied with Titian, so that it is assumed he was born in Venice, probably of some Greek family which had found refuge there after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. The date of his birth is fixed by Palomino as 1548; and it has been suggested that he may have been the son of a certain Domenico dalle Greche, who in 1549 engraved a drawing of Titian's representing Pharaoh and his hosts overthrown in the Red Sea. The first authentic record of his life proves that he was residing in Toledo in 1577, when he commenced for the cathedral the altarpiece "Stripping of Christ," which now hangs in the sacristy.

Though an early work, it still remains one of his finest. The armor of the centurion—a portrait of El Greco—is black; the Saviour's robe is red, and His figure dominates the picture. It is the only one of the group that is seen in full; and it is treated with a grandeur of simplicity. The head, of noble manliness as well as of calm exalta-

tion, is irresistibly arresting; a most impressive contrast to the other rocking heads, swayed by conflicting passions. These heads, also, in their several types are excellently characterized. The divinity of the Saviour's, we may note, is not helped out by the addition of a nimbus, which was an Italian device that did not commend itself to the realistic taste of the Spanish. Nor is there anything of Italian artifice in the drapery of the Saviour's robe. A touch of this does appear in the studied folds of the mantle worn by the figure at the bottom of the picture; but to the principal figure impressiveness has been given by means entirely opposite—a broad simplicity.

In connection with this one recalls Titian's treatment, so masterfully mannered, of the draperies of the Madonna in his great "Assumption"; not to deprecate the treatment, which is full of significance as used there by Titian, but to suggest how radically independent of the Venetian master was El Greco in his manner of conceiving and visualizing his subject. It helps to explain his impatience when the connoisseurs of the day, anticipating our own tendency to label a man as the follower of So-and-So, likened his style to Titian's. They meant it for a compliment, for Titian was the glory of the Royal Galleries and represented to that age the supreme and perhaps sole standard of accomplishment. But El Greco was of other stuff: independent, and, though Spain was only the country of his adoption, as proudly self-sufficient as the great Spanish artists were to prove themselves. Moreover, there is every indication that his bent of motive anticipated the naturalistic character of the Spanish school, so how could he be affiliated to the superb convention of the Venetians? To effect a compromise between these opposing motives was a problem later undertaken by Velasquez, who solved it in the "Surrender of Breda." But in El Greco there was no such element as compromise; he emphasized his independence of Titian by exaggerating differences. He unduly lengthened figures, making the limbs and draperies stringy; for warm flesh tones substituted cold gray ones, and split up the breadth and harmony of the chiaroscuro by cuts of light, as if he had seen his subject under the swift, harsh glare of a flash of lightning.

Such was a picture painted by royal command for the Escorial, representing St. Maurice, who feared God rather than the Emperor Maximilian and chose death in preference to idolatry. The king, having been led to expect something Titianesque, was greatly disappointed, and would not accept the picture for the Escorial Church, but relegated it to an obscurer position in the building. Yet he paid the price agreed upon; a fact worth mention, since it is characteristic of the generosity and fairness with which all the kings of Spain treated the artists in their employ, and presents a marked contrast to the way in which Italian artists were frequently treated by their papal and noble patrons.

El Greco, having thus lost the royal favor, seems to have taken the lesson to heart; for shortly afterward he produced that noble picture, recognized as his masterpiece, "The Burial of the Count of Orgaz." It was painted in 1584 to the order of Cardinal-Archbishop Quiroga, who presented it to the Church of Santo Tome in Toledo, where it may still be seen. This church had been rebuilt by Gonzalo Ruiz, Count of Orgaz, the head of a family celebrated in the romances of the thirteenth century. So religious and gracious was his own life, that when, in 1323, his funeral was being conducted in the building, St. Stephen and St. Augustine came down from heaven and with their own hands laid his body in the tomb. This episode forms the central group of the picture. St. Stephen is represented as a dark-haired youth of noble countenance, St. Augustine as an old man whose white head is crowned with a miter, while in contrast with their richly-embroidered vestments of golden tissue, is the form of the warrior in a suit of black armor, inlaid with gold damascening. The three types of head are also finely contrasted. Other stately forms of monks and of priests surround the principal group, while gathered at the back is a throng of nobles, whose faces are portraits of the grandees of El Greco's day. Yet even in this picture the painter could not forego entirely his taste for eccentricity. Above this scene is another one, representing Gonzalo being received into heaven. The Saviour sits enthroned among clouds that are flat and sharply edged; below Him is the Virgin, at whose feet kneels the

emancipated soul in the form of a naked man, of a livid hue and a size too large in scale for the other figures. Eccentricity, in fact, grew upon El Greco, until he acquired an extravagant mannerism that in his later works seems to have run mad. Nevertheless he maintained his popularity as a painter of religious subjects, probably because his eccentricity was interpreted as asceticism, and, therefore, seemed an expression of devoutness.

This unbalanced condition of mind, however, which marred the dignity and beauty of his more pretentious work, was exchanged for sane and intelligent observation when he undertook a portrait. In these the splendid characterization of the heads that is frequent throughout his subject-pictures appears in an eminent degree, as may be seen in the portraits of himself and of his daughter in the accompanying engravings.

El Greco has been described as a painter who alternated between reason and delirium and displayed his great genius only during lucid intervals, so that he left many admirable and many execrable performances. He was much engaged also as an architect and sculptor. Pacheco, who visited him in 1633, relates how he explained and justified his harsh and spotty style by saying that it was his practice to retouch a picture until each mass of color was separate from the rest, and that by so doing he believed he gave strength and character to the whole. Among his pupils was Orrente and Tristan. He died in Toledo in 1625, regretted by the community, and praised in a sonnet by his friend, the poet Luis de Góngora.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

EL GRECO is one of the chief glories of Spanish art. The first authentic notice of his life comes to us from his appearance in Toledo in 1575, at about which period, according to Carl Justi, he was invited to

paint the altarpiece of "The Stripping of Christ" in the sacristy of the cathedral, the richest church in Spain. Stirling-Maxwell gives the date as 1577, but from his description of the painting he evidently had not seen

the original. El Greco was a pupil of Titian and in this painting he gave to the Spaniards their first idea of his great master's art, and proclaimed himself a colorist preëminent above all others at the time. Such was the applause he received on the completion of this work that he is described as being intoxicated with success. Piqued, however, at the compliment from those who knew that "he painted like Titian," he determined to show them that he could do even better things. He was, however, unable to continue at the high level he had obtained, but through a craving for originality, developed an incredible mannerism. As Carl Justi puts it, "isolated from all healthy art influences in Toledo's crumbling eyrie, he sank lower and lower, painting like a visionary, and taking for revelations the distorted fancies of a morbid brain."

From his coming to Toledo till 1614, when he died, he never quitted the town, but continued with wonderful activity to fill the surrounding churches with altarpieces and the halls of the nobility with portraits, in which branch he particularly excelled. A comprehensive exhibition of his works would show him as remarkable for rare pictorial and imaginative genius as for unexampled and, in fact, pathological debasement of manner, many of his later works being simply absurd.

In "The Stripping of Christ," the scene is represented on the slope of Calvary, and this accounts for the heads rising above one another. Against the gray rocks of the background, the axes and spears of the soldiers are silhouetted, with an occasional helmet, with its white plume. The calm and majestic figure of

Christ occupies the center of the canvas, and is further distinguished by being clad in a simple red garment of a rich soft tone. The tumultuous mob behind, the color of which is subdued and richly varied warm umbery tones, contrast powerfully in the angry faces with the benign, upturned countenance of Christ, who, it may be imagined, is praying, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," and on whose features is centered the highest light in the picture. For pictorial and imaginative power nothing could be finer. On the right of Christ is the dignified figure of the centurion, clad in armor, which is said to be a portrait of the painter, and directly beneath him is the portrait of his daughter, figuring as the topmost of the group of the three Marys. Over her head is a white lace Spanish mantilla. The next of these figures is evidently the Mother of Our Lord, clad in the traditional blue garment drawn over her head, while the foremost Mary is in a yellow robe of a soft neutral shade. These are watching with sorrowful interest the soldier on the opposite side boring a hole in the transverse beam of the cross where one of Christ's hands will be nailed. The soldier thus engaged is clad in a yellow jacket, with apron of a greenish hue, the high lights of which are of a pinkish cast. His shirt-sleeves are white. The soldier above him and on the left hand of Christ is examining the texture of the Saviour's garment preparatory to disrobing him. His left hand, which holds the rope encircling Christ's wrist, is resting against his hip. This arm of our Lord is *not* being "violently dragged downward by the two executioners in front," as Maxwell erroneously describes it; for

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CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN. BY EL GRECO.
FROM THE ORIGINAL SKETCH, IN THE COLLECTION OF SEÑOR PABLO BOSCH OF MADRID.

the rope is slack in the executioner's hand, while he is apparently struck with the quality of the garment, for which the soldiers were to cast lots. It is a direct allusion to St. John, xix, 24.

The picture is on canvas, and measures nearly six feet wide by about nine feet six inches high.

That the portrait, said to be his own, is a genuine work by El Greco there can be no doubt, since it belongs to that period of his career when his manner became pronounced and unequivocal, but that it is a portrait of the artist himself may be questioned. Greco was a master before he left Italy, and many of his Italian works—works which rank with the best productions of the Venetian school—have long passed for Titians, Veroneses, and Bassanos. We have only to compare this youthful physiognomy with the (so-called) portrait of his daughter, which is in his earlier Venetian manner, to see the great step there is between this and his later Toledian style. Moreover when we compare dates, and in view of his more matured manner, it becomes as equally uncertain that he could even have had a daughter of apparently eighteen or more years of age, before 1575, when only twenty-seven years of age, as that so youthful a head as the one figuring as his own likeness should bear the impress of his ripest handling. This conjecture is furthermore strengthened by the fact that the fashion of the immense white ruff worn around the neck, such as this portrait exhibits, did not come into vogue until the reign of Philip III, 1598 to 1621, which would make Greco fifty or more years old when he painted this head. It is more likely, then, that

this is a portrait of his son or of one of his pupils. The regularity of the features and the largeness of the eyes with the oval face would point to a Greek rather than a Spanish type. It hangs in the museum of Seville and is a life-size bust upon canvas. Greco painted numerous portraits in this style with the large white ruff about the neck, many of which are in the Prado Museum at Madrid. They all have this dignified bearing with the head near the top of the canvas, and belong to the latter twenty-five years of his life.

We see in this portrait a very small palette, only five colors and seven brushes, and it may be conjectured that this was all that Greco needed, yet what astonishing results he produced in depth and richness of tone, and brilliancy of chiaroscuro!

The pilgrim of art visiting Toledo should not fail to see the little unpretending Chapel of St. José. He will not find it mentioned in his Baedeker, nevertheless it ranks among the important places that should not be overlooked, since it contains some rare pictures by El Greco—Toledo's chief glory—which the art-lover will be glad to see. Among them is this superb altarpiece of St. Martin, on his white horse, dividing his mantle with a beggar. Its tender, pensive, and subdued feeling, elevated style, and exquisite delicacy of treatment, make it one of the first of all religious works of Spain. It is on canvas, life-size. St. Martin is quoted as a shining instance that Christian humanity is not incompatible with the sturdy calling of a warrior. He excited the admiration and love of his comrades by the constant exercise of all the highest virtues, more especially that of charity. One frosty

morning, the legend recounts, at Amiens, in the year A.D. 332, when the severity of the cold was such that men were frozen to death in the streets, the saint, on going out of the city's gate, was met by a naked beggar; and having nothing but his cloak, he divided it in twain forthwith, giving one half to the mendicant, and covering himself as well as he might with the remainder. "Yes," said an American, closing the book from which he was reading this account to his daughter as they stood before the picture, while I sat quietly unobserved in a corner copying it—"yes, and the saint had n't gone far when he met another beggar, as naked as the previous one, and straightway he gave him the other half of the cloak, for it was a nipping and an eager air. And passing that way again not many hours after, he encountered the self-same beggars naked as before with the thermometer on the decline and cold as blazes, and demanding of them what had become of the cloak, they confessed to having pawned it for some warming drink. And in this manner," continued the Yankee, "the cloak got into the hands of an antiquarian, was pieced together and sold to the church—a treasured relic."

The theme was a popular one with religious painters from the earliest times, Greco's claim to originality in its treatment lies principally in the lighting. He places the event upon one of the hills about Toledo, overtopping its eminence, in the quiet afterglow of the setting sun, with the twinkling lights of the city in the dusk below. There is much dignity in the arrangement, and the dark trappings on the light ground of the horse is a happy conception in balancing the fullness

of detail to the left of the composition. Exception may be taken to the disproportionate height of the beggar, also to his legs coming on a line with those of the horse's hind legs—so many legs show here. Imagine for a moment how the composition of this corner would be improved had the artist brought the drapery that encircles the beggar's leg, farther down, very nearly hiding both. No one will deny that the gain would be considerable; greater simplicity would be attained and at the same time a more pleasing variety, and the enormous height of the figure would be modified—to the eye, that is. It is owing to peculiarities of this nature that Greco is the most bizarre figure in the Spanish school. His beauties however, far outweigh his defects. Nothing could be more beautiful or appropriate to the sentiment in this work, than the even, sober, gray tone and atmospheric quality that imbue it. Within this prevailing element he admirably sustains the harmony of all the parts; the steel armor, with its delicate tracery of gilt ornamentation, such as may be seen on a Toledo blade; the rich, low reddish tone of the drapery; the black trappings of the animal and his creamy white color; the soft warm hue of the flesh tones of the beggar and the saint, and the gray depth of the sky and the background space, which wells up by imperceptible gradations to the umber tints of the foreground. He is careful that nothing shall disturb the peace of the ensemble. Only in works of a high order is this care of the artist for the repose of the ensemble visible, and it is a test of the artist's sensitiveness to nature.

"The Coronation of the Virgin," which I have engraved, is the original



ST. MARTIN AND MENDICANT. BY EL GRECO.
IN THE CHURCH OF SAN JOSE, TOLEDO.

sketch for the upper portion of the final work of the same subject painted by the artist for the Church of St. José at Toledo, where it still exists. The sketch is from the collection of Señor Pablo Bosch of Madrid, who kindly gave me every facility for engraving it.

Were it possible to bring the two works together—the sketch and the St. José canvas—the comparison would form an interesting example in showing how superior an artist's first conception often is, even to its details of brush marks, to that which he finally and laboriously accomplishes on its basis. Of all the artists of the Spanish school El Greco is the most unequal in his work, and the differences of handling in his many canvases demonstrates what a man of moods he seems to have been. The present sketch, for instance, shows the ardor and interest of an inspiration, not only in every touch which is pregnant with life, but in its delicate and brilliant coloring, and in its decorative composition, charged with imagination in every line, and reminding one strongly of Blake, in the audacious forms of its great clouds shooting up from behind like tongues of fire or angels' wings. But the St. José canvas on the contrary is a singularly dull affair, lacking in effect of light and shade, and spoiled utterly in its composition by the addition, or intrusion rather, of two three-quarter-length figures of saints, below, on either side, who are gazing up in what are meant for rapturous attitudes.

Those who are acquainted with a similar subject by Velasquez, of the Coronation of the Virgin, in the Madrid Museum, will recognize at once, in the close resemblance of its com-

position with this by El Greco, to whom Velasquez is indebted for his idea. So close indeed is the resemblance that it amounts to a direct plagiarism. And yet how far it falls short of El Greco not only in light and shade but in religious feeling and imagination!

It has been said that Velasquez (and this by no less an authority than Maxwell) owed much to Tristan, a pupil of El Greco, and yet nothing exists by Tristan to warrant such an assertion, for his works, which are exceedingly few, discover a dry touch and insignificant manner compared to the rich and varied style of his great master, and it is altogether unlikely that Velasquez would repair to a pupil of El Greco for inspiration when he could have access to the master himself. Yet while nothing is said of the influence El Greco must have exercised upon Velasquez, we have direct and infallible evidence, not only by the present sketch but by other works of the Greek, how Velasquez must have valued and studied his canvases.

The portrait of the artist's daughter would seem to be a unique example among his works, there being nothing in it reminding one of the peculiar handling in the technique of the body of his pictures, unless it be in the manipulation of the high lights of the ermine fur; "otherwise," as a connoisseur remarked to me concerning it, "you might never know it was a Theotocopuli." It is just these few scattered lights that bear the unquestioned impress of the master's hand—or manner, rather, for he was very mannered as to both touch and style. But in this head he apparently turned aside from his habitual manner in the endeavor to do justice to the features

of his lovely daughter; and though he has succeeded, to some extent, with pose and expression, in giving a look of virgin shyness, sweetness, and reserve, it is yet cold, hard, and tight in treatment. The technique of the hand is better in its suppleness and fleshy quality, and it softens beautifully into the depth of the fur, and is thus naturally subordinated to the face.

The greatest volume of light is concentrated upon the face, which is brighter in tone than the fur. Photographs, on the contrary, falsify this effect by rendering the fur lighter than the flesh. The coloring of the whole is rich and mellow. The background is flat, of a dark, cool, gray, umbery tone, into which the delicate hairs of the fur tenderly fade, for he is unable to resist painting the separate hairs of the fur, albeit he yet retains a general impression of the hair as a mass. The tone of the fur is a

warm creamy gray. The ring on the third finger contains a ruby, painted with fine depth and glow of color. The ruffle about the black sleeve is a warm brownish yellow, very neutral. The wimple about the head and throat is of some delicate soft gray material, of a tone similar to the color of the fur. The face is luminous and of a general mellow cast, becoming a rosy flush upon the cheeks, and the hair is jet black. The ensemble is harmonious, rich, and luminous, and executed with considerable finesse and delicacy.

It was through the medium of Mr. Claude Phillips that I came across this beautiful canvas at the residence, in London, of Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Bart., M.P., who kindly granted me the liberty of engraving it. It measures nineteen and a half inches wide by twenty-five inches high, and is life-size.

T. C.



THE DAUGHTER OF EL GRECO. BY DOMENICO THEOTOCOPULI.
IN THE COLLECTION OF MR JOHN STIRLING-MAXWELL, BART, M.P., LONDON

NO. 1000
LIVY OF
CALIFORNIA

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CULMINATION OF NATIVE ART IN
THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER V

CULMINATION OF NATIVE ART IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

PERIOD OF PHILIP IV

(1621-1665)

PHILIP IV was sixteen years old when he ascended the throne. His first act was to dismiss his father's minister, the Duke of Lerma, and appoint as his successor the Count Olivarez, a son of the governor of the Alcázar at Seville. This nobleman in his native city had been a patron of arts and letters; in his now exalted position there was scope for larger ambitions. The king, naturally of an indolent temper, was not long in choosing between a life of pleasure and one of political cares. Olivarez dexterously turned this weakness to his own account, alternately plying him with amusements and perplexing him with problems of state, until the king, thankful to be relieved of the weight of responsibility, left the cares of government to his minister. The latter at first made an effort to cope with the abuses that had honeycombed the vast empire, but was soon diverted by visions of military aggrandizement. The history of this reign of forty-four years is the history of misrule at home, oppression, rapacity, and revolt in the distant provinces and colonies, declining commerce, and bloody and disastrous wars, closed by the inglorious peace of the Pyrenees with Louis XIV. While his empire was crumbling to decay, the King of Spain and the Indies

acted farces in his private theater, lounged in the studios, sat in solemn state at bull-fights and *autos-de-fé*, or retired to his cabinet at the Prado to toy with mistresses or devise improvements for his galleries and gardens.

This is the appalling side of the matter. On the other hand, despite his political inefficiency, Philip was a man of intellectual parts, a sincere lover of arts and literature and an enlightened and generous patron—a Mæcenas of this Augustan age of Spain. For, whereas Cervantes had been the bright particular star of Philip the Third's reign, and it is one of the few things to that monarch's credit that he enjoyed Don Quixote, a constellation of literary lights illumined the reign of his son: Calderon, the idealizer of the religion and chivalry of Spain in four hundred and fifty plays; Lope de Vega, with his eighteen hundred dramas of intrigue; Luis de Góngora, the euphuistic poet; Velez de Guevara, poet and story-writer, from whom Le Sage drew his "Diable Boiteux"; Bartolomeo Argensola, poet and historian of Aragon; Antonio de Solis, historian of the Conquest of Mexico—these were either rewarded with sinecures at court, or otherwise encouraged with royal favor. But it was in painting that Philip, no mean artist himself, particularly delighted. Two years after his succession Velasquez was introduced to his notice by Olivarez, and that friendship between king and painter was begun which terminated only with the latter's death.

I

LESSER PAINTERS OF THE SCHOOL OF CASTILE

BUT before considering Velasquez we may note some of the other painters of the school of Castile during this reign. Carducho and Caxés have been already mentioned. There were also Luis Tristan, Pedro Orrente, and Carreño de Miranda. Tristan was born in 1586 in the neighborhood of Toledo. Entering the school of El Greco, he avoided the eccentricities and absorbed the good qualities of his master's style and became his favorite pupil. One of his earliest works was a "Last Supper" for the Jeronymite monastery of La Sista, at Toledo. When it was finished, the monks objected to the price, 200 ducats, and referred the matter to El Greco. The latter, having examined the picture, upbraided Tristan, calling him a rogue and a disgrace to his profession. At this the monks interposed with an excuse for the youth on the score of his inexperience. "Indeed," exclaimed El Greco, "he is quite a novice for he has asked only two hundred ducats for a picture worth five hundred; let it, therefore, be rolled up and carried to my house." The monks made haste to settle with Tristan on his own terms. In his thirtieth year he painted a series of pictures which, still to be seen on the retablo of the parish church of Yepes, are considered his finest work. His female types are coarse in features, but the coloring of these pictures is rich in tone and the brushwork broad and vigorous. Tristan also painted some portraits, notably one of Cardinal Sandoval for the Chapter House of Toledo, and another of Lope de Vega, now in the hermitage at St. Petersburg.

Pedro Orrente was born in Murcia, on the borders of Valencia, but his youth was passed in Toledo, where he is supposed to have studied with El Greco. Later in life he resided in Madrid, occupied upon a variety of works for Buen Retiro, and finally died in Madrid in 1644. His work is interesting because of his fondness for painting landscape with animals introduced. Thus he chose such subjects as the "Prodigal Son," the "Israelites Departing from Egypt," and pastoral scenes from the Old Testament. Sometimes, as in "Cattle Reposing Beneath Rocks," he would paint an animal piece without the excuse of a story. He may have lived for a time in Valencia, since Estéban March of that city seems to have been his pupil.

One of the most popular painters of the period in Castile was Juan Carreño de Miranda, born in 1614 of a knightly and noble family, at Avilés, in the province of Asturias. His father, having a lawsuit to prosecute in Madrid, took the boy with him and placed him in a school of drawing. When Carreño was in his twentieth year, he painted some pictures for the cloisters of the college of Doña Maria of Aragon, which were favorably received by the public. Of the next twenty years of his life no facts are recorded, but it must have been during this period that many of his works which abounded in the monasteries, churches, and convents of Madrid were executed, for his fame as a religious painter was well established before he was employed by Philip IV, to whose notice he was brought by Velasquez. In 1671 he was appointed court painter and deputy-aposentador of the palace by Charles II. The latter in his boyhood he had painted several times, and now to further the king's negotiations for the hand of the French princess, Maria Louisa, painted him on horseback in armor, for the inspection of Louis XIV. He executed also an equestrian portrait of the lady herself, shortly after her arrival in Madrid. The queen dowager, Mariana, on several occasions sat to him, as did most of the distinguished people in Madrid during the first half of Charles II's reign. He died full of honors in 1685. The best of his pupils was Mateo de Cerezo (1635-1675), celebrated for his numerous paintings of the "Virgin of the Conception."

II

VELASQUEZ

THE interest attaching to Velasquez, as the greatest representative of the Spanish school, has received a vital importance, through the influence he has exerted over modern painting. Yet for some two hundred years his greatness had been overlooked even by his countrymen. Identified with the court, he never in his lifetime gave pledges to popular esteem and recollection; never, as Murillo, fastened upon the imaginations and affections of the people; and his death, mourned though it may have been by his royal friend and master, Philip IV, caused but a ripple of disturbance in the routine of court life, while after the death of that monarch, four years later, the memory of the artist who had served him was forgotten. It was not until the nineteenth century in the early fifties that connoisseurs and painters grew to be aware of his greatness, and, studying his works, began to find in them a clue to artistic problems that had commenced to exercise the modern mind. For in those two hundred years the wheel had revolved, and what had been the artistic motive of the Spanish school had come round to be uppermost as a motive in the art of France and England. The modern artist had become intent, like the Spanish of the seventeenth century, upon realism.

Inasmuch, then, as realism, or, if you will, naturalism, was the basis of his art, Velasquez was at one with the other painters of the Spanish school. He differed from them partly in the circumstances of his life; partly, and much more, in the degree and quality of his genius. While other painters derived their patronage wholly or for

the most part from the church, Velasquez owed nothing to it; religious subjects occupied him but rarely; his mind, seldom distracted by the mysteries of faith, was devoted to the substance of things seen. But it is in the way in which he learned to see, that his originality and genius manifested themselves. Instead of seeing through eyes affected by the traditions of the studio, he looked at nature direct, and discovered for its expression a manner at once natural and artistic. In a word, his vision comprehended, not only the form of his subject, but the lighted atmosphere with which it was surrounded; he saw everything in its natural element of air. And, further, in the arrangement of his forms he discovered a new principle of uniting them into a unity of effect. For the arbitrary artistic method of creating an ensemble by distribution of form, color, and chiaroscuro, he substituted such an impression of the scene as one derives from nature, wherein all the various forms and colors are brought into a harmony by the lighted air. How he gradually achieved this may be gathered best from a summary of his artistic career.

Diego Rodriguez de Silva y Velasquez was born at Seville in 1599, in the same year as Vandyke and six years before the birth of his patron, Philip IV. His parents were of gentle blood. Juan Rodriguez de Silva, the father, was descended from a great Portuguese family which traced its pedigree up to the kings of Alba Longa: and the mother, Geronima Velasquez, by whose name, according to the frequent usage of Andalusia, the son came to be known, belonged to the class of *Hidalgos* or lesser nobility. They gave their son the best education that Seville afforded, but though he acquitted himself well in languages and philosophy, he showed so marked a predilection for drawing, that they yielded to his desire to be an artist. He was apprenticed to Francisco Herrera, the Elder, the ablest painter in Seville, who was as noted for his dashingly effective yet natural style and for his rapid and dexterous brushwork, as he was notorious for the violence of his temper. Velasquez, a youth of gentle disposition, soon tired of his tyranny and sought a more equable, though less capable, master, in Francisco Pacheco. But the latter, as we have already noted, in his official capacity of

THE PRADO MUSEUM
MADRID



DON OLIVAREZ. BY VELASQUEZ.
PRADO MUSEUM, MADRID.

inquisitor of paintings, occupied a unique position in the city; his house was the rendezvous of artists and literary men, and in their companionship, during his six years' sojourn with Pacheco, Velasquez no doubt acquired that refinement of manners and intellectual poise which were to serve him so well when he became associated with the court. His studies during these years seem to have been the product of his own instinct of what he needed.

He was early of the opinion that nature was the best teacher and industry the surest end to perfection; resolved never to draw or color an object, without having the thing itself before him, and that he might have a model of the human countenance ever at hand, kept, says Pacheco, "a peasant lad, as an apprentice, who served him for a study in different postures—sometimes crying, sometimes laughing—till he had grappled with every difficulty of expression; executing an infinite variety of heads in charcoal and chalk on blue paper, by which he arrived at certainty in taking likenesses." He thus laid the foundation of the inimitable ease and perfection with which he afterward painted heads. To acquire facility in the treatment of color he devoted himself for a while to the study of animals and still life, and these *bodegones*, judging from the few examples that still exist, were worthy to be seen alongside of the best work of the Flemish artists. His third step in self-instruction was the painting of subjects in low life, found in such rich and picturesque variety in the streets of Seville and the country roads of Andalusia, and to the delineation of these he brought a fine sense of humor and discrimination of character. Whilst thus engaged in accurate study of common life and manner, he was attracted into another vein by the arrival in Seville of pictures by foreign masters, and the "Adoration of the Shepherds," now in the National Gallery, London, one of the results of this influence, was clearly inspired by the manner of Ribera. The models were all taken from low life, and naturalism rather than beauty or dignity was the end sought. To those who proposed to him a loftier flight and suggested that he base his style upon Raphael's he replied, that he would rather be the first of vulgar than the second of refined painters.

Velasquez now became his master's son-in-law. "At the end of

five years," writes Pacheco, "I married him to my daughter, Doña Juana, moved thereto by his virtue, honor, and excellent qualities, and the hopefulness of his great natural genius." From the family picture in the Imperial Gallery in Vienna it appears that she bore him four boys and two girls. But nothing is known of their domestic life, except its close: that, after nearly forty years of companionship, she tended his dying moments and, within a few days, followed him to the grave.

By the time he reached the age of twenty-three, Velasquez had learned all that Seville could teach him, and was now determined to study the work of the painters of Castile and the masterpieces in the Royal Galleries of Madrid. He set out thither in the spring of 1622, attended by a single servant, and furnished by his father-in-law with letters of introduction to distinguished Sevillians, resident in the capital, among others to Don Juan Fonseca, usher of the curtain to Philip IV. This gentleman procured him admission to the galleries, but failed to win for him the notice of the king, so that after some months' study Velasquez returned to Seville. Meanwhile Fonseca had secured the interest of the prime-minister, the Count Duke Olivarez, whose policy was to preserve his own authority intact by keeping the young king occupied with other affairs than those of state. Accordingly, a few months after his return home, Velasquez received a summons to repair to court, and, attended by his slave, Juan Pareja, a mulatto lad, who afterward became an excellent painter, reached Madrid for the second time in 1623. He lodged in the house of Fonseca and painted the latter's portrait. This was carried to the palace and shown to the king; who immediately issued the following memorandum to the official in charge of artistic appointments: "I have informed Diego Velasquez that you receive him into my service, to occupy himself in his profession as I shall hereafter command; and I have appointed him a monthly salary of twenty ducats, payable at the office of works for the Royal Palaces, the Casa del Campo and the Prado; you will prepare the necessary commission according to the form observed with other persons of his profession. Given at Madrid on the 6th of April, 1623."

Thus, at the age of twenty-four, Velasquez passed into the service of a king of eighteen years. The latter was himself no mean painter, and already an excellent judge of pictures. Moreover he was a prince of easy disposition and simple tastes, who learned to find in the society of his favorite painter a welcome relief from the vexations of state and the *ennui* of the most punctilious court in Christendom. In the artist's studio he could disencumber himself of the wrappings of etiquette that elsewhere surrounded him; and such was the frankness of Velasquez that he would adhere to nature as closely in painting a portrait of the king as in painting a water-carrier of Seville or a basket of pot-herbs from the garden of the Alcala. Between prince and painter there grew an intimacy of companionship, as creditable to the one as to the other, which, except for the occasions when Velasquez visited Italy, lasted without interruption for some twenty-seven years.

These two visits, occurring respectively in 1630 and 1648, form convenient landmarks in the artistic development of Velasquez. To the period preceding the first visit, belong many portraits: "Bust of Philip in armor" and "Philip in black," of the Prado; and "Philip" (young) in the National Gallery. These, like the portraits of Don Carlos, the Infanta Maria, and the poet Góngora, exhibit a certain hardness in the modeling and sharp shadows against an empty light background.

While thus engaged in portraits of royalty, he found time for the most famous of his subjects of low life—"Los Borrachos," or "The Topers." This well-known picture, including nine figures of life-size, represents a country youth masquerading as Bacchus, nude to the waist and crowned with vine leaves. He is placing a garland on the head of a boon companion who kneels before him, while the rest of the figures, one of whom is nude, are seated around with various expressions of merry or stupid intoxication. "Each head is a marvel of handling, of modeling, of character," and, as Carl Justi writes, "Whoever would form an opinion of the artist's treatment of the nude should study this youthful, soft, yet robust, figure of Bacchus."

In the summer of 1628 Rubens visited Madrid, as envoy for the

Infanta Archduchess Isabella, Governor of the Low Countries. Upon Velasquez, now a person of recognized distinction, occupying a suite of apartments in the palace, devolved the privilege of escorting the elder artist, the most famous of contemporary painters, through the churches and galleries and of being present in his studio as he painted for the king. The two were in close intimacy for nine months, during which the advice and example of Rubens increased the design of Velasquez to visit Italy. After many promises and delays on the part of the king, Velasquez, attended by his trusty Pareja, set sail from Barcelona in the train of the great captain, Spinola, who was on his way to assume the government of the Duchy of Milan and the command of the Spanish and Imperial troops, in their war against the French. Landing in Italy, he went direct to Venice, where he studied the works of the great colorists, and made copies of Tintoretto's "Crucifixion" and "Last Supper." Then, fearing that he might be cut off from the south by the arrival of the French, he abruptly left Venice, and after a hurried journey, in which he avoided Florence, reached Rome. Here he stayed for nearly a year, during which he painted "Joseph's Coat" and the "Forge of Vulcan." The latter, representing Vulcan and his Cyclops in their murky cavern, listening to Apollo, as he relates the infidelity of Venus, throws a curious light on the artist's mental attitude. Surrounded, as he was, by examples of classic sculpture, he deliberately ignored their suggestions in rendering the figure of Apollo, which is seen as that of a tame and uninteresting youth in a posture almost irritatingly natural. Its tameness, indeed, is a discordant note in a composition otherwise virile in its representation of nude, muscular forms. But the psychological interest of the picture is the evidence it gives of Velasquez's resolute self-reliance; that even in Rome itself, he would preserve his detachment from the classic influence and follow up his own expressed ideal of being the first of the vulgar, rather than the second of refined, painters.

In the autumn of 1630 Velasquez visited Naples, where his urbanity and tact combined to win the esteem, without incurring the jealousy, of his countryman, Ribera. By the following spring he



“THE SPINNERS.” BY VELASQUEZ.
FRANCO DE GOYA, MADRID

was back again in Madrid, where the king received him with increased favor, assigning him a studio that commanded a view of the Escorial and was in close proximity to the royal apartments, so that the companionship between the two became more unremitting and intimate.

The time which now ensued until his second visit to Italy, conveniently distinguished as his middle period, was signalized by a series of great equestrian portraits, commencing with those of the king and of his queen, Margaret, and continuing with that of their son, Don Baltasar Carlos and the equestrian Olivarez. He produced also one of his few sacred subjects, "The Crucifixion," painted for the Benedictine Convent of San Placido; and the famous mural painting, the "Surrender of Breda."

The characteristic common to every one of these pictures and more or less visible in all the work of this middle period, is the decorative quality of the compositions. Olivarez, as a means of distracting the king's mind, both from the melancholy that was settling over it, and from the complications which the minister's own misgovernment was fomenting, had encouraged the erection of a villa and the laying out of beautiful grounds upon the outskirts of the Prado. To the decoration of this Buen Retiro the king was now committed, and seven painters under the direction of Velasquez were employed upon the work. It was to replace the unsatisfactory painting of one of them that Velasquez himself undertook the "Breda." But, while this circumstance has a bearing upon the decorative tendency in the artist's work of this period, it does not seem to explain it entirely. The more reasonable conclusion is that Velasquez, deeply impressed with the grandeur of Venetian painting and recognizing its dependence upon the decorative motive, was deliberately experimenting with the problem of reconciling this purely pictorial expedient with his own expressed ideal, "*verdad no pintura*"—"truth, not painting."

In his early period, following the traditions of the Spanish school and his own emphatic predilection, he had set nature before him as sole guide; nor could any of the Italian masterpieces in the royal galleries make him deviate from the direction of his choice and con-

viction. We have already quoted his reply to those who would have had him emulate the grace and dignity of Raphael; and have now to see how the excessive vehemence of that motive was to be modified, until gradually in his latest period he achieved a natural manner that was the very reverse of vulgar, and places him among the most aristocratic of artists.

The transitionary step appears in this middle period, after he had seen the noblest examples of Venetian painting in their proper environment upon the walls of palaces and churches. There, indeed, was to be found the triumph of art over nature! Not alone in the choice of subject, in the mingling of real personages with spiritual or allegorical conceptions, in the creation of a spectacle that was a product, not of facts, but of imagination; but in a technical sense also unnatural. The compositions, for example, were arranged, not as the figures would comport themselves in a real scene, but with an arbitrary artistic intention, primarily, and almost exclusively, of securing the dignity of flowing lines and the grandeur of contrasted masses. The unity of effect was further secured by an equally arbitrary distribution of the chiaroscuro; while, as for color, the part it played in promoting the *ensemble* and giving splendor—where in the prevailing somberness of Spanish court life was Velasquez to find its counterpart? Once more, if he were to work with the materials at his disposal and be true to his own convictions, in what way could he approximate to the supremacy of art over nature, as exhibited in Venetian painting? For, though art may be inspired and based upon nature, nature and art are in perpetual antagonism, and the union of the two in the picture must be the effect of a compromise that, however, recognizes the supremacy of art. Nature, for example, presents itself to us as a quantity of fragmentary impressions, with ragged edges, bits, as it were, torn out of the vast and illimitable book of life. On the contrary, a picture should be a little kingdom in itself, complete, harmonious, self-engrossed.

This supremacy of art over nature was secured by Velasquez during the middle period of his career through suggestions derived from the Venetians. His work during these years was largely of a

decorative character, and the most perfect example of it is the "Surrender of Breda."

One of its motives was to commemorate an achievement of his friend, the Marquis Ambrogio Spinola, a Genoese by birth, but by adoption a soldier of Spain. He was the last of her great captains of war, while the event to be made memorable was to prove the last of her important victories—the capture in 1625 of the Dutch stronghold of Breda. Spinola was now dead, a victim, it is said, of the ingratitude of the Spanish court, that had refused to acknowledge certain financial claims to which he believed himself entitled. If it were so, the matter sheds an interesting light upon the generous independence of Velasquez and upon the toleration or indifference of Philip IV. For, just as Velasquez some years before had dared to visit his benefactor, Olivarez, after the latter had been disgraced and banished from court, so now he set himself to preserve the memory of Spinola. And he has done so in one of the grandest historical pictures that exists.

Prince Justin of Nassau has ridden out from the city and Spinola has ridden to meet him, both attended by their bodyguards. They have alighted from their horses, and the conqueror, with the gracious courtesy of a host receiving a distinguished guest, bows to the vanquished, at the same time placing his hand on the latter's shoulder, as if to raise him from his attitude of humility. The two figures form the knot of the whole composition, and, as that penetrating critic R. A. M. Stevenson says, "one is able to look at the 'Surrender of Breda,' and imagine the center cut out, and yet the chief sentiments of the picture preserved." It is interesting to observe that this is also the feeling that Mr. Cole seems to have experienced. "The dignity of the two figures," continues Mr. Stevenson, "would be scarcely impaired by the omission of surroundings which, however well put in, yet exist for the purpose of illustrative and decorative arrangement."

The latter phrase will repay consideration. Every historical picture, inasmuch as it illustrates an incident, is primarily, though maybe on a grandiose scale, an illustration. If it is nothing more,

its appearance as a mural painting on the walls of a building will appear anomalous; the more dignified the building, the less will the illustration accord with its environment. That it shall do so, the painting must be also decorative. While it is fairly easy to recognize a painting as being or as not being decorative, it is difficult to express the distinction in words. Painters seem to be agreed that to gain the mural quality a certain flatness of painting must be attained. Instead of a succession of planes, leading back into distance, as when an accordion is pulled out, the instrument must be, as it were, shut tight, that the planes may be flattened into an effect rather of background and of foreground. The composition, further, must have something of the patterning of tapestry; objects counting as masses, not over modeled, but giving the suggestion of form as a whole, rather than any elaborate working up of parts; moreover, the patterning itself will have a certain formal character. It is here, perhaps, that the distinction begins to emerge. The distribution of forms and colors must be formal, corresponding to the formality of architecture, which has in it nothing of nature. In a word, it must savor of artificiality, which in an illustration pure and simple is abominable; while, if the merit of the illustration be its naturalness, it is to that extent less good as decoration.

But a compromise between artificiality and naturalness was achieved by Velasquez in the "Surrender of Breda." The central figures are rendered with the intimacy of portraiture and made to tell the whole story, while the accessory groups are massed and merged with an artifice that makes the whole foreground count as a sustained pattern against the blues of the background. Velasquez, in fact, here tempered his naturalism with pictorial conventions learned from the Venetians, and the painting, impressive as a historical picture, is also as a decoration worthy of a place in the Doge's Palace. Yet, if the artist had died after executing this picture, he might have been acclaimed a master, but the world would not have known the real Velasquez.

His final development into that independence which passed beyond the old conventions, and laid the foundations of a new way of



THE SURRENDER OF BREDA (THE LANCES). BY VELASQUEZ.

seeing and representing nature is revealed in his late period, following the second visit to Italy in 1648. It was foreshadowed in the portrait of Pope Innocent X, painted while he was in Rome; continued through such masterpieces as "Philip IV" (old), "Æsop," and "Menippus," until it reached its climax in "The Spinners" and the "Maids of Honor."

For Velasquez's final way of seeing and of recording what he saw, the modern taste for definition has coined a new word—impressionism. It implies, in the first place, a reliance on the eye instead of on the understanding; in the case of the painter, a rendering of what he can see, instead of what he knows to be there. You will appreciate this distinction if you compare a charge of cavalry painted by Meissonier, for example, his "Friedland, 1807," with one of Degas's pictures of race-horses, grouped around the starting-post. Meissonier's bristles with elaborately finished details, bits, straps, stirrups, and a hundred other accessories that he knew to be there, and executed with fidelity, giving about equal emphasis to every horse and rider and all their details, so that the whole is a mosaic of minute effects. Degas, on the contrary, has represented the horses and jockeys as the bunch of them would affect the eye at the distance from which it views them; and given them the same relation to the course and other incidental figures that they would have in the general *coup d'œil*. He has recorded, in fact, the impression that we should receive from the actual scene, if our eyesight were as alert and comprehensive as his own. Thus impressionism records a truth of general aspect more vividly than the untrained eye of the layman could embrace it. It heightens the sensation in ourselves.

In the second place, the artist, thus intent on the truth of general aspect, undistracted by the triviality of non-essentials, has a fresher and more penetrating eye for the qualities that are essential: the intrinsic dignity or grace of mass or movement, and the subtlety of color. Both are illustrated in the "Menippus." The association of the figure with the name of the Greek cynic-philosopher, and the introduction of the manuscripts to help out the idea, may well have been an afterthought, and at any rate are of second importance.

The picture, primarily, is the study of a Castilian tramp, a bundle of picturesque rags, who wears his rusty black cloak with the artless dignity that is characteristic of even the beggars of Castile. A truth of general aspect; and what an impressiveness withal; nobility of mass, and character of movement! A face of sly familiarity, mingled with the watchfulness of a lynx; the weight on the left leg, the right hip raised, the hand upon it, the elbow advanced—a gesture half of assertion, half of readiness to slink away. And see how the angle of the elbow lifts the cloak into the light. Before his time men painted black as black; but Velasquez “flushes it with a hundred nuances of greenish light.” Restricted in variety of color by the somber costumes of the Castilian court, he learned to find his satisfaction, as a colorist, in chromatic tones of blacks, whites, grays, and flesh tints. He could paint a figure all in black, as the “Menippus,” and yet weave the blacks into a web of colored tissue. In this he was but observing and recording the effects of nature’s light upon the local color of the object; and it is here that we reach the final triumph which he achieved over nature. He took her secret, and out of it fashioned a means of subordinating her effects to those of art.

In nature the colors of objects are tempered and harmonized by the light; even the garishness of a flower bed, with strongly contrasted colors, is mitigated, if you step back until a certain amount of atmosphere intervenes. Borrowing this principle from nature, Velasquez applied it to his art and thus secured a new kind of unity in his pictures—a unity of tone, corresponding to the real appearances of nature. For the unity in a Venetian painting or a Rubens is obtained by the juxtaposition and relation of masses of local color, drawn closer together into mellowness by a thin veil of some transparent hue brushed over the whole. It is the result of a pictorial convention.

But Velasquez, a determined naturalist, resented means so arbitrary; a harmony founded on natural appearances would alone suffice him. Hence in the language of the modern studio he extended realism by the addition of the *milieu*: saw his figures in their sur-

rounding of lighted atmosphere, and by rendering the latter with analytical precision secured to them amazing naturalness. He rendered, to use another modern term, the "values," that is to say, the exact amount of light given off from every part, according as its plane projects or recedes, and according to the angle at which the planes receive the light.

We have seen how by this means he expressed the nuances of local color. By the same means he established a natural harmony of tone throughout the picture, which became a unified, complex effect of colored tissues. For he painted the forms as they appear in natural light; not enclosed in sharply defined contours, but as colored masses, the edges of which are more or less softened or even obscured by light or shadow; the line, here pronounced, there evasive, or disappearing. And, rendering thus the values, he created the illusion of atmosphere, and consequently of space and distance, producing an aërial perspective of extraordinarily subtle veracity, seen to perfection in the "Maids of Honor."

- In this connection let me quote Mr. Stevenson, who was himself an artist. "When a lady in a brightly-colored hat passes one of Velasquez's canvases, it is true that you see the whole picture of one tone in contrast to the hat. Yet the key is so subtly varied and so delicately nuanced, that the picture, unless through such a contrast, appears to be a luminous tissue of air, not definitely red, black, green, or yellow. But the 'Maids of Honor' even when subjected to this test of contrast with real people sitting on a bench before it, preserves its appearance of truth and natural vigor. Its color relations continue to look as subtle and as naturally complex as before; and when you look at both nature and the picture, your eye only seems to pass from one room to another. The sense of space and roundness in the real room is not greater than in the painted room."

In this masterpiece Velasquez's genius is most characteristically exhibited. The picture contains nothing of the material and contrivances usual in works of the grand style. Instead of noble or graceful figures, in beautiful garments that offer flowing lines of drapery, built up into an imposing composition of form, nearly two

thirds of this canvas consists of walls and ceiling, below which at the bottom of the picture the figures are disposed. The center of the group is the little Infanta Maria Marguerita, to whom a maid of honor, kneeling, presents a glass of water, while another maid bends forward in an obeisance—gracious personages, all of them, but disfigured by the ridiculous guarda-infanta or extravagant farthingale and by the stiff ungainly corsets. To the right stand two ugly dwarfs, one resting his foot on a recumbent hound. The latter, and the artist himself, who is seen on the left, painting upon a tall canvas, represent the only forms of actual dignity in the picture. What could Titian have made of such material? It is scarcely conceivable that he would have essayed the problem.

That it was presented to Velasquez came about, we are told, from a casual circumstance. He was engaged in painting a portrait of the king and queen. They were seated, as their reflection in the mirror at the end of the room shows, outside of the frame of the present picture, when an interruption occurred. The little princess entered with her maids of honor and dwarfs; she asked for a drink of water, and with the usual formality of court etiquette it was presented to her. The king was charmed with the effect of the group and demanded that Velasquez should make a picture of it. Abating nothing of the realism, depending, indeed, upon it, he did so.

In taking in the impression of the scene, he comprehended the significance not only of the figures, but of the lofty spacious apartment in which the incident was seen. I spoke a moment ago of walls and ceiling, for to any other artist of the period this would have seemed to be the outlying environment of the figures. Not so to Velasquez. He was conscious of the *space* enclosed by them. It is the spaciousness of the lofty room, filled with luminous atmosphere, flooded with light in the foreground, where the main figures are grouped, growing dimmer toward the distance, mysteriously shadowed overhead, that he realized and painted. Thus, the two thirds of the canvas, which in other hands would have been more or less of a barren waste, becomes in his the most truly significant portion of the composition, assuaging the crudity of the forms and lifting up



THE MENIPPUS. BY VELASQUEZ.
PRADO MUSEUM, MADRID.

one's consciousness of the realism to a point where the imagination can play around it.

Since he modeled and composed in light, the environment of atmosphere became to him a source of grandeur, a new "grand style," differing from that of the Venetians, because it was based on nature. And, as we have remarked, it appeals to the imagination.

It is not unusual for people to regard realism as incompatible with imagination. Velasquez, they conclude, was lacking in it, because he was a realist. Such an offhand conclusion is the result of the too frequent tendency to base a judgment of a work of art upon its subject. If the latter represents something that the eye of the artist has never looked on, but incidents and features that he has conjured up out of his mind, such is called ideal, and a work of the imagination. Especially is this the case if the subject be religious or mythological. In time, however, students of painting, extending their survey of pictures of various kinds, good, bad, and indifferent, begin to discover how little the subject has to do with the merit of the picture; that, for example, there are numerous "Descents from the Cross" but that only one or two, like that of Rubens, make a profound impression. They learn that an exalted subject may be treated meanly, and a humble one may be exalted by its treatment; that, in fact, the final result is determined, not by the subject, but by the technical skill and quality of mind of the artist. By this time they are in a condition to appreciate the distinctions that exist among realistic painters: that one man may be satisfied to paint merely what is apparent to his ocular vision, while another's mind is so filled with the truth of things and their meaning and suggestion, that he stirs in us other senses than that of sight alone, and so vividly that our imagination is rendered active, until we feel the realism in the fuller sense in which it kindled the imagination of the artist.

After his second visit to Italy Velasquez had been appointed aposentador-mayor, or quartermaster-general, of the king's household, a position of great dignity, but involving onerous duties. Among these it was his business to superintend all public festivals.

Consequently, when the marriage of the Infanta Maria Teresa with Louis XIV had been negotiated, the burden of arranging the imposing ceremonies fell upon Velasquez. The spot selected for the meeting of their Catholic and Christian majesties was the debatable ground of the Isle of Pheasants in the river Bidassoa, which separated the two kingdoms. Here Velasquez erected a pavilion, richly decorated with tapestries and furniture brought from Madrid. But the strain of the occasion proved too much for his strength. A rumor that he was already dead had reached Madrid, when he returned home to linger for a month. On the 31st of July, 1660, under an attack of fever, he succumbed, in his sixty-first year. He was buried with great pomp in the Church of San Juan, an edifice which the French pulled down in 1811. The only monument to his memory, erected later by his countrymen, is a bas-relief, placed on the pedestal of the equestrian statue of Philip IV, representing the king bestowing on the artist the order of a Knight of Santiago.

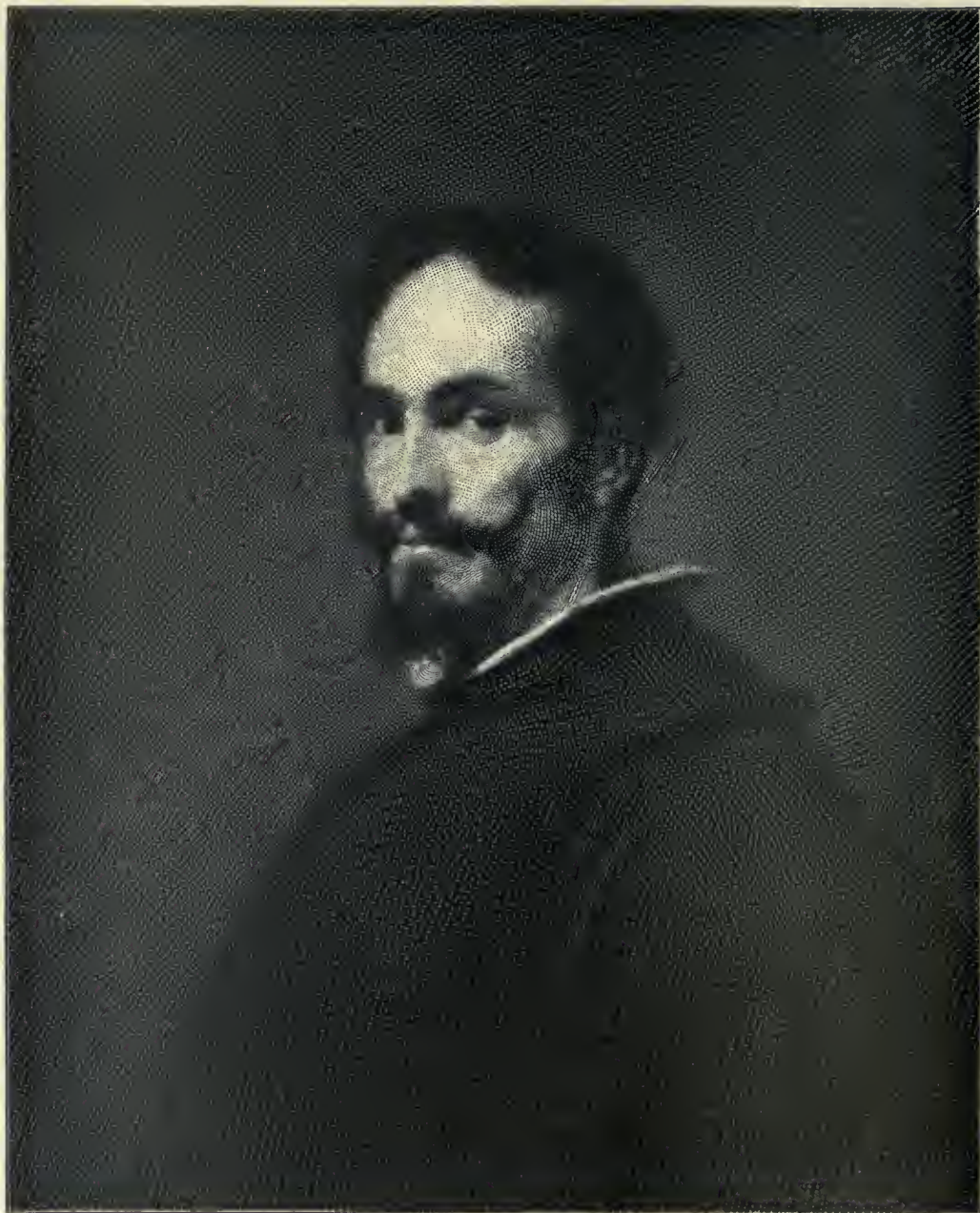
For two hundred years after his death the fame of Velasquez slumbered. Then at the Manchester exhibition of 1857 a considerable number of his works were shown; and three years later he was discovered by the French. His biography by Stirling-Maxwell was translated into French, the comments on his work by Charles Blanc, Théophile Gautier, and Paul Lefort attracted the attention of painters. His first and most enthusiastic follower was Manet, under whose leadership began the movement which has revolutionized in modern times the method of painting.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

VELASQUEZ is the soul of Spanish art, as Rembrandt is of Dutch art. His art is divided into three periods, the first ending in his thirtieth year, and marked by his great picture

of "Los Borrachos," or "The Topers"; the second in his forty-eighth; and the third with his death, at the age of sixty-one, in 1660. The picture which marks the final period is his last and

THE HEAD OF A YOUNG MAN.
BY VELASQUEZ.
IN THE COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON,
APSLEY HOUSE, LONDON.



THE HEAD OF A YOUNG MAN. BY VELASQUEZ.
IN THE COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, APSLEY HOUSE, LONDON.

greatest,—“*Las Meninas*,”—the finest canvas in the world, as indicating the high-water mark of realism.

The “*Equestrian Portrait of Olivarez*,” now in the Prado, is painted in the artist’s second manner. Olivarez was prime minister of Spain during the first half of the forty-four years of the reign of Philip IV. He quickly recognized the genius of Velasquez, who was then twenty-four years old, and brought him to the notice of the more youthful king. He was his constant friend thereafter, and it is worthy of record that in the minister’s downfall and disgrace, when all but a few of his friends had deserted him, the artist was prominent among those few who could still attest their gratitude by personally visiting the old man in his exile at the risk of incurring the displeasure of the court.

Olivarez doubtless possessed, in private life, estimable traits that endeared him to such discerning spirits as Velasquez, but as a statesman it is recorded that he was the most unscrupulous and powerful of the seventeenth century. He was always raving for war and protesting that he could not live without it. Thus he kindled a conflagration, to the ruin of the land, “losing more territories to the Castilian crown than it has been the fortune of few great conquerors ever to have gained” (Stirling-Maxwell). He who stirred up so many wars now wished, finally, to see himself seated in the saddle as a general of cavalry, although he had never so much as smelt the odor of battle. Carl Justi, referring to this portrait, says: “The general is undoubtedly a humbug, just as his brown hair is a shan. His habits were anything but military, and his enemies sneered at this ‘heroic minister’ and ‘grand old man,’ who was so delicate

that he refused to go on board a vessel, as at Barcelona, in 1632, for fear of sea-sickness. When his portrait was exposed for sale in Madrid, in 1635, it was pelted with stones, and the same occurred again at Saragossa, in 1642.

“But these are outward considerations, and it must be admitted that the figure suits well the assumed rôle. So true is this that, were the subject unknown, he would perhaps be taken for some leader of invincible ‘Ironsides’ in the great war. In fact, the French critic, Charles Blanc, describes the picture as that of a hero leading the charge without bluster or ostentation.”

Velasquez made many portraits of his powerful patron, but in this one, showing him mounted on his Andalusian bay, it is considered that he strove to outdo himself. In composition it lays no claim to originality, since Rubens and Vandyke had done similar things before, which Velasquez had seen and doubtless studied, and the position of the figure upon the horse is generally criticized as being too far forward upon the neck of the animal; but as a tissue of rare and subtle tones, of subdued and sonorous harmonies of color, it ranks with the most refined canvases of the world.

To give a crude idea of the coloring, we may say that the figure is clad in black armor, the jointings of which are edged with gold; the hat is dark gray, with purple plume; the scarf is gold-embroidered and wine-colored; the boots are of a warm, grayish color; and the saddle is old gold, mingling with the golden fringe of the scarf. These tones appear to great advantage upon the chestnut horse and against the delicate grays of the clouded sky, the blue passages of which are of a warm greenish tint. The whole of the

sky and the background is bathed in a greenish cast, and the foliage behind the figure comes out with brighter touches of green, giving the impression of spring leaves. This is a specially charming bit, and so modern in treatment that nothing at present could surpass it. In the distance, the umbery tones of which become richer toward the foreground, is seen the smoke of battle and the marching of soldiers.

This canvas measures approximately ten feet three inches high, by seven feet ten inches wide, and was, according to Carl Justi, painted about 1636.

The "Portrait of King Philip IV as a Sportsman," which hangs in the Prado Museum, Madrid, shows the king at nearly thirty years of age. Velasquez was about thirty-six when he painted it. It belongs to his second period, and is a most charming example of his coloring. The king, we see, was of a blond complexion, and his pale face is in the highest relief against deep, soft umbery and olive-toned foliage. He is clad in a hunting-costume, the jacket and hat of which are of an olive shade, similar in tone to the background. The leggings and trousers are black, and the gloves of a soft buff shade. The sleeve is a very dark blue, relieved with gold embroidery, and the dog of a brownish-yellow color. The hands, being gloved, are thus in a natural way subordinated to the face, and the dog is still more subdued; its features especially are softened. The clouded sky, which is of a warm gray flushed with a delicate purple tone, breaks golden toward the horizon, and the dark distant hills are of a purple hue, which floats mysteriously into the greenish color of the trees on the right and the umbery and brownish shades of the foreground.

The sweetness and the harmony of these simple tones and the richness of the ensemble—its impalpable umbery warmth and subtle breath of purple and gold—make it something to be felt and remembered rather than described. The royal sportsman was reckoned the best shot of his time and the stoutest of hunters. He frequented the bull-ring, and on the occasion of a great fête, when a certain bull, the hero of the day, displayed extraordinary valor in vanquishing every antagonist, the king, struck by his prowess, thought him worthy the honor of dying by his own hand. So, seated on high, he raised his gun, and amid an impressive silence shot the creature through the forehead.

Of all the beautiful things that Velasquez has left us, the portrait of the young prince, Don Baltasar Carlos, on his pony takes precedence for sparkle and vivacity of color, and is esteemed by many as the most perfect example of the artist's second manner—a manner differentiated from his previous style by stronger individualization, greater purity of tone and color, and a richer technique, which he varies according to the sentiment of his impression. But that rounded whole, the complete ensemble, is the triumph of his third and latest phase.

The subject here was doubtless an inspiration to the painter, for the little fellow, the hope and pride of his father, Philip IV, was but seven years old, and already at that tender age was one of the most fearless and graceful of riders, with a steed the most mettlesome and sprightly. The result is, as Carl Justi remarks, "all that is captivating in a creation of the pictorial art—life and motion, all-pervading light and prospect in the distance, air and luster, mass and contrast, the soul of

the artist and consummate mastery of his technique." All of which we concede; but the "motion" is that of the hobby-horse rather than of the real live animal. Indeed, I have often heard this work objected to on this score—the hind legs of the creature glued to the ground, as it were, with its rounded belly also strongly suggesting the comparison. But motion in the horse is one of the latest acquisitions of the art of our day, and was undreamed of by Velasquez, who, in his equestrian portraits, followed the conventional statuesque form of bygone times. In this portrait of the prince, the statuesque feeling is further aided by the marshal's baton, which he holds extended in his hand. The same type of fat-bellied pony may still occasionally be seen in Spain, with the rich long mane and tail that the Spaniards are fond of seeing in their horses.

The engraved detail gives the most interesting portion. The child is decked in all his bravery: black hat and plume setting off the subtle flesh-tone of the face, which is a marvel of handling and character; body of coat, black velvet, with outflying cape; collar, white; scarf, wine-colored, with golden fringe; rich golden-colored sleeves and yellow gloves; saddle, rich golden gray; and chamois-skin boots. All this against the fine bay color of the pony and upon the deep greenish blue of the background sky makes verily a gem of tone and harmony. Not the least interesting portion of the picture is the background, with its distant snow-clad mountains and middle landscape bathed in an ocean of blue light, and recognizable as the elevated environs to the north of Madrid.

It is a large canvas, measuring six feet ten inches high by four feet eight inches wide, horse and rider being life-

size. It was painted about the year 1635, when the artist was about thirty-six years old, and after his first visit to Italy.

"The Surrender of Breda," from which I have engraved the detail of the principal characters, was painted by Velasquez for King Philip IV in



KEY OF "THE SURRENDER OF BREDA"

1647, and was one of the latest—certainly the most important and best—of the works of the artist executed before his second visit to Italy, in 1648. It marks the culmination of his second period.

"The Surrender of Breda" is also styled "The Lances," from the number of pikes which form a conspicuous figure in its composition, striping, as they do, the blue sky to the right of the picture. The subject represents an important event in the history of Spain which happened in 1625. It also gives us a living portrait of "the last great general Spain ever had," Ambrogio Spinola, who, by the way, was an Italian and an esteemed friend of the painter.

It is a large canvas, measuring approximately ten feet high by twelve feet wide, with figures of life-size. The Spaniards are on the right, headed by the victorious General Spinola, and the Hollanders form the opposite group,

from which the vanquished leader, Prince Justin of Nassau, bends forward, advancing toward Spinola, and resigning the key of the fortress. This the latter generously ignores, and prepares to embrace his fallen foe, and doubtless to praise him on his valorous defense, for "he held the fort with stubborn resistance." It is a trying and delicate moment, but the artist has depicted it with consummate skill, placing us into sympathy with the situation. How well he invests the whole figure of the Italian with the kindly and courteous air of the perfect gentleman! The Dutchman shows in his whole person the sense of defeat.

The whole is rich and powerful in color and low in tone. The Spanish general is clad in a coat of mail riveted with brass, and he wears buff boots. He holds in his right hand a field-glass and his hat, from which projects a white plume. From his shoulder hangs a wine-colored silk-scarf, which flows in folds behind. The Dutch leader is loosely clad in a full habit of a warm-brown tone, which is ornamented with gold braidings that glint and sparkle softly in the relief of its folds, giving it pleasing variety. His thick boots are of a similar warm-brown tone, with flapping tops, and his limp costume presents a contrast to the trim elegance of his conqueror.

The scene is laid upon an eminence. Behind, and lower down, are soldiers marching, and off in the distance stretch the lowlands of Holland, with Breda and its smoking fortifications.

On quitting Madrid for Rome to engrave the famous portrait of Innocent X, I was warned by Señor Beruete, a profound and noted student in all things pertaining to Velasquez, that I should be disappointed in the head. I hardly expected, how-

ever, on confronting the picture in the Doria gallery, to experience, as I did, so palpable a confirmation of the truth of his conviction. The canvas was not painted from life, but after the studies from life that the artist made of his illustrious model—studies which exist, one in the hermitage of St. Petersburg and the other in the Duke of Wellington's collection in London. These studies are far finer as portraits, being broader and softer in treatment, and replete with those evasive, unconscious, and spontaneous touches which the presence of nature inspires in the artist working directly. It is these subtle, living qualities, these impalpable essences, that one feels are missing from this head of the Doria palace.

The chief merit of the work rests in its composition and its splendid coloring. Velasquez at that time (1648) was imbued with the Venetian coloring, and had but lately arrived from Venice, where, as well as at other towns in Italy, he had been occupied in buying pictures for Philip IV. The portrait of the Pope that he painted at that time is quite Venetian in its richness. The splendid golden-brown background curtain seems flushed with the rich, soft tones of the red dress, the skullcap, and the red leather of the back of the chair. It is all in a fine, rich, mellow tone of red, and the white vestment and sleeves, though very low and warm in tone, tell as a glowing value. Yet the eye is not held by it, but goes at once to the head for the reason that the gilded decoration of the chair-back, coming in close proximity to the head, serves to direct the attention to the face. It is very surprising, one may think, that, with so much detail,—everything worked up uncompromisingly to the force and brilliancy of nature,—the eye goes nat-

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POPE INNOCENT X. BY VELASQUEZ.
IN THE SPINIA PALACE, ROME.

urally to the head and is held there. But it is this gilded square of the chair-back that is the secret of it, for remove this, and it will be felt immediately how important a factor it is in the composition, not only for its color but for its sharp angles, which offset the many flowing lines of the other parts.

But Velasquez was indebted to El Greco, his predecessor, for this arrangement; for there exists in a private collection in Madrid a life-size portrait of a monk seated in a square-backed chair, the whole conception of which is exactly similar. He holds a book, instead of a paper, in his hand. Again, at an exhibition of El Greco's works given last year at Madrid, there was shown a life-size portrait, full-length, of a seated cardinal in red and white, which for pose and coloring recalled strongly this of Pope Innocent X. This is another evidence of the esteem in which Velasquez held the genius of El Greco.

In this portrait of Innocent X, the brief in the left hand carries the inscription: "Innocenzo X," and the signature of the painter, "Diego de Silva Velasquez."

I was never more impressed with the power of the great Spaniard than while engraving the "Head of a Young Man," which is in the Duke of Wellington's collection at Apsley House, London. Its magnificent technique is beyond all praise. It is a virile head, treated in a manly way, and a more splendid example of strong, squarely defined shadows, combined with exquisite finesse of modeling, would be difficult to find, unless, indeed, among the master's own works. It belongs evidently to the third and most matured style of the artist, resembling, in its impressional unity, refinement of

drawing, and breadth and mystery of chiaroscuro, the wonderful "Æsop" of the Prado. Note the masterly contour of the forehead, or the well-defined shadow about the nostril in contrast with the subtle delineation of the nose in the fusion of its boundary with the off cheek, or the fluency of the modeling in the broad masses of light. An anatomist would say that you feel the skull beneath; but with Velasquez nothing especially arrests the eye save the fact of the impression as a whole—the character of the thing as the light revealed it; and he makes you feel, above all, the entrancing mystery of light.

The canvas measures thirty by twenty-five and a half inches, and the bust is life-size. It is very thinly painted throughout the dark surfaces, but is more heavily overlaid in the lights. The touch is choice, discreet, and of restrained power and dignity, as well as of nice discrimination in the passages from light to dark, culminating in the high light upon the forehead.

I have endeavored to suggest by a mixture of line and stipple, taking my cue from the brush-work, the quality of the handling in the flesh, which is differentiated from that in the hair, and these again from the treatment of the black cloak and the nuanced depth of the warm umbery background. The coloring of the whole is golden, neutral, and subdued, yet rich and of a fine glow.

We are indebted to the Duchess of Wellington, who cheerfully accorded us every facility for photographing and studying the work.

The "Menippus" hangs in the Salon de Velasquez of the Prado Museum in Madrid, and measures five feet ten inches high by about three feet wide. It is life-size and painted on canvas.

The figure is clad in a black cloak, and the painting has a warm brownish and grayish background. It is in the third or latest style of the artist.

The form of the figure beneath the cloak is well expressed. The boots are of a soft, deep-buff color, harmonizing well with the general scheme. The standing of the brown water-jar on the board, which is poised on two round stones, is said to have been a favorite feat of the philosopher—a vainglorious formula of his sobriety and abstinence. He lived on beans, despite the fact that Pythagoras proscribed them.

At his feet lie an open folio on the left and a roll of parchment with an octavo volume on the right. He has the cheery, optimistic air of the true philosopher, though there is mingled somewhat of the Cynic in his expression. Note here what Lucian, the Greek poet and satirist, gives in his picture of Menippus, and how Velasquez takes the license of a poet in departing from him. The parchment and books at the feet may have been intended by Velasquez to symbolize the disregard and contempt in which he held the would-be philosophers of his time.

R. A. M. Stevenson, in his book on Velasquez, says of "The Spinners": "What a rounded vision swims in upon your eye and occupies all the nervous force of the brain, all the effort of sight upon a single complete visual impression! One may look long before it crosses one's mind to think of any color scheme, of tints arbitrarily contrasted or harmonized, of masses balanced, of lines opposed or cunningly interwoven, of any of the tricks of the 'métier' however high and masterlike. The art of this thing, for it is full of art, is done for the first time, and so

neither formal nor traditional. The admiration this picture raises is akin to the excitement of natural beauty; thought is suspended by something alike yet different from the enchantment of reality." And farther on he says: "Now the ensemble of 'The Spinners' has been perceived in some high mood of impressionability, and has been imaginatively kept in view during the course of after-study. The realism of this picture is a revelation of the way the race has felt a scene of the kind during thousands of years. The unconscious habit of the eye in estimating the relative importance of colors, forms, definitions, masses, sparkles, is revealed to us by the unequaled sensitiveness of this man's eyesight." And again in comparing that marvel of light, "Las Meninas," with "The Spinners" he continues: "In the busier, richer, and more accentuated canvas of 'The Spinners,' the shadowed left acts as a foil to the right, and in its treatment we feel the master even more, perhaps, than in the lively right half which contains the heroic figure of the spinning girl. It is because this left half is complete and dignified yet not obtrusive that we admire the art with which it has been organized. True, it contains about as strong local color as Velasquez ever painted, but the tints sleep in a rich penumbra, which serves to set off the highly illuminated figure on the right. In this comparatively tranquil side of the picture, the spindle, the stool, the floor and the objects on it, as well as the draped and shadowed figures, seem to quiver in a warm haze, silvered with cool glints of light. Here Velasquez has reached the highest point of telling suggestion, of choice touch, of nuanced softness, of comparative definition, and of courageous

slashing force in the right place. But these two marvels do not quarrel; this rich circumambience of populous shadow and this dazzling creature emerging from shadowiness with the gesture of a goddess, set each other off and enhance each other's fascinations. Is not the magic of her exquisitely-turned head, and the magnificence of her sweeping gesture due, in part at least, to the natural mystery with which the stray curls, the shining arm, the modeled neck and body slide into the marvelous shadow in the angle of the room? The cool light, slightly greened now, which pervades 'The Spinners,' comes to its culmination on

this figure, and one should not overlook the painter's nice discrimination between the force of definitions in the passages from light to dark of the girl's chemise."

This picture represents the factory of tapestries of Santa Isabel, of Madrid. In the alcove is seen a tapestry suspended, athwart which a ray of sunlight glances, and which is being inspected by visitors.

The canvas measures seven feet two inches high by nine feet five and one-half inches wide, and is the last great work done by the artist. It is seen in the Velasquez room of the Prado Museum at Madrid.

T. C.

THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY
SCHOOL OF VALENCIA

CHAPTER VI

THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SCHOOL OF VALENCIA

I

IN the Valencian school the most important figure of the seventeenth century was José de Ribera. His life belonged to Naples, but his pictures were eagerly welcomed by his countrymen, Philip IV being one of his most constant patrons, and their influence was felt by all the painters of the period. But before discussing his career we may note two local artists of Valencia, Jacinto Geronimo de Espinosa and Estéban March. The former, born at Cocentagna, in 1600, became the pupil of his father, Rodriguez, afterward studying, it is supposed, with the Valencian painter, Francisco Ribalta, and paying a visit to Italy. In his twenty-third year he was in Valencia painting a picture for the convent of Santa Tecla, and appears to have continued to reside there, for in 1638 he painted eight large subjects for the cloister of the convent of the Carmelites. His piety, no less than his industry and prolific fancy, soon established his popularity in a community so devout as that of Valencia. When in 1647 the plague attacked that city, he placed himself and his family under the protection of San Luis Beltran, whose intercession not only preserved them all from contagion, but cured Espinosa himself of an affection of water on the brain. The artist, therefore, in return for these benefits, executed a series of pictures to adorn the chapel of San Luis in the convent of San Domingo. His works abounded throughout the province of Valencia, and examples may be seen to-day in the galleries of Valencia and Madrid. He died in 1680.

We have already noticed Pedro Orrente in discussing the painters of the Castile school, for definite knowledge exists of his having worked much in Toledo. But by birth he belonged to the Valencian school and probably resided in Valencia for some time, since Estéban March of that city was his pupil. The latter's work, like his master's, bears some resemblance to the landscape and animal-genre pictures of the Venetian, Jacopo Bassano. But March was of a violent and eccentric temperament, delighting in battle subjects, which he executed in a dashing style of brushwork. It is said that before painting he would work himself into a suitable condition of excitement by practising with the various weapons that hung around his studio, to the no little discomfiture of his assistants. He possessed a taste for what was coarse, as certain forcible but hideous heads in the Prado attest. In his private life he was correspondingly violent and disorderly, working only when the mood was on him, absenting himself from home in the intervals, and on his return breaking out into fits of rage against his wife and pupils. Palomino, as a characteristic sample of his doings, relates that on one occasion, long after midnight, he brought home a few fish which he insisted on having fried. His wife protested that there was no oil in the house, whereupon he ordered one of his pupils to go out and buy some. It was urged that the shops were closed. "Then take linseed oil," cried March, "for, *per Dios*, I will have those fish fried at once." But the mess when tasted acted as a violent emetic; "for, indeed," remarks Palomino, "linseed oil, at all times of a villainous flavor, when hot is the very devil." In his rage the master flung fish and frying-pan out of the window, whereupon Conchillos, the pupil, flung chafing-dish and charcoal after them. The jest caught the artist's humor and restored him to good temper. Such an anecdote, though of little interest in itself, serves to show that the personality of March was in marked contrast to the customary piety of the Valencian school.

II

RIBERA (LO SPAGNOLETTA)

RIBERA'S long sojourn in Naples led some writers of that city to claim him as an Italian. The fact that he often supplemented his signature with "Spaniard of Játiva" was attributed to a vainglorious desire to identify himself by birth, at least, with the ruling nation. It may have been; but the title was correct, as has been proved by the discovery of his baptismal registration, which states that he was born at Játiva, in Valencia, January 12, 1588; and that his parents were Luis Ribera and Margarita Gil.

In due course he was sent to the University of Valencia to prepare for one of the learned professions; but, following his own bent, abandoned these studies to attend the school of Francisco Ribalta. He made rapid progress, and at an early age contrived to reach Rome. Here he subsisted in a destitute condition, endeavoring to improve himself in art by copying the frescos on the outsides of the palaces, until his industry and poverty attracted the attention of a cardinal. This dignitary carried him off to his own palace, and provided him with clothes, food, and lodging. But the independent spirit of Ribera preferred freedom even with indigence to constraint however comfortable. He escaped into the streets and declined with thanks the cardinal's renewed offers of assistance. It was not long before the little Spaniard (Lo Spagnoletto) became a marked figure in Rome, both for his sturdy temper and for his skill in copying the works of Raphael and the Carracci and later in imitating the style of Caravaggio. But Rome being overstocked with painters, he moved to Naples.

In this city fortune smiled upon him. A rich picture-dealer who had given him employment was so satisfied of his genius that he offered him the hand of his daughter and a handsome dowry. Ribera at first resented the proposal; but, finding it was made in good faith, accepted it, thereby stepping at once into a position of assured comfort with promise of future opulence. He was now stimulated to increased exertion and produced a "Flaying of St. Bartholomew," a composition of life-sized figures in which the horror of the subject was rendered with frightful realism. The picture, being exposed in the public street, possibly in front of the dealer's store, attracted naturally a crowd of sight-seers. The excitement was visible from the windows of the vice-regal palace, at one of which happened to be standing the viceroy himself, the eccentric Don Pedro Giron, Duke of Ossuna. He inquired the cause, sent for the painter and the picture, bought the latter, and appointed the former his court painter.

Ribera, now having the viceroy's ear, became a person of importance. Such prosperity no doubt aroused the jealousy of the Neapolitan painters, and may have colored the story which obtained currency in Naples that Ribera, realizing his power, formed with two other painters, Belisario Corenzio, a Greek, and Giambattista Caracciolo, a Neapolitan, both as unscrupulous as himself, a cabal to crush competition and secure for themselves the pick of the work in Naples. Their conspiracy to obtain the commission for decorating the chapel of St. Januarius in the cathedral of Naples, is one of the most curious and disgraceful pages in the history of art. Cavaliere d'Arpino, to whom the work was first given, they assailed with various persecutions that finally drove him to take shelter with the Benedictines of Monte Cassino. Guido being chosen next, his servant was beaten by hired bravos and ordered to tell his master that a like fate would befall him, if he attempted the work—a hint which drove him also from the city. A pupil of Guido having accepted the commission, his two servants were inveigled on board a galley in the bay and heard of no more. At last the commissioners assigned the work to the conspirators, but for some reason changed

their minds and transferred it to Domenichino, tempting him by an offer of large payment and the empty promise of vice-regal protection. No sooner had the luckless Domenichino undertaken the work than anonymous threatening letters poured in upon him; his character was slandered; his works abused; and the plasterers were bribed to mix ashes with the mortar on which his frescos were to be painted. Harassed by these persecutions Domenichino escaped to Rome, but in an evil hour was persuaded to return to Naples, where he shortly afterward died of vexation, not without suspicion of poison. But, though the conspirators had prevented others from having the work, they did not secure it for themselves. The Neapolitan died a few months after Domenichino, the Greek two years later, and to Lo Spagnoletto was assigned but one item of the whole scheme of decoration. This was an altarpiece, in which he represented St. Januarius among his baffled tormentors, issuing unscathed from the furnace.

Notwithstanding that Cean Bermudez in his "Diccionario historico" makes no mention of these circumstances, their veracity remained unquestioned until the publication in 1866 of the "Discursos practicables del nobilissimo arte de la pintura" by Jusepa Martinez. This writer, a painter of Zaragosa, describes his visit to Naples in 1625 and his meeting with Ribera. The latter received him with courtesy and introduced him to a Neapolitan painter, who, assuming the unpopularity of Ribera, would have been one of his opponents. The suggestion is, therefore, that Martinez detected no existence of any friction between Ribera and his Neapolitan contemporaries. Moreover, the conversation which he records that he held with Ribera seems also to dispose of the stories of the latter's arrogance and exclusive predilection for naturalistic motives. Martinez asked him if he did not regret being away from Rome; and he replied that he did, especially that he missed the constant inspiration of the immortal Raphael. "Those words," says Martinez, "showed me how little to the point was that report, according to which this great painter boasted that none of the old or new masters had equaled his own unsurpassable works."

In face of these impressions and fragments of conversation recorded by Martinez and of the silence of Cean Bermudez concerning the Neapolitan story, Carl Justi considers it disposed of. "This artist," he says, "who never condescended to pander to the gross sensuality of the age, has hitherto been known to posterity only through the hostile and utterly untrustworthy accounts of the Neapolitans."

Whatever quarrels he may have had with other artists, Ribera retained the favor of each succeeding viceroy, was enrolled in the Roman Academy of St. Luke's, and presented with a cross of the order of Christ by Pope Innocent X. According to Bermudez, he died in 1656, full of riches, honor, and fame. Cean Bermudez dwells on the artist's popularity and opulence: how he occupied sumptuous apartments in the vice-regal palace and maintained a retinue of servants in livery; painted for six hours a day and gave the rest to pleasure, and how his wife took the air in her coach with a waiting gentleman to attend her.

The Neapolitans, however, have given his life another end. They assert that Don Juan of Austria, during his visit to Naples in 1648, enjoyed Ribera's hospitality, won his daughter's heart, carried her off to Sicily, and, tiring of his passion, placed her in a convent in Palermo. Stung with shame, the painter is said to have sunk into a melancholy, abandoned his family, and disappeared from Naples. Which of these accounts is the truer, remains undecided.

The fame enjoyed by Ribera at the court of Naples caused a considerable number of his pictures to be sent to Spain by viceroys eager to conciliate the good will of the king and church. Thus alike in Valencia, Madrid, and Seville, his work became familiar to students and set the direction and pace for the great development of the native Spanish school. Velasquez, Murillo, and Zurbaran were all established in their own predilection for naturalism by his example. The last two, moreover, could find in his work a solution of the problem of uniting the motive of naturalism with the spirit of catholicism. For it is in Ribera that first appeared the union of these two elements, which gave a new impetus to painting in the seventeenth century, and a new possibility of originality and greatness.



THE ASSUMPTION OF MARY MAGDALENE. BY RIBERA.
IN THE REAL ACADEMIA DE BELLAS ARTES, MADRID.

It is not unusual to lay overmuch stress on his debt to Caravaggio and to associate Ribera himself too narrowly with subjects of a violent character. In the terrible realism of his martyrdoms he proved himself more akin to the Spanish than the Italian instinct; while as a painter he ranks far superior to Caravaggio. Among his masterpieces in Spain are a few in which he rivals Titian in beauty and brilliancy of color. His "Immaculata," in the Church of the Agustinas Recoletas at Salamanca, is considered to excel in color and splendor of light and nobility of form and invention all that Murillo, Guido Reni, and Rubens have attained in their representation of this subject. Nor was he unequal to the rendering of types of gracious melancholy, as may be seen in his "Assumption of the Magdalene," in his "St. Agnes" of Dresden Gallery, and the "Rest During the Flight into Egypt" at Córdoba.

Ribera, as Justi says, unapproached by any of his countrymen in knowledge and skill of drawing and modeling, represents the seriousness and depths of Spanish piety, sometimes degenerating into morbidity and cruelty. He also, though more rarely, shows a poetic charm that glows like a richly colored flower among the rocks.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

RIBERA is one of the greatest names in the history of art, and in the Spanish school he stands unrivaled for power and brilliancy of technique, richness of coloring, unsurpassed strength of drawing, and loftiness of conception. He was born at Játiva, in the delightful region of Valencia in southern Spain, and is supposed to have had some instruction in art from Ribalta. Though very poor, he early made his way to Italy, in the fervor of his desire to prosecute his study of art. In Rome he was in

a destitute condition, subsisting on crusts and clad in rags, yet industriously copying the frescos on the façades of the palaces, or the shrines at the corners of the streets. He prosecuted his studies in the chambers of the palaces, and all the great painters from Raphael to Caravaggio came under his pencil. From the sale of his works in this field he scraped together sufficient money to visit the north of Italy, studying the works of Correggio at Parma and Modena, and apparently digesting the whole field of

Italian art. Later in life, when at the zenith of his fame and prosperity, referring to the great masters from whom he had learned so much, he said: "These are works which should be often studied and pondered over. No doubt people now paint from another standpoint and another practice. Nevertheless, if we do not build on this foundation of study, we may easily come to a bad end, especially in the historical subjects. These are the polar-star of perfection; and herein we are guided by the histories painted by the immortal Raphael in the holy palace; whoever studies these works will make himself a true and finished historical painter." Thus he developed his art under an Italian sky and the changing influences of a wandering Bohemian life. Returning to Rome, and feeling that the city was overstocked with artists, he determined to go to Naples. He was obliged to leave his cloak in pawn at his inn, in order to clear his score, or to raise enough money for the journey. At Naples fortune was auspicious, and threw him in the way of a rich picture-dealer, who gave him some employment, and their relations became so intimate that he finally married his employer's daughter, and at once stepped out of solitary indigence into happiness and a prospect of future opulence. He soon afterward attracted the attention of the Duke of Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, who appointed him his court painter, with a goodly salary. It was in this capacity that, ten years later, he met Velasquez, who visited Naples and was entertained in princely fash-

ion by "the little Spaniard" (Lo Spagnoletto), as Ribera was called by the Neapolitans.

Carl Justi gives us the account, and has, happily, blown to the winds the disgraceful stories that have hitherto prejudiced his name, as: that he was a crude naturalist, who despised his great precursors; was a conceited, ambitious and envious intriguer, plotting at the head of a violent cabal against his colleagues. We now know him as a man of much civility, temperate, and wise in his judgments, deep and tender in feeling, courteous, and a lover of all that is great and good.

The "Assumption of Mary Magdalene," a large canvas, was painted in 1626, when the artist was thirty-eight years old. It is a solemn and magnificent presentation of the legend which says: "Every day, during the last years of her penance in the wilderness, the angels came down from heaven and carried her up in their arms into regions where she was ravished by the sounds of unearthly harmony and beheld the glory and joy prepared for the sinner that repenteth." She is clad in a deep-red robe, the symbolic color of love, and in the angels' hands are her attributes—the skull, the scourge, and the vase of anointment. The sky is blue, streaked with gray and golden clouds—a splendid harmony of color as fine as any Titian. The work hangs in the Academia de Bellas Artes, where I was accorded every facility for engraving the picture before the original, which the light fortunately enabled me to do.

T. C.

THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY
SCHOOL OF ANDALUSIA

CHAPTER VII

THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SCHOOL OF ANDALUSIA

I

TO the school of Andalusia, during the seventeenth-century renaissance of Spanish painting, belongs the highest place. It had furnished to the school of Castile the great person of Velasquez, and still retained in its own school a preponderance of the chief names of the period.

Juan del Castillo (1584-1640), who lived and worked in Seville, with occasional visits to Granada, has left some pictures, to be seen in the museums of Madrid and Seville, of which the quality is uneven, for the drawing is at times defective. His title to a place in the history of the school rests rather on his having been the teacher of Cano and Murillo. Yet too much stress is not to be laid on this fact, for these men, like the rest of the younger generation, grew to their own positions by hastening to get beyond the teachings of their masters. A stronger influence was at work—the example of Ribera's paintings. These had found their way to Seville in considerable numbers and taught the lesson of studying from nature. Naturalism became the characteristic motive of the school of Andalusia.

In face of it such painters as Francisco Pacheco (1579-1654) the father-in-law and teacher of Velasquez, a writer also and an authority upon art; and as Francisco Herrera (1576-1656), Velasquez's first teacher, found their influence supplanted. Not, however, until they had played an important part. Both were learned paint-

ers, skilled in the principles of their art, excellent draftsmen and anatomists, and with knowledge of color. Pacheco, too, by his scholarship and taste, was a potent factor in lifting to a high level the culture of Seville, and must have had a decisive influence upon the mind and character of Velasquez. The latter also derived from Herrera, what he could have obtained from no one else in Spain, an appreciation of the value of a bold and vigorous brush attack.

For in this respect Herrera, the Elder, as he was called to distinguish him from his son, was the most remarkable man of his time. Though he had learned his art in Andalusia, with no other examples than the minutely finished work of his predecessors, he leapt of his own independence into a breadth of design, a forcible suggestiveness of method, an ease and vivacity of touch and a flowing freshness of color that have caused him to be compared with Rubens. In his private life he was equally defiant of conventions. His violence of temper drove his wife and children from the house and frequently emptied his studio of pupils. His occasional practice of engraving is supposed to have tempted him to coin false money. At any rate the charge was made and he sought refuge in the Jesuits College, where he painted the altarpiece of St. Hermengild. When the young king, Philip IV, on a visit to Seville, saw the picture, and was told of the charge against the painter, he sent for the latter and granted him a free pardon. "What need of silver and gold has a man gifted with abilities like yours? Go, you are free, and take care that you do not get into this scrape again." Many years after Herrera moved to Madrid, to find his pupil Velasquez in high favor at court.

Another of Castillo's pupils was Pedro de Moya, born in Granada in 1610. Perhaps the most important item of his life is that he gave the turning-point to Murillo's career. They had been fellow-pupils in Castillo's studio, and when the master moved to Madrid Moya gave up painting for soldiering. While with the army in Flanders, however, he saw some of the works of Vandyke, and under the enthusiasm of their inspiration, obtained release from military service, passed over into England, and enrolled himself as one of the artist's pupils. When Vandyke died, Moya returned to Seville, bringing

with him copies of some of the master's pictures. The sight of them aroused the ambition of Murillo, who as soon as possible set forth upon his eventful journey to Madrid. Moya continued to paint in Seville in imitation of Vandyke. He died in 1666.

II

FRANCISCO DE ZURBARAN

THE study of life, color, and chiaroscuro with which, in a rebound from the mannerists' tame imitation of Raphael, Juan de Roelas had vitalized Sevillian painting, are the qualities conspicuous in his pupil, Zurbaran. The latter was born in 1598 at Fuente de Cantos, a small town of Estremadura, among the hills of the sierra which divides that province from Andalusia. He very early received some instruction from an unknown painter, possibly a pupil of Luis Morales, whose birthplace, Frexenal, is in the neighborhood; and made such progress that his father abandoned the idea of bringing him up to his own occupation of a husbandman and sent him to the school of Roelas in Seville. Here by his talents and industry he speedily gained considerable reputation.

Like Velasquez, he was resolved that everything that he painted should be from direct study of the model; and the effects of this diligent and faithful observation were soon apparent in the remarkably realistic character of his works. In his earlier, and, as many think, his most interesting, ones, the realism is pushed to a singular extreme. It is as if he were persuaded that the painter had no concern with anything but what is visible to the eye! and must, therefore, permit himself no exercise of fancy, much less of imagination. Even his angels are but boys and girls, picked, it would seem, at hazard off the streets, pleasant looking, plain or ugly, as it happened, and set upon the model's stand in freshly laundered linen. His female saints and martyrs, in costumes that are fantastic adaptations of the



ST. ELIZABETH. BY FRANCISCO ZURBARAN.
IN THE SMITH-BARRY COLLECTION, LONDON.

prevailing fashions, with the strange disfigurement of flat and pointed bodices, appear to be portraits of the beauties of the day, rouged *à la mode*. Yet these peculiarities, while they detract from the religious suggestion of the pictures, invest them with the interest that belongs to what is sincerely and intimately true.

His masterpiece of this period is the allegorical picture of St. Thomas Aquinas now in the Seville Museum. It is divided into three parts, with figures somewhat larger than life. Overhead in the heavenly radiance appears the Trinity, attended by the Virgin, St. Paul, and St. Domenic. Toward these the figure of St. Thomas Aquinas is ascending. Lower down, enthroned on clouds, are the venerable forms of the four doctors of the church, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory, while beneath them, kneeling on the ground, are the Archbishop Diego de Deza, founder of the College of St. Thomas, and the Emperor Charles V, attended by a train of ecclesiastics. This picture, one of the grandest of altarpieces, was painted when Zurbaran was in his twenty-seventh year. It was among the spoils carried off by Sault, but was recovered by Wellington at the Battle of Waterloo and restored to Seville.

Zurbaran now became much occupied with commissions executed on behalf of the monastic orders, especially the Carthusians and Jeronymites. The best of these works are probably the eight scenes in the sacristy of what was once the magnificent monastery of the order of St. Jeronimo of Guadalupe; while others scarcely less striking are the pictures of brethren of the Carthusian order in Seville Museum. For these monastic subjects Zurbaran is justly famous. The voluminous, plain-colored habits presented an opportunity for grandeur of composition and a breadth of chiaroscuro of which he made a noble use. The heads are realized with amazing fidelity, each one having the appearance of a portrait, keenly differentiated in type and character from the rest; and in those pictures that record actual scenes of the cloistered life, the spirit of the environment is reproduced most vividly. What was an insignificant branch of painting Zurbaran raised to a high pitch of artistic dignity and human interest.

Before he was thirty-five years old Zurbaran had been appointed one of the king's painters; for, on a picture dated 1633, appears his signature with the addition "Pintor del Rey." But there is no record of work done in the king's service until seventeen years later, when in 1650 he was summoned to court by Velasquez, to coöperate with Carducho, Caxés, and Velasquez himself in decorating the royal villa. For this he received a commission to paint ten subjects, representing the labors of Hercules, during the execution of which he seems to have enjoyed the intimate favor of the king. The greater part of his life was spent in and around Seville, with occasional visits to his native town, and periods of solitude among the wilds of Estremadura. For he seems to have had in himself much of the temper of a recluse, and an inclination for the quiet of the cloister.

The important point in connection with Zurbaran's work is that it showed no leaning whatever toward the Italian. In him, as in Velasquez and Murillo—all of them, it is significant, being of the school of Andalusia—an art displayed itself that was Spanish in origin and character. It was both a product and expression of native temperament and conditions. In the case of all three it was based upon naturalism, exhibiting a preoccupation with the visible appearances of men and things. But, while Velasquez left the associations of his youth and became identified with the court and with the school of Castile, Zurbaran and Murillo worked among their own people, in the service of the church and religious orders. The naturalism of both the latter, therefore, was strongly tinged with the local ardor for religion; Murillo's exhibiting rather the ecstatic phenomena, Zurbaran's being a keen portraiture of the votaries of religion. With these differences each reflected in his art the twin elements of Andalusian character—a fervor of religion and a no less fervent interest in life.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

FRANCISCO DE ZURBARAN, born at Fuente de Cantos, Estremadura, Spain, in 1598, was contemporary with Velasquez, by whom he was summoned to the court at Madrid in 1650, where he thereafter labored,



ST. CATHARINE IN PRAYER. BY ZURBARAN.
THE COLLECTION OF THE INFANTA.

and died in 1662. He painted mostly religious subjects, among which were many female saints, the originals supposed to be the reigning beauties of the time. We are indebted to Claude Phillips, Esq., keeper of the Wallace collection at London, for having pointed out the present beautiful example of the painter's work, and to its owner, the Right Honorable A. H. Smith-Barry of London, for the privilege of engraving it.

St. Elizabeth of Hungary is here shown in her character of patron of the poor and distressed. In her outstretched hand she holds a coin, while beneath is a group of poor folk supplicating relief. The figure is life-size; the canvas measures thirty-eight inches wide by forty-five inches high. It is a fine, soft, warm glow of color. The background curtain, which drops over a dark landscape heavy with clouds, is a rich, soft, deep shade of maroon, whose high lights are yellow, of a salmon flush, harmonious and beautiful. Against this tone the figure is relieved with softness and charm. It is clad in a sumptuous dress, the waist of which is a lovely, soft, warm shade of blue, keyed almost to the verge of green, exquisite in its tender melting quality, and harmonizing delightfully with the rich gold embroideries, and the creamy lace about the bosom, that floats into the warm, rich tones of the luminous and even flesh. Were it not for the blue, the picture might be too warm, but it is this delightful note of color that gives to the whole such a charm. The flounces of the sleeves, which form so important a feature in the costume, are white, but grayed to a tone lower than the mass of the light on the flesh, with touches of black velvet between the flounces. Though this is stylish and

very effective, it is not turbulent, and owing to its discreet management in its subordination to the head, it does not clash in the least with the relief and expression of that part; for the head receives the highest light, and framed as it is between its wealth of dark tresses—which, next to the touches of dark velvet, are the strongest notes of color in the picture—the eye naturally goes to the face. The rich dark hair is of a frizzy texture, which, on close inspection, reveals an extraordinary number of little ringlets that were impossible to engrave. I could only show its soft character and volume, as one would see it without too closely scrutinizing.

There is great breadth of treatment as well as delicacy of finish to this work, and the drawing is charming. Zurbaran has been styled "the Spanish Caravaggio" from his resemblance to the Italian in his broad handling, strong contrasts of light and shade, and the easy, natural grace of the attitudes of his figures.

Zurbaran was an admirable painter of monks and female saints, and of the latter class the "St. Catharine in Prayer" is without doubt one of the loveliest and most touching examples. I was told that the original was at Palencia, a good twelve hours north by rail from Madrid; and, Baedeker corroborating the statement, I journeyed thither, only to learn that it was a copy. From higher sources of information I entertained the hope that the original existed at the queen's palace; but I found, on inquiring, that the queen had only a small collection—no collection, in fact—and that ex-Queen Isabella II, residing at Paris, very probably had the picture I sought. Off I went to Paris, only to learn that it was at Madrid, in the Palace of the

Asturias. Back I jogged to Spain, provided with a letter to her Royal Highness the Infanta Donna Maria Isabella Francisca. This lady graciously led me herself to the picture, where it hung in her bedroom, and granted me every facility for photographing it and working up the copy before it. The original measures, without its frame, four feet three inches high by three feet three inches wide. It is very simple in coloring. The drapery of the saint, which is a soft, creamy white, makes a fine effective spot upon the background of umbery atmospheric depth. This is all there is, except that the desk is of a lighter brownish tone than the background. Yet it does not take much to make a picture, and the simpler its elements the more effective it becomes.

Zurbaran, like Velasquez, early made it his determination to accept Nature alone as his mistress, and to appeal to her constantly. We can see

in the "St. Catharine" evidence of his desire to give a faithful transcript of nature in the carefulness of the modeling of the robe; in the delicacy of the gradation of the light, which falls strongest about the neck and shoulders and fades gently downward to the knee; and especially in the modeling of the hands and face, which have the softness of flesh.

In the arrangement of the whole we have a carefully thought out and well-balanced composition. The blank space above and behind the figure offsets the agreeable disposition of the objects of the other half of the canvas—the crucifix, the clasped hands, the book, the skull, and the pendent rosary. There is emotion in the beautiful face, and one wonders if the artist saw this in his studio model, or if it was not rather the remembrance of some rare occasion when for a brief moment he caught some pure, angelic creature rapt in reverie and oblivious of self.

T. C.

III

ALONSO CANO

THE last of the great Spanish artists who, following the example of Berruguete, practised painting, sculpture, and architecture, was Alonso Cano, born at Granada in 1601. As a boy he learned his father's craft of carving retablos and by his talents attracted the notice of Juan del Castillo, who advised the family to move to Seville. Here Alonso was a fellow-pupil of Velasquez in the school of Pacheco for eight months, after which he worked under the painter, Juan del Castillo. In sculpture he became a pupil of Martinez Montañes, and probably enjoyed the advantage of studying the antique marbles which adorned the palace and gardens of the Duke of Alcalá. This, at least, has been suggested by Cean Bermudez, as an explanation of the purity of style which his figures exhibit, notwithstanding the fact that he never visited Italy. The general influence of his experience as a sculptor may be traced in the feeling for roundness of form that his best paintings reveal, and in the exquisite finish, bestowed particularly on the modeling of the hands. On the other hand, his excellence as a colorist reacted upon his sculpture, giving to some of his colored statues an unusual charm and distinction.

His most important work as a sculptor consisted in the erection of several retablos, of which a famous example that has survived the ravages of time and war can be seen in the Greco-Roman church of Lebrija, a small town on the Guadalquivir. This monumental altar-decoration comprises two stories, each supported on

four spirally fluted columns, with elaborately carved cornices. The whole is crowned with a crucifix, while colossal statues of Saints Peter and Paul occupy the second story, and a lovely image of the Virgin is enshrined in a curtained niche over the slab of the altar. This figure of Madonna with deep-blue eyes and a mild melancholy grace is considered one of the most beautiful examples of the colored carving of Spain. The painted panels of this retablo, not included in the original commission, were executed by another hand.

By the time that he was thirty-six, Cano's work as a painter had secured him a foremost position among the artists of Seville, when his career in that city was suddenly cut short. For some cause, now unknown, he fought a duel with a brother-painter, Llanos y Valdés, wounded him, and, to keep out of the clutches of the law, fled to Madrid. Here he renewed his acquaintance with Velásquez, whose characteristic generosity procured him an introduction to Philip the Fourth's all-powerful minister, Olivarez. In 1639 he was appointed superintendent of certain works in the royal palaces, while at the same time engaged in painting for the churches and convents. The excellence of one of these paintings having been reported to the king, he visited the Church of Santa Maria, in which it hung, under the pretext of adoring Our Lady of the Granary, a celebrated brown image, carved by Nicodemus, colored by St. Luke, and brought to Spain by St. James. The picture won the royal approval and Cano was appointed one of the painters in ordinary and drawing-master to the little prince, Don Baltasar Carlos.

In 1644 a tragic event involved Cano in a charge that has never been clearly proved or disproved. His wife was murdered. According to his own story he returned home late at night to find her dead in bed, clutching a lock of hair, and pierced with fifteen wounds, apparently inflicted with a penknife. Her jewels were missing and an Italian man-servant had disappeared. Suspicion was at first directed upon him, but later shifted to Cano himself. For it was proved that the painter had been jealous of this man; that he lived on bad terms with his wife, and was himself engaged in an intrigue with another woman. Alarmed for his safety, he fled from Madrid,



MADONNA AND CHILD. BY ALONZO CANO.
IN THE CATHEDRAL OF SEVILLE.

causing a report to be circulated that he had set out for Portugal, but really seeking refuge in Valencia. For various monasteries that gave him shelter he executed paintings, until sufficient time had elapsed to make it appear safe for him to return to Madrid. He was received into the house of his friend the Regidor, Don Rafael Sanguineto, but nevertheless was arrested and condemned to the test of torture. Having obtained exemption for his right hand on the plea of being a painter, he went through the ordeal without uttering a cry and was judicially acquitted. Whether he was really innocent of the crime remains unknown; but it may be noted in his favor that the Regidor Sanguineto seems to have believed it, and that he continued to receive patronage both from the court and church.

Some six years after the tragedy he determined to enter the priesthood and moved back to his native city, Granada. The stall of a minor canon of the cathedral becoming vacant, he sought through friends his own appointment to the post, on the understanding that in lieu of choral duties he should superintend the architecture and decorations for the cathedral. There was opposition in the chapter, but it was overruled by Philip IV, who prevailed on the Nuncio to grant the painter dispensation from choral duties, provided he took holy orders within a year. Installed in his new position, he conciliated the chapter by designing two silver lamps for the chapel and an elaborate lectern of fine woods, bronze, and precious stones for the choir. The top of the lectern he also adorned with an exquisite statue of Our Lady of the Rosary, about eighteen inches high, while for the sacristy he painted eleven pictures, nine of them representing episodes in the life of the Virgin, and two, the heads of Adam and Eve. At the same time he executed sculpture and painting for some of the convents in the neighborhood; visited Malaga to make a design for a high altar, and also executed commissions for private patrons in Granada.

With one of these Cano came into conflict over the price of a statue of St. Anthony. To the objection, that the amount was too much for a work which had taken only twenty-five days to accomplish, he made the retort that perhaps suggested Whistler's in simi-

lar circumstances: "You are a bad reckoner; I have been fifty years learning to make such a statue in twenty-five days." "And I," rejoined the other, "have spent my youth and my patrimony on universities' studies and now being auditor of Granada—a far nobler profession than yours—I earn each day a bare dubloon." "Yours a nobler profession!" was the hot reply; "know that the king can make auditors of the dust of the earth, but that God reserves to himself the creation of such as Alonso Cano." And the artist dashed the St. Anthony to pieces on the floor. Such sacrilege was an offence within the jurisdiction of the holy office; but the auditor, instead of laying information with that body, prevailed on the chapter to declare Cano's stall vacant, because he had delayed to take priest's orders. The painter appealed to the king, who obtained for him from the bishop of Salamanca a chaplaincy which entitled the holder to full orders, while the Nuncio supplied a dispensation from saying mass. So Cano returned to Granada and triumphantly resumed his stall, but never afterward would ply chisel or brush in the service of the cathedral. The remainder of his life was chiefly devoted to piety and charitable works; the latter so draining his resources that when in 1667 he was attacked by his last sickness the chapter voted five hundred reals to "the Canon Cano, being sick and very poor and without means to pay the doctor"; and a week later another two hundred reals to buy him "poultry and sweetmeats." He died on the third of October, 1667.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

ALONSO CANO was one of the greatest artists of Andalusia. He was born at Granada in 1601, two years after Velasquez; and after studying and working much at Seville and at Madrid,—at the latter place being aided and befriended by Velasquez,—he returned to Granada, and died there

in 1667. Besides painting, he excelled in sculpture and architecture. He is described as a restless spirit, of wayward habits and of a tempestuous nature, characteristics which are by no means reflected in his works, which, on the contrary, breathe a feeling of peace and serenity. Notwithstanding

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ST. AGNES. BY ALONZO CANO.
BERLIN MUSEUM.

his restlessness, he is said to have been indolent, and to this is ascribed his preferring rather to appropriate the ideas of others than to bestir himself to original research and invention. He borrowed from every source, however insignificant, and of his own few motives made numerous repetitions. He had, however, periods of inspiration, when he produced work like "Our Lady of Bethlehem." This is one of his very latest pictures, and was painted, on one of his visits to Malaga, for a gentleman who, being a minor canon of the cathedral of Seville, made a present of it to that church, where it still remains in its original place, a small chapel to the left of the door leading to the court of orange-trees.

Next to the Madonnas of Murillo, this is probably the most beautiful picture of its kind ever executed in Spain. It undoubtedly is the artist's masterpiece. Nothing could be more simple or effective as a composition. Cano, more than any other painter of his day, aimed at cutting short the details and accessories of his art with a view to expression; and to this end also he abbreviated his values of light and shade, and reduced his pigments to the fewest possible. He carried this idea to the verge of inanity and emptiness, thereby rendering much of his work abortive. This canvas, however, leaves nothing to be desired. In coloring it is a luminous and harmonious ensemble, rich, and with a soft, warm glow. The cool, umbery background, of atmospheric depth, moving and tender; the lovely, quiet blue of the Madonna's mantle, into which this is delicately and insensibly modulated; the scarcely perceptible note of crimson of the robe beneath the mantle; the pearly bit of white linen; and the mellow,

subtle flesh-tones—all these, quite impossible to describe, lie steeped in a soft envelop of light, very gratifying to the eye. The finish of hands and feet were refinements that always distinguished the work of Cano. The hand of the Child, extended in blessing, is subdued in its value, evidently that it may interfere as little as possible with the expression of the head of the Virgin. The combination of sweetness and gravity in the precocious Child is well expressed. This picture is painted on canvas, and the figures are life-size.

"St. Agnes," virgin and martyr, is accompanied by a lamb, emblematical of her name and purity (Agnes is the Latin word for lamb). Her legend is one of the oldest in the Christian church, as well as the most authentic in its main features. She was a Roman, and was early distinguished for her gracious sweetness, humility, and beauty. The son of the prefect of Rome, becoming enamored of her, desired her for his wife, but she repelled his advances with scorn, avowing that she was already betrothed to Christ. As an edict had been pronounced against all Christians, the father of the young man—the prefect—threw her into prison. She was further accused of sorcery, and put to death, January 21, A.D. 304.

Two churches, one within and one without the walls of Rome, bear her name, and reverence is yet daily paid to her memory. She is the favorite saint of Roman women, and is the patroness of maidens and maidenly modesty. She bears the palm as a symbol of her martyrdom and victory.

The picture is one of the best canvases of the artist. The character of the saint is well imagined. Her erect attitude, jetty hair, and lustrous black

eyes, and the firm way in which she grips the palm, show a maiden of spirit. As a corollary to this, the veil, which adds much distinction to the head, is floating on the air as if flung out by a spirited turn of the head. Admirable, also, are the purity and sweetness depicted in the countenance. The painting is in the royal gallery of Berlin, and measures two feet seven inches wide by three feet ten inches high. The

figure is life-size, and the colors are very simple; background gray and umber; dress a yellowish brown, floating delicately into it; rich black waist, against which the white of the chemise is very effective. A warm lake-colored robe is thrown over her arm, falling in deep rich folds, behind the brown pedestal on which the lamb rests.

T. C.

THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY
SCHOOL OF ANDALUSIA

CHAPTER VIII

THE GREAT PERIOD OF THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SCHOOL OF ANDALUSIA (*continued*)

FROM Seville, "pearl" of Spanish cities, sprang the two foremost artists of Spain. But, while Velasquez became the companion and painter of royalty and is identified with the Castilian school, Murillo, devoting himself to the services of religion and the church, stands for the ripest product of the school of Andalusia.

The son of a mechanic, Gaspar Estéban, he is supposed to have been born on the last day of December, 1617, for the record of his baptism shows that it occurred on the first of January, 1618. At the age of eleven he was left an orphan in the guardianship of a surgeon, who had married the child's aunt, Doña Anna Murillo. It is probably from her, whom in after years he came to look back upon as a second mother, that he assumed the name by which he is best known; just as Velasquez also is known to us through the mother's rather than the father's surname. For this adoption of the mother's name was not an infrequent practice in Andalusia.

Since the boy displayed a marked taste for drawing, his uncle apprenticed him to Juan del Castillo, at that time the most noted teacher in Seville, who had numbered among his pupils Alonso Cano. But in 1640 the master transferred his activities to Cadiz, and Murillo, now in his twenty-second year, was left to his own resources. Seville was full of painters, whose competition was keen; so the young man, as other aspirants for popular recognition were doing,

sought the humble opportunities afforded by the *Feria*, or public market. Here, amidst the picturesque confusion of stalls laden with the produce of the neighboring villages, and with city-made articles to tempt the country folk; amid the moving, chaffering, or idle throng of burghers, beggars, street-boys, gipsies, and peasants, he hung up his assortment of little sacred pictures, painted upon linen. His paint-box and brushes were at hand, that, if necessary, he might alter the subject to suit the particular fancy of a customer; ready to transmute an angel or St. Catharine into a St. Rufina or a St. Justa, Seville's saintly patronesses. For legend tells how these maidens, as a procession passed their house, left their potters' wheels and dared to make open profession of Christianity by seizing and breaking to pieces the statue of Venus that was being carried in triumph. They were scourged with thistles, made to walk barefoot over the mountain range of the Sierra Morena and then brought back; Justa to die of starvation in a dungeon, Rufina, after exposure in the amphitheater, where the lions refused to assault her innocence, to be beaten to death.

Doubtless also in the *Feria* Murillo displayed among his religious pictures the *bodegones*, or "kitchen pictures," which were so popular in Seville, paintings of still life, pots and pans, fruit and vegetables, on which students tried their 'prentice hands. And in the intervals of waiting for a customer Murillo's eyes were busy, laying up a store of observation, gaining an intimate knowledge of the human types around him, and unconsciously shaping his artistic motive in one of the directions that was to distinguish it. For to these experiences may be traced the impressions which eventually helped to infuse his devotional pictures with so remarkable a blend of naturalism.

But this lowly period of his career was suddenly interrupted by the return home of a fellow-pupil, Pedro de Moya. The latter, tiring of the routine of Juan del Castillo's workshop, had joined a company of Spanish infantry, setting out for the war in the Netherlands. While serving, however, in Flanders he had become acquainted with the work of Vandyke, the wonder of which refired his enthusiasm



THE HOLY FAMILY OF THE LITTLE BIRD. BY JERRILLO.
PRADO MUSEUM, MADRID.

for art, so that he abandoned the army, made his way to England, where Vandyke was painting at the court of Charles I, and enrolled himself as a pupil. After the great artist's death in 1641, he made his way back to Seville, bringing with him many copies of his master's pictures. The sight of these aroused the impulsive temperament of Murillo; opening up a vision of what great art meant and making him resolve to seek the further knowledge of it at its source in Italy. But first he would go to Madrid and crave advice and letters of introduction from his famous fellow-townsmen, Velasquez.

Accordingly he made his way on foot across the sierras to Madrid, where he was kindly received by the older man, taken into his household, and given an opportunity of studying in the king's galleries. Here, during the absence of Velasquez for a few months in attendance upon the king, Murillo worked diligently, copying paintings by Ribera, Vandyke, and Velasquez himself, who on his return to Madrid was so pleased with the studies that he showed them to the king and introduced the young painter to the prime-minister, Olivarez. During the winter of 1643-1644 Velasquez was again absent on an expedition which the king in person was making against some of his refractory subjects, roused to insurrection by the misgovernment of Olivarez, and the time was spent by Murillo in unflagging study of the masterpieces in the royal galleries. So rapid was his progress in drawing and color, that Velasquez, recognizing in him the making of a master, advised him to go to Rome.

But to this, fortunately for his own individuality, Murillo would not consent. He had already obtained what he set out to find; a knowledge of great art. The works of Titian and Rubens in the royal galleries, of Vandyke and of Velasquez himself—these and many more had suggested to him view-points, methods, and resources, from which his instinct told him that he had already derived what was needful for his own personal development. Moreover, he had the true Sevillian love of his native city, "the glory of the Spanish realms." Seville claimed him.

Arriving there after an absence of three years, he was, as a painter, entirely unknown. But a welcome chance of gaining recog-

nition presented itself. A member of the mendicant brotherhood of Franciscans had collected a small sum of money, which the friars determined to spend upon eleven big paintings to decorate the cloister of their monastery, the Casa del Ayuntamiento. The amount, however, being too small to interest the well-known painters of the city, the monks with considerable misgiving intrusted the work to the young, untried Murillo. At the expiration of three years the paintings were completed, and immediately acclaimed as a triumphantly new thing in Andalusian art. For instead of the tame and mannered style, adopted hitherto by most of the painters of the Seville school, here was a union of the grand style with a natural unaffectedness; big scope of composition and powerful coloring, allied to a treatment of the subject that appealed to the every-day sympathies, alike of cultured persons and of the men and women of the people. And all were represented in that spirit of devotional ecstasy which was characteristic of the religious feeling of the period.

For by this time the terrors of the *auto da fe* and the Inquisition had been succeeded by the wise and gentle influence of the Jesuits, who were trying to win souls through love. Yet the stern conflict between Moors and Christians had left a legacy, still in force throughout Spain, of deep seriousness; and this in Andalusia, where nature is romantically beautiful, and the population, richly veined with Moorish blood, is quick of impulse and imagination, had produced, when leavened with the fervor of religious love and devotion, a prevalence of spiritual ecstasy. Monks and nuns saw visions, and the people received these tokens of divine favor with devout belief. And now in the midst of this piously passionate community had appeared a painter, himself a devout Catholic, who could give the noblest expression to what was in the souls of all; and more, could satisfy the love of life, of their own life as they knew it, which was equally a characteristic of these people.

In this series of subjects he represented alike the elevated soul-condition, the miraculous intervention of the world of spirits, and the homely and familiar incidents of this one. "St. Francis," stretched on an iron pallet, listens with rapt emotion to an angel



THE ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS. BY MURILLO.
SEVILLE MUSEUM.

playing the violin. Here were shown the "Death of St. Clara," that favored saint who had received the veil from St. Francis; the "Ecstasy of St. Giles" and the miracle vouchsafed to the monk who, as he busied himself in the kitchen, fell into a trance, during which angels appeared and attended to the cooking. It is characteristic of the temper of the times that this was known as the "Kitchen Picture." A corresponding blend of the sublime and commonplace appears in "St. Diego Blessing a Pot of Broth" before distributing its contents to a crowd of beggars, gathered around the monastery door. These victims of misfortune or their own laziness were represented with unvarnished realism, the counterparts of the unfortunates that could be seen anywhere about the streets of Seville.

Murillo was about twenty-eight years old when he completed this first independent work, and found himself acclaimed the leading artist of Seville. And, indeed, the episode is a remarkable one, perhaps not to be paralleled in the history of painting: that at his first bow to the public a young artist should have so completely comprehended the needs and aspirations of the public and his own particular faculty. The explanation is to be found in the fact that he himself was a true son of Seville, alive to the same emotions and experiences as his fellows, and only different to them in having the power to give visual expression to what was in their souls and lives as well as his. There was not in his case the wide gulf of misunderstanding and indifference which too often separates the artist and his public.

Murillo was now in a position to make an advantageous marriage. His house became the resort of the artists and cultured people of the city, and when Pacheco, the acknowledged dean of the arts, died in 1654, Murillo succeeded to the place he had filled in the popular estimation. He used his influence to establish in Seville an academy of painting. Already in Madrid Velasquez had felt the need of such an institution, yet, notwithstanding the approval of the king, had been unable to realize the scheme. And in Seville also Murillo was opposed by rival painters, such as Herrera the Younger and Valdes Leal, whom, however, he gradually won over to his views

by quiet perseverance and urbanity. In 1660 the twenty-three leading painters of the city enrolled themselves in an academy, and elected two presidents, Murillo and Herrera, to serve alternate weeks in superintending the students' work, settling disputes, and keeping order in the school. The expenses were to be divided between the members, the students contributing what their means would permit. From each of the latter on their entrance to the school was required the following confession of faith:—"Praised be the Most Holy Sacrament and the pure Conception of Our Lady." But the academy proved unsuccessful; Herrera very soon abandoned Seville for Madrid, Murillo retired from office; Valdes was sole president, tried to dominate his fellows and, failing, withdrew in anger, and the institution twenty years after its birth died of inanition. Its failure, however, is worthy of record, since it throws a light upon artistic conditions in Spain, emphasizing the rivalry of the painters, their inability to coöperate with one another, and their dependence upon the outside stimulus of the church and king.

Of the private life of Murillo, from this time on, there is nothing to relate, except that the Catholic spirit, so apparent in his work, seems to have ruled in his home. For his two sons became priests; the elder, Gabriel, migrating to America, while his daughter, Francesca, entered the convent of the Mother of God, in Seville. The other facts of his life were summed up in his professional career; an interrupted peace of active productivity. The end was brought about by a fall from a scaffold, while he was engaged in painting a "Marriage of St. Catharine" for the high altar of the Church of the Capuchin Friars at Cadiz. Whether the accident occurred in that city or in his own studio is unknown, but it is certain that the last days of his life were spent in Seville. As the end approached, he would spend hours in prayer in his parish church of Santa Cruz, kneeling before Campaña's picture of the "Descent from the Cross." Painted a hundred years earlier it was as different as possible to Murillo's latest style of soft outline, delicious color, and beatific sentiment. Harsh in drawing and crudely realistic, Pacheco had said of it that he would avoid being left alone with it in the dimly

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A SPANISH FLOWER-GIRL. BY MURILLO.
IN THE GALLERY OF DULWICH COLLEGE, ENGLAND.

lighted chapel; but Murillo admired it. On one occasion, lingering longer than usual before it, he was approached by the sacristan, inquiring why he waited, since the *Ángelus* had sounded. "I am waiting," he replied, "until these men have brought the body of our Blessed Lord down the ladder." Beneath this picture, by his own request, he was buried. The end came on April 3rd, 1682, some two years after the death of his wife.

Among the earliest pictures, executed after Murillo had established his reputation, were "The Adoration of the Shepherds," the "Flower-Girl," and the "Holy Family with the Bird," which are reproduced in the accompanying engravings. The last two are frankly naturalistic; there being nothing, even in the sacred subject, that separates it from the ordinary aspects of a happy domestic scene in the workshop of some artisan of the period. Even in the "Adoration" the expression in the several faces around the Holy Child betoken little, if anything, more of reverence than is expended in every-day life on the worship of the baby. In fact the charm of the picture exists in the fact that Murillo, like Rembrandt, has brought the sacred story down into touch with ordinary human experiences, thereby giving the latter a portion of holiness. His devotion to infant loveliness is seen at its highest in his "Vision of St. Anthony" of Padua in Seville cathedral. It is not the saint which interests us, but the miracle of sight as the radiance of heaven bursts into the dim cloister, and a multitude of baby forms are revealed, dancing like motes in sunshine. It is the apotheosis of the cult of infancy; the assemblage in triumphant form of the little miracles of worship that occur in countless happy homes.

For the cathedral Chapter House Murillo painted a full-length "Virgin of the Conception" and eight oval half-length pictures of saints, after the completion of which he received the important commission for decorating the Hospital of the Holy Charity. "This house," declares the inscription over the entrance, "will stand as long as God shall be feared in it and Jesus Christ be served in the presence of the poor. Whosoever enters here must leave at the door both avarice and pride." And after nearly two hundred and fifty

years La Caridad still stands, a monument of the piety of Don Miguel Manara Viceptelo, who devoted his life to obtaining funds for its restoration and endowment. For the adornment of the church Murillo painted eleven pictures, eight of which were carried away to France by the enlightened thief, Marshal Soult. One of these, the "St. Elizabeth of Hungary," which, after being restored to Spain, now hangs in the academy in Madrid, gives a fair idea of Murillo's treatment of biblical and saintly themes. The figure of Elizabeth is the key to the whole composition; the eye is irresistibly drawn to it, but not to linger on it, for the face lacks charm and the pose of the figure suggests a certain artificiality. In his desire to represent the spiritual abstraction of the saint, occupied primarily with the love of the Saviour, her ministrations to the beggar (*el tinoso*—whence a popular name of the picture), seem almost perfunctory. Indeed, it is toward the persons who await their turn that the attention is drawn, especially to the realism of the man who is unwinding the bandage from his sore. Such realism may be repulsive to modern taste, but was common enough in Spanish art, especially in the pictures designed by the church for the edification of the faithful. They felt, as did Théophile Gautier, that "Christian art, like Christian charity, feels no disgust at such a spectacle. Everything which it touches becomes pure, elevated and ennobled, and from this revolting theme Murillo has created a masterpiece." Gautier had in mind the excellence of the drawing, the skill in the distribution of the figures, the imposing composition of their union with the architecture, the coloring and luminous fabric of light and shadow. "The picture may be studied," writes Paul Lefort, "as one of the best manifestations of the characteristics and tendencies of the Spanish schools; a sublimity in conception, linked to the most audacious naturalism in form: qualities and defects which seem the essence and originality of Spanish genius."

It is customary to summarize the method of Murillo as representing three styles—the *estilo frio*, or cold style; *estilo calido*, or warm style; and *el vaporoso*, or vaporous and misty. Many of his earlier pictures are cold and somber in tone, sad in coloring, black

in the shadows, jejune and trivial in character and expression. The warm style is marked by deeper coloring and strong contrasts of light and shadow, yet the light is actual light and the modeling of the forms well defined. In the vaporous style he exhibits the desire of all colorists to get away from the opacity of pigments; to represent colored light. Although still of solid impasto (hence the enduring quality of his painting), his brushwork is now loose and free, producing effects by a variety of tints melting into one another, the draperies being arranged now in sharp folds, now in flat. He models in the light without the aid of gray shadows; his palette is spread with warm and cheerful colors; his figures are overflowing with life and sensibility; he has found the secret of so dematerializing them, partly through their gestures and partly through his handling of drapery, *chiaroscuro*, and accessories, that they seem to float in the air. His visions are, as it were, woven of light and air.

On the other hand, it is not to be supposed that all his pictures can be sorted and labeled according to the above distinctions. The latter are chiefly valuable as generalizations, summarizing the various phases of his style. What is of more account for the appreciation of Murillo is to recognize that, like the other artists of Spain, he was by instinct a naturalist. He delighted in representing the actual life around him, and even when he borrows from it a model for some spiritualized form, allows the touch of the familiar to remain. His Madonnas and angels, no less than the beggar-boys and flower-girls, betray their Andalusian origin. He does not idealize the type; but, when the subject demands it, sets the familiar individuality in ideal postures, amid idealized surroundings. If in doing so he finally adopted a manner which grew to be somewhat manneristic, and lavished sentiment to the verge of sentimentality, the fault is perhaps less his own than that of the conditions which he so faithfully represented.

The church has been always apt to enjoin certain manners of representing sacred subjects and in the Andalusia of Murillo's day the influence of the church was paramount. It appointed inspectors of pictures to watch that no indecorous or indecent paintings found

their way into churches or were exposed for sale. This office, when Murillo returned to Seville, was held by Pacheco, who, being as facile with his pen as with his brush, had published a set of regulations presenting the way in which a painter should or should not represent the sacred characters. In several respects Murillo transgressed these instructions, as when he made the Virgin dark instead of fair, and established a manner of his own by which, however, he became himself bound; for so popular did it prove, that commissions for pictures of similar character poured in upon him, and even his fertility of invention necessarily reached its limit. As to his sentiment, it was the reflection of the Andalusian feeling, the highly strung fervor of a people charged to the full with a blend of the religious and the mundane. Murillo's own portrait, painted by himself, reveals this blend in a marked degree, even at the age of sixty. The forehead is high and modeled with those slight bosses which are said to betray a quick but rather feminine intelligence, and the black eyes are penetrating and full of fire; but the lower part of the face is coarse, the lips being thick and the chin heavy in outline—a combination of high sensibility and sensuousness.

In none of his works are these qualities more conspicuous than in his picture of the "Immaculate Conception," of which he painted more than twenty examples. This dogma, that the Blessed Virgin came into the world as spotless as her Son, was formulated in the fifth century, but its acceptance was left to the exercise of free judgment. In 1607, however, Spain, with whose revival of Catholicism had grown up a revival also of the cult of the Virgin, persuaded Pope Paul to issue a bull which forbade the preaching or teaching of anything contrary to this doctrine. Upon its application "Seville flew into a frenzy of joy. Archbishop de Castro performed a magnificent service in the cathedral, and amidst the thunder of the organs and the choir, the roar of all the artillery on the river walls, and the clangor of all the bells in all the churches, swore to maintain and defend the peculiar tenet of his see."

In Murillo's rendering of this mystery, the Virgin, surrounded by an aurora of luminous glow, is poised in the sky, yet she scarcely



ST. ANNA TEACHING THE VIRGIN. BY MURILLO.
PRADO MUSEUM, MADRID.

lifts the imagination upward. Rather, she brings it down to contemplation of an earthly perfection of purity. She is a child of earth, with that pure detachment from the consciousness of sex, that expression of dreamy awe and wonder, such as the artist may have seen in the faces and forms of maidens at their first communion. Exquisitely beautiful in their purity, but of our own flesh and blood. And what are the attending angels but earthly babies, seen through the prismatic glamour of fond parents' eyes? One is scarcely conscious of spirituality in these pictures, still less of sublimity of conception, but touched with reverential tenderness. And it was so, we may suspect, that Murillo felt toward his subject and the public toward his representations of it; and it is their intrinsic humanness probably that has endeared them to countless people up to our own time.

For the past fifty years, however, realism has ruled the studios; Velasquez has occupied the study of artists, and Murillo, the blend of naturalism and pietism, has been compared, to his own disadvantage, with his contemporary, the naturalist par excellence. The comparison is unjust and profitless. Velasquez was in the nature of a specialist devoting himself to the almost exclusive study of visible phenomena; Murillo, through the demand of his surroundings, divided his time between the visible and what lies within it and beyond it. But it has been remarked that, when painting or sculpture attempts to explore the moods of emotion and spirit, it is transgressing beyond its own domain into that of poetry and music; that this is a weakness in Michelangelo's work, for example, as compared with Greek Classic art. Well, it may be so according to strict academic conventions; but, just as the human will rebels against arbitrary curtailment of its liberty, so art has always scorned restrictions. A product of complete humanity, it has resisted the attempt to confine it within any four walls of a convention. And it should be easy for the modern mind to appreciate this, since in response to what, from its prevalence, may be regarded as an instinct, the various arts to-day are borrowing one another's terminology and qualities.

Since, then, Murillo is in excellent company in his attempt to express the invisible through the visible and familiar, we may be satisfied to judge him not by formularies but by actual accomplishment. Now the latter, as we have observed, is remarkable for the fidelity with which it interpreted the spiritual needs and strivings of his time; and not in the way of lowering his key to the popular taste, but of lifting the latter always to a higher plane of feeling. Velasquez also unquestionably did this; but in the domain exclusively of naturalism, which made no excursions into that of spirit and appealed to a smaller clientele. Murillo, on the other hand, had the faculty of giving concrete expression to what was vaguely in the minds and hearts of thousands of his countrymen; surely a privilege so rare that such faculty amounts to genius. And, if you are disposed to judge a man by his value to his own time, Murillo stands very high. For an artist, however, so to identify himself with the spirit of his time, involves the inevitableness of participating in its weakness as well as in its strength; and the weakness of Murillo, especially in the matter of sentiment, is a reflection of the mental and spiritual weakness of his contemporaries. Moreover, a man cannot be the idol of the multitude without having in himself a measure of what is common to all, a tincture of the commonplace. This trait is discernible not only in Murillo's expression of sentiment, but in the line and massing of his compositions. By the side of Velasquez, the aristocrat, Murillo is a bourgeois.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

WHEN Murillo was a student, twenty-four years old, poor, dissatisfied, and painting fanciful, gaudy, and unsubstantial pictures of saints and the like for the churches and monasteries of his native town, Séville, he heard of the fame and work of Velasquez, his fellow-townsmen at Madrid, and formed a resolution to obtain the advice of the great man as to the best course to pursue in his art studies. To raise sufficient money for his expenses, he procured a large canvas and filled it with numerous



ST. JOSEPH AND CHILD. BY MURILLO.
SEVILLE MUSEUM.

small devotional subjects, which he disposed of to the shippers for the Indies, thus killing two birds with one stone—contributing to the edification of the faithful in Peru and Mexico and putting sufficient money in his purse for his new venture. Velasquez was very kind to him in every possible way, influenced him to a serious study of nature as well as of the best art, commending to him the work of Ribera, procuring him admission to the palaces in the frequent absences of the king, and doubtless giving him many valuable criticisms of his work. His subjects at this time were beggar boys, street urchins, peasant and shepherd boys, old woman spinning, and the like—models that would not cost him very dear.

As many as fifty such have been catalogued, all finished and attractive pictures; for he evidently made his studies subserve two ends: instruction and money. It is only the student with a rich father who can afford to multiply studies and unfinished compositions that are of no interest to any one but himself. The knowledge that Murillo thus gained formed the groundwork of his later devotional and religious works. After two years thus spent in Madrid, he returned to Seville and astonished his friends and former neighbors, who wondered where he had acquired this new, masterly, and unknown manner; for Murillo had kept his sojourn in Madrid a secret, so that they never suspected the valuable experience he had undergone. They fancied that he had shut himself up for two years, studying from the life, and had thus acquired skill.

"The Flower-Girl," which hangs in the gallery of Dulwich College, near London, shows the sweetness and

grace of his later works. We are accustomed to see in pictures of Spanish girls something of the flashing Goya type, that of the dark-haired Moorish extraction, or the black-eyed gipsy kind; but this of Murillo is also a type which may be seen repeatedly in Madrid. The Spanish maiden invariably wears a flower or sprig of green in her hair, and I was told in Spain that this was a sign of her virginity. Here we have a maid seated, probably, at the entrance of the gates of the town, offering roses for sale to passers-by. She is clad in a yellowish bodice and dress, while her undersleeves and chemise, with the turban about her head, are white. Her petticoat is a yellow-brown; over her shoulder is a brown embroidered scarf, in the end of which are four roses—white and pink. To the left lies a landscape with bushes and cloudy sky. It is a masterpiece in invention and in characteristic harmony of rich colors. It is on canvas, three feet ten and three-fourth inches by three feet one and three-fourth inches.

For a full appreciation of Murillo's art it is essential for the student visiting Spain to see not alone his superb works at the Madrid gallery, but his magnificent canvases scattered throughout Seville, especially those in the museum of the city, where are collected upward of two dozen, many of them being of his best period. It is in this museum where the large canvas of the "Adoration of the Shepherds" hangs, from which the present selection of the central and most interesting portion is taken.

The original shows two cherubs in the sky above, with additional figures to the left, and more space to the right and bottom of the picture. The coloring, as is general in Murillo's best

works, is rich and subdued in tone, and consists of harmonious blendings of golden browns, umbery depths, and delicate neutral grays, all united in a field of mellow radiance. There is a note of color in the robe of the Madonna about the bosom and sleeve, which is a red of pleasing shade. Her mantle, falling just off the shoulder and covering the knees, is a deep, rich blue, much more agreeable in tone than the rather hard blues generally prevailing in his numerous Conception pieces. The influence of his contemporary, Ribera, is recognized in the strong disposition of the light and shade, its flatness, breadth, and simplicity eliminating all details that are unnecessary to the expression of the principal parts. How the eye goes straight to the infant in its mother's lap! The child is one of the sweetest creations of the artist, who of all Spaniards possessed the happiest instinct for the delineation of infants. Here the very fragrance of babyhood seems to exhale from the tiny bright body, wrapped in its little cloud of gauzy linen. How charming to mark the beholders, all softened to infant tenderness, bending over and breathing in, as it were, its sweetness, as of that from a flower!

This canvas measures seven feet four inches high by five feet wide, and is painted in the artist's second manner; for he had three distinct styles during his life. The first was the *frio* (or cold), in which the outline was hard and the tone of the shadows and treatment of the lights reminiscent of Zurbaran. The second, or *calido* (warm), style came with experience, in which a softer outline and mellow coloring are apparent, as in the engraved detail. The third manner, the *vaporoso*, is his final develop-

ment, in which the outlines are lost in the light and shade, as they are in the rounded forms of nature.



OUTLINE—MURILLO'S
"ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS"

In "St. Anna Teaching the Virgin" we are reminded of the tradition that the Virgin Mary was dedicated to the Lord and lived at the temple in Jerusalem, with other virgins, after the manner of vestals, from the time she was three years old till the period of her betrothal at fourteen, "fed with celestial food from heaven, and holding converse with angels." Her mother, Anna, visited her from time to time, and in Murillo's picture we see the Virgin in the portico of the temple receiving instruction in the Scriptures from her mother. One of the appellations of the Virgin is "Queen of Heaven," and, with this evidently in mind, the artist has added a touch of royalty in the voluminous

train of her silk garment. While I was copying the picture, a spectator remarked upon the awkwardness and difficulty that the little one would experience in getting about in so flowing a robe. I called her attention to the angels,—one of the attributes of the Virgin,—her ministering spirits ever in attendance, who, doubtless, might be suffered to act as train-bearers.

The difficulty that many contend with is the modern cynical spirit with which they approach these old works. While it is doubtless incongruous with the simplicity recorded of the Virgin to suppose that she wore her skirts of such extraordinary length, we must not overlook that fact that symbolism is here combined with realism. The crown or wreath which the artist has gracefully introduced is the Virgin's particular attribute as the Queen of Heaven, and is also emblematic of superior power and virtue. In the wreath is seen the lily,—for purity,—another of the Virgin's attributes, and the rose, typifying "The Rose of Sharon," another of her many titles. Her flowing robe is white, for purity, innocence, and virginity. It shades off in its train to violet, which signifies love and truth, also passion and suffering. She carries a blue garment over her arm, which color is for truth, constancy, fidelity, and sorrow.

While with the early religious painters particular attention is given to this mystical application of attributes and colors, with the later sacred historical painters it falls into disuse, especially the matter of color, the characteristic proprieties of which were sacrificed to the general effect. The Virgin and Christ, however, retained their time-honored colors. Thus we see that Murillo does not apply symbolism in the colors of St. Anna. The drapery

falling from her head over the shoulders is of a grayish white or ashes-of-roses tone, the skirt about her lap is a yellowish hue, and her lower skirt is a russet brown. But they are so charming, so subtle in their color values, that I have looked long and often at them, wondering how to denominate them. The whole is bathed in a cool atmosphere, as though it were morning that the artist wished to depict, and it probably is, for we see by the basket of bread that the saint has come with an offering to the Lord. How very natural and beautiful is the dignified attitude of St. Anna as she pauses to explain some portion of the Scripture, while her child glances up with reverential attention! This picture was painted on canvas, in 1674, a few years before the artist's death. It is six feet five inches wide by seven feet seven and one-half inches high, and hangs in the Murillo room—the octagonal—of the Prado Museum at Madrid.

The Holy Family "del Pajarito," an early masterpiece, is one of the most notable examples of Murillo's second style,—the *calido*, or warm,—and shows the influence of Ribera, whom he studied, and to whom he is indebted for his earliest system of lighting. Murillo was a young man when Ribera was at the zenith of his reputation. This warm style is marked by deeper and richer coloring than his previous cold manner generally exhibits. The contrasts of light and shadow are stronger and the forms come out with greater force and definition. The coloring here is rich and simple. That which strikes the eye at first, and makes a fine spot, is the agreeable tone of yellow in the robe about the knees of Joseph, which is blended finely with the delicate lilac

hue of the child's garment, and the brownish neutral tone of the floor and basket. The dog is white, but the lightest touches in the picture are confined to the linen chemise of the child, while the darkest hues are in the upper garment of Joseph, which is black. The Madonna's dress is a rich, deep madder, and her shawl is of a purplish-brownish tone. These float subtly into the deep umbery tones of the dark neutral background.

The picture takes its name "del Pajarito" (of the little bird) from the bird held aloft in the infant's hand. It is not an uncommon thing, at the present day, in Spain, to see children playing with a fettered bird. The artist here takes a hint from the life about him, and projects with realistic truth this charming, simple home-scene of the carpenter's shop, in which he depicts St. Joseph, in a moment of relaxation from his labor, recreating himself with innocent amusement of the child Jesus, while Mary, attracted from her employment, looks on with sweet motherly sympathy.

This work, among others, was carried off by Napoleon to Paris, but was returned on the treaty of peace in 1814. It has been cut down on each side and at the top, but when is not known, and the want of space in the composition on these sides—especially on the top and at the side where the Madonna is seated—is accordingly felt. The picture measures four feet eight inches high, by six feet three inches wide, and the figures are life-size.

When Murillo came on the stage, the people of his time were unaccustomed to seeing, in their devotional pictures, subjects treated with so charming a play of fancy and in so free and felicitous a manner as was the little "St. John," an instance out

of scores of similar beautiful things with which he delighted and surprised the public of his native town. Throughout his active career, he kept every one interested and in love with his works by, as Carl Justi puts it, his "gift of a language intelligible to all times and peoples, to all classes, and even to aliens to his faith." He transcribed Bible stories and old monkish chronicles with a freedom of hand and a novel unreserve that made them seem like probable and every-day occurrences. In a word, he modernized them, since he drew his inspiration from the circumstances of life which he daily encountered. Thus we have in the "St. John the Baptist" one of his beggar boys, but idealized and imbued with that spirituality which is his special and unique charm—is, in fact, the very quintessence of his art.

This subject forms one of the many rare possessions of the Prado Gallery at Madrid, where it hangs in the Murillo room, an octagonal space devoted to his works. It is painted in his best manner,—his *estilo vaporoso*,—and is soft and luminous in coloring. The background is a delicate tissue of grays, and is of a more impressionistic nature than many of his distances, since it carries no sharpness of definition, no small varieties of patch or modeled detail, but is broad, aërial, and of a fluid looseness, and held well in subservience to the expression of the head. Against this background, which is of an exquisite coolness, the flesh of the boy, a red garment over his knees, and the lamb are relieved in the yellow light of the setting sun. Telling as is this effect, there is no decorative flashiness about it. In its coloring it has the solemn mystery and repose of nature that are in keeping with the solemnity of the scene.



ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. BY MURILLO.
PRADO MUSEUM, MADRID.

The unity of tone, the grayness of nature, the subtle modifications of color by light, are not lost for the sake of the lower and cheaper delight of a bright, untrammelled play of pigment: for this would be to allow his color-scheme to take precedence of, or to preponderate over, the religious sentiment which he seeks above all things to depict in the child. Hence we are impressed at first sight not so much by its glowing ensemble as by the gesture of adoration expressed in the whole of the figure.

The figure is life-size, and the canvas measures three feet three and one half inches wide by four feet high. It was originally in the possession of the Marqués de la Ensenada, and passed thence into the collection of Don Carlos III.

The "St. Joseph and the Infant Jesus" is one of a series of religious pictures executed by Murillo for the church of the convent of the Capuchins at Seville, shortly after its completion in 1670. They are nearly all now gathered together—this one among them—in the museum of Seville, forming there a matchless collection of the works of the great Sevillian painter. It is a large canvas, showing life-size full-length figures. The engraving gives a detail of the most interesting portion. Being a late work of the master, it is painted in his third and most improved style, called *el vaporoso*, in which the outlines are lost in the light and shade, as they are in the rounded forms of nature.

The attribute of St. Joseph is the rod which miraculously budded in sign of his being chosen, by divine will, from among the suitors of the Virgin. This the artist, by a happy idea, has placed in the infant's hand, and nothing could be more beautiful or appro-

priate than the charming attitude of the child, with his sweet gesture of innocence, as he gently reclines his head on his father's bosom. Like the majority of Murillo's paintings, this is an instance of his power of imbuing what he wished with a feeling of purity, which mounts, in some of his grand works, into one of profound religious sentiment, capable of stirring one deeply.

In coloring it is very simple and sober. The background sky is composed of warm grayish tones, umbery in quality, tinged with bluish passages. The robe of Joseph is of rich, neutral brownish shades, and the dress of the child is a delicate light gray of a pinkish blush. The whole is soft and atmospheric.

"The Prodigal Son Feasting" is one of a series of four small sketches, ten and a half by thirteen and a half inches, carefully finished, as all Murillo's work is, and representing the prodigal son at various stages of his career according to the parable of the New Testament. They are seen in the Murillo room—the octagonal—of the Prado Museum at Madrid. They are painted in the artist's best and latest manner. I saw the large finished picture for which this small sketch was evidently made, at the Spanish Loan Exhibition held at Guildhall, London, in 1901, but it struck me as heavy compared with this sketch; the darks in the background, even in the bushes beyond the wall, being as murky as those of the foreground. But this little sketch, infinitely to be preferred, is gay and clear and brilliant with gem-like coloring, and has that lightness and spontaneity of touch—the natural concomitant of a work of first hand—that constitutes so charming a quality in a work of art. Seated at a table,

and arrayed in a red doublet and felt hat decorated with a large white plume, and thus distinguished from the rest of the company, the hilarious youth is entertaining or being entertained by two of the fair sex, while behind are two servants, one presenting him a goblet of wine, and the other bearing aloft on a tray a roasted fowl. In the foreground a musician, seated, is playing the guitar. It is twilight, and the lamps already lighted shed a flood of mellow radiance upon the table and the surrounding group, and as the light comes from above the musician's head, he is naturally thrown into shade, which serves the artist's scheme of composition in concentrating attention upon the group. The background, which serves to throw this in relief, is in the conventional manner and color of the time; the sky being of a warm greenish cast shading to a yellower hue and blending with the neutral green of the trees and the gray wall and field. This sky extends back of the figures, mingling with their embrowned shades and the dark red drapery hung from the pillars, and floating into the umbrose tone against which the forms of the pewter vessels are softly relieved. It is all mellifluous and atmospheric, and serves its purpose admirably, but had Murillo been aware of the late discovery that this background in juxtaposition with the lamplight effect would be steeped in a cool and purple tone, instead of a warm and green one, what a glorious contrast and effect of purple and gold he would have produced! The art of his day, however, did not seek color effects in the sense of color values, but was intent upon the subject merely, and to deck it in agreeable and harmonious tones. There are beautiful bits of color in the draperies of

the women: the one by the prodigal is in a green dress lustrous and gem-like in tone, and the graceful figure of the other is a yellow tone mingled with creamy lace and touches of black velvet, perfectly lovely, both as to color and freedom of treatment. Notice that the dog coming from beneath the tablecloth is artfully introduced in order to break what would otherwise be a disagreeable repetition of the horizontal line of the table above.

Murillo was essentially a religious and idealistic painter and his conception of this scene is naturally steeped with the sentiment of his nature. There is nothing here of an erotic character, such as a more mundane artist would doubtless have introduced, but rather a staid feeling is given to it. The youth, it is true, has his arm about the young woman's neck, but we would scarcely suspect it, while the gentle sweetness and refinement evidenced in the other female cannot fail to impress.

Murillo is styled by his countrymen "the painter of Conceptions," and among his many sacred and purely devotional works this example probably ranks first for spiritual beauty. The unconsciously rapt expression of the glorified Virgin's face, its adoration, purity, innocence, and youthfulness, present one of the triumphs of the master's art. The crescent moon on which she stands as she floats upward symbolizes her chastity and purity as well as her youthful maidenhood. Murillo got the device from Ribera, by whom it was first employed, though it is an idea probably borrowed from the Orientals through the Moors, by whom Spain was dominated. The joys of heaven are expressed in the happy angels at her feet, while at her head, on each side, are cherubs and

seraphs. The cherubs are on her right, being known from their bluish tinge, —turned from the direct light they assume this shade,—while the seraphs may be recognized as such from their fiery hue,—turned to the yellow light they receive it fully and are delicately flushed with red. The seraphs stand for love and adoration, the cherubs for wisdom and contemplation. So Pope:

As the rapt Seraph that adores and burns,

and Milton:

The Cherub, Contemplation.

Angels are always supposed to be masculine, perhaps for the reason beautifully given by Madame de Staël—"because the union of power with purity constitutes all that we mortals can conceive of perfection." It is full of suggestion, therefore, that in this Conception we have the Virgin surrounded by the masculine element, and bathed in a flood of glory proceeding from the divine essence. The background is a mellow radiance of warmth and light, softening into the cooler

tints of the clouds in which the angels sport, holding various attributes of the Virgin. One has a stem of lilies—for purity, and in allusion to Joseph's rod, which budded at the time of her betrothal and sent forth lilies. Another holds a palm leaf, emblem of victory. A third holds the rose—for incorruptibility, and the "Rose of Sharon," one of her many titles. A fourth bears the olive branch of peace, borne by the angel Gabriel when he announced to her that she should bear a son. Her robe is white, for virgin innocence and purity; and her mantle blue, for truth and sorrow: she is the "Mother of sorrows and consolations." The picture is a splendid piece of decoration; the golden background and silver clouds, the rich, dark blue of the Virgin's mantle and her white robe forming a most telling combination of simple and powerful values. It is painted on canvas, and measures six feet eight and a half inches high by four feet eight and a half inches wide, and hangs in the long gallery of the Prado Museum at Madrid.

T. C.

DECLINE OF NATIVE PAINTING

CHAPTER IX

DECLINE OF NATIVE PAINTING

CHARLES II

(1665-1700)

CHARLES II was three years old when his father died, and for twelve years, in fact until he reached his majority, the government was in the hands of the queen dowager, Mariana. Her mismanagement was profound, her amours notorious; the government at home daily grew more rotten, while abroad the French were making themselves masters of the Spanish Netherlands and the buccaneers were ravaging the coasts of Spanish America. Nor after the king had attained his majority did affairs mend. The last male descendant of Charles V inherited the taint of his race in an accumulated form. Feeble in body and mind, he was the victim of habitual despondency, from which he sought relief in the chase, the society of his artists, and religious exercises. But his opportunities of patronage were limited, for the finances of Spain were crippled. The treasures of Mexico and Peru were mortgaged, and the pressing needs of the government supplied by open sale of places. Scarcely could the ministers raise funds for the annual visits of the court to Aranjuez and the Escorial, while officers of the army begged in the streets of garrison towns, and the rank and file were glad to share the victuals doled out at the monasteries. The exchequer, indeed, was hardly rich enough, as the French ambassador wrote to his sovereign, to pay for an olla for the royal board.

Meanwhile, there was no falling off in the wealth of individual nobles, and, while the *ménage* of the court was shabby and frugal, luxury increased in the palaces of the grandees. Their tables were loaded ostentatiously with gold and silver plate; their ladies adorned with a profusion of jewels, and their galleries enriched with treasures of art. The court might give its *cachet* to a painter, but it was from the nobles that he chiefly drew emolument.

By far the most popular painter of this period was the Neapolitan, Luca Giordano, a pupil of Ribera. His arrival may be said to have marked the end of the old Spanish school, for chagrin at the instant success of the foreigner caused the death of Claudio Coello, the last of Spain's great painters of the seventeenth century. He was born in Madrid between the years 1630 and 1640, the son of Faustino Coello, a Portuguese sculptor in bronze. After obtaining some instruction in painting the young Coello attracted the friendship of Juan de Carreño, who, as court painter, procured him permission to study in the royal galleries. Later he entered into partnership with a painter named Ximenez Donoso, and superintended the artistic arrangements for the ceremonial entry of the French Princess Maria Louisa, on the occasion of her marriage to Charles. From the palace of Buen Retiro to the Alcázar, the way was spanned by triumphal arches, decorated with painted allegories and trophies, and bordered with galleries and pavilions, gay with gilded statues and pictures, emblematic of the Golden Age that was about to return to Spain!

In 1684 Coello was appointed one of the court painters and the following year received the commission for his most important picture, "The Festival of Santa Forma," which hangs over the altar in the sacristy of the Escorial. The canvas is eighteen feet high and nine wide, set behind the framework of the retablo. The subject of the picture is the ceremony that took place, when the Santa Forma, or the Miraculous Host that exuded blood when trodden on by Zwinglian soldiers, was deposited on this actual altar. Consequently, beyond the vista of the sacristy itself and beyond the altar and its retablo, you see, as in a mirror, a repetition of the place itself,

only crowded with monks and singing boys and a company of distinguished persons. Of these at least fifty are said to be portraits. The picture was received with great applause, as well it might be, and for some years Coello reigned supreme among the artists of the court and capital. It was during this period that many of his best portraits were executed. In 1692, however, Luca Giordano arrived and was given a commission to paint the dome of the Escorial. Coello's mortification was intense; only after urgent entreaty would he finish a "Martyrdom of St. Stephen," on which he was engaged, and after its completion flung away his brushes forever. Early in the following year he died of some disease, brought on or aggravated by his disappointment. With him, as we have said, may be considered to have passed away the great Spanish school of the seventeenth century.

THE BOURBON DYNASTY

CHAPTER X

THE BOURBON DYNASTY

FRANCISCO GOYA

WITH the death of Charles II the rule of the Hapsburg House of Austria came to an end. In the person of Philip V, grandson of Philip IV and Louis XIV, the offspring of the marriage that took place on the Isle of Pheasants and cost Velasquez his life, the crown passed to the Bourbon dynasty. With two short interruptions, one when Napoleon placed his brother Joseph on the throne, and the other when the brief reign of Victor Emmanuel's son, Amadeus, was followed by a still briefer republic, that dynasty has lasted to the present day.

Philip's accession, in direct contravention of the agreement made by Louis XIV to abjure for himself and successors all claim to the Spanish throne, led to the War of the Spanish Succession. During the twelve years of that disastrous conflict the convents and cathedrals were despoiled of much of their painting, sculpture, and plate, and the miserable years that lost Gibraltar to Spain completed the ruin of her commerce, and dried up the fountain of her national genius. No new painter of note appeared to carry on the succession of native art, and the king, while retaining the services of Luca Giordano and a few insignificant Spanish painters, showed his French preferences by sending for Vanloo. Later in the century Luca Giordano was followed by the Venetian Tiepolo, and by the

German eclectic, Raphael Mengs. Such Spanish painters as existed side by side with these do not call for comment. Native art was to all intents and purposes dead; when, suddenly, the last quarter of the century witnessed a revival of Spanish painting in the person of Francisco Goya.

This strangely bizarre and forceful personality was, like all the true artists of Spain, a naturalist, happiest in depicting the passing show of contemporary life, but gifted with something of the spirit of Cervantes and Lope de Vega, a prober of shams and a ruthless expositor of the vices of the times. And, while thus an embodiment of Spanish past and present, he has been also called the first of modern painters, since he anticipated the motive and manner of modern impressionism.

He was born in 1746, of humble parentage, in the village of Fuente de Todos, near Zaragoza, in the province of Aragon. His childhood, little disturbed by schooling, was spent in running wild over the bare hills that in summer are parched with heat and in winter swept with cold, and under these conditions Goya early developed the passionate independence and reckless disregard of consequences that characterized his subsequent career. By the time that he was thirteen he had made up his mind to be a painter, and was placed with a teacher in Zaragoza. For some five years he frequented the latter's studio, but the discipline of steady work was alien to his disposition. From first to last during his student days he was a quick assimilator of what a master or masterpiece could give him, with an instinct for what was needful for his own development and a disregard of aught else. In later life he used to say that his instruction had been gained from nature, Velasquez, and Rembrandt.

Meanwhile, at Zaragoza he was following the call of his instinct by touching life at various points, especially lawless ones. Of great physical strength, quick and apt with the rapier, he was a leader among the swashbuckling youth of the city, until the eye of the Inquisition was attracted to his escapades and he found it convenient to skip to Madrid. Here he divided his time between study in the galleries, and adventures of gallantry, until he was picked up one

morning with a knife in his back. Once more to escape the clutches of the Inquisition, he lay concealed until his wound was healed, and then worked his way south as a bull-fighter and sailed for Italy. During his stay in Rome he became intimate with the Spanish painter, Francisco Bayeu, and fraternized with David, the future leader of the academic school in France, who was already imbued with the republican spirit. At this time Goya's reputation as a painter was such, that the Russian ambassador offered him a position at the court of Catharine II, an honor which he declined. Nor did his reputation for amorous adventures suffer any abatement. The last of them in Rome was an attempt to carry off a girl from a convent. It failed and he found himself in the hands of the monks, from whom he was rescued with difficulty by the Spanish ambassador. He now left Rome and returned to Spain, settling in Madrid, where in a few months he married Josefa Bayeu, the sister of his painter friend, Francisco.

Through the introduction of his brother-in-law, Goya was brought to the notice of Mengs, who, with a corps of painters, was occupied in decorating the palaces of Madrid and Aranjuez. He received a commission to design a set of cartoons for the royal factory of Santa Barbara, in which he at once declared his independence by selecting subjects as far as possible removed from the kind affected by Mengs. Instead of a tedious rehash of some time-worn theme of mythology, these thirty-eight compositions, executed in some eighteen months, are alive with incidents drawn from the habits and pastimes of the people. Some of them, with much of Watteau's grace, represent a picnic, a fête champêtre, young people flying a kite, playing tennis or blindman's-bluff; others, a wedding, the evening promenade in the Prado, the Madrid fair, or the episode of a rendezvous; while in others appear such well-known personages as flower-sellers, washerwomen, beggars, gamblers, tipplers, huntsmen and their hounds, guitar-players, manikins, and stilt-walkers. There was so much *esprit* in the invention of these designs and their spirit reflected so precisely the temper of the time, that at the age of twenty Goya found himself famous. He clinched his success by pro-

ducing a variety of pictures representing subjects so akin to the national experience as bull-fights, processions, masquerades, highway robberies, and scenes of gallantry. The drawing was occasionally faulty, but the color luminous and silvery, while the whole impression was alert with vitality and the brushwork fascinating in its ease of manner.

About this time he began practising with the etching needle, executing some prints after pictures by Velasquez; was elected to membership in the Academy of San Fernando, and accepted a commission to furnish some sacred paintings for the Church of the Virgin del Pilar. In these the subject of the "Virgin and Martyred Saints in Glory" are treated with skill of composition and decorative originality, but with a complete absence of devotional feeling. Nor was this to be wondered at, for Goya was a professed unbeliever, who made no secret of his mental attitude toward religion, and was entirely lacking in that sympathetic quality of imagination which could lend itself for the time being to the point of view of other minds. This, however, does not seem to have deterred the Church from employing him, for by the time that he had made his success at court, he was equally in demand for ecclesiastical decorations. These he executed for churches in Seville, Toledo, Zaragoza, and Valencia, and for the little Church of San Antonio de la Florida, in the outskirts of Madrid. Here on the ceiling of the cupola he depicted a miracle ascribed to St. Anthony of Padua. The latter's father had been suspected of a murder, and to clear him the saint was said to have brought the victim to life that he might declare the real culprit. How such a theme would strike Goya's grim humor may be gathered from one of his later etchings, which represents a corpse half-buried in the ground, lifting itself upon its elbow and writing with finger upon a piece of paper "Nada"—nothing! As a matter of fact he saw in the miracle of St. Anthony an opportunity for a gay and brilliant bouquet of color and movement. Some dramatic import is given to the group in which the saint and murdered man appear, but the rest of the circle merely represents a skilful arrangement of figures, brightly dressed, in various attitudes of animation. "As a colorist,"

writes Charles Yriarte, "Goya never attained a greater height than in these frescos, which in imaginative qualities, in life and spirit, and in ingenuity of arrangement, are among his most characteristic works. From a humble sanctuary he has changed the building—I was about to say into a temple, but I should rather say into a museum, for it must be acknowledged that Goya's paintings are absolutely devoid of religious feeling, of solemnity, or of asceticism."

And why not? For, at the time he executed them, he was the idol of a court that was probably the most squalidly dissolute in Europe. Charles IV had succeeded to the throne, but real power was in the hands of Manuel Godoy, who, through the notorious partiality of the queen, Maria Louisa, had been advanced from obscurity by rapid steps of promotion to the rôle of prime minister.

Characteristic of this creature, and at the same time of the imbecility of the king and the conditions of the court, is the brutally audacious remark attributed to him in Doblado's Letters. Charles, it seems, was standing at one of the windows of the palace, surrounded by his courtiers, when a handsome equipage passed below in the street. It was driven by one, Mello, late a private in the guards, now reigning favorite with the queen. "I wonder," said the king, "how the fellow can afford to keep better horses than I can." "The scandal goes, sir," replied Godoy, "that he is himself kept by an ugly old woman whose name I have forgotten." The "ugly old woman" was pictured by Goya on horseback, and her coarse face, "red with rouge or rum," justifies the severity of Godoy's jest.

In such a court, steeped through and through with intrigue, Goya was a notable figure. His own gallantries were as dashing and brilliant as his brushwork; his charm of person exercised a fascination; his wit amused, and his prowess as a swordsman made him feared. Moreover, he had at his back the populace of Madrid, to whom his great physical strength and skill in encounters of offense and defense had endeared him. It is recorded that professional swordsmen, giving a public exhibition of their art in the streets, would stop at his approach and hand him a weapon, that the spectators might enjoy a taste of his quality. And his effrontery was equal

to his courage. A story is told that on one occasion, when the court was in mourning, he made his appearance in white socks, and was barred from entrance by the ushers. Retiring to an anteroom, he procured some ink and decorated the socks with portraits of some of the courtiers, to the great amusement of the king, queen, and everybody, except the persons caricatured. He was made much of by the great ladies, especially by the powerful Countess of Benevente, who loaded him with favors and commissions. But the particular object of his own admiration was the beautiful young Duchess of Alba, who, thereby incurring the animosity of the countess, was banished from court. Goya immediately obtained leave of absence, and escorted his inamorata to her residence at San Lucar. During the journey the axle-iron broke, and the artist, in default of a blacksmith, lit a fire and mended it. In the process, however, he caught a chill, which brought on the first symptoms of deafness that in the course of time deprived him entirely of his hearing. Meanwhile, the court was dull without their favorite painter. He was summoned back from his voluntary exile, pleaded the cause of his duchess, and secured her recall.

His audacity now began to declare itself in an artistic direction. It was about 1799 when Goya, who had been for some years director of the Academy of San Fernando and was now first painter to the king, commenced that remarkable series of etchings subsequently published under the title of "Los Caprichos." The satire of these "caprices," directed against political, aristocratic, religious, and social conditions, was unprecedented in the history of art. They represent an amazing record of mordant hatred, horribly grotesque imagination, and merciless ridicule. Small wonder that the Inquisition was stirred and demanded his trial. But he escaped by a subterfuge. According to one story, Goya parried the blow by dedicating the plates to the king, while another has it that the king himself extricated the favorite by sending for the plates *which he had commanded*.

This series of etchings was succeeded by another known as "Los Desastres de la Guerra," in which he depicted with less originality

than before but with startling realism the horrors of war, during the French invasion by which Napoleon tried to keep his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne. These again were followed by "La Tauromaquia," a set illustrating episodes of the bull-ring, and by "Los Proverbios." In all these plates the background was executed in aquatint, upon which the figures were etched with light and rapid strokes full of verve and meaning, while the groups are put together with an ease of manner and a justness of ensemble that seem to be the result of an act of improvisation.

The subject-matter of the etchings has led some writers to couple Goya with Hogarth. But the latter was a moralist, of which there is no trace in Goya. It was out of the ferment of a passionate nature that he produced these things, not for public edification, but for his own amusement; sometimes, no doubt, to vent an ancient grudge, more often, however, in the indulgence of a grim humor and in response to an inherent love of the horrible, that is characteristically Spanish. For in innumerable pictures the blood-lust of the race, inherited, it has been surmised, by the protracted struggle with the Moor, obtruded itself. Under the thin guise of a sacred subject, the tortures of martyrs and the torments of the damned feed the same appetite that used to be satiated with the atrocities of the *auto da fe*, and now finds a pleasurable excitement in the carnage of the bull-ring. Yet it is possible to see in Goya a symptom of the spirit of revolt against existing institutions which was permeating Europe and had just broken loose in the violence of the French Revolution. In a country the most conservative in Europe, and under the shadow of the Inquisition, which still maintained an almost medieval constraint over men's consciences and conduct, he dared to be an anarchist of the pronounced type.

During the days of his prosperity at the court of Charles IV it was *de règle* to be painted by Goya, and his studio was besieged by people of the great world, statesmen, scholars, court ladies, and famous beauties. As a result his portraits are very unequal in quality. If the subject attracted him, he could produce a portrait as beautiful as that of the Andalusian wife of Don Antonio Corbo de

Porcel, or as full of dignified reserve as that of his brother-in-law, the painter Bayeu. On the other hand, in the presence of a group like that of the family of Charles IV, imagination fails him, and the best he can accomplish is a clever but perfunctory rendering of the mediocrity of his subject. Other portraits betray the hurry in which they were executed, the result sometimes of indifference, on other occasions of the fury with which he was wont to attack his canvas.

His subject pictures also vary in character. Sometimes with amazing impetuosity he dashed on to the canvas the impression of an incident remembered, sweeping it in with large strokes of the brush and with a seeming carelessness that gives the appearance of the scene having been rapidly sketched on the spot. Such are two vivid scenes of slaughter suggested by the French invasion, and others representing brigands, bull-fights, assassinations, and victims of the plague. But his subjects were not always violent, as witness the sparkling grace of "In a Balcony"; nor was his method always summary. The companion pictures in the Prado of "La Maja," representing the same girl in the same pose, clothed in one case, in the other nude, reveal the most attentive observation and treatment; a sensitive devotion to the harmonious lines of the young body, and an exquisite feeling for the texture and tones of the flesh.

The latter part of the artist's life was disturbed by the political changes that overtook Spain and by his own infirmities. Charles IV and his wife were exiles in France and during the brief usurpation of Joseph Bonaparte, Goya, like most of the courtiers, swore allegiance to him. Upon the return of Ferdinand in 1814, he again changed his political coat. "In our absence," the new king remarked, "you have deserved exile, and more than exile, you have deserved hanging, but you are a great painter and, therefore, we will forget everything." But though he painted this Ferdinand several times, these portraits being among his best, and still held the position of first painter to the king, he had outlived his popularity at court, and spent most of his time at his beautiful residence of Las Romerías, whose walls he had decorated in his earlier days of buoyancy with grotesque pictures. Now he was nearly seventy years



"IN THE BALCONY." BY GOYA.
IN THE COLLECTION OF THE DUCHE OF MARCHENA, PARIS.

old; the wife who had borne so patiently with all his flagrant infidelities was dead; so too were all but one of his twenty children. His faculties were decaying; periods of moroseness would alternate with flashes of ungovernable rage; his hand no longer moved with rapidity and lightness; and his color had lost much of its limpidity.

At length, retiring to his own country, he obtained permission to visit France and settled in Bordeaux, where he was tended during the last five years of his life by an old friend, Madam Weiss, and her daughter. A few portraits, among them some miniatures, and four lithographs known as "Les Taureaux de Bordeaux," belong to this period; but as the end approached he sank deeper into depression. Stone deaf, and with failing eyesight, he would pass whole days without speaking. In the spring of 1828, recognizing that the end was near, he sent for his son, and a few days after his arrival succumbed to a stroke of apoplexy. He was buried in the cemetery of Bordeaux; but his remains were exhumed in 1899 and reinterred with suitable honors in Madrid.

In the period of his ascendancy Goya was nearly a hundred years in advance of his age. While his contemporaries in Spain and France, following the lead, respectively, of Mengs and David, were intent upon line and enclosed their figures with hard contours, he, as he was wont to say, only saw in nature objects in light and objects in shadow, according as they approach or recede from the eye. "I do not count the hairs in the beard of a man who passes by," he would say, "and my brush cannot see more than I." And again, "Teachers confuse their young pupils by making them draw year after year with their best sharpened pencil almond-shaped eyes, mouths like bows, noses like the figure seven reversed, and oval heads. Why not give them nature for a model? That is the only master." This is very much what Delacroix urged in his fight against arbitrary notions of beauty, founded upon the study of Greek sculpture. "In order to present an ideal head of a negro, our teachers make him resemble as far as possible the profile of Antinous, and then say, We have done our utmost; if, nevertheless, we fail to make the negro beautiful, then we ought not to introduce into

our pictures such a freak of nature, the squat nose and thick lips, which are so unendurable to the eyes."

Delacroix visited Spain and must have made acquaintance with Goya's work. Certainly many of the leading French critics were familiar with it, and had derived from it reinforcement for the attack which on behalf of romanticism they were leading against the academy. Their battle was probably the fiercest ever waged in the arena of art, and the battle-cry of the young men was directed against arbitrary conventions; in favor of conforming to nature rather than to rules, and of substituting for the tame formality of academic motives an expression of the flesh and blood and emotions of the human body and spirit, and it is in this respect that Goya was the precursor of the movement. That outburst of individual liberty of spirit, which in France did not reveal itself as the artistic product of the Revolution until 1830, had appeared in Spain fifty years before in the person of Goya. His career, therefore, passes beyond the interest that attaches to the individual and his particular locality, and is seen to have been symptomatic of the age. He is one with Goethe, Schiller, and Byron, as well as with the French Revolution and the Romanticists.

But his genius also anticipated a still later movement in painting—that of impressionism. Himself a follower of Velasquez, as modern painters have since become, he brought the lesson of Velasquez up to the point where it could serve his present purpose and, by anticipation, the purpose of the moderns. To use a mathematical formula, Goya's impressionism was Velasquez's impressionism, raised to the n th power, "n" representing the infinite variations of human life. For while the older artist, instead of giving a detailed record of the object before him, rendered the impression that it had made on his eye, his practice, if not his experience, was limited in scope. How far his impressionism would have been modified or extended, had he ruffled it in the outside world, as Goya did, can be only a matter of conjecture. As a fact, he was confined to a certain range of subjects, demanding a certain manner of being seen and rendered. Goya, on the contrary, acknowledged no master, even in

the royalties that he served; extended his researches over the whole panorama of external life, and represented what he had seen according to the sole dictates of his own temperament. For it is in the way in which his art was swayed by temperament that he belonged to the moderns.

Velasquez's impressionism, in its primary intent, at any rate, was objective. However it may, and must, have been modified by his personal memory and experience, it represented a conscious effort to summarize the qualities as they actually existed in his subject. Goya, on the contrary, painted, in our modern phrase, to please himself, influenced in what he saw by his mood of the moment, emphasizing and suppressing this or that according to the condition of his feelings; intent, less upon giving a truthful synthesis of the qualities of the subject, than of showing how they affected himself. In this lies both his strength and weakness. When a subject accorded with his mood, and his creativeness was alert and interested, he could produce a marvelously vivid impression of the scene; when the one was out of key, or the other lagged, the work would be of correspondingly indifferent quality. Just the same distinction is apparent in the case of the modern impressionists. Their success depends upon a coördination of "ifs," that is not by any means invariably present.

Moreover, this subjective, temperamental kind of impressionism is in a measure antagonistic to the avowal that these painters make of being nature-students. They go to nature, it is true; but too often only for a suggestion, after which they turn their back on their teacher, as being inadequate, and busy themselves with an exposure of their own feelings. Here and there in certain men, but even of these, as we see in the case of Goya, only at certain times, there is enough of genius, that is to say, of originality of comprehension and feeling, to give the expression of their personal impression a distinct and abundant value. Nature, passed through the alembic of that genius, reappears with a heightened significance. But what, when nature that means already to most of us so much emerges from the pot of a mediocre brain? And painters are but as other human

beings; only a few of them rise above the average. I do not forget that modern impressionism is not necessarily temperamental. But most of it is, and this form of it has spread to music and to literature and crops out crudely even in our daily papers.

The Spain which Goya pictured and satirized has passed away. It was a civilization that had its roots still established in tradition, gallant and barbarous by turns, and Goya, in mirroring it, was one with the painters of the past. He was the last of the Spanish school; the first in the later republic of art which, now spread over the western countries, may present local variations but no distinctions of schools.

During Goya's life occurred the Peninsular War, in which the French army supplemented the devastation that had been wrought by the archduke's soldiers in the early part of the century. But the pillage on this occasion passed beyond the wanton damage of reckless soldiery, and the rifling of altars and sacristies in search of the precious metals. For Marshal Soult, with the instincts of a shrewd dealer, sent ahead of his advance an expert, with the dictionary of Cean Bermudez in his hand, to identify and attach the most famous paintings, which he compelled the churches and convents to sell him on his own terms. Thus a vast number of masterpieces, notwithstanding that the allies compelled the return of some of them, were lost to Spain and passed through Soult's rapacious hands into the public and private galleries of Europe.

NOTES BY THE ENGRAVER

GOYA'S "Washerwomen" is one of a series of decorative paintings of scenes from Spanish life designed originally to serve as models for tapestries, and executed by Goya for the royal manufactory of tapestry

at Madrid, about 1776, when the artist was thirty years old. They are collected at the Madrid gallery, in the lower halls dedicated to Goya's works, while the tapestries made from them decorate the walls of the escorial pal-



DOÑA ISABEL CORBO DE PORCEL. BY GOYA.
NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON.

ace, in the mountains to the north of the city.

The painting of these cartoons was procured for Goya by Raphael Mengs, the director of the manufactory, and painter to the king, Carlos IV, who was attracted by the originality and power of the young man, then just returned from his studies in Rome. This work was the first step in the artist's upward career, since it was an immense success, and he soon became the most popular painter in the city.

The figures of these canvases are all life-size. While a few of the cartoons possess great charm and brilliancy of tone, the majority are harsh and crude in coloring, owing possibly to the commercialism of the time, which may have demanded something gay and catching. Certain it is that in black and white they have greater dignity and simplicity. Knowing them only from reproductions in this medium, I could not help marveling, on seeing the originals, that the artist should have spoiled the nobility and repose of his works by staining them with hard and spotty colors. Their unnaturally bright hues are accounted for by the fact that they were done for copying in tapestry, as though it were the nature of the texture of tapestry to soften them. But in fact the reproductions, instead of ameliorating the tints of the originals, have accentuated their defects, and this so deplorably that they present a garish spectacle of pigments, ill suited to the quiet, unobtrusive flatness so becoming to the walls of an interior.

Nevertheless, these representations of the gay aspect of Spanish life undoubtedly reveal Goya's mind in its happiest and healthiest phase. The light and playful incidents of everyday existence are vividly depicted with

a vigor and virility of drawing that is wanting in much of his later work, especially of that period of gloom that settled over his declining years.

In the example of the "Washerwomen," one of the best of the series, the two maids seated are playing a practical joke on their dozing companion. One has led a sheep up from behind and is pulling its ear in order to rub its nose against her face and make it bleat in her ear and thus to scare her into waking.

In the Madrid gallery may be seen the sad contrast between the artist's early and late productions. To turn from these cheerful scenes of frolicsome mirth—country dances, love episodes, picnics, games, and escapades, set in gay colors and brilliant tones—to the black and gruesome horrors of his later canvases, is like stepping from the joyous sunlight into gloom: all color is fled, and chaos reigns, peopled with hideous and unearthly shapes. One feels instinctively that the man must have gone mad.

The Portrait of Doña Isabel Corbo de Porcel was purchased by the National Gallery of London in 1896 from Don Andres de Urzaiz, of Madrid. As an example of the artist's power in portraiture it is one of the best, displaying delicacy of execution and vivid delineation of character.

We here have a handsome young Spanish lady, of a type that must have enlisted the painter's sympathy. She is clad in a rose-colored satin dress, which is almost entirely veiled by a black lace mantilla, of a style worn by ladies of Spain at the present day, forming a rich head-dress and forcibly setting off the face, and flowing down over the breast with decorative effect through which a portion of the white chemise is seen as well as the

rose color of the dress which is thus enriched. This lace work is vigorously executed with fine impressionistic effect, and its masterly and unpremeditated handling renders it an important feature of the canvas. Note how the full force of its technique is artfully brought into juxtaposition with the exquisite delicacy of the chemise that softens so tenderly into the flesh-tones of the bosom! Then, again, this bit of technique is absolutely vital to, and constitutes the very soul of, the atmospheric quality that is observable in the mass of the lace of the head-dress, as it floats into the depth of the umberous background on either side of the head, relieving it with such distinction and brilliancy; for if it were removed, the sense of space would suffer immediately.

The hair is that of a blonde, but the large eyes are dark, partaking of a greenish gray cast. There is delicacy of modeling, but the expression is vivacious and spirited rather than refined. Noble and high-strung it may be, but I have always fancied I could see somewhat of cruelty in its make-up that seems in keeping with the draggled hair of the forehead, ending in those huge, fierce spit-curls, and the almost defiant pose of the body—right shoulder forward, left hand planted firmly on hip—that gives such a feeling of bravado to the character.

The canvas is still as fresh as though but lately finished, a fact due to the simplicity and fewness of the colors that it was the habit of the painter to employ—usually four or five, but often not more than three. For his portraits he chiefly employed white, black, vermilion, the ochers, and sienna, and he once painted a head with black and vermilion only, his aim being to show the effect chi-

aroscuro was able to produce. "In nature," he said, "exists no color, and no lines; nothing but light and shade." He painted with remarkable rapidity, one or two sittings often being sufficient to finish a picture.

This canvas shows the half-length of life-size, and measures two feet eight inches by one foot nine and a quarter inches.

I was told by a Spanish painter whose father had known Goya personally, that the great man was wont to declare that he who aspired to the name of artist should be able to reproduce from memory, with brush or pencil, any scene or incident in all its essential features, after having once beheld it. His own power of working from memory was simply phenomenal, and his best and most spirited productions—his wonderful etchings and drawings and many of his paintings, the works, in fact, on which his fame and claim as a great artist rest—were done "out of his head," as they say. The "Belles on Balcony" is a pretty instance of this. True, there is something in the drawing of the figures—in their unsubstantial bodily structure—that reveals his want of probity in this respect; but the spirit of the scene, its pleasant surprise and freshness, its glamour of light and color, its flutter of lace and movement, caught the artist's eye, and it is these that he sought to convey to the canvas. There is rapid execution here—passionate haste to give expression to the scene as he was impressed by it. It sprang, as it were, from the artist's palette, too spontaneous to admit of reflection. There is little that he has done that can rival the excitement with which he despatches the background, or the consummate ability and play of his brush in the rippling sur-

face of the lace. Goya is the direct forerunner of the modern school of Impressionists, among whose characteristics are displayed an impatience of drawing and an eager haste to compass the essence of the thing. In the Luxembourg may be seen a canvas by Manet (the recognized head of the Impressionists) of a couple of belles at the balcony. It is a picture almost exactly similar to this one by Goya, and plainly an outcome of it in its treatment and inspiration, though Goya in the totality of his art has dealt with more advanced problems.

The girls are Sevillian, and the scene is a familiar one in that gay town, especially at Carnival time. All Spanish houses have balconies. The girls could n't exist without them. We have in the background of this picture two male figures, a soldier and a citizen—lovers doubtless of the fair creatures, who guarantee their safety; for at Carnival season indignities by jealous rivals are often offered to the fair

onlookers. It may be wondered that the figure standing should be so muffled up, but one of the most ludicrous customs that still prevail in Spain is that strapping fellows, on the first breath of winter, bundle themselves up to their eyes, while the young girls go about no more warmly clad, apparently, than in their lace mantillas. And a pair of lovers thus form an odd contrast to each other which Goya has not failed to hit off in some of his paintings, and "Scenes of Madrid Life." This painting was at Aranjuez when I had access to it, through the kind instrumentality of Señor Beruete of Madrid. It belongs to the Duke of Marchena, son of the Infant of Spain, Don Sebastian de Borbón, and is now in his collection at Paris. It is painted apparently in three colors, brown, black, and white. The figures are life-size, and the canvas measures six feet five and a half inches high, by four feet two inches wide.

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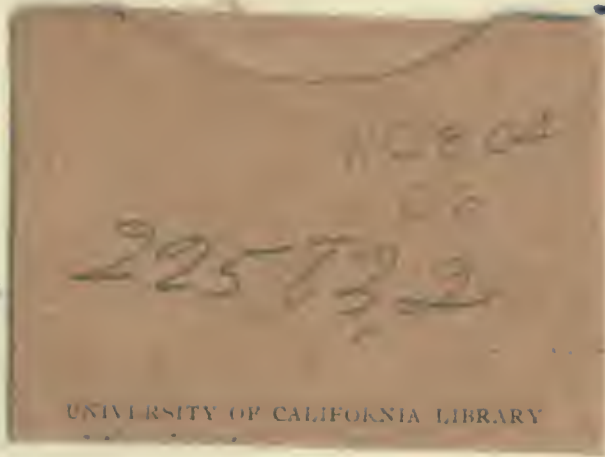
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