“The Greatest Part of Painting”
The Art Treatises of the Early Spanish Baroque Period

by

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# Table of Contents

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

**LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS**

## CHAPTER I – THEORETICAL ANTECEDENTS

- The Origins of the Dibegno vs. Colorito Debate
- Pacheco’s Predecessors
- The Sevillian Academy’s Origins
- The Second Generation of the Academy
- Pablo de Césedes and his theories
- Carducho’s Predecessors
- Lerma and his Patronage of the Arts
- Bartolomé Carducho
- Patricio Cajés

## CHAPTER II – THE TREATISES AND THEIR STRUCTURE

- Lope de Vega’s testimony
- Catholic Reformation
- The Organizational Structure of the Diálogos de la Pintura
- Socratic Dialogue in the *Diálogos*
- The Etchings and Intertextuality in the *Diálogos*
- The Index of the *Diálogos*
- The Organizational Structure of el Arte de la Pintura
- Considering Prints and Drawings
- Artists’ Materials and Techniques
- Artistic and Literary Legacy

## APPENDIX I

- Considerations on a Digital Humanities Project

## APPENDIX II

- Digital Documents

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## APPENDIX I & II References
List of Illustrations

**Figure I** Peter Paul Rubens, *Duke of Lerma on Horseback*, 1603, Museo del Pardo ________________ 19

**Figure II** El Greco, *Saint Martin and the Beggler*, 1597-99, National Gallery of Art ________________ 20

**Figure III** Patricio Cajés, *Joseph Storing Grain During the Seven Years of Plenty*, Metropolitan Museum __ 26

**Figure IV** *Diálogos de la Pintura*, Folio 83, Author’s photo ________________________________ 37

**Figure V** *Diálogos de la pintura*, Folio 107, Author’s photo.______________________________ 38

**Figure VI** Francisco Pacheco, *Disembarkation of the Captives Rescued by the Mercedarians*, c. 1600, Frick Photo Archive.______________________________________________ 47

**Figure VII** Francisco Pacheco, *Portrait of Fray Luis de Leon*, Frick Photo Archive. ____________ 48

**Figure VIII** Francisco Pacheco, *Sketch for the Mercedarians*, Frick Photo Archive. ____________ 49

**Figure IX** *Network Visualization Prototype* ________________________________ 74

**Figure X** *RDF statement of network prototype in .ttl format.* ______________________________ 76
Chapter I – Theoretical Antecedents

Gaspar Gutiérrez de los Rios wrote the Noticia general para la estimación de las artes, in 1600 and was one of the earliest Spanish writers to compile a history and theory of the liberal arts.¹ After presenting a classification list of the mechanical and liberal arts, Gutiérrez de los Rios argues that in the history of labor many mechanical arts have become liberal ones.² The first Spanish treatises strictly on a theory of art were not published until late in the first third of the seventeenth century. Vicente Carducho’s Diálogos de la Pintura (1633) was followed up a little over a decade later by the posthumous publication of Francisco Pacheco’s Arte de la Pintura (1649). Both treatises are aimed at changing the social and financial status of painters by arguing for painting as a liberal art. Spanish painters were seen by the courts and patrons as laborers of a mechanical, rather than liberal, art and therefore subject to a lower social standing and the imposition of taxes afforded to other crafts regulated by a guild system. But the painters were keen to the changing status of their work in other parts of Europe from the prior century, especially the Italian city-states of Florence and Venice where painters were elevated as practitioners of a liberal art. Florence established the Accademia delle Arti del Disegno, in 1563.³

El Arte de la pintura and the Diálogos de la pintura, although artistic treatises, remain embedded in the literary sources that engendered their production. Indeed, as

texts, they are the product of the Italian humanistic concepts they borrowed and the
growing awareness of the important role that painters play in Spanish society. This paper
will show that both texts aim to elevate the status of painting to that of a liberal art in
order to promote fiscal and social prosperity for artists by engaging with the work of their
Italian antecedents. Furthermore, the paper will investigate the structure of each text to
reveal the scholarly models each author relied on in the production of their texts.
Specifically Carducho’s strategy relied on creating an intertextual document whose
structure intends to elevate painting by interweaving humanistic theory with the literary
arts, while Pacheco, more fluid in his theoretical foundations, focused on production and
iconography to achieve the same goal. This is also revealed through the structural
organization of Pacheco’s *Arte de la pintura*. It is important to set the stage for both of
these scholars, as their achievements are deeply tied with the academic and literary arts of
seventeenth century Spain and of the aesthetic theories of the Italian Renaissance; it
would be prudent to investigate these antecedents.

Carducho and Pacheco were looking at the treatises and artists of the Italian
Renaissance in order to frame the argument for their own work. This was an excellent
strategy since the royal collection housed many Italian works. Titian was especially
prized and his Venetian aesthetic was a favorite of both Charles V and Philip II. But
from a theoretical and scholarly point of view, Venice did not hold as much caché as
Florentine painting. And with Michelangelo and Raphael occupying the apotheosis of
artistic production, even with the Spanish, these two artists-cum-scholars would be
remiss to ignore the tenets of the disegno camp over those, such as Titian, who practiced
colorito.
The origins of the disegno vs. colorito debate

In Italy the split in aesthetic theory can be traced to the controversy over whether disegno or colorito was the primary methodology for creating pictures. Disegno was favored by painters in Florence and Rome while Venetian painters promoted colorito. The division was engendered primarily through the structural obstacles faced by artists in Venice that were not present in Florence. Where Florentine painters were fluid in the forms of their production — moving from painting, to architecture, and sculpture — Venetian law prevented painters from producing anything else but pictures. Within all three types of production drawing and geometry played essential roles. It was the mathematical perspective, laid out on paper in charcoal that allowed painting to move into the third dimension, the essential quality that has come to define Renaissance pictures. Therefore when the critical mass was achieved in Florence to elevate the status of painting into liberal art, scholars such as Vasari rallied around the practical and theoretical importance of disegno, or drawing, as the common thread to bind all types of artistic production. With that structural glue missing in Venice, disegno became a component of painting, rather than its source of glory. Instead colorito, or color, prevailed, embodied through painterly brushwork and embrace of the texture of the canvas through the paint.

The Spanish, for the most part, enjoyed the freedom of not having to choose sides. They could, and did, embrace both types of aesthetic production though some had a stake in promoting one model over the other. From a literary perspective, the Florentine humanistic theories were seen as the models to follow. Vasari and Alberti, their authors,
held more caché than the theorists in Venice. If the Spanish Crown needed to be convinced that painting should be a liberal art than Spanish theorists were going to borrow literary tenets from Florence, where painters were successful in achieving a more elevated status for themselves. Carducho, being a Florentine and proud of his identity, was inclined to include them in his models. Pacheco’s literary background and position as head of Seville’s private academy indicated that he too would borrow from the Florentine models.

**Pacheco’s predecessors**

Jonathan Brown pointed out in the early 1970’s that what is commonly known as Pacheco’s academy was “neither Pacheco’s nor an academy in the modern sense.” In fact ‘Pacheco’s academy’ had its beginning as far back as 1548, when a small school was opened in Seville that focused on teaching boys Latin and Greek.

**The Sevillian academy’s origins**

Juan de Mal Lara was the originator of the academy that Pacheco would later inherit. The original conception was one of an academy of letters inspired by the work done in Mal Lara’s school, known as the *estudio*, where young men were instructed in Greek, Latin, and ancient classical text. Mal Lara was born in Seville in 1524 and educated at the Universities of Salamanca and Barcelona. Mal Lara’s academy has its roots in liberal humanism, especially the teachings of Erasmus that had begun to take root in the minds of scholars in Spain in the first half of the fifteenth century. Erasmus’s influence can be

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seen in Mal Lara’s own work and thus can be discussed as the catalyst for the foundation of his academy.

Two years after the birth of Mal Lara, in 1526, the Spanish translation of Erasmus’s *Enchiridion* was published. It proved to be enormously popular and was diffused throughout literary circles. The emphasis on Christian morality and mysticism and not on ceremony would have appealed to the population of recent converts from Judaism.⁷

Another text by Erasmus, the *Collectanea Adagiorum*, also had a profound influence on the structure of Mal Lara’s own text *La philosophia vulgar*, published in 1568. Both texts are collections of common proverbs with contributions by the author in the form of scholarly commentary. Mal Lara invited those in his coterie to contribute to the writing of the text in such a way that, as Brown notes, “…scholarly cooperation…made his dream of an academy a reality.”⁸

Erasmianism was short lived, despite its popularity with certain intellectuals at court. The Inquisition turned its eye toward repressing scholarship in response to the Protestant Reformation during the 16th century. By the late-1550’s, intellectual repression was at its height and the works of Erasmus were censored. The 1559 edition of the Index of Prohibited Works condemns sixteen of Erasmus’s texts.⁹ The consequences were harsh. A supposed cell of Protestantism was found in Seville and the individuals were tried, condemned, and executed in the years between 1558-1562. Mal Lara was also a victim of this persecution and was taken prisoner in 1561.¹⁰ J.H. Elliot suspects that the reaction

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against Erasmianism — in addition to providing a cloak for Lutherans to hide under — may have been a subconscious reaction against the foreign influences that invaded Castilian courts at the beginning of the century.\textsuperscript{11} Whatever the case, Mal Lara would become more cautious in his own writing after he was freed.

The \textit{philosofía vulgar} provides several indications of the methods used by those in Mal Lara’s academy. In the text he writes that:

\begin{quote}
Although it is not done in Spain, in other countries it is a laudable custom for all learned men to assist someone who is writing, and even to have the authors read their work in the academies formed for this purpose, and for everyone to give their opinions and to say notable things and, with a certain modesty, to give it all to the author without publishing the fact that they did him favors.\textsuperscript{12}
\end{quote}

These ideas emulated those from the Italian city-states and their dissemination of Neo-Platonic discourse. Academies in Seville, unlike those abroad, were not formal organizations. Instead they consisted of irregular meetings, often in the houses of nobility who could afford great libraries, and membership was fluid. The Spanish empire had no formal recognition of academies but there was a spark of desire among some of its citizens to create something that would emulate the model of the \textit{academia} in Florence. A spark, lit by many men was ultimately proven difficult to ignite.

Pacheco would inherit Mal Lara’s methodologies. It is ironic that Francisco Pacheco would be an ardent follower of Roman Catholic orthodox theology, which condemned the very texts that inspired Mal Lara, whose ideas emanated from the Neo-Platonic discourses taking place in the city-states of Venice and Florence. The Erasmianism that

\textsuperscript{11} J.H. Elliot, \textit{Imperial Spain}, 3502-3503.
\textsuperscript{12} Brown, \textit{Images and Ideas}, 23.
inspired the formation of Pacheco’s intellectual antecedent would have been considered heresy at the time Pacheco led the academy.

**The second generation of the academy**

Mal Lara died in 1571 and the leadership of the academy was taken up by figures who were highly influential in Seville’s scholarly circles. Brown singles out three as being highly influential to the formation of Pacheco, based upon the painter’s own testimony in his writings. These co-academicians were Fernando de Herrera, a poet; Francisco de Medina, a pupil of Mal Lara; and Francisco Pacheco, the uncle of the painter Pacheco, who was also a canon of the cathedral in Seville. Their interest in the visual arts must also be addressed and although information regarding that is limited, documents suggest an interest in the visual arts and knowledge of their theories. The work and life of the artist Pablo de Céspedes will also be considered here since he represents the first documented artist to enter the academy’s ranks and his work was an influence for the painter Pacheco.

Fernando de Herrera, a poet and scholar, wrote *Obras de Garcilaso de la Vega con anotaciones*, which was published in 1580. This text includes information about the development of the Mal Lara’s academy and the preface acknowledges the contributions and encouragement of Mal Lara in the development of Herrera’s scholarly interests. The text also contains contributions by many of Herrera’s fellow academicians, which is in line with the methods encouraged by the academy and Mal Lara. Herrera is known to
have written about art theory at least twice, and those writings display knowledge of the work of Alberti and Pliny among others.\textsuperscript{13}

The author of the preface to the \textit{Anotaciones}, Francisco de Medina, was also influential in the academy and a pupil of Mal Lara. Medina was born in Seville in 1544 and died in 1615. As a scholar he had an interest in all manner of subjects, including the visual arts. Pacheco wrote that, “…[Medina] spoke and knew about painting as if he had been a skilled painter…” and was a collector of arts and antiques.\textsuperscript{14} The two scholars seemed particularly close and Pacheco often sought Medina’s authority. He was one of Pacheco’s iconographical advisors and his text on the definition of painting was quoted in the \textit{Arte de la pintura}’s first chapter.\textsuperscript{15} Medina’s perceived authority in the visual arts indicates that there must have been discourse at the academy on the subject prior to Pacheco’s involvement. Furthermore, Medina’s long life and continuous contributions for Pacheco ensure a continuation of the methodology of the academy.

Francisco Pacheco, the painter Pacheco’s uncle, was born in Jerez de la Frontera in 1535. He was a respected scholar and writer with a reputation for leaving many of his projects incomplete.\textsuperscript{16} When the poet, Francisco Rioja, was tapped to help author the program for the Hall of Realms in the Buen Retiro Palace, he looked to the work of Canon Pacheco as one of his influences. At fifteen Rioja saw the funeral monument of Philip II in Seville and became the acquaintance of the author of the monument’s program, the Canon Pacheco.\textsuperscript{17} Rioja would later translate the monument’s epigram,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13} Ibid, 26.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Ibid, 27.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Ibid, 61, n. 51, 62.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Ibid, 28.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliot, \textit{A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the court of Philip IV} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 200.
\end{itemize}
written by Pacheco, from Latin into Castilian for a painting of St. Christopher by Mateo Pérez da Lecce.\textsuperscript{18} Rioja also had ties to the painter Pacheco, as his iconographer, and will be discussed later in regard to Velázquez.

Thus, the triumvirate of co-academics would form literary roots for Francisco Pacheco. He was handpicked by his uncle to take the reigns of Mal Lara’s private academy. Before Pacheco assumed its leadership, the academy would have focused on works of literature, poetry, and possibly theater. Discussion would have focused on art, its functions, and the theories behind proper decorum for the permitted imagery. After all, the elite group of scholars that made up this private academy would be expected to have knowledge of and display a curiosity toward a variety of subjects. This is evident by the numerous allusions to art in these scholars’ writings. It was the Canon Pacheco, recognizing a natural predilection who apprenticed young Francisco to an artist in the first place. In this sense, it was the Canon Pacheco and not Pacheco the painter who directed the loose association of scholars towards art.

Nevertheless, Pacheco’s master could not provide him with the theoretical background necessary to promote the status of painting. That would come from an artist representing the Córdoban school, someone who had spent time in Italy and studied the Florentine traditions of painting.

**Pablo de Céspedes and his theories**

The academy admitted Pablo de Céspedes as the first documented painter-scholar sometime after 1585.\textsuperscript{19} There is no documentary evidence about him prior to 1577, the

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{19} Brown, *Images and Ideas*, 32.
year he returned to Spain from a seven-year stay in Rome. Priscilla E. Muller writes that he was born around 1538, which she supports with documents consulted by Céan Bermúdez. Céspedes spent his time in Rome working under the pontificate of Gregory XIII from 1572 till his departure for Spain in 1577. Records indicate that he traveled back with a friend, fellow artist Cesare Arbasia who longed to go back to Italy in order to work with Federico Zuccaro. Muller writes that Zucarro worked with both artists in painting the Trinità dei Monti. Zuccaro’s influence on Céspedes will be an important point to develop later but right now it is important to simply note the connection between Zuccaro, Céspedes, and Pacheco. Specifically, Pacheco was influenced by the work and writing of Céspedes who disagreed with aspects of Zuccaro on neo-Platonic teachings. Nevertheless Céspedes’ writings display a strong grasp of ancient and modern Italian art and theory, which would sway the style of Sevillian art and Pacheco’s treatise.

Céspedes made his first documented trip to Seville in 1585, where he initially stayed around eighteen months and became friends with members of the academy as evidenced by Pacheco’s pintura where he calls Céspedes an intimate friend of the poet Herrera. The induction of the artist into Canon Pacheco’s academy indicates the interests in aesthetic theory and practice of the visual arts. Studying art and its theories may have always been an interest to individuals at the academy but, if so, this was subsumed by literary arts and is only seen in fleeting glimpses as shown in prior examples. Céspedes provides an essential link to the theory and practice of the arts in Italy during this time and fragments of his interests in the theory of art survive in el Arte.

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21 Brown, Images and Ideas, 32.
El Arte is rooted in the spirit of collaboration — and as such, aligned with Mal Lara’s *philosphia vulgar* — of Seville’s academicians and their circle. Pablo de Céspedes’ theoretical work underpins this collaboration; for it is through him that Italian Classicism was funneled into the minds of Sevillians. This is in addition to the ideas of Pliny, Cennino, and Vasari, however there is an intangible amount of overlap and mirroring of these theories that make it difficult to arrange in chronological order when certain ideas arrived in Seville. Despite that, *Arte de la Pintura* displays Pacheco’s intention to provide an anthology of theoretical positions. Many other Italian theoretical positions were filtered first through Céspedes and therefore Pacheco reflects his preference for certain ideas. The second section of this paper will contrast these ideas with Pacheco’s literary peer working in Madrid and Valladolid, Vicente Carducho, in order to reveal their shared epistemological lineage.

Pacheco mentions Céspedes’ time in Rome in chapter one of book three of *Arte de la Pintura*. He writes that Céspedes was in Italy twice and “made a great study of Michelangelos’ works, and was a close friend of Federico Zuccaro, and was in communication with the most worthy men of his time…”

During his time in Rome, working as a painter in the Trinitá dei Monti, Céspedes would be inculcated in the humanistic theories that emanated from Rome which includes advocating for *disegno* as the foundation of great painting. He is working with Zuccaro, with whom he has been adopting the Italian’s ‘good methods’.

This would imply Céspedes’ adoption of humanistic art theory as practiced in Rome. Upon his sojourn in Seville those traditions

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24 Muller, “Pablo de Céspedes,” 90.
would be shared and disseminated through Pacheco’s academy and instilled in *el Arte*. It turns out that this would only be half true.

In Seville, Céspedes is an advocate for the position of drawing as the ‘greatest part of painting.’\textsuperscript{25} This explains Pacheco’s logical insertion of his friend’s authority in the section of *el Arte* that deals with techniques on drawings and cartoons. But Céspedes seems to have disregarded several neo-Platonic tenets during his discourses in Seville. In the *Discurso*, Céspedes advises on selecting parts from nature to create a more perfect form:

> I dare neither to say nor to promise that you will find all the necessary beautiful parts united in a single object, even when nature, the most beautiful of all, creates things that are flawless. You must choose the ideal and from perfect parts make a perfect whole.\textsuperscript{26}

Céspedes does not incorporate the external perfection of forms that is essential to neo-Platonic art theory in Italy. Brown also mentions that Céspedes breaks away from neo-Platonic thought in that he did not believe in the superiority of the art of classical antiquity; when in comparison with the greatest artists of the sixteenth-century, he saw artistic production in both eras as equal. He would share his opinions with Pacheco and the academy who, in turn, would adopt them as their own. We see this in Pacheco’s own treatise where he clearly mirrors Céspedes’ preceding quote:

> When they have some figure or history to paint, they should choose things from prints, drawings, or paintings — a head from one, a half-figure or two from another, arms, legs, draperies, buildings, and landscapes — and unite them in such a way that at the least the form a single composition, making a pleasing whole from many varied parts.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{25} Brown, *Images and Ideas*, 46.  
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid, 47.  
\textsuperscript{27} Véliz, *Artists’ Techniques*, 36.
Pacheco’s quotations of Céspedes’ writings are in many ways troublesome. While those passages sometimes represent the only surviving iterations of Céspedes’ work, Pacheco uses them when they are relevant to a point he tries to make and therefore muddles their original intention. For example, Pacheco quotes several stanzas from *Poema de la pintura* — Céspedes’ theory of art that he constructed in poetic form — when debating whether color or design played the more important role in achieving greatness in painting. The end result leaves the reader with the impression that Céspedes valued color over design yet “Céspedes’ true sympathies were with *disegno*.”

The position of Céspedes as an advocate for drawing is advanced by Brown, who compares the portions of text that Pacheco quotes with Céspedes’ communications with Pedro de Valencia. In those letters Céspedes writes that sculptors and painters both use drawings as the initial formulation for ideas and then therefore, drawing is the greatest part of painting.

It is unknown whether Pacheco creates ambiguity in Céspedes’ writings simply because of the available text he had available, or because it allowed him to quote from an authoritative figure in keeping with the tenets of his academy. It does seem unlikely that Pacheco did not know Céspedes’ position regarding drawing versus color prior to his writing. The Sevillian admits to being a close friend of Céspedes and undoubtedly there was conversation about this subject between him and Céspedes and between Céspedes and other scholars within the academy.

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28 Brown, *Images and Ideas*, 45
29 Ibid, 46. Brown translates the following text from Céspedes’s *Discurso de la comparación de la antigua y modern pintura y escultura*. “How could the sculptor make a worthy thing if he were not assisted first by drawing, which is the principal and greatest part of painting”.
30 Ibid, 45. Pacheco likely did not have a complete copy of the *Poema*. 
Pacheco represents in a very real sense a Sevillian school of thought on art. His predecessors were, generally, literary figures and considered art in literary terms. For example, with the exception of Céspedes and, possibly, Francisco de Medina, none of the academy leaders were making paints or priming canvases. Pacheco would learn the practical matters of painting form his master, and he combined this education in utilitarian matters of painting with his literary background in *el Arte de la pintura*. Later, it will be possible to see how even the mundane ‘how-to’ sections of Pacheco’s work were, actually, charged with a political motivation to transform painting into a liberal art.

If Pacheco’s treatise work does in deed represent Sevillian program for the arts, then Vicente Carducho’s treatise is a prime candidate for representing the program for the courts at the turn of the 16th century. Carducho, unlike Pacheco, was a native Florentine and, though he left for Spain while still young, it was a cultural identity that he chose to exploit throughout his life. His ties to Florence run deeper than simply having been born there. Carducho was trained in the Florentine traditions of humanistic theories of artistic production. And as one of the most learned men in all of Spain, and with close ties to the court, he was in prime position to advocate for the status of painters. It helped that one of his earliest patrons and advocates was Philip III’s most trusted advisor, the powerful Don Francisco Gómez de Sandoval, 1st Duke of Lerma.

**Carducho’s Predecessors**

In 1603 Peter Paul Rubens, on behalf of his patron Vincezno Gonzaga, the duke of Mantua, arrived in Valladolid, the penultimate capital city of Spain before Madrid became the permanent capital in 1606. Rubens was charged with delivering a cache of paintings to the king, which was damaged due to heavy rains during the sea voyage to
Spain. In diplomatic fashion Rubens offered to correct the damages with his own hand as well as create a new painting as a substitution for those too water damaged to be repaired.\textsuperscript{31} Rubens vents his frustrations about the task in a letter dated to May 24\textsuperscript{th}, 1603. He continues, remarking that Spanish painters with their “incredible incompetence and carelessness” have a “style [that] is totally different from mine. God keep me from resembling them in any way!”\textsuperscript{32} For Rubens, Spanish painters’ lack of skill was all the more bothersome because due to his promise to fix the damaged goods, he would be required to work with them. Worrying, he states that they have “…an inferior production unworthy of my reputation, which is not unknown here…”\textsuperscript{33} Although Ronni Baer adroitly points out that such criticism may obfuscate the fact that Rubens was still in competition for the favor of patrons in Spain, no patron, except perhaps for Philip III, was more influential in the Spanish taste for Rubens than the Duke of Lerma.

**Lerma and his patronage of the arts**

The Duke of Lerma’s taste for any particular artist would be responsible for the demand for more of that artist’s works. El Greco and works by the Bassano family all experienced increased demand after Lerma acquired their works.\textsuperscript{34} The products of Lerma’s patronage would be housed in his palaces at Valladolid and the various churches and convents he helped to construct or rebuild.\textsuperscript{35} This would mean that Lerma’s art

\begin{itemize}
\item[31] Sarah Schroth, Ronni Baer, and Matthew Battles, *El Greco to Velázquez: art during the reign of Philip III* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2008), 47.
\item[32] Ibid, *El Greco to Velázquez*, 47.
\item[33] Ibid, *El Greco to Velázquez*, 47.
\end{itemize}
program would likely be seen by many more people; Lerma’s friends and associates who held relatively high positions in nobility and ecclesiastical roles, would then commission works by the same artists or from those who could produce in a similar style.

Lerma was, in fact, one of the most prodigious patrons of his time. Beyond being a man of taste who, as Rubens wrote of him, “enjoyed “the pleasure and practice…in seeing everyday splendid works of Titan, of Raphael…” there were expectations for a man considered to be the King’s favorite. As Comendador Mayor of the Order of Santiago, Lerma was expected to follow the mandates set out in a handbook, known as La Regla. The book laid out rules for those in the various Orders regarding moral code, how to treat guests, and even how to dress; the proper clothing would allow visibility in the public and, therefore accountable for their vows. In fulfillment of their vow of poverty, knights needed to provide one-fifth of their possessions to churches they patronized. Wealthier knights, therefore, were able to provide their churches with more lavish gifts and no one had access to the king’s purse strings like the Duke of Lerma. Indeed, someone in the Duke’s position would be required to build and restore buildings for many different monastic orders. Lerma’s patronage is visible in buildings for the Dominican, Franciscan, and Jesuit orders, whom he particularly protected and endowed. And the magnitude of his gifts was great; by 1611 Lerma had given over one-fifth of his paintings to the monasteries in and surrounding Valladolid.

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36 Schroth, Baer, and Battles, El Greco to Velazquez, 48.
37 Full title, La Regla y Establecimientos de la Cavalleria de Santiago del Espada, con la historia del origen y principio della
38 Banner, Religious Patronage, 19.
39 Ibid, 22.
40 Ibid, 24.
With the title of *Comendador Mayor*, Lerma was the most accoladed of Philip III’s nobles; as such he was expected to publicly demonstrate a generosity in proportion to his own gifts. A complex organizational system was necessary in order for Lerma to produce the massive amount of donations expected of someone in his high position. Like the king, Lerma needed his own network of favorites in order to oversee his system of patronage and obligations of support. Naturally, Lerma used his own trusted friends in order to fulfill these roles. Banner identifies several of these figures as project managers, hiring and arranging payments for architects, painters, and stonemasons among others. She also demonstrates the nepotism that dominated many of these roles: Francisco Calderón was one of Lerma’s advisors, a role that would transfer to his son Rodrigo Calderón. Francisco de Mora, court architect, and later his nephew Juan Gómez de Mora, were tapped to manage several important projects at the same time, in addition to their other duties. They were rewarded with court positions and guaranteed income as a result.

A comprehensive study of Lerma’s network is not possible in this study, nor is it the point of this paper. This, however, does demonstrate how complex connections of Lerma’s network. Lerma’s patronage provided ample opportunities for his managers and friends to meet painters and others providing the decorative objects for Lerma’s churches and palaces. These advisors would also accept Lerma’s taste as their own — a strategic act of alignment with Phillip III’s favorite — and likely act as patrons for those same artists or, barring that, look for workshops who could produce in a similar style. Carducho and his brother both acted as brokers for Florentine pictures to satisfy the needs of Lerma’s magnanimity. Indeed the nepotism that ran through Lerma’s network, itself a

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characteristic — or problem, depending on perspective — of nobility, can indicate that
the style of Lerma’s decorative programs would span more than a single generation. In
turn, with Lerma seeking out artists who worked at the Escorial, an echo chamber was
spawned in terms of stylistic preferences in the decorative programs of the nobility.

Indeed, Brown has characterized Lerma’s patronage, especially in regard to
portraiture, as conservative often relying on the canonical works by Titian and Antonis
Mor for reference. 42 This is certainly the case for what is arguably one of Lerma’s most
famous portraits, the *Equestrian Portrait of the Duke of Lerma*, painted by Peter Paul
Rubens in 1603, during his first visit to the Spanish court. 43 (Figure I) Though
composition is certainly unique in that it is the first large equestrian portrait of a non-royal figure, 44 probably owing to the power and influence Lerma wielded, stylistically
Rubens’ work remains indebted to Titian and the Venetian emphasis of *colorito* over
*disegno*. Rubens is also looking at El Greco, who claimed to have trained under Titian,
in this particular instance. El Greco’s *St. Martin and the Beggar*, completed sometime
between 1597 and 1599 shows the source of the stormy skies, pose, composition, and
placement of the figure in Ruben’s painting. 45 (Figure II)

43 Schroth, Baer, and Battles, *El Greco to Velázquez*, 47.
45 Personal correspondence with Lisa A. Banner.
Figure I Peter Paul Rubens, *Duke of Lerma on Horseback*, 1605, Museo del Pardo
Figure II El Greco, *Saint Martin and the Beggar*, 1597-99, National Gallery of Art
By choosing artists who worked at el Escorial for his religious patronage Lerma also brought in the Florentine tradition emphasized first by Italian artists such as Zuccaro and then later by Zuccaro’s protégés. And by creating this echo chamber where his advisors were in contact with the benefactors of Lerma’s artistic patronage, inadvertently, it seems, Lerma set the stage for Carducho’s own treatise, *Diálogos de la Pintura.*

The Duke of Lerma’s personal decorative programs often quoted those at the Escorial, aligning his stars, as it were, with those of the King and court. For a series of paintings at the Camarasa palace in Valladolid, Lerma made use of Carducho’s abilities to memorialize the Lerma family history in a series of battle scenes, inspired by the Hall of Battles at the Escorial. If the Escorial was the seed of inspiration for Lerma’s own decorative programs, then it was Bartolomé Carducho who laid its initial foundation. Later this responsibility would be shared and inherited by Bartolomé’s younger brother Vicente Carducho.

**Bartolomé Carducho**

Bartolomé Carducho followed his master Federico Zuccaro from Florence to Madrid, where, in 1585, he was commissioned by Philip II to complete the altarpiece for the Basilica at the Escorial. Ultimately Zuccaro’s work would prove unsatisfactory to Philip II and he was sent back to Italy, but Bartolomé stayed behind under the protection of the Duke of Lerma. These two artists are precursors to the Florentine reformed painting movement that was later absorbed into a court style by Vicente Carducho. Their work embodies the temperament of Counter Reformation Catholicism by repudiating mannerist

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tendencies, which may have evoked a mysticism too controversial to the church’s plans after the Council Trent.

Spanish mannerism — at its apogee exemplified by El Greco and, his protégé, Luis Tristán’s long, languorous figures — was a style favored by ecclesiastical patrons. Increasingly the Florentine Reformers, as they are now known, became the style de rigueur for paintings at the Spanish courts. The success that Bartolomé achieved in Spain prompted other Florentines to emigrate to Spain with the hope of recapitulating such results. The proliferation of Florentine style, demonstrated through — as discussed previously — Lerma’s patronage and those of his circle would ensure that these artists did indeed find some measure of success.

Lerma’s working relationship with Bartolomé Carducho led the patron to discover Vicente Carducho, then Bartolomé’s apprentice. The first painting by Vicente is documented in 1606 — though Banner notes that he could have been working for Lerma as early as 1600 — at the church at San Diego, Valladolid. Lerma also hired both Carduchos for work at the Camarasa Palace in Valladolid. Bartolomé oversaw the production of the palace’s interior frescos and Vicente painted various battle scenes inspired by a similar decorative program, the Hall of Battles, at the Escorial. Documents reveal that much of the work done at Camarasa Palace was regulated to Vicente and his brother’s workshop. This demonstrates the trust Bartolomé had in his younger brother’s skills at this time. Lerma continued to rely on the Carducho brothers,

47 Banner, Religious Patronage, 84.
48 Ibid, 27.
49 Ibid, 59.
50 Ibid, 61.
commissioning Bartolomé to decorate the church and monastery of San Pablo, with a program appropriate to the requirements of the Dominican Order.\textsuperscript{51}

After the death of Bartolomé in 1608, Lerma continued commissions with Vicente, who, among other projects, produced a series of paintings depicting the Annunciation for churches the Duke patronized. Banner draws attention to this, as it indicates the importance Lerma’s patronage had on standardizing the presentation of orthodox subjects and of placing paintings with the same subject in numerous places at once.\textsuperscript{52} As the painter for many of these early commissions, Carducho was responsible for their adherence to orthodox guidelines, simultaneously defining and spreading those guidelines.

Carducho’s treatment of the orthodox subject is something he frequently writes about in his \textit{Dialogos}, often referring to his own work as examples of proper execution. For example, in describing the proper execution of sacred subject, where prudence was necessary, Carducho cites his painting for the Palace of El Pardo as a model. He was also explicit in writing that artists should follow the directions of their ecclesiastical and royal patrons,\textsuperscript{53} as Banner suggests, directly alluding to Lerma’s intimate oversight of his painting programs.

In the \textit{Diálogos de la Pintura}, Carducho often gives credit to other artists working with him on large-scale projects. Similar to accounts in Pacheco’s writings where he looks to his colleagues and predecessors to inspire his readers, Carducho held in esteem many of his contemporaries and made sure to mention their names in his own treatise. During the reconstruction of the Pardo Palace, partially destroyed by fire in 1604,\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid, 71-72.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid, 84-86.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid, 189.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid, 71-72.
Carducho and his colleagues were commissioned by Francisco de Mora, the official director of the restoration and Lerma’s friend, to complete the new decorative programs. Patricio Cajés, Juan de Soto, and Jerónimo de Cabrera are among some of the artists he mentions working on the new programs at the Pardo during this time.

Patricio Cajés’ preparatory drawing, *Joseph Storing Grain During the Seven Years of Plenty* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) is an example of the established aesthetic at the Spanish courts (figure III), one that Carducho actively promoted in the *Diálogos*.

**Patricio Cajés**

*Joseph Storing Grain* is one of several preparatory drawings, *modelos*, made for the painting of the ceiling panels in the Queen’s Gallery of the Pardo Palace. The frescos that correspond to these drawings were completed between 1607 and 1612, the year Cajés died. The other extant drawings from this series of frescos are housed in the Biblioteca Nacional and Academia de San Fernando, both in Madrid. Three other drawings are at the Uffizi, Florence.

The drawing depicts the Old Testament story of Joseph interpreting the Pharaoh’s dream. In the story Joseph warns that, according to the Pharaoh’s dream, Egypt will see seven years of good harvest followed by seven years of famine. In the drawing Cajés shows Joseph preparing during the seven years of plentiful harvest. The architecture of the Pharaoh’s palace is skillfully drawn and reflects a thorough knowledge of the discipline. Cajés’ architectural finesse reveals a literary heritage steeped in humanist

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55 Ibid, 398.
theory. After all, he published the Spanish translation of Leon Battista Aberti’s Italian Renaissance architectural treatise, where he includes his own designs on the frontispiece.\(^{56}\)

The workers on the right pile grain into sacks prepared to be carried away and faintly sketched sacks of grain can be seen in the background. Another grouping, a trio, account for the work. The tone of the washes is fairly even throughout, even in the darkest areas around the eyes and folds of clothing. Cajés’ figures are rendered with pen and wash. Banner links Cajés’ figures to Zuccaro’s influence noting that “…their mannerist proportions, expressive poses, and dark round eyes” are similar to Zuccaro’s.

Indeed, Cajés, like Zuccaro, was one of the Tuscan artists contracted by Philip II to work on \textit{el Escorial}.\(^{57}\) He would naturally have a similar aesthetic training and production. Zuccaro, however, would leave Spain, while Cajés remained and raised a son. Eugenio Cajés would also work closely with Carducho, both in decorative programs and at court to try to raise the status of painters. Many of the court testimonies employed the work of Carducho’s literary circle as well, and in the \textit{Diálogos}, Carducho also recorded the testimony of poet and playwright Lope de Vega as he argued for the elevated status of the artist.

\(^{56}\) Banner, \textit{Master Drawings}, 398.
\(^{57}\) Schroth, Baer, and Battles, \textit{El Greco to Velázquez}, 54.
Figure III Patricio Cajés, *Joseph Storing Grain During the Seven Years of Plenty*, Metropolitan Museum
Chapter II – The treatises and their structure

Unlike the Italian city-states, which secured the status of painting as liberal art by 1600, painters in Spain struggled to have their work recognized above the level of craftsmanship. The application of the higher title would have consequences beyond simply elevating the status of those who practiced painting. Spain’s treasury levied a tax on painters called the *alcabala*, which went funded many battles. The treasury would lose this source of income if painting was to be considered a liberal art commensurate with poetry. Naturally painters were advocates for disposing of any taxes on the sales of their works.

*Lope de Vega’s testimony*

The fight against the *alcabala* was launched on all fronts by artists, playwrights, and those who held a modicum of power and could be swayed by artistic circles; litigation was slow, painting did not win its status as a liberal art until 1677. As early as 1585 artists brought cases against this tax, when Pacheco and a coterie of artists elected Vasco Pereira to represent them in litigation opposing the *alcabala*. El Greco, in 1603, successfully petitioned and won a case against tax collectors in Illescas, who attempted to collect on work he had completed. Though now considered one of the greatest painters working in Spain, these actions no doubt contribute to his secondary reputation as an

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60 Schroth, Baer, and Battles, *El Greco to Velázquez*, 309.
artist aggressive in pecuniary matters. Carducho, for his part, requested the aid of Lope de Vega — the famous playwright who, in addition to Carducho, associated with Francisco Pacheco and members of his academy — in a case against the office of the treasury of Madrid in 1625. Lope’s testimony was recorded in the appendix of Carducho’s Diálogos and, as such, stands as a testament to the interconnectedness of the literary and visual arts during in Spain during this period. The traditional arguments for painting as a liberal art are upheld in this document; Lope invokes painting’s lineage as an inheritance from God, “who became the first painter in creation when He formed man in His image and likeness…” In regard to man’s skill as a painter, it was “perfected by Praxiteles.” Thus painting is linked to both God and the much admired works of antiquity. Lope continues in his line of argument citing biblical passages; ecclesiastical philosophers such as St. John Chrysostom, St. Gregory, St. Damascus, and the Venerable Bede among others; and Pliny, Plato and other classical figures. The testimony then veers into contemporary events relating to the court, like the account of Charles V, the Pope, and Philip II bestowing honors upon painters. He mentions by name the generosity that Philip II gave to the Italian painters Zuccaro and Cambioso. This is yet another allusion in Carducho’s text to Zuccaro’s contributions on humanistic theory in Spain.

The most clever argument for the elevation of painting’s status, and thus the levity of taxation on paintings, emerges from the benefit that images of the Virgin have had on Spanish society. “…the portraits…of Our Lady, the Blessed Virgin…are venerated and produce countless miracles…it would not be just that her images pay a tax or any tribute,

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62 Brown, Painting in Spain, 66.
63 Enggass & Brown, Italian & Spanish Art, 168.
64 Ibid, 170.
but rather that the exemption of her purity be extended to all who paint her portrait.”⁶⁵

Brown points to Lope’s cleverness in ascribing the Virgin’s purity against the tax of original sin to free those who paint her likeness.⁶⁶ That this argument is pursued also illuminates the fact of the immense proliferation of sacred images, especially those of the Virgin Mary, throughout Spain and its empire. In concatenating classicism and Biblical arguments with the munificence bestowed by contemporary leaders, themselves chosen by God, to painters, Lope associates painting not with its mechanical functions but with the higher facilities accorded to the liberal arts.

Finally Lope’s argument implies that painters painted for their livelihoods but also to honor God, the first painter, who created man in “His image and likeness.” Patrons, for their part, expressed a deep devotion to Catholic faith, as evidenced by the number of churches and convents they built. Patrons with the most prestigious titles, those of the military Orders of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcántara, were required by the mandates of their orders to repair and create new religious edifices.⁶⁷ As another sign of their devotion these buildings would have to be decorated by painters and sculptors, and those who demonstrated their piety along with their talent might receive better opportunities. Consequently there are an unusually high number of artists whose personal commitment to the Faith manifested itself in the pursuit of religious office. Vicente Carducho, Sánchez Cotán, and Miguel Cervantes de Saavedra became lay brothers. Francisco Pacheco, Juan Martinez Montañes, Luis Tristán, Francisco Ribalta, and Pedro Orrente were part of religious confraternities, while Luis de Góngora y Argote, Juan Bautista Maino, and Juan

⁶⁵ Ibid, 171.
⁶⁶ Ibid, 168.
⁶⁷ For more on the Christian military orders and patrons see Banner The Religious Patronage, esp. pp. 9-14.
de Roelas became priests. This trend can be attributed to the consequences of a larger movement which relaxed the strict doctrines set in place during the reign of Philip II as the Counter Reformation.

**Catholic Reformation**

In the last quarter of the 16th century forms of devotion were transformed. With the successful stifling of Protestantism’s rise in Spain, the Counter-Reformation would marshal its energies inward and focus on the spiritual renewal of the Catholic laity. Schroth identifies this change as the Catholic Reformation, characterized by embracing the spiritual text of Teresa de Avila, published after 1588, and Ignatius Loyola’s *Spiritual Exercises*. These texts marked a turn away from the doctrine that Mass was the sole means to remain pious; a view that safeguarded the authority of the church. The Catholic Reformation accepted the possibility of having direct experiences with God in conjunction with the Mass. Perhaps this was the proper environment to grow the Erasmianism which undergirded Mal Lara’s precepts, instead of subverting them.

The Catholic Reformation’s embrace of mysticism’s personal communication with God had a deep impact on religious art of the time. As noted earlier, it marked a growth or renewal of existing churches and convents built by patrons and, therefore engendered a need for the proliferation of religious images in those buildings. It would seem apparent that artists could create opportunities for their livelihood by joining the religious orders. In addition to helping painters, it also created an opportunity for the status of painting to be aligned with the sacredness of images themselves, and the miracles that could be

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68 Schroth, Baer, and Battles, *El Greco to Velázquez*, 97.
69 Ibid, 96.
wrought from such images; including the strengthening of Catholic communal bonds. Lope’s testimony reveals that these strategies were, in fact, used and effective in eventually making painting one of the liberal arts.

**The organizational structure of the Diálogos de la Pintura**

Lope de Vega and the orthodox images prescribed by the Catholic Reformation are featured in both Carducho’s and Pacheco’s treatises. Their content is quite similar in many ways. And why shouldn’t it be? Both artists were learned, educated men looking at the same sources in order to build upon their own models. But an analysis of their organizational structure offers clues about each author’s perspective. How they organize their respective treaties, what they choose to emphasize, and what they leave for the reader to fill in, tells something about how the treatise was meant to be understood. The *Diálogos* is especially well organized and its structure bears closer examination. Pacheco’s, as shall be demonstrated, was more concerned with content than structure, and that, too, tells us something about the author’s intentions.

**Socratic dialogue in the Diálogos**

In the *Diálogos* there are eight dialogues in total, all centered on a specific theme about the nature of painting. At times the themes are related and flow into one another. The first three dialogues, for example, concern the practical educational requirements of the painter. Dialogues four and five focus on theoretical themes, such as imitation and *inventione*. The sixth and seventh dialogues investigate the nature of painting in relation to God. The final dialogue discusses painting as a vehicle for transcendence and the materials used to create paintings.
The dialogues are written in the form of conversations between a master artist and his eager, ambitious student. The Socratic Dialogue creates at times a lively pace for the reader to follow, rather than the pedantic discourse that plagues Pacheco’s text. The student’s dialogue is primarily used to initiate discussion and to exemplify what a good apprentice is expected to understand about painting while Carducho shares his opinions through the master’s responses. Naturally the master follows a theoretical bent that is in line with the tenets and style of the Florentine Reformers.

The master abhors the naturalistic tendencies that were becoming popular in the Spanish courts. In a portion of the Diálogos, translated by Brown, the master compares painting and painters to rich dishes at a buffet. Each one offers a different bouquet of flavors and emphasis on those flavors, with the dishes that represent Michelangelo and Raphael being the most healthy and flavorful. The dishes of Caravaggio however are so rich as to cause those who taste it (i.e. followers of Caravaggio) indigestion. He calls Caravaggio an “evil genius, who worked naturally, almost without precepts, without doctrine, without study, but only with the strength of his talent, with nothing but nature before him…”

Caravaggio is criticized for promoting a technique that the master believes to be false and warns that the popularity of this type of painting is similar to how the “Anti-Christ, with false miracle and strange deeds” will attract followers with his “showy and superficial imitation, his stunning manner, and liveliness.” For the master (Carducho) the true doctrine of painting is developed from an understanding of the science and art of

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70 Enggass & Brown, Italian & Spanish Art, 173-74.
painting and not simply from luck. While one of the motives for the text was to bolster the status and fiscal positions of the artists, it is clear that Carducho was fighting for the Florentine aesthetic he worked so hard to learn and promote at court. By the time of its publication in 1633, naturalism, spearheaded by Velázquez, was modern, while Carducho’s manneristic techniques was considered outmoded, a throwback to the previous generation defined by the patronage of the Duke of Lerma and the troublesome reign of Philip III. The strategy was not necessarily faulty, it makes sense to bolster painters by referencing a long, respectable tradition. One could not do better than to see Florence as a link to said tradition. However Carducho sacrifices any contemporary discourse to achieve this, and some portions of the text have a bitter tone as a consequence.

The etchings and intertextuality in the Diálogos

Each of the eight dialogues is bookended by an etching prefacing the text and a poem that completes the dialogue. The etchings and the poems relate thematically to each dialogue, and are mentioned explicitly within the texts, they form a part of Carducho’s argument for painting as a liberal art.

The etching preceding dialogue five (figure IV), for example, shows the allegory of Painting sketching out a figure on a wall. Painting is depicted with a headdress of wings, denoting intellectual activity and imagination. Below the allegory are figures wearing crowns or laurel wreaths — one has a scepter and another is sitting with an open book —

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72 Ibid, 174.  
73 Kubler, 443
swallowed by a gaping abyss. The personification of time and death recline at either side of the personification of painting. They appear with their heads bowed, beaten and broken. Death’s scythe has cracked and appears non-functional, meanwhile Fame floats above depicted with a flaming torch, using her horn to signal Painting’s victory.

The allegory here is clear; the liberal art of Painting can endow the visages of kings and scholars with immortality, conquering time and death through disegno, and opening the void of history to put an image onto the great deeds these men have done. The corresponding text is the final text concerning the theme of mimesis and its relation to poetry and history. The practical and theoretical concerns in the previous dialogues are integrated and the theme concludes with a discussion on painting’s contributions in relation to the other liberal arts.

Painting’s headdress also alludes to the humanistic concept of inventione, the ability to create compositions and display accurate mimesis in figures from memory. For Pacheco, good inventione was essential for a painter aspiring to the third grade of Master, as it indicated that the artist had a large stock of images embedded in the mind from which to create proper compositions.

At the time the Diálogos was printed, Painting, personified as a woman —the gender associated with the liberal arts — was still a fairly new visual trope. It originated only sometime after the sixteenth-century and, as George Kubler notes, the personification was in place in Florence only after 1564, when it was carved by Lorenzi for Michelangelo’s tomb in Santa Croce. Thus the etching demonstrates another connection with Carducho’s beloved city of Florence and its luminary artist, and the current understanding of painting as a liberal art.

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74 Ibid.
Carducho commissioned from his circle of literary friends the poems that close each dialogue. Lope de Vega, who’s testimony against the alcabala is included in the appendix, contributes the poem for the fifth dialogue. Antonio de Herrera Manrique is the author of the poem in the sixth dialogue. The poems, like the etchings, are related thematically to the respective dialogues. When Herrera Manrique’s poem discusses God as the first painter, whose ordered attention to the world originated the Light,75 the master in the sixth dialogue remarks that “the painter, like God, creates from nothing, and that he manifests to our senses everything needed for man’s communication.”76 The poem and the accompanying etching are also linked. Herrera Manrique writes that Minerva is the obedient daughter of the painter’s idea, enhancing both,77 to which the etching corresponds in depicting Minerva behind a canvas that is being worked on by a painter while God, Himself creates the heavens and Earth (figure V).

The Diálogos is Carducho’s honed orchestration of visual and intertextual meaning. The allegories rendered through prints are alluded to in the Socratic dialogue of the primary text and invoked, also, through the poetry that summarizes and closes out the theme of each dialogue. The effect is that painting and its constituent parts — disegno, inventione, etc. — are legitimized through discipline and accepted as parts of the canon that constitute the liberal arts. The pattern that begins with a print, then dialogue, and finally poetry aid in the structured argument that painters contribute much to the world beyond mere mechanical replication: they are inspired by classical tradition, contribute to history, and do God’s work.

75 “Aquel Pintor primero, Que en fértol atención dispuso el mundo, Origen del Luzero” Diálogos de la Pintura, folio 100. Translations by author.
76 Kubler, 443.
77 “Minerva te obedece, Tan hija del concepto de tu idea, Que tanto encarece,” Diálogos de la pintura, folio 101. Translation by author.
Finally, Carducho must have believed wholeheartedly in the master/pupil relation of teaching the next great painters. It was not merely lip service meant to aid in the fame of painters. The etchings in the *Diálogos* were engraved by Francisco Fernandez and Francisco Lopez. Fernandez collaborated with Carducho on work at the Palacio Real and Lopez was, by 1603, a court painter. However, both engravers began their career apprenticing with Vicente Carducho. The Socratic dialogue that Carducho promotes in the *Diálogos* becomes embodied in the construction of the images that is, as has been demonstrated, inseparable from a full understanding of the text. To separate the structure would dismantle the mechanisms that make the document operate as a whole, though that is distinct from saying the text was designed to be read through from beginning to end. Carducho was motivated to promote the *Diálogos* as a scholarly text and includes the most ubiquitous feature of scholarly texts, an index.
Figure IV Diálogos de la Pintura, Folio 83, Author’s photo
Figure V Diálogos de la pintura, Folio 107, Author’s photo.
The Index of the Diálogos

Perhaps the most revealing choice Carducho makes in the structure of the Diálogos is the inclusion of its index. The twenty-three page index is organized alphabetically — notable people are organized via their first name — and most entries are allowed only one page reference, obviously owing to the difficulty of such an endeavor. The academy at Florence is represented with a citation on its foundations which contains three references. At the same time, Venice, its academy, and the “escuela del colorido y sus grandezas” has two entries with three page references. The academy at Rome has one citation with a singular page reference.

All three of the major Italian academies are represented in the Diálogos, and Carducho even allots an entry to Venice’s hallmark in its emphasis of colorito and its greatness. Carducho wants the Italian models easily accessible and their inclusion pays homage to the city-states’ contributions toward painters and painting. There is no attempt at neutrality however, the index shows Carducho’s own bias towards the Florentine models. The academy at Florence is mentioned in several other citations, including one on their “sumptuous” exequies for Michelangelo. In regard to institutions, though, the town of Florence is afforded the greatest honors. Three of the four headings on Florence read as follows:

- Florencia, albergue de las Artes
- Florencia, origen de la primera pintura moderna
- Florencia, patria de la pintura

The first heading can be translated literally as the hostel of the arts, though it is more fitting to consider the noun “albergue” as shelter or refuge, so the heading becomes “Florence, refuge for the arts.” The implication is that Florence is the safe haven, if not
home, to an art inherited from Classical tradition. In addition, according to the second heading, it is also the origin of contemporary painting. If readers are to believe the veracity of Carducho’s content and the previous two index headings, the final subheading on Florence, “Florence, the fatherland of painting”, must have come across as more of an afterthought than a grand statement. However, just in case the point was missed, it is easily referenced.

Artists and other notable figures are included in the index. Spanish artists are well represented. Carducho’s brother, Bartolomé, has a heading with two entries, as does Vicente’s friend and colleague at el Pardo, the aforementioned Patricio Cajés. Pompeo and Leon Leoni, sculptors for the court, each receive a heading with Leon having two entries. The author includes himself, humbly, with one entry and lists Velázquez also with one entry.

Non-Spanish artists include Rubens and Titian, both with two entries under their heading. Albrecht Dürer is represented with the most entries, four, under one heading. Michelangelo, however, is the most represented with five separate headings and six page citations.

This clearly shows Carducho’s respect for the Florentine theories and models and his insistence that they be considered prime, if not the only, resources for inspiring those interested in art theory.

The inclusion of the index as an organizational and epistemological element of the treatise is also worthy of consideration. As Bella Hass Weinberg writes, in terms of book structure, “Compilation of an index requires far more cerebration than does preparing a
Though the origins of indexing can be traced to Greek antiquity, the index in its current format first occur as word indices in biblical manuscripts of the thirteenth century while subject indices originate in France during the same century. The index in the time of the seventeenth-century Spain would have been less than three hundred years old. In other words, indexing, relative to the printed book and the progress of printed technology in general, prior to the Industrial Revolution, was a fairly new technology at this time. Only older than the printed book by a couple of centuries, it was still a specialized tool. Today, even with computer assistance, proper indexing is a labor-intensive process. In the seventeenth-century it would have only been more so, indicating that the index must have been of serious importance for Carducho to include it into the Diálogos.

Indices are designed to facilitate information retrieval leading “…from a known order of symbols to an unknown order of information.” Robert J. Glushko and his co-authors define an index as a resource that contains frequently used terms and concepts about a document in order to enable efficient searching. And while the science and theory of indexing has been transformed by technology and scholarly disciplines dedicated to information organization, the role of the index remains the same in the seventeenth century as it has today: to allow readers an easy reference to the document’s content.

Modern scholarly texts would be criticized for not including an index, and the index in the Diálogos tells the reader about the author’s intentions for its use. It is meant as an

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79 Ibid, 2283.
80 Ibid, 2277.
index for both scholars and art apprentices. It is also meant to solidify the author’s reputation whose lineage stems from the Tuscan and Florentine models of art theory and scholarship. Carducho is attempting to insert his text into the canonical treatises produced by theorists in Italy and especially those in Florence. From the index it is possible to surmise that Carducho held the academies at Rome and Venice in high regard, Florence was the center of the art world. Florence, and by extension its academy, was preserving the art of classical antiquity while producing painting that was modern. Furthermore Carducho expected his readers to believe that as well, and his Index provides a means for access to the information necessary to uphold those theories.

**The organizational structure of el Arte de la pintura**

By comparison, Pacheco’s text could have used the skills of a good editor. Perhaps owing to his collaborative nature which allowed Seville’s humanist scholars to edit and contribute to the text, or the four decades of work that went into producing the content of *Arte de la Pintura*, the resulting structure is uneven. The structure was originally planned to be three books with twelve chapters each. However, the third book continues to sixteen total chapters of which the last six are unified by content. The result is that the third book contains an appendix thicker than the whole of the primary text. But, just as with *Diálogos*, the author reveals his own interest through the text’s structure. And the expansion of the third book indicates the aspects of painting and iconography Pacheco valued most passionately.

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82 Enggass & Brown, 161.
In this case, the appendix concerned iconographical orthodoxy of pictures based upon Tridentine and Catholic Reformation thinking on art. Pacheco’s obsession with orthodoxy is apparent in this text, for example, he writes that:

...considering the aim of the painter as a Christian artisan...he may have two goals or ends: one primary, the other secondary. The latter, and less important, will be to exercise his art for gain or renown...the principle goal will be to achieve a state of grace through the study and practice of this profession; because the Christian, born to achieve high things...[raises] his eyes heavenward...[and dedicates] himself to a greater and more excellent goal that is found in things eternal.\textsuperscript{83}

The goal of Christian (i.e. European and, especially, Spanish) artists is to endow pictures with the glory of God, through painting. In part, this is achieved through imitation of the subject endowing it with the “soul of painting...so that beauty and variety of colors...become of secondary importance.” Orthodoxy, for Pacheco, trumps ability. The best artists are able to use their talents to conform to the strict requirements of orthodox imagery since it “imposes strict obligations of truth, naturalness, and decorum, wherein so few achieve success.”\textsuperscript{84} As the inspector of paintings for the Seville tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition, Pacheco had much at stake in regards to his own work conforming to the very orthodoxy preached. Modern scholars credit this adherence to Catholic orthodoxy as a possible reason then, Pacheco’s finished works remain static. Véliz writes that the orthodox precepts “thwarted his aspirations to lifelike representation, leaving most of his painted works lacking in chiaroscuro, perspective depth, and natural movement.”\textsuperscript{85}

\textsuperscript{83} Enggass & Brown, 162. Emphasis mine.  
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid, 165.  
\textsuperscript{85} Véliz, Artist’s Techniques, 31.
However if his fully finished works were somewhat hobbled by the Catholic Reformation orthodoxy, his drawings present to viewers a state of representation just prior to those precepts. And those drawings display a liveliness that Pacheco had the potential to achieve.

Pacheco, with his colleague Alonso Vázquez, was commissioned in 1600 to create a series of pictures for the Order of Mercy. The *Mercedarians Redeeming Christian Captives* is representative of his completed works. (Figure VI) The composition is rather awkward and the figures are rendered in stiff poses. Even the fabric of their clothing seems hewn out of stone. Brown describes this composition as the “final, gelid climax” to the late mannerist Roman and Flemish painting sources Pacheco had tapped. But Pacheco was actually capable of instilling so much more life into his works, as evidenced by his drawings. The portrait of Fray Luis de Leon — for Pacheco’s other book *Libro de decrizión de verdaderos, de illustres y memorables varones* — is an accurate display of Pacheco’s capabilities as seen through another medium. Even his preliminary sketch of one of the figures, with its subtle rendering of fabric and lively facial expression, from the *Mercedarians* painting shows that Pacheco was unable to translate what he created on paper to paint. Either Pacheco did not achieve the same grade of mastery in paint as he did in drawing or, as evidenced by his writings, he bent his abilities to fit the mold set by Catholic Reformation precepts on images.

The premise and conclusions of both texts are more similar than they are different. Ultimately they work towards the same goal of legitimizing status and work of painters. Pacheco is more lenient in his opinion towards naturalism than Carducho. Rather than

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87 See Figure V.
88 See Figure VI.
the strict adherence toward the Florentine models, Pacheco vacillates in his aesthetic theory by insisting that “perfection consists in passing from ideas to nature and from nature to ideas, always seeking the best, the surest and the perfect.”\footnote{Quoted in Brown, \textit{Images and Ideas}, 53.} It is not the Platonic nature of ideas but rather the relationship between artists, nature, and ideas that prompts perfection rather than the ideal. This concession allows for Pacheco to appreciate and extol the works of his son-in-law Diego Velázquez, whereas Carducho was at best ambivalent about naturalism and, at worst, considered it an attack on the models he relied on. Brown is quick to point out that Pacheco’s theory is simply too general “his arguments at times too self-contradictory to regard him as anything but a literate, experienced painter.”\footnote{Brown, \textit{Images and Idea}, 54.} There is no questioning his literacy but his motives could have necessitated this murky viewpoint. After all, Velázquez was already established at the Spanish Court and throughout much of Europe. Given that the text is essentially a forty year composition, it could be that Pacheco’s own opinions changed with time and circumstance. As his stake in naturalism rose, so his theories got watered down.

Nevertheless, both texts are looking back toward the Italian theories, rather than to the current generation of Spanish painters, in order to argue their case for the legitimacy of painters. They refer to humanist theorists like Alberti and Vasari to lend credence to their texts. The ideal artists remain Michelangelo and Raphael. Both employ famous literary scholars in their texts, most notably Lope de Vega, a friend to both. And both invoke the glory of God as painter and creator of the world in order align painting with the most holy of ideas. More than anything, it is the emphasis the authors place in the text, based upon personality and temperament that result in their differences. One only has to
consider the texts’ concerns with drawing and prints in the workshop to understand how these authors operated on the same sources yet produced different results.
Figure VI Francisco Pacheco, *Disembarkation of the Captives Rescued by the Mercedarians*, c. 1600, Frick Photo Archive.
Figure VII Francisco Pacheco, *Portrait of Fray Luis de Leon*, Frick Photo Archive.
Figure VIII Francisco Pacheco, *Sketch for the Mercedarians*, Frick Photo Archive.
Considering prints and drawings

A student was expected to master drawing, an essential tool for becoming an artist in his own right. The authors of both treatises agreed on this and stated that the beginner would grow best by copying prints and other drawings of established masters, which would aid in understanding the principles of composition. However, imitation has its limits. If a student were to grow, they needed to develop their skills of *invention* and *ingenio*.\(^{91}\) In Book 1, Chapter 7 of *el Arte*, Pacheco divides apprentices into three levels. Students were expected to master certain criteria in each level before becoming masters. In the first grade, the *Principante*, observation and copying are stressed. This includes direct copying from the master, copying through the prints and drawings of great paintings and sculptures of canonical artists. At this level, the apprentice was forming his mechanical skills, the coordination between eye and hand in order to replicate the ideal. The student can then move to the second grade and become a *Aprovechado*. During this grade the apprentice is expected to develop compositional skills by assessing drawings and prints and creating their own works based upon these observations. Assessment and critical skills are emphasized with the second level. The mechanical has been mastered and only in the second level do the functions of the mind begin to be developed. In the third grade, or *Perfecto*, the artist has mastered all the practical techniques and is capable of producing his own style, *invención*, and manner.\(^ {92} \)

Once at the third level, the master artist had an internalized visual language from which he could quote and that was inspired by the references he encountered in the


\(^{92}\) Véliz, *Artists’ Techniques*, 201, trans. n. 1.
previous stages but were uniquely his own through his faculty of *ingenio*. Studying of drawings and prints was still encouraged as Pacheco writes:

> With memory enriched, and an imagination full with the good models that have been formed through imitation, the painter’s genius may advance [...] and when he has the necessity to create a history, he retires in order to compose, having before him many things together, by eminent men, either in prints or drawings, and from those many carried things but different artists, he creates a pleasing whole.\(^93\)

In this case, Pacheco applied his instructions to his own work. Scholars have identified several print sources that serve as inspiration for Pacheco’s work including works by Jerónimo Nadal and Flemish artists Pieter Aertsen and Hans Bueckelaer.\(^94\)

Artists training in Pacheco’s workshop, like Alonso Cano, would have been encouraged to follow suit the master’s practice of incorporating print sources into his visual vocabulary. Prints of established masters were major sources of inspiration for Spanish artists. Pacheco held prints in such high esteem for the development of his own practice and as tools for teaching. As Zahira Véliz writes, Pacheco described access to prints after Rubens, Titan, Dürer, Zuccaro, Raphael, and Van Dyck. There were likely many more prints owned by private patrons and they would have shared them with the artists from whom they were commissioning work.\(^95\) *El Arte* demonstrates that Pacheco’s apprentices would have seen prints by or reproducing the compositions of those artists and young artists would have been encouraged to copy those works.

Pacheco’s academy and workshop act as gateway to the master artists of the Italian and

\(^{93}\) Véliz, Cano, 584.
\(^{94}\) Ibid, 584.
\(^{95}\) Ibid, 588.
Northern Renaissance, reinterpreted though the process of imitation and then quotation within the tenets of the master’s own manner.

In the *Diálogos* Carducho does not focus on the use of prints. He mentions that copying from prints belongs squarely with the student who uses drawing to facilitate mechanical skills necessary at that early stage of training.\(^96\) Beyond that, prints of the works of masters can help those same students study their compositional greatness. This idea is derived from Federico Zuccaro, who consistently inspired many of the tenets of Carducho’s treatise.\(^97\) Carducho may not delve too deeply into the subject, but it mirrors the order of the tenets of Pacheco’s division of skills for the apprentice; prints develop the hand and eye and, once mastered, serve as references. The implication is that painters do more than replicate by hand. What they do involves the mind and spirit.

The artistic treatises written by Carducho and Pacheco are products of a culture that saw and adapted visual vocabulary from Netherlandish and Italian sources. And though the Flemish sources took precedence during the early fifteenth century, the adoption by Spanish literary scholars of Italian and Netherlandish humanistic traditions would change the trajectory of the visual arts. Those same learned Spaniards were anxious to absorb Italian theories disseminated by artists who traveled from Italy into Spain for work. The influence of Italian artists (or Spaniards who emigrated to Italy and then returned) on the Spanish interpretation of visual theory cannot be understated. Different strains of humanism developed in Madrid and Seville, where those who spent time in Italy emphasized different aspects of that tradition. Furthermore, those concepts were tempered by the Spanish Inquisition and the Catholic Reformation which led to certain

\(^{96}\) Ibid, 584.
\(^{97}\) Ibid.
types of images being more acceptable than others as well as a general attitude towards art as a means to focus piety. This was directed in part by leaders in academic circles in Spain, such as Carducho and Pacheco. Their treatises therefore are more than simply instructions for a painter or political treatises on the glory of painting as a liberal art. They are literary tools that synthesize literary, aesthetic, and ecclesiastical tenets prominent in Spain during the reign of Philip IV.

**Artists’ materials and techniques**

Thus far we have discussed the theoretical concepts described *Arte de la Pintura* and *Diálogos de la Pintura* and how they can be interpreted through a political lens in order to establish that the authors created them in order to elevate their occupation as painters. There were social and political stakes attached to this goal. Painters in Spain were still seen through the construct of the guild and workshop system that guided the activities of other craftsmen, who took apprentices and worked as skilled artisans. In other words, painters were subject to the social status and fiscal obligations that corresponded to these groups.

Perhaps this is why Carducho does not dwell on the technical aspects of the painter’s profession. He devotes only a portion of the eighth dialogue of the *Diálogos* to describing the materials used by painters. Rather than have the master discuss the types of paints and techniques used for various media, Carducho structures the dialogue so that it is the student who recites his learning. The master questions the apprentice about the subject of the papers he oversaw him reading aloud. The apprentice responds that a friend has requested his aid in how to talk about paintings and how “not to speak
inappropriately of the names, terms, and phrases of Painting, as some have done.”  

However the student is concerned if his work has been a waste of time, considering the subject of painting materials is to be “of such little substance, and that it would be impertinent and superfluous.”  

The master corrects him, stating that while such discussion is “not necessary for professors [other masters]” such discussion is of service to those not initiated in the painters’ techniques.  

The apprentice then reads to the master what he has written for his friend, which details the types of paintings, the materials and instruments used and the various responsibilities taken on by those in a painters’ workshop.

Carducho navigates very carefully through this passage, aware that being too practical and thorough with the technique of painters, turning painting into a purely mechanical activity would thereby undermine his own thesis. For example, when the apprentice discusses the responsibilities of different grades of painters, he is quick to point out that it is the master who “retouch[es] and perfect[es] it…[that] the bravura or delicacy of these final brush strokes…manifest the fine and masterful touch that gives spirit to the work…sometimes he does everything with his own hands.”

The emphasis of the master’s touch is that quality of genius that a craft or mechanical practice cannot reproduce. Finally, the apprentice also closes the letter to his friend by asking him to refer to the classical works of Vitruvius and Pliny, another alignment with the genius of the age of Antiquity.

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99 Ibid.
100 Ibid.
101 Ibid., 27.
102 Ibid., 2.
Pacheco was more forthright in describing the techniques and materials used by artists. Much like his discourse on the use of sketches and prints, the section on materials is detailed and refers to many specific colors and their sources. Pacheco unlike Carducho is not afraid of revealing his hand, an effect partially due to some loose play with grammar when he wrote this portion of *el Arte*. In other words, *Arte*’s discourse on artists’ materials supports, rather than detracts, from the argument that painting should be considered a liberal art.

*El Arte* details many of the ingredients used by artists in the development of their colors. These include many ingredients that have a pedigree in the classical past, including red and yellow ochers, indigo, ultramarine, orpiment, malachite, and black earth. These, according to Pacheco, were recommended for use; however, studies in modern material science tell us that in fact, Spanish artists ignored many of these pigments. An analysis of the pigments used in several of Velázquez’s paintings were conducted in the late 1980’s, culminated in the text *Examining Velázquez*, by Gridley McKim-Smith, Greta Anderson-Bergdoll, and Richard Newman. The study took painting samples from Velázquez’s works and analyzed their composition. With seven paintings, the study was small, but the range of works spanned the early 1620’s to 1656, the date of completion of the last work in the study, *Las Meninas*. The results showed that Velázquez fails to use many of the pigments described by Pacheco. This is surprising, given their relationship one would assume that Velázquez adhered to his teacher’s pedagogy.

McKim-Smith noted that the pigments that Velázquez are not those that are linked to the classical tradition. She points out that Pacheco uses both third and first person

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perspective when discussing the use of pigment ingredients and that Velázquez ignores, from his master, those ingredients discussed in the third person, however all but one of the pigments discussed in the first person are found in Velázquez’s works.\textsuperscript{104} The grammar is a clue to understanding why this would be so. The likely explanation is that Pacheco only referred in the first person to pigments he himself used and, more importantly, taught his pupils how to use. This is corroborated by the painting samples of Velázquez’s work. Those pigments referred to in the third person, however, were not used by Pacheco and furthermore, all are pigments that have a classical or Italian tradition of use. One reason this may be the case, McKim-Smith argues, is that those classical pigments represent ritualistic borrowings from those traditions that align the painter’s materials with the greatness of those ages. Listing these unused ingredients “was required to meet standards of erudition and completeness, as well as to claim the legitimate descent of Spanish painting from an authorized tradition.”\textsuperscript{105} The emphasis of these sections is on the illustrious history of the painter’s materials rather than simply a how-to guide on creating pigments. This makes sense after all, the painters who have need to make pigments would have been taught through their apprenticeship about what types of materials are good to use and which ones are difficult to manipulate and obtain. The same could be said for materials of historical, rather than practical importance. If seen from that angle, then the technical portions of the writings are meant mostly for the layperson and non-practitioner more so than for experienced artists or apprentices. This would corroborate Carducho’s eighth dialogue, where the master states that writing about how artists’ materials are used “is a necessary means to avoid many inconveniences, and

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid, 9.
\item Ibid, 8.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
to be accommodating and of service to many…who treat these things with propriety and erudition.”

Since the lay-person may not have the skills to confirm or deny the use of any such pigments it became an advantage in the fight for painting’s status to include those ingredients of historical and cultural importance in *El Arte*, much like Carducho has the apprentice refer to Italian painting terms and classical literary sources for further documentation on said materials. Pacheco is more direct with his readers, speaking to them rather than through a set of conversations, and it is this directness that gives the game away.

**Artistic and Literary Legacy**

Neither scholar would live to see the impact their treatises may have made on the lives of Spanish painters. Carducho died in 1638, five years after the publication of the *Diálogos*. Pacheco would never live to see the full fruition of his text, which though completed during his lifetime, would not be published until five years after his death in 1644. Although have been impossible for them to have lived to see their ultimate goal realized; Spain’s first state-sponsored academy, the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid, would not be established until 1752, over a century after Pacheco’s death. And though they may not have had the fortune to know the impact of these literary endeavors, their artistic legacy was secured well before they reached old age.

Carducho’s legacy can be seen in the work of Francisco Fernández and Francisco López, the two engravers he trained and commissioned to produce his compositions for

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106 Véliz, *Techniques*, 25. Carducho also writes about many of the same ingredients.
the Diálogos. His keen sense of observation and drawing was inherited by Francisco Rizi, one of his more successful students. Antonio Rizi, Francisco Rizi’s father and first master, arrived in Spain with Federico Zuccaro.¹⁰⁷ For Carducho, Francisco Rizi may have represented in part the Florentine heritage he was so proud to claim.

Pacheco had many apprentices who went on to become esteemed artists in their own right, none more so than Diego Velázquez, whom he could claim as both apprentice and family. Given Pacheco’s (and Carducho’s) emphasis on the skill of drawing it becomes surprising that so few of Velázquez’s own survive.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the drawings of Alonso Cano and others attest to the passion Pacheco shared with his students.

The treatises espouse an artistic theory that looks back to Florentine models for their authority. Interestingly those authorities and the images they produced were already old fashioned by the time the treaties were published. Florentine mannerist techniques had given way to naturalism, which was producing images endowed with the fluid brushstrokes and palette of Titian and also influenced by the brushwork of Rubens. It would seem that in Spain colorito won the popular vote. However, if seen through a scholarly and political lens rather than an instructional one, the treatises take on a new relevance. The works were not exclusively for the other painters; they were documents that contained the didactic tools necessary to achieve painting’s liberal art status in Spain. They provided Spanish artists with a history aligned, theoretically if not practically, with the humanistic models that were successful in raising the status of painting in Florence.

¹⁰⁸ According to Banner, this may in part have been due to a self-editing process employed by the artist, to hide the tools of his art.
They recorded the legal trials that the authors and their literary friends battled to achieve paintings legitimacy in the liberal arts. In looking back, these scholars added another stone upon which to build the legacy of their colleagues and students.
Appendix I

Considerations on a Digital Humanities Project
Appendix I is a proposal and prototype for a digital humanities project I plan to develop in the future. Thematically it is aligned with the work of the main text of my thesis and was designed beside it. When I was deep into the weeds of my thesis, lost and unsure where my research was going, I would work digitally. Not because it always pointed out a way but because the prototype allowed my mind to work differently, to shift gears into computer science, information organization, and network analysis. After struggling with these for a few hours, I was able to shift back into research and writing mode with relative ease. At one point in my thesis, when analyzing the organizational structure of the *Diálogos*, I am especially grateful for my library and information science background as they gave me the tools and sources to tackle this subject. What follows is the product of my gear shifting, the twin sibling, as it were, of my thesis.

Luis Suárez et al. have researched the sustainability of communities through the shared flow of information networks in order to grasp the complexities involved with dynamic cultural groups and the geographical areas they inhabit and move within. Their recent studies involve the analysis of 11,4443 artworks created in the Hispanic world (Spain and, primarily its holdings in the Americas) from 1550-1850. \(^{109}\) While their subject focus is too broad temporally and spatially to rely on for my own project, is displays the type of information that can be gathered from large digital art humanities projects. Therefore a careful analysis of the work done by Luis-Suárez and others working at the CulturePlex Lab in the University of Western-Ontario is necessary in order to develop a successful project in the future.

The authors and their team have populated a database with over 12,000 paintings and 1,500 painters that span the many geographic holdings associated with the Spanish Monarchy from the 16th century to the beginning of the 19th century. This database allows them to apply statistical and visualization methodologies in order to better understand the organizational places of art during that era. Those models are further extracted to trace the movements of paintings between the geographic location of its recorded creation and where they currently reside in collections throughout the world. The undergirding philosophy of this project stems from Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann’s *Toward a Geography of Art* and his contribution in the catalogue of the 2010-11 exhibition *Painting of the Kingdoms*. Kaufmann notes that political geography is distinct from an artistic geography that is often independent of notions of countries or nationhood and insists on “…a need for a theory of diffusion that helps explain the movements of creators, paintings, and features from territory to territory, and the effects these transfers have in the spatial organization of art that experts carry out.”

The artworks and their data set are separated into twelve periods, ranging from 1550-1850, with each period being 25 years long. This is done in order to track temporal evolution of the works. The art is semantically annotated and then visualized through any shared set of descriptors. In other words, art objects are grouped together by any shared descriptors which describe the subject the art represents, such that images of saints are one group, civil images are another, etc. The results show an evolution, semantically, of the subjects depicted in paintings. These findings could be used “for a better understanding of the generation of families of artworks and the variants that this

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110 Ibid, 1.
111 For more on the methodology see Suárez, “Digital Geography,” 2-3.
evolution produces, which would help…with explanations in political, artistic, or economic discourses.” Furthermore, the dataset is able to track the geographical movement of many of these works from their place of creation to their current location, which, though another topic entirely, helps to understand the influence of collectors and museums in the field.

Researchers at the BaroqueArt Database are able to take a wider approach to looking at objects because of the technologies and information organization that allow for the analysis of thousands of paintings. The same technologies and data strategies mean that they can look at the complex social and political structures, like the Hispanic World, in broader terms. Whereas traditional art histories could only emphasize production of smaller groups — the oeuvre of a single artist or limited swath of place — digital approaches create the potential for a wider perspective on artistic output. It is a way to look at points of connection not yet considered, an approach that the study’s authors describe as “…a global vision that takes into account a universal empire that goes beyond the notion of Spain…”

The beauty of working with databases is that they can offer multiple points of view using the same available data. This is one aspect of the “global” concept the authors write about. The database allows users to create lines of inquiry that were not necessarily part of the original intention of the project. Suárez et al. characterize this quality as having a global space of art, its limits being the geographic-temporal framework of the data set.

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112 Suárez, Digital Geography, 4.
113 Ibid.
The type of work done at the Hispanic Baroque Art database provides the impetus for my own work in the cross-disciplinary realms of digital humanities and art history. Their work demonstrates that the use of technology to manipulate large datasets and information systems can be useful to understand the complexities involved in Hispanic art, or in finding new ways to view art objects. My own work also advocates for the use of technology to look at old subjects with a fresh perspective in the hopes of finding new information and questions. However there are certain key differences, the least of them being manpower and funding, that distinguish my project from the work of Suárez et al.

Where Suárez’s project uses artworks as nodes in a network that can then be manipulated, I propose to use people. There is also the matter of geography and temporality. The Hispanic Baroque Database is ambitious in its scope, its attempt to understand the global art space of the Hispanic World through three centuries is beyond my capabilities. I believe, however, that much can be gleaned from splicing that world into a narrower band. Building a network that maps the relationships of artists, patrons, and authors working at court and Seville is a smaller, manageable task. They form a natural network of people working and exchanging ideas with a goal in hand. By creating and visualizing a network of relationships of artists and their colleagues in the liberal arts, I hope to expand upon the ideas presented in the primary text of my thesis.

Hierarchical structures have been used as the traditional means of organizing the transfer of information in art histories. We tend to think of concepts like influence as unidirectional, passing from master to student, traceable as the cultural inheritance of one generation to the next. However Suárez’s work attempts to organize the dissemination and subjects of artworks as networks that evolve over time.
Networks create ways of thinking about relationships between entities. Where hierarchical structures are the traditional way of demonstrating a connection between entities — the branches that can be followed in the animal kingdom or the hierarchical structure of painting genre — networks can be used to show more nuanced relationships. The Hispanic Baroque Database used its own database to create a networks that can be use to pose different questions within the geographic world it covers. Creating a database that would be able to retrieve information on members of the Seville academy and their influence would require more manpower than I can provide. However it is possible to bypass this limitation by using a network that already exists – i.e. the web; in essence it is using the largest network to develop a narrow one. This has been used extensively in various other digital humanities projects, and requires a combination of open data already available on the web and a new standard for formatting data commonly known as Linked Open Data. This is the data format my own project will use.

Linked Jazz\(^\text{114}\) has been one of the most successful demonstrations of the Linked Open Data format. The creators of Linked Jazz describe the project as one that uses “Linked Open Data (LOD) to reveal personal and professional relationships among jazz musicians based on interviews from jazz archives”.\(^\text{115}\) Linked Open Data (LOD) is a method of formatting data to extend the web and take advantage of its capabilities for sharing information. It is developed by the World Wide Web Consortium (W3C) as a best practice for connecting distributed data across the web and advocated by Tim Berners-Lee, creator of HTML and the internet. More about the specifics of LOD will be

\(^{114}\) http://www.linkedjazz.org
discussed later, LinkedJazz, however, is important in that it demonstrates a digital humanities project whose focus is on implementing technology to reveal relationships between people in a community. One of the manifestations of the project is a visualization of a network of jazz musicians and members of the jazz community. This is a dynamic nonhierarchical structure that allowed users to navigate through the network to discover the connections between many members of the community. The community members and musicians are represented as nodes in the network and each node is connected to others nodes (i.e. members of the jazz community) via its edges, or links. The more edges emanating from a node, the more connections it has with other members within that community. Data is culled mostly through automated tools, though some manual fine-tuning is required, prior to visualization. In this way users are able to see, easily and without any specialized knowledge, who impacted whom in the Jazz community.

The use of LOD and archival records to describe a community are important points of reference for my own work. The Linked Jazz network is substantiated through the archival records which demonstrate that such a relationship between any two community members actually existed, thus lending credibility to the edges that describe the relationships between nodes.

My own project attempts to map the relationships between painters, scholars, and patrons living and working during the reign of Philip IV. While completion of the project is out of the scope of this paper, a thorough background and prototype can be achieved. The project description and prototype will allow for a proof-of-concept to advance to the

\[116\] http://linkedjazz.org/network
\[117\] For more about how archival records are use for this project, crowd-sourcing, or to participate see, http://linkedjazz.org/52ndStreet/
next steps of actualization. The project will utilize the principles and standards of linked open data in order to create the network. The names of the scholars, which will be the nodes of the network, will come from a name authority databases and the edges, which describe the type of relationships between nodes, will be derived from the work of established scholars in the field of Spanish Baroque art history, many of whom are mentioned in the bibliography. As this project relies heavily on linked open data concepts, it is necessary to describe several of the main components.

Linked open data (LOD) is a standardized subset of a stack of technologies promoted by the World Wide Web Consotrium (W3C) in order to produce the semantic web. The goal of semantic web technologies is to create and convert unstructured and semi-structured web documents into a common framework of data that machines and applications can share and reuse with ease. It allows data from one database to be used and exchanged with another application’s data through the web without issues of interoperability. Many computer scientists, notably Tim Berners-Lee, the creator of the World Wide Web, advocate LOD and the semantic web. An LOD network is created by using a standardized ontology to describe things and the relationship between things.

In my case the things I want to describe are people who have some notable historical significance as artists, writers, or patrons (or any combination of the three) and are active during the reign of Philip IV. The more difficult task is determining which set of standardized vocabularies to work with. It is prudent to employ those that are accepted as standards by the W3C, which is an international community whose mission is to develop

118 [http://www.w3.org/standards/semanticweb/](http://www.w3.org/standards/semanticweb/)
119 [http://www.w3.org/2001/sw/](http://www.w3.org/2001/sw/)
web standards. However the W3C vocabulary standards are limited primarily to those vocabularies designed to assist organizations with creating their own vocabularies following W3C standards. In this case I employ a set of several de facto vocabularies that have proved popular and useful within the LOD community, often these are actively supported by the W3C itself. Within the RDF document describing the network I want to create, the vocabularies are linked via their uniform resource identifiers (URIs) and assigned a shorthand name so they can be called throughout the document. A URI is simply the namespace where that information exists and can be accessed on the web; URLs, which are more commonly known, are a subset of URIs and are often used when referring to URIs.\(^ {121}\) For example in my RDF the vocabularies are listed as follows:

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@prefix dc: <http://purl.org/dc/elements/1.1/> .
@prefix prov: <http://www.w3.org/ns/prov#> .
@prefix geo: <http://www.geonames.org/ontology#> .
@prefix foaf: <http://xmlns.com/foaf/0.1/> .
@prefix frbr: <http://purl.org/vocab/frbr/core#> .
@prefix yago: <http://yago-knowledge.org/resource/> .
@prefix vcard: <http://www.w3.org/2006/vcard/ns#> .
@prefix dcterms: <http://purl.org/dc/terms/> .
@prefix rdfs: <http://www.w3.org/2000/01/rdf-schema#> .
@prefix dbprop: <http://dbpedia.org/property/> .
@prefix bibo: <http://purl.org/ontology/bibo/> .
@prefix owl: <http://www.w3.org/2002/07/owl#> .
@prefix xsd: <http://www.w3.org/2001/XMLSchema#> .
@prefix dbpedia: <http://dbpedia.org/resource/> .
@prefix rdf: <http://www.w3.org/1999/02/22-rdf-syntax-ns#> .
@prefix rel: <http://purl.org/vocab/relationship/> .
@prefix skos: <http://www.w3.org/2004/02/skos/core#> .
```

I can now recall any of the listed vocabulary URIs simply by referring to its prefix.

The next step is to build the network. URIs are also used to do this. In other words, it is

\(^ {121}\) For more on URIs and their components see [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/URI](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/URI)
necessary to find URIs that can represent the people being described by them. The Wikipedia entry for Diego Velázquez could be an acceptable URI that represents the historical person. For my project I have decided, instead, to use the Virtual International Authority Files (VIAF) which attempt to link authority files from various organizations, Wikipedia included. Each thing represented in VIAF is assigned a specific URI and is linked to the URIs from all the participant organizations that are describing the same thing. So with the VIAF URI for Velázquez a user can easily access the internal records for organizations (mainly library) which have their authority records linked in VIAF.

Using VIAF means sacrifices human-readable URIs, however given the authorities it links to, this seems an acceptable tradeoff. The case may change as the project grows in size. Now that we have the vocabulary of our nodes, described by VIAFs URIs, and the vocabulary of our edges, described by the prefixes at the beginning of our RDF document, we can begin building the third concept of the LOD network. This is often referred to as triples. The term is derived from the method of building the network. One begins with a subject (the node), an object (another node, usually), and links the two together through a predicate (the edge). With these three values you have a description of a relationship between two things. Such as the following example:

```html
<http://viaf.org/viaf/76324831> a prov:Agent , prov:Person , frbr:ResponsibleEntity ;
  owl:sameAs dbpedia:Diego_Velázquez ;
  foaf:name "Diego Velázquez"@en ;
  rel:apprenticeTo "http://viaf.org/viaf/120704944" ;
  rel:worksWith "http://viaf.org/viaf/69728528" .
```
Using the VIAF URI for Velázquez and the vocabularies that have been invoked, states that that the VIAF URI describes a thing that is an agent (prove:Agent) something that acts upon something else, and a person (prove:Person), which is a specific type of agent, and, finally that the URI describes a entity responsible for creating something (frbr:ResponsibleEntity). Using the FOAF ontology I can designate a string of characters which is the name of the person being described by the VIAF URI (foaf:name “Diego Velázquez”). The next portion of the RDF file states that the VIAF URI describes the same type (owl:sameAs) of thing as the Dbpedia’s URI\textsuperscript{122}. Finally the VIAF URI is connected to two other URIs using the the Rel Ontology, which is designed to describe relationships between people. It states that the VIAF URI was apprenticed to (rel:apprenticeTo) and worked with (rel:worksWith) two other URI, which are themselves described using triple further on in the RDF file\textsuperscript{123}.

It is the building up of triples that grow the network. Once this is completed the RDF statements can then be processed or queried for others to use. The document can then be used to point users to more information about the people described in the relationship and visualizations can be made of the network. This latter task is my primary concern and I have included a prototype which demonstrates the possibilities of the network. Using a RDF document I complied, I preprocessed the information via a Python script and uploaded it into a open source visualizer called Gephi\textsuperscript{124}. The data set is extremely small, a project like this would likely contain hundreds of thousands of triples that had been queried and linked via mostly automated processes. However this network visualization

\textsuperscript{122} Dbpedia is a massive database that extracts the information box data from all of Wikipedia’s articles. It allows relatively easy queries to this information. For more information see http://www.dbpedia.org

\textsuperscript{123} See Appendix II for the full RDF file.

\textsuperscript{124} https://gephi.org/
demonstrates what the possibility of the project could be. If the network were connected via the web, each node, when clicked, could take the user to information that described the node and its edges, links to the URIs used, and relay the citation information where the relationship is actually described.

The latter point could then link to the text, or information about the text — such as its OCLC WorldCat page or DOI link— that gives more information about the text including accessibility information and location of the physical work within the OCLC network.

The network provided is a small sample of what is possible with this project. Here I used Francisco Pacheco the painter as my primary node and built relationships around him, including his hometown of Sanlúcar de Barrameda. Each node is colored and its edges that describe the relationship between one node and any other share the color of its source. So the colored edge with the label “Mentor of” states that Pacheco was the mentor of Velázquez. Using the scholarship available to us, it would be possible to develop a complex, revealing network that describes the relationships between artists, scholars, and patrons active in Seville and Madrid during the reign of Philip IV.

This type of hybrid project is in line with my matriculation as a dual-degree Art History/Information Science graduate student. This project exploits the skills I have gained over the past five semesters at the Pratt Institute. It covers emerging ground in the digital humanities, an area of expansion in our digital age. Thirty-six years ago, when Jonathan Brown published *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting* he put out a call, writing that, “…the study of Spanish Baroque painting needs… newer

125 While the scripting program does allow for diacritics, for technical reasons, I could not apply the necessary code just yet. It would, however, be appended in my future work.
methods of art historical research." Many scholars have taken up that call since Brown’s publication, but this line of inquiry undergirds my own research and, therefore, I submit this project prototype as my own small contribution in looking at this subject with a different lens.

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Appendix II

Digital Documents
Figure IX Network Visualization Prototype

<http://viaf.org/viaf/22947763> foaf:name "Francisco Pacheco"@en; owl:sameAs <http://es.dbpedia.org/page/Francisco_Pacheco_(poeta)>; foaf:title "Canon of Seville Cathedral"@en.


Figure X RDF statement of network prototype in .ttl format.
Bibliography


Appendix I & II References


