

***Portrait of Cristóbal Suárez de Ribera* by Velázquez: its opening and the function of the gesture**

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Introduction

Diego Velázquez (1599-1660), master painter of 17th century Spain, painted the portrait of Cristóbal Suárez de Ribera (1550-1618) in 1620, for the Chapel of San Hermenegildo in Seville (Fig. 1, called thereafter *Portrait of Suárez*). This portrait was painted two years after the death of Suárez, a Sevillian priest. The 1910 restoration revealed the date and monogram “DOVZ” on the right of the sitter, below the opening [1]. It has generally been acknowledged as one of Velázquez’s works from his Sevillian period, since Von Loga first identified it as such in 1913 [2].

This paper analyzes the intercessory function of the work in its original location, the Chapel of San Hermenegildo. This portrait was painted to be hung above the sitter’s tomb in front of the main altar. It shows an opening on the right through which we can see the sky and trees, and in front of which Suárez kneels down pointing toward the main altar thought to have contained a statue of San Hermenegildo (550-585) by Juan Martínez Montañés. This setting is incongruous as a funerary portrait [3] and was therefore likely to have a specific function in that Chapel.

The paper will first of all examine the original setting of the work in the Chapel, investigate how venerated San Hermenegildo was in 17th century Seville, and then clarify the activities of Suárez in his lifetime including in relation to the *Hermandad de San Hermenegildo* (Brotherhood of San Hermenegildo). This is how the function of the painting in this Chapel will be disclosed.

Studies on Velázquez have until now hardly focused on this painting, and it is worth noticing that the opening behind the sitter, which is ambiguous enough to be thought as a painting-within-the painting or a window in the wall, also appears in his *bodegones* and other important works from his last years. It is therefore important to see this painting as an early work that already shows the talent of Velázquez, which would subsequently develop throughout his works.



Fig. 1 Diego Velázquez, *Portrait of Cristóbal Suárez de Ribera*, 1620, Oil on canvas, 207×148cm, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville.

1. San Hermenegildo and Cristóbal Suárez de Ribera

We know very little about the sitter of this portrait, Cristóbal Suárez de Ribera. However, among the few available documents, one authored by chronicler Ortiz de Zúñiga tells us that Suárez was a priest who had a special devotion to San Hermenegildo [4].

Hermenegildo was the son of the sixteenth King of Visigothic Spain, Leovigildo, who dominated the whole Iberian peninsula from 415 to 711, the year of the Islamic invasion. Hermenegildo married the daughter of the King of the Franks, Ingundis, and was converted from Arianism to Catholicism by his wife [5]. As shown in the work written by St. Gregory, bishop of Tours (who died in 594) [6], his conversion was not generally well received, being perceived as an impious and unreasonable rebellion that would destroy the political and cultural peace accomplished by Leovigildo. However, at the end of the 6th century Pope St. Gregory the Great [7], created in his works an image of San Hermenegildo as a hero of all Christians, telling the story of his conversion to Catholicism by the Sevillian bishop Leandro, followed by his capture and imprisonment by his father who tried to convert him again to Arianism. This finally led to his beheading with an axe after he refused the Communion from an Arian bishop. Pope St. Gregory also tells us that Hermenegildo's brother, Recaredo, followed the former's conversion to Catholicism, which he helped to spread all over Spain. The writings of St. Gregory the Great were widely diffused in the Middle Ages and thus induced the veneration of San Hermenegildo, especially in the educated upper class of Seville.

At the end of the 15th century the *Reconquista* over Islam was completed and Spain began to aim at one unified Monarchy, *España*, with Catholicism as a driving force. At that time the veneration for Hermenegildo newly increased and people under the reign of Felipe II regarded Visigothic Spain as a precedent and prefiguration of an ideal unified Monarchy. With the works and writings of the councils of the Visigothic era being compiled and published, Hermenegildo was venerated as a man who bravely confronted heresy and built the foundation of unified Catholic Spain. In 1585 Felipe II moved the remains of the head of Hermenegildo from the Monasterio of Sigüenza of Huesca in the north-west of Spain to the Monasterio de San Lorenzo of El Escorial, and Pope Sixtus V authorized the extension of the cult devoted to Hermenegildo as a martyred saint [8]. As such, veneration for him culminated in Spain from the end of the 16th century to the 17th century.

In Seville, veneration for San Hermenegildo goes back to the era of Fernando III el Santo, who recaptured the city from Islam in 1248. From the second half of the 16th century to the 17th century San Hermenegildo was venerated as the great martyred saint who had converted all Visigoths to Catholic religion, as the work of Vera y Rosales shows by quoting St. Gregory the Great [9]. In addition, Cardinal Juan de Cervantes built a chapel devoted to San Hermenegildo in Seville Cathedral to lay his remains when found, as well as a Hospital equally devoted to him [10]. The Jesuits went further to venerate him and so founded a new Colegio for San Hermenegildo in 1591. On completion of the building, they even performed the dramatic life of the saint [11]. Moreover, in 1554 a young poet, Fernando de Herrera, dedicated a poem in Latin to him, while Canon Francisco Pacheco, uncle of Velázquez's master bearing the same name, composed three hymns in Latin devoted to the saint [12]. The *romance* that Baltasar Cepeda



Fig. 2 Alonso Vázquez and Juan de Uceda, *Death of San Hermenegildo*, c.1603-04, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville.



Fig. 3 Francisco de Herrera el Viejo, *Apotheosis of San Hermenegildo*, 1620, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville.



Fig. 4 Juan Martínez Montañés, *San Hermenegildo*, c.1616, Chapel of San Hermenegildo, Seville.

wrote in 1618 for the celebration of the marriage of Velázquez and Juana, daughter of Francisco Pacheco, was also dedicated to the saint. Cepeda evokes him as “Godo hijo i Rei Santo (Visigothic son and Saint King)” who was imprisoned and martyred by the tyrant [13].

When veneration for San Hermenegildo was increasing, he was frequently depicted in 17th century Spanish painting. For example, Alonso Vázquez and Juan de Uceda painted a splendid scene of his martyrdom for the Colegio de San Hermenegildo, founded by Cardinal Cervantes (Fig. 2) [14]. The saint is represented with playing angels, the instruments for his martyrdom, and the allegoric figures of faith and dignity. In 1620, Francisco de Herrera el Viejo painted the *Apotheosis of San Hermenegildo* for the retablo of the main altar of the Jesuit Colegio de San Hermenegildo (Fig. 3) [15]. This is one of the first examples in Seville that represents the Apotheosis of a historical hero. Herrera depicted the saint crowned with flowers by angels and glorified in heaven to show his dignity and sacredness.

As already noticed by M. Trusted [16], the clothes and pose of San Hermenegildo in this painting are very similar to those of the polychrome wooden sculpture by Juan Martínez Montañés executed around 1616 (Fig. 4) [17]. This sculpture, which shows the saint in Roman armor instead of the long tunic, caused a drastic change in the iconography of the saint in Seville. The figure holds the martyr’s palm in his upraised right hand and the crucifix in his left hand. This recalls the image of the saint made popular at the end of the 16th century, i.e. the “miles Christi (Christian militiaman)” who bravely confronted heresy and was martyred for defending the faith of Christianity. This sculpture is now part of the main altar in the Chapel of San Hermenegildo founded by Suárez.

Suárez had from his childhood a special devotion for San Hermenegildo and was thus keen on creating chapels for the saint. As he got old, his devotion grew much deeper. He dedicated himself to his position as bishop of the diocese of San Julián [18] near the *Puerta de Córdoba*,

that is, near the tower where San Hermenegildo was thought to be imprisoned, and next to it founded a new chapel between 1606 and 1616 [19]. Suárez was an “administrador (administrator)” of the *Hermandad de San Hermenegildo* [20] and was instrumental in its transfer from the church of San Julián to the newly erected chapel in 1616. According to Torre Farfán [21], on the 26th April of the same year, there was in Seville a procession with a statue of the patron saint in commemoration of both the completion of the chapel and the transfer of the *Hermandad*. Arguably, the erection of the chapel devoted to the saint was a significant event in Seville at a time when veneration for San Hermenegildo was at its peak.

Opinions are divided as for the date of the formation of the *Hermandad de San Hermenegildo*. To give an example, Vera y Rosales, who was also “Administrador” of the *Hermandad*, tells us that it was formed in 1467, while Alonso de Molgado in his *Historia de Sevilla* dates it to the era of Fernando III el Santo [22]. Molgado also tells us that the *Hermandad* was made of Sevillian *cavalleros* and noblemen, who recaptured Seville from the heretics to remind the people of Seville that San Hermenegildo confronted heresy and was as a result martyred. After the completion of the *Reconquista* against heresy and well until the 19th century, the *Hermandad* was composed of many influential noblemen [23]. They especially devoted themselves to venerate San Hermenegildo as a soldier who fought against heresy in defense of the faith of Christianity, as the image of the polychrome sculpture by Martínez Montañés shows.

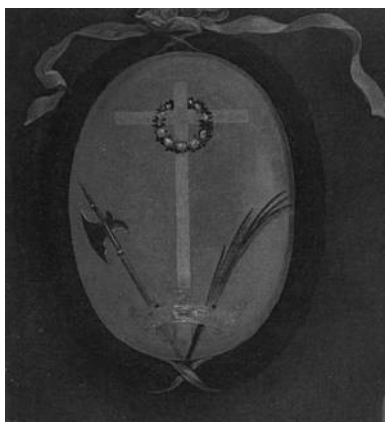


Fig. 5 Portrait of Suárez, detail.

Suárez de Ribera died on 13th October 1618, two years after the completion of the new Chapel and was buried under the floor in front of the main altar of the Chapel. His portrait by Velázquez was painted two years later, in 1620, according to the date on the canvas, probably commissioned by the *Hermandad*, though there is no document to confirm it [24]. On the left side of the image of Suárez there is a cartouche with a black frame displaying a cross with a crown of roses, an axe, a palm leaf, and a golden crown at the base (Fig. 5). This is the emblem of the *Hermandad de San Hermenegildo* [25]. The two crowns, the palm leaf and the axe that served to behead San Hermenegildo after his

conversion to Catholicism are all symbols associated with him. The golden crown symbolizes the secular power that he abandoned, while the crown of roses is the symbol of the eternal life that his martyrdom gave him after his conversion.

Suárez had connections with Sevillian artists and was a close friend of Francisco Pacheco, Velázquez’s master. When he commissioned Martínez Montañés to carve a *Crucifixion* (now lost) in 1592, Pacheco pledged security for the sculptor [26]. Suárez, in 1602, also became the godfather of Pacheco’s daughter, Juana, on the occasion of her baptism [27]. Velázquez was in good relation with Pacheco even after the former served out his time in apprenticeship [28]. It is therefore very likely that Velázquez was acquainted with Suárez before he died. Velázquez, with his well-known talent as a portraitist, could have painted accurate portraits of Suárez from memory or from sketches he made when the latter was still alive [29].

2. The Chapel of San Hermenegildo

The original setting of the *Portrait of Suárez* has hardly been discussed until now because of lack of documents. This paper examines how the sitter is shown in the portrait and analyzes the documents on the retablo of the main altar as well as the inside of the chapel in its current state. This could prove the point that the painting was most likely hung on the east wall of the chapel, that is, on the right of the main altar, where the copy painted by another artist is now displayed (Fig. 6).

The outside of the chapel is very simple and austere. However, when looking inside, our eyes are caught by a wooden retablo made of nine compartments on the north wall of the chapel, which was commissioned by the *Hermandad de San Hermenegildo* in 1635, almost twenty years after the erection of the chapel [30]. It is believed that there was at the place of this retablo and at the time of the opening of the chapel around 1616, a two meters high wooden polychrome sculpture of San Hermenegildo by Martínez Montañés [31]. It seems therefore that Suárez in Velázquez's portrait is pointing to the left with his right hand leading thus the eyes of the faithful to this sculpture. According to the epitaph on the tomb under the floor in front of the main altar, Suárez was known during his lifetime to be a zealous preacher who led the faithful to be devoted to San Hermenegildo and imitate him [32]. So, there are good reasons to think that this portrait was painted by Velázquez in a way that Suárez looked as if he was preaching to the faithful, guiding with his right hand their eyes to the wooden sculpture of the saint on the north wall.

These observations suggest that the east wall of the apse is the most suitable place for the portrait. Even if Suárez was widely known as a virtuous priest, the portrait of a man who had not been canonized showing him in life size and measuring two meters in length, could not be hung side by side with the polychrome wooden sculpture of San Hermenegildo on the north wall, given the way in which churches were decorated in Seville during this period [33]. Moreover the body of Suárez points toward the left, not to the front, and his right hand is also held out to the left. Accordingly, this portrait could not have been hung on the north wall side by side with the saint's sculpture, but on the east wall as it is now.

With this in mind, we can understand why the large opening is painted in the portrait. This opening would seem incongruous as a setting for a funerary portrait. However, if we look at the opposite wall of the apse, that is, the west wall (Fig. 7), we notice that there is a large opening there, while there is no opening in the east wall.



Fig. 6 Chapel of San Hermenegildo, Seville, north and east walls (photo by author, Sep. 2007).



Fig. 7 Chapel of San Hermenegildo, Seville, west wall (photo by author, Sep. 2007).

Therefore it is conceivable that Velázquez might have painted the opening so that it looks like there is equally an opening in the east wall, to bring symmetry between the right and left side of the chapel.

The opening found on the painting through which are disclosed cedars, cypresses and a clouded sky, is large as if it was a door rather than a window, as Pantorba mentioned [34]. Interestingly, there are actually trees on the east wall side of the chapel. Moreover the chapel is designed symmetrically following basic church decorations at that time and the architectural structure framing this portrait, with entablature on its top and columns on its sides, is very similar to that of the opening on the opposite west wall. Although the time when this framing was made is not clear, if it dates to the time when this portrait was painted, it would explain why Velázquez painted the large opening in it. It is possible that Velázquez might have intended to achieve symmetry in the chapel by depicting a large opening in the background of the portrait.

3. The peculiar iconography

No study has yet shown how the sitter is depicted in this portrait, and it is now important to notice that the way Suárez is depicted is very different from the other portraits of posthumous men. This portrait of Suárez was intended to be hung on his tomb and he is represented kneeling on the floor like a donor, so he comes across as a kneeling donor [35]. However, this portrait shows him directing his eyes not toward the main altar but toward the faithful in front of him, and holding out his right hand rather than praying with his hands joined together. To this extent, it differs from the normal type of a kneeling donor.

On the other hand Miguel Serrera pointed out that the kneeling man in a black robe in the right corner of the *Death of San Hermenegildo* (Fig. 2) by Alonso Vázquez and Juan de Uceda is similar to the figure of Suárez [36]. It is certain that this donor is depicted kneeling toward the saint, but he seems to be praying with his hands joined together and his eyes directed toward the saint. To this extent it differs again from the portrait of Suárez, so it cannot be considered as an essential source for Velázquez.

Francisco de Herrera el Viejo also painted a kneeling boy in the *Apotheosis of San Hermenegildo* (Fig. 3) [37] for the Jesuit Colegio de San Hermenegildo in Seville. This boy is depicted holding out his right hand like Suárez does in Velázquez's portrait. Herrera el Viejo was a master of Velázquez before he became an apprentice of Pacheco [38]. The painting had a great influence on many of the contemporary Sevillian painters like Zurbarán and Murillo [39], and was highly admired by Felipe IV when he visited Seville in 1624 [40]. There is therefore no doubt that Velázquez also knew this work well [41]. However the kneeling boy directs his eyes toward the saint unlike Suárez.

The above analyses show that Suárez in the Velázquez's portrait is different because of the ways the eyes and posture are painted in comparison with the ordinary type of kneeling donor or figures in other paintings that represent the theme of San Hermenegildo. These differences suggest that the painting had for the *Hermandad de San Hermenegildo* a special function in the chapel.

4. The opening in the painting

This portrait has an important meaning in the whole works of Velázquez because an opening (Fig. 8) is depicted behind the sitter. As Davies mentions [42], the cypress seen through the opening is a symbol of death, which is a suitable theme as the work destined to be hung on the sitter's tomb. However Velázquez had already depicted openings in the works of his Sevillian period, such as the *Kitchen scene with Christ in the House of Martha and Mary* (The National Gallery, London, Fig. 9) and the *Kitchen scene with Supper at Emmaus* (The National Gallery, Dublin). He also depicted openings in his important later works after he became a court painter in Madrid, such as *Las Hilanderas* (*The Fable of Arachne*, Fig. 10) or *Las Meninas* (both in the Museo del Prado, Madrid).

The works in London and Dublin are thought to be painted before the *Portrait of Suárez* because of its date and style [43] and what is seen through the opening is the scene of the evangelical episode, which corresponds to the theme of the painting. Typically, Velázquez used to insert an opening in kitchen spaces where biblical scenes are represented, inspired by the works of the Northern painters of the second half of the 16th century [44]. On the other hand, in the *Portrait of Suárez* the opening is much larger than in those works. It is depicted at the bottom of the painting near the floor of the chapel and looks like a door with stairs. What is seen through it is not a scene with biblical figures but a scenery with trees and a sky, reminding us that such a world exists outside the chapel. All this suggests that Velázquez depicted the opening in the background of the *Portrait of Suárez* not to show the motif or episode related to the theme of the work, but to show that there is a space beyond the painted surface, generating thus a sense of continuity between the painted world and the real world of the viewers.



Fig. 8 *Portrait of Suárez*, detail.



Fig. 9 Diego Velázquez, *Kitchen scene with Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*, 1618, The National Gallery, London.



Fig. 10 Diego Velázquez, *Las Hilanderas (The Fable of Arachne)*, c.1656-58, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

When this work was completed it was most likely placed closed to ground level as it is now, taking into account the analysis of the second chapter of this paper. As such, the painting would give the faithful who visited the chapel the illusion that the painted floor was actually connected to the floor of the chapel. Suárez is depicted in life size, kneeling with a book (probably the Bible) in his left hand, and appearing much younger than what he must have looked at the end of his life (he died at the age of sixty eight). This image shows Suárez when he was a priest, in other words Velázquez was keen to depict him as he was in his lifetime in a space that seems to be connected to the real world.

As such, we can regard the opening in this work as one of the first examples of Velázquez's painted openings in his later works. The openings painted during his Sevillian period had the kind of ambiguity that could give the impression of a painting-within-the-painting or an image of mirror. In those paintings they were represented on a high level and although they indicate that there was a space behind the painted surface, the space suggested does not have continuity with the space in the foreground. On the other hand, in *Las Hilanderas* (Fig. 10) the opening is depicted closed to ground level. It is large, there are stairs and the space shown behind the picture plane appears to be connected with the space on the foreground [45]. In these later works Velázquez created by means of depicting openings a complicated painted world that was difficult to differentiate from the real world. The opening in the *Portrait of Suárez* shows that he could already achieve this in his Sevillian period.

5. The function of the gesture

As seen above, in the *Portrait of Suárez* Velázquez depicted in a peculiar way a priest in a space that seems to be connected with the real chapel. His gesture is not common for a type of figure who prays kneeling in front of the altar. This suggests that Suárez in this portrait had a special function in the Chapel of San Hermenegildo. In a figurative sense, this function could be that of an intercessor, which is strictly speaking not to be confused with the intercession of saints.

During the time of the Reformation, the Protestant reformers denied the intercession of saints in the process of justification and only admitted each one's faith to God, while the Catholic Church acknowledged the intercession of saints for God or Christ, along with the good works of the faithful [46]. The saint intercessor who acts as a mediator between God and the faithful was frequently depicted in Spanish paintings during the Counter-Reformation period. For example, in the *Burial of the Count of Orgaz* (Fig. 11), El Greco painted the Virgin and Saints who act as intercessors above the burial scene of the Count who was known for his charitable acts. They are depicted on both sides

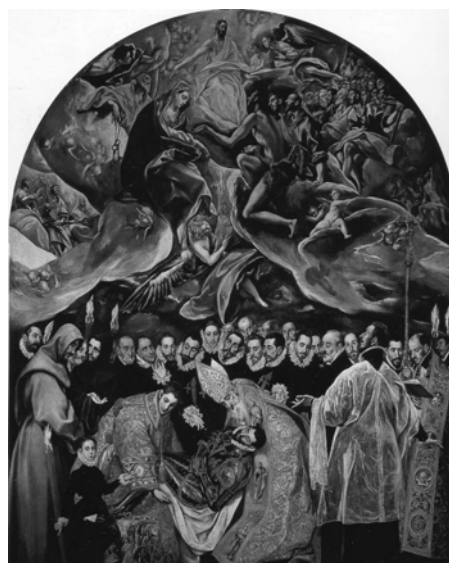


Fig. 11 El Greco, *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*, c.1586-88, Church of Santo Tomé, Toledo.



Fig. 12 El Greco,
The Resurrection, c.1577-79,
Church of Santo Domingo el
Antiguo, Toledo.



Fig. 13 Juan de Roelas,
*The Immaculate Conception
with the Venerable Fernando
de Mata*, c.1612, Staatliche
Museum, Berlin.



Fig. 14 Francisco Pacheco,
*The Immaculate Conception
with Miguel del Cid*, 1619,
The Cathedral, Seville.

of the *alma* of the Count who is shown as a little baby carried by them to Christ. By their presence it is suggested that the Count's *alma* will be received and justified by Christ [47]. In the *Resurrection* (Fig. 12) of the Church of Santo Domingo el Antiguo in Toledo, El Greco painted the figure of St. Ildefonso on the left corner of the painting. This saint is depicted holding out his right hand, almost at the same level as a priest who reads Mass before the altar, and can thus be seen to play the role of an intercessor between God and the faithful [48].

In Seville, Juan de Roelas painted a work in a similar manner for the Convento de Encarnación (Fig. 13) [49]. The venerable Fernando de Mata, an advocate of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, is depicted holding out his right hand with his eyes in the direction of the Virgin above. This painting was hung on his tomb after his death in 1612. Francisco Pacheco also painted a picture in a very similar way. In his *Immaculate Conception with Miguel del Cid* of 1619 (Fig. 14), he depicted the poet Miguel del Cid, also an advocate of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, on the left corner [50]. This painting was equally made after the death of the poet in 1615.

In these Sevillian paintings the contemporary figure depicted after his death seems to be playing the same role of an intercessor between the Virgin and the faithful. Though these figures were not canonized, death was related to the acquisition of the nature of sainthood in the sermons of that period in Seville [51]. Therefore they could be regarded as intermediaries. They were thought to become sacred after death and be closer to the Virgin than the faithful, both spatially and temporally.

It seems that Velázquez, in the Chapel of San Hermenegildo, discloses the relationships between the Virgin and the intercessors in these Sevillian paintings, by means of combining

different media, i.e. painting and sculpture. Velázquez added painting to sculpture, which had already been done by Martínez Montañés whom he estimated. In the painting Suárez is pointing to that sculpture of the saint. This attempt by Velázquez to make a connection between painting and sculpture in a real space was very innovative in Seville at that time.

According to the 1627 document, many people visited the chapel to pray to seek protection from San Hermenegildo [52]. Although it is not clear whether there was a campaign to canonize Suárez after his death in 1618, he was portrayed two years after he died. This fact, along with the above-mentioned situation of the time in Seville, suggests that Suárez in this portrait is performing the role of the intercessor for San Hermenegildo represented in sculpture in the main altar. When entering the chapel, Suárez depicted in life size appears to us to be kneeling on the real floor and guiding our eyes to the polychrome sculpture of the saint. This experience proves that Velázquez's painting is one of the elements that compose the whole chapel, or is playing a part in a very baroque art world.

Conclusion

This paper examined the original setting for the *Portrait of Suárez*, its opening and the function of the gesture. Through this examination, it has become clear that the work was playing the special role of a mediator in this original setting, on the east wall of the Chapel of San Hermenegildo. The space depicted seems to be connected to the real space of the Chapel and Suárez appears to be directing the attention of the faithful to the sculpture of the saint in the main altar. Such a painting characterizes this baroque art world where close connections are made between painting, sculpture, architecture and the viewers. The figure in painting pointing to the sculpture from a distance is a rare example in the Seville of that time, so arguably Velázquez established a new relation between painting and sculpture in this Chapel. Velázquez actualized a cooperative relation with Martínez Montañés whom he estimated, in creating this baroque art world. In this sense *Portrait of Suárez* can be regarded as an important work of his Sevillian period. The painting shows us the art of Velázquez who would continue to create by means of representations of openings or mirrors new relations between the painted world and the real world, or between the painted figures and their viewers as in his later works.

Notes

- [1] J. Gestoso y Pérez, "Un monograma y varias interpretaciones," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, 18, 1910, pp. 129-134. For the signature, see K. Hellwig, "Las firmas de Velázquez," *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, 19, 2001, pp. 21-46.
- [2] J. Portús, *Velázquez y Sevilla*, Exh. Cat., Tomo Catálogo, Seville, 1999, pp. 212-213. The work was first attributed to Francisco de Herrera el Viejo by Conde de Águila who saw it in the Chapel in 1781 (J. M. Carriazo, "Correspondencia de don Antonio Ponz con el Conde del Águila," *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, 5, 1929, pp. 157-183), but was identified as a work by Velázquez by analyzing the signature which was found during the cleaning of 1910 for the exhibition "Retratos Antiguos" in Seville (V. von Loga, "Zur Zeitbestimmung Einiger Werke des Velázquez", *Jahrbuch*

der Koeniglich Preuszischen Kunstsammlungen, 1913, pp. 281-291). After this, it is generally accepted that the painting is attributed to Velázquez (*Velázquez y lo Velazqueño*, Exh. Cat., Madrid, 1960, p. 51; J. López Rey, *Velázquez, A Catalogue raisonné of his oeuvre*, London, 1963, pp. 284-285). Much of the surface of the painting has suffered from rubbing, and the face and clothes seem to lack the accuracy that characterizes Velázquez's portraits. At the same time, we are not in a position to discuss stylistic matters any further because no information following a recent cleaning is available.

- [3] D. Davies & E. Harris, in *Velázquez in Seville*, Exh.Cat., Edinburgh, 1996, p. 172.
- [4] D. Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla*, Seville, 1677, ed. 1988, IV, pp. 254-256.
- [5] For the biography of San Hermenegildo and the way he was venerated in the course of history, see F. J. Cornejo, *Pintura y teatro en la Sevilla del Siglo de Oro, La "Sacra Monarquía"*, Seville, 2005, pp. 63-94.
- [6] San Gregorio de Tours, *Diez libros de Historia*; in *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.
- [7] San Gregorio Magno, *Diálogos* (III, cap. 31); in *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.
- [8] P. J. M. del Estal, *Culto de Felipe II a San Hermenegildo*, El Escorial, 1961, p. 550.
- [9] F. de Vera y Rosales, *Discurso histórico de Nuestra Señora de la Hiniesta*, Seville, 1688, pp. 245-258.
- [10] A. M. González Díaz, *Poder urbano y asistencia social: el Hospital de San Hermenegildo de Sevilla (1453-1837)*, Seville, 1997.
- [11] Cornejo, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 137-141.
- [12] *Ibid.*, p. 92.
- [13] *Corpus Velazqueño. Documentos y Textos*, I, Madrid, 1999, pp. 32-36.
- [14] F. García de la Torre, "El retablo del Hospital de San Hermenegildo o del Cardenal en Sevilla," *Apotheca*, I, 1981, pp. 67-81.
- [15] A. M. Ripoll, *Francisco de Herrera el Viejo*, Seville, 1978; J. Fernández López, *Programas iconográficos de la pintura barroca sevillana del siglo XVII*, Seville, 1991(2002), pp. 81-84; A. M. Ripoll, "Francisco de Herrera el Viejo, un joven pintor en pos de la modernidad," *De Herrera a Velázquez, El primer naturalismo en Sevilla*, Exh.Cat., Seville, pp. 83-98.
- [16] M. Trusted, in *Velázquez in Seville*, pp. 170-171.
- [17] B. G. Proske, *Juan Martínez Montañés, Sevillian Sculptor*, New York, 1967, p. 15; Cornejo, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 119-122.
- [18] X. Bray, in *Velázquez*, Exh.Cat., London, 2006-2007, p. 140.
- [19] Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Op.Cit.*, p. 254; P. de Espinosa de los Monteros, *Primera parte de la Historia y grandezas de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla*, Seville, 1627, fols. 78-81. At that time the *Hermandad de San Hermenegildo* had poor financial resources, so Melchor de Maldonado of the *Casa de Contratación* gave a financial aid for the construction of the Chapel. So did the Cathedral of Seville, which supplied land and money.
- [20] J. Gestoso y Pérez, *Sevilla monumental y artística, Historia y descripción de todos los edificios notables, religiosos y civiles*, Seville, II, 1892, pp. 286-291. For the "Administrador", see *Regla y estatutos de la ilustre hermandad del Santo rey martir San Hermenegildo*, Seville, 1831, pp. 8 y ss.
- [21] F. de la Torre Farfán, *Fiestas de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana y patriarcal de Sevilla al Nuevo culto del señor Rey San Fernando*, Seville, 1671, p. 179. This statue would be the sculpture of the saint made by Martínez Montañés, which is now in the retablo of the Chapel of San Hermenegildo. Proske, *Op.Cit.*, p. 15.
- [22] F. de Vera y Rosales, *Petición que hizo al Rey Carlos II, en representación de la Hermandad de S. Hermenegildo...*[s.d.]; A. de Morgado, *Historia de Sevilla*, Seville, 1587; in Cornejo, *Op.Cit.*, p. 88.
- [23] Among the members of the *Hermandad de San Hermenegildo* the Duke of Alcalá, close friend

- with Pacheco, was also included. P. de Espinosa de los Monteros, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 78-81.
- [24] E. Valdivieso, *Pintura Barroca Sevillana*, Seville, 2003, p. 184.
- [25] Gudiol argued that this was an emblem of the *Inquisición* (J. Gudiol, *Velázquez*, Barcelona, 1973, p. 27), but on the frontpage of the *Regla y estatutos de la ilustre hermandad del Santo rey martir San Hermenegildo* and in the actual decoration of the Chapel of San Hermenegildo, we can see the same emblem. It is therefore certain that it is the emblem of the *Hermandad*.
- [26] J. López Martínez, *Notas para la Historia del Arte, Desde Jerónimo Hernández hasta Martínez Montañés*, Seville, 1929, p. 269.
- [27] *Corpus Velazqueño*, I, p. 26.
- [28] L. Méndez Rodríguez, *Velázquez y la cultura sevillana*, Seville, 2005, pp. 27-94.
- [29] A. Morel d'Arleux, "Un posible dibujo preparatorio del Retrato de Don Cristóbal Suárez de Ribera de Velázquez," *Goya*, 298, 2004, pp. 32-36. For the painting of the head of Suárez (Seville, Private Collection), see C. Garrido, "Puntualizaciones sobre algunos retratos de Diego Velázquez," *Goya*, 298, 2004, pp. 6-10.
- [30] J. López Martínez, *Notas para la Historia del Arte, Arquitectos, escultores y pintores vecinos de Sevilla*, Seville, 1928, p. 53.
- [31] Trusted, *Op.Cit.*, p. 170; Davies & Harris, *Op.Cit.*, p. 712.
- [32] "AQUI YACE EL LICENCIADO CRISTOBAL SVAREZ DE RIBE/RA NATVRAL DE SEVILLA VENERABLE SACERDOTE Y / PREDICADOR ZELOSO; QUE DESDE SVS PRIMEROS AÑOS CON VIDA EXEMPLAR, CONVERSACION Y DOTRINA SANTA REDUXO A MUCHOS A / SU IMITACION Y A LA DEVOCION DEL SANTO/ REY MARTIR HERMENEGILDO..."
- [33] For the decoration of the church in Seville at that time, see J. M. Palomero Páramo, *El Retablo Sevillano del Renacimiento: Análisis y Evolución (1560-1629)*, Seville, 1983; A. Luque Teruel, *El Retablo Sevillano de 1600 a 1660, sobre la evolución de los proyectos*, Seville, 2000.
- [34] B. de Pantorba, *La vida y la obra de Velázquez, Estudio biográfico y crítico*, Madrid, 1955, pp. 73-74.
- [35] For tomb sculptures in Spain and their typology, see J. Redondo Cantera, *El sepulcro en España en el siglo XVI, Tipología e iconografía*, Madrid, 1987. For the type of praying donor, *Felipe II and his family* by Pompeo Leoni in the Convento of San Lorenzo in El Escorial. *Los Leoni(1509-1608), Escultores del Renacimiento italiano al servicio de la corte de España*, Exh. Cat., Madrid, 1994.
- [36] J. M. Serrera, "Velázquez and Sevillian Painting of His Time," *Velázquez in Seville*, pp. 39-41.
- [37] See the note 15.
- [38] A. M. Ripoll, "Herrera el Viejo-Velázquez, ¿una relación imposible?," *Symposium Internacional Velázquez, Actas*, 1999, ed. 2004, pp. 73-86.
- [39] We can see the influence on Zurbarán's *St. Gregory*, *St. Ambrose*, *The Apotheosis of St. Thomas Aquinas* (all in the Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville), Murillo's *St. Isidro* and *St. Leander* (both in the Cathedral of Seville). See *Zurbarán, IV Centenario*, Exh. Cat., Seville, 1998, pp. 74-75, 78-79, 142-143; E. Valdivieso, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 38-39.
- [40] A. Palomino, *El Museo pictórico y escala óptica*, III, Madrid, 1715, ed. 1947, pp. 189-191.
- [41] Pacheco was also working for the decoration of the Jesuit *Sagrario* of Colegio de San Hermenegildo. F. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura, su antigüedad y grandezas*, Seville, 1649, ed. 2001, p. 491.
- [42] Davies & Harris, *Op.Cit.*, p. 172.
- [43] For the *Kitchen scene with Christ at Emmaus* (c. 1619), see B. Navarrete Prieto, in *De Herrera a Velázquez*, Seville, p. 206; X. Bray in *Velázquez*, London, pp.126-127.
- [44] M. M. Kahr, *Velázquez, The Art of Painting*, New York, 1976, pp. 19-24; J. Brown, *Velázquez, Painter and Courtier*, New Haven and London, 1986, pp. 16-21; Tae Morohoshi, "Velázquez's *Kitchen scene with Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*: some problems of the paintings in

his Sevillian period,” *Journal of the Japan Art History Society*, 157, 2004, pp. 40-52.

- [45] Various opinions have been formulated regarding the attribution of figures depicted in the background and the theme. For a recent study, see J. Portús, “Historias cruzadas,” in *Fábulas de Velázquez*, Exh. Cat., Madrid, 2007, pp. 279-301. In *Las Meninas*, another masterpiece of the Velázquez’s last years that includes paintings-within-the painting and the mirror, the door is depicted, through which we can see the stairs leading to the back. This work represents the Prince’s Quarters in the Alcázar almost in its entirety, and was seen by the King who is depicted with his wife in the mirror in the background of the painting. J. F. Moffitt, “Velázquez in the Alcázar Palace in 1656: The meaning of the Mise-en-scène of *Las Meninas*,” *Art History*, 6, 1983, pp. 271-300.
- [46] D. Davies (ed.), *El Greco*, Exh. Cat., London, 2004, pp. 59-66.
- [47] H. E. Wethey, *El Greco and his School*, Princeton, 1962, pp. 79-81; J. Brown, *The Golden Age of Painting in Spain*, London, 1991, pp. 80-83.
- [48] Davies (ed.), *El Greco*, pp. 48-49. For the other painting of El Greco, which represents intercessor saints, see *The Virgin and Child with Saints Martina (or Thecla?) and Agnes* (in The National Gallery, Washington). *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167.
- [49] Fernández López, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 24-25; Valdivieso, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 151-154.
- [50] E. Valdivieso, in *Velázquez y Sevilla*, pp. 80-81. *The Immaculate Conception with Mateo Vázquez de Leca*, of a similar composition by Pacheco, was painted during the sitter’s lifetime. See *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.
- [51] M. A. Núñez Beltrán, *La oratoria sagrada de la época del barroco, Doctrina, cultura y actitud ante la vida desde los sermones sevillanos del siglo XVII*, Seville, 2000, pp. 387-422. Preachers referred to the miraculous events of the deceased to show his sacredness.
- [52] Espinosa de los Monteros, *Op.Cit.*, fols. 78-81.

Photographs of the paintings are taken from:

Velázquez in Seville, Exh. Cat., Edinburgh, 1996, pp. 44, 133, 171, 173. (Figs. 1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 14)

E. Valdivieso, *Pintura barroca sevillana*, Seville, 2003, pp. 93, 152, 233. (Figs. 2, 3, 13)

Fábulas de Velázquez, Exh. Cat., Madrid, 2007, p. 286. (Fig. 10)

El Greco, Exh. Cat., London, 2004, pp. 49, 54. (Figs. 11, 12)