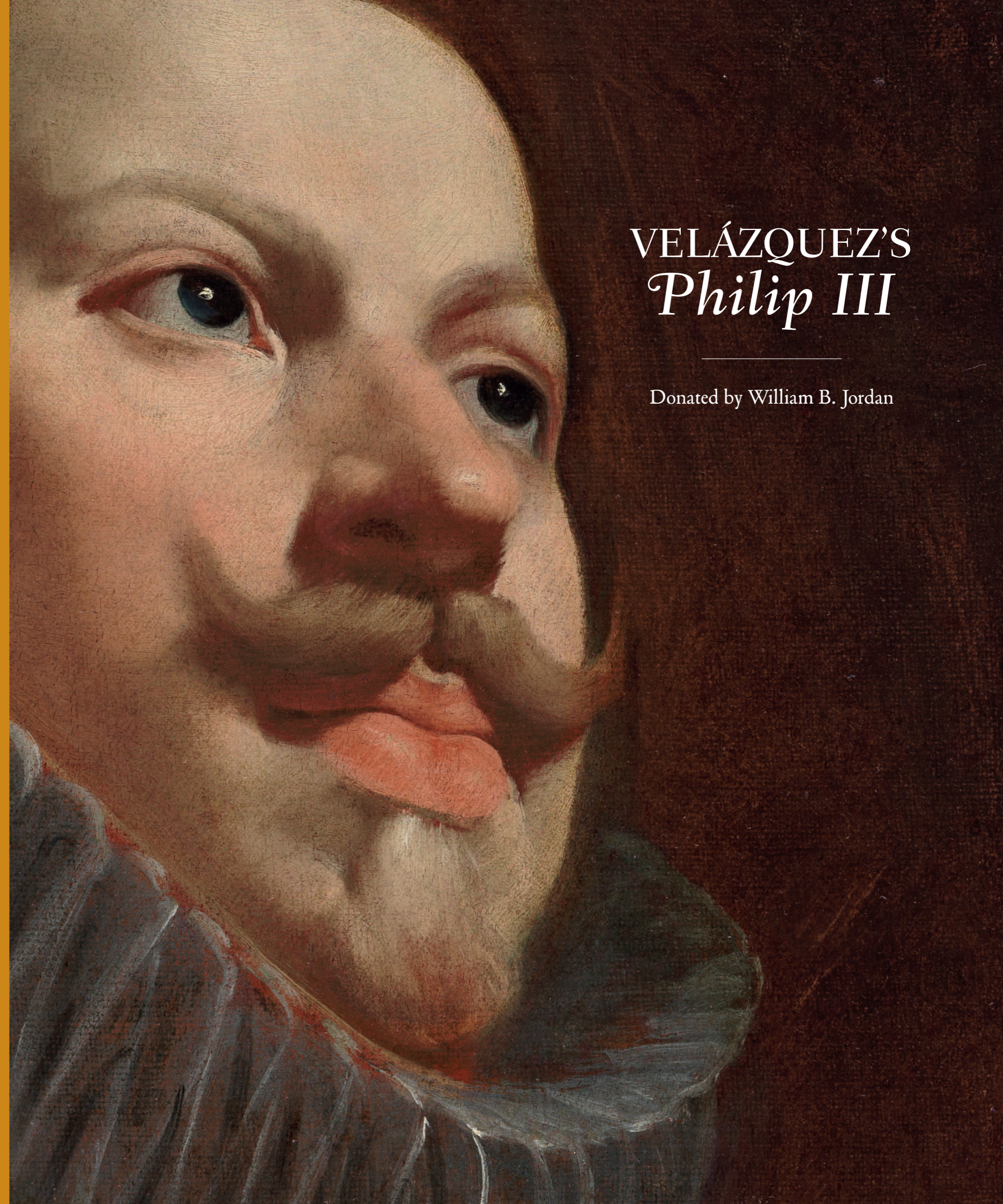




In 1988, the art historian William B. Jordan purchased a painting attributed to a northern European artist, suspecting that it might in fact be of Spanish origin. Detailed examination of the canvas and of early restoration work not only confirmed this suspicion, but also suggested that it could be the sketch for a head of Philip III, depicted by Velázquez for his *Expulsion of the Moriscos*; the painting—now lost—which won the competition held by Philip IV for a large-format history picture intended for the Alcázar in Madrid. In 2016, Jordan submitted his painting to the Prado Museum for further examination. This book presents the findings, in a set of tellingly illustrated essays by several specialists: Jordan himself describes the context of his discovery and sets out the grounds for his conclusions; from a historical perspective, the British Hispanist John Elliott focuses on Philip IV's reasons for commissioning a painting like the *Expulsion*; Javier Portús, Chief Curator of Spanish Painting (up to 1700) at the Prado, examines the stylistic reasons behind the attribution, comparing the sketch with the work of other contemporary artists at the Madrid court; finally, M.<sup>a</sup> Dolores Gayo and Jaime García-Máiquez, of the Museum's Technical Service, report on their comprehensive analysis of the support and the pigments used in the sketch, and compare the painter's style and working methods—visible through radiography and reflectography—with those of other contemporary artists, with a view to confirming the attribution, function and destination of the painting.



## VELÁZQUEZ'S *Philip III*

Donated by William B. Jordan





VELÁZQUEZ'S  
*Philip III*

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Donated by William B. Jordan

TEXTS BY

*John Elliott*

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Madrid, 2017

MUSEO NACIONAL DEL PRADO

This book was published to mark the  
presentation of Diego Velázquez's  
*Philip III*, a painting donated to

AMERICAN FRIENDS

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MUSEO DEL PRADO

American Friends of the Prado Museum  
is a nonprofit organization of the United  
States dedicated to fostering philanthropic  
support for the conservation and  
dissemination of the outstanding cultural  
heritage safeguarded in the Prado.

While any donation to the Museo del Prado is always a source of great satisfaction, the donation on which this book focuses is especially pleasing, for a number of reasons. The first reason is the identity of the donor: in 2012 William B. Jordan, an eminent specialist in Spanish art and an old friend of the Museum, invited the then Director and Deputy Director of the Prado—Miguel Zugaza and Gabriele Finaldi—to Dallas, to see his portrait of Philip III, expounding his conviction that it was in fact a sketch for the lost *Expulsion of the Moriscos* by Velázquez. Three years later, the picture was submitted to the Prado for examination; the Museum's experts supported his hypothesis, and in the spring of 2016 William B. Jordan decided to donate it to the American Friends of the Prado Museum, thus bringing it home to Spain. The second reason is the painting itself. Although the Museum boasts the largest and best collection of works by Velázquez, the destruction in 1734 of the *Expulsion of the Moriscos*, in the fire which ravaged the Alcázar in Madrid, deprived the Museum of a key work in the artist's career. The likeness of *Philip III* in some measure palliates this loss, and—as its first sketch by Velázquez—further enriches the Museum's holdings. Finally, the donation was the first act of the recently founded American Friends of the Prado Museum, marking the start of what I trust will be a valuable relationship with our institution. I should like to express, once more, our deepest gratitude to William B. Jordan, to the American Friends of the Prado Museum, and to all those who worked to make this donation possible: Miguel Zugaza, Gabriele Finaldi, Javier Portús, M.<sup>a</sup> Dolores Gayo and Jaime García-Máiquez.

Miguel Falomir Faus

DIRECTOR, MUSEO NACIONAL DEL PRADO



Fig. 1: Diego Velázquez, *Philip III*, 1627,  
oil on canvas, 45.9 x 37 cm.

Donated by William B. Jordan to the American Friends of the Prado Museum, 2015/46

## VELÁZQUEZ'S LOST *Expulsion of the Moriscos*

WILLIAM B. JORDAN

A well-known episode in the biography of Diego Velázquez (1599–1660) is the story of the competition ordered by Philip IV in 1627 between the young Sevillian and his jealous rivals at the court to paint a great history painting depicting Philip III's expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain. Velázquez's winning painting—fabled in its day but never copied as far as we know—is said to have been destroyed when fire ravaged the Alcázar for four days beginning on Christmas Eve, 1734.<sup>1</sup> First-hand knowledge of what it looked like is provided by an inventory entry of 1636, as well as by a more specific description by Antonio Palomino written just ten years before the fire, when it was still hanging in what was by then called the Hall of Mirrors. Every biographer of Velázquez since then has related the story of this competition; most of them, citing the primary sources,<sup>2</sup> have presented it as a tale of a young genius' victory over his detractors, rewarded by money, additional privileges at court, and the long-promised Italian journey to perfect his art. In these accounts, the primary focus has been on the drama of the competition and its rewards, with the subject of the painting seeming to be almost incidental. Indeed, while it has been an imaginative challenge to focus on what the painting looked like, discussions of it have often been illustrated by a drawing of Vicente Carducho's for what was possibly only a detail of his own design (Madrid, Prado, D-3055), the only presumed relic of the event known to have survived up until now. Yet the historical record, if we go back to it, is very suggestive, and we can know more about this lost work and what motivated its creation than we realized. A lot of important, ground-breaking research has already been done in this regard by other scholars,<sup>3</sup> and, at the risk of seeming to go over familiar ground, it is helpful now to return to it, while we examine as well a previously unrecorded painting which I believe is Velázquez's original oil sketch for the head of Philip III in this lost composition (fig. 1).

### *The Context of the Commission*

In the first years of Philip IV's reign, plans by the royal architect Juan Gómez de Mora to improve the old Alcázar were well near realization.<sup>4</sup> A key feature of these plans was the construction of a new façade that harmonized and brought a sense of symmetry and order to what had seemed the apparent randomness of a medieval fortress that had already been remodelled and expanded in the sixteenth century. One of the principal gains from the new façade was the creation of a grand, double-height room in the central space between the two old towers that were masked by the new screen wall. Initially denominated the *Pieza Nueva*, or New Room, and eventually known as the Hall of Mirrors after it was redecorated by Velázquez in 1659, this room was seen from the beginning as a kind of stage for the monarchy, where important state functions were performed, and from whose balconies the king and his family could witness special events held in the plaza in front of the palace's entrance. With three large windows facing south, the New Room was ideal for the display of paintings, and sometime in the early 1620s a decision was made to abandon the original plan to fresco the walls in favour of making it a picture gallery to showcase masterpieces from the Royal Collection.<sup>5</sup> As Steven





Fig. 2: Schematic reconstruction of Velázquez's *Expulsion of the Moriscos*

Fig. 3: Tiziano Vecellio di Gregorio, *Philip II Offering the Infante Don Fernando to Victory*, c. 1573–75, oil on canvas, 335 x 274 cm, enlarged in 1625 by Vicente Carducho. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P431



Orso has shown in documented detail, the iconographic program for the hang evolved continuously over several decades, but one feature of it seemed to be established from the beginning: the representation of the monarchy as Defender of the Faith. To this end, sometime in 1624–25 three masterpieces by Titian were transferred from the country palace of El Pardo back to the Alcázar, expressly to be hung in this room.<sup>6</sup> These included the great equestrian portrait *Charles V at Mühlberg*, in which the emperor is shown as the defender of orthodox Catholicism against Protestant heresy, and the allegorical portrait *Philip II Offering the Infante Don Fernando to Victory* (fig. 3) in which the king and his heir at the time, the Infante Don Fernando, are celebrated as the saviours of Christianity from the threat of Islam. Philip II himself had paired these two works together in the Casa del Tesoro of the Alcázar prior to his death in 1598, when they were valued more highly than any other pictures in his

collection.<sup>7</sup> Within little more than a year of the paintings' having been returned to Madrid—by 24 December 1625—payment was approved for the king's painter Vicente Carducho to be paid 34,000 *maravedis* for having already restored the three and enlarged the *Allegory of Lepanto* to be more or less identical in size to the equestrian portrait of Charles V (the additions, which added more than 30 centimetres in height and 70 in width, are easily visible today).<sup>8</sup> Since we know that Velázquez's *Expulsion of the Moriscos* was exactly the same size as the enlarged and thematically related *Allegory of Lepanto* and that it was always hung in relation to it, there is reason to credit the possibility that the idea of having a painting of this subject in the New Room actually predated the competition between the court painters and that the anticipation of it could have compounded their rivalry.<sup>9</sup>

The four salaried painters to the king at this point in the 1620s were, in order of seniority: Bartolomé González (1560–1627), a portraitist whose archaic style was clearly out of sync with the spirit of the new reign; Vicente Carducho (1568–1638) and Eugenio Cajés (1577–1634), both solidly trained painters whose Italianate styles grew out of the reformed Mannerist traditions of the Escorial; and Diego Velázquez, the talented newcomer from Seville whose favour with the Count-Duke of Olivares and extraordinary way of portraying the young Philip IV had won him the exclusive privilege of doing so in 1623—much to the chagrin of the older artists. It is obvious in examining the historical record of progress on the decoration of the New Room in 1625 and 1626 that it was this undertaking itself, as much as anything, that was fuelling the resentment of Velázquez on the part of the older painters. The first hint of this was the criticism of his *Equestrian Portrait of Philip IV*, painted in 1625–26 to complement Titian's great *Charles V at Mühlberg* but obviously failing to bear the comparison well.<sup>10</sup> Although politely praised by the Roman visitor Cassiano dal Pozzo for its beautiful landscape background after he visited the New Room on 29 May 1626,<sup>11</sup> others were evidently quick to find fault with the rest of it.<sup>12</sup> That these criticisms were more than mere signs of personal grievance is attested by the fact that little time was wasted by the king in replacing the painting with one by Rubens when the opportunity arose in 1628.

Steven Orso reviews how the resentment of Velázquez's obvious preferment mounted in 1626, resulting in the commissioning of three pictures from the three other salaried painters to the king, each one the same size as Velázquez's equestrian portrait and intended to hang in the New Room, obviously in an effort to dampen the rivalry.<sup>13</sup> All three pictures were eventually removed from the room and are lost today, but their installation there by the end of 1626 is significant for what followed.<sup>14</sup> Carducho himself mentions in his *Diálogos de la pintura* (1633) that paintings comparable in size to Titian's great *Allegory of Lepanto* and *Equestrian Portrait of Charles V* by himself and Cajés were hanging in the upper register of the New Room along with others by Rubens, Velázquez, Ribera and Domenichino, without specifying their subjects.<sup>15</sup> But it was not until the palace inventory of 1636 that a full description of the room's contents and the order of hanging were put down in a document that has survived.<sup>16</sup> There Carducho's painting was described as follows:

Another large oil painting on canvas, of the same size as the previous one and with a gilded and black frame, of Scipio entreating the Romans. It is by the hand of Vicente Carducho. In it Scipio is dressed in the Roman manner in armor. In his right hand is a raised sword, and his left hand entreats. Tullius Cicero is below with a laurel crown, and there are many soldiers on the other side.<sup>17</sup>

Cajés' painting was described as:

Another oil painting on canvas, of the same size and with the same frame, which is the story of Chryseis, by the hand of Eugenio Cajés. In it the king of the Greeks is seated, and her father is

petitioning for her. In the background there is a battlefield, and in the sky there is a figure with a bow in his hand in a golden chariot drawn by four white horses.<sup>18</sup>

In her study of the New Room, Volk remarked simply that these “subjects glorified aspects of ancient wisdom and military prowess, and as such may have been chosen as *exempla virtutis*...”<sup>19</sup> But, at least for Carducho’s painting, there was a deeper connection to the developing iconographic program of the room and to the lingering preoccupation with the Morisco problem. The expulsion, carried out in the perceived interests of religious hegemony and internal security, was in the main accomplished between the years 1609 and 1614, and it was widely perceived inside Spain as strengthening the country’s security.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, it can be argued that this action actually exacerbated whatever problems had existed. By the end of Philip III’s reign, the centuries-old tradition of North African piracy and kidnapping for ransom along the Spanish coasts had been greatly intensified, representing a strain on the redemptionist religious orders which had, since the Middle Ages, worked to ransom Spaniards taken into captivity and sold into slavery.<sup>21</sup> As John Digby, English ambassador to Madrid, wrote to the Marquess (later Duke) of Buckingham in 1619, the expelled Moriscos served as guides to “the Turks and Moors to do mischief on coastal towns.”<sup>22</sup>

Carducho’s lost painting from Roman history for the New Room has usually been identified in the art-historical literature simply as *Historia de Escipión*,<sup>23</sup> or *Scipio Africanus Addressing the Romans*. Orso wrote in 1986 that Scipio Africanus could be seen as a “forerunner of the later generations of Spaniards who fought the Reconquest and sought to contain the Muslim forces in northern Africa.”<sup>24</sup> Upon further reflection, though, he wrote in 1993 that it is impossible to know whether the Scipio of the inventory was Scipio the Elder (236–184/183 B.C.), who defeated Hannibal and drove him out of Spain in the Second Punic War, or his adopted grandson, Scipio the Younger (185/184–129 B.C.), who destroyed Carthage in the Third Punic War and established Roman rule in Iberia by his crushing victory over the Celtiberians at Numantia. Either, in his view, would be a plausible candidate.<sup>25</sup> He also maintains that the inventory’s indication of the presence in the foreground of “Tulio Cicerón con una corona de laurel” must be a mistake, since Cicero (105–43 B.C.) was not born until after the death of either Scipio.<sup>26</sup> While this is true, it was probably not a mistake: the one time that Scipio and Cicero encountered each other was in the imagination of the latter, whose *De Re Publica* is structured as a Socratic dialogue in which Scipio Africanus the Younger takes the role of a wise old man. The sixth book of *De Re Publica*, comprising the so-called *Somnium Scipionis*, represents the summation of everything Cicero believed about the virtues of Republican Rome and had become a fundamental part of medieval and Renaissance thought. There Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Numantinus, describes a dream in which his grandfather, the vanquisher of Hannibal, says, among much else:

Do you see that city Carthage, which, though brought under the Roman yoke by me, is now renewing former wars, and cannot live in peace? (and he pointed to Carthage from a lofty spot, full of stars, and brilliant and glittering;) to attack which city you are this day arrived in a station not much superior to that of a private soldier. Before two years, however, are elapsed, you shall be consul, and complete its overthrow; and you shall obtain, by your own merit, the surname of Africanus, which, as yet, belongs to you no otherwise than as derived from me. And when you have destroyed Carthage, and received the honor of a triumph, and been made censor, and, in quality of ambassador, visited Egypt, Syria, Asia, and Greece, you shall be elected a second time consul in your absence, and, by utterly destroying Numantia, put an end to a most dangerous war.<sup>27</sup>

Although the inventory description is indeed too vague to know exactly what was going on in Carducho's composition, the presence of both Scipio Africanus and Cicero suggests the likelihood that the painting was meant to depict Scipio the Younger as the inheritor who earned the mantle of greatness bequeathed in his dream by his grandfather. The obvious parallels between the feats of the two Scipios of antiquity and those of the Spanish Habsburgs in modern times are impossible to miss. This unusual subject was conceived for a context in which the problem of the Moriscos was still very much on everyone's mind at the court, and in which the values embodied in Cicero's *De Re Publica* were being held up to the young Philip IV and his minister the Count-Duke of Olivares and the leading political minds of the time.

The story chosen from the beginning of the *Iliad* (I.8–52 and 364–385) that Cajés painted might have had some resonance with respect to Spain's Morisco problem—the raiding and kidnapping of citizens from coastal towns, the specific offense that underlay the personal enmities of Homer's saga—but this would indeed have been a rather oblique way of referring to it, were that the intention. Orso offers a succinct summary of the story as it relates to the inventory description of Cajés' picture: "...Chryses, a priest of Apollo, sought to ransom his daughter Chryseis from her captor, the Greek commander Agamemnon, who had become infatuated with his prisoner. When Agamemnon refused to make the exchange, Apollo avenged the affront to his priest by slaying Greeks until Agamemnon relented."<sup>28</sup> Cajés' design featured the supplicant priest Chryses kneeling before Agamemnon, while Apollo rode overhead in a golden chariot drawn by four white horses wreaking revenge with his bow for this assault on the daughter of his priest. What this subject, as well as Carducho's, did provide the two painters was a clear opportunity to exercise what they perceived was their edge over Velázquez as history painters.

But while their two paintings remained in the New Room for more than a decade, they did not in the end improve the odds that either Carducho or Cajés would be chosen to paint the pendant to Titian's *Allegory of Lepanto*, a new painting clearly envisioned as an homage to what was perceived to be the crowning achievement of Philip III's reign. The thought that Velázquez might be the one chosen to paint the *Expulsion of the Moriscos*—a second companion piece to a masterwork by Titian—was obviously anathema to all the court painters, especially Carducho, who had been chosen to paint a subject from antiquity that pointedly linked, by precedent, the two pertinent events of modern times—Lepanto and the expulsion. It was in this hostile climate, as Orso has skilfully analyzed it, that the decision was made to have all four royal painters compete against one another. Besides the salaried painters Velázquez, Carducho and Cajés, the fourth was Italian-trained Angelo Nardi (1584–1660), who had been appointed without salary in 1625.<sup>29</sup> The determination of the winner was to be made not by the king but rather by an independent jury.

Philip IV appointed as those responsible for making this fateful decision two men on whom he had come to rely in artistic matters. One was his former drawing teacher, the Dominican friar Juan Bautista Maíno (1581–1649), an extraordinarily gifted painter trained in Rome, whose style reflected his formative friendships with such painters as Orazio Gentileschi and Guido Reni, and who was revered in Madrid as a man of unimpeachable integrity and consummate taste; yet he was a painter with no ambitions at the court. The other was Giovanni Battista Crescenzi (1577–1635), newly created knight of Santiago, the Roman painter/architect and amateur, member of one of Rome's powerful noble families, whom Philip IV had, in 1626, just elevated to the title of Marquis of la Torre. Crescenzi, who had served in Rome as Soprintendente di Opere e Pitture Papali under Paolo V Borghese, was destined for a similar position at the Spanish court and had exercised, since his arrival in Madrid in 1617, a growing influence on the decoration of the royal residences.<sup>30</sup> His classicizing influence on Gómez de Mora's original plans

was critical, and it is hard to imagine that he was not involved in the deliberations about the New Room's decoration from early on. Whether or not the two jurors were in the end biased in Velázquez's favour can only be conjectured, but it is hard to believe that men of such modern tastes, who were both aligned with the circle of the Count-Duke of Olivares, would not have naturally favoured his style.<sup>31</sup> In the end his design was chosen over all the others, and it is generally agreed now that in all likelihood the competition was conducted on the basis of *bocetos* (sketches), as no finished pictures of this subject by either Carducho, Cajés, or Nardi was ever referred to in any palace or artist's inventory.<sup>32</sup>

### *Descriptions of the Lost Painting*

Although pictures were added to and taken from the New Room over the first few years, Velázquez's *Expulsion of the Moriscos* and Titian's *Allegory of Lepanto* remained on the upper tier of the long north wall facing the windows, above the height of the doors. Both paintings were said to measure 5 x 3 *varas*, or approximately 4 x 2.5 meters, Titian's work was always at the right end of the wall, over the door to the Room of the *Furias*, its full-length likeness of Philip II facing toward the viewer's left. According to the 1636 inventory of the Alcázar, when the large paintings by Carducho and Cajés were still also exhibited on the upper tier of the same wall, Carducho's *Dream of Scipio* was next to the Titian, on its left, followed by Rubens' *Jacob and Essau* in the centre (a picture about biblical succession), which in turn was followed, on the left, by the *Expulsion of the Moriscos*, with its likeness of Philip III no doubt facing toward the viewer's right; while on the end of the wall, over the door to the Gilded Hall, was Cajés' *Agamemnon and Chryses*. By the time of the 1686 inventory—long since reflecting Velázquez's 1659 redecoration of the room—the paintings by Carducho and Cajés had been removed from the room and replaced by others commissioned from Rubens, and the *Expulsion of the Moriscos* had been moved to the left end of the wall, replacing Cajés' over the door, and thus forming a perfect pair of parentheses with the allegorical portrait of Philip II at the other end of the wall (fig. 5).<sup>33</sup> The 1636 inventory gives the most explicit description of the painting to be found in any of the palace inventories:

Another oil painting on canvas, of the size of the two preceding ones, of the expulsion of the Moriscos. In it is King Philip III wearing armor and dressed in white. To his right is a seated figure of Spain with spoils of war. A multitude of Morisco men and women are leaving, and there is a Latin inscription below. It has a gilded and black frame. This canvas is by the hand of Diego Velázquez.<sup>34</sup>



Fig. 4: Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, *Philip III*, 1606, oil on canvas, 204 x 122 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P-2562

Although brief, the description is specific enough to suggest that the painting depicted the late monarch as he would have looked in his familiar portraits around the time of the event, that is in 1609. The most up-to-date and admired portrait at that time would have been Pantoja de la Cruz's official likeness painted in 1605 to be sent to England (now at Molesey, Hampton Court) and repeated the following year for the Duke of Lerma (fig. 4).<sup>35</sup> In these and in numerous copies and versions of them made by Pantoja's workshop until his death in 1608, the king is shown with a still youthful countenance, wearing black and gold armour on his upper body and gold-embroidered white breeches and white stockings, as indicated in the inventory.

It is only when we read Antonio Palomino's fuller description of the *Expulsion* written shortly before its destruction that we can see the close compositional complementarity that Velázquez's painting must have had with Titian's *Allegory of Lepanto*:

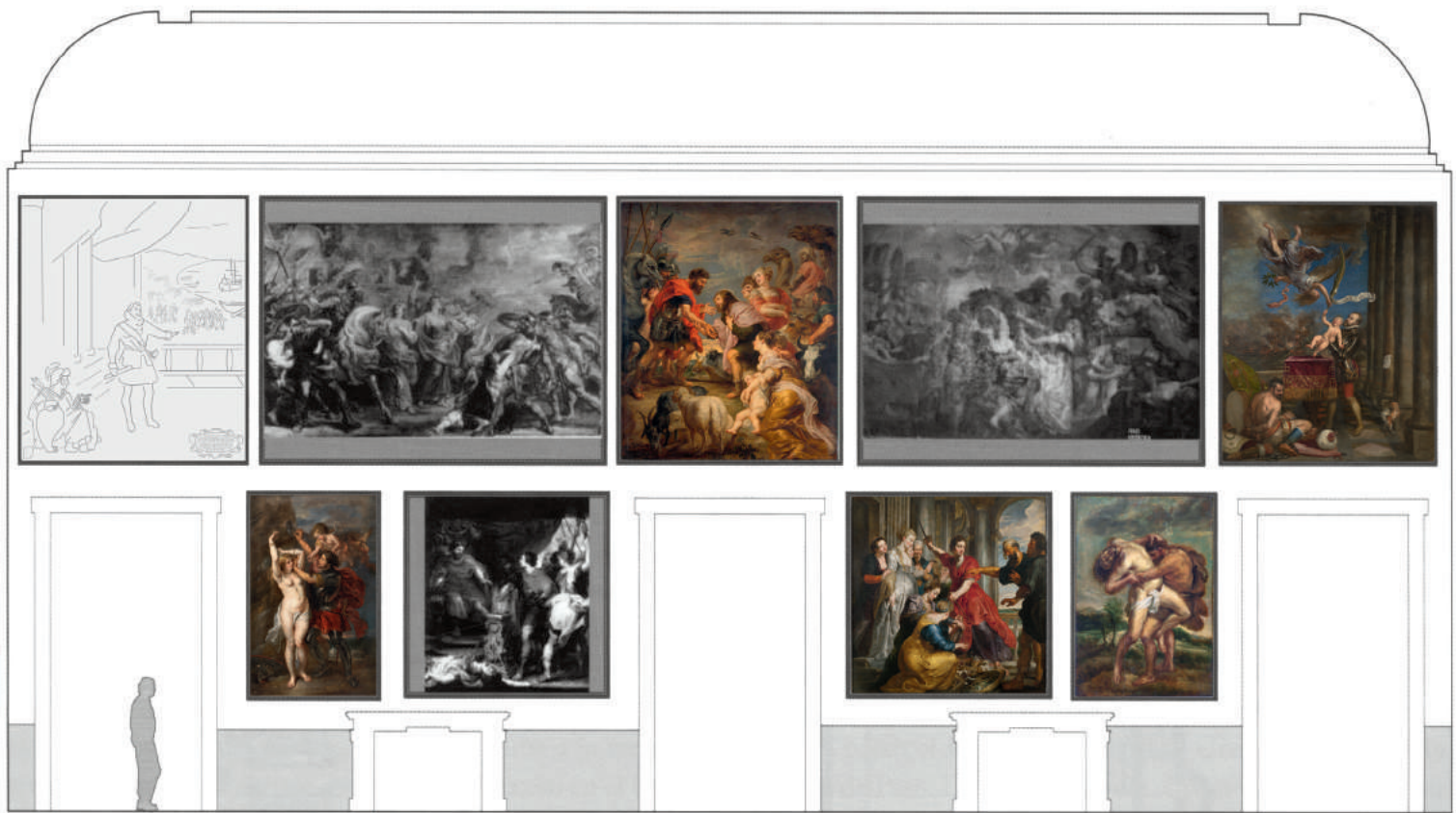


Fig. 5: Daniel Martínez Díaz's reconstruction of the north wall of the Hall of Mirrors at the Alcázar in Madrid, with a schematic recreation of the *Expulsion of the Moriscos* (top left)

In the center of this picture is the lord King Philip III in armor, pointing with the baton in his hand to a host of tearful men, women, and children, who are being led by some soldiers, and in the distance several carts and a piece of seashore, with some ships for their transportation...

At the right hand of the King is Spain, represented as a majestic matron, in Roman armor, seated at the foot of a building, holding a shield and darts in her right hand, and in her left, some ears of grain, and at her feet there is the following inscription in the socle: PHILIPPO III / HISPAN. REGI CATHOL. REGUM PIENTISSIMO, / BELGICO, GERM. AFRIC. PAZIS, & IUSTITIAE / CULTORI; PUBLICAE QUIETIS ASSERTORI; OB / ELIMINATOS FELICITER MAUROS, PHILIP / PUS IV. IN MAGNIS MAXIMUS, ANIMO AD MAIORA NATO, PROPTER / ANTIQ. TANTI PARENTIS, & / PIETATIS, OBSERVANTIAE / QUE, ERGO TROPHAEUM / HOC ERIGIT ANNO / 1627. / Velázquez finished it in the said year, as attested by his signature, which he placed on a piece of parchment that he represented on the lowest step, which reads as follows: / DIDACUS VELAZQUEZ HISPALENSIS. / PHILIP IV REGIS HISPAN. / PICTOR IPSIUSQUE IUSU, FECIT, / ANNO 1627.<sup>36</sup>

If we think of the two compositions as pendants, it is easy to see how they complemented each other. In the earlier painting as enlarged by Carducho, at the right end of the wall, Philip II, wearing armour and facing toward the left in front of a pillared building, holds up the newborn heir to the throne, the Infante Don Fernando. His gaze is cast upward toward the descending angel who brings a laurel wreath to Don Fernando. At Philip's feet crouches a bound Turkish captive surrounded by the trophies of the maritime battle raging in the distance. In Velázquez's *Expulsion of the Moriscos* (fig. 2), on its left, Philip III, wearing armour, stands facing toward the right in front of a building with a stepped portico. He points with the baton of command toward the background landscape depicting the departing Moriscos and the ships and soldiers that will carry them away. At his feet, in front of the building, sits the female personification of Spain, dressed in Roman armour and balancing the bound Turk in the



Fig. 6: The painting of *Philip III* as it appeared, attributed to the circle of Justus Sustermans, in the catalogue of Phillips, the London auction house, in 1988

*Allegory of Lepanto*. The more or less mirroring compositions would have reinforced the themes of continuity and fulfilment that Philip IV wished to convey between the reigns of his father and grandfather—just as did Carducho’s *Scipio’s Dream*, which until sometime after 1636 was hanging in between them.<sup>37</sup>

### *Velázquez and Philip III*

Perhaps the biggest challenge that Velázquez faced in creating a historical portrait of Philip III was to conjure a likeness of the king he had never seen that would convey as much authority as the one he had painted of the young Philip IV just four years before, the likeness that won him his exclusive privilege to portray the king. It was, of course, a challenge for all the contestants—even those who may have known and worked for Philip III—to portray the late king as he would have appeared in 1609, and to a certain extent all of them were dependent on earlier likenesses to do this. In addition to the official portraits of the king painted by Pantoja de la Cruz before 1608, there are numerous others that trace his gradual aging after that by Bartolomé González, Rodrigo de Villandrando, Andrés López, Pedro Antonio Vidal, and others.

Twenty-nine years ago, while leafing through a London auction catalogue, I came across a black-and-white illustration of a picture identified only as “*Portrait of a Gentleman, long bust length, wearing a high ruff*,” attributed to the “circle of Justus Sustermans” (fig. 6).<sup>38</sup> Even in the illustration, one could see that a smaller bust-length canvas had been adhered to a larger canvas and the whole costume painted over to enlarge the portrait.<sup>39</sup> The likeness was unmistakably that of the young king Philip III, but a likeness that I did not recognize. The style of the portrait had nothing to do with Justus Sustermans, and the face seemed to be painted in a style that did not relate to any of the known Spanish portraitists from the king’s lifetime. Surprisingly, though, there was something about the picture that called to mind the young Velázquez, who moved to the court only after the king’s death. My first thought was that this might be a fragment of the lost *Expulsion of the Moriscos* that survived the fire. As the painting’s estimate in the sale was very low, I was able to buy it. And then began the long process of determining what I had bought.

### *What Restoration Revealed*

After its purchase in London in 1988, the canvas was consigned to the hands of Claire Barry, Chief Conservator of the Kimbell Art Museum, in Fort Worth, for cleaning, analysis and restoration. The overpainting came off easily, revealing, indeed, that a smaller bust portrait, with an old tacking edge, had been glued to a larger lining canvas (fig. 7). Curiously, the stripped portrait, which was rather well preserved, bore an old inscription across the top that reads, “D. Rodrigo, Calderon.” This would indicate a Spanish origin for the painting, since Rodrigo Calderón, Marquis of Siete Iglesias, was the powerful henchman of the Duke of Lerma, who was condemned to death and beheaded for corruption at the beginning of Philip IV’s reign. His likeness is well known and in no way resembles that of Philip III. The false inscription was obviously the consequence of a misguided attempt to incorporate the picture into a gallery of historical personages, long after the sitter’s identity had been forgotten, perhaps in the early nineteenth century.<sup>40</sup>

It was also obvious from the stripped canvas that, while the facial features of the king were modelled with great delicacy and subtle effects of light and shadow, the rest of the forms—the hair, the

Fig. 7: The canvas of *Philip III* after restoration work in 1988, when earlier interventions were removed



ruff, and the black costume—were only sketched in a very cursory way. What suggested itself then, and continues to be the reigning hypothesis regarding the picture, is that it could have been Velázquez's necessary attempt to create his own likeness of the late monarch suitable for use in some finished painting in which he is known to have portrayed him. This would include, in addition to the *Expulsion of the Moriscos*, an equestrian portrait of Philip III that Velázquez painted for the Hall of Realms in the Buen Retiro Palace (fig. 8).<sup>41</sup> Obviously executed in part by a hand other than Velázquez's, this portrait, and the related one of Queen Margarita, were extensively reworked by Velázquez himself before their installation in the Buen Retiro in 1635.<sup>42</sup> Without knowing of





Fig. 8: Diego Velázquez and others, *Philip III on Horseback* (detail), c. 1635, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P1176



Fig. 9: Bartolomé González, *Philip III* (detail), 1617, oil on canvas. Patrimonio Nacional, Monasterio de la Encarnación, inv. 00621554

this oil sketch, Javier Portús and the technical team at the Museo del Prado have theorized that Velázquez, as was his known practice, would have based his likeness of Philip III in the equestrian portrait on a tracing of his own portrait of him in the now destroyed *Expulsion of the Moriscos*.<sup>43</sup> But while the likeness and general point of view, *di sotto in sù*, of the king in the equestrian portrait are very similar to those in the oil sketch—except in the direction of the sitter’s gaze—in the latter the king is portrayed as considerably older and with fuller cheeks. The latter picture has been interpreted as representing the monarch upon his return from the triumphal state visit to Lisbon in 1619, and his apparent age in the portrait does appear to be about ten years older than in the oil sketch.<sup>44</sup> Thus while the *Expulsion of the Moriscos* could have been a useful visual precedent, it did not serve as an exact model for the equestrian portrait. In a parallel way, however, Portús *et al.* do show that Velázquez used a tracing of a slightly earlier likeness of Queen Isabel to make his equestrian portrait of her, which was completed, also with the help of an assistant, at approximately the same time for the Buen Retiro.<sup>45</sup>

That Velázquez would paint a *boceto* of the king’s head in preparation for the *Expulsion of the Moriscos* conforms with what we know of his *modus operandi* regarding royal portraits.<sup>46</sup> For example, his first portrait from life of Philip IV was described by Pacheco as having been executed in a single day and shown immediately upon conclusion to courtiers in the palace.<sup>47</sup> There is no way that either the Meadows Museum bust, which has sometimes been presumed to be this first portrait, or any other of the known portraits of Philip IV could have been painted this fast. All of them were surely made by the artist at a deliberate pace in the studio based on life sketches in oil made earlier.<sup>48</sup> What must be another of these sketches, made near the end of his career, is the exquisite ex-Rothschild Collection head of *Queen Mariana* (fig. 10), painted about 1656 and also now in the Meadows, which was used by Velázquez’s workshop to paint or update official images of the queen.<sup>49</sup> In the

Fig. 10: Diego Velázquez,  
*Portrait of Queen Mariana*, c. 1656,  
oil on canvas, 46.7 x 43.5 cm.  
Dallas, Meadows Museum, Algur H.  
Meadows Collection, MM.78.01

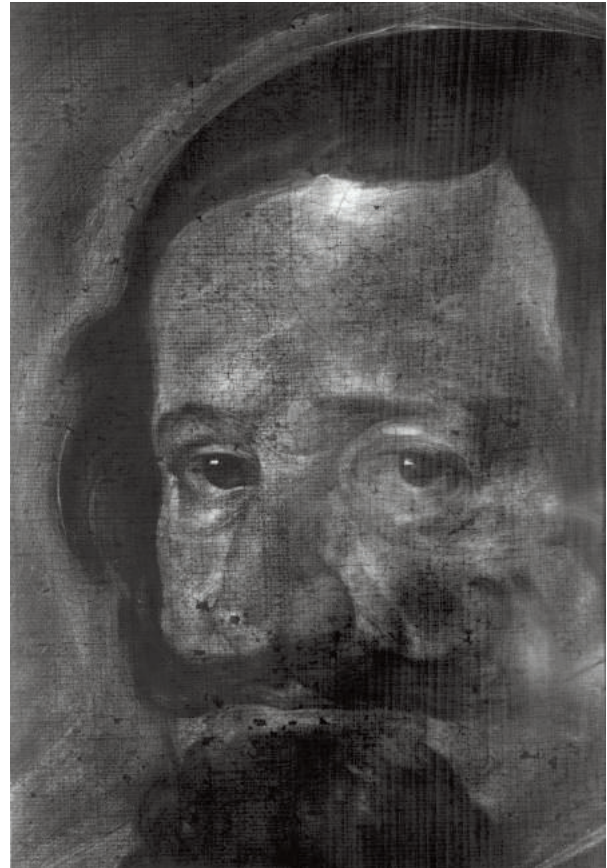
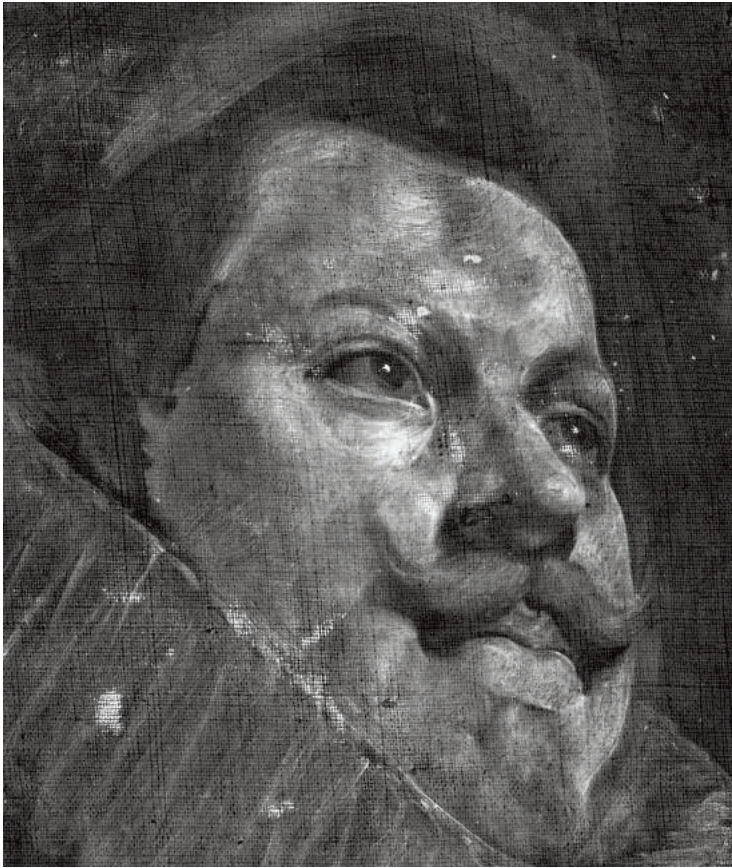


case of the Meadows head of the queen, even though the details of the coiffure and costume are only sketched, the artist's likeness is probably the most sensitive and truly vibrant of all his surviving portraits of her. This head of Philip III, painted in the smoother, more polished style of the mid-1620s, has a similar vitality, even when compared with the best finished portraits of that date.

The king's head is clearly not a fragment of a finished portrait; nor is it a study for the usual kind of royal portrait in which the portrayed looks out of the picture at the viewer. The upward, inspired gaze of the monarch is obviously intended for some quite particular context. Philip III's bright, youthful countenance is a clear departure from Bartolomé González's official images of the middle-aged king with puffy cheeks that we see from the end of his reign (fig. 9), or even the somewhat more idealized one of Pedro Antonio Vidal, of 1617 (see fig. 20).

Recalling Palomino's description of the *Expulsion of the Moriscos*, it is easy to see how this head could have been meant to convey the image of Philip as the inspired commander who instigated the expulsion and looks out over that prospect of soldiers, fleeing Moriscos and ships in the certainty that he is doing God's will. Intended to be seen from below, since it was to hang in the second tier, this foreshortened head would have been a suitable complement to the upturned head of Philip II in Titian's *Allegory of Lepanto*.

The head of Philip III is painted in confident, fluid brushstrokes with little impasto, a similar facture (only with less concern for finish) to that seen in Velázquez's earliest portraits of Philip IV (Metropolitan and fig. 23) or in his full-length portrait of the Count-Duke of Olivares in the Hispanic Society, which must have been painted around the same period (figs. 13 and 15). The Olivares portrait has been variously dated between 1625<sup>50</sup> and 1627,<sup>51</sup> and it is now known that it originally belonged to the Count-Duke's cousin the Marquis of Leganés, in whose collection it was recorded in 1655.<sup>52</sup> Both images are painted on the bright orange-red ground characteristically underlying most



Figs. 11 and 12: Radiographs of *Philip III* and the Hispanic Society's *Count-Duke of Olivares*; visible brushstrokes around the outline of the faces were made in order to offload excess paint from the brush



Fig. 13: Diego Velázquez, *Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivares*, c. 1625–27, oil on canvas, 222 x 137.8 cm. New York, The Hispanic Society of America, A104



Fig. 14: Diego Velázquez, detail of *Philip III*; pentimento visible along the left cheek

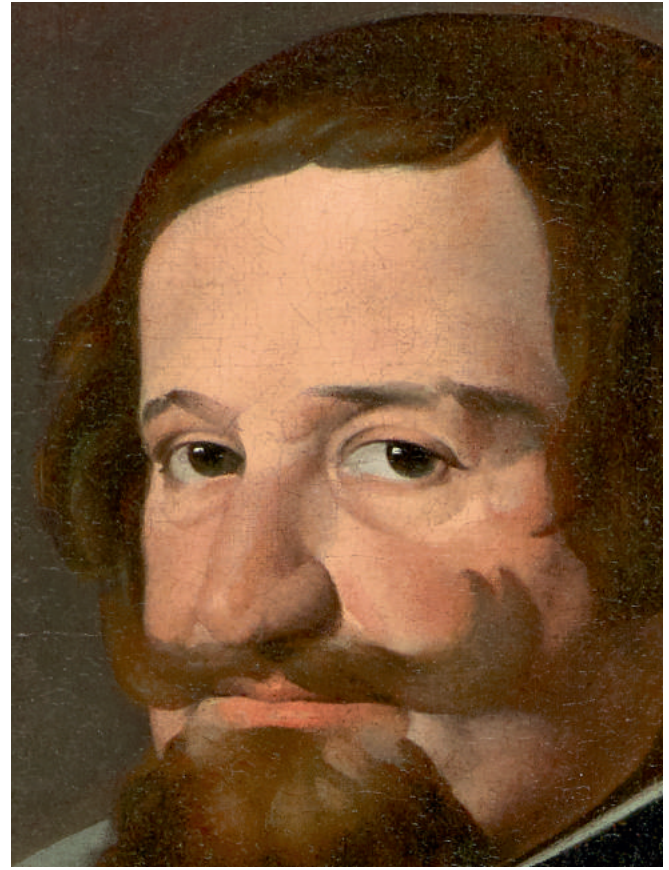


Fig. 15: Diego Velázquez, detail of *Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivares*; pentimento visible along the right cheekbone, near the eye

compositions by Velázquez at this date.<sup>53</sup> In both paintings, the facial features of the sitters are carefully modelled in a flesh tone that has a high degree of radio-opacity, so that black-and-white x-ray images are easily readable and bear a close correspondence to the appearance of the paintings in normal light. Visible in both x-rays (figs. 11 and 12)—specifically to the right of each head—are the gratuitous brushstrokes of flesh-tone pigment that the artist characteristically applied to the unpainted ground of many of his pictures in order to clean the excess off his brush. In both works, these strokes are also faintly visible to the naked eye showing through the thinly brushed, darker tone brushed over them to form the background. In the case of the head of Philip III, this darker layer is just the thinnest wash of dark brown through which glows the warmth of the red ground.

In a telling pentimento, the artist has altered the profile of the king's proper left cheek by brushing this darker tone over its edge (fig. 14), effectively narrowing the face and rendering it closer to the youthful likeness of Pantoja de la Cruz than to later ones (figs. 4 and 18). It is important to note that he did exactly the same thing in the finished portrait of Olivares, slightly tightening the profile of the Count-Duke's cheekbone just beside his proper right eye (fig. 15). And it is also interesting that this pentimento visible in the sketch was not followed when this likeness was adapted for the equestrian portrait of Philip III in the Prado, where the fuller cheeks help to suggest a more mature sitter (see fig. 8).

The direct role of this oil sketch as a step in defining the king's features for the *Expulsion of the Moriscos* is also emphasized by what the painting does not try to accomplish. The artist has not wasted much time here on details unrelated to the sitter's likeness—that is to say, on the ruff and the upper-body armour he is known to have been wearing. Were the picture a copy or a fragment, these elements would have resembled descriptions of the finished work. Instead the ruff is defined by the barest minimum of brushstrokes, and his shoulders are a simple black shape without any detail of

costume. The overall effect of this abbreviation, taken together with the mere suggestion of the king's ear and chestnut hair, is to cast the highly modelled facial mask into strong relief. The emphatic spherical integrity of the eyeballs, for example, gives the fixed gaze added force, while the full lips, traversed by the moustache's strong shadow, pulse with life while somehow not emphasizing the protruding lower jaw. Such brilliant use of light and shadow to animate while idealizing the king's face is something not seen in any other portrait of Philip III.

All the evidence suggests that in this work of 1627 the artist succeeded in doing exactly what he had done in August of 1623, when in the space of a single day his fabled portrait of Philip IV transmuted an insecure sixteen-year-old into an image of awesome dignity that has endured until the present. The life sketch which engendered that image must have been, like this one, a canvas that focused on the king's face and in which certain details were only suggested, one in which some areas of red ground may have been left unpainted, and the space around the head only hinted by a wash of pigment so thin that it had the character of a watercolour. That head was probably as different from the Meadows Museum's *Bust of Philip IV* as this sketch would have been from the fully developed figure of Philip III clad in upper-body armour in the *Expulsion*. Yet the essence of each monarch's persona as the artist chose to project it was fully defined in each sketch. If the general assumption that the competition to paint the *Expulsion of the Moriscos* in 1627 was carried out on the basis of *bocetos* rather than with finished canvases is correct, then this painting may even have been a part of what Maíno and Crescenzi evaluated in making their decision.

### *The Consequences of Victory*

It is well known that in winning the competition of 1627 Velázquez received significant rewards, not the least of which was the immediate cessation of the constant sniping he had endured from the king's other painters. Within months of winning, he was made *pintor de cámara*, a distinction which none of them had enjoyed.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, almost immediately, on 7 March 1627, he was given a minor salaried position within the king's personal household—Usher of the Privy Chamber—which had been briefly held, though without wages, by Rodrigo de Villandrando before his untimely death in 1622.<sup>55</sup>

More important than any of this, however, Velázquez was also able in this calmed atmosphere to profit maximally from one of the most fortunate events of his life up to that point—the arrival on a diplomatic mission at court in September of 1628 of the most famous painter in the world, Sir Peter Paul Rubens. In the seven months that he resided in the royal palace while awaiting the propitious moment to conclude his diplomatic aims, Rubens did what he always did—he painted, and with an energy and productivity probably never witnessed in the slow-moving Spanish court. Lodged in the north wing of the palace, and possibly even sharing a studio with Velázquez, the celebrated artist, according to his own account, was visited by the king almost daily, the two of them forming a mutual bond of respect and admiration based in part on the monarch's "extreme delight in painting."<sup>56</sup> According to Pacheco, Rubens shunned contact with other painters while spending a great deal of time in the company of Velázquez, who guided him through the Escorial, making sure that he came to know the masterpieces in the Royal Collection. It has always been assumed—no doubt correctly—that Velázquez's eyes were opened to the relevance for him of Titian through his contact with Rubens, who quickly set about copying for his own benefit all the great Venetian's works in the Royal Collection. But he possibly learned from watching him work on other things as well.

One of Rubens' first undertakings was to paint the *Equestrian Portrait of Philip IV*, which the king commissioned to replace the one Velázquez had painted in 1625–26 causing so much criticism among his rivals. Unfortunately, Rubens' painting is the only other work from the New Room beside the *Expulsion of the Moriscos* that was destroyed by the fire of 1734, but at least it is known through a copy painted by Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo (Florence, Uffizi). Moreover, shortly after his arrival Rubens began a series of other portraits of all the members of the royal family, commissioned by the king's aunt the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, in Brussels, which, like his copies after Titian, he took away with him when he left. Velázquez himself was painting portraits of many of the same individuals at this very time,<sup>57</sup> and it was surely this shared focus on royal portraiture that constituted one of the most transformative lessons of his life—rather like a months-long master class would be for a gifted musician today. Although it is not documented, it was probably at this time that Velázquez set out to repaint his official full-length likenesses of both Philip IV (figs. 16 and 25) and Queen Isabel de Borbón (New York, private collection), as well as a new full-length portrait of the king's brother the Infante Don Carlos (see fig. 26). The two new portraits of the monarchs were painted directly on top of his own original likenesses that had already been copied by his workshop several times, converting them into new prototypes that reflected this remarkable transformation, or maturation, of his style.



Fig. 16: Diego Velázquez, *Philip IV* (detail), 1623 and 1628, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P-1182



Fig. 17: Peter Paul Rubens, *Diego Velázquez* (?), c. 1628–29, oil on canvas, 58.5 x 45.5 cm. New York, private collection

The smooth modelling and dour outlook of his first royal portraits—and even of the recent *Oliveres*—were replaced by a lighter elegance of concept and a fluidity and confidence in the handling of paint that must have resulted from this shared experience with the great master from Antwerp, the perfect mentor at the right moment. Indeed, there is strong circumstantial evidence that it was Rubens himself who taught the young Velázquez how to redo these works without completely obliterating the underlying images first, making use of certain passages from the original surface in the altered one. An example is the recently discovered portrait of a man that Rubens painted in Madrid directly on top of what appears from x-ray images to be a portrait of the king’s brother the Infante Don Carlos by Velázquez or his workshop (fig. 17)<sup>58</sup>—something Velázquez himself did again in another of his most beautiful works of this time—his bust-length *Philip IV in Armour* (see fig. 28). Most writers on this portrait by Rubens agree that the sitter appears to be the same person looking out at us from the right-hand edge of *The Surrender of Breda*, as well as the same person represented in the portrait recently attributed to Velázquez in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Although most have admitted a resemblance between this person and Velázquez himself, no one has unequivocally declared the belief that the sitter is Velázquez. If that were the case, it would make of this newly discovered picture by Rubens a powerfully moving example of the interaction between the two artists and an invaluable aid to understanding the royal portraits they painted in each other’s company.

It is well known that two months after Rubens’ departure from Madrid—in recognition of Velázquez’s progress up to then, and as an investment in his perceived potential yet—the king authorized his first trip to Italy, undertaken “to perfect his art.”<sup>59</sup> Jonathan Brown has noted that this was to be the true pivot point of his career as an artist. Taken together with the preparation he had received from his great Flemish mentor, this was surely true. And it was also the ultimate reward in the long struggle with his fellow painters that played itself out in the New Room in the old Alcázar.<sup>60</sup>

## PHILIP III AND THE MORISCOS

JOHN ELLIOTT\*

\* I would like to thank Dr. Xavier Gil Pujol for his meticulous revision of my text.

The name of Philip III, king of Spain from 1598 to 1621, is forever identified with the expulsion of the Moriscos, an action praised by many of his contemporaries and largely condemned by later generations. On 4 April 1609 the Council of State finally agreed on a measure that had been under discussion for many years: the expulsion from Spain of its Morisco population. Philip authorized the expulsion five days later, on the 9<sup>th</sup> of April. It was carried out between 1609 and 1611, starting in September 1609 with the expulsion of the Moriscos of Valencia, the largest Morisco population in the peninsula. Calculations suggest that in the space of two years between 250,000 and 300,000 Moriscos left Spain,<sup>1</sup> although it is now known that an indeterminate number managed to stay behind in different places, while others succeeded in returning clandestinely to their villages, where they were welcomed back by their former ‘Old Christian’ neighbours and assimilated into the general population.<sup>2</sup>

Why did the king take the decision, advised and approved by his political and religious counselors, to expel from Spain hundreds of thousands of his subjects—labourers, artisans, shopkeepers and muleteers—who were making a by no means insignificant contribution to the life of his kingdoms, and above all to that of his territories in the Crown of Aragon? He did so, moreover, at a moment of growing economic depression and social distress, and of increasing financial problems for the royal treasury. The decision can partly be explained by reasons of state, but it was the king who had the final word, and it is important to bear in mind his character and upbringing in any explanation of an action whose mysteries have even now not been fully resolved.

Born in 1578 of the marriage between Philip II and his fourth wife, Anne of Austria, Philip was the only surviving son of the king’s four marriages when his father died in 1598. From the beginning he was looked upon as a docile prince living in the shadow of his father, and always careful, in the eyes of those who knew him, to obey his father’s instructions. At least in theory the fact that he had received a humanist and religious education enabled him to accede to the throne well equipped to be Philip II’s successor as God’s representative on earth and as the powerful ruler of a global monarchy. In practice he was a physically fragile youth, not very intelligent, unsure of himself and intensely devout. When he came to the throne he gave indications of wanting to be a warrior king, but in the end he resigned himself to being a monarch whose time was spent in hunting rather than at war. In spite of all his bouts of martial enthusiasm, he was fundamentally a passive character, and his father feared that “they are going to govern him” after his death.<sup>3</sup>

If Philip II did indeed say these words he seems to have been right. From the start of his reign Philip III, without governmental experience, placed himself in the hands of the Marquis of Denia, a Valencian noble in the royal household who had insinuated himself into his graces while he was crown prince and would be created Duke of Lerma in 1599. This was the beginning of a long *valimiento*—the exercise of power by a royal favourite—in which, according to tradition, Philip was a king dominated by an all-powerful favourite who governed in his name. In recent years, however, revisions have been proposed to this traditional image of Lerma’s power, and it has been suggested that, after the first years of the reign, that power was less than has been asserted. Similarly the king appears to have devoted more attention to governmental business than has generally



been allowed. All the same, he continued to depend on the advice of the duke, who succeeded in establishing a system of government based on the *valimiento* which survived his own downfall in 1618, and was perpetuated by his great rival and true successor as favourite and first minister, the Count-Duke of Olivares.<sup>4</sup>

As far as the decision to expel the Moriscos is concerned, Lerma, the owner of many Morisco vassals in Valencia, seems at best to have been ambivalent, but a whole series of considerations were gaining in force before the final solution was adopted in 1609. In the first place, the problem posed by the presence of an ethnic minority whose Christianity was suspect had preoccupied the religious and civil authorities ever since the conquest of Granada in 1492. Attempts at conversion, many of them not particularly convincing, had failed, and the Moriscos constituted a marginalized group that remained unassimilated by the dominant society, as was made clear when the Moriscos of Granada and the Alpujarras rebelled in 1568.<sup>5</sup> In spite of the rebellion, which ended with the dispersing of Granada's Moriscos through Castile, Philip II resisted pressures from partisans of expulsion who, like the patriarch Juan de Ribera, the archbishop of Valencia, despaired of ever converting the Moriscos into true Christians.<sup>6</sup> At the start of the seventeenth century, however, rumours were circulating about a projected new Morisco rebellion timed to coincide with an invasion of Spain by the Turks and their allies in Algiers—rumours that caused great concern to the Council of State in the first years of the new reign.

There were other considerations, too, in addition to those relating to the security of the state. In spite of the new king's martial ambitions, the exhaustion of a Castile afflicted by taxation and the great plague of 1597–1602, together with the crown's financial difficulties, suggested the need for a policy designed to bring about a general European peace. At the end of his reign Philip II had already signed a peace treaty with France, and in 1604 another was negotiated with England. The problem of the Netherlands persisted, but in April 1609 the decision was taken to approve a twelve-year truce with the Calvinist rebels. It hardly seems a coincidence that the expulsion of the Moriscos was agreed on the very day when peace was made with the Dutch.

In this way it would be possible to keep Spain's reputation intact as the great defender of the Faith, as long as it cleared from its soil the last remnants of the false religion of Mohammed. It is said that the advice of his pious wife, Margaret of Austria, whom he married in 1599, weighed on the mind of a congenitally indecisive monarch,<sup>7</sup> and there is no doubt that both the queen and a number of influential clerics argued in favour of expulsion. But the religiosity of Philip III was a militant religiosity, and for a king who had seen his hopes of great victories on the battlefield frustrated, nothing could be more glorious than seeing in his own reign the end of the centuries-old crusade to liberate Spain from the hands of the Moors. So it was that the Council of State, aware of the king's approval, voted the measure unanimously. In the words of the Duke of Lerma, "what is required is to throw these people out of these kingdoms, but excluding the severity that comes with resort to the use of the knife." He then outlined the exact way in which this was to be achieved.<sup>8</sup>

The expulsion was carried out with an almost military precision.<sup>9</sup> The galleys from Italy were moved to Mallorca from where they could be dispatched to the ports selected for embarkation; the frontier garrisons were placed on alert; and numerous commissioners watched over the long and painful processions of men, women and children taking the roads that led to the Mediterranean coast. In three months some 116,000 Valencian Moriscos were transported to North Africa, mostly to the Spanish garrison town of Oran. There were some instances of resistance, but in general those being expelled accepted their fate with resignation, and some even rejoiced at the prospect of

being reunited with their Islamic fellow-believers. In January 1610 the decree was issued for the expulsion of the Moriscos living in Castile, with one or other of the southern ports as their point of departure. In May it was the turn of the Moriscos of Catalonia and Aragon.

Eventually, the great majority of the expelled Moriscos dispersed across Morocco, Tunis and Algiers, where they adapted to their new lives in the cities of North Africa, although not without difficulty, enhanced by their having little or no knowledge of Arabic. Others, foreseeing the decrees of expulsion, made their way to France, from where some went on to Italy or the lands of the Ottoman Empire. Although at the beginning they were well received outside Spain, in the longer run their presence in other parts of Europe drew adverse reactions, especially in Roman Catholic countries. At the same time, the expulsion handed Spain's enemies across the continent a powerful weapon, ideally suited to propaganda purposes. This new example of Spanish fanaticism powerfully reinforced the Black Legend, since Philip III, in contravention of all the rules of good government, was expelling an industrious population.

In Spain itself, reactions varied. There was much concern about the economic consequences of the loss of so many inhabitants in a country that was already experiencing demographic decline. On the other hand there was great hostility, especially in Castile, towards people who did not fully conform to the beliefs and customs of Christian society and who, in the eyes of many, represented a permanent threat to the security and salvation of Spain. Their removal was seen as a belated act that was both necessary and fully justified. At the same time, the manifest distress of those being expelled gave rise to pity. "Wherever we are", said Ricote, whom Cervantes portrayed with sympathy, "we weep for Spain; for after all we were born there and it is our native land." Yet, a little later, Ricote ends a speech with these words: "What a heroic resolve of the great Philip III!"<sup>10</sup> Thus the ambivalence of the moment is perfectly captured.

The regime's propagandists followed the line taken in these words of Ricote, exalting the king and his favourite as champions of the faith and representing Philip III as a worthy successor of Don Pelayo, the initiator of the campaign to liberate Spain from the Moors. For those who held a providentialist view of Spain's mission, like Fray Juan de Salazar, the king's decision represented the triumph of religion over reason of state and would bring him eternal renown:

Among all the other things that will make Philip III famous and will immortalize his memory is his heroic deed of conserving the purity and faith of his kingdoms...by expelling all the Moriscos, heretics and apostates of our holy faith. By not worrying about the losses that the expulsion of such a large number of vassals would entail, he purged Spain of this incorrigible and vile horde, who put in serious danger all Christians, whose faith, if not lost, would be at least weakened.<sup>11</sup>

In spite of Fray Juan's confidence in divine providence, the difficulties faced by the royal finances could not be ignored. Attacked by a growing number of enemies and opponents as a result of his domestic and foreign policy failures, Lerma was forced to step down in October 1618 and leave the court. The king, who had become a widower following the death in childbirth of Margaret of Austria in 1611, tried to fill in his own person the void left by the fall of his favourite. Conscious at last of the gravity of the problems afflicting his monarchy, and pained by criticisms that he had neglected affairs of state and left them in the hands of a favourite, he settled down to his state papers with fresh determination, saying that it was for him alone to decide and to sign. Nevertheless, he was a dispirited man, conscious of his own lack of ability, and afflicted by a growing melancholy. On his return journey from a visit

to Portugal in 1619 he fell seriously ill, and arrived in Madrid with his health broken. While courtiers fought among themselves for the succession to the Duke of Lerma in his and the crown prince's favour, his health was deteriorating, and he died on 31 March 1621, in a state of repentance and contrition, a few days before completing his forty-third year.<sup>12</sup>

With Philip III's death, everything changed. He was succeeded by the young prince Philip, who placed the management of state business in the hands of an experienced minister, Don Baltasar de Zúñiga, whose ambitious nephew, Don Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivares, was emerging as the new royal favourite. The incoming regime rejected the previous one in its entirety, and not even the image of the deceased king was exempted from denigration. Although he was praised for his piety and benevolence, he was harshly criticized for his style of government. Quedo pronounced sentence in his *Grandes anales de quince días*: "A monarch who ceased to be king before beginning to reign".<sup>13</sup>

What, then, were people to think of the most dramatic deed of his reign, the "heroic resolution" to expel the Moriscos? Soon doubts began to arise in Madrid as Philip IV's councillors began to look at the economic impact of their expulsion. In 1633 none other than the royal confessor wrote the following words:

It is a very short time ago since the Moriscos were expelled—an action which did such harm to these kingdoms that it would be a good idea to have them back again, if they could be persuaded to accept our Holy Faith.<sup>14</sup>

The tension revealed here between the demands of religion and those of reason of state was a constant in the political life of this age, especially where foreign affairs were involved.

It was precisely in 1626–27, the years which saw the competition between court artists that Velázquez won, that the old dilemma resurfaced, this time over the legitimacy of offering aid to the French Calvinist Huguenots in their struggle against the king of France. In discussions held in the Council of State in February 1625, Olivares came out in support of offering them assistance, while other councillors expressed their opposition. A junta of theologians convoked in Madrid to give its advice reached the conclusion that, on this specific occasion, helping Protestants could be "done in good conscience."<sup>15</sup>

Although, on learning of the theologians' verdict, the councillors opposed to Olivares accepted the proposal, Don Gaspar's policy continued to arouse grave suspicions in devout court circles. The detractors of the favourite and his acolytes had appropriated the image of the late king as a monarch whose devotion to God and the Catholic Church was the very antithesis of the machiavellianism of the current ministers. For this reason it was important for the Olivares regime to recover for its own benefit the image of Philip III as a saintly monarch, however harshly his defects as a ruler had been proclaimed at the start of his successor's reign.

In this political context Philip IV's choice of the expulsion of the Moriscos as the subject for the competition among the court artists can be interpreted as something more than a testimonial to filial love. It is possible that it also represented an attempt to refute the regime's critics by means of a pictorial reaffirmation of the historic mission of the kings of Spain to protect and promote the Faith. To commission a painting of Philip III in the heroic act of expelling the Moors would transmit an important message to contemporaries and posterity: that the son was just as committed as his pious father to elevating God's cause above reason of state.

## THE PORTRAIT OF *PHILIP III*: VELÁZQUEZ AT A CROSSROADS

JAVIER PORTÚS

On 31 March 1621, Philip IV—not yet sixteen years old—ascended to the Spanish throne. The new reign was marked by the emergence of a fresh political elite at court; its members—highly, indeed violently, critical of their predecessors, whom they accused of gross corruption—were vocal in their insistence on sweeping reforms. Office-holders under the earlier reign were promptly dismissed, sometimes even punished, and a number of wide-ranging symbolic measures were announced: ministers were required to publish a statement of their assets on taking office; a Reform Board was established; and various laws were enacted with the aim of limiting expenditure. Rules were brought in to curtail excessive opulence in terms of both apparel and furnishings; these directly affected the image conveyed by the court, and provided one of the best examples in Spanish history of the way a political agenda could be reflected in matters of dress, at the same time doing much to shape the nature of the court portrait.<sup>1</sup>

Over the months following the king's accession, the short billowing hose popular in earlier decades was replaced by *gregüescos*, breeches which were longer, narrower and generally much more discreet. In November 1622, a law was passed against excessive costume adornments. A series of economic, demographic and administrative regulations issued in February 1623 included rules governing dress; one such rule replaced the complex and costly ruff with a much simpler and cheaper form of collar. These provisions led to a radical change in the image of the king and his courtiers; political advantage was clearly to be gained by stressing their outward sobriety and austerity, in stark contrast with the image of wealth and extravagance conveyed by the “corrupt” court of Philip III.

This deliberate overhaul of the court's image might be dismissed simply as an expression of the contemporary political climate and of the power struggle marking the change of reign. In terms of art history, it would be of negligible interest, were it not for the fact that in the summer of 1623, only a few months after the publication of the regulations regarding collars, Diego Velázquez made his second visit to Madrid. Armed, this time, with a well-planned strategy and enjoying the support of the influential “Sevillian” sector at court, Velázquez succeeded in being appointed Painter to the King. Thereafter, he was to be responsible for shaping the court's image, and for finding the compositional and stylistic formulas best suited to conveying the ideals—austerity, commitment, duty and work—through which Philip IV and his ministers sought legitimacy and a means of distancing themselves from the previous regime. The portraits of the king and his advisors produced by Velázquez before his first visit to Italy in 1629 occupy a unique place in the history of the Spanish court portrait, and at the same time constitute a separate chapter in the artist's oeuvre. Following his return from Rome, and with the relaxation of the political pressure which had marked the beginning of Philip's reign, both the ideals of the court and the formulas governing the court portrait underwent parallel changes, tending towards a more conspicuous elegance.

This essay examines the portrait of *Philip III* donated by William B. Jordan (see fig. 1) within this striking and unique context, comparing it not only with other works by Velázquez, but also with portraits by other painters active in and around Madrid in the early seventeenth century.



Fig. 18: Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, *Philip III* (detail), c. 1601–2, oil on canvas. Innsbruck, Schloss Ambras, CG 9490

Fig. 19: Luis Tristán, *Portrait of an Elderly Man* (detail), c. 1620, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P1158

Though barely twenty-four when he entered the king's service, Velázquez had already acquired some experience in portraiture. While still in Seville, he is thought to have painted the portraits of *Cristóbal Suárez de Ribera* (Seville, Museo de Bellas Artes), *Sor Jerónima de la Fuente* (Madrid, Prado) and his father-in-law *Francisco Pacheco* (fig. 22), as well as several probable "likenesses" included in some of his religious paintings. On his first visit to Madrid, in 1622, he produced the portrait of Góngora now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Comparison of the Pacheco portrait, for example, with any of the court portraits reveals a number of striking differences, indicative of a different approach to portraiture as well as a different attitude towards the sitter. Velázquez's portrait of his father-in-law is a highly subtle composition, which makes copious use of highlights to create a face full of small blemishes and irregularities, in which the areas of shadow play a major role in creating a complex and elaborate whole. The framework provided by the superbly executed ruff serves to stress the countless subtle transitions between facial features which heighten the realism and immediacy of the portrait. Velázquez was not to produce another such nuanced face until the early 1630s. This approach to the face as an irregular surface is found in other early portraits by Velázquez—including those of Góngora and Sor Jerónima de la Fuente—and also in contemporary pieces by other painters, such as the portraits of a Carmelite friar and an old man (fig. 19) attributed to Luis Tristán, both in the Museo del Prado.

The complex handling of Pacheco's portrait stands in stark contrast to Velázquez's earliest likenesses of Philip IV, known to us mainly through the bust in the Meadows Museum (see fig. 23) and the full-length portrait in New York's Metropolitan Museum. Both paintings are clearly the result of a process of simplification and abstraction: the king's face is set against a light background, thus enabling sharper definition of his meticulously rendered facial features, his profile and his hair. The absence of blemishes and irregularities—ostensibly attributable to the sitter's youth and his smooth skin—in fact reflects deeper concerns relating to the Spanish court portrait tradition.

After the death of Alonso Sánchez Coello in 1588, Spanish court portraits underwent a clearly discernible process of simplification, evident in the earliest likenesses of Philip III by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz.<sup>2</sup> In Pantoja's 1601–2 portrait at Schloss Ambras (fig. 18), in the Hampton Court portrait painted in 1605 and in the Prado portrait of 1606 (see fig. 4), the king's face becomes progressively

Fig. 20: Pedro Antonio Vidal, *Philip III in Armour* (detail), 1617, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P.1950



Fig. 21: Fray Juan Bautista Maíno, *Portrait of a Gentleman* (detail), c. 1618–23, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P.2595



flatter; his key features are more sharply defined, and facial irregularities and skin blemishes gradually disappear. The same is true of Pantoja's portraits of Margaret of Austria, including the 1606 Prado portrait painted as a pendant to his Philip III.<sup>3</sup> Earlier evidence of the trend towards simplification can be found in certain portraits of Philip II, including one painted by Pantoja in around 1590, now at El Escorial.<sup>4</sup> Pantoja adhered to these formulas in all his portraits of the royal family and leading aristocrats and, on his death, his followers remained largely faithful to them: painters such as Bartolomé González, Pedro Antonio Vidal and Rodrigo de Villandrando drew on Pantoja's method of abstraction, though favouring a slightly more complex treatment of the face, evident in Vidal's portrait of *Philip III in Armour* (fig. 20), and in the works of Villandrando (see fig. 24).<sup>5</sup>

Interestingly, developments in portraiture outside the court often took a different direction. Pantoja himself, while adhering to the simplification process in his portraits of the king, the royal family and many nobles, adopted a different approach when dealing with other sitters. The modelling of the faces in his *Fray Hernando de Rojas* (private collection), painted in 1595, his 1601 *Portrait of a Knight of the Order of Santiago* (Madrid, Prado), his *Capuchin Friar*, produced in 1602 (Valencia, Museo de Bellas Artes) and his *Portrait of a Clergyman* of 1606 (Valladolid, Museo Nacional de Escultura) is much more complex than that of his royal portraits produced at the same time, testifying to a deliberate desire to capture individual facial flaws.<sup>6</sup> Similar trends were apparent among portrait painters elsewhere in Spain. In Toledo, El Greco's methods—learned during his time in Venice and Rome—were becoming popular, and were in some measure passed down to his student Luis Tristán.<sup>7</sup> In Toledo, Madrid and Seville, artists like Juan Bautista Maíno, Juan de Roelas and Velázquez himself sought to endow their portraits with a considerable degree of descriptive precision, shunning the constrained, abstract approach of court portraits in favour of a wealth of colour, material, light and detail. There were, of course, differences between them—in technique, in the construction of volumes, in pictorial treatment—which are readily apparent when comparing the meticulous descriptive technique of Maíno's *Portrait of a Gentleman*, painted roughly between 1618 and 1623 (fig. 21), with the free brushwork characteristic of Tristán's portraits.

In seeking reasons for this simplification, we must take into account, among other things, the expectation aroused by the royal "image" in its broadest sense, i.e. by the king's portraits and by his public

appearances.<sup>8</sup> As a figure invested with a “more than human” dignity, he was required to display a whole series of timeless virtues and characteristics which elevated him to a higher plane; this favoured a restriction of his expressive range and a refinement of his features. A sonnet by Luis Vélez de Guevara to the equestrian statue of Philip IV abounds in terms such as “peacefulness”, “strength”, “ferocity”, “pleasure” and “royal authority”;<sup>9</sup> and these connotations extended to other powerful figures at court. In a poem addressed to a portrait of the Count-Duke of Olivares, José García de Salcedo Coronel draws attention to the sitter’s “severely affable majesty” and his “sweet masterfulness, fearsome gravity.”<sup>10</sup>

Up until the 1620s, then, two major trends were discernible in Spanish portraiture, often within the work of a single artist: one was linked to the representation of the royal family, the other to that of sitters beyond the court. Arriving in Madrid in 1623, Velázquez was obliged to forsake his earlier methods and cater to the expectations aroused by the court portrait. He had probably become aware of this when visiting the capital a year earlier; indeed, the modelling of Góngora’s face in his 1622 portrait can be seen as a kind of bridge between his Seville portraits and his first portraits of Philip IV.

The process of abstraction evident in Velázquez’s early portraits of the king undoubtedly reflects the influence of a tradition that had been current until very recently; at the same time, however, it marks a highly significant departure from that tradition. This becomes apparent when comparing two images produced at roughly the same time: *Prince Philip and the Dwarf Miguel Soplillo*, painted by Rodrigo de Villandrando in around 1620 (fig. 24), and Velázquez’s first portraits of Philip IV (Metropolitan and fig. 23).<sup>11</sup> Examination of the composition and the clothing in these paintings, and of their meaning, provides an outstanding visual illustration of the extraordinary shift in court policy over the three intervening years: the wealth of opulent fabrics, jewels and adornments in the

Fig. 22: Diego Velázquez,  
*Francisco Pacheco*, c. 1620,  
oil on canvas, 41 x 36 cm.  
Madrid, Museo Nacional  
del Prado, P-1209





Fig. 23: Diego Velázquez, *Philip IV* (detail), c. 1623–24, oil on canvas. Dallas, Meadows Museum, Algur H. Meadows Collection, MM.67.23



Fig. 24: Rodrigo de Villandrando, *Prince Philip and the Dwarf Miguel Soplillo* (detail), c. 1620, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P.1234

Villandrando portrait stands in stark contrast to the sober colours, austere clothing, compositional rigour and allusions to the work of government in Velázquez's canvases, which were thus helping to construct the image of an earnest, serious-minded monarch.<sup>12</sup> More to our purpose here, however, are the differences in the way faces are modelled and likenesses conveyed.

Prince Philip's face in the Villandrando portrait draws directly on the earlier tradition. His features are finely modelled and contrasts are carefully subdued, leaving only the slightest areas of shadow around the eyes, nose and mouth. The result is an almost smooth, unflawed surface, broken only by the hairline above the forehead. Villandrando adopted a similar approach to another portrait of Philip—by now king—painted in 1622.<sup>13</sup> By contrast, the monarch's head in Velázquez's early portraits, for example the Meadows bust, is considerably more powerful, attaining almost sculptural dimensions. This effect is achieved by various means. The flat collar serves to isolate the head from the rest of the body, whereas the high ruff helps to merge head and body. Velázquez's modelling also heightens the "in the round" effect, by sharply defining the various spatial planes of the face; eyes, nose and mouth are rendered with a force not to be found in Villandrando's portrait. Moreover, Velázquez makes good use of shadow for modelling purposes, whereas in the royal portraits of the previous twenty years shadows are scarcely to be found. In the early portraits of Philip IV, the shadow stretches along the hairline, encircles the eye sockets and, above all, runs from the nose into the left cheek and from the head itself to the right portion of the cloth collar. All this gives rise to a clearly defined volume, heightened by deft modelling in a combination of pink and milky tones interspersed with highlights that give shape to the whole head: on the eyes, the upper part of the nose and the left side of the lower lip. Using this technique, Velázquez was able to





Fig. 25: Diego Velázquez, *Philip IV*, 1623 and 1628, oil on canvas, 198 x 101.5 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P1182



Fig. 26: Diego Velázquez, *The Infante Don Carlos*, c. 1627–28, oil on canvas, 209 x 125 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P1188

remain faithful to the synthetic, abstract approach characteristic of the court portrait tradition, whilst still achieving a powerful presence; heads and bodies come across as clearly three-dimensional, occupying a precise position in space.

Given Velázquez's pre-eminent status within the hierarchy of court painters, it is hardly surprising that his early portraits should serve as a model for those painted after 1623. The face of the Meadows bust recurs in the first full-length standing portrait of *Philip IV*, in the Prado (figs. 16 and 25), which was reworked a few years later, as well as in several subsequent versions, including the full-length portrait in the Metropolitan—in which the use of tracing has been documented<sup>14</sup>—and the poorer quality version in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It was also used in other

Fig. 27: Diego Velázquez, *Philip III* (detail), 1627, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

Fig. 28: Diego Velázquez, *Philip IV in Armour* (detail), c. 1627–28, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P.1183



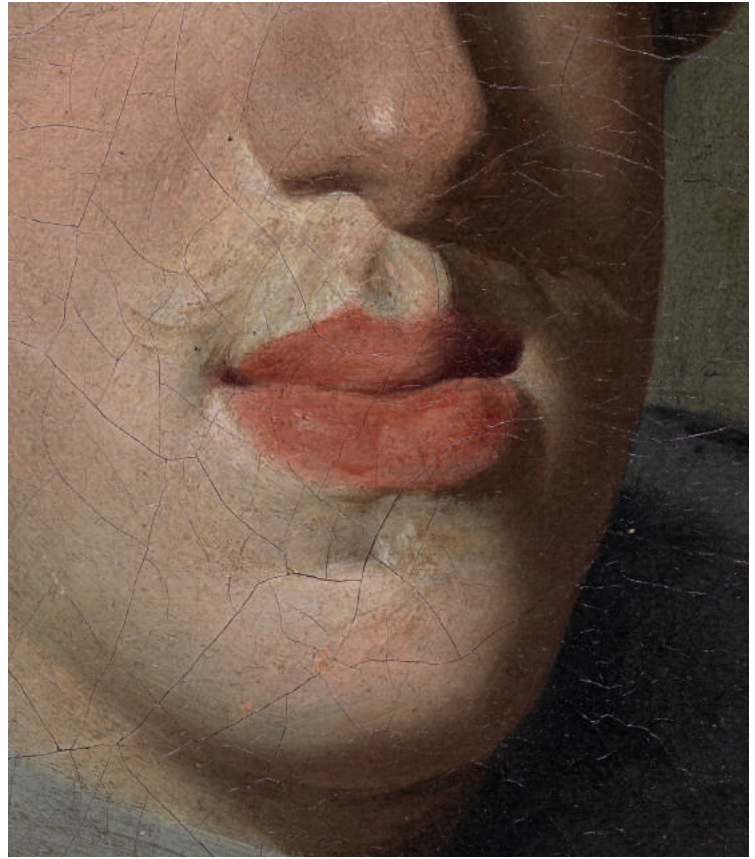
portraits, including an anonymous version belonging to a Madrid private collection, in which the king is dressed in a gold-embroidered costume,<sup>15</sup> and as the basis for portraits of the monarch attributed to the circles of Gaspar de Crayer and Maíno.<sup>16</sup>

Immediately after completing his first paintings of Philip IV, Velázquez produced a series of portraits of the king's favourite, the Count-Duke of Olivares, who is thought to have played a crucial role in Velázquez's initial appointment as court painter. Surviving testimonies of this venture are the full-length portraits in São Paulo and in the Hispanic Society (see fig. 13), and the engraving by Paulus Pontius after a portrait by Velázquez (Madrid, Prado, G.2289). These pieces highlight Velázquez's ability to convey not just the king's abstract, semi-divine power but also the effective power, energy and determination of his chief minister.<sup>17</sup> His rendering of the face suggests representational strategies similar to those informing his early portraits of the king, for example in the use of shadow to highlight facial features, which are clearly defined. Compared to Philip's milky complexion, the skin tones of Olivares' face are rendered with a more varied palette, in which frequent tawny hues help to shape the features, providing a particularly effective means of defining the cheeks and nose.

Although Velázquez painted an equestrian portrait of Philip IV in around 1625, it appears to have been lost in the late seventeenth century, so that the next major episode in the artist's career as court portraitist did not come until 1627–28, when he painted two portraits of the king and a likeness of his brother, the Infante Don Carlos (fig. 26), all in the Museo del Prado. The face in his bust-length painting of the king in armour (fig. 28) was traced from that of the full-length portrait (figs. 16 and 25),<sup>18</sup> painted in around 1623–24 and—as we have seen—reworked three or four years later. Over the intervening period, things had changed: Philip IV was no longer a fresh-faced youth of barely eighteen, but a more mature ruler, by now twenty-two or twenty-three years old. Prompted, in all probability, by a desire to update the royal image and convey the greater dignity of his countenance, Velázquez reworked the portrait; the result was thereafter to provide a model for many



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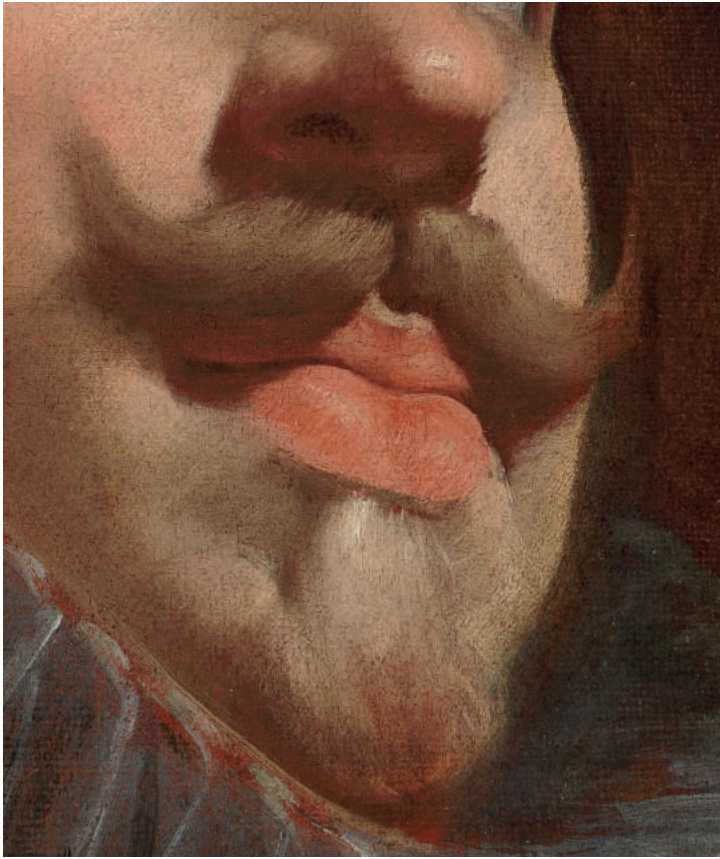
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Figs. 29 and 30: Details of *Philip IV*, c. 1623–24, Meadows Museum (29), and *Philip IV*, c. 1623, retouched in 1628, Museo Nacional del Prado (30)

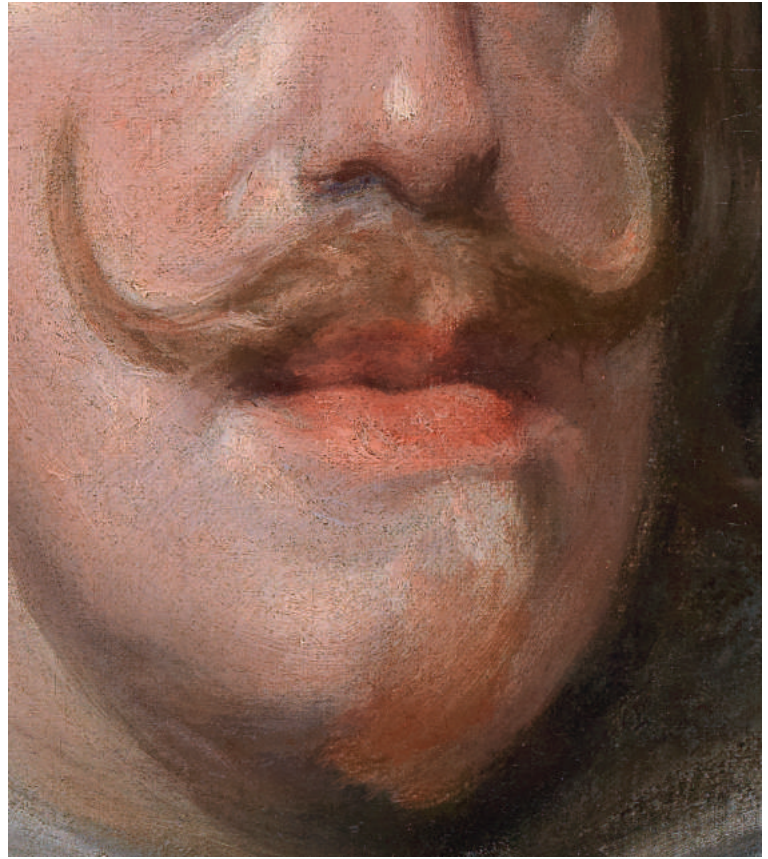
others.<sup>19</sup> Over this period, he had ample opportunity to work on other royal portraits and reflect on the whole genre; the fruit of those reflections is apparent in his later work.

Although the image conveyed in the early portraits provides a starting point for the likenesses produced in 1627–28, they differ in a number of respects. The overall approach is similar: the flat collar is used to frame the head and receive its shadow, thus creating a powerful “in the round” effect, heightened by the light background; the contrast of light and shadow continues to contribute effectively to the modelling of the face; the king’s milky complexion is rendered more complex and vital by pink skin tones at certain points. Beyond these shared features, however, the new image of Philip IV has undergone two major developments. First, his face has become sharper, particularly where the right lower jaw meets the collar; this change is matched by a general modification of the composition, in which the space between the king’s legs has been strikingly reduced in order to give him a more slender appearance. At the same time, the rendering of the head is much more subtle: the hair is more delicately treated, with highlights capturing the shine of the front curl and shadows where it is lifted from the forehead; the full lips are modelled in a subtle gradation of carmine tones to convey a cushioning effect not found in the earlier, simpler portraits; the highlights used to model the main features (forehead, eyes, nose and lips), though distributed in a similar manner, are lighter and more delicate; the eyebrows are more solidly defined; and the distribution of highlights and blending of rose and ivory tones used to render the face are generally more subtle, yielding a smoother complexion in which transitions are gentle, delicate and, at the same time, effective.

The area around the mouth is of particular interest: the lips, as we have already noted, are deftly modelled using subtly varied shades of carmine, while small creases and dimples effectively



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Figs. 31 and 32: Details of *Philip III*, 1627 (31) and *Philip IV*, c. 1653 (32), Museo Nacional del Prado

capture the relief and volume of that area, especially at the corners of the mouth and below the lips, which are at once more carefully rendered and less contrasted than in the early portraits.

The modelling technique used for this second set of royal likenesses is also to be found in Velázquez's portrait of the Infante Don Carlos (see fig. 26). The king's brother was born in 1607, and in the portrait appears to be around twenty. The features, of course, are different, and the skin tones are also somewhat darker; but the modelling is similar, sharing many of the technical features noted earlier. The faint line of light running from the upper part of the nose to the highlight at the tip is finely and delicately rendered, creating a highly effective continuum.

In July 1629, only about two years after painting these portraits, Velázquez set out for Italy. The royal portraits he produced on his return—though still owing much to those painted in 1627–28—marked a crucial shift in terms of facture and overall conceptualization; thereafter, colour and shading were to play a much greater role. We may thus conclude that the second chapter in the history of Velázquez's court portraits, albeit marked by its own strong personality, was very short-lived, lasting roughly from 1627 to 1629. This, together with other factors examined elsewhere in this catalogue, will help us to fix the dates between which the likeness of *Philip III* was produced.

Any analysis of this picture in relation to other works is necessarily subject to certain caveats: it is a sketch, and therefore the degree of finish varies over the pictorial surface; it is not, strictly speaking, a "portrait", since it was not painted "from life", indeed, the painter—presumably Velázquez—never actually met the sitter; it differs from the portraits discussed earlier in that the king is not looking at the viewer, and the marked upward turn of his head suggests that it was intended

as part of a narrative scene; finally, after a highly eventful history, the picture has survived in a delicate state of conservation, and some of its original aesthetic attributes have therefore been lost.

Even so, when attempting to situate this work within the development of the Spanish court portrait under Philip III and during the early years of his son's reign, we can be in no doubt that it fits into a very precise context. In terms of its modelling, the rounded volumes and descriptive precision of this picture, together with the artist's evident desire to achieve an "in the round" effect, set it clearly apart from the work of Pantoja and his followers, so that it cannot be compared to any portraits of Philip III produced in the king's lifetime. However, similarities start to emerge when it is viewed alongside Velázquez's likenesses of Philip IV. It shares with his earliest portraits an obvious interest in chiaroscuro, evident not just in the shadows cast by the nose and the moustache, but also in those created along the hairline, which follow a highly characteristic formula; this, as we have seen, distinguishes Velázquez's work from earlier court portraits. It also shares with the court portraits painted by Velázquez in the 1620s a preference for the use of highlights to convey facial expression and, of course, for clearly defined, rounded volumes; at the same time, it adheres to the process of abstraction and synthesis characteristic of royal portraits. While this likeness of *Philip III* has certain features in common with the portraits of his son in the Meadows Museum and the Metropolitan, produced in 1623–24, it bears an even stronger resemblance to the Prado portraits painted in 1627 and 1628. There is a marked similarity, for example, in the rendering of the lips and the whole mouth area: while the lips in the Meadows portrait (fig. 29) are largely uniform, those of the Prado portraits (figs. 30 and 32)—as we noted earlier—are fleshy, cushioned and realistic. This effect is achieved partly by a certain lack of definition at the point where the lower lip meets the chin; the artist deliberately creates an ambiguous transitional area using fine brushstrokes. The same technique is evident in the likeness of *Philip III* (see fig. 1), in which the lips are defined by means of a masterly gradation of carmine tones together with subtle highlighting. Comparison of the way all three portraits use creases and dimples to define the corners of the mouth and the start of the chin shows that the likeness of *Philip III* bears a stronger resemblance to the Prado portraits of his son than to the Meadows and Metropolitan portraits. In the sequence of faces discussed above, therefore, it is much closer to the portraits produced in 1627–28 than to the two earlier likenesses.

Yet while the picture recently donated to the Museo del Prado fits comfortably into this second "chapter" of royal portraits by Velázquez, it also bears comparison with some of his later works. Of these, the most surprisingly similar is the portrait of Philip IV painted in around 1653 (figs. 32 and 38), remarkable for its outstandingly confident execution; striking features include Velázquez's rendering of the chin area, including a somewhat equivocal goatee beard constructed by light and reddish highlighting, a formula used earlier in the likeness of *Philip III*, in which the reddish tones are provided by the unpainted ground.

As we have seen, the likeness of *Philip III* has certain features in common with the royal portraits painted by Velázquez between 1623 and 1628; these shared similarities, coupled with the technical findings and historical-artistic considerations discussed elsewhere in this catalogue, certainly point to Velázquez as the artist. But in order to confirm that attribution, it might be useful to examine the style of other contemporary portrait painters.

Given that, in terms of its conceptualisation and execution, the picture fits neatly into the second "chapter" of portraits of Philip IV by Velázquez, it seems appropriate to focus on those painters active in the 1620s. Although Vicente Carducho referred, shortly afterwards, to the proliferation of portraits lately to be found in Spain,<sup>20</sup> not many are recorded as being produced in this period, and few active artists in those years are known to have produced significant numbers of portraits.

Fig. 33: Vicente Carducho, *Death of the Venerable Odo of Novara* (detail), 1632, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P-639



Since the painting depicts Philip III, and can be tentatively dated to the 1620s, it could well be linked (as William B. Jordan suggests in his essay for this catalogue) to the painting competition held by Philip IV in 1627, whose set subject was to be the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain; this is the only historical scene involving Philip III known to have been painted in those years. Velázquez's rivals in the competition were Eugenio Cajés, Vicente Carducho and Angelo Nardi.<sup>21</sup> None of them specialised in portraiture, and some—notably Carducho—nursed a Classicist prejudice against the genre. But they were all “history” painters, whose compositions sometimes included leading contemporary figures. Surviving likenesses by Carducho include a *Self-Portrait* (Glasgow, Pollok House), and several battle scenes painted for the Hall of Realms (1634–35) and other scenes intended for the Carthusian Monastery of El Paular (1626 onwards), in which he incorporated “portraits” of living or recently deceased figures, among them Carducho himself, Lope de Vega, Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba and the Duke of Feria. Though of uneven quality, the painterly procedures clearly differ from those of the portrait of *Philip III*; this is evident, for example, in his rendering of the play of light on the witnesses' faces in his *Death of the Venerable Odo of Novara* (fig. 33), painted in 1632. The precise modelling and use of spatial planes in *Philip III* is not to be found in known works by Cajés or Nardi.<sup>22</sup>

Other artists active in Madrid in the 1620s, and who are known to have painted portraits, include Felipe Diricksen, Juan van der Hamen and Juan Bautista Maíno. Diricksen, who before 1621 had depicted the *Entry of Philip III into Lisbon*,<sup>23</sup> produced a portrait of Mary of Hungary (fig. 34),<sup>24</sup> signed in around 1630: the modelling of her face is more homogeneous than in Velázquez's portraits of *Philip IV* and the *Infante Don Carlos*, or in this likeness of *Philip III*, since Diricksen dispenses with the chiaroscuro used by Velázquez as a means of shaping facial features; he also handles light differently. Van der Hamen is thought to have painted several portraits in the 1620s. His likeness of *Francisco de la Cueva*, produced in around 1625 (Madrid, Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando) and his recently attributed 1628 portrait of Lope de Vega<sup>25</sup> differ considerably from the



Fig. 34: Felipe Diricksen, *Doña María de Hungría* (detail), c. 1630, oil on canvas. Cartea Fine Arts Gallery, Madrid



Fig. 35: Juan van der Hamen, *Portrait of a Dwarf* (detail), c. 1626, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P.7065

likeness of *Philip III* in terms of their attention to descriptive detail. The faces in the court portraits attributed to him—including the pair in the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan—are derived from Velázquez’s models, while in some of his most successful portraits, such as the 1626 *Count of Solre* (private collection) and especially *Portrait of a Dwarf* (fig. 35), the highly characteristic distribution of light and a marked preference for painstaking description, evident in the modelling of eyebrows, nose, moustache and beard, bear little resemblance to the approach used here for *Philip III*. Other, more summary portraits—for example, the likeness of his brother Lorenzo included in his *Adoration of the Apocalyptic Lamb* (1625, Madrid, Convent of la Encarnación) and his portrait of Lorenzo at the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan—place him clearly outside the milieu examined in this catalogue.<sup>26</sup>

Likenesses by Maíno include his signed *Portrait of a Gentleman* (fig. 21), a number of portraits attributed to him, several figures featured in “historical scenes”, among them various possible self-portraits, as well as the protagonists of *The Recapture of Bahía de Todos los Santos* (fig. 36). This latter picture, painted in 1634–35, and the *Portrait of a Gentleman*, whose costume dates from prior to February 1923, provide the best idea of Maíno’s approach as a portrait painter. In the exquisite *Portrait of a Gentleman*—a highly original contribution to contemporary Spanish portraiture<sup>27</sup>—Maíno’s volumetric rendering of the head bears a certain resemblance to Velázquez’s early portraits of Philip IV. Yet his striking interest in minutely detailed description places his portraits closer to the best later works by Van der Hamen than to the likeness of *Philip III* or to any portraits by Velázquez. This meticulous approach is evident not only in his rendering of the moustache and beard, but also in his detailed description of colour variations in the sitter’s skin, and of the wrinkles in his forehead and beside his nose. The portrait of Philip IV included in *The Recapture of Bahía de Todos los Santos*, the miniature bearing a likeness of the king (Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum) and the portrait of *Fray Alonso de Santo Tomás*, Philip IV’s natural son (Barcelona, MNAC) confirm that Maíno’s representations of royalty tended to be much more sketchy than either the likeness of *Philip III* or the portraits produced by Velázquez in the 1620s.<sup>28</sup> In short, none of the

portraits painted between 1615 and 1630 bear a stronger resemblance to the likeness of *Philip III* than those produced by Velázquez, particularly during the second “chapter” of his career.

In general terms, when dealing with portraits of the royal family, it cannot automatically be assumed that they were entirely the work of the painter. A range of other possibilities exists: the portrait may be catalogued as an original autograph prototype; an autograph version; a painting produced in part or even entirely by the artist’s workshop; or a painting based on models by the artist, who was not personally involved at any stage in its execution. In the case of the likeness of *Philip III*, the range of possibilities is drastically reduced, since it is a sketch, and is therefore “unfinished” in terms of the expectations aroused by the portrait at that time, and thus unlikely to be a copy of an earlier work. As indicated elsewhere in this catalogue, the painting was later “finished”, as is evident from a nineteenth-century copy (see fig. 41). If the intended use of this picture were not sufficient to confirm it as an original, its quality certainly suffices: its spontaneous facture—particularly evident in the rendering of the collar and the treatment of the chin—clearly indicate that the most vivid surviving image of Philip III was in all probability painted after his death, by an artist who never actually met him.



Fig. 36: Fray Juan Bautista Maíno,  
*The Recapture of Bahía de Todos los Santos*  
(detail), c. 1634–35, oil on canvas.  
Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado,  
P.885



## NOTES ON A SKETCH: PHILIP III AND TECHNICAL DATA ON VELÁZQUEZ

JAIME GARCÍA-MÁIQUEZ / M.<sup>a</sup> DOLORES GAYO

In November 2015, a likeness of Philip III attributed to Velázquez—possibly a sketch of the king’s face for his *Expulsion of the Moriscos*—entered the Museo del Prado, marking the start of a remarkably challenging investigation which, in technical terms, has thrown new light on Velázquez’s creative process.

Velázquez produced numerous head and bust-length portraits in the course of his career. Some were intended as independent portraits, others were meant to serve as models, as copies or *ricordi*, or—less commonly—as sketches. In technical terms, each presents its own distinctive features, which undermine any attempt to draw general conclusions.

The few pictures assumed to have been intended as sketches are not readily classifiable in artistic terms, and little is known of the historical context in which they were produced, which hinders their interpretation. Apart from the *Study for the Head of Apollo* (36 x 25 cm, New York, private collection), accepted as a sketch for *Vulcan’s Forge* (Madrid, Prado), and the *Saint Anthony Abbot* (New York, private collection) intended for *Saint Anthony Abbot and Saint Paul the Hermit* (Madrid, Prado), whose authorship remains uncertain, some historians regard the following as sketches: the portrait of *Francesco I d’Este* (c. 1638–39, 68 x 51 cm, Modena, Galleria Estense), meant as the basis for an equestrian portrait that Velázquez never actually painted, whose size and degree of finish are those of a studio model rather than a sketch; the *Portrait of a Young Girl* (c. 1638–42, 51.5 x 41 cm, fig. 37); the likeness of *María Teresa, Infanta of Spain* (c. 1651–54, 34 x 40 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum), whose level of finish suggests it might be a portrait cut out from a larger canvas; and, sketchiest of all, the *Portrait of Queen Mariana* (c. 1656, 46.7 x 43.5 cm, see fig. 10). In terms of technique, we might add to this list the late *Philip IV* produced around 1653 (fig. 38), a portrait used as a pattern for numerous copies, thus serving as a reminder that the boundary between model and sketch is not always readily traced.<sup>1</sup>

Even if we accept all of these as sketches, each evidently has its own particular features, and none of them bear a strong resemblance to the likeness of *Philip III* under discussion here (see fig. 1), perhaps because—as suggested elsewhere in this book—they were not intended specifically as working tools. A catalogue raisonné of Velázquez’s drawings, had it existed, might have helped to draw parallels between his approach to certain preparatory underdrawings and his handling of the sketch of *Philip III*.

Yet they do have one feature in common: they are generally accepted as the work of Velázquez. To a varying degree, they bear the clearly visible stamp of a style and technique that can be traced to a specific stage in his career. The likeness of *Francesco I d’Este*, for example, is similar in some respects to the portrait of *Juan Francisco de Pimentel, Count of Benavente* (c. 1648, Madrid, Prado), although the bright colours and free brushstrokes of the latter suggest that it was painted around ten years later. In the same way, the handling of the sitter’s face and hair in the sketch of *María Teresa, Infanta of Spain* is reminiscent of *Doña María of Austria, Queen of Hungary* (c. 1630, Madrid,

Fig. 37: Diego Velázquez, *Portrait of a Young Girl*, c. 1638–42, oil on canvas, 51.5 x 41 cm. New York, The Hispanic Society of America, A108



Fig. 38: Diego Velázquez, *Philip IV*, c. 1653, oil on canvas, 69.3 x 56.5 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P1185



Prado), whilst the *Portrait of Queen Mariana* contains echoes of the Hispanic Society's *Portrait of a Young Girl*, and the 1653 portrait of *Philip IV* is very similar, in technical terms, to the *Portrait of a Young Man* (c. 1627, Munich, Alte Pinakothek), painted almost thirty years earlier.

This study aimed to seek evidence of that “stamp”, characteristic of Velázquez's paintings, in the oil sketch of *Philip III*; to decipher, as far as possible, whatever has survived of the artist's DNA, and determine whether it coincides with paintings safely attributable to him, which entered the Museo del Prado from the Royal Collection and are in an excellent state of repair. In order to ensure the most accurate analysis, certain constraints—the fact that this is a sketch, the material used in its production, its current state of repair—were borne in mind.

## The Support

Like all Velázquez's known works, the sketch of *Philip III* was painted on a plain-weave canvas of the type favoured by most painters. Given its widespread use, this information is inconclusive.

The warp/weft thread density of the canvas is around 14/12 threads per square centimetre. Technical analyses of other paintings by Velázquez<sup>2</sup> show that the plain-weave canvases he used both in Seville and during his early years in Madrid varied in density. The coarsest, with a thread density of 11–10/8–11, are to be found in Seville paintings like *Mother Jerónima de la Fuente* (1620, Madrid, Prado) and *Francisco Pacheco* (c. 1620, see fig. 22) as well as in early Madrid works, among them *Portrait of a Man* (c. 1623, Madrid, Prado), the full-length *Philip IV* (1623 and 1628, see fig. 25) and *The Infante Don Carlos* (c. 1627–28, see fig. 26). Finer canvases, with a thread density of around 13–16/11–13, were also used for paintings produced in Madrid, such as *Head of a Deer* (c. 1626–36, Madrid, Prado), the *Count-Duke of Olivares* (Madrid, Várez Fisa collection) and *The Feast of Bacchus* (c. 1628–29, Madrid, Prado). After his first trip to Italy, perhaps influenced by Rubens,<sup>3</sup> he opted for a higher thread density of around 18–19/15–16, a preference he largely maintained thereafter. Only in late masterpieces such as *The Fable of Arachne* (c. 1655–60), *Las Meninas* (1656) and *Mercury and Argos* (c. 1659) do we find a return to low thread densities of 12–13/11–12, recalling the finer canvases of his early years in Madrid.

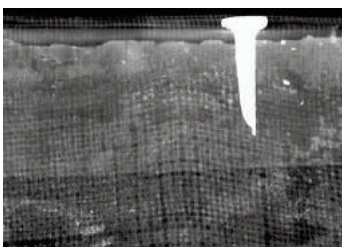


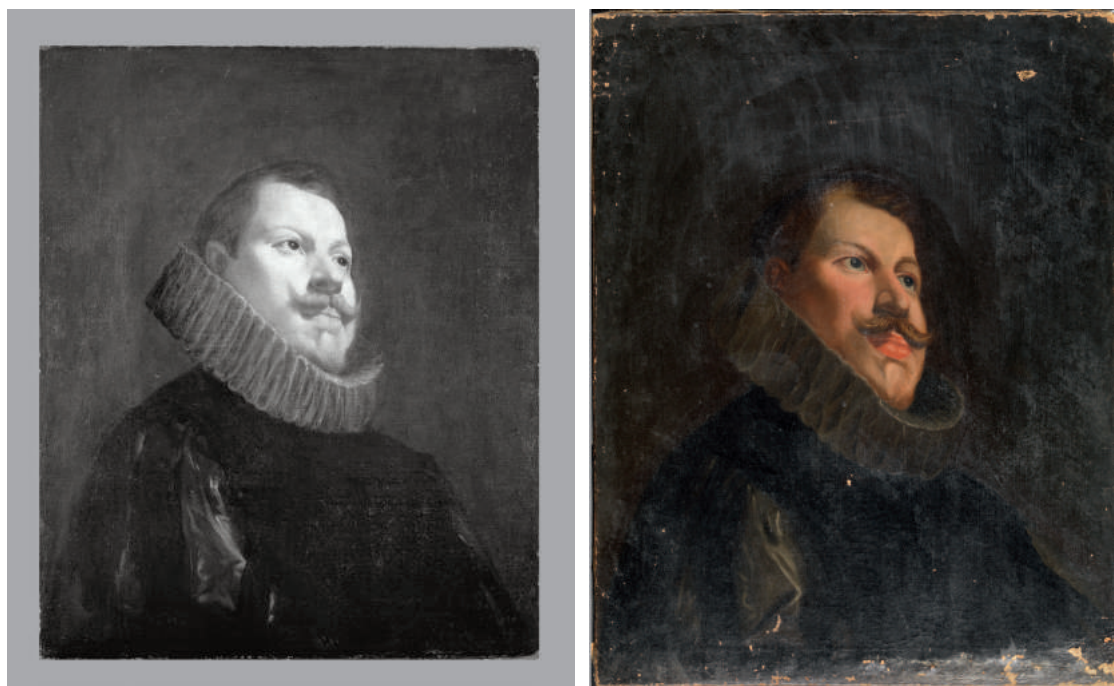
Fig. 39: Radiograph of upper part of *Philip III* showing cusping: scalloping in the canvas due to tension caused by tacking to the stretcher

Judging by thread density, then, the likeness of *Philip III* would appear to have been produced during his early years in Madrid: the canvases used in Seville were somewhat coarser, while those used after his return from Italy were finer. However, there was a return to coarser canvases towards the end of his career. This conclusion is admittedly limited, since few technical studies of seventeenth-century Madrid paintings provide details on canvas thread density which might allow for a comparison between the canvas of *Philip III* and those used by other contemporary artists.

Further information can be gleaned from the canvas by x-ray analysis of the effects of cusping (fig. 39). When a painting is tacked to its first stretcher, the edges of the canvas undergo a distinctive deformation due to the stretching caused by the tacks; this is evident on x-radiographs in the intensity of the material used in preparing the canvas. Even when a canvas is enlarged by adding new strips—the portrait of *The Infante Don Carlos* provides a contemporary example—the cusping on the original edges remains visible; that cusping is appreciable in the likeness of *Philip III*, as well as on x-ray images of the original canvas of another enlarged picture, the *Fable of Arachne*.

Conversely, when a *canvas* is cropped, the cusping may disappear at the affected sides. By measuring the intensity of the distortion at the uncropped edges, a hypothetical estimation can be made

Figs. 40 and 41: *Philip III* when purchased at auction (62.9 x 51 cm) and copy made by Carmen Barrantes in Madrid in around 1820 (69 x 53.5 cm), property of Óscar Hernangómez



of the number of centimetres that have been lost. Cropped Velázquez canvases at the Prado include *The Feast of Bacchus* (trimmed on the upper and right sides); the *Portrait of Sebastián de Morra* (1644), from which a few centimetres were removed from the right edge; and the *Apostle's Head* (c. 1619–20), now measuring 38 x 23 cm, which was cut down so drastically that the original cusping is no longer even visible, and must therefore once have been considerably larger.

In x-radiographs of *Philip III*, cusping is visible only at the top side of the painting, and distortion can be traced as far as 10 cm down the canvas. No cusping is visible elsewhere, which means that we must add at least 10 cm on the other three sides. In other words, if the sketch now measures 45.9 x 37 cm, the original must have measured at least 56.5 x 57 cm. Given the proportion of height to width, it would seem reasonable to assume, hypothetically, that the original dimensions were around 70 x 57 cm. This was a standard size, used for other models by Velázquez, including the Meadows' *Philip IV* (c. 1623–24, 61.9 x 48.9 cm, see fig. 23), *Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivares* (c. 1638, 64 x 54 cm, Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum), *Francesco I d'Este* at the Galleria Estense (c. 1638–39, 68 x 51 cm), and his late *Philip IV* (c. 1653, 69.3 x 56.5 cm, see fig. 38).

However, the assumption that *Philip III* originally measured 70 x 57 cm poses a problem. The creative effort in this painting is focused on the king's face, which, if the original were that size, would account for only 6.5% of the canvas, the remaining 93.5% being background. This ratio is wholly excessive, given the remarkably scarce resources used to render the king's hair and ruff. The painter's intention was clearly to produce not an independent work of art but rather a tool which would enable him to address, beforehand, the potential challenges involved in drawing and lighting a face—which was not being copied from life—placed in a different position from that of a conventional portrait.

The painting with the added strips—and thus also the copy made by Carmen Barrantes Manuel de Aragón in around 1820—measures practically 70 x 57 cm, and is therefore of a size appropriate to a half-length portrait (figs. 40 and 41).<sup>4</sup> Yet, as we have seen, this is at odds with the technique used. Whoever enlarged the picture must have been aware of this: after adding strips of canvas

Fig. 42: Radiograph of *Philip III* prior to the 1988 restoration, showing canvas strips glued to the lining canvas



around the whole perimeter, he or she saw fit to give the ruff, the ear and the hair a more finished appearance, and to invent part of the costume, focussing precisely on those areas of least interest to the original artist, who had sketched them in very swiftly. Although the idea and the work behind the enlargement were acceptable, the result—known to us through photographs taken prior to its restoration in 1988—is unconvincing; the king's posture, expression and gaze run counter to contemporary portrait conventions.

In order to address this dilemma we must examine a third possibility, based on a different interpretation of the x-radiographs. The support used for *Philip III* may have come from a canvas tacked to another stretcher, intended for a different painting which, in this case, was never produced.

Off-cuts were quite often used, and technical findings suggest that, for a number of reasons, Velázquez himself took advantage of pieces left over from larger canvases—mounted on stretchers and in some cases even painted—to produce minor works. He did so with *Francisco Pacheco* (see fig. 22), *Doña María of Austria, Queen of Hungary* (Madrid, Prado), the *Self-Portrait* painted in around 1645 (Valencia, Museo de Bellas Artes de San Pío) and the late portrait of *Philip IV* (see fig. 38).

Technical analysis of the support thus leads to the conclusion that the sketch of *Philip III* was probably painted on an off-cut salvaged from another canvas, and that its original size—roughly 44 x 34 cm—was not greatly different from its present size of 45.9 x 37 cm.

As indicated earlier, the picture was enlarged, perhaps in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The edges of the original support were repaired, and strips of canvas were added by pasting to a lining canvas; these strips, cut from an already painted canvas, are clearly visible on an x-radiograph taken prior to the 1988 restoration (fig. 42), although it has proved impossible to decipher the original painting. During restoration, the picture was returned to roughly its original size; the added strips were removed (some threads are still visible at the edges of the current x-radiograph), and a few centimetres of the lining canvas were left intact—currently folded back and tacked—in order to provide some compositional relief.<sup>5</sup>

### *The Preparatory Layers*

Another element requiring analysis is the nature of the ground applied to the canvas. The composition of ground layers may be specific to a given region, and thus provide invaluable information regarding the place where a painting was produced.<sup>6</sup>

A number of technical studies have focused on the materials used in seventeenth-century Spanish paintings on canvas, including works belonging to the Museo Nacional del Prado. By examining microsamples, the Museum's Analytical Laboratory has been able to chart the development of ground layers and also to document the various practices used in Spain.<sup>7</sup>

In Madrid, double ground layers were common throughout the seventeenth century. First, a greyish size of wood ash was applied to the raw canvas; after washing, an animal glue binding was applied. Next came an oil-based imprimatura, usually in reddish tones, composed largely of earth pigments. This method of preparing canvas supports is amongst those described by the two major writers on Spanish painting in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Francisco Pacheco and Antonio Palomino. Both provide detailed descriptions of the procedures and materials employed; indeed, Pacheco even refers specifically to the method used in Madrid, which is of particular interest for our present purposes.<sup>8</sup>

This type of preparation is to be found in the works produced by Velázquez at court between 1623 and 1629. On arriving in Madrid, the artist wholly abandoned the dark brown primer he had used in Seville, in favour of a red layer of earth pigments with a highly uniform composition.<sup>9</sup> The ground layers of the sketch of *Philip III* comprise an ash-based size applied to the raw canvas, followed by a red imprimatura similar to those used by Velázquez in paintings of this period (figs. 43 to 46).

The same kind of ground has been found in other Prado works painted in Madrid, including *Saint Dominic in Soriano* by Juan Bautista Maíno, produced in around 1629, and Felipe Diricksen's *Christ Carrying the Cross, Contemplated by Mary and the Christian Soul*, painted between 1630 and 1650. Although a study of other Maíno canvases shows that this preparation varied from his usual

practice, his *Saint Dominic* dates from the period during which the sketch of Philip III is thought to have been painted. There is thus evidence that artists linked to Philip III and Philip IV used the same kind of ground layers.<sup>10</sup>

As indicated earlier, the red tonality of the primer commonly used in Madrid tended to vary, giving rise to significant differences in the final composition of the ground; these have been observed in the imprimatura used by other painters active in Madrid in the 1620s, among them Eugenio Cajés, Juan van der Hamen, Angelo Nardi and Pedro Núñez del Valle. The primer in these latter works, though generally reddish in tone, also incorporates varying amounts of umber, a brown manganese-containing pigment which darkens the final tone of the ground layer; it can thus be distinguished from those found in works by Velázquez, and also in the three paintings mentioned above: the sketch of *Philip III* and the paintings by Maíno and Diricksen.

A further element of interest is the size of the pigment grains in the imprimatura. Coarse grains have been observed in works by Cajés and Van der Hamen. A third type of ground layer, involving a double layer of primer, is to be found in a series of paintings by Angelo Nardi—one of the artists taking part in the *Expulsion of the Moriscos* competition—for the Convent of Las Bernardas in Alcalá de Henares: a red, more fluid layer underneath a darker, compact layer.<sup>11</sup> The use of different imprimaturas during the same period and in the same place may well reflect the involvement of specialist workshops where Madrid painters could buy canvases ready-sized and grounded.

Vicente Carducho merits particular attention, because he was a leading court painter (as indeed he was under Philip III), worked closely with Velázquez and also took part in the *Expulsion of the Moriscos*. A significant change of colour can be observed in the grounds of his paintings in the Prado. Most of the pictures painted between 1626 and 1632 for the El Paular Carthusian monastery have a light brown primer, though some have a slightly reddish hue. The imprimatura is also light brown in *The Storming of Rheinfelden*, painted in around 1634–35, but dark brown in *The Holy Family* (1631), red in *The Miraculous Return of Saint John of Matha* (1634–35), and practically black in the *Colossal Male Head* (c. 1635). One feature common to all these, however, is the distinctive use of a whitish, magnesium-rich clay mixed with coloured materials, which distinguishes the paintings in this series from those mentioned above, including the sketch of *Philip III*.

To conclude, the ground layers of *Philip III* present three features of interest: the ash size suggests that it was painted in Madrid, where—thanks to painting treatises and analyses of materials—this is known to have been a common practice; the combination of the size layer with a certain kind of red imprimatura links the sketch to Velázquez, but also to other court painters such as Maíno and Diricksen; finally, if we accept that the sketch is by Velázquez, it must have been produced at a specific point in his career, i.e. during his early years in Madrid, between 1623 and 1629.

## *The Underdrawing*

The author of *Philip III* drew the scene on the red imprimatura. Even while still in Seville, Velázquez was a confident draughtsman, producing a fluid brush drawing and later laying in colour to nuance, strengthen and correct it. Because it contains black pigment, the drawing can only be detected by infra-red reflectography (fig. 47). The colour filling is also visible on reflectograms but, since it contains colour pigments, also needs to be studied by radiography. In many cases, a painter's

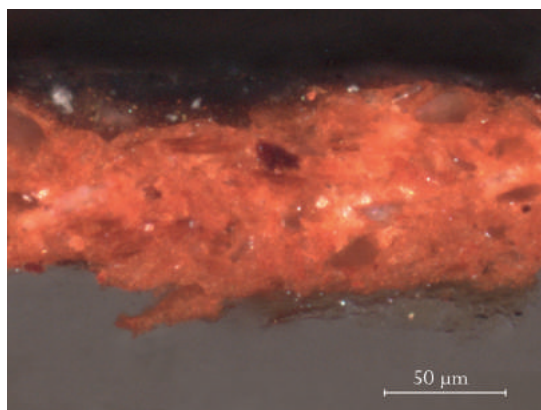
Figs. 43, 44, 45 and 46: Microsamples showing sequential paint layers in works by Velázquez:

(43) black of the costume of *Philip III* (Madrid, 1627) over red imprimatura

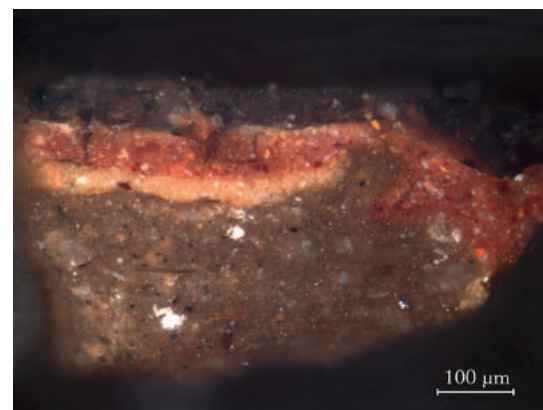
(44) red of the chasuble in *Saint Ildefonso Receiving the Chasuble from the Virgin* (Seville, c. 1623) over dark brown imprimatura

(45) black of the background shadow in *The Infante Don Carlos* (Madrid, c. 1628) over red imprimatura

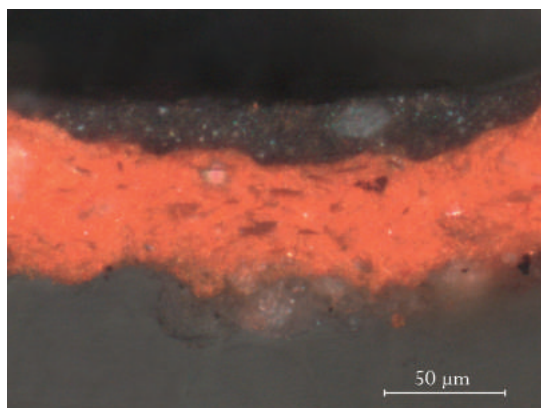
(46) green of the landscape in *Baltasar Carlos on Horseback* (Madrid, c. 1635) on white imprimatura



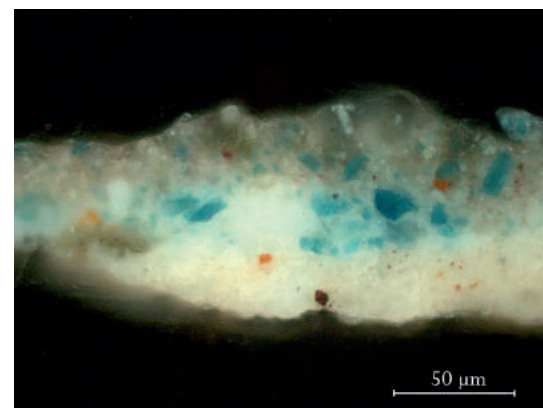
43



44



45



46

creative process can only be fully understood by examining his approach to reviewing, correcting and outlining contours; x-ray analyses reveal pentimenti, as well as the characteristic white lines often termed “contour lines”.<sup>12</sup>

In adopting this practice, Velázquez steadfastly followed his father-in-law’s advice in *The Art of Painting*, though bringing to it a personal touch that was at once highly effective and remarkably versatile. The first stage of the pictorial process was a drawing in charcoal or chalk, which would later be erased either when gone over with a more lasting medium, applied by brush, or during colour filling.

The procedure can readily be charted through technical examination of his major paintings in the Prado, from the *Adoration of the Magi* (1619) to *Las Meninas* (1656).<sup>13</sup> His approach to portraits was essentially the same, though the underdrawing—particularly of the sitter’s face—tended to be more precise, and he paid greater attention to elements such as the clothing, the hands and the setting. Infra-red reflectography of the likeness of *Philip III* reveals the outline of the head, but also some subtle lines on the eyes and lips (fig. 48). There were differences in his technical approach to civil and court portraits, especially likenesses of the king.

This distinction, examined in greater depth by Javier Portús in this book, accounts for the growing aesthetic and technical contrast between his court portraits and his paintings on religious or mythological themes, particularly as he gradually developed a looser technique. Although each painting must be examined on its own merits, it could be argued that one trend eventually outweighed the other: a greater technical freedom is apparent in all the paintings produced by Velázquez from 1631 onwards, i.e. after his return from Italy; his portraits of the royal family were now handled in much the same way as his mythological and religious scenes, although in certain



Fig. 47: Infra-red reflectogram of *Philip III*



projects—notably the paintings intended for the Torre de la Parada—the differences remain palpable. The brushwork and the handling of flesh tones in the portraits of *Philip IV* produced by Velázquez between 1623 and 1629 are more careful, more precise, than in other paintings of the same period, such as the Prado *Portrait of a Man*, the Munich *Portrait of a Young Man*, the so-called *Democritus* (Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts) or any of the faces in *The Feast of Bacchus*.<sup>14</sup> Ten years later, however, the loose brushstrokes of the court portraits closely resemble those found in certain civil portraits and in religious paintings such as *The Coronation of the Virgin* and *Christ Crucified*, both in the Prado. Although he still handled his portraits of the king in a special way, the contrast in technique was never again so marked as it had been in the earlier decade.

The most striking contrast appears when comparing certain court portraits painted by Velázquez during his early years in Madrid—for example, his likeness of the *Count-Duke of*

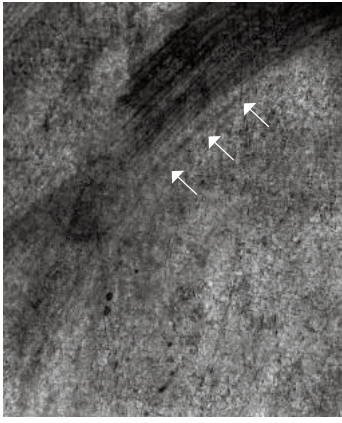
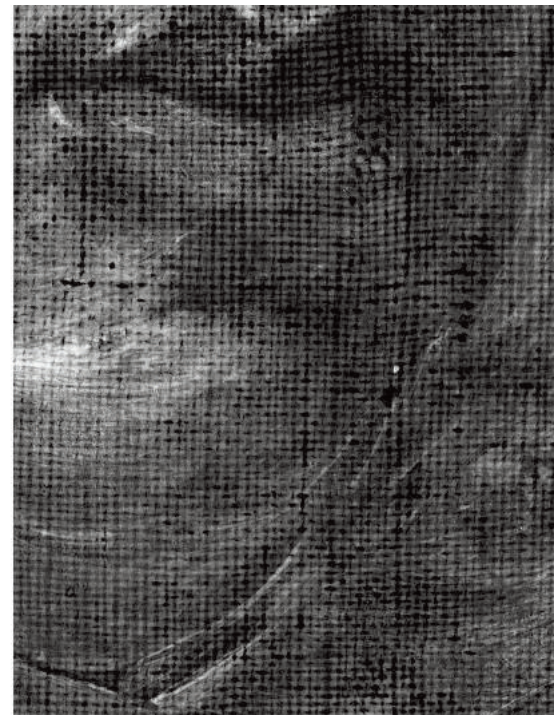


Fig. 48: Infra-red reflectogram of *Philip III* (detail) showing a contour line applied by brush, outlining part of the head (←)

*Olivares*, produced in around 1626 (see fig. 13)—with several very different paintings produced at the same time, such as the *Head of a Deer* or the *Munich Portrait of a Young Man*. In some respects, indeed, it is hard to believe that they are the work of the same artist. This reflects diverging aesthetic ambitions, coupled with a very different technical approach. To an extent, this is hardly surprising; there are grounds to believe that Rubens’ work underwent a comparable change while he was in Madrid, in around 1628–29, although comparison of the brushwork in his portrait of Philip IV and in his copies of Titian reveals a similarly rich, buttery application of colour and the same creative exuberance.

Without wishing to labour this point, these nuances need to be explored if we are to fully understand a remarkable work like *Philip III*, and particularly when judging, on technical grounds, whether it may be a Velázquez; for not only is it a sketch, but it is also a copy of a portrait by another painter. Moreover, it presents a number of specific features which hinder our understanding of it: the technical difference between a finished portrait (the face) and a sketch (the ruff, costume and background); the fact that it may have been intended as “working material”; its complex material history; the changes undergone by the support; and the cleaning of the pictorial surface.

As indicated earlier, the artist would sketch out the portrait in a few basic lines, which would disappear when he went over them with a brush or applied the first patches of colour to define edges, which he heightened using the characteristic contour lines visible on radiographs. These lines, coupled with the offloading of excess paint from his brush and the presence of painted-in “haloes” around the figures, may be seen as hallmark features of Velázquez’s work; for some historians, indeed, they should be taken into account for the purposes of attribution. It should be stressed, nonetheless, that similar technical findings have been reported for pictures which were probably not produced by Velázquez, among them, the Prado copy of *Góngora* (P-1223) and the Boston *Philip IV*.



Figs. 49 and 50: Details of radiographs of *Philip III* and *Philip IV* (Meadows Museum); white lines visible along some contours

The white contour lines visible in the forehead, eyelids, lips and chin of *Philip III* may well be part of a similar process, for while not exactly corresponding to the visible paint layer, they do match the modelling of the profile, either through brush applied flesh tones or the brushstrokes outlining the face (figs. 49 and 50). Successive cleaning operations have exposed some of these contour lines, which are more visible now than they would originally have been, and macrophotographs also reveal the furrows produced in the buttery texture of the oil paints by the brush used to apply them. These are not—as might first appear due to the state of repair of the pictorial surface—sgraffito-like incisions in the paint, but rather the imprint of the heavily loaded brush used not for drawing but for modelling, in an almost sculptural manner.

The sculptural aspect of Velázquez's work has attracted a certain amount of attention in recent years;<sup>15</sup> in terms of technique, it is achieved by intense modelling using dense materials, by the insistent outlining of contours with a view to conveying volumes which are conscientiously represented. Pachecho himself attached great importance to this:

The most important of the three parts into which we can divide colouring is the last one, in other words the relief...: I say that it is the most important, because sometimes one might find a good painting that lacks beauty and delicacy, but if it possesses force and relief, and seems like an object in the round, and lifelike, and deceives the eye as if it were coming out of the picture, the lack of the other two parts, which are less necessary than this one, may be forgiven.<sup>16</sup>

This aspect of his work also developed over the years: in 1620, Velázquez's depiction of *Mother Jerónima de la Fuente* resembled a heavy sculpture in solid wood; around twenty years later, his sculptural *Christ Crucified* was more of a delicate nude study. But at the time the *Philip III* sketch was produced, in around the mid-1620s, echoes of what we might term "Velázquez the sculptor"—also visible, and not by chance, in his court portraits—are still to be found, conveying an equal amount of dignity and force.

### *The Sketch*

Having completed the underdrawing, and as he started to lay in the flesh tones of the face, the painter defined parts of the hair and face, the temple and the ruff, using patches of a distinctive, fairly light greenish-brown colour formed by earth pigments—mainly umber—mixed with varying amounts of lead white in order to lighten the tone to a varying extent, and also with a minimal amount of azurite. This contouring technique, which serves to strengthen the underdrawing and give volume to certain parts of the figure, is also found in Velázquez's work; strikingly, moreover, a similar blend of pigments is found in paintings thought to have been painted by him between 1623 and 1629, among them the full-length *Philip IV* (see fig. 25) and *The Infante Don Carlos* (see fig. 26).

The study of pigments and blends gives us a better idea of an artist's painting technique.<sup>17</sup> Because the likeness of *Philip III* contains a narrow range of colours, the number of pigments identified is necessarily small; moreover, they are the pigments most commonly used in painting at the time: lead white, vermilion, enamel blue, umber, lamp black, bone black and several copper-containing pigments such as azurite. Nonetheless, certain distinctive features of the pigment blends provide information on the painter's specific practices. These are described below.

Fig. 51: Radiograph of *Philip III* performed at the Museo Nacional del Prado in 2015



At certain points, these patches of colour used to separate the figure from the background absorb a large amount of radiation; radiographic density is reduced, so these areas appear whiter on radiographs (fig. 51). Conversely, because they contain copper, they show up dark on infra-red reflectograms. Both techniques can thus be used to study them. One of the microsample cross-sections shows that the painter applied an initial layer of greenish-brown paint underneath some areas of the king's costume, which is hardly surprising given that at this initial stage, focused on creating volumes, he had still not positioned the sitter's body or his ruff. In a number of similar seventeenth-century sketches—including the *Portrait of a Man* discovered in 2013 and currently attributed to Van Dyck—only the head and the ruff were clearly defined, and the greenish-brown colour used to outline volumes appear in the place later to be occupied by the sitter's body, which in this case remained unpainted.

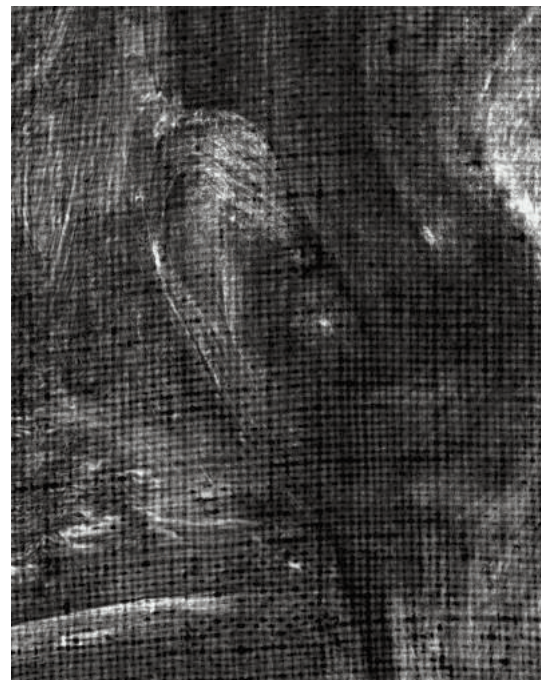
Figs. 52 and 53: Details of ears in Velázquez's portraits:

(52) *Philip III* (see fig. 1)

(53) Radiograph of *Philip IV*, Meadows Museum (see fig. 23)



52



53

A number of painters placed haloes around the heads of their main figures: they are to be found in several Prado pieces painted by Maíno (*Saint Dominic in Soriano*, c. 1629), Ribera (*Saint Jerome Writing*, c. 1615) and Murillo (*The Apostle James*, c. 1655). In Velázquez's work, however, the halo-like outline was generally not placed around the head but used either to strengthen the profile of a figure (see fig. 12) or to effectively convey a sense of volume, with a varying degree of intensity. This procedure, resembling that visible in the underdrawing of *Philip III*, is to be found in his *Francisco Pacheco*, in the Munich *Portrait of a Young Man*, in some figures in *Joseph's Tunic* (Monastery of El Escorial) and in the *Count-Duke of Olivares, on Horseback* (Madrid, Prado).

## The Colours

Having positioned the head on the canvas off-cut, the artist focused on the face, later painting the black costume, the ruff and the background, in that order. He worked intensively on the face, with a modulation which is paradoxically more visible on radiographs, and a detailed brushwork in certain areas—the hairs of the moustache, the shine on the lips—somewhat surprising in Velázquez. Those art historians who suggest that *Philip III* is the work of Maíno adduce this meticulous attention to detail in support of their claim, although it is not equalled in other known works by him. Whilst painting the face, the artist may have offloaded excess paint from his brush onto the upper right corner of the canvas, beneath the non-original inscription reading: “D. Rodrigo, Calderon”; in wiping his brush, he did not use the long, elegant strokes to be seen—also to the right, as befitted a right-handed artist—in *Mother Jerónima de la Fuente* or *The Infante Don Carlos* (fig. 26), but rather the abbreviated, jabbing strokes visible to the naked eye to the right of the portrait of *Don Pedro de Barberana* (c. 1633, Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum). X-radiography of the original canvas of *Philip III* reveals some brush wipings on the reverse, for example to the left of the face (see fig. 11).

X-ray fluorescence spectrometry of the face reveals a predominance of lead, corresponding to lead white pigment, and to a lesser extent of mercury, contained in the vermilion pigment; small amounts of copper indicate the presence of azurite. The addition of blue to the pigment blend used for flesh tones was a common practice, reported in treatises on painting and widely confirmed by chemical analyses; however, the choice of a specific blue pigment may distinguish the work of a given artist at a particular stage in his career. Small amounts of azurite have been identified as a common additive for flesh tones in works painted by Velázquez during his early years in Madrid—i.e. in the 1620s—and also in several of the paintings produced by Vicente Carducho during the same period for the Monastery of El Paular.<sup>18</sup> Enamel blue has been identified in flesh tones in Maíno’s paintings, and is also present in large proportions in Velázquez’s canvases of the 1630s. Enamel blue is also to be found in the works of other painters, including Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo and Juan Antonio de Frías y Escalante.<sup>19</sup>

The delicacy of the materials and the finish of the skin tones contrast, as indicated earlier, with that of the unfinished areas, recalling Antonio Palomino’s comment on the portraits produced by Velázquez during his second visit to Italy, which—it should be noted—displayed a greater degree of finish than *Philip III*: “He made other portraits which I do not mention, because they remained unfinished, although they did not lack resemblance to their originals.”<sup>20</sup> Our attention is first drawn to the ear, perhaps—like the ruff itself—rather clumsily executed. It is defined by a series of short brushstrokes similar to those visible only in x-radiographs defining the ear of *Philip IV* in Dallas (figs. 52 and 53). The left ear of *Francisco Pacheco* is equally ungainly, and rather odd, while that of the *Count-Duke of Olivares* is barely defined (see figs. 22 and 13).

Analyses of the pigments used for the king’s costume indicate a very limited presence of black. The greenish-brown tone of the highlights was concealed under a thin layer of black paint. Though treated summarily, the clothing could actually be regarded as more finished in *Philip III* than in other sketches attributed to Velázquez. In the Hispanic Society’s *Portrait of a Young Girl* (see fig. 37) and the Meadows *Portrait of Queen Mariana* (see fig. 10), Velázquez has merely hinted at the costume. In this sense, *Philip III* more closely resembles *María Teresa, Infanta of Spain* in the Metropolitan, although his hair is little more than a patch of colour while in *María Teresa*—and in the Hispanic Society’s *Portrait of a Young Girl*—the coiffure is very carefully executed. The hair is less meticulously modelled in *Queen Mariana*, with which *Philip III* cannot be compared in terms of the treatment of costume. In that respect, there is perhaps a greater resemblance to the late portrait of *Philip IV* (see fig. 38). Taken in conjunction, all these varied comparisons point to a link between the likeness of *Philip III* and certain sketches attributed to Velázquez, and suggest that apparent contradictions may be seen as the result of different working methods within the same creative approach.

The analysis of a microsample of the bluish-grey colour of the ruff has provided detailed information on the blend of the pigment used (fig. 54): lead white, together with very fine particles of an organic black thought to be lamp black, and a few coarse grains of enamel blue. A similar blend of pigments is to be found in several paintings by Velázquez, among them *Philip IV in Armour* (see fig. 28) and *Doña María of Austria, Queen of Hungary* (Madrid, Prado); the latter contains an even larger proportion of enamel blue. A similar tone found in some of Maíno’s work, for example in the lace cuff of his *Portrait of a Gentleman* (see fig. 21), is achieved using azurite for the blue and charcoal for the black. Significantly, each painter uses a different blend of pigments to achieve a similar colour; those employed in the likeness of *Philip III* are comparable to the pigments that Velázquez was using at this time (fig. 54).

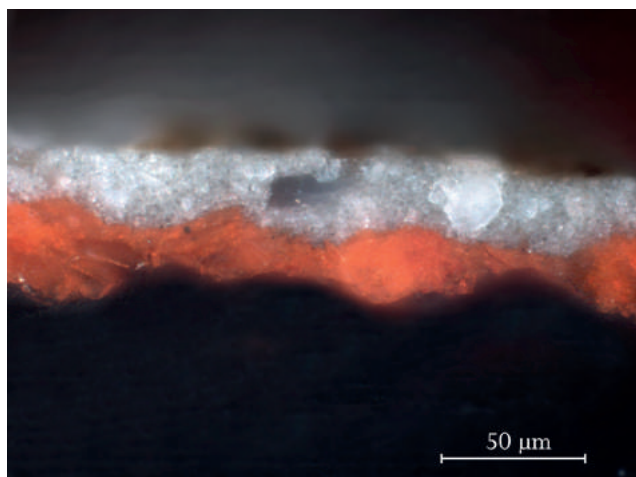


Fig. 54: Cross-section of paint layers in greyish-blue microsample of the ruff of *Philip III*. The colour was obtained mixing lead white with lamp black and a few coarse grains of enamel blue

Finally, the artist laid in the background using a dark brown paint similar in composition to that used for the costume, but containing fewer black pigments and a very small amount of copper pigment, thought to be azurite. The very thin background layer has been cleverly applied in order to tone down the bright red imprimatura. The visual appeal of this technique, though probably diminished by subsequent wear and overpainting, is similar in terms of the creative procedure, the play of transparencies and the blend of pigments, to that of works like the Munich *Portrait of a Young Man*, *The Infante Don Carlos* (see fig. 26), *Philip IV* (see fig. 25) and *Philip IV in Armour* (see fig. 28).

A brief reference must be made to two aspects of the sitter's physiognomy. The first concerns an annoying piece of retouching in brown paint over the king's head, which partly undermines his characteristic hairstyle by flattening it; the original profile can be seen both in the radiograph and in the infra-red reflectogram (see figs. 42 and 47). The second concerns the colour of his eyes, which in the sketch might be taken as black. The background of the irises was painted in a dark tone, to which the artist added several touches of blue and finally a small lead white impasto to convey the shine caused by reflected light. Given the very dark tone of the background, nuanced by brushstrokes of blue, the irises appear from a distance to be black. Closer inspection, coupled with x-ray fluorescence analysis, reveals that the irises are actually azurite blue. Comparison of the left eye colour in *Philip III* and that of the full-length *Philip IV* in the Prado (figs. 55 and 56) suggests a process similar to that used by Velázquez, but not observed in Maíno, Carducho, Nardi or Núñez del Valle.

## Conclusion

This simple sketch of *Philip III* conveys a striking vitality, despite the damage wrought by time in some areas, and the fact that the king was not painted "from life", a practice recommended by Pacheco in order to achieve a good likeness<sup>21</sup> and presumably pursued in portraits dating from the same period, such as the Dallas *Philip IV* (1623–24), the Detroit *Juan de Fonseca* (c. 1623), the São Paulo *Count-Duke of Olivares* (c. 1624) and the Hispanic Society's *Count-Duke* (c. 1626). The likeness of *Philip III* appears to bear comparison only with portraits painted after 1628, among them the full-length *Philip IV* in the Prado (1623 and 1628), *The Infante Don Carlos* (c. 1627–28) and *Don Diego del Corral y Arellano* (Madrid, Prado), produced after Velázquez's return from his first trip to Italy in 1632.

Figs. 55 and 56: Details of the left eyes of

(55) *Philip III* (see fig. 1)

(56) Full-length *Philip IV*, Museo Nacional del Prado (see fig. 25)



55



56

In technical terms, the wood ash size strongly suggests that *Philip III* was painted in Madrid. The bright red imprimatura is similar to that found in other paintings produced in Madrid, by Velázquez and also by Diricksen and Maíno. If Velázquez painted *Philip III*, he could only have done so during his early years in Madrid, i.e. between October 1623, when he arrived at court, and 1628–29 when—probably influenced by Rubens—he forsook his red primer in favour of much lighter tones. In artistic and historical terms, too, the presumed sketch for the *Expulsion of the Moriscos* (1627) fits precisely into this period. Distinctive pigment blends in the flesh tones, the white of the ruff and the background coincide with the materials used by Velázquez and with what we know of his painterly technique, and are not to be found in the work of other painters to whom the sketch might potentially be ascribed.

The Department of Spanish Painting at the Museo del Prado is actively fostering the technical analysis of the Museum's collection of Golden Age paintings; at the same time, the technical documentation on Velázquez is being reviewed and redrafted. In the near future, that work may shed further light on this unique and magnificent sketch of *Philip III*.



VELÁZQUEZ'S LOST  
*Expulsion of the Moriscos*

WILLIAM B. JORDAN

- 1 Attested by the court painter Jean Ranc, in whose rooms the fire is alleged to have broken out: "all the pictures [from the great Hall of Mirrors] were saved except the portrait of Philip IV on horseback by Rubens and the *Expulsion of the Moriscos* by Velázquez," AGP, Felipe V, Administrativos, Bellas Artes, legajo 38/25; transcribed in Véliz 1998, pp. 56–58.
- 2 Pacheco [1649] 1990, p. 206; Martínez [c. 1675] 1950, pp. 194–95; Palomino [1724] 1947, pp. 898–99.
- 3 For essential documentation referred to below, see: Martín González 1958, pp. 59–66; Azcárate 1960, pp. 357–85; and Volk 1980, pp. 168–80. An excellent summary of the competition and its context can be found in Brown 1986A, pp. 60–61. By far the most apposite and insightful writing on this subject, without which I would not have been led to my own conclusions, has been done by Steven N. Orso (Orso 1986 and Orso 1993, pp. 40–96).
- 4 For a history of the Alcázar, see Barbeito 1992 and Checa 1994.
- 5 Orso 1986, p. 44.
- 6 *Ibidem*.
- 7 Falomir 2003, pp. 213 and 288.
- 8 Orso 1986, p. 45.
- 9 In *Ibidem*, p. 89, comes close to suggesting this.
- 10 Pacheco [1649] 1990, p. 205: "Después desto, habiendo acabado el retrato de Su Majestad a caballo, imitado todo del natural, hasta el país, con su licencia y gusto se puso en la calle Mayor, enfrente de San Felipe, con admiración de toda la corte e invidia de los de l'arte, de que soy testigo."
- 11 Pozzo [1626] 2004, p. 99. After praising Titian's *Charles V at Mühlberg*, Cassiano, who does not remember Velázquez's name, goes on: "...di rimpetto al ritratto di Carlo V nell'altra testata della sala è un ritratto del Re d'hoggi a cavallo armato grande del vero, v'è un bel paese, e aria di mano pur di pittor spagnuolo..." Harris 1970, pp. 364–73.
- 12 Palomino [1724] 1947, p. 908: "Propuso su obra Velázquez a la censura pública, y fué vituperado el caballo, diciendo, estaba contra las reglas del arte..."
- 13 Orso 1986, pp. 49–51, and Orso 1993, p. 50.
- 14 Orso 1986, p. 49, documents payment on 31 December 1626 to the joiner Lorenzo Salazar for hanging the three paintings.
- 15 Carducho [1633] 1979, pp. 434–35. We do not know the subject of Bartolomé González's painting, because it was one of those very quickly removed.
- 16 Martínez Leiva and Rodríguez Rebollo 2007.
- 17 Translation from Orso 1986, p. 189. For original text, see Martínez Leiva and Rodríguez Rebollo 2007, p. 84: "Otro lienço al olio grande, del mismo tamaño que el dicho, con moldura dorada y negra, de una conjuración que hizo Cipión a los romanos, es de mano de Viçençio Carducho, en que esta el dicho Cipión bestido a lo romano, armado en la mano derecha una espada alta y la izquierda conjurando, y abajo Julio Çiçerón con una corona de laurel y muchos soldados al otro lado."
- 18 Translation from Orso 1986, p. 190. For original text, see Martínez Leiva and Rodríguez Rebollo 2007, p. 84: "Otro lienço al olio, del mismo tamaño y moldura, que es la Historia de Greseida, de mano de Eugenio Gaxés, en que está sentado el Rei de los griegos y su padre que le está pidiendo, y en lejos un campo de guerra y en lo alto una figura con un arco en la mano sobre un carro de oro que le tiran quatro cavallos blancos."
- 19 Volk 1980, p. 176.
- 20 Elliott 1963, pp. 299–303.
- 21 Friedman 1979, p. 16: "In the last analysis, the expulsion of the Moriscos, while eliminating a potential 'fifth column,' contributed to an expansion of North African piracy against Spanish coasts and shipping that presented a far greater danger than had the presence of the Moriscos in Spain."
- 22 *Ibidem*, p. 13.
- 23 Angulo Íñiguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, p. 178.
- 24 Orso 1986, p. 108.
- 25 Orso 1993, pp. 50–51.
- 26 *Ibidem*.
- 27 Cicero, *On the Republic (Scipio's Dream)*, book 6, section 11. This text is part of Fordham University's *Internet Ancient History Sourcebook*, and is J.S. Arkenberg's adaptation of Oliver J. Thatcher (ed.), *The Library of Original Sources*, vol. III: *The Roman World*, pp. 216–241, 1907.
- 28 Orso 1993, p. 51.
- 29 González, who did not die until 1 November 1627, may have been too infirm to compete, or, as suggested by Orso (1986, p. 53), as the least talented of the three salaried painters, he may not have been invited to participate.
- 30 For a summary of the important literature on Crescenzi at the Spanish court, see Brown 1986A, pp. 60–61 and 288, n. 55; for the most recent monograph on him, see Bernstorff 2010. See also Jordan 2008, pp. 119–38.
- 31 Brown and Elliott 1980, pp. 44–45; see also Brown 1986A, pp. 60–61.
- 32 This was first suggested by Gállego 1983, p. 61; see also Orso 1986, p. 53. A drawing by Carducho, which represents soldiers leading Moriscos into ships (Madrid, Museo del Prado, D-3055), has been assumed by Brown (1986A, p. 288, n. 56), among others, to represent that artist's design for the composition. Brown states that Carducho (unwisely) omitted Philip III from the composition, while Velázquez placed him at the centre of the action. There is no reason, however, to assume that the surviving drawing, which is horizontal in format, is anything but a study for one detail, perhaps in the background, of Carducho's composition, if not even a study for one of the numerous ephemeral paintings of the subject executed in the aftermath of the event itself. It seems fairly certain that all the entries would have been meant to be vertical canvases of the same size, since their destination on the wall was a foregone conclusion, and that they would all have represented Philip III as the instigator of the event.
- 33 For all these changes, see Orso 1986, pp. 74–79. See also the reconstruction by Daniel Martínez Díaz in Martínez Leiva and Rodríguez Rebollo 2015, p. 69.

- 34 Orso 1986, p. 190 (translation). For original text, see Martínez Leiva and Rodríguez Rebollo 2007, p. 84: “Otro lienzo al olio, del tamaño de los dos de arriba, de la Expulsión de los Moriscos, en que está el Señor Rei Phelipe 3<sup>o</sup> armado, bestido de blanco y a su lado derecho una figura de España asentada con triunfos de guerra y una tropa de moriscos y moriscas que ban saliendo con un lettero abajo en latín, tiene moldura dorada y negra, y el dicho lienzo es de mano de Diego Belázquez.”
- 35 Kusche 2007, pp. 120–27.
- 36 Quoted in translation from Orso 1986, p. 54. Original text from Palomino [1724] 1947, pp. 898–99: “En el medio de este cuadro está el señor Rey Felipe Tercero armado, y con el bastón en la mano señalando a una tropa de hombres, mujeres, y niños, que llorosos, van conducidos por algunos soldados, y a lo lejos unos carros, y un pedazo de marina, con algunas embarcaciones para transportarlos...A la mano derecha del Rey está España, representada en una majestuosa matrona, sentada a el pie de un edificio, en la diestra mano tiene un escudo, y unos dardos, y en la siniestra unas espigas, armada a lo romano, y a sus pies esta inscripción en el zócalo: [see Latin on page 13] / Acabóle Velázquez en el dicho año, como se califica de la firma, que puso en una vitela, que fingió en la grada inferior, que dice así: [see Latin on page 13].”
- 37 On the theme of dynastic succession in the Halls of Princely Virtue, see Brown and Elliott 1980, pp. 152–56.
- 38 Phillips, London, 16 February 1988 (sale no. 27028, lot 26). The catalogue gave no indication of the seller, nor of the provenance of the painting.
- 39 The enlarged canvas measured 25 1/2 x 21 3/4 inches (65 x 54 cm).
- 40 As a result of the publicity surrounding the recent donation of the portrait of Philip III to the American Friends of the Prado Museum, a member of the public came forward after the fact, and after the writing of this text, as the owner of a copy of the work made around 1820 (see fig. 41). The copy, of very modest quality, reflects the composition in its enlarged and overpainted state and confirms that the enlargement was done prior to that date. The copy bears the inscription on the reverse of the original canvas: “C. de Baudic p<sup>r</sup> D<sup>r</sup>. Carm<sup>r</sup>. Barrantes / el Maq. de siete Iglesias / D<sup>r</sup>. Rodrigo Calderon [sic].” Doña Carmen Barrantes Manuel de Aragón was named *académica de mérito* for the Painting Section of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando on 9 August 1816. She exhibited copies of several portraits at the Academy over the years, including, in 1821, “No. 239. Retrato de un personaje antiguo, copiado por Doña María del Carmen Barrantes,” hung in the “Sala de Oratorio con obras de profesores y académicos de mérito.” The copy she made, under the impression that the original was by Van Dyck, reveals the painting with the old inscription misidentifying the sitter as Rodrigo de Calderón covered by overpainting, so it is unclear how she knew of this erroneous identification, since the enlarged original canvas when sold in 1988 bore no such inscription on the reverse. The most logical explanation would be that she may have observed the restoration of the original, or been responsible for it herself, before she copied it and may thus have seen the underlying inscription.
- 41 López-Rey 1963, p. 186, cat. no. 185.
- 42 Following the portrait’s recent cleaning and technical study at the Museo del Prado, Velázquez’s authorship, together with the intervention of another hand, has been affirmed. See Portús, García-Máiquez, and Dávila 2011, pp. 16–39. On the possible identification of “the other hand” in these equestrian portraits, see Barrón García and Aramburu-Zabala 2013, pp. 64–81.
- 43 *Ibidem*, p. 27.
- 44 J. Gállego in Domínguez Ortiz, Pérez Sánchez and Gállego 1990, p. 224, cat. no. 36.
- 45 *Ibidem*, pp. 236–39, cat. no. 39.
- 46 An effort to identify possible portrait *bocetos* in royal inventories has been inconclusive, but for relevant references, see Martínez Leiva and Rodríguez Rebollo 2015, p. 554, nos. 824–31.
- 47 Pacheco [1649] 1990, pp. 204–05. Bassegoda, in an editor’s note on p. 205, n. 27, asserts the logical and now prevailing conclusion that the work in question had to be a *boceto* from life meant to be developed in the studio.
- 48 For a summary of the literature on this issue, see the excellent entry on the Meadows bust by Rodríguez-Negrón (2012, pp. 88–90, cat. no. 2).
- 49 One of these was the long bust in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum, sometimes attributed to Velázquez himself but more likely, in my opinion, from the workshop (López-Rey 1996, cat. no. 126); another is the three-quarter-length workshop portrait in the Ringling Museum, Sarasota (López-Rey 1963, cat. no. 371).
- 50 Martínez Ripoll 1990, pp. 47–74.
- 51 López-Rey 1996, cat. no. 32, dates the pictures as late as 1627.
- 52 For the Leganés provenance, see Jordan 2005, p. 307, n. 41; and Pérez Preciado 2008, p. 779. The portrait was recorded in the 1655 Leganés inventory, together with a second version (presumably the one today in the Várez Fisa collection as nos. 988 and 989). The Hispanic Society’s canvas still bears the inventory number of the Altamira collection (no. 462), into which all the property of the Leganés entail passed in the eighteenth century.
- 53 See Garrido 1992 for a description of the preparation of Velázquez’s canvases in the 1620s.
- 54 Angulo Íñiguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, pp. 68–73. Since 1611, the position of *pintor de cámara* had been held by Pantoja’s disciple Santiago Morán, an obscure figure by whom only a handful of paintings are known.
- 55 For a summary of the competition and what winning it meant to Velázquez, see Brown 1986A, pp. 60–61. For the most authoritative account of Villandrando’s privileges, see Varela 1999, pp. 185–210.
- 56 See Vergara 1999, for the most complete and up-to-date account of Rubens’ second stay in Spain.
- 57 Pita Andrade and Aterido 2000, vol. I, p. 73, doc. 61.
- 58 Sotheby’s London, 4 December 2013, lot 6. See also Vergara, Alba and Gayo 2013, pp. 18–30, especially p. 30 and n. 45, where the suggestion is made that Rubens may have been painting this picture to instruct his young colleague.
- 59 So wrote the Parmese ambassador. See Brown 1986A, p. 68.
- 60 *Ibidem*, p. 69.

## PHILIP III AND THE MORISCOS

JOHN ELLIOTT

- 1 Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 1978, p. 200.
- 2 Dadson 2007.
- 3 The alleged words of Philip II have never been verified and only appear in books published after 1621, when the Count-Duke of Olivares, Lerma's great enemy, had already taken the reins of power and was trying to discredit everything connected with the previous reign. See Feros 2002, p. 32, n. 2.
- 4 For this revision see especially García García 1996, ch.1, Feros 2002 and Williams 2010.
- 5 See Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 1978, and for a general overview in the light of recent research, Amelang 2013.
- 6 Benítez Sánchez-Blanco 2001, p. 344.
- 7 Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 1978, p. 161.
- 8 Cited by Alvar Ezquerro 2010, p. 302.
- 9 See the details of the operation given by Lapeyre 1959.
- 10 *Don Quijote*, II, chs. LIV and LXV.
- 11 Salazar [1619] 1945, p. 70, and see Feros 2002, p. 204.
- 12 For the atmosphere surrounding Philip III's deathbed, see Kennedy 1974, pp. 213–51.
- 13 Buendía 1966, vol. 1, p. 731.
- 14 Cited in Elliott 2002, p. 308.
- 15 See Elliott 1986, p. 227; Ródenas Vilar 1967, pp. 32–37; Straub 1980, p. 212, n. 11.
- 16 See Portús 2012, no. 21.
- 17 Ruiz Gómez 2009, pp. 191 and 196.
- 18 Martínez Ripoll 1990.
- 19 García-Máiquez 2015, p. 593.
- 20 Some are discussed in López-Rey 1963, nos. 242 and 243, and in Garrido 2004, pp. 8–13.
- 21 Carducho [1633] 1979, pp. 336–37. See also Bass 2008, pp. 28–29.
- 22 Palomino [1724] 2008, p. 27.
- 23 On these and other artists of that generation, see Angulo Íñiguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969.
- 24 Angulo Íñiguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, p. 345.
- 25 *Ibidem*, no. 20, plate 287.
- 26 Navarrete 2010.
- 27 Jordan 2005, pp. 134–36, 152, 171, 198 and 218–19.
- 28 Ruiz Gómez 2009, pp. 194–96.
- 29 *Ibidem*, pp. 180–208.

## NOTES ON A SKETCH: PHILIP III AND TECHNICAL DATA ON VELÁZQUEZ

JAIME GARCÍA-MÁIQUEZ AND M.ª DOLORES GAYO

## THE PORTRAIT OF PHILIP III: VELÁZQUEZ AT A CROSSROADS

JAVIER PORTÚS

- 1 On these issues, see Justi [1888] 1999, pp. 191 *et seq.*; Brown 1986B, pp. 40 *et seq.*; and, more recently, Portús 2012.
- 2 See Brown 1994, Ruiz Gómez 2005 and Kusche 2007.
- 3 Kusche 2007, pp. 102, 120–21 and 126–27.
- 4 Ruiz Gómez 2005, no. 10.
- 5 Kusche 2007 provides updated historical and graphical records regarding these issues.
- 6 *Ibidem*, pp. 73–74, 194–95 and 199.
- 7 For El Greco see Álvarez Lopera 2005. For Tristán, see Pérez Sánchez and Navarrete 2001, pp. 244–49.
- 8 Lisón 1991 and López-Rey 1963, p. 38.
- 9 Aterido 2000, p. 55.
- 10 *Ibidem*, pp. 67–71.
- 11 For Villandrando, see Varela 1999.
- 12 This matter is discussed in Portús 2012, pp. 17–26.
- 13 United States, private collection. See Jordan 2005, p. 124.
- 14 Gallagher 2010.
- 1 This is also true of paintings prompted by personal acquaintance or friendship, such as the *Portrait of a Young Man* (c. 1627, 89.2 x 69.5 cm, Munich, Alte Pinakothek), *Self-Portrait* (c. 1645, Valencia, Museo de Bellas Artes de San Pío), *The Needlewoman* (c. 1645, Washington, National Gallery of Art), *Portrait of a Man* (c. 1648, London, Apsley House) or *Sibyl* (c. 1648, Dallas, Meadows Museum).
- 2 Warp and weft thread density per cm<sup>2</sup> of works published in Garrido 1992, pp. 62–63.
- 3 Vergara, Alba and Gayo 2013, p. 21 and n. 20.
- 4 We are grateful to Óscar Hernangómez Rodríguez for alerting us to the existence of this painting.
- 5 Technical evidence suggests that once the painting had been completed, a cross was incised through the centre of the king's face: it is visible on macrophotographs, infra-red reflectograms and x-radiographs, due to the penetration of grime and radiation-absorbing material into the furrow caused by the incision. Given that this was not part of the creative process, it must have been added at some point in the painting's chequered and complex material history.
- 6 On the preparatory layers used in seventeenth-century European canvas paintings, see Martin 2008, pp. 59–67.
- 7 On grounds in seventeenth-century Spanish painting, see Jover and Gayo 2010, pp. 39–59.
- 8 On ash sizing, see Jover and Gayo 2014, pp. 40–46.
- 9 Scanning electron microscopy with energy dispersive x-ray analyses (SEM-EDX) show that the red primers used by Velázquez during the 1620s in Madrid contained aluminium silicates (clays) and quartz, with a constant proportion

- (15–20% in weight) of hematites (iron oxides). They also contain lead white for oil drying purposes.
- 10 On the composition of the preparatory layers of paintings by Maíno in the Museo del Prado, see Jover and Gayo 2010, pp. 57–58. This type of ground was not commonly used by Maíno, who more often used the primers to be found in the Toledo paintings and in *The Recapture of Bahía de Todos los Santos*, painted for the Hall of Realms.
  - 11 The following works were examined at the Museo del Prado's Analytical Laboratory: *The Virgin and Child with Angels* (1618) and the *Adoration of the Magi* (c. 1620), by Eugenio Cajés; *Still-Life with a Basket and Sweetmeats* (1622), by Juan van der Hamen; *Adoration of the Magi* (1631) and *Noli Me Tangere* (1630–35), by Pedro Núñez del Valle. On the composition of the primers in this group of paintings, see Jover and Gayo 2010, p. 56. On the preparation of the canvas in other works by Van der Hamen, see Romero 2009, pp. 83–98. SEM-EDX analyses indicate the use of clays with quartz, and iron oxides in the innermost red imprimatura, as well as the addition of umber to the blend in order to darken the tone of the second layer of primer.
  - 12 Garrido 1992; Véliz 1996, pp. 79–84; Garrido and Gómez Espinosa 1988, pp. 66–76; Garrido 2004, pp. 4–24. García-Máiquez 2015, p. 593.
  - 13 Pacheco [1649] 1990; Garrido 1992; Véliz 1996, pp. 79–84; García-Máiquez 2015; McKim-Smith *et al.* 2005, pp. 79–91.
  - 14 *The Infante Don Carlos* (c. 1627–28, see fig. 26) is perhaps one of the most freely executed contemporary court portraits; this is surprising in view of later portraits such as *Philip IV in Armour* (1628–29, see fig. 28) or *Doña María of Austria, Queen of Hungary* (c. 1630, Madrid, Prado).
  - 15 Garrido and Gómez Espinosa 1988; Bray 2014, pp. 528–39.
  - 16 Pacheco [1649] 1990, p. 404.
  - 17 The vast amount of data available on pigments relates mostly to the great masters; it provides valuable knowledge regarding their technique, as well as a clear overview of their use of colour, especially in the absence of specific information which might prove conclusive.
  - 18 The addition of a green or blue pigment to the blend when painting flesh tones is common in painting, as noted by Palomino [1715] 1988, pp. 143–45. There are references to the use of blue pigments in flesh tones in works by Velázquez. Azurite is reported in Garrido 1992, pp. 32–33, and azurite and enamel, or both, in McKim-Smith and Newman 1993, p. 120. The following Velázquez paintings in the Museo del Prado were examined in the Museum's Analytical Laboratory: *Philip IV* (see fig. 25), *Philip IV in Armour* (see fig. 28), *The Infante Don Carlos* (see fig. 26), *Doña María de Austria, Queen of Hungary*, *The Sibyl*, and *The Feast of Bacchus*. Examined works by Vicente Carducho included: *The Miraculous Spring at Saint Bruno's Tomb*, *The Martyrdom of Fathers John Rochester and James Walworth*, *The Virgin, Accompanied by Saint Joseph and Saint John the Baptist, Shelters the Carthusian Order Beneath her Robes*, *Pope Alexander III Consecrates Anthelm of Chignin as Bishop of Belley*, and *The Death of Saint Bruno*.
  - 19 Enamel blue has been identified in flesh tones in Maíno's *Saint Catherine of Siena* (Madrid, Prado). Enamel has also been found in some Velázquez paintings in the Prado, including *El niño de Vallecas* and *Mars*. Blue pigment is reported in flesh tones in Mazo's *Queen Mariana of Spain in Mourning*, in the National Gallery, London (see Ackroyd, Carr and Spring 2005, p. 50), and also in works by Escalante, among them *The Triumph of Faith over the Senses* and *An Angel Awakens the Prophet Elijah*, both in the Prado.
  - 20 Palomino [1724] 2008, p. 39.
  - 21 Pacheco [1649] 1990, p. 443: "That is what Jusepe Ribera does, for his figures and heads...look alive and the rest, painted...; and in the case of my son-in-law [Velázquez], who follows this course, one can also see how he differs from the rest, because he always works from life".

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