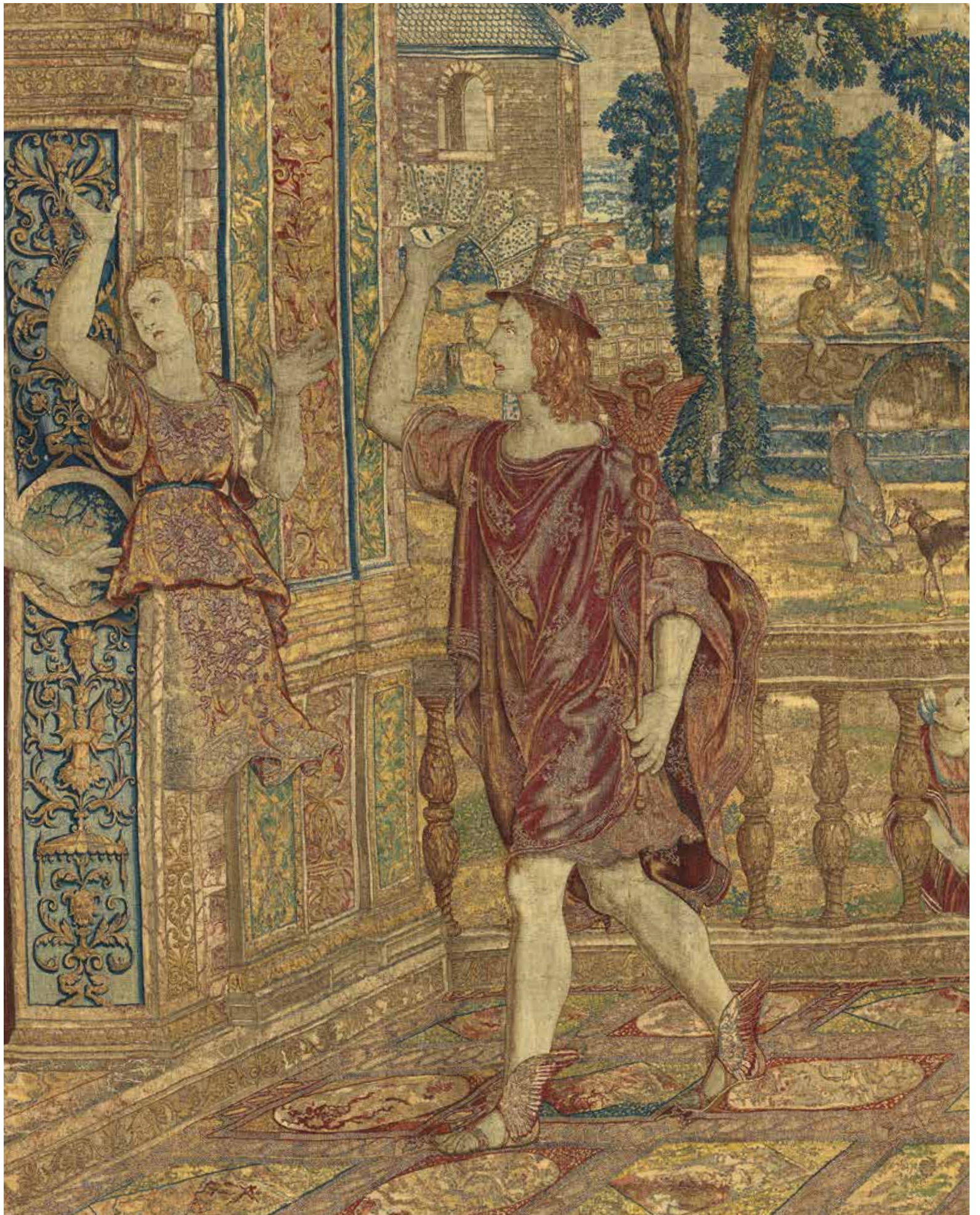


METROPOLITAN  
MUSEUM

**JOURNAL** 50



METROPOLITAN  
MUSEUM

**JOURNAL** 50

VOLUME 50 / 2015



*The Metropolitan Museum of Art*  
NEW YORK



Charles Antoine Coypel (French, 1694–1752). *François de Jullienne and His Wife*, 1743. Pastel, 39 3/8 x 31 1/2 in. (100 x 80 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gift, in honor of Annette de la Renta, 2011 (2011.84)

*for Katharine Baetjer*

WHO DEVOTED HERSELF TO THIS PUBLICATION  
AND MADE COUNTLESS CONTRIBUTIONS  
TO ITS SUCCESS

## EDITORIAL BOARD

### **Katharine Baetjer**

*Curator, European Paintings*

### **Sarah Graff**

*Associate Curator,*

*Ancient Near Eastern Art*

### **Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser**

*Alice Pratt Brown Curator of  
American Paintings and Sculpture*

### **Denise Patry Leidy**

*Brooke Russell Astor Curator  
of Chinese Art, Asian Art*

### **Marco Leona**

*David H. Koch Scientist in Charge,  
Scientific Research*

### **Dorothy Mahon**

*Conservator, Paintings Conservation*

### **Joan R. Mertens**

*Curator, Greek and Roman Art*

### **Joanne Pillsbury**

*Andrall E. Pearson Curator, Arts of Africa,  
Oceania, and the Americas*

### **Luke Syson**

*Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Chairman,  
European Sculpture and Decorative Arts*

This publication is made possible by Marica and Jan Vilcek and by a gift from Assunta Sommella Peluso, Ada Peluso, and Romano I. Peluso, in memory of Ignazio Peluso.

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is published annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Mark Polizzotti, *Publisher and Editor in Chief*  
Elizabeth L. Block, *Managing Editor*  
Lucinda Hitchcock, *Designer*  
Paul Booth, *Production Manager*  
Ling Hu and Crystal Dombrow, *Image Acquisitions Associates*

The Editorial Board is especially grateful to Sarah McFadden for her work on several manuscripts.

Manuscripts submitted for the *Journal* and all correspondence concerning them should be sent to [journalsubmissions@metmuseum.org](mailto:journalsubmissions@metmuseum.org). Guidelines for contributors are given on p. 8.

Published in association with the University of Chicago Press. Individual and institutional subscriptions are available worldwide. Please direct all subscription inquiries, back issue requests, and address changes to: University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, P. O. Box 37005, Chicago, IL 60637-0005, USA. Phone: (877) 705-1878 (U.S. and Canada) or (773) 753-3347 (international), fax: (877) 705-1879 (U.S. and Canada) or (773) 753-0811 (international), email: [subscriptions@press.uchicago.edu](mailto:subscriptions@press.uchicago.edu), website: [www.journals.uchicago.edu](http://www.journals.uchicago.edu)

ISBN 978-0-226-32950-5  
(University of Chicago Press)  
ISSN 0077-8958 (print)  
ISSN 2169-3072 (online)

Library of Congress  
Catalog Card Number: 68-28799

The Metropolitan Museum of Art endeavors to respect copyright in a manner consistent with its nonprofit educational mission. If you believe any material has been included in this publication improperly, please contact the Editorial Department.

Photographs of works in the Metropolitan Museum's collection are by The Photograph Studio, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, unless otherwise noted. Additional illustration credits are on p. 224

Copyright © 2015 by  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Typefaces: Calibre, Lyon, and Harriet  
Printed on Creator Silk, 100 lb.  
Separations by Professional Graphics, Inc., Rockford, Illinois  
Printed and bound by Puritan Capital, Hollis, New Hampshire

Front cover illustration: Detail of El Greco (Domenikos Theotokopoulos; Greek, 1540/41–1614), *The Vision of Saint John (The Opening of the Fifth Seal)*, 1608–14. See fig. 15, p. 26.  
Back cover illustration: Detail of El Greco, *A View of Toledo*, ca. 1599–1600. See fig. 1, p. 12.

Illustration on p. 2: Detail of *Mercury Changes Aglauros to Stone* from the *Story of Mercury and Herse*. Design, Italian, ca. 1540. Tapestry, Netherlandish, ca. 1570. See fig. 1, p. 148.

# Contents

Three Paintings by El Greco: *A View of Toledo*,  
*Cardinal Fernando Niño de Guevara*, and *The Vision*  
*of Saint John (The Opening of the Fifth Seal)*

WALTER LIEDTKE, 13

A Rare Mechanical Figure from Ancient Egypt

NICHOLAS REEVES, 43

Vases with Faces: Isolated Heads in South Italian Vase Painting

KEELY ELIZABETH HEUER, 63

A Bronze Hellenistic Dwarf in the Metropolitan Museum

LILLIAN BARTLETT STONER, 93

Ennion, Master of Roman Glass: Further Thoughts

CHRISTOPHER S. LIGHTFOOT, 103

The Kizil Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum

MIKI MORITA, 115

Giovanni Battista Lodi da Cremona and  
the *Story of Mercury and Herse* Tapestry Series

IAIN BUCHANAN, 137

Collecting Sixteenth-Century Tapestries in Twentieth-Century  
America: The Blumenthals and Jacques Seligmann

ELIZABETH CLELAND, 147

Vincenzo de' Rossi as Architect: A Newly Discovered Drawing  
and Project for the Pantheon in Rome

FEMKE SPEELBERG AND FURIO RINALDI, 163

*The Pont Neuf: A Paris View* by

Johan Barthold Jongkind Reconsidered

ASHER ETHAN MILLER AND SOPHIE SCULLY, 179

Charles Lepec and the Patronage of Alfred Morrison

OLIVIER HURSTEL AND MARTIN LEVY, 195

## MANUSCRIPT GUIDELINES FOR THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is issued annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Its purpose is to publish original research on works in the Museum's collection. Articles are contributed by members of the Museum staff and other art historians and specialists. Submissions should be emailed to: [journalsubmissions@metmuseum.org](mailto:journalsubmissions@metmuseum.org).

Manuscripts are peer-reviewed by the *Journal* Editorial Board, composed of members of the curatorial, conservation, and scientific departments.

***To be considered for the following year's volume, an article must be submitted, complete including illustrations, by October 15.***

Once an article is accepted for publication, the author will have the opportunity to review it after it has been edited and again after it has been laid out in pages. The honorarium for image costs is \$300, and each author receives a copy of the *Journal* volume in which his or her article appears.

Manuscripts should be submitted as double-spaced Word files. In addition to the text, the manuscript must include endnotes, captions for illustrations, photograph credits, and a 200-word abstract. Each part of

the article should be in a separate file except the endnotes, which should be linked to and appear at the end of the text file.

For the style of captions and bibliographic references in endnotes, authors are referred to *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Guide to Editorial Procedures and Style*, which is available from the Museum's Editorial Department upon request, and to *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Please provide a list of all bibliographic citations that includes, for each title: full name(s) of author or authors; title and subtitle of book or article and periodical; place and date of publication; volume number, if any; and page, plate, and/or figure number(s). For citations in notes, please use only the last name(s) of the author or authors and the date of publication (e.g., Jones 1953, p. 65; Smith and Harding 2006, pp. 7-10, fig. 23).

When submitting manuscripts, authors should include a PDF of all illustrations. Please do not embed images within text documents. If the manuscript is accepted, the author is expected to provide publication-quality images as well as copyright permissions to reproduce them in both the print and electronic editions of the *Journal*. We require either digital scans of at least 300 dpi at 3,000 pixels wide,

color transparencies (preferably 8 x 10 in. but 4 x 6 in. is also acceptable), or glossy black-and-white photographs (preferably 8 x 10 in. with white borders) of good quality and in good condition.

In a separate Word file, please indicate the figure number, the picture's orientation, and any instructions for cropping. Reproductions of photographs or other illustrations in books should be accompanied by captions that include full bibliographic information.

***The author of each article is responsible for obtaining all photographic material and reproduction rights.***

### ABBREVIATIONS

MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art  
MMAB *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*  
MMJ *Metropolitan Museum Journal*

*Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.*

METROPOLITAN  
MUSEUM

**JOURNAL** 50

That Walter's first love was seventeenth-century Dutch painting is well known. Not only was it his chosen field of study, but he felt a genuine affinity for the people and culture of the Netherlands and he wrote about the works of art of its golden age with extraordinary eloquence and passion. What distinguishes his 2007 catalogue *Dutch Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* from the 1984 collection catalogue devoted to Flemish painting is not so much the twenty-five years he devoted to its writing, but the quality of familiarity and personal engagement he brought to the individual works of art. Walter knew the topography of the Low Countries as well as he knew his native northeastern United States, and his writing about the land- and seascapes of Jan van Goyen and Salomon van Ruysdael is informed by personal memories. As he worked on the catalogue, the individual entries began to assume the form of mini-monographs that take the reader into the mind of the artist and the nature of his achievement. The catalogue is a landmark of its kind, its literary ambition taking it far beyond what one normally finds in a collection catalogue.

Walter's work on El Greco—the partial results of which are published here—is of a different character. Who would have thought that Walter harbored a fascination for Spain and its art, let alone that of the most visionary of the artists who worked there? The defining event in the history of the Dutch Republic was the Peace of Münster in 1648, whereby Philip IV acknowledged the independence of the seven northwestern provinces. From that point on, the two cultures—one a Catholic monarchy with a vast colonial empire, the other a small but enormously prosperous Protestant mercantile republic—diverged in every way. Dutch art was not collected by the Spanish: to this day the weakest part of the collections at the Prado is Dutch art. So how did Walter become fascinated with seventeenth-century Spanish

art, which in so many ways is the antithesis of Dutch art? He had, of course, been assigned responsibility at the Metropolitan for the exhibition of Francisco de Zurbarán, held in New York, Paris, and Madrid in 1987–88, and he had followed up this involvement with an article reconstructing the enormous multitiered altarpiece for the Carthusian monastery of Nuestra Señora de la Defensa, outside the city of Jerez de la Frontera. The main canvas from the altarpiece belongs to the Metropolitan, so in a way, that article marks his first incursion into the project he was working on at the time of his death. In any case, after completing the Dutch catalogue, it was suggested to him by Everett Fahy, then chairman of the Department of European Paintings, who knew of Walter's interest in Spanish art, that he consider working on a catalogue of the Spanish paintings. Walter launched himself into the project with his accustomed enthusiasm and zeal and set about learning Spanish, reading about Spanish history, and establishing contacts with the leading scholars. He never did anything by half measure.

When I succeeded Everett Fahy as chairman of the department, Walter and I discussed the project and how it might best be pursued, given the complexity of issues relating to some of the paintings in the collection and the command of the material that would be necessary. He agreed that it would, for example, be foolhardy to undertake the cataloguing of the Museum's holdings of Goya, as Goya scholarship has raised questions that will require years of study and reflection and discussion before consensus is reached. One might have thought that he would have wanted to focus on Velázquez, since he had already written about the equestrian portrait of Don Gaspar de Guzmán (1587–1645), count-duke of Olivares, in an article he coauthored in 1981 and in his book *The Royal Horse and Rider: Painting, Sculpture, and Horsemanship 1500–1800*, published in 1990. To my

surprise, he wished to begin with El Greco. As it happens, I had written entries for the Metropolitan's paintings on the occasion of the El Greco exhibition that was held in New York and London in 2003-4, and I mistakenly thought there was little left to be done. What I did not grasp was that Walter's detailed interpretation of contracts (in the case of the *The Vision of Saint John*), his reading of topography (in the case of the *View of Toledo*), and his persistent pursuit of issues of ownership and his analysis of a key inventory (in the case of *Cardinal Fernando Niño de Guevara*) would result in fundamentally new insights.

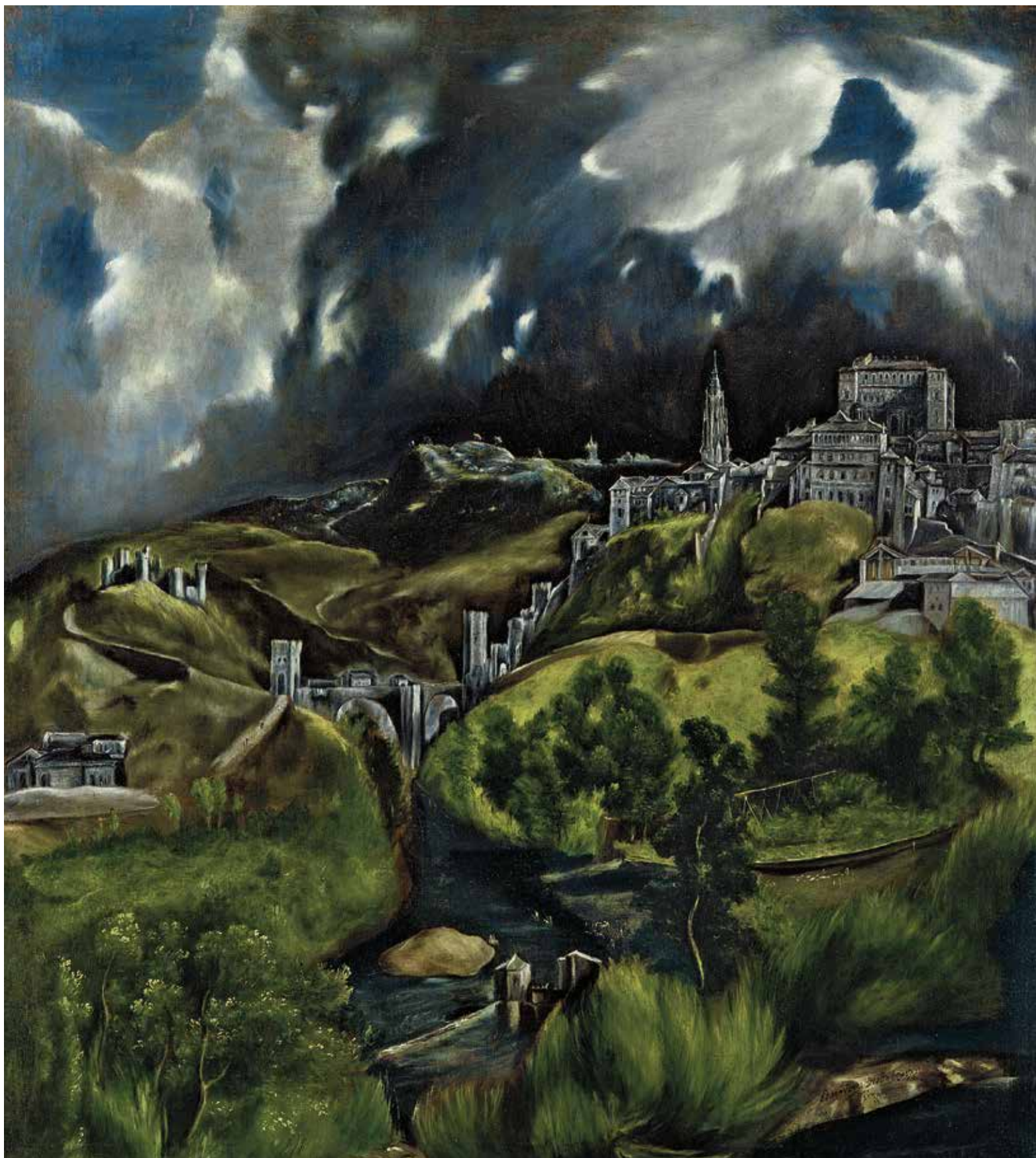
During the years Walter worked on his El Greco entries, emphasis in the department (and, indeed, the Museum) shifted from published to online cataloguing. Scholarship is a constantly evolving enterprise. The discovery of a new document, the appearance of a new piece of information or work of art, or the asking of a question no one had bothered with earlier—all these things can fundamentally change our analysis and understanding of a work of art. Online cataloguing—rather than an online publication—allows entries to be updated and thus to evolve with scholarship and reflect new information and ideas. By contrast, a published catalogue represents the view of the author at the point of time when the catalogue goes to press, taking its fixed place in the historiography of scholarship until the appearance of a revised edition.

Walter was a book person, and he very much saw his own work as situated in a specific moment of time. Moreover, he loved the form of the scholarly catalogue, with the opportunity it provided to argue at length his point of view or refute the position of another scholar without worrying about the interests of the reader, the assumption of the scholarly catalogue being that it is for fellow scholars rather than the potentially broader audience of an online catalogue. He was, moreover, a

master of the extended footnote, which gave him the possibility to digress on matters he thought germane to his subject. So while he was content that the efforts of his research should be incorporated into the online cataloguing effort of the Department of European Paintings, he always hoped his work would be published as he had initially intended. We do so here, *arti et amicitiae*.

**KEITH CHRISTIANSEN**  
*John Pope-Hennessy Chairman,*  
*Department of European Paintings,*  
*The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

*The manuscripts were edited by Katharine Baetjer, Curator,*  
*Department of European Paintings, with research assistance by*  
*Jennifer Meagher.*



*fig. 1* El Greco (Domenikos Theotokopoulos; Greek, 1540/41–1614). *A View of Toledo*, ca. 1599–1600. Oil on canvas, 47¾ × 42¾ in. (121.3 × 108.6 cm). Signed (lower right):

δομήνικος θεοτοκόπουλος ἐποίησεν  
(*Domenikos Theotokopoulos made*).  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O.  
Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs.  
H. O. Havemeyer, 1929 (29.100.6)

**WALTER LIEDTKE**

## Three Paintings by El Greco

### ***A View of Toledo, ca. 1599–1600***

This most famous of all Spanish landscapes and cityscapes was probably painted shortly before 1600, by which time El Greco had been working in Toledo for more than twenty years (fig. 1). The subject is exceptional in his oeuvre, so that the interests of a patron or other special circumstances might be expected to account for his diversion from a steady production of religious pictures and portraits. The possibility of a commission must be weighed against that of the canvas having remained in the artist's studio: "two landscapes of Toledo" are listed both in the 1614 inventory of the artist's estate and in the 1621 inventory of his son, Jorge Manuel.<sup>1</sup> The painting could also be the "landscape of Toledo [seen] toward the Alcántara Bridge" in the 1629 inventory of the estate of El Greco's important patron Pedro Salazar de Mendoza (ca. 1550–1629).<sup>2</sup>



fig. 2 El Greco, *View and Plan of Toledo*, ca. 1600–1610. Oil on canvas, 52 × 89¾ in. (132 × 228 cm). Museo del Greco, Toledo (CE00014)

Another work listed in the Salazar inventory is a “picture of the city of Toledo with its plan,” which most likely refers to the well-known *View and Plan of Toledo* (fig. 2).<sup>3</sup> That painting is probably not identical with the one called “a Toledo” in the 1614 and 1621 inventories, since the measurements given in 1621, “dos baras de largo y bara 1 cuarto de alto,” or about 41 × 66⅜ inches (104 × 168 cm), fall nearly 11 inches (28 cm) short in height and nearly 24 inches (60 cm) short in width, compared with a canvas that now measures 52 × 89¾ inches (132 × 228 cm). Furthermore, the composition and several motifs of the *View and Plan* are so uncommon that one would expect it to have been commissioned and, additionally, not to have been described simply as “a Toledo.”

In the early literature of El Greco the *View of Toledo* was usually considered to date from after 1600 or from the last ten years of the artist’s life, 1604 to 1614, evidently on stylistic grounds. Harold Wethey, by contrast, places the picture about 1595–1600, mainly because a “similar panorama” is included in the background of El Greco’s *Saint Joseph and the Christ Child*, one of three canvases executed between late 1597 and 1599 for the Capilla de San José in Toledo (where the painting of the name saint remains).<sup>4</sup> The divided cityscape in the *Saint Joseph* is similar to the *View of Toledo* in that major landmarks, such as the cathedral’s tower, the Alcázar (royal palace), a tall Renaissance palace in front of the Alcázar, and other motifs are (as described below) arranged in

ways that depart conspicuously from the actual cityscape as it would have appeared from a vantage point looking south. This strongly supports the hypothesis that the *View of Toledo* or a version of it served as a model for the views of Toledo (or motifs reminiscent of Toledo) in the altarpiece for the Capilla de San José, and in later works.<sup>5</sup>

The *View and Plan of Toledo* is dated by Wethey and most later scholars to the last four or five years of El Greco’s life. Wethey associates the wide canvas with the artist’s work from 1608 to 1614 on three altarpieces (including *The Vision of Saint John*; see fig. 15) for the Hospital de Tavera in Toledo (Hospital of Saint John the Baptist Outside the Walls). Salazar de Mendoza, who was the institution’s administrator, apparently owned the picture, in which the hospital itself is shown floating on a cloud in the center foreground.<sup>6</sup> However, El Greco’s work for Salazar dates back to 1595, when he commissioned from the artist a wooden tabernacle with carved figures for the hospital’s chapel.<sup>7</sup> The costume of the young man holding the plan in the painting is consistent with a date of about 1600.<sup>8</sup>

In any case, Salazar’s interest in the historical importance of Toledo, as well as in maps, landscapes, and city views (as revealed by the inventory of his estate), may have inspired El Greco to paint both cityscapes, as Jonathan Brown and Richard Kagan have proposed.<sup>9</sup> Whatever their chronology, the two pictures



fig. 3 Anton van den Wyngaerde (Flemish, 1525–1571). *View of Toledo Looking South*, 1563. Pen and brown ink and brown wash on paper, 16½ × 42¾ in. (42 × 107.5 cm). Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (MS Min. 41, fol. 19)

have been considered to represent rather different approaches to the subject, the one topographical (except for obvious embellishments) and the other emblematic.<sup>10</sup>

Comparing El Greco's *View and Plan* with the large topographical drawing of Toledo made in 1563 by Anton van den Wyngaerde (1525–1571) as part of a grand project for Philip II (fig. 3), it is clear that not only the painting's symbolic elements—the river god to the lower left, the Hospital de Tavera on a cloud, and the Virgin with angels and Saint Ildefonso's chasuble floating in the sky—but also its sweeping panorama of Toledo represent an interpretive approach.<sup>11</sup> The *View of Toledo*, however, goes much further in reducing and modifying the cityscape: no more than a third of the city is shown high on a verdant hill, with the cathedral tower (now resembling a French Gothic spire) placed not to the right but to the left of the Alcázar, at the top of a precipitous cascade of buildings descending to the Alcántara Bridge over the Tagus River. The outer walls and lower neighborhoods of the city have been eliminated, and one of the inner walls has been reduced to a brown band that curves like a ribbon to the right of the bridge.

Just below the Alcázar, El Greco includes a four-story palace with an arcade on the top floor.<sup>12</sup> The location and the building's height on the north side recall the Hospital de Santa Cruz, but otherwise there is little resemblance to that complex of the early 1500s. In style El Greco's structure is consistent with his remodeling of the Alcázar, and with the north facade of the most modern palace in Toledo, the Casa de Vargas, as seen to the far right in Van den Wyngaerde's view. In the *View and Plan* the Casa de Vargas (center right in fig. 2) is revised in the same manner, as if the taste for the Italian Mannerist architect Sebastiano Serlio (1475–1554) that the artist shared with Diego de Vargas's architect, Francisco de Villalpando (ca. 1510–ca. 1561), gave him license to suggest that new construction in Toledo was *au courant* with that in Italy.<sup>13</sup>

While these monuments testify to Toledo's modernity, others remind one of the city's importance in the past. The Roman bridge of Alcántara (*al-Qantara* in Arabic) was built between A.D. 104 and 106 by order of Emperor Trajan. The Castillo de San Servando, on the hill to the left, was founded as a monastery a few years after Alfonso VI of Castile and León, in 1085, took Toledo from the Moors; in the late 1300s it was transformed into a castle to protect the bridge from attack. The late medieval Alcázar, which had been built on the site of an Islamic castle, was remodeled beginning in 1543 by the Serlio-inspired architect Alonso de Covarrubias (1488–1570), for Charles V and Philip II.

The building or complex on the cloudlike mound to the left has been variously interpreted. Brown and Kagan suggest that this seemingly imaginary or misplaced motif may have been inserted because of its historical significance, and that the most likely identification would be with the long-lost Agaliense monastery to which the patron saint of Toledo, Ildefonso (607–667), went on a retreat as a youth.<sup>14</sup> However, the presence of figures on the mound and on the nearby pathway to the bridge, as well as the structure's open doorways, could indicate that this site outside the city walls actually existed about 1600 and was accessible to lay Toledans. If so, El Greco may have had in mind the Shrine of San Ildefonso or the neighboring Abbey of Santa Leocadia, which are seen just above the Monastery of San Bartolomé de la Vega to the far right in Van den Wyngaerde's drawing. These two famous saints of Toledo (Leocadia died there about 304) were intensely venerated in the late sixteenth century.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps, like the Hospital de Tavera in the *View and Plan*, the shrine or, more likely, the abbey is depicted here “in the form of a model and moved from its place,” to quote the painter's explanation of the floating structure in the panoramic view.<sup>16</sup> As recorded by Van den Wyngaerde, there was no such cluster of buildings on the plain, where the Huerta del Rey



(King's Garden) flourished, partly with the help of large irrigation wheels.

To the lower right in the *View of Toledo*, what appears to be a raised sluiceway recedes into the trees. Some scholars have speculated that this motif refers to the Artificio de Juanelo, the huge mechanical system for bringing water from the Tagus River up to the Alcázar built in the 1560s by the Italian-Spanish engineer, mathematician, and clockmaker Gianello Torriano (Juanelo Turriano).<sup>17</sup> El Greco would have known Torriano's second device, which was completed in 1581 and operated for the next half century. However, the complicated apparatus was housed in a sequence of masonry chambers on the other side of the Alcántara Bridge, and it seems highly improbable that a contemporary viewer of the picture would have taken El Greco's rudimentary contraption as a reminder of the scientific marvel. Brown and Kagan, by contrast, wonder if such a sluiceway might have been connected with a cloth or "fulling" mill.<sup>18</sup> Some support for this view could be found in the group of figures with what are most likely bolts of white cloth laid on the ground near the retaining wall beneath the sluiceway.<sup>19</sup> A reference to cloth manufacture would be appropriate since this was Toledo's leading industry. At the same time, these figures, others near the water's edge—apparently fishing—and the sluiceway could also be taken together as signs of the river's importance to daily life in the city. A related question is whether the sky promises rain, as some writers have assumed.<sup>20</sup> Rain would have been regarded during this period as a gift from God, but it is also possible that the dark background to the skyline and the dramatic play of clouds were intended solely as expressive elements in the overall design.<sup>21</sup>

It is obvious from Van den Wyngaerde's drawing that El Greco exaggerated the city's ascent above the surrounding landscape, especially as seen from the north. Precedents for this kind of enhancement and the exaggeration of key motifs are fairly common in Byzantine and late medieval cityscapes.<sup>22</sup> The painter's artistic origins (unlike Van den Wyngaerde's) predisposed him to the "emblematic" approach, but for an actual model he may have turned to a plate in Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's new *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cologne, 1572–1618), several volumes of which were owned by Salazar.<sup>23</sup>

In this famous atlas the fidelity of the cityscapes to their actual topography varies greatly, depending on their sources. The view of Toledo in volume 1 (1572; fig. 4) is based on a drawing recorded at the site in the mid-1560s by the meticulous Fleming Joris Hoefnagel (1542–1601).<sup>24</sup> It provides a detailed record of the major monuments and many houses of Toledo, and the topography is close to that which one would see standing on high ground looking north. (El Greco's view is taken from the opposite side.) When Hogenberg engraved the same view (with a new border inscribed "Depingebat Georgius Hoefnaglius Ao 1566") for publication in volume 5 (ca. 1598), he considerably raised the profile of the city in both a literal and a figurative sense (fig. 5).<sup>25</sup> The proportions of the city proper are now (height to width) one to three rather than one to four; the major buildings have been enlarged; the lesser public buildings (including several churches) and all the houses have been simplified; and the cathedral and the Alcázar are reproduced in large, more detailed images in the lower corners of the plate.



In terms of topography, the circa 1598 Hogenberg view of Toledo looking north could have been of little use to El Greco. There are, however, some surprising similarities in composition between the Museum's painting and the print. The fact that the cathedral (top center in the engraving) is seen left of the Alcázar (on the upper right) is of interest. But perhaps more intriguing is the jagged descent of towers and buildings to the left in the circa 1598 Hogenberg view (fig. 5; compare fig. 1), below which broad grassy areas are embraced by the Tagus (which wraps around the city on the south side but not on the north). A spillway with a pair of small buildings (presumably mills) spans the river to the lower left, where bolts of cloth are being laid out at the water's edge (fig. 6). These motifs (which do not go back to the plate of 1572) were apparently inserted by Hogenberg, and adopted by El Greco.

The second view of Toledo in Braun and Hogenberg's atlas (which El Greco could not have seen before 1598) may have given the painter a point of departure for basic elements of his design and a few motifs, but the publication would have been more important to him (and to Salazar) for the idea of celebrating great cities in pictorial terms. This view, with its inset views labeled *Templum Archiepiscopatum* and *Palatium Regium*, is symbolic of princely or noble accomplishment. El Greco perhaps recalled the two large views of the town of Caprarola, seen in profile against hilly landscapes and sky, that Federico Zuccaro painted in 1567 as part of the fresco decorations in the Villa Farnese at Caprarola, where other city views and the grand Sala dei Mappamondi (Hall of World Maps) surveyed Farnese territories and victories.<sup>26</sup> Contemporary accounts record that in two of Philip II's

palaces, El Pardo in Madrid (burned in 1604) and the Alcázar in Madrid (burned in 1734), views of cities by Van den Wyngaerde or a close associate were on display. At the royal palace in Madrid these paintings included prospects of Toledo and at least a dozen other Spanish cities.<sup>27</sup>

As an independent painting and in almost every other respect, the *View of Toledo* remains an exceptional work in the history of Spanish art and in the long history of cityscapes. El Greco's style, employed to spiritual and visionary effect in his religious pictures, seems not merely dramatic but spectacular when applied to a nominally topographical subject like this one.<sup>28</sup> The artist places the essential and most significant monuments of Toledo on a summit between heaven and earth. A knowledgeable viewer of the time would have immediately recognized the cathedral and the Alcázar not only as paired signs of church and crown but also as reminders that the archbishop was primate of Spain and that Toledo was still considered the "Imperial City." The few other identifiable structures suffice to suggest fifteen hundred years of history, while the more modern buildings, the activity of minute figures, and the surprisingly lush landscape (with a repoussoir of urgent vegetation in the foreground) proclaim the city's vitality. The picture is less a "view" of Toledo than a vision, a dream, a revelation—like that of the New Jerusalem:

I saw a new heaven and a new earth. . . . And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven (Rev. 21:1–2).

fig. 4 View of Toledo Looking North, in Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572–1618), vol. 1 (1572), pl. 4. Engraving

fig. 5 View of Toledo Looking North, in Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572–1618), vol. 5 (ca. 1598), pl. 15. Engraving

fig. 6 Detail of fig. 5; compare with the foreground in El Greco's *View of Toledo* (fig. 1)



*fig. 7* El Greco. *Cardinal Fernando Niño de Guevara*, ca. 1600. Oil on canvas, 67¼ × 42½ in. (170.8 × 108 cm). Signed lower center: *δομη- νίκος θεοτοκόπουλος έποίηι* (*Domenikos Theotokopoulos made*). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929 (29.100.5)

## ***Cardinal Fernando Niño de Guevara, ca. 1600***

This intense portrait, one of the finest and most ambitious painted by El Greco, was purchased by Henry and Louisine Havemeyer in Paris on June 1, 1904 (fig. 7). Best known for their pioneering role in bringing French Impressionist paintings to America, with the encouragement of their adviser and friend the painter Mary Cassatt, the Havemeyers would become important benefactors of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Their growing interest, beginning in the mid-1880s, in old master paintings (portraits by Bronzino, Rembrandt, and Goya were already in their collection before they bought this one) certainly influenced their appreciation of El Greco, especially his portraits. On their first trip to Spain, in 1901, they met with the El Greco scholar Manuel Cossío, went to Toledo to see paintings by the artist in their original settings, and visited private collections to see and possibly purchase works by El Greco, as well as by Velázquez and Goya. In April 1901 the dealer Joseph Wicht showed Cassatt the present picture, then in the Oñate Palace, Madrid, which effectively began a three-year campaign by the Havemeyers to acquire it. This was achieved by their favorite dealer, Paul Durand-Ruel, who was based in Paris, on trips to Madrid in 1903 and 1904.<sup>1</sup>

### **THE SUBJECT**

The sitter is Fernando Niño de Guevara (1541–1609), a Toledo nobleman whose important ecclesiastical offices in Spain were gained through the favor of Philip II and Philip III.<sup>2</sup> He was the third child of Rodrigo Niño Zapata, Señor (Lord) de Añover y de Lorqui (d. 1558), and Teresa de Guevara.<sup>3</sup> Niño de Guevara studied canon law at the University of Alcalá de Henares, and between 1567 and 1571 earned a doctorate in both canon and civil law at the University of Salamanca.

In the 1570s he served as *oidor* (judge or auditor) in the Chancellery of Valladolid and as archdeacon of the Cathedral of Cuenca. From 1580 he was a member of the Royal Council of Castile and served also on the Council of the Inquisition, most prominently, from 1584, as president of the Chancellery of Granada. In 1596, with the support of Philip II, Niño de Guevara was created cardinal and went to Rome for about three years.<sup>4</sup> In El Greco's portrait the sitter wears a cardinal's biretta, mozzetta, and lace-trimmed rochet.

Niño de Guevara was nominated as inquisitor general of Spain in April 1599; he returned from Rome in November and assumed the office on December 23. His service to the young Philip III (r. 1598–1621) lasted only about two years, since the king's favorite, the duke of Lerma, was determined to place his own uncle in the cardinal's position. To that end, evidently, Niño de Guevara was named archbishop of Seville, on April 30, 1601. The appointment required residence in the diocese, which began officially with a public entry into Seville on December 31, 1601. Niño de Guevara resigned as inquisitor general early in 1602; he remained archbishop of Seville until his death on January 8, 1609.<sup>5</sup>

Most scholars date the Metropolitan's picture either to 1600, when Niño de Guevara (then aged about fifty-nine) was in Toledo as inquisitor general, or to 1601, when he stopped at Toledo en route to Seville. The sitting more likely occurred in 1600, considering that the cardinal was in Toledo for several weeks during March and April, together with the king and queen and members of the court. Philip III and Margarita of Austria entered the city on March 2, 1600, and a few days later attended an *auto public general* (auto-da-fé), at which the king vowed to protect the Holy Office and forty-six transgressors were condemned to death.



Niño de Guevara's notoriety as a persecutor has been related by many critics to the vulturine pose and stare of the sitter in El Greco's portrait. Jonathan Brown and Dawson Carr, however, have suggested that he is instead Lerma's mild-mannered uncle Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas (1546–1618), who was created cardinal-priest on March 3, 1599, and appointed archbishop of Toledo on April 19 of the same year.<sup>6</sup> This hypothesis, based on various conjectures and assumptions, may be discounted mainly because the resemblance between El Greco's sitter and Sandoval, as he appears in an engraving (1599) and in a posthumous portrait by Luis Tristán (1618–19), is not nearly as close as has been claimed, and because further provenance research strongly supports the identification with Niño de Guevara.<sup>7</sup>

In the engraving (fig. 8), which was probably made in Rome in 1599, the fifty-three-year-old Sandoval appears younger and fuller in the face than El Greco's figure.<sup>8</sup> His glance is direct and his expression congenial; this seems to be the Sandoval known for his charity, liberal reforms, and literary interests. His dark beard extends from thick sideburns and follows his jawline (the face below the cheekbones is shaded but bare) down to the squared-off beard. The mustache is rounded downward, rather as the eyebrows are arched. All these features reappear in Tristán's much later

portrait of Sandoval as archbishop (fig. 9), where parts of the beard are now gray and the face has become thinner. But there is still little resemblance to the face that El Greco painted, with its straight brows, thin gray hair at the temples, a heavier beard covering half the cheeks as well as the jawline, a narrower nose, a mustache angled past the corners of a wider mouth, and a nearly white goatee neatly tapered to a point.<sup>9</sup> The apparently thick eyeglasses are secured by strings hooked behind the ears, which suggests that the sitter depended on these "cord-spectacles" not only for reading but for vision in general.<sup>10</sup> The type was modern and fashionable in Spain, suggesting erudition, although glasses would not have been included in a such a portrait unless they were distinctive of the sitter's actual appearance. Glasses are not worn by Sandoval in the two conventional portraits of him, or in Tristán's painting of 1618, *Cardinal-Archbishop Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas with Saint Bernardo* (Convento de San Clemente, Toledo), where the bareheaded patron reveals very little resemblance to the cardinal painted by El Greco.<sup>11</sup>

#### EARLY HISTORY

The provenance of the Museum's picture, as revealed by recent research, also supports the identification of the sitter with Niño de Guevara. As noted by Keith Christiansen in 2003, the portrait may be traced back

fig. 8 Artist unknown. Cardinal Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, 1599. Engraving. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

fig. 9 Luis Tristán (Spanish, 1586–1624). *Cardinal-Archbishop Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas*, 1618–19. Oil on canvas, 31½ × 21¼ in. (80 × 54 cm). Toledo Cathedral

from the Oñate collection through the Condes de Añover to Pedro Lasso de la Vega Niño y Guzmán (1559–1637), 1st Conde de los Arcos, and Señor de Cuerva, Batres y Añover de Tormes. Pedro Lasso (often called Arcos in the literature) had been a supporter of El Greco since at least 1596, when he served as one of the *fiadores* (bondsmen) for the artist in his contract for the great altarpiece he made for the Colegio de Doña Maria de Aragon in Madrid.<sup>12</sup>

The Conde de los Arcos was Niño de Guevara's nephew and "the one titled nobleman known to have belonged to El Greco's circle in Toledo."<sup>13</sup> At the time of his death, in 1637, he owned about seven or eight paintings by El Greco, probably including the *View of Toledo* (see fig. 1), and the *Allegory of the Camaldolese Order* (Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid), which he must have commissioned about 1599.<sup>14</sup> Richard Kagan suggests that the Conde de los Arcos may have recommended El Greco to his uncle when he was visiting his native city.<sup>15</sup>

The presumption that Niño de Guevara commissioned his own portrait would appear plausible, but it deserves closer examination. There is no known record of the picture having been in his possession or anywhere in Seville (for example, in the Archiepiscopal Palace or the cathedral). Pedro Lasso, one of his uncle's executors, acquired from the estate a "small picture of the Nativity . . . by the hand of Federico Zuccaro," but no work by El Greco appears to have come from the same source.<sup>16</sup> It seems likely that Niño de Guevara owned some devotional images and religious objects but did not collect works of art per se. Of course, portraits were a special case, often marking a new distinction, such as a noble title or ecclesiastical office. Nevertheless, portraits commissioned by the sitters themselves (except at court) were still a novelty in most Spanish cities; Kagan describes those by El Greco as a kind of social climbing on the part of his Toledo patrons.<sup>17</sup> That no other portrait, painted or engraved, dates from his lifetime could indicate that the inquisitor general saw no need to enhance his reputation through portraiture.<sup>18</sup>

A substantial body of circumstantial evidence suggests that Pedro Lasso not only owned the portrait in his later years but commissioned it in the first place. By 1600 he had been El Greco's patron for several years. His position at court, including his creation as Conde de los Arcos in 1599, must have been connected with Niño de Guevara's naming as inquisitor general in April of that year (nephews of Spanish churchmen were often strongly favored by their uncles, since they usually had no sons of their own). The display of such a grand portrait, which asserts the sitter's rank and power, may be

regarded as a public gesture, assuming that the painting could have been seen in one of the count's residences, a family chapel, or an institution such as a church that he was known to support. In design and presentation the picture resembles a royal or papal portrait rather than the routine likenesses that were made to record (often in a standardized format) members of a family or a long line of clergymen.

Among the many works of art that Pedro Lasso collected and commissioned were family portraits and portraits of public figures, including famous churchmen and Spanish royalty. According to the inventory of pictures that the count had compiled (by the painter and appraiser Juan Bautista Maíno) from 1632 onward, most of the portraits were installed in the seigneurial castle at Batres, southwest of Madrid. In the *sala grande* could be found, in addition to "two medium-size [pictures] by Domenico Greco," the *Allegory of the Camaldolese Order* (mentioned above) and "a portrait of part of Toledo" (most likely the *View of Toledo*), and many other works of art, "forty-six half-length portraits of famous men of letters and arms, and some kinsmen of the lords of this house."<sup>19</sup>

The numerous religious works on display in the oratory included twelve paintings of the Apostles, an altarpiece depicting the Nativity "made in Venice," a painting of "Nuestra Señora de la Leche [i.e., nursing the Christ Child] de mano del griego" (possibly El Greco's *Holy Family* in the Hispanic Society, New York), and a *Saint Luke* by El Greco, as well as portraits of Saint Teresa of Avila (1515–1582), of Aldonza Niño (Pedro Lasso's mother, who was devoted to Saint Teresa), and of Francisco de Cogolludo (d. 1630), a revered Franciscan monk in the Royal Convent of San Gil in Madrid.<sup>20</sup>

Other rooms in the "casa y fortaleza de Batres" featured portraits of the recent popes (and Spanish allies) Pius V (r. 1566–72) and Sixtus V (r. 1585–90), of Cardinal Diego de Espinosa (inquisitor general from 1566 until his death in 1572), and of Bishop Cornelio Musso (1511–1574), a prominent figure at the Council of Trent, known in Spain for his sermons condemning Muslims and Jews. Portraits of much earlier churchmen included those of Saint Gregory the Great (ca. 540–604), Saint Dominic (either Domingo de Silos [1000–1073] or Domingo Félix de Guzmán [1170–1221]), Saint Catherine of Siena (1347–1380), and the Catholic martyr Sir Thomas More (1478–1535). The many portraits of Spanish royalty at Batres are less relevant here, but they included sixteen of Spanish kings and queens.<sup>21</sup> A similar but less extensive group of royal portraits hung in Pedro Lasso's house in Madrid. Family portraits were also displayed in Madrid as well as at Batres.<sup>22</sup>

It is among a group of a dozen family portraits listed (probably by location) in Pedro Lasso's Madrid residence that we come across the first known record of the present portrait by El Greco:

Un retrato del Cardl D. Ferdo Niño arcobispo de Sevilla. Inquisidor genl sentado en silla. en cien ducos (A portrait of Cardinal Don Fernando Niño archbishop of Seville [and] inquisitor general seated in a chair. [Valued] at 100 *ducados*)

No other portrait of a churchman is listed as in Madrid, whereas a good number were gathered at Batres and a few of those pictures represented prelates comparable to Niño de Guevara. However, Niño de Guevara was not only a prominent member of Pedro Lasso's family but also, like every other family member included in the count's portrait collection, a devoted servant of the crown. The family portraits in Madrid were listed immediately after all the royal portraits, perhaps because they were displayed in the same room. In any case, it appears that Pedro Lasso considered the proper place for the cardinal's portrait to have been at his residence in Madrid rather than at Batres, Cuerva, or Toledo.<sup>23</sup>

#### NIÑO DE GUEVARA'S FAMILY AS PATRONS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

It is difficult to distinguish supporters of the church from supporters of the crown during this period of Spanish history, since the two institutions were so enmeshed at the social levels under discussion.<sup>24</sup> However, a few words on Niño de Guevara's family, specifically as supporters of convents and churches, may help to explain why they would have valued the portrait by El Greco and to address the question of the work's most likely whereabouts between its creation and its first known mention in 1632.

Two religious institutions were of particular interest to Niño de Guevara's siblings and their successors: the Hieronymite convent of San Pablo in Toledo and the parish church of Santiago Apóstol in Cuerva, near Toledo to the southwest. Niño de Guevara himself, his parents, and other forebears were buried in San Pablo's *capilla mayor*, which the convent sold to the family in 1583. Aldonza Niño de Guevara, the cardinal's sister and Pedro Lasso's mother, lived in the convent after her husband died in 1562, and three of her sisters were also secluded there: the nuns Isabel and Ana Niño and the widowed Costanza (from 1579). A portrait of Niño de Guevara, installed near his tomb monument, is recorded in the 1908 monograph on El Greco by Cossío, who considered it a copy of the

present painting. But no such picture is mentioned in the various descriptions of the chapel that date from 1800 to 1890, and there is no evidence of any other family portrait ever having hung there.<sup>25</sup>

In 1585 Aldonza Niño, inspired by Teresa of Avila (who had died three years earlier), founded a convent of Discalced Carmelites (Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación) using family property at Cuerva. She served there as prioress until her death in 1604 and was buried in the adjoining church of Santiago Apóstol, the construction and renovation of which had been supported by her family throughout the 1500s, and by Aldonza herself in a remodeling of 1565–72.<sup>26</sup> In his will of 1615 Aldonza's son Rodrigo, in Flanders, declared that he and his brother, Pedro Lasso, had together resolved to “adorn our burial places in the main chapel in the parish church of Señor Santiago in the town of Cuerva, where our parents and [some of] our forebears are buried,” and had ordered that “a chapel be made on the Epistle [right-hand] side of the high altar of the said main chapel, in which [will be] placed and arranged numerous relics . . . acquired from diverse parts outside these realms at much cost and effort and have had adorned [or enshrined] in the best, most decent and richest manner [possible].<sup>27</sup> The will also refers to paintings and other works of art that were to embellish the chapel, but the only picture specified is Luis Tristán's large *Last Supper* (still in situ).<sup>28</sup> The Capilla de Reliquias was constructed between 1616 and 1620, the year of Rodrigo's death, after which Pedro Lasso was the chapel's generous supporter.

Neither Pedro Lasso's mother nor his brother Rodrigo are likely to have commissioned the cardinal's portrait, however highly they might have regarded him. By the time El Greco met the sitter, Aldonza Niño had lived apart for decades, and appears to have concerned herself mainly with monastic affairs.<sup>29</sup> Her removal, in Cuerva, from Pedro Lasso's world in Toledo nonetheless seems slight compared with that of her second son, Rodrigo Niño y Lasso de la Vega (ca. 1560–1620), who was granted the title of 2nd Conde de Añover in 1609. Although deeply pious, he signed on with the Spanish Armada in 1588, and after many trials and severe hardships—sinking off the Irish coast, capture by English troops, and imprisonment in Flanders for more than a year—joined the Spanish army in the Netherlands. By 1595 he had returned to Spain, but in that year he became *gentilhombre de la Cámara* to Cardinal-Archduke Albert (succeeding his uncle Gabriel Niño) and departed with him to Brussels. During the next twenty-five years Rodrigo Niño was



fig. 10 Juan Pantoja de la Cruz (Spanish, 1553–1608). *Philip III*, 1605. Oil on canvas, 74 × 40½ in. (188 × 102 cm). El Escorial, San Lorenzo de El Escorial (10034481)

almost always in the Spanish Netherlands, returning to Madrid only on rare occasions (as in 1601 and 1604) to consult with Philip III on Albert's behalf. He rose through the ranks of Albert's household, and by 1615 he held all three of the highest offices at Albert and Isabella's court and had amassed a considerable fortune.<sup>30</sup> Rodrigo also inherited the lucrative office of treasurer of the mint in Toledo, which Pedro Lasso supervised in his brother's absence, together with his properties in Spain.<sup>31</sup> Rodrigo died a childless bachelor in 1620, so that his entitlements and various possessions went to Pedro Lasso, who ceded them to his son, Luis. Rodrigo's brother did not receive from him any portraits of their uncle, Niño de Guevara, nor was such a picture recorded among Rodrigo's possessions in the Netherlands.<sup>32</sup>

#### THE INVENTORY OF 1632–39

Pedro Lasso's son, Luis Lasso de la Vega y Mendoza (1597–1632), 3rd Conde de Añover, served as *gentilhombre de la Cámara* to the king's younger brother Don Carlos.<sup>33</sup> The prospect of a great career vanished with a sudden illness and his death on March 11, 1632, five years before that of his father (whose wife had died in 1627). Luis Lasso left behind a young widow, María Magdalena Pacheco (b. 1605), and six children. Their birth dates are mostly unknown, but the eldest son and future 2nd Conde de los Arcos, Pedro Lasso de la Vega (1622–1699), was not yet ten years old at the time.<sup>34</sup>

Luis's death, leaving the seventy-three-year-old Conde de los Arcos without an immediate heir, necessitated the inventory of 1632.<sup>35</sup> Much that could have been left to Luis in a few lines of his father's will now needed to be described and appraised before its distribution could be considered. A first draft of the inventory was completed by April 15, a month after Luis's burial in Cuerva. Additions to and drafts of the inventory were made as late as 1639.<sup>36</sup>

As noted above, Maíno valued the portrait of Niño de Guevara at 100 *ducados*. In a column headed "Vendieronse" (They [the following works] were sold), the portrait is marked down "en 880," meaning "for 880 *reales*" (80 *ducados*; one *ducado* equals eleven *reales*). One might take these different numbers as estimates and actual results of a public auction. Brown and Carr, for example, concede that the portrait "was perhaps bought by another member of the family," but they stress the alternative, of "someone outside the family," offering the winning bid.<sup>37</sup> However, the numbers tell a different story. The amount for which a painting or a pair of pictures was "sold" is almost always smaller than Maíno's estimate (a few are the same), and in the great majority of cases the amounts differ by a simple fraction ( $\frac{3}{5}$  being the most common).<sup>38</sup> Such a consistent scheme of reducing Maíno's values by fifths, or, in fewer cases, by quarters, thirds, or half, could not result from competitive bidding.<sup>39</sup> The values clearly record a distribution of pictures among family members, probably with Pedro Lasso, his in-laws, and members of his daughter-in-law's family as the sole or main recipients. Nothing would have been "sold" in the usual sense: the values at which pictures went to individuals would have been totaled in order to ensure a fair or proportional disposition of goods.<sup>40</sup>

Support for this hypothesis comes from a marginal notation on the first page: the *Nativity* by Zuccaro (once owned by Niño de Guevara) was "sent to Cuerva." It was probably Pedro Lasso who set aside the small



fig. 11 Titian (Italian, ca. 1485/90?–1576). *Pope Paul III*, 1543. Oil on canvas, 44¾ × 35 in. (113.7 × 88.8 cm). Museo di Capodimonte, Naples (Q 130)

fig. 12 Workshop of Bartolomeo Passerotti (Italian, 1529–1592). *Pope Pius V*, 1566. Oil on canvas, 55¾ × 44½ in. (142 × 113 cm). Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (Pe 327)

devotional picture for the church or family chapel at Cuerva, since he was their main patron during the 1630s. Of course, the shorthand “Cuerva” would not have been used to record a buyer at a public sale.

In their attempt to identify El Greco’s sitter with Cardinal Sandoval rather than Niño de Guevara, Brown and Carr point out that “the author of the picture is not named” in the inventory, something that Maíno could have easily done since he “was sufficiently familiar with the style of El Greco,” and the painting is signed.<sup>41</sup> However, the great majority of works in the inventory are not attributed, and the value that Maíno assigned to the cardinal’s portrait is quite high.<sup>42</sup> The purpose of estate inventories in this period was appraisal, not connoisseurship: objects were described sufficiently to be identified by the interested parties (the description of the cardinal’s portrait is almost effusive in this regard). On April 28, 1632 (two weeks after appraising all the paintings in Pedro Lasso’s care), Maíno appraised twenty-eight paintings in Luis Lasso’s personal collection, and while most were thought to be worth 200 to 440 *reales*, none is attributed.<sup>43</sup> About one-fifth of the approximately 132 pictures in the Duke of Alcalá’s collection (Seville) were given artists’ names in an inventory made during the 1630s, and less than 10 percent in the 1637 inventory of the duke’s estate.<sup>44</sup> Velázquez is known to have appraised five collections between 1625 and 1636, and in only one instance, in 1627, did



he record an artist’s name—his own—as the painter of *The Waterseller* (1620–22; Apsley House, London), in the collection of his friend Juan de Fonseca y Figueroa.<sup>45</sup>

#### STYLE AND EXPRESSION

In style and expression, El Greco’s painting is one of the most remarkable portraits ever painted in Spain, especially when it is compared with contemporary formal portraits by artists such as Juan Pantoja de la Cruz (fig. 10). The most convincing comparisons with earlier works have been with portraits by Titian, in particular his three-quarter-length seated portrait of Pope Paul III, of 1543 (fig. 11), and the famous full-length portrait *Pope Paul III with His Grandsons Alessandro and Ottavio Farnese*, of 1545–46 (Museo di Capodimonte, Naples). Christiansen emphasizes the latter as important both for “El Greco’s understanding of portraiture as characterisation” and for his freedom of execution in the astonishing display of highlights on the cardinal’s costume and in other passages.<sup>46</sup>

El Greco would have seen more recent portraits of popes and cardinals when he was in Rome, and probably in Spain as well. As mentioned above, the artist’s patron Pedro Lasso had at Batres portraits of Pius V and Sixtus V. Pius was pope during most of the years El Greco worked in Italy, and his principal portraitist, Bartolomeo Passerotti, was himself inspired by Titian in works such as the *Portrait of Pope Pius V*,

of 1566 (Walters Art Museum, Baltimore).<sup>47</sup> A portrait of Pius V, probably from Passerotti's workshop (fig. 12), may be compared with El Greco's painting with respect to pose and expression.<sup>48</sup>

But it is Titian's portraits of Paul III that more closely anticipate the present picture in terms of animation and psychological intensity. One also finds in portraits by Titian the use, as here, of a setting or background to expressive effect. Perhaps the best example is *Charles V Seated*, of 1548 (fig. 13), where the chair sits insecurely on a seemingly tilted floor and the background is split between a brocade wall hanging and a generic landscape view (an insubstantial column divides the two).<sup>49</sup> Titian's type of setting, when translated into the stylized manner of Spanish court portraiture, was reduced to abstract patterns pressing toward the picture plane. Thus the door, silk brocade wall covering (not gilt leather, as has been claimed), and tiled floor in the portrait of Niño de Guevara are also anticipated in Alonso Sánchez Coello's large canvas *Isabella Clara Eugenia and Magdalena Ruiz*, of about 1585–88 (fig. 14), where brocade panels, a nearly featureless plane, and a Persian-style carpet contrast in color with the Infanta's elaborately patterned gown.

If Sánchez Coello's approach is essentially decorative, suggesting luxury, El Greco's version of the court convention is restless and unbalanced, implying a forceful personality. The cardinal sits still but tensely, his drapery swept to the right, which together with the dense shadow beneath the chair suggests slight levitation. The difference between his hands (which evoke Van Dyck and Grünewald) is complemented by the forms around them, with the rectilinear section suggesting stability and the brocade agitation, as if the cardinal held within himself a holy rage. The looping pattern on the wall amplifies the thrust of his glance and the impulsive movement sensed in his left arm.<sup>50</sup> He looks to his left, with lips slightly parted, as if reacting to some intrusion (like a Saint Anthony, who has dealt with demons before), or to impart orders, perhaps in response to the unfolded letter on the floor. At least one scholar has seen the hands as suggesting rigid implacability as opposed to the possibility of pardon.<sup>51</sup> The accuracy of these speculations is immaterial compared to the fact that El Greco's characterization of the sitter gives rise to them. Cardinal Niño de Guevara seems to embody the Last Judgment or the Inquisition, if not in action then in resolve.

fig. 13 Titian. *Charles V Seated*, 1548. Oil on canvas, 80% × 48 in. (205 × 122 cm). Alte Pinakothek, Munich (632)

fig. 14 Alonso Sánchez Coello (Spanish, 1531–1588). *Isabella Clara Eugenia and Magdalena Ruiz*, ca. 1585–88. Oil on canvas, 81½ × 50¾ in. (207 × 129 cm). Museo del Prado, Madrid (P861)





*fig. 15* El Greco. *The Vision of Saint John (The Opening of the Fifth Seal)*, 1608–14. Oil on canvas, 87½ × 76 in. (222.3 × 193 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1956 (56.48)

## *The Vision of Saint John (The Opening of the Fifth Seal), 1608–14*

In conception and execution, this painting is one of El Greco's most extraordinary works and a quintessential example of his late expressionist style (fig. 15). In the twentieth century the picture preoccupied several major artists, most memorably Picasso in *Les Femmes d'Alger*, of 1907 (Museum of Modern Art, New York).<sup>1</sup>

The *Vision of Saint John* was painted between 1608 and El Greco's death in 1614 as part of his last major project for a religious institution. As suggested by the Evangelist's gesture and glance, a significant part of the composition has been lost at the top: the painting was originally almost twice as high (by about 76 in., or 193 cm) and slightly wider to the left (by perhaps 6½ in., or 16.5 cm).<sup>2</sup> The work is also unfinished to some extent, but the painter would not have taken the surviving part of the picture much further.<sup>3</sup> Fortunately, neither his son, Jorge Manuel, nor any other assistant had a hand in the execution.<sup>4</sup>

### THE COMMISSION

Three altarpiece ensembles, or retables, were ordered from the artist in November 1608 for the church of the new Hospital of Saint John the Baptist Outside the Walls, on the north side of Toledo. Since the period of its construction, between the 1540s and 1603, the complex has also been known as the Hospital de Afuera ("outside," in contrast to the older Hospital de Santa Cruz, within the walls of Toledo) and, more commonly, as the Hospital de Tavera, named for its founder, Cardinal Juan Pardo de Tavera (1472–1545), archbishop of Toledo (1534–45) and inquisitor general of Spain (1539–45).<sup>5</sup>

The commission for the altarpieces was awarded by the hospital's administrator and El Greco's patron of many years, Pedro Salazar de Mendoza (ca. 1550–1629).<sup>6</sup>

In 1595 Salazar had the artist make a wooden tabernacle (*custodia*) with sculpted figures for the high altar of the hospital's church, and he had since acquired several paintings by El Greco for his own collection, including, most likely, the *View and Plan of Toledo*, where the Tavera Hospital floats on a cloud in the middle ground (see fig. 2).

Tavera's magnificent marble tomb monument stands in the expansive crossing of the church. Carved by Alonso Berruguete (1486–1561) between 1557 and 1561, it makes the building not only a place of worship but also an exceptionally grand burial chapel. As seen from the nave, the monument stands before the high altar and the main retable and is flanked by tall altarpieces at either side (fig. 16).<sup>7</sup>

Certainly intended for the central location, above the high altar, was El Greco's *Baptism of Christ* (fig. 17), infelicitously finished by Jorge Manuel in the early 1620s: the church is dedicated to the Baptist, and the 1621 inventory of Jorge Manuel's possessions refers to "el bautismo prinzipal del ospital."<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, after Jorge's failure to finish the project in his lifetime (he died in 1631), the court painter Félix Castello (1595–1651) signed a contract (dated April 23, 1635) with the hospital for "el quadro grande de el Altar mayor, el bautismo de San Juan," and for "dos quadros grandes para los dos colaterales [side altars], el uno de la encarnación [Annunciation] y el otro de una visión de apocalipssi."<sup>9</sup> These details are consistent with the earlier evidence, and there is no reason to suppose (with Richard Mann) that Salazar's carefully conceived arrangement might have been revised.<sup>10</sup>

That *The Baptism* and not *The Vision of Saint John* was intended for placement above the high altar is indicated not only on the grounds of iconography and docu-



fig. 16 Interior of the church of the Hospital of Saint John the Baptist Outside the Walls (Hospital de Tavera), Toledo

mentation but also by the paintings' dimensions. The matter is complicated, since two of the canvases—*The Vision* and *The Annunciation* (fig. 18b)—have been substantially cut down, and the gilded wood frames designed by El Greco were unfinished at his death and were not installed until after the death of Jorge Manuel.<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless, *The Baptism* (129 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 83 $\frac{1}{8}$  in.; 330 × 211 cm), which remains nearly intact, could never have been intended as a “pendant” to *The Annunciation*, which has the same width (usually given as 209 cm), but, when taken together with its original upper part, the *Concert of Angels*, now in Athens (fig. 18a), was between 161 $\frac{5}{8}$  and 163 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches (410/415 cm) high, or about 31 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches (80 cm) taller than *The Baptism*.<sup>12</sup> The central painting was shorter because it was not framed separately but fit into a much larger scheme, that of the main retable with three levels of architecture and sculpture designed by El Greco, along with his tabernacle of 1595 (64 in. [162.6 cm] high) and, on top of it, his polychrome statue of the Risen Christ (17 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. [45 cm] high) placed before the central bay.<sup>13</sup> Thus, *The Baptism* would have been raised higher above the base of the architectural ensemble than were the lateral altarpieces, and it would have been somewhat overlapped at bottom center by *The Risen Christ*.

Of El Greco's three altarpieces, only *The Baptism* was delivered to the church, where it remains (if not in

the location for which it was intended).<sup>14</sup> The whereabouts of *The Vision of Saint John* between Jorge Manuel's death and the late nineteenth century has so far remained untraced. *The Annunciation* (fig. 18b), completed by Jorge Manuel, was presumably in different collections than *The Vision* during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, before it belonged to the 2nd Marqués de Urquijo (in 1908; d. 1914).<sup>15</sup> The upper part of *The Annunciation*, depicting a concert of angels (fig. 18a), was reportedly cut off in the late nineteenth century and is first recorded in 1908 as owned by the heirs of the Marqués de Castro-Serna (d. 1905).<sup>16</sup>

#### THE SUBJECT

One of the many paintings listed in the 1614 inventory of El Greco's studio is described as “A small Saint John the Evangelist, who sees the mysteries of the Apocalypse” (“Un S. Juo abangelista q[ue] be [ve] los misterios del apocalipsi pequeño”).<sup>17</sup> The work must have been either a *modello* for or a copy (*ricordo*) after *The Vision of Saint John*, and its description suggests a more comprehensive title for the present picture (such as *Saint John the Evangelist Witnessing the Mysteries of the Apocalypse*).<sup>18</sup> The subject itself had become a mystery even before nearly half the composition was cut from the top in 1880, and evidently discarded (perhaps because it was less finished or damaged).



fig. 17 El Greco and Jorge Manuel Theotokopoulos (Greek, 1578–1631). *The Baptism of Christ*, ca. 1608–14 and early 1620s. Oil on canvas, 129 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 83 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (330 × 211 cm). Hospital de Tavera, Toledo

According to information provided to Cossío in the late nineteenth century, the “religious character” of the upper section led to the notion that it depicted Divine Love, and that the lower part, with its sinuous ensemble of male and female nudes, represented Profane Love.<sup>19</sup> (Perhaps this is why the Córdoba doctor from whom the Basque painter Ignacio Zuloaga bought the canvas in 1905 kept it behind a velvet curtain.)<sup>20</sup>

In proposing, correctly, that El Greco based the subject on the Book of Revelation, chapter 6, verse 9, Cossío supposed that the lost upper part of the canvas would have represented “the Lamb and other Apocalyptic symbols.”<sup>21</sup> If so, the Lamb of God must have played a comparatively inconspicuous role, since the misreading of the picture’s upper part as an illustration of Divine Love suggests a figural scene. The combination of figure groups in earthly and heavenly spheres had appeared frequently in El Greco’s compositions since his first years in Spain, and one need only consider *The Baptism* and especially the reconstructed *Annunciation* to imagine the kind of angelic ensemble that may have crowned *The Vision of Saint John*. It seems plausible that, as in the other two altarpieces, angels in flowing robes consorted with a bevy of cherubs, some of whom descend with heavenly garments in the surviving part of the composition.

Support for this supposition comes from the biblical text and from the images El Greco could have known. In John’s vision the Lamb of God, representing the Risen Christ (or Christ as “Saviour of the world”; John 4:42), answers an angel’s challenge to open the book, “sealed with seven seals,” that has been received from the right hand of God (Rev. 5:1). It is interesting for the Tavera altarpieces that the term “Lamb of God” (Agnus Dei) comes from John 1:29, where John the Baptist, seeing Jesus with his first disciples, declares, “Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.” According to El Greco’s contract, a sculptural group of angels adoring the Lamb of God was intended for the tympanum of the main retable, below which *The Baptism of Christ* was displayed.<sup>22</sup>

Six of the seven seals are opened in chapter 6 of the Book of Revelation, and the seventh in chapter 8. The first four seals reveal the future events—conquest, war, famine, and death—that are perhaps most familiar from Albrecht Dürer’s synthesis in *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, of 1498. The print, illustrated here, from Dürer’s Apocalypse series of woodcuts, represents the opening of the fifth and sixth seals (fig. 19), with the latter revealing “the great day of his wrath” (Rev. 6:17),



*fig. 18a* El Greco and workshop. *A Concert of Angels*, ca. 1608–14 and later. Oil on canvas, 43½ × 80½ in. (110.5 × 204.5 cm). National Gallery and Alexandros Soutzos Museum, Athens (II.152)



*fig. 18b* El Greco (and Jorge Manuel Theotokopoulos?). *The Annunciation*, ca. 1608–14 and later. Oil on canvas, 115¼ × 82¼ in. (294 × 209 cm). Fundación Santander, Madrid

shown in the bottom two-thirds of the composition. The figures framed by clouds at the top of the print are the Christian martyrs of the past who are revealed to John with the opening of the fifth seal. Naked souls rise and receive robes from angels at an altar, as described by John:

I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held: And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellowservants also and their brethren [future martyrs], that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled. (Rev. 6:9–11)

In El Greco's interpretation, five male and (in the center) two lighter-skinned female nudes receive garments from descending cherubs.<sup>23</sup> The heavenly raiment is rendered as great sheets of cloth, arbitrarily colored yellow and green as well as white.<sup>24</sup> As in other late paintings by El Greco, the drapery functions simultaneously as a backdrop to the figures, as a substitute for space between them, and as a sign of

spiritual excitement, amplifying the rapturous poses and gestures. This is especially evident in the green drapery, with its electric highlights, that unites the male trio to the right.

Across the middle ground of the composition there is a sense of progress through time. The figures given yellow drapery are just beginning to cover themselves; an elegant male assists the woman beside him. Farther to the right, and closer to the viewer, two men on their knees (as is Saint John himself) reach up to receive the green drapery held by two downward tumbling cherubs. And at the far right, a rather Venetian-looking cherub offers white drapery to an athletic male, who, like other figures in El Greco's late oeuvre, recalls but goes beyond the balletic sculptures of Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571) in his impossibly extended pose.<sup>25</sup>

While the narrative of receiving garments was carefully conceived, it is visually overwhelmed by the effect of forms fanning away from Saint John, with figures increasing in size and movement and claiming more space. The impression of souls swept by a shared state of ecstasy is underscored by the arc of red drapery and the reddish brown ground (perhaps with the suggestion of an abyss in the foreground), and enhanced by the clouds, which swirl away from the Evangelist's uplifted face and arms. The image of salvation is thus transformed into an experience of high emotional charge. The effect would have been considerably intensified when John's vision of heaven was shown above, probably to a degree not usually seen in El Greco's juxtapositions of terrestrial and celestial realms.<sup>26</sup>

As Christiansen succinctly notes, the three altarpieces for the Hospital de Tavera "offered a synopsis of God's plan of salvation by showing the incarnation of Christ, the manifestation of his divine mission [which begins with the Baptism], and a vision of the elect at the end of time."<sup>27</sup> Formal similarities in the overall design of the altarpieces and between their main figures would have invited the contemporary viewer's contemplation of their related meanings. The main figure in *The Vision of Saint John* (when installed over the left side altar) would have been seen as a counterpart to the oversize angel in *The Annunciation* (fig. 18b) over the right side altar, and these two figures would in turn have been echoed by the tall figures to either side of Christ in the central *Baptism* (fig. 17), that is, the tall angel at left who gestures heavenward and at right the towering figure of John the Baptist.<sup>28</sup> However, the most obvious connection between the three subjects would have been that between baptism, symbolizing the remission of sins, and salvation, as envisioned by Saint John. The saving



fig. 19 Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528). *The Opening of the Fifth and Sixth Seals, from the Apocalypse*, ca. 1497–98. Woodcut, sheet 15½ × 11½ in. (39.4 × 28.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Felix M. Warburg, 1940 (40.139.6 [6])

of souls, as well as care for the sick, the dispossessed, and the dying, was central to the mission of the hospital, where patients were required to confess before seeing a doctor and were expected to receive Holy Communion at least once a week.<sup>29</sup>

#### THE ARTIST'S SOURCES

Various sources of inspiration for *The Vision of Saint John* have been cited, although late in life El Greco was inclined to revisit his own earlier motifs. In this case, the subject encouraged new invention and the expressive manipulation of borrowed ideas.

Above all, the artist would have recalled (probably with the help of prints) Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* fresco in the Sistine Chapel, the subject of which (like Signorelli's *Resurrection of the Elect*, in Orvieto Cathedral) is closely related to El Greco's (and his patron's) interpretation of the Vision of Saint John. Several of Michelangelo's nudes anticipate the poses, if not the anatomy, of El Greco's male figures. In particular, the figure of Haman in the pendentive above *The Last Judgment* has been compared with El Greco's Saint John, in a pose that also recalls Titian's *Saint John the Evangelist on Patmos*, of 1544–47 (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), which El Greco would have seen in the Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista during his years in Venice.<sup>30</sup>

It is, however, important to emphasize again that Michelangelo's twisting, straining figures were emulated by the mature El Greco for their powerful expression of spiritual feeling rather than as models for individual poses or figure groups.<sup>31</sup> This approach reflects long experience and purposeful intention, so that Martin Soria's suggestion, to the effect that the nudes in El Greco's picture were derived from prints after Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617), fails to acknowledge that El Greco, while himself a master of Mannerist learning, nearly erased any trace of academic exercise in his late work.<sup>32</sup> If there is a hint of anatomical study in *The Vision of Saint John*, it is found only in the female nudes, which bring to mind El Greco's own wood sculpture *Pandora*, of 1600–1610 (Museo del Prado, Madrid), and his practice (following that of Tintoretto) of using small clay, wax, or plaster models for figures in paintings.<sup>33</sup> The male figures, by contrast, relate to the astonished soldiers in El Greco's *Resurrection*, of 1597–1600 (Museo del Prado, Madrid), and to a number of other figure groups, such as the *Laocoön*, of the early 1610s (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), dating from the artist's last years.<sup>34</sup> Thus, the figures in the present

picture are not borrowed from anywhere, but are among the most remarkable examples of a continuous creative process.

The composition as a whole and the painting's iconography are inseparable considerations, given the subject's comparative rarity.<sup>35</sup> El Greco must have known Dürer's print (fig. 19) and perhaps also a woodcut of 1546 by Matthias Gerung (ca. 1500–1570), either of which could have informed motifs if not the style of *The Vision of Saint John* (especially in its lost upper part).<sup>36</sup> The Gerung print features a kneeling Saint John in the foreground; a similar figure occurs also in three of the eight magnificent Apocalypse tapestries made in Brussels about 1556–61 for Philip II. In one of these, *The Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* (now in the Palacio Real de La Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia), the kneeling Evangelist gestures and looks upward to a vision of angels, martyrs, elders, and the Lamb of God in a ring of clouds.<sup>37</sup>

In the end, however, any such comparison is unsatisfactory because of El Greco's exceptional style and the unusual circumstances of this commission. Most earlier images of the Apocalypse are found in manuscripts (meant for privileged individuals) and in prints (which were addressed to a large public, with a didactic purpose). The *Vision of Saint John* is a devotional picture, one of three altarpieces addressed to a congregation concerned with their last days on earth and the prospect of life after death. With Archbishop Tavera's tomb monument nearby, the viewer intended by Salazar de Mendoza would have seen El Greco's painting (had it been installed) as a call to an exemplary life, an inspiration to repentance, and an offer of eternal peace.

#### WALTER LIEDTKE

*Curator, Department of European Paintings,  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art  
(1980–2015)*

## NOTES

Complete documentation may be found at [www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online](http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online).

### A View of Toledo

- 1 See San Román y Fernández 1910, p. 194, under doc. no. 52, and San Román y Fernández 1927, p. 300, under doc. no. XXXV, nos. 137, 138 (reprinted in San Román y Fernández 1982, p. 371). The second inventory of El Greco's possessions was made on August 7, 1621, on the occasion of Jorge Manuel's marriage to Doña Gregoria de Guzmán. Both inventories are also published in Marías 1997, pp. 312–15.
- 2 Kagan 1984, p. 91, no. 240 (“un pais de toledo [h]acia la puente de alcantara”). On Salazar as a patron of El Greco, see Kagan 1984 and Mann 1986, pp. 112–22.
- 3 Kagan 1984, p. 90, no. 4 (“otro quadro de la ciudad de toledo con su planta”).
- 4 Wethey 1962, vol. 2, p. 85, under no. 129. On the Capilla de San José, see *ibid.*, pp. 11–13, and Xavier Bray in Davies and Elliott 2003, pp. 160–67. The two lateral canvases that El Greco painted for the chapel, *Saint Martin and the Beggar* and *Madonna and Child with Saint Martina and Saint Agnes*, were sold in 1906 to a Parisian dealer and in the same year to Peter Widener; in 1942 they became part of the Widener Collection in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (see Brown and Mann 1990, pp. 47–56). The background of *Saint Martin and the Beggar* (which refers to the chapel's patron, Martín Ramírez) also includes, in more fragmentary form, a few Toledo motifs. Jonathan Brown and Richard Mann (*ibid.*, p. 50) suggest that the two vistas of Toledo would have invited local citizens to emulate Joseph's humility and Saint Martin as defender of the faith. The image of Saint Martin cutting his cloak in two, with a vista of Toledo in the background, might also be taken to refer to the city's best-known products of the period, cloth and swords (see Brown and Kagan 1982, p. 22, on these industries).
- 5 For example, *The Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, 1608–13 (Museo de Santa Cruz, Toledo). See Davies and Elliott 2003, pp. 200–201, no. 55; see also p. 234.
- 6 Wethey 1962, vol. 2, p. 85, under no. 128. See also Brown and Kagan 1982, p. 24. The cloud, of course, suggests a vision, as in Alonso Cano's *Saint John the Evangelist's Vision of Jerusalem*, of about 1636 (Wallace Collection, London).
- 7 See Kagan 1984, p. 86; Mann 1986, pp. 121–25; Keith Christiansen in Davies and Elliott 2003, p. 210; and Marías 2014, pp. 86, 291, no. 107, fig. 86.
- 8 Fernando Marías (in Marías 2014, p. 102) describes the *View and Plan* as “generally dated to the last years of the artist's life (1600–14),” but in the caption on page 119 dates the pictures to about 1600.
- 9 Brown and Kagan 1982, p. 25. The authors extend their “admittedly speculative” argument by relating the *View of Toledo* to the city council's efforts in 1595 to encourage Philip II to reside again in Toledo. On Salazar's interest in maps and topographical images, see Kagan 1984, p. 89, and the inventory on pp. 90–91. On the *View and Plan*, see also Calduch Pedralba 2012, pp. 54–57.
- 10 This distinction is advanced in Brown 1981, p. 37, where, however, the term “cartographic” is used in opposition to “emblematic.” Most of that article's content is repeated in Brown and Kagan 1982. In Kagan 1986, pp. 122–23, Juergen Schulz (in Schulz 1978) is credited with the distinction between the older “encomiastic or emblematic view” and the “scientific or topographical tradition.” Marías (in Marías 2014, pp. 117–23) finds these distinctions simplistic. See also Links 1972, pp. 12–20, on early city views in Italy.
- 11 The figure group in the sky of the *View and Plan* was anticipated by El Greco's polychromed sculpture *The Virgin Presenting the Chasuble to Saint Ildefonso*, commissioned about 1581–85 as part of the altar ensemble (it is mounted immediately under El Greco's *Disrobing of Christ*, of 1577–79) in the sacristy of Toledo Cathedral; see Davies and Elliott 2003, p. 124, fig. 37. Van den Wyngaerde's drawing is mislabeled a “print” in *ibid.*, p. 29, fig. 10.
- 12 As noted by Christiansen in Davies and Elliott 2003, pp. 233–34, the identification of this palace “remains something of a puzzle, though . . . there can be no question but that the artist intended it to be recognisable.” Richard Kagan (2000, p. 203) and Marías (2001, p. 10) describe the building as the Hospital de Santa Cruz, but that structure has one of the most distinctive facades in Spain and bears no resemblance to that in the painting. Their identification may go back to Lafuente Ferrari 1969, p. 75, who finds “the monastery of Santa Fe and perhaps, too, the Hospital de Santa Cruz.”
- 13 See Marías on Villalpando (1996, vol. 32, pp. 559–60) and, on the Casa de Vargas, Marías 1983–86, vol. 1, pp. 320–24.
- 14 Brown and Kagan 1982, p. 26. The authors cite Salazar de Mendoza's *El glorioso Doctor San Ildefonso, Arcoobispo de Toledo* (1618) on the subject of the Agaliense monastery (see also Moraleda y Esteban 1928). While this identification is for Brown and Kagan only tentative, in Kagan 2000, p. 203, it is maintained that “these buildings, perched on what appears to be a cloud, undoubtedly refer to the Agaliense Monastery.”
- 15 On the shrine and abbey, see Marías in Kagan 1989, p. 130; see also Mann 1986, p. 8, on the special interest of El Greco's early patron, Diego de Castilla, in the remains of Saint Leocadia.
- 16 For the original inscription on the *View and Plan of Toledo*, see Wethey 1962, vol. 2, pp. 84–85.
- 17 For example, Kubler and Soria 1959 and Brown 1981, p. 37. What appears to be a large waterwheel and sluiceway is seen in the lower right corner of *Saint Martin and the Beggar* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), which Bray (in Davies and Elliott 2003, p. 164) suggests may refer to Torriano's invention. The background is thought to derive from the *View of Toledo*, but there is no waterwheel in the Museum's painting.
- 18 Brown and Kagan 1982, pp. 26–27, where (in contrast to Brown 1981) there is no reference to the Artificio.
- 19 The fulling of woolen cloth (cleansing it of oils, dirt, etc.) was usually done inside water or fulling mills. The detail here is reminiscent of Jacob van Ruisdael's views of bleaching fields outside Haarlem.
- 20 In Guinard 1956, p. 109, the sky is said to indicate “a raging thunderstorm.” See also Mayer 1926, pp. xxxii, 50, no. 315, pl. 68.
- 21 During El Greco's decades in Toledo serious droughts were common, to judge from the frequency of ceremonies held in the cathedral to pray for rain (Dominguez-Castro et al. 2008, pp. 230, 237–38). John Elliott (1989, p. 269) mentions especially bad harvests in Toledo during 1577 and 1578 (El Greco's first two years in the city) and notes that the progressive weakening of the local economy during the next forty years happened “for reasons not yet fully clear” (although the court's move to Madrid and competition in the textile industry are noted as factors). Toledo had 60,000 inhabitants in about 1550 and a mere 25,000 in the 1640s.

- 22 Frank Rutter (1930, p. 65) wonders if El Greco “got his idea from one of those Byzantine topographical woodprints of holy places.”
- 23 As noted in Kagan 1984, p. 89. The degrees of fidelity found in Van den Wyngaerde’s drawings of cityscapes, in Braun and Hogenberg’s plates, and in El Greco’s *View of Toledo* are discussed in Kagan 1998, pp. 80–84, 93. Even Van den Wyngaerde would exaggerate the scale of major buildings and move them for pictorial effect, as he did in his drawing of Valencia in 1563 (*ibid.*, p. 83, fig. 3.5).
- 24 Braun and Hogenberg 2008, p. 53 (1572–1618, vol. 1, pl. 4).
- 25 Hogenberg also modified a few details, perhaps based on other sources.
- 26 See Partridge 1969, figs. 196, 197; Faldj 1981, p. 265 (for the more comparable view of Caprarola); Robertson 1992, fig. 99 (discussed p. 110); and Acidini Luchinat 1998–99, vol. 2, p. 23, fig. 40. Italian precedents for Van den Wyngaerde’s work in Spain are discussed in Kagan 1986, pp. 131–35.
- 27 See Kagan 1986, pp. 118–19. Many of the city views were in the *sala grande* of the Alcázar when recorded by Diego de Cuelbis in 1599, but elsewhere in the palace when it was inventoried in 1686. See also Kagan in Kagan 1989, pp. 52–53, on the city views (by Italians) that decorated the late sixteenth-century palace of the Marqués de Santa Cruz at Viso de Marqués (south-east of Ciudad Real).
- 28 The most similar pictures of the period are Flemish paintings of ancient cities being destroyed by God, or landscapes in which forces of nature are emphasized (as in the Metropolitan’s *Mountainous Landscape with a Waterfall*, by Kerstiaen de Keuninck, of about 1600 [1983.452]).

#### **Cardinal Fernando Niño de Guevara**

- 1 See Frelinghuysen et al. 1993, pp. 10–18 (on the Havemeyers’ interest in Spanish paintings), 58 (on the present picture), 229 (on the visit to Spain), 233, 236–37, under February 2 and December 29, 1903, and April 12–15 and May 6, 1904 (on Durand-Ruel’s role in obtaining the portrait). According to Louisine Havemeyer (1961, pp. 157–58), the purchase extended over a period of four years.
- 2 Members of his father’s family, the Zapatas, had served the church and the crown since the 1300s, and during Niño de Guevara’s lifetime several other Zapatas held high church office and served Philip II or Philip III. His father, Rodrigo Niño Zapata, held several important offices, including chamberlain to Charles V, treasurer of the royal mint in Toledo, and ambassador to Venice (see Martz 2003, pp. 180–84).
- 3 In Brown and Carr 1982, p. 33, Teresa de Guevara is described imprecisely as “a daughter of the Count of Oñate.” She was in fact the daughter of Pedro Vélez de Guevara, Señor de Salinillas, and Constanza de Ayala (as shown in Martínez Caviro 1990, p. 313). Teresa’s brother Iñigo married Catalina Vélez de Guevara, 5th Condesa de Oñate, whose father, Pedro Vélez de Guevara (not the same person as the Señor de Salinillas), was 4th Conde de Oñate.
- 4 Niño de Guevara was created cardinal-priest in the consistory of June 5, 1596, and received the red hat on June 8.
- 5 See Brown and Carr 1982, pp. 33, 41n2. Other sources are cited in the notes below.
- 6 Brown and Carr 1982 and 1984. The identification with Sandoval is still maintained in Brown 1998, pp. 87–88, fig. 114. Fernando Marías (1986) discusses Sandoval’s interests in the arts, including his relationship with El Greco, and rejects the hypothesis that El Greco painted his portrait (see *ibid.*, p. 15).
- 7 Both questions are reviewed by Keith Christiansen in Davies and Elliott 2003, pp. 282–84, and are here further elaborated. In recent years there has been a strong scholarly consensus that the sitter is in fact Niño de Guevara and not Sandoval. The latter’s portrait by Tristán is catalogued in Pérez Sánchez and Navarrete Prieto 2001, no. 123 (see also no. 124, a portrait of Sandoval as cardinal, in Tristán’s style).
- 8 The inscription on the print begins with a reference to the cardinal’s titular church in Rome (Santa Anastasia) and, after describing him as archbishop of Toledo, points out helpfully that Sandoval is from Spain. The date (“3 Martij 1599”), the crest, and the inscription at the upper right (“Cr. a Clem. 8”) all refer to Sandoval’s creation as cardinal-priest by Clement VIII. (Sandoval did not receive his red hat until the consistory of February 26, 1601.) Finally, the print’s technical quality suggests an Italian, not a Spanish, engraver.
- 9 As noted by Christiansen (in Davies and Elliott 2003, pp. 282–84), later damage to the cardinal’s face required reconstruction of the nose; this would be based partly on Tristán’s “free copy” of the painting in the Museo del Greco, Toledo (Pérez Sánchez and Navarrete Prieto 2001, p. 245, under no. 122).
- 10 On the cardinal’s glasses and their type (seen in Spanish portraits from about 1580 onward), see Scholz-Hänsel 1995.
- 11 See Brown and Carr 1984, p. 65, fig. 16; Pérez Sánchez and Navarrete Prieto 2001, no. 81. A different, unattributed painting of Saint Bernardo with Cardinal Sandoval is published in Martínez Caviro 1990, p. 89 (ill.).
- 12 Christiansen in Davies and Elliott 2003, p. 284. On the commission, see *ibid.*, pp. 169–75; Ruiz Gómez et al. 2001. Richard Kagan (1995, pp. 326–27) describes Arcos’s role in this contract, and his great library of books and prints.
- 13 Kagan 1995, p. 325.
- 14 On the *Allegory*, see Davies and Elliott 2003, no. 44, and Marías 2014, pp. 204–6. On Arcos’s possible ownership of the *Laocoön*, of about 1610–14 (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), see Brown and Mann 1990, p. 64n1.
- 15 Kagan 2010a, p. 38. The count must have attended the king and queen when they entered Toledo in March 1600. Philip III had granted Pedro Lasso the title of Conde de los Arcos in 1599, and in the same year sent him as one of four *mayordomos* to receive the fourteen-year-old future queen of Spain, Margarita of Austria, into her new country (at Viñaroz, March 21, 1599; see Kagan 1995, p. 327, where the date is mistakenly given as 1600). Arcos remained in the queen’s service as *mayordomo*. In 1614 he became *mayordomo* to the Infante Philip, who as king (from 1621) retained him in that office. In his will dated May 7, 1631, Arcos notes his service to three kings and four queens, and the fortune he had spent in their service (*ibid.*, p. 329).
- 16 See Kagan 1995, p. 331, on the painting by Zuccaro (probably a version of the canvas painted for Philip II about 1588; Nuevo Museo, El Escorial). On the cardinal’s estate (of which no inventory is known), see Martínez Caviro 1985, pp. 222–23. Three other members of the family were also executors of the estate: Pedro Lasso’s brother, Rodrigo Niño (discussed below); Don Lope de Guzmán, 1st Conde de Villaverde, husband of the cardinal’s sister Francisca; and their son-in-law, the Conde de Mora.
- 17 Kagan 2010b, p. 65. El Greco’s later portrait (ca. 1609?) of Fray Hortensio Félix Paravicino (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; first recorded in 1724) could have been commissioned by the sitter or a member of his family, or initiated by El Greco himself. Any comparison with El Greco’s portrait of Niño de Guevara must take into account the fact that Paravicino was famous as an orator and poet (see Brown et al. 1982, no. 63, and Davies and Elliott 2003, no. 81).

- 18 Brown and Carr (1982, pp. 33, 35, fig. 2) discuss a weak bust-length portrait of Niño de Guevara in the Palacio Arzobispal, Seville, part of a series painted about 1675–1700. The anonymous work was obviously made without the benefit of seeing the portrait by El Greco.
- 19 Kagan 1995, p. 336, under “sala grande del cierço.”
- 20 See Martínez Cavió 1985, p. 220, and Kagan 1995, p. 337. Portraits of other contemporary Spanish churchmen were inventoried in June 1636 (Kagan 1995, pp. 338–39), including one of “Padre Rojas” (Cardinal-Archbishop Bernardo de Sandoval).
- 21 Kagan 1995, pp. 337–39. Copies of the inventories of the Arcos collection dating from 1632 to 1639 were kindly made available to the author by the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan in Madrid.
- 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 335 (Madrid), 337 (Bates).
- 23 For paintings recorded as in Cuerva and Toledo, see *ibid.*, p. 335. Mariás (2013, p. 248) states simply that Pedro Lasso “commissioned a portrait of his uncle,” without explaining this conclusion.
- 24 Readers may recall that Philip IV’s brother, Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, was not only a military commander and governor but also (from 1619 until his death in 1641) archbishop of Toledo. Between 1595 and 1598 the same office had been held by Philip II’s nephew Cardinal-Archduke Albert of Austria, but in his absence (discussed below) his brief successor as archbishop (1598–99), García de Loaysa, served as governor of the archdiocese (see Kagan 1982, p. 58). The president of the king’s Consejo de Castilla was often a cardinal, as preference was given to noblemen with their own agendas (Elliott 1986). For interesting remarks on the royal patronage of monasteries and “Spanish piety as political action,” see Rotmil 2010, especially pp. 269–71.
- 25 See Brown and Carr 1982, pp. 33, 36 (citing Cossío 1908, vol. 1, pp. 423–24), and Martínez Cavió 1990, pp. 291–93, 305–6. The cardinal’s parents do appear as donors, on the wings of a triptych by Juan Correa de Vivar, dated 1568, which is now in the cloister of the convent (Martínez Cavió 1990, p. 297, *ill.*). The version of the cardinal’s portrait seen by Cossío was very probably Luis Tristán’s “free copy” after the Museum’s painting (Museo del Greco, Toledo); see Pérez Sánchez and Navarrete Prieto 2001, pp. 245–46, no. 122, and the full discussion by José Redondo Cuesta in Lavín Berdonces et al. 2007, pp. 149–50, *colorpl.* There is also a bust-length portrait in the Oskar Reinhart Collection “Am Römerholz,” in Winterthur, which is at best a workshop copy; see Wethey 1962, vol. 2, p. 205, no. X-187. An unconvincing effort to defend an attribution to El Greco is made by Mayte García Julliard in Reinhard-Felice 2005, pp. 154–56.
- 26 Mariás 1983–86, vol. 4, pp. 162–64. See also Ainsworth and Sánchez-Lassa 2012, pp. 90–91, where Aldonza’s date of death is given as 1603, not 1604. However, the inscription on Aldonza’s tomb monument (commissioned by “rodricvs nino et lasso comes d anover”) records that she died at the age of seventy on October 15, 1604. The writer is grateful to Ana Sánchez-Lassa for her assistance (May 2013) and for a photograph of Aldonza’s tomb inscription.
- 27 See Ainsworth and Sánchez-Lassa 2012, pp. 92–94, where the document is quoted in Spanish and translated similarly. Lisa Rotmil (2010, p. 272) mentions Philip II’s donation of 7,500 relics to the Escorial.
- 28 Ríos de Balmaseda 1991; Pérez Sánchez and Navarrete Prieto 2001, pp. 66–67, 215, no. 52; Ainsworth and Sánchez-Lassa 2012, p. 95.
- 29 In the 1580s, Aldonza Niño was named *guardamayor de las damas* to Anne of Austria, wife of Philip II. But one doubts that she was therefore “also a courtier” (Kagan 1995, p. 326), as her husband had been on behalf of Charles V and Philip II. Such titles were often honorary. Kagan (1995, p. 330) also creates the impression that Pedro Lasso may have inherited the cardinal’s portrait from Aldonza Niño (an idea repeated in Davies and Elliott 2003, p. 284), but this is most unlikely.
- 30 On Rodrigo Niño’s spectacular career, see Raeymaekers 2011 and Duerloo 2012, pp. 89–90, 96–97 (also index, p. 564, under Añover).
- 31 Raeymaekers 2011, p. 146. Kagan (1995, p. 327) records that in 1606 Pedro Lasso turned down the king’s offer to be ambassador to the imperial court in Vienna, “partly because he had previously agreed to serve as guardian for the children of his absent brother Rodrigo.” But there is no evidence that Rodrigo ever married or had children: see the family tree in Martínez Cavió 1985, p. 226, and the one in Martínez Cavió 1990, p. 313, which may be placed below that given in Martz 2003, p. 181. According to Raeymaekers (2011, p. 145), Rodrigo Niño “never got married and remained childless, [so that] his entire legacy went to his relatives in Spain, with his brother Pedro and his nephew Luis as the main heirs.”
- 32 As noted in a private communication from Dries Raeymaekers dated December 6, 2012. If, against all appearances, the portrait was in Niño de Guevara’s estate, it could have been left to or acquired by Rodrigo in 1609. But the heir to the entailed estates of the family, Pedro Lasso, would have been a much more likely recipient. At the cardinal’s death in 1609 his widowed sister, Aldonza, had been dead for several years and their two brothers were no longer alive: Gabriel Niño (d. 1603?; recorded as deceased in 1607) and the childless Juan Niño de Guevara (1539–1607), 1st Conde de Añover (from 1602). Little is known about Gabriel’s life, including his date of birth, or whether he ever married. On Gabriel’s service to Archduke Albert, see Raeymaekers 2011, p. 133 and sources cited there.
- 33 Pedro Lasso had the superior title of Conde de los Arcos and, upon the king’s assent, would have passed the countship of Añover to his son, Luis, without taking the title himself. Any such transfer of title was subject to the king’s approval and took some time (as in the case of Rodrigo’s title, 2nd Conde de Añover, which was granted in 1609, although his uncle, Juan Niño, 1st Conde de Añover, had died in 1607).
- 34 Pedro Lasso de la Vega was born on June 27, 1622. The date of his death has occasionally been given as 1674, but he died in September 1699 (Charles II made him a grandee of Spain in 1697).
- 35 The inventory of 1632 appears in Kagan 1995.
- 36 The date of 1639 is occasionally given, erroneously, as the date of the inventory of Pedro Lasso’s estate (for example, in Davies and Elliott 2003, p. 178; the same inventory is dated 1632 on p. 282). But the inventory mostly dates from 1632 and does not represent the “estate” of anyone, in particular not that of Rodrigo Niño (d. 1620), as claimed in Brown and Carr 1984, p. 62, where the list of pictures in Pedro Lasso’s house is called “el inventario de los bienes heredados por Luis de su tío.” There is no reason to think that Luis’s uncle Rodrigo ever owned any of the paintings in question, not even in some technical sense.
- 37 Brown and Carr 1984, p. 62. See also the previous note.
- 38 Some variations in the system suggest quick calculation. For example, *ducados* were usually converted to eleven *reales*

- apiece, but in some entries tenths appear to have been used arbitrarily. Fifths were probably favored because doubling both numbers (integers and denominators) allows for immediate conversion to decimals. For example, the cardinal's portrait was appraised by Maíno at "D100." In this case a reduction of 20 percent, not the more common 40 percent or more, was applied. The value of 100 *ducados* was multiplied by 11 to give 1100 *reales*. To calculate  $\frac{4}{5}$  of this amount the fraction  $\frac{8}{10}$  would have been employed, or rather: 1100 was multiplied by 8 (to equal 8800) and a zero was dropped to divide by 10. The result is 880 *reales*, the figure in the left column.
- 39 The math may be that of Francisco Suárez de Rivera, a known public notary of Madrid (see Burke and Cherry 1997, p. 1669), since the name "franCo suarez" occurs in the left margin of the inventory's first page (but its meaning is unclear). Lower values may have resulted in lower inheritance taxes or some other financial advantage.
- 40 The modern idea that the paintings might have been sold to family members in order to benefit Luis Lasso's widow may be dismissed. She came from a very wealthy family, and Luis himself left her many valuable things. In his will he notes that the king had been asked to transfer his office as mint master of Toledo to his young son (Barrio Moya 1990, p. 348). In the inventory of his household goods, quantities of gold and silver objects, fine furniture, over 86,000 *reales*' worth of jewelry, and (a mere) 4,646 *reales*' (422 *ducados*' worth of paintings are listed (ibid., pp. 349–51).
- 41 Brown and Carr 1984, pp. 62–63. The authors describe the cardinal's portrait as inherited by Luis from Rodrigo (see note 36 above), but the inventory of April 15, 1632, lists all the paintings in Pedro Lasso's possession (which he either owned or held as family property). Luis's own paintings, twenty-eight mostly religious (and evidently minor) works, were appraised by Maíno thirteen days later (April 28), as detailed in Barrio Moya 1990, pp. 348–52. As for pictures inherited from Rodrigo, there is an entry in the inventory of April 15 (Pedro Lasso), under "Pinturas en Cuerva," which lists in one room nine religious paintings and several secular works as "residuos del a[l]moneda del conde de Añover" ("remains from the auction of the Conde de Añover," meaning Rodrigo; Kagan 1995, p. 335).
- 42 As noted also in Davies and Elliott 2003, p. 284. A rare case of attribution is the "infanta dona Isabel [made by] Bartolome Gonzalez, pintor del rey Felipe III," which is valued at 300 *reales* (Kagan 1995, p. 337, in the list of pictures at Batres). The cardinal's portrait is valued about four times higher (1100 *reales*). Around 1627, Velázquez received 600 *reales* for his portrait of Gaspar de Guzmán, Conde-Duque de Olivares, ordered by the Marqués de Montesclaros (Cherry 1991, pp. 108–11).
- 43 Barrio Moya 1990, pp. 350–51. See also Barrio Moya 2002, p. 41, noting that none of the many paintings at Batres castle were attributed in the inventory of 1709.
- 44 Brown and Kagan 1987, p. 237, where it is noted that "the inventory appears to have been made simply as a record of transactions." See also Kagan 1984, pp. 90–91, for the inventory of Pedro Salazar de Mendoza's estate (Toledo, 1629), in which none of the paintings (including what must be El Greco's two views of Toledo) is attributed; and Cherry 1991, pp. 112–13, on Vicente Carducho and another artist's appraisal of the 3rd Marqués de Montesclaros's estate (1628), in which no artists are named apart from a set of four canvases assigned to the Bassanos.
- 45 Cherry 1991, pp. 113–14, and 113nn43–44. The author observes that "artists usually received small fees for valuations and exercised a minimum of connoisseurship" (p. 113n42). Another important example of an inventory of paintings with very few attributions (although works by Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto, Ribera, and Rubens are listed, and given values by Claudio Coello) is that of the 1691 estate inventory of the 10th Admiral of Castile (Burke and Cherry 1997, no. 117; kindly brought to my attention by Leticia Ruiz).
- 46 Christiansen in Davies and Elliott 2003, p. 284. See also Kagan 2010b, p. 60, on the question of character (El Greco's *vida* and Pliny's *anima*).
- 47 Zeri 1976, vol. 2, pp. 382–83, no. 258.
- 48 Monique Blanc (personal communication, July 2013) kindly provided information about the portrait of Pius V, dated 1566, in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, inv. no. Pe 327, legs Emile Peyre, 1905.
- 49 Harold Wethey (1969–75, vol. 2, p. 90, under no. 22) mentions the present portrait as related to Titian's *Charles V Seated*.
- 50 Compare the use of a curtain in the background of El Greco's *Portrait of Vincenzo Anastagi*, of about 1575 (Frick Collection, New York), which suggests the "energetic charge" of a man of action (discerned in both portraits by José Alvarez Lopera in Portús et al. 2004, p. 123).
- 51 Richard Kagan, in conversation, June 25, 2013. See also the remark about Niño de Guevara's questioning of the laws governing racial and religious purity, in Davies and Elliott 2003, p. 284.

### **The Vision of Saint John (The Opening of the Fifth Seal)**

- 1 On modern responses to *The Vision of Saint John*, see Keith Christiansen in Davies and Elliott 2003, pp. 212–13, and the literature cited there; Wismer and Scholz-Hänsel 2012, especially pp. 142–43, 158, 174, 216, 222, 331; and Birgit Thiemann's essay "Zuloaga as Collector and Intermediary," in ibid., pp. 374–81.
- 2 See Cossío 1908, vol. 1, pp. 355–57, 359, 603, no. 327, vol. 2, pl. 66.
- 3 There are many losses of the paint layer and ground distributed throughout. The only significant features that have required reconstruction are the proper right side of the face of the male nude at far right, the head and proper right hand of the female nude at center, and the fingers of the proper left hand of Saint John.
- 4 José Alvarez Lopera (2005, vol. 2, p. 230) suggests that the red, yellow, and green draperies were finished by Jorge Manuel. One might gain this impression from reproductions, but when one stands before the canvas itself, the folds, highlights, rhythms, and spatial effect of these sheets of cloth seem too careful, expressive, and consistent with El Greco's own handling in late works not to be by him.
- 5 On the hospital and Cardinal Tavera, see Wilkinson 1977; Marías 1983–86, vol. 2, pp. 231–43; and Marías 2007. Tavera and the hospital are discussed from a sociological viewpoint in Martz 1983, pp. 16–19, 168–88.
- 6 On Salazar de Mendoza and El Greco, see Kagan 1984 and Mann 1986, chap. 3.
- 7 See the plan in Marías 2007, p. 151. The placement of Tavera's tomb monument (decided by his heirs, not the cardinal himself) is discussed in Wilkinson 1977, chap. 6 ("The Commemorative Church"), especially pp. 103–7. See also Castán Lanaspá 1993, pp. 366–68, and Marías 2007, pp. 159–62.
- 8 San Román y Fernández 1982, p. 374, no. 184. The phrase is generally taken to mean "the Baptism main [altarpiece] of the hospital." Mann (1986, p. 121) translates the entry as "the principal Baptism for the hospital." The preceding entry in the 1621 inventory refers to "two large unfinished paintings for the side altars of the hospital" (San Román y Fernández 1982, p. 373, no. 183),

making it clear that *The Baptism* was not intended for one of the side altars. John the Baptist is also the subject of three reliefs on one side of Tavera's tomb monument: a central medallion representing the saint full-length and figure groups at either side representing the Baptism of Christ and the Beheading of John the Baptist. The other side of the monument has three similar reliefs devoted to the patron saint of Spain, Santiago el Mayor. See Arias Martínez 2011, pp. 199, 280 (ills.).

- 9 San Román y Fernández 1982, pp. 408–9, doc. XLI. Mann (1986, pp. 141–46) advances the “admittedly controversial” hypothesis that *The Vision of Saint John* was the central altarpiece, mainly on iconographic grounds. Later authors have convincingly dismissed the idea, for example, Christiansen in Davies and Elliott 2003, p. 212; Alvarez Lopera 2005, vol. 2, pp. 217–24; and Mariás 2007, pp. 168–70.
- 10 See note 9 above on Mann 1986. Alvarez Lopera (2005, vol. 2, p. 221) maintains that the placement of *The Baptism* on the main retable is “the one certainty” that may be deduced from the inventories of 1614 and 1621 (see also p. 229).
- 11 See Wethey 1962, vol. 2, pp. 20–22, on the architecture of the high altar and p. 22 on that of the lateral altars. See also Alvarez Lopera 2005, vol. 2, pp. 217–31. The main retable was modified in 1625 and again in the early 1630s. The lateral altarpiece frames survive largely as El Greco designed them, except for the white paint covering the original gilding.
- 12 Mann (1986, p. 142) suggests, unconvincingly, that *The Baptism* may also have been cut down, without offering any technical or otherwise objective evidence. A crude scene of the river Jordan was added by Jorge Manuel or another artist to the bottom of *The Baptism*, presumably to make up the difference in height when it was installed not on the main retable but above the proper left side altar (see Alvarez Lopera 2005, vol. 2, pp. 221–22, under no. 75, referring to the description and photograph of this addition in Cossío 1908, where the dimensions with the addition are given as 412 × 195 cm).
- 13 See Wethey 1962, vol. 2, pp. 19–20, and Mann 1986, pp. 122–25, 145.
- 14 *The Baptism* was never installed above the high altar, probably because the main retable was not completed until after Jorge Manuel's death (see Mariás 2007, p. 168). The delivery (in April 1623) of *The Baptism*, its installation on the left side altar, and its later locations are reported incorrectly in Mann 1986, p. 143; somewhat vaguely in Wethey 1962, vol. 2, p. 23; and accurately in Alvarez Lopera 2005, vol. 2, pp. 221–22, under no. 75.
- 15 On the debated question of Jorge Manuel's intervention in *The Annunciation*, see the summary of opinions in Alvarez Lopera 1999, pp. 437–38, no. 89a.
- 16 See Cossío 1908, p. 575, no. 136 (the Urquijo *Annunciation*), and p. 617, no. 387, under “references and citations,” where the “upper half” of *The Apocalypse* is recorded as owned by the heirs of the Marqués de Castro-Serna (and thus mistakenly identified with the *Concert of Angels*). Cossío (ibid., p. 340) did not think that the Urquijo *Annunciation* was from the Tavera Hospital, but was a much earlier work (“1576 to 1584?”). The proper connection was made in San Román y Fernández 1927, as noted in Wethey 1962, vol. 2, p. 34, no. 44a.

Rousseau 1959, p. 254, shows the *Concert of Angels* reproduced above *The Annunciation*, with a plausible gap (lost or folded-over canvas) in between. This reconstruction is also illustrated in Brown et al. 1982, p. 174; in Alvarez Lopera 1999, p. 328; and in Alvarez Lopera 2005, vol. 2, fig. 132. José M. Pita Andrade erroneously reports (in Brown et al. 1982, p. 160) that

*The Annunciation* “remained on the high altar of the hospital until the nineteenth century,” whereas Alvarez Lopera (2005, vol. 1, p. 437) states correctly that the canvas was “never delivered to the Hospital.” It is curious that *The Annunciation* and *The Vision of Saint John* were both cut down, but there is no apparent reason to think that the pictures might have been together about 1880–1900; the common fate may simply reflect the difficulty of installing paintings at least four meters high (plus their frames) in private residences.

The Banco Urquijo, often cited in the literature as owning *The Annunciation*, was established in 1918 by the sons of the 2nd Marqués de Urquijo, and in the late 1900s was one of the financial institutions merged into the Banco Santander Central Hispano (renamed Banco Santander in 2007).

- 17 San Román y Fernández 1910, p. 191, under doc. no. 52.
- 18 As observed by Christiansen in Davies and Elliott 2003, p. 210. El Greco's practice of keeping *ricordi* in his studio is well known, but Alvarez Lopera (2005, vol. 2, pp. 225–26) considers it “practically certain” that the small canvases in the artist's estate which correspond with the Tavera altarpieces were *modelli* for that project.
- 19 Cossío 1908, p. 356.
- 20 As reported in Milward 1926, p. 24, where the painting (based on Zuloaga's information) is still called *Sacred and Profane Love*.
- 21 Cossío 1908, p. 356. The suggestion is taken up in Camón Aznar 1950, vol. 2, pp. 948–57, 1371, no. 266. See also Alvarez Lopera 2005, vol. 2, p. 229.
- 22 As noted by Christiansen in Davies and Elliott 2003, p. 212. For this line in the contract, see Cossío 1908, p. 680 (item no. 3 in the description of the main retable).
- 23 Alvarez Lopera (2005, vol. 2, p. 229) remarks that there are seven nudes, a “magic number repeated numerous times in the Apocalipsis and which was used also by Dürer and other artists in representing the same passage.”
- 24 See Christiansen in Davies and Elliott 2003, p. 212, quoting Meyer Shapiro (notes in the departmental files of the Department of European Paintings, MMA) on an “old French gloss on the Apocalypse,” according to which white stoles signify that the souls and bodies of martyred saints are in the earth, and they will receive other (presumably colored) garments after their resurrection. By contrast, Anna Reuter (in Giménez and Calvo Serraller 2006, p. 136) suggests that the green and yellow drapes “are possibly the funerary shrouds being discarded during the figures' passage to eternal life.” It is, however, totally implausible to read the action of El Greco's nude figures as a casting off rather than receiving of garments. When it comes to heavenly raiment, throughout his oeuvre El Greco is much less consistent than the Book of Revelation. Furthermore, he was less likely to have been familiar with a thirteenth-century French manuscript than with Veronese's defense of artistic license before the Holy Office in 1573 (see Klein and Zerner 1989, pp. 129–32).
- 25 Compare, for example, Cellini's marble *Ganymede*, of about 1549–50 (Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence).
- 26 By comparison, the angel to the far left in *The Baptism of Christ* (fig. 17), although posed like Saint John, seems to gesture heavenward as a guide to the viewer.
- 27 Christiansen in Davies and Elliott 2003, p. 212.
- 28 It may be added that both saints named John may be taken as references to Juan (John) de Tavera, although his patron was the Baptist. Ronda Kasl observed, in conversation (2013), that it was not unusual at the time for someone named Juan to have John the Baptist as his patron saint. She also mentioned earlier

- retables on which both Johns appear prominently. Fernando Marías (personal communication, July 2013) cited as an example the main retable (1520–22) by the sculptor Felipe Bigarny, in the Capilla Real, Granada.
- 29 Mann 1986, p. 118, citing Salazar's biography of Cardinal Tavera (Salazar de Mendoza 1603, pp. 287–90, 294–97).
- 30 On *The Last Judgment* and Michelangelo's Haman as a source for *The Vision of Saint John*, see Christiansen in Davies and Elliott 2003, p. 212 (where Signorelli's fresco is also mentioned). Titian's ceiling painting is discussed in Mann 1986, pp. 134–35.
- 31 As observed in Joannides 1995, p. 214, quoted by Christiansen in Davies and Elliott 2003, p. 212.
- 32 Soria 1948, p. 249. The reference is to Jan Muller's engravings after Goltzius's series *The Creation of the World*, of 1589–98, which offers no more than superficial parallels.
- 33 The comparison with El Greco's sculpture of Pandora (thought at the time to represent Eve) was made by its then owner, the Conde de las Infantas (Infantas 1945, p. 198); see Gabriele Finaldi in Davies and Elliott 2003, p. 236, on El Greco's *Epimetheus* and *Pandora*, and for Francisco Pacheco's report of seeing clay models by El Greco in 1611.
- 34 See Davies and Elliott 2003, pp. 174, 245.
- 35 See Carey 1999, especially Peter Parshall's essay "The Vision of the Apocalypse in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," pp. 99–124.
- 36 The Dürer print is often mentioned, for example in Mann 1982, p. 67. On Gerung, see Christiansen in Davies and Elliott 2003, pp. 210–12, citing Nicos Hadjinicolaou in the Greek edition of Alvarez Lopera 1999, suppl. entry no. 90. The comparison appears to be original with Kehrer 1960, p. 72.
- 37 See Valencia de Don Juan 1903, vol. 2, pl. 84 (pls. 82–89 for the entire set), or the much less adequate reproduction in Junquera de Vega and Herrero Carretero 1986, vol. 1, p. 57. The central vision in this tapestry illustrates Rev. 7:9–13. On the complicated history of the Apocalypse tapestries, see Iain Buchanan in Campbell 2002, pp. 435–40, no. 51.

## REFERENCES

- Acidini Luchinat, Cristina  
**1998–99** *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari: Fratelli pittori del Cinquecento*. 2 vols. Milan: Jandi Sapi.
- Ainsworth, Maryan W., and Ana Sánchez-Lassa  
**2012** "La Sagrada Familia de Jan Gossart." *Boletín del Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao* 6, pp. 73–112.
- Alvarez Lopera, José  
**1999** as editor. *El Greco: Identidad y transformación*. Creta, Italia, España. Essays by José Alvarez Lopera, Nicos Hadjinicolaou, Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, Lionello Puppi, Claudio Strinati, José Manuel Pita Andrade, Fernando Marías, and David Davies; catalogue entries by José Alvarez Lopera et al. Exh. cat., Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid; Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome; National Gallery and Museum Alexandros Soutzos, Athens. Madrid: Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza; Milan: Skira. Also published in English, Greek, and Italian editions.  
**2005** *El Greco: Estudio y catálogo*. 2 vols. Madrid: Fundación de Apoyo a la Historia del Arte Hispánico.
- Arias Martínez, Manuel  
**2011** *Alonso Berruguete: Prometeo de la escultura*. Palencia: Diputación de Palencia.
- Barrio Moya, José Luis  
**1990** "El pintor alcarreño Juan Bautista Maíno tasador de la colección pictórica del Conde de Añover (1632)." *Wad-al-Hayara* 17, pp. 345–52.  
**2002** "El madrileño Castillo de Batres, según un inventario de 1709." *Castillos de España*, no. 126 (July), pp. 38–46.
- Braun, Georg, and Franz Hogenberg  
**1572–1618** *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. 6 vols. Cologne: Petrum à Brachel.  
**1966** *Civitates Orbis Terrarum, "The Towns of the World," 1572–1618*. Facsimile ed. 3 vols. Cleveland: World Publishing Co.  
**2008** *Städte der Welt: 363 Kupferstiche revolutionieren das Weltbild; Gesamtausgabe der kolorierten Tafeln, 1572–1617, nach dem Original des Historischen Museums Frankfurt. Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. Edited by Stephan Füssel. Cologne: Taschen.
- Brown, Jonathan  
**1981** "In Detail: El Greco's View of Toledo." *Portfolio* 3, no. 1 (January–February), pp. 34–39.  
**1982** as editor. *Figures of Thought: El Greco as Interpreter of History, Tradition, and Ideas*. Studies in the History of Art 11. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art.  
**1998** *Painting in Spain, 1500–1700*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Brown, Jonathan, et al.  
**1982** *El Greco of Toledo*. Contributions by Jonathan Brown, William B. Jordan, Richard L. Kagan, and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez. Exh. cat., Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio; Dallas Museum of Fine Arts. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Brown, Jonathan, and Dawson A. Carr  
**1982** "Portrait of a Cardinal: Niño de Guevara or Sandoval y Rojas?" In Brown 1982, pp. 33–42.  
**1984** "El 'Retrato de un cardenal': Símbolo o simulacro?" In *Visiones del pensamiento: El Greco como intérprete de la historia, la tradición y las ideas*, edited by Jonathan Brown, pp. 55–73. Madrid: Alianza.

- Brown, Jonathan, and Richard L. Kagan  
**1982** "View of Toledo." In Brown 1982, pp. 19–30.  
**1987** "The Duke of Alcalá: His Collection and Its Evolution." *Art Bulletin* 69 (June), pp. 231–55.
- Brown, Jonathan, and Richard G. Mann  
**1990** *Spanish Paintings of the Fifteenth through Nineteenth Centuries*. The Collections of the National Gallery of Art: Systematic Catalogue. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art.
- Burke, Marcus B., and Peter Cherry  
**1997** *Collections of Paintings in Madrid, 1601–1755*. Edited by Maria L. Gilbert. 2 vols. Documents for the History of Collecting: Spanish Inventories 1. Los Angeles: Provenance Index of the Getty Information Institute.
- Calduch Pedralba, Juan  
**2012** "Dibujar, escribir, pintar: El Greco pintor de mapas." *EGE: Revista de expresión gráfica en la edificación*, no. 7 (October), pp. 44–59.
- Camón Aznar, José  
**1950** *Dominico Greco*. 2 vols. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Campbell, Thomas P.  
**2002** *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*. Contributions by Maryan W. Ainsworth et al. Exh. cat. New York: MMA.
- Carey, Frances, ed.  
**1999** *The Apocalypse and the Shape of Things to Come*. Contributions by Jonathan Alexander et al. Exh. cat. London: British Museum; Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press.
- Castán Lanaspá, Javier  
**1993** "A propósito del testamento del Cardenal Tavera." *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología* 59, pp. 365–78.
- Cherry, Peter  
**1991** "New Documents for Velázquez in the 1620s." *Burlington Magazine* 133 (February) pp. 108–15.
- Cossío, Manuel B.  
**1908** *El Greco*. 2 vols. Madrid: Victoriano Suárez.  
**1972** *El Greco*. New ed. Edited by Natalia Cossío de Jimenez. Barcelona: Editorial R. M.
- Davies, David, and John H. Elliott  
**2003** *El Greco*. Catalogue entries by Xavier Bray, Keith Christiansen, and Gabriele Finaldi; contributions by Marcus Burke and Lois Oliver; edited by David Davies. Exh. cat., MMA and The National Gallery, London. London: National Gallery Company.
- Domínguez-Castro, Fernando, Juan I. Santisteban, Mariano Barriendos, and Rosa Mediavilla  
**2008** "Reconstruction of Drought Episodes for Central Spain from Rogation Ceremonies Recorded at the Toledo Cathedral from 1506 to 1900: A Methodological Approach." *Global and Planetary Change* 63, nos. 2–3 (September), pp. 230–42.
- Duerloo, Luc  
**2012** *Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598–1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate.
- Elliott, John Huxtable  
**1986** *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline*. New Haven: Yale University Press.  
**1989** *Spain and Its World, 1500–1700*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Faldi, Italo  
**1981** *Il Palazzo Farnese di Caprarola*. Turin: Seati.
- Frelinghuysen, Alice Cooney, et al.  
**1993** *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection*. Contributions by Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, Gary Tinterow, Susan Alyson Stein, Gretchen Wold, Julia Meech et al. Exh. cat. New York: MMA.
- Giménez, Carmen, and Francisco Calvo Serraller, eds.  
**2006** *Spanish Painting from El Greco to Picasso: Time, Truth, and History*. Exh. cat. New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum.
- Guinard, Paul  
**1956** *El Greco: Biographical and Critical Study*. Translated by James Emmons. Lausanne: Skira.
- Hadjinicolaou, Nicos, ed.  
**1995** *El Greco of Crete: Proceedings of the International Symposium Held on the Occasion of the 450th Anniversary of the Artist's Birth; Iraklion, Crete, 1–5 September 1990*. Iraklion: Municipality of Iraklion.
- Havemeyer, Louisine Waldron  
**1961** *Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector*. New York: privately printed.
- Infantas, Conde de las  
**1945** "¿Dos esculturas del Greco?" *Archivo español de arte* 18, no. 70, pp. 193–200.
- Joannides, Paul  
**1995** "El Greco and Michelangelo." In Hadjinicolaou 1995, pp. 199–214.
- Junquera de Vega, Paulina, and Concha Herrero Carretero  
**1986** *Catálogo de tapices del Patrimonio Nacional*. Vol. 1, Siglo XVI. Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional.
- Kagan, Richard L.  
**1982** "The Toledo of El Greco." In Brown et al. 1982, pp. 35–73.  
**1984** "Pedro de Salazar de Mendoza as Collector, Scholar, and Patron of El Greco." In *Symposium Papers II: El Greco: Italy and Spain*, edited by Jonathan Brown and José Manuel Pita Andrade, pp. 85–93. Studies in the History of Art 13. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art.  
**1986** "Philip II and the Art of the Cityscape." In *Art and History: Images and Their Meaning*, edited by Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, pp. 115–35. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
**1989** as editor. *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde*. Berkeley: University of California Press.  
**1995** "The Count of Los Arcos as Collector and Patron of El Greco." In Hadjinicolaou 1995, pp. 325–39. Originally published in *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 4 (1992), pp. 151–59.  
**1998** "Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain." In *Envisioning the City: Six Studies in Urban Cartography*, edited by David Buisseret, pp. 75–108. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.  
**2000** *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493–1793*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.  
**2010a** "El Greco in Toledo: The Artist's Clientele." In *El Greco's Pentecost in a New Context*, pp. 19–41. Dallas: Meadows Museum, Southern Methodist University.  
**2010b** "El Greco's Portraits Reconsidered." In Schroth 2010, pp. 58–68.
- Kehrer, Hugo  
**1960** *Greco in Toledo: Höhe und Vollendung, 1577–1614*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.

- Klein, Robert, and Henri Zerner, eds.  
**1989** *Italian Art, 1500–1600: Sources and Documents*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press.
- Kubler, George, and Martin Soria  
**1959** *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and Their American Dominions, 1500 to 1800*. Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- Lafuente Ferrari, Enrique  
**1969** *El Greco: The Expressionism of His Final Years*. Translated by Robert Erich Wolf. New York: Harry N. Abrams.
- Lavín Berdonces, Ana Carmen, et al.  
**2007** *Tesoros Ocultos: Fondos selectos del Museo del Greco y del Archivo de la Nobleza*. Exh. cat., Hospital Tavera, Toledo. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura.
- Links, J. G.  
**1972** *Townscape Painting and Drawing*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Mann, Richard G.  
**1982** “The Altarpieces for the Hospital of Saint John the Baptist, Outside the Walls, Toledo.” In Brown 1982, pp. 57–76.  
**1986** *El Greco and His Patrons: Three Major Projects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marías, Fernando  
**1983–86** *La arquitectura del Renacimiento en Toledo (1541–1631)*. 4 vols. Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos; Madrid: C.S.I.C.  
**1986** “La obra artística y arquitectónica del Cardenal Sandoval y Rojas.” In *El Toledo de Felipe II y El Greco*, edited by Fernando Marías, F. J. Portela Sandoval, M. Casamar, and M. Estella, pp. 9–23. Toledo: Consejería de Educación y Cultura, Museo de Santa Cruz.  
**1996** “Villalpando, Francisco de.” In *Dictionary of Art*, edited by Jane Turner, vol. 32, pp. 559–60. New York: Grove’s Dictionaries.  
**1997** *El Greco: Biografía de un pintor extravagante*. Madrid: Nerea. French ed.: *El Greco: Biographie d’un peintre extravagant*. Translated by Marie-Hélène Collinot. Paris: Cohen & Cohen.  
**2001** *El Greco in Toledo*. Edited by Moira Johnston; translated by Gilla Evans. London: Scala.  
**2007** *El Hospital Tavera de Toledo*. [Seville]: Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli.  
**2013** *El Greco: Life and Work, a New History*. Translated by Paul Edson and Sander Berg. New York: Thames & Hudson.  
**2014** as editor. *El Greco of Toledo: Painter of the Visible and the Invisible*. Translated by Philip Sutton. Exh. cat. Toledo: Fundación El Greco.
- Martínez Caviro, Balbina  
**1985** “Los Grecos de Don Pedro Laso de la Vega.” *Goya* 184 (January–February), pp. 216–26.  
**1990** *Conventos de Toledo: Toledo, Castillo Interior*. Madrid: Ediciones El Viso.
- Martz, Linda  
**1983** *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain: The Example of Toledo*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.  
**2003** *A Network of Converso Families in Early Modern Toledo: Assimilating a Minority*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Mayer, August L.  
**1926** *Dominico Theotocopuli El Greco: Kritisches und illustriertes Verzeichnis des Gesamtwerkes verfasst und eingeleitet*. Munich: F. Hanfstaengel.
- Milward, Jo  
**1926** “The Zuloaga Collection of El Grecos.” *International Studio* 83 (February), pp. 23–29.
- Moraleda y Esteban, Juan de  
**1928** “El Monasterio Agaliense de Toledo.” *Boletín Real Academia de Toledo*, ser. 1, no. 35 (June), pp. 130–38.
- Partridge, Loren W.  
**1969** “The Frescoes of the Villa Farnese at Caprarola.” PhD diss., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
- Pérez Sánchez, Alfonso E., and Benito Navarrete Prieto  
**2001** *Luis Tristán, h. 1585–1624*. Madrid: Ediciones del Umbral.
- Portús, Javier, et al.  
**2004** *The Spanish Portrait from El Greco to Picasso*. Contributions by José Alvarez Lopera et al. Exh. cat., Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid. London: Scala.
- Raeymaekers, Dries  
**2011** “The ‘Gran Privado’ of Archduke Albert. Rodrigo Niño y Lasso, Count of Añover (ca. 1560–1620).” In *Agentes e identidades en movimiento España y los Países Bajos, siglos XVI–XVIII*, edited by René Vermeir, Maurits Ebben, and Raymond Fagel, pp. 129–49. Madrid: Silex Ediciones.
- Reinhard-Felice, Mariantonia  
**2005** *Oskar Reinhart Collection “Am Römerholz” Winterthur: Complete Catalogue*. Basel: Schwabe.
- Ríos de Balmaseda, Antonia  
**1991** “La capilla de reliquias de Cuerva y el cuadro de la Sagrada Cena de Tristán.” *Toletum* 27, pp. 129–43.
- Robertson, Clare  
**1992** *“Il Gran Cardinale”: Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Rotmil, Lisa A.  
**2010** “Understanding Piety and Religious Patronage: The Case of Anne of Austria and the Val-de-Grâce.” In Schroth 2010, pp. 266–81.
- Rousseau, Theodore, Jr.  
**1959** “El Greco’s Vision of Saint John.” *MMAB*, n.s., 17, no. 10 (June), pp. 241–62.
- Ruiz Gómez, Leticia, et al.  
**2001** *Actas del Congreso sobre el Retablo del Colegio de Doña María de Aragón del Greco*. Essays by Leticia Ruiz Gómez and eight other contributors. Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado.
- Rutter, Frank  
**1930** *El Greco (1541–1614)*. New York: E. Weyhe.
- Salazar de Mendoza, Pedro  
**1603** *Chronico de el Cardenal don Juan Tavera*. Toledo: Pedro Rodriguez.  
**1618** *El glorioso Doctor San Idefonso, Arcobispo de Toledo, Primado de las Españas*. Toledo: Diego Rodriguez.
- San Román y Fernández, Francisco de Borja de  
**1910** *El Greco en Toledo ó nuevas investigaciones acerca de la vida y obras de Dominico Theotocópuli*. Madrid: Librería general de Victoriano Suárez.  
**1927** “De la vida del Greco (Nueva serie de documentos inéditos).” *Archivo español de arte y arqueología* 3, pp. 139–95, 275–339. Reprinted in San Román y Fernández 1982, pp. 287–410.  
**1982** *El Greco en Toledo: Vida y obra de Domenico Theotocópuli*. Toledo: Zocodover. Facsimile reprint of works published 1910–41.
- Scholz-Hänsel, Michael  
**1995** “The Spectacles of the Grand Inquisitor: Counter-Revolutionary Aspects in the Work of El Greco and Humanistic Ideas in the Thinking of Spanish Inquisitors.” In Hadjinicolaou 1995, pp. 295–307.

- Schroth, Sarah, ed.  
**2010** *Art in Spain and the Hispanic World: Essays in Honor of Jonathan Brown*. London: Paul Holberton Publishing.
- Schulz, Juergen  
**1978** "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500." *Art Bulletin* 60 (September), pp. 425–74.
- Soria, Martin S.  
**1948** "Some Flemish Sources of Baroque Painting in Spain." *Art Bulletin* 30 (December), pp. 249–59.
- Valencia de Don Juan, Juan Bautista Crooke y Navarrot, Conde de  
**1903** *Tapices de la corona de España*. 2 vols. Madrid: Hauser y Menet.
- Wethey, Harold E.  
**1962** *El Greco and His School*. 2 vols. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.  
**1969–75** *The Paintings of Titian*. 3 vols. London: Phaidon.
- Wilkinson, Catherine  
**1977** *The Hospital of Cardinal Tavera in Toledo*. Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts. New York and London: Garland.
- Wismer, Beat, and Michael Scholz-Hänsel, eds.  
**2012** *El Greco and Modernism*. Contributions by Judith F. Dolkart et al. Exh. cat., Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag.
- Zeri, Federico  
**1976** *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery*. 2 vols. Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery.