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THE HERMIT'S *LOCUS AMOENUS*: «EL ARTE Y MORAL PHILOSOFIA» OF LANDSCAPE PAINTING COLLECTIONS IN EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MADRID

In early seventeenth-century Spain, landscape painting became an increasingly popular genre not only amongst those collectors with modest budgets, who may have been attracted by the lower prices paid for this genre, but also amongst their wealthier peers and those whose art collections were based on a genuine knowledge of painting. The inventories published by Marcus Burke and Peter Cherry document the extent of the appeal of representations of rural and natural scenery for collectors, and subsequent research has offered further insights into this cultural phenomenon.¹ In his survey of the contents of these collections, Cherry provided an analysis of the intellectual and cultural values that shaped this emerging taste for landscape painting.² A key factor Cherry identified was that these works were seen as emulations of «the fabled works of antiquity».³ Such an approach to thinking about painting is most evident in Pablo de Céspedes' *Discurso de la antigua y moderna pintura y escultura* written for Pedro de Valencia in 1604, although regrettably he does not discuss landscape painting.⁴ Cherry went on to highlight two further important facets of the appeal of landscape painting: firstly «as a recreational genre evoking the pleasures of a *locus amoenus* in the countryside or garden», and secondly, that «for many devout viewers landscape paintings may have been regarded as celebrations of divinely sanctified nature, the world seen as a reflection of God's wisdom and his benign and generous hand.»⁵ The combination of these two elements signals how the rich tradition of pastoral literature would have provided a valuable frame of reference for the reception of landscape painting in seventeenth-century Spain. The significance of the pastoral for landscape painting has been the subject of a range of studies.⁶ An important recognition encountered in these studies is the contrast between the textual sources artists emulated and the visual works they produced. The intrinsic conditions of each medium clearly

¹ Marcus B. BURKE & Peter CHERRY, *Collections of paintings in Madrid, 1601-1755*, Los Angeles, Provenance Index of the Getty Information Institute, c. 1997. References to more recent research are provided in the course of this chapter.

² See the section on the «Minor Genres» in BURKE & CHERRY, *Collections...*, 1997, vol. II, pp. 92-107.

³ BURKE & CHERRY, *Collections...*, 1997, vol. II, p. 96.

⁴ See: J. A. CEÁN BERMÚDEZ, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*, vol. 3, Madrid, Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1965, pp. 273-315. See also: Pablo DE CÉSPEDES, *Escritos de Pablo de Céspedes*, Jesús Rubio Lapaz (ed.), Córdoba, Diputación de Córdoba, 1998.

⁵ BURKE & CHERRY, *Collections...*, 1997, vol. II, p. 96.

⁶ As a point of departure see: John DIXON HUNT (ed.), *The pastoral landscape*, Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1992.

⁷ Vicente CARDUCHO, *Diálogos de la pintura*, Francisco Calvo Serraller (ed.), Madrid, Turner, 1979, p. 330.

⁸ CARDUCHO, *Diálogos de la pintura*, 1979, p. 331.

⁹ For a discussion of the Torre de la Parada see: Svetlana ALPERS, *The decoration of the Torre de la Parada*, Corpus Rubenianum, vol. 9, Brussels, Arcade Press, 1971.

¹⁰ For a discussion of this aspect of the palace decoration see: Andrés ÚBEDA DE LOS COBOS: «Las pinturas de paisaje para el palacio del Buen Retiro de Madrid», in *Roma: naturaleza e ideal: paisajes, 1600-1650*, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 2011, pp. 69-77; Jonathan BROWN & J. H. ELLIOTT: «The Marquis of Castel Rodrigo and the Landscape Paintings in the Buen Retiro», *The Burlington Magazine*, 129, 1987, pp. 104-107: 105; Jonathan BROWN & J. H. ELLIOTT, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV*, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 2003, pp. 129-139; BURKE & CHERRY, *Collections...*, 1997, vol. II, p. 98-99.

played an important role, but so too did the extrinsic socio-cultural conditions that both had to fulfil. Rather than engage with the creative stimulus pastoral poetry provided for painters, the focus of this article is how the former provided an intellectual framework that shaped the reception of landscape painting. For this purpose a range of evidence for the reception of landscape painting is subjected to an analysis which provides a case study to develop Cherry's analysis of the cultural appreciation of landscape painting.

Little is known about the ideas and values or taste that informed collectors' patronage and purchase of artworks. Needless to say, superficial motives of interior decoration and the display of wealth played their part. Landscape painting was no doubt prone to being treated in such menial ways, and the number of works included in collections testifies to this. Knowing how these works were displayed provides an important criterion to consider whether they were valued beyond a purely decorative function. Regrettably, such information is rarely encountered. In his *Diálogos de la pintura*, Carducho highlighted the decorative purpose of landscapes along with «cazas, bolaterias, pescas, frutas, animales, trages de las naciones diferentes, Ciudades y Provincias» and stated that they were suitable for rural houses devoted to recreation.⁷ He cited the landscapes Eugenio Cajés painted for Philip III with «grande magisterio y bizarria» in the lunettes in the room where the king held audiences at the Pardo Palace.⁸ Regrettably, these were destroyed in a fire, but as lunettes these works testify to the decorative function of landscape paintings. However, the patronage of landscape painting would be transformed over the subsequent decades and this transformation signals that it was seen as more than mere decoration. The most significant testimony to this is the decoration of Philip IV's Palace of the Buen Retiro and the Torre de la Parada. The King first stayed at the new palace in 1633, although the work on the palace and gardens continued for some years after, and his hunting lodge was completed in 1637. Both these residences were intended for the monarch's pleasure and thus landscapes were an appropriate decorative component. The emergence of two sub-genres of landscape is noted in these projects; the Buen Retiro had a special room dedicated to landscape scenes showing the devotions of anchorites and hermits, while the Torre de la Parada was decorated with hunting scenes. For the purposes of this paper, attention will be concentrated on the former.⁹ The Buen Retiro paintings were clearly considered to be celebrated art works worthy of a special gallery, and this demonstrates how the genre had attained a superior artistic status than mere decorative lunettes.¹⁰ A further indication of this is that 64,800 *reales* were paid for twenty-four of the paintings in this «so-called "anchorite

series''». Philip IV's landscape gallery represents an important moment in the history of landscape painting as it represents appreciation of the genre by one of the most influential and wealthiest collectors of the period. However, the significance of the religious theme demands further scrutiny.

In his reflections on the taste for landscape painting, Peter Cherry highlighted how in Madrid scenes with hermits and other religious themes grew to be very popular amongst secular collectors and supplemented the more generic taste based on notions of a pastoral *locus amoenus* with a moral dimension.¹¹ Thus it may be argued that the emergence of this sub-genre further highlights the cultural impact of the Counter-Reformation on painting; by including saints in landscape paintings, art's moral purpose was not neglected. Carducho, who displays an awareness of the religious critiques of collectors' tendency to moral laxity, makes this evident when he states that decorative genres such as landscape should be «compuesto todo debaxo de alguna ingeniosa fibula, metafora, o historia que de gusto, sentido y doctrina al curioso ... y en todo se deve guardar cierto decoro prudencial, no igualando el sugeto del Señor con el del grande Principe, ni del Principe con la soberania del rei o Monarca».¹² This statement highlights how the delights offered by the scenes of nature and artistic virtuosity in Poussin's *Landscape with St. Jerome*, which hung in the Buen Retiro's landscape gallery, would have been appreciated along with reflections on the scene's spiritual significance (fig. 1). Cherry has commented on the relevance of these works for monastic spectators. However, their significance for secular viewers in private art collections would have been broader, and the task of this chapter is to explore this issue and above all examine how it did not neglect pastoral conventions and sources. It may be argued that Philip IV's landscape gallery of paintings was a conscious move to allay critiques of the moral lapses suffered by collectors and to present a clear example of his taste in art being based on virtuous intentions.¹³ However, their cultural significance goes beyond this. These works are not dominated by their religious subject, and it may be argued that they represent a synthesis of a pastoral conception of nature with the accounts of the Christian anchorites. Furthermore, a fundamental significance of these works is that they represent states of inner contemplation, which paradoxical though it may seem was what baroque spectators often sought in the delights of nature provided by the *locus amoenus*.

The notion of the contemplative response to artworks in Golden Age Spain is an oft-cited topos in art and cultural historical analysis yet it is hard to frame with evidence. Rather than make a further claim for the impact of meditational practices on the reception of artworks, I want to show how literary and philosophical texts would have provided a comple-

¹¹ BURKE & CHERRY, *Collections...*, 1997, vol. II, p. 97-98.

¹² CARDUCHO, *Diálogos de la pintura*, p. 330.

¹³ For criticism of the royal collections which the kings and their advisors would have been conscious of see: JAVIER PORTÚS PÉREZ: «Fray Hortensio Paravicino: la Academia de San Lucas, las pinturas lascivas y el arte de mirar», *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie VII, Historia del arte*, No. 9, 1996, pp. 77-106; «Indecencia, mortificación y modos de ver en la pintura del Siglo de Oro», *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie VII, Historia del arte*, No. 8, 1995, pp. 55-88.



1. Nicolas Poussin, *Landscape with St. Jerome*, 1637-1638, oil on canvas, 155 cm × 234 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid. [Recently its identification has been changed to St. Paul the Hermit. See: [http://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/galeria-on-line/galeria-on-line/obra/paisaje-con-san-jeronimo-1/.](http://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/galeria-on-line/galeria-on-line/obra/paisaje-con-san-jeronimo-1/)]

¹⁴ Justus LIPSIUS, *Libro de Constancia*, Seville, Matias Clavijo, 1616, p. 8. The Spanish translation is cited here as a contemporaneous Spanish source.

mentary intellectual framework, which would have especially informed the contemplative appreciation of landscape painting. Discussion of the early modern spectator of artworks must be approached with caution and before proceeding any further specific historical figures need to be identified. A certain disregard for painting is evident in Justus Lipsius' comparison of the fleeting pleasures of landscape to «la manera que los ojos no se deleita mucho tiempo en la pintura, aunque sea muy buena».¹⁴ A concern evident in the treatises published in Madrid by Carducho and Juan de Butrón, as well as Francisco Pacheco's *El arte de la pintura*, was to educate spectators in the appreciation of the artistic, intellectual and moral dimensions of painting; the growth in collecting was not seemingly accompanied by a full appreciation of art. Despite this, Carducho's authorial collaboration with a range of authors, including Lope de Vega, Juan Pérez de Montalbán and José de Valdivielso, signals how there were members of the court

who were keen enthusiasts of painting. A close reading of sections of Carducho's treatise is offered in the course of this chapter and these demonstrate how pastoral poetry provided a key framework for the appreciation of both painting and nature. A reciprocity between painting and poetry is also highlighted in the commentary on Góngora's *Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea* given in the *Lecciones Solemnes a las obras de Don Luis de Góngora* by José de Pellicer de Ossau Salas y Tovar (1602-1679). Pellicer refers to the theoretical tenet that painters used colour to «clothe» ideas articulated first in drawing.¹⁵ In support of this view he lists a comprehensive catalogue of renaissance treatises on art as well as sources from classical and Christian authorities, which make evident that the educated elite were conversant with theories of visual art, which in turn informed their reading of poetry. Together these sources suggest that notions of *ut pictura poesis* shaped the reception of paintings and this is explored below. However, first I want to examine an example of a literary aficionado of painting whose interests were centred on landscape.

The significance of the Juan de Fonseca's art collection has been overshadowed by his ownership of Velázquez's *Waterseller*. His collection as a whole consisted of at least 153 paintings; the reliability of the post mortem inventory is called into question by the absence of the portrait Pacheco records Velázquez painted of Fonseca.¹⁶ With 72 landscape paintings, Fonseca's collection is clearly indicative of the growing taste for landscape in Madrid. While interpretation of the inventories made at his death in 1627 is hampered by the customary lack of information regarding authorship and subject matter, Fonseca's is fairly detailed perhaps because it was conducted by Velázquez.¹⁷ Although the valuation prices recorded along with those subsequently paid are of limited recompense for the lack of names of artists and titles of works, they do offer insights into the value of the landscapes in the collection. As will be shown, his collection offers an insightful comparison to that which the King would start collecting only a few years later.

It is hard to gauge if the other works in this collection emulated the quality of Velázquez's famed *bodegón*. Velázquez did not think so, as he famously valued his work at 400 *reales*, well above the value given to the other paintings, which lends weight to the view that the *Waterseller* was not a mere *bodegón* but represented a theme of greater significance.¹⁸ Two portraits of Philip IV and the Cardinal Infante valued at 330 *reales* were the next most expensive items. Making allowance for how little is known about the authorship of these works or their size and quality, Velázquez's valuation of the collection seemingly reflects the hierarchy of genres that is reflected in the treatises by Pacheco and Carducho. After the royal por-

¹⁵ JOSÉ DE PELLICER, *Lecciones Solemnes a las obras de Don Luis de Góngora*, Madrid, Imprenta del Reino, 1630, pp. 235-239. Pellicer continued to discuss the Platonic roots of this theory of painting and its subsequent tradition, which signals a further Iberian contribution to the evolution of concepts of the «Idea» as an element of early modern aesthetics as charted by Panofsky in his *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory* (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1968). Panofsky cited Francisco Pacheco's *Arte de la Pintura* (1649) as showing the «double meaning of the term "idea" most clearly» and following the «new speculative direction of art theory, mainly as he found it in Zuccari» (pp. 217, 219). The philosophical questions explored in Panofsky's study offer a valuable framework to think about poetic and cultural dimensions of the imagination, which is a theme underpinning this study.

¹⁶ See JOSÉ LÓPEZ NAVÍO: «Velázquez tasa los cuadros de su protector, don Juan de Fonseca», *Archivo Español de Arte*, 34, 1961, pp. 53-84. Velázquez's portrait of Juan de Fonseca is today identified as the *Portrait of a man* held in the Detroit Institute of Arts.

¹⁷ By 1627, Velázquez's artistic education enabled him to assess these works with confidence, and landscape was a genre that interested him, as is evident in his original contributions to the genre discussed below and his ownership of four

landscapes bought by the king for the Buen Retiro palace in 1634, see: BROWN & ELLIOTT, *A Palace for a King*, 2003, p. 123.

¹⁸ LÓPEZ NAVÍO: «Velázquez tasa los cuadros...», p. 64. For a discussion of how classical interests shared by Fonseca and his contemporaries may have informed his interest in *bodegones* such as Velázquez's *Waterseller*, see Manuela B. MENA MARQUÉS: «*El Aguador de Velázquez o una meditación sobre la cultura clásica: "Diógenes y los hijos de Xeníades"*», *Archivo español de arte*, 288, 1999, p. 91-413; Jeremy ROE: «Looking at Velázquez through the writings of Francisco de Rioja», in *Antes y después del "Quijote": en el cincuentenario de la Asociación de Hispanistas de Gran Bretaña e Irlanda*, R. Archer (ed.), Valencia, Generalitat Valenciana, Biblioteca Valencia, 2005, pp. 213-222.

¹⁹ Also referred to as a «Crucifixion» and which thereby calls to mind the small crucifixion in landscape settings produced by Velázquez in 1631.

traits, religious *historias*, such as Pedro de Orrente's (1580-1645) *Baptism of Christ*, valued at 220 *reales*, are the next most expensive items. As well as being numerous, the landscapes were also valued at significant prices. The most expensive was «un pays pequeño con un cristo» that could be veiled by a crimson curtain; this religious themed landscape sold for 242 *reales*.¹⁹ Despite the lack of measurements, the valuations of 400 *Reales* for four paintings of the *Scenes from the life of Jacob* by Orrente, 600 *reales* for four landscapes with the Seasons of the year, and 150 *reales* each for fourteen landscapes makes evident how Fonseca's landscape paintings were considered to be of artistic merit.

No Flemish, Italian or other Spanish artists are named, only Velázquez and Orrente. As such it may be conjectured that this collection offers testimony of a local market of painters. What is certain is that the collection's number of religious landscapes, 28 in total, displays the aforementioned taste of Madrid's collectors for religious themed landscapes. The subjects are briefly referred to as «Susana», «Abraham» and the «Samaritan». A number of these landscapes belonged to series and two of these were identified as hermit scenes, one comprising eight and the other sixteen paintings. The appeal of Christian themes with a rural setting is also evident in the five works by Orrente: besides the scenes of Jacob there was a Baptism of Christ.²⁰ Regrettably these works cannot be identified but they may be compared to works held in the Prado such as *Jacob at the well* (fig. 2). Evidence of the popularity of these genres is revealed by their enthusiastic purchase: 1,000 *reales* were paid for eight hermit scenes, while 800 *reales* was the final price paid for the four *Scenes from the life of Jacob* together with the landscapes representing the seasons, which affirms how the appeal of these religious scenes was entwined with a taste for landscape painting. Finally, Gaspar de Bracamonte, who would go on to distinguish himself as a collector, not only bought the *Waterseller*, but also paid 150 *reales* for one «large landscape» and 1,800 *reales* for a further 15 landscapes.²¹ The latter measured a «vara y media de largo y tres cuartos de ancho», approximately 250 x 56 cm. Velázquez and the buyers revealed themselves to be discerning of the artistic quality of these works, but it remains to be considered what other cultural values informed these collectors. Fonseca himself is the logical point of departure.

The range of Fonseca's scholarship, which even embraced Arabic and prompted his correspondence with scholars such as Isaac Casaubon, has been the subject of a number of specialised studies.²² For the purposes of this article attention will be focused on his interest in painting and Christian pastoral poetry in so far as it may be discerned. Pacheco records how Fonseca played a key role in Velázquez's appointment at court, and the



2. Pedro de Orrente (studio), *Jacob at the well*, c. 1600-1644, oil on canvas, 93 cm × 137 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid. [According to the Museo del Prado, «Primera mitad del siglo XVII»: http://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/galeria-on-line/galeria-on-line/obra/jacob-en-el-pozo/?no_cache=1

young artist stayed at his house on his second and successful visit to the capital.²³ We do not know what Fonseca thought of Velázquez's portraits of himself, the King, or the poet Luis de Góngora, this last one painted during Velázquez's 1622 visit to Madrid. There is, however, evidence that Fonseca would have been a good judge of them. Pacheco records that Fonseca applied «la agudeza de su ingenio y mucha erudición» to the practice of painting.²⁴ Apart from the fact that Velázquez bought Fonseca's easel and other studio tools at his death, the only evidence of his painting is a poem by Francisco de Calatayud, *Al retrato de Franciso de Rioja hecho por D.I°.D.F°.Y.Fi.* [Don Juan de Fonseca y Figueroa].²⁵ Nonetheless, it may be argued that Fonseca's artistic, scholarly and literary interests would have made him an informed and discerning spectator of art at the court in Madrid. His treatise on painting *De Veteri Pictura* would have provided a basis for his appreciation of art.²⁶ Regrettably, we do not know if he discussed a comparison of ancient and modern painting or classical landscapes, such as those of Studius, whose works may have provided one source of inspiration for his own collection.²⁷

Fonseca's scholarly interest in art would have been complemented by his diverse literary interests. Calatayud's poem based on his portrait of Rioja signals how poems on paintings were a key medium not only for dis-

²⁰ On the popularity of Oriente see: BURKE & CHERRY, *Collections...*, 1997, vol. II, p. 101.

²¹ For this collector's career see Ida MAURO: «Le acquisizioni di opere d'arte di Gaspar de Bracamonte y Guzmán, conte di Peñaranda e viceré di Napoli (1659-1664)», *Locvs Amoenus*, 9, 2007-2008, pp. 155-169.

²² On Fonseca's Arabism see the forthcoming article by Jeremy ROE: «New Documents on the Scholarship of Juan de Fonseca Y Figueroa (1585-1627): Arabist and Correspondent with Isaac Casaubon», *Humanistica Lovaniensia*. The article offers a summary of recent research on Fonseca's scholarship. That which is relevant to this article is cited below. For an introduction to his life and work see: Nicolás ANTONIO, *Bibliotheca Hispana nova: sive hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno MD. ad MDCLXXXIV. florere notitia*, Madrid, Visor, 1996, p. 691; José LÓPEZ NAVÍO: «Don Juan de Fonseca, Canónigo maestrescuela de Sevilla», *Archivo Hispalense*, 126-127, 1964, pp. 83-126; J. H. ELLIOTT, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: A Statesman in an Age of Decline*, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1989; and Vicente LLEÓ CAÑAL: «El Circulo Sevillano de Velázquez», *Poder y Saber: Bibliotecas y bibliofilia en la época del Conde-Duque de Olivares*, ed. O. Noble-Wood, J. Roe, Madrid, Centro de Estudios de Europa Hispánica, 2011, pp. 47-69.

²³ PACHECO, *Arte de la pintura*, Madrid, Cátedra, 1990, pp. 203-204.

²⁴ PACHECO, *Arte...*, p. 217. See also: RIOJA, *Poesías...*, p. 34.

²⁵ Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 3.888, Madrid, RIOJA, *Poesías varias*, 1984, p. 34, f.78.

²⁶ See Nicolás ANTONIO, *Bibliotheca Hispana nova: sive hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno MD. ad MDCLXXXIV. florere notitia*, Madrid, Visor, 1996, p. 691.

²⁷ Pacheco refers to him as Ludio, see: *Arte...* 1990, p. 515. See also: Roger LING: «Studius and the Beginnings of Roman Landscape Painting», *Journal of Roman Studies*, 67, 1977, pp. 1-16.

²⁸ PACHECO, *Arte...*, pp. 429-430. See also: Francisco DE RIOJA, *Poesías*, Begoña López Bueno (ed.), Madrid, Cátedra, 1984.

²⁹ For discussion of this poem see: Frederick A. DE ARMAS: «Lope de Vega and Titian», *Comparative Literature*, vol. 30, No. 4, 1978, pp. 338-352; Simón Anselmus VOSTERS: «Lope de Vega y Rubens», in *Lope de Vega y los orígenes del teatro español: actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre Lope de Vega*, 1981, pp. 733-744.

³⁰ LOPE DE VEGA, *Laurel de Apolo con otras rimas*, Madrid, Juan González, 1630, f. 118^v.

³¹ Paul SHAKESHAFT: «Elsheimer and G. B. Crescenzi», *The Burlington Magazine*, 123, 1981, pp. 550-551.

³² A valuable starting point is offered by Gabriel H. LOVETT:

plays of scholarly wit, but also for the critical application of *ut pictura poesis* to the appreciation of art works. In these intellectual exercises, the pastoral frequently provided a framing device. For example, Fonseca's sifter and close friend Rioja translated a poem by Libanius that recounts a painter trying to paint the image of Apollo on a laurel panel, which as the metamorphosed form of Daphne rejects the painter's efforts.²⁸ The pastoral as a mode for framing the appreciation of art is also noted in one of the most significant examples of a poetic response to an art work which is Lope de Vega's *silva* «Al quadro y retrato de su Magestad que hizo Pedro Pablo Rubens, Pintor Excelentísimo».²⁹ Lope recounted a pastoral narrative of Rubens stealing nature's brushes to paint his portrait, which culminates in nature admitting Rubens' victory. More significantly, the poetic delights of the pastoral theme culminate in the contemplation of «el *Arte y moral Filosofía*» of Rubens' work.³⁰ The joint emphasis on art and moral content in painting as well as in the poem itself is significant. Further evidence of this joint interest is offered by the evidence of Fonseca's own reading.

Fonseca compiled a series of manuscript notes from his reading of Garcilaso de la Vega and Lope de Vega, two poets known for their visual descriptions. Fonseca's notes offer a fragmentary testament to his reading interests. However, his responses to Lope de Vega's *Jerusalén Conquistada* clearly signal an interest in both literary virtuosity and the work's deeper moral meaning. Francisca Moya in her study of Fonseca's manuscript highlights the sections signalling Fonseca's approval. They included the scenes of Saladin taken down to House of Death and the Dream of Neptune's Palaces. These important allegorical scenes and moral themes are markedly fantastic and at some remove from landscape painting and the pastoral, yet his notes also show a clear interest in natural scenes, and especially ones with striking effects of light: dawn, dusk, and nocturnal scenes, a wild fire at night and even a curious scene set around lunar reflections in a forest. It is hard to map this taste in poetic scenes onto the inventory of his landscapes. It may be argued that they suggest parallels to the tenebrist lighting effects found in Velázquez *Waterseller* for example, and also the caves and shadowy groves often found in landscapes with hermits. His collection may even have included nocturnal landscapes such as those by Adam Elsheimer, two examples of which were then in Madrid in the collection of the Roman painter-architect Giovanni Battista Crescenzi.³¹ At present such conjectures on the impact of Fonseca's reading on his collecting and appreciation of paintings cannot be explored further. Instead, I want to consider the wider significance of scenes of contemplative subjects such as hermits and saints in landscape settings. Lope de

Vega's poem may be considered as offering a broad-ranging literary parallel to the development of Christian-themed landscape paintings; a use of epic and pastoral poetry to explore Christian themes as opposed to classical ones. Further evidence of Lope de Vega's exploration of the Christian Pastoral is his play *Pastores de Belen*.³² Closer analysis of this and the wider corpus of literary works with Christian pastoral themes is required to explore the wider cultural context for the popularity of religious landscapes beyond that of Golden Age monastic culture, which has until now been seen as the main source for the development of this sub-genre.³³ It is beyond the scope of this chapter to undertake such a survey. However, I want to examine how the perception of the pastoral topos of the *locus amoenus* was able to provide both a source of poetic and artistic delight and serve as a prompt to contemplation.³⁴ This offers a framework to understand how both the King's and Fonseca's collections of religious landscape paintings were not seen as merely decorative artworks or solely pious devotional works, but also as images of the *locus amoenus*, which served as source of sensual delight in the representation of nature and more importantly as a space for mental reflection on moral and perhaps even spiritual themes.³⁵ The inclusion of a portrait of Justus Lipsius in Fonseca's collection is further evidence of the keen interest that Lipsius's work generated in Spain.³⁶ While one would expect Fonseca to have read this scholar's works, his ownership of a portrait of him is striking. The status of portraits of scholars is a theme that remains to be studied in depth, yet in any case it seems probable that this image served not only as a record of an exemplary scholar, but also as a representation of Lipsius' intellectual and moral virtue.³⁷ It may also be argued that it offered a secular companion piece to the images of the hermit saints. Indeed Lipsius' views on gardens discussed in his *De Contantia* offer a valuable contemporaneous description of the use of nature as a setting for contemplation.

In the opening chapters of the second book, when praising the garden of Langius, Lipsius distinguished between his view of nature as a suitable distraction for those suffering from an illness, as cited earlier, and the garden. His praise for the latter was overtly poetic: «Cielo aqui tienes, no jardin, y verdaderamente no resplandecen mas las estrellas en una noche serena, que estas tus flores.»³⁸ Besides this poetic sensitivity Lipsius sought to emulate classical traditions of retiring to nature in order to revive the mind from the toil of political and intellectual life. Lipsius declares that gardens «son realmente para el animo, no para el cuerpo: para recrear aquel y no para relaxer este».³⁹ It is worth noting in passing that a similar view of nature was one of the diverse motives for the construction of the Buen Retiro and it was articulated in José de Pellicer's

«The Hermit in Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega», *Modern Language Journal*, vol. 35, No. 5, 1951, pp. 340-355.

³³ BURKE & CHERRY, *Collections...*, 1997, vol. II, pp. 98-99.

³⁴ See: Alexander SAMSON: «Locus amoenus: gardens and horticulture in the Renaissance», *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 25 No. 1, pp. 1-23.

³⁵ An interesting parallel to the patronage of religious themed landscapes by educated collectors is Monsignor Giovanni Battista Agucchi, who commissioned Ludovico Caracci's painting of *Erminia and the Shepherds*, based on a pastoral scene in Tasso's Christian epic the *Gerusalemme Liberata*. In addition to detailing instructions for the picture it has been argued that Agucchi's life at court prompted «a yearning for a quiet and devotional life», and that this «was at the root of his decision to commission» a painting that evoked those ideals. See: Daniel M. UNGER: «The yearning for the Holy Land: Agucchi's program for *Erminia and the Shepherds*», *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry*, 24, 2008, 367-377; Clovis WHITFIELD: «A Programme for *Erminia and the Shepherds* by G. B. Agucchi», *Storia dell'Arte*, 19, 1973, 218-220; Ricardo DE MAMBRO SANTOS, *Arcadie del Vera: arte e leoria nella Roma del Seicento*, Sant'Oreste, Apeiron, 2001, pp. 196-197.

³⁶ For wider evidence of Lipsius' renown in Spain see: A. RAMÍREZ (ed.), *Epistolario de*

Justo Lipsio y los españoles, 1577-1606, Madrid, Castalia, 1966.

³⁷ For a discussion of the range of ideas linked to portraits of writers and scholars see: Marta P. CACHO CASAL, *Francisco Pacheco y su Libro de Retratos*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2011.

³⁸ LIPSIUS, *Constancia*, 1616, p. 72.

³⁹ LIPSIUS, *Constancia*, 1616, p. 79.

⁴⁰ *Elogios al Palacio Real del Buen Retiro; escritos por algunos ingenios de España; recogidos por don Diego de Covarruvias i Leyva*, Madrid, Imprenta del Reyno, 1635, p. 55.

⁴¹ Frances GAGE: «Exercise for Mind and Body: Giulio Mancini, Collecting, and the Beholding of Landscape Painting in the Seventeenth Century», *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 61, No. 4, 2008, pp. 1167-1207.

⁴² LIPSIUS, *Constancia*, 1616, pp. 79, 80.

⁴³ The contrast of the altarpiece format and devotional setting of Velázquez's work to the gallery picture format and palace setting of the works in the Buen Retiro landscape gallery demonstrates how the demarcations between the spiritual, moral, poetic, aesthetic and artistic were by no means clearly drawn. The fact that Velázquez's painting was commissioned as a devotional work shows that the genre of landscape was still not wholly autonomous, yet it also indicates the importance of delight in Counter-Reformation concepts

eulogy of the Buen Retiro gardens: «La Magestad necesita para vivir mas tratable de tener donde el Gobierno se respire en ocio facil». ⁴⁰ However, as Lipsius' discussion continued he made clear how the true purpose of the garden was moral and intellectual, not mere «ocio facil», and his discussion provides a valuable insight into the taste for more austere contemplative landscape paintings. The parallel between the garden and painting collection presented here has been explored in an Italian context by Frances Gage, however his interesting, detailed study does not engage with the Spanish taste for religious landscape paintings. ⁴¹

Firstly, Lipsius distinguished between the vain collectors of plants, the «pretensores de Flora» and «Delicados Hortensios», and the poets and philosophers who use a garden for «el verdadero uso y fin de los jardines, el descansar, el retirarse el meditar, el leer y el escribir». ⁴² The continuation of the second book of *De Constantia* offers an example of the practice and results of such meditative retirement. Lipsius' discussion of the garden as distinct from nature highlights how the early modern appreciation of the natural world was mediated by artifice, which included not only the garden, but also pastoral poetry and the more recent medium for appreciating nature, landscape painting. Lipsius makes clear that for the educated person this artifice-enhanced encounter with nature went beyond sensual delight to philosophical and moral concerns. It may be argued that the Buen Retiro's gallery of landscape paintings provided an interior garden with an explicitly moral focus, and while the palace gardens were the setting for diverse spectacles of «ocio facil», they also contained a number of hermitages one of which included Velázquez's painting of *Landscape with St. Anthony Abbot and St. Paul the Hermit* (fig. 3). ⁴³ Likewise, Fonseca's taste in landscape paintings would have offered an artificial «retiro» from his duties at court. Lipsius stated that «el animo mas se levanta a las cosas altas, quando suelto y libre vee su cielo, que quando esta encerrado en las carceres de las casas y ciudades». ⁴⁴ Fonseca's life as a courtier and scholar would have left little opportunity for having his own garden, and his paintings compensated for this. His many scholarly interests, including poetry and ekphrastic responses to painting, would no doubt have honed his pleasure in these works. Scenes of hermits would also have prompted deeper reflections. ⁴⁵ It is not my intention to claim that Fonseca sought solely to adhere to Lipsian values, as fifty «retablicos de peras, flores y pajaros» testify to a purely decorative pleasure in art; but above all, as will be shown in the years since Lipsius wrote, the Spanish court was developing its own views on nature. To illustrate this I want to conclude by analysing a literary response to a natural setting, not a garden, that is framed with concepts of the *locus amoenus* presented in terms of pastoral



3. Velázquez, *Landscape with St. Anthony Abbot and St. Paul the Hermit*, c. 1634, oil on canvas, 257 cm × 188 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

poetry and landscape painting. Furthermore, it shows how nature and its perception as landscape was both a source of delight and a stimulus for moral reflection.

of art, as well as the less austere religiosity of the Buen Retiro as a «retreat» for the King and court.

⁴⁴ LIPSIVS, *Constancia*, 1616, p. 80.

⁴⁵ LÓPEZ NAVÍO: «Velázquez tasa los cuadros...», p. 67.

⁴⁶ Vicente CARDUCHO, *Diálogos de la pintura: Su Defensa, origen, esencia, definición, modos y diferencias*, F. Calvo Seraller (ed.), Madrid, Turner, 1979, p. 23.

⁴⁷ Published in Madrid by Francisco Martínez.

⁴⁸ CARDUCHO, *Diálogos...*, 1979, p. 23.

*Santa Soledad! docta y prudente compañía! Paso a paso avemos llegado a donde nos está combidando a discurrir, sobre lo que despues que volviste de tu peregrinación, tan melancólico y desconsolado, me contaste. Y pues este silencio, y la amenidad del sitio nos dá lugar a responder a lo que me venias preguntando, dexemos correr y murmurar a solas a Manzanares y siéntate.*⁴⁶

Vicente Carducho began his *Diálogos de la pintura* with the Master and Disciple, the sole participants in the eight dialogues that make up the treatise, enjoying the delights and peace to be found on the banks of the river Manzanares. At a time when the question of artists' study, portrayal and imitation of nature was highly present for the practice of painting, as well as the discourse that informed its reception, this opening scene with a fictional Spanish painter and his pupil in a natural setting demands closer scrutiny. Needless to say it is not to be read literally, but rather as a literary device; the encounters of these two fictional characters were combined with a series of visual allegories and poems by Lope de Vega, Juan Pérez de Montalbán, and José de Valdivielso amongst other authors. The latter visual and poetic elements function as erudite *entremeses* between the dialogues, but all three literary elements embellish Carducho's discussion of a range of theoretical topoi in an effort to educate views on painting at the court of Philip IV. Published six years after Fonseca's death in 1633, this lengthy treatise offers an insight into the scholarly discourse on painting at court, such as the comparison of the painters of ancient and modern eras, and, as will be shown, the taste for landscape painting in Madrid.⁴⁷

Carducho's choice of a dialogue form and the setting for the opening scene would have been inspired by many precedents; the Spanish translation of Lipsius' *De Constantia* may have been one, and together they serve to show the dissemination of the intellectual view of the *locus amoenus* in seventeenth-century Spain. A few lines later Carducho states that «Aristoteles, Principe de la Filosofia, dixo, que los hombres contemplando, y admirando las operaciones de la naturaleza... se dieron a filosofar».⁴⁸ He continues by offering a summary of Aristotelian thought, which leads away from contemplations of nature and serves to establish the rational principles on which the treatise on painting is based. However, despite an affinity with Lipsius, Carducho's text places a far greater emphasis on nature. The riverside setting is referred to again at the end of dialogue II, the beginning of dialogue III and the beginning of dialogue IV, while other fictional narratives are used elsewhere in the text. On each occasion the scene is explicitly identified in pastoral terms. This was no doubt intended as rhetorical *delectatio* to appeal to his readers, nobles and courtiers with landscape collections who also delighted in the poetic representation of nature in books and on the stage.

The importance of contemporary poetry as a medium for enjoying painting is foregrounded by Carducho through the poets who contributed works to his treatise. Unfortunately for the purpose of this research none of these digress from theoretical concerns to scenes of nature. However, in dialogue IV Carducho addressed the notion of *ut pictura poesis* as part of his wider concern to foreground the intellectual and noble status of painting. The engraving that closes the dialogue shows painting and poetry as sister arts (fig. 4). In the course of this discussion Carducho set out what painters could learn from the classical and renaissance poets such as Homer, Virgil and Petrarch. He then gave a markedly greater emphasis to Spanish Golden Age authors such as Jáuregui, who «escribe con líneas de Apeles versos de Homero»; Pellicer de Salas' «floridas plantas del Parnaso, ... que con levantados y dulces pinceles nos van dando cada día pinturas vivas con plumas de Virgilio», and Góngora's *Polifemo y Soledades* in which «parece que vence lo que pinta, y que no es posible que ejecute otro pincel lo que dibuja su pluma». He focused his praise on Lope de Vega, who «qué bien pinta, qué bien imita, con quanto afecto y fuerza, mueve su pintura las almas de los que le oyen, ya en tiernos y dulces afectos, ya en compuesta y magestuosa gravedad, ya en devota religión, convirtiéndolo indevotos, incitando lagrimas de empedernidos corazones». ⁴⁹ Carducho's comments are clearly eulogistic, yet they testify to the view of art as a source of both delight and moral instruction, which Carducho went on to illustrate.

Carducho openly admitted his own delight in Lope de Vega's theatrical productions.

*¿Pues qué si pinta un campo? Parece que las flores y las yervas engañan al olfato, y los montes y arroyuelos a la vista: si un valle de pastores, el sentido común oye y ve el copioso rebaño: si un invierno hace erizar el cabello, y abrigarse: si un estio se congoja y suda el Auditorio.*⁵⁰

However he takes care to distinguish his knowing delight in artifice from the naive *engaño* of the lesser educated member of the audience, who he claims would try to save apparent victims from their staged fates; it is implied that the susceptibility of such spectators to the fictional happenings and the concomitant emotional impact prevented them from fully gauging the moral content of the play. In contrast, Carducho's knowing delight in the illusion of staged representations of nature, as well as the artifice of such representations, was a prelude to an appreciation and understanding of the moral and intellectual dimension of works of theatre and poetry; this dual dimension is alluded to in the aforementioned praise

⁴⁹ CARDUCHO, *Diálogos...*, 1979, pp. 209-210.

⁵⁰ CARDUCHO, *Diálogos...*, 1979, p. 212. Carducho raises the question of the significance of the theatre as a space for the development of the practice and taste for landscape painting. Our understanding of the significance of Calderón's 1625 play *El Sitio de Breda* as source for Velázquez's most important deployment of landscape in the genre of history painting, *The Surrender of Breda* (1635), might be enhanced were we to know more about the play's staging. Unfortunately, little is known about Spanish theatre design in the 1620s. Lope de Vega, in his introduction to the «La selva de amor, egloga pastoral», comments that when it was performed, Cosimo Lotti, the «raro y excelente ingenio», produced a set, which included «el soto de Manzanares, con la Puente, por quien pasavan en perspectivas quantas cosas pudieron ser imitadas... y asimismo vian la casa del campo, y el paclacio, con quanto desde aquella parte podía determinar la vista». See: *Coleccion de las obras sueltas assi en prosa, como en verso*, Madrid, Antonio de Sancha, 1776, pp. 225-227. It is tempting to consider that Velázquez's striking topographical composition with its *mise en scène* emulates theatre conventions. Needless to say, Baroque theatricality was not restricted to the theatre, and as Pellicer's *Anfiteatro de Felipe el Grande* (Madrid, Juan Gonzalez, 1631) and Juan Mateos'

Origen y dignidad de la caza (Madrid, Francisco Martínez, 1634) make clear the «staging» of the royal hunt reveals the theatrical to extend beyond the theatre. On the use of theatre decoration at the Buen Retiro see: BROWN & ELLIOTT, *A Palace for a King*, 2003, pp. 209-222.



4. Francisco Fernandez after Carducho, *Pictoribus promiscuum obicetum atque poetis*, illustration to the fourth dialogue, *Dialogos de la pintura, sv defensa, origen, esse[n]cia, definicion, modos y diferencias* ([Madrid] : impresso ... por Frco. Martinez, 1633), fol. 64, engraving, Fons Antic, Universitat de Barcelona.

«el *Arte y moral Filosofía*» Nature gave to Rubens' painting in Lope's *silva*. The literary dimension of Carducho's treatise and above all his relationships to writers such as Lope cannot be pursued here. However, Carducho provides an eloquent example of the delight and moral purpose that shaped the reception of nature and art.

In the subsequent riverside scenes it is apparent that pastoral poetry serves as a lens to perceive the purely natural scenery.

*[...] y en tanto daremos lugar a que las Ninfas y Pastores, que nos dicen habitan en estas Riberas de Manzanares, den materia a Belardo a que cante y pinte con retóricos colores Dulces y amorosos conceptos: y que si me tardaré mañana, toma este esquicio con este poema a propósito de lo que estamos tratando.*⁵¹

The conclusion of Carducho's second dialogue playfully alludes to the pastoral pseudonym Belardo used by Lope de Vega. At the start of the third dialogue, while waiting by the river bank, the Disciple has been revelling in «aquel ruiseñor, que los poetas llaman Filomena» and he states he is glad the Master has arrived so he too can enjoy the bird's song.⁵² An allusion to Lope de Vega's *La Filomena: Con otras diversas rimas, prosas y versos* is perhaps intended.⁵³ However, the only response from the Master is a brusque «¿Ha mucho que llegaste?» and the delights of nature are soon ignored for more serious rational matters.

Despite the Master's unwavering focus on matters of theory, the Disciple's delight in nature remains constant. He returns to his delights in nature in dialogue IV, but this time he demonstrates his ability to perceive nature as a painter rather than a poet. Once again he arrived early, but this time declares:

Rato que te espero, aunque no ocioso, antes entreteniéndome mirando esta espesura de alisos, sauces, y chopos; este correr de Manzanares, y a la sombra de las ramas, beviendo reflejos en cortezas de alamos, y ya en resplandores lavando arenas, que retocando están con los plateados pececillos: y mucho mas en nuestro propósito he reparado, en los bellos pedazos de Paisajes que forman estas orillas, que parecen copiados de los que pintó Paulo Bril, o los que dibujó Geronimo Muciano.

An important transition has taken place, signalling the Disciple's progress (fig. 5 & 6). Nature is here described not in terms of pastoral tropes such as listening to nightingales or with allusions to poets. Instead, poetic language is applied to visual details, such as effects of light, and the

⁵¹ Carducho, *Diálogos...*, 1979, pp. 143-144.

⁵² Carducho, *Diálogos...*, 1979, p. 149.

⁵³ (Barcelona, Sebastián de Cormellas, 1621).

⁵⁴ Pamela M. JONES: «Federico Borromeo as a Patron of Landscapes and Still Lives: Christian Optimism in Italy ca. 1600», *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 70, No. 2, 1988, pp. 261-272; «Two Newly-Discovered Hermit Landscapes by Paul Bril», *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 130, No. 1018, 1988, pp. 32-34; Joan BOSCH BALLBONA: «Paul Bril, Wenzel Cobergher, Jacob Frankaert I, Willem I van Nieulandt y los ermitaños de Pedro de Toledo, V marqués de Villafranca», *LOCVS AMOENVS*, 9, 2007-2008, pp. 127-154; Francesca CAPPELLETTI: «El paisaje nórdico en Roma...», in *Roma: naturaleza e ideal...*, pp. 31-43.

⁵⁵ See: José María RUIZ MANERO: «Obras y noticias de Girolamo Muziano, Marcello Venusti y Scipione Pulzone en España», *Archivo español de arte*, vol. 68, No. 272, 1995, pp. 365-380; Patrizia TOSINI, *Girolamo Muziano : 1532-1592 : dalla maniera alla natura*, Roma, U. Bozzi, 2008.



5. Paul Bril with Peter Paul Rubens, *Landscape with Jupiter and Psyche*, 1610, oil on canvas, 93 cm × 128 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

scene as a whole is perceived and judged in terms of landscape paintings. The choice of artists is significant. Paul Bril is an example of a Flemish artist who refined his manner of painting over the years that he worked in Italy. Furthermore, he may be considered a key figure not only in encouraging the popularity of the genre with mythological works such as the *Landscape with Jupiter and Psyche* (fig. 7), but also in the sub-genre of Christian themes, which he painted for important patrons such as Cardinal Borromeo and also the Marquis of Villafanca.⁵⁴ It may be argued that Girolamo Muziano (c.1528-1592), whose skill at landscape Vasari commented on briefly and Pacheco also singled out for praise, laid the foundations for Bril's career in Rome as part of the first generation of artists after the Council of Trent that created devotional scenes in a landscape setting for the emerging Counter-Reformation taste.⁵⁵

Seemingly content with his student's progress, this time the Master enthusiastically responds to his Disciple's artistic perceptions:

Mui excelentes los tiene este Rio desde este puesto hasta su nacimiento a quien han imitado con arte los que los hazen bien en esta Corte, que te certificado que los pueden embidiar los mejores de Flandes.

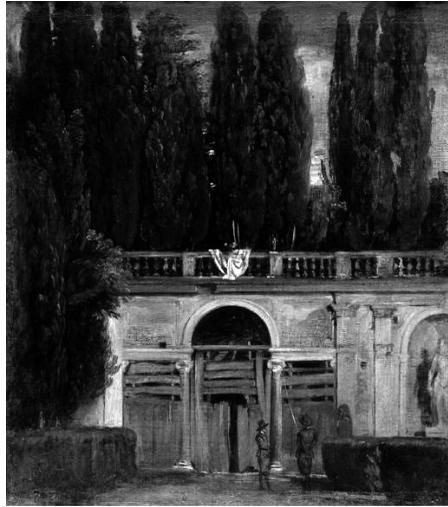


6. Cornelis Cort (after Girolamo Muziano), *St John the Baptist in the Wilderness*, engraving, 1574-1575, 53 cm × 37.8 cm, British Museum, London.

The painters in Madrid, that rivalled the famed Flemish School of landscape painters and worked at the time Carducho was writing his treatise,

⁵⁶ Jonathan BROWN, *Velázquez: Painter and Courtier*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1986, p. 93.

⁵⁷ For a critical discussion of this issue see chapter one of M. J. WOODS, *The Poet and the Natural World in the Age of Góngora*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 19. He makes reference to Gombrich's essay «Renaissance artistic theory and the development of landscape painting», *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 41, pp. 335-360 (Reprinted in *Norm and Form*, 1966). Woods' view that «Spain seems to have shown no particular penchant for landscape painting» (p. 19) needs to be revised in the light of Cherry and Kagan's research. For an overview of subsequent art historical theories of landscape see: Malcom ANDREWS, *Landscape and Western Art*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999. For more recent research on the relationship of poetry and landscape painting see: Mercedes BLANCO MOREL: «Góngora et la peinture», *Locus amoenus*, No. 7, 2004, pp. 197-208; «Lienzo de Flandes: las soledades y el paisaje pictórico», *Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Internacional del Siglo de Oro (AISO)* (Alcalá de Henares, 22-27 July 1996), vol. 1, 1998, pp. 263-274.



7. Diego Velázquez, *View of the Villa Medici gardens*, 1629-1630, oil on canvas, 48.5 cm × 43 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

modern appreciation of nature as landscape, in the early modern period poetry, painting and other theoretical and rhetorical conventions mediated perceptions of nature, and together developed what may be termed a baroque aesthetics of nature.⁵⁷ However, in addition to providing further evidence for how cultural values informed the perception of nature, Carducho's description of a perception of nature as mediated by the artifice of landscape painting and poetry provides a framework to consider both the aesthetic delight and moral instruction that shaped the reception of landscape painting. The Disciples' comments reveal how his delight in nature is perceived and judged in terms of poetry and painting; the riverside setting is seen as a «painting» and described in «poetic terms». The interest in «shadow, reflection and sparkling sand» highlight details that painters would seek to heighten effects of illusion and display their skill. In this way the Disciple's comments refer to the empirical dimensions of artistic study; Carducho highlighted the importance of the study of nature for painting practice through his discussion of «scientific» painting, although it was to be mediated by questions of decorum and also practical concerns such as where the painting was to be hung and whether it was to be seen up close or from afar, as issues such as these would affect what natural details a painter chose to depict.

One of the clearest examples of the «unnaturalness» of landscape painting is provided by Pacheco's instructions on landscape painting,

remain unclear; the few surviving works of Juan Bautista Maíno (1578-1649), Diego Velázquez (1599-1660) and Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo (1611-1667) show they made significant contributions to the genre. Jonathan Brown also recognises the value of Collantes, but little is known of many other works save the many anonymous entries in inventories, such as Fonseca's.⁵⁶

In the context of the debated relationship of pastoral poetry and landscape painting, the Disciple's perception of landscape in terms of painting and a markedly poetic language offers evidence in support of views that, unlike a



8. Vicente Carducho, *St Bruno praying in La Torre, Calabria*, 1626-1632, pen and black ink, black chalk and brown wash, heightened with white, 32.6 cm × 28.5 cm, British Museum, London.



9. Vicente Carducho, *St Bruno praying in La Torre, Calabria*, 1626-1632, oil on canvas, 337 cm × 297.5 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

which wholly foreground the artifice of this genre.⁵⁸ However, this is not to say that painters such as Carducho and Velázquez did not study natural scenes. Velázquez's two scenes of the Medici gardens, painted circa 1630 during his first visit to Italy, appear to be a case in point (fig. 7). It may be asked whether the visits to the Manzanares that inspired Carducho's *Diálogos* also informed his own work on the preparatory drawing and painting of *St Bruno praying in La Torre, Calabria* (1626-32), which is one of the 56 paintings for the convent of El Paular (fig. 8 & 9). Carducho's study of nature may also have been prompted by the Leonardo manuscripts then in Madrid and which he refers to in his treatise.⁵⁹ His statement «no ai pincel como los de la luz del Sol, cuyos rayos (que son las pinceladas) hazen en el aire, por medio de las luzes, hermosisimas pinturas» may be read as an interest in optical effects.⁶⁰ However, the repercussion on Spanish Golden Age art of scientific interests remains to be studied. The fact that the books Velázquez owned at his death signal a greater interest in science than poetry is a significant reminder that the practice of painting was not seen solely in terms of poetry and Christian piety, and that it embraced a range of areas of knowledge.⁶¹ However, these issues cannot be pursued and a focus is to be maintained on the issue of reception rather than production of paintings.

Carducho's artistic reflections on this landscape scene continue and the use of poetry as linguistic and conceptual frame becomes explicit. The

⁵⁸ PACHECO, *Arte...*, 1990, pp. 512-516.

⁵⁹ CARDUCHO, *Diálogos...*, 1979, p. 438.

⁶⁰ CARDUCHO, *Diálogos...*, 1979, p. 177. Further evidence of such interest is shown in his discussion of the *pintura de borrones* (pp. 259-269).

⁶¹ See: F. J. SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN: «Lalibrería de Velázquez», *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal*, III, Madrid, 1925, pp. 379-405; *Corpus Velazqueño: documentos y textos*, Madrid, Ministerio de educación, cultura y deporte, Dirección general de bellas artes y bienes culturales, 2000.

⁶² CARDUCHO, *Diálogos...*, 1979, p. 177.

⁶³ See George KUBLER: «Vicente Carducho's Allegories of Painting», *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 47, No. 4 (Dec. 1965), pp. 439-445.

⁶⁴ Woods argued that Butrón criticised landscape painting (*The Poet and the Natural World...* p. 20), however, as Butrón makes clear the view that «Paisitas por no alcanzar lo superior del arte se abaten a copiar los campos y sus prados» is not his own view but that of «el Santo Nazianzeno» (Madrid, Luis Sanchez, 1626, f. 89v).

⁶⁵ CARDUCHO, *Diálogos...*, 1979, p. 178.



10. Francisco Lopez after Carducho, *Ut ars naturam ut pictura deum*, illustration to the sixth dialogue, *Dialogos de la pintura, sv defen-sa, origen, esse[n]cia, definicion, modos y diferen-cias* ([Madrid]: impresso ... por Frco. Martinez, 1633), fol. 107, engraving, Fons Antic, Universitat de Barcelona.

light, Rejoicing always before Him, Rejoicing in His inhabited world». ⁶⁴ This moral theme is continued as the Master, having listed the aforementioned effects of sunlight, quotes a poem by «un ingenio devoto desta edad», which begins in a classical vein.

*Cogio una tarde Febo su pincel
Y sobre el lienzo de una nube añil
Tirando líneas de oro entre marfil
Dexolo tan hermoso como él.* ⁶⁵

The poem's opening lines foreground the visual delight provided by the scene. However, the awareness of living in the world created by the «Divine painter» soon emerges. The delight in poetic artifice leads towards a deeper meaning. The poem concludes with a spiritual concept, which clearly indicates how nature provided a basis for reflection on a moral or spiritual theme.

Disciple states: «Mira que resplandecientes arreboles, que bien pintadas nubes nos enseña el poniente»; and the Master replies: «Es Pintura de la mano de Dios». ⁶² One of a number of intertextual links is formed here as one of the allegorical prints included in the treatise depicts the creation of the world and thereby gives a visual form to this trope, which is one that recurs in Spanish treatises (fig. 10). ⁶³ For example in Juan de Butrón's *Discursos apologeticos en que se defiende la ingenuidad del arte de la pintura: que es liberal, de todos derechos, no inferior a los siete que comunmente se reciben* he acknowl-edges that landscape paintings are merely concerned with delight, but states that it is delight in the works of God, and he frames this with the following quotation from Proverbs

VIII, 30: «And I was daily His del-

ight, Rejoicing always before Him, Rejoicing in His inhabited world». ⁶⁴

This moral theme is continued as the Master, having listed the aforementioned effects of sunlight, quotes a poem by «un ingenio devoto desta

edad», which begins in a classical vein.

*Si esto en las nubes causa el arrebol
De aqueste sol visible y material,
Que hará en las almas el divino sol?*⁶⁶

The Disciple makes evident his enthusiasm for the poem, «que suave, y que candido, espiritual, y propio», and highlights its «grandes conceptos». ⁶⁷ A significant feature arises here, and this is that the moral engagement with the scene moves beyond its sensual delight and even a visual dimension. Attention is focused on an inner meaning. This seeming paradox of the contemplation of art, or nature for Lipsius, to move beyond the visual presence to a spiritual or intellectual reflection is encountered in the discussion of the spectators of painting by the Counter-Reformation theorist Paleotti and it signals the distance between a modern view of art and the early modern spiritual contemplation of art works. ⁶⁸ This paradox is explicit in the landscape paintings with hermits and saints as they retired to nature, not to look at it but to look beyond it towards God. Indeed they tend to be shown transfixed by crucifixes, visions, temptations rather than any delights offered by their wild retreat. Further research on the significance of the hermit is required, especially with regard to their role in the Christian pastoral. However, in the context of landscape painting and above all those displayed in a secular setting, it may be argued that the saint or hermit becomes a part of the landscape, in the sense that nature viewed as a *locus amoenus* was understood as prompting a contemplative state; the paintings represent a natural setting for a contemplative retreat, retirement, and the mental state aspired to. The significance of the hermit should not be over determined, and it is perhaps best understood as a guiding the spectator from delight in the work to the moral instruction that is to be sought after by turning away from the work to oneself. Whether the hermit as a figure of instruction was significant, or solely a means to justify the pictorial delight would have depended on the beholder. In the case of Fonseca as a Canon and member of the Royal Chapel, it would seem likely that he appreciated the spiritual dimension of these works as well as «el Arte y moral Filosofia» they offered as scenes of the *locus amoenus*.

In dialogue VI, Carducho discussed the reception of artworks very briefly in answer to the question as to whether a non-painter could fully understand painting. His answer mirrored his views of the practice of painting; the judgement of painting required practical knowledge and what he called «scientific» knowledge. ⁶⁹ The passage analysed here provides an illustration of that theory: the disciple discussed a natural scene in terms of the practice of landscape painting and poetic language, which was an element of the painter's science as has been discussed. As such this offers an interesting

⁶⁶ CARDUCHO, *Diálogos...*, 1979, p. 178.

⁶⁷ CARDUCHO, *Diálogos...*, 1979, pp. 178-179.

⁶⁸ Gabriel PALEOTTI: «Discorso intorno alle imagine sacre e profane», in P. Barocci (ed.) *Trattati d'arte del cinquecento*, vol. II, Bari, 1961, p. 228. Paleotti identified four types of spectator, «painters, scholars, the simple, the pious» [«pittori, letterati, idioti, spirituali»], who together would confer «universal» approval on a painter's work. The «pious» embraced all Christians and it essentially described the transformation of the sensory experience into a spiritual understanding.

⁶⁹ CARDUCHO, *Diálogos...*, 1979, pp. 319-320.

⁷⁰ CARDUCHO, *Diálogos...*, 1979, p. 330.

theoretical model for how an educated spectator such as Fonseca may have responded to the landscape scenes in his collection. It may be argued that just as the Master viewed the natural scene in terms of paintings and a poem, Fonseca's artistic, literary and intellectual knowledge provided him with a framework to delight in the scenes of a *locus amoenus* as nature, history, poetry, and thereby engage with the simple scene as an «ingeniosa fabula, metáfora, o historia que de gusto, sentido y doctrina al curioso».⁷⁰

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THE HERMIT'S LOCUS AMOENUS: «EL ARTE Y MORAL PHILOSOFIA» OF LANDSCAPE PAINTING COLLECTIONS IN EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MADRID

Landscape paintings that included religious figures or events were an important facet of the many painting collections formed during the seventeenth century in Spain. The collection of Juan de Fonseca y Figueroa provides a valuable example for the study of this sub-genre and offers a contrast to celebrated case studies such as the landscape gallery of "anchorite paintings" created for the Palace of the Buen Retiro under the patronage of Philip IV. The task of this study is to explore the significance of this sub-genre, on the one hand in the context of the literary interests of Fonseca and on the other through a close reading of the discussion of the perception and representation of landscape in Vicente Carducho's *Diálogos de la pintura*.

Keywords: landscape painting, collecting, poetry, cultural perceptions of nature, gardens, Juan de Fonseca y Figueroa, Vicente Carducho, Pedro Orrente, Lope de Vega, Justus Lipsius.

EL LOCUS AMOENUS DE L'EREMITA: «EL ARTE Y MORAL PHILOSOFIA» DE LES COL·LECCIONS DE PINTURA DE PAISATGE A INICIS DEL SEGLE XVII A MADRID

Les pintures de paisatge amb figures o esdeveniments religiosos eren un element important de moltes de les col·leccions de pintures que es crearen durant el segle XVII a Espanya. La col·lecció de Juan de Fonseca y Figueroa és un exemple clau per a l'estudi d'aquest subgènere i ofereix un contrast en relació amb casos més cèlebres com la galeria de pintures de paisatge amb anacoretes que es creà per al Palau del Buen Retiro amb el mecenatge de Felip IV. L'objectiu d'aquest estudi és explorar el significat d'aquest subgènere dins del context dels interessos literaris de Fonseca, així com a través d'una lectura aprofundida de la discussió de la percepció i representació del paisatge natural en els *Diálogos de la pintura* de Vicente Carducho.

Paraules clau: pintura de paisatge, col·leccionisme, poesia, percepcions culturals de la naturalesa, jardins, Juan de Fonseca y Figueroa, Vicente Carducho, Pedro Orrente, Lope de Vega, Justus Lipsius.