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Francisco Pacheco's *Book of True Portraits*: Humanism, Art, and the Practice of "Visual History"

Introduction

I declare and order that you sell my book of portraits of illustrious men to whoever will pay you more, without separating or dividing them with their memoirs, relations, and eulogies, so you do not lose the memory of such notable individuals.

—Francisco Pacheco, Seville, May 10, 1639

HISTORIOGRAPHERS OF RECENT DECADES HAVE examined the activities of humanists in early modern Europe, and an extensive body of scholarship details the textual methods that humanistic writers employed to produce authoritative texts (that is, techniques like note taking, indexing, and footnoting).[1] However, few have explored the parallel techniques that some early modern artists adapted and applied to visual media to produce authoritative images. One such artist, the Spanish painter Francisco Pacheco (1564–1644), produced what can be called a "visual history," and a close examination of his approach reveals early modern humanistic methods adaptable across several media.

Pacheco was the foremost art theorist of his generation, a longtime member of Seville's famed humanistic academy, and both father-in-law and mentor to two of the most prominent artists of the Spanish baroque, Alonzo Cano (1601–67) and Diego Velázquez (1599–1660). Pacheco's unfinished manuscript book, *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos, de illustres y memorables varones* (Book of description of true portraits of illustrious and memorable

ABSTRACT Francisco Pacheco (1564–1644), the foremost Spanish art theorist of his generation, worked on his manuscript *Libro de verdaderos retratos* (Book of true portraits) for more than forty years. This essay addresses how the visual cultures of Pacheco's Seville, especially the city's reimagined imperial Roman past, Catholic Counter-Reformation image praxis, and visual conventions of Renaissance humanism, shaped his conception of how an illustrious past could be recovered and shown. REPRESENTATIONS
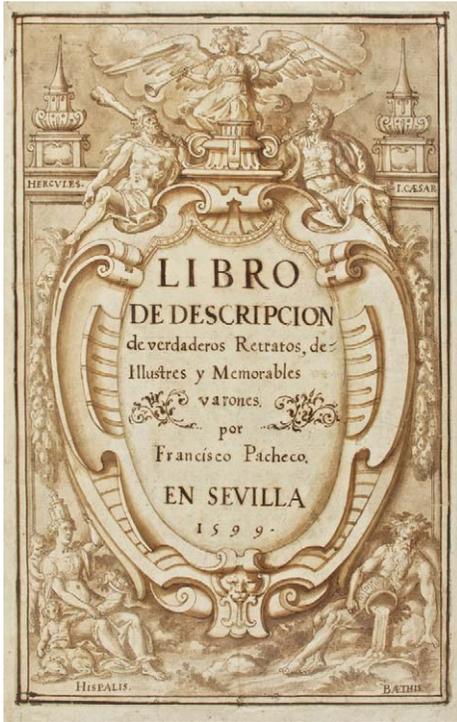
FIGURE 1. Francisco Pacheco, frontispiece, c. 1580–1644. IB 15654, Biblioteca Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid.

men), currently held at the Lázaro Galdiano Museum in Madrid, was a work in progress for most of his professional life, as he gradually compiled it from 1599 until his death in 1644 (fig. 1).[2] The manuscript consists of fifty-six portrait drawings by Pacheco and forty-four short biographical texts on authors, artists, ecclesiastics, and other men of accomplishment. Most of the biographies are straightforward, consisting of a description of the individual's education, notable military or literary achievements, any written or artistic works, connection to Seville (however slight), and occasional brief anecdotes highlighting the individual's moral character.

In his treatise *Arte de la pintura* (On the art of painting; Seville, 1649), Pacheco indicated that he had drawn more than 170 portraits in black and red pencil with the intention of selecting from them up to one hundred eminent individuals representing all fields of learning.[3] The physical construction of the *Libro de retratos*, evident from several of the unfinished sections, demonstrates Pacheco's process, as he described it, of drawing, retaining, and selecting the portraits over many years.[4] Seven loose, single-sheet portrait-biographies that he chose not to incorporate into his manuscript book still survive at the library of the Palacio real in Madrid.[5] Pacheco cut each portrait from its original sheet, pasted it onto a sheet of

the manuscript, and then framed it with architectural ornamentation drawn in ink and washed in sepia tones.[6] At the top of each finished frame, Pacheco added a biblical verse, and along the lower edge he placed the individual's name in capitals.

A completed portrait and biography in Pacheco's *Libro* consisted of a single sheet folded in half to form two folios. A succinct two- to three-page biographical description followed each finished portrait and often concluded with an epithet or poem. Most of the biographies recorded the death of the individual, and some portraits of individuals who survived Pacheco have blank pages where the biography would go, a detail that suggests Pacheco avoided writing a person's definitive biography until the ink upon the pages of their life had dried.[7]

Pacheco chose to adopt a genre of historical writing with a classical genealogy for the preservation of Seville's recent historical memory. The *De viris illustribus* ("on illustrious men") genre, which can be traced back to Plutarch and Cicero, experienced a renewed popularity during the Renaissance.[8] Pacheco was familiar with the illustrated editions of famous men by the Italian humanist Paolo Giovio (1483–1552) and the subsequent work on the lives of artists by Giorgio Vasari (1511–74).[9] Pacheco lamented that although in other nations, "particularly Italy," art itself was honored by those who wrote the lives of illustrious artists, "only our nation lacks that praiseworthy endeavor," and artists themselves were to blame.[10] Apparently Pacheco took it upon himself to remedy this shortfall, and he was uniquely well suited for such an undertaking. Unlike Giovio or Vasari, who depended on artists and engravers to translate their projects into print, Pacheco had complete control over both the text and the images of his manuscript book.

The *Libro de retratos* is in fact a visual history. In its recovery and preservation of a visual record of an illustrious past, it confirms that such a practice existed in Pacheco's era. It was a practice manifested in a transmedial application of methods adapted from humanistic textual scholarship and early modern antiquarianism as they were applied to artistic media for the preservation and communication of historical knowledge. To understand his *Libro* it must be recognized that Pacheco constructed his images by basing them on other credible visual sources (employing a method I call visual philology). One might mistake the portraits for illustrations of the text, but instead the texts "illustrate" or describe the portraits, as Pacheco made explicit by titling the collection of works *Book of Description of True Portraits.*

His *Libro* is thus a useful object for exploring questions of material culture relevant to visual studies scholars, historians of the book, and early modernists. Pacheco's claim to produce true portraits was closely related

to the distinctive ways antiquarians and ecclesiastics of his era used material evidence to stake truth claims about the ancient world and about the virtuousness of historical personages, respectively. Pacheco attempted to show certain qualities of historical personages—such as prestige, prosperity, illustriousness, and holiness—that were tightly bound to display, pageantry, costume, and liturgy in Seville. My essay, then, will demonstrate how three intertwined visual cultures produced by the antiquarian reimagining of Seville's Roman past, Catholic Counter-Reformation image theory, and the publishing conventions of Sevillian humanism shaped Pacheco's expectations about how an illustrious past should look. Let's consider first how Seville's elites used reimagined classical imagery to celebrate the glory of their city and how Pacheco employed that visual vocabulary in his *Libro*.

Celebrating Civic Glory
by Reimagining the Roman Past

In the sixteenth century, the political, religious, artistic, and scholarly elites of Seville, emboldened by the wealth derived from trade (the city being the location of the *Casa de Contratación*, the royally sanctioned house of trade that oversaw commerce with the Spanish Americas), competed against those of other cities in the Spanish world for royal favor and prestige. Seville, as the gateway to the Spanish Americas and the entrepôt where commercial, military, and missionary interests intersected, was an apt comparison for the polyvalent symbolisms of Rome, the ancient hub of empire and the contemporary center of Catholicism.[11] Furthermore, the erudition of Renaissance humanists and antiquarians made mindfulness of the Roman past fashionable, not least because it helped reinforce claims of antiquity of lineage and legal precedent within a society where claims of established tradition were politically powerful. A decorative plaque placed on the Puerta de Jerez in 1578 encapsulated a version of Seville's history that emphasized the antiquity of its preeminence, "Hercules built me; Julius Caesar encircled me with walls and lofty towers; the sainted King won me, together with Garci Pérez de Vargas."[12] With Roman ruins near at hand, the elites of Seville effortlessly blended their city's Roman past with imperial aspirations of the present.

The accessibility of the superbly preserved ruins of the Roman colony of Italica, known to contemporaries as *Sevilla la Vieja* or "old Seville," facilitated Sevillians' awareness of their Roman past. Italica, as the birthplace of the second-century emperors Trajan and Hadrian, had received lavish imperial patronage that permitted construction of grand monuments, including an

amphitheater only marginally smaller than Rome's coliseum. Such ruins captured the poetic imagination of Seville's humanists and fostered anxiety over how easily past grandeur could be forgotten. "Look at the wrecked marbles and arches, look at the proud statues, struck down by violent Nemesis, lying prone, and buried now in deep silence their famous owners," wrote Rodrigo Caro (1573–1647) in his "Canción a las ruinas de Itálica" (Ode to the ruins of Italica; Seville, post-1595).[13] But where text alone failed to resurrect forgotten men, art and architecture could revive past monumental grandeur.

The architects of prominent projects in sixteenth-century Seville used a visual language that both resurrected and reimagined Seville's Roman imperial legacy. Great public events involving the monarch seem to have inspired those projects and the visual vocabulary they employed. After holding his wedding to Isabel of Portugal in Seville on March 10, 1526, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (Charles I of Spain, 1500–58) bestowed on the city an extravagant *Casa consistorial*, or town hall, constructed from 1527 to 1534. The full decorative program of the *Casa consistorial* was not completed for decades, but Charles's and Seville's imperial legacies were fused in the finished structure.[14] The facade showcased Hercules as mythical founder of the city and Julius Caesar as a second founder, for making it a Roman colony. The ceiling of the chapter hall displayed the ancient lineage of the kings of Spain in a series stretching back thirty-six generations.[15] Charles's columnar emblem recurred frequently on the facade and in the ornamentation of the chapter hall, alluding to the columns of Hercules (that is, the Strait of Gibraltar) and evoking Seville's role as gateway to the New World.[16]

Another royal event, the visit of Philip II to Seville in 1570, again occasioned public festivities replete with classical imagery.[17] The humanist Juan de Mal Lara (1524–71) helped plan Seville's reception of Philip. In his book, *Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a la C.R.M. del Rey don Felipe N.S.* (The reception that the very noble and very loyal city of Seville made for the royal Catholic majesty of King Philip our lord; Seville, 1570), he detailed the iconography of the ephemeral triumphal arches and *tableaux vivants* that twined Seville's present grandeur with the classical past.[18]

As Vicente Lleó Cañal argued, the grand architectural projects of the 1570s in Seville were the unfolding of aspirations expressed in the iconography of Philip's royal visit.[19] Philip had honored Seville by appointing the recently ennobled Count of Barajas, Francisco Zapata de Cisneros (1520–94), as *asistente* (essentially, the royal appointed mayor) for Seville from 1573 to 1579.[20] Zapata de Cisneros's greatest project for the city was the improvement of the plaza Alameda from 1574 to 1578. That project was crowned by the raising of two fallen ancient columns from a Roman temple of Hercules to imitate the emblem of Charles V and was topped by newly

FIGURE 2. Columns of Hercules, Alameda Hércules, Seville. Photo: Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File: Columnas_de_Hércules_(Alameda_Hércules)_ Sevilla.jpg.

carved statues of Hercules and Julius Caesar (fig. 2).[21] Philip now was exalted in the visual rhetoric of Seville alongside Charles V as a new founder and restorer of the city, a pair analogous to Hercules and Caesar.[22] Inscriptions on the base of each column made this explicit. On the column crowned by Hercules, Charles was praised for extending his glory beyond the columns of Hercules to the New World, and on the column topped by Caesar, Philip was hailed as the noblest restorer of this Roman colony.[23]

The humanistic academy in Seville in which Pacheco participated was also modeled on the imagined Roman past. Organized by Juan de Mal Lara in the 1560s, the group was structured after the Italian neo-Platonic academies. After Mal Lara's death in 1571, Pacheco's uncle and guardian, the Canon Francisco Pacheco (1535–99), rose in prominence within the academy. The younger Pacheco assumed leadership after his uncle's death in 1599.[24] It was at Pacheco's invitation that the third duke of Alcalá, Fernando Afán de Ribera (1583–1637), joined the group around 1599, and thereafter the academy often met at the duke's celebrated palace in Seville, the so-called *Casa de Pilatos* (House of Pilate). There they could stroll through the courtyard and arcades, which featured a series of busts of ancient Roman emperors (fig. 3) brought from Italy by the duke's grandfather, the former viceroy of Naples, Per Afán de Ribera (?–1571), and gaze at the large mythological oil paintings depicting the apotheosis of Hercules that the duke had commissioned from Pacheco in 1603 to decorate the ceiling of the grand salon.[25]

Such constant immersion in a humanistic environment valuing classical visual imagery would have made it easy for Pacheco's peers to interpret the classicizing motifs he employed on the frontispiece of his *Libro de retratos*.

FIGURE 3. Courtyard with busts of Roman emperors, Casa de Pilatos, Seville. Photo: Randall Meissen.

Hercules and Julius Caesar flank an allegorical personification of fame (see fig. 1). On the lower edge of the page, the city Hispalis (the Roman name for Seville) in the guise of personified abundance is crowned by the Tower of Gold, the iconic building that controlled access to the Guadalquivir River. On the bottom right is the personification of the river itself, known as Baetis (also spelled Baethis) in Latin, Seville's lifeblood for commerce. The frontispiece shows the purpose of the book: the celebration of the glory of a city enjoying abundance in an imperial present made possible through trade carried upon the river to the distant Americas and made illustrious by a heritage linking it to the glory of an ancient imperial Roman past.

This carefully constructed frontispiece, much like the lavish historically themed sculptures and paintings of Seville's palaces and public spaces, suggests that the instruction in and remembering of history in Seville was a visually immersive and multisensory experience. Visual artworks, including paintings and sculptures like those found at the *Casa consistorial*, at the Alameda, and at the *Casa de Pilatos*, were used to construct and retell history alongside the historically themed prose, poetry, and performances carried out in the same spaces. Such works also bolstered the legitimacy of Sevillians' claims to legal and royal privilege due to the supposed antiquity of such concessions.

In that vein, Pacheco's lengthy treatise *Arte de la pintura: su antigüedad y grandezas* (The art of painting: its antiquity and glories), which he began

writing by 1622 and had finished by 1639 (though it was not published until 1649, after his death), was consonant with other works concerned with celebrating Seville's glory by placing the city's historical heritage in continuity with antiquity.[26] Examples of such works by scholars in Pacheco's circle included the humanist historian Rodrigo Caro's book *Antigüedades y principado de la ilustrísima ciudad de Sevilla* (The antiquities and principality of the most illustrious city of Seville; Seville, 1634) and Pablo Espinosa de los Monteros's (c. 1600–50) book *La historia, antigüedades y grandezas de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla* (The history, antiquities, and glories of the very noble and loyal city of Seville; Seville, 1627–30).[27] Caro amassed evidence gleaned from ancient coins, ruins, and inscriptions. Espinosa started with the city's mythical foundation by Hercules, continued with the arrival of the Romans, and gave special attention to the emperors Trajan and Hadrian. Such works were concerned, as Espinosa wrote, with publicizing the "many lives of illustrious men that this great city produced in all times."[28] Caro's book commenced with the nostalgic tone of a humanistic antiquarian by striving "to preserve in short memory . . . what remains of the antiquities of Seville and its land before they completely disappear."[29]

Both Espinosa and Caro reveal a political agenda in their awareness that preserving the past could serve to bolster the power and privileges of Seville's elites, however. Thus, Espinosa dedicated chapter 8 to presenting evidence—including six Roman inscriptions printed in capital letters laid out as if to imitate epigraphs—that demonstrated the expansive jurisdiction Seville exercised in Roman times and the privileges its citizens enjoyed.[30] Caro stated that the purpose of the second part of his history was to show that Seville, in both Roman times and other eras, was always held as "Metropolis de la Provincia Baetica" or the capital city of the Baetic province.[31] Far from being an exercise in vain erudition, antiquarian recovery and presentation of evidence implied that the elites of Seville merited the present glory they so enthusiastically celebrated and that Seville's robust printing industry obligingly publicized.[32] However, exhibition of a classical heritage only demonstrated Seville's glory if complemented by display of a glorious heritage of religious orthodoxy.

Truth in Pictures in the Catholic Counter-Reformation

Pacheco was deeply concerned about how to communicate religious truths in images efficaciously. This was a theme of crucial importance in Counter-Reformation Spain, where religious art was expected not only to foster devotion but also to help eradicate doctrinal error. Artists depicting

biblical scenes were cautious to include accepted scriptural details while painters of saints came under pressure to standardize a saint's appearance, grounding it when possible in an authoritative portrait.[33]

Pacheco's reputation as a theorist of religious art may have been what occasioned his appointment in 1618 by the Seville Inquisition as inspector of religious art in the city.[34] If, as the letter of conferral claimed, it was really Pacheco's "virtues of reason and prudence" rather than his patrons' influence that occasioned the appointment remains an open question.[35] Pacheco's decision to devote part of *Arte de la pintura* to spelling out acceptable iconographies for frequently depicted religious scenes such as the Crucifixion may have been a consequence of his appointment.[36] But surveying religious art was nothing new in Seville. Pacheco's uncle, the Canon Pacheco, had recorded a careful description of the notable religious images in the archbishopric of Seville with extensive commentary on the local traditions about the images and visible features that corroborated the age of those images.[37]

The younger Pacheco's most famed intervention in religious iconography involved a debate over whether Christ was nailed to the cross with three or four nails. Settling this issue involved reflection on theology, human anatomy, and Roman crucifixion practices. In his correspondence with Francisco de Rioja (1583–1659), a canon of Seville Cathedral and member of the Inquisition, the reasons Pacheco gave for favoring four nails included "the antiquity of the use of that depiction," the great difficulty of nailing one foot upon the other without breaking the bones of the feet, and the evidence from the Roman author Plautus that the Romans generally used four nails.[38] Pacheco's codification of four nails as the correct number was immensely influential in subsequent depictions of the Crucifixion by artists trained in Seville.[39] Pacheco had in effect transformed crucifixion painting into a sort of "technical image" that asserted a factual datum about historical crucifixions beyond simply inspiring religious contemplation.[40] Pacheco's practice was similar to that in other scholarly fields at the time, including anatomy, botany, and astronomy, where technical images were intended to record, produce, and communicate knowledge.[41]

Hence, in his treatise *Arte de la pintura* Pacheco expressed agreement with the position of Flemish Catholic Counter-Reformation theologian Joannes Molanus (1533–85) in *De Picturis et Imaginibus Sacris, pro vero earum usu contra abusus* (Concerning sacred pictures and images, in favor of their true use against abuses; Leuven, 1570), that the religious images and paintings that ought to be most esteemed are those adjusted "to the truth of history."[42] This meant that the best images communicated facts. Certainly, the Bible and sacred history were the preeminent basis for the content of such images (requiring the image to record Jesus as nailed rather than tied

to the cross, wearing a crown of thorns, and so on), but secular history could be used to fill in important details not mentioned in scripture (like the unspecified number of nails).

Royal portraits represented a related but distinct case, familiar to Pacheco, where a special mode of presence was attributed to the image. Among the Spanish Habsburgs and other European rulers, portraits of monarchs acted as substitutes for the person depicted and merited similar honor.[43] Pacheco praised the respect that Philip II showed for portraits of his royal ancestors by removing his hat in the presence of their likenesses, an anecdote that recurred in Spanish literature and art.[44] Fray Juan Bautista Maíno's painting *The Recovery of Bahía de Todos los Santos* (1634–35) exemplifies how Habsburg portraiture served as proxy for the royal presence. In this painting, Philip IV's captain general Don Fadrique de Toledo (1580–1634) gestures toward an unfurled tapestry of the king before which the defeated Dutch kneel in supplication, a visual quotation of the climax of Lope de Vega's play *El Brasil restituido* (1625).[45]

Clearly, the images of kings were understood to bear a special ontological weight. Precisely for that reason, royal portraits often dehistoricized their subjects and depicted monarchs in a timeless, idealized form. By contrast, Pacheco's *Libro de retratos* sought to historicize the portraits of the illustrious men, connecting them to a moment in historical time, and he often made that historicization explicit in the textual description, employing a variety of principles and methods. As he stated in *Arte de la pintura*, the most important rule for an artist was that "the portrait be very like its original"; the second obligation was that it be "well drawn and painted with a good style."[46] Pacheco's reading in Renaissance physiognomy assured him that a true likeness captured the concrete particularities of a person's facial expression, which revealed their moral and psychological qualities.[47] In practice, Pacheco mixed a variety of creative methods to recover the likeness of the original subject as they would have appeared at a given moment in life. He constructed portraits from the fusion of multiple sources, just as he consulted and merged multiple sources for the text of the historical biographies. That assortment of visual sources included live sittings, death masks, the corpse of the deceased, children of the deceased, trustworthy portraits drawn by others, and his own memory of people he had personally seen. I call this method of using multiple sources to recover likenesses "visual philology" by analogy to the humanistic practice of textual philology, or recovering original writings from multiple sources.

One example of Pacheco's approach to constructing a "true" portrait can be extrapolated from his portrait of Benito Arias Montano (1527–98; fig. 4). Arias Montano was among the most famous scholars of sixteenth-century Catholic humanism. A man of his renown, though not a native to

FIGURE 4. Francisco Pacheco, portrait of Benito Arias Montano, c. 1580–1644. IB 15654, Biblioteca Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid.
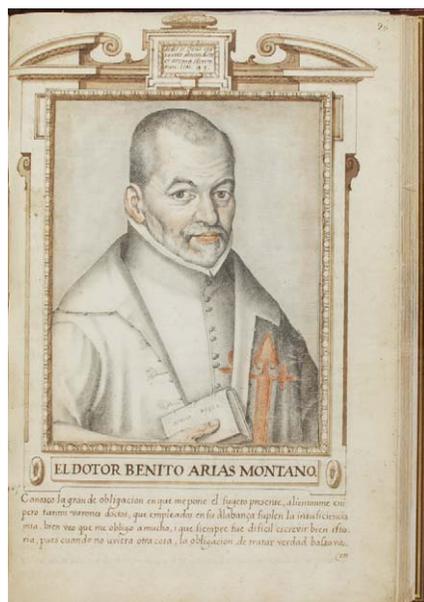
Seville, brought glory to the city by making it his final home. He had attended the Council of Trent as one of the select few theological consultants, and later he was given enviable royal commissions by Philip II as editor of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible and as royal librarian for the Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Pacheco met Arias Montano in 1593 after the cleric retired to the monastery of the Order of Santiago in Seville, and he reconstructed his likeness of Arias Montano, depicting him at the age of sixty-seven in the *Libro*.[48] However, Pacheco had not painted Arias Montano during the 1593 visit, and he was cautious about painting exclusively from memory, since such a recollection could never be sufficiently detailed.[49] Instead, Pacheco preferred to use memory to correct preexisting models. Thus, Arias Montano's likeness was based both on Pacheco's memory of meeting the man and on an engraving by the Dutch publisher Philips Galle (1537–1612) after a drawing by the Flemish painter Pieter Pourbus (1523–84), which was published by Galle in the collection of forty-four portraits *Virorum doctorum de disciplinis benemerentium effigies* (Effigies of well-deserving men learned about various disciplines; Antwerp, 1572) (fig. 5). Arias Montano had collaborated with Galle on that collection of portraits and was author of the Latin verses for the engravings.

From the published Galle portrait Pacheco retained Arias Montano's characteristic widow's peak, style of beard, and recognizable visage, but he introduced modifications to highlight the passing of time, aging the face

FIGURE 5. Philips Galle after Pieter Pourbus, engraving of Benito Arias Montano, 1572. Object number RP-P-OB-6907, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

by softening the jawline, graying the beard and hair, and adding crow's feet to the eyes as well as more wrinkles around the temple and cheek-bones. Pacheco placed the *Biblia Regia*, that is, the Antwerp Polyglot, in the scholar's right hand. However, Pacheco's portrait was more precise than Galle's engraving in depicting the insignia of Arias Montano's prestigious Order of Santiago, correctly tapering the vertical blade of the cross-shaped sword and avoiding blunting the curled edges of the decorative heart shape terminating the pommel and of the fleurs-de-lis gracing the lateral ends of the crossbar. Pacheco thereby showed acute sensitivity to a visual culture wherein messages of rank, nobility, and status were communicated at a glance.

Other publishers and artists lacked such visual sensitivity to ecclesiastical insignia. For regular clerical members of the order, the cross of the Order of Santiago was always worn over the heart, thus sown on the left side of the ceremonial garb. In the case of some higher-ranking members, the cross could be sown on the center of the habit, and lay military members could suspend the cross as a pendant from the neck.[50] However, the badge of the order was never worn over the right side of the chest, as shown in copied iterations of Galle's engraving, where the image orientation was reversed in the process of re-engraving and printing.[51] This suggests that such publishers and engravers lacked a sense of the prestige that the Order of Santiago held in Spain and treated the image as a mere illustration,

Francisco Pacheco's *Book of True Portraits*   43

whereas for Pacheco the insignia communicated important information about social standing.

In other cases, Pacheco employed alternate methods to construct true portraits. For his depiction of the Sevillian painter Luis de Vargas (1502–68), Pacheco had Vargas's son sit as a model against which to correct an image of the father copied from a sculpted relief. For the Mercedarian superior Fray Juan Bernal (1549–1601), Pacheco drew the portrait from the friar's corpse lying in a coffin. For the Flemish artist Pedro de Campaña (1503–86), Pacheco copied that artist's self-portrait. For Carlos de Negrón (1507–83), the son of a Genoese merchant who married into Seville's nobility, Pacheco used a portrait painted by Alonso Sánchez Coello (1532–88) held in the gallery of the Sevillian historian and former soldier Gonzalo Argote de Molina (1548–96).[52] The image of Fray Agustin Nuñez Delgadillo (c. 1570–1631) was drawn during a live sitting, as was that of Pablo de Céspedes (1538–1608), an accomplished painter and prebendary of the Cathedral of Córdoba, whom Pacheco persuaded to sit for a portrait while the man was visiting Seville.[53]

Seville in Pacheco's era was at the center of an image culture where the production of true portraits was intertwined with other uses of visual evidence. For example, the Sevillian archbishop, as chief promoter of the cause for canonization of San Fernando (King Ferdinand III of Castile and León, 1201–52), had the body of the revered king exhumed in 1628 as part of the process of canonization. The examining doctor, Alonso Valencia, testified that the corpse was well preserved and that, in his opinion, "someone who had known and seen [Fernando] before, could recognize him seeing him now."[54] In a method similar to Pacheco's, observation of the exhumed corpse then served as the basis for a new portrait of the long dead San Fernando.[55]

The case of San Fernando was typical for the period. The exhumation and visual examination of the corpses of potential saints by medical experts for signs of incorruption, unusual anatomy, and vestigial traces of extreme asceticism became requisite for demonstrating sanctity in post-Tridentine Catholicism.[56] Such a process of *autopsia* (seeing for oneself), whereby expert witnesses examined a corpse, testimony was recorded and notarized, and painters corrected the saint's portrait based on observation, provides a striking parallel to the visual *autopsia* that historians of science have associated with the empirical turn in early modern anatomy and botany.[57]

In this light, Pacheco's comments about the corpse of the bishop of Jaén, Don Francisco Sarmiento de Mendoza (1525–98) are poignant (fig. 6). As usual, Pacheco made at least a tenuous link between the illustrious man and Seville—in this instance, pointing out that the bishop gave

FIGURE 6. Francisco Pacheco, portrait of Don Francisco Sarmiento de Mendoza, c. 1580–1644. IB 15654, Biblioteca Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid.

"400 ducados" to support the Jesuit foundation of the *Colegio Inglés de Sevilla*.[58] Pacheco indicated that his portrait was made after the bishop's death and then proceeded to praise the bishop for "heroic virtues," noting that upon his death "everyone acclaimed him as a saint."[59] But the key link between material evidence and the sanctity of life was Pacheco's claim of Mendoza that "more than a year afterward, when opening the tomb to place a new tombstone, they found him intact and fresh as though alive."[60] Hence, at least in the case of the bishop of Jaén, Pacheco's true portrait not only showed the generic illustriousness of a wise bishop but also attested to the illustriousness of holiness made visible through corporeal incorruption. In sum, for Pacheco and his peers, a wide variety of "true" facts about history and religion were believed to be visually encoded and perceptible to the eye of a skilled observer. The logical corollary of such a belief was that an artist could in turn communicate such information by re-encoding it visually, whether in true portraits or even in the visual layout of text itself.

Visual Cues in Text and Art

Pacheco's attention to visual detail was not limited to reconstructing likenesses. He was also deeply invested in the visual presentation of the text itself—that is, in the way paratextual visual conventions engrained by humanistic print culture could be deployed as communicative cues. On the

frame of each portrait, the fine italic hand used for the biblical paraphrase contrasted with the bold capitals captioning each portrait with the person's name. The layout and style of text on those decorative architectural frames evoke the sense of funerary monuments, such that the depicted person gazes as through a window from beyond the grave.

Although Pacheco wrote most of the body of each biography with pristine humanistic script, when he copied the epithet that Rodrigo Caro had composed as a potential inscription for Arias Montano's tomb, Pacheco employed the visual conventions of published humanistic history books to cue recognition of that text as quasi-epigraphic evidence (fig. 7). The layout uses Roman capitals, the connected "Æ" (ae) ligature, and centered justification. Additionally, consistent with the inscriptions' archaicizing style, Pacheco did not distinguish the letters *u* and *v* and employed abbreviation for the suffix "-que." The archaicized visual presentation of the epithet reinforced its authority and gave it the look of a credible inscription on par with classical epigraphic evidence. Thus, the epithet, textually attesting to the illustriousness of Arias Montano, visually subsumed the evidentiary authority of the carefully copied Roman inscriptions found throughout antiquarian histories.[61]

Another notable visual detail about Pacheco's presentation of the text consists in his usage of catchwords (that is, the first word of a page given at the foot of the preceding one). On a practical level, the function of catchwords in both printed and manuscript books was to assist in the binding of quires in the correct order.[62] However, Pacheco's use of catchwords seems a deliberate imitation of the visual culture of print. In the *Libro*, the catchwords appear only on consecutive pages that were already physically inseparable and are absent from the verso side of the second leaf in each bifold, where the catchword would have revealed Pacheco's intended ordering of quires. This is unfortunate because the manuscript has been rebound several times, and Pacheco's original ordering of quires has been lost. This is most conspicuous with the dedicatory portrait of Philip II, which Pacheco indicated had been intended to start the book, but it is currently located deep within the manuscript rather than at the beginning.[63]

Pacheco's use of catchwords and of varied handwritten scripts within the text to differentiate between narrative text, image captions, quotations, poetic verse, and epigraphic inscriptions followed the visual conventions common to historical books of that era published in Seville. For example, Gonzalo Argote de Molina's *Nobleza de Andaluzia* (The nobility of Andalusia; Seville, 1588) visually cued the importance of epigraphic inscriptions by laying them out with special spacing, borders, and distinctive typefaces. Caro's *Antigüedades y principado de la ilustrísima ciudad de Sevilla,* in addition to the italicization of quotations and the use of

i esto quien duda que fuesse en cumplimiento del consejo de Cristo en el capitulo 23. de S.
Matco, cuando dize no os querais llamar Maestros. lle vole Dios a su gloria (como es de
creer) a darle el devido premio, a 6. de Julio de 1598. aviendo vivido 72. años, esta se-
pultado en la Capilla mayor del Convento de Santiago, donde era Prior, i le visité i comu-
nique año 1593. i su Retrato que pongo aqui es el mas parecido que ai en la edad que
le conoci. i porque es aventajado, al que oi esta en su Sepulcro, el Epitafio que hizo el Li-
cenciado Rodrigo Caro, (tan conocido por su erudicion) lo pongo aqui; hizolo visitando
la peña.

B. ARIAE. MONTANO. V.C. POETAE.
LAVREA. DONATO. ET. ANTI
QVORVM. OPTIMIS
COMPONENDO.

OMNIVM. DISCIPLINARVM. LINGVARVMQ3.
AD. MIRACVLVM. PERITISSIMO.
NOVO. AC PIO. PROMETHEO. AB. HAC. RVPE
SOLEM. SCRIPTVRARVM. NVPER
SPECVLANTI.
IAM. NVNC. MELIORE. FATO. VT. CREDERE
PAR. EST. INTVENTI
R. CARVS. ERVDITIONIS. INGENIQ3. EIVS.
ADMIRATOR
P. M. ET. GRATITVDINIS. ERGO. B. M. F.

i don Iuan de Iauregui le ofrecio estas cuatro otavas dignas de su felice ingenio.

En la que ya esculpio la mano tuya
estatua (ò Fidias) a Minerva Argiva,
grayan tu nombre los sinzeles, cuya
seña guarda inmortal la peña viva:
pues solo cuando su labor destruya
la injuria de los siglos sucesiva,
podran, postrados los fragmentos bellos,
confundir los carateres en ellos.

Mayor imagen de la sabia Diosa
fabricar vemos por el gran Montano,
pues mas Coloso labra en su estudiosa
oficina el ingenio, que la mano:
Minerva en estas aras mas gloriosa
ostenta preferido al docto Hispano,
que en relieves de espiritu sutiles,
marmores vence, i cortes de buriles.

I en labor tanta, con sinzel divino
su nombre esculpe (superior trofeo)
donde el carater patrio, i peregrine
le consagra al Catolico Lyceo:
onra a Montano el Atico, i Latina,
Mosaico, i Syro, el Arabe, i Caldeo,
ni algun dialecto construcion contiene,
donde igual nombre no redunde i suene.

Viviras (ò Montano) en cuanto el labio
umano esplique voz, i en coro alterno
viva de Palas inclita lo sabio,
i de la sacra pagina lo eterno.
llore el sepulcro su segundo agravio,
pues niegan lineas de pinzel moderno
que aun las cenizas postumos ultragen
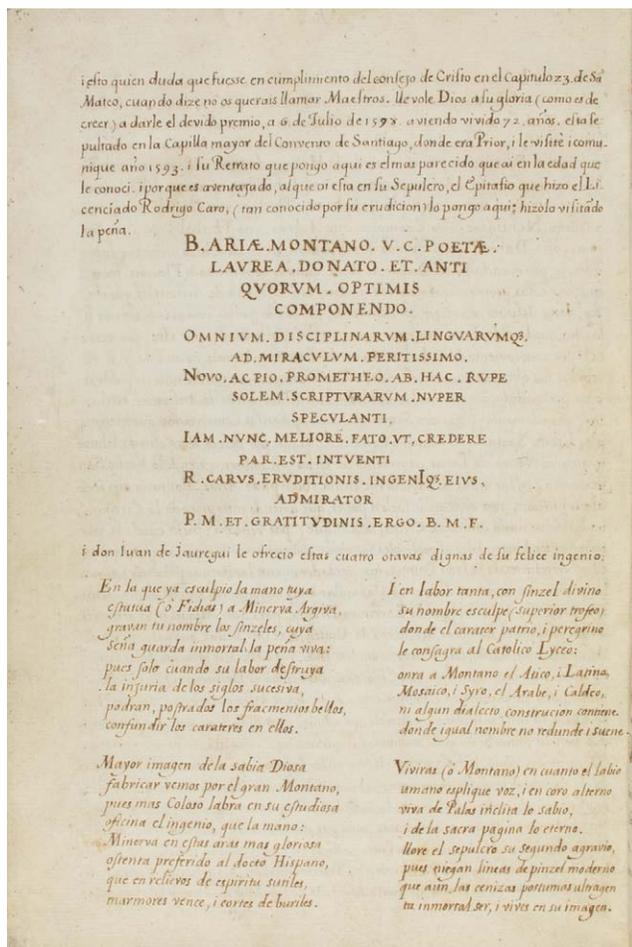*tu inmortal ser, i vives en su imagen.*

FIGURE 7. Francisco Pacheco, second folio, verso, of the *Elogium* of Benito Arias Montano, c. 1580–1644. IB 15654, Biblioteca Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid.

superfluous catchwords on each page, also employed a special layout for inscriptions.

From these examples we can conclude that the artistic, ecclesiastic, and academic cultures constituting the visual regime inhabited by Pacheco and his peers trained their eyes to recognize and distinguish visually encoded evidence, whether it was in paintings, inscriptions, books, or other material objects.[64] For example, the Canon Pacheco, the guardian of the younger Francisco, went with many elite humanists to observe the raising of the columns in the Alameda in 1575. That group of scholars included Benito Arias Montano, Juan de Mal Lara, Francisco de Medina, the archbishop of
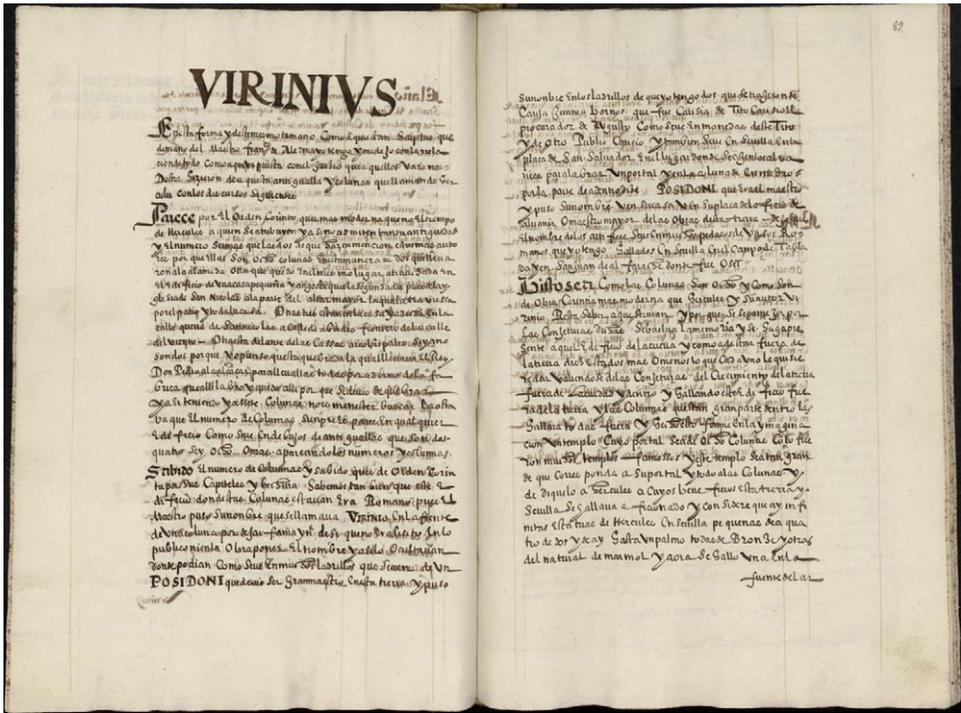
FIGURE 8. Canon Francisco Pacheco, drawing of "Virinivs" inscription from the Columns of Hercules, c. 1575, MSS 1419 fol.88v, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

Seville Cardinal de Castro, Fernando de Herrera, the painter Diego de Villegas, Pedro Chacón, and Pedro Velez de Guevara, many of whom are mentioned in Pacheco's *Libro*.[65] The Canon Pacheco and his fellow humanists debated whether the columns pertained to the Roman era or to a much more distant legendary past when Hercules himself may have erected them. For them, two pieces of material evidence settled the argument. First, the columns were of the Corinthian order and therefore subsequent to the presumed era of Hercules. Second, the Latin name "Virinivs," was inscribed on one column, and such a Roman inscription likewise postdated Hercules.[66] To authenticate the proof, Canon Pacheco copied the engraved name "Virinivs" into his manuscript in "the form and the exact same size" as it appeared inscribed on the column (fig. 8). This method of using material evidence from ancient objects to correct written traditions was a hallmark of early modern antiquarian practice and eventually opened new avenues of historical argument by supplementing historians' nearly exclusive reliance on texts as evidence.[67]

In another example, one of Pacheco's former students, Francisco López Caro (1598–1661), deployed visual evidence as historical proof in the long, drawn-out canonization process of Seville's patron San Fernando. Pope Urban VIII's 1634 bull *Coelestis Hierusalem cives* jeopardized the canonization process for San Fernando by requiring proof that such saints had been venerated from "time immemorial"—meaning more than a hundred years.[68] As Amanda Wunder has detailed, visual evidence of the historical longevity of the cult of San Fernando became crucial to proving that his veneration in Seville had lasted for generations. The chancery of Seville appointed Caro along with the soon-to-be-famous baroque painter Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617–82) to conduct a series of inspections from 1649 to 1651 of the oldest images of San Fernando around Seville.[69] These expert artists showed keen regard for the ways visual clues in style, the condition of a painting's frame and physical supports and the depictions of clothing, indicated the historical age of a work.[70] When they inspected images at the Alcázar, they concluded that one portrait was "much more than a hundred years old" due to its "costume, style, colors, and everything else."[71] After inspecting an image on the doors of the organ at the cathedral, López recognized the style as Gothic for its use of gold borders on clothing and affirmed that it had been crafted more than two hundred years before his own time.[72]

López's historical assessments also blended his identification of artistic styles with the living memory of the professional history of painters in Seville. Thus, López gauged that a painting at the Carthusian monastery was more than seventy years old not only because it was painted by Vasco Pereira (1535–c. 1609), whom López had met as a boy of ten, but also, and more significantly, because it was done in Pereira's early style and thus painted while that artist was still young.[73] Similarly, he could say that a fresco of San Fernando on the Puerta de Jerez was more than ninety years old. This was because Pacheco had told López many times that his mentor Luis Fernández (n.d.) had collaborated on those frescos.[74] Pacheco's biographical descriptions of painters in *Arte de la pintura* and in his *Libro de retratos* seems consistent with the role he played in imparting knowledge to his students of their own professional genealogy and the history of the community of painters in Seville.

Francisco Pacheco, as both skilled portraitist and author, realized in his *Libro de retratos* the Renaissance ideal of historical biography as a mode of portraiture. He was at the nexus of a vibrant scholarly community that continually reflected on the visual evidence of the past. Consequently, in his theoretical writing on painting, in his training of pupils, and in his own work he sought to harness the potential of visual cues to contribute to history. His nuanced sensitivity to balancing multiple visual languages and

his ideas about communicating truth and history in images allowed him to produce a work that showed at a glance a pantheon of illustrious men of Seville's recent past fit to rival those of ancient times.

As Pacheco stated in *Arte de la pintura*, if the glory of art and Spanish artists had fallen into oblivion, artists themselves were to blame.[75] If the glory of Seville's recent history were forgotten, Pacheco's own academy would surely have been culpable. Thus, he wielded all the methodological tools at his disposal as a humanist and artist in his long project to produce an enduring visual history, and he stipulated in his will that the portraits and texts comprising his *Libro* should be preserved "without separating or dividing them."[76] Isolation of text and image would have jeopardized the integrity of the work as visual history and risked the loss of "the memory of such notable individuals."[77]

Notes

1. See, for example, Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, MA, 1994); Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Cambridge, MA, 1999); Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven, 2010).
2. The best facsimile edition of the manuscript is Francisco Pacheco, *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos de ilustres y memorables varones,* facsimile edition, ed. Diego Angulo Íñiguez and María de los Santos García Felguera (Madrid, 1983). However, the color accuracy of the facsimile is poor; the handwriting has been altered to appear bolder; the folio numbers have been cropped; and some of the portraits have been retouched (e.g., Francisco Peraza's unfinished right eye on folio 92r has been completed). For the text, I cite the transcription published in Francisco Pacheco, *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos, de ilustres y memorables varones*, ed. Pedro M. Piñero Ramírez and Rogelio Reyes Cano (Seville, 1985). Subsequent citations to the *Libro* will distinguish the two editions parenthetically.
3. Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, ed. Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas (Madrid, 1990), 528.
4. Marta Cacho Casal, "The 'True Likenesses' in Francisco Pacheco's *Libro de Retratos,*" *Renaissance Studies* 24, no. 3 (June 2010): 382–83.
5. The single-sheet portrait-biographies in MSS IX/M/83 (folios 1–7) of the Biblioteca del Palacio Real in Madrid have the portraits drawn directly on the sheets. Therefore, the handwritten text on the flip side of the sheet bleeds through to the portrait. The portrait of Philip II in Pacheco's *Libro* shows similar bleed-through. I speculate that Pacheco used such cutouts with visible bleed-through as placeholders until he could redraw a fresh portrait, because his cut-and-paste assembly method itself seems a technique to avoid future ink bleed-through to finished portraits.
6. See the codicological description in Juan Antonio Yeves Andrés, *Manuscritos españoles de la Biblioteca Lázaro Galdiano* (Madrid, 1998), 158–59.
7. Marta Cacho Casal, *Francisco Pacheco y su "Libro de retratos"* (Madrid, 2012), 116–17.

8. Regarding the scope of this genre, see Milan Pelc, *Illustrium Imagines: Das Porträtbuch der Renaissance* (Leiden, 2002); Tommaso Casini, *Ritratti parlanti: collezionismo e biografie illustrate nei secoli XVI e XVII* (Florence, 2004); Patricia Eichel, *Le siècle des grands hommes: les recueils de vies d'hommes illustres au XVIème siècle* (Louvain, 2001).

9. For a detailed comparison of Pacheco and Paolo Giovio's projects, see Andrés Soria Ortega, "Sobre [el] biografismo de la época clásica: Francisco Pacheco y Paulo Jovio," *Anuario de la Sociedad Española de Literatura General y Comparada* 4 (1981): 123–43. The illustrated editions of Giovio's works familiar to Pacheco were *Elogia virorum literis illustrium* (Basel, 1577) and *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Basel, 1575). Pacheco likely owned the illustrated Giunti edition of Giorgio Vasari's *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, et architettori*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1568); the account of a dinner hosted by Cardinal Farnese where Giovio encouraged a project on illustrious artists is found in part 3:996.

10. My translation of Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, 66.

11. Regarding Seville's unique position in the Spanish world, see Patrick O'Flanagan, *Port Cities of Atlantic Iberia, c. 1500–1900* (Aldershot, 2008), 39–80; Stephanie Stillo, "Forging Imperial Cities: Seville and Formation of Civic Order in the Early Modern Hispanic World" (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2014).

12. The sixteenth-century inscription marking the Puerta de Jerez in Seville was destroyed in 1846; cited in Théophile Gautier, *A Romantic in Spain*, trans. Catherine Alison Phillips (Oxford, 2001), 271.

13. As translated in Elias L. Rivers, *Renaissance and Baroque Poetry of Spain* (Prospect Heights, IL, 1988), 249. On ruins in Renaissance poetry, see Bruce Carl Swaffield, *Rising from the Ruins: Roman Antiquities in Neoclassic Literature* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2009), 15–16.

14. For an art-historical study of the *Casa consistorial* and its many stages of construction, decoration, and renovation, see Luis Méndez Rodríguez, *El Ayuntamiento de Sevilla* (Seville, 2012).

15. Artists did not finish the polychromatic decoration of the royal lineage on the chapter hall's sculpted relief ceiling until 1572. María Dolores Rodríguez González et al., "Investigación de la policromía original en la bóveda de la sala capitular de la Casa Consistorial de Sevilla," in *Segundas Jornadas sobre Investigación en Arquitectura y Urbanismo, 21–23 de septiembre de 2006* (Sant Cugat del Vallès, 2006), 5, UpCommons, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, http://upcommons.upc.edu/handle/2099/2345.

16. On the Burgundian origins and subsequent Spanish re-interpretation of Charles's emblem, see Earl E. Rosenthal, "Plus Ultra, Non Plus Ultra, and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): 204–28; Earl E. Rosenthal, "The Invention of the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V at the Court of Burgundy in Flanders in 1516," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973): 198–230.

17. Philip's (and his bureaucracy's) interest in antiquities is evident from the questionnaires sent on the orders of Philip II to local officials throughout Spain in 1575 and 1578 for the *Relaciones de los pueblos de España*. Respondents were asked to report "noteworthy buildings" and "the traces of ancient buildings, epitaphs and inscriptions, and ancient objects." See José Miguel Morán Turina, "Arqueología y coleccionismo de antigüedades en la corte de Felipe II," in *Adán y Eva en Aranjuez: investigaciones sobre la escultura en la casa de Austria* (Madrid, 1992), 38.

18. Vicente Lleó Cañal, *Nueva Roma: mitología y humanismo en el renacimiento sevillano* (Seville, 1979), 173–76; Juan de Mal Lara, *Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy*

leal ciudad de Sevilla a la C.R.M. del Rey don Felipe N.S. (Seville, 1570); Teofilo F. Ruiz, *A King Travels: Festive Traditions in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Princeton, 2012), 89–98.

19. Lleó Cañal, *Nueva Roma*, 195.
20. Ibid.
21. On the Alameda and the role of architecture in Seville's imperial self-fashioning, see Amanda Wunder, "Classical, Christian, and Muslim Remains in the Construction of Imperial Seville (1520–1635)," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 2 (2003): 195–212.
22. Lleó Cañal, *Nueva Roma*, 196.
23. Ibid., 196–97.
24. Jonathan Brown, *Painting in Spain: 1500–1700* (New Haven, 1998), 101–2. Luis Gómez Canseco sees three stages of humanism in Seville corresponding to the generations of the Canon Pacheco, of Francisco Pacheco himself, and of those who survived Pacheco. See Rodrigo Caro, *Varones insignes en letras naturales de la ilustrísima ciudad de Sevilla,* ed. Luis Gómez Canseco (Seville, 1992), 3–24.
25. Brown, *Painting in Spain,* 102. The web page of the Medinaceli Foundation provides an excellent description of the ceiling paintings by the notable art historian of Seville, Vicente Lleó Cañal, "La 'Apoteósis de Hércules,'" Ducal House of Medinaceli Foundation, 2012, http://www.fundacionmedinaceli. org/coleccion/afondo/la-apoteosis-de-hercules/.
26. On the dating of the composition of *Arte de la pintura,* see Anita Louise Martin, "Francisco Pacheco and His *Arte de la Pintura*: Sources for Interpreting the Elements of Spanish Art" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1951), 62–63.
27. Rodrigo Caro, *Antigüedades y principado de la ilustrissima ciudad de Sevilla* (Seville, 1634); Pablo Espinosa de los Monteros, *Primera parte de la historia, antigüedades y grandezas de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla* (Seville, 1627); Pablo Espinosa de los Monteros, *Segunda parte de la historia, antigüedades y grandezas de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla* (Seville, 1630).
28. Espinosa de los Monteros, *Primera parte de la historia,* prologue.
29. Caro, *Antigüedades y principado,* prologue.
30. Espinosa de los Monteros, *Primera parte de la historia,* chap. 8.
31. Caro, *Antigüedades y principado,* prologue.
32. Regarding the establishment of the printing industry in Seville, see Clive Griffin, *The Crombergers of Seville* (Oxford, 1988).
33. Miraculous images and portraits painted from life were considered equally valid for recovering true likenesses. See Pamela M. Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art and Patronage in Seventeenth-Century Milan* (Cambridge, 1993), 168–71.
34. Brown, *Painting in Spain,* 102.
35. Pacheco, *Libro de descripción* (facs. ed.), 16.
36. Brown, *Painting in Spain,* 102.
37. Canon Francisco Pacheco, *Catálogo de los arzobispos de Sevilla y primado de las Españas,* Biblioteca Nacional de España, MSS 1419, ff. 73–87.
38. Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura,* 720.
39. Brown, *Painting in Spain,* 102.
40. On the "technical image," and for a discussion of images as active tools in the communication and production of knowledge, see Horst Bredekamp, Vera Dünkel, and Birgit Schneider, "The Image—A Cultural Technology: A Research Program for a Critical Analysis of Images," in *The Technical Image:*

A History of Styles in Scientific Imagery, ed. Horst Bredekamp, Vera Dünkel, and Birgit Schneider (Chicago, 2015), 1–5.

41. On this topic see Sachiko Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature: Image, Text, and Argument in Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany* (Chicago, 2011); Susan Dackerman, ed., *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven, 2011).

42. Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, 748–49.

43. Amanda Wunder, "Search for Sanctity in Baroque Seville: The Canonization of San Fernando and the Making of Golden-Age Culture, 1624–1729" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2002), 47. Regarding the role of royal portraits in the French monarchy, see Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King* (Minneapolis, 1988).

44. Pacheco, *Libro de descripción* (1985), 304.

45. Laura R. Bass, *The Drama of the Portrait: Theater and Visual Culture in Early Modern Spain* (University Park, PA, 2008), 4–5. See also the reinterpretation of the visual program of the Hall of Realms in Madrid, for which Fray Juan Bautista Maíno's painting was commissioned, in Richard L. Kagan, "Pictures, Politics, and Pictorialized History at the Court of Philip IV of Spain: Re-Thinking the Hall of Realms," in *Historiographie an Europäischen Höfen (16.–18. Jahrhundert): Studien zum Hof als Produktionsort von Geschichtsschreibung und historischer Repräsentation*, ed. Markus Völkel and Arno Strohmeyer (Berlin, 2009), 231–46.

46. Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, 524.

47. María del Mar Albero Muñoz, "La fisiognomía y la expresión de las pasiones en algunas bibliotecas de artistas españoles en el siglo XVII," *Cuadernos de arte de la Universidad de Granada*, no. 42 (2011): 37–52.

48. "I su retrato que pongo aquí es el más parecido que ai en la edad que le conocí" (And his portrait that I place here is the most similar there is to the age I knew him), Pacheco, *Libro de descripción* (1985), 325.

49. Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, 533.

50. William Berry, "Jago San, Di Compostella, or James, St. of the Sword, in Spain," in *Encyclopaedia Heraldica or Complete Dictionary of Heraldry* (London, 1828).

51. For example, the print held at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, object no. RP-P-1908-4471, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/RP-P-1908-4471.

52. On Carlos de Negrón, see Ruth Pike, "The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World," *Journal of Economic History* 22, no. 3 (1962): 353. Regarding the collection of Argote de Molina, see Marta Cacho Casal, "Gonzalo Argote de Molina and His Museum in Seville," *Burlington Magazine* 148, no. 1243 (2006): 689–93.

53. Pacheco, *Libro de descripción* (facs. ed.), 35, 63, 115, 163, 167, 175, 179.

54. Testimony of Dr. Alonso Valencia (March 28, 1628) in Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Riti MSS 1098, folio 293, as cited in Wunder, "Search for Sanctity in Baroque Seville," 40.

55. Ibid.

56. Bradford Bouley, *Pious Postmortems: Anatomy, Sanctity, and the Catholic Church in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia, 2017), 4–5, 9, 137–40.

57. Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature*, 125; Claudia Swan, "Illustrated Natural History," in *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Susan Dackerman (New Haven, 2011), 188.

58. Pacheco, *Libro de descripción* (1985), 318.

59. Ibid., 317–19.

60. Ibid., 319.

61. Arias Montano's sculpted sepulcher was moved to the pantheon of illustrious Sevillians at the University of Seville after damage during the peninsular war and is now marked with a nineteenth-century inscription.

62. Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca, 2007), 49.

63. Pacheco, *Libro de descripción* (facs. ed.), 183.

64. On this topic of clues and visual evidence, see especially Carlo Ginzburg's discussion of the Italian physician, art connoisseur, and dealer Giulio Mancini (1559–1630) in his "Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm," in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method* (Baltimore, 1989), 108–11.

65. Biblioteca Nacional de España, MSS 1419, folio 88r; Lleó Cañal, *Nueva Roma*, 197.

66. Biblioteca Nacional de España, MSS 1419, folio 88v; see also Wunder, "Classical, Christian, and Muslim Remains," 206–7. On this point, Wunder's article seems to mistake the canon Francisco Pacheco for the artist Francisco Pacheco; it was the canon who witnessed the positioning of the columns in the Alameda.

67. Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 13 (1950): 299–307; Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven, 1993), 25, 157–200.

68. Wunder, "Search for Sanctity in Baroque Seville," 65–101.

69. Ibid., 70.

70. Ibid., 72, 89, 94–95, 218–19.

71. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Riti MSS 1108, folio 298, as quoted in ibid., 94.

72. Ibid., 95.

73. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Riti MSS 1108, folio 74v, as cited in Wunder, "Search for Sanctity in Baroque Seville," 96. Regarding Vasco Pereira, see Juan Miguel Serrera Contreras, "Vasco Pereira, un pintor portugués en la Sevilla del último tercio del siglo XVI," *Archivo hispalense: Revista histórica, literaria y artística* 70, no. 213 (1987): 197–242.

74. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Riti MSS 1108, folio 298 as quoted in Wunder, "Search for Sanctity in Baroque Seville," 95–96.

75. Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, 66.

76. Concepción Salazar, "El testamento de Francisco Pacheco," *Archivo Español de Arte* 4, no. 11 (1928): 159; my translation.

77. Ibid.