VELAZQUEZ' PORTRAITS OF DWARFS AND JESTERS AT THE COURT OF PHILIP IV

BY

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS
(Art History)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

1973

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Grateful acknowledgment is made to Professor R. Ward Bissell of the University of Wisconsin for his kindness and patience in reading and rereading the chapters of this study as it developed and for his constant encouragement and advice on many kinds of questions. I am also indebted to Professor Frank R. Horlbeck and Professor Robert N. Beetem for reading and criticism of the contents. Special thanks are due Miss Mary Nesemann and Mr. Hugo de Pedro for their guidance in the reading of Spanish literary sources.

C.M.S.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Although art historians and connoisseurs generally recognize the aesthetic merit of Velázquez' portraits of jesters, dwarfs, the retarded, and the insane, these paintings have never received the full measure of consideration that they deserve. As yet no full-length study of them exists. Pages have been devoted to them in almost every work on Velázquez, but the emphasis is usually placed on the technique which the artist employed in executing these paintings rather than on their actual content. The cursory treatment of these portraits is of course understandable in monographs dealing with the master's entire life and _oeuvre_. On the other hand, the inadequacy of the existing interpretative analyses of these paintings makes it all too apparent that although scholars are alive to the peculiar magnetism of these works, their message has been lost. In my opinion, this has occurred for chiefly three reasons.

In the first place, any attempt to comprehend the meaning of these portraits necessitates an analysis of the court tradition in Spain which led monarchs to surround themselves with cripples, dwarfs, and buffoons.[1] As there is no existing study of the tradition itself,[2] a thorough appraisal and interpretation of the paintings which were produced because of it are inhibited from

the very start. The problem which this tradition alone presents to both art historians and scholars of Spanish history is no less fearsome than the multi-headed Hydra, for not only must the common European court tradition be considered, but also its unique character within Spain. Moreover, in regards to the latter, the unusual developments of this custom in the reign of Philip IV must also be accounted for and adjudged according to their possible significance to Velázquez' paintings of Philip's royal dwarfs and buffoons.

Needless to say, anyone acquainted with court tradition is not surprised by the existence of innumerable picaresque figures, fools, and clowns about the Spanish palace. Court jesters and dwarfs are familiar figures in history since ancient times. But it remained for the Spanish to call the whole lot of them by the name hombres de placer or "men of pleasure." This title, however, can be too easily misconstrued as implying that all of these personages were solely instruments of royal amusement, or that their positions at court were more elevated than they actually were. In the pages that follow, it will be shown that neither of these assumptions can be substantiated, and that there is actually documentary evidence which proves otherwise. For the present, it should be sufficient to note that

while there are times when all of these individuals are collectively classified under the term hombres de placer, there are others when they are all referred to as las sabandijas de Palacio or "the riff-raff (vermin) of the Palace."[3] As the latter term is as degrading as the former is exalted, few conclusions can be drawn regarding the function and position of dwarfs and jesters at the Spanish court by the single consideration of the broad categorical headings to which they were subjected en masse.

Since it is my contention that any study of Velázquez' portraits of Philip's assemblage of dwarfs, buffoons, the retarded, and the deformed cannot proceed without a thorough understanding of the above-mentioned considerations, a lengthy discussion has been given over to the background which gave these persons a prominent position in the life of the Spanish court as well as in Spanish art. In view of the fact that the primary purpose of this study is to provide the reader with a comprehensive analysis of Velázquez' portraits of these individuals,[4] rather than with a survey of the entire artistic tradition, the emphasis of this discussion will be placed on the court of Philip IV. A brief history and several theories which apply to the custom of maintaining a retinue of dwarfs and fools within the palace by

previous generations in Spain have been included for the purpose of determining the continuation and extent of the tradition at Philip IV's court.

Although the presence of buffoons, jesters, and dwarfs within a royal palace may be considered as common, particularly during the Middle Ages, it must be noted that there is something especially disquieting about the atmosphere of the court in seventeenth-century Spain. Certainly this was not the first time in history that a king was to surround himself with and even take pleasure in the company of such strange and miserable creatures. What may be considered as peculiar, however, is the overwhelming number of them at the court of Philip IV, at a time in which they had ceased to have much importance or influence in other European courts. Even more difficult to understand is the great fondness and affection which the Crown felt toward the dwarfs, harmless fools, freaks, and even degenerates who were always close at hand. And if we are perplexed today by this world seemingly populated by sub-humans, so too were the contemporaries of the Spaniards. As early as the sixteenth century the Italians were commenting on the Spanish taste for buffoonery and their free intermingling of the serious and the burlesque.[5]

Thus before investigating the art which resulted

from the presence of these individuals at court, it is necessary to examine them in relation to the century in which they reached the heights of their celebrated court positions and the society which fostered them. It should be added here that up to this point the reasons for their popularity have always been conjectural. Furthermore, scholars have only indirectly indicated the importance of buffoons and dwarfs to the Spanish court by enumerating their duties and the various positions and offices to which they were appointed. And there are still fewer comments on why they held these posts, why they were deemed indispensable to the Spanish royal household, and thus why they were considered important enough to be portrayed by the King's painter.

Of course it must be admitted that the lack of historical documentation hardly promotes inquiries of this sort. There are relatively few comments in the chronicles and memoirs of the day.[6] The administrative papers in the palace archives provide us with little more.[7] And if the great bulk of Spanish classic comedies are taken into account in trying to formulate ideas concerning Spanish buffoons, the end result will ultimately be a picture which is much too coarse and crude to be really useful. It must be remembered that literary characters are, after all, fictional. Unless it can be proved that an author

actually patterned some of his characters after those individuals who lived within the palace, it would be an error to use drama as critical evidence in determining the actual nature of this tradition. Even Moreno Villa, who sees greater potential than the present author in employing analogous situations in literature for the purposes of arriving at meaningful conclusions about this custom, warns his reader about the exaggerated coarseness of dramatic buffoons.[8] Therefore in the search for substantive answers to many of the questions regarding this tradition, general trends in Spanish life and thought as well as personal and national events which may be considered relevant to explaining Philip's continuation of it have been taken into account.

The second reason for much of the uncertainty concerning the meaning of Velázquez' portraits of dwarfs and buffoons is the perpetual controversy over the execution dates of the individual portraits and problems which center about the identities of the particular personages portrayed. If the historical circumstances in which a work of art is produced are considered at all germane to the interpretations of that work of art, then of course each scholar must give considerable time to clarifying his position on the problem of dating each portrait. The same holds true for the identity of

the sitters. Unfortunately by the time these considerations are adequately dealt with in relation to one portrait, the tendency among scholars is to immediately move on to the next in order to resolve the same problems.

This leads to the third cause of misunderstanding regarding these portraits. Frequently scholars wish to interpret these paintings as a group rather than to consider each as a single entity. It cannot be claimed that this method itself is invalid, but it should be recognized that its uses are rather limited. At its best, this approach provides the scholar with a broad groundwork for understanding the artist's basic approach to these sitters. Generalities ranging from style to expression might then be used as touchstones for a careful individual investigation of each portrait. But too often this method is used for the opposite ends. It has unfortunately led to the development of several well worn clichés by authors who assume that a general statement regarding one of these portraits can be just as easily applied to the next.[9] Moreover, an analysis of this sort automatically excludes the several levels of meaning which may simultaneously exist for an individual painting in favor of an elaborate development of one universal message that the portraits carry as a group.

Therefore, in this study each portrait is discussed individually before they are dealt with as a corpus. The interpretations which are offered vary from one portrait to the next due to the differing factual information concerning each sitter[10] and the various documentary evidence that is available concerning each portrait. At times conclusions on the paintings have been reached vis-à-vis other past or contemporary artistic trends and traditions.[11] The historical circumstances concurrent with the execution of any single portrait have also been discussed when they contribute to an understanding of it. Spanish literature, drama, and philosophy have been used in a similar fashion. Additional support for the opinions expressed herein frequently comes from X-ray evidence of the portrait in question, stylistic and compositional considerations, as well as observations of other works painted by the master himself. As my interpretation of these works is often at variance with the opinions held by other scholars, their views have frequently been mentioned throughout the text. Much still remains to be learned from the past approaches to these portraits, and many divergant ideas have been included with the belief that they will be as helpful to the reader as they have been to me. With few exceptions, the present

conclusions have ultimately derived from previous scholarship, although I have often taken exception with it.

A comment should be made on the organization of those portraits discussed, lest the reader mistake the division of the works in two chapters as a substitution of corporate thinking for individual interpretation. When this study was originally conceived, only one chapter was to be devoted to the analyses of the individual paintings. But during the course of investigation, there became evident an obvious and distinct difference between those portraits executed during the 1630's and those painted after 1640 in regards to Velázquez' approach to his sitters. Thus, with the exception of the second portrait of Calabazas (painted before 1639), the discussion of the individual works has been divided accordingly in the hopes that a greater understanding of these portraits will result because of it. Furthermore, since I am of the opinion that these works each carry a message independent of one another, the portraits have been dealt with in their chronological order rather than arranging them in categories according to the sitters' particular court function, physical peculiarities, and the like. The time sequence that has been chosen does not necessarily go unchallenged, but it does

follow the available documentary evidence that we have to date.[12]

Collective considerations such as why these portraits were painted, their place in Velázquez' oeuvre, and the unique position which they have in the artistic tradition in Spain of portraying the royal dwarfs and buffoons, have been dealt with toward the end of the text. In viewing these portraits as a group, it has seemed preferable to make only brief comments on the more general message that they carry. It cannot be overemphasized that no matter how helpful a generalization of this sort may be in terms of obtaining an overview or in terms of understanding one work more fully by viewing it in light of others, it does not serve as a tidy device which is conclusive or which enables the reader to circumscribe the meaning of the individual portraits. If, on the surface, Velázquez' portraits of dwarfs and buffoons do share some common ground, this can never be regarded as evidence that the artist began with one fixed idea which all of these portraits were meant to express. The meaning that each portrait has will ultimately be as particular as the personage portrayed.

There are several letters and documents which have been found particularly illuminating in the course of

this study. As they are scattered about in different sources, some of which may not be readily available to the reader, they have been included in the Appendix which follows the text. A possible source for each of them has also been indicated for those who might wish to examine them in the original Spanish.

Although the text of this study may be considered complete in itself,[13] I regret having to forego a more lengthy discussion of the Spanish portrait tradition from which Velázquez' paintings stem. Unfortunately the portraits of dwarfs and buffoons executed prior to those by Velázquez and which at one time were a traditional part of palatial embellishment, still remain shrouded in mystery.[14] Though it seems doubtful that a comprehensive study of the previous portraits would change any of the basic conclusions of this study, it is possible that my outlook might be altered and the emphasis that is currently placed on certain areas might be modified, if such a study were to uncover new factors or considerations which have escaped my attention.[15] Thus I can only regard an investigation in this area as a necessary challenge for another student and hope that sometime in the future this challenge will be met.

CHAPTER I

The exact origin and date of appearance of fools, jesters, and dwarfs in Spanish courts has never been ascertained. Justi maintains that the custom of court dwarfs originally came from the East to Imperial Rome and lived on through medieval times down to the Revolution.[1] As for fools and jesters, Doran credits their introduction in Spain to the entry of troubadours from the South of France.[2] Possible influences from the Italian and Moslem traditions are also suggested occasionally, but none of these conjectures includes any attempt at dating the actual inception of this custom into the Spanish peninsula.

The earliest mention of Spanish buffoons dates from the sixth century. The Swabian king of Galicia had a boy mimo called Mirón, and the Visigothic King Teudis was killed in 548 by a buffoon who feigned lunacy.[3] The latter incident suggests that the tradition was possibly an extension of the practice of patronizing wandering troubadours and juglares. Those who found themselves particularly favored by one patron may have forsaken their wandering habits and settled down for the lucrative trade in that certain area. It also suggests that already in the sixth century people who were defective in some way, or who pretended to be, were

oftentimes preferred within the courts.

It would seem, then, that originally buffoons or jesters were of a parasitical nature. They specialized in a limited number of diversions such as music, verse, or juggling acts, and in return for their service they received meals and a bed for the night. In time, as they changed and became more sedentary, the custom changed with it. More was desired of a permanent member of a court than a few varied skills of public entertainment. Enid Welsford sees the chief difference between the court fool and the parasitical buffoon to be "that the former is more strikingly abnormal than the latter and more completely separated from the rest of his fellow men."[4] Hence it may have been that the ancient custom of keeping dwarfs as a part of one's personal retinue came to be revived. They could be appreciated for their strangeness of appearance as well as for their ability to entertain. At any rate, the dwarf was soon to populate many medieval European courts, in Spain being especially favored for the position of court jester.

It is thus not possible to make a clearcut distinction between the court fool and the court dwarf in Spain. Both originally belong to antiquity. The exact origins of the two traditions are obscure, and today we find them inextricably linked in the court history of

all of Europe. Mental deficencies and physical deformities are characteristic of both in the earliest times, and they seem to have had much the same function in society, again making it impossible to separate the two.[5] Needless to say, every dwarf was not a jester, nor need every jester be a dwarf. Many jesters were completely normal men, or men of normal physical size who were mentally deficient. Just the opposite was true for many dwarfs. Hence in the foregoing pages, classificatory distinctions will be made when possible, but it must be remembered that rarely are the functional boundaries between jesters, dwarfs, madmen, or simply retarded children clearcut.

From the sixth century on, dwarfs and jesters continue to be mentioned in Spanish documents. Their popularity and freedom at court seem to have increased considerably by the thirteenth century, by which time they already enjoyed great material advantages. Payment in clothing and gifts of other sorts rather than coin was so common that Jaime I of Aragón (1213-1276) "perhaps jealous of his 'men of pleasure', perhaps shrewd enough to scent bribery, stipulated that no one might make gifts to another's juglares."[6] Moreover, they appear to have been almost their own masters, at liberty to act and say what they wanted. In 1235 Jaime, in trying to

curb some of their forwardness instead of that of his nobles, "forbade any joculator to sit at table with knights and ladies, to sleep in the apartment of a lady, ..."[7] From a brief reference to the little dwarf doña Juana in another royal document, we know that Jaime II (1291-1327), brother of the preceding, kept the tradition alive in the Aragonese court. At about the same time Sancho IV of Castille (1284-1295) was helping his dwarf, García Yáñez, with the costs of his wedding. The names of him and his wife appear on a list of expenditures concerning the outfitting of a fleet for a voyage to Tarfia, "and the item for their clothing is surprisingly generous in comparison with some of the other expenditures listed."[8]

The references to dwarfs and jesters in Spain in the fourteenth century are more numerous still. They were now common enough to have worked their way into both art and literature. Jesterlike grotesques could already be found grinning on the margin of a thirteenth-century Spanish Bible and in an early fourteenth-century book of decretals. They also made appearances in the tales of chivalry of that time. In Amadia de Gaula they are everywhere, enacting parts of everything from an ugly little villain to a faithful servant. From this McVan concludes that "only the exceptional

dwarfs became attached to the court or a noble household, the rest leading lives parallel to those of other men of the time."[9] It was also in the fourteenth century that education of court jesters and dwarfs began, which eventually led to the creation of an office of maestro de los enanos at court.[10]

Dwarfs became involved in more diverse activities in fifteenth-century Spain. They were to be found side by side with the knights at jousting matches. One dwarf by the name of doña María was the consort of Alonso V of Aragón (1416-1458). Another anonymous one was a poetess whose verse is still preserved in manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid.[11] Lavishing gifts upon them in return for these services must have already reached overwhelming proportions, as is suggested by a censure delivered by Fray Iñigo de Mendoza who criticized all those "who gave silks and brocades to jesters while worthier if less witty men shivered in the untempered winds."[12]

It is safe to assume that the appeal of odd-looking humans and monsters was strong and deeply imbedded in Spanish life by the end of the fifteenth century. And evidently if you did not happen to have some strange being on hand, then you created one. For example, it was a custom to dress knights' shield bearers in the

costumes of savages and chimeras. One of these counterfeit wild men may be represented in the intial "L" (figure 1) made for the book Oliveros de Castilla printed at Burgos in 1499.[13] Here a dwarf is dressed in a shaggy costume; and he is associated, just as he doubtlessly was in real life, with jesters and animals which surround him.[14]

Due to the obscure origins of the court fool and the court dwarf, the suggested reasons for keeping such merry officials about the court in these earlier times are varied. Of course there is the obvious function of professional entertainment. There are also some suppositions which revolve about the fool-king king-fool relationships, or those which mystically identify the bewitched and fools with truth and God. Looking at it from a nationalistic viewpoint, Justi comments that the Spanish simply "appreciated specimens of exceptional ugliness . . . ." and "absolute ugliness is rarer than is supposed . . . ."[15] No one of these suggestions or even a combination of them can include all of the various types of buffoons, jesters, and dwarfs in the different Spanish courts of the time. However, in order to understand the development of this tradition in the following centuries, it is necessary to digress here and consider each of these explanations singly.

The more practical uses of dwarfs and jesters are apparent. Diversion and entertainment are the commonplace activities of all court dwarfs and jesters. Nobles and kings enjoyed their knavish tricks and gossip, and according to Welsford their mental and physical deformities served to amuse as much as the former.[16] The Spanish dwarfs and buffoons not only served the amusement of their masters, but they were often part of the entertainment offered to guests, sometimes acting alone, at other times being a functional part of feasts, festivals, and bullfights.[17]

But before they came to have this diversionary use, dwarfs and the deformed may well have served another function. In ancient Roman times the dwarf was a familiar figure in the salons of aristocratic ladies. The sight of a hunchback dwarf, however, was usually taken as an ill omen. But placing his image on an amulet brought good luck, for the amulet had apotropaic powers by which the evil was replaced by good.[18] In the course of the development of this superstition, it came to be that the possession of any striking deformity (e.g., hunchback, bald head) made one immune from the Evil Eye. It acted as a "safeguard against this malignant influence presumably because such misfortunes render one too wretched to excite either human or divine

envy."[19] Hence it may be that dwarfs or images of them were originally employed as mascots, on the principle that contact with such lucky things could bring the owner good luck.

Closely connected to this theory is the belief that madmen were inspired by God and gifted with the foreknowledge of events. The lunatic, who had lost his own powers of reason, has access to hidden knowledge because he has in turn become the mouthpiece of a spirit or some other power external to himself. The folly which was a result of insanity was not regarded as a fault in the courts but as a desirable symptom of divine or demonic inspiration.[20]

Both these superstitions undoubtedly played a part in the early institution of the court fool. Exactly how widespread or deeply felt these notions were at various times in history cannot be ascertained, but as certain elements of them still persist today, it is probably safe to assume that these beliefs were prevalent in societies which were more readily inclined to superstition than our own. In considering these three theories, Welsford concludes that "grotesques were originally kept for magical or religious reasons but that very soon, perhaps from the first, they evoked curiosity and satisfied a desire for amusement. But

superstition lingered round them, even in the most highly sophisticated society."[21]

Another possible explanation for maintaining fools, buffoons, and dwarfs centers about the interchangeability between the king and his jester. Today it is quite natural to picture the king beside his jester, so natural that the word fool is hardly uttered when we begin to make the inevitable associations with some king or other noble personage, be he factual or fictitious. We are not even really shocked when the king becomes the knave of the fool pair. And yet we rarely question how this unique interchangeability came into being or for what reasons we should take their pairing for granted. There are nonetheless several possible motivations on the part of royalty for the continual presence of dwarfs and jesters next to their masters.

"The fool is a king, the king is a fool" has a familiar ring to it. Certainly the mock king is not uncommon in history. In ancient times he was given some of the king's authority for a short period of time and then abused and often put to death as a scapegoat. From the beginning then the mock king was not always a fool. However, during the European Middle Ages the situation was reversed; and if in the past the mock king was not always a fool, the fool as court jester

came to be a kind of mock king.[22] It was in the nature of his office that the court fool was brought into conjunction with the ordained king. This common parity of king and fool was quite important for the enhancement of the king's self. The fool or jester acting as a mock king could enrich the king as a symbol by making a constant game of his subjects' tendency to take that symbol for granted.[23] Or "when the king was a syphlitic semi-imbecile, a jester even more grotesque may have served as a useful stage prop, disarming criticism, by making the king look more nearly normal by comparison and thus making the make-believe kingship possible."[24] According to William Willeford this pairing of the king and fool may have also served certain psychological needs within the kingdom:

> . . . the fool also embodies the possibility that someone or something will survive the failure of the king's power and help others to survive. With respect to the "normal" life of the kingdom, the interchangeability of the fool and the king is a joke. But with respect to the king's mortality, to the half-lie implicit in the assumption that he is strong and wise, and to the subjection of all creatures within the kingdom to chaos, accident, illness, and death, that interchangeability is both an admission of danger and an expression of hope in the face of it. The fool may be a harbinger of death, . . . , but the fool may also allay the fear of death by an immediate representation of life.[25]

Whatever reasons there were for keeping dwarfs and jesters at Spanish courts from the sixth through the fifteenth centuries are almost completely overshadowed by the exaggerated faddish quality which the tradition took on in the sixteenth century. And what was fashion in the courts was recognized as profit by those in less comfortable circumstances. Soon rumors spread of poor people deliberately stunting or deforming their children.[26] Needless to say, the demand for human deformities must have run much higher than nature's supply.

Under Charles V (1516-1556) the importance attached to buffoons and dwarfs is evident if we consider only some of the artists who painted these subjects for him. Titian was required to paint the little clown Stanislaus, and there are also extant portraits by Antonio Moro in this class. Literature at this time shows the importance of dwarfs as contrasting figures for beauty and luxury. In Luis Zapata's Carlo famoso an extremely ugly little dwarf is described "driving a golden carriage drawn by four white horses, wheels and axle of silver reins of gold and scarlet silk, its occupant a black-eyed maiden with skin white as snow."[27] Nor was this idea of having dwarfs and buffoons near one's person for the purpose of contrast

simply a happy literary and artistic device. Justi notes:

> Charles V is credited with saying that the Spaniards seem wise and are fools; the Italians seem wise and are wise; the French seem fools and are wise; the Germans seem and are fools. It lay in the spirit of the times to regard human things as a function of this contrast.[28]

Also evident in the reign of Charles is the respect and affection which royalty had for these little creatures. His buffoon Francés Zuñiga was almost invariably referred to by the affectionate, diminutive form "Francesillo" while this buffoon's correspondence with distinguished contemporaries provides us with evidence of the esteem with which he was regarded.[29] Regardless of any respect and affection Charles may have had for this buffoon, he eventually exiled him for his bold tongue.[30] The King had his favorites in the French and Italian courts[31] as well as in his own, and obviously had no need for those who were abusive beyond certain limits.

Charles' successor, Philip II (1556-1598), was no less fond of these individuals despite his dry temperament. A great number of dwarfs accompanied him on his journey to England, and he had several of his favorites portrayed by Sánchez Coello and ordered that these paintings be hung in the Alcazar at Madrid.[32] He

particularly enjoyed the ridiculous antics of Brusquet, a notorious French buffoon, who at a banquet somersaulted over the table, wrapping himself in the linen and tumbling off the other end with dishes, silver, and fruit. So pleased was Philip with this remarkable feat that he insisted that the jester be permitted to keep all that he could carry from the room.[33]

Philip and his contemporaries apparently had great regard for the court dwarfs and buffoons. Justi notes that one reason for this attitude may be the sense of mystery which still surrounded some of these lack-wits, some of them occasionally being considered inspired. One of the supposed incidents which kept these beliefs alive runs as follows:

> When Cardinal Hugo Buoncompagni accompanied by the prelates Felice Peretti and Nicolo Sfondrati came to Madrid about the affair of Archbishop Carranza, and all three were one day at table with Philip II, a buffoon is said to have asked the king whether he was aware that three popes were dining with him, at the same time tapping the three on the shoulder. These were afterwards Gregory XIII, Sixtus V, and Gregory XIV respectively.[34]

But a more important attitude toward these creatures is to be found in the correspondence of Philip II to his daughters while he was in Lisbon. As Moreno Villa points out, these letters (Appendix, I) give a perfect idea of what familiar instruments the

fool and dwarf had become. In every letter Philip mentions the dwarf Madalena or the fool Morata, and in each case he speaks of them and their defects with complete naturalness "without looking at these things from above or below, but in a normal plane."[35] In reference to that which Philip writes concerning Madalena's drinking habits, her outbursts of anger, and her temperamental behavior in general, we might be led to believe that Philip had a certain amount of understanding which a man arrives at by standing in the distance and making general observations on what passes in the road before him. But from the many cases which Moreno Villa has studied, he judges these letters differently and concludes "that the Austrian monarchs felt a true debility [sic] or affection . . . which was equal to an exhaust valve in the stiffness of the court."[36]

Justi reports that under Philip III (1598-1621) brains and wit took a back seat to just plain foolishness.[37] The state of affairs was such that even the most important men might now find it to their advantage to play the part of a buffoon. So it was when in 1599, on the occasion of the King's marriage, the playwright Lope de Vega appeared in the role of a clown. But from a report on the court of Philip III

twelve years later, it might be concluded that some of the surface folly was a cover-up for a more important function which dwarfs and fools performed. This report states that public entertainments were numerous, and that at such events it was considered a judicious policy to honor the royal buffoons "because they are the trumpets and eyes of everything they see and hear."[38] What Justi sees as an obvious want of intelligence in the court jesters of Philip III, may have been rather a useful disguise for fools and dwarfs who were keeping a watchful eye on courtiers. For who would cast suspicion on a half-wit as being a spy?

As we have seen, the custom of having dwarfs and jesters dates back to sixth-century Spain (perhaps even earlier) and was continued by the medieval Spanish monarchs. It was when the House of Austria assumed power that they came prominently to the front in Spain.[39] Such little creatures contributed a gay note to court life and very often relieved the kings' boredom. Some were credited with clairvoyance and perhaps also thought to be embodiments of good luck. Others were considered an indispensible part of the kings' baggage on journeys. Many were pampered and highly rewarded for their services and,

moreover, given liberties that no courtier, however exalted, would have dared to risk. However, such privileges did not extend equally to every buffoon or dwarf. For example, there were certain neglected dwarfs who "had to resort to presenting a petition to their king for food and clothing, while others at the same palace lived in absurd luxury.[40] And even those who were exceptionally favored might be punished at whim. "When it came to whippings, the servants were only too glad of the opportunity for vengeance, since the little miscreants did so much to make their lives miserable that feuds between dwarfs and servants developed into a tradition."[41] For others, there were the more serious consequences of imprisonment, exile, or death.

In examining the development of this tradition in Spain, it can be concluded that by the time Philip IV came to the throne, dwarfs and buffoons, sane or insane, healthy or deformed, were conventional to the royal Spanish pattern of life.[42] Their presence was as commonplace in aristocratic society as it was in art and literature. This does not mean, however, that there were no objections voiced concerning their merit and elevated positions at court. The protest raised by Fray Iñigo de Mendoza in the fifteenth century was

to be repeated in the following ones. The scandalized bishop of Mondoñedo, Antonio de Guevara, the chronicler of Charles V, also gave vent to indignation when he declared: "At court, whoever wishes to earn his food as jester, or loco, or buffoon, not only is not reproached or punished, but is helped by many and favoured by all."[49] Seventeenth-century Spanish writers treated these figures no more kindly. Spite can be found in the dictionary of Covarrubias who, under the word bufón, refers to the malice and shamelessness of their speech. And Quevedo, writing during the reign of Philip III, showed even more disdain. In his Las zahurdas de Plutón, he places dwarf devils in hell, "and a special section was reserved for buffoons and flatterers, who were of so cold a nature they might lower the temperature of the fire."[44] Writings such as these indicate that no matter how common or familiar these individuals were in Spanish court life, never were they acceptable to all. While they were favored on one side, they were despised on the other; and we shall see how both attitudes increased in intensity during the reign of Philip IV.

CHAPTER II

Under Philip IV (1621-1665) comical and bizarre behavior on the part of palace dwarfs and jesters reached a point of extravagant absurdity. Or as Justi says "the zany never stood so high."[1] It seems that wherever Philip went, so too did his dwarfs and fools go. They were present at meals, religious festivals, bullfights, and battles. As Philip was as moody as he was frivolous, however, there were times when a court fool could overstep the limit of the tolerable. Moreno Villa tells of one such incident concerning the buffoon don Cristóbal de Castañeda y Pernia. When the King asked him whether there were olives in Balsian, Cristóbal replied "señor, neither olives, nor Olivares (olive trees)." For this pun about the Royal Minister, the Monarch banished Cristóbal to Seville.[2]

Although many such interesting anecdotes exist, there is quite a noticeable lack of specific information on the Spanish dwarfs and buffoons. It would be impossible to compile a true biography of any one of them. After scouring the palace archives, Moreno Villa found no records of birth, place of origin, or family. "In general one can only ascertain the date of entrance, the favors that they received, that which they ate and saw, and perhaps their death."[3] To this day we cannot

answer where these dwarfs, buffoons, imbeciles, and idiots came from, why some were chosen and others rejected, who made the selections, and all the other innumerable questions which come to mind.

In spite of these deficencies, there is occasionally something that slips out in the administrative papers which gives us a clue to part of their background. Moreno Villa noted the repetition of the phrase "who comes from Zaragossa" and deduced that this city must have supplied many more fools and dwarfs than the others in Spain. The existence of a famous insane asylum in that very city gives all the more credence to his theory. He further adds that "some of the demented were taken on trial and sent back for not serving, without a doubt, the diversion of the court, or because their pathological condition surpassed the desired limits."[4]

Those who proved themselves acceptable and thereby gained the privilege of remaining at court were useful for royal service in the traditional ways. The most amusing were indispensable on trips and journeys. The more intelligent ones took care of the locos and dwarfs near idiocy.[5] Some acted as messengers and spies, now and then taking part in court intrigues. Others "went to foreign courts on an exchange basis or

as diplomatic gifts from one ruler to another."[6] And there were those who were employed as toymakers as well as acting as playmates and playthings themselves, because the royal children could not have toys similar to those of middle class children.[7] Also important was the aspect of diversion which they lent to the court as a whole.

If the custom of rewarding these smaller members of the royal household and the privileges which they gained amaze us today, such things actually irritated their contemporaries. A great amount of ill will toward royal dwarfs and buffoons was created by the favors which they received. The example set by Sancho IV of Castille when he gave a saddle to his dwarf García Yáñez was continued by the Hapsburg monarchs. Philip II gave away entire country estates to the buffoon Miguel de Antona. Under Philip IV favoritism seems to have increased three-fold; his dwarfs and fools continually enjoyed more and more material and nominal benefits. Don Diego de Acedo ("Primo") held a recognized position at court and became the King's Undersecretary and Keeper of the Seal. Don Cristóbal de Pernia, who eventually got himself banished to Seville, was at one time the most noted of personages among the court buffoons. He also "received double pay and

extorted what he liked from the courtiers."[8] It is hardly a wonder that some individuals felt abused and dishonored as the Monarchy continued to fill positions of confidence with mental and physical oddities who in turn dealt them further disservice. Furthermore, it was a common practice among the Austrian monarchs to baptize their dwarfs and buffoons with the first and last names of the royal family.[9] This too might well have agitated many a noble as well as men of lesser rank who were trying to buy their way up the social ladder.

The seventeenth-century Spanish writers put much of this resentment to verse. Quevedo's comments on the subject, which have already been mentioned, were finally published and therefore voiced publicly for the first time during Philip IV's reign. In 1658 Luis Antonio, a poet who was even less courteous to the court dwarfs than Quevedo, published a poem called "Contra un enano muy enamorado" in which witness is again borne to the fact that everyone was not enamored by these creatures. The opening lines run:

> I know it has been said
> that the little ones, as they term it,
> are made of small material;
> I approve this and confirm it.
> Though I intend enlarging
> upon this, still and all
> I can say nothing big
> when my subject is so small.
> No good should be expected
> from those who are so low;

from thoughts so very little
nothing big can grow.[10]

These writers themselves probably had as much reason to dislike the dwarfs and jesters as did the nobles and courtiers. These little characters not only had greater monetary advantages, but they also had greater honorary benefits bestowed upon them; Philip IV never had the portrait of a poet or a playwright painted, much less hung in the palace.

But if the elevated position of Philip's dwarfs seemed an affront to the dignity of some, virtually no act or behavior on their part was deemed an offense to the Monarchy. The dwarfs were permitted to keep their hats on in the presence of the King, a custom to which Luis Antonio made satirical reference in the above poem. They, along with the fools would even dress up at times and mimic Royalty. As another example of their almost total freedom of conduct, Brown cites the Duke of Modena's visit to Spain in 1638. At this time, two dwarfs actually sat on the steps of the throne while Philip and his guest watched the bullfight.[11] At no time were these things viewed as a slight to the Monarchy. If anyone was disturbed at all, it was to his own chagrin, not Philip's.

The increased number of buffoons and dwarfs at the court of Philip IV, the continued use of them for

special services at a time when the custom was no longer fashionable in other European courts, and the extensive financial and clothing allowances which these individuals enjoyed necessitates a re-evaluation of the Crown's motives for housing these strange creatures. It is attractive to dismiss the theory that the court actually enjoyed the company of demented and retarded human beings in view of the fact that over half the population was starving and the entire nation itself was on the brink of disaster. Thus a variety of other reasons or excuses have been proffered in the hopes of explaining why many jesters and mentally and physically afflicted humans were sheltered within the palace walls. The majority of the suppositions fall into one of the three categories of economy, religion, or social conventions. For example, there are suggested reasons of charity, sympathy, monarchial duty, conscientious social reform, and religious salvation. At first none of these sounds completely unreasonable, but on closer inspection there is not one which proves to be acceptable. Shortcomings can be detected in each of these theories when they are examined individually.

Regardless of what good intentions and pious thoughts one may try to find on the behalf of the Spanish Crown, it is apparent that the economy of the nation

was not able to support acts of charity. Inflation had begun in the reign of Philip II, and even at that time the situation was serious enough for one historian to draw an analogy between Spain's economy and the evils which lurked within the Trojan horse.[12] "A vellón coinage of pure copper was authorized in 1599, and was returned to the mints in 1603 to be stamped at double its face value."[13] This debasement of coinage was continued under Philip III and Philip IV until by 1626 Castile was flooded with valueless coins. Spain's economic difficulties were further aggravated by a more general economic recession throughout Europe. The middle sectors of Spanish society had been hit badly by the expulsion of the moriscos early in the seventeenth century. By the 1640's Spanish entrepreneurs were few in number, and they aspired to aristocratic status rather than forming a middle class.[14] The end result was a sharp division of seventeenth-century Spain into the two extremes of the very rich and the very poor. Or as Elliot put it:

> "There are but two families in the world," as Sancho Panza's grandmother used to say, "the haves and the have-nots" (el tener y el no tener); and the criterion for distinguishing between them ultimately lay not in their rank and social position, but in whether they had anything to eat. Food, indeed created new social classifications of its own , . . . The rich ate and ate to

> excess, watched by a thousand hungry eyes as they consumed their gargantuan meals. The rest of the population starved. The endless preoccupation with food that characterizes every Spanish picaresque novel was no more than a faithful reflection of the overwhelming concern of the mass of the populace from the impoverished hidalgo surreptitiously pocketing crumbs at Court, to the picaro making a desperate raid on a market stall.[15]

With conditions such as these throughout the entire country, it hardly seems feasible that Philip IV felt it his duty to feed and care for a relatively few dwarfs and cripples. On the contrary, when Philip came to the throne, he and his minister Olivares continued the fiscal policy of Philip III which tended to perpetuate social polarization as it weighed most heavily upon the underprivileged. The policy was one of the greatest obstacles to farming in Spain, and as a result agriculture yielded progressively less during the course of the seventeenth century.[16] By 1635 famine had spread throughout the entire country "until even in the capital itself starvation was not a threat but a reality."[17] And in time this poverty made its way into the palace and touched even the Queen's own table. Ironic as it now may seem, it was in exactly one such instance twenty years later when a buffoon ended up paying for the Queen's meal (Appendix, II).

At the same time crushing taxation was levied on the classes of society who could least afford to pay. Hume points out that the day finally came when even the beggars on the streets "were passed into review to find out how many imposters there were who in purse or person could serve the King."[18] At times property was seized arbitrarily, and there were occasions when material possessions were confiscated for an offense against religion or some other minor delinquency. The government then resorted to trickery and forced loans to exact what money it could from the nobles. Under the name of donativos (gifts) the Crown found yet another means of draining those who were supposedly exempt from taxation. Salaries, pensions, and state debts were left unpaid. "And most disgusting of all was the limosna al rey (alms for the king), which was collected by gentlemen of the court, each accompanied by a parish priest and a friar, in a house-to-house canvass of the citizens, who were asked to give what they could spare."[19]

Indeed, this was not the age in Spanish history when the Monarchy felt inclined to take care of the poor, the oppressed, and the afflicted. Even this brief survey shows the governmental policy to have been just the opposite. The King had extravagantly

spent Spain into bankruptcy in 1647 and again in 1653. In view of the vast sums of money laid out in pursuit of military victory in Europe, pagan conquests abroad, and ostentation and personal pleasure at home, one can hardly maintain that the Crown was interested in fulfilling the "corporal works of mercy." If there was ever a time and place where both money and labor were disastrously misapplied, it was seventeenth-century Castille.

As has been shown, the poverty of Spain was general by the middle of the seventeenth century. As the state of the country grew steadily worse, there were frequent bread riots and much vagabondage. On the benevolent side of the problem were the religious orders rather than the state. Free soup kitchens were opened and poor houses were founded, although the latter method of relief was not yet greatly developed.[20] The soup and bread which the monasteries provided formed the principal food supply of many hundreds of poor people and simple idlers the year round. Hume adds:

> In addition to these charity meals given by religious houses, there were numerous lay brotherhoods established to relieve the sick and the impotent; and one particular brotherhood, which went its rounds at night, especially in the outer districts of the capital, was called the "bread and egg watch," because the brethren carried with them baskets of bread and eggs to

> distribute to the needy whom they found exhausted and homeless by the way.[21]

Although there is no direct proof that Philip IV and his ministers were opposed to these charitable institutions, there are several reasons why one cannot believe that they were happy with their establishment. The government had passed direct legislation against the many vagrants and vagabonds who roamed the countryside. However, due to the charitable works of the religious orders, evasion of these laws was rendered so easily possible that they became ineffective and impossible to enforce. Moreover, the development of the celebrated "sopa boba" (soup at another's expense) had other bad consequences in that it "stimulated the parasitism to which that society was so inclined."[22] With the free handouts which were distributed daily, there was little need for anyone without a job or lacking an income to work at improving his own condition.[23] Also to be considered here is the rapid growth rate of convents and monasteries all over Spain at this time. Even if these new religious houses were not directly involved in supporting the worthless spongers, they still increased the ranks of the ecclesiastics who were for the most part exempt from royal taxation. And undoubtedly this was the reason for the sudden show of faith on the part of many

people.

Treatment of the insane was also seen to by men outside the court. According to Justi, the famous madhouse at Valencia had been founded in the year 1409 by Bernard Andreu, as a result of a Lenten sermon preached on the behalf of the many imbeciles who wandered about that city.[24] Here at least some form of treatment was attempted. It is doubtful that anyone in Philip's court ever thought of such a thing.

The two theories for the existence of dwarfs, buffoons and idiots in Philip IV's court concerning personal social security and religious salvation can best be dealt with together. In his quasi-national-sociological-theological-philosophical discussion of the Spaniard, Diaz-Plaja observes that the marked social scale in Spain has always provided each man with an inferior upon whom he can impress his own control or to whom he may act as chief. "The most modest employee sees the shoe shine boy literally at his feet . . .; how wonderful it is to look down on someone, to see him carry out his task with upward looks . . . and from that position thank one for the generous tip . . . ."[25] And at the very bottom of the scale stands the beggar to whom even the poorest may throw a scrap of bread. In regards to the beggar Diaz-Plaja

continues:

> To whom can this man displace his primacy? For one, to the same person from whom he receives the alms. This is a curious perogative which comes from Arabic society, where the beggar is still accepted and recognized as a religious element . . . . In receiving alms the poor Spaniard does a favor in his turn: he is putting the giver on the road to salvation, to heaven. For the believer it is almost a question of contract--with the material advantages amply compensating the moral ones--which explains for many strangers the astonishing dignity with which the hand is held out . . . .[26]

We might like to believe that this explanation could be partially valid when applied to the dwarfs and fools in the Spanish court, for it is a well known fact that certain Moslem customs lived on in Spain even after the religion itself was prohibited by the Crown. These ideas may have indeed influenced some kings and nobles to give alms to the poor, but that they would have brought them in off the streets and stationed them in their own dwellings is doubtful. Such an act would have put an end to their need for begging which no one would ever desire if, as Diaz-Plaja claims, "the existence of beggars to whom one can give is essential for the internal security of the Spaniard."[27] Working against this theory also is the fact that we have no proof that any of the Spanish dwarfs, buffoons, and locos were ever beggars at any point in their lives. As McVan has said, only the exceptional ones were taken,

others apparently leading normal lives, and even of those in the palace not all were cared for much of the time. And if the Spanish monarchs were thinking in terms of alms giving, it seems highly unlikely that they would be giving away saddles and country estates.

Nor does the religious life of Philip IV's reign give any indication that salvation was to be gained by housing cripples, dwarfs, and the insane. At this time religious festivals became carnal as well as carnivalesque. Society was primarily pleasure-seeking both behind Church doors and outside of them. And those few individuals who were concerned with saving souls were worried more about those of the natives in the foreign colonies than they were about their own. Nor is Philip's own life exemplary for one who is supposedly concerned about his religious salvation (unless one considers the very last years of his life). Hence, there is simply not enough evidence in Spanish customs, and certainly not in those of Philip IV's time, to support this theory.[28]

We must also exclude the supposition that Spanish monarchs may have surrounded themselves with dwarfs and retarded children in order to lord authority over them or to demonstrate their own high social standing. This may have been true of men of lesser rank, but it cannot be applied to the royal sovereigns. Concerning

the Spanish need to establish one's superiority to those beneath oneself Diaz-Plaja comments:

> Kings and high nobility can allow themselves the luxury of being affable to their inferiors and even religiously humble at times, because they are quite sure that their gestures will never enable their inferior to jump up to their level. Their confidence is easy precisely because the social situation is perfectly clear. As this security diminishes, misgivings increase and the pleasant gesture is stifled by a fear of provoking the confidence of the inferior. The lower he is placed financially, the more precautions the nobleman takes to remind people of his only fortune, that of lineage.[29]

By taking a look at the general social customs of the time, we should be able to dispel any postulates which would include the mentally ill, dwarfs, and half-crazed clowns in social reform programs, besides dismissing any left-over doubts we may have concerning the possible validity of the previously discussed theories. Daily life in Madrid was characterized by laziness, corruption, and wasteful squandering. As has already been pointed out, many idlers were totally dependent upon the daily sustenance doled out at the gates of the monasteries. Others just simply joined the religious orders to escape work, hunger, and taxation. Utterly lawless conditions prevailed in the capital itself. Beggars, thieves, and prostitutes were to be found on every street corner. The most shocking crimes were

prevalent even in the better classes; meanwhile their servants lived "slothfully upon their patron's food in tawdry finery and squalid plenty, pestering the noble houses from stable court to roof."[30]

The reign of Philip IV was not then an age characterized by charity or sympathy toward one's fellow man. On the contrary, each individual strived his hardest to live off another while giving nothing in return. John Crow surmises that "the church, unintentionally, encouraged this parasitic attitude with its Jesuit emphasis on faith rather than works as the way to salvation."[31] Another side of the lack of concern and respect with which society regarded its own members can be seen in Chapman's description of the popular festivities of the day:

> Public celebrations of feast days and carnivals were characterized by exhibitions of rough horse-play which were far removed from modern refinement. People considered it amusing to empty tiny baskets of ashes on one another, to trip passers-by with a rope across the street, to put a lighted rag or a piece of punk in a horse's ear, to pin an animal's tail or some other unseemly object on a woman's dress, to loose harmless snakes or rats in a crowd, to drop filthy waters on passers-by in the streets below, and to hurl egg-shells full of odorous essences at one another . . . .[32]

While Philip and Olivares frantically imposed strict sumptuary decrees in one direction, they

lavished money (often ill-gotten) on glittering displays and ostentatious decorations in the other. "Almost any pretext was good enough for Philip to seize for a wasteful show."[33] Most popular of the amusements, which both the King and the Queen indefatigably pursued, were the theater and devotional celebrations. All the tinsel and the glitter which the above mentioned decrees "prohibited so sternly in secular life ran riot in the temples [sic] , and a generation forbidden to be extravagant in their person flocked to the garish festivities of the Church to find sensuous enjoyment which the mere sight of richness gave them."[34]

It was within this atmosphere of national hunger and national despair on the one hand, and a pursuance of the Midas dream on the other, that court fools, buffoons, dwarfs, and insane children alternately postured and played. Make-shift and make-believe were the signs of the time, and the dwarfs and buffoons were an essential ingredient in the life style of this epoch. Reasons of religious charity, humane social movements, and monarchial obligations cannot possibly account for the presence of these individuals in the court of Philip IV. The favors and riches lavished upon them are far too great to present and defend such proposals. And as Moreno Villa points out "the extravagance of the

court did not end here. The court surrounded itself with little animals, dogs, parrots, monkeys etc.,"[35] with equal sums of money being spent for their care (Appendix, III). Furthermore, he points out that in the official inventories of the seventeenth century, these animals, dwarfs, and the insane were referred to simultaneously. It was not thought necessary to distinguish one from the other.[36] Hence, if there was deep feeling for such creatures on the part of the Monarchy, it was of a much different nature than sympathy, compassion, or pity, and it must have stemmed from sources other than charity, religion and a sense of duty.

It may now appear as if there are few remaining explanations which will reasonably account for the presence of dwarfs and other human oddities in the court of Philip IV. This, however, is not so, for there are several possible motives for the Monarchy's behavior, which have only been briefly touched upon in the past. When combined and elaborated on, these suggestions have much more validity than the other alternatives thus far presented besides taking into account the political, economic, and social conditions of the day.

The most obvious reason, of course, is tradition.

Philip IV had grown up with dwarfs and clowns around him. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had all done the same before him. There was no need to question why; it was the natural thing to do. Today this custom may seem quite odd to us, but according to Moreno Villa it was as common as a coat-of-arms in the seventeenth century. He goes on to speak of keeping a mad person or a dwarf about one's place as being a "superfluous grace" -- "useless" but at the same time "cordial" and "charming."[37]

But tradition itself, as it was in the past, cannot stand unaided. It alone does not explain the great profusion of these little characters in Philip IV's court, nor does it account for this custom flourishing at a time when it had ceased to be fashionable in other European courts. The most plausible answer here, no matter how absurd it may seem, is the Spanish court's need for entertainment. As we have seen, Spain was bleeding both externally and internally. When Philip took the throne the situation was already well-nigh hopeless. And sad as it is to say, while the ship of state was sinking, Philip sought amusement as relief from the impending crises. As Dale Brown has pointed out, "the seventeenth-century Spanish Court lived in a straitjacket of protocol, and the members of the Royal

Family were its most tightly fettered victims."[38] The antics of the dwarfs and buffoons were one of the few escape mechanisms accorded the Monarchy in this very dismal time.[39] Consequently we must regard the suggestion that the Hapsburgs both wanted and needed entertainment of this sort as having more credibility than first appears.

Of course there were those times when Philip himself may not have felt like laughing; but regardless of that fact, the power-hungry Olivares saw it to his own best advantage that the King be kept occupied. For the entire time that Olivares was Philip's chief minister, he aimed primarily at running the government singlehandedly; and, for the most part, he did just that with the King's accedence and gratuitous blessings. There were, however, some occasions when the Monarch's spirits flagged; and Olivares, perhaps fearing competition either from his own political opponents or from Philip himself, left the King with little time for introspection. Martin Hume cites one such incident:

> In April of 1636, for instance, Philip for some reason or other was in depressed spirits on Sunday, 26th, and was for a time secretly closeted in the chapel alone in prayer. At once, we are told "great and sudden preparations were ordered to be made in the palace for comedies and interludes, and the comedians were warned to play as many buffooneries as they could to make his majesty laugh."[40]

From this and other similar accounts, it appears that Philip was rarely left alone with his own thoughts. And what better way was there to guard the King from all comers, who might challenge Olivares' power, than to surround him with a profusion of dwarfs and professional entertainers? It is doubtful that anyone would have dared to bring up governmental business while the King was enjoying the festivities that his chief minister was continually drumming up for him.

In addition, Brown hints that Philip himself may have been motivated by the need for protection. "A king, wary of normal contacts because so much depended on his personal favor, could pamper a dwarf without arousing the envy of courtiers who were in constant attendance upon him . . . ."[41] Of course, as it is known that the dwarfs and buffoons did arouse envy, the latter part of this theory must be disregarded. However, the rest of Brown's assumption finds support for two reasons. The first is the fact that the Spanish court was teeming with hangers-on of all sorts who curried false favor to the Monarchy in the hope of getting a position in the government bureaucracy. Moreover, the dwarfs and buffoons, who were capable of doing so, were sometimes used as messengers and spies. Their exact duties in this sphere have never been elaborated

upon, but I think that it is reasonable to assume that they might have been employed to check into the real character of the above-mentioned individuals, besides keeping tabs on those already in power.

Having considered the traditional and the practical reasons for Philip maintaining this retinue of odd characters, we must still seek further explanations for their presence in the palace, as the various duties which these court jesters, dwarfs, and idiots performed do not totally account for the special privileges they received nor for the fact that their portraits were hung in the King's palaces. As usual, there are several possible ways in which we may interpret this aspect of royal behavior. Justi's theory, which alludes to the Spanish appreciation of exceptional specimens of ugliness, has already been mentioned. Standing alone, this idea may seem to be a very unflattering statement concerning Spanish taste. But it can be justified (and toned down) if one links it to Moreno Villa's mystery-attraction theory, which deserves to be quoted in full:

> It is possible that these people would see in the mad or in the men of pleasure that "spark" or light of spirit that results in normal men as mysterious as it is attractive. And in the dwarfs they would also see a mysterious symbol, but a negative sign, a frightful one, a black madness of nature--the monster.
>
> In one or the other there is mystery. And still one knows that mystery has

> exercised attraction over man. At the same time, is this mystery not perhaps a product of that attraction? Mystery which frightens and attracts at the same time. . . . . It would have been a human reflex to stop and wonder what causes and motives there are in nature which produce monsters.[42]

Perhaps then it was this combination of attraction and mystery, this perversity of human nature as Tietze-Conrat calls it, which compelled the King to have their portraits painted and used as palatial decorations. Or there is Lafuente Ferrari's assertion that such pictures act as "a categorical warning against taking any pride in the human condition."[43] At any rate, these ideas should all be dealt with when considering the presence of dwarfs and half-idiotic monstrosities in the court of Philip IV, instead of only being applied to the paintings, for we know that there are good possibilities of such mystery surrounding these figures in earlier times. Moreover we can find proof of the existence of such mystery and superstition during Philip IV's reign in Velázquez's portrait of Prince Felipe Próspero (Figure 2). This sickly child is portrayed with assorted charms, two of which are the red rosette and the black amulet in the shape of a hand on his left shoulder, and both of which were meant to ward off the "Evil Eye." If amulets were still in use in the court at this time as protectors against outside mysterious forces, then

it is not unreasonable to suggest that the dwarfs and the mad, or pictures of them, were still regarded as inspired or as objects of good luck.[44] It was perhaps out of this superstition and mystery which surrounded these creatures that the attraction resulted. It is actually not so strange that society should stop and ponder, be attracted by, or even house examples of, this odd twist of mother nature in a time when there was no scientific explanation for it. For who among us today has not seen a cripple or human deformity, looked away, and yet been drawn to look again?[45]

Finally we should consider the nature of the relationship between Royalty and the abnormal, which should bring to light any other motives that the Monarchy had for bringing them into the court. It must not be thought that the Monarchs were unaware of the mental and physical defects of their court entertainers, or that they purposely ignored them. They certainly realized the limitations of these individuals, but it was perhaps for these very reasons that the Spanish kings liked having them around. This in no way implies that keeping company with these lower members of society demonstrated the Monarch's own high social standing (a theory which I dismissed earlier). Rather I am suggesting that the smaller and the more inferior these

members of the royal household were, the more they added to the physical enhancement of the Monarch's own figure. This may not have been a totally conscious thought on the part of the Monarchy, but the many paintings which date from the reign of Philip II through Carlos II in which dwarfs are juxtaposed with Spanish royalty do suggest that this idea of self-enhancement was at least unconsciously retained.[46]

Another important aspect of this relationship is the affection which these great royal personages had for their little companions. Undoubtedly this was the sort of affection which resulted from the early life of Spanish princes and princesses who were raised from birth in the company of dwarfs and many small animals. And it was this affection which could have led Spanish kings to carry on this tradition regardless of the contemporary customs in the rest of Europe. In explaining this deep feeling in Spanish courts for such miserable creatures, Moreno Villa likens their affection to that which a master has for his dog because of his loyalty and constant attendance.[47] It was almost as if they were actual members of the family. Gerald Brenan sees this same relationship between master and servant as being characteristic of the Spanish when he discusses don Quixote and Sancho Panza:

> And where else but in Spain could the friendship that unites master and man be found? In England or France it would, then or at any other time, have been unthinkable. It says worlds for the temper of Spanish society that such mutual loyalty and affection should have been able to transcend the barriers of rank and fortune. This was possible because the innate sense of dignity and self-esteem that are peculiar to Spaniards and to some of the Balkan peoples prevent them from thinking that any profession, however humble, can demean them. Even today, in out-of-the-way places, the servant who has eaten of his master's bread is a member of the family.[48]

Today we can perhaps accept this as being human and comprehensible, but we have trouble when someone suggests that the Spanish monarchs were actually able to enjoy themselves with poor beings who were defective in body or in spirit. But looking back over the times, we must also accept this as fact, for taking pleasure in these human monstrosities was part of growing up in the Spanish court. This does not necessarily make it humanitarian or just, but nonetheless it was a natural impulse in the men of that age.

From the foregoing pages we can only conclude that the reign of Philip IV was an age of many paradoxes for Spain. As the country grew richer in cultural achievements, she grew poorer in economic achievements. When poverty and starvation stalked the very palace halls, Philip concerned himself with festivals laced

with amorous adventures, and Olivares went about building the Buen Retiro for his Majesty's further pleasure. For every battle that was lost and for every silver shipment which failed to reach the Spanish harbors, Lope de Vega or Calderón de la Barca wrote another comedy. As one member of the Royal Family died after another, and as Philip stood close to the end of his life lacking an heir to the throne, Velázquez stood in his studio painting the portraits of those children who would not live long enough to look back upon them. This was the Spain of Philip IV, "the Planet King," who made no attempts to lead his nation out of misery, but rather sought to escape the woes and troubles of his country in the company of poets and painters and in the ridiculous buffoonery of dwarfs and half-wits.

Of course questions will arise over what seem to be apparent inconsistencies in the Monarchy's conduct. For example, how could the King truly have affection for these dwarfs and buffoons, some of them physically crippled or mentally retarded, and at the same time demand courtly entertainment of them? In the wake of national ruin, how could Philip possibly find cheer in the constant companionship of human beings who were even more dismal to behold and whose conditions were at times more hopeless than that of Spain herself? With

widespread misery all around him, how and why would Philip bring so many of these afflicted creatures into the court when they could only serve to remind him of the abnormal conditions outside the palace gates? What kind of tradition was this, that would compel the King not only to preserve it, but also to magnify and reinforce it in these troubled times? Is it within the limits of human comprehension that anyone could roar with laughter at the pathetic antics of these even more pathetic characters?

To answer these questions, I think that we must first ask ourselves if they are genuine contradictions or if they are only surface irregularities which we see because of our distance from the situation. My conclusion, as has already been stated in the previous paragraph, is that they only seem to be inconsistencies. The most probable solution to this problem comes from a consideration of the human condition in general as it is presented by William Willeford:

> In Andre Malraux's La condition humaine there is a description of a Chinese woman who slaps the face of her dead husband in bed; while it wobbles grotesquely from side to side her children roar with laughter. They are caught in the horror of an unimaginable fact; it is smotheringly close and must be pushed away.[49]

This, of course, is the immediate response of unsuspecting

individuals at the initial shock of a situation which they could not otherwise bear. What we must consider, in addition to this, are those societies (both in the past and in the present) which actually sanction merry-making after a funeral. This is laughter of an institutionalized variety, a kind of formal mirth which acts as a safety valve for those among the living who now stand directly in the shadow of death. Could not it have been this kind of organized or institutionalized laughter which took place in the court of Philip IV? In the last analysis, the dwarfs and the mentally retarded, the clowns and the buffoons, whether as individuals or as a group, must be seen as a necessary psychological escape for the gloomy Monarchs. That pictures of them hung throughout the King's palace acts as a confirmation that their pitiful existence within the palace served the purpose of putting the Crown's problems at a distance, while asserting the continuation of life. Only this, combined with the Monarchy's desire and need for entertainment, the time-honored Spanish tradition of keeping dwarfs and buffoons at court, and the attraction which such human abnormalities provide for people of all times can explain the presence, importance, and indispensability of these small souls at the court of Philip IV.

CHAPTER III

The dwarfs, madmen, and buffoons, who played so great a role in the official court life of Spain, also comprise an important group in the work of Velázquez. The idea of painting these creatures was, itself, certainly no novelty or thematic invention on his part. Such figures had for a long time been portrayed by Spanish artists. The Flemish-born Antonio Moro (ca. 1519-1576) and his pupil Alonso Sánchez Coello (1531/2-1588) are undoubtedly the two most important contributors to this portrait tradition prior to Velázquez. Moro first met Charles V at Brussels in 1550, and during the next several years he portrayed various members of the royal household for the King. He continued to work for Philip II producing such pictures as the portrait of Estanislao in 1560 (Figure 3) and one of the Court Dwarf Estevanillo between 1563-68 (Figure 4). On the whole these portraits show his Flemish love for the details of the sitter's costume and jewelry, rather than reflecting any interest in the personality of the dwarfs. Indeed, the portrait of Estanislao indicates that Moro's attention was directed toward emphasizing the importance and status of the patron for whom he worked more than toward the figure whom he was portraying, for he has taken great pains to carefully depict the magnificent dog's collar

on which he lovingly rendered the coat of arms of the great Cardinal Granvilla with whom the artist first came to Spain.[1] Sánchez Coello, who was sent to Flanders to study under Moro, soon became a highly favored painter of Philip II. It was Coello who first recognized the pictorial value of the dwarf as a foil for beauty, and thus in his work such figures make their first appearance in company with members of the royal family.[2] Coello's portraits of Philip's daughters, the Princesses Isabel Clara Eugenia and Caterina Micaela, accompanied by their dwarfs appear stiff and even more formal than those of Moro. His sitters are again richly dressed and bejeweled, every detail being minutely and accurately rendered. Moreover, the artist maintains a respectful distance from his dwarf models who attend the princesses in these portraits. Their tiny forms are enveloped in the same formal costumes of the royalty, although they are markedly less splendid. The dwarfs themselves are placed to the extreme left or right of the canvas as their function is only one of pictorial contrast. From Coello's portrayal of Madalena Ruíz (Figure 5), one would hardly suspect that there were actually bonds of affection between Isabel Eugenia and her. Furthermore, the average viewer would undoubtedly be shocked by the remarkable personality of this figure

as Philip II described her in his letters.

Other court painters who continued this tradition showed little change of attitude. For example, the portraits of Juan Pantoja de la Cruz (1553-1608), a pupil of Sánchez Coello, have even less depth and seem to indicate a decreased interest in the study of character.[3] The stiff and meticulously detailed style of both master and pupil suggests that they had at least as great a feeling, if not a deeper one, for the animals and richly brocaded fabrics in their paintings, as they had for the dwarfs themselves.[4] And as Brown suggests, Rodrigo de Villandrando (d. before 1628) did little more than carry these old conventions to their arid extreme.[5] Hence it was not until Velázquez settled in Madrid as the King's painter that these humble characters were infused with a new dignity, and in turn they emerged from the canvas as human beings and as individuals with a sense of quiet presence and inner life.

In comparison with similar paintings by earlier Spanish painters, Velázquez' portrait of Prince Baltasar Carlos with a Dwarf (Figure 7) is nothing short of revolutionary. Hardly more than a decade separates the completion of this painting and Villandrando's portrait of Philip IV (1619-20) with his favorite dwarf Soplillo (Figure 6), and yet so different are they in conception

and execution that they scarcely seem to belong to the same century. Villandrando retained the stiff and formal posture which tradition dictated and let the mere difference in the height of the figures do the work of enhancing the royal Prince. The fact that Philip is resting his right hand on the head of the dwarf is probably Villandrando's weak attempt to convey Philip's deep feeling for Soplillo rather than a conscious effort to depict the commanding presence of a royal authority. However, as López-Rey observes, the unhappy end result of this is that Soplillo appears as only one more attribute of the Prince's regalia.[6]

Clearly Velázquez had a far deeper understanding of the whole pictorial theme of prince and dwarf than did Villandrando. The dwarf is not represented by Velázquez as merely another of his master's chattels, but rather is effectively employed as a physical and psychological foil to the majesty of the little Prince. Velázquez apparently realized from the start what his predecessors had failed to grasp for centuries: the key to representing a subject of this nature lay as much in the pairing of prince and dwarf as in the disparity between them. He thus portrayed the two figures with several similarities which in turn set off more subtle contrasts. For example, the two figures are posed in the same

fashion, but the stance of the Prince is solid as befits his royal character, whereas the stance of the dwarf, who is about to move, is unsteady. This in turn serves to accentuate the regal deportment of the child prince as opposed to the restless demeanor of the dwarf whose position at court was not so stable nor secure as that of his companion. The gestures of both are also generally comparable, but there is a noticeable contrast between the firm grip that the Prince has on his attributes and the more casual or natural grasp with which the dwarf holds his. And while the bodies of both the Prince and the dwarf are oriented toward the same point, the directions of their glances are exactly opposite. A comparison of the heads of the two figures (Figures 8 and 9) again illustrates that Velázquez preferred to differentiate one from the other by subtle means such as a difference in the brushwork and handling of the pigment rather than by stressing the obvious differences of height and physical appearance as did Villandrando. The Prince's face is more evenly modeled and the paint more smoothly handled giving the appearance of an enamel-like finish. So striking is the contrast of the dwarf's head, modelled with strong shadows in a more open way of painting that some critics have suggested that it was painted at a later date. However, X-rays have proved the unity of

execution of the two figures,[7] and thus the differences must be regarded as intentional on the part of Velázquez. It should also be noted that perhaps the artist was consciously following the laws of natural observation, which make the forms of one's peripheral vision seem slightly out of focus, as much as he was purposely contrasting the Prince and the dwarf. But most likely he used the former to complement the latter, perhaps even exaggerating the blurring so as to keep the focus on Baltasar Carlos as sharp as possible.

Trapier has noted similarities between this portrait and that of Clelia Cattaneo painted by Van Dyck in 1623 (Figure 10). The resemblance could be purely coincidental; however, the possibility of the artist having seen this work in the Grimaldi Palace while at Genoa makes the observation worth mentioning. Both the dwarf and Clelia are portrayed holding apples. Also, the tasseled cushion next to which Baltasar Carlos is standing appeared previously in the Van Dyck portrait, while there is some correspondence between the vertical lines of the columns behind Clelia and those of the curtains in the Velázquez as well. But as Trapier points out, the similarities are at best only superficial.[8] In painting this work Velázquez was not just creating an aristocratic portrait of an aristocratic model; he was

portraying two totally different human beings who co-existed in a strange and complex world and who were involved in an even stranger and more complex relationship.

Due to the importance of this relationship, any attempt to analyze this painting naturally opens with a discussion of the mysterious identity of the dwarf. Much confusion still exists over Moreno Villa's identification of this figure as Francisco Lezcano, a dwarf who entered the service of Prince Baltasar Carlos in the year 1634.[9] But due to a statement made by Pacheco (Appendix IV, A) and an inscription on the curtain at the right to the effect that the Prince was then sixteen months old, the portrait has to have been completed in 1631, three years before Lezcano arrived at court. Once this case of mistaken identity was discovered, scholars began a new search. The investigations revealed nothing, but did lead to the conclusion that the dwarf pictured here is not a male. José Camon Aznar was the first to observe the feminine quality of this figure, who wears a woman's dress, apron, and necklace.[10] Although other recent scholars are in agreement with this theory, I have found no grounds for such a contention.[11]

To begin with, the feminine apparel of this particular figure is no actual proof that the dwarf is female.

As has been pointed out earlier, the buffoons and dwarfs in the Spanish court frequently dressed up in costumes of all sorts. Moreover, Tietze-Conrat makes the assertion that male dwarfs served as the companions of the little Spanish princes, and the females accompanied the princesses.[12] Documentary evidence, as well as the past pictorial tradition, seems to support this.[13] It thus seems highly unlikely that Baltasar Carlos would have had an official female companion.[14] That Velázquez personally elected to portray the little Prince next to a girl dwarf, rather than with the male dwarf who would normally have accompanied the child, is also untenable. In the past, Spanish artists had portrayed those dwarfs who were singled out as favorites by the monarchy. It is therefore doubtful that Velázquez was given freedom in choosing one of the sitters in this case.[15] It is more probable that those who were to be portrayed were selected by the monarchs, and that the artist was then granted certain liberties in the execution of the painting, but none, however, which would fall outside the limits of tradition. Although these facts do not make a definite case in favor of the masculinity of this dwarf, they do suggest that the chances are far greater of this being a male in feminine disguise than the opposite.

In all probability the sexual identity of this dwarf will remain open to debate. His connections to either sex are so ambiguous that Gerstenberg declared that he should simply be regarded as neuter.[16] But whether the dwarf here is actually a male wearing a female costume or a female acting as mock king is of little consequence in relation to the double sexual role he is assuming in either case.

The hermaphroditic role of jesters and clowns is almost as old as the history of folly, and this picture seems to indicate that it was a normal part of the antics of the dwarfs in the court of Philip IV. The hermaphroditism of the fool, especially when expressed by the reversal of sexes (as a male clown in a female costume), never fails to produce laughter. It places the fool, or the dwarf as the case is here, on the periphery of all normal human encounters, and from that position he is then free to mock the entire spectrum of conventional human relations. The King and his court would have undoubtedly derived pleasure from this seemingly absurd convergence of man and woman in the person of the dwarf. On the other hand, as Willeford interprets the hermaphroditic fool, there are much more serious implications to his behavior. By taking on both identities simultaneously, the fool becomes a "uniting symbol with the power to reconcile the contradictions inherent in the

human condition."[17] And many were the contradictions of Philip IV's reign, one of the most annoying being that Philip, who was the father of innumerable illegitimate children, could not produce a healthy male heir to the throne. Thus after eight long years of waiting, the birth of Baltasar Carlos seemed to bring an end to the curse which had plagued the King from the time he took the throne. It may be little more than coincidental, but it is indeed interesting that a dwarf enacting a hermaphrodictic role should be represented next to the newly born Prince.

The positions assumed by the two figures in this painting are as important symbolically as they are compositionally. Velázquez has placed Baltasar Carlos up on a dais in the center of the canvas. The dwarf is placed on a lower plane in the foreground to the child's right. He is proceeding outward, but momentarily stops to turn and glance back around at the child-king. Surely this is a clever compositional device employed by the artist when faced with the task of depicting two figures of almost equal height but of differing social importance. The view, which leads the eye up from the ugly deformity in the foreground to the delicate beauty of the Prince in the background, provides an excellent means of contrast, thereby enhancing the royal figure

all the more.

But the location of the dwarf has other implications that comments about necessary and clever compositional devices do not include. His position one step below the Prince indicates the dwarf's status in Spanish royal society. He may be regarded as a member of the royal family and important enough to be depicted as a part of it, but never is he to be considered on the same level as those who belong to it by birthright. The dwarf's momentary suspension of action, as he hovers between moving forward without the Prince and glancing around in anticipation of turning back, suggests once again that the dwarf is to be regarded as a figure in the life of the Spanish court who is divided within himself. From his immediate relation to the center of all authority, he has derived his own autonomy. He has a part in the cosmos established by the monarchy and is at the same time encouraged to induce chaos within that very system.[18] His placement here has implications similar to those of his double sexual identity. He is a symbolic figure containing both complementary and opposing qualities (e.g., mascot-scapegoat; cosmos-chaos), and his position both within and without the normal social order enables him to unite them.

This notion is reinforced by the fact that the

dwarf carries an apple in one hand and a child's rattle trimmed with silver bells in the other. The former immediately brings to mind a comic substitution for the imperial orb,[19] the latter one of the imperial scepter. In the court of Philip IV, the mockery undoubtedly would have been a comical act of behavior over which the Majesties would have laughed. The fact that Velázquez should represent the action on canvas indicates that the age old parity of king and fool continued to be an important aspect in the relationship of the seventeenth-century monarchy to its dwarfs and buffoons, for the solemn manner in which Velázquez has presented both figures testifies that this mockery is as serious as it is farcical. And so again the dual and contradictory nature of this dwarf surfaces. Make-believe has elevated him to the highest position to which a normal Spaniard could aspire; he is king. Nature, on the other hand, has reduced him to the lowest category of human existence; he is an abnormal freak. He stands beside Baltasar Carlos as an ironic symbol of life's contradictions, and of nature's cruel lack of uniformity which makes the tragedy of one man's life the comedy of another's. The dwarf, by his action of folly aspiring to nonfolly , thus serves to bring together all of the irreconcilable qualities of life. He represents the kingdom's supreme

order and nature's utter chaos.

It might be questioned whether Velázquez really meant to represent all of this in the portrait of Baltasar Carlos with a Dwarf. Unfortunately it is not that easy to distinguish between what Velázquez actually understood and tried to express about the presence of this group of dwarfs, jesters, and madmen at court and what can be read into his work when one is removed from the actual situation. The portrait does demonstrate that the painter was fully aware of the affectionate relationship between dwarf and master. As Soria pointed out, Velázquez has suggested the human rapport between the two figures.[20] At the same time there is never any doubt as to which of the two is more noble. As the dwarf is presented here not only as a playmate and companion to the Prince, but also as a figure whose actions were likely to create royal mirth, it must be assumed that the artist was cognizant of the multiple functions of such a figure. Moreover, the fact that Velázquez portrayed the dwarf in the act of mocking the king tells us that the artist realized that there was no dissent nor anything critical in his behavior. If the act had been considered a slight to the monarchy, Velázquez never would have represented it.

On the other hand, that Velázquez consciously

intended to represent this dwarf as incarnating the continuity of the court environment in a mysterious and almost satanic unity of the superman and the monster is doubtful. However, as the artist seems to have purposely left the dwarf's sexual identity uncertain, and due to the meaningful ambiguity of the direction in which he is about to move, it must be concluded that unconsciously Velázquez did sense a certain amount of mystery or tension between the apparent exterior functions of the dwarf and whatever underlying reasons the Monarchy had for taking delight in both his actions and presence. Of course, it would be a mistake to assume that any man in this age, the artist included, was fully aware of what possible subconscious motivations lay behind the royal housing of such creatures. But this by no means diminishes the significance of the dwarf as a uniting symbol in the painting any more than it detracts from the intelligence and profundity of Velázquez. It is enough that in painting these figures as they let themselves be seen Velázquez penetrated and recorded the psychology of his times more faithfully than any of his predecessors and many of his contemporaries.

The remaining court dwarfs, fools, and jesters portrayed by Velázquez have now been identified to the satisfaction of all students of the master. There

scholarly agreement ends. The most controversial of the single portraits is Velázquez' first portrait of the Jester Calabazas (Cleveland Museum of Art) holding a miniature portrait of a woman in one hand and a paper pinwheel in the other (Figure 11). Trapier, later supported by Leo Steinberg, challenged the attribution of the portrait to Velázquez because the inventory listing of the painting describes the jester with a portrait in one hand and a letter in the other.[21] All other qualified Velázquez scholars have accepted it as an authentic work on stylistic evidence despite the inventory discrepancy. Recently López-Rey came across several unpublished documents which now make it possible to dismiss the disparity between the inventory entry and the portrait itself while at the same time confirming the attribution of this portrait to Velázquez.[22]

The suggested dates of execution of this work are unbelievably numerous,[23] while the various reasons provided by scholars for their conclusions concerning the matter are at times incredible. Many judgments were made on the basis of direct observation before the painting was cleaned in June, 1965,[24] and can be disqualified for that reason. However, the recent extensive investigations, including X-rays and the cleaning, have by no means brought an end to the controversy. Moreover,

it should be noted that a few suggestions made prior to the cleaning remain more credible than some made after it. According to López-Rey, Velázquez painted the Jester Calabazas around 1628-29, shortly before the first Italian journey. The support for his opinion comes from a stylistic comparison of this work and others executed by Velázquez at the same time. He observes "the nervous, somewhat tight modelling of Calabazas's face, highlighted on the nose and mouth, particularly at the corners of the lips, recalls the figure of Bacchus in the large composition of 1628-29 . . . ."[25] But stylistic evidence, which is a generally weak foundation on which to base the date of any work of art, is indeed tenuous when applied to Velázquez, an artist known to vary his painting techniques according to subject matter[26] even within the same picture. Thus stylistic analysis can readily be employed to refute López-Rey's conclusion as Henry Francis easily shows in response to the above statement: "While in some degree accomplished in his earlier style, this portrait of Calabazas possesses features suggesting the larger freedom of handling which appear in the pictures painted in Rome in 1630, and in details in such portraits as Don Baltasar Carlos and His Dwarf of Boston, dated 1631."[27]

As the picture does not exactly conform to other examples of Velázquez work either before or after his first Italian journey, we must rely on the available documentary evidence concerning Calabazas, which incidentally favors Francis' stylistic argument. As the jester apparently was not present at court until 1630, when Velázquez was in Rome, Camon Aznar dated the picture in "1632, when the buffoon Calabacillas was transferred from the service of the Infante Don Fernando (who left Spain for the Netherlands never to return) to that of the King."[28] Furthermore, on November 9, 1632 Calabazas was given a suit of cut velvet which Camon Aznar claims to be the one which the jester wears in this portrait. Hence he concludes that the portrait could not have been executed earlier than 1632.

Although this portrait does seem to contain certain immaturities of style which indicate an early stage in the development of Velázquez,[29] the later date remains to be the more acceptable of the two. Cook feels that "a certain restlessness in the conception betrays a want of maturer balance, such as exists in those later pictures of buffoons and dwarfs."[30] But if this portrait is compared with that executed next in point of time, Don Juan de Austria (Figure 13), we might question just how lacking in mature balance the painting is, for the

use which Velázquez makes of the interplaying diagonals of the pinwheel, the folding stool, and the shadows on the floor is again present in the later portrait. Certainly the conception of this painting cannot entirely be the happy accident of a youthful artist.

It may be that the architectural background, a rarity in Velázquez' oeuvre, is the cause of the tendency to place this portrait too early in the artist's career. The lines of the column and stone dado could suggest a youthful stiffness, but the figure of Calabazas, itself, seems to illustrate the very subtleties that Velázquez achieved in the first years after his first Italian journey. Calabazas is far from being stiff and lifeless; he is merely quiet in much the same way that Baltasar Carlos is in the 1631 portrait (Figure 7), both being gentle and appealing, yet full of life. Furthermore, the seemingly severe architectural reinforcement may in itself suggest a later date for this portrait. It is again important to note the possible contact that Velázquez may have had with the work of Van Dyck while in Italy. The plain stone column behind Calabazas could have been suggested by the one behind Clelia Cattaneo in the Van Dyck portrait (Figure 10). The possibility of this influence is indeed strengthened by the fact that such a device was never employed by

Velázquez before he went to Italy.

As a court jester and clown, Calabazas must have been one of the more important personages who entertained the court. While some buffoons and dwarfs were scarcely fed and clothed, the court records detail at length his meat and fish allowance. He was also favored with a carriage, a mule, and a pack animal. Moreover, the accounts of a shoemaker record: "To Don Juan Calabazas were given during the ten months of the year 1639, until his death, twelve pairs of shoes, made of cordwain with three-layer heels."[31] The fact that he was painted twice (Figures 11 and 25) by Velázquez also serves to illustrate that Calabazas must have particularly pleased and delighted the King.

It now seems safe to assume that in depicting Calabazas holding a pinwheel Velázquez was making reference to the jester's madness or folly. Henry Francis first observed similarities between this portrait and a woodcut illustration of Pazzia or Madness (Figure 12) in Cesare Ripa's Iconologia, published at Padua in 1630.[32] The explanatory sequence which accompanies it states: "a man of mature age, in a long dress and of dark color, who appears laughing and riding a cane; in his right hand he holds a spinning-disk of paper, a plaything and toy for children who with great zeal make it turn with the

wind."[33] This idea was not so obscure that Velázquez would have been unaware of it. As López-Rey pointed out: "Mateo Alemán in his picaresque novel, Guzmán de Alfarache, a seventeenth-century best seller, first published at Madrid in 1599 and soon translated into every major European language, had personified idle dreaming in the figure of a boy riding a cane and carrying a pinwheel in his hand."[34]

This should not, however, lead us to conclude that Velázquez portrayed Calabazas for the sole purpose of giving visual representation to the state or quality of madness. On the contrary, just the opposite is true. He used the time-honored attribute of the pinwheel as a symbol of the instability of the sitter's mentality. In short, the human being is to be considered first, not his madness or the folly which results from it. And in turn, this should not lead us to the mistaken assumption that Velázquez had a fraternal understanding of Calabazas' problems or of madness in general. It is true that he avoided the temptation of depicting the jester with caricatural traits, which his French contemporary Jacques Callot carried to the extreme. But this sense of decency on the part of Velázquez does not connote his empathy any more than it does his sympathy. Rather, in a fashion similar to the portrait of Prince Baltasar Carlos with a

Dwarf, Velázquez revealed the complex character of his age in this painting.

As has already been mentioned Calabazas holds a pinwheel, the symbol of madness, in his left hand. In his right he holds a miniature portrait, an attribute of devotion and loyalty.[35] Both of these qualities were recognized and appreciated by King Philip IV and his court. The former may have given the King cause to stop and ponder his own greatness while the latter reconfirmed it. Or in broader terms Calabazas may incarnate the possibility of the voice of the people (those teeming masses of a starving and yet loyal populace) reaching the King. Again there is no certain way of knowing how much Velázquez meant to express in this portrait, but there do seem to be some curious associations with divine iconography here which are difficult to overlook. Not only is the small portrait in Calabazas' right hand, but it also points upwards. The left hand, holding the pinwheel dangles down at the jester's side. Was this portrait then meant to carry a more subtle message, one which indicated the possible rewards for those who remained devoted to God or the Monarchy and the punishments in store for those who perhaps were not as wise? Was Calabazas himself to be considered as gifted or inspired by God and hence capable of showing others the way? Or

was this jester to be regarded as one already condemned at birth who serves to warn men of the consequences of their foolish behavior? Admittedly, Velázquez may not have intended to express any one of these notions. On the other hand, he may have understated all of them or intentionally left them ambiguous, thinking that the seventeenth-century viewer would have immediately made these associations. Whichever the case may be, the modern viewer cannot help feeling more than a little disquiet in the fullness of Calabazas' individual presence.

The first portrait of Calabazas was followed by the portrait of Don Juan de Austria (Figure 13), a figure who is always designated in the court records as a "man of pleasure." A clothier's bill, listing several pieces of fabric to be made into a costume for don Juan, submitted to the King's accounting office in the year 1632 suggests that date for the painting also. Again scholars have challenged this dating on stylistic grounds, while pointing out that the document could refer to any one of the numerous costumes which the Spanish court buffoons were known to possess. But the document itself (Appendix III, B) disproves this. As López-Rey has observed: "The materials listed coincide, almost to the last detail, as to the stuff, colour, and quantity, with the velvet and silk attire, in black and rose which he wears

in Velazquez's portrait."[36] The dating of this portrait in 1632 or shortly thereafter is further supported by the fact that don Juan de Austria performed only occasional services at court despite the thirty years he lived there. According to Moreno Villa, he did not receive a regular salary or the food rations that were allotted to many of the other buffoons and jesters.[37] Hence, it is unlikely that he would have received several costumes of similar materials over the years, and it can therefore be concluded that he is represented here in the costume described in the document of 1632.

Regardless of such documentary evidence, both Trapier and Camon Aznar maintain that the light brushstrokes and the thinness of paint still do not permit such an early date. Moreover, both scholars feel that the delicate color tones and infinite gradation of tints belong to a later period of Velázquez.[39] But these arguments could be invalidated by the hypothesis that this portrait is unfinished. Although the majority of scholars has always considered this painting to be a completed work, there are several areas of the canvas which give cause to suggest otherwise. The rifle and shield to the right of don Juan's feet appear to be only partially executed, and the noticeably sketch-like delineation of the jester's right leg becomes even more apparent in comparison with his

left one. It is true that the painting of the landscape background is incredibly free, but this alone does not warrant a dating of the 1640's or later, especially when this could once again be explained by the possibility that the work has not been completed.[40] But even if this portrait is considered finished, a later dating remains unlikely, for the composition as a whole definitely points to a much earlier phase in the artist's career. As López-Rey has pointed out there are compositional devices in the portrait of Don Juan de Austria which recall the two large pictures painted by Velázquez while at Rome in 1630.[41] The lines on the tiled floor, used to emphasize the perspective, which lead toward an open wall in the background are found previously in Joseph's Bloody Coat (Figure 14). The markedly diagonal arrangement of the objects on the floor around don Juan's feet is also apparent in the Forge of Vulcan (Figure 15). The use of such devices in the portrait of don Juan seems to indicate a new interest in perspective and spatial depth which Velázquez would have just acquired during his first stay in Italy.[42] Moreover, the similarities in the modeling of the face of don Juan and the face of Vulcan (Figure 16) are of equal, if not greater, import than those between the color schemes of this portrait and the artist's later ones.[43]

The name of don Juan de Austria was probably given to this otherwise nameless buffoon by the King or some other royal personage. The original don Juan de Austria was the illegitimate son of Charles V and the hero of the famed naval battle of Lepanto (1571). He was undoubtedly a popular historical figure at the court of Philip IV for the King called both the buffoon and his favorite natural son by this name. Velázquez has portrayed don Juan in accordance with or perhaps impersonating his illustrious namesake. Through the opening at the right is a marine view with burning ships intended to represent the famous battle. This aspect of the composition calls to mind Titian's portrait of Philip II with a seascape in the background depicting the sinking of the "Capitana" at Lepanto by don Juan (Figure 17). As this particular painting was located in the Madrid Alcazar at that time, it is not unlikely that in employing this device, Velázquez intended to firmly establish the association of the two don Juans.

The pose of don Juan with one hand on his sword and the other on the baton is itself befitting of a warrior. It has been suggested that Velázquez was doubtlessly aware of the life-size portrait of Philip III (Figure 18), which was then at the royal palace, by Pedro Antonio Vidal in which the late monarch is represented in a similar stance

but facing in the opposite direction.[44] But the portrait probably did not give Velázquez any more stimulation than did tradition itself, for the pose where a figure is represented holding a baton in his right hand and resting his left on a sword had long been used by Spanish artists when portraying kings and national heroes. There is, indeed, an equally close source of inspiration to be found in Sánchez Coello's portrait of the original don Juan de Austria (Figure 19), who is also portrayed in this martial pose and who is also placed in the left to right orientation of Velázquez' don Juan.[45] Nonetheless, the facts that Velázquez used this traditional pose and that there were portraits hanging in the palace at that time depicting Spanish kings in a similar posture suggest that the artist intended to invite a comparison of the dressed-up jester with Spain's former monarchs as well as her former heroes.

The action of don Juan de Austria, as he mimics a long lost hero of Spain, was probably encouraged (or even commanded) by the court. It would have been a ridiculous and thus laughable act which served to amuse the royalty. But due to the manner in which Velázquez has chosen to depict the buffoon, don Juan appears spiritless; and the mime, in turn, becomes a pathetic rather than a laughable event. As one author observes: "the middle-aged victim knows full-well how ridiculous a figure he makes in the

attire of an admiral, [and] shows us a somber haggard face in which brooding eyes convey his deep melancholy and frustration."[46] The musket, the cannon balls, and the various pieces of armor at the buffoon's feet suggest that Spain's most glorious years of military prowess are over.

Much has been said to the effect that Velázquez intended to caricature don Juan de Austria, both the buffoon and the hero.[47] But the implication of this portrait is surely not one of ridicule. In looking at the actual facts of Philip IV's reign, Horsfield undoubtedly came closest to the truth behind the dispirited mien of don Juan and hence closer to the full significance of the portrait:

> It seems that certain grandees, who had sacrificed their best years and substance in the service of their king, had returned to find the court indifferent and forgetful of their worth. These grandees, now old and incapacitated by wounds, their riches gone, still hung around the antechamber of the Secretary of War, hoping for at least some careless word of recognition of their former services. These grim pitiful figures were the inspiration for the painting of Don Juan de Austria.[48]

It is quite possible that Velázquez did sense some of the despair of the war-weary veterans who, having returned from Flanders and finding no jobs, now wandered aimlessly about the palace. The problems of such individuals as the Spanish empire began to crumble were no light matter as Antonio Pereda illustrated in his allegorical painting

The Soldier's Dream (Figure 20) where glory and heroism are replaced by visions of death. Velázquez, too, probably noticed the hopelessness which emanated from these figures and incorporated some of their feelings in the portrait of don Juan de Austria.

The jester in the portrait may also have links with the mock-hero, similar to those which the dwarf in the portrait of Prince Baltasar Carlos has with the mock-king. The kingdom needs its heroes just as much as it needs its kings, and in the course of history such outstanding figures have been mocked almost as frequently as kings.[49] When don Juan appropriates the trappings, gestures, and purposes of his namesake, the implication is that the borderline between courage and foolhardiness may sometimes be very thin. At the time when Velázquez was painting this portrait, Spain's heroes, unlike those of her brilliant yesteryear, were failing tragically in their purpose. Spain's dogged pursuit of victory in the Netherlands was daily appearing more and more senseless, perhaps even foolhardy. But what Velázquez meant to express here was not the glorious successes of the past nor the tragic failings of the present, and probably not the senselessness of the latter in relation to the former. Rather, the portrait of Don Juan de Austria serves to reconcile the inconsistencies of Spain's history; and, as such, the

burlesque mock-hero, Don Juan, touches us in a way which is not so much tragic as poignant.

The portrait of Pablo de Valladolid (Figure 21) affects us in a similar way. The architectural background of the earlier portraits of Calabazas and don Juan de Austria (Figures 11 and 13) has now been eliminated, creating a spatial void which in turn increases the bulk of the figure. The absence of even a floor line makes more vivid the buffoon's energy as well as his isolation. The tension, already made apparent by the existence of this well-rounded figure in an empty space and his vitality in spite of his isolation, is fully expressed in his coutenance which is at once comic and tragic. Like don Juan de Austria, Pablo de Valladolid seems to see through his own behavior. His small eyes in their large sockets catch the viewer's gaze while the expressive gestures of his hands as he confronts the public suggest that his audience, too, might look beyond his actions on stage.

Little is actually known about Pablo de Valladolid. Apparently he did not come to court until 1632, therefore dating the picture after that time, probably in the mid-1630's. He is mentioned in some official documents which relate to food rations, clothing and shoes,[50] but there is nothing which indicates any special services that he may have performed or which provides an insight into his

personality. Velázquez' portrait tells us more on both counts than the court records do.

It has been observed that this portrait seems set apart from the other paintings of dwarfs and jesters by Velázquez,[51] and to a certain extent this is true. Perhaps more than any other portrait of these figures, Pablo de Valladolid seems to mirror the kings and most famous noblemen of seventeenth-century Spain. He stands as an almost direct counterpart of the portraits of the Infante Don Carlos or of Philip IV himself (Figures 22 and 23). The dress is the same; the figured velvet is analogous to that which the Infante wears, and the gola, cape, stockings, and even the large flower at the knee are all similar to those of the Monarch. The only thing missing is the decoration of the Order of the Golden Fleece.[52] Only the actor-like pose of Pablo, as he stands with widespread legs and animated gestures in a more plebian attitude, substanially differentiates him from the royalty.

Again the intention of Velázquez when he painted this portrait is open to debate. It may be that the artist had a satirical reference in mind when he embodied the most revered personalities of his day in the figure of Pablo de Valladolid.[53] Or he could have intended the portrait to act as a mirror in which the King and nobles could contemplate themselves and perhaps consider the fortuitous

circumstances which make one man a king and another a king's jester. And there would always be the chance that some paper noble would gaze upon the portrait, recognize his own absurdity, and thereby be humbled. In view of contrast, the portrait may have served as an enhancement of the Monarch himself, meant to illustrate the qualitative differences between the high- and low-born. In point of comparison, the portrait may stand as a concession to the truth of Rabelais's remark that those who bear the crown and scepter are born under the same sign as those who wear the cap and bells.[54] Undoubtedly the exact nature of what Velázquez wanted to express in this portrait can never be determined; and like the previously discussed portraits, the artist probably never intended that there should be one interpretation which eclipses, either totally or partially, any others. If he had, it is unlikely that he would have placed such a robust and vital figure, who is immediately recognizable as a jester and yet readily identifiable with the Monarch, in this grey airless world, void of everything save for the varying gradations of hue.

It may have been in a vein similar to Don Juan de Austria and Pablo de Valladolid that Velázquez conceived the portrait of Don Cristóbal de Castañeda y Pernia (Figure 24). The buffoon is again represented as a

noted historical figure, but this time the personage from whom don Cristóbal takes his identity had been the scourge of the Spanish seaboard in the previous century rather than a hero as don Juan had been. Velázquez has portrayed him enacting the part of Barbarroja (Redbeard), an Algerian pirate against whom Charles V had launched a formidable armada and after whom don Cristóbal was nicknamed. The nickname was apparently quite appropriate for the ponderous fellow who was also celebrated for his performances as a bullfighter and for his otherwise war-like temperament. He is documented as having been at court from 1633 until 1649[55] which implies that he was considered as one of the first among the King's jesters, as Philip must have called him back to court after having banished him to Seville in 1634 for his lack of respect for the Conde-Duque de Olivares.

Although López-Rey suggests that this portrait was begun in the late 1630's,[56] the dating of it remains problematic, partially because Velázquez left it unfinished.[57] And it is for that very reason that I would suggest a slightly earlier execution date of the mid-1630's. The years of 1634 and 1635 were obviously quite hectic for Velázquez. He had just been called upon to provide five royal portraits and one of the twelve military scenes celebrating the victories won in the

King's name for the Hall of Realms of the Buen Retiro Palace. Although there is no evidence that the artist was entrusted with the planning of the entire pictorial ensemble of the salon (twenty-seven paintings in all), he undoubtedly would have had an active part as he was highly regarded by both the King and the Count-Duke Olivares. The speed with which everything had to be executed undoubtedly put great pressure on the artist who had to have the paintings finished in time for the opening of the Hall of Realms in April, 1635. Thus it seems likely that Velázquez would have ceased work on the less important portraits, such as the one of don Cristóbal, in order to meet the deadline of this major commission. Immediately after this Philip gave urgent priority to the remodeling and redecoration of the Torre de la Parada, probably making it impossible for Velázquez to return to the partially executed portrait of don Cristóbal. Moreover, a date of the mid-1630's might provide another reasonable explanation for Velázquez' discontinuing work on this painting. It should be remembered that in 1634 Philip angrily banished don Cristóbal from court. It might then be reasonably argued that Velázquez was the artist at work on the portrait when this event occurred. Of course, the artist certainly had an adequate start on the painting and would

not have needed a model to complete it. Hence if the work remains unfinished today, it would seem only logical to conclude that the King canceled the commission during his period of anger.[58] Had the artist begun the portrait of the buffoon at a later date, there is less cause for him to cease work on it; the pace of artistic activity at court was more relaxed in the last years of the decade, and most assuredly the King's displeasure with don Cristóbal was greatly diminished by that time. Furthermore, the acceptance of the late-1630's as the date of this portrait, places it further away from the portraits of Don Juan de Austria and Pablo de Valladolid (Figures 13 and 21), which it closely resembles in conception, and closer to the smaller portraits of Don Diego de Acedo and Sebastián de Morra (Figures 30 and 35) with which it is out of character.

Velázquez again seems to have purposely lent a tragi-comic air to this figure. The fiery expression of his piercing eyes and bristling moustache, like that of Vulcan (Figure 16) strikes a note of defiance that is counterbalanced by the comic element of the fool's cap atop of his head. Don Cristóbal appears ever watchful and ready for action, but ironically enough it is the empty scabbard which he grasps most firmly in his left hand while the sword is held limply in the other.

It is difficult to consider this work in isolation, separated from the two portraits of Don Juan de Austria and Pablo de Valladolid (Figures 13, 21, and 24). All three of these full length portraits are of court buffoons who had no physical or mental ailments and who were all officially designated as "men of pleasure." The paintings themselves are all nearly the same size[59] and were all destined to decorate the walls of the Buen Retiro. All three of the jesters are dressed up in theatrical costumes, almost as if they could all be involved in the same drama, characters in one of Calderón de la Barca's famous baroque plays known to be one of the King's greatest diversions.[60] Together they seem to form a triptych of sorts, with the figure of Pablo de Valladolid, who embodies the figure of the Monarch, being flanked by Spain's most illustrious hero and her most infamous villain. In terms of their compositions these paintings most certainly would have worked well together. The three-quarters view of don Juan and of don Cristóbal complement the frontal pose of Pablo de Valladolid. The directional force of don Juan's baton on the left would be balanced by that of don Cristóbal's empty scabbard on the right, and the carmine reds of their costumes would serve to set off the mock-aristocrat, Pablo de Valladolid in the center. Even the perspective systems of don Juan's and don Cristóbal's portraits

work reasonably well together (especially in light of the fact that the latter painting is not completed).[61] Of course, it is not known where these portraits were hung or even if they were placed side by side. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note the pointed contrast they would have afforded if placed in the vicinity of the Hall of Realms where the impressive equestrian portraits of Spain's monarchs were located. The existence of these portraits in the same royal palace as the Hall of Realms again calls to mind the Spanish theater, particularly a line spoken in astonishment in Calderón's El cisma de Inglaterra: "A king who is so particular allows himself to be flattered by madmen and riff-raff!"[62] At the same time, it should be remembered that because Velázquez depicted these figures laughing and joking as they lived, the drama in which they are involved is a human one rather than one that is staged for a particular moment. As Jacinto Picón suggests, it is for this reason that this group "leaves an impression in the mind deeper than many serious spectacles."[63] These figures astonish and touch the viewer precisely because of the life that exists in their bodies, which are ready to move, and in their faces where, behind their laughable gestures or comical grimaces, there seems to surface an insuperable sadness without a name that could only come from being convinced of one's own ignominy.

CHAPTER IV

The next four portraits of court dwarfs and buffoons which Velázquez executed reveal a deepening concern for the humanity of his sitters. The persons whom he has represented, Juan Calabazas, Francisco Lezcano, Diego de Acedo, and Sebastián de Morra, can no longer be looked upon as characters who have escaped from the stage of a Baroque drama; they no longer take part in clownish activities of any sort, and their gestures and facial expressions express more fully their individual characters. Any hints of farcical behavior have now been removed by the artist in favor of a deeper psychological probing, while any suggestions of mock-king, mock-hero, or mock-villain would indeed prove ridiculous. In short, the externals seem to have been stripped down to the bare minimum, and only those things remain which reveal something about the interior character of the particular personage being portrayed.

One of the finest examples of Velázquez' new approach to the dwarfs and jesters is his second portrait of Calabazas (Figure 25), probably painted shortly before the buffoon's death in October, 1639.[1] In comparison with the first portrait of this jester, it can be concluded that the passage of time has been none too kind to him. Calabazas no longer stands with a winsome

air but is represented as sitting huddled on a low stool[2] as if he is wrapped up in his own mental degeneration. Velázquez has seated him alone, off in a corner of a room which is empty save for the gourds on either side of him. These gourds serve as a clever expedient in establishing both the sitter's identity and his mindlessness (as calabazas is the Spanish word for both simpleton and gourds) without detracting from the character of the jester himself.

The way in which Velázquez chose to put this composition together serves to underscore the increased mental instability of Calabazas. The high floor line dwarfs his physical size, thereby complementing his decreased mental capabilities. The delineation of space itself is sketchy, thus making the world in which Calabazas lives as insubstantial as his own mental condition. As Soria has suggested, the crowded and constrained pose, with the interlacing of the legs and the arms of the jester, makes his disturbed and repressed condition all the more apparent.[3] And even Velázquez' painting technique serves to heighten the unconcrete expression of Calabazas and hence of the painting as a whole. Camon Aznar has pointed out that the X-rays show that originally the face was more solidly modeled.[4] Obviously Velázquez did not wish the jester's features to

be so complete and defined, and thus reprinted it in a more fluid manner to illustrate better Calabazas' fuzzy intellect and shadowy existence. What is particularly amazing is that after this process, the touches of paint remain so thin that the grain of the canvas still shows through the jester's face (Figure 26).

As always when dealing with a painting of so complex a nature, the problem of prototypes arises. In a study dedicated to the way that Velázquez composed several of his most famous paintings, Diego Angulo Íñiguez concluded that in this portrait Velázquez unfolds "one of those problems of movement offered to posterity by Michelangelo in his famous Ignudi from the vault of the Sistine ceiling."[5] He sees in this portrayal of Calabazas, the artist's "deep preoccupation with the movement of the human figure, a preoccupation of pure Michelangesque stock."[6] Whether or not Velázquez was consciously aware of this model, Angulo Íñiguez concludes that it nonetheless came to him through an etching by Albrecht Dürer entitled The Desperate Man. Due to the confused subject matter of this etching, Velázquez supposedly ignored the interpretation of it, and thereby "limited himself to following the position of the legs and in adapting in a certain way the general rhythm of movement of the rest of the body."[7] If indeed anyone

should be doubtful of the influence exercised on the Velázquez portrait by the etching, Angulo invites the viewer to "look on one of the typical Velázquez metamorphoses realized there. The two breasts which, massive and voluminous, surprise from the first moment whoever contemplates the etching by Dürer have been transformed in the double segmented gourd painted by Velázquez in the corresponding place."[8]

The validity of all or any part of this theory obviously requires extensive investigation. And if such an investigation were conducted, we might then ask what would the conclusion contribute to our knowledge and understanding of the second portrait of Calabazas? It would seem that in accepting Albrecht Dürer's etching as a precedent for Velázquez, far from detracting from the merit of this portrait, we have actually expanded the artist's creative powers. It might be wise, when dealing with problems of this sort, to keep in mind here a passage from Ortega y Gasset as he tried to unravel another case of cross influences on Velázquez in relation to his painting of The Surrender of Breda:

> No sooner does a picture with a lance in the air turn up than we are asked to regard it as a precedent of the one by Velazquez. Looking closely at these precursors, it will be seen that much more genius would have been needed to dissociate this element of lances from their

> pictures and give it the role it plays in the Surrender of Breda than to invent everything ex nihilo.[9]

The same doubtlessly holds true for the second portrait of Calabazas. That Velázquez intentionally transformed the two ample breasts of Dürer's etching into a gourd, which is in turn emblematic of both the jester's nickname and his feeble mind, would certainly stand as a living testimony, as if another were needed, to his brilliance as an artistic creator.

As for Velázquez' conscious or unconscious debt to Michelangelo, the picture itself must speak. A close study of this portrait does not reveal that the artist's intention lay with solving any problem of movement of the human figure and certainly not the same problems with which Michelangelo was concerned in depicting his seated figures on the Sistine Ceiling. It is true that parts of this painting were reworked, but this is more easily explained by Velázquez' interest in Calabazas as an individual and in capturing those unique qualities which belong to the jester alone rather than by the artist's concern with problems of movement.

It was probably the former consideration which first led the artist to depict the glass in the lower zone of the canvas and the jug to the left of Calabazas, elements which would have alluded to the relatively large

ration of wine that he was apportioned daily.[10] Perhaps Velázquez then felt that this said more about the jester's habits to the disadvantage of his character and attitude, or perhaps he thought that Calabazas' nebulous look would be too easily misinterpreted as having been brought on by alcohol. At any rate, whatever his reasons may have been, the artist found cause to convert the wine jug into the double-segmented gourd, the transformation of which is still evident today.[11] Moreover, in order to make the message more clear (i.e., to make the calabaza calabazas), as well as for the obvious purpose of compositional balance, it may have been at this point that Velázquez thought of adding the second gourd at Calabazas' right as it seems as if a vestige of the jester's cloak under this form makes its way through to the surface.[12]

Also significant is the pictorial use which Velázquez has made of the gourds next to Calabazas. The gourd to the jester's left seems to correspond to the basic underlying form of Calabazas (at least as he is posed here) while at the same time relating to the vertical format and the verticality of the torso. The other foreshortened gourd serves to preserve the spatial illusion as it relates to the bulbous foreshortened knee.[13] Thus the gourds act as a secondary comment on the shape of Calabazas as well as serving as a two-fold informational

device communicating essential knowledge pertaining to the sitter.

Although this painting can be compositionally and stylistically analysed, while possible prototypes and/or influences may be sought, introduced, and discussed at length, and with the information which is provided by the knowledge of the sitter's background, it must be admitted in all honesty that this portrait of Calabazas defies interpretation. Any number of valid observations have been made which are equally sound, but which in no way lead to a conclusion. For example, Soria has pointed out that it seems as if the light of wit has left his face which is suggested by the lights which play over his countenance and by the smallish eyes which are all but lost in the deep shadowy recessed of their sockets.[14] Camon Aznar has suggested that perhaps it is the moment which Velázquez has chosen to depict wherein the secret lies. He sees Calabazas as looking out at some spectacle that attracts his attention and brightens his face with happiness for a brief moment. In this way, Velázquez has then portrayed with thrilling acuity a "mixture of stupidity and intelligence, of mental darkness and understanding."[15] Or there is the proposal that it might be the smile which will provide the key to understanding this portrait -- the smile which is the only constant

between the two portraits of Calabazas (Figures 11, 25, and 26). To White this smile is what preserves this poor soul's courage and dignity;[16] to Camon Aznar it is a smile that asks compassion;[17] to Brown it is a smile which shows that the jester is anxious to please with what little he has to offer.[18] These three interpretations of the same smile, along with the many others which might be listed, in themselves give the viewer cause to return time and time again to this portrait and discover something new with each viewing. As Camon Aznar has expressed it: "Maybe a face so complex has not been painted before, with so many shades of insanity, and mental conjectures, with such an unstable play of emotions, that have been able to be reflected thanks to that technique which is also unstable and flickering . . . ."[19] And perhaps it is for this reason that all interpretations of this second portrait of Calabazas seem so unstable, for stability was the one decided quality which Calabazas himself lacked. Thus the nature of this portrait is as elusive to us today as an understanding of Calabazas' affliction probably was to Velázquez, and we must therefore be satisfied with the possibility that the artist intended it to be that way.

The portrait of Francisco Lezcano[20] (Figure 27) is no less problematic. Little is known of this dwarf

except that he entered the service of the court on August 7, 1634, and shortly thereafter became the dwarf of Prince Baltasar Carlos. His place at court was apparently not an eminent one, for his food rations and clothing allowances are never listed at detailed length in the inventories of the day as were those of such individuals as Calabazas and don Juan de Austria. Documents show that Lezcano was absent at court from 1645 to 1648. Therefore Velázquez would had to have painted his portrait prior to that date. Although Lezcano returned to royal service in the following year, he died shortly thereafter while Velázquez was in Italy, thus making a later date for the portrait improbable.[21]

Although Lezcano's position at court may have been relatively inferior, the manner in which Velázquez portrayed him has actually made him the most exalted and ennobled of the mental and physical cripples who served the Spanish monarchy. He sits, idly holding a pack of cards,[22] before the background of an overhanging cliff which opens into a mountainous landscape scene that extends into the distance.[23] Perhaps this setting was intended as a reference (similar to the gourds in Calabazas' portrait) to the sitter who was born in Vallecas, a small mountain village located in a deep valley four miles southeast of Madrid. The figure himself is

carelessly dressed, his enormous hat cast before him in the foreground. His seated pose reveals the grotesque deformity of his body with his legs sprawled out clumsily in front of him and his massive head weakly falling back and rolling to the side. But of all these things the moronic dwarf is totally unaware as he sits with slightly parted lips and a pitifully blank gaze directed toward the world at large. How is it that such an unfortunate creature may then be called exalted and ennobled?

At first glance what appears to us is a completely pathetic figure or what López-Rey calls "an image of human shapelessness and spiritlessness."[24] This image is partially conveyed by the numerous soft-flowing descending curves of the more than abundant garments which eventually lead the eye down to the discarded over-sized hat that, in turn, serves to heighten Lezcano's misshapened head while making his dwarfed body all the more apparent. But this twisted, shapeless human figure takes on dignity, not because Velázquez felt it necessary to minimize his physical characteristics, but because he saw fit to portray them in their entirety. Lezcano's coarse features require no delicate touches from the artist's brush to make his countenance more bearable any more than the mountains in the background need them. To change the shape of the mountain would be to destroy

its grandeur; to hide Lezcano's deformities would be to alter what he is, and in Velázquez' view there is nothing wrong with what Lezcano is. This hopeless freak asks no pity, no compassion, and no sympathetic charity. Backed by the seemingly most powerful and solid forms that God created, he receives all the support he needs on this earth from nature itself. And Velázquez has exalted him further by placing Lezcano before nature's majesty where he towers above even the grandest elements of God's design.

Moreover, it is not at all inconceivable that Velázquez wished to infuse certain religious overtones into this painting. The type of composition, where a figure is placed before a dark cave or a large mass of rock in an isolated corner of a much wider world, was traditionally used throughout Europe for the representation of saints. Velázquez' own compatriots and contemporaries frequently depicted solitary saints in this fashion (e.g., Zurburan, St. Francis Kneeling; Ribera, St. Paul the Hermit, St. Sebastian),[25] and the artist was most certainly familiar with the format as he himself used this compositional type in his painting of St. Anthony Abott and St. Paul the Hermit, datable around 1640 (Figure 29). Regarding the portrait of Lezcano, Trapier has noted that Velázquez was not in the habit of placing

his figures before a cave or cliff as Ribera and other painters of the Spanish school.[26] But this only gives all the more cause to believe that in making an exception in this case, Velázquez was intentionally inviting the comparison. It would probably be a mistake, however, to conclude that the artist wished or expected the viewer to identify Francisco Lezcano with any one certain saint.[27] As stated previously, it does not appear that Velázquez saw anything inferior in what Lezcano was and therefore would have felt the need to draw attention away from the human character of the sitter by posing him in a divine role. Rather, the use of such a setting would serve as another means of exalting Lezcano by indirectly indicating his equality with the very best that mankind has to offer.

It has been said that Lezcano's pathetic smile seems to reflect all of the agony of the human condition.[28] A defense or refutation of this statement seems out of order here, as the observation, regardless of its possible validity, represents a common error in approaching these portraits, No analysis, however detailed, of a single feature will tell us anything new about the portrait as a whole. In sum it does not appear that Velázquez ever intended that the viewer should ponder one by one the individual characteristics of this dwarf until at last a single isolated feature takes precedence to the

individual portrayed. A general glance at this portrait (Figures 27 and 28) tells us that nothing is summed up in the sitter's smile. What is important here is the total image of Francisco Lezcano as he sits before us in this landscape setting, and, as such, he is the human condition, reflecting all of its potential agony and all of its potential joy. Nature may have given birth to this freak, but Velázquez has revealed that, in spite of her apparent debasement of Lezcano, he will always retain his own small share of human dignity and human worth as he can rise above her, if only because he will never recognize the harm that she has done to him. It is thus necessary to look beyond Lezcano's physical appearance; and once that is accomplished, it is possible to see this portrait, as did Venturi, as an intense evocation of life.[29] The portrait thus becomes an eternal tribute to Velázquez' genius and to artistic value in general, or as Jedlicka has stated: "It is a painter's triumph over one of the absurdities of creation and the reaction of a radiant genius to a human monstrosity. Something which in real life instills only horror or sympathy here summons up . . . that sense of joy which only great art can evoke."[30]

A striking contrast to Velázquez' portrait of Francisco Lezcano is the painting of Don Diego de Acedo

Figure 30). Perhaps no two individuals at Philip IV's court could be further apart than these two dwarfs. Don Diego is known to have enjoyed the favor and confidence of the Conde-Duque de Olivares and to have held relatively high positions in the King's royal offices such as the Secretaria de la Camara. He was also considered important enough to have his own servant who attended his wants. Moreover, the nickname "el Primo" or "the Cousin" was bestowed on him, probably humoristically;[31] but nonetheless it speaks highly of the royal affection for him and the great esteem in which he was held by the court as a whole.

Don Diego was one of the court dwarfs who often travelled with the King on his many journeys. It was during one of these trips in 1642 that Primo, while riding in a carriage with Olivares, was wounded in the face by one of the soldiers of the guard firing a round in honor of the count. This well-known incident has given cause for some speculation concerning the date of this portrait which is generally accepted as being 1644, the year that Philip IV, accompanied by a large retinue including several dwarfs and Velázquez, decided to journey forth and join his troops on the battlefield. It was during a halt at the city of Fraga that Philip requested to have his portrait painted, and supposedly at this time the portrait of Don Diego de Acedo was also executed

by Velázquez. Due to the fact that there are no traces of a wound or scar on Primo's face (Figure 31), some scholars feel that the portrait must precede the year 1642 because Velázquez never would have overlooked such a distinguishing blemish.[32] This seems to be a moot point indeed, for there are most certainly cases in which Velázquez did not represent for the viewer all which he saw with his own eye.[33] And when one is dealing with Velázquez' portraits of dwarfs in particular, a consideration of this sort is inappropriate, as the artist was more concerned with nature's deformities in these portraits than with man-made ones.[34]

Questions concerning the differences in the technique and pictorial treatment of Philip's portrait and that of Primo have also arisen as further proof of an earlier dating for this portrait, but on the whole the evidence remains inconclusive. The actual difference in the handling of the two portraits was probably intentional on the part of Velázquez and is therefore significant in what it says about the artist's conscious creativity. They were, after all, what López-Rey calls "polar images."[35] Undoubtedly the master realized that the two figures were completely opposite from one another despite whatever emotional, psychological, or traditional bonds may have united them. Furthermore, as has been pointed out, "an

attentive reading of the documents bearing on the matter indicates that the painter worked on both portraits at much the same time, and that their execution probably overlapped."[36] Thus until some substantial evidence is brought to light, it must be concluded that this portrait was finished in 1644 along with the "Fraga" Philip. This in no way means that the two works are to be regarded as companion pieces however. The two paintings are of differing size and from the beginning were destined for different locations.

Actually the portrait of Primo should really be viewed in light of the portraits of Calabazas and Francisco Lezcano (Figures 25 and 27). Like Calabazas, he is represented with just those essential elements which tell us of his position at court and perhaps something about his general disposition. The attributes of the quill, the inkwell, and the books allude to his administrative duties about the palace; but perhaps of even greater import, these few items argue against any illiteracy, insanity, or clowning on his part. In contrast with the other two sitters, don Diego appears almost aristocratic. He is elegantly attired in a suit of black velvet and sits rather nobly on the ground gazing at the beholder, seemingly aware of his stunted body but proud of his intellectual gifts.

As in the other portraits, Velázquez has again captured a moment here which seems to defy all attempts at description. The sparkless, yet penetrating eyes of don Diego tend to implicate the spectator in what seems to be an instant of sad thoughtfulness. At the same time, because of his firmly set lips and the quiet wisdom of his piercing glance, he appears to observe the outsider with a cold reserve and commands a silence which no one would care to break, for there seem to be no words which would satisfy this little man who deliberates some secret matter with such solemn gravity. It is but another tribute to Velázquez' power as a masterful portrait painter that he has transformed a humanly insignificant creature into one of the most brilliant paintings in the history of art.

Today, as probably in Velázquez' own time, this portrait of Don Diego de Acedo appears as one of the artist's effortless masterpieces produced spontaneously in between the production of more important royal commissions. But whether the painting is studied alone as it stands completed today, or whether it is viewed in light of what the radiographs reveal to us, it is more than apparent that there was nothing accidental or casual in the arrangement of this composition. Don Diego is seated in the center of the canvas with all the lines of his body,

as well as those of the great book on his lap, falling off to the right. The lines of the mountainous landscape in the background balance this descending movement by a corresponding ascent up to the right. These two strong movements in turn find a certain equilibrization through the flow of the garment which falls off don Diego's shoulder in the opposing direction. Moreover, as López-Rey has pointed out, the "tomes emphasize Acedo's dwarfish shape, which is at the same time given a sort of dubious monumentality as his heavy shoulders and big head, underlined by the slant of the stiff collar, stand out under the weighty shape of a rakish hat . . . ."[37] The X-rays make even more apparent that Velázquez gave careful consideration to achieving a total pictorial reality in this portrait. Originally the artist had represented the dwarf bare-headed and wearing a falling collar.[38] Nor was he against the mountain backdrop, but rather he was in an interior or before an indeterminate background of ochre.[39] The repainting of these certain parts (the foreground remained untouched) suggests that Velázquez wished to make the dwarf's appearance more striking and his presence before the spectator more vivid. Certainly the addition of the hat would increase his size while simultaneously accenting his small proportions. The landscape background would

likewise serve several functions. It would reinforce the communion between nature and her monstrosities, and at the same time it shows don Diego's abilities at overcoming her through his intellectual powers. This addition also makes the dwarf's presence more deeply felt due to the viewer's unexpected discovery of such an apparently noble little man sitting out in nature's vastness while paging through a folio.

The added dignity which don Diego takes on in this portrait is reminiscent of the ennobling process which Francisco Lezcano underwent at the hand of Velázquez. And as with the portrait of Lezcano, it may well be that the artist had a past pictorial tradition in mind when he chose to represent this dwarf. Due to the differences in temperament and disposition of these two individuals, Velázquez undoubtedly would have recognized that the visual analogy with past religious representations, which served him so well with Lezcano, would not have the same impact when portraying don Diego de Acedo. Furthermore, as don Diego was known to have great intellectual ability and as he did hold relatively important court positions, it is only natural that he should be depicted with more formality. Thus in approaching the specific problems related to don Diego's character and position, Velázquez may have recalled the High Renaissance portrait

tradition.[40] As has been observed, there are distinct echoes of this tradition in don Diego's pose.[41] Raphael's portrait of Baldassare Castiglione (Figure 32) and Titian's portrait of Tommaso Mosti (Figure 33) are only two of the many examples which could be selected to illustrate the point.[42] Velázquez' use of the hat, the contours of which complement the outlines of the shoulders, to create a movement that is continued in the arms and hands is so close to the same devices employed by Titian and Raphael that it is difficult to believe that the similarities are purely coincidental. And there can hardly be a question that Velázquez was familiar with portraits of this sort as he had already been to Italy once, and there were portraits by Titian in the Spanish royal collection at this time.[43] Moreover, Velázquez' portrait of Juan de Pareja (Figure 34), executed only a few years after the painting of Diego de Acedo, certainly testifies that he was fully aware of and completely comfortable working within the High Renaissance portrait tradition.[44]

Although some scholars have felt that there is some justification in regarding this portrait as a companion piece to that of Sebastián de Morra (Figure 35),[45] there are several considerations which again lead us to think first of this painting in conjunction with the portrait of Francisco Lezcano (Figure 27). López-Rey has suggested

that it may have been during the course of this same journey that Velázquez painted this dwarf who was, incidentally, another member of the King's entourage on this particular occasion.[46] It seems all the more probable when one considers that the two paintings (Figures 27 and 30) are almost exactly the same size.[47] Besides the general pyramidal compositional format of both, the use of the landscape background and the relatively large hats to set the scale relationships for the figures also allies these two portraits. And in each portrait a shallow foreground space has been established, and the eye is then led back by degrees to the most distinguishing features of the sitters, the hands and the heads. The similarities are thus obvious enough; but if these two portraits were intended as companion pieces the reasons that Velázquez may have had for relating them are indeed elusive. If Lezcano and don Diego were both painted at Fraga, it might be surmised that just the happy accident of their both being present at the same place and at the same time accounts for the linking of the two. If they were painted at different times, then it must be assumed that the artist, or perhaps the King who could have ordered that the two paintings go together, had some personal intention in mind which will most likely remain as another of history's secrets.

An unexpected note is struck by the similarities between the portrait of Sebastián de Morra (Figure 35) and the second portrait of Calabazas (Figure 25). Sebastián was a dwarf whom the King ordered from Flanders in 1643. Upon his arrival in Spain, he joined the retinue of Prince Baltasar Carlos[48] which might lead to speculations that this portrait should complement the painting of Francisco Lezcano (Figure 27), also employed in the Prince's service. Ironically enough, the portrait itself was destined to be hung next to the one of Don Diego de Acedo (Figure 30) on the staircase near the Galería de Cierzo of the Alcazar. And yet the composition is constructed in a manner which is closer to the picture of Calabazas than either of these other two. The dwarf is again represented indoors seated on the floor and facing the viewer. The depiction of space also recalls the Calabazas portrait. There is the same ascending floorline to the sitter's left which is more sharply delineated than the sketchy handling of space to the sitter's right in both cases. Moreover, in both portraits Velázquez employs the floorline to scale the figure in relation to his environment. Calabazas, having proportions closer to those of a normal man, is scaled down by the relatively high floorline. Sebastián, on the other hand, is placed against a low floorline which makes his diminutive size

look larger by comparison.

Outside of these compositional considerations, it is understandable that the portraits of Sebastián de Morra and Don Diego de Acedo (Figures 30 and 35) are frequently considered together, as well as having been placed side by side in the King's palace. Neither was mentally deficient which the self-awareness that Velázquez has given to them proves. They both gaze directly out at the spectator and seem to demand a greater amount of respect than would ordinarily be given to them. This again gives reason to suggest that in achieving this effect, Velázquez purposely employed Renaissance poses. As has already been noted, the similarities between the conception of a Renaissance portrait and that of don Diego de Acedo are obvious. In like manner, the portrait of Sebastián de Morra also recalls several of the more remarkable portraits from this period, e.g., Titian, Ipplito Riminaldi or Portrait of Aretino (Figures 37 and 38). If Velázquez consciously used these poses, as visual evidence seems to indicate, then it can only be concluded that he was aware of the possibility that the seventeenth-century viewer would have recognized them. It might even be suggested that he intended a comparison of this sort, for it is unlikely that there would be anyone viewing these portraits who was unfamiliar with the past portrait

tradition. With this in mind, it would, however, be false to surmise that the artist lacked imagination or was at a loss of what to do when faced with the task of portraying these individuals. On the contrary, Velázquez probably recognized the added measure of dignity which individuals received at the hand of such artists as Titian and Raphael, and intentionally used the same pictorial devices to elevate his own sitters. In this way, Velázquez could ennoble these dwarfs without altering their essential physical characteristics. At the same time, it should be stressed that when portraying don Diego and Sebastián in this manner, the artist could not have intended to extol virtues which the sitters did not actually possess. If he had desired this effect, he undoubtedly would have portrayed Calabazas and Francisco Lezcano in similar poses. As he did not, we may deduce that Velázquez gave considerable thought to the personalities of his sitters in each case and represented them in accordance with their individual temperaments. Thus the final choice of a High Renaissance pose would have been the end product of a careful selective process rather than merely a casual borrowing. And furthermore, even with this choice in mind, Velázquez still would have been unable to proceed without deliberate precaution and more forethought concerning the exact feeling that he

wished to convey. Otherwise, the visual comparison might work to the detriment of the sitters rather than to their benefit. The great care given over to these considerations is discernible in the portraits themselves. Sebastián's attitude and expression appear more aggressive, almost defiant as he clenches his fists and intensely fixes a challenging glance on the outside world. Hence he might be compared with the Renaissance man of volition. Don Diego's attitude, on the other hand, is noticeably less fierce and his expression is tinged with a pensive sort of melancholy, but nonetheless there is no less pride in his bearing than there is in Sebastián's. Thus in this case, Velázquez would find don Diego's parallel in the gentlemanly pose of the Renaissance man of cognition. But because don Diego and Sebastián were not actually Renaissance men, but dwarfs who would live out their lives in royal service to the King, the end result of these portraits is somewhat ironic. It appears as if neither of these little men has wholly accepted the role which fate has assigned to him in life, and yet nature has seen to it that neither of them could actually believe that he can control his own destiny. Hence, if Velázquez consciously used these Renaissance poses, never could heroics be considered as having come into play. Rather the poses would have enabled the artist to capture

the basic character of his sitters and at the same time to impart to them that share of dignity which they merit by virtue of their existence. Consequently it must be concluded that the artist's intention was far removed from any desire to extirpate intellectually the defects of the sitters' anatomies or personalities for the viewer. And the portraits themselves testify to this fact, for, in their own individual ways, both don Diego de Acedo and Sebastián de Morra manage to convince the viewer that they wish to be accepted for what they are and that the only level on which they wish to be regarded is the human one.

Actually these four portraits (Figures 25, 27, 30 and 35), when seen as a group, all seem to carry that same message. This suggests that perhaps Velázquez originally intended them to be a part of one series, for although there is no record of these paintings decorating one room at the same time,[49] the variations in size from one to another are virtually non-existent.[50] And as Camon Aznar has noted "in spite of the strong individuality of these clowns [sic], it is true that they form an assembly, with something in common that gathers them in remembrances. All of them are linked by the same fate and the same fatality."[51] This feeling is conveyed somewhat by the analogous psychological treatment of all

of them. Velázquez seems to have surprised each one in the middle of some private moment. Of course, there are differences between them. Calabazas approaches the world with a stupid unknowing smile; Sebastián regards it banefully; don Diego appears to ponder it cerebrally while Francisco Lezcano shows no recognition of it whatsoever. But these dissimilarities only serve to illustrate that Velázquez saw each one as a unique individual and more important treated each one as a human being. Hence it becomes necessary also to view these portraits together besides examining them singly as character studies, for as Picón has said, "they do not seem to me as independent portraits but as figures in the same picture, . . ., who, because of their free will, have separated to think alone, but who could reunite whenever they want."[52]

But if Velázquez did intend that these four portraits comprise a series, then it must be concluded that some message was also intended on his part as it seems unlikely that he was merely portraying four specimens representative of "the ills that flesh is heir to." However, ascertaining the exact nature of this message is doubtlessly one of the greatest tasks put to Velázquez scholars. Nonetheless, a few suggestions should be set forth in order to dispel any thought on our part that this cortege of human abnormality was meant to inspire repugnance or pity. A certain

amount of truth may be found in a theory of Lafuente Ferrari who has styled this group as a "polyptych of freaks" which serves as "a categorical warning against taking any pride in the human condition."[53] Although there was no long-standing tradition of the Vanity theme in Spanish art, Velázquez could have been familiar with it through Dutch engravings and paintings which would have been all about him. Flemish artists had been employed by the Spanish monarchy for two centuries, and Spanish artists themselves often went to Flanders for training. As has been noted already, the Spaniard Antonio de Pereda was treating the memento mori theme in his paintings during the 1650's (Figure 20); thus, the idea was at least current in Spain. The question to be answered, then concerning these portraits by Velázquez does not actually center about the possibility or validity of Lafuente Ferrari's interpretation, but rather it deals with the reasons that the artist may have had for wishing to remind the seventeenth-century viewer of man's human weaknesses and of his ultimate fate.

An answer to this might be found in a quick survey of the 1640's, the years which seem to be instrumental in lending a more contemplative air to the work of some Spanish artists. In 1639 the French invaded Catalonia which was followed by an outright rebellion on the part

of the Catalans themselves in May, 1640. Then, on December 1, 1640, Portugal declared itself an independent kingdom. By 1643 the public dissatisfaction with Olivares had reached open resentment and hatred, and Philip was forced to dismiss the minister who, in the past, had run the entire government for the King, leaving him free to enjoy the pleasures of life. Another blow was dealt both Philip and Spain in 1644 when Queen Isabel died. In the course of the next two years the King was thrown into total despair at the deaths of his sister doña Maria and his beloved son and only heir to the throne, Prince Baltasar Carlos. The unsettled circumstances of life in Spain continually grew worse. Plague swept through Castille, Valencia, and Andalusia. Political unrest again received expression when Sicily and Naples rose in arms in 1648, and next the nobles of Aragon and Andalusia conspired against the King. Indeed these were bitter years for Spain. Hence it is not so surprising that some people, including such persons as Velázquez who were close to Madrid and to the Monarchy, would see symbols of human frailty and failure in the life all around them. In this way, we might regard the four portraits of the court dwarfs as Velázquez' comment on the instability of human affairs,[54] and the four sitters thus speak to us as representatives of the perpetual and sudden change

always inherent in the human condition.

Another question now arises concerning the subject matter itself. Certainly dwarfs, jesters, and retardates were not normally a pictorial aspect of the vanitas theme, and if the artist wanted to warn against the dangers of deceptive optimism or excessive pride, why did he not choose the traditional emblems, objects of wealth and decay, which would serve to make his message clear? The most obvious answer is that as an artist, Velázquez seems more concerned with the mystery of human existence than the world of material objects. It would therefore be his natural inclination to express ideas about the human condition through a depiction of mortals rather than objects. To account for the artist's use of dwarfs, freaks, and harmless fools in making such a statement is yet another problem. Because these particular figures were depicted (as opposed to the average man or an ideal type), it could appear that there is no one lesson to be learned nor moral code established here by which the ordinary and/or normal individual is expected to live. What was it then that the artist wished to express by portraying the exception rather than the rule? Although there is probably no one suitable answer, it seems safe to conclude that Velázquez was not intentionally trying to be enigmatic. Since there is nothing discursive in

the portraits themselves, there is no reason to believe that the artist wished to imbue them with hidden meanings. Rather these portraits appear to be forthright presentations of the Spanish vision of the world which can be found in Spanish philosophy and theology as well as in everyday life. The following passage from a text by Fray Luis de Granada is not at all an uncommon attitude of Spanish writers, and illustrates a view of life which also comes through in much of Velázquez' work: "And because your perfections, Lord, were infinite, and a single creature could not embody them all, it was necessary to create many in order for each, for its part, piecemeal, to reveal something of all."[55]

It is only this Spanish will to transcendence which then explains Velázquez' selection of this motely group as typifying the measure of pride which may or may not be found in the human condition. And never can the artist be considered alone in this attitude as is evidenced in a book by Cardinal Bellarmine entitled On the Knowledge of God through His Creatures. As Lafuente Ferrari has pointed out:

> This might be taken as the leitmotiv of Velazquez' art. To the Spanish mind, God resides not in the kind of intellectual club made up by the world of Platonic ideals, but reveals himself to us in the humblest realities. Human values derive from the mere fact of existing;

> and not from faith, duty or the sense of a social mission, nor from intelligence or power. At bottom, for a Spaniard, all men are truly equal, and it is for art to reflect this profound awareness of individualization, for the individual is transient and variable, as far as the matter goes of which he is made; but he is the truth as postulated for us not only by our intelligence but by our vital reason.[56]

Hence it can be seen that in these portraits of the lowest born of God's creatures, Velázquez has revealed a more profound set of human values than many ideal representations of life afford mankind. Each of these characters sits in solitude, but it is not the solitude which popular language often identifies with suffering. It is a solitude with redemptive power which clarifies the obscure and shadowy existence that each of these little men had behind the palace doors. The momentary solitude which the artist has granted these figures for eternity is actually closer to an expiation of life's inconsistencies than a punishment for them. And because of this solitude the viewer is thus forced either to accept or reject each one on his own terms. What Velázquez has presented to the public then is four human beings, complete in themselves, dissociated from the anecdotal and unattended by the artificial, who have one vital thing in common -- life, itself. It is doubtful that such unpromising subjects will ever again carry such eloquent proof that art dignifies what it touches.

More than twenty years passed before Velázquez was again to portray dwarfs in the accompaniment of royalty. And when the formidable Mari-Bárbola and the child-like Nicolas Pertusato make an appearance in what is probably the artist's best-known work, Las Meninas (Figure 39), it comes somewhat as a shock to the modern viewer. They are the reverse of the virginal purity of the little Infanta who stands in the center of the canvas, and those fascinated by the delicate innocence of the princess would doubtlessly prefer that the two dwarfs had been eliminated. But such an act would have been unthinkable to Velázquez, for according to seventeenth-century writers the painting was viewed as a portrait of the royal family.[57] If the work could be described and interpreted in this way during the artist's own century, then it is only because a considerable portion of the more important members of the royal household are present. As noted earlier, only the master-servant relationship, as it exists in Spain, could allow for the notion that those who have partaken of the King's bread thereby become members of the same family, here comprised of His Majesty himself, the queen and daughter, his court painter, his servants, his majordomo, his dwarfs, and his dog. From the social standpoint, their position is still relatively low, but they are, nonetheless, considered as part of the

intimate family circle of the court. And this is exactly how Velázquez chose to portray them.

As in the portrait of Prince Baltasar Carlos with a Dwarf (Figure 7), the dwarfs are located toward the edge of the canvas. In keeping with visual reality, the artist has again depicted them slightly out of focus which simultaneously serves to accent their position as marginal characters of lesser consequence both pictorially and socially. There is not, however, any less care given to their depiction than to the other figures in the painting. The solid stance and fleshy countenance of Mari-Bárbola and the playful antics of Nicolas Pertusato as he gently nudges the dog with his foot make them appear just as potentially alive as the artist or the Infanta. At the same time it should be kept in mind that their presence here is in no way symbolic; rather it is a natural part of the life of the kingdom. This is made evident by a look through the inventories of the day where the names of court jesters and dwarfs are to be found along side those of the royal animals and where there are no distinctions made between requisitions of satin for the King and velvet for a dwarf.

Like the other dwarfs whom Velázquez painted, Mari-Bárbola and Nicolas Pertusato were great favorites of the royalty.[58] That they were essential to the life

style of Philip's forlorn court is assured us by the artist himself whose work never reflects excessiveness. Without their presence here, the beauty of the painting would seem diminished, not because the coarseness of their features make the delicacy of Margarita more outstanding, but because their absence would deny the Spanish sense of fundamental equality of all living creatures. For Velázquez, beauty was grounded in reality, not in some disembodied ideal, and the preservation of each individual's integrity was of greater import than denying the truth of his existence. Thus a part of all of the life which moved about the King is represented here, and the completely natural coexistence of all of these beings teaches a supreme lesson to humanity which in our own time often seems to be forgotten.

CHAPTER V

It is generally accepted that the portraits of the royal dwarfs and clowns constitute a major chapter in the work of Velázquez. And yet the characters and personalities of the sitters in themselves are so intriguing that the reasons why they were ever painted are paid scant attention. For the most part, scholars have been satisfied with the conclusion that these portraits are the results of specific royal commissions. This, of course, is the most obvious explanation supported by the long-standing tradition on the part of Spanish monarchs of having painted images of dwarfs and clowns hung about the royal palaces. Moreover, as Riggs suggests, there is cause to believe that Philip IV may have had at least some of these portraits in mind when he issued the orders concerning the redecoration of the Alcazar and those regarding the Buen Retiro. It would only be natural for the King to ask Velázquez to produce portraits of this nature to replace the paintings of the dwarfs and the deformed whose likenesses had previously decorated the stairway to the north gallery in the Alcazar.[1] And it is quite probable that the paintings of the buffoons and jesters were executed for the Buen Retiro.

But it is doubtful that royal command can serve as any more than a starting point in explaining Velázquez'

creation of these portraits, for the requirements of such a commission cannot account for the artist's approach to his sitters, which differs considerably from those taken by previous Spanish artists. Like many of the court painters before him, Velázquez painted these court personages with a terrible directness, but unlike any other painter, he also painted them with humanity. This is not to say that one should look for a merciful interpretation of them. On the contrary, the paintings bear witness that the brush of Velázquez was perhaps never more objective. There is no attempt to hide their stupid or comical traits and gestures nor any attempt to attenuate their disfigurement or degenerate characteristics. On the other hand, as White points out, "there is nothing here of the protest, the cynicism, or the outright despair that marks the works of the out-and-out 'realist'."[2] Rather, what we see in these likenesses are the men who daily acted out their natural inclinations and sometimes their infirmities for the King's pleasure. But it must also be remembered that in portraying these individuals, Velázquez was not entirely interested in leaving a painted record of history to posterity. As López-Rey has observed, "his mind's eye was not focused on the mode of life and feeling that made those court retainers fashionable."[3] Instead the artist's emphasis always remains on the individual's

human nature, with no apparent intention on Velázquez' part to enlist the viewer's pity or sympathy any more than to evoke his laughter or disdain. In sum, no other Spanish painter ever succeeded in giving these court dwarfs and buffoons the powerful sense of life that they have in Velázquez' portraits while at the same time maintaining their dignity as human beings. As such these portraits represent a radical break from tradition, and the problem to be dealt with is not why they were painted by Velázquez but why they were painted in this fashion.

In regard to the unique character of these portraits, it has been suggested that perhaps Velázquez shared a basic fellow-feeling with the dwarfs and jesters[4], and thus he was better able to understand and pictorially capture their essential characters. The support for this notion comes from certain seventeenth-century documents which illustrate that the artist's social rank was not any further above that of the buffoons and dwarfs. One of these documents declares that at Madrid in 1640 during a bullfight in the Plaza Mayor, Velázquez was assigned "a place on the fourth floor of the Casa Pandería [the Royal bakery], appearing in the same list with the Conde-Duque's head groom, the barbers of the royal Chamber, the merchants of the King, and the maid servants of the Marqueses de Carpio."[5] In 1648, he was only slightly elevated, this

time being seated among the King's grooms, the royal physicians, a few of the more important officials of the State, and the lieutenant of the chief muleteer.[6] Thus as Jedlicka surmises, even at the height of his fame Velázquez may have felt a closer affinity to the dwarfs, jesters, and other court servants than to the royal and aristocratic patrons whose reputations he served.[7]

To a certain extent this conclusion may be true. On the other hand, there are also well-known facts which make it necessary to qualify this assumption. As has already been cited, during the Duke of Modena's visit to Madrid in 1638, two dwarfs sat on the steps of the throne at the King's feet, a very honored position indeed and more elevated than any position that Velázquez was granted at these affairs. Moreover, the artist, although receiving many honors and preferments from Philip IV, often had to petition the court for salaries and back fees due him.[8] There is no evidence that the buffoons and dwarfs whom Velázquez portrayed ever had to concern themselves with similar litigious matters.[9] It is therefore difficult to ascertain exactly who outranked whom socially speaking, or whether or not the artist was considered above, below, or on the same step of the social ladder as the King's servants and dwarfs. If,

however, documents relating to finances and social functions are considered as measures of the stature of certain individuals at court, then it can only be concluded that frequently the royal dwarfs and jesters fared better than the artist. Hence in explaining the approach which Velázquez took when portraying these individuals, I find it more suitable to refer to the artist's sense of brotherhood with all individuals (including the King's grooms and barbers) rather than with the dwarfs and buffoons in particular. Velázquez as well as the clowns and the human curiosities was after all a part of the King's immediate circle, and the sense of fundamental equality with which they were all treated daily (as opposed to special occasions and events where protocol would be more carefully observed) may have led him to deal with them in the same fashion pictorially, for whatever the artist wished to express about these individuals he may well have felt he was also expressing about himself.

This does not, however, explain the dignity, the unexpected grace, and even the good humor which the sitters of these portraits possess in light of the degree of degradation which they faced, at least in their role as instruments of amusement for infants and kings. As has been observed, "their faces convey a wealth of

expression denied to the portraits of the King and his Court: sorrow and discernment, scepticism and resignation, intelligence, ingenuousness, and cunning."[10] The portraits, then make it obvious that Velázquez took a greater personal interest in these creatures than artists had in the past.

The reasons for this new interest can only be conjectured, but it would seem to stem from a number of factors which belong to Philip IV's reign alone. Of primary import is the greatly increased number of dwarfs and jesters in Philip's court than in previous times along with the even greater importance that they now had in the King's life. In the relatively artificial and stiff world of court etiquette and formality, perhaps Velázquez saw these lesser personages as the only authentic humanity in the palace. Their free-living activities, outside of their palatial duties, may have intrigued the artist who could have often found himself alienated from the vital and the common. Perhaps, Velázquez then studied and painted them as they lived, consciously aware of the marked contrast between these individuals and the royalty, but not because he wished to make any moral statements concerning honesty or artificial vanity, but perhaps simply as an emotional release from the rigidity of his official life.

Without a doubt the dwarfs and jesters also interested Velázquez from an artistic point of view. The carefully planned compositions of these portraits as well as the radiographic proof of the numerous reworkings they underwent is ample evidence that the artist did not consider these works of any less import than the portraits of the King. Regardless of any mysterious propensity Velázquez may have had towards abnormalities or whatever emotional release they may have afforded him, it seems only natural that the artist saw in these dwarfs and fools the opportunity to experiment with new techniques which he could later employ in his portraits of the royalty. Typical examples of this are the second portrait of Calabazas and that of Francisco Lezcano (Figures 25 and 27). Although as López-Rey observes, sketchy passages are not distinctive of any particular period of Velázquez' art,[11] it should be observed that the thinness of paint and freedom of brushwork apparent in these portraits (executed prior to 1639 and 1645 respectively) rarely occurs in his royal portraiture until the 1650's. This is one of the main reasons that there are scholars even today who insist that the portraits of the royal dwarfs must have been executed at a later date. Yet, as Jedlicka has observed, it is no accident that Velázquez' style seems freer and less inhibited in these pictures than in most of

his other paintings executed at the same time.[12] When portraying the illustrious, Velázquez most assuredly would have felt bound to the formal confines of pictorial representation in the traditional way. But as Camon Aznar has pointed out, in the portraits of court dwarfs and buffoons the artist could totally develop his talents because there was no official cohercion.[13] Thus as Velázquez would not actually have to concern himself with incurring royal displeasure if these portraits were less refined than those of the King, he could relax and give free rein to investigating various technical, compositional, and stylistic problems. In many ways, then, it would seem that Martín was correct in concluding that these jesters, dwarfs, and deformed beings "were for Velázquez, as the corpse is for the anatomist, a primordial fountain of experimentation."[14]

There is, however, another consideration regarding Velázquez' dwarf-jester paintings which is perhaps more important than the others already mentioned. These portraits are of great significance not only because they are completely distinct from the work of all other Spanish artists who treated the same subject, but also because of the unique position which they have in the master's <u>oeuvre</u>. As White has remarked, "the series is important because it enabled the artist to round out his

work and give it another dimension."[15] Indeed, if these paintings were missing, Velázquez' work would be less balanced, and his view of the world might appear to be one-sided, restricted to aristocratic and artificial characters. But side by side with the glittering portraits of Philip's family, these paintings make it all too obvious that Velázquez knew the other side of the world. He was doubtlessly aware of the ugliness and misery which existed both within and without the palace gates. His triumph lies in the truthful way in which he chose to represent it.

It has been observed that parallels might be drawn between the dwarfs and buffoons in Velázquez' work and that of the fool in Shakespeare.[16] Another equivalent has been found closer to home in the gracioso of Spanish literature.[17] Both of these suggestions might be discussed at length with the final outcome remaining far from conclusive. No matter how interesting the parallels, which once found, might be, they could only be regarded as superficial at best.[18] Moreover, the relevance of such a laborious task might be questioned from the very start. Hopefully, any analysis of this sort would at least provide a new insight or a different perspective to the problem at hand. Yet, even when the most rigid standards are applied, the results from such a study can be deceptive to

the researcher and misleading to the reader. The dangers inherent in this method are best exemplified by the case of the gracioso.

Parallels have easily been discovered between the dwarf-jester paintings of Velázquez and the plays of Calderón de la Barca with whom Velázquez actually worked in producing some of the entertainments at the Buen Retiro.[19] Gerald Brenan's summary of the role of the gracioso in Calderón's work makes the reason for the correlation immediately apparent:

> As his style developed, Calderon took to relegating all the humour of his plays into a single person, usually a servant and always of lower class origin, who fulfills much the same function that the fool does in Shakespeare. This was necessary because the increasing decorum of the age . . . was making it difficult to allow men of the upper classes to show any sense of humour, much less to appear ridiculous. The gracioso was therefore needed to provide comic relief, and he tended to become more and more a stereotyped figure, rather like the music-hall comedian of the present day.[20]

Obviously this description of the figure of the gracioso sounds familiar, and Calderón's need to develop such a character is of course in perfect harmony with previously discussed tendencies at Philip IV's court to impose rigid restrictions upon life on the one hand while providing escape mechanisms for them on the other. But if the role of the gracioso in Calderón's plays is to be considered as

comparable to anything, then it should be seen in the light of the role of dwarfs and jesters in Philip's life, not in Velázquez' oeuvre. In the first place, the artist was not placing imaginary figures on a canvas as Calderón was committing them to paper. Furthermore even if Calderón patterned his fictitional characters after those whom he saw around him in the royal palaces, his reasons for doing so still have closer connections with Philip's motives for retaining his retinue of human curiosities than with Velázquez' reasons for painting them as he did. It must also be remembered that Calderón's primary intention was to entertain. One look at Velázquez' portraits is enough to cancel any hope for a comparison between the artist and the dramatist on that level. Finally the dwarfs and buffoons which appear in Velázquez' work can never be considered stereotyped or comic, as they are in Calderón's plays.

The impossibility of equating the role of dwarfs and jesters in Velázquez' oeuvre with the role that any characters play in literature may give a clue to the meaning which these portraits have in relation to Velázquez' work, to his world, and to the viewer today. Unlike the fool in Shakespeare or the dramatic gracioso, the dwarfs and jesters portrayed by the artist do not warn against, correct, or prophesy the corruption and false optimism which the

tragic disorder of Philip's reign carried with it. In no way could the sitters here be considered as some sort of mockery of the royalty. In like fashion, the artist cannot be regarded as intent upon mocking these individuals themselves. As one author has noted, there is no reason to believe that the sitters would have been offended by these representations of themselves; indeed they may have even been delighted to possess them.[21] This is precisely because the artist painted them as they were, occasionally exaggerating their strong points or their weaknesses, but not excessively and certainly not because he had satiric or humorous intentions. The only possible explanation for Velázquez ever having altered them at all would be his desire to capture their fundamental characters and/or temperaments. Thus these portraits serve to illustrate the honesty with which Velázquez approached all of life. They embody the other half of the world from which the King and his court were so far removed and yet next to which they lived in tranquillity and affability. As such, they represent a truth which the artist never wished to shun in his work: that the bond of common humanity unites the mightiest of the world with the wretched of the earth. And this attitude was as common within the broader context of Philip's Spain as it is easily found in the work of Velázquez.

At the bottom, each individual is purely human and is therefore vulnerable to the same consequences which age and accidents may bring. Anyone living within close proximity of the royal household would have been doubly aware of this fact as one series after another of political disasters and personal tragedies slowly reduced King Philip to a strengthless and self-reproachful man who saw his own shortcomings first before turning to look for those in others.

In sum, the very things which make these portraits critical to an understanding of the art of Velázquez and significant in relation to the historical circumstances out of which this art emerged are the same things which make them relevant to men today. Because Velázquez painted them with frank directness, there can be no escaping their purely human nature. In this respect the portraits are deeply disturbing for no matter how ugly, deformed, miserable, or foolish these individuals may be, there is no way to identify any of these adjectives as the theme of these paintings. The underlying and essential content of these portraits is life, and hence they will continue to raise problems concerning human status and identity for all men in the present and in the future. Moreover, as long as men concern themselves with the subject of the human condition, these portraits of

Velázquez will have profound meaning regardless of how uncomfortable the message may be for some.

Men usually find their humanity on this side of folly and accidents of nature; Velázquez finds it beyond these things. He accepts his sitters as human beings; here he stops. It is then up to each individual viewer to pass judgment and draw from these portraits his own humanity. If there be any observer who can call himself a man at the expense of these individuals, then Velázquez can be considered a man at the expense of the onlooker, and a different man at that, of higher quality.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

There are serious difficulties in the attempt to offer within a brief space an account of even a small segment of the work of a great artist, particularly when that segment, as the dwarf-jester series of Velázquez, awakens in the receptive viewer a rich variety of musings and suggestions. No sooner does an observer begin to pry into the visual world fashioned by Velázquez in these paintings, than he finds himself immersed in a strange atmosphere. It was an apparently normal and completely comfortable atmosphere only to those who actually lived in seventeenth-century Spain. There are advantages to our historical isolation from the actual situation. The more than three hundred years which separate today's customs and attitudes toward the world from those of seventeenth-century Spain establish an ideal distance between those who seek to understand and the objects to be understood. A freedom of critical action is thereby gained, and Velázquez' portraits can thus be scrutinized from many different points of view. On the other hand, because the modern viewer is not a co-participant in what was once the common cultural psychology of Philip IV's court, there is an

ever-present danger that the dwarf-jester paintings of Velázquez will receive only sticky epithets or simply the rich variety of musings and suggestions which they initially offer but which are divorced from their meaning. Taken in isolation, these images may at first appear as innocently simple, as if the artist purposely eliminated complex language in order to speak to us in everyday terms. But when the portraits are viewed again the concrete images begin to dissolve. The more we focus our attention on them, the less clear they become; and hence at the same time their meaning expands into a nebula of suggested meanings and multiple levels of interpretation. But perhaps this is actually how it should be, for we cannot expect the artist to define everything for us. This would be to ask him to lay aside the tools of the painter and pick up those of a scholar. Thus the problem which confronts the art historian who wishes to explain these portraits is essentially no different from his actual function in speaking about any art: to attempt to transmute the artistic suggestion into a logically precise verbal framework without destroying the art.

As has been demonstrated in the foregoing pages, I have assumed that this can most easily be accomplished by first considering the function of the dwarf and the buffoon at Philip IV's court and the reasons Philip had

for retaining a relatively large number of them. An understanding of these things would thus naturally lead to the King's reasons for commissioning such portraits and possibly give us a clue to what meaning they had to Philip and his court.

The conscious desire on Philip's part for having images of his dwarfs and jesters about the palace is probably much the same as his reasons for housing them in the first place. A primary consideration would thus be the continuance of the tradition established long ago by his great-grandfather. As mentioned earlier, Philip IV had been raised with dwarf companions, and as a prince, he had been painted with his favorite dwarf, Soplillo, by his side (Figure 6). When Philip himself came to the throne, it would be his natural inclination to have his own son, Prince Baltasar Carlos, portrayed in the same fashion.

The great affection which Philip had for his dwarfs in particular provides a second reason why the King requested that such portraits be painted. As a prince, Philip had actually mourned the death of his favorite dwarf.[1] When he became King, perhaps he decided to increase the number of those to be painted[2] in order to have more permanent reminders of all those who served to please both him and his family. The King's deep

feeling for the dwarfs and jesters who brought happiness into his troubled life would thus account for the increased number of single portraits of them.[3] And it might further be suggested that Philip, having greater emotional bonds with his dwarfs than his predecessors had, wanted individual portraits of them just as much as he wanted the individual images of his own family.

There are other possible motivations for Philip's continuation of the custom of displaying portraits of dwarfs and buffoons throughout his palaces, some of which might be linked to the function of certain of these individuals as spies. Although it is not known how many or which of these persons actually performed this service, it is certain that some did as has been shown by the previously mentioned contemporary references to it. It might then be suggested that the portraits were placed in public view of the courtiers as warnings that no one was above suspicion and that obsequious and false flatterers could be found out. Thus these portraits might be taken as a parallel to an old Spanish <u>copla</u> which runs "Hay verdad en las bocas de los niños y locos" (There is truth in the mouths of children and fools). In this way the portraits might have reproached the overly ambitious courtier or have given him cause to examine his own conduct while perpetually serving to remind him that nothing should disturb the King's royal

equanimity.

The portraits may well have functioned in a fashion similar to the buffoons and dwarfs themselves as regards the old parity of the king and the fool. It has already been noted that such individuals may have been useful in disarming criticism, making a king who was not particularly physically attractive or wise look more normal by comparison. Or dwarfs and jesters may have reaffirmed the king's image as a symbol by making a game of his subjects' tendency to take that symbol for granted. There is certainly cause to believe that such ideas were carried over into the artistic production of the period as several of the portraits invite the viewer to make comparisons of this sort. It has been seen that the portrait of Don Juan de Austria (Figure 13), for example, recalls at least one portrait of Philip II and one of Philip III. The portrait of Pablo de Valladolid (Figure 21) also reflects the figure of the monarch and might be read as symbolic of the common interchangeability of the king and the fool. Most obvious of course is the portrait of Prince Baltasar Carlos with a Dwarf (Figure 7) where the allusion of the dwarf as mock-king is presented so openly that it cannot be interpreted as being accidental or coincidental. Rather it must be considered as a deliberate association intended by the artist. Hence the king-fool relationship

must be regarded as an important consideration to be dealt with in understanding the meaning of at least three of the portraits.

Under this broad umbrella of the pairing of the king and his fool, the unconscious or subconscious retention of the idea of physical enhancement to the monarch's own person must also be considered. As the portraits of these buffoons and dwarfs were hung in all of the King's palaces, it might be concluded that such a notion did come into play with the initial commission. Certainly this juxtaposition of images of the retarded and dwarfed with those of the royalty, as well as the comparison extended by the portrait of a mock-hero or a mock-king with that of the real thing, would give added dignity and glamour to the head of state. The striking contrast that this would afford may have even affirmed the monarch's power illustrating as it does that the king does truly rule over all.

Finally the possibility must be recognized that the paintings of those who were insane or severely retarded (e.g., Calabazas or Francisco Lezcano) may have served as some sort of good luck charms due to the sitters' possible connections with the divine. Due to the existence of the portrait of <u>Prince Felipe Próspero</u> (Figure 2), superstitious beliefs and practices cannot be

overlooked as being significant in relation to these portraits. Moreover, it must be remembered that the state of madness had been traditionally regarded as positive as the insane were thought to be gifted with foreknowledge and that images of deformed beings were thought to be capable of bringing their possessor good luck. Considering the unfortunate historical circumstances of Philip IV's reign and the fact that superstition was current at this time, we are forced to admit that the King and his court may have considered these portraits as embodying quasi-divine powers. Such a belief may have even been one motivation for Philip having taken the dwarfs Francisco Lezcano and don Diego de Acedo along with him to battle and having at least one of them (and possibly both) portrayed at the halt at Fraga, before continuing to the actual site of warfare.

Thus it can only be concluded that the actual nature of these commissions is as complex as are the paintings themselves. Or rather the complexity of the paintings results from the multiplicity of reasons, both conscious and unconscious, both traditional and personal, that the King had for requesting them. Furthermore, it is hardly impossible to suggest that one of these motivations takes precedence over any of the others. Where one of these factors appears to be a critical consideration in relation

to one of the portraits (such as the necessity of dealing with the interchangeability of the king and the fool as regards the portrait of Prince Baltasar Carlos with a Dwarf), no one of them serves fully to explain why the King would want every one of these portraits.[4] In all likelihood, all of these ideas came into play, a different one being the overiding factor depending upon the individual portrayed.

As a result, it can be concluded that the meaning of the portraits to Philip and to the seventeenth-century viewer would also vary according to the nature of the sitter and his function at the court. This finds support in Velázquez' method of handling the portraits themselves, for it is more than apparent that the artist took no one specific approach to all of them. At times Velázquez made use of emblematics as in the first portrait of the Jester Calabazas (Figure 11). On other occasions, he obviously chose to draw parallels with noted historical personages as is evident in the portraits of Don Juan de Austria, and Don Cristóbal de Castañeda y Pernia (Figures 13 and 24). Still in others, he made allusions to contemporary men, the King included, of which the portrait of Pablo de Valladolid (Figure 21) is an example. And there were times when he chose to let the sitters' expressions do the talking as in such paintings as the

second portrait of Calabazas, Don Diego de Acedo, and Sebastián de Morra (Figures 25, 30, and 35). Nor do compositional considerations link all of these portraits and thereby open a way for group interpretation. It has been seen that Velázquez took a wide variety of approaches in actually constructing the portraits and that no two are exactly alike. Although the artist may have intentionally relied on the work of past artists or artistic traditions, he does not appear to have done so to give the portraits a common meaning, but rather to increase the individuality of expression in each case. This becomes evident in his choice of a traditional religious compositional format for the portrait of Lezcano (Figure 27) and his reference back to the High Renaissance portrait tradition in his paintings of Sebastián de Morra and don Diego de Acedo (Figures 30 and 35). Or this desire on Velázquez' part for a unique portrayal in each case can be seen in the combination of his own artistic inventions with compositional borrowings from the many different artists on whom he relied, such as Titian, possibly Van Dyck and Raphael, and his own compatriots Ribera and Vidal.

With regards to the chronological order in which Velázquez executed these portraits, it can be observed that the artist gradually moved away from any allusion

to his sitters' way of life, their clowning, or their daily activities toward a deeper expression of their inner selves. Admittedly, even in the earliest portraits of these individuals Velázquez shows a concern for capturing the essential nature of the buffoon or dwarf whom he happened to be portraying. In the first two portraits of Prince Baltasar Carlos with a Dwarf and the Jester Calabazas (Figures 7 and 11), Velázquez has quite clearly established his interest in presenting more than the superficial appearance of his sitters. His presentation of the dwarf as a mock-king in the former portrait and his use of the pinwheel as an emblem of Calabazas' madness in the latter clearly illustrate that the artist wished to penetrate the surface reality of these individuals' existence.

And yet in the very next portrait which he was to execute, that of Don Juan de Austria (Figure 13), a marked change can be noted in Velázquez' approach which is continued in the portraits of Pablo de Valladolid and Don Cristóbal de Castañeda y Pernia (Figures 21 and 24) executed next in point of time. The emblematics and symbolism of the previous portraits have been replaced with references to actual historical personages and events. Moreover, it is not insignificant that all of these references are particular to Spain; the parallels which the

artist has drawn are always to specific Spanish battles and specific Spanish heros or villains, or they apply specifically to Spanish kings. This illustrates that the artist was fully aware of his national heritage and traditions (both historical and artistic) and that he saw these things as a means of making a deeper human statement about his sitters while indirectly indicating the pride which was still to be found in his native homeland despite the most recent social and political disasters. This is supported by the impossibility of discovering any mockery or moral statement in these three portraits. It is also supported by the possibility of reading these three paintings as a historical triptych of sorts. At the same time, this double meaning is underscored by the sitters' individual gestures and expressions which emphasize their own humanness and clearly indicate that beneath the outward disguise of their costumes, there reside men with personal thoughts and feelings. It is thus possible that while asking the viewer to look beyond the foibles and foolishness of these buffoons, Velázquez was also implying that the spectator should look past the present tragic failings of Spain itself.

Another step toward a deeper penetration of the individual and a greater profundity of expression occurs in the second portrait of Calabazas (Figure 25). In this

painting and in the three that follow, Francisco Lezcano, Don Diego de Acedo, and Sebastián de Morra (Figures 27, 30, and 35) Velázquez removed the obvious historical references and substituted only a few attributes which identify the sitters. Although the individuals in these portraits are presented no more realistically or frankly than those in the previous portraits, they are more deeply disturbing as they seem to embody a permanent set of human values which are universal to mankind rather than being particular to Spain. This has been accomplished in part by Velázquez' refusal to hide any of their infirmities or deformities. The honesty with which he approached these personages makes their perishability painfully self-evident. But the dignity with which he has endowed them fortifies their human status and their right to be considered as equals among all men of all time. It is the ennobled reality of these portraits, which puts the human monstrosity on common ground with other men, that adds imperishability to their meaning. The individuality of the sitters, each with his own unique feelings, problems, temperament, and attitude toward the world, accents their basic human qualities and thus serves to heighten the universality of the message that these four portraits carry. Although they proclaim what is unusual and mysterious in the world, at the same time they call into question the standards which

make it possible to deem them as such. It is this questioning that is undoubtedly responsible for the disquieting effect that these portraits frequently have upon the viewer. And yet philosophical deliberations upon traditional human standards or values were obviously not the essential concern of the artist. As previously shown, it can only be concluded that Velázquez' primary interests in executing these four portraits lay with the mystery of human existence, and his message pertains to the equality of all individuals while on this earth, i.e., in actuality, not in the abstract. Velázquez' final portrayal of dwarfs in Las Meninas (Figure 39) serves as one more footnote on this matter.

In this sense it could be said that the portraits reflect a view of the world and an attitude toward life which is particular to the Spanish. It has been noted elsewhere that the Spaniards have a profound awareness of the individual regardless of whatever humble station he may have in the world. The basic facts of a person's existence are more often found to be the dominant theme in Spanish literature, drama, and philosophy than are abstract ideals divorced from the actual human situation. But because the individuals portrayed here are so far removed from our own normal everyday experiences, these paintings may strike us as a curious blend of the serious and the

comic. The carefully planned and formally arranged compositions of these pictures and the dignified presentation of the sitters in general speak to us of the sobriety and restraint with which the Spanish approach life. The fact that these personages were treated as members of the royal family by the King and his court and that they were pictorially represented as human equals by Velázquez illustrates a similar serious attitude toward the world. But it may appear rather odd that buffoons, as well as dwarfs and cripples, many of whom also satisfied the royal desire for comedy and entertainment, should receive such a seriousness of expression on canvas.

The apparently ironic intermingling of the elevated and the grotesque, which is as noteworthy a feature in the single portraits as it is in such paintings as Prince Baltasar Carlos with a Dwarf and Las Meninas (Figures 7 and 39), can only be explained as a typical part of the life style of the times. It must be remembered that the seventeenth century in Spain was an age of contradictions and that every facet of life can be described only in terms of stark contrast. Society was rigidly divided between the very rich and the very poor. At solemn religious festivals it was not uncommon to find the sacred and the profane, blasphemy and ecstasy all existing side by side. The government imposed strict sumptuary laws on the one

hand and spent more on ostentatious display on the other. The King's own personal conduct fluctuated between periods of great piety and penance and excesses in moral behavior. Moreover, it must be noted that this generation was certainly aware of the inconsistencies and inequities so characteristic of its own life style. This is nowhere more apparent than in the literature of the period where beauty and ugliness go hand in hand and where the coupling of the elegant and the vulgar is normal. The complete naturalness with which Cervantes described his generation when he observed the world to be composed of "the haves" and "the have-nots" testifies that the men of this age generally recognized and accepted the extremes which it engendered.

This gives another clue to understanding the dwarf-jester paintings of Velázquez. In many ways these portraits can be said to represent the two sides of life. In two of the works (Las Meninas and Prince Baltasar Carlos with a Dwarf) Velázquez actually juxtaposed extremes within the kingdom. Although similar associations are more veiled in the other eight works, they are nonetheless present, and most likely they were readily understood by the seventeenth-century viewer. The number of visual parallels with heros, villains, kings, saints, and even Renaissance courtiers offered by the artist in these portraits acts as strong evidence that Velázquez was intentionally underlining the

double meaning of life. Moreover, in every one of the works a tension or conflict between conventional human values and those of nature has been established and is finally resolved only through the particular personage portrayed. For example, in the painting of the Jester Calabazas (Figure 11) the miniature portrait, a symbol embodying traditional human standards of loyalty and fidelity, is contrasted with the emblem of the pinwheel representative of madness, a product of mother nature who has no set standard. Only Calabazas who contains both of these qualities, being both a member of the highest human order, the royal household, and one of nature's lowest order, can serve to reconcile these two. Or there is the portrait of Prince Baltasar Carlos with a Dwarf (Figure 7) where the supreme order of the kingdom is challenged by the utter lawlessness of nature. Again the natural conflict between cosmos and chaos is resolved by the borderline figure of the dwarf. Other cases indicating life's reversals and containing the possibility of folly embodying non-folly have been seen in the portraits of Don Juan de Austria, Pablo de Valladolid, and Don Cristóbal de Castañeda y Pernia (Figures 13, 21, and 24). In the later portraits of Calabazas, Francisco Lezcano, and Don Diego de Acedo, and Sebastián de Morra (Figures 25, 27, 30, and 35) the spectator again encounters a confrontation between man

and nature. It is a normal human desire to discover some order in these mysterious deformities of nature. Whether or not this was possible Velázquez apparently felt it was for the viewer to decide. On the surface the artist did impose an order upon them through formal compositional means. But a close study of these last four portraits reveals once again that the sitters are on the borderline between order and chaos, and that the only thing that they request is acceptance in spite of it or perhaps because of it.

For Velázquez, then, these portraits seem to be an expression of the natural conflict of life, the continuing struggle of the individual for self-assertion against forces which are ruthless and ultimately unconquerable. One might then be tempted to conclude that the artist's view of the human condition is basically pessimistic. The visual evidence however indicates the opposite. Indeed the value of human existence has rarely been more favorably presented than it is in these portraits. Each of the personages portrayed has a definite form and substance; each is a unique entity endowed with life. Because Velázquez has preserved the humanity of these individuals while not denying the existence of their foolish behavior or their deformities, there is something more noble and more heroic in their struggle than could be found in those of

great men. Thus these portraits could be said to underscore the tragi-comedy inherent in all life; and for the receptive viewer, who accepts these individuals as equals and therefore questions the terms of his own existence, they add an extension of meaning to his particular life struggle.

APPENDIX
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

I. LETTERS FROM PHILIP II TO HIS DAUGHTERS

"Madalena has a great desire for strawberries and I for the nightingales, although a few are heard sometimes from my window." (Letter 2ª., May 1, 1581).

"Today Madalena is lonely for her son-in-law, who left today for there, although I think she acts so because of etiquette. And she was very angry with me because I scolded him for a few things that he had done in Belen and in the galleys. And she was very angry with Luis for the same reason." (Letter 3ª., June 26, 1581).

"Today Madalena went to the galley after I did, and I think that she was a little seasick; and since then she does not dare go astray much in that place which I think is because she does not want them to scream at her like they scream at the others, saying: "Daca la cuerda!" (Lisbon, July 10, 1581).

"Madalena is very angry with me after she wrote to you because I did not scold Luis Tristan concerning a discussion that they had in front of my nephew which I did not hear and that I think she started, because she is bent on dishonoring him [sic]. She left very angry with me saying that she wants to go away and that she is going to kill him. But tomorrow I think it will already be forgotten." (Lisbon, October 23, 1581).

"I do not think that Madalena is so angry with me, but she has been sick for some days, and has taken a laxative and remains in a very bad mood. Yesterday she came here and looked very spiritless, and thin and old and deaf and half-senile. I think it is all from drinking that she longs for her son-in-law." (Lisbon, January 15, 1582).

"Madalena told me today that she would write, but still her letter has not come. I do not know what she is doing these days as she appears very little. I do not know if wine has any guilt in this, and she would really scold me if she knew that I was writing such a thing. Morata is here now, a little "seized" and with the biggest case of

restlessness in the world." (Lisbon, January 29, 1582).

"Madalena is very happy with my sister although a dress of taffeta that she wears is very torn. But it is my fault because I have not given her anything, although she has not stopped reminding me of it. The matter was left for Lisbon. She also wears a small chain, and my sister was very frightened to see her this way, although she says that she is as she used to be." (Almeria, May 7, 1582).

"And I say that although she (Madalena) lifts her legs when she hears some song, she tires so much that she cannot dance. And the other day she had a fainting fit and has remained very thin."

"Morata says that she is alright, but even so she does not come here. . . . Everything is necessary so that she is not annoyed with me, although sometimes she is very fed up, but not so much as usual. I do not know what it will be like after this sickness." (Lisbon, June 25, 1582).

"Madalena has a small terrace that looks out on the plaza in her apartment, and she has been so busy arranging it that she has not been able to write, nor do I think that she has even wanted to. Although, I have reminded her of it several times, she says that she cannot write on the eve of the running of the bulls. She is so very merry because of the bulls, as if they had to be good, while I think that they will be worthless." (Lisbon, September 17, 1582).

"Madalena is very grieved with her negress who returned once and now has gone away again. It has been two days since we have heard any news of her, but the worst is suspected." (Lisbon, November 8, 1582).

Extracts from these letters compiled by José Moreno Villa in his book Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos (Mexico, 1939), pp. 25-29.

II. EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF JERONIMO BARRIONUEVO, 1657

"For the last two months and a half the usual rations have not been distributed in the palace; for the King has not a real. On the day of St. Francis they served a capon to the infanta (Maria Teresa), who ordered them to take it away, as it stank like a dead dog. They then brought her a chicken, of which she is fond, on sippets of toast, but it was so covered with flies that she nearly overturned the lot. This is how things go on in the palace. . . . It appears also that the Queen likes to finish her dinner with sweetmeats; but as none had been brought to her table for some days, she asked the lady whose business it is to attend to these things, why they were not served as usual. She replied that the confectioner refused to supply them because he could not get paid, and a large amount was owing him. The lady then drew a ring from her finger, and said to the servant: "Run out at once and get some sweetmeats, anywhere, with this jewel." But the buffoon Manuelito de Gante was present, and cried: "Put your finger in your ring again, mistress;" and with that he took a copper real from his pocket and said: "Go and get some sweetmeats quickly, so that this good lady may finish her dinner."

Jeronimo de Barrionuevo was a churchman and poet who wrote a chatty letter almost every week (beginning in 1654) to his friend the Dean of Zaragossa describing the events of Madrid. This particular passage has been taken from Martin Hume's The Court of Philip IV (London, 1947), pp. 449-50. For a complete account Hume refers the reader to Avisos de Barrionuevo (Coleccion de Autores Castellanos), Madrid, 1892.

III. INVENTORIES FROM THE ROYAL ARCHIVE IN MADRID

A. INVENTORY FROM THE YEAR 1593 CONCERNING THE CLOTHING OF A MONKEY

DRESSES FOR THE MONKEY: On the 13th of October, two varas of green and yellow satin fashioned into a skirt for a monkey which his Majesty ordered to be dressed. --Three quarters more of flesh-colored linen for the lining. --Fourteen more varas of silk lace in two colors for trimming it. --A vara and a half more of yellow taffeta and flesh-colored frieze for a dress and a basquine for said monkey. --Twelve more varas of silk lace in two colors to trim the said dress and basquine. --A half vara more of linen for a Turkish smock for the said monkey. --One vara more of baize from Flanders for trim. --(And other adornments to complete this Turkish smock)." (Cuentas particulares, M. II).

A vara is a Spanish measure of length equaling 2.8 feet.

Passage taken from José Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos (Mexico, 1939), p. 36.

Moreno Villa notes here that although this account is from the year 1593, the sixteenth century is so close to an end that this inventory can easily be included among the customs typical of the seventeenth century.

III. INVENTORIES FROM THE ROYAL ARCHIVE IN MADRID

B. INVENTORY FROM THE YEAR 1632 CONCERNING THE COSTUME OF DON JUAN DE AUSTRIA

CLOTHING OF DON JUAN DE AUSTRIA

12 varas of plain black velvet for the cape and doublet to don Juan de Austria with the following:

8 varas of crimson satin from Valencia for the lining of the cape
3 varas of fustian for the lining
1 vara of taffeta for the strips for facing revers and sleeves
6 3/4 varas of crimson velvet for two sashes, the doublet, and four for the cape
4 ounces of black silk, mother-of-pearl
1 vara of bocasin
½ vara of angeo
a kidskin
4 1/3 varas of crimson velvet for trousers and folds (of garment)
1¼ varas of baize (flannel)
1 1/3 varas of printed cotton from Rouen for the lining
1 3/4 varas of linen for the lining of the trousers
1 vara of fustian for the lining of the folds
2/3 vara of fustian for the pockets
1/2 vara of bocasine
1/2 ounce of silk
Some crimson silk stockings
3 1/2 varas of crimson satin (entre alto) for the jerkin with French-style coattails
4 1/2 varas of crimson doblete for the interlining and for the strips for facing revers and sleeves and for the lining of the coattails
2 varas of printed cotton cloth from Rouen for the lining
1 1/4 vara of bocasine
1 ounce of colored silk

CAP FOR THE ABOVE
1 vara minus sesma of smooth black velvet for the cap
1/2 vara of black doblete for the lining
2 varas of crimson doblete for the kerchief (that which goes around the skull)
1/4 ounce of silk

GARTERS

4 1/2 varas of colored doublete for the garters and the rosettes on the shoes

1 vara and a sesma of smooth black velvet for the scabbard and shoulder vest

1/2 ounce of black silk

2 14/16 ounces of gold braid for the baldric which Blas Perez gave

(Cuentas. Mercaderes, M.8)

Inventory taken from José Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros, y niños palaciegos (Mexico, 1939), pp. 69-71.

IV. DOCUMENTS CONCERNING VELAZQUEZ

A. EXCERPT FROM PACHECO (1619)

"He returned to Madrid after an absence of a year and a half and arrived at the beginning of the year 1631. He was very well received by the Count-Duke, who ordered him to go at once and kiss the hand of His Majesty; it pleased him that His Majesty had not permitted himself to be portrayed by any other painter and had waited for him to paint the Prince, which he did punctually, and His Majesty was very pleased by his coming."

Francisco Pacheco as quoted and translated by Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, Velazquez (New York, 1948), p. 171.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. As this point is one of my basic tenets in this study, I would like to clarify myself on this matter. Velázquez' portraits of dwarfs and buffoons at Philip IV's court could be fully studied from a stylistic point of view; but without knowledge of the custom of maintaining these individuals at court in the seventeenth century, all conclusions concerning the artist's intention or the expressive content of the paintings themselves would, for the most part, remain guesswork. The strength of the conclusions would of course be dependent upon what is visible to the naked eye, and the merit of them would undoubtedly be the inverse proportion of the author's prejudices as regards the artist, the personages portrayed, and the life of the Spanish court in general.

Despite the fact that the sitters of these portraits have been identified, psychologically analyzed, and medically categorized, the paintings remain largely enigmatic today. Meaning could easily be extracted from these portraits for the twentieth-century viewer, but what they meant to the age in which they were produced is again another matter. Thus, I am of the opinion that it is highly unlikely that these works of art will ever be understood unless the court tradition behind them is thoroughly investigated. The difficulties which have beset modern critics attempting to discuss these paintings give more than ample testimony to this fact.

2. Over the centuries scholars have frequently directed their attention to the study of court fools, jesters, buffoons, and dwarfs. The approaches which have been taken range from historical and sociological to aesthetic and philosophical. Some accounts are general and universal, dealing with the concepts of folly or the grotesque through the ages (e.g., Enid Welsford, The Fool: His Social and Literary History (Gloucester, Mass., 1966); William Willeford, The Fool and His Scepter (U.S.A., 1969)). Hence, myth and fable may often be found interwoven with fact and actuality. Many more investigations of these characters have been limited according to various nationalities or periods of time (e.g., John Doran, The History of Court Fools (London, 1858)); but here, once again, the frequent inclusion of fiction in such works leaves the researcher with a distorted, if not a completely useless, picture of what this tradition is all about. And still there are other inquiries in this area which treat the subject in relation to the individual fields of art, literature, film,

2. (cont.) and drama (e.g., Erika Tietze-Conrat, Dwarfs and Jesters in Art (New York, 1957); Wolfgang Kayser, The Grotesque in Art and Literature (Bloomington, Indiana, 1963)). In this category one may unearth some excellent passages of scholarship only to find them unhappily wed with the errors, misrepresentations, and imaginations of the previous investigators. Nevertheless, it is clear that any conclusions resulting from my investigation of the tradition would never have been possible without these past efforts. Thus in the following pages many of these broader surveys will be employed when relevant to the narrower scope of this paper.

Moreno Villa's book Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos (Mexico, 1939) deserves special praise here. The author does not attempt a study of buffoonery in Spain nor an explanation of the Spanish tradition which brought so many strange creatures into the royal household. Nevertheless, his work is the first and only volume to my knowledge which catalogues every buffoon, dwarf, cripple, madman, negro, retardate, and so on ad infinitum who was ever mentioned in the administrative records of the archive in the Royal Palace at Madrid. His work represents a year and a half of laborious investigation without which I could not have proceeded. Although his introductory text is very brief, I have found it as helpful as the catalogue proper.

Alice Jane McVan's article "Spanish Dwarfs" (Notes Hispanic New York, 1942, II, pp. 97-130) has also proved serviceable in my examination of the dwarf aspect of this tradition. Although she relies on Moreno Villa for much of the factual information included in her study, her investigation is nonetheless valuable in that it includes several references and documents mentioning these individuals which are not to be found in the palace archive.

3. The term hombres de placer for the entire group is referred to by Moreno Villa (Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, p. 15). Although in many of the palace records which Moreno Villa cites these individuals are frequently differentiated according to other sub-categories (e.g., loco (madman or crazy person), enano (dwarf), bufón (buffoon), truhán (clown), hombre de placer (man of pleasure), to mention only a few), I assume from his intensive study of the subject that his use of the broader term hombres de placer is correct.

The term las sabandijas de Palacio was apparently common in the various documents of the day. McVan points to one historical account where this term was used ("Spanish Dwarfs," p. 116), and Camon Aznar cites at least one particular inventory in which these lesser court dwellers were referred to by this name (Velázquez (Madrid, 1964), II,

3. (cont.) p. 604). Other scholars also frequently make mention of it. Note should also be made of the common usage of the word sabandija which literally means bug, insect or worm. According to the definition of the word found in the dictionary of Covarrubias (1674 edition) this applies to "any small imperfect animal that breeds in the rot of the earth and swamp." Hence, when the seventeenth-century Spanish dwarfs and buffoons were called by this name, it most likely had negative connotations. This might also explain why the words de Palacio always followed the use of the term sabandijas when it was used in this fashion, lest it cast a bad light on the King's residence. For a complete discussion of this term I refer the reader to Juan Corominas, Diccionario crítico etimológio de la lengua castellana (Madrid, 1954), IV, pp. 98-100.

4. It should be observed here that only those extant portraits of buffoons and dwarfs will be discussed, as opposed to those listed in the inventories as being painted by the master but which are now lost. Moreover, I have dealt solely with the ten paintings which are portraits or which include portraits of individuals who were definitely court dwarfs, buffoons, clowns, men of pleasure, and the like. I have not thought it necessary to deal with such paintings as Mars, Aesop, and Menippus which some scholars feel are also portraits of court jesters in disguise. Nor have I discussed paintings as A Dwarf with a Dog, A Dwarf by a Chair, and Man with a Wine Glass which have been attributed to Velazquez but whose authenticity is questionable. For a brief discussion of all of these works, see Jose López-Rey, Velázquez: A Catalogue Raisonné of his Oeuvre (London, 1963), pp. 263-271.

5. Many authors make note of this fact, but the only one to cite an example is Carl Justi, Diego Velazquez and His Times (London, 1889), trans. by A.H. Keane, p. 433. Here he states: "Paolo Tiepolo (Report for 1563) was amazed to find Italian carnivalesque practices entering into the most solemn Spanish religious festivals; such were masquerading, dancing, comedies, love-making, and the antics of merry-andrews."

6. According to Moreno Villa, that which is to be found in the contemporary memoirs is little more than some amusing jokes and witticisms and perhaps some particularly funny occurences which resulted from the antics of the buffoons and dwarfs. (Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, p. 40). Therefore, even if references of this sort were more numerous, they would scarcely aide in answering

6. (cont.) the many questions which have arisen concerning this tradition.

7. A study of Moreno Villa's text and catalogue reveals how little information is available here. For the most part, information concerning the royal buffoons and dwarfs is to be found scattered throughout clothing inventories and expense accounts of items ranging from food to shoes.

8. Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, p. 40.

9. The following statement is exemplative of the homogeneous approach to these portraits: "In them we see physical and spiritual misery, pain, humiliation; a destiny united to the deformities of their bodies." (Camon Aznar, Velázquez, II, p. 604.) Whether or not this statement could be applied to any single one of Velázquez' portraits is irrelevant at this juncture, but that it could be applied to all of them is as distressing as it is naive. Even the most sophisticated viewer would find it difficult to prove this blanket comment valid, while the unsophisticated spectator could only be bewildered if he wished to find visual evidence of it.

10. Much of what is known about the individual sitters has been included within the text. There is no complete biography of any of them, but a total compilation of the data concerning each may be found in Moreno Villa's catalogue.

11. This includes traditions both within and without Spain. In every case, I have given considerable thought to those artists or art works with which Velázquez may have had possible contact. I have avoided employing a categorical term divorced from actual works of art (e.g., the Baroque) as a short cut. Possible prototypes and parallels have been discussed only when it was felt that they could contribute to an understanding of one of the portraits.

12. I have followed the time sequence proposed by José López-Rey (Velázquez' Work and World (London, 1968)) differing with him slightly on two occasions. The opinions of current scholars who disagree have been mentioned frequently. Although I do not find their arguments as convincing as López-Rey's, it is necessary to voice their beliefs as the problem of dates can never be completely resolved. There is little documentary evidence concerning the portraits, and hence it has again been Moreno Villa's

12. (cont.) data in relation to the dates of the sitters' deaths and their first appearances at court which has most often been the determining factor in establishing the chronology of these portraits.

Several of the suggested dates are not as definite as I had first hoped, but at present I feel that little would be contributed to this study if a specific date were to come to light. It is assumed of course that the discovery of a specific date would simply verify a suggested date; for example, one of the mid-1630's would definitely become 1634. Needless to say, if a date was discovered which radically differed with the one that is proposed herein, my interpretation of the portrait would be re-evaluated.

13. These are not the words of a complacent student but rather of a limited one. There are of course documents which I would like to review but to which I do not have access. Among these are the inventories of the royal collection preserved in the archive of the Madrid Royal Palace. Nor have I had the opportunity to study the portraits in the original, most of which are located in the Prado. Thus it is recommended that the reader keep these limitations in mind when reviewing the text.

14. So little attention has been paid to these portraits that many of them have not yet been attributed to any artist. They are frequently reproduced but rarely discussed. Apparently certain Spanish nobles and aristocrats commissioned artists to paint their portraits in the accompaniment of dwarfs as well as owning single portraits of them. It is thus regrettable that they have been overlooked throughout history as they might tell us more about Spanish patronage and the portraits of royal dwarfs than is first supposed.

15. For example, thus far I have found little evidence that portraits of this nature were hung in the palace as good luck charms by association with the possible divine powers possessed by the sitters. If, however, an investigation concerning the origins and development of this portrait tradition were to reveal that this was a common attitude among past patrons, naturally greater importance would be attached to it in this study and qualify the emphasis on the Spanish sense of fundamental equality of all individuals.

CHAPTER I

1. Carl Justi, Diego Velazquez and His Times (London, 1889), trans. by A.H. Keane, p. 445. Although Justi does not specifically name the particular revolution to which he refers, it may be concluded that he was speaking of the revolution of 1820. The first publication of Justi's monograph was in 1888, and he undoubtedly felt that the term "the Revolution" would be understood by his contemporary reading public.

2. John Doran, The History of Court Fools (London, 1858), p. 316.

3. Alice Jane McVan, "Spanish Dwarfs," Notes Hispanic (New York, 1942), II, p. 97.

4. Enid Welsford, The Fool: His Social and Literary History (Gloucester, Mass., 1966), p. 55.

5. Ibid.

6. McVan, "Spanish Dwarfs," p. 106.

7. Ibid., p. 104.

8. Ibid., p. 97.

9. Ibid., p. 98.

10. Ibid., p. 103.

11. Ibid., p. 99.

12. Ibid., p. 106.

13. The book itself is a translation of a French book of chivalry which in turn came from the Latin. The initial "L" is patterned after a French letter.

14. McVan, "Spanish Dwarfs," p. 99.

15. Justi, Velazquez and His Times, p. 446.

16. Welsford, The Fool, p. 55.

17. McVan, "Spanish Dwarfs," p. 108.

18. Erika Tietze-Conrat, Dwarfs and Jesters in Art (New York, 1957), p. 8.

19. Welsford, The Fool, p. 61.

20. Ibid., pp. 75-76.

21. Ibid., pp. 111-112.

22. William Willeford, The Fool and His Scepter, p. 158.

23. Ibid., p. 173.

24. Ibid., p. 156.

25. Ibid., p. 164.

26. McVan, "Spanish Dwarfs," p. 106.

27. Ibid., p. 101.

28. Justi, Velazquez and His Times, p. 434.

29. For the complete contents of this correspondence see Juan Menéndez Pidal, "Don Francesillo de Zúñiga, Bufón de Carlos V," Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos, 3 época, XXI (July-August, 1909), p. 72-95.

30. McVan, "Spanish Dwarfs," p. 100.

31. Ibid., p. 101. The reference here is not clear therefore leaving room for several conclusions. The King's favorites in foreign courts may have been favored dwarfs and jesters whom he sent on an exchange basis or as diplomatic gifts to other kings and notable aristocrats. Support for this theory comes from documentation of the presence of Spanish dwarfs in the ducal palaces of Ferrara, Mantua, and Milan, as well as documented proof of the presence of Italian, French, Flemish, German, and Austrian dwarfs and jesters at the Spanish court. Or those personages whom Charles V favored in France and Italy, may have already been permanent members of foreign courts which the King chanced to visit. He may have then developed a special liking for those who were particularly entertaining. Such was the case with Charles' successor Philip II and the French buffoon Brusquet (p. 106.)

32. Justi, Velazquez and His Times, p. 435. Furthermore, these paintings were still hanging in their original place (the stairway to the north gallery) at the end of the seventeenth century.

33. McVan, "Spanish Dwarfs," p. 106.

34. Justi, Velazquez and His Times, p. 435.

35. José Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, p. 29.

36. Ibid., p. 30.

37. Justi, Velazquez and His Times, p. 436.

38. Ibid.

39. Certainly the fact that the Austrian Hapsburgs were responsible for magnifying this Spanish custom adds another dimension to the problem of ascertaining the exact nature of it. They, of course, may have introduced foreign attitudes or new variations to the already existing Spanish tradition of maintaining dwarfs, madmen, and jesters at court. Unfortunately, there seems to be less documentation concerning the Austrian tradition than there is concerning that of the Spanish. This deficiency, however, would hardly seem to alter the soundness of those conclusions that are reached here, for despite the possible alien factors which were brought into the Spanish tradition, those which were amenable to the Spanish temperament were undoubtedly so rapidly assimilated into the existing practice that they may well be considered as part of the Spanish custom as such. The purpose here is to discuss this tradition as it developed and existed in Spain rather than ascertaining the precise nature of all the influences and cross-influences that occurred across the European continent.

40. McVan, "Spanish Dwarfs," p. 103.

41. Ibid., p. 105. It is interesting to note that such feuds between dwarfs and servants and their mutual harassment of one another was common enough to receive pictorial representation in other parts of Europe. Veronese, for example, depicted one of these frequent encounters in the foreground of his painting Feast in the House of Levi.

42. McVan states: "Every noble had at least one dwarf, bishops had theirs, sometimes the pope his, and high-born ladies theirs. In the houses of noblemen they were usually a combination of servant and buffoon, one or the other aspect being stressed according to the needs of the master of the house." ("Spanish Dwarfs," p. 105.)

43. Ibid., p. 101. McVan adds that "the Bishop was certainly unaware that in 1316 a buffoon, Fernán Pérez, had made a donation of property to his master, don Rodrigo, bishop of Mondoñedo."

44. Ibid., p. 104.

CHAPTER II

1. Justi, Velazquez and His Times, p. 436.

2. Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, p. 33.

3. Ibid., p. 16.

4. Ibid., p. 18.

5. McVan, "Spanish Dwarfs," p. 100.

6. Ibid., p. 101.

7. Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, p. 19.

8. Justi, Velazquez and His Times, p. 439.

9. Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, p. 30. Moreno Villa also notes here that even when the Bourbons came to the throne and banished the dwarfs and fools, they still retained the negroes and continued the Austrian custom of baptizing them with the royal name.

10. McVan, "Spanish Dwarfs," pp. 115-116.

11. Dale Brown, The World of Velázquez 1559-1660 (New York, 1969), p. 109.

12. Antonio Dominguez Ortiz, La sociedad española en el siglo XVII (Madrid, 1963), p. 24.

13. John H. Elliot, Imperial Spain 1469-1716 (New York, 1963), p. 300.

14. John Lynch, Spain Under the Hapsburgs (New York, 1969), II, p. 138.

15. Elliot, Imperial Spain, p. 307.

16. For a complete discussion of society and economy during the reign of Philip IV, see Lynch, Spain Under the Hapsburgs, II, p. 126-153.

17. Martin Hume, The Court of Philip IV (London, 1947), p. 299.

18. Ibid., p. 325. Hume goes on to say that "it was found by this inquiry that of the 3300 people who lived on public mendicancy in the capital, only 1300 were really poor or deserving."

19. Charles E. Chapman, A History of Spain (London, 1965), p. 295.

20. Ibid., p. 335.

21. Hume, The Court of Philip IV, p. 192.

22. José Delieto y Piñuela, La vida religiosa española bajo el cuarto Felipe (Madrid, 1952), pp. 77-78.

23. Chapman, History of Spain, p. 334. Here Chapman offers possible explanations for the Spanish sentiment against work, at the same time discussing the causes of vagabondage. According to the author, it is possible that the long-standing tradition of slavery on the peninsula had led to this disinclination to work; or, the desire on the part of many to be regarded as of noble blood may have had similar results.

24. Justi, Velazquez and His Times, p. 450.

25. Fernando Diaz-Plaja, The Spaniard and the Seven Deadly Sins, John Palmer, trans., (New York, 1967), p. 13.

26. Ibid., p. 14. It is interesting to note that this attitude on the part of beggars is also reflected in Spanish art from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, e.g., Ribera's Club Footed Boy; Picasso's Beggar.

27. Ibid.

28. Not only is there no evidence in support of the religious salvation theory, but there are other facts which run counter to it. For example, consider Chapman's comment in A History of Spain on slavery: "Although objections were raised to the enslavement of the Indians in the Americas, the institution of slavery itself was generally recognized; even charitable and religious establishments possessed slaves."(p. 275). This serves as another example that the Spaniards of this age were not inclined to look at things in the moral terms with which we might like to credit them today. There seems to have been no conflict in their minds between their own personal state of grace and their behavior in regards to other people. This attitude is reflected in

28. (cont.) other phases of life, which need not be enumerated here, but which should be kept in mind when considering the possible reasons that the Monarchy had for peopling the court with dwarfs and buffoons.

29. Diaz-Plaja, The Spaniard and the Seven Deadly Sins, p. 17.

30. Hume, The Court of Philip IV, p. 131.

31. John Crow, Spain: The Root and the Flower (New York, 1963), p. 189.

32. Chapman, History of Spain, p. 265.

33. Hume, The Court of Philip IV, p. 60.

34. Ibid., p. 145.

35. Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, p. 36.

36. Ibid., p. 37.

37. Ibid., p. 35.

38. Brown, The World of Velázquez, p. 120.

39. John Crow sees this whole generation as one seeking to escape from reality by whatever means it could. His primary support comes from the writers of the time, including the playwrights Lope de Vega and Calderón de la Barca, the poets Góngora, Quevedo, and Garcilaso de Vega, the essayist Gracián, the Spanish mystics, and of course Cervantes. See Spain: The Root and the Flower, pp. 189-209.

40. Hume, The Court of Philip IV, p. 310.

41. Brown, The World of Velázquez, p. 120.

42. Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, p. 39.

43. Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, Velazquez, James Emmons, trans. (Cleveland, 1960), p. 76. For a discussion of this notion in regards to the paintings see pp. 120-125.

44. It is doubtful that the locos and dwarfs were kept in Philip's court primarily for these reasons. However, if

44. (cont.) these ideas were not first and foremost in the minds of the King and his family, they may well have been subconscious motivation for the Hapsburgs keeping these individuals around the court.

45. I think we might accept the theory of morbid interest or plain human curiosity (in relation to seventeenth-century Spanish dwarfs and buffoons) more easily if we look to ourselves first. We still have remnants of this same kind of curiosity in our own society--the fat lady of the circus, the freak shows which accompany carnivals. And if we accept such a mystery-attraction theory, then we must also accept the fact that Philip and his court were capable of laughing at these miserable creatures.

46. We might interpret this as a part of the old king-fool fool-king relationship while keeping in mind at the same time that fools often dressed up and mimicked the royalty in Philip's court. Hence, the whole theory of the interchangeability of king and fool may well have been unconsciously retained. (See pp. 20-22).

47. Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, p. 31.

48. Gerald Brenan, The Literature of the Spanish People from Roman Times to Present Day (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 196-197.

49. Willeford, The Fool and His Scepter, p. 88.

CHAPTER III

1. Charles Henry Caffin, The Story of Spanish Painting (New York, 1917), p. 52. Also see Alice Jane McVan "Spanish Dwarfs," Notes Hispanic (New York, 1942), II, p. 109; George Kubler and Martin Soria, Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their Dominions 1500-1800 (Baltimore, 1959), pp. 205-6.

2. Ugo Bicchi, Spanish Painting (London, 1963), p. 24.

3. Kubler and Soria, Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal, p. 206.

4. Brown, The World of Velázquez, p. 124.

5. Ibid., p. 125.

6. José López-Rey, Velázquez' Work and World (London, 1968), p. 62.

7. Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, Velazquez (New York, 1948), p. 395. Letter from W.G. Constable, dated January 4, 1945. "On the X-rays of the head of Don Balthasar Carlos and of the lower part of his dress at the point where the dwarf's skirt cuts in, you will notice some irregular vignetted white patches. At first these might look like damages or repaints. It appears, however, that the painting was at some time in the past relined with a mixture containing white lead, and these patches are really small areas of white lead under, and not on the canvas. The use of white lead in relining was not unusual in England in the nineteenth century."

8. Ibid., p. 176.

9. Moreno Villa was not the first to identify this dwarf as Francisco Lezcano; he was, however, the first to seek out substantial proof. The identification was first made by a visual comparison of the features of the dwarf next to Baltasar Carlos (a picture that Moreno Villa never saw) with the known portrait of Lezcano executed by Velázquez at a later date. Further evidence was provided in the details of a clothing inventory, ordering that a green dress, embroidered in gold (indeed sounding similar in description to the one depicted in this picture) be made for Lezcano. The final confirmation came from a reference by Cean Bermúdez in Documentos inéditos (vol. 55, p. 621) which attested 1634 to be the year in which Velazquez painted the work.

9. (cont.) As Baltasar Carlos was born in 1629, and he thus would have been almost six years of age at the time of the alleged date of the painting, Moreno Villa simply assumed that for some reason or other Velázquez portrayed him several years younger that he actually was. Today there are few scholars who can see a resemblance between the dwarf standing next to Baltasar Carlos and the later portrait of Francisco Lezcano. Trapier and Camon Aznar have both cleared up the matter of the documentary evidence, pointing out that the portrait was paid for in 1634, and not painted in that year. For a more complete account of the Lezcano story see Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, pp. 107-10.

10. Jose Camon Aznar, Velázquez (Madrid, 1964), I, p. 437. The soundness of Camon Aznar's femininity argument cannot be easily judged. The fact that the male royal children frequently appear in skirts in other Velázquez portraits argues against a concrete confirmation that the dwarf's dress is feminine. As the young Prince Felipe Próspero is depicted wearing an apron by Velázquez, Camon Aznar's use of it as support for femininity can be questioned. The collar of the dwarf's costume in this portrait can be found in other portraits of both males and females. The necklace is the only item, then, which is most assuredly that of a woman. Camon Aznar also claims the band which crosses the dwarf's chest as proof of its femininity, a fact for which I have been unable to find supportive or contrary evidence. On this matter, it can only be noted that in many other male portraits, be they adults' or children's, Velázquez depicted them with a much wider sash, as the one worn by the young Prince Baltasar Carlos in this portrait. The narrower band or ribbon would seem to be feminine, since somewhat similar apparel can be found in Velázquez' portraits of the Infantas. In light of these facts, it is tempting to conclude that Velázquez intended ambiguity or confusion of the sexual roles of the dwarf in this portrait. The necklace, however, strongly favors a defense of the feminine. Moreover, López-Rey has concurred with Camon Aznar's female identification (Velázquez' Work and World, p. 62). As both scholars are native Spaniards, it is assumed that they are adequately acquainted with the customs, historical traditions, and common artistic conventions of their homeland, and we would thus tend to believe that they recognize feminine attire when they say they do. Their judgment need not, and probably will not, be the final word on this dwarf's costume, but it certainly must stand until it can definitely be proved otherwise.

11. I would like to suggest here the possible background to the origins of the female dwarf theory. In the course of my study on the identity of the dwarf in question, I chronologically cross-referenced Moreno Villa's alphabetical list of all dwarfs and buffoons at the court of Philip IV. In this list, there were no male dwarfs present at court in 1631; there were, however, females. On the basis of such documentary evidence, I thus came to Camon Aznar's conclusion by another path. It is a false assumption, however, as Moreno Villa's list is by no means complete, as he would be the first to admit (Moreno Villa was simply compiling what very little he could scare up from old court records). This evidence has never been set forth by any scholar (most likely because it cannot be defended for the above reasons), but it may have been the initial impetus for questioning the gender of the dwarf. Then too, this fact, useless as it is for authentic scholarship, coupled with the feminine attire of the dwarf, might lend moral support to the scholar who wishes to argue the feminine side of the case.

12. Tietze-Conrat, Dwarfs and Jesters in Art, p. 23.

13. Again I refer the reader to Moreno Villa's listing. Although probably not complete, his list of 123 dwarfs, madmen, and buffoons never mentions a female dwarf in the service of a prince.

14. There is always a slim possibility that Baltasar Carlos did have a female dwarf-companion in his babyhood. His others, however, were all male (Francisco Lezcano, Sebastián de Morra).

15. On the chance that Velázquez did have some say about whom he was going to portray when it came to lesser court figures, it is interesting to note that only once did he ever depict a female dwarf, that being María Bárbola in Las Meninas. Thus even if he could voice a preference of models, it seems his leanings were in the direction of the male of the species.

16. Kurt Gerstenberg, Diego Velazquez (Munich, 1957), p. 164.

17. Willeford, The Fool and his Scepter, p. 181.

18. For a general discussion of the fool, order, and chaos see Willeford, The Fool and his Scepter, pp. 100-114.

19. Velázquez' possible borrowing of the apple from the Van Dyck portrait of Clelia Cattaneo should be kept in mind here. That Van Dyck may have employed it as a quasi-religious symbol in the hands of the girl child, implying innocence before the fall, seems plausible. If Velázquez actually did borrow it, however, he apparently chose to give it a new meaning by placing it in conjunction with the silver rattle or mock sceoter. In relation to the dwarf who holds the apple, it would be difficult to consider it as having a similar religious significance. Nature condemned the dwarf at birth; he has no innocence to lose nor does he have a place to fall. It also seems unlikely that Velázquez intended to use the apple as a reference back to Baltasar Carlos. The artist hardly would have wished to imply any fall from innocence in relation to the Spanish monarchy, for even if there were no slight intended, the negative implications of such a subtle device are more readily apparent than the positive ones. In short, it would be too easily misinterpreted. Nor could Velázquez have used it in reference to Baltasar Carlos' youthful death, for the little Prince, unlike his future brother Felipe Próspero, was a healthy child and no one could have foreseen the tragedy of his life at this early date.

20. Kubler and Soria, Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal, p. 259.

21. Trapier, Velazquez, p. 115. Also Leo Steinberg, "Review of Velázquez: A Catalogue Raisonné of his Oeuvre by José López-Rey," Art Bulletin, XLVII (June, 1965), p. 283. Steinberg's disavowal of an attribution of the Cleveland Jester Calabazas to Velázquez is the most recent contribution to a long list of negative appraisals. His chief objections are two in number. The first centers about the inventory discrepancy pointed out by Trapier but now satisfactorily resolved by José López-Rey (José López-Rey, "Velázquez's 'Calabazas with a Portrait and a Pinwheel'," Gazette des Beaux Arts, LXX (October, 1967), pp. 219-226. The second concerns the painting style and overall composition about which Steinberg comments: ". . . its space is a mechanical construct, largely superfluous. The jester's contours run straight and hard, without the responsiveness that reflects Velázquez's lines. The intervals, totally empty, carry no charge of energy. And emptiness governs the mood. This shallowness of psychological dimension is something alien." (p. 283) This latter objection is not a visual deficency on the author's part, but rather an optical truism concerning the sad condition

21. (cont.) of this portrait due to the repainting it underwent at some time in the past. Such criticism was disarmed by the cleaning and restoration of the paintings in June, 1965, the results of which were not yet available to Steinberg when he made his appraisal.

22. López-Rey, "Velázquez's 'Calabazas with a Portrait and a Pinwheel'," pp. 219-226. The entire contents of this article are reproduced in López-Rey, Velázquez' Work and World, pp. 87-89.

23. Of the older scholars, Beruete felt that it was painted in 1631, (Velázquez, Berlin, 1909, pp. 64 and 91); Allende Salazar placed it around 1626-7 (Velázquez, vol. VI, Klassiker der Kunst, 1925, p. 30); and Mayer also dated it 1626 (Velázquez, A Catalogue Raisonné of the Pictures and Drawings, no. 445). The dates of the most recent scholars range from López-Rey's 1628-29 to Camon Aznar's dating of 1632.

24. Henry S. Francis, "Portrait of the Jester Calabazas," The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art, LII (November, 1965), pp. 120-21. Francis made the following observations concerning the appearance of this painting both before and after its cleaning: "The picture had been relined some fifty or more years ago, though it was still in reasonable condition. At that time, however, or perhaps even earlier, there had been certain repainting in places repeatedly undetected by the critics. The paint was slightly compressed during a former relining; there are mild, over-all abrasions, most noticeable in the background and in the right hand, leading to an overemphasis of the reddish tonality of the ground not originally so prominent. The main damages are holes in the right corner of the right eye; in the middle of the mouth, affecting a few teeth and the lower lip; and various scratches and holes in the background and less important areas. As a whole the painting is in good condition. The changes, however, which radically affected the character of the countenance were the repainting of the right eye to soften the appearance of the face, and of the crippled legs, by which the restorer or owner of earlier time undertook to make the subject more normal. To soften the spindly aspect of the emaciated legs, nearly one-quarter of an inch had been added to fill them out, applied variously to either side. The right hand had been clumsily repainted, but the miniature had had no additions. The removal of these repaintings makes the likeness correct with regard to the later (1638) portrait of Calabazas in the Prado..."

25. López-Rey, Velázquez' Work and World, p. 87.

26. It is now recognized that Velázquez' style for painting dwarfs and jesters varies considerably from that which he used for painting royal portraits within the very same year.

27. Francis, "Portrait of the Jester Calabazas," p. 118.

28. Camon Aznar, Velázquez, I, pp. 447-48.

29. As Henry Francis has observed the painting of the jester's left hand does compare with earlier portraits by Velázquez, particularly the portrait of Philip IV of 1627. ("Portrait of the Jester Calabazas," p. 121).

30. Herbert Cook, "A Re-discovered Velazquez," Burlington Magazine (December, 1906), p. 172.

31. Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, pp. 85-87.

32. Francis, "Portrait of the Jester Calabazas," p. 122.

33. Cesare Ripa as quoted and translated by Henry Francis, "Portrait of the Jester Calabazas," p. 122.

34. López-Rey, Velázquez' Work and World, p. 87.

35. Henry Francis, "Portrait of the Jester Calabazas," p. 122.

36. López-Rey, Velázquez' Work and World, p. 90.

37. Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, pp. 68-69.

38. It should be noted that Trapier was the first to suggest that don Juan undoubtedly had more than one costume of similar color and fabric. (Velazquez, p. 316.) This notion has received more recent support from Leo Steinberg ("Review of Velázquez: A Catalogue Raisonné of his Oeuvre by José López-Rey", pp. 287-88). Neither scholar has taken don Juan's actual position at court into consideration. Moreover, Steinberg, in an eloquent attempt to list other valid considerations in relation to the 1632 inventory, has succeeded in adding unnecessary complications to the problem of dating this portrait while unfortunately missing the import of the document itself. Steinberg comments: "Clearly, no clothier's

38. (cont.) bill, though it include a vara's length of "smooth" black velvet for cap" and "two varas of crimson taffeta for hat band," will date Velázquez's Don Juan de Austria. Yet this is López-Rey's point of departure." (p. 288) The fact that Mr. Steinberg has chosen to relate two relatively insignificant items from the inventory, rather than those which are central to the jester's costume in the painting (see Appendix III, B) and hence crucial to the dating problem, gives occasion to question whether he is more interested in supporting Miss Trapier's multi-costume theory than in ascertaining a date for this portrait. Of course this document is López-Rey's point of departure, for it provides him and us with the terminus ante quem non. It must also be observed that Steinberg himself never offers an alternate date to replace that which he so readily refutes.

39. Trapier insists that this painting must be placed in the 1650's because of the delicate rose and silver tones which Velázquez often used in his portraits of the Infantas during that period (Velazquez, p. 316). Camon Aznar dates it toward 1647, making it the antecedent of the portrait of Innocent X, primarily due to the use of reddish greys, carmines, roses, and purples in both (Velázquez, II, pp. 697-700).

40. Moreno Villa offers another reason for suggesting that this work has not been completed. The costume which don Juan wears in this portrait is in accordance with the inventory description of 1632 (Appendix II, B) except for the gold braid for the shoulderbelt. Moreno Villa thinks that this would be one of the final details which Velázquez would have painted if he had completed the portrait (Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, p. 71).

41. López-Rey, Velázquez' Work and world, p. 90.

42. Leo Steinberg has taken issue with the compositional similarities between the portrait of Don Juan de Austria and Velázquez' Roman works of 1630. It would be superfluous to reiterate and logically refute Steinberg's thesis here, for a careful reading of his argument will indicate that although his visual observations are generally sound (the symmetrical arrangement of objects around don Juan's feet is questionable), there is actually no logical refutation of López-Rey's theory (i.e., Steinberg points out dissimilarities which are only to be expected due to the differing nature of the subject matter in each case). For the dubious polemics

42. (cont.) brought into play, see Steinberg, "Review of Velázquez: A Catalogue Raisonné of his Oeuvre by José López-Rey," p. 288.

43. Steinberg questions the similarities to be found in the stylistic comparison of the faces of don Juan and Vulcan, again by noting the obvious dissimilarities ("Review of Velázquez: A Catalogue Raisonné of his Oeuvre by José López-Rey," p. 288). These, however, could be explained or at least the margin of difference could be narrowed by allowing for the possibility that the portrait of Don Juan de Austria was left unfinished. It is interesting to note that while, on the one hand, Steinberg accuses López-Rey of merely giving tacit sanction to one of Moreno Villa's comments regarding this painting, Steinberg himself, on the other hand, gives absolutely no sanction to Moreno Villa's suggestion that this work may not be completed. Nor does Steinberg ever consider this portrait in light of the two portraits of Pablo de Valladolid and Don Cristóbal de Castañeda y Pernia, both of which might be used as indirect support for dating don Juan's portrait prior to 1635.

44. López-Rey, Velázquez' Work and World, p. 90.

45. I have not been able to discover the whereabouts of this portrait during the first half of the seventeenth century, but it would seem that it was in one of the King's royal collections. Sanchez Coello had been one of Philip II's favorite court painters, and several of his other paintings were used to decorate the royal palaces. After Philip II's death, many of Sanchez Coello's portraits remained in their original place in the Alcazar until the end of the century. Hence, it seems quite possible that Velázquez would have been aware of this portrait of the original don Juan de Austria.

46. Arthur Stanely Riggs, Velazquez: Painter of Truth and Prisoner of the King (New York, 1947), p. 180.

47. Trapier, Velazquez, p. 319. López-Rey, Velázquez' Work and World, p. 91.

48. Ethel Horsfield, "Mental defectives at the Court of Philip IV of Spain as Portrayed by the Great Court Painter Velasquez," American Journal of Mental Deficency, XLV (July, 1940), p. 153. Although Horsfield offers no documentation for this theory, many historians make relatively strong statements concerning the number of these individuals about the palace. John Lynch, for example, refers

48. (cont.) to "the endless line" of "orphans, widows, ex-officers, and other suitors who thronged the court." (Spain Under the Hapsburgs, II, p. 81).

49. For a discussion of the king, the hero, and the fool, see Willeford, The Fool and His Scepter, pp. 151-173.

50. Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, pp. 145-46.

51. Trapier, Velazquez, p. 286.

52. Camon Aznar, Velázquez, I, p. 477.

53. Ibid.

54. The passage reads: "En este maniere disent les mathematiciens un mesme horoscope estre à la nativité des rays et des sotz . . . ." ("In this way, the mathematicians say that the same horoscope exists at the birth of kings and of fools . . . .") Rabelais, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. by Pierre Jourda, (Paris, 1962) p. 558.

55. Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, pp. 124-25.

56. López-Rey, Velázquez' Work and World, p. 91.

57. According to López-Rey, the cloak of don Cristóbal has been partly finished by a hand other than Velázquez' (Velázquez: A Catalogue Raisonné of his Oeuvre, p. 266).

58. At least two other suggestions might be made for Velázquez' discontinuation of this portrait, but they seem considerably weaker than the one presently offered. It may have been that the artist had personal reasons for leaving the work unfinished. Velázquez was the protégé of Olivares, and there is always the possibility that he, like Philip, took offense at the jester's mockery of the count in 1634. However, this explanation seems inadequate as there is little evidence elsewhere that Velázquez was inclined toward such pettiness. But even if this consideration did come into play, then once again the earlier date of the mid-1630's is confirmed.

The second possible explanation concerns possible artistic reasons or considerations that Velázquez may have had regarding this portrait. Perhaps the artist was experimenting and either became dissatisfied with

58. (cont.) the outcome or felt that he had accomolished all that he had set out to gain mid-way through the execution of this painting. This seems even more doubtful than the previous suggestion, for the composition in its present state gives little cause to perpetuate a notion of artistic dissatisfaction. On the contrary, it shows great potential for further work and much latent promise as a completed composition. Hence, this would again lead us to conclude that the King requested that work on don Cristóbal's portrait be abandoned, or that if Velázquez made such a decision of his own volition, then it was somehow connected to the King's displeasure with the jester's sardonic reference to the Chief Minister, Olivares.

59. The measurements of the picture are as follows:

Don Juan de Austria	Height	2.1 m	Width:	1.23 m
Pablo de Valladolid	"	2.09m	"	1.23 m
Don Cristóbal de Castañeda	"	1.98m	"	1.21 m

60. In the play El medico de su honra Calderón introduces the same type of characters as Velázquez portrays. The passage cited below is very expressive of the casual treatment between the king and his jesters and is also revealing in view of the portrait of Pablo de Valladolid.

Coquín: Finally, I am, here as you see me, the majordomo of laughter, gentleman of pleasure and steward of taste because I dress with it [taste].

King: Finally, are you a man who is in charge of laughter?

Coquín: Yes, sire, and as you can see this is to "clown" in the palace. (He covers himself)

King: Very well, and as I know who you are, let the two of us make a concert.

Coquín: And this is?

King: Do you claim to make people laugh?

Coquín: This is true.

King: Then each time that you make me laugh I will give you 100 escudos. And if you do not make me laugh within one month, I will have all of your teeth pulled out.

61. Despite the fact that one of these portraits (and possibly two) is unfinished, one legitimate visual objection might be made to the suggestion that they were intended as companion pieces, this being the difference in the scale of the figures. However, this observation alone can in no way discredit the theory that all three paintings were intended to complement one another. As

61. (cont.) demonstrated in earlier work by Velazquez, exact scale relationships were not always honored by the artist when knowingly executing companion pieces. An excellent case in point are similar differences which are to be found between The Immaculate Conception and St. John Writing the Apocalypse (both datable about 1619). For a complete discussion of the relationship between these two paintings, see López-Rey, Velázquez' Work and World, pp. 331-32.

62. Calderón de la Barca, La Cisma de Inglaterra, Act I.

63. Jacinto Octavio Picón, Vida y obras de don Diego Velázquez, (Madrid, 1899), p. 134.

CHAPTER IV

1. Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, p. 87.

2. The identification of the object on which Calabazas is sitting could be disputed; for example, López-Rey thinks that it is a low bench (Velázquez' Work and World, p. 92) while Angulo Iñiguez calls it a rock (Velázquez, p. 86). There is no one suggestion which seems any more valid than the next, but it might be conjectured that some sort of special seat which would both support and give comfort to the cripple, had in actuality been designed for him. If so, this would serve as another example of the favoritism with which Calabazas was treated at court.

3. Kubler and Soria, Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal, p. 263.

4. Camon Aznar, Velázquez, II, p. 611.

5. Diego Angulo Iñiguez, Velázquez: Cómo compuso sus principales cuadros (Seville, 1947), p. 86.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., p. 87.

8. Ibid., pp. 87-88.

9. Ortega y Gasset as quoted by Lafuente Ferrari, Velazquez, p. 62.

10. Calabazas' taste for wine can apparently be considered as one of his trademarks. He was allotted one azumbre (about two liters) of wine daily and was also afforded the luxury of four pounds of snow per day to cool this supply. See Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, pp. 85-86.

11. It is interesting to note that Angulo Iñiguez never makes mention of the wine jug in his discussion of this portrait. And yet it seems more probable that the shape of the wine jug would have called to mind the visual pun and inspired Velázquez to transform it into the double-segmented gourd, before the breasts of Albrecht Dürer's nude exercised any influence.

12. Professor Ward Bissell has called to my attention

12. (cont.) that perhaps this gourd is a container of sorts, as gourds, when hollowed and dried, were used for this purpose. Although it is difficult to discern the exact nature of this object, this suggestion would explain how Velázquez could paint over the wine pitcher at the right without losing the meaning. This would be a more subtle way to indicate the jester's fondness for wine without overstating the point.

13. I am indebted to Professor Ward Bissell for his remarks on these points.

14. Kubler and Soria, Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal, p. 263.

15. Camon Aznar, Velázquez, II, p. 611.

16. Jon M. White, Diego Velazquez (Chicago, 1969), p. 91.

17. Camon Aznar, Velázquez, II, p. 614.

18. Brown, The World of Velázquez, p. 109.

19. Camon Aznar, Velázquez, II, p. 611.

20. Francisco Lezcano was also known as the "Nino de Vallecas" or "Boy of Vallecas," Lezcanillo, and the "Enano Viscaino." In this discussion he will always be referred to by his proper name.

21. As López-Rey has observed, although there is a lack of documentary evidence concerning these portraits, there is no stylistic reason for concluding that any of them were executed after the sitter's death (Velázquez' Work and World, p. 87).

22. Some scholars feel that Lezcano is holding not playing cards but a piece of wood or tile. Camon Aznar argues that it is really a short artist's brush with a broad flat handle that the painter might have left him to entertain himself (Velázquez, II, p. 643). Horsfield feel that if the dwarf is actually holding a pack of cards, the artist's selection was excellent, "for many low grade mentally deficient persons get considerable enjoyment from shuffling cards of any sort, and in arranging them after their own manner upon a table." ("Mental Defectives at the Court of Philip IV of Spain," p. 154.) The object is actually indistinct, but a piece of wood or tile seems unlikely. It is

22. (cont.) unfortunate that no identification of this object can be made, for it would seem that it is a significant factor bearing some relevance to the sitter, as are the objects in the portraits of Calabazas and don Diego de Acedo.

23. Trapier maintains that there is no relationship between the cliff and the rest of the landscape. She then suggests that the mountain scene may have originally extended across the whole background as it does in the portrait of Don Diego de Acedo, and that the cliff may have been brushed in later (Velazquez, p. 278). As the author makes no attempt to draw a conclusion about the implications which this might have, it seems to be a meaningless observation. However, if in fact what Trapier suggests is true, it becomes necessary to explain what meaning it has in relation to the finished portrait. Without the cliff, the impact of the portrait would surely be diminished, for it is obvious that Lezcano could not support his own weak and shapeless body. If Velázquez had depicted Lezcano sitting alone, silhouetted against the sky and the low lying landscape, the figure would appear as little more than a pathetic human freak and would thus lose much of his dignity. Indeed, it would be a dismal scene to behold. Thus if the cliff was a later addition, it says a great deal about Velázquez' sense of decency as well as contributing to our understanding of his merit as a great portrait painter; therefore, little is to be gained by noting a lack of continuity between the cliff and the mountain landscape. Moreover, if the original state of this portrait is as Trapier observes it to be, then it can be suggested that the portrait of Francisco Lezcano and that of Don Diego de Acedo were intended as companion pieces by Velazquez.

24. López-Rey, Velázquez' Work and World, p. 92.

25. In no way do I wish to imply that any or all of these works are definite prototypes to the Lezcano portrait or that they exerted any influence on the artist. They are simply examples of the many works which have this same compositional format.

26. Trapier, Velazquez, p. 278. The context within which Trapier makes this comment concerns the previously discussed theory (see footnote 23) that Velázquez *painted the cliff in after having first experimented with one continuous landscape view in the background. If her conjecture is valid, then it would support the*

26. (cont.) contention that Velázquez, perhaps feeling that Lezcano looked too helpless or wretched in this setting, looked to other compositional types or artistic traditions which would better suit his purposes and his sitter.

27. If such an analogy were to be made, an obvious choice would be a St. Jerome due to the large hat resting in the foreground at Lezcano's feet. The primary reason for doubting this however is that Velázquez was never this obscure when depicting single religious personages. He either made their attributes and divine nature readily apparent (e.g., St. John Writing the Apocalypse, ca. 1619), or he actually labeled them so that there could be no case of mistaken identity (e.g., St. Paul, ca. 1619-20). The artist also took care to identify other historical figures when he apparently found it necessary to avoid possible confusion (e.g., Aesop, 1639-42; Menippus, 1639-42). Moreover, if this portrait is viewed as having close connections to the other three paintings which are quite similar to it (Calabazas, Sebastían de Morra, and Diego de Acedo), then again it would hardly seem possible that this is a portrait of Francisco Lezcano as St. Jerome, for Velázquez did not disguise the other three sitters. And even if the latter consideration is dismissed, Velázquez' own personality must still be taken into account regarding just how far he might wish to push a masquerade of this sort when it serves so little purpose.

28. Brown, The World of Velázquez, p. 110.

29. Lionello Venturi, Painting and Painters: How to Look at a Picture from Giotto to Chagall (New York, 1945), p. 115.

30. Gotthard Jedlicka, Spanish Painting, J. Maxwell Brownjohn, trans. (New York, 1964), p. 55.

31. The origin of don Diego's nickname "Cousin" is a much discussed matter. It has been suggested that perhaps he was a relative of some sort of the King, or that he had some relationship with don Juan de Acedo y Velázquez, an accountant of the Infante Cardenal or with doña Lorenza de Acedo y Velázquez, who was also in the royal service. It has also been observed that if don Diego actually had some connection with the above mentioned persons, then perhaps, as a joke, the name "Cousin" was also used in association with the painter. See Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños

31. (cont.) palaciegos, p. 55. It should be noted that none of these suggestions can be supported, and it might be added that little would be gained if any one of them was grounded in actual fact. The important thing to be remembered here is the fact that the use of this nickname by the royalty again establishes the familiar and affectionate relationship that existed between the dwarfs and the members of the Spanish court.

32. Camon Aznar, Velázquez, II, p. 655.

33. A story related by José Martínez, a friend of Velázquez, may serve as one of the many examples which might be chosen to illustrate this point. According to this account a lady from Zaragoza refused a portrait Velázquez had painted of her primarily because the Flemish lace collar in which she had posed was absent in the picture (López-Rey, Velázquez' Work and World, p. 96). Although this incident is frequently employed by scholars to illustrate Velázquez' method of working (i.e., to work first from a live model and then finish the portrait in the workshop without the sitter), it also points to the fact that the artist would readily temper his realism for the sake of capturing the essential character of his sitter. It might further be suggested that the missing collar, as well as the absence of the possible scar on Primo's face, was a product of the artist's conscious selection of realistic details rather than a result of his neglect or weak memory.

34. Also to be considered here is the nature of don Diego's injury, for if it was just a surface wound, there is always the possibility that no scar was left to be recorded by Velázquez. Nor do we know the location of the wound, which could be covered by the hat or lost in shadow in this particular painting.

35. López-Rey, Velázquez' Work and World, p. 97.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Camon Aznar, Velázquez, II, p. 657.

40. The X-ray evidence that don Diego was originally in an interior before a flat abstract background does not go against this theory; indeed, it tends to support it.

41. I am indebted to Professor R. Ward Bissell for this observation and other helpful suggestions concerning the High Renaissance portrait tradition.

42. Caution must again be exercised in view of these examples. There is no proof that Velázquez saw these particular paintings, but because it is difficult to ascertain precisely what works he did see in Italy or those to which he had access in Spain, I have selected two which seem to adequately represent the case in point. Due to the many other existing Renaissance portraits which are also similar to Velázquez' portrait of Don Diego de Acedo, the parallel with Raphael's and Titian's paintings suggested here cannot be read as a direct influence. On the other hand, the similarities certainly should not be considered as coincidental or superficial.

43. There were certainly other sources of inspiration available to Velázquez. He may have had contact with some of Rembrandt's many etchings of scholars at work in their studies. Or for example, he might have known Rembrandt's self-portraits (e.g., Rembrandt Leaning on a Stone Sill, etching, 1639). As Rembrandt himself was aware of and modeled several portraits after Raphael's Castiglione portrait, the apparent link of Velázquez' work and High Renaissance portraits might be indirect, but nonetheless existent.

44. It is interesting to note the similarities between the original depiction of don Diego de Acedo and the portrait of Juan de Pareja. According to what the X-rays reveal, don Diego was represented just as Pareja, bare-headed and wearing a falling collar. As the association between Pareja's portrait and High Renaissance portraiture is obvious enough, then there is little reason not to consider the same comparisons with don Diego's portrait as being valid. In light of these factors, it also would appear that Velázquez had the Renaissance portrait tradition in mind from the very start, rather than merely resorting to it as a device to get around the difficulties of portraying the dwarf. This, then, would again speak favorably of the artist's conscious creativity, and in no way could he be considered as a thoughtless pasticheur hurriedly seeking a set and acceptable formula to a problem.

45. Jedlicka, Spanish Painting, p. 54.

46. López-Rey, Velázquez' Work and World, p. 97.

47. The measurements of the two portraits are as follows:

Don Diego de Acedo	Height:	1.07 m.	Width:	0.82 m.
Francisco Lezcano	"	1.07 m.	"	0.83 m.

48. Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, p. 119.

49. As already mentioned the portraits of Sebastían de Morra and Don Diego de Acedo were hung in the Alcazar. The other two, Calabazas and Francisco Lezcano were located in the Torre de la Parada. Moreover, there are marks on the canvas of the Sebastían de Morra portrait which verify the statement that this painting was once in an oval frame. However, as Trapier suggests, the four portraits still may have been intended as one series; or originally they may have been hung together as one group, as paintings were frequently moved from one palace to another, and there is no way of distinguishing between what might have been their primary location, their intended destination, and their final placement in the King's palaces (Velazquez, p. 278).

50. The measurements of all four paintings are as follows:

Francisco Lezcano	Height:	1.07 m.	Width:	0.83 m.
Don Diego de Acedo	"	1.07 m.	"	0.82 m.
Calabazas	"	1.06 m.	"	0.83 m.
Sebastían de Morra	"	1.06 m.	"	0.81 m.

51. Camon Aznar, Velázquez, I, pp. 609-10.

52. Picón, Vida y obras de don Diego Velázquez, p. 135. It can be observed that this statement is just as easily applicable to the three portraits of don Cristóbal, Pablo de Valladolid, and don Juan de Austria, which is another reason for maintaining that perhaps they were also originally intended as a series.

53. Lafuente Ferrari, Velazquez, p. 76.

54. This is not to say that Velázquez was making a value judgement on the contemporary state of affairs, but rather that he realized that the mightiest and most powerful men of this earth were subject to the same laws as the more inferior and less fortunate members of the human race. Thus the men in these four portraits may have served to remind the court that no one was exempt from the reversals that life imposes on mankind.

55. Fray Luis de Granada as quoted by Lafuente Ferrari, Velazquez, p. 29.

56. Lafuente Ferrari, Velazquez, pp. 55-56.

57. For a more comprehensive discussion of this, see López-Rey, Velázquez' Work and World, p. 134.

58. Mari-Barbóla was a dwarf of German origin who came into the palace service in 1651. She received many gifts and concessions, including four pounds of snow on each summer's day of 1658. Nicolas Pertusato came to the court from Milan in 1650. He was taken into the King's confidence and was favored with numerous gifts, including a good measure of silver and gold which left him with more than a substantial bank account. The numerous documents in which he is mentioned testify that he was one of the King's most trusted and favorite companions. An extended discussion of the lives of these two court dwarfs can be found in Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos, pp. 66-67; 125-130.

CHAPTER V

1. Riggs, Velazquez, pp. 175-76.

2. White, Diego Velazquez, p. 90.

3. López-Rey, Velázquez' Work and World, p. 92.

4. White, Diego Velazquez, p. 95.

5. Riggs, Velazquez, p. 183.

6. Ibid.

7. Jedlicka, Spanish Painting, p. 43.

8. López-Rey, Velázquez' Work and World, p. 110. It must be noted here that on many of these occasions Velázquez' problems may have been due to the hostility of bureaucrats, not because the artist lacked prestige with the King. However, these facts must still be regarded as bearing some relevance on Velázquez' position at court, for most certainly the King could have been more prompt in taking measures to alleviate some of the artist's difficulties.

9. I remind the reader that the dwarfs and buffoons who were in less favor with the Crown frequently did have to petition for their food and clothing. This was not, however, the case with any of these individuals who were considered important enough to be portrayed by Velázquez.

10. Jedlicka, Spanish Painting, p. 43.

11. López-Rey, Velázquez' Work and World, p. 100.

12. Jedlicka, Spanish Painting, p. 43.

13. Camon Aznar, Velázquez, II, p. 609.

14. Juan José Martín as quoted by Camon Aznar, Velázquez, II, p. 604.

15. White, Diego Velazquez, p. 95.

16. Camon Aznar, Velázquez, II, p. 607.

17. White, Diego Velazquez, p. 95.

18. As the role of the fool in Shakespeare is an endless debate among scholars, it is exceedingly difficult to associate his literary characters in any meaningful way to the role of the dwarfs and buffoons in Velazquez oeuvre. In general, the radically conflicting views concerning folly in all literature make it nearly impossible to draw any conclusion supported by solid evidence in regards to this matter. Hence, a comparison between art and literature in this case would appear as little more than a formal academic exercise.

19. White, Diego Velazquez, p. 95.

20. Brenan, The Literature of the Spanish People, p. 279.

21. White, Diego Velazquez, p. 90.

CHAPTER VI

1. McVan, "Spanish Dwarfs," p. 114.

2. It should be remembered here that the actual number of paintings of dwarfs and jesters executed by Velázquez was greater than the number of them which are extant today, and that in terms of quantity more of these paintings were commissioned and added to the royal collection by Philip IV than by his predecessors. For a complete listing of all of Velázquez' original dwarf-jester paintings listed or mentioned in the palace inventories, see López-Rey, Velázquez: A Catalogue Raisonné of his Oeuvre, pp. 263-271.

3. Although previous Spanish artists did paint single portraits of the royal dwarfs, the majority of paintings, prior to those of Velázquez, in which they are represented are full-length double portraits of royalty accompanied by dwarfs. In Velázquez' oeuvre just the opposite is true. As Velázquez was Philip IV's official court painter, and, therefore, we cannot assume that these paintings were wholly spontaneous creations on the artist's part, it must be concluded that the King had a preference for the single portrait to the double portrait and thus had something to do with this reversal of the normal tradition.

4. The only one of these factors which might be used to account for all of these portraits is tradition, and this is so broad that it becomes meaningless. As has been noted, the tradition is so complex that it can hardly serve as a solid explanation for the King commissioning every one of these portraits. Moreover, it could hardly explain the full-length portraits of the jesters and the buffoons which are a new addition to the tradition of painting the royal dwarfs. Finally, it must be remembered that the nature of both the historical and artistic traditions changed in Philip IV's reign, and thus tradition acts to complicate the problems presented by these portraits rather than resolving any of them.

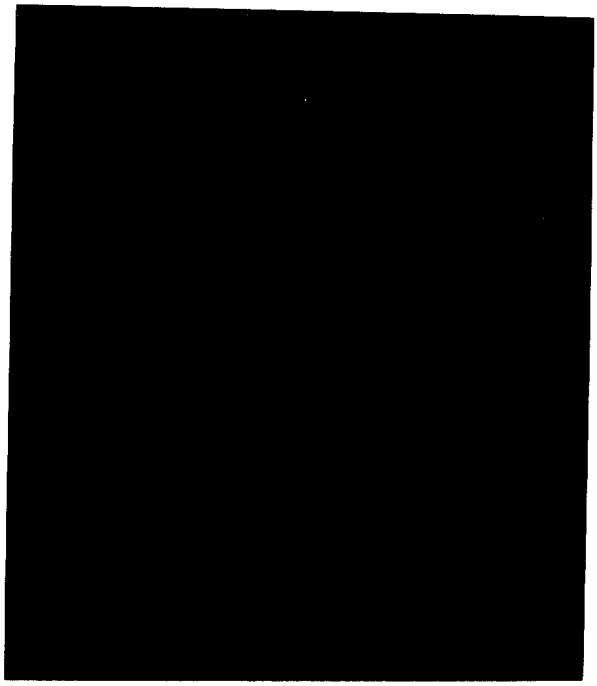

Figure 1

Oliveros de Castilla, Historia, Burgos, 1499.
Detail from title-page.

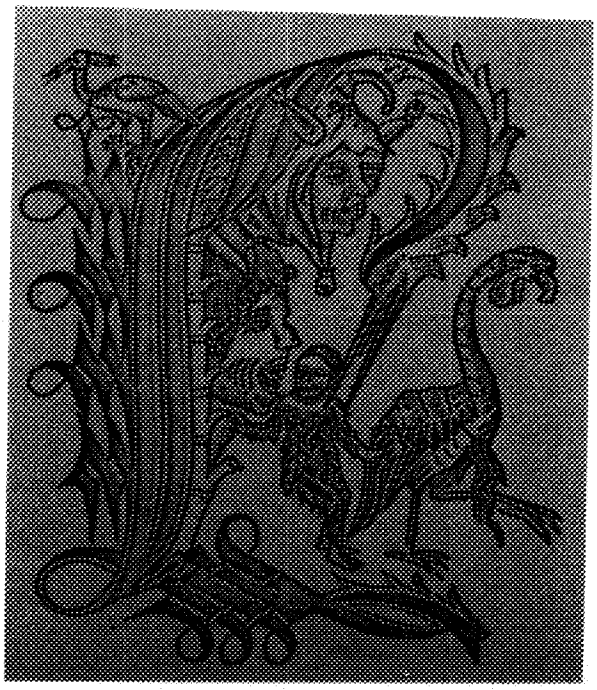

Figure 1

Oliveros de Castilla, Historia, Burgos, 1498.
Detail from title-page.

Figure 2

Velázquez, Prince Felipe Próspero, 1659, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Figure 2

Velázquez, Prince Felipe Próspero, 1659, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Figure 3

Antonio Moro, Estanislao, 1569, Paris, Louvre

Figure 3

Antonio Moro, Estanislao, 1560, Paris, Louvre

Figure 4

Antonio Moro, Court Dwarf Estevanillo, 1563-68, Cassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen

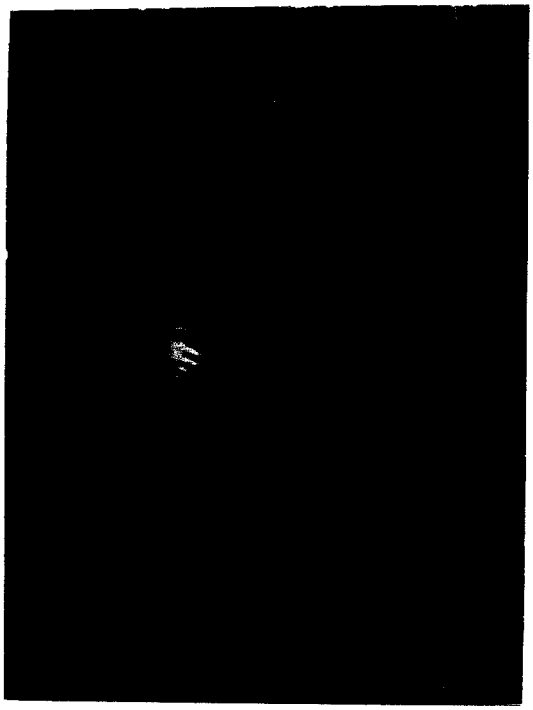

Figure 4

Antonio Moro, Court Dwarf Estevanillo, 1563-68, Cassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen

Figure 5

Sánchez Coello, Isabel Clara Eugenia with Madalena Ruiz, ca. 1580, Madrid Prado

Figure 5

Sánchez Coello, Isabel Clara Eugenia with Madalena Ruiz, ca. 1580, Madrid Prado

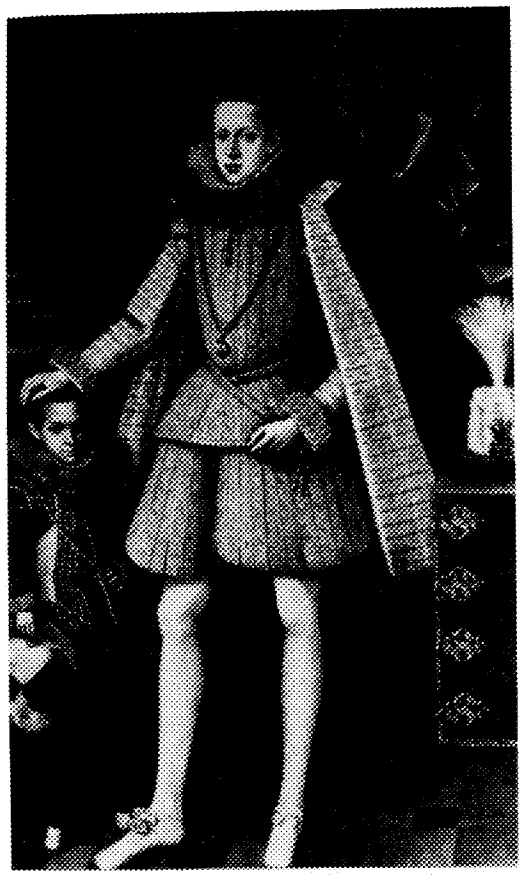

Figure 6

Rodrigo de Villandrandro, *Philip IV and the Dwarf Sopillo*, ca. 1618, Madrid, Prado

Figure 6

Rodrigo de Villandrandro, Philip IV and the Dwarf Soplillo, ca. 1618, Madrid, Prado

Figure 7

Velázquez, Prince Baltasar Carlos with a Dwarf, 1631, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Figure 7

Velázquez, Prince Baltasar Carlos with a Dwarf, 1631, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Figure 8

Detail from Figure 7

Figure 9

Detail from Figure 7

Figure 8

Detail from Figure 7

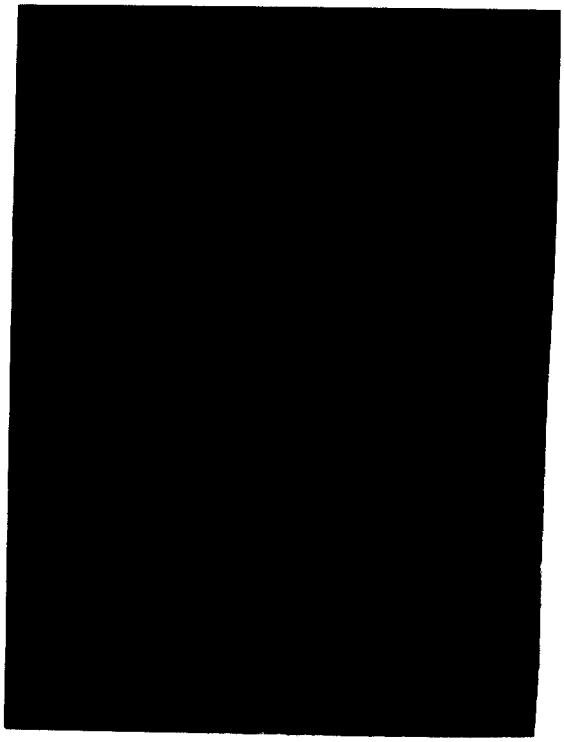

Figure 9

Detail from Figure 7

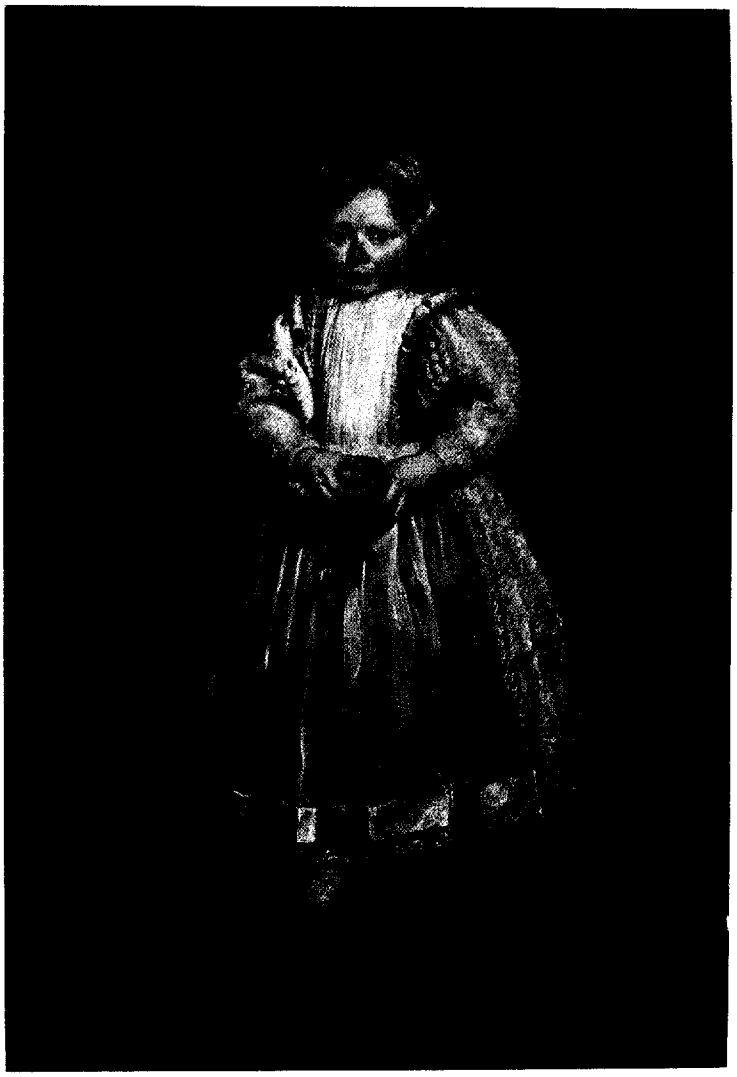

Figure 10

Van Dyck, Marchesa Clelia Cattaneo, 1623, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Figure 10

Van Dyck, Marchesa Clelia Cattaneo, 1623, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Figure 11

Velázquez, Jester Calabazas, 1632, Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art

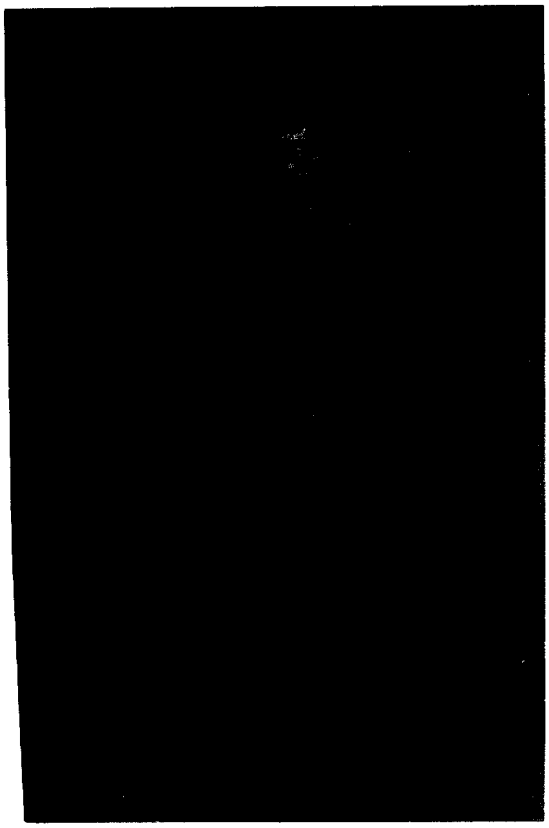

Figure 11

Velázquez, Jester Calabazas, 1632, Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art

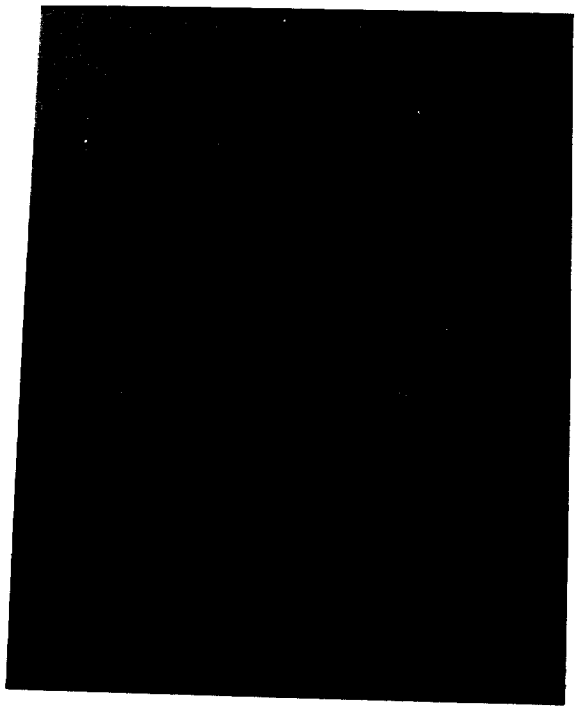

Figure 12

Madness (Pazzia). Woodcut from Cesare Ripa's Iconologia, Padua, 1630, p. 557

Figure 12
Madness (*Pazzia*). Woodcut from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, Padua, 1630, p. 557

Figure 13

Velázquez, Don Juan de Austria, 1632-33, Madrid, Prado

Figure 13

Velázquez, Don Juan de Austria, 1632-33, Madrid, Prado

Figure 14

Velázquez, Joseph's Bloody Coat, 1630, Madrid, El Escorial, Monasterio

Figure 14

Velázquez, Joseph's Bloody Coat, 1630, Madrid, El Escorial, Monasterio

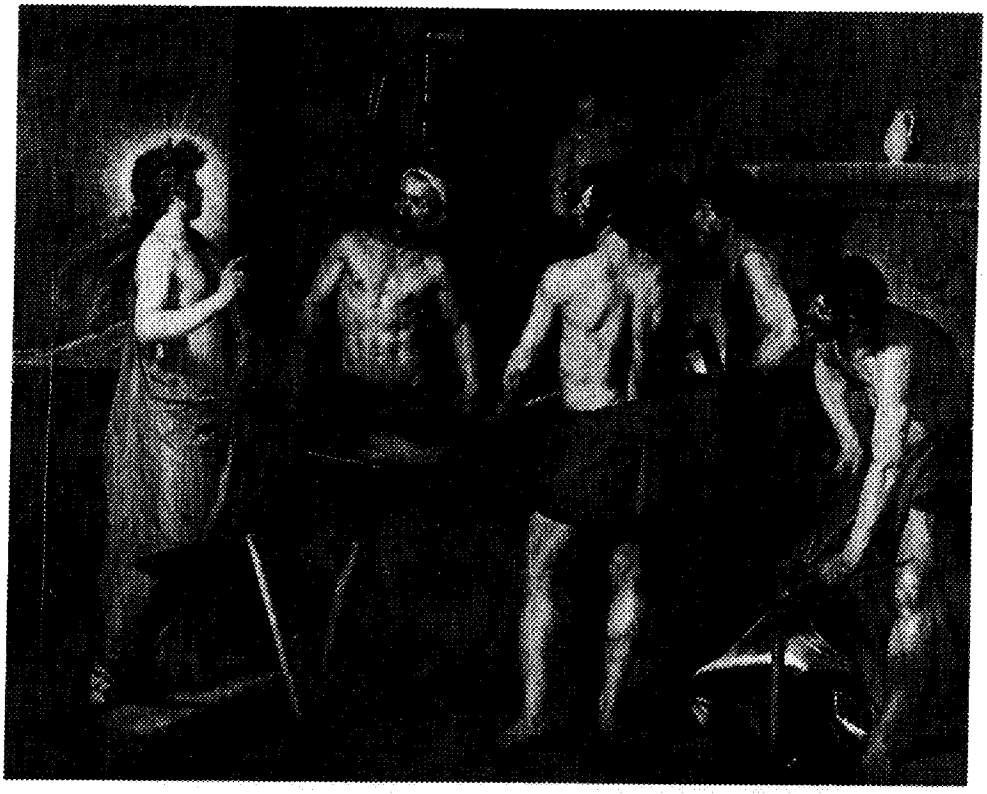

Figure 15

Velázquez, The Forge of Vulcan, 1630, Madrid, Prado

Figure 15

Velázquez, The Forge of Vulcan, 1630,
Madrid, Prado

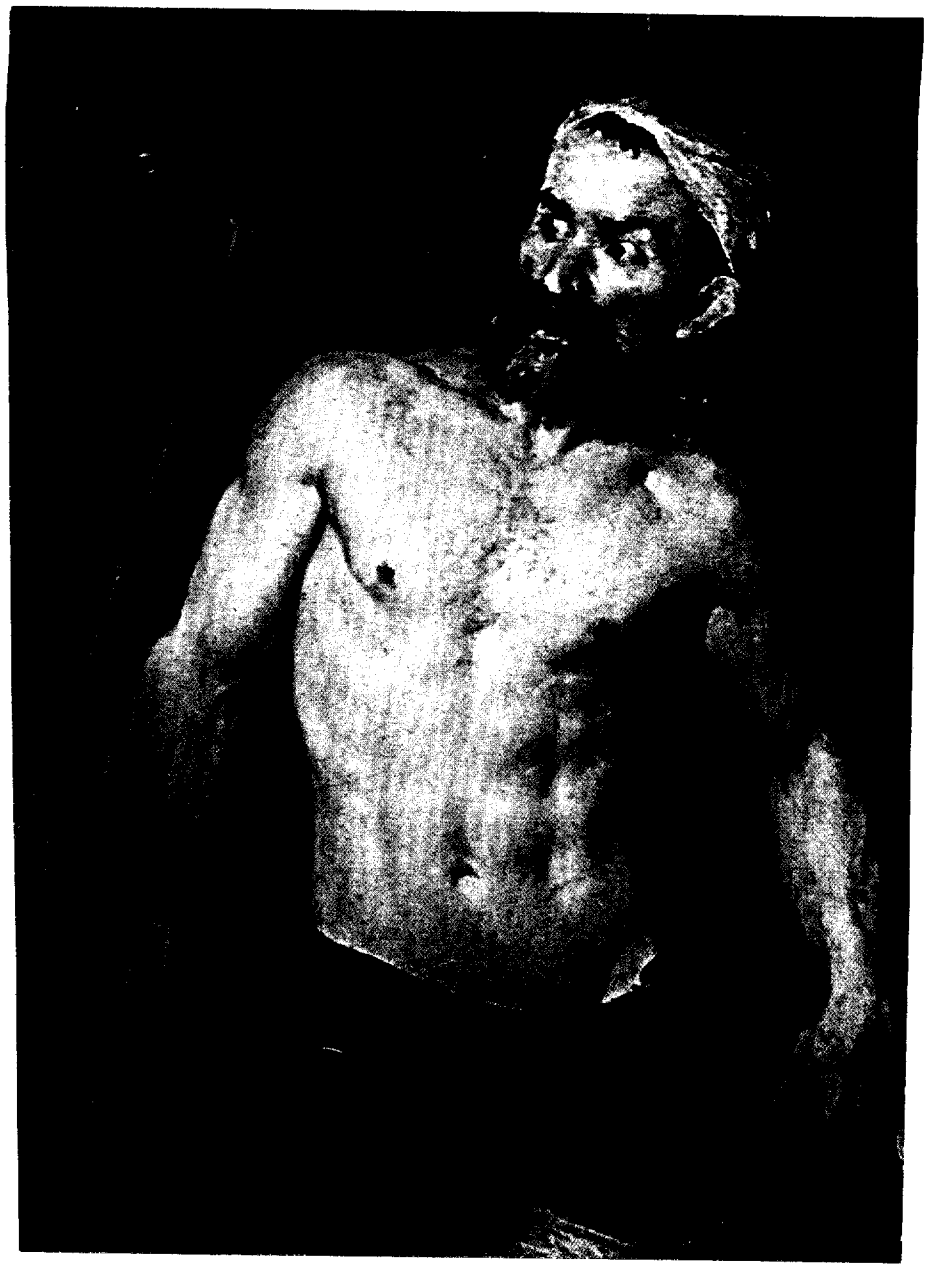

Figure 16

Detail from Figure 15

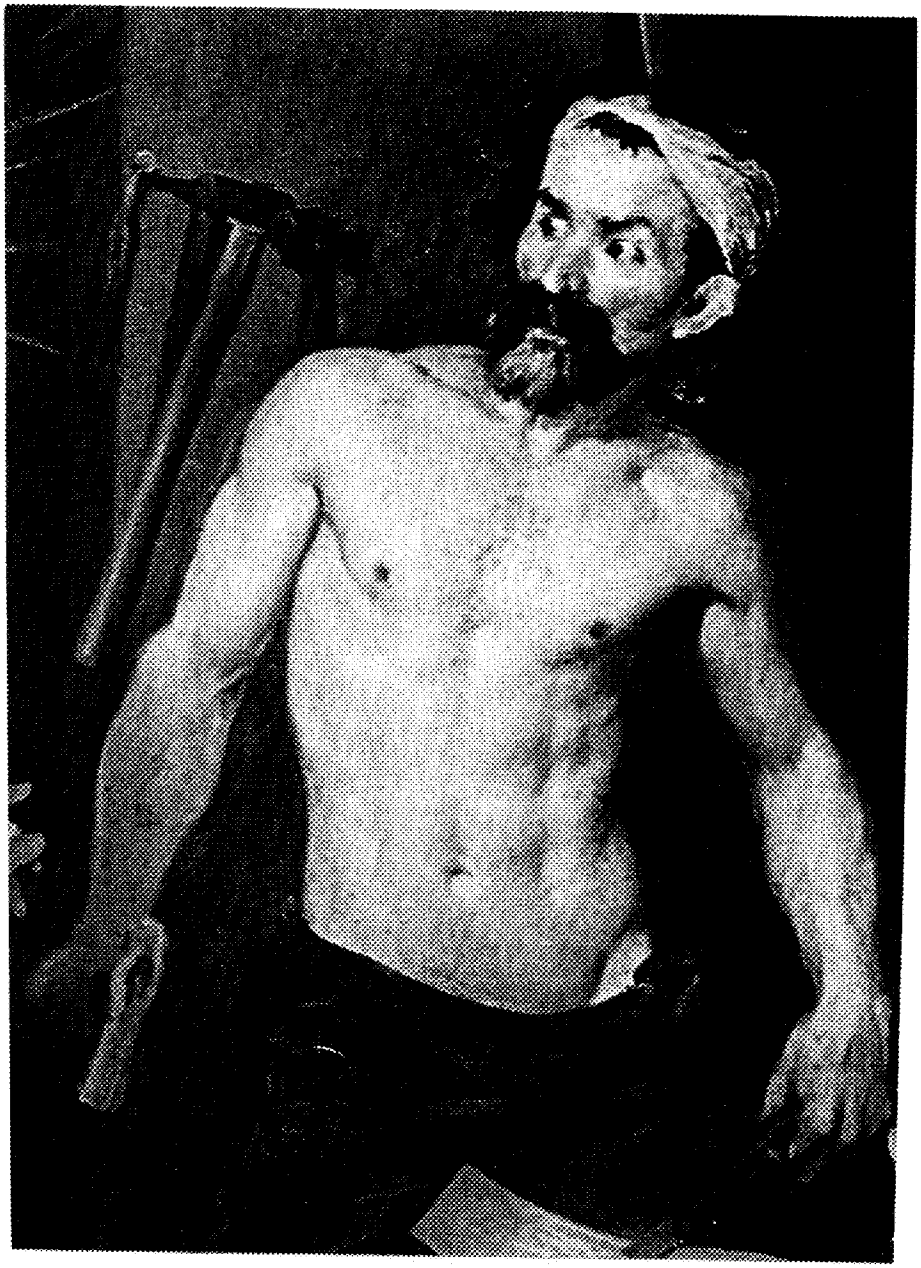

Figure 16

Detail from Figure 15

Figure 17

Titian, Philip II, 1571-75, Madrid, Prado

Figure 17

Titian, Philip II, 1571-75, Madrid, Prado

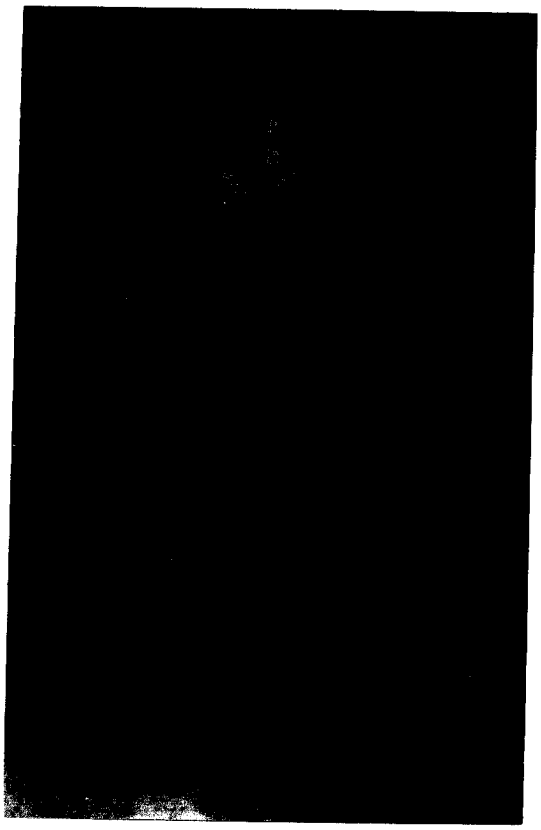

Figure 18

Pedro Antonio Vidal, Philip III, 1617 (?), Madrid, Prado

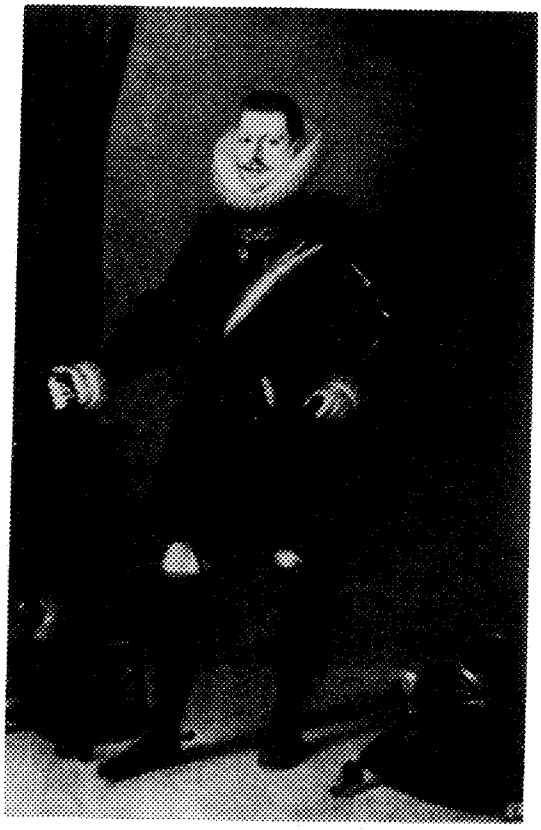

Figure 18

Pedro Antonio Vidal, Philip III, 1617 (?), Madrid, Prado

Figure 19

Sánchez Coello, Don Juan de Austria, ca. 1580, Madrid, El Escorial

Figure 19

Sánchez Coello, Don Juan de Austria, ca. 1580, Madrid, El Escorial

Figure 20

Antonio de Pereda, The Soldier's Dream, ca. 1655, Madrid, Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando

Figure 20

Antonio de Pereda, The Soldier's Dream, ca. 1655, Madrid, Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando

Figure 21

Velázquez, Pablo de Valladolid, mid-1630's, Madrid, Prado

Figure 21

Velázquez, Pablo de Valladolid, mid-1630's, Madrid, Prado

Figure 22

Velázquez, Infante don Carlos, ca. 1626, Madrid, Prado

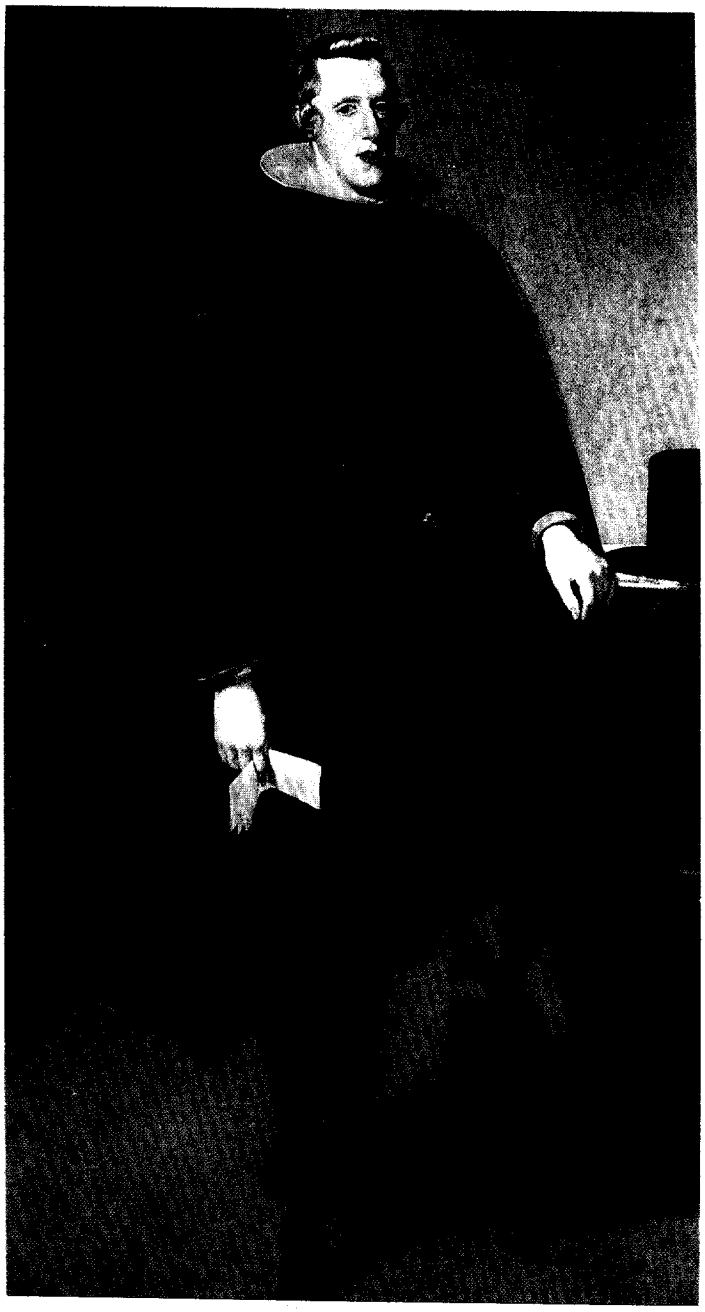

Figure 23

Velázquez, Philip IV, 1626-28, Madrid, Prado

Figure 23

Velázquez, Philip IV, 1626-28, Madrid, Prado

Figure 24

Velázquez, Don Cristóbal de Castañeda y Pernia, mid-1630's, Madrid, Prado

Figure 24

Velázquez, Don Cristóbal de Castañeda y Pernia, mid-1630's, Madrid, Prado

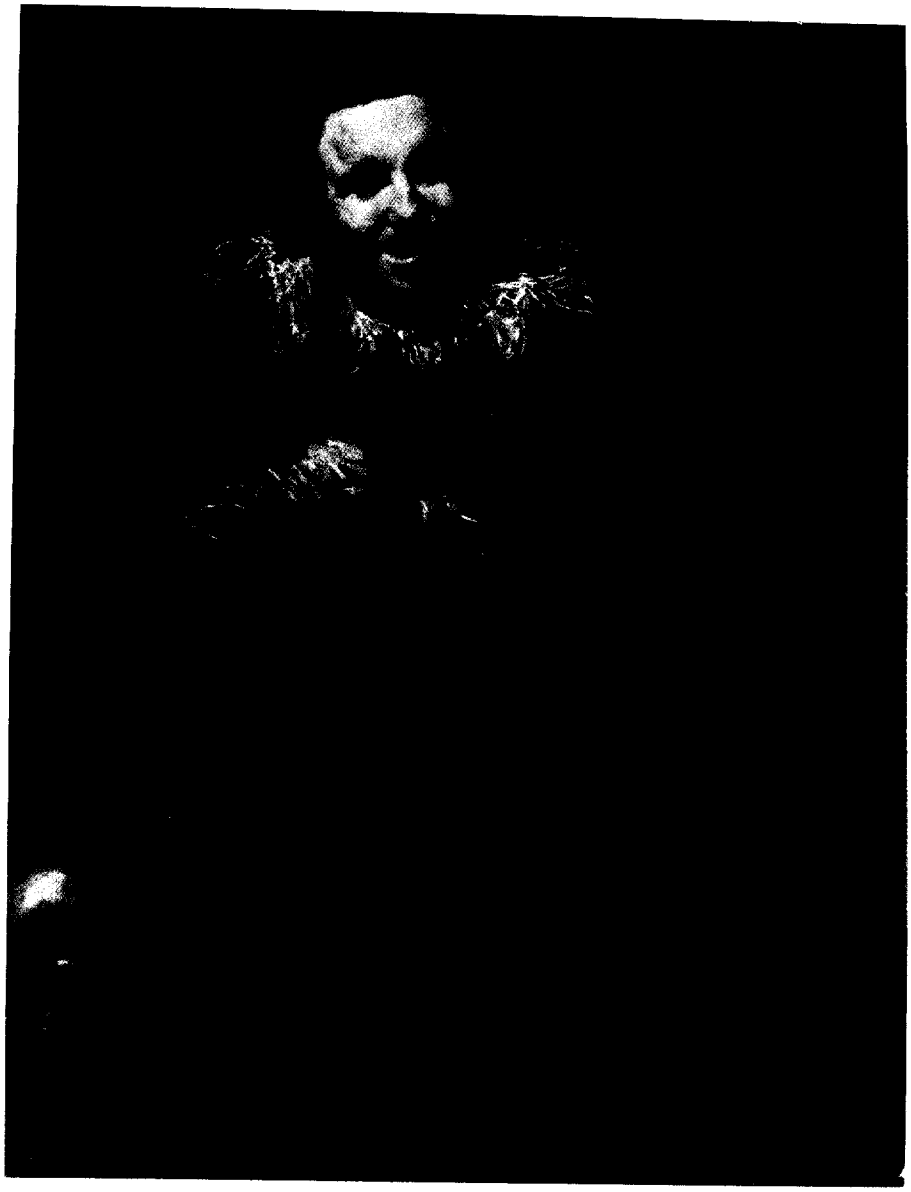

Figure 25

Velázquez, Calabazas, 1637-39, Madrid, Prado

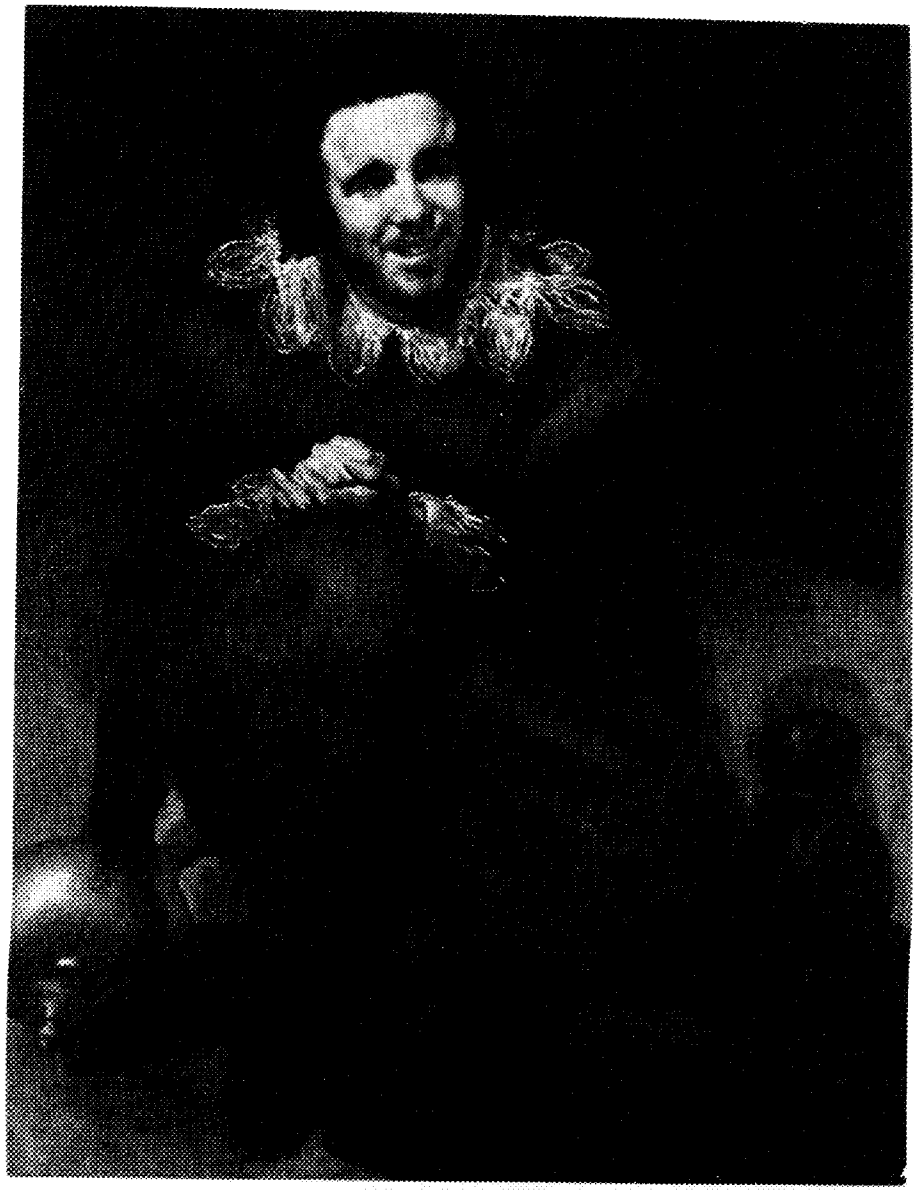

Figure 25

Velázquez, Calabazas, 1637-39, Madrid, Prado

Figure 26

Detail from Figure 25

Figure 26

Detail from Figure 25

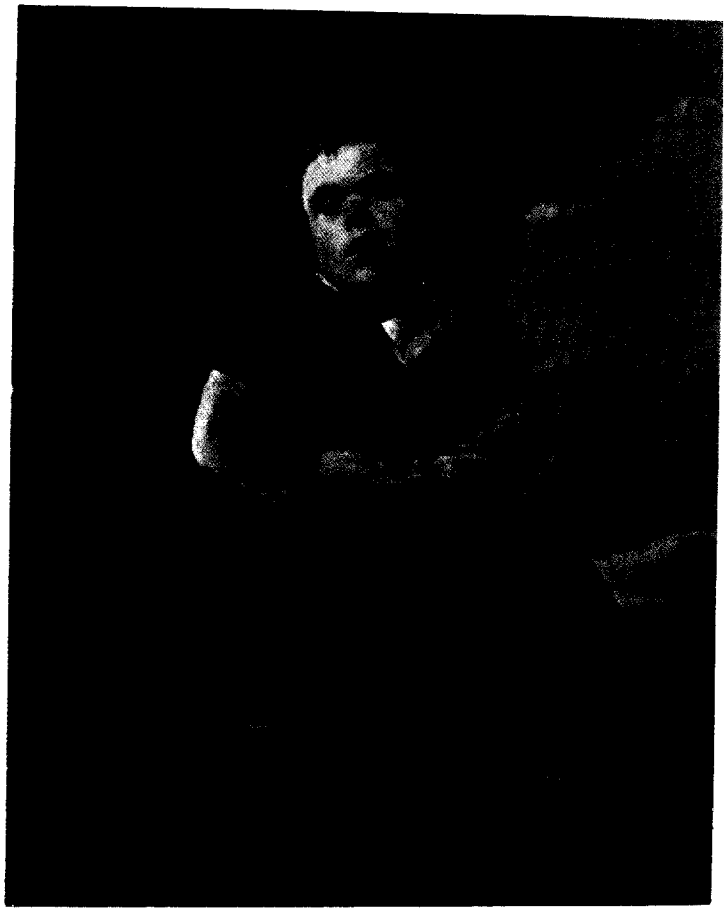

Figure 27

Velázquez, Francisco Lezcano, 1643-45, Madrid, Prado

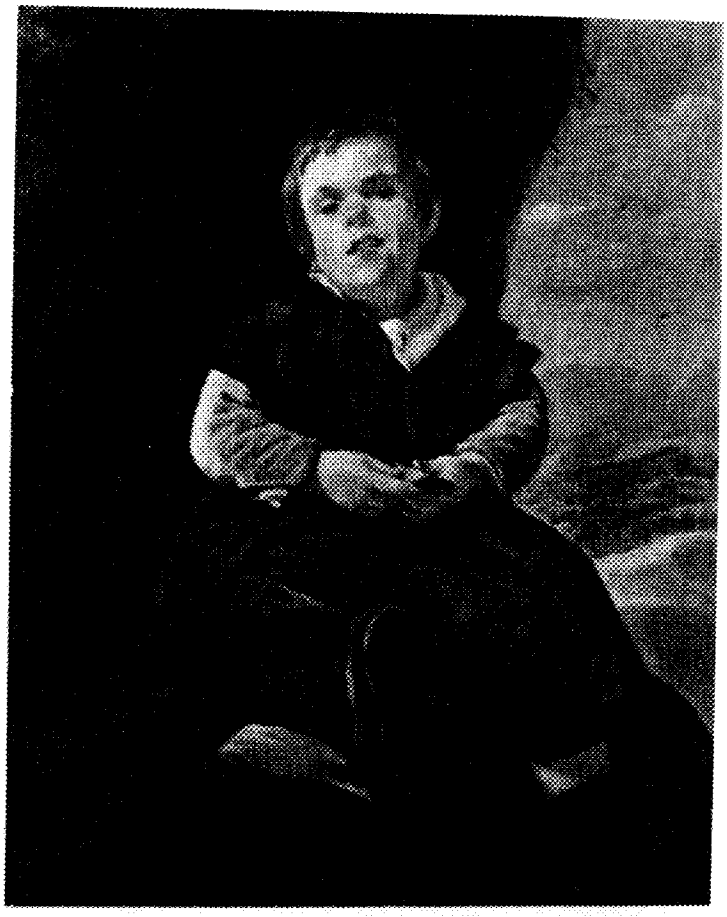

Figure 27

Velázquez, Francisco Lezcano, 1643-45, Madrid, Prado

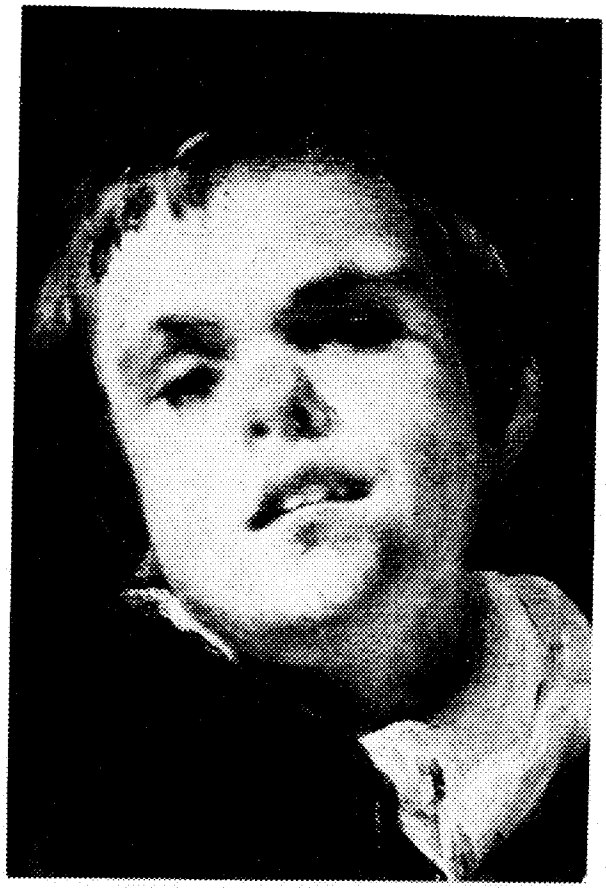

Figure 28

Detail from Figure 27

Figure 28

Detail from Figure 27

Figure 29

Velázquez, St. Anthony and St. Paul, mid- or late-1630's, Madrid, Prado

Figure 29

Velázquez, St. Anthony and St. Paul, mid- or late-1630's, Madrid, Prado

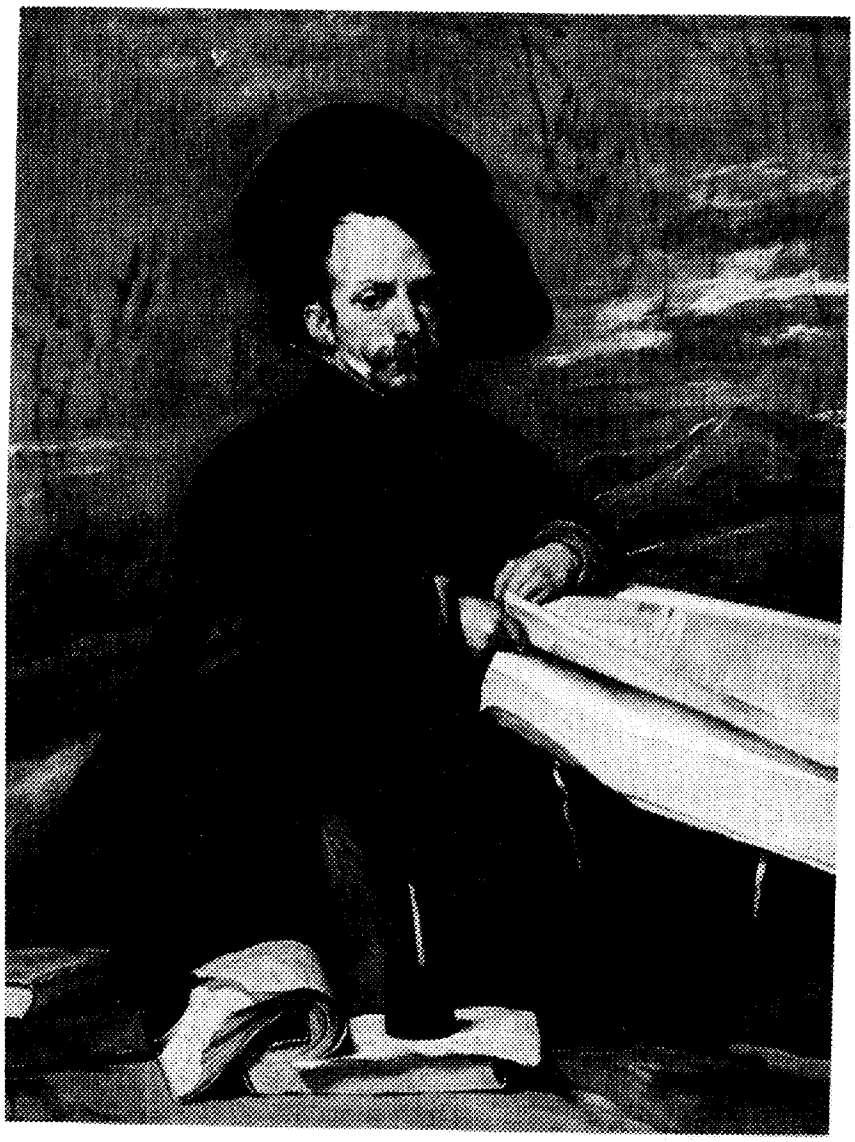

Figure 30

Velázquez, Don Diego de Acedo, 1644, Madrid, Prado

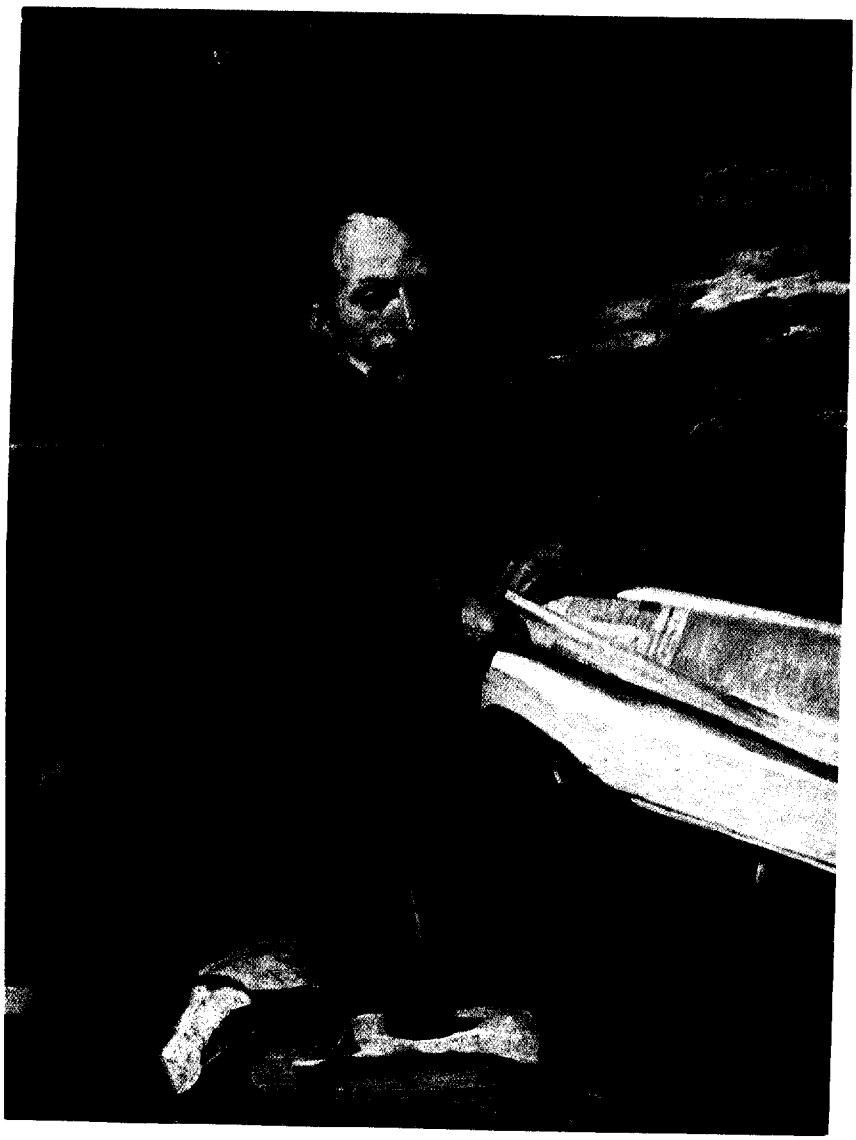

Figure 30

Velázquez, Don Diego de Acedo, 1644, Madrid, Prado

Figure 31

Detail from Figure 30

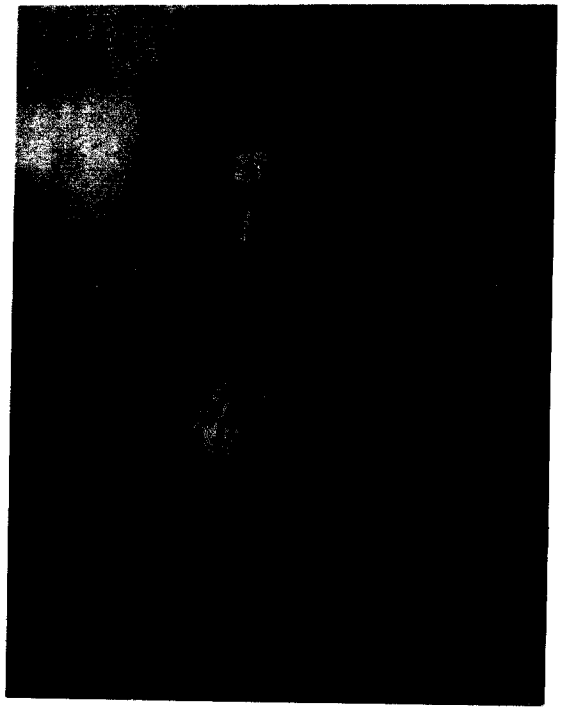

Figure 32

Raphael, Baldassare Castiglione, ca. 1515-16, Paris, Louvre

Figure 33

Titian, Tommaso Mosti, ca. 1520, Florence, Pitti Palace

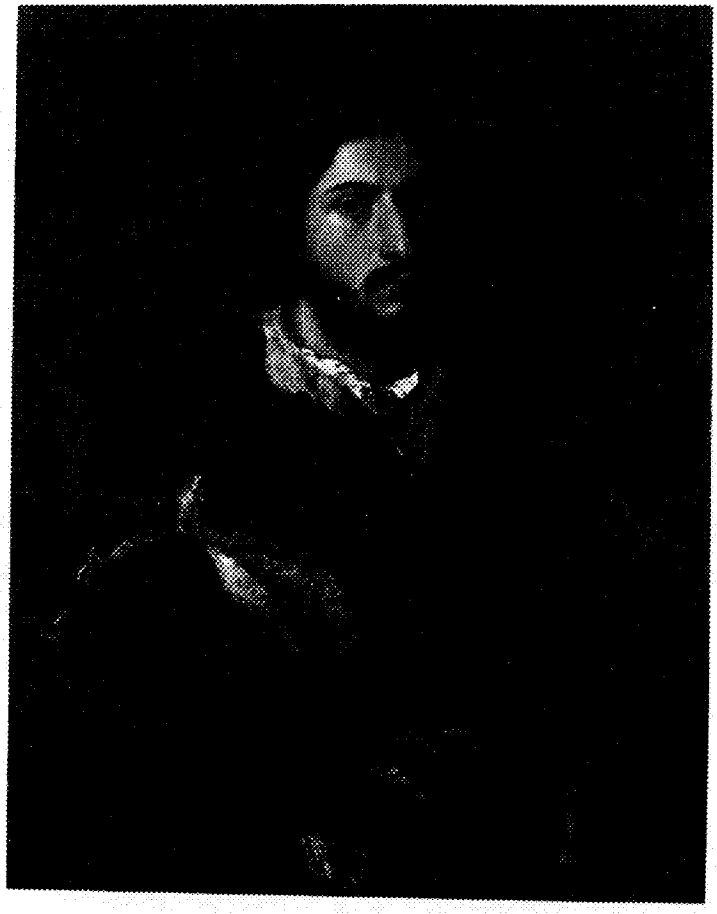

Figure 33

Titian, Tommaso Mosti, ca. 1520, Florence, Pitti Palace

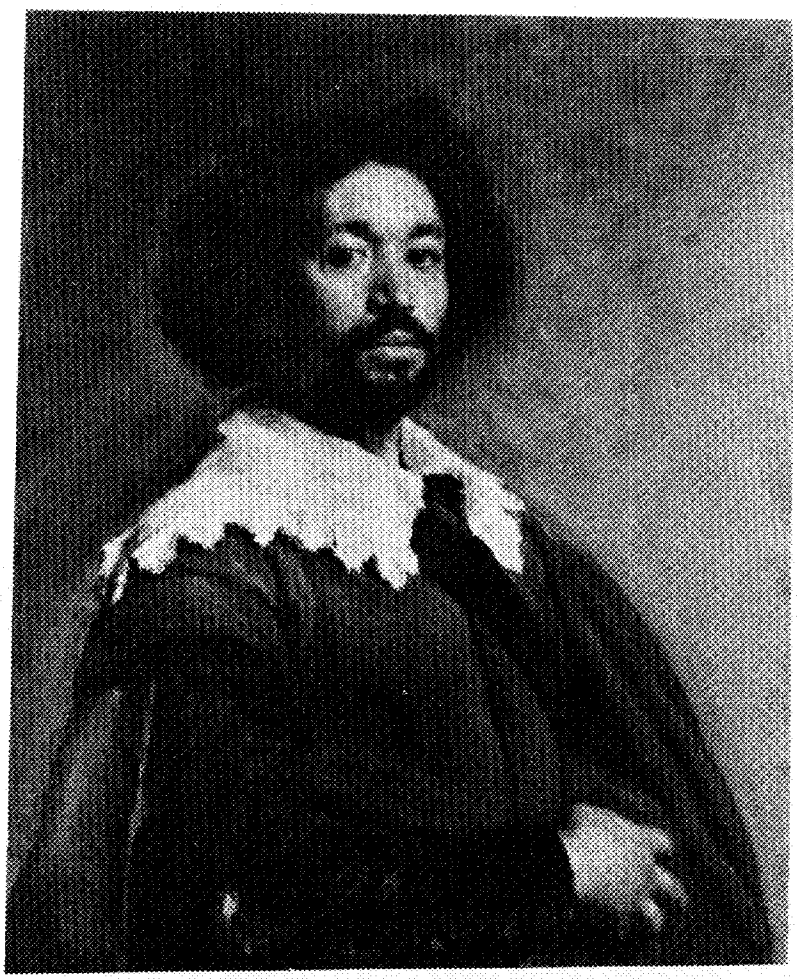

Figure 34

Velázquez, Juan de Pareja, 1649-50, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Figure 34

Velázquez, Juan de Pareja, 1649-50, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Figure 35

Velázquez, Sebastián de Morra, mid-1640's, Madrid, Prado

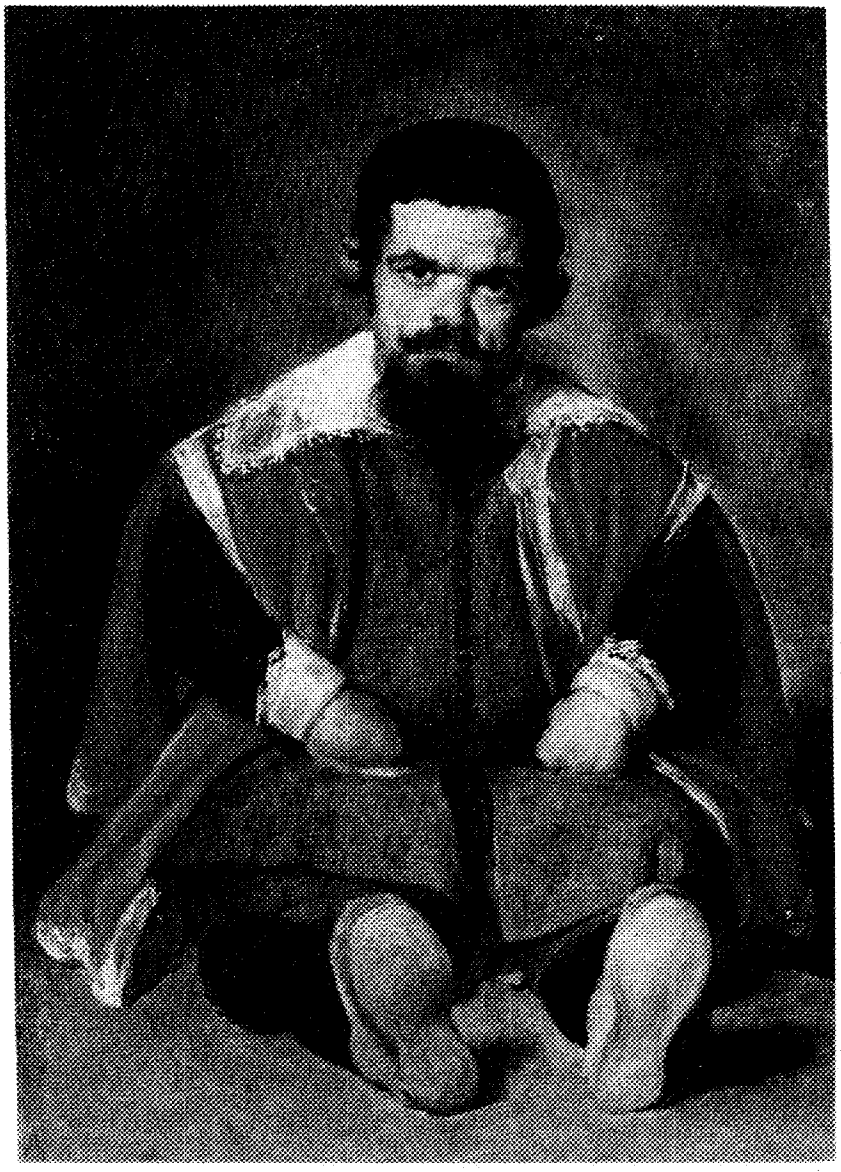

Figure 35

Velázquez, Sebastián de Morra, mid-1640's, Madrid, Prado

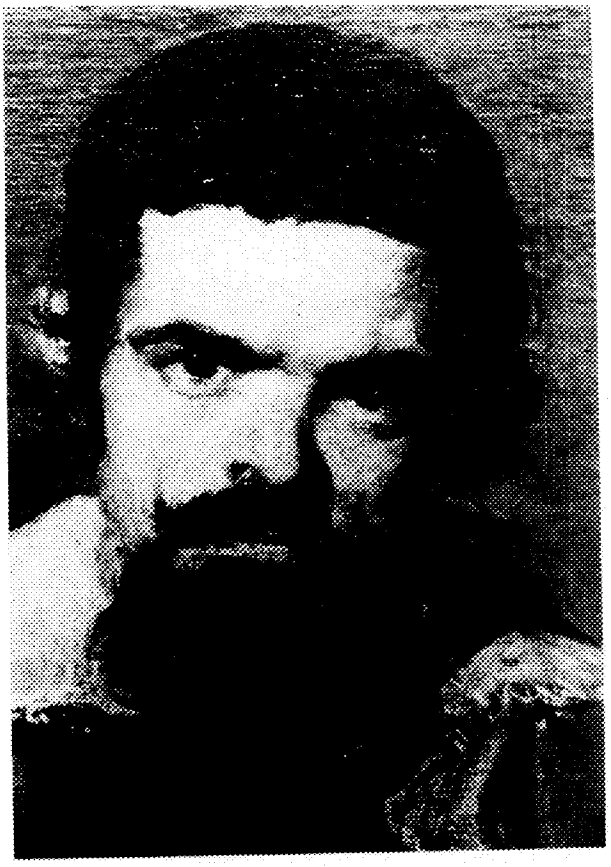

Figure 36

Detail from Figure 35

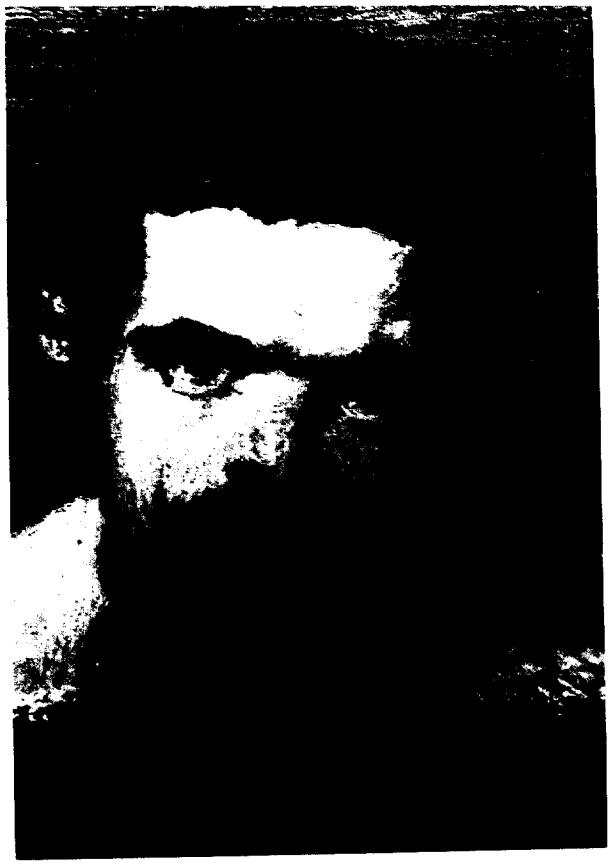

Figure 36

Detail from Figure 35

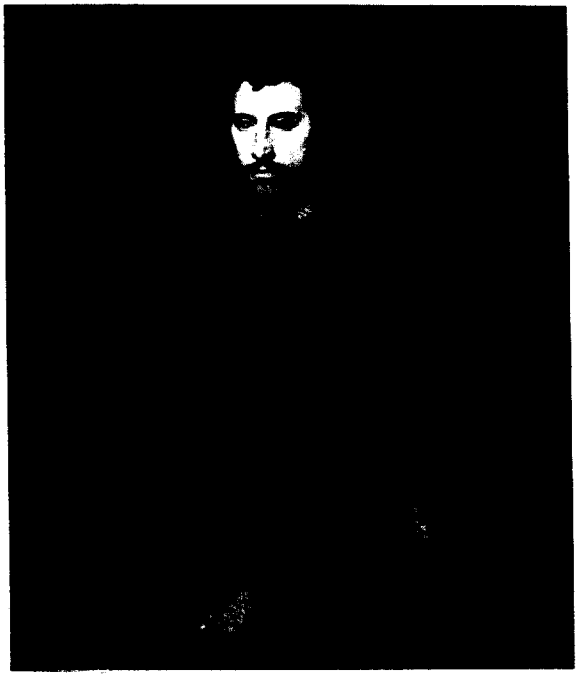

Figure 37

Titian, Ippolito Riminaldi, ca. 1540-45, Florence, Pitti Palace

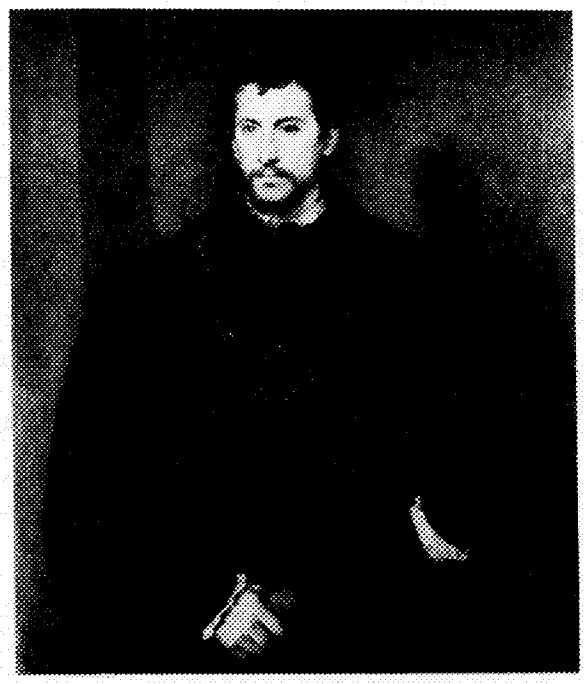

Figure 37

Titian, Ippolito Riminaldi, ca. 1540-45, Florence, Pitti Palace

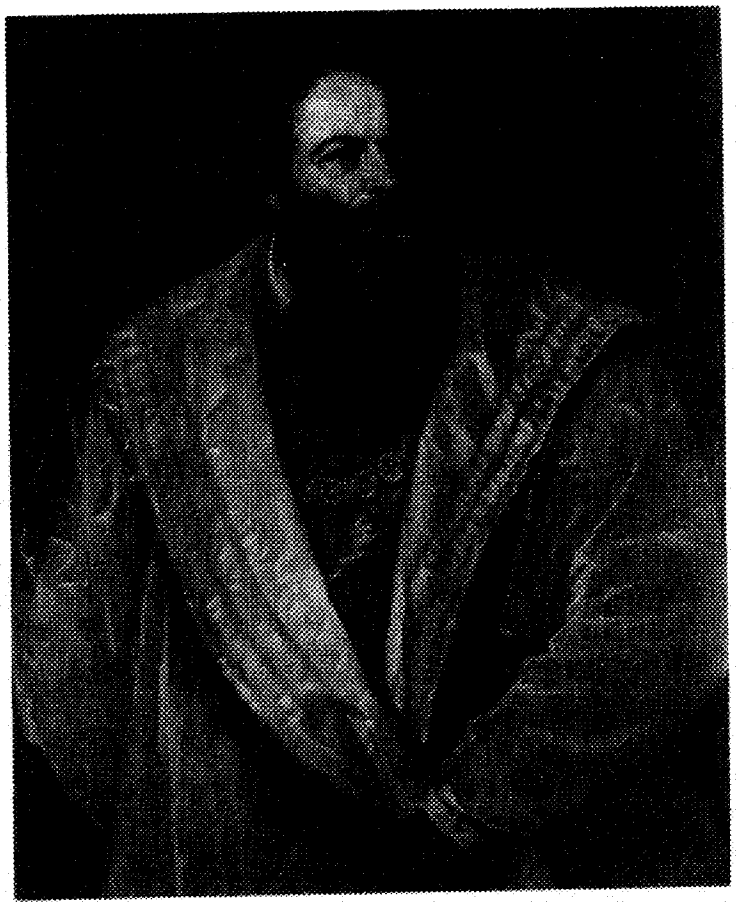

Figure 35

Titian, Pietro Aretino, 1545, Florence, Pitti Palace

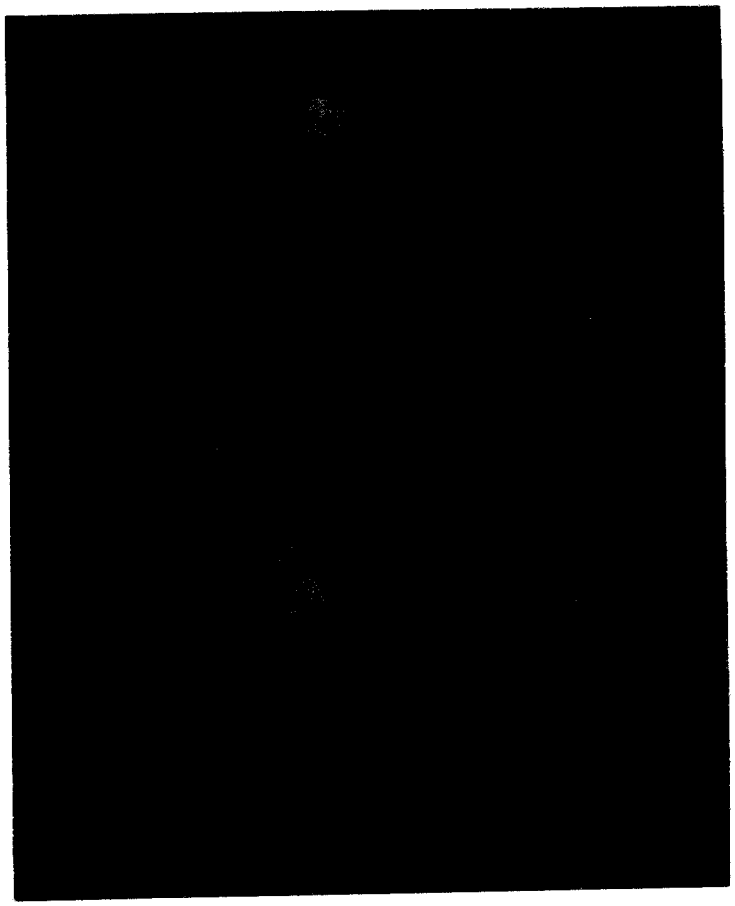

Figure 38

Titian, Pietro Aretino, 1545, Florence, Pitti Palace

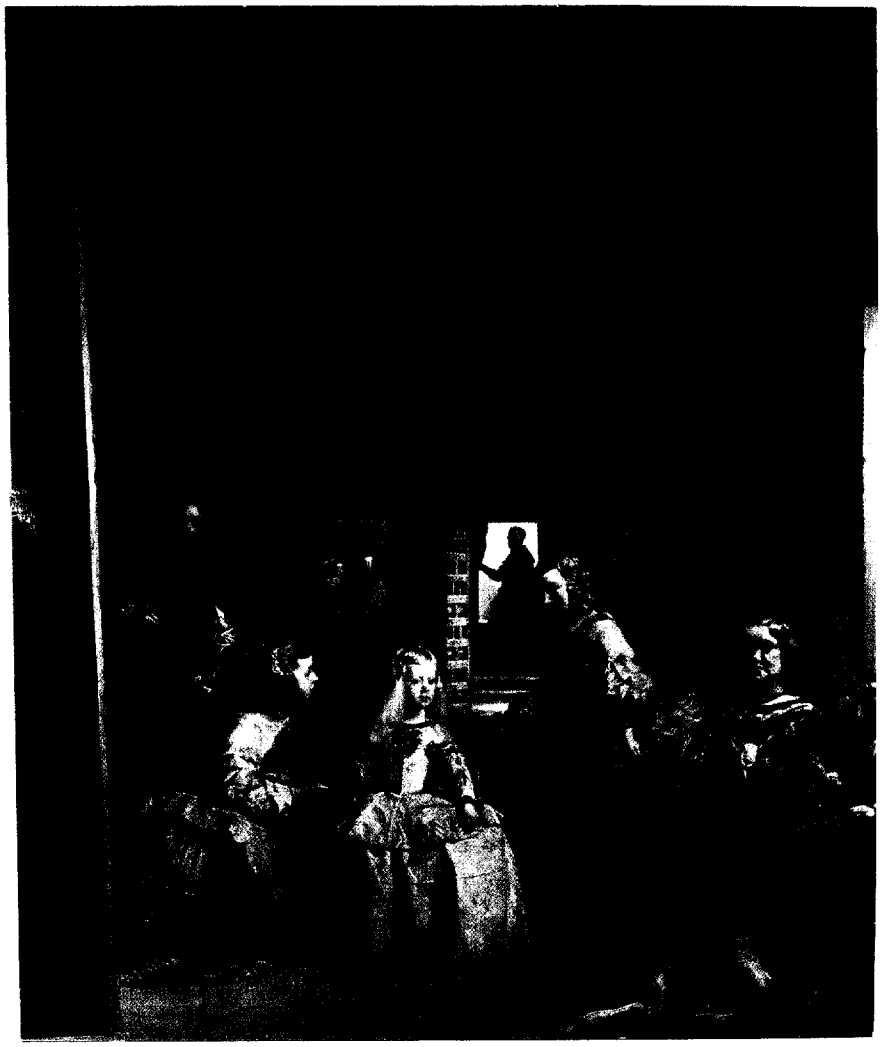

Figure 39

Velázquez, Las Meninas, 1656, Madrid, Prado

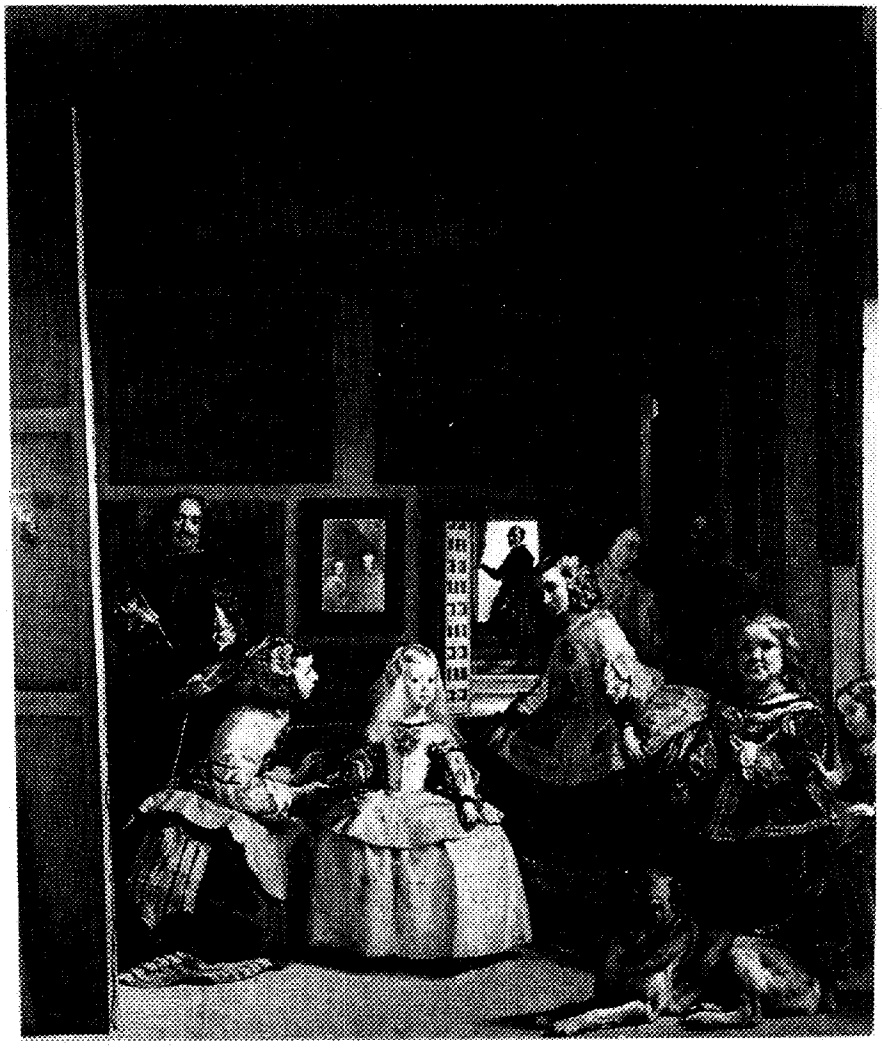

Figure 39

Velázquez, Las Meninas, 1656, Madrid, Prado

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APPROVED BY Robert H. Benten.
DATE April 9, 1973.