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Gregorio Fernández

Sarria 1576 — Valladolid, 1636

Guardian Angel

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Gregorio Fernández and workshop

Sarria 1576 — Valladolid, 1636

Guardian Angel

Polychromed wood with egg tempera and *estofado* on gold leaf, with glass eyes

198 x 145 x 55cm

Literature: *Espíritu barroco*. Colección Granados, José María Palencia Cerezo and Javier del Campo, Burgos, Caja de Burgos, 2008, p. 138

Provenance: private collection, Madrid

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Miguel Hermoso Cuesta

Introduction - The Sculptor Gregorio Fernández

“Once this man has died, there ought not be enough money in the world to pay for what he leaves behind”.¹ These words from the Carmelite friar Juan de Orbea in 1624 go a long way to showing just how highly the talents of Gregorio Fernández (Sarria 1576 — Valladolid, 1636) were regarded by his peers. The artist was exceptional not only in terms of quality, but also in that he created new iconographical models that would become incredibly popular, taking on a fundamental importance in renovating Valladolid’s sculptural school in the early 17th century.

His works, almost exclusively religious, were commissioned by the civil and ecclesiastical elites, starting with none other than King Philip III², and were appreciated throughout society. It therefore comes as no surprise that his name should have taken on almost legendary status within art history.³ Even Palomino expressed admiration for his sculptures, while emphasizing the human qualities of their author, especially his charitable tendencies, going so far as to state that: “Said Gregorio is considered a Venerable figure due to his many virtues, for there was not an Effigy of Our Lord Christ or His Most Holy Mother done by him that was not prepared for with Prayer, Fasting, Penitence and Communions, so that God would give him the grace to undertake it successfully”⁴. These two basic ideas, the high standard of his work and his virtues, which enabled him to create miraculous images⁵ and were said to have kept his corpse incorrupt⁶, have become inextricably linked to the figure of the sculptor. A vision

1 VIÑAZA, Conde de la, *Adiciones al Diccionario Histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España de D. Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez*, vol. II, Madrid, Tipografía de los Huérfanos, 1889, p. 257.

2 MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ, *El escultor Gregorio Fernández*, Madrid, Ministry of Culture, 1980, pp. 25-28.

3 The critical fortunes of the sculptor’s work in MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ, *op. cit.*, Madrid, pp. 59-68, in BURRIEZA SÁNCHEZ, Javier, “Gregorio Fernández: retrato histórico de un escultor en Valladolid”, in ALONSO PONGA, José Luis and PANERO GARCÍA, Pilar (coordinators), *Gregorio Fernández: antropología, historia y estética en el barroco*, Valladolid, Town Council, 2008, pp. 245-255 and for the 19th century in Valladolid in VALERO COLLANTES, Ana Cristina, “La memoria perdida de un gran escultor”, in ALONSO PONGA and PANERO GARCÍA, *op. cit.*, pp. 511-524.

4 PALOMINO, Antonio Acisclo, *El Parnaso español pintoresco laureado*, Madrid, Viuda de Juan García Infançon, 1724, p. 278.

5 Like the image of St. Anne, carried on shoulders from Valladolid to the Convento del Carmen in Madrid, which was: “so celebrated and unusual in its artistic care as it was portentous in prodigies. Its carving was fruit of that celebrated and virtuous sculptor Hernández, who blossomed in Valladolid when it was the Court of our Catholic Monarch, and of whom it was a tradition not to start work on any sculpture without first preparing with prayer, fasts, mortification and penitence”, VIÑAZA, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

6 CEÁN BERMÚDEZ, Juan Agustín, *Diccionario histórico de los mas ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España*, vol. II, Madrid, Viuda de Ibarra, 1800, p. 264, claims that Valladolid maintained “the tradition that his body is entirely preserved in the church of the Calced Carmelites, which is held to be the case by religious brethren who saw him thus some 12 years”.

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that was largely maintained⁷ until the second half of the 20th century⁸, playing down other aspects such as Ponz's claims regarding his bad temper⁹.

However, interpretations of Gregorio Fernández's artistic system have two almost opposing aspects; on the one hand, Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez noted that he surpassed his peers "*in the sweetness of the musculation, as they almost all followed the school of Buonarota, in the tranquillity and decorum of the attitudes, in the amiable faces, in the creases and folds in the fabrics and in other parts of the art, without this taking away from the grandiosity of the forms*"¹⁰. Isidoro Bosarte would also approach the sculptor's art from the same perspective, commenting that "*his images appear intended to maintain devotion and piety. Correct design and the constant desire to attain beauty, good taste in the fabric folds and in the clothes covering the figures and, above all else, a nobility of style that characterises them*"¹¹. Finally, and in the same vein, in the late 19th century José Martí y Monsó described the sculptor as the one who "*combined the fundamental principles of classical art*"¹².

What these authors saw in the artist's work was his attention to proportions and a skill with anatomy¹³, which are always appreciated in Fernández's oeuvre and denote a certain classical persuasion, which is sometimes extremely obvious, such as in the *Ecce Homo* (ca. 1620) from Valladolid's Museo Diocesano¹⁴ (**Fig. 1**), but which may also be observed in other, supposedly realist, works, such as his crucifixions and also in statues such as the one we are addressing here. For the rest of the critics, who made up the

7 As in the case of ORUETA, Ricardo de, *Gregorio Fernández*, Madrid, Calleja, 1920 (the edition I am quoting is Valladolid, Museo Nacional de Escultura, 2013, p. 21), who described the sculptor as "a good man, both charitable and profoundly religious. A most loving father; he welcomed into his house not only his daughter and her husband during her first marriage, but also during the second, when he put up not only the married couple, but also his son-in-law's father who, when the former died, continued to live in the house until he died".

8 GARCÍA CHICO, Esteban, *Gregorio Fernández*, Valladolid, College of Arts and Crafts, 1952, p. 13: "In his hours of leisure he liked to read devote books; those by Fray Luis de Granada, with those of Father Luis de la Puente, which were an endless source, and he turned to them when the commission of a holy image arrived, as makes sense, for when doing an image of Christ, it was logical to be continually with Christ".

9 The member of the council of the Cathedral of Plasencia noted, in his Letter dated 26 March 1629 that the sculptor, "other than being a minor noble, was of a sensitive and irascible nature". This letter was transcribed by PONZ, *Viage de España*, vol. VII, Madrid, Joaquín Ibarra, 1778, p. 102 and by MARTÍ Y MONSÓ, p. 400.

10 CEÁN BERMÚDEZ, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

11 BOSARTE, Isidoro, *Viage artístico á varios pueblos de España*, vol. I, Madrid, Royal Press, 1804, p. 192.

12 MARTÍ Y MONSÓ, José, *Estudios histórico-artísticos: relativos principalmente a Valladolid*, Valladolid, Leonardo Miñón, 1898-1901, p. 152.

13 And yet ORUETA (*op. cit.*, p. 41), when commenting on the *Recumbent Christ* from the Capuchin monastery of El Pardo, states that: "The chest, seen from the front, is paltry; the left shoulder, in the fleshy part (the deltoids) is almost withered away; the cranium is really absurd given how high the occiput is; but the skin is velvety, attained through slight and delicious nuances; the soft highlighting of the ribs and the point of the sternum, which denote slight and barely-perceptible hard areas, included to accentuate and lend greater emphasis to the straight lines of the stomach and pectoral. And seen in profile from the side, the legs and arms are delicate (...) They seem true, genuine, giving a real sense of the physicality: sensuality. There we find pleasure and passion in the work: love. This is the work of a vulgar, plebeian man, but who feels the flesh and is fascinated by its voluptuousness". It is significant that, six years later, GILMAN PROSKE, Beatrice, in *Gregorio Fernández*, New York, The Hispanic Society of America, 1926, p. 41 should highlight the softness of the modelling of the anatomy, its elegance of form and the use of *contrapposto*, "which has been synonymous with grace since the days of Polykleitos".

14 As already highlighted by MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ (*op. cit.* p. 50), in spite of opposing opinions from other critics such as Ricardo de Orueta, who in 1920 (*op. cit.* p. 40) wrote: "It is clear that his nudes are never in the least reminiscent of ancient statues: he must not have been aware of them even as drawings, or if he was they must not have impressed him".

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majority led by Antonio Ponz, Fernández was a naturalist sculptor¹⁵, with Ponz stating that: “*The way in which he folded fabrics was entirely taken from nature, through real clothing, and he generally did the same for his depictions of heads, adding whatever was asked for or what the subject called for in itself. In short, if things of this nature could be extracted with such facility as in paintings, Gregorio Hernandez would be no less renowned both within and beyond the Kingdom than Murillo, Velazquez, Rivera or other Spanish artists*”¹⁶. The comparison with these three painters is highly significant, paradigm of Spanish artistic realism for neo-classical criticism, and which has done so much to hamper understanding of 17th-century Spanish art, and yet which may be clearly understood thanks to details such as Fernández’s preference for matte carnations or the hyper-realistic nature of the wounds of his flagellated or recumbent Christs. Models which have been core to appreciation of the artist’s work¹⁷ and which to a degree justify that idea of naturalism¹⁸, which, however, would be highly difficult to apply to his depictions of the Immaculate Conception¹⁹, St. Teresa of Ávila, the Virgin and Child or other images like the one we are studying here, which are far more than just “icons of sentiment and beauty”²⁰, and in which the artificiality of the fabrics and postures denies any sign of realism²¹ given that what Fernández appears to be



Fig. 1 Gregorio Fernández, *Ecce Homo*, c. 1620. Museo Diocesano, Valladolid.

15 PONZ, Antonio, *Viage de España*, vol. XI, Madrid, Joaquín Ibarra, 1783, p. 44: “Gregorio Hernandez, of whom I have already told you a good deal, was a naturalist master of Sculpture, like Murillo was in Painting, though in a different term and style. He filled his imagination, which he raised up in the subjects he depicted, which were mostly holy ones, in which he expressed great vivacity, as he was a devote man and inclined towards them. He was not lacking in compositional skills or in any of those that are recommended for artistic output; and it is known that he made the most of the good and best sculptors of merit who had preceded him”.

16 PONZ, Antonio, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

17 ORUETA (*op. cit.*, p. 30): “And these are the two great tragic emotions that the art of Gregorio Fernández translates: that of acute pain and that of painful death (...) Many of his other sculptures provide variations, derivations of these emotional notes, though less felt, or felt with less sincerity. In other expressions not of pain, but which are similar, such as exalted contemplation or mysticism, for example, which would inspire such admirable works in artists that came after him, we see him struggle to establish a successful model, without ever quite managing to do so entirely”.

18 GÓMEZ MORENO, María Elena (*Gregorio Fernández*, Madrid, CSIC, 1953, p. 18), tries to find some middle ground between the two positions: “It is clear that Gregorio Fernández, within the standard classifications, is a realist sculptor (...) Fernández’ realism eschews the servile imitation of reality. It seeks the source of its inspiration; but it comes to us in a newly-renovated state, having its own reality, seen in the artist’s imagination and warmed by his genius”.

19 Something attempted, however, by ORUETA (*op. cit.*, p. 32): “The Gregorio Fernández model is ugly. It has monotonous, regular and almost parallel lines. The folds in the clothing are hard, cut out and lacking in grace or explanation. The moulding of the flesh is childish; the eyes are bigger than the mouth; the eyebrows are two lines drawn with a compass; the neck, a cylinder serving as a handle for the head; the forehead large, curved and crowned by hair that looks like a wig. The cherubim at the figure’s feet are two heads looking at each other like snakes on a Roman capital. There is not a single line or volume that pleases the eye. The outline is hastily executed, with the posture badly chosen as is the form. It seems as if the model has been copied just how he wanted to be arranged. But that makes the creation spontaneous and natural. One cannot discern the slightest aesthetic artifice”.

20 ÁLVAREZ VICENTE, Andrés, “Hombre y artista en el Siglo de Oro”, in ÁLVAREZ VICENTE Andrés and GARCÍA RODRÍGUEZ, Julio César, (curators), *Gregorio Fernández: la gubia del barroco*, Valladolid, Town Council, 2009, p. 17.

21 ORUETA (*op. cit.*, pp. 46-47), stated that: “where the hardness of Fernández’s technique becomes unbearable is in the fabrics. His drapery is always generous, with thick, heavy and rigid cloth, which does not allow one to discern the body underneath, or not very well (...) the only fabric he models well, and even then not very well, is wool almost

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trying to achieve with the contrast between the softness of the carnations and the hardness of the fabrics is to transcend just that very naturalist appearance in order to allude to the divine character of the images depicted, where anti-natural creases seem to suggest that the figures belong to just that, a supernatural sphere, something that therefore goes beyond the merely devotional, understood in a pejorative sense²².

It is not until the second decade of the 17th century, coinciding with the start of the sculptor's mature period, that we observe a progressive shift in his human models and rendering of the fabrics²³, which start to take on a clear expressive value. The former move steadily away from 16th-century models, in particular those of Pompeo Leoni (ca. 1533-1608) or Francisco de Rincón (ca. 1567-1608), present in Valladolid, while the fabric folds would become harder, culminating in his final years in forms that appear almost metallic, as has often been noted, and completely independent of the bodies they cover, thereby creating a visual paradox no less than those used in contemporary literature, and which only the sculptor's enormous talent was able to balance so that figure and clothing form one single coherent whole.

as thick as the type used nowadays for blankets, and when he tries to make it finer, he does so, yet fails to lend it flexibility so it looks like paper or tin plate". On the other hand, MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ (*op. cit.* p. 50) was fully aware of the reason for this differentiation, writing that: "The naturalism is obvious; the figures give the impression of being alive. Paradoxically the only thing seeming artificial are the clothes. They are always ample, heavy and hard".

22 As did ORUETA (*op. cit.*, pp. 26-27): "Although Gregorio Fernández is very artistic, and a great artist at that, the first thing one observes in his oeuvre is that he was a man of his time: a pious man. His sculptures are beautiful, they produce aesthetic emotions, they delight: but more than that, they seem aimed at making people pray. The Christian tragedies, narrated by him, become melodramas. His victims are too victimised; they inspire more pity than admiration or respect, really making devote women sigh "oh poor little fellow"; his traitors are too treacherous; his funny characters are buffoons (...) In Gregorio Fernández pain is not elevated, it lacks nuance: it is simple, plebeian, strident; but it is human, it is seen and felt, it beats in his very heart (...) He may set his sights low, but he is sincere and honourable, with never the slightest pedantry, and the sentiment he awakens comes out spontaneously from uncultivated nature". In the same work (p. 30) Orueta continues: "as Gregorio Fernández is a pious man, a man of his time, his feelings are closely connected with his peers' feelings, and they all appreciate and admire him because they understand and feel it, too. What does it matter that this is popular, vulgar and plebeian art? Whoever talks of art must talk of emotion, and once he starts to feel and to pray, a nobleman gives off the same aroma as a peasant; what is important and difficult is for there to be deep and sincere feeling in prayer".

23 MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ (*op. cit.* pp. 49 and 71) dates that change to the artist's evolution from 1611 onwards, with naturalism definitively taking the helm as of 1616 with the creation of the processional image of the *Pietà* where spot colours would become predominant in the polychromy.

A Guardian Angel?

All of the above-mentioned characteristics may be observed in the sculpture²⁴ (**Fig. 2**) we are studying here, which came to light in 2008²⁵. The image was executed by assembling various blocks of pinewood from Soria, a material often used by the sculptor²⁶, and it depicts a young and beardless figure with an idealised face and long mane of hair. He is depicted standing up and moving towards us, with his right leg forward. The left arm is slightly raised diagonally, with the index finger pointing toward heaven, while the right hand is at waist height and closed as if holding something. The figure is dressed in a generous tunic with broad sleeves, open over the right knee, which allows the sculptor to provide an image of the leg moving forward, arranging the foot in such a way that it goes beyond the sculpture's support surface. His footwear is common in depictions of warrior angels and martyrs in 17th and 18th-century Spain, ultimately originating from the *calceus senatorius* although with the toes on display. We find another distant classical reference in the folds in the tunic over the chest, suggesting a double belt explaining the form of the creases at hip level.



Fig. 2 Gregorio Fernández, *Guardian Angel*, c. 1612-1624, Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques.

On top of the tunic, executed with elaborate polychromy, the figure is wearing a blue sash across the chest and a red mantle, which falls freely on the left of his body, but is being gathered up by his right arm. His head is covered by a helmet with chinstrap.

Essentially speaking, this is a pose used by Fernández on a number of occasions throughout his career, in particular for angels, as seen in *St Raphael* (**Fig. 3**) from the main altarpiece of the church of San Miguel y San Julián in Valladolid, from 1606²⁷, the *St. Michael* and the *St Raphael* from the top of the main altarpiece of the convent of the Huelgas Reales in the same city, executed between 1613 and 1616²⁸, the depictions of the same archangels (**Fig. 4**) at the tops of the side panels of the main altarpiece of

24 It is made of pinewood from Soria, with *estofado* and polychromy, measuring 198 x 145 x 55cm.

25 PALENCIA CERESO, José María and DEL CAMPO, Javier, *Espíritu barroco. Colección Granados*, Burgos, Caja de Burgos, 2008, p. 138.

26 The conditions for the giltwork of the main altarpiece of San Miguel in Vitoria stipulated: "That the *tenplas* of said apparatus be executed using material in accordance with the nature of the land, also ensuring that the wood in said altarpiece be made of pine with resinous wood and knots", ANDRÉS ORDAX, Salvador, *Gregorio Fernández en Álava*, Vitoria, Álava Regional Government, 1976, p. 75. Document 4 of the sculptor's contract with the monastery of the Huelgas Reales, published by GARCÍA CHICO, *op. cit.*, specifies that "all of the wood of said sculpture should be from Hontalvilla, being dry, clean and free from knots, and not violet-coloured, and cut under a favourable moon". Pine from Hontalvilla (Segovia) is one of the woods used by Fernández in his sculptures, ÁLVAREZ VICENTE, Andrés, "Apuntes técnicos sobre la obra de Gregorio Fernández", in ÁLVAREZ VICENTE Andrés and GARCÍA RODRÍGUEZ, Julio César, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

27 MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ, *El escultor Gregorio Fernández*, Madrid, Ministry of Culture, 1980, pp. 92-93.

28 MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

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Fig. 3 Gregorio Fernández, *Saint Raphael*, 1606. Iglesia de San Miguel y San Julián, Valladolid.



Fig. 4 Gregorio Fernández, *Retablo mayor* (detalle), 1612-1620. Iglesia de los Santos Juanes, Nava del Rey.

the church of the Santos Juanes in Nava del Rey (1612-1620)²⁹, saints Gabriel and Raphael from the main altarpiece of the church of San Miguel in Vitoria (1624-1630)³⁰ and the angels from the top of the main altarpiece of the Cathedral of Plasencia (1624-1632)³¹. In all of these there is a raised arm and tunic that opens to reveal part of a leg, something the sculptor must have thought suitable, as he repeated it with variations in the *Herald Angels* from the Calced Carmelite convent of Valladolid (**Fig. 5**), created in 1622 to mark the celebrations of the canonisation of St. Teresa of Avila³², housed today in the Museo Nacional de Escultura and the Museo Diocesano in Valladolid³³ and which, as with the figure we are studying here, does not have wings. The master's workshop would use this same compositional design for the figure of the *Roman Soldier with Copper Pot* (**Fig. 6**) which forms part of the *I am Thirsty* processional image, a sculpture from about 1612³⁴, and his followers would also adapt it with greater and lesser success, as seen in the *Herald Angels* from the Benavente Parador Nacional (**Fig. 7**), works linked to the sculptor Francisco Díez de Tudanca³⁵.

29 MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

30 MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ, *op. cit.*, p. 130 depicted with what the author described at the "typical gesture with the arm raised".

31 MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ, *op. cit.*, p. 143. GILMAN PROSKE, *op. cit.*, p. 35 highlighted the sculptor's use of angelical figures crowning his altarpieces.

32 PALOMINO (*op. cit.*, p. 278), noted that for the church of the convent Gregorio Fernández had executed: "the Story of Our Lady giving the Scapular to St. Simon Stock, and another Image of the Virgin and a Saint Teresa, and four Angels in the four niches of the High Chapel, all of which is a marvel!"; BOSARTE (*op. cit.*, p. 208) commented that: "In a sense there is an interplay between the high altar and the four angels from the niches in the main chapel, which Don Antonio Palomino wrote about with praise".

33 URREA, Jesús (curator), *Teresa de Jesús y Valladolid. La Santa, la Orden y el Convento*, Valladolid, Town Council, 2015, pp. 100-101, file from José Ignacio Hernández Redondo.

34 MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

35 PÉREZ DE CASTRO, Ramón, "La difusión de un tipo iconográfico de Gregorio Fernández: los ángeles heraldos del Parador Fernando II de Benavente, *Brigecio*, 27, 2017, pp. 165-174.

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Fig. 5 Gregorio Fernández, *Herald Angels*, 1622.
Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid



Fig. 6 Gregorio Fernández workshop,
Sayon with Cauldron, c. 1612, Museo
Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid.



Fig. 7 Follower of Gregorio Fernández, *Ángeles heraldos*, Parador Nacional, Benavente.

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The image is outstanding in its delicate equilibrium and svelte lines, and each of the sides is intended to provide the spectator with a pleasing image. If from the front the sculpture takes great care to avoid rigidity, on the one hand by balancing the inclination of the head and the raised arm, and on the other by using diagonals, one going from the left hand and passing through the border with folds in the open tunic to the right hand, and another marked by the sash over the chest and heightened by the fold in the opening, running in the opposite direction, thereby counterbalancing the raised arm and revealed in the mass of folds covering the right arm. Movement is accentuated though the slight forward leaning with respect to the base on which the sculpture's feet are resting.

The back (**Fig. 8**) probably offers the most original vision, in that the mantle hangs down in two separate sections, as does the tunic at the front, thereby lending the image a lighter appearance that is almost ethereal, with the sculpture widening considerably in the middle and yet with the creases gathering together at the base, in a sort of zigzag that accentuates the sense of dynamism. The polychromy reinforces this sense, highlighting the mantle's mass of red, while the decorative border falls down almost vertically on the left, thereby balancing the image.



Fig. 8 Gregorio Fernández, *Guardian Angel* (Back), c. 1612-1624, Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques.



Fig. 9 Gregorio Fernández, *Guardian Angel* (Left side), c. 1612-1624, Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques.

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Fig. 10 Gregorio Fernández, *Guardian Angel* (face), c. 1612-1624, Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques.

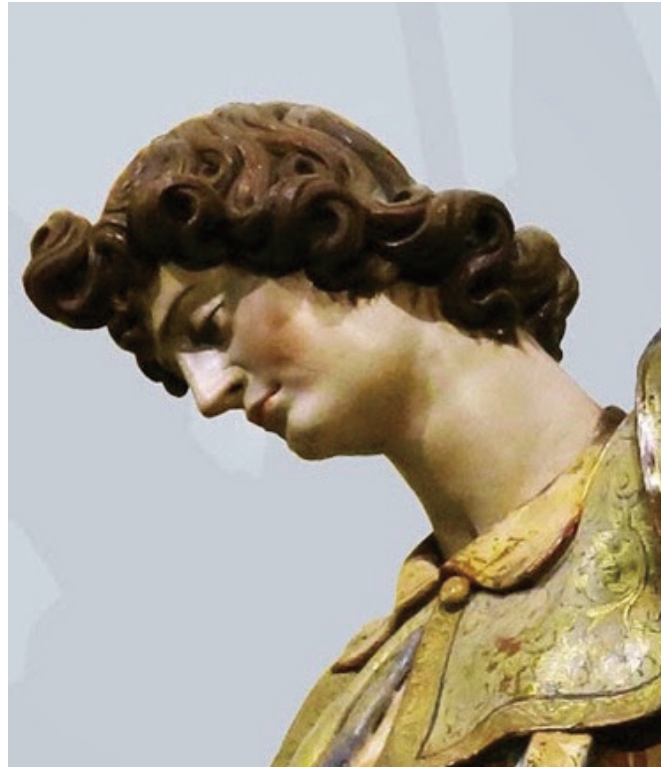


Fig. 11 Gregorio Fernández, *Saint Raphael* (head detail), 1606, Iglesia de San Miguel y San Julián, Valladolid.

Seen from our left (**Fig. 9**), the statue heightens the sense of forward movement, as the folds in the tunic and mantle tend towards the back of the image, a diagonal perhaps accentuating the attribute he originally carried in his hand. From the right-hand side the raised and slightly forward-moving arm conceals the figure's face, though the sculpture appears to be well-supported on its base, also thanks to the fabric folds that appear to converge on each other, with those of the tunic meeting those of the mantle, while the knot in the blue sash and its bow create a vertical axis which contrasts with the work's polychromy.

The hair, which frames the face perfectly, falling down at the back but without reaching the shoulders, is characteristic of the sculptor's model, with two little curls over the forehead. The mane itself (**Fig. 10**) is made up of wavy locks, which are neither as short nor as curly as in his earlier works, as shown by the archangels from the church of San Miguel y San Julián in Valladolid (**Fig. 11**), yet does not present the extremely fine, svelte quality of the hair in later works such as the *Immaculate Conception* from Astorga Cathedral (**Fig. 12**), or the *Recumbent Christ* from Segovia Cathedral. The carving of the hair is deep, maximising their chiaroscuro effect, also heightening, by contrast, the tranquillity and luminosity of the face. Although at first glance one might think that the curls have been arranged symmetrically, even at the back, close inspection of the head reveals just how subtly they were executed by the sculptor, creating slight asymmetries that lend movement to the head of hair, giving it prominence, especially at the back, over the flat and polished surface of the helmet, an unusual element in the Fernández canon. A series of complementary aspects are thereby heightened throughout the sculpture, where light parts are contrasted with dark areas, or polished parts with those that absorb light, once again reminding us just

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Fig. 12 Gregorio Fernández, Immaculate Conception (head detail), 1625, Catedral de Astorga.



Fig. 13 Gregorio Fernández, Saint Gabriel, c. 1612, Museo Diocesano, Valladolid.

how much our sculptor's art owed to the classical spirit.

This control exerted by the sculptor over all the image's perspectives, as well as the transitions between one and another, shows that it was the work of a great master who avoided parallel planes and any sense of flatness, and who left nothing to chance but, instead, thought out and maximised every possible visual angle in the hope that the spectator would contemplate his work with care and attention, and be able to appreciate its artistic intelligence. Even the artificial-looking folds help to contribute to reinforcing the physicality of the sculpture, which takes on the characteristic of a palpable apparition, a real presence, something that always concerned Gregorio Fernández in his works, but which on occasion the critics do not appear to have fully understood³⁶.

These factors might lead one to assume that the statue was intended to be free-standing on some slightly elevated platform. As such, its pose and polychromy would easily attract the eyes of passersby, who would notice the figure at first glance but gain a better understanding of it by walking right round it and observing it in depth from all angles. The painstaking care for all the work's details, even those that appear secondary, is typical of the art of Gregorio Fernández, but although his free-standing sculptures are frequently associated with processional religious imagery, especially those intended for the Easter or Semana Santa processions, the fact is the sculptor felt a predilection for free-standing or high-relief forms, also using free-standing formats with all sides of the anatomy carved when he was working on devotional images; see the *San Gabriel* in Tudela de Duero (ca. 1612, Valladolid, Museo Diocesano Fig. 13)³⁷, another angelic figure without wings. The same may be said for his *St Anthony of Padua* from the church of San Miguel y San Julián in Valladolid (ca. 1606-1610)³⁸, the *Immaculate*

36 ORUETA (*op. cit.*, p. 40) commented: "He shows no great concern for the composition of the masses or their rhythm: he barely composes or adjusts the outlines; the totality, where not entirely deficient, is certainly not painstakingly executed".

37 MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ, *op. cit.*, p. 241, ÁLVAREZ VICENTE Andrés and GARCÍA RODRÍGUEZ, Julio César, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

38 MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-251, ÁLVAREZ VICENTE Andrés and GARCÍA RODRÍGUEZ, Julio César, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

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Conceptions from Astorga Cathedral (**Fig. 14**), dated 1625³⁹ and the 1632 *Carmen Extramuros* from Valladolid⁴⁰, and even the *Recumbent Christ* from the church of San Miguel y San Julián in Valladolid (**Fig. 15**), executed in about 1627⁴¹. In 1635 Fernández would also sculpt a St. Michael⁴² that was displayed, free-standing, crowning the baldachin over the high altar of the church of San Miguel in Alfaro.



Fig. 14 Gregorio Fernández, Immaculate Conception, 1625, Catedral de Astorga.



Fig. 15 Gregorio Fernández, Recumbent Christ, c. 1627, Valladolid, Iglesia de San Miguel y San Julián.

39 MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226.

40 MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227.

41 MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201; ÁLVAREZ VICENTE Andrés and GARCÍA RODRÍGUEZ, Julio César, *op. cit.*, p. 130; COLÓN MENDOZA, Ilenia, *The Cristos yacentes of Gregorio Fernández. Polychrome Sculptures of the Supine Christ in Seventeenth Century Spain*, New York, Ashgate, 2015, pp. 128-131.

42 MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-241.

The Polychromy

In 17th-century Spanish society, wooden images were intended to be painted, combining the art of both painter and sculptor in one work. But in addition, in the case of Fernández, this was one of the parts that was most meticulously executed, and over which he exerted complete control, as he realised that poor polychromy could ruin a good statue.

The importance of this aspect in his works was perfectly analysed by Isidoro Bosarte when considering the repainting of *Our Lady of Sorrows* from the church of Vera Cruz in Valladolid, at which he exclaimed: *“But what a shame! A modern, unskilled hand has committed the offence of repainting the whole of this holy image, with which he managed to completely ruin it from top to bottom. He gave it black tears, a swooning white in the face, he redid the eyebrows with one brushstroke for each, and so on and so forth. In such a way that I can no longer tell if the pain inspired by the figure is greater or lesser than that caused by its disfiguration. It is lucky they are different types of pain, because the former pierces the very heart of one while the other is an irritation of the humours”*⁴³. The sculptor’s own contemporaries were well aware of the importance of polychromy in their images, and when Diego Valentín Díaz agreed to undertake the oil polychromy and matte carnation of the *Holy Family* group for the brotherhood of San José de Niños Expósitos (1620-1621, Valladolid, San

Lorenzo, Fig. 16) he noted that: *“if, in order for it to be better executed, it appeared appropriate to take the width of the border and do it in another colour, as deemed suitable by the aforementioned Gregorio Fernandez as a person who wants his figures to shine and be well executed as if he were doing them himself, whereas if it were not done to his taste and satisfaction, then he who had taken charge of the undertaking would be in no position to demand payment”*⁴⁴.

The master worked with a number of polychromers, such as Francisco Martínez (1574-1626)⁴⁵, Tomás de Prado (ca. 1574-



Fig. 16 Gregorio Fernández, Sacred Family, 1625. Iglesia de San Lorenzo, Valladolid.

43 BOSARTE, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201. He makes the same point (p. 203) when mentioning the *Pietà* from the church of Las Angustias: “The beauty of this group would be entirely visible if it had not been repainted. However, even so it is still an object worthy of admiration. It was a mediocre painter rather than a gilder who repainted this group some years ago, as we have been informed”. Matías SANGRADOR does not appear to have noticed this passage in his *Historia de la muy Noble y Leal Ciudad de Valladolid*, vol II, Valladolid, Press of M. Aparicio, 1854, p. 213 when he states that: “the property with which the figure is depicted in terms of colour and whiteness of the skin is admirable. This tender mother is in an attitude of lifting her eyes towards the heavens, and her gaze is so expressive that it most certainly reveals her profound bitterness and holy resignation”.

44 MARTÍ Y MONSÓ, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

45 Who polychromed the main altarpiece of the church of Los Santos Juanes in Nava del Rey, GARCÍA CHICO, *op. cit.*, p. 26, URREA, Jesús and VALDIVIESO, Enrique, *Pintura barroca vallisoletana*, Seville, University of Seville-University of Valladolid, 2017, pp. 140-141.

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1634)⁴⁶, Jerónimo de Calabria (ca. 1581-1634)⁴⁷, Pedro Salazar (documented between 1606 and 1613)⁴⁸, Pedro Fuertes (documented between 1616 and 1637)⁴⁹, Miguel Guijelmo (documented between 1631 and 1660)⁵⁰ and Estancio Gutiérrez⁵¹, but it was Diego Valentín Díaz who seems to have earned his trust the most, probably because he shared a similar vision of the work of art. Díaz, with whom our sculptor was friends for many years⁵², and who was probably the best polychromer of his works⁵³, also lived in the Campo Grande area, being both a cultured and religious artist, having founded Valladolid's College of Orphaned Girls. It is therefore no surprise that, when the sculptor had to gild and polychrome the main altarpiece at the church of San Miguel in Vitoria, while most of the sculptures and reliefs were polychromed by Diego Pérez y Cisneros⁵⁴, and the titular *St. Michael* was given to Juan de la Peña, the *Immaculate Conception* in the main section of the *retablo* fell to Diego Valentín Díaz.

As a mature artist, Gregorio Fernández preferred for his free-standing works to feature matte carnation and oil polychromy in dull tones other than for the decorative borders of mantles and robes. But for images that were parts of altarpieces he accepted the use of *estofado*, as set out in the terms sent to Vitoria for gilding and polychroming the aforementioned main altarpiece at the church of San Miguel, which stipulated that: “*The sculpture should be coloured with each figure being given two suitable colours without any one figure clashing with the others, bringing them together as in a painting and helping them with their tones of light, medium and dark, and then doing the fabrics or damasks depending on the size of the figure, without including three-levelled brocades or moiré silks on account of being unseemly, or muslin which is no good other than for ‘Walloon’s’*”

“*On the decorative borders or sashes of certain figures, that is to say the clothing where estofado work of all colours is often used, all heightened with precious stones and pearls, and here on a background of colour, not on gold leaf, for this is not in accordance with art nor practice (...) the carnations of the figures should be polished to matte, and the old men’s beards be coloured as nature teaches us and not heightened with silver because that goes beyond the art, so only in the hair of certain angels or seraphim or images of the Virgin should it be permitted to heighten parts with ground gold because that lends great beauty, but in the hair of certain middle-aged figures such as Christ, St. John or St. Joseph, we should allow for no artifice whatsoever, but follow the rules for painting*”⁵⁵.

46 Who painted the canvases of the main altarpiece of the monastery of Las Huelgas Reales and polychromed the whole ensemble, GARCÍA CHICO, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

47 URREA, Jesús and VALDIVIESO, Enrique, *Pintura barroca vallisoletana*, Seville, University of Seville-University of Valladolid, 2017, p. 164.

48 URREA, Jesús and VALDIVIESO, Enrique, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

49 Who in 1606 polychromed the statue of St. Michael executed by Fernández for the main altarpiece of said church; URREA, Jesús and VALDIVIESO, Enrique, *op. cit.*, p. 414.

50 Who, along with Jerónimo de Calabria, polychromed the altarpiece of the Baptism of Christ for the chapel of Don Antonio de Camporredondo in the convent of the Discalced Carmelites, GARCÍA CHICO, *op. cit.*, p. 32, URREA, Jesús and VALDIVIESO, Enrique, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

51 MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

52 MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ, Juan José, *El escultor Gregorio Fernández*, Madrid, Ministry of Culture, 1980, pp. 20 and 25, URREA, Jesús and VALDIVIESO, Enrique, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-249.

53 URREA, Jesús and VALDIVIESO, Enrique, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

54 ANDRÉS ORDAX, *op. cit.*, p. 30. These details are also included in BARTOLOMÉ GARCÍA, Fernando, *La policromía barroca en Álava*, Vitoria, Álava Regional Government, 2001, p. 229.

55 ANDRÉS ORDAX, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

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These guidelines could, however, be altered to suit the tastes of the client, given the final terms of the project gilding the altarpiece read as follows: “*These figures, loose and round as in the stories, should be coloured with estofado applied to the sumptuous clothes, including brocades of three levels, moiré silks, floral silks, muslin, damasks and chiffon, imitating all aspects of real fabrics, and carving each one in accordance with the arrangement of the cloth or its embroidery or design (...) The edges of the main figures should feature trims in all sorts of colour, these grotesques being of the size and width that is necessary for the size of the figure in question, and I would point out that the grotesques in colours on top of gold leaf appears fine, but that it is more natural to apply colour on top of colour, with the field of said colour revealed using sgraffito, and with that I leave it at the disposal of the gentlemen of the parish*”⁵⁶.

These comments are especially relevant if we observe the polychromy of the sculpture we are studying here, executed in tempera, estofado and brushstrokes applied to gold leaf. Some parts tally with the tastes of the sculptor, such as the two tones of ochre that have been used in the hair of the image (**Fig. 17**) or in the red mantle (**Fig. 18**), covered in large symmetrical motifs, traced with fine outlines that do not lessen the protagonism of the sculptural work, reminiscent in approach of the polychromy of the mantle of St. Joseph as seen in the convent of the Discalced Carmelites of Medina del Campo⁵⁷. However, the carnation has a brilliant effect and, in contrast with the tastes of Gregorio Fernández, the decorative border presents a series of motifs painted on gold leaf, consisting of fleshy scrollwork in blues, greens and pinks, and some of a hybrid nature, ending in human busts. These include angels holding vegetable stems or moving among them, lending the decorative effect great dynamism, which reminds one of the polychromy used in the borders of the mantles of the *Holy Family* from the church of the monastery of Valbuena (ca. 1615). The decoration presents motifs that were popular at the time, and which may have drawn on engravings featuring the ornamentation of artists such as Giovanni Battista



Fig. 17 Gregorio Fernández, *Guardian Angel* (hair), c. 1612-1624, Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques.



Fig. 18 Gregorio Fernández, *Guardian Angel* (detail of the mantle), c. 1612-1624, Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques.

56 ANDRÉS ORDAX, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

57 ÁLVAREZ VICENTE Andrés and GARCÍA RODRÍGUEZ, Julio César, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

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Pittoni “il Vecchio” (ca. 1520-1583 **Fig. 19**), Odoardo Fialetti (1573- ca. 1638) or Polifilo Zancarli (or Giancarli, active ca. 1620-1657).

The polychromy on the tunic, however, is truly extraordinary (**Fig. 20**). It presents an ivory-coloured background on top of which mixtilinear cartouches have been arranged with leaf decorations on which cherubim are seen to be resting. This is not dissimilar to the models of Agostino Mitelli (1609-1660, **Fig. 21**), published in Rome in 1636 by Agostino Parisino (documented between 1625 and 1639), including flowers, birds, insects, ribbons and vegetable stems, all executed in a loose fashion and covering all available space. Furthermore, each cartouche houses a little scene relating to an episode from the life of the Apostle James the Greater, saving the most important ones for the front, so on the chest at the level of the heart we find the apostle’s decapitated head (**Fig. 22**), while in the middle area, at hip level, the transportation by boat of the saint’s remains (**Fig. 23**). Meanwhile, on the two sides of the opening that enables us to see part of the angel’s leg we find the Apparition of St. James in Clavijo (**Fig. 24**) and the Apparition of Our Lady of the Pillar (**Fig. 25**). To the rear, in the lower area we find the



Fig. 19 Giambattista Pittoni il Vecchio, Ornamental Graving, c. 1520-1583. British Museum, London.



Fig. 20 Gregorio Fernández, *Guardian Angel* (detail of the tunic), c. 1612-1624, Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques.



Fig. 21 Agostino Mitelli, decorative sign, 1636, British Museum, London.

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Fig. 22 Gregorio Fernández, *Guardian Angel* (detail of the tunic with decapitated head of Santiago), c. 1612-1624, Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques.



Fig. 23 Gregorio Fernández, *Guardian Angel* (detail of the tunic with transfer of the body of Santiago), c. 1612-1624, Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques.



Fig. 24 Gregorio Fernández, *Guardian Angel* (detail of the tunic with Santiago in Clavijo), c. 1612-1624, Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques.



Fig. 25 Gregorio Fernández, *Guardian Angel* (detail of the tunic with the apparition of the Virgen del Pilar to Santiago), c. 1612-1624, Jaime Eguiguren Art & Antiques.

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Fig. 26 Gregorio Fernández, Saint Peter in Chair, c. 1630. Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid.

Vocation of the Apostle, while in the central area there is a depiction of a building against a landscape, possibly the apostle's original tomb, while the rest of the cartouches feature a landscape and a hill with a star at the top (probably referring to the *Campus Stellae*). Finally, on the back of the left sleeve there is a pilgrim's cloak with two scallop shells.

The undeniably sumptuous appearance of the polychromy is less closely related to Fernández's idea of free-standing images than it is to those located on altarpieces, such as the high altar of the church of Los Santos Juanes in Nava del Rey (1611-1620),

polychromed by Francisco Martínez between 1623 and 1626 or, in particular, *The Chair of St. Peter* (ca. 1630, Valladolid, National Museum of Sculpture, Fig. 26) from the monastery of Scala Coeli del Abrojo⁵⁸, with polychromy attributed to Diego Valentín Díaz, in light colours on a whiteish background, and including cartouches with episodes from the life of the saint.

Armed with all this information, if we can identify the image as being that of an angel, it does not seem logical to claim it is St. Michael, as was the case when the statue was first revealed⁵⁹, which had a wooden sword placed in its right hand. The St. James iconography can leave us in no doubt, though it is also difficult to see how we can situate this statue in a context linked to the Apostle. It is true that in the Spanish Middle Ages religious texts occasionally included the Apostle witnessing angelic apparitions, with the most well-known one probably being the one said to have occurred in Zaragoza, when “he heard at the hour of matins Angelic voices, which with marvellous softness and melody sang that old salutation, with which the Archangel Gabriel greeted the Virgin herself at the time of the Incarnation of the Eternal Word in her most pure womb, saying: Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum. And raising up his eyes he saw the Most Holy Virgin herself, surrounded in light and with countless most beautiful and shining Angels, on top of a pillar, a column made of jasper, which God had placed there by their hands”⁶⁰.

According to María de Jesús de Ágreda, St. James was visited by angels on more than one occasion, as: “the great Queen of Heaven had a particular regard and affection for St. James due to the reasons I have mentioned, and through her Angels she defended him and rescued him from great and many perils, and gave him consolation and comforted him on varying occasions, sending him visitations and giving him news and private warnings as were needed more than to other Apostles in the short time he lived. Many times even Christ our Saviour sent him Angels from the Heavens, to defend his great Apostle and take him from one place

58 URREA, Jesús, “Gregorio Fernández en el convento de Scala Coeli del Abrojo”, *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Escultura*, no. 3, 1998-1999, pp. 23-32.

59 PALENCIA CERESO and DEL CAMPO, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

60 OXEA, Hernando, *Historia del glorioso apóstol Santiago Patron de España: de su venida a ella, y de las grandezas de su Yglesia, y Orden militar*, Madrid, Luis Sánchez, 1615, p. 26v.

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to another, guiding him in his pilgrimage and preaching”⁶¹. The author goes on to claim that the Virgin Mary: “not only defended St. James from death, so he could preach his doctrine to the whole of Spain, but also from Granada she ordered his pilgrimage and sent a hundred Angels from her Guard to accompany the Apostle and to lead and guide him from one place to another, and in all cases to defend him and his followers from all perils that presented themselves, and having travelled through all the rest of Spain, they led him to Zaragoza. All this was carried out by the hundred Angels”⁶².

Also, when the apostle’s followers took his body to Galicia they were guided by an angel: “And thus one can presume that, in order to send that boat and guide it on such a long and dangerous voyage, Angels were sent from heaven, and they were the Pilots and sailors of it”⁶³. As such: “they joyfully set sail with the treasure of the holy body, and being guided by the Lord’s Angel who travelled with them, they arrived safely in Iria. This Angel was the one sent by the Holy Virgin Mary”⁶⁴. It was thus that they met with the Roman governor of the province of Iria, who ordered they be imprisoned. But God “sent an Angel who freed them from prison and liberated them from that danger”⁶⁵ as Cristóbal de Mesa told us in these lines from 1612: “But while the evil, perverse man, / Rests easy in a soft slumber, / The sovereign King of the universe, / The highest Lord with power in excelsis: / Orders them freed from that adverse peril, / And to the innocent and inflicted band, / He ordered an Angel unlock their cell / Liberating them from such hard imprisonment”⁶⁶, something subsequent authors would also recall⁶⁷.

One might imagine that the sculpture represents one of these angels, or even one of those who appeared where the tomb of the saint was built, as told in the *Historia Compostelana*, and also related by José de Lezamis in 1699, writing: “How the invention of the Holy Body came about is told in the *Historia Compostelana*, which tells us that some serious Men informed the Bishop of Iria Teodomiro that they had often seen burning lights in the forest at night, which had grown up over many years around the tomb of St. James; and that there it was quite common for Angels to appear”, going on to say: “The way in which it became known that it was the body of the Apostle St. James the Greater, although this is not explicitly set out in the *Historia Compostelana*, is through the explanation given by the History of Iria, and a document that bears this out made by King Don Alonso VI between the Bishop of Santiago Don. Diego Pelaez and the Abbot Fagildo. According to said document, this invention included two revelations, one to a hermit Saint named Pelagio, who lived near where the main Church is, and the body of the Apostle Saint; with two angels revealing that there lay the Apostolic body of St. James”⁶⁸. Here the author takes the opportunity to make an analogy between the birth of Christ and the resting place of the Apostle, saying: “God sent our Lord the Angel to reveal the birth of his Son to the Shepherds, and the Angels also went to the tomb of the Saint,

61 ÁGREGA, María de Jesús de, *Mystica ciudad de Dios, milagro de su omnipotencia, y abismo de la gracia*, book V, p. 271 (quotes from the Valencia edition, Juan de Baeza, 1695).

62 Ibid, p. 275, the text also appears in LEZAMIS, José de, *Vida del apóstol Santiago el Mayor*, Mexico City, María de Benavides, 1699, pp. 37-38.

63 OXEA, *op. cit.*, p. 54r.

64 LEZAMIS, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

65 OXEA, *op. cit.*, p. 57r.

66 MESA, Cristóbal de, *El patron de España*, Madrid, Alonso Martín, 1612, p. 70v.

67 LEZAMIS, *op. cit.*, p. 123 “When this Lord heard the mission and request of the followers of St. James, he ordered them to be taken and put in a very strong prison. But when night came the Lord’s Angel came and, opening the prison, told them to go”.

68 LEZAMIS, José de, *Vida del apóstol Santiago el Mayor*, Mexico City, María de Benavides, 1699, pp. 140-141.

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from which celestial music could be heard, and one of them revealed to Pelagio that this was the resting place of the body of St. James. God sent a star to guide the Three Kings, who thus aware of the sign of the birth of the Lord, then came to adore him, bringing him gifts; lights like stars appeared over the tomb of the Apostle, coming to the attention of King Alonso and many other Noble Lords, who came to adore the saintly body with great devotion, also bringing gifts”⁶⁹.

However, given the lack of documentation we have relating to the sculpture by Fernández, and the fact we do not know its original location (perhaps as part of a bigger ensemble) it does not seem possible to be sure of the context in which it was created, especially as there are no indications the sculptor received many commissions connected to the cult of the Apostle, or from Galician clients, with the most well-known one being his *Crucified Christ* commissioned by the Esclavitud del Santísimo Cristo at the Mercedarian monastery of Santa María de Conxo, in Santiago de Compostela⁷⁰. Perhaps the unusual inclusion of the helmet, something Fernández did not tend to do in his depictions of angels, might lead us to suggest it was as protective figure, whether defending the saint, his followers or the tomb itself.

Conclusions

This image, the work of Gregorio Fernández, cannot be identified as that of St. Michael due to the clearly Jacobean iconography painted in tempera on the tunic, added to the absence of cuirass or armour, elements the sculptor always used when depicting the prince of the archangels, as we can observe in the main altarpiece of the church of San Miguel in Vitoria, in the titular image of his church in Alfaro or in the one attributed to him from the parish church of Serrada⁷¹. His pose and attire might, however, connect him to the depiction of angels, which sometimes do not have wings, as executed by the sculptor throughout his career.

Stylistically speaking, the image seems to point to an intermediary point between the archangels of the church of San Miguel y San Julián in Valladolid, and those that appear, perfectly well-defined, in the altarpiece of San Miguel in Vitoria. The folds in the drapery of the sculpture are better defined, and they are not so generous as in the images from the top of the altarpiece in the church of Los Santos Juanes in Nava del Rey; the hardness of the creases in the tunic and mantle is slightly accentuated, but not to the same degree as seen in the St. Michael from the main altarpiece of the archangel’s church in Vitoria. The glass eyes, the only element in the whole sculpture not made of wood, which contrasts with the abundance of added elements in later works, would appear to indicate a dating between 1612 and 1624, although the decoration of the tunic includes some motifs that would seem to be a better match for the 1630s, so one might suggest there was some lapse of time between the carving work and the sculpture’s polychromy.

69 Ibid, pp. 142-143.

70 CEÁN BERMÚDEZ (*op. cit.*, p. 271) refers to it as: “A life-size crucifix”, whereas GILMAN PROSKE (*op. cit.*, pp. 144-145) included it amongst doubtful works.

71 ÁLVAREZ VICENTE Andrés and GARCÍA RODRÍGUEZ, Julio César, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

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