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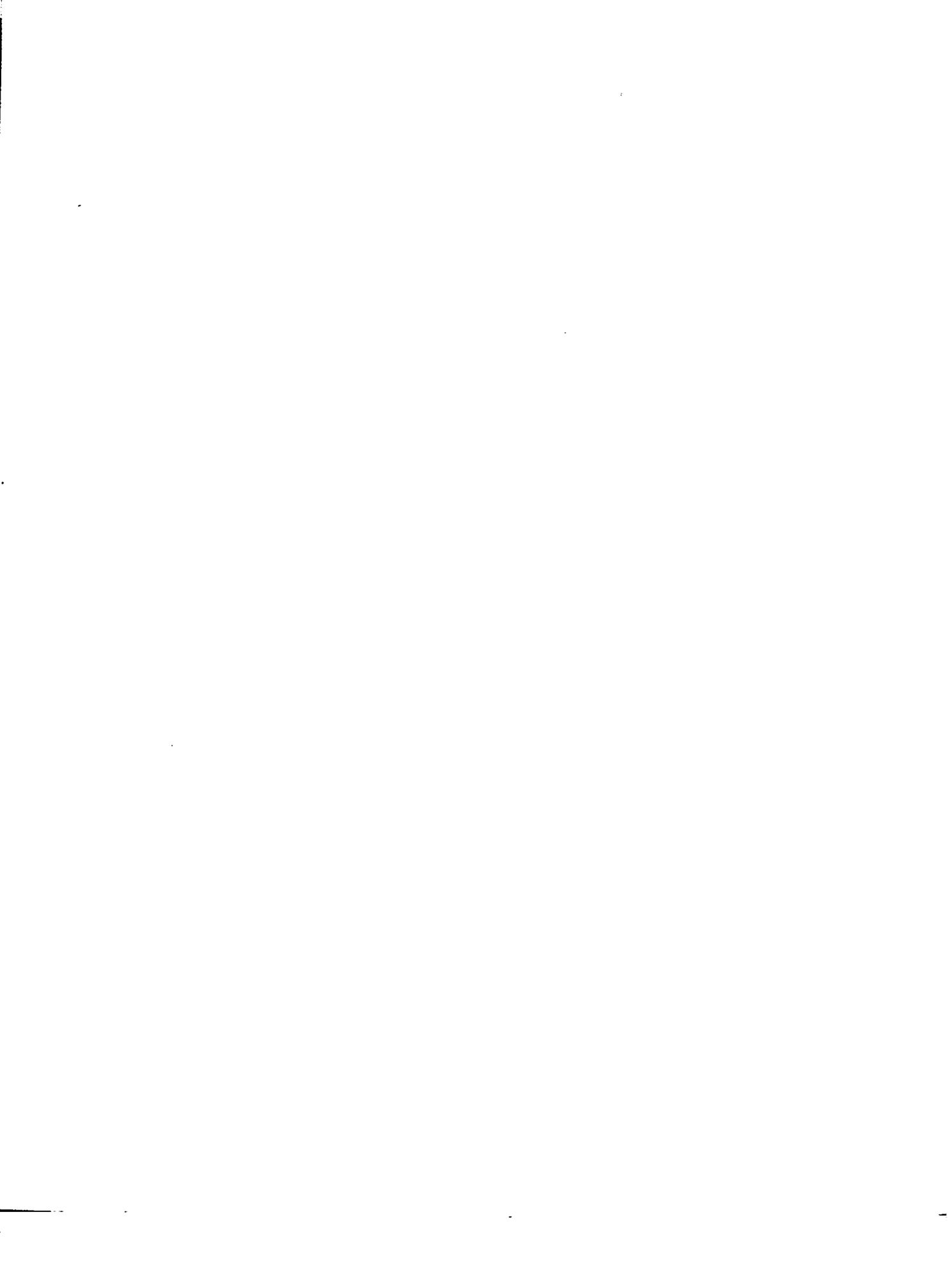
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**The philosophers of laughter: Velázquez' portraits of jesters at  
the court of Philip IV**

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The University of Arizona, 1990

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THE PHILOSOPHERS OF LAUGHTER:  
VELÁZQUEZ' PORTRAITS OF JESTERS  
AT THE COURT OF PHILIP IV

by

Julie Vinsonhaler Hansen

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the  
DEPARTMENT OF ART  
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
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1990

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## APPROVAL BY THESIS DIRECTOR

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	5
ABSTRACT	8
INTRODUCTION	9
CHAPTER 1   VELÁZQUEZ AND THE COURT JESTERS OF PHILIP IV	11
CHAPTER 2   VELÁZQUEZ AND THE JESTER-PHILOSOPHERS	36
CHAPTER 3   VELÁZQUEZ' MIRRORED IMAGE: PAINTINGS OF THE KING AND THE JESTER AT COURT	75
APPENDIX: ILLUSTRATIONS	102
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	143

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Velázquez, Pablo de Valladolid, Madrid, Prado, early 1630s.
2. Velázquez, Cristóbal Casteeda, Madrid, Prado, early 1630s.
3. Velázquez, Don Juan de Austria, Madrid, Prado, early 1630s.
4. Velázquez, Calabazas with Pinwheel and a Portrait, Cleveland, Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Bequest, late 1620s.
5. After Velázquez, Ochoa the Gatekeeper, Brussels, H. M. Queen Fabiola.
6. Floorplan of the Buen Retiro Palace.
7. Velázquez, Philip IV in Brown and Silver, London, National Gallery, mid-1630s.
8. Francesco Cossa, the Jester Scoccola, fresco, Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoja, about 1470.
9. Paolo Veronese, The Feast at the House of Levi, Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia, 1573.
10. Anonymous artist, "Stultifera Navis," woodcut, Narrenschiff by Sebastian Brant, Basel, 1497.
11. Attributed to Albrecht Durer, woodcut, Narrenschiff by Sebastian Brant, 1494.
12. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Triumph of Death, panel, Madrid, Prado, about 1562.
13. Attributed to Hans Holbein, woodcut, marginal illustration in Laus Stultitiae by Erasmus, 1515.
14. Anonymous, emblem for "Folly", woodcut, Emblemas Morales by Sebastián de Covarrubias, Madrid, 1610.

15. Quinten Massys, Allegory of Folly, panel, New York, J. Held Collection, about 1510-20.
16. Meester van het Angerer, Folly, New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, about 1520.
17. Hans Mielich, The Court Jester Mertel, panel, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, 1545.
18. Antonio Moro, The Jester Pejerón, panel, Madrid, Prado, before 1576.
19. Antonio Moro, Philip II, panel, Madrid, Prado, 1551.
20. Anonymcus, emblem for "Pazzia", Iconologia by Caesar Ripa, Padua, 1611.
21. Anonymous, emblem for "Amore Verso Iddio," Iconologia by Caesar Ripa, Padua, 1611.
22. Velázquez, Las Meninas, Madrid, Prado, 1656-58.
23. Pedro Antonio Vidal, Philip III, Madrid, Prado, about 1617.
24. Velázquez, The Feast of Bacchus, Madrid, Prado, 1628.
25. Velázquez, Aesop, Madrid, Prado, about 1639-41.
26. Velázquez, Menippus, Madrid, Prado, about 1639-41.
27. Velázquez, Democritus, Rouen, Musee des Beaux-Arts, late 1620s.
28. After Velázquez, Man with a Wine Glass, Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art, 1620s.
29. J. Berryman, "Jesters' Costumes," wood engraving, Francis Douce's Illustrations of Shakespeare and of Ancient Manners, 1839.
30. Anonymous, "Polite and Vulgar Manners," engraving, Groot Schilderboek by Gerard de Lairésse, 1707.
31. Anton Moller, the Elder, Fool between Two Wise Men, drawing, Vienna, Albertina, 1596.

32. After Rubens, Democritus, Madrid, Prado, before 1638.

33. After Rubens, Heraclitus, Madrid, Prado, before 1638.

34. Anonymous, A Spanish Beggar, London, National Gallery, 1600s.

35. Velázquez, Philip IV, Madrid, Prado, 1623.

36. Spanish School, Philip III, Madrid, Prado, about 1618.

37. After Sanchez Coello, Infanta Isabel with her Dwarf Magdalena Ruiz, Madrid, Prado, 1585-1590.

38. Villandrando, Philip IV and His Dwarf Sophillo, Madrid, Prado, 1621.

39. Velázquez, Prince Baltasar Carlos and a Dwarf, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, early 1630s.

40. Spanish School, Sancho Garcés III and Ramiro I Sanchez, Two Old Kings of Spain, Madrid, Prado, 1590s.

## ABSTRACT

Previous art historical scholarship has approached the portraits of court jesters painted for the Buen Retiro Palace by Diego Velázquez between the late 1620s and 1630s as fascinating character studies that provided the artist with the opportunity to display psychological nuances and to experiment with painterly techniques that were precluded in his formal portraits of the royal family and members of the court. In addition, they have been discussed as an interesting intermingling of Northern and Southern Italian traditions of jester and dwarf imagery. This thesis will show that Velázquez was also deliberately including sophisticated references to prevailing philosophical ideas concerning inverted realities, and that these paintings, as well as their placement, provide information about the function of the jester as an instrument of opposition and comparison for the monarch at the court of Philip IV.

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of my thesis is twofold. I will analyze, first of all, Velázquez' jester portraits in terms of their innovative synthesis of established Northern jester imagery and the traditional format and customary representation of the Hapsburg royal portrait. Secondly, I will try to frame these paintings within the larger cultural context of the Spanish court jester, a functionary position that became a powerful mechanism for the promotion and self-definition of the monarchy.

The first chapter reviews the literature pertaining to Velázquez' Buen Retiro jester series. The second chapter analyzes Velázquez' portraits of jesters in relation to their adaptation from the royal Hapsburg portraiture tradition, and distinguishes them from the previous traditions of jester imagery in Spain by identifying a new type of jester image: the "Jester-Philosopher." The final chapter of my thesis explains how Velázquez in his Buen Retiro jester series was actually setting up a theatrical cast of characters that was consciously intended to create a visual presentation of an "upside-down world"--in one scholar's words "a reversible mirror." Placed along a

staircase that led from the inner residence of the royal palace and out into the external world, Velázquez' paintings of jesters were meant to offer their courtly viewers a glimpse into earthly truths and human self-awareness. Like Cervantes' mad Don Quixote, who "lived as a fool and yet died wise," Velázquez' paintings served to provide the King and his retinue with the opportunity of finding the wisdom hidden in the realm of the insane and the chaotic.

The world as nothing he did prize,  
For as a scarecrow in men's eyes  
He lived, and was their bugbear too;  
And had the luck, with much ado,  
To live a fool, and yet die wise.

From the mad knight's epitaph, Don Quixote, by Cervantes (1604).

## CHAPTER 1

### VELÁZQUEZ AND THE COURT JESTERS OF PHILIP IV

The interweaving of the elevated with the vulgar, the blending of the ecstatic with the blasphemous, and the melding of medieval piety and seriousness with an enthusiastic taste for buffoonery and farce are basic characteristics of seventeenth-century Spanish literature and art. Like the writer Miguel de Cervantes' masterwork Don Quixote and dramatist Lope de Vega's comedias, the painter Diego de Velázquez' images of court jesters are artistic reflections of a culture that was obsessed with the contradictory nature of human experience.

Much of the literature concerning the paintings of court jesters by Velázquez has pointed out how this unusual series of subjects enabled the painter to experiment stylistically in ways which would have been

inappropriate in the more formal official court portraits he did of King Philip IV and the royal family.<sup>1</sup> All of Velázquez' portraits--official and

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<sup>1</sup>The major references for Velázquez' court jester paintings are: Carl Justi's Diego Velázquez und sein Jahrhundert (1888; English trans. by A. H. Keane, London: H. Grevel & Co., 1889) pp. 433-457 which discusses the influence of social and cultural developments (especially the Spanish comedic tradition) on the jester series; José López-Rey's Velázquez, The Artist as Maker with a Catalogue Raisonné of His Extant Works (Lausanne-Paris: Bibliotheque des Arts, 1979), which is the most recent edition of his original monograph Velázquez. A Catalogue Raisonné of His Oeuvre, with an Introductory Study (London, 1963), remains the best source for dating the paintings and his formal analysis of the jester portraits in terms of the other portraits executed during the 1630s is insightful and well-documented; and most recently, Jonathan Brown's Velázquez: Painter and Courtier (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986, pp. 97-105, p. 270, and nos. 53-62 p. 291, summarizes all that is currently known regarding the history of the paintings and includes citations for a number of iconographical interpretations.

These authors discuss the paintings mostly in terms of their stylistic innovations: a freer psychological characterization mostly derived from Velázquez' softening of the jester's features by his use of a blurred paintstroke, his experimentations with muted interior light sources, and an unconventional treatment of three-dimensional space that rejects traditional constructs of linear perspective in several of the jester paintings. The latter results in a tense, artificial relationship between the figure and the surrounding space which increases the jesters' sense of animation and life. These scholars generally agree that Velázquez' understanding of human psychology and his empathy for each of the individuals depicted in the paintings are primary reasons for the continued interest and popularity of the series. The earliest sources for biographical information of Velázquez are in the contemporary court painter Vincenzo Carducho's Diálogos de la Pintura (1633) who mentions several paintings by Velázquez in the Alcázar; Velázquez' father-in-law, Francisco Pacheco's Arte de la Pintura (1649); and Antonio Palomino's detailed Museo Pictorico (1724), which was written sixty-

unofficial, formal or informal--have a unique quality often described as Velázquez' own form of "naturalism," which was a product of his juxtaposition of idealization with intense realism. By setting his models in natural poses, eliminating unnecessary distractions in the overall compositions, and giving his sitters life and character through his energized painting technique, Velázquez managed to humanize his portraits in an extremely realistic way. In contrast to the early somber style of his Sevillian bodegones, the paintings of jesters and dwarfs, executed at the court of Madrid, illustrate a later freer style developed and honed in the 1630s.<sup>2</sup> Adopting brushwork similar to that of Titian, whose works he greatly

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four years after Velázquez' death and incorporates information from royal and public documents.

<sup>2</sup>Velázquez' early painting style of the 1620s is characterized by his remarkable sense for the appearance and texture of objects. Reminiscent of Neopolitan and Flemish genre art, this Caravaggesque style reflects his early art education in Seville where Velázquez was especially known for his well-crafted bodegón paintings depicting low-life subjects. López-Rey and Brown have both noted that during the 1630s, Velázquez' style changed drastically as a result of two important events: Peter Paul Rubens' seven month visit to the Spanish court enabled Velázquez to learn much about the possibilities offered by the oil medium. And, Velázquez' first trip to Italy from August 1629-early 1631, where he studied the works of the Carracci and their followers in Rome, allowed him to absorb important techniques of light and color.

admired and studied in the royal collections, Velázquez combined a loose, suggestive technique with passages of traditional Spanish realism--a descriptive mode of painting which emphasizes the hard physicality of surfaces. The tension set up, when these two opposing styles are combined, produces a stilled, arrested quality that creates a reality which is so immediate and uncompromising that the viewer never questions its accuracy.<sup>3</sup> This quality, when combined with Velázquez' uncanny sense of observation and understanding of the human condition, has made the jesters one of the most remarkable series in the history of art.

Velázquez' jesters are presented in full-length, theatrical poses, wearing identifiable seventeenth-century court costumes. Several of the costumes, including that worn by Don Juan de Austria, may have been ordered for special theatrical productions, but others like that of Pablo de Valladolid (Fig. 1.) appear to be standard court dress.<sup>4</sup> These portraits are

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<sup>3</sup>Svetlana Alpers discusses the works of Velázquez in relation to her conception of Northern "descriptive" art in The Art of Describing (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1983), pp. 69-70, although she does not specifically discuss the jester paintings.

<sup>4</sup>López-Rey, p. 264, mentions a bill in the archives of the Madrid Royal Palace which lists in detail a set of clothes given to Don Juan de Austria in 1632. López-

not informal in a casual sense, but rather the sitters are shown in less controlled compositions and more relaxed poses than the royal portraits of the same period. For instance, the unfinished portrait of Cristóbal de Casteñeda (Fig. 2) incorporates many of the devices used in Philip IV in Brown and Silver, also dating from the mid-1630s (Fig. 7.) Cristóbal, nevertheless, leans toward us and appears to be part of our space, while Philip seems remote by his rigid stance and the presence of the table which prevents our complete access into the painting. Using the "wet-into-wet" technique, Velázquez has softened the jester's features, making the face appear slightly out of focus, and the jester's clothing has been treated in a similar but less diffused way. Philip's face has also been softened, but the light is less glowing and more strident, resulting in a more artificial, less lifelike visage. A Spanish official royal portrait was supposed to be physically accurate, albeit in an idealized, perfected way; but, more important, it was also symbolic of the power and strength of the Spanish

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Rey concurs with Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños palaciegos (Mexico City, 1939.), pp. 68-9, who first concluded that the clothes worn by Don Juan in Velázquez' portrait are the same ones mentioned in the palace document.

Hapsburg monarchy. The lack of clarity and sense of ambiguity that is attained by the more atmospheric light in the jester portrait would have been inappropriate in the royal one. Velázquez has also increased the ambiguity of the floorlines in several of the jester portraits by eliminating all background objects that would provide the viewer with a stationary point of reference. All of these devices help in the creation of highly convincing three-dimensional figures who appear to be in the very act of moving.

Court painters employed by European courts were periodically called upon to paint the royal jesters who resided at court, and whose portraits formed a traditional embellishment in certain parts of royal palaces.<sup>5</sup> Art depicting jesters was especially

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<sup>5</sup>From Carl Justi, p. 434. Moreno Villa documents that jesters were first brought to the Spanish court in the sixth-century during the reign of King Teudis. The European practice of keeping jesters at court for personal amusement derived from the Classical Greek and Roman tradition and extended into the eighteenth-century when the practice died out. Emerging in the thirteenth-century from the medieval role of the fool, the officially-appointed court jester developed during the fifteenth and sixteenth-centuries into a highly-specialized institution and profession endowed with particular influence and power. For a survey on the subject of jesters in art, see E. Tietze-Conrat's Dwarfs and Jestors in Art (New York: Phaidon, 1957), also Keith Moxey, "Pieter Bruegel and the Feast of Fools", Art Bulletin, 64 (1982), pp. 640-46, for one discussion of moralizing interpretations of the jester/fool in art.

encouraged at the Spanish court in the sixteenth-century under Charles V (1516-1556) who has been credited with the saying that "the Spaniards seem wise and are fools; the Italians seem and are wise; the Germans seem and are fools," which as Carl Justi noted, illustrates a popular philosophical tenet that regarded all humans as a function of this contrast.<sup>6</sup> The importance that Charles placed on the image of the jester is evident from the artists, such as Titian and Antonio Moro, whom he commissioned to paint his jesters' portraits.<sup>7</sup> Charles' son, Philip II (1556-1598) also employed a large number of jesters and dwarfs at court, and an inventory of the royal collections during his reign shows that he avidly collected their images during his reign as well.<sup>8</sup> The

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<sup>6</sup>Justi, pp. 434-5.

<sup>7</sup>Mentioned in Justi, p. 434. Titian painted the famous dwarf jester Truhánillo Stanislaus, who was a gift to Charles from Sigmund of Poland; and Antonio Moro, who painted several jesters including Pejerón, a favorite at court who belonged to the Count of Benavente, and a dwarf with a large dog that apparently was hung in the Alcázar near a portrait of the emperor himself.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid, p. 435, Justi does not specify the date or circumstances of the inventory, but it probably was the one prepared shortly after Philip II's death in 1598. Briefly listed in the inventory are the following paintings: Sanchez Coello's Morata; two versions of Martin de Agua; a small plump jester with a gigantic Catalonian peasant; a dwarf in a red dress belonging to

practice appears to have increased under Philip III (1598-1621) when court poet Lope de Vega appeared in the role of a jester at festivities for the King's marriage in 1599.<sup>9</sup> However, Philip IV (1621-1665) was clearly the most lavish patron of both jesters and paintings of jesters, as evinced by the accounts of visitors to the court who noted the large numbers of

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Don Carlos; Magdalena Ruíz, several versions; Brígida del Río, "the Bearded Woman of Peñaranda" who appeared in Madrid in 1590, and the "Frizzly Girl", La Mina Encrespada (the latter two were at that time hung in the Pardo hunting lodge.) Justi, p. 102, notes that the inventory offers an indication of the value of such paintings during this period because they were described as amongst the contents of the guardajoyas (crown jewels chamber), the contaduría (exchequer), and the Casa del tesoro (treasury), included with such important portraits as members of the royal house, and famous national heroes.

<sup>9</sup>Justi, p. 436, notes that two portraits of jesters, Bonamic and Don Antonio with His Dog Baylan, by the painter Pantoja de la Cruz, were commissioned for, and hung in the Pardo Palace. Justi also cites a report (in the Royal Library in Berlin) from Philip III's court from 1611, which states that it was the custom for unmarried grandees to honor the royal buffoons at open table entertainments, and another document in the Mantua archives records a costume valued at 500 crowns that was given to an Italian jester who visited the king in Valladolid. Philip III was a great patron of the theater, and it was under his reign that the comedia began to develop as an important court entertainment, dependent largely on spectacular effects.

jesters, as well as a series of their portraits in the Alcazar.<sup>10</sup>

Most recent publications on Velazquez' jester series have been primarily devoted to establishing their date of execution and the location of these paintings in the Buen Retiro palace.<sup>11</sup> Despite the efforts of many

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<sup>10</sup>From Justi, p. 436-7. Morenc Villa's data shows a significant increase in the number of jesters and dwarfs employed during his reign. For example, between the years 1621 and 1650 the king employed 17 dwarfs, 11 "locos" or mad jesters, 6 "hombres de placer", 2 buffoons, and one giant; in contrast to his father, Philip III, who only employed 16 jesters throughout his entire reign, and 9 of these were dwarfs. Justi mentions some of the activities of the Philip IV's jesters such as two dwarfs who were seated at the foot of the royal thrones, wearing the costumes of Castillian kings at a lavish bull-baiting in honor of the Duke of Modena's visit in 1638. Also noted is an influential jester named Emanuel Gómez who specialized in impersonations who was paid by nobles and ambassadors to put in good words for them with King Philip. Also see the introductory articles by Alfonso E. Sánchez and Julián Gállego in Monstruos, enanos y bufones en la Corte de los Austrias (Madrid: Prado Museum, 1986) for more on the popularity of jesters and dwarfs at Philip IV's court.

<sup>11</sup>Recent publications include: José López-Rey, "On Velázquez' Portraits of Jesters at the Buen Retiro," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 97 (1981), pp. 162-6; Jonathan Brown and John H. Elliott, "Further Observations on Velázquez' Portraits of Jesters at the Buen Retiro," and Professor López-Rey's answer in Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 98 (1981), pp. 191-2; and especially Barbara von Barghahn, Philip IV and the "Golden House" of the Buen Retiro (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1986, 2 vols.) which is a revised edition of The Pictorial Decoration of the Buen Retiro Palace and Patronage during the Reign of Philip IV (Ph.D. Dissertation from New York University, 1979). It has been confirmed that at least thirteen paintings by Velazquez were incorporated in the

scholars, the precise date of the composition of the jester paintings remains controversial because the works were not inventoried until 1701. Moreover, the dates assigned by scholars, ranging from the late 1620s into the mid-1630s, are the result of indirect evidence and stylistic analysis.<sup>12</sup> The primary document used to identify the placement of the jester series is the inventory of the Buen Retiro collection that was not taken until 1701-1703 after the death of Charles II.<sup>13</sup>

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decoration of the Buen Retiro: six paintings for the Hall of Realms; an alterpiece for the hermitage chapel of San Pablo; and the six court jesters (see Brown and Elliott, A Palace, for full discussion). Barbara von Barghahn's book, which contains the 1701 inventory record, mentions other paintings attributed to Velázquez but which have been lost or untraced.

<sup>12</sup>Both Jonathan Brown and José López-Rey have attempted to narrow down dates for the jester series by means of stylistic analysis and court documents. However, the only thing that has been uniformly agreed upon is that the Retiro portrait of Juan de Calabazas was painted earlier than the other jesters in the series, sometime in the late 1620s. In López-Rey's, "On Velázquez' Portraits of Jestors at the Buen Retiro," and Velázquez: The Artist as Maker, nos. 39, 65, 82, 84, he suggests the following dates Calabazas with Pinwheel, about 1628-9; Don Juan de Austria, 1632-3; Pablo de Valladolid, 1636-7; and Cristóbal de Casteñeda, 1637-40.

<sup>13</sup>The inventory was conducted by the Count of Estrella, Alcaide of the Retiro, Don Antonio Mayers, and Don Isidoro Arredondo, court artist, with the assistance of officials of the Royal Bureau, Pedro de Alegria Alguacil; Francisco Maioral, and royal cabinet makers, Don Joseph Pabón and Domingo de Arbaiza. All my

This key inventory refers to the six paintings as retratos, the conventional word for portraits, and describes them as hanging in the following order:

Another (painting) of two varas and a half in height and one vaya and a tercia in width with a Portrait of a congolese jester who is called Pablillo de Valladolid by the hand of Velázquez with black frame valued at twenty-five doblones

Another of two varas and a tercia in height and one vaya and a half in width with another Portrait of a jester in turkish costume called pernia (Cristóbal Casteñeda y Pernia) by the hand of Velázquez and unfinished in black frame valued at twenty-five doblones

Another Portrait of two varas and a half in height and one vaya and a tercia in width of another jester called Don Juan de Austria with various Arms and black frame by the hand of Velázquez valued at twenty-five doblones

Another Portrait of almost one and a half varas square of Cárdenas the torreador Jester with his Hat in his hand by Velázquez of his first manner with black frame valued at twelve doblones

Another of the same size artist and frame as the one before last of Ochoa Portero de Corte (Gatekeeper) with some petitions valued at twenty-five doblones

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information concerning the reconstruction of the jester series in the Buen Retiro is from Barbara von Barghahn's Philip IV and the "Golden House" of the Buen Retiro. In correspondance with Dr. von Barghahn, she stated that neither of the inventories of the Buen Retiro conducted in 1701 and 1716 specified from which end of the staircase the inventory was begun, thus we cannot be certain whether the record begins from the bottom of the stairwell, or the top, or even if they were recording the portraits in a zig-zag manner, which would have been the case had they hung on both sides of the stairway.

Another of the same size and qualities of Calabacillas with a portrait in one hand and a pinwheel in the other valued at twenty doblones.<sup>14</sup>

The information in this inventory is sufficient to identify four of the portraits with certainty (Figs. 1-4); however, Ochoa is known only from a copy (Fig. 5), and Cárdenas has disappeared without a trace. The identification of the sitters for each of the portraits is plausible because the jesters' names appear on various rosters of the household staff when Velázquez could have painted their portraits at the same time or slightly later.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>From von Barghahn, p. 342, which lists a translated version of the inventory. Cristóbal is referred to in the inventory as "bosquejado"--meaning unfinished--and his figure in the painting has been blocked out in the basic colors with the highlights and shadows still to be added. It is interesting that this lack of finish was not considered a problem to the court decorators who hung the painting, nor to those who conducted the inventory and gave it the same valuation as the others of the same size.

<sup>15</sup>From Moreno Villa's study of seventeenth-century records at the Spanish Habsburg court, Appendix A, which lists the jesters portrayed in Velázquez' paintings as officially employed during the following dates: Pablo de Valladolid, from 1632-48; Cristóbal Castañeda, from 1633-49; Don Juan de Austria, listed as occasionally performing from 1624-54 (this implies that he may have been working at other courts, or even in the public theater when he was not at court); Juan de Cárdenas, from 1624-28; Ochoa, 1633-38; and Calabazas, from 1630-32 in the service of the Cardinal-Infante Don Fernando, and then from 1632-39, when he died. As López-Rey has already pointed out, it was not uncommon for jesters to

On the issue of placement of the series in the Buen Retiro palace, Barbara von Barghahn has provided the most convincing argument for the positioning of the series along a large southeastern staircase, part of the Queen's quarters, which permitted passage to the ground floor suites and the Jardín de los Reinos (Fig. 6.) Von Barghahn's reconstruction of the Buen Retiro galleries during the reign of Philip IV is based on her painstaking study of the following documents: extant scaled drawings of the Retiro dated between 1712 and 1715; a comparison of the measurements of the only surviving original room in the palace (the Salon Grande) in order to reconstruct the dimensions and disposition of paintings in other rooms; and most important, the previously discussed inventory.

Beyond her reconstruction of the galleries, her evidence for the placement of the jester series is a recently discovered partial document of 1661 entitled "Pinturas entregadas por Don Geronimo de Villanueva" that contains relevant marginal notes. The words "Está en la pieza junto a los bufones en el qto de la reyna".

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perform at court for several years prior to their receiving official appointment, thus Velázquez could have painted them earlier than their recorded dates in the palace records.

("This painting is in the room near the jesters in the apartment of the queen") appear on one of the two folios.<sup>16</sup> There appears to have been a taste for displaying series of jesters together because several such groups were documented in Spanish royal residences. These include a series of portraits of jesters and dwarfs by diverse artists that hung along a staircase of the Alcázar's Galería del Cierzo in Madrid; another series owned by the Count-Duke Olivares hung in small gallery that led to Olivares' study in the Alcázar; and yet another decorated a room in the Queen's tower of the Torre de la Parada located on the outskirts of Madrid.<sup>17</sup> According to Antonio Palomino,

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<sup>16</sup>Von Barghahn, p. 343. Jonathan Brown and J.H. Elliott, who discovered the document and correctly associated it with the jester series, have published an alternate interpretation in which they conclude that Velázquez' jesters hung in a specific room of the Buen Retiro (most recently in the 1986 reprinted edition of A Palace of a King.) Unfortunately, Brown and Elliott misread this particular sentence, interpreting it as "A room of jesters in the apartment of the queen."

<sup>17</sup>Both Justi, p. 437, and López-Rey ("On Velazquez' Portraits...", p. 164) mention the "Galería del Cierzo" Alcázar series and an inventory taken of the palace on March 17, 1637 states that two of Velázquez' portraits of dwarfs, El Primo and Sebastián de Morra were added to the group by 1666. Brown and Elliott, "Further Observations..."p. 91, note the series owned by Olivares which was seen by the French Ambassador in 1628 in the Alcázar gallery. Brown, Velázquez, p. 298, no. 50, also states that the court nobleman, the Marquis of Leganes, first cousin to Olivares, owned the following paintings

who arrived at court in 1678 and saw Velázquez' paintings of jesters hanging along the staircase, these steps were where the royal family descended to await their carriages on the ground level of the palace.<sup>18</sup>

The portraits appear to reflect various types of jesters--Carl Justi has even suggested that they are different racial types--and they are portrayed in a variety of poses suggestive of their individual roles and occupations. Moreno Villa's study of palace records shows that there were indeed different categories of jesters.<sup>19</sup> Spanish court jesters were

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of jesters, some attributed to Velázquez, which were probably copies of Philip IV's series: Calabazas with a turban, a Portrait of Pabillos; (and listed without attribution) are portraits of Don Juan de Austria, Pernia, and Don Juan de Cárdenas. Unfortunately, no knowledge exists of their location, or the manner in which they were hung, but they were in the Marquis' collection by 1642 (See Mary Volk's "New Light on a Seventeenth Century Collector." Art Bulletin, 62 (1980), pp. 256-68.) Barbara von Barghahn, p. 343, states that two of the paintings in the Torre were by Velázquez--Calabazas and Francisco Lezcano--and that more information concerning these works and their placement in the hunting lodge will be discussed in a forthcoming publication.

<sup>18</sup>From Palomino's El Museo pictórico y escala óptica (1724), p. 910; mentioned in Carl Justi, p. 438; López-Rey, "On Velázquez' Portraits", p. 164; Brown, Velázquez Painter and Courtier, p. 100; and Von Barghahn, p. 343.

<sup>19</sup>Moreno Villa's research indicates that jesters who were "artificial fools" were categorized as either "hombre de placer" or "bufón"; jesters who also served

distinguished by their contemporaries as either "artificial" or "natural" fools. Natural fools were either feebleminded or psychologically deranged, and were often physically deformed. Artificial fools, in contrast, were in full command of their wits. Although sometimes also deformed, they skillfully feigned a specialized form of insanity, often with a great deal of wit and ingenuity, in order to make a lucrative living. While a number of Spanish court jesters and dwarfs were recruited from an internationally famous asylum in Zaragoza, which was also the site of the Hospital de Nuestra Señora de Gracia, no clear evidence

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in a similar entertaining capacity, but were mentally abnormal were referred to as "loco"; and dwarfs (and perhaps mentally retarded individuals) were given the classification of "enano." The jesters painted by Velázquez were listed in the court records with the following classifications: Pablo de Valladolid, bufón; Cristóbal, loco; Don Juan, hombre de placer; Juan de Cárdenas, hombre de placer y bufón toreador; Calabazas, enano. This latter classification is rather odd since Calabazas appears full sized in this portrait as well as in a second portrait Velazquez painted of him later which hung in the Torre de la Parada alongside other portraits of dwarfs. Juan was retarded and the classification of "enano" must have also referred to "smallness" or deformity of the mind or it could be possible that he was categorized incorrectly in the documents.

has been found to tie any of Velázquez' jesters specifically to this institution.<sup>20</sup>

Whereas dwarfs were typically assigned to the service of only one royal family member at a time and served this member like a favored pet, jesters, on the contrary, more often seem to have performed for the entire court at large.<sup>21</sup> All jesters were referred to

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<sup>20</sup>Julían Gállego, "Manías y pequeñeces," in Monstruos, enanos y bufones en la Corte de Austrias, Prado catalogue, 1986, p. 18. Jestors who were judged not to be entertaining enough were returned to the Zaragoza hospital, as was the case of Juan Andres, who was transferred to the court in Madrid and returned the following year. The jester Estébanillo González' autobiography, Vida y Hechos de Estébanillo González (Amberes, 1646) mentions two extended visits for treatment at the hospital: once for a venereal infection, and the other for attacks of gout and symptoms of alcoholism.

<sup>21</sup>The primary reference for the history of court jesters originates with Karl Flogel's Geschichte der Hofnarren (Liegnitz, Leipzig: David Siegert, 1789.) Other more recent sources include: A. Canel, Recherches historiques sur les fous des rois de France (Paris: A. Kemerre, 1873); John Doran, The History of Court Fools (1858), (New York: Haskell House, 1966 reprint); Barbara Swain, Fools and Folly During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932); Enid Welsford, The Fool, His Social and Literary History (Gloucester, Mass.: Faber & Faber, 1968); And Anton Zijderveld, Reality in a Looking Glass: Rationality Through an Analysis of Traditional Folly (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982.) Young dwarfs usually were given to royal children as companions: female dwarfs served princesses, males served princes. Many officially appointed court jesters were recruited by courtiers who presented them to the monarch as gifts in the hopes of gaining power or rewards. Successful jesters were provided with lodging in the palace, food and drink

as "truháns"; however, they were further categorized as either hombre de placer, loco, or a bufón. Hombres de placer were "men of entertainment" who, while mentally normal, performed as artificial fools. Locos were those jesters who were clinically mad or crazy, and the bufónes or "buffoons" were a further category which remains uncertain, but which apparently included both mentally normal and abnormal jesters who may have had specific dramatic or acrobatic skills.<sup>22</sup> Jesters were

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budgets, and sometimes expensive costumes, endowments of gold or land, and retirement pensions and provisions for surviving family members. The position of the court fool was an acquired profession rather than a hereditary one, and while fools did tend to run in families, an officially-appointed court jester was never succeeded automatically by his offspring.

<sup>22</sup>In 1611, Sebastián de Covarrubias, a writer, scholar, and linguist at the court of Philip IV, included a definition of the court jester in his 1611 dictionary, Tesoro de la lengua castellana. John Moffitt, "Velázquez, Fools, Calabacillas and Ripa," Pantheon, 1982, 60, pp. 304-5, has recently noted that the word "truhán" can now mean either a "jester" or a "scoundrel", and he suggests in his translation of Covarrubias' definition that "buffoon" would be the closest and most neutral English equivalent. I am making a distinction between the dwarfs and the jesters who were employed by Philip IV because my research suggests that they actually did provide different entertainment services; however, these roles could overlap as in the cases of dwarfs with normal intelligence and experience and training in jesting who would perform in the same capacity as the professional jesters. Unfortunately, Moreno Villa's research does not elaborate on how the jesters' identified position in the records reflected their various services at court.

required to entertain the court during banquets, masques, and evening events held in large palace salons, and they also took part in lavish theatrical productions by providing intermission monologues and skits while sets and costumes were changed.<sup>23</sup>

The Buen Retiro itself, located only minutes away from the official Alcázar palace, was Philip IV's grandest entertainment palace. Originally a small royal apartment attached to the monastery of San Jeronimo on the eastern border of Madrid, the Buen Retiro was enlarged in the early 1630s, a decade after Philip's accession to the throne at the age of sixteen.<sup>24</sup> The decade of the 1630s was a happy and

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<sup>23</sup>This information is sketchy; however, Shergold's A History of the Spanish Stage (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967) makes periodic reference to jesters performing at these types of special dramatic events. It should be noted that while there were important and famous female jesters in European courts, especially in the service of Italian noblewomen and English Queens, documentation suggests that they were mainly dwarfs or physically-handicapped individuals, and that the majority of the jesters who performed as artificial fools and the professional actors who performed in court theatrical productions were male. For this reason, and because this thesis focuses specifically on Velázquez' paintings of male jesters, female jesters and dwarfs will not be discussed.

<sup>24</sup>For a history of the building of the Buen Retiro, see Jonathan Brown and J. H. Elliott, A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV (New Haven-London: Yale University, 1980) which gives an

prosperous time for the young King Philip, and the new showplace palace, formally inaugurated on December 5, 1633, provided the setting for the most lavish celebratory events of the decade in Europe. The king took a keen interest in the festivities sponsored at his court, for he participated in a number of the impromptu "private theatricals" performed in the queen's apartments. He is also credited with composing a short dramatic piece performed at the Carnival of 1636.<sup>25</sup>

The entire court moved to the Retiro during specific periods of the year, usually for Carnival, and later for the feast of St. John in late June. During these seasons, endless entertainments were presented incorporating every possible diversion and amenity. In addition to the elaborate machine plays written by Calderón and staged by the Italian scenographer Cosimo

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excellent account of the political and economic circumstances surrounding this period of Philip's reign.

<sup>25</sup>Justi, p. 106 who refers to the piece as an "air." Hannah E. Bergman, "A Court Entertainment of 1638," Hispanic Review 42 (1974), pp. 67-81, has noted that Velázquez also appeared in court entertainments and is documented in one such play entitled Mojiganga de la Boda which was performed by the members of the nobility and household at the Retiro on Shrove Tuesday (February 16) 1638 where he played the female part of the Countess of San Estéban.

Lotti either in the theater or on the grounds, weekly theatrical productions were presented in the Queen's quarters every Sunday and Thursday afternoons during Carnival season. From the surviving evidence, it appears that the court jesters frequently enlivened these more intimate gatherings.<sup>26</sup> Entertainment and relaxation during the king's leisure time was regarded as essential in order to insure a stable and productive government because seventeenth-century Spanish medical theory mostly focused on perceived imbalances of the four bodily humors, particularly melancholy which was

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<sup>26</sup>See N.D. Shergold's chapters 10 and 11, which focus on court pageantry and theater during the reign of Philip IV and briefly mention several productions in which jesters were involved. The jesters were especially busy during Carnival season when they were called upon to present the preliminary skits or loas, or to entertain during the intermissions of grand stage productions at the Buen Retiro. Immense preparation went into these productions; it was not unusual for the entertainments to last well over twelve hours. See Roy Strong, Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1984) for descriptions of such festivities. Jestors also entertained during the elaborate ceremonial dinners in which only the King and Queen dined in an elaborate public performance. Antoine de Brunel, Voyage d'Espagne (1655), text in Revue Hispanique, 30 (1914), pp. 119-376, mentions a dinner of Queen Marianna of Austria, who had a professional jester "who talks all the while and tries to make her laugh and to divert her with his patter."

considered to be the most damaging imbalance for a monarch.<sup>27</sup>

The jesters who succeeded as hombres de placer in Spanish royal court service were the best of their profession, and some jesters achieved international celebrity when their jokes were published and circulated in widely read jestbooks.<sup>28</sup> Unlike their colleagues the "natural" fools, the artificial jesters usually remained in control of the situation and continually searched for suitable victims as targets

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<sup>27</sup>See Martin Hume's biographies of the Kings and Queens of Spain, including The Court of Philip IV: Spain in Decadence (New York: Brentano's Press, 1927) and Queens of Old Spain (New York: McClure Pub., 1906), in which he recounts the medical practices and remedies (mostly a combination of superstitious beliefs and incorrect knowledge of the human digestive system) that were frequently used to increase fertility and stimulate overall well-being. Tietze-Conrat, p. 67, on the basis of his research of English, French, and Spanish courts, concludes that the court jester with his witticisms and jokes was regarded as both a powerful medicine and a precautionary measure against the disease. Due to the jester's important function of keeping the king in high spirits (and thus in good leadership form), he was given easy access to his king.

<sup>28</sup>For examples from English sixteenth and seventeenth century courts, see J. Wardroper, ed., Jest Upon Jest (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970.) I have not found any references to specific jestbooks printed in Spain, however, Philip IV's brother, the Cardinal-Infante Don Fernando supposedly had a dwarf-jester named Estébanillo González in his service (although Moreno Villa found no record of him during the course of his research of court documents) whose autobiography was a bestseller during the last decades of the seventeenth-century.

for the barbed arrows of their wit. These jesters terrorized their fellow courtiers with caustic and sarcastic comments and rude practical jokes, told lewd and obscene anecdotes that cruelly parodied nationalities and professions, and combined pratfalls and physical comedy with skillful acrobatics. Above all, jesters mocked and goaded the members of the court, especially learned poets and orators, honorable church officials, and philosophers and theologians, who were representatives of the morally virtuous life that the jester was compelled by his position to reject.<sup>29</sup>

The jester's folly was a peculiar combination of predictability and unpredictability. While Philip's court members were well educated in traditional subjects of folly, and expected the jester to mock certain personages and topics, there was always a sense of uncertainty surrounding the jester's position. Because he feigned madness (or actually was mad), the possibility always existed that the erratic jester

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<sup>29</sup>Welsford, pp. 15-19, includes accounts of this type of parodying by jesters at sixteenth-century Italian courts including that of Pope Leo X, and Estébanillo González' autobiography offers descriptions of such jesting behavior in Spain. The writings of Cervantes and Lope de Vega's comedias are also good sources of reference since much of their work contains jesters or fools as characters who exhibit such behavior and word-play.

could do or say something entirely unexpected. This license for unpredictable behavior contrasts sharply with the rules that governed the actions of the rest of the court members, including the king and the royal family. The orthodox structure of the seventeenth-century Spanish court, composed of highly complex systems of protocol and etiquette which restricted every form of social and individual behavior, existed for the primary purpose of maintaining the orderly and predictable environment in which the king alone controlled all resources. Seen within this cultural context, the jester and his frequent presence in both the art and literature of seventeenth-century Spain becomes even more fascinating.

Court jesters operated in a highly opportunistic behavioral mode which enabled them to turn on any social group, religious position, or political policy, as long as it achieved the desired effect--pleasing the king and queen.<sup>30</sup> As one would expect from a great

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<sup>30</sup>Welsford and Zijderveld both make specific note of the power that some jesters wielded at courts. Apparently it was common for courtiers to pay bribes in order for the jesters either to not pick on them in their folly, or to mention them to the monarch in a pleasing light. Justi, p. 437, cites an entertainer named Emanuel Gómez, known for his voice imitations, who reportedly was paid "six pieces of eight" by the Tuscan envoy Vieri Castiglione at an audience in 1661 to put in a good word for him with the king.

artist, Velázquez' Buen Retiro portraits emphasize such elements of unexpectedness and instability that was characteristic of the jesters' activities and behavior at court. Remembering that Spanish court jesters were either actual mental defectives (or the majority) individuals who consciously feigned insanity--and that they were valued precisely for their element of unpredictability--Velázquez has very deliberately incorporated this potential for unexpected action in his portraits by setting up an atmosphere of tension and ambiguity. The jesters appear momentarily "frozen" in their individual performances of folly, yet the viewer is left with the uncomfortable feeling that these erratic individuals will suddenly move and say something completely unexpected.

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Immoderate and disordinate joy become incorporate in the bodie of a jeaster; this fellow in person is comely, in apparell courtly, but in behavior a very ape, and no man; his studie is to coine bitter jeasts, or to shew antique motions, or to sing baudie sonnets and ballads: give him a little wine in his head, he is continually flearing and making of mouthes: he laughs intemperately at every little occasion, and dances about the house, leaps over tables, out-skips men's heads, trips up his companions heeles, burns sack with a candle, and hath all the feats of a lord of misrule in the countrie... In these ceremonies you shall know his courting, and it is a special mark of him at the table, he sits and makes faces: keep not this fellow company, for in jugling with him, your wardropes shall be wasted, your credits crackt, your crownes consumed, and time (the most precious riches of the world) utterly lost.

Thomas Lodge's description of a jester in Wit's Miserie, and the World's Madness (1596).

## CHAPTER 2

### VELÁZQUEZ AND THE JESTER-PHILOSOPHERS

In attempting to understand the problem of the court jester in seventeenth-century Spain, several primary questions concerning the cultural significance of the jester at court immediately arise: What could have been the value and function of the jester to court society? Why would a monarch wish to have such individuals tempting or taunting his courtiers with such potentially dangerous behaviors? And why would any king commission and then hang such images in his palaces? Jesters were considered stock figures in

European court art and the Spanish Royal Collections prior to Velazquez' appointment to the court in 1623 contained a number of paintings of jesters.<sup>1</sup> As evidenced from this collection which comprises art produced by Spanish, Italian, and German and Netherlandish artists, the jester was pictured in a variety of ways, appearing in large scale historical and religious scenes as well as smaller genre works and portraiture.

Italian artists, from the late fifteenth-century onwards, generally depicted jesters and dwarfs within the context of larger compositions. Mantegna, Francesco del Cossa, Botticelli, Veronese, and others included portraits of these individuals because they were important components of contemporary court life,

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<sup>1</sup>The best source for images of jesters in art is Tietze-Conrat's Dwarfs and Jesters in Art. Jesters and dwarfs have been pictured by Western artists since antiquity, and the Romans especially were fascinated by human malformation. Plutarch tells of Roman buyers in the slave markets passing over the most beautiful girls and boys in favor of hideous cripples and freaks, and of patrons who collected small statuettes of these grotesques. During the Middle Ages, the figure of the jester became equated with the theologically-deformed fool who did not follow Christ's teachings and his image was frequently used to represent the unvirtuous man. The practice of collecting dwarfs and jesters and their images was revived in Renaissance Italy, and it has been suggested that Leonardo di Vinci's famous caricature studies were based on life drawings of physically and mentally deformed jesters at the Milanese court.

who not only served as foils to the nobility of the patron, but also added character and life to the grand friezelike compositions that these artists favored (Figs. 8, 9.) One such painting which includes a dwarf court jester and an African minstrel was in the Spanish Royal Collections during Velázquez' time.<sup>2</sup> Velázquez' masterpiece Las Meninas (Fig. 22), dated between 1656-58, also presented portraits of two court dwarfs in this type of composition.

In contrast to the courtly image of the jester popular in Italy, German and Netherlandish paintings depicted fools as freely recognized symbols of moral failing.<sup>3</sup> This practice stemmed from the fact that Medieval moralists from the end of the thirteenth-century had equated the figure of the jester with sin, as is evident from the number of psalters which

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<sup>2</sup>This painting was The Finding of Moses by Paolo Veronese, dated 1575-80. From Manuela B. Mena Marques, Monstruos, enanos y bufones (Madrid: Prado catalogue), p. 54.

<sup>3</sup>Keith Moxey, "Pieter Bruegel and The Feast of Fools," Art Bulletin 64 (1982), p. 642-43; and also see "Master E. S. and the Folly of Love," Simiolus, 11 (1981), pp. 125-148.

represent the Devil as a jester disputing with God.<sup>4</sup> Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth-centuries, it was common for professional jesters to play the parts of Devil's disciples in morality plays where "the dress of Vice" (meaning the traditional costume of the jester that was typically a short coat and hat with bells) was described as "not unlike that of the domestic fool."<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, the diffusion across Europe during the last years of the fifteenth-century of various editions of Sebastian Brant's illustrated Narrenschiff (Ship of Fools, first published in Basel in 1493) standardized the representation of the jester as a means of representing sinful or anti-social behavior (Fig. 10, 11.)<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>For a detailed study of the association of the jester with the devil, see D. J. Gifford's "Iconographical Notes toward a Definition of the Medieval Fool," in The Fool in the Trickster, pp. 18-35.

<sup>5</sup>F.H. Mares, "The Origin of the Figure Called Vice," Huntington Library Quarterly, 22 (1958), p. 15.

<sup>6</sup>Moxey, p. 642. The theme of man's folly was especially popular in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Northern Europe, and some of the literature describes the physiognomy and gestures of the cunning fool who places his finger on his lips, or tightly screws up his mouth. These expressions were seen as proof of the jester's craftiness.

Philip II collected a number of large-scale religious and moralizing works by Northern artists during his reign which are related to this didactic representation of the jester. For example, Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Triumph of Death, dated around 1562, shows Death dressed as a jester overturning a gaming table in the far right of the composition (Fig. 12.)

In addition to the jester's symbolic presence in these somewhat horrific and often apocalyptic scenes, Northern artists also developed a less overtly negative association of the jester with sin in small-scale genre scenes illustrating various "Follies of Man" that were related thematically to Erasmus' popular Moriae Encomium or Praise of Folly. First published in 1511, the Praise of Folly offers a solution to everyman's struggle between virtue and vice by positing the idea that Folly (or the human capacity to err) is an inescapable aspect of the human condition, and that those who recognize this inherent truth in themselves will be better able to understand and thereby rectify the lapses of their own behavior (Fig. 13.)<sup>7</sup> This connotation of the jester with folly was also popular

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<sup>7</sup>Moxey, p. 644.

in Spain as evident from the emblem for "Folly" (Fig. 14) in Sebastian de Covarrubias' Emblemas Morales, published in Madrid in 1610, that shows a silly fool chattering to the doll's head of his bauble-stick.

Using the jester's foolish image as a means of commenting on the importance for self-reflection and self-knowledge was adopted by Northern painters during the mid-sixteenth-century, who began to depict the jester as a kind of sly moralist in disguise. It was a recognized sign of the jester's inherent craftiness that he would occasionally allow gleams of truth to slip out amidst his incoherent ramblings, and typically the jester in this type of Northern painting is shown laughing or leering broadly, holding a representation of a definable vice and attempting to entice a careless man into joining him in his trivial and wasteful pursuits (Figs. 15, 16.)

Occasionally these small-scale, usually bust-length, images are identified as portraits--as in the Portrait of the Jester Mertel (Fig. 17); however, it is significant that the aspect of portraiture is often overshadowed by emblematic meanings, as in Mertel's case, where the presence of the lion-beast leering at us over the jester's shoulder emphasizes his carnal nature. When Antonio Mor painted the jester Pejerón

(Fig. 18) for Philip II at the Spanish court in Madrid, he initiated a new approach to jester imagery which set the stage for Velázquez' later innovations to the genre.<sup>8</sup>

This full-length portrait of Perejón, dated before 1576, is approximately the same size and follows the same compositional format that Moro used in his portraits of the Spanish royal family, including those of Philip II (Fig. 19); yet the painting is still related to the Northern allegorical genre of the court jester. Pejerón slyly attempts to hide a deck of playing cards in his deformed left hand from the gaze of the viewer. This gesture, along with the association of playing cards with the vices of gambling or laziness, offers a comic contrast to his being clothed in the rich vestments of a gentleman and the "noble" gesture of his other hand which rests on the

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<sup>8</sup>James Snyder, Northern Renaissance Art: Painting, Sculpture, the Graphic Arts From 1350-1575 (New York: Abrams, 1985), pp. 482-83. Snyder credits Moro with the creation of the Hapsburg tradition for royal portraiture admired for its heroic, austere formality and icy reserve. Primarily patronized by the Catholic aristocracy, Moro after 1547 was employed at royal courts in Brussels, Augsburg, Rome (1550), Madrid (1551) where he painted a number of portraits of Philip II, and in London (1554) when he painted Philip's (then) wife, Mary Tudor.

hilt of a sword.<sup>9</sup> Painted with the same even and meticulous brushwork that characterizes his portraits of royalty, Mor has treated the jester with a surprising perceptiveness and empathy; we are given a complete sense of the jester's individual personality and this effect is heightened by both the monumental scale of the image, as well as the fact that the jester's glance bridges our space and communicates directly with us. It is clearly this portrait, and Mor's inventions within the established tradition of the jester image, that predict Velázquez' contributions to the subject.

But while Antonis Mor had set a standard for the royal jester portrait in Spain, the images Velázquez created for the Buen Retiro palace staircase treat the subject in a more profound and sophisticated manner than any previous artist, including Mor. Velázquez' particular interest in the subject of the jester, as well as that of his patron Philip IV, can be deduced

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<sup>9</sup>Mena Marques, p. 58. The portrait of Pejerón, a jester in the employ of the Count of Benvente at the time that he was painted, was inventoried in the Alcazar in Madrid in 1600 hanging in the Casa del Tesoro with portraits of the royal family and friends. Perejón is listed in Moreno Villa's documents as "loco." He performed in the service of Philip II until his death in 1600 and was apparently known for his graciousness and mild disposition.

from the fact that he painted so many portraits of jesters, far exceeding the number produced by any other single court artist, either before or after him.<sup>10</sup>

In a recent analysis of Velázquez' paintings, it has been established that, while Velázquez used standard seventeenth-century pigments and materials, his techniques of representation were extremely innovative and unusual for a Spanish artist.<sup>11</sup> Painting in the

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<sup>10</sup>By 1630, Velázquez was Philip's premier court painter, and while we do not have specific documentation concerning whether the idea for a series of jesters was originally conceived of by Velázquez or was suggested to him by the King or the Count-Duke Olivares, it has been noted that Philip IV did allow his favorite painter a certain amount of autonomy in choosing subjects other than the royal portraits specifically commissioned. In 1627 Velázquez was appointed to the position of "Usher of the Chamber" which also distinguished him above all the other court painters. Justi, López-Rey, and Brown have all constructed their research of Velázquez' works on the belief that the painter himself was very much responsible for not only the choice of many of his subjects and themes, but also the manner in which they would be depicted.

<sup>11</sup>Gridley McKim-Smith, Greta Andersen-Bergdoll, and Richard Newman, Examining Velázquez (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988) is a collaborative effort between an art historian, a conservator, and a conservation scientist which discusses various issues raised by a technical examination of seven paintings by Velázquez: Philip IV, 1623, Museo del Prado; Bust of Philip IV; the Forge of Vulcan; the Surrender of Breda; the Portrait of the Dwarf Don Diego de Acedo, "El Primo"; the Coronation of the Virgin; and Las Meninas.

Venetian manner, using very thin glazes (at times, almost the consistency of washes), Velázquez simultaneously incorporated lumps of paint into these layers which protrude from the canvas, thereby adding texture and increasing the three-dimensional quality of surfaces.<sup>12</sup> Velázquez' technique also relied on a liberal use of borrónes, or loosely stroked smears or blobs of paint, which create the effect of suggesting surfaces rather than explicitly describing them.<sup>13</sup>

Unlike the portraits of the king and the royal family which primarily employed this latter device solely for inanimate decorative surfaces such as clothing, drapery or still-life arrangements, Velázquez represented the court jesters entirely with this technique. Instead of bathing the faces of the jesters in a strong even light and clearly delineating their features in order to reproduce the most accurate image possible, Velázquez studiously blurred and obscured the

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<sup>12</sup>McKim-Smith, pp. 11-12, discusses this technique in depth and suggests that these lumps of paint might include palette scrapings.

<sup>13</sup>McKim-Smith, p. 12, notes that the borrón was a recognized Venetian technique, and that Velázquez' use of it was probably the result of his careful study of a number of major works by Titian that were part of the Spanish royal collections.

jester's often swarthy features with wet-over-wet brushstrokes and darkly shadowed tonalities. This freer, more fluid, yet less visually refined mode of representation results in a more animated, but coarser earthy appearance; and, this approach is quite different from the smoothly painted, uniform, almost enamel-like surface of Mor's portrait of Perejón.

Beyond these obvious stylistic innovations developed in the jester series, one may argue that Velázquez, more importantly, altered the content of the traditional Spanish jester portrait. While characterized by their close observation of specific court personages, Velázquez' paintings of jesters are also sophisticated reflections on the nature of the jester at the Spanish court and his role in society. Indeed, it is Velázquez' unpremeditated vitality and direct approach to the subject of informal portraiture which subtly disguises the fact that these paintings are very much related to conventional moralizing conceptions of fools and folly that would have been instantly read and understood by his court audience.

It is significant that Velázquez made the decision to paint the life-sized figures of the jesters for the Buen Retiro staircase series actively performing, and that he placed them in contained interior settings.

Captured in their specific roles at court, they are demonstrating for the viewer that for which they were paid handsomely; moreover, this state of action removes them from the single intent of mere portraiture and imposes on them an alternative meaning that lays claim to their function at court. Velázquez, following in the tradition set by Mor, made the monumental full-length figure of the jester a standard component of Spanish palace decoration. While Mor had adopted the same compositional format for Pejerón that he had used for his royal portraits, Velázquez augmented the equation with kingship by including further references to monarchical and courtly imagery.

Justi, among others, has already noted that Velázquez' paintings represent different types of jesters, and that their individual comic characteristics are the result of their rich costumes and courtly demeanors, which contrast with their actual avocation as court fools.<sup>14</sup> For instance, Pablo de

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<sup>14</sup>Justi, p. 438, suggests that each of the jesters provided a different kind of entertainment for the court and that they may even be representative of different races, but no evidence exists to support this later assumption. Justi also makes the important point that although the jesters are very richly dressed they did belong to a class of lower court menials and were required always to be available to perform at the whim of the royal family. Justi's research uncovered a Florentine Despatch from February, 9, 1636, which states

Valladolid (Fig. 1), wearing the black velvet suit, cloak, and white goilla (ruffed collar) of a gentleman, is portrayed without any distracting attributes or props, and is the only jester represented so plainly. He is placed in a well-known oratorical pose with one hand over his heart and the other extended in a stance frequently used in drama by impassioned characters who were in the process of revealing something that had been previously hidden, usually a sentimental matter of the heart. This histrionic gesture can be traced at least as far back to the 1611 Paduan edition of Ripa's Iconologia, a copy of which Velázquez owned and had already used as a source of inspiration for the portrait of Calabazas Holding a Miniature Portrait and Pinwheel (Figs. 4, 20.)<sup>15</sup> The contemporary taste for emblems, hieroglyphs, and other devices of emblematic literature served as a major source of inspiration and

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that at the Carnival of 1636 all the royal jesters were brought together and plied with drink "in order to make them more apt for jesting and being made sport of."

<sup>15</sup>Moffitt, "Velázquez, Fools, Calabacillas and Ripa," pp. 304-9, has traced Velázquez' first portrait of Calabazas back to a woodcut illustration for "Pazzia/Mad Folly" in Ripa's Iconologia published in Padua in 1611 (Fig. 40). López-Rey, p. 85, has also noted that Aleman's novel Guzmán de Alfarache, (1559) had a personification of "Dreaming Idleness" in the guise of a boy riding a cane and carrying a pinwheel.

reference for writers, artists and entertainers during the seventeenth-century. Emblems were well-known in Spanish court circles, and served to whet the audience's appetite for the hidden meanings in the enigmatic and obscure, allowing them to sharpen their abilities to draw moral or philosophic conclusions from a series of visual or verbal clues. In his repertoire the court jester made good use of this form of "silent poetry."<sup>16</sup>

The emblem "Amore Verso Iddio" (Fig. 21) represents "the man who directs his love toward God." For his full-length portrait of Pablo, Velázquez chose to memorialize the jester in a pose that is a mirror of the emblem with the exception that the jester matches our gaze and his hand points downward rather than upward in a crude gesture signifying distaste (likened by López-Rey to the contemporary meaning associated with the extension of the middle finger.) Jesters were notorious for their caustic wit and Velázquez was making a conscious and rather subtle joke by portraying

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<sup>16</sup>Gareth A. Davies, A Poet at Court: Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza (Oxford, 1974), p. 71. For more information on the significance of emblems to European cultures see Mario Praz, Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery (Rome, 1964), and Stephen Orgel, ed. The Philosophy of Images (New York: Garland, 1979.)

him in a pose which would have been immediately recognized by court members as "the man who is the opposite of the man who directs his love toward God." Furthermore, it has also been noted that Pablo's figure, illuminated without ground lines or wall, bears a strong resemblance to the manner in which Spanish artists painted sacred apparitions, a device which enhances the sense that the jester is being projected outward into the viewer's space.<sup>17</sup>

The role of courtliness had a strong social and political function in seventeenth-century Spanish court life, and since Castiglione's era a central doctrine for the courtier was the ideal of the "beauty of manners." In this conception, the mastery of such external refinements of etiquette and fashion were seen as outward signs of the courtier's inner control over his baser impulses, a virtue that was in adherence with the demands of God and the world--the essence of the Christian moral life.<sup>18</sup> Every gesture had an implicit meaning and the fact that the jester is shown engaging in a pose that is an inversion of a recognized image of

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<sup>17</sup>Gallego, p. 2.

<sup>18</sup>Steven Jaeger, The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of the Courtly Ideal (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1985), p. 260.

Christian behavior implies that he was perceived as being set apart from it.

Velázquez' painting of the jester Ochoa (Fig. 5), who was known to have performed as a comic doorman, is represented as a parody of the usher to the chamber--a most distinguished position at the Spanish court. An interesting comparison is made between the hunched, slouching figure of Ochoa and the elegant portrait of Jose Nieto, the apostador or usher to the Queen's bedroom, who is shown in the back doorway to the Prince's Gallery in Las Meninas (Fig. 22.) Brilliantly illuminated, his confident and beautifully dressed figure graciously invites the viewer into the intimate scene. Compared with Nieto, Ochoa seems more like a curmudgeonly ill-tempered beggar who will give us an endlessly difficult time about tranversing his threshold. Holding a number of petitions (perhaps requests for access into the room were he was the designated doorman), he holds his hat in his right hand and appears to be stepping back, rather crossly, to allow us to pass by. Besides the fact that his rough weatherbeaten face contrasts oddly with the magnificence of his garments, a strong level of parody is implicit in the premise that a jester would be given a position of honor reserved only for favored

courtiers. Unfortunately, no information exists concerning the specifics of Ochoa's performances and the areas of the palace in which he performed.<sup>19</sup>

Calabazas (Fig. 4), holding a miniature portrait of a female dwarf, is represented as a different form of visual comedy. Romantic actors in Spanish dramas often recited eloquent verse to miniatures of their beloved, expressing their lovelorn longings in sensitive soliloquies, and Juan may have mimicked this tradition for the amusement of the court. In addition, the idea that mortal love makes a fool of all men was an extremely popular theme in Spanish drama and literature at this time. It is interesting that Velázquez later painted a completely different portrait of Calabazas, dated 1639-41, which was apparently hung with other

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<sup>19</sup>Moreno Villa, p. 122. One of the primary mechanisms controlling and maintaining Spanish court privilege was the established practice of rewarding favored courtiers with various titled posts within the palace, of which the majority of these were designated by giving the honoree controlling access to particular restricted areas. Brown and Elliott, A Palace for a King, p. 45, discuss a 1627 competition for a painting that Velázquez won for an image of "the Expulsion of the Moors" that was to be hung in a large south gallery in the Madrid Alcázar. Shortly after this victory over the other royal painters, Velázquez was made "usher to the chamber/ujier de camara." In 1643, Velázquez was made "Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber as well as "Superintendent of Works, and in 1652, he was made "Chamberlain of the Royal Palace."

portraits of dwarfs in the Torre de la Parada. The fact that Velázquez could paint the same subject with a completely different artistic intent suggests that he did conceive of the subject of the jester in different representational terms, and that the Buen Retiro staircase jesters were meant to connote a different meaning than those painted for, and placed in, other locations.<sup>20</sup>

Don Juan de Austria (Fig. 3) offers the most fascinating insight into Velázquez' wit and his predilection for playing with established artistic traditions. Don Juan de Austria was actually the sitter's true name and was likely given to him by King

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<sup>20</sup>This completely different portrait dating from the 1640s, not really intended to amuse and pique in its representation of personified folly, is more of an evocative observational study of the jester's mental retardation. López-Rey, p. 395, summarizes existing discrepancies concerning the placement of this portrait of Calabazas. In the 1772 inventory of the Madrid Royal Palace, it was listed immediately after three portraits of dwarfs by Velázquez: "Another portrait also by Velázquez, portrait of a buffoon with a Flemish collar," with a hand written marginal note "from the Torre de la Parada." The 1701 inventory of the Torre de la Parada includes no entry which could be referred to this painting; however, the 1747 inventory, which lists fifteen paintings not included in the 1701 inventory, includes an entry of "a picture of a dwarf laughing." Assuming that this portrait of the jester Calabazas was hung with other portraits of dwarfs and that he is pictured in a low squatting position that disguises his true height, it is not unlikely that the recorders for the 1747 inventory incorrectly designated this painting as that of a dwarf.

Philip III or another member of the royal family.<sup>21</sup> The name was that of the illegitimate son of Philip II who had commanded the victorious fleet of the Holy League at the naval battle of Lepanto against the Turks in 1571. Memories of this national hero were still vivid by the time of Philip IV and the jester was probably encouraged to impersonate his illustrious namesake.<sup>22</sup> Don Juan de Austria was hung next to the portrait of Cristóbal de Castañeda (Fig. 2) (perhaps facing each other) along the Buen Retiro staircase. During the 1630s and 1640s, the Turks were considered "a Spaniard's nightmare" and it is very likely that Cristobal and Don Juan de Austria worked together on occasion as a comic team recreating their own versions

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<sup>21</sup>Moreno Villa, pp. 67-72, concluded that Juan de Austria was the sitters true name since the Spanish sovereigns of the House of Austria, as the Bourbons did later, would sometimes give their names to children to whom they were Godfathers or who had grown up in the royal palaces.

<sup>22</sup>It is still unclear why Philip IV's court would encourage a jester to make sport of a national hero. There was a tradition of naming illegitimate royal offspring Juan de Austria, both Charles V and Philip IV had illegitimate sons by women who were commoners that were so named.

of the famous Victory of Lepanto and other skirmishes.<sup>23</sup>

As López-Rey has already noted, there was a life-sized portrait of King Philip III by Pedro Antonio Vidal (Fig. 23), inventoried in the Alcázar in 1636, which Velázquez surely knew and deliberately parodied in his portrait of Don Juan.<sup>24</sup> Vidal's painting, executed in a tight, precise style reminiscent of Mor's, depicts the King standing regally on a tiled floor and wearing a ceremonial coat of armor. His right hand confidently grasps the royal baton (designating his role as leader of the Spanish military) while his left rests comfortably on the hilt

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<sup>23</sup>Cristóbal Castañeda y Pernia was nicknamed "Barbarroja" after the sixteenth-century Algerian pirate king, Khayr ad-Din, who had launched attacks against Spain from Algeria before the Battle of Lepanto. From examples from literature and drama, we can infer that much of his acting consisted of exaggerated pretensions as a soldier, and he was also widely celebrated at the court for his performance as a mock bull-fighter. Justi, p. 439, states that he was "first among the jesters", and that he imitated Barbarossa for festival occasions.

<sup>24</sup>López-Rey, pp. 85-6, 165, no. 136, summarizes J. J. Martín Gonzalez, Archivo español de arte (Madrid, 1958), p. 130. Vidal's portrait of the late king represents him holding a baton in his right hand and resting his left on his sword, and standing between a terrestrial globe, his helmet, and gauntlets arranged neatly on the floor. This work was inventoried in the Madrid Alcázar in 1636.

of his sword. The terrestrial globe to the left of the composition and the helmet and gloves resting on the velvet pillow to the right (symbolic references to the monarch's power over the vast territories of the Spanish Empire) form a perfectly aligned diagonal across the foreground space. Vidal's portrait is characterized by its stately, formalized presentation of monarchical majesty.

Velázquez' freely painted portrait of Don Juan de Austria brashly imitates the format of the Vidal portrait, but subtly changes it so that the former image of elegant majesty is completely transformed into one of lively comedy. Like Cervantes' comic protagonist Don Quixote who takes on the false identity of a military hero, Don Juan de Austria's placement in this mirrored pose and analogous setting seems delusional. Like the king, the jester stands on a tiled floor strewn with military paraphernalia. Velázquez has also included a representation of a naval battle in the distance of the composition. However, while Vidal's neatly placed objects reaffirm his royal sitter's status and control over his environment, the haphazard tumble of armor and cannon balls surrounding the gaudily dressed jester seem only to emphasize his clear lack of authority. Furthermore, Don Juan's slouching

pose and quizzical expression heightened by the jester's overgrown, poorly groomed mustache is a mocking parody of the King's noble deportment and confident visage. The jester's left hand rests on what appears to be a wooden sword, while the other holds a fool's bauble or club in the place of Vidal's military baton. This club also appears to support Don Juan's deformed right leg, an abnormality which is plainly obvious in Velázquez' working of the figure.

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Velázquez seems to have been attracted to "lower" comic subjects from his earliest years as a painter in Seville when he was known for his still-life genre scenes in the form of the Spanish bodegón, which were collected by noted humanists, courtiers and aristocrats.<sup>25</sup> Velázquez was also a painter who

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<sup>25</sup>Marianna Haraszti-Takács, Spanish Genre Painting in the Seventeenth Century, trans. Alfred Falvay (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 1983), p. 86. For example, Velázquez' Waterseller, dated around 1622, passed from the estate of the royal chaplain of Seville Juan Fonseca y Figueroa to Don Gaspar de Bracamonte in 1627, and shortly afterwards into the possession of Don Fernando, the Cardinal-Infante (died 1641) and then to the Buen Retiro where it appears in the inventory of 1701. The term Bodegón now connotes a still-life, but in Velázquez' day it generally meant a composition with common people eating or drinking, with a special emphasis on precisely

deliberately sought unusual artistic solutions by playing with established painterly practices, by toying with accepted compositional procedures, and by reinterpreting conventional subject matter.

The earliest example of this is the painting known as The Feast of Bacchus, dating from 1628 (Fig. 24), that presents the mythical God visiting the scene of an outdoor Castillian drunken revelry. Velázquez highlights the comic contrast implicit in the juxtaposition of gods and mortals by painting the classical deity in cool tones with smooth even brushwork and the humble Spanish characters in a warmer tonality and harsher, rougher manner.<sup>26</sup> Palomino's record from 1724, identifying the painting as The Triumph of Bacchus in Burlesque, illustrates that this work was recognized for its odd comedic element near the time of Velázquez and that it was not at all unusual in seventeenth-century Spain to regard

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rendered displays of food and serving implements.

<sup>26</sup>Brown, pp. 66-8. Velázquez continued using this kind of stylistic contrast throughout his painting career to connote differences of subject matter as is evident in the following paintings: Forge of Vulcan, dated in the 1630s, Baltasar Carlos and a Dwarf, 1632, The Fable of Arachne and Las Meninas, both dated around 1656.

mythology as an amusing folly.<sup>27</sup> In fact, the Bacchus is generally viewed as a moralizing scene emphasizing the consequences of overindulgence in alcohol which is presented in the comic farcical style reminiscent of the national comedias.<sup>28</sup> Additional interpretations which focus on Velázquez' inclusion of the wine glass, imply the idea of in vino veritas or that the altered state induced by alcohol might allow one to momentarily

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<sup>27</sup>Philip IV was reportedly very pleased with this painting, and paid Velázquez 100 silver ducats for it in 1629. Justi, p. 139, notes that the Bacchus hung in the royal bedchamber in the Alcázar during Philip IV's reign. Quevedo's comedias especially make sport of classical gods, and in one case Mars is portrayed as a kind of celestial Don Quixote, which could be an interesting point of study in conjunction with Velázquez' odd image of Mars.

<sup>28</sup>López-Rey, p. 42, sees the painting as a double-edged parody of the world of the fable and sinful ways which is made more comic by the clownish expressions of the drunkards whose partaking of the wine is a play on the Christian meaning of the acceptance of the Eucharistic wine. Brown, p. 66-7, sees Velázquez' painting as a representation of Bacchus as the giver of the gift of wine which temporarily freed men from the struggles of daily life. His evidence for this interpretation is the existence of two prints which would have been available to Velázquez at this time, and which were identified by Martín S. Soria, "La Venus, Los Borrachos y la Conanacion de Velázquez", Archivo español de arte, 26 (1953), pp. 278-83, and Diego Angulo Iñiguez, "La Fabula de Vulcano, Venus y Marte y la Fragula de Velázquez", Archivo español de arte, 33 (1960), p. 178.

see the truth.<sup>29</sup> On another level, the painting represents folly in the guise of the God Bacchus, who is the giver of wine to the men of Spain and thus instigates their foolishness.

But Velázquez' intention in the Triumph of Bacchus and in many of his other subjects is never exactly clear. For instance, several of his fictitious portraits of scholars from classical antiquity including the Aesop and Menippus (Figs. 25, 26), defy conventional interpretation and escape precise categorization. An inventory of Velázquez' library shows that he was a sophisticated reader, interested in medicine, philosophy, even divination, subjects of interest not only to painters, but to the most alert and curious minds of his century.<sup>30</sup> Never straightforward, Velázquez' art was the result of a union of his training in art and humanistic learning, which offered artistic solutions that questioned and transcended established meanings and iconography.

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<sup>29</sup>For a discussion on the motif of the wine glass see Paul Barolsky, Infinite Jest: Wit and Humor in Italian Renaissance Art (Columbia & London: University of Missouri Press, 1978), p. 212.

<sup>30</sup>F. J. Sánchez Canton, "La Librería de Velázquez", Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal, Tomo Tercero (Madrid, 1925), pp. 379-406.

Velázquez aimed toward and was able to capture in pictures that quality which the Spanish comedic writers and poets had put into words, namely the sense of the continuing relevance of antique and Italian Renaissance heritage interspersed with a deep attachment to their earthy native traditions. Velázquez' interpretations of classical mythology are certainly not illustrations of comedias, but they do share a conscious comedic intent and a sophisticated level of parody that is also clearly apparent in his images of court jesters.

In the late 1620s, before beginning his full-length jester series, Velázquez painted Pablo de Valladolid as The Drinker, a genre portrait that he repainted during the 1630s as Democritus (Fig. 27.)<sup>31</sup> This painting,

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<sup>31</sup>In my opinion, the man depicted in Jester with a Wine Glass, Democritus, and portrait of Pablo de Valladolid, are in fact all the same individual although the original sitters for the Democritus and Jester with a Wine Glass have long been believed to have been one of the jesters employed at Philip IV's court. Moreno Villa, p. 74, 100, suggested that he might either be Manuel de Gante, a gentilhombre de placer; Antonio Banuels, a mad hombre de placer, or Pablo de Valladolid. My conclusion is that the man as Democritus is indeed Pablo de Valladolid, and I have arrived at my conclusion on the basis of intensive study of the physiognomy of the subjects (note especially the hair-style, broken nose, and protruding lower-lip) as well as the fact that Democritus and Pablo are shown with the same hand gesture, probably one of the jester's "signature" gags.

Recent radiographic analysis has led to the conclusion that the canvas now known as Democritus (Fig. 29), in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rouen, was originally painted as a "Man with a Wine Glass or Sense of Taste," but was

offers a bridge from Velázquez' earlier comedic Bacchus to the later Buen Retiro jester portraits. Man with a Wine Glass (Fig. 28), in the Toledo Museum of Art in Ohio, is believed to be a copy of the Velázquez' Democritus prior to the latter's repainting.<sup>32</sup> The

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probably repainted as the philosopher "Democritus" at the same time as the jester series was being completed. This painting, which may have been a preliminary study for the full-length portrait of Pablo, exists in two other versions of a Man with a Wine Glass; one in the Toledo Museum of Art in Ohio, and an exact replica of the Toledo canvas in the Zornmuseet in Mora, Sweden. López-Rey proposed that the Toledo canvas is a copy after the identical canvas in Sweden, which he attributes to an unknown seventeenth-century painter. Gudiol, however, who has maintained the attribution to Velázquez, believes that the Swedish picture is a copy after the Toledo canvas. The dating of the two works has not been firmly established, although it is generally agreed that the time of execution is between 1623-28. For the identification of the man in the painting as the philosopher Democritus, see Werner Weisbach, "Der sogenannte Geograph von Velázquez und die Darstellungen des Demokrit und Heraklit," Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen, XLIX (1928), pp. 141-158. For more on the tradition of the philosopher in Spanish art, see: Edgar Wind, "The Christian Democritus," Journal of the Warburg Institute, I (1937-38), pp. 180-82; and Delphine Fitz Darby, "Ribera and the Wise Men," Art Bulletin, XLIV (1962), pp. 278-305. Democritus was owned by the Marquis de Carpio, brother-in-law to the Count-Duke Olivares until 1692, when it was given to a family gardener in lieu of back taxes.

<sup>32</sup>Brown, p. 57. For the repainting of the canvas and the conclusion that the jester originally held a glass, see "Chroniques du Laboratoire. Notes sur les radiographics de deux tableaux appartenant aux Musée de Pau et du Rouen," Bulletin du Laboratoire du Musée du Louvre, 9 (1964), pp. 50-3. López-Rey remains unconvinced that the figure in Democritus originally held a glass similar to the one in Man with a Wine Glass, and

genial man in the Toledo painting holds a wine glass at the bottom of the stem, and wears on his left hand a single glove which is identifiable as a type that jesters wore (Fig. 29.)<sup>33</sup> In its original form, the drinker holds his wine glass in a pose that is defined by contemporary etiquette books as a dainty, "polite" pose, thereby providing an ironic contrast with the recognized mode of behavior expected of a jester, who by his very nature was supposed to be crude and sarcastic (Fig. 30.)<sup>34</sup>

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sees the underlying shape in the radiograph as indicative of Velázquez' working method whereby he made significant changes in the composition prior to achieving the image of the philosopher. However, Velázquez painted the Bacchus (who also raises a filled wine glass) at nearly the same time as he was working on the original conception of the Democritus and it seems very likely that he did indeed paint his sitter Pablo in jester garments and holding a glass. Furthermore, this painting was also executed near the time of Velázquez' first full-length jester portrait of Calabazas in which that jester is also portrayed holding a recognized attribute of folly, a pinwheel.

<sup>33</sup>For a historical survey of the jester's costume and attributes of folly, see Francis Douce, Illustrations of Shakespeare and of Ancient Manners (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1839), pp. 317-327.

<sup>34</sup>Etiquette manuals that scrupulously and painstakingly recorded proper and improper rules of behavior were printed in great numbers and disseminated throughout Europe in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth-centuries, and these were a primary source of information for both the courtier who sought to emulate them, as well as the jester who sought comic

The jester offers a toast to convey the traditional warning that "he who drinks too much will act like a fool." However, an alternative reading of the portrait suggests the idea of in vino veritas, whereby the jester, whose mind existed in an altered state somewhere between reason and insanity (like that induced by alcoholic consumption) might offer the viewer the opportunity for seeing and understanding the truth about his own foolish nature even if momentarily. Or this image could represent the deception of drink, which tricks the drinker into believing that he is seeing or speaking the truth when in reality he is only being the fool. Thus, Velázquez could have been portraying the Drinker in a manner similar to sixteenth-century images of jesters as personifications of man's folly and instruments of self-reflection. When Velázquez repainted the Drinker as Democritus, he used the same downward pointing gesture signaling distaste as in the full-length portrait of Pablo; but

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inspiration in them. See Jaeger, p. 238, which mentions seventeenth-century books on dramatic technique detailing the significance of physical gestures and postures identifiable as affectations of the various social classes. Naturally, the court jester preferred to use those words and gestures recognized as vulgar, and his performances were praised and appreciated for their crudeness.

in this instance the philosopher's finger is directed to a globe representing the world in the same manner as Erasmus' famous personification of folly looking down on the earth.<sup>35</sup>

The equation of philosophers with the figure of Folly does have an established history. The image of philosophers juxtaposed with the fool was a common and popular image in Northern sixteenth-century art and literature (Fig. 31), and Erasmus reserves a large place for scholars in his famous dance of fools.<sup>36</sup>

Returning to the question of why Velázquez repainted The Drinker as a Democritus, one has to look first to

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<sup>35</sup>From In Praise of Folly, trans. Betty Radice (London: Penguin Books, 1971), p. 141. The female personification of Folly looks out upon the world and comments: "I count as many images as there are men...So many forms of madness abound there, and each day sees so many new ones born, that a thousand Democrituses would not suffice to mock them." Erasmian thought was well-known in early seventeenth-century Spain, and Pacheco's academy had originally been formed in the 1560's by the important Spanish humanist Juan de Mal Lara. From Brown, Images and Ideas, pp. 22-25. Also see Marcel Bataillon, Erasmus y España, trans. A Alatorre (Mexico City, 1966).

<sup>36</sup>Erasmus, sections 48-51, ed. Radice, pp. 140-150, describes them in the following order: the Grammarians, the Poets, Rhetoricians and Writers, the Jurists, and after them the "Philosophers respectable in beard and mantle." In Erasmus' conception, Folly is not linked to the world and its subterranean forms but rather to man himself and his dependence on the facts and structures of knowledge without self-knowledge.

Peter Paul Rubens, who painted an oil sketch for a full-length, portrait-like image of Democritus and Heraclitus during his visit to the Spanish court in 1628 for the Torre de la Parada hunting lodge.

Rubens' conception of the two philosophers (Figs. 32, 33) must have influenced Velázquez' treatment of his own two full-length Philosopher paintings--Aesop and Menippus (Figs. 25, 26)--as well as his decision to repaint an earlier portrait of a jester into an image of Democritus.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, the allegorical representation of philosophers (as designating some recognized vision or approach to life in the world) was not unsimilar to the seventeenth-century perception of jesters, who also embodied such an example, albeit a negative one. Hence, Velázquez' decision to transform

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<sup>37</sup>For a thorough discussion of these works in terms of their placement, see Svetlana Alpers, The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada, Corpus Rubendianum, vol. IX (London and New York: Phaidon, 1971), pp. 120-22, 134-6. Justi, p. 179, notes that Velázquez had also visited Naples on his return trip from Italy in 1630, where Ribera had been court painter to the Viceroy for the last ten years, and while it has not been established whether he formally met him or visited his studio during this trip, Ribera was painting philosophers at this time and Velázquez must have had some knowledge of his production for his local gentleman patrons. Although Ribera never painted any court jesters, both he and his patrons were interested in physiological curiosities as is evident in his 1631 portrait of Magdalena Ventura, the Bearded Woman, with Her Husband and Child, commissioned by the Duke of Alcalá.

the jester from the fool into a philosopher in his art can be read as a logical extension of this association.

Paintings and literature that celebrated the differences between pairs of philosophers were popular in seventeenth-century Spain and the Netherlands.<sup>38</sup> Spanish painters, like those in Italy, desired to make their native art a worthy descendant of Classical painting and the Renaissance tradition, and authors of antique literature were transformed into contemporary portraits to connect past philosophic knowledge with seventeenth-century visual needs. The laughing Democritus and the weeping Heraclitus, in particular, were a pair of pre-Socratic philosophers who were revived in the late sixteenth-century as a device to contrast two defined types of post-Reformation Christian thinkers: those who removed themselves from

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<sup>38</sup>For the popularity of Democritus and Heraclitus in seventeenth-century Spain, see Otis Green, Spain and the Western Tradition, II, pp. 125-145; and Delphine Fitz Darby, pp. 280-87. Philosopher portraits that served to revive these ancient learned men for erudite patrons had been inspired by the seventeenth-century publications of antiquarian journals, contemporary treatises on physiognomy, and portraits on antique coins and gems. López-Rey, p. 83, concludes that the subject of the laughing and weeping philosophers were a traditional subject in seventeenth-century art, as such images are mentioned in the catalogue for La Galería del Cavalier Marino distinta in pitture e sculture (Venice, 1620), pp. 173-5.

the world in despair over its hatefulness and misery; and those who, with a will to preserve their own sanity in the midst of general madness, assumed the world to be a comic stage where men acted out the folly of their existence. Antonio Lope de Vega used this recognized debate between the two opposed philosophers as a means of extolling his own conception of a perfect sage in a scene from the play Heraclíto y Demócrito which discussed the proper and improper use of practical knowledge:

To draw on knowledge in order to know the world is indeed in the nature of a sage; but not to accommodate oneself to the occasion, and to use one's knowledge for one's own harm, or not to use it in proper and just utility is rather ignorance than knowledge. To know oneself, and to know people, to dissemble what is known... The rest is stale book learning, good to know; odious and even ridiculous to execute.<sup>39</sup>

Although Velázquez used approximately the same dimensions and compositional format for Aesop and Menippus that Rubens had designated for his philosophers, he nevertheless treated the subject quite differently. While Rubens' seated philosophers are presented as rather elegant old scholars cloaked in fine robes in landscape settings; the hunched, standing

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<sup>39</sup>Cited in Monroe Z. Hafter, Gracían and Perfection: Spanish Moralists of the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 77.

figures of Aesop and Menippus are ugly beggars clothed in rags and are placed in humble interiors. Whereas Rubens' figures, set back in their enclosed spaces, appear to be self-contained and are obviously meant to be read as comic through the exaggerated natures of their facial expressions, Velázquez' philosophers with their more serious, inscrutable faces (especially in the case of Aesop), are more difficult to interpret.

Velázquez again adopts the oblong Hapsburg portrait format, but in this case includes indications that designate these figures and their surroundings as denoting that of a lower social class; thereby suggesting that a very different reality is being presented. This favored compositional design which tends to elongate and monumentalize the sitter, as well as the device of the tipped-up floorline, enhances the sense that the figures are about to step out from the boundary of the picture frame and directly address the viewer. It is Velázquez' starkly realistic portrayal of the emotional character and pathos of Aesop and Menippus, juxtaposed with their more challenging acknowledgement of the viewer and the realism of their surroundings, which makes these paintings more subtle and provocative than those envisioned by Rubens.

By assigning the philosophers to the lower role of beggar, Velázquez was providing a more sophisticated level of meaning to these paintings. Both Aesop and Menippus conform to the seventeenth-century Spanish tradition of the "beggar-philosopher," a pictorial type of which Ribera was the leading exponent. But, like the jesters, they were not intended to be read as mere portraits; in actuality, they are amalgams of literary and visual sources disguised under Velázquez' veneer of realism.<sup>40</sup> Wearing dirty tattered garments, they resemble the "fallen" hero of the popular pícaro novel who, during the course of the drama, is reduced to the condition of a beggar as a result of his pursuit of rowdy sinful adventures.<sup>41</sup> Interestingly, this

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<sup>40</sup>Brown, p. 163. Ribera was inspired by the beggars he saw in the Naples slums, and dressed them up in the guise of philosophers and mathematicians.

<sup>41</sup>Some of the more interesting sources for information on the pícaro novel include: Robert Alter, Rogue's Progress: Studies in the Picaresque Novel (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1965); A. A. Parker, Literature and the Delinquent: The Picaresque Novel in Spain and Europe, 1599-1753 (Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh, 1967); and Christine J. Whitbourn, ed., Knives and Swindlers: Essays on the Picaresque Novel in Europe (London: Oxford University Press, 1974). Pícaro authors often incorporated prevailing ideas about fools and folly in their plots, and typically three-quarters of the novel is a joyful celebration of folly in episodes involving elaborate deceptions, slap-stick humor, and lustful drunken binges. But such folly does not win out as these novels usually conclude with the sinful

experience enables the character in the pícaro novel to confront the errors of his way, and eventually to steer himself back toward a path of renewed piety. It is indeed interesting that Velázquez represented the philosophers with the same free brushwork used for the jesters, thus visually aligning these latter "portraits" with this earlier group of moralizing or allegorical portraiture. Thereby, the figures of Aesop and Menippus, like the first line from the quote in Lópe de Vega's play and the pícaro hero, reaffirm the necessity of understanding knowledge within the confines of everyman's place in the world.

There exists an unusual type of seventeenth-century Spanish beggar image which sheds further illumination on the beggar-philosopher genre. An anonymous painting (Fig. 34) which shows a crippled Spanish beggar holding a ceramic wine jug while mirthfully regarding a globe of the world in the best Democritusian sense. The inclusion of the globe of the world transforms this painting from a simple moralizing picture of drunkenness into a more provocative image with a specific philosophic intent. In fusing the personified

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character's reacceptance of moral precepts and redemption through renewed piety.

figure of Folly (who, according to Erasmian thought, contemplates man's transgressions from a place above the earth) with that of the beggar-man, this unknown artist created a painting which simultaneously acknowledges man's role as transgressor, and as observer and judge. Thus, this painting, as well as Velázquez' images of jesters, can be read as transcending the single meaning of offering the viewer a description of folly, by conveying a secondary idea of self-reflection.

As noted previously, Velázquez imbued the majority of his unofficial portraits of jesters with sophisticated concepts designed to pique and amuse his royal audience, and the later paintings of Aesop and Menippus are linked in terms of intent and meaning to these earlier images. Following the precedents established by the major figures of Velázquez scholarship, this pair of paintings is commonly placed within the context of Velázquez' portraits of dwarfs and jesters, primarily because of their emphasis on their subjects' coarse carnality.<sup>42</sup> However, other

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<sup>42</sup>Justi, p. 451, López-Rey, 81-84, Brown, p. 163, have all grouped the philosophers with the professional buffoons because they see them as being representative two humanistic conceptions of wit. Aesop and Menippus were probably painted for a room on the main floor of the Torre de la Parada where they would have fit in

similarities exist in terms of how these figures were perceived by seventeenth-century Spanish society. The figure of the beggar, like that of the jester, existed in a marginal space separate from the majority of Spanish society. In this way his visual image, like his textural presence in the pícaro novel, was symbolic of the man who had to fall into the lowest substrata of the social hierarchy before he could attain self-knowledge and self-discovery. In altering the painting of the Man with a Wine Glass (in which the jester Pablo de la Valladolid had been the original model) into that of a philosopher, Velázquez could have been implying that the figure of the court jester was, like the personified philosopher, a symbolic embodiment of one approach to philosophic thought. In other words, by transforming the traditional moralizing portrait of the

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thematically with the many commissioned illustrations of Ovid's Metamorphosos by Rubens. Kurt Gerstenberg, Diego Velázquez (Munich-Berlin, 1957), pp. 221-4, has shown that Aesop's face resembles an engraving in Giovanni Battista Porta's treatise, Physiognomia (1586), which shows a physiognomical comparison of man's traits with the ox's while Menippus' may be derived from that representing the pig. Brown, p. 162, suggests that Aesop may have been chosen as a subject because several of his fables were illustrated by Paul de Vos for the decoration of the Torre de la Parada; however, Menippus was a lesser known Greek writer who contributed to the development of Cynicism by the invention of a serio-comic style of expressing philosophical views.

jester into a painting rich with complex and multi-layered meanings, Velázquez was attesting to both the value of laughter and the high status of the laughter-makers within Spanish court society.

Folly personified as a jester, a beggar, or a beggar-philosopher is still folly, and these images were clearly intended to be read so. Folly in the guise of a philosopher--whose untidy appearance as indicated by Lope de Vega's dramatic prose belies a dependence on extraneous knowledge without self-understanding--is the same folly exhibited by the loss of control of the jester. All these images served the same purpose of promoting self-reflection and thereby self-understanding on the part of their intended viewers, the royal members and aristocracy at the Spanish court.

There is no prince who lives like the King of Spain. His actions and preoccupations never vary. They march forward with such a sure step, day by day, that he knows exactly where he is going every day of his life... He is invested with such gravity that he behaves as he walks about just like an animated statue. Those who have approached him state that when they spoke to him there was never a change in his face or posture; that he received them, listened and replied with the same expression. Nothing in the whole of his body moved, except his lips and tongue.

The counselor to the court of Rouen, Francois Bertaut's description of King Philip, from Bertaut's Journal du voyage d'Espagne (1659.)<sup>1</sup>

### CHAPTER 3

#### VELÁZQUEZ' MIRRORED IMAGE: PAINTINGS OF THE KING AND THE JESTER AT COURT

In the social hierarchy of the Spanish court, the monarch's and the jester's identities were diametrically opposed. The king was the semi-divine, earthly representation of all that was considered good and balanced in the society--wisdom, rationality, purity and predictability--who provided a continuance of a normal, controlled reality. Conversely, the jester was the very opposite--foolish, irrational, un-Christian, and unpredictable--and his folly was a

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<sup>1</sup>Bertaut's journals are reprinted in Revue Hispanique, vol. XLVII (1919), pp. 1-319.

deliberate, carefully-created inversion of the established behavior of his society. Constructing his upside-down reality, the jester became a symbol that exemplified the chaos that would result in a world without Christianity and its defender, the king. Thus, the jester functioned as a constant reminder of the consequences his court audience would face if they abandoned the structures governing their society.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Anton C. Zijderveld, Reality in a Looking Glass: Rationality Through an Analysis of Traditional Folly (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982.) Drawing much from Foucault's pivotal work Folie et deraison: histoire de la folie a l'age classique (Librarie Plon, 1961), which views the mid-seventeenth-century confinement of the marginal figures of society (the insane, the criminal, and the handicapped) as a historical need to tame or control such behavior by segregating and relegating such individuals into an asocial category. Zijderveld, an anthropological sociologist, addresses himself to the question of historically analysing traditional objects of folly in European culture. While he does not specifically deal with any particular court including that of Philip IV, Zijderveld's research provides an illuminating paradigm for studying the social structure implicit in all seventeenth-century courts, and sees the jester historically as the creator of an alternative, looking-glass reality. Barbara Babcock in her preface for The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1978), pp. v-viii, based on the study of Carnival practices, proposes that the world order of any culture is in great part determined not only by the things, events, or actions that create order, but also by those acts, events, and causes of disorder. Thus, the central categories of a culture are dialectically defined by the positing of an opposite, that is, systems of classification within a culture are constructed according to the principle of binary opposition. In this respect, all symbolic inversions define a culture's lineaments, and remind its members of

The court jester's folly as practiced in the Spanish court was a deliberate, designed, and complex inversion of the established norms, values, and behavior of his society.<sup>3</sup> For the duration of their performances, court jesters were permitted to reject the established cultural patterns and the expectations of daily routine and to violate the behaviors and structures that composed their world.

The educated seventeenth-century Spaniard saw human nature as a product of two things: the divine soul, which was a beautiful reflection of God, as well as the source of all reason and harmony, and the mortal body, the earthly prison of the soul, that was controlled by its bestial passions.<sup>4</sup> Man's soul was believed to be

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the conditions that impose order on its environment, by enabling them to see order more clearly simply because they have turned it inside out.

<sup>3</sup>As Barbara Babcock notes in her preface of The Reversible World, there was a specific pattern to the jester's folly that was common to all humor produced from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries: this was the constant use of opposing meanings, and the placing of expected ideas or events in juxtaposition to unexpected ones, resulting in a bizarre series of actions that were impossible, and thus humorous. Also see Enid Welsford, Fools, pp. 321-350, for descriptions of jesters' follies.

<sup>4</sup>This is a summary of several primary sources for Spanish Humanist Literature: Otis H. Green, Spain and the Western Tradition, vol. II, the Castilian Mind From El Cid to Calderon (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press,

infinitely precious, and could be saved from the eternal fires of Hell by his free choice of reason over folly. But before man could choose, it was necessary for him to recognize the folly within his own sinful nature. As Saint Paul said in his first letter to the Corinthians (3:18): "Whoever among you thinks himself wise must become a fool to be truly wise;" thus one had to recognize and acknowledge the "fool" in himself.<sup>5</sup>

Whereas the members of court lived by strict adherence to religious doctrines and secular rituals, the jester lived in accordance with no rules but those that reversed the ideas and image of Christianity.

Representing dynamic dissent and challenge to the established social behaviors of his society, the jester acted as a counterweight and a favorite boast was that

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1964); R. O. Jones, A Literary History of Spain: The Golden Age, Prose, and Poetry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London: Ernest Benn, 1971); Ernesto Grassi and Maristella Lorch, Folly and Insanity in Renaissance Literature (Binghamton, New York: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1986.) Everett W. Hesse, The Comedia and Points of View (Potomac, Maryland: Scripta Humanistica, 1984), p. 71, also discusses man's struggle against self-deception in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spanish novels. For example, when Don Quixote allows his rational mind to lose control, his mind refashions an alternative identity for him, and he is forced to live in a world of fantasy until the end of the novel when he fights his way back into reality.

<sup>5</sup>Noted by Zijderveld, p. 33.

he preferred the company in Hell over the tedious company in Heaven.<sup>6</sup>

Seventeenth-century Spanish art theory was intrinsically bound to the inherent belief that literature and art had great power over man's imagination; in general, writers were encouraged to highlight the value and need for spiritual awareness and social responsibility.<sup>7</sup> Francisco Pacheco's treatise on painting, El arte de la pintura (Seville, 1649), illustrates the effect that these newly-prescribed policies had on painting theory and practice. Suggesting that the artist was accountable

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<sup>6</sup>From Justi, p. 437, who notes such a place in Quevedo's Dreams. Fools were supposedly kept segregated together in Hell because their "frosty" jokes might temper the fiery heat if they were allowed to roam freely. An illustrated psalmbook dating from the early sixteenth-century and commissioned for Henry VIII (now in the British Museum) contains an illustration of page 53, "The impious fool says in his heart 'There is no God,'" which shows the king's much adored jester Will Sommer who stares pensively out at the reader while the monarch sits behind him playing a small harp.

<sup>7</sup>The Council of Trent, which met intermittently between 1545-63, attempted to clarify church doctrines which had been challenged by the Protestants and to eradicate those abuses that were perceived as having precipitated the schism within the church. While the Council was predominantly concerned with religious imagery, imposed restrictions dictated all secular artistic production as well, including the Spanish court, and Philip IV was certainly aware of the moral responsibility imposed on art and literature produced under his reign.

for the emotional effect that his work precipitated in the individual viewer, its principal aim should be "to seek eternal glory, and attempt to dissuade man from vice and to lead him to the cult of God our Lord."<sup>8</sup>

Within this context, the figure of the jester in seventeenth-century Northern art and literature can then be interpreted as a means of enabling his audience to clearly see both sides of the issue, and thereby to understand these opposed conflicts as an expression of the tensions within himself.

But how did this relate to the needs and requirements of the Spanish monarchy, or to the expectations imposed on Velázquez' images of jesters by his court patrons? The Spanish court, by its intense patronage of both jesters and dwarfs, exhibited an intense fascination with such manifestations of physical, mental and moral imperfection, and the institution of the court jester functioned as one means of defining this dynamic for the culture. The king, who was the embodiment of wisdom, perfection, and moral strength, was systematically juxtaposed through court

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<sup>8</sup>Brown, Images and Ideas, pp. 56-7, provides an excellent discussion on the effect that Counter-Reformation ideas had on prevailing art theories during the lifetime of Velázquez.

ritual with the physical embodiment of those qualities in reverse, and Velázquez' paintings of the king and his jesters should be seen as pictorial examples of this same inherent framework of deliberate opposition.<sup>9</sup>

There is a historical precedent for using the image of the court jester as an object of comparison with the monarch in Spanish painting. Prior to Velázquez' contributions to the subject, artists such as Sanchez Coello and Villandrando portrayed their young royal patrons with favorite dwarf jesters (Figs. 37, 38), and a number of these double portraits hung in the Madrid Alcázar by the 1620s.<sup>10</sup> Velázquez' version of this same subject, Balthasar Carlos and a Dwarf (Fig. 39), dating from the early 1630s, contrasts the iconic,

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<sup>9</sup>This phenomena was a secular adaptation of the Christian tradition of paired opposition which originated in the confrontation of Christ with the Devil, but was refashioned for the court. I see this as a gradual adaptation of the Christ/Devil-Fool confrontation which was a popular part of Carnival and Corpus Christi festivities. As time passed, these rituals lost much of their religious connotation, and became more tied to secular practices in which the monarch or prince replaced the figure of Christ. For more on these transformations, see Enid Welsford's The Court Masque: A Study of the Relationship Between Poetry and the Revels (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), particularly Chapter XIV, "Misrule."

<sup>10</sup>Velázquez would have been familiar with both of these double portraits since they were hanging in the Alcázar by 1621, the time of Philip's accession to the throne.

statue-like image of the heir to the Spanish Empire in military garb with the more naturally depicted dwarf who plays with toy symbols of the monarchy, thereby emphasizing the belief that the toddler Prince (unlike the deformed jester) would eventually grow into adulthood and accept his mature role as head of state.<sup>11</sup> Velázquez has emphasized the differences between the royal heir and the dwarf by stylistic means: the roughly painted dwarf, with his pallid complexion, coarse hair and gnarled hands provides a powerful visual antithesis to the more restrained, smoothly-painted, brightly-lit figure of the fair-haired Prince.

Velázquez' portraits of Philip IV (Figures 7, 35) show the King in his role as symbolic ruler of his nation. Like most seventeenth-century rulers, Philip IV followed a programmed creed of behavior which emphasized the qualities of personal restraint, moderation, humility, and above all, self-control--qualities that are implied in Velázquez' elegant

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<sup>11</sup>Brown, Velázquez, pp. 82-83, notes that this double portrait was painted for the occasion of the swearing of the oath of allegiance to the Prince by the Cortes of Castille, and that the real objects of the monarchy held by Balthasar (unlike the play "toys" of the dwarf) are symbolic of his acceptance of his future role as monarch.

portraits. As king, his every act, gesture, word, and facial expression contained political meaning. One purpose of the elaborate system of ritual and etiquette was to isolate the ruler from the rest of the court in order to elevate him to a semi-divine status. As the Spanish monarchy was considered sacrosanct, this inflexible tyranny of court ritual helped to both propagate and fabricate this hieratic image of the king, as well as to hide his human side behind an iconic royal "mask."

In these heroic images of Philip IV and his wives and children, Velázquez idealized and erased the unprepossessing features of the Hapsburgs, qualifying, thinning, elongating, or smoothing away the inherited homeliness of their inbred lineage by his use of clear, even light and flattering technique. But, as is typical of all royal portraiture of this period, he has suppressed all traces of his sitters' emotional nature. The resulting paintings are stark, elegant, timeless, and powerful symbols of the monarchy which are far more understated than the grand, allegorical portraits that

other seventeenth-century monarchs like Charles I and Marie de' Medici favored during this period.<sup>12</sup>

All good was believed to flow from the king whose courtly restraint, moderation, and cultivated modesty provided a virtuous example for the courtier.<sup>13</sup> A primary aspect of court life was that all members, not just the king, hid their true feelings and desires behind discrete masks and obligatory performances of ritual. Though ambition often motivated the courtier's actions, to reveal openly his true intentions and sentiments was unacceptable. Conversely, the court jester was not required to follow this code for survival; and he alone, in the role of court fool, was able to give voice and action to his culture's

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<sup>12</sup>Justi, p. 255, notes that this grave, extremely reserved demeanor was perceived as "hautiness" by foreigners, but that the Spanish regarded this as a sign of noble character. Jonathan Brown suggests in "Enemies of Flattery: Velázquez' Portraits of Philip IV," (Art and History: Images and Their Meaning, Rothberg and Rabb, eds., Cambridge: Harvard University, 1980) the Spanish court's preference for simple, austere portraiture and dress as a sign of their superior power and more established monarchy; meaning that other European courts needed to "advertise" their regents in lavish dress and panegyric art, as when Marie de' Medici commissioned a cycle of biographical-allegorical images of herself from Rubens.

<sup>13</sup>Jaeger, pp. 62, 239.

repressed feelings, but only within the context of being a recognized symbol of folly.

Yet a paradoxical and contradictory tone was established for the jester's court audience. On the one hand, the courtier was required to spend a good part of his time attending performances in which the best and the brightest of these entertainers worked to provoke laughter. On the other hand, the court's strict code of etiquette forbade him to express his amusement openly and thus remove his mask.<sup>14</sup>

It has recently been proposed that paintings depicting mental and physical illness are externalizations of a society's internalized fear of that illness.<sup>15</sup> Velázquez, in his paintings of the

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<sup>14</sup>This was especially true for the members of the royal family as is evident by the fact that the young Queen Marianna, Philip IV's second wife, was publicly reprimanded for laughing aloud at the antics of one of her jesters, and Philip IV, himself, is recorded as having laughed only three times during his life. Cited by Justi, p. 397, from Brunel's journals, pp. 1155-56, who remarks that princess Marianna, who had just arrived from Austria to the court of Madrid, was unable to restrain her laughter at the comic antics of a buffoon at a State banquet.

<sup>15</sup>Sander Gilman, Disease and Representation (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988) drawing much from Foucault, explores historically how societies have imagined disease and represented the sufferers of illness. Gilman proposes that by projecting this fear onto a canvas, it can be domesticated, thus removing the fear of dissolution from the society's "normal" members. Within this methodological construct, the Spanish

jesters, clearly shows the physical deformities and signs of mental illness from which these individuals suffered, but these afflictions are made harmless through their sufferers being made comic.<sup>16</sup> Accepted as comic examples of negative social behaviors, the jesters, as well as their images, operated as an aspect of self-definition and contrast for the rest of court society.

Velázquez, a careful, extremely intelligent, and meticulous artist, was consciously setting up two

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tradition of portraying physical and mental illness in the portrait of the court jester becomes a means of anthropomorphizing it and offering it up for the scrutiny of the culture; thus, ultimately framing and controlling it. It is tempting to view Gilman's arguments in connection with Philip IV's own physical problems in conceiving a living male heir. Following the death of Balthasar Carlos in 1646, Philip experienced the death of another son, Felipe Prospero, in 1661. Philip's lone surviving child, Carlos Secundo, who was retarded and riddled with physical afflictions, was apparently physically incapable of completing the sexual act of intercourse, and thus left the the monarchy without an heir within the next generation. While Gilman's study never specifically addresses any paintings by Velázquez, his conception of the nature of perceived disease (as something from which members would strive to distance themselves) could be applied to the preoccupations of Philip IV.

<sup>16</sup>I am making a distinction here between the Buen Retiro jester portraits and the later series of dwarf court jesters that Velázquez painted in the 1640s for the Torre de la Parada. The latter paintings do in fact seem to be more accurate images of physical abnormality and mental illness, while the earlier series is characterized by their obvious comedic element, and they are depicted in more active poses of performance.

distinctly different poles of meaning within the range of established formal court portraiture: the positive pole, distinguished by a highly idealized, elegant portrayal, was used for the morally virtuous subjects of the king and the members of the royal family and court; and the negative pole, characterized by its earthy realism and a tendency to show all imperfection, that was employed for depictions of such profane subjects as jesters, dwarfs, and beggar-philosophers.

Within this latter category belong the portraits of those who can only be designated as the Others; portraits in which Velázquez honestly reproduces his subjects' physical and moral imperfections, emphasizing the crudeness and hyper-emotional character of the jesters. Furthermore, it should be noted that Velázquez did not paint any single, full-length portraits of other employed palace servants or royal entertainers, as there are no paintings of chamberlains, ladies-in-waiting, riding masters, hunting masters, or musicians. Thus, one must question why the Spanish monarchy should deem it appropriate and necessary to commission multiple images of this class of individuals by its most highly respected artist, and

why these images should be executed in the same format reserved exclusively for royalty and the nobility.<sup>17</sup>

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In seventeenth-century Spain, the arts of painting, drama, and poetry formed a sisterly union based not only on the Christian world picture, but also upon the pomp and display of the monarchy.<sup>18</sup> Art and literature created the same construct of man and his world in which its central belief in God as postulated by the Church was intrinsically bound up in the secular, cultural forces of the monarchy. National consciousness and political identity became the world on stage, El Gran teatro del mundo. The writings of the philosopher Balthasar Gracían especially reflect

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<sup>17</sup>Velázquez also painted several full-length portraits of noblemen and women who were associated with the Madrid court in this same compositional format. The portraits of Don Diego del Corral y Arellano, a judge of the council of Castile, the Count-Duke Olivares, and Don Pedro de Barberana y Aparregui, a member of the King's privy council, all dating from the 1630s, are painted in the brightly lit, and more controlled style which characterizes the royal portraits, rather than the less refined, more unrestrained brushwork that characterizes the portraits of the jesters.

<sup>18</sup>Curtis, "Calderón's Theory of Art and the Artes Liberales, p. 570. For example, the military victory of the Surrender of Breda was simultaneously immortalized on canvas by Velázquez, and on the stage by Calderón.

this prevailing conception that life, like theater and art, was essentially a continuous metamorphosis of conflicting opposites and shifting phantasmagoria of illusory appearances that was fully identifiable with the spectacle of the stage.<sup>19</sup>

At the time of Philip IV's accession to the throne in 1621, there was a strong current of public disfavor over the perceived mismanagement of his father Philip III. Philip IV was placed in the public role of reformer, who would undo the damage and return Spain to her rightful former status.<sup>20</sup> In 1623, two years after his accession to the throne, Philip IV (Fig. 35) had abolished the trend made popular by his father, Philip III (Fig. 36), for colorful, frivolous fashions, and replaced it with the stiff, formal, and somber style of

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<sup>19</sup>Frank Warnke, Versions of the Baroque: European Literature and the Seventeenth Century (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 67-9. Gracian even entitled one chapter of his masterwork El Criticon (1651), "El gran teatro del univers."

<sup>20</sup>Stradling, pps. 4-35, states that Philip III's reign was characterized by frivolous expenditure, a tendency to avoid the problems experienced by his subjects (especially during the outbreak of plague around 1610), bad policy making, unfavorably negotiated treaties, and a long series of military disasters including the Revolt of Bohemia in 1618. His death on 31 March 1621, the day of the expiration of the 1609 Truce of Antwerp with the Dutch, left his young successor with the task of purging the monarchy of the reputation for weakness left in the wake of his father's reign.

court dress favored by his own grandfather, Philip II. These uncomfortable, all-black vestments, enlivened only by a simple white ruffed collar (somewhat reminiscent of seventeenth-century clerical dress), were made from starched and heavily padded fabrics which created the effect of an armor-like uniform, seeming to be a physical manifestation of the wearer's inner moral convictions and control.<sup>21</sup>

Philip IV, as the new virtuous leader of Spain and the defender of the Catholic faith against both the Turks and the Protestant forces in Europe, was the ultimate example of the individual who had to struggle against his passions for the good and well-being of his state.<sup>22</sup> Quevedo's comedia, Cómo ha da ser el privado,

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<sup>21</sup>Valerie Steele, Paris Fashion: A Cultural History (Oxford: University Press, 1988.) Velázquez' promotion to court artist was granted on the basis of the successful reception to his arresting and somber 1623 portrait of the young king elegantly clothed in this renewed style of dress, and Francisco Pacheco's Arte de la pintura (1638), ed. F.J. Sanchez Canton (Madrid, 1956) I, PP. 156-7, describes the amazing effect that this 1623 portrait of Philip IV had on Velázquez' career.

<sup>22</sup>Stradling, p. 12, states that publications commenting upon the subject of kingship in Spain always increased during the transitional period between the death of one ruler and the accession of another. Directed toward the rectification of former mistakes, or improving specific state policies, this form of writing usually decreased during the course of the latter ruler's reign; however, during the 1630s-1670s, this trend became a central and ubiquitous theme in Spanish literature and drama.

contains the following soliloquy recited by the honorable character of the king:

I am a King and must live the part;  
 I struggle against my emotions;  
 the eyes insist upon looking, but the  
 reason has restrained them. Eyes of mine,  
 you shall not win! (Alas, failing in my  
 diligence, I caught a glimpse of her!)  
 Reason, help me! We must conquer!<sup>23</sup>

Like the monarch, the court jester lacked his own identity. By freely accepting the mask of the fool, the jester became as much of a symbol and non-person as the king--and these polar identities came to be recognized as inverted reflections of the other's mirrored image, as in the previously discussed portraits of Philip III by Vidal and Velázquez' image of the jester Don Juan de Austria (Figs. 3, 23.) In a monarchy, the constructs behind the institution are faced with the problem of how to emphasize effectively the glory and power of the ruling symbol. Either propaganda can be used to establish a similarity between the earthly and supernatural rulers, illuminating the king's quasi-divine status and God-given power; or it can employ a more interesting solution which contrasts the king with his opposite,

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<sup>23</sup>Reprinted in Otis Green, p. 206, from Obras en verso, ed. L. Astraña Marín (Madrid, 1932), p. 616.

the Devil, and sets up an imperial confrontation with evil.

A strong precedent for this latter solution exists in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century traditions surrounding the royal masque.<sup>24</sup> In a sense, all court ceremony surrounding the daily activities of the king was a form of the masque, in which the spectacle of the event took precedence. The royal court masque was focused on the presence of the king; in fact, the entire perspective of the theatrical set was formed only after establishing his position on his elevated throne at the opposite end of the room.<sup>25</sup> In the

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<sup>24</sup>The following discussion is a summary of Helen Cooper's "Location and Meaning in Masque, Morality and Royal Entertainment," in The Court Masque, ed. David Linley (Manchester: Manchester University, 1984), pp. 135-148. Themes of Spanish court masques predominantly emphasized social harmony and the glorification of marriage as the idealization of a united nation under a strong, centralized government.

<sup>25</sup>Cooper, p. 135-7, states that one of the particular characteristics of this popular form of court entertainment was the relationship established between the audience and the acting area on the defined "stage". In drama, the stage location is separate from the audience, and actors provide a link between the two places; however, in a masque there is no such division between audience and stage. Like morality plays, the acting area in the masque represented the middle earth between Heaven and Hell, and the human race was represented by both the actors and the audience. It is my assumption, although Cooper makes no mention of this, that the king would be understood to be in a category closer to Heaven as a result of his elevated status.

masque, the acting area functioned as a particular place, or landscape, and there was no sharp, imaginative distinction between it and the realm of the spectators. The masque would begin with the arrival and seating of the king; thus, from the very first, an interactive ambience would be established between the audience, the actors, and the king who controlled it. Incorporating the primary form of the morality play, a series of confrontations were set up between good and evil, with the actors personifying various virtues and vices. During the course of the performance, the gulf between the audience and the stage would be bridged by the actors, who would continually address and enter the audience space while attempting to enlist disciples to their respective causes.

At the end, a final harmony was represented which brought together the contrived action of the masque and the actual event that the masque celebrated. At this point the narrative was abolished as the actors entered the audience's space to pay homage to the king, who remained a passive, yet all-controlling, participant in the production. Thus, the masque was a means of creating a rich theatrical image of court life in which the precepts of moral action and good government were aligned with the mythical character of the monarchy,

and the audience was given the selection of virtue over vice, of order versus disorder.

In a sense, the jester's performance at court was a less formal version of the royal masque, and this same framework of setting up opposing objects of contrast is implicit in the conceptualization and placement of Velázquez' paintings of the jesters in the Buen Retiro. The jesters represented in Velázquez' paintings, are shown in active, but arrested moments of action, and appear to be performing in shallow theatrically constructed interior spaces; for instance, the painted naval battle behind the figure of Don Juan de Austria, seems to be an intentionally painted backdrop. Unlike the convincing illusionism of the represented background scenes in the Portrait of the Count-Duke Olivares on Horseback, dating from the late-1630s, and the Surrender of Breda, dated c. 1635, in which Velázquez realistically represented exterior landscape scenes that illustrate his complete mastery of atmospheric perspective and spatial recession, there is no attempt to indicate that the battle in the jester portrait is intended to suggest a realistic setting. Painted with an even looser and lesscontrolled brushwork than the figure of the jester, this bold mode of representation has the same abstracted effect of a

stage backdrop viewed from a distance. In addition, Velázquez' inclusion of objects (either strewn on the floor as in Don Juan de Austria, or held by Calabazas and Ochoa) call attention to the fact that these things (like stage props) have been artificially placed in this setting in order to connote a meaning within the framework of the jester's depicted "performance."

Furthermore, the figures of the jesters, grouped together as representations of united forms of folly, are represented in the same theatrical manner as the characters who purposefully acknowledge and address the audience in the masque. Thus, the intended viewer of the paintings, like the audience of the masque, was offered a representation of folly in which he was supposed to perceive something of his own nature (but always in the context of it representing the Other) in the pictorial performance of the jesters.

Velázquez' treatment of the solitary subjects of the king and the jesters in the traditional Hapsburg format offers the viewer an extremely life-like representation, one in which the figures often appear to be extending beyond the boundary of the picture plane, and into his space. This compositional device, places the slightly elongated, standing figure in a shallow foreground space with a tipped-up floorline

that is marked by no traditional lines of perspective. Furthermore, architectural details or other objects that would define the organizational lay-out of the space on either side of the figure are often cropped-off, resulting in a distortion that in representational terms, enables the beholder to act as a participant, rather than merely as a privileged observer.

While previous artists had used the figure of the idiots or dwarfs as complementary foils to the young royals, Velázquez recognized and used the adult, fully-grown images of the jesters to connote their functional position at court as mental and moral opposites to the fully mature monarch. Furthermore, while previous artists had only produced this type of jester image on occasion to counterbalance figures of royalty, Velázquez generated an entire cast of characters fashioned from this binary mold. Each single image had a unique meaning, but when understood in conjunction with all the other similarly fashioned paintings in the palaces, a further philosophical framework is theatrically presented: it is Velázquez' staged masque, the world of Philip IV's court on stage, where the multiple images of the noble king's image and his supremely controlled, virtuous example of proper leadership, are juxtaposed with corresponding pictures

of court jesters. Thus, these matched images together form a systematic framework of opposition which is extended beyond the boundaries of any single picture plane, resulting in a continual program of interaction throughout the palace complex.

Educated people in the seventeenth-century were trained to think in terms of oppositions and contrasts, and Velázquez' court audience would certainly have recognized and appreciated the subtler meanings within his compositions. They would also have understood their placement along the staircase which led to Queen Isabella's quarters, the site of weekly theatrical productions of current comedias and masques.<sup>26</sup>

While a staircase is a physical means of transition from one place to another, in the palace it also became a threshold between the reality of daily life and the unreality of the theater, a zone prepared for and introduced by the presence of the jesters' portraits. The transitional placement of the jester paintings along a staircase also can be seen as significant in terms of the nature of the jester who, during the

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<sup>26</sup>Shergold, The History of the Spanish Stage (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 260-2, mentions that theatrical productions were performed in the Queen's Sala every Sunday and Thursday afternoon during Carnival season, a room that adjoined the staircase through the Queen's sitting rooms.

duration of his performance, temporarily broke down the barriers between reality and fantasy. Furthermore, his placement there can be read as an indication of his physical presence at court as a satellite dependent on, and governed by, the larger body of the monarch.

There was a conscious attempt on the part of decorators of Spanish palaces to arrange paintings by their subject or in terms of their thematic meanings as tied to the functions of the rooms and passageways.<sup>27</sup> Series of ancestors, city perspective cycles, themes of war, all of which stressed the expansive rule of the monarchy, were usually placed in very public passageways. A well-known series of "Old Spanish Kings" (Figs. 41) were hung in a long gallery in the main part of the palace, the Galería del Cierzo, which, interestingly enough, had a series of jesters hung

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<sup>27</sup>My conclusion is based on archival research published by Barbara von Barghahn on the decoration of the Buen Retiro; Svetlana Alpers on the Torre de la Parada; and especially Steven Orso's Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid (Princeton: Princeton University, 1986.) Orgel, p. 125-129, notes the psychological and ideological importance of having many images reflecting the ancestral lineage of a monarchy in a palace, since their visual presence would reinforce the legitimacy of the current king's rule.

above this grand hall along a smaller, less travelled balconied passage.<sup>28</sup>

Documents also show that staircases of Spanish Palaces were commonly decorated with series of paintings during this period: in the official Alcázar, staircase programs included maps of Spanish territories, pictures of other palaces and properties owned and collected by the king, and portraits of ancestors to the throne or royal friends and relatives: all images that reflected the power, supremacy, and lineage of the Spanish monarchy. In the Buen Retiro, the passageways in the private suites of the royal family most often were decorated with programs of less serious, more pleasurable subjects, such as landscapes, still-lives, fables and hunting scenes.<sup>29</sup> But while these paintings designated the royal leisurely

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<sup>28</sup>Justi, p. 264, notes that it was a standard practice for European courts to hang series of "Beauties" (portraits of beautiful women, often noble ladies or well-known courtesans) along galleries or staircases, but there is no documentation of such a series in the Spanish collections during this time.

<sup>29</sup>See von Barghahan's discussion, pps. 287-8, 303-322. The King's Gallery known as the Galería del Mediodía, and a private gallery of the Queen, the Sala de la Reina, contained paintings which can be interpreted as programs of humanistic instruction in which elevated Christian reason and the attainment of divine love are contrasted with pictures that illustrated or implied the baser physical desires and instincts.

pursuits, they also also proclaimed the territorial reaches of the monarchy and extolled activities or presented lessons of kingship for their royal viewers.

Velázquez' jesters were meant to tease their audience, and their placement along a staircase (a means of transition from one place to another), transformed this physical median, attuning the theatergoers to a new fantasy zone and to the highly cultivated and grotesquely visible presence of the jesters' folly at court. Seen in this way, the series of jester portraits and their considered placement in the Buen Retiro becomes a further inversion, thereby providing a comic parody of the "official" staircase decor, as well as preserving for posterity one of King Philip's most prized collections--that of his court jesters.

Mirth is largely a matter of recognizing the truths hidden behind appearances. In order for the ritual of the jester's folly to be enjoyed, his audience had to recognize what was being overturned, and they had to feel the majesty of the forbidding rule in order to appreciate the comedy of its violation. The jesters' burlesques at court could only work if they were understood as authorized transgressions. Since the jester's folly was a fictional transgression

that was not only permitted but encouraged by the king, it was a paramount example of the king's command and authority within the formal structure of the court. Like the jesters themselves, Velázquez' jester paintings were edifying moral lessons, reminding the members of court society to serve as a disciplined, morally correct instrument of the king and to be absolutely controlled by him, and in that way reaffirm the perfection, sacredness, and permanence of the monarchy by their rejection and disassociation with the jesters who were identified as the Others.

Diego Velázquez' portraits of Philip IV's jesters are significant in terms of their innovative painting techniques and because they reflect seventeenth-century Spanish attitudes concerning fools and folly. But more importantly, they provide additional insights into the higher purpose of these entertainers who slyly and subtly took on an essential role as philosophers of laughter.

APPENDIX: ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1. Velázquez, Pablo de Valladolid, Madrid, Prado, early 1630s, 2.09 x 1.25m.



Figure 2. Velázquez, Cristóbal Casteñeda, Madrid, Prado, early 1630s, 1.98 x 1.21m.



· Figure 3. Velázquez, Don Juan de Austria, Madrid, Prado, early 1630s, 2.10 x 1.33m.



Figure 4. Velázquez, Calabazas with Pinwheel and a Portrait, Cleveland, Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Bequest, late 1620s, 1.75 x 1.06m.



Figure 5. After Velázquez, Ochoa the Gatekeeper,  
Brussels, H. M. Queen Fabiola, 1.95 x 0.84m.

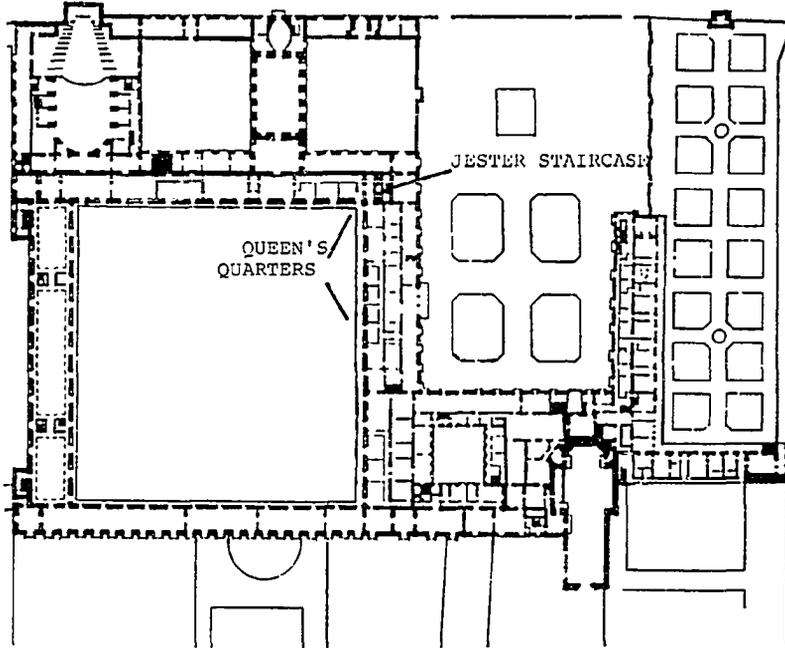


Figure 6. Floorplan of the Buen Retiro Palace.



Figure 7. Velázquez, Philip IV in Brown and Silver,  
London, National Gallery, mid-1630s, 1.99 x 1.13m.

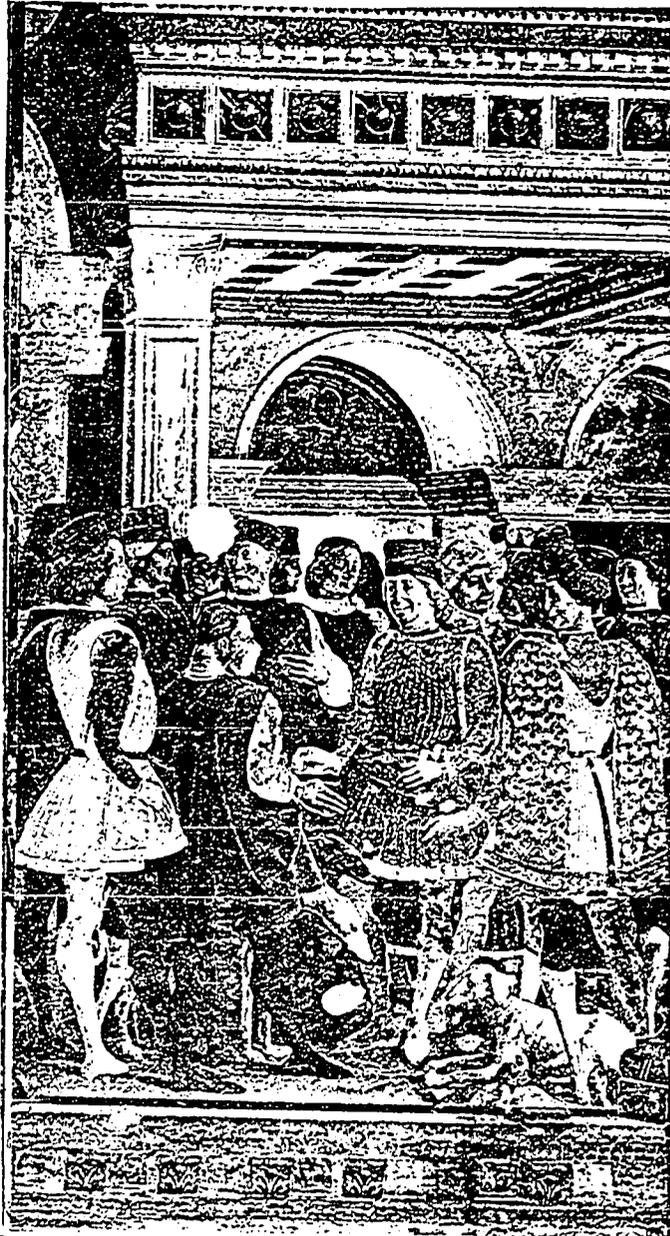


Figure 8. Francesco Cossa, The Schifanoja Family with the Jester Scoccola, fresco, Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoja, about 1470.

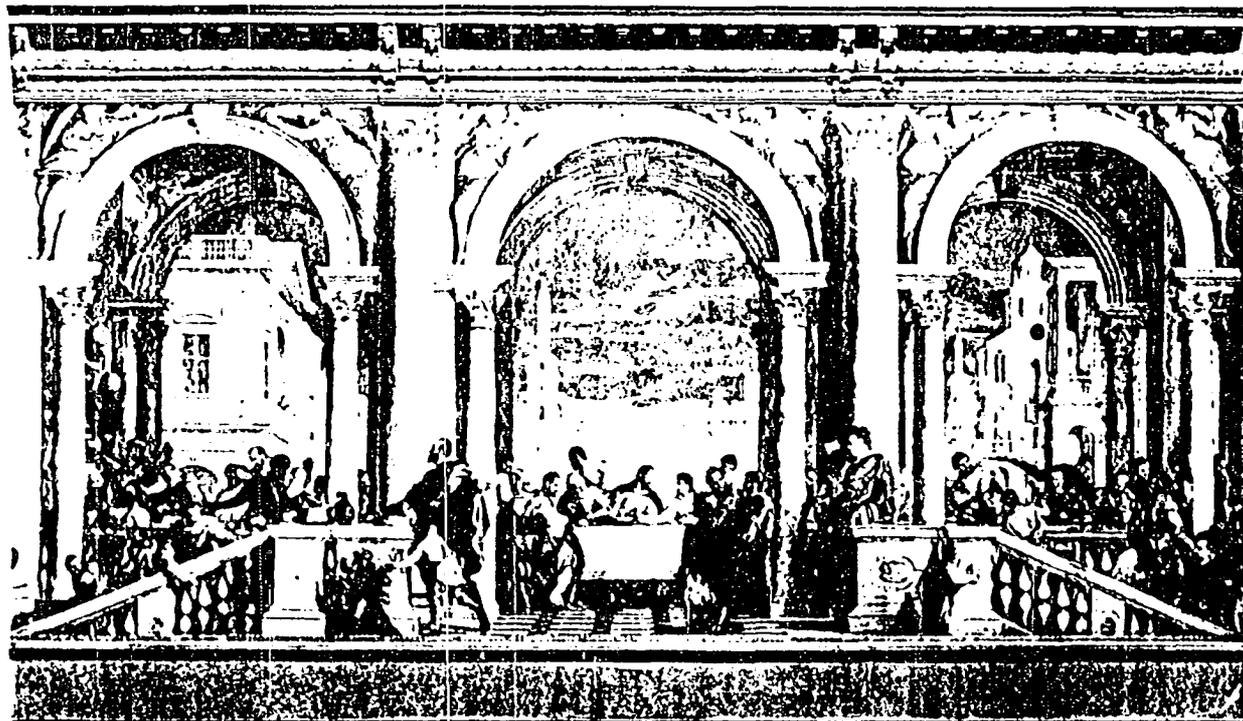


Figure 9. Paolo Veronese, The Last Supper (retitled The Feast at the House of Levi), Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia, 1573.

# Stultifera Navis.



**N**arragone pfectionis nunq̄  
 satis laudata Navis: per Sebastianū Brant: vernaculo vul-  
 gariq; sermone & rhythmo p̄ cūctos mortaliū fatuitatis  
 temētas effugere cupiētū directione / speculo / cōmodoq; &  
 salute: p̄ocp̄ inertis ignauēq; stulticiē p̄petua infamia / exe-  
 cratione / & conlutatione / nup̄ fabricata: Atq; iam pridem  
 per Iacobum Locher / cognomēto Philomusum: Sueuū: in  
 latinū traducta eloquiū: & per Sebalianū Brant: denuo  
 seduloq; reuisa: foelici exorditur principio.

1497.

Nihil sine causa.  
 Io. de Olpe



Figure 10. Anonymous artist, "Stultifera Navis," woodcut, Narrenschiff by Sebastian Brant, Basel, 1497.



Figure 11. Attributed to Albrecht Dürer, woodcut, Narrenschiff by Sebastian Brant, 1494.

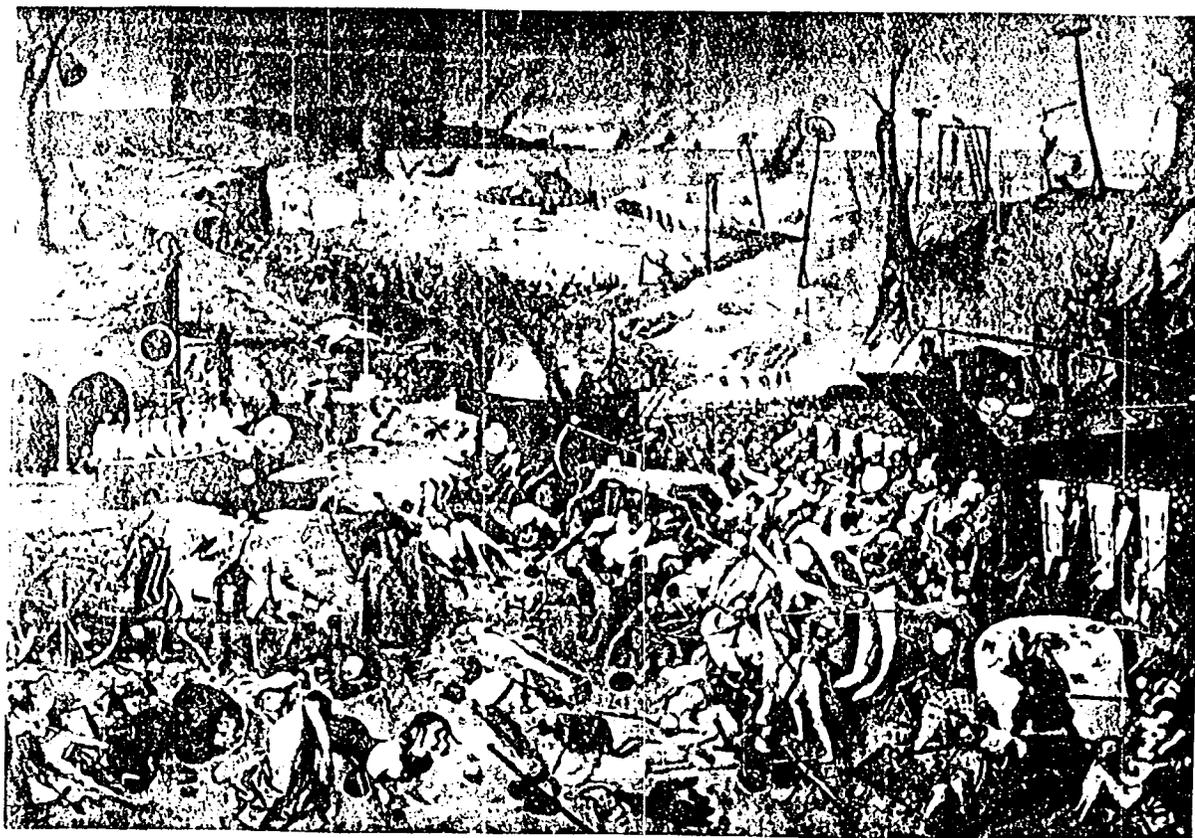


Figure 12. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Triumph of Death, panel, Madrid, Prado, about 1562, 46" X 46".

## Iuuentus



Figure 13. Attributed to Hans Holbein, woodcut, marginal illustration in Laus Stultitiae by Erasmus, 1515.



Figure 14. Anonymous, emblem for "Folly", woodcut, Emblemas Morales, Madrid, 1610.



Figure 15. Quinten Massys, Allegory of Folly, panel,  
New York, J. Held Collection, about 1510-20, 24" x 19".



Figure 16. Meester van het Angerer, *Folly*, New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, about 1520.



Figure 17. Hans Mielich, The Court Jester Mertel, panel, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, 1545, 26" x 19".



Figure 18. Antonio Mor, The Jester Pejerón, panel, Madrid, Prado, before 1576, 1.81 x 0.92m.



Figure 19. Antonio Moro, Philip II, panel, Madrid, Prado, 1551, 1.8 x 0.98m.

P A Z Z I A.



Figure 20. Anonymous, emblem for "Pazzia", *Iconologia* by Caesar Ripa, Padua, 1611.

## AMORE VERSO IDDIO.



**H**VOMO che sta ruerente con la faccia riuolta verso il Cielo, quale additi con la sinistra mano, e con la destra mostri il petto aperto.

*Amor del prossimo.*

**H**Vomo vestito nobilmente, che gli stia a canto vn Pelicane con li suoi figliuolini, li quali stieno in atto di pigliare con il becco il sangue che esce d'vna piaga, che detto pelicano si fa con il proprio becco in mezo il petto, & con vna mano mostri di solleuar da terra vn pouero, & con l'altra gli porga denari, secondo il detto di Christo N. S. nell'Euangelio.

*Amor di se stesso.*

**S**i dipingerà secondo l'antico vso Narciso, che si specchia in vn fonte, perche amar se stesso non è altro, che vagheggiarli tutto nell'opere proprie con sodistattione, & con applauso. Et ciò è cosa intelice, e degna di riso, quanto infelice, & ridicolosa suda i peccati antichi finta la fauola di Narciso, però disse l'Alciato.

*Si come*

Figure 21. Anonymous, emblem for "Amore Verso Iddio," *Iconologia* by Caesar Ripa, Padua, 1611.



Figure 22. Las Meninas, Madrid, Prado, 1556-58,  
3.21 x 2.81m.



Figure 23. Pedro Antonio Vidal, Philip III, Madrid, Prado, about 1617, 2.0 x 1.35m.



Figure 24. Velázquez, The Feast of Bacchus, Madrid, Prado, 1628,  
1.65 X 2.27m.



Figure 25. Velázquez, Aesop, Madrid, Prado, about 1639-41, 1.74 x .94m.

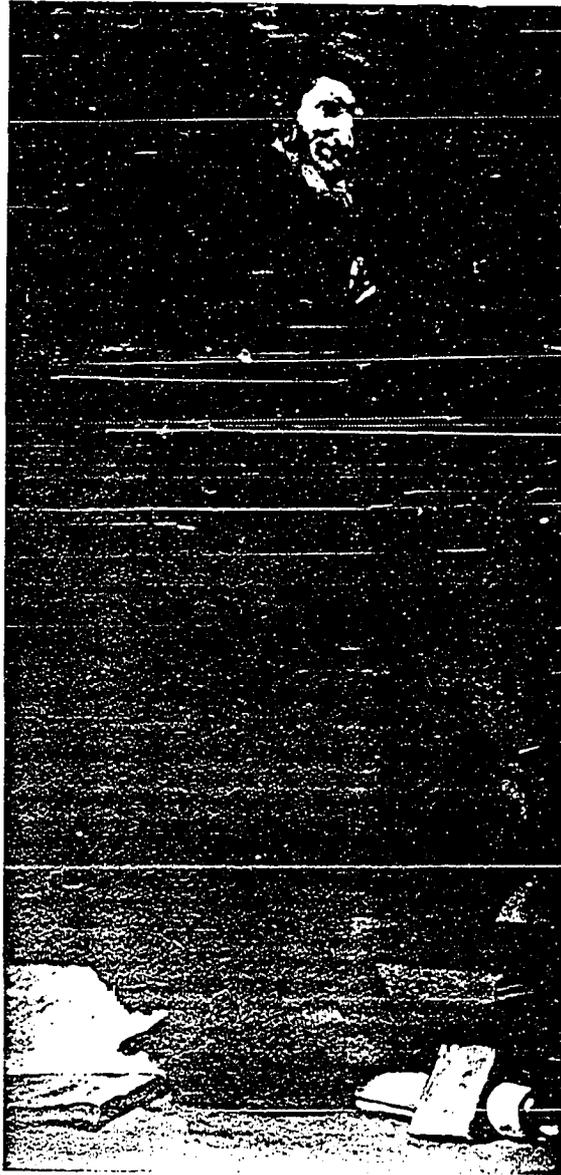


Figure 26. Velázquez, Menippus, Madrid, Prado, about 1639-41, 1.79 x .94m.



Figure 27. Velázquez, Democritus, Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, late 1620s, 1.01 x 0.81m.



Figure 28. After Velázquez, Man with a Wine Glass, Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art, 1620s.



Figure 29. J. Berryman, "Jesters' Costumes," wood engraving, Francis Douce's Illustrations of Shakespeare and of Ancient Manners, 1839.



Figure 30. Anonymous, "Polite and Vulgar Manners," engraving, Groot Schilderboek by Gerard de Laresse, 1707.



Figure 31. Anton Moller the Elder, Fool between Two Wise Men, drawing, Vienna, Albertina, 1596.



Figure 32. After Rubens, Democritus, Madrid, Prado, before 1638, 1.79 x 0.66m.



Figure 33. After Rubens, Heraclitus, Madrid, Prado, before 1638, 1.84 x 0.63m.



Figure 34. Anonymous, A Spanish Beggar, London, National Gallery, 1600s. Inscription on the back of the frame: "Viva el vino, leche de los viejos."

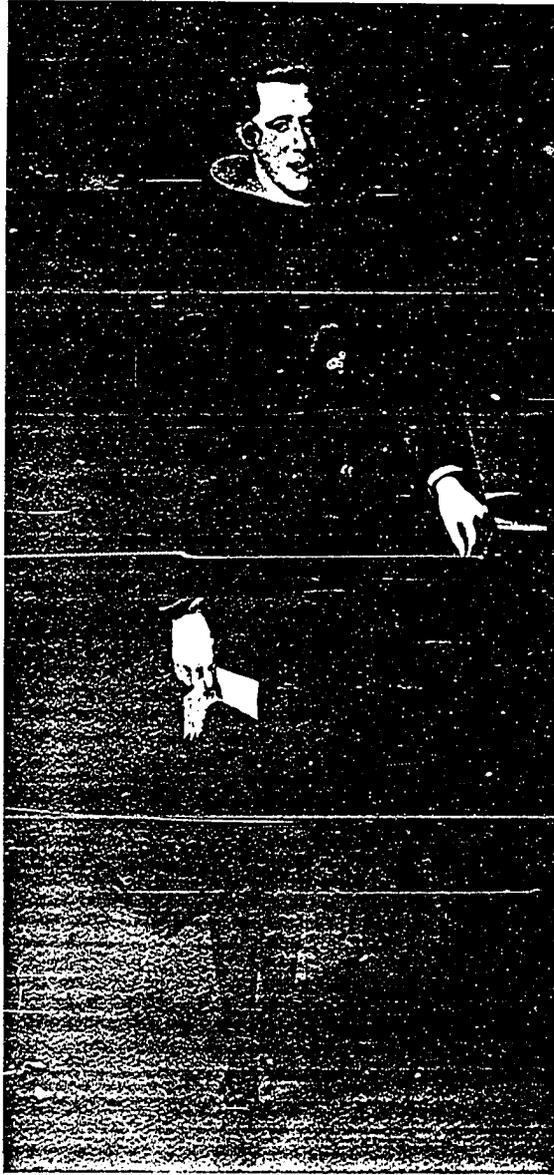


Figure 35. Velázquez, Philip IV, Madrid, Prado, 1623,  
1.98 x 1.02m.



Figure 36. Spanish School, Philip III, Madrid, Prado, about 1618.



Figure 37. After Sanchez Coello, Infanta Isabel with Her Dwarf Magdalena Ruiz, Madrid, Prado, 1585-90, 2.07 x 1.29m.



Figure 38. Villandrando, Philip IV and His Dwarf Sophillo, Madrid, Prado, 1621, 2.04 x 1.10m.



Figure 39. Velázquez, Balthasar Carlos and a Dwarf.  
Early 1630s. Oil on canvas, 1.36 x 1.04m. Museum of  
Fine Arts, Boston.

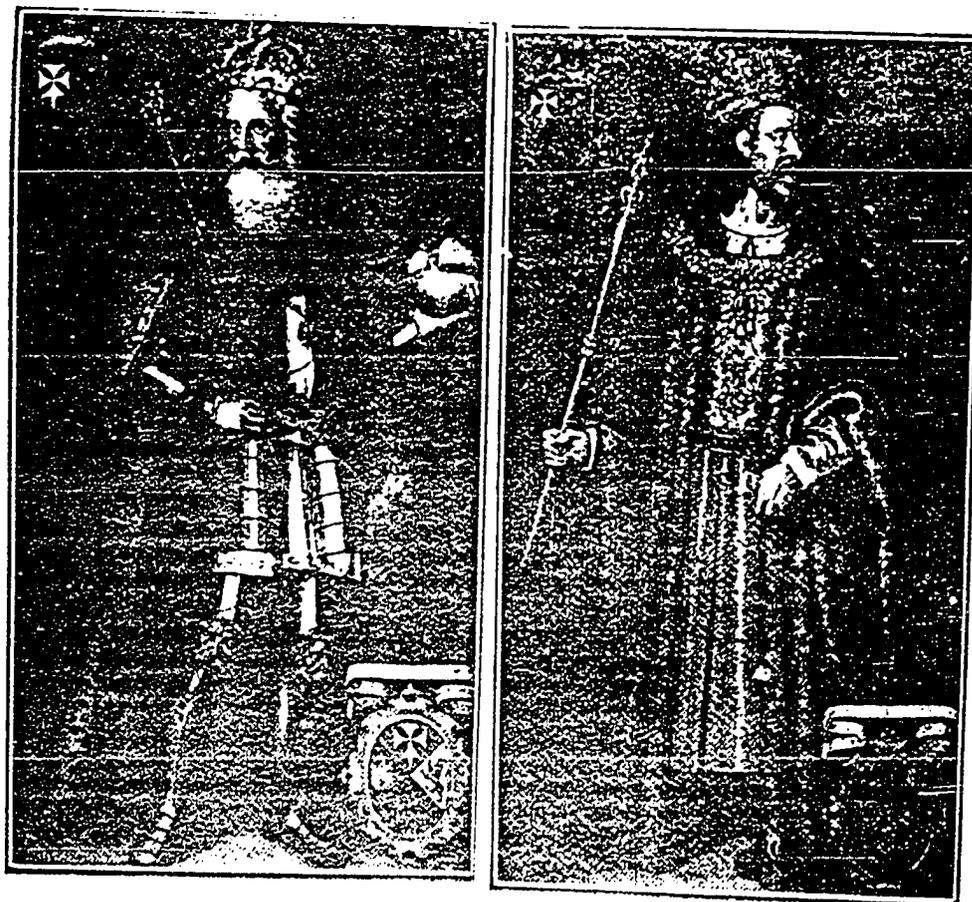


Figure 40. Spanish School, Sancho Garcés III and Ramiro I Sánchez, Madrid, Prado, 1590s.

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