The Spanish Bodegón of the Golden Age
Social significance of food and objects in 17th century Spanish still lifes

by

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Abstract

This dissertation is focused in the Spanish production of still-lifes or *bodegones* in the Golden Age of Spain. The object of this thesis is to analyze both the food produce and the objects represented in the still life production of seventeenth-century Spain, and through an object base analysis answer the question of what is the social and symbolical significance of the food and objects present in the Spanish *bodegones* in relation to the society that produced them and whether the genre represents the food and feasting traditions and collecting customs of Spain at the time.

To that purpose, this dissertation analyses the context of the Spanish Golden, in terms of its intricate society, collecting endeavours and social attitudes as well as in the development of local still-life production. It also examines alimentation in the period, including the social significance of food hierarchy, eating habits of the different classes, religious practices, the concepts of abundance and scarcity and how they are represented in the *bodegón*. In addition, objects represented in still life images, from luxury items like Chinese porcelain, Venetian glassware or costly metal work, to Mexican pottery considered exotic by collectors at the time; or local produced ceramics from Talavera and the more humble earthenware vessels common in Andalucía are examined both in their own relation to society as well as their meaning as being chosen for representation in the Spanish *bodegón*, as a visual record of the material culture of the time.
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A mis padres. Sin su amor y apoyo incondicional nada de esto habría sido posible. A mis ñañas, por acompañarme desde lejos y recordarme siempre lo que soy capaz de hacer.

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# Table of contents

List of Illustrations .............................................................................................................. 6

I. Introduction .................................................................................................................. 10

II. The Spanish Golden Age
    i.  Social context, collecting and art market ........................................................... 14
    ii.  Still Life in Spain ............................................................................................... 20

III. Fasting and Feasting. Food in the Spanish *Bodegón* of the Golden Age.............. 26
    i.  Fasting and Feasting – Representation of vegetables and meat produce .......... 28
    ii.  Sweets tradition – Fruits and *la merienda* ......................................................... 37

IV. Objects in Spanish still lifes of the Golden Age ..................................................... 42
    i.  A taste for luxury – Still life painting at the court ............................................. 43
    ii.  *Bodegones de cocina* and painting in Eastern Spain ....................................... 49
    iii.  *El Bodegón* – Objects in everyday life ......................................................... 52

V. Conclusion .................................................................................................................. 56

Bibliography .................................................................................................................... 59

Illustrations ....................................................................................................................... 63

Annexes
    i.  Passage from *Arte de la Pintura* by Francisco Pacheco ................................. 131
    ii.  Account from contemporary sources of banquets at Court .............................. 132
    iii.  Recipe for *Olla Podrida*, from cookbook by Diego Granado ..................... 134
List of Illustrations

1. Reconstruction of a seventeenth-century estrado. Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas
4. Juan Van der Hamen y León. Still-Life with Artichokes and Vases of Flowers. Madrid, Naseiro Collection
7. Mateo Cerezo, Still life with Fish. 1664. México City, Museo Nacional de San Carlos
10. Tomás Yepes. Still Life with ciders, cooked poultry and pastries. c. 1668. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado
13. Juan Sánchez Cotán, Still Life with Game and Fowl. c. 1603. Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago
17. Juan Van der Hamen y León. *Still Life with Fruit Bowl and Sweetmeats*. c. 1621. Madrid, Banco de España
22. Tomás Yepes. *Still Life with Fowl and a Hare*. 1643. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado
23. Francisco Barrera. *Still Life with Meat, Fruit and Vegetables (The Month of April)* c.1640. Private Collection
24. Francisco Barrera, *Still Life with Fish*. c. 1640. Private collection
32. Juan Van der Hamen y León. *Still Life with Sweets*.1621. Private Collection
34. Tomás Yepes. *Still Life with Sweets*. c. 1640. Private Collection
38. Juan Van der Hamen y León. *Still Life with Basket of Fruit and jars.* c. 1620
    Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum Schone Kunsten
39. Juan Van der Hamen y León. *Serving Table.* c. 1622. Private collection
40. Façon de Venise Spanish Footed Bowl, 17th century
41. Juan Van der Hamen y León. *Still life with sweets and glassware.* 1622. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado
42. Juan Van der Hamen y León. *Dessert Still Life with a Vase of Flowers and a Puppy and Dessert Still Life with a Vase of Flowers, a Clock and a Dog.* c. 1625 – 30. Madrid, Museo del Prado
43. Juan Van der Hamen y León. *Still Life with Ormolu Bowl and fruit baskets.* c. 1625. Private Collection
44. Kraak porcelain charger, *Wan li,* Jingdezhen, China, c. 1575-1605
45. Juan Van der Hamen y León. *Still-Life with Artichoques and Vases of Flowers.* (Detail). Madrid, Naseiro Collection
46. Mesoamerican earthenware, modelled by hand and manually polished – Tonalá. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
47. Juan van der Hamen y León. *Still Life with sweets and Pottery,* 1627. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
48. Francisco de Palacios, *Still Life with Braided Bread and Silver ewer.* 1648. Austria, Schloss Rohrau
51. Ebony and Ivory *Arquilla.* c. 1620. Spain, Private Collection
52. Abraham van Beijeren. *Banquet Still-Life with a Mouse.* 1667. Los Angeles, County Museum of Art
56. Antonio Ponce. *Still life with Artichoques and a Talavera Vase of flowers.* c. 1650. Spain, Juan Abello Collection
57. Antonio Ponce. *Kitchen Still Life.* Segovia, Lafora Collection
59. Tomás Yepes. *Still Life with flowers and ebony chest*. 1645
60. Tomás Yepes. *Dog in a garden with potted flowers*. c.1660. Segovia, Lafora Collection
62. Glass with crystal “fig”. Spain, 17th century. Private Collection
64. Diego Velázquez. *Old woman frying eggs*. 1618. Edinburgh, Scottish National Gallery
67. Ceramic pieces found in excavations carried out in the contemporary Carthusian monastery outside of Jérez de la Frontera
Chapter 1. Introduction

This dissertation is focused on the Spanish production of still-lifes or \textit{bodegones} in the Golden Age of Spain, from its beginning shortly before the turn of the century up to around 1670. In the seventeenth-century, the term \textit{bodegón} was used to refer to “the basement or low portal, within which he who does not have anyone to cook for him can find a meal and a drink”.\textsuperscript{1} The term retains the original meaning in its use in English Art History, where it is used to describe works such as Velázquez’s genre scenes. In Spanish, nevertheless, it is used nowadays to describe any kind of still-life where food and utensils are depicted. It holds the same meaning as “\textit{naturaleza muerta}”, deriving from the French \textit{nature mort} which came into common usage in the middle of the eighteenth century. It will be used in that sense throughout this dissertation.

The aim of this dissertation is not to determine the characteristics of the Spanish version of the genre, that is, what sets them apart from other European schools production, both in terms of its technical aspects and stylistic cohesion. Those aspects have been thoroughly discussed by scholars in the past. Starting with contemporary authors such as Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644), Vicente Carducho (1578-1638) or the later Palomino in the early 18\textsuperscript{th} century, we find references to still life – in general and the Spanish \textit{bodegón} in particular – in literary sources.\textsuperscript{2} The subject of Spanish Still Life has been amply treated since the past century, from the time when it became the theme of a major exhibition, \textit{Floreros y bodegones en la pintura española} and its

\textsuperscript{1} Corrubias, Sebastián. \textit{Tesoros de la lengua castellana}. In Jordan, William B. \textit{The Spanish Bodegón of the Golden Age}. Pp. 16
\textsuperscript{2} Charles Sterling’s \textit{La nature morte de l’antiquité à nos jours}, in Paris, in 1952; Survey text in English, \textit{Still Life Painting from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century} of 1959 and 1981; Alfonso Pérez Sánchez exhibition and catalogue \textit{Pintura Española de bodegones y floreros de 1600 a Goya} in Madrid in 1983; William Jordan’s \textit{Spanish Still Life in the Golden Age}, held at the Kimbell Art Museum in 1985; the 1995 London National Gallery’s exhibition and catalogue \textit{Spanish Still Life from Velázquez to Goya} produced by William Jordan and Peter Cherry and the same year’s exhibit in the Museo del Prado \textit{La belleza de lo real. Floreros y bodegones españoles en el Museo del Prado, 1600-1800} are amongst the most important work produced on the gender as a whole.
accompanying exhibition catalogue produced by Julio Cavestany de Anduaga, Marqués de Moret (Madrid, 1883-1965) in 1935. Ever since there has been a growing interest in the subject and both exhibitions as well as literary sources on several of the aspects proposed for this dissertation have been produced by some of the leading authors in the field. Amongst these, *Pintura de Bodegones y Floreros de 1600 a Goya*, by Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, accompanying the exhibition at the Museo del Prado in Madrid in 1983; *Spanish still life in the golden age, 1600-1650*, by William B. Jordan, from the Forth Worth exhibit in 1990; *Spanish Still Life, from Velázquez to Goya*, a collaboration between the same author and Peter Cherry produced for the major exhibit in London in 1995; and *Arte y Naturaleza. El bodegón Español del Siglo de Oro*, based on the latter’s doctoral dissertation on the subject, constitute obligatory reference sources for any undertaking in the field. There are several other publications devoted to individual artists, their lifes and work. There are as well a number of important studies on collections and contemporary inventories, such as Marcus Burke and Peter Cherry’s comprehensive work *Collections of Paintings in Madrid 1601 – 1755*, and Sarah Schroth’s essay on *Early collectors of Still-Life Painting in Castille* that should be analyzed in relation to the objects and food products represented in Spanish still life paintings. Several authors, especially from Spain have also produced numerous studies from their perspective of Spanish culture in the 17th century, and they take into account the mindset of the viewers and society at the time when the works under discussion were produced. Amongst them Julian Gállego’s *Visión y símbolos en la pintura española del Siglo de Oro* suggests a symbolic interpretation of the real object which should not be disregarded.

There are nevertheless gaps in the literature when it comes to the representational aspects this work is focused on. Following a more recent trend of
academic research – known as New Historicism, Cultural Materialism or the New Cultural History – scholars have started to address new and revealing aspects of the social, cultural and historical context in which the paintings are produced, placing the emphasis on subjects such as food and objects as media of social expression and social standing. What has been the norm for the study of Netherlandish Still Lifes, as in Rengenier C. Rittersma’s *Luxury in the Low Countries: Miscellaneous Reflections on Netherlandish Material Culture, 1500 to the Present*, is slowly becoming an area of interest for scholars interested in Spanish production. A relevant undertaking in that regard is Robert T. C. Goodwin’s *Project of Food and Culture in Early Modern Spain*, and the resulting PhD thesis, which examines the representation of food in the art and literature of the Spanish Golden Age.³ That work offers four important essays on Velázquez, Sánchez Cotán, Guzmán de Alfarache and Don Quijote within the framework of a social and cultural discussion. Taking a similar approach, the object of this thesis is to analyze both the food produce and the objects represented in the Spanish still life production of the Golden Age, and through an object base analysis answer the question of what is the social and symbolical significance of the food and objects in Spanish *bodegones* in relation to the society that produced them and whether the genre represents the food and feasting traditions and collecting customs of Spain at the time.

This dissertation will not aim to explore aspects of the ongoing discussion on symbolism, religious meaning and iconography of the works in the context of seventeenth century Spain, although it will touch some of these elements when they are relevant to the proposed line of approach through the analysis of *Vanitas* production and the work by Francisco de Zurbarán, Antonio de Pereda and Juan Valdés Leal, when they

³ The PhD dissertation, titled *Food, Art, and Literature in Early Modern Spain: The Representation of Food in Velázquez’s Bodegones, Guzmán de Alfarache, Don Quijote and the Still-Life Paintings of Sánchez Cotán*, was published in 2001, for the Department of Spanish and Spanish American Studies of King’s College London.
are relevant in the construction of social significance by the choice of elements they portray.4

The purpose of this dissertation is to carry out an in depth analysis of the existing literature, compare and contrast its findings in the aforementioned subjects, and introduce new sources drawn from multidisciplinary fields (Ceramics, Glassware, History, Trade, Collecting, Nutrition and Culinary History, etc.) to bring new aspects of Spanish Still Life of the Golden Age to light and present them in an art historical context. As so, the second chapter introduces the context of Golden Age Spain, discussing especially the political and economic background of the court and aristocratic circles, including their collecting behaviour. It also introduces the development of the genre in the main centres of production in Spain, as well as its place within painting and the art market in general. The third chapter will focus on the food represented in the Spanish still life of the Golden Age. In it, this author presents evidence of how the food and foodways represent different social aspects and culinary customs of seventeenth century Spain, and to what extent the Spanish *bodegón* represents the range of food eaten at that period.5 Chapter four offers an ample analysis of the objects depicted in Spanish Still lifes, their relation to society and their social significance. Finally, this author will conclude by stating how both the food products and the objects depicted in the Spanish *bodegón* of the Golden Age are important representations of social and intellectual concerns of the society in question.

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5 In social science foodways are the cultural, social and economic practices relating to the production and consumption of food. Foodways often refers to the intersection of food in culture, traditions, and history. Darnton, Julia. "*Foodways: When food meets culture and history*". Michigan State University Extension. Retrieved 10 September 2013.
Chapter 2 – The Spanish Golden Age

The Spanish Golden Age was a period of flourishing in arts and literature in Spain, coinciding with the political rise and decline of the Spanish Habsburg dynasty. The historical period is generally considered to have begun at some point after 1492 and ended by or with the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659, though in art the start is delayed until the reign of Philip III (1598-1621), or just before, and the end also delayed until the 1660s or later. It would be futile to attempt a full account of the complex history of the period, but there are two relevant aspects that need to be discussed pertaining to this dissertation. The relevant actors of the history that concerns us are the artists who created the works in question, but also the patrons and clients who commissioned, collected or purchased the paintings, defining their value, and to some extent, their contents. As so, the first aspect to analyse is the intricate society that would demand the paintings under discussion, together with their other collecting endeavours and social attitudes. The second aspect would be the development of the genre per se, its principal figures and their relation to particular collectors and the art market in general.

Social context, collecting and art market

At the beginning of this period Spain was the most powerful country in Europe, its international monarchy comprising much of the continent, most of the New World, and parts of Asia and Africa. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a powerful nobility, around the figure of the king, was the dominant class, and determined most aspects in politics, economy and taste. This aristocracy owned great expanses of land
which made them wealthy by providing sources of large income.⁶ There were few noblemen with titles, only a few hundred among a population of 10 million people.⁷ Philip II moved his court to Madrid from Toledo in 1561, and from then on life at court was propelled by the nobility who flocked to the court in growing numbers, many of whom erected palaces of their own, most of them houses with severe brick façades, embellished only by their granite doorways and their iron balconies. Ostentation otherwise was reserved for the interiors, which were hung with tapestries and pictures and adorned with handsome pieces of furniture.⁸ Typical Spanish townhouses of the period had an entrance hall, or zaguán, on the ground floor and the reception rooms on the piano nobile, beginning with an antechamber and followed by a series of drawing rooms (estrados), including, in the wealthier households a grand salon, or estrado de cumplimiento, for important occasions, all of which had to be handsomely furnished and filled with paintings.⁹ (Fig. 1) To that purpose, courtiers began collecting on a grand scale and with international scope.¹⁰ As Cherry eloquently states in the introduction of *Collections of Paintings in Madrid*, due to the crown’s dominance of vast territories, and its strong relations via diplomatic posts in the most powerful courts in Europe, Spanish Patrons were active internationally, especially in Rome, in southern Italy and in Flanders.¹¹ Local production was also sought after, especially by renowned masters, although foreign production was preferred and held in higher esteem. The art collections assembled in Golden Age Madrid were often enormous, sometimes comprising

⁶ A Spanish Grandee, with large expanses of land could receive up to 100000 ducados per year from said properties, while a landless hidalgo would perceive around 1000 – 2000. Brown, Jonathan. *El Triunfo de la Pintura. Sobre el coleccionismo cortesano en el siglo XVII*. Pp. 8
⁷ Comellas, José L. *Spanish Culture of the Golden Age and Eighteenth Century*. Pp. 192
¹¹ Burke, Marcus and Peter Cherry. *Collections of Paintings in Madrid 1601 – 1755*. Pp. xiii
thousands of pictures. The same applies for the major cities outside of the capital, where most of the aristocracy had their seats. Also, as suggested by Cherry, by the second decade of the century members of the lower nobility were also beginning to decorate their rooms after the fashion of the Spanish Grandees. In this category we should also include the vast number of letrados, or educated civil servants who populated the capital. Although the principal demand in art consisted of religious or historical subjects, as would be supposed of the deeply religious seventeenth century Spanish society, by the turn of the century patrons began to demand works of higher secular content, with many Flemish and Italian paintings of that type being recorded in royal and aristocratic inventories of the time. From analysing those inventories, as well as other non-aristocratic ones, it would seem that large numbers of differently sized paintings were commonly listed in single rooms. Fine-quality paintings would have been shown to advantage while landscapes, still lifes and flower pieces, all examples of minor genres, were frequently used to fill the spaces between figurative pictures and occupied peripheral locations, especially over windows and doors (Fig. 2).

12 Burke, Marcus and Peter Cherry. Collections of Paintings in Madrid 1601 – 1755. Pp. xiv
14 Paintings were among the most common goods imported from Spanish Flanders, and lienzos de Flandes appear to have increased in volume throughout the century owing to the special trading links between Spain and the Spanish Netherlands. Burke, Marcus and Peter Cherry. Collections of Paintings in Madrid 1601 – 1755. Pp. 4; Foreign production would have also added to the appeal that goods from abroad and their prestige would represent. Pérez Sánchez, Alfonso. Pintura Barroca en España. Pp. 52
15 In the case of the Getty Provenance Index Sample, used by Burke and Cherry for their study of Madrilenian collections, from the sample of 169 inventory documents drawn up over the seventeenth-century (1601 – 1700), landscapes, comprising 1200 works, made up the most numerous single category of picture, followed by still lifes (860 works). Burke, Marcus and Peter Cherry. Collections of Paintings in Madrid 1601 – 1755. Pp. 95
named as such, *sobrepuertas* and *sobreventanas*. Appropriately enough, still lifes, genre subjects, and hunting scenes were also hung in dining rooms in some homes of the period, their content making them fitting for the place where meals took place. Even though this type of paintings was eagerly sought after, as evidenced by the large number of both foreign versions and local production found in statistical surveys of collections of the period, amongst the genres the *bodegón* was acknowledged as inferior. This kind of painting was less valued in monetary terms than historical or religious paintings.

The basic monetary unit of the period, the silver real (*real de plata*), is represented in the inventories as one of the monies of account, along with ducats (11 reales) and maravedíes (worth approximately 1/34 of a real). A sense of the relative worth of pictures in seventeenth-century Spain is given by noting that unskilled workers in the 1620s often received one real as a minimum day’s wages. Well established artists of the genre of the stature of Juan Van der Hamen or Juan Fernández El Labrador would have amounted between 80 and 200 reales per piece. Cherry states that in a piece-rate contract of 1628 for the open market, fruit still lifes were worth mere 6 reales, flower pictures 9 reales and paintings of saints almost twice as much at 16 reales.

The art market was made up by a primary and a secondary one. In the primary market the artists themselves, or via their agents, sold directly to their clients, both commissions and finished works that would appeal to the customer. The sales were made either in the open market, when they were works by minor artists and catered to a more popular level of society or in the artist’s workshop, in case of those with an

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16 For more information see Burke, Marcus and Peter Cherry. *Collections of Paintings in Madrid 1601 – 1755.*  
20 As stated earlier, there were exceptions, to this trend. Velázquez, for instance, valued his *Waterseller of Seville* at 400 reales. Cherry, Peter. *Arte y Naturaleza.* 1999. Pp. 17.
established reputation. The secondary market was made up by the selling of finished paintings, independent from the artist and by *almonedas*.\textsuperscript{21}

The same nobility also indulged in a taste for the luxurious and the exotic, represented by the large collections of art and antiquities that flourished during this period. Criteria such as fashion, social notoriety and public appearance were closely related to the ownership of sumptuary objects. Luxury items and works of art were tokens in the cult of nobility which was such a driving force in the “society of honour” of seventeenth-century Spain.\textsuperscript{22} Expensive *façon de Venise* glassware, exotic ceramics from the Far East and products and manufactures from the Americas were acquired and displayed in the otherwise plain functional homes of the seventeenth-century Spaniard. Artistic and commercial exchanges within Europe as well as the new established routes for the New World facilitated access to the objects and produce required by seventeenth-century Spanish society. Vicencio Juan de Lanastrosa, as an example of the collector of his time, collected and displayed natural objects and finely-crafted ones, purposefully to conjoin his high social status, wealth, taste and judgement of aesthetic value.\textsuperscript{23} His collection included a wide range of objects, considered wonders, curiosities and exotica, as was common in the “*cuartos de maravillas*”, the Spanish version of the German “*wunderkamern*” or the Austrian and English “Wonder Chambers”. There are also records of countless collections of the most varied kinds. One such example is the renowned women’s cabinet, displaying vast numbers of Chinese porcelain.\textsuperscript{24} Although not a collection in itself, the botanical gardens popular at the time could be counted in...

\textsuperscript{21} A public sale of the entire goods of a person, usually held at the death of the owner. Muñoz G., María Jesús. *El Mercado Español de Pinturas en el siglo XVII*. Pp. 25 - 26
\textsuperscript{22} Burke, Marcus and Peter Cherry. *Collections of Paintings in Madrid 1601 – 1755*. Pp. 43.
\textsuperscript{23} Rey-Bueno, Mar and Miguel López Pérez. *The Gentleman, the Virtuoso, the Inquirer: Vicencio Juan de Lanastrosa and the Art of Collecting in Early Modern Spain*. Pp. 5
this category. They represent the ongoing interest of society at the time in plants and naturalia, of special significance is the inclusion of several species of exotic origin, such as the products brought from the Americas. These are only some examples that characterize the higher level of society in seventeenth century Spain.

The gentry or hidalgos represent another aspect of society, and were a much greater number. They were generally descendants or relatives of noblemen and had inherited neither properties nor riches but only the family name.25 The figure of the hidalgo inspired some of the best characters in picaresque literature of the Golden Age, as Miguel de Cervantes’s celebrated Don Quijote. Even though some of them might not have been able to afford a painting by a major artist, together with the well-to-do merchants and humble members of the palace bureaucracy, amongst other classes who were well enough to require paintings - still lifes in particular - to decorate their houses, and who followed the taste and fashion established by the higher echelons of society, they constitute the likely costumers of the less exacting quality of local production, and would have been the principal costumers of the sales in the open market. As such, to individuals who did not enjoy the distinction of a knighthood, the ownership of paintings appears to have had an important social value.26

Finally, at the other end of the scale, there is the vast majority of Spaniards, who struggled to get by and would not constitute likely purchasers of art, but are themselves sometimes subjects of the paintings. They are the ones who actually ate in the lowly bodegones, and were altogether part of a society defined by contrasts, and as such, were constant reminders of their own status and possibilities to the ones who did thrive.

25 Comellas, José L. Spanish Culture of the Golden Age and Eighteenth Century. Pp. 192
Even though up until now we have discussed only a society driven to the consumption of sanctuary goods, we have to consider that the period under debate also coincided with the progressive fall of the Spanish empire. The country as a whole struggled with poverty and famine, and while most individuals despaired for food, as captured in the picaresque novel of the time, Spain also witnessed some of the most lavish displays of splurge in the extravagant banquets of a few privileged minorities.\(^{27}\)

Foodways were undoubtedly a means of expression of social standing and the economic decline that helped to accentuate the differences between social classes was accompanied by an increasing taste for ostentation and formalism.\(^{28}\) As so, aristocrats vied themselves to produce grandiose banquets, consisting of enormous quantities of food prepared in countless ways, especially when they were hosting personages of high standing. (Appendix I) This contrast and its meaning in relation to the food depicted in the Spanish \textit{bodegón} will be thoroughly discussed in the following chapter.

**Still life in Spain**

Still life as a genre emerged almost simultaneously in three of Europe’s most important artistic centres towards the end of the sixteenth century\(^{29}\). The emergence throughout Europe of the modern still life was a phenomenon related to rapidly evolving conditions of European society at the threshold of the modern age in politics, science, philosophy and art.\(^{30}\) In Spain, by the early seventeenth century several pictures were produced by artists expressing their interests in natural objects.\(^{31}\) They were then referred simply as \textit{lienzo de frutas} or \textit{lienzo de flores}, depending on whether they

\(^{27}\) Capel, José Carlos. \textit{La Gula en el Siglo de Oro}. Pp. 73
\(^{28}\) Dehouneaux, Marcelin. \textit{Daily life in Spain in the Golden Age}. Pp. 8
\(^{29}\) Several authors describe the origins of the modern still life, amongst which William B. Jordan in \textit{The Spanish Bodegón of the Golden Age}. Pp. 1; and Trinidad de Antonio in \textit{La Belleza de lo Real. Floreros y Bodegones Españoles en el Museo del Prado}. Pp. 11.
\(^{30}\) Jordan, William B. \textit{The Spanish Bodegón of the Golden Age}. Pp. 1
portrayed fruit or flowers in his canvas. Collectors in Madrid before around 1615 preferred the *bodegón con figuras*, an art form original from Flanders in the previous century.  

The first still lifes in Spain were painted in the intellectual capital of Toledo. According to Sarah Schroth, the first collectors of the independent still life were not at the court circles in Madrid, but a small group of Toledan nobles, many of them intellectual mentors of the clergy at the city’s cathedral. There, Juan Sánchez Cotán established the characteristics of the earliest manifestation of the genre, some of which will remain unchanged well into the first decades of the century. His *ouvre* is characterised by its overwhelming virtuosity in the rendering of natural food produce, ranging from the humblest vegetables, to more exotic products introduced from the Americas and fowl. (Fig. 3) It would appear that the vast majority of his still-life paintings remained in the artist’s possession, or that of his close acquaintances, perhaps proving that they were not made with a commercial purpose, as opposed to his vast production of historical or religious themes. Nevertheless, some of the earliest recorded still lifes appear in the inventory of Alonso Tellez Girón de Silva – *nueve lienzos de verduras* – likely by Sánchez Cotán. The same is true for the inventory of the Cardinal García de Loaysa Girón, taken at his death in 1599, in which at least one *lienzo de frutas* with a melon, a cucumber, oranges, carrots and cardoon is likely to be by the hand of Cotán.

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35 As in this case, many paintings listed in contemporary inventories where simply referred by their content, and only in some cases the author of the work was included in the description. This makes the attribution of many of the paintings very difficult, even as a noted master as Sánchez Cotán.
In Castile, the figure of Juan Van der Hamen y León, who adopted the pictorial formula of his Toledan predecessor and later on adapted it to the court’s more cosmopolitan taste, closer perhaps to the more luxurious Netherlandish still lifes preferred by collectors of the time, monopolized still life painting at court during the 1620s. There is a recorded commission from King Philip III in 1619 to paint a still life of fruit and dead game for the South Gallery in the Pardo Palace. His paintings decorated some of the best homes in the capital, those of the aristocracy, gentlemen courtiers and royal officials. Many of the still-life paintings for the Buen Retiro Palace appear to have been acquired on the Madrid art market. Some of his patrons included Jean de Croy, a Flemish aristocrat and Diego Mexía, the 1st Marqués de Leganés, who commissioned him the Bodegón con alcachofas, now in the Museo del Prado. (Fig.4) There are also several records of his work being owned by members of the Palace bureaucracy, as in the collection of the royal silversmith Andrés de Villarroel, Platero de cámara del Rey y tasador de las reales joyas, where appropriately there were some depicting silverware.

According to Cherry, a boom in still-life painting was fuelled by the fashionable activity of picture collecting from the beginning of the 1630s and by the middle of the century the bodegón was amply produced in Madrid. Capitalizing on the trend, several artists followed in Van der Hamen’s wake, catering to the demand of the well-to-do,
with a varied quality production. These include the masterly *bodegones* and *vanitas* by Antonio de Pereda whose patrons include Juan Alfonso Enríquez de Cabrera, Duke of Medina de Rioseco and Almirante de Castilla, Giovanni Battista Crescenzi and Francisco Tejada (Fig. 5). Another sought after artist was Juan Fernández El Labrador and his minutely observed *lienzos de frutas*, documented in the collections of the Royal Accountant Domingo de Soria Arteaga. (Fig. 6) The works by Andrés Deleito; a still-life specialist who appears in the Conde de Chinchón’s will as being owed 100 *reales* as payment for two paintings, were also commonly found in Spanish inventories. There are several other perhaps less achieved paintings, referred to by some authors as *Pintura Ordinaria*, which catered for a less demanding clientele and were produced by Alejandro de Loarte, Ignacio Arias, Mateo Cerezo, Francisco Barrera o Antonio Ponce, responsible for a vogue in seasonal still lifes. (Fig. 7 and 8) There are a number of other minor artists, responsible for many of the unattributed still lifes that abound in the market even today. This dissertation will not look closely into that kind of production. Suffice it to acknowledge their existence and the fact that they are less accomplished versions of the known masters’ works and that they were probably acquired by the lowest tier of possible costumers for such paintings.

Still life in Seville started later than in Madrid, and there two of the most important artists of the period, Diego Velázquez and Francisco Zurbarán, produced some of the best known and well appreciated works of the genre. Velázquez’s *bodegones* were owned by powerful men such as the Duke of Alcalá and Juan de

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43 Admonitory images that exposed the illusory and fallacious nature of worldly achievements, pursuits and possessions. Also known in Spain as *Desengaños del Mundo*.
46 Jordan, William B. and Peter Cherry. *Spanish Still Life From Velázquez to Goya*.
Fonseca y Figueroa, eventually passing into royal collections. 48 (Fig. 9) The latter’s large art collection, of which one hundred and six paintings were appraised by the artist, was composed by forty-four (42%) of the lowest end of the emerging hierarchy of styles: still lifes, landscapes and the bodegón. 49 Other figures followed closely the trends of the capital, amongst whom we find Zurbarán’s son Juan and Pedro de Comprobín. In the eastern regions of Spain, also following the Madrilenian models, Tomás Yepes established a flourishing studio in Valencia (Fig. 10). According to Pérez Sánchez, it would appear that due to the lack of relevant patrons in Valencian society, the artist would have worked without commissions, painting freely and selling his work to the wealthy inhabitants of the county to decorate their dwellings. 50

Of all the aforementioned artists, only a few devoted their practice to the production of still lifes, considered at the time the lowliest on the hierarchy of the artistic genres. It was considered by Pacheco, contemporary artist and author as an unimportant exercise in the imitation of nature. In fact, in his Arte de la Pintura, in the chapter entitled ‘On the painting of Animals and Birds, Fish Stalls and Bodegones and the Ingenious Invention of Portraits from life’, which discusses at length the painting of low-life subjects that depict both food and people; the only painters that he mentions by name as practitioners of the still life are Blas de Prado and Sánchez Cotán in Toledo and Van der Hamen in Madrid. 51 On his treatise he acknowledges the quality of certain artists, and admits to a certain «deleite» when contemplating pictures of one such as

48 Goodwin, Theodore. Food, Art and Literature in Early Modern Spain: The Representation of Food in Velázquez’s bodegones, Guzmán de Alfarache, Don Quijote, and the Still-Life Paintings of Sánchez Cotán. Pp. 215 It would appear that two of the paintings described in the Duque of Alcalá’s inventory of his Casa de Pilatos residence housing the most distinguished private collection of art in Spain at the time are Two Young Men at Table and Christ in the House of Martha and Mary. Cherry, Peter. Arte y Naturaleza. Pp. 56
49 Tiffany, Tanya J. Diego Velázquez’s early paintings and the culture of seventeenth-century Seville. Pp. 83
Van der Hamen and he praises Velázquez above all, for his «verdadera imitación del natural». (Annex I)

Still lifes are made up of food, objects, and in some cases figures interacting with one or both of those elements. We must assume that the compositions are deliberately thought through before the artist starts painting, whether from life or from previous motifs and models. In the following chapters we will analyse to what extent food and objects depicted in the Spanish bodegón are determined by the society that required them and how they represent the range of food and culinary attitudes and the collecting customs of the time.
Chapter 3 – Fasting and Feasting. Food in the Spanish Bodegón of the Golden Age

The food represented in Spanish still lifes is identified and described in all the major literary sources, but it has not yet been fully analyzed in the context of still life production as a response to a demand catering to the taste of Spanish 17th century society. Furthermore, when the subject of food is taken into consideration, authors state that Spanish still lifes of the seventeenth century are not a reliable index to the range of foods eaten in Spain at the period, which are detailed in the popular cookbooks of the time. Scholars have used mainly the Spanish seventeenth century cookbooks by court cooks Diego Granado – *Libro del arte de cozina* – and Francisco Martínez Montiño – *Arte de cozina, pastelería y conservería* – to affirm that the wide range of food available in 17th century Spain is not objectively represented in Spanish bodegones. Another seventeenth-century author, Hernández de Maceras, for instance, cooked for a very small community of students of the upper classes, living in the Colegio Mayor de Oviedo, in Salamanca. The recipes cover a wide variety of food, perhaps with less luxury than courtesan cookbooks for the nobility and the royal palace, but certainly more refined and abundant than the food to which the general public would have access to. These sources represent only one aspect of Spanish culinary tradition, that of court cookery. It does not take into account the rich tradition of popular food, the developments on alimentation brought by the products introduced from the New World, or what the choice of objects and food signify for Spanish society when commissioning or purchasing still life paintings. Neither have they taken into account the broader reality of the vast alimentation problems that the country faced during the seventeenth century.

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century, and what that scarcity represents for society in general and for people who could afford not only food, but the representation of it in the form of still lifes.54

Trying to determine whether the food produce depicted in Spanish still lifes of the Golden Age is representative of the foods available and eating habits of the time from cookbooks of the period can prove to be a very difficult task. It is the purpose of this chapter to look into the food represented in the Spanish Still life of the Golden age, both as in their own relation to the society that consumed them, as well as their meaning as being chosen for representation in the Spanish bodegón. It is not possible within the scope of this work to carry out an in depth analysis of the entire production, however it is possible to establish certain trends that represent the relationship between the artists’ output, their choices of food elements for their compositions, and the general meaning of food in the complex Spanish society of the seventeenth century. To do so, this author has divided this chapter into two subcategories following the description of the evolution of the genre by some of its more noted representatives. As such, we start with the depiction of the contrasting elements of vegetables and meat produce, a contrast echoed both by the social significance established in the hierarchy of food for the seventeenth century public as well as in eating habits that were strongly influenced by religious practices leading to the contrasting lent and carnival periods. This will be followed by the analysis of the widespread consumption, and therefore representation, of sweetmeats and fruit; and the custom of la merienda, commonly found in the still life production catering the genteel taste of the court as a representation of luxury and social status.

54 At a time when the principal wealth of nations depended on farming, Spain's lands were of poor quality. Only 11 percent of its surface was truly fertile, 60 percent, mediocre or poor and nearly 30 percent, non-productive. Comellas, José L. “Spanish Culture of the Golden Age and Eighteenth Century”. In Handbook of Hispanic Culture. Pp. 188
Fasting and Feasting – Representation of vegetables and meat produce

The Golden Age in Spain in matters of food was marked by stark contrasts. Alimentation in general consisted mainly on a diet composed of bread, wine and meat, including also fruit, vegetables and greens.55 The common structure of a meal for a noble or accommodated household was a starter, comprising fresh and dried fruit, salads and cold meats; followed by a first service of meat or fish stew or soup; a second service of roasted or grilled meat or fish, several sides and pastries; and finally dessert, made up of seasonal fruit, sweetmeats and confectionaries.56 Contemporary expenditure accounts, especially of the royal palaces, show that vast amounts were spent to ensure a varied and abundant pantry to comply with these dietary requirements, and also reveal how much of the budget was spent on meat, poultry and confectionery.57 The lower classes diet consisted mainly of stews made of vegetables and legumes, with the addition of meats for special occasions when it could be afforded or just salted meat or fish, or offal for flavour and to add protein to their otherwise lacking intake. What is more relevant to this work is the polarization between occasional expenditure of palatine and aristocratic banquets and the borderline misery of the vast masses. Alimentation was also determined both by status and religious practices. Furthermore, medieval concepts of a natural hierarchy continued to be influential in the early modern period and these applied to food.58 In fact, social hierarchy was reflected and reinforced in the belief that different foodstuffs were suitable for different social ranks, underlining

55 Pérez Samper, María de los Ángeles. La Alimentación en la España del Siglo de Oro.
56 Valles Rojo, Julio, Cocina y Alimentación en los Siglos XVI y XVII. Pp. 94
57 For further information see Valles Rojo, Julio, Cocina y Alimentación en los Siglos XVI y XVII. Pp. 148 – 152.
a perceived biological difference between those ranks. Botanists, doctors and dieticians
developed theories of plant classification in which those foodstuffs that grew high up on
plants and far from the ground were considered appropriate fare for the nobility because
they reached up to the skies, while root vegetables and bulbs were thought to be food
for the poor. 59 These beliefs have been documented in several public documents, such
as the 1594 ordinance which prohibited certain foodstuffs to be sold by street vendors,
for they are only suitable to “la gente principal”.60 It has been affirmed by authors such
as Peter Cherry that the prices of the foodstuffs represented in Spanish still lifes do not
appear to have affected the value of the paintings themselves and this appears to have
depended on a traditional criteria of taste, including aesthetic quality and workmanship,
the reputation of the artists and fashion. However, as will be seen, there are several
aspects in which still-life paintings reflect the food hierarchy of their time as well as the
social significance of the foodstuffs represented.

As William Jordan has stated, raw vegetables, fruit, game and flowers were the
subject matter of every early still life painter in Spain.61 The natural world is
represented in the Spanish bodegón by products typical of the Iberian Peninsula. Green
vegetables and garden produce occupied a lowly place on the food hierarchy and were
all but ignored by the royal family and aristocracy. It is surprising then that these were
the main elements of some of the most celebrated still lifes in the history of the genre.
We are referring to the work by one of the most renowned artists who produced some of
the earliest recorded still lifes in Spain, Juan Sánchez Cotán.62 His paintings depict only

59 Goodwin, Theodore. Food, Art and Literature in Early Modern Spain: The Representation of Food in
Velázquez’s bodegones, Guzmán de Alfarache, Don Quijote, and the Still-Life Paintings of Sánchez Cotán.
60 A.H.N. Sala de Alcaldes. Libro de Gobierno núm. 1204. From Valles Rojo, Julio, Cocina y Alimentación
en los Siglos XVI y XVII. Pp. 185.
62 His earliest dated picture is from 1602.
raw products, and the foodstuffs are displayed within a window setting, that has been identified as a *cantarero*, that is a typical cooling space in a Spanish house located in a corridor connecting the front and back doors, through which air passes and keeps foodstuffs fresh.⁶³ (Fig. 11). As noted by Cherry, it is relevant that even though there are no man-made elements or utensils present in his compositions the fact that the vegetables are clean, trimmed and sometimes cut entail a human preparation.⁶⁴ A noteworthy element within his production is the cardoon, introduced by Cotán to the *repertoire* of Spanish still life production (Fig. 12). This autumn and winter vegetable typical of the Iberian Peninsula was common fare for the lower classes as it was readily available in the coldest weather. Probably chosen for its attractive shape and colour, its interest in art history relies in that after the works by Cotán it appears frequently in Spanish still life production, such as in the early works of Van der Hamen and Felipe Ramírez.

Responding to the social phenomenon of a growing interest for the exotic and unknown, this artist also included exotic food produce from America, such as the Mexican chayote in his *Bodegón de Caza*, (Fig. 13), or the as yet unidentified cereal in the *Still Life with Hamper of Cherries and Basket of Apricots* (Fig. 14).⁶⁵ The fact that the artist included these elements is revealing in that it closely relates to the natural history tradition in Spain, centred in the flora of the New World, as attest the several records of such products in the many books and botanical gardens of the time. The artist probably chose the exotic chayote to feature in his painting to arouse the curiosity of viewers of the time. Many of the products consumed by a society become items of cult for their mysterious origins and their unfamiliar shapes and characteristics. That is the

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⁶³ This was suggested by Xavier Salas Eric Young and is a likely explanation for the compositional format. From Jordan, William B. *Spanish Still Life in the Golden Age*. Pp. 50


case of many of the products from the Indies, which not only found their place in the many still lifes produced at the time, but were also featured as props in religious paintings. Velázquez includes the American chilli in some of his genre scenes (Fig. 15), as did Mateo Cerezo (Fig. 16) and several other contemporary artists. This product was brought from the Americas as a new variety of pepper, and was adopted almost immediately to the Spanish diet, as an alternative of the spice from the East.\textsuperscript{66} The exotic tomato, which took longer to be accepted as food, and was first cultivated only for its aesthetic appeal, appears in some of Van der Hamen’s still lifes (Fig. 17), and also features in Murillo’s \textit{Kitchen of the angels} (Fig. 18), thus confirming the significance this foreign fruit had for the seventeenth century viewer, and as so, its place in contemporary paintings.\textsuperscript{67}

Another element common in Sánchez Cotán’s still lifes is fowl. It has to be taken into consideration that fowl was not thought of as “meat” and it was used in many medicinal dishes, as can be attested by the many recipes found in contemporary cookbooks (Fig. 18). It should be noted, however, that he never included meat from quadrupeds in his compositions. There is usually a marked distinction between the overhanging birds and the vegetables, reminiscent of the division between days of vigil and days of meat according to the catholic calendar that will reappear in Alejandro de Loarte’s production and will be thoroughly discussed further ahead.

Based on the fact that Sánchez Cotán joined the Carthusian order as a lay monk at the peak of his career, his still lifes of fruit and vegetables have been considered by some scholars as humble and frugal, relating them to Christian humility and monastic

\textsuperscript{66} It was commonly used from the early 16\textsuperscript{th} century. Valles Rojo, Julio, \textit{Cocina y Alimentación en los Siglos XVI y XVII}. Pp. 260, 264.

\textsuperscript{67} Although its use as food was recorded from the first third of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, its use only became widespread in the following century. Valles Rojo, Julio, \textit{Cocina y Alimentación en los Siglos XVI y XVII}. Pp. 274.
ascetism.\textsuperscript{68} Considering the very lowly place most of the elements represented in Sánchez Cotán’s \textit{bodegones}, the issue of his selecting those elements has been described as a \textit{tour de force} of his ability to capture the world around him, a testament of his technical virtuosity and that his paintings were more about seeing and painting, not about eating.\textsuperscript{69} If that was the case, the matter still remains unclear, for if it was only a display of ability he could have chosen anything to put his mastery to the test.\textsuperscript{70} It is then likely that given his religious predisposition and the fact that he did not include any quadrupeds in his compositions he was not oblivious to the religious precepts imposed by the church in alimentary matters, and his choices were determined by foods appropriate to Lent periods, which will be discussed further ahead in this chapter.

Most practitioners of the genre in seventeenth century Spain represented vegetables in their works, usually as part of a major composition which included other elements. On the other end of the food hierarchy, as pointed out by Cherry, the eating of fresh red meat was an arbiter of social status in the period, being the staple of wealthy tables, and its prominence in still lifes and genre paintings would have been meaningful in that regard.\textsuperscript{71} Mutton was the preferred meat, and from its popularity derives the phrase “olla de carnero, olla de caballero”. It was more expensive than veal, goat meat, beef or pork, which was the meat of the lower classes. Pork, however, was consumed ostentatiously as a symbol of Christianity, as opposed to Jews or Moors recently converted, as well as in the abundant types of sausages or chorizos eaten by most of the population. There are several paintings that include one or more kinds of meat, as is the case of Mateo Cerezo’s \textit{Still Life with Meat} (Fig. 20)

\begin{footnotes}
\item[68] Cherry, Peter. \textit{Arte y Naturaleza, El Bodegón Español en el Siglo de Oro}. Madrid, 1999. Pp. 27
\item[69] Jordan, William B. \textit{Spanish Still Life in the Golden Age}. Pp. 45
\item[70] There is also a stark difference between his painting styles when producing religious commissions and that of his still lifes. In the former he does not achieve the level of realism and finish as he does in the latter.
\item[71] Cherry, Peter. \textit{Arte y Naturaleza}. Madrid, 1999. Pp. 17
\end{footnotes}
Poultry was also extremely popular, with the most expensive bird being capons and pullets, and game birds were also widely consumed. At the lower end of society birds were only eaten on special occasions, and usually just chicken, while a great variety featured daily in well-to-do kitchens and tables. Furthermore, and following the strongly held idea that each social group had its appropriate food and that the general belief that considered high to be good and low to be bad, birds were considered the foods of kings and princes, and they ate many that today would be unthinkable as food. The whole range of birds available for consumption has been captured in Alejandro de Loarte’s La gallinera (Fig. 21). There are several other versions that feature poultry following the compositions of hanging elements such as the Valencian Tomás Yepes’ Still Life with Fowl and a Hare (Fig. 22).

In the 17th century, every part of the animals was eaten and offal was extremely popular, and was customarily eaten on Saturdays (días de grosura). They were common fare of the popular classes, but also greatly favoured by the higher end of society. The most appreciated were entrails, testicles, deboned heads and tongues, especially of mutton. It is not surprising that so many still lifes depict such products, including half-heads of sheep and goats, together with tongues, brains, entrails, giblets, lungs and feet. (Fig. 23)

Contrasting pairs of still lifes of food appropriate to Carnival and Lent are documented in the seventeenth century. Two large bodegones of Christmas and Lent are listed in the 1646 inventory of Don Álvaro de Posada y Mendoza. Also, in the Seville collection of Cristobal Coello in 1644, there where ‘ocho fruterías de quaresma y

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72 Valles Rojo, Julio, Cocina y Alimentación en los Siglos XVI y XVII. Pp. 238
74 Valles Rojo, Julio, Cocina y Alimentación en los Siglos XVI y XVII. Pp. 237
carnaval’. The church strived to balance ideas about hunger and satiation through the establishment of a religious calendar that favoured balance through opposition: contrasting Carnival with Lent and juxtaposing days of abstinence with days when meat could be eaten. The calendar was also recorded in contemporary cookbooks, as the aforementioned Libro del arte de cozina, by Diego Granado.77 As in the case of the previously mentioned bodegones by Sánchez Cotán, that represent foodstuffs that would have been considered appropriate for vigil days, there are several paintings that also attest to this aspect of Spanish eating habits. That is the case of still lifes depicting fish, eggs, and other appropriate products, such as Francisco Barrera’s Still life with fish (Fig. 24), or Alejandro de Loarte’s representation of the same subject matter (Fig. 25). In spite of the difficulty of transport and maintenance that the consumption of fish would entail, a wide variety of fish and seafood was available in seventeenth-century Spain – over 200 varieties have been documented from contemporary sources, consumed regularly to comply with the religious calendar of over 150 days of vigil per year.78 It is worth mentioning that fresh fish was the most expensive, attainable only by the richest households, the majority of consumers contenting themselves with dry or salted and soused fish as protein on vigil days. As so, the wide variety of fish represented in the still lifes mentioned above would have appealed to the costumers for whom fresh produce was available. Many paintings from the period show a stark contrast between the overhanging meat products and the vegetables usually placed on the bottom of the composition. That is the case of many a work by Loarte, as in his work Kitchen Still Life (Fig. 26).

77 The complete title of the book is Libro de arte de cozina, en el qual se contiene el modo de guisar y de comer en cualquier tiempo, así de carne como de pescados, para sanos, enfermos y convalecientes: así cde pasteles, tortas, y salsas, como de conservas al uso Español, Italiano y Tudesco de nuestros tiempos. It is noteworthy that the difference between meat days (días de carne) and fish days (días de pescado) is included from the title.

78 Valles Rojo, Julio, Cocina y Alimentación en los Siglos XVI y XVII. Pp. 242 - 247
Another aspect to consider when analysing still life production in the Golden Age is the ever-present manifestations in everyday life of abundance and scarcity, and its relevance for the production of the Spanish still life. Scarcity was widespread in seventeenth century Spain, and it affected not only the lower end of society, but it was also felt by royalty, nobility and gentry. For them, food certainly signified a means to ascertain their power and wealth. Also, writings of the time, including the aforementioned picaresque novel, highlight the preoccupation with poverty among the cultured elite.\textsuperscript{79} As stated by Jordan and Cherry, the Spanish Still lifes that most conspicuously celebrate the pleasures of food are the many examples that represent produce associated with a particular month or season.\textsuperscript{80} Barrera and Ponce were mostly responsible for a vogue in seasonal still lifes. The subject matter of Barrera’s paintings tends towards the everyday in the representation of ordinary, common foodstuffs in kitchen context.\textsuperscript{81} (Fig. 27) Cooked and prepared foods are sometimes represented, alongside others in a raw state, and comprise the ingredients of meals which were to be imagined by the viewer, including sometimes coveted spices, without which no meal suitable for the nobility could do without.\textsuperscript{82} It is more than likely that any contemporary viewer of a painting like Mateo Cerezo’s \textit{Kitchen Still Life} (Fig. 16) would have relished in anticipation of what would constitute all the ingredients of the popular seventeenth century dish ‘olla podrida’.\textsuperscript{83} This concoction, of which many recipes survive from contemporary cookbooks, was paramount to social feasting, as can be

\textsuperscript{79} Tiffany, Tanya J. \textit{Diego Velázquez’s early paintings and the culture of Seventeenth-century Seville}. Pp. 98.
\textsuperscript{81} Cherry, Peter. \textit{Arte y Naturaleza, El Bodegón Español en el Siglo de Oro}. Madrid, 1999. Pp. 104
\textsuperscript{82} Noble households overindulged in their consumption of spices and would even criticize one another if they were to attend a feast in which spices were not splurged on the many dishes served. Valles Rojo, Julio, \textit{Cocina y Alimentación en los Siglos XVI y XVII}. Pp. 131.
\textsuperscript{83} Translated as ‘rotten pot’, it doesn’t sound very appetizing, but it was indeed a favourite dish, from the royal table to the lowly kitchens of commoners. The difference was in proportion and range of foodstuffs used in its preparation.
attested from the many records of it featuring in both royal and aristocratic banquets.
(Appendix II)

Another author who thrived in recreating the bounty of nature and the abundance of a well-stocked kitchen and pantry, one where certainly only the most well-to-do would have access to is Antonio de Pereda. In a pair of still lifes painted in 1651, he represented an array of both cooked and raw foodstuffs. In the *Still life with vegetables*, (Fig. 28) there is a cauliflower studiously placed, surrounded by garlic and onions, to the right, and an *empanada*, a small piece of bread and fruit to the left. There is also a bunch of asparagus, and an assortment of tubercles and other vegetables. The objects represented have scarce value on themselves, but in a society marked by the strict contrast of those who could indulge in a varied and abundant meal on a regular basis and those who had to struggle to get enough to eat would have made one such plentiful array of food an attractive subject matter for the wealthy aristocrats and collectors who could afford both the food to be consumed in their households as the paintings that represent their wealth. Eating in excess was clearly a temptation to those who had a chance to do so and food was a very important means of display and a sign of status.84 It is also possible that the artist was trying to emulate northern compositions, highly valued in the court collections, by artists such as Frans Snyders or Jan Fyt.

On the other side of this contrast, there appears to have been a cultural trend of capturing the humble reality of urban poverty, also manifested in the popularity of the picaresque novel. It would appear, as Goodwin proposes in his doctoral dissertation, that Velázquez’s *bodegones* would have been examples of such a trend. Even though they were owned by powerful men such as the Duke of Alcalá and Juan de Fonseca y

Figueroa, they represent lowly foodstuffs, showing a marked shift away from the abundance of foodstuffs in the Netherlandish works, as can be seen in his kitchen scene with Christ in the House of Martha and Mary and the Supper at Emmaus. (Fig. 9 and 29) Also, the humble foodstuffs on display at Two men and a boy at table (Fig. 30), consisting of bread, fruit and a bowl of mussels, herring and pickled egg plant, present a striking contrast with what the well-off viewers would consider a plentiful meal. The author proposes that Velázquez’s genre scenes should be read as moralizing works, exhorting the viewer to moderation by positive example, in contrast to the negative example of the Dutch and Flemish works that influenced him.85 Elaborating on that idea, this author proposes a reading more in the line of an artist wanting to capture the other end of the scale, not dwelling in religious oriented moralizing purposes, but a reality in which food was not plentiful and people had to make do with what was at their disposal.

Sweets tradition – Frutas and la merienda

Fruit was the main raw material for desserts and confectionery. It was eaten by itself, to start and finish meals. It was also used to flavour water, made into marmalade or preserves, and candied, invariably with sugar, which substituted the honey of previous centuries as a sweetener.86 In its fresh state, it was a seasonal consumption, and it would appear that the favourite ones were grapes, oranges, melons, plums pomegranates, watermelons and sweet limes for the first service in a meal and apples, pears, cherries, and especially fruit jams and marmalades for dessert.87 A variety of fruit was mandatory for meals and feasts of the upper echelons of society, as can be seen in

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86 Valles Rojo, Julio. Cocina y Alimentación en los Siglos XVI y XVII. Pp. 64
87 Valles Rojo, Julio, Cocina y Alimentación en los Siglos XVI y XVII. Pp. 263
many expenditure records of the time, and even Philip II’s predilection for some varieties, melons in particular has become known through his letters to his daughters.  

Fruits feature prominently in the repertoire of most of the noted artists we have discussed thus far, such as in the works by Sánchez Cotán (Fig. 3), Juan Fernández El Labrador (Fig. 6), and Juan Van der Hamen y León (Fig. 17), amongst others, as well as in the many still lifes produced at the time, described as *lienzos de frutas*, in contemporary inventories. Fruits are also the main feature of one of the most renowned Spanish still lifes in the history of the genre, which is Francisco de Zurbarán’s *Still life with lemons, oranges and a rose*. (Fig. 31) A symbolic value has been ascribed to this painting by scholars like Roberto Longhi and Julian Gállego, who read it as homage to the Virgin, with citrons emblematic of faithfulness, the oranges and blossom of virginity and fecundity, respectively. The vessel of water symbolic of purity and the rose of divine love. The latter author, nevertheless, also acknowledges that the principal meaning of depicted fruit relates with the sense of Taste, and as previously discussed, oranges were favoured fruits, especially in the environs of the artist’s Seville. The plentiful displays of fruit are also relevant in the light of abundance and scarcity discussed in the previous entry.

The consumption of elaborate sweets was common at all European courts in the seventeenth century but was indulged particularly in the Spanish Court, where the custom of the *merienda*, like the English high tea, helped bridge the time before the late evening meal. Sweetmeats were habitually consumed in large quantities for dessert as well as in the *merienda*. The enthusiasm felt at court for these delights can be surmised

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89 Jordan, William B. *Spanish Still Life, from Velázquez to Goya*. Pp. 20;
from contemporary descriptions for such affairs. For instance, on the 15th of February of 1637, in a \textit{merienda} hosted at the San Bruno hermit in the Buen Retiro Palace, the trees surrounding the venue were heavily hung with candied fruit: oranges, pears, apples and even grapes.\footnote{A. Rodríguez Vela, quoted by Julián Gállego in \textit{Visión y Símbolos de la Pintura Española}. Pp. 201} On the other end of the scale, poorer households, especially in the countryside had to content themselves with fruits, cheese and olives.\footnote{Cherry, Peter. \textit{Arte y Naturaleza, El Bodegón Español en el Siglo de Oro}. Pp. 17} Even though some pastries were eaten by all classes in Spain, such as the \textit{barquillos}, the abundance and variety of the sweetmeats depicted in the Spanish \textit{bodegón} are those representing the eating habits of a wealthy table, that of the aristocracy. Juan Van der Hamen was famous as a painter of still lifes with confectionary and sweetmeats, which were a central feature of courtly consumption in the period.\footnote{Cherry, Peter. \textit{Arte y Naturaleza, El Bodegón Español en el Siglo de Oro}. Pp. 85} Many of his paintings include one or more elements of what would constitute a \textit{merienda} or \textit{agasajo}, usually comprised by candied fruit, marzipan, \textit{turrones} and sweet and savoury pastries, accompanied by the fashionable chocolate or spiced water. This can be clearly seen in two of his traditional compositions (Fig. 32 and 33) It was such the appreciation for this sweet products, that they feature prominently in most of the culinary books of the time, as well as in the specialized cookbooks, produced by the confectionary guilds or in Miguel de Baeza’s \textit{Los quatro libros del arte de la confitería}, printed in 1592.\footnote{Moyano, Isabel. \textit{La cocina escrita}. Pp. 24 - 25} It was such the social regard they had amongst the aristocracy, ladies in particular, that they made it a habit of having their guests take some with them after their visits as a sign of hospitality and appreciation. As will be seen in the following chapter, this sweets where
commonly represented amongst luxury objects, also underlining their social significance.96

Outside the courtly circles of Madrid, but nevertheless influenced by Van der Hamen, Tomás Yepes’ *bodegones* abound in pastries, *bizcochos, empanadas*, and all kinds of delicacies listed in cookbooks of the time (Fig. 34). Valencia was, and still is, famous for its productions of sweets. It is especially significant that the artist’s sister, Vicenta Yepes, owned a confectionary shop in Valencia, from where Tomás might have had access to all the sweets, *turrónes*, and wafers typical of his compositions. In his *Still life with Baskets of Nuts and Wafers* we can see some of these elements (Fig. 35). The presence of the shield of Valencia in one of the wafers and the *turrón* in the silver platter suggest a Levantine origin for this work, typical of Hiepes’ early style.97 Wafers, for instance, were popular throughout Spain, and they were accompanied by the popular aromatic drink *aloja*, made with water, honey and spices. *Buñuelos*, another delicacy popular at the time, consisting of fried dough, were a favourite of even the royal family.98 Paintings with sweetmeats, paired with luxury objects, discussed in depth in the following chapter, can therefore be seen as claims to social status.

In Seville, a city which followed a different path in the development of the genre, that of Velázquez’s early *bodegones*, or the aforementioned still lifes by Francisco de Zurbarán’s with a hint of spirituality, the fashionable trend of genteel toned still lifes would eventually catch up, and by 1640 the latter’s son Juan would produce works that capture the custom of *la merienda*, more specifically, that in which the drinking of chocolate was the main feature. In his *still life with chocolate service*,

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96 Information presented by Dr. Peter Cherry in his conference *Keeping up with appearances*. Spanish Still Life of the Golden Age, held on April 25, 2013
the artist chose to display the accoutrements of the fashionable refreshment of drinking chocolate and would therefore have exercised a powerful worldly appeal for contemporary viewers (Fig. 36). The contact with the New World had immediate repercussions in Spanish kitchens. Initially, foodstuffs brought back were high-priced novelty items. Chocolate is perhaps the best known of these. Originally a sacred drink in Central America, it maintained its position of importance in Europe. It was a costly item to begin with, and the recipes for making it palatable were highly guarded secrets.99

As has been discussed in this chapter, foodstuffs and eating practices constitute powerful devices for the construction of identity and delimitation of social hierarchies.100 The representation of food and foodways can be compared with what was really going on in the actual kitchens and eating-houses of early modern Spain, and by focusing on the individual works by comparing them to the social context that they represent, and also examining the relationship between society and its representation in art we have been able to establish the social significance of the food represented.101 Food and foodways are defining social symbols that are affected by tradition and environment and are very significant cultural indicators.102 It is however undeniable that, despite the austere pictorial formats of many Spanish still lifes, these often contain high-status and appetizing foodstuffs which would gave sorely tempted the taste buds of

contemporaries. The content of these pictures makes it likely that they strongly appealed to viewers as a celebration of some of the basic pleasures of life.\textsuperscript{103}

\textsuperscript{103} Cherry, Peter. \textit{Arte y Naturaleza}. Madrid, 1999. Pp. 18
Chapter 4 - Objects in Spanish still lifes of the Golden Age, a reflection on Material Culture

The objects represented in Spanish still lifes are identified and described in scholarly sources as well as exhibition catalogues, but they haven’t yet been fully analyzed in the context of still life production as a response to a demand catering to the taste of Spanish 17th century society. From luxury items like Chinese porcelain, Venetian glassware or costly metal work, to Mexican pottery considered exotic by collectors at the time; or local produced ceramics from Talavera and the more humble earthenware vessels common in Andalucía, the objects represented in still-life images provide a fascinating record of Spanish material culture at the time.

It is the purpose of this chapter to look into these items, both as in their own relation to the society that produced them, as well as their meaning as being chosen for representation in the Spanish bodegón. It is not possible in the scope of this work to carry out an in depth analysis of the entire production, but it is possible to establish certain trends that represent the relationship between the artists production, their choices of objects for their compositions and the collector’s taste and requirements when patronizing or buying still lifes. To do so, this author proposes to divide this chapter into three subcategories, following the description of the evolution of the genre in its main centres of production and the collecting culture that developed around them described in the previous chapters. As such, we will start with the production catering the courtly taste for luxury in Madrid, around Juan van der Hamen and Antonio de Pereda. This will be followed by the analysis of a second tier of lesser quality production, including the work in Valencia of Tomás Yepes; as well as a brief analysis of the bodegones de cocina and pintura ordinaria, which portray a less luxurious reality in the first case and a more aspirational type in the second. Finally, this chapter will end with the study of
the genre scenes produced in Seville, by some of the most noted artist of the Spanish Golden Age: Diego Velázquez and Francisco Zurbarán. They include in their compositions humble objects for everyday life and activities.

A taste for luxury – Still life painting at the court

As the court and seat of government since 1561, when Philip II moved his court from Toledo to Madrid, the new capital of sorts was a thriving and eclectic place, populated by talented and ambitious professionals, merchants and emissaries from all over Europe. Revolving around the person of the king, life at court was propelled by the aristocracy, many of whom erected palaces of their own during the reign of Philip III, and began collecting on a grand scale and with international scope, both in terms of luxury and curious objects from around the globe as in paintings to decorate their dwelling.104 The cosmopolitan taste of the capital created a widespread demand of objects of art from practically everywhere. An avalanche of foreign products arrived through the ports in Seville during this era.105 They included salt-glazed stoneware jars from Germany, mayólica and glassware from Genoa, Montelupo and Venice, porcelain from China and ceramics from the New World. During the seventeenth century the concept of luxury and interior decoration was further developed. Villas and palaces became elegant places for social events, and their proprietors converted their sitting rooms, patios, studies and assembly rooms into comfortable spaces where balls, official receptions and banquets were held.106 It was in this atmosphere that Juan Van der Hamen y León started producing still lifes that catered to the courtly taste for luxury.107

This artist was acutely aware of the prestige and prices some Flemish works

107 Imported genre paintings were more popular that still lifes among aristocratic collectors at the early stages of the development of the genre, and even further ahead as the century progressed, Spaniards preferred Flemish and Dutch still lifes.
commanded at court, and occasionally responded to this taste for «lo flamenco» in his own still-life paintings. Some of his works from the early 1620s are highly finished and richer in detail, which suggests that his treatment of subject matter was also conditioned by such factors as the destination and visibility of paintings as well as their prices. Van der Hamen would have been all too aware of the decorative use of still life paintings, which were frequently hung over doors and windows, as well as forming decorative series of similar type pictures. His still life painting decorated some of the best homes in the capital, those of the aristocracy, gentlemen courtiers and royal officials. The genteel tone of many of his subject matters including glassware and luxury items may have derived from the imported Flemish works. Certainly, some of Van der Hamen’s luxury subject matter is often more suitable to the serving table (aparador) that the kitchen, and includes gold objects, imported porcelain, ormolu-mounted bowls and elaborate glassware.

Ever since the Renaissance, possession of Venetian glass was regarded as a sign of wealth and sophistication. The courts of the Hapsburgs, Europe’s most powerful family in the 16th century acquired large amounts of fashionable Venetian glass. As Alice Wilson phrases it, to all sixteenth-century Europe there was magic in the words ‘Venetian Glass’, and the craze for this kind of Murano glass can be compared only with a corresponding vogue for Chinese porcelains. In the 17th century, through processes of appropriation and adaptation of Venetian models and techniques, Spain established its own workshops in Catalonia and Castile, wares from the former being

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108 Cherry, Peter. Arte y Naturaleza. Pp. 76
109 Cherry, Peter. Arte y Naturaleza. Pp. 77
110 Cherry, Peter. Arte y Naturaleza. Pp. 77
111 Cherry, Peter. Arte y Naturaleza. Pp. 84
112 Cherry, Peter. Arte y Naturaleza. Pp. 85
the most sought after for their harmonious proportions and refined ornament.\(^{116}\) (Fig. 40) Those wares became collector’s items in aristocratic and cultured circles, as well as new symbols of prestige, and were displayed on their private apartments alongside the most refined works in precious metals and gemstones.\(^{117}\) As so, the Ornate Venetian-style glasses, known as façon de Venise are important in setting the socially elevated tone of Van der Hamen’s still lifes. (Fig. 41) The largest and most important components of this glassware consist of goblets and dessert stands with a conventional three-part structure and a boundless variety of forms.\(^{118}\) In the wealthy homes of Spain, Venetian-style glasses from many sources ornamented dining-room buffets and were arranged in shelves and table tops together with the family’s costliest silver plates.\(^{119}\)

Other than the transparent glassware of that type, Van der Hamen seems to have favoured another Venetian glassware element. This is a green glazed ormolu-mounted vessel, alternately used as a vase or a bowl. (Fig. 42 and 43) The recycling of motifs in different still-life paintings was standard practice by the time of Van der Hamen, who freely transposed arrangements and parts of arrangements from one still life to another.\(^{120}\) The green glazed ormolu-mounted fruit bowl was a recurrent motif, which became something of a trademark of the artist’s painting.\(^{121}\)

Porcelain arrived in Europe from the Far East from as early as the fourteenth century, and by the early sixteenth century commercial trade circuits were established first by the Portuguese and later by the Dutch. Also, Spain established a trade route through ships known as Manila galleons to supply with this much sought after product.

121 According to Cherry, Van der Hamen owned silver vessels and plates, although neither glasswares nor ormolu receptacles were listed in the inventory of his home in 1631. Some luxury objects which appear in his paintings may have been based on printed sources. Cherry, Peter. *Arte y Naturaleza.* 1999. Pp. 78
in the Iberian Peninsula. The extraordinary attractiveness of these porcelain objects, with their exquisite subtle finishes, provoked a continuous wellspring of imitations in different places in Europe. (Fig. 42) Owners of these items gained a halo of social prestige, supported both by the indisputable aesthetic beauty of the objects and the exorbitant prices demanded for them in the market place. In both Europe and China, Chinese ceramics further appeared as subjects in other works of art or designs, such as motifs or props in paintings, a phenomenon that universally demonstrated their value as symbols: of wealth, connoisseurship abilities and communication.\textsuperscript{122} As such, they found their way into Spanish still-life production of the Golden Age, as can be seen on the paintings by Van der Hamen. (Fig. 4 and 45)

Small red clay vessels which first appear in his still lifes seem to have been Mexican imports or exotica and became very popular in still life paintings from the 1630s.\textsuperscript{123} Some authors have attributed the allure of the purchase of these objects to their mysterious origins as well as their unfamiliar forms and properties.\textsuperscript{124} Mesoamerican red earthenware was modelled by hand and manually polished. (Fig. 46)

They were mainly produced in the environs of the city of Guadalajara, in a small town called Tonalá.\textsuperscript{125} Ceramics manufacturing in the Americas in accordance with the Western standards was centred on products for the secular world. These objects were incorporated into collections of connoisseurs who generally either had close blood ties with Spanish nobility or had travelled as ambassadors or special envoys for their monarchs and had become fascinated by exotic customs and artefacts.\textsuperscript{126} Besides their charm as objects of exotism, they were appreciated for their organoleptic properties,

\textsuperscript{122} Pierson, Stacey. \textit{Chinese Ceramics: A Design History}. Pp. 103
\textsuperscript{123} Cherry, Peter. \textit{Arte y Naturaleza}. 1999. Pp. 85
\textsuperscript{125} Farwell, Robin. \textit{Cerámica y Cultura. The Story of Spanish and Mexican Mayólica}. 2003. Pp. 188
\textsuperscript{126} Farwell, Robin. \textit{Cerámica y Cultura. The Story of Spanish and Mexican Mayólica}. Pp. 189
derived from the type of clay used in their manufacture, that is, their ability to exude a pleasing aroma and impart a special taste to the water stored within them.\textsuperscript{127} Gavin goes as far as stating that this kind of ware was held in the highest esteem and Tonalá vessels were exhibited as cherished trophies, symbols of discriminating taste and refinement.\textsuperscript{128} Such items in Van der Hamen’s paintings endow them with an urbane and modish quality.\textsuperscript{129} (Fig. 47) They also appear in several paintings by contemporary or later artists, such as Francisco de Palacios. (Fig. 48)

Another author who was documented in Madrid and Toledo between 1612 and 1626 and would have picked up on Van der Hamen’s model is Juan Bautista de Espinosa. One of his paintings, \textit{Still Life with Silver Gilt Salvers} (Fig. 49), now part of the Masaveu Collection in Spain, gives us a unique glimpse of domestic opulence of the period.\textsuperscript{130} The metal work is probably of Spanish design and production. The central piece in which the multi-lobed cup rests is a fine example of \textit{salva}, one of the most represented pieces of tableware in Spanish still lifes. Another recurrent piece is the \textit{flamenquilla}, present on many of the \textit{bodegones} and used as a support for delicate fruit, sweets and confectionery, as in Van der Hamen’s \textit{Still Life with Fruit Bowl and Sweetmeats}. (Fig. 17) The glass vessels in Espinosa’s painting are also examples of the aforementioned \textit{façon de Venise} glass.

This trend to produce high quality still lifes depicting costly objects was taken to its peak by one of the greatest still life painters of his generation, Antonio de Pereda. The best example of his work in this sense is the \textit{Still life with Sweets, Vessels and...
Ebony chest, of 1651, now in the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg (Fig. 50), and its companion Still life with Shells and a clock (Fig. 5), both painted in 1652. The first painting showcases expensive tableware, carefully chosen and arranged in its composition and some objects that can be considered collectors pieces. It might have been that the setting recalls the custom of the nobleman, from as early as the fifteenth century, to exhibit his wealth and thus his social status, in front of his guests, by decorating the room where the formal meal took place with tapestries, carpets and a credenza, placed against the wall and used to exhibit the collections of the host, such as gold or silver pieces, crystal objects, ivory boxes and lusterware amongst others. It also is one of many paintings in which furniture has a prominent place. It is of the fashionable type in the Spanish High Baroque. (Fig. 51) In this piece we also see a fine example of local maiolica production, a two handled Talavera vase. As early as the seventeenth century in Spain, the name Talavera, after the Spanish ceramics centre located in the town of Talavera de la Reina, also became synonymous with tin-glazed pottery. Talavera maiolica was fashioned in several grades to serve different levels of society. It was both quickly fashioned for wide appeal and more carefully executed for selected costumers, as in the case of the present example. The second painting also displays luxury objects, recalling perhaps the subject matter of Northern pronk (ostentation) still lifes. (Fig. 52)

Some authors have disregarded the importance of the objects depicted in Spanish still lifes of the period. Norman Bryson, for instance, states that unlike the Dutch still lifes, Spanish bodegones do not tend to see in the objects depicted a source of value for

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Nevertheless, for everything discussed so far, it would appear that the luxurious or exotic objects would have been a claim to social status. It would seem that the conscious choice by the artists for objects that would form their compositions had to do with putting social status and social aspirations on display. That seems to be true for both the objects themselves, which were subject of avid collecting by the high echelons of society at the time, as for the pictures that capture said objects, for display as visual statements of wealth and standing. The symbolism of owning luxury wares, extended to the paintings representing those wares would have than had a differentiating quality for their proprietors.

**Bodegones de cocina and Painting in Eastern Spain– capturing reality or aspirational models**

There is a second tier of production and collection of *bodegones* in and around the courtly circles of Madrid. A boom in still-life painting was fuelled by the fashionable activity of picture collecting from the beginning of the 1630s and by the middle of the century still life was a staple product of many of the rank and file of painters in Madrid. Among them emerged Francisco Barrera, Antonio Ponce and Juan Espinosa. Considered by most scholars as minor artists, the quality of their work lifted their *oeuvre* above the level of the mass-produced painting (*pintura ordinaria*) that appears to have been the norm at the time. They took advantage of the increased demand for pictures of fruits and flowers and addressed a large part of their practices to create series of the seasons and the months, as well as straightforward still lifes. Diffusion of taste for such pictures from the aristocracy and elite to the middle class,

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created a bigger, less exacting demand on the part of the public. The genre was frequently aimed at the popular market. Compared to the courtly tone of some of Van der Hamen’s paintings, the subject matter of Barrera’s still lifes tends towards the everyday in the representation of ordinary, common foodstuffs and wares in kitchen context. (Fig. 53 and 54). These paintings sometimes represent a special type of bottle, used as a cooler for water, wine, and other beverages that were better served chilled. They are bottles with a spherical body and a long and narrow neck, as the one captured in Mateo Cerezo’s Kitchen Still Life. (Fig. 55)

Antonio Ponce followed more closely the style of his teacher and uncle Juan Van der Hamen, and he would often include one or more motifs used in the still lifes by of the latter. (Fig. 56) He would also produce bodegones de cocina, a type of painting set in a kitchen, scenes that stepped away from the genteel tone of Van der Hamen’s production (Fig. 57). These would include objects and elements for everyday use and activities, and as such, of a far less luxurious nature.

In Juan de Espinosa’s still lifes, on the other hand, fruit is often combined with exotic articles, such as seashells and imported, fanciful terracotta pottery. (Fig. 58) His would be a type of work appealing to the upper-middle class, and the inclusion of said objects, such as the Mexican Tonalá red earthenware vessels, could in that light be considered aspirational, as the majority of the potential costumers could afford the painting but in all likelihood didn’t possess the object.

Still-life painting in Valencia did not begin to flourish until the 1640s, and when it did, it closely followed the courtly trends of still-life paintings which include costly, exotic and luxurious items as part of their repertoire, but also reflecting a different way.

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of life from that of the court. The most important artist in this centre of production is Tomás Yepes, who in his production includes luxurious Chinese porcelain, or the European version of it from Delft, costly metalwork and glassware, and ebony and ivory chests of drawers or escritorios.\footnote{Jordan, William B. and Peter Cherry. Spanish Still Life, from Velázquez to Goya. London, 1995. Pp. 120} (Fig.59)

Household dishes and the expectable assortment of unglazed receptacles for the lower classes went almost unaltered into the 17\textsuperscript{th} century. Other ceramic objects common at this time were those meant to add pleasure to the personal lives of the segment of society that had advanced beyond mere subsistence. Prominent among them were various kinds of containers for plants and flowers with which to beautify drab dwelling places.\footnote{Page, Jutta-Anette. Beyond Venice. Glass in Venetian Style, 1500 – 1750. Pp. 153} This type of wares was commonly employed by Yepes, in compositions depicting the corners of gardens, with paved terraces and flower beds planted with flowers.\footnote{Jordan, William B. and Peter Cherry. Spanish Still Life, from Velázquez to Goya. London, 1995. Pp. 121} (Fig. 60)

As stated by Jordan, it is clear from documentary records that there were collectors who had a particular predilection for still-life painting. The informative inventories of the collections of Domingo de Soria Arteaga, a royal accountant, and Francisco Merchant de la Cerda, from 1644 and 1662 respectively, reveal their enthusiasm for the genre.\footnote{From Jordan, William B. The Spanish Bodegón of the Golden Age. 1985. Pp. 27} There are also several unattributed paintings that appear frequently in the art market, whose authorship and provenance are difficult, if not impossible to establish. These lesser quality works, which account for what at the time was known as pintura ordinaria also frequently depict objects of different kinds, perhaps following the models of the fashionable and more prominent artists. It was
perhaps in these cases that the luxurious objects portrayed where out of the reach of the original owners of the paintings, but they would nevertheless recognize their value.

**El bodegón – objects in everyday life**

Painting of still life as a genre started later in Seville than it did in Toledo or the courtly centres of Castille. In this coastal city, Diego Velazquez and Francisco Zurbarán, two of the most renowned masters of the Spanish Golden Age, tried their hand at depicting common scenes of ordinary life in compositions with elements of still life and figures, in what today is known as the *bodegón*. As stated previously, the term refers to its early definition as the basement or low portal, within which is a cellar where he who does not have anyone to cook for him can find a meal, and with it a drink. As Page has stated, the at least thirty to forty oil paintings produced by those masters, as well as their country man Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, who painted only religious themes incorporating ceramics as props, are the most revealing documentation for the continuation of the simple Muslim-style white maiolica production well into the seventeenth century. Some renditions are of unglazed or lead-glazed objects, but most are the white maiolica domestic dishes that had epitomized Sevillian manufacture for at least two centuries.¹⁴⁵

*Aguadores* still employed the ageless bulging jars and drinking bowls of the past as they peddled river water to thirsty townsfolk.¹⁴⁶ This historical tradition is captured in Velázquez masterpiece, *The Waterseller of Seville* (fig. 61). It is relevant however, that amongst the bulging jars and common vessels the artist chose to include a refined *cristallo* or *vetro cristallino a la façon de Venise*. Tradition usually describes the dark rounded element inside the glass as a fig, representing the common use of fruit to

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refresh the water. Recent scholarship however has determined that the rounded shape is in fact part of the glass, a glass bulb of dark green colour shaped as an inverted pear at the bottom of the glass.\textsuperscript{147} (Fig. 62) It was perhaps the artist’s intention to capture the excitement that this type of glass generated to the public in general, or it was an ingenious way to include a luxurious element to please the patron for whom this work was destined. The rest of his production generally portrays less refined pieces of glass or ceramic, more suitable to a popular contemporary environment. That is the case of his aforementioned \textit{Two men at table}, where the glass depicted is a typical Andalusian \textit{Garrafilla}, probably produced in Castril de la Peña in Granada for domestic use (Fig. 63). Street vendors still cooked foods on timeless clay pots over portable earthenware braziers, as represented in another of Velazquez’s early production, \textit{Old woman frying eggs}, now in the National Gallery in Scotland (Fig. 64).\textsuperscript{148} This painting also displays Spanish maiolica production, but in this case the bowl corresponds to everyday wares for kitchens known as \textit{loza común}. (Fig. 65)

Zurbarán, as well as other artists of the time usually employed details of still life elements in their religious paintings, when they served the purpose of their narrative, especially when representing biblical feasts. His oeuvre of purely still lifes is not vast, but his interest and skill in depicting everyday objects can be traced to his religious works. That is the case of \textit{The miracle of St. Hugo in the Refectory}, (Fig. 66) which displays 17\textsuperscript{th} century \textit{loza traditional}, as well as Chinese export ware (Fig. 67). On the other hand, one of his best known works and one of the few pure still lifes produced by the artist, is his \textit{Still Life with Four Vessels} (Fig. 68). It would appear that the artist produced this iconic masterpiece while in the capital, and this would therefore account

\textsuperscript{147} Amongst which are Peter Cherry and José María Fernández, who recently published a comprehensive book on the glass in the paintings of El Prado. \textit{El Vidrio en la Pintura del Museo Nacional del Prado}. Pp. 69-71
for the choice of more luxurious or exotic objects chosen for this composition. That is also the case of his son Juan, who chose more genteel subject matters, as in his *Still Life with Chocolate Service*, with its Chinese export porcelain, a silver pitcher and a white faïence one. (Fig. 36) This perhaps closes the circle we started with Van der Hamen, covering the whole spectrum of objects chosen by artists of the Spanish Golden Age to represent in their paintings, and as such, leaving testimony of the things around them, things that for one reason or another were immortalized in their canvases.
Chapter 5 - Conclusion

Throughout history, man has strived to capture the world around him by different means. Painting is one of the highest forms of artistic expression and it constitutes an invaluable graphical documentary resource of the uses, customs and fashions of the elements represented in a given time or place. As stated by Berger, still-lifes have been deliberately designed before the painting process commences. They have been arranged in compositions on tables or ledges, and they are made up by objects that interest, or in some way move the artist. That intention would certainly have to do with the artist’s interest in testing his skill at rendering the different textures and surfaces of the objects and foodstuffs represented. However, it would be naive to put aside other considerations, such as the taste and requirements of their patrons and clients. By shifting the focus of the analysis; from the artists, their techniques and the painting themselves, to the objects and foodstuffs they represented; this author has presented a new perspective to put in context the still life production in the Golden Age of Spain.

It has been established in this dissertation that the collection of paintings constituted a generalized practice for the nobility, aristocratic circles and well-to-do patrons in seventeenth-century Spain. All of whom wished to decorate their houses through this endeavour and at the same time reinforce their stature through the wealth of their collections. Although the bodegón was considered a minor genre, its popularity has been proven by its inclusion in most contemporary inventories, as well as in the fact that some of the most renowned artists of the time tried their hand at creating this type of work. It has also been stated that members of a lower stratum also indulged in the practice of acquiring paintings to decorate their houses, following the taste and fashion

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established by the higher echelons of society, thus promoting the development of a lesser quality production or *pintura ordinaria*, generally produced by specialist of the genre.

As has been discussed throughout this dissertation, food and foodways are defining social symbols and significant cultural indicators. By comparing the representation of food in the different works analyzed with the broader context of social attitudes towards food itself, this author has been able to determine to what extent the still life production of the Golden Age represent eating habits and preferences towards the subject matter. For a noble or aristocratic patron of the seventeenth century, the output of the kitchen itself, together with the kind of painting representing expensive food in abundance were a demonstration of prosperity, and would have had the double purpose of decorating said patron’s dwelling as well as a means to impress his status upon his visitors. Even though the repertoire of foodstuffs generally present in the Spanish *bodegón* does not include the wide range of prepared foods eaten at the time – collected in contemporary cookbooks – it has been amply demonstrated throughout this dissertation how the genre does represent most of the products available for consumption at the time, as well as the eating habits regarding Carnival and Lent and the Spanish mindset in matters of abundance and scarcity. The significance of food as a representation of luxury and social status has been fully discussed regarding *la merienda* and the consumption of fruit and sweetmeats by the higher strata of society, ascertaining the relevance of the inclusion of such products in the Spanish production of still lifes in the Golden Age.

This author has also demonstrated how the objects collected by the courtly circles had a social significance. Whether for their artistic or aesthetic value, their exotic provenance or their prestige; items such as Venetian glassware, Chinese porcelain,
Mexican pottery or local metalware and expensive furniture were all claims to social status and had an inherent social identification value. From those luxury objects, present in paintings of a genteel tone catering for the nobility, to the most common wares depicted in the second tier of Spanish still-life painting – sometimes together with costly items, perhaps suggesting an aspirational social value – to the lowliest more humble wares present in genre scenes, namely in Seville, we could surmise that there is a symbolical value given by the relation between material culture and popular consumption, both by themselves and by their representation in painting. The glassware, ceramics, metalwork and furniture studied tell a story and had the capacity to mark social history and identity in place and time. The choices the artists made when devising their compositions and including specific objects in them can hardly be considered fortuitous, and as such they represent a veritable record of the social significance of objects in the Spanish Golden Age.

Although some scholars, as Neil MacGregor, director of the National Gallery – London, have suggested that the objects and foodstuffs shown are usually of little inherent value, that there is no story, often not even a symbolic significance, given all we have said about the food and objects and their representation in painting in the Spanish Golden Age, we would argue that the statement does not hold true.\textsuperscript{150} Without disregarding the appreciation of still lifes for their decorative purposes, if both food and objects had a social significance, it stands to reason that the same significance holds true of their represented form in the Spanish \textit{Bodegón}.

Dissertation word count: 13522.

\textsuperscript{150} In the Foreword of \textit{Spanish Still Life from Velázquez to Goya.}, by William B. Jordan and Peter Cherry. London, 1995
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Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas. Madrid, España. General Collections
Illustrations

Figure 1

Reconstruction of a seventeenth-century estrado
Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas. Madrid

In the seventeenth century, the estrado was a room where visits were received, especially by the lady of the house. It was decorated by objects, furniture and paintings, whose rarity and value bared witness to the wealth and standing of the family.

In the lower part there were usually display cabinets with a variety of decorative objects called bujerías, including devotional pictures, curiosities from the Far East and the New World, silverware and expensive pieces of furniture.

From Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas.
Picture taken on September 24, 2013.
Figure 2

Michele Regolia. *Interior of a Neapolitan drawing room decorated in the Spanish style.*
Mid seventeenth century
Naples, Colección Pisan,

Although this is a room in Naples, it is aptly used by the National Museum of Decorative Arts in Madrid to illustrate the furnishing and decoration of an interior in Spanish style.

Despite the relative lack of detail regarding the physical characteristics of the pictorial decoration, notarial inventories suggest that the paintings in Spanish seventeenth-century private houses were often hung very densely.

From Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas. *Recorridos, Las casas señoriales en la España del XVII.*
*Salas 2.2 a 2.* Madrid, 2007
Juan Sánchez Cotán. *Quince, Cabbage, Melon, and Cucumber*. c. 1600
Oil on canvas, 69 x 85 cm.
San Diego, San Diego Museum of Art.
Juan Van der Hamen y León. *Still-Life with Artichokes and Vases of Flowers.* Signed and dated, lower right: *Ju vander Hammen fuit, /1627.*
Oil on canvas, 81.5 x 110.5 cm.
Madrid, Naseiro Collection.

This extraordinary still life belonged originally to the great private collection formed during the reign of Philip IV, that of the 1st Marqués de Leganés, who had served the crown in both Flanders and Italy before returning to Madrid.

This painting showcases Venetian-style glassware and Chinese export porcelain.

Figure 5

Figure 6

Juan Fernández, el Labrador. *Cuatro racimos de uvas colgando*. c. 1630.
Oil on Canvas, 45 x 61 cm.
Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.
Figure 7

Mateo Cerezo, *Still life with Fish*. Signed *Matheo Zerezo Fec. 1664*

Oil on Canvas 79 x 102 cm.

México City, Museo Nacional de San Carlos.
Francisco Barrera, *The Month of May*. c. 1640 - 45
Oil on Canvas, 102 x 155 cm
Bratislava, Slovak National Gallery.
Figure 9

Diego Velázquez. *Kitchen scene with Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*. c. 1618
Oil on Canvas 60 x 103.5 cm.
London, National Gallery.
Tomás Yepes. *Still Life with ciders, cooked poultry and pastries.* c. 1668
Oil on Canvas, 102 x 157 cm
Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.
Figure 11

Juan Sánchez Cotán. *Still Life with Vegetables and Fruits.* c. 1603
Oil on Canvas, 69.5 x 95.5 cm.
Madrid, Private Collection
Figure 12

Juan Sánchez Cotán. *Still-Life with Carrots and Cardoon*. c. 1603
Oil on Canvas, 62 x 82 cm.
Granada, Museo de Bellas Artes
Juan Sánchez Cotán, *Still Life with Game and Fowl.* c. 1603
Oil on Canvas, 67.8 x 88.7 cm.
Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago.
Juan Sánchez Cotán. *Still Life with Hamper of Cherries and Basket of Apricots*. c. 1600
Oil on Canvas
Madrid, Private Collection.
Diego Velázquez. *Kitchen scene with Christ in the House of Martha and Mary. (Detail)* c.1618
Oil on Canvas 60 x 103.5 cm.
London, The National Gallery
Figure 16

Mateo Cerezo, *Kitchen Still Life*. c. 1660 – 75
Oil on Canvas, 100 x 127 cm.
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
Figure 17

Juan Van der Hamen y León. *Still Life with Fruit Bowl and Sweetmeats.* c. 1621
Oil on Canvas, 82 x 124 cm.
Madrid, Banco de España.
Figure 18

Bartolome Esteban Murillo, *Kitchen of the Angels*, 1649
Oil on Canvas 180 x 450 cm
Paris, Musée du Louvre.
Juan Sánchez Cotán. *Still Life with Game Fowl, Vegetables and Fruits*. C. 1603
Oil on Canvas, 68 x 89 cm.
Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.
Figure 20

Mateo Cerezo, *Kitchen Still Life with Meat*. c. 1664
Oil on Canvas, 79 x 97 cm.
México City, Museo Nacional de San Carlos.
Alejandro de Loarte. *Poultry Vendor*. 1626
Oil on Canvas, 162 x 130 cm.
Madrid, Private Collection.
Tomás Yepes. *Still Life with Fowl and a Hare*. 1643.
Oil on Canvas, 67 x 96 cm.
Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.
Francisco Barrera. *Still Life with Meat, Fruit and Vegetables (The Month of April)* c.1640
Oil on Canvas, 101.5 x 156 Fragmentary Signature lower-right.
Private Collection
Figure 24

Francisco Barrera, *Still Life with Fish*. c. 1640
Oil on Canvas.
Private collection.
Alejandro de Loarte  *Still Life with Fish.* c. 1625
Oil on Canvas
Private collection.
Alejandro de Loarte. *Kitchen Still Life*.
Oil on Canvas, 81 x 108 cm. Fdo. +Alejandro de Loarte / fat. 1625
Madrid, Private collection
Oil on Canvas
Private collection
Antonio de Pereda. *Still Life with Vegetables*. Signed and dated on ledge at left *PEREDA. F./1651*
Oil on Canvas, 74.5 x 143 cm.
Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga
Figure 29

Diego Velázquez. *Supper at Emmaus*. c. 1620
Oil on canvas, 55 x 118 cm
Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland.
Diego Velázquez. *Two Men at Table*. c.1617
Oil on canvas, 107 x 101 cm.
St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.
Figure 31

Francisco de Zurbarán. *Still-life with Lemons, Oranges and Rose*. 1633
Oil on Canvas, 60 x 107 cm.
Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum
Figure 32

Juan Van der Hamen y León. *Still Life with Sweets*. 1621
Oil on Canvas, 37 x 49 cm.
Private Collection
Juan Van der Hamen y León. *Still Life with Basket of Sweets.* 1622
Oil on Canvas, 84 x 105 cm
Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado
Tomás Yepes. *Still Life with Sweets.* c. 1640
Oil on Canvas
Private Collection
Tomás Yepes. *Still Life with Baskets of Nuts and Wafers*. c.1640
Oil on Canvas 66 x 95 cm.
Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

The Chinese export cups, a silver pitcher and another of white faïence, a Mexican gourd bowl, a chocolate mill and a spoon are represented in this still life.

Osias Beert. *Still Life with oysters*, Signed *O. Beert F.*
Oil on canvas, 43.5 x 54 cm
Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.
Juan Van der Hamen y León. *Still Life with Basket of Fruit and jars*. c.1620.
Oil on canvas, 50 x 82 cm
Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum Schone Kunsten.
The serving table or *aparador* is a subject treated by Van der Hamen on several occasions in the early part of his career. The dominant feature of the composition is the table spread with a white damask cloth. There are fine pieces of Talavera bowls, metalwork and *façon de Venise* glassware.

Façon de Venise Spanish Footed Bowl, 17th C
H: 8.7cm

A small Spanish Façon de Venise footed bowl possibly from Catalonia, of straw-tint. The bowl is straight-sided with rounded base applied with six scroll handles of alternating colours, above a spreading foot with bulbous collar and folded rim. This bowl may have had a lid.
Juan Van der Hamen y León. *Still life with sweets and glassware*. 1622.
Oil on canvas, 52 x 88cm
Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Painted as an overdoor, this still life is identified in the inventories of the royal collection from 1702 on. The crystals at each end of the composition are a fine example of the *façon de Venise* glassware collected at the time. The one on the far right constitute an exceptional sample, for the originality of its design, the round fluted flask, with its pronounced flared peak,

From Jordan, William B. and Peter Cherry. *Spanish Still Life, from Velázquez to Goya.*
Madrid, 2012. Pp. 31
Peter Cherry recently discovered that this unique and imposing pair of still lifes was first owned by one of Van der Hamen’s most important patrons, Jean de Croy, Compte de Solre and captain of the royal Guard of Archers. They suggest the theme of hospitality. The pair of green glass ormolu-mounted flower vases is recurrent throughout the artist’s oeuvre.

Figure 43

Juan Van der Hamen y León. *Still life with Ormolu Bowl and fruit baskets*. C. 1625
Oil on canvas
Private collection

This opulent fruit bowl of deep green Venetian glass with ormolu mounts must have been one of Van der Hamen’s favourite objects, for he painted it in several occasions.

Kraak porcelain charger, Wan li, Jingdezhen, China, c. 1575-1605.

The term kraak or kraakware describes Chinese export porcelains made between 1550 and 1650. They are usually decorated with cobalt blue within panels configurated on either the rims or the sides.

Juan Van der Hamen y León. *Still-Life with Artichokes and Vases of Flowers. (Detail).* Signed and dated, lower right: *Ju vander Hammen fá, /162.*
Oil on canvas, 81.5 x 110.5 cm
Madrid, Naseiro collection.

The lobed bowl is of the kraakware type.
Figure 47.

Juan van der Hamen y León. *Still Life with sweets and Pottery*, 1627. Oil on canvas. 84.5 x 112.7 cm
Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art.

This great still life, one of Van der Hamen’s masterpieces displays several of the elements collected by the court, as well as preferred by the artist when creating his composition. As in many of his still lifes painted for the upper class, this one depicts objects of diverse provenance. The red stoneware bottle with a hole on it has been identified as a product of the Rhineland, while the terracotta bottle and one of the bowls on the lower shelf are of the type imported from the town of Tonalá in Mexico.

Figure 48

Francisco de Palacios, *Still Life with Braided Bread and Silver ewer*. Signed and dated, lower left *F. DE PALACIOS. F. /1648*.
Oil on canvas, 60 x 80 cm.
Austria, Schloss Rohrau.
Juan Bautista de Espinosa. Still life Silver-Gilt Salvers. Signed and date don shelves above: Joannes Bapti
Despinossa faciebat anno D. 1624.
Oil on canvas, 98 x 118cm
Madrid, Masaveu collection.

The severe elegance of upper-class domestic life in the reign of Philip IV is evoked by this spectacular still life. The painting’s opulence reminds us that the artist was once in the employ of the powerful Duque del Infantado and must have been familiar with the accoutrements of the courtly table. All of the objects in the picture – the glassware, the silver-gilt tableware, the terracotta bowls – are probably of Spanish manufacture, the design of the salvers probably of Toledan craftsmanship.

From Jordan, William B. and Peter Cherry. Spanish Still Life, from Velázquez to Goya.
To the left there is a copper vessel for making chocolate, a popular drink amongst the well to do in Spanish society at the time. To the front an accompanying chocolate service, composed by Chinese export porcelain or kraakware and European ceramics based on the Chinese prototype. The two handled vase is the typical Talavera maiolica production. On top of the ebony and ivory arqueta or escritorio the artist has placed the most valuable items. The dark glass vase with silver mounts is probably the most expensive item on the arrangement. It was probably a collector's piece even in the 17th century. The two red earthenware vases are probably of Mexican origin, examples of Tonalá production. The gourd bowl to the right is also of Mexican origin, a lacquered Olinalá bowl, which was also considered exotic at the time.

Figure 51

Ebony and Ivory Arquilla. c. 1620
Spain, Private collection.

Classified as a Spanish-Flemish piece, this arquilla was sold in London, by Sotheby’s in 1987.

From Aguiló Alonso, María Paz. El Mueble en España. Siglos XVI - XVII.
Abraham van Beijeren. *Banquet Still-Life with a Mouse*. 1667
Oil on canvas. 142 x 122 cm.
Los Angeles, County Museum of Art.
Figure 53

Oil on canvas. 166 x 250 cm
Private Collection

One of several paintings which comprised a large series of the Months and the Seasons. The artist is known for his wide spreads of agricultural products on a corner of a kitchen or larder.

From Jordan, William B. and Peter Cherry. *Spanish Still Life, from Velázquez to Goya.*
Francisco Barrera. *Winter, (Detail)*. 1627.
Oil on canvas. 166 x 250 cm
Private Collection

In this detail we can see the artist chose to represent everyday objects and utensils.
Mateo Cerezo, *Kitchen Still Life*. c. 1660 – 75
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

And bottle to cool beverages. W. Van de Bosche. *Antique Glass Bottles*
Oil on canvas, 72 x 94 cm.
Spain, Juan Abello Collection.

Oil on canvas, 56 x 94 cm.
Segovia, Lafora Collection.

This painting shows the influence of compositional trends that began to appear in both Naples and Madrid around 1650. It shows objects from everyday life: a coarsely woven basket, an overturned copper canteen, a large brass tankard and a copper pot.

Juan de Espinosa. *Still-Life with Grapes, Flowers and Shells.*
Oil on canvas. 83 x 62 cm
Paris, Musée du Louvre.
Spanish collector’s high regard for contemporary northern religious paintings appears reflected in the choice of the Flemish-style religious painting after a composition by Rubens depicted on top of the expensive buffet (escritorio). The painting represents *The judgment of Salomon*, which the artist probably knows from the engraving by Boëtius Adams Bolswert.

Tomás Yepes. *Dog in a garden with potted flowers.* c.1660.
Oil on canvas, 56 x 94 cm.
Segovia, Lafora Collection.

The pots are of the *Manises* type, decorated earthenware typical of the region around Valencia. That town was famous for its gardens and the fruits and flowers they produced.
Several kinds of earthenwares in common use in the early seventeenth century are present in this painting. The small two handled jar and two handed cántaro at the left appear to have tin-opacified glaze; the bulging lidded, heavily ribbed water container was the typical light coloured Andalusian cántaro which differed little from comparable storage vessels made centuries earlier. The water seller, aguador, is believed to have been an actual Sevillian street character and representative of the proud Andalusian peasant folk.

Figure 62

Glass with crystal “fig”. Spain, 17th century.
Private Collection.
Diego Velázquez. *Two Men at Table*. c.1617
Oil on canvas, 107 x 101 cm.
St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum.

And Garrafilla. Seventeenth century. Castril de la Peña (Granada)
Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas.

The piece is of popular facture, suited for an everyday environment. The green *garrafilla* is blown, and it is a typical piece of seventeenth-century Andalusian glass production.

From Ramirez-Montesinos, Elena. *Objetos de Vidrio en los Bodegones de Velázquez*. Pp. 399
Diego Velázquez. *Old woman frying eggs*. 1618.
Oil on canvas, 100.5 x 119.5 cm.
Edinburgh, Scottish National Gallery.

Portrays a seventeenth century Andalusian woman using the earthenware brazier introduced in Spain a thousand years earlier to cook some eggs in a shallow earthenware *cazuela* of equal antiquity. In front of her are a typical white plate and two partially glazed heavily ribbed pitchers. One glaze is a dark green covering highly favoured by Spanish Muslim and Christian potters for common wares, the other one is a white tin opacified lead glaze with simple cobalt blue decorations in use from the thirteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Of all the still life items shown in the scene, only the brazier and white plate with central encircling ridge have disappeared from the customary household inventory of furnishings. Before the end of the seventeenth century the picture had been acquired by Esteban Murillo’s most important private patron, the sophisticated Flemish merchant Nicolas Omazur.

And Jordan, William B. and Peter Cherry. *Spanish Still Life, from Velázquez to Goya.*

These wares were characterized by thick, crude construction and surfaces of plain white or with simple designs.

Figure 66

Oil on canvas. 262 × 307 cm
Sevilla, Museo del Bellas Artes.

This painting illustrates 17th century *loza tradicional*.

From Gavin, Rovin. *Cerámica y Cultura. The Story of Spanish and Mexican Mayólica*.
Ceramic pieces found in excavations carried out in the contemporary Carthusian monastery outside of Jérez de la Frontera.

At the left, similar jar form as the one in the St. Hugo painting, but with Jérez Carthusian Crest. At the right, blue-on-white Chinese porcelain rice bowl comparable to that turned upside down at left corner of the table on the painting.

Figure 68

Oil on canvas, 46 x 84 cm.
Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

Amongst the *cacharros* there are two white *alcazarras* of porous material, used for their properties to keep water fresh. There is also a golden *berregal* and a red earthenware *búcaro*, one of the Mexican Tonalá wares commonly depicted in the courtly circles of Madrid.

Annex I

A passage often quoted by scholars from Arte de la Pintura, by Francisco Pacheco.

¿Pues que? ¿Los bodegones no se deben estimar? Claro esta que si, si son pintados como mi yerno los pinta alzandose con esta parte sin dexar lugar a otro, y merecen estimacion grandisima; pues con estos principios y los retratos, de que hablaremos luego, hallo la verdadera imitacion del natural alentando los animos de muchos con su poderoso ejemplo; con el cual me aventure una vez, a agradar a un amigo estando en Madrid en 1625, y le pinte un lencecillo con dos figuras del natural, flores y frutas y otros juguetes, que hoy tiene mi docto amigo Francisco de Rioja; y conseguí lo que basto para que las demas cosas de mi mano pareciesen delante de el pintadas.

Well then, should bodegones not be esteemed. Of course they should, if painted as they are by my son-in-law - who dominates the field and leaves no room for no one else - then they deserve great esteem; for with these beginnings and the portraits, which we shall speak of later, he found the true imitation of nature, inspiring the minds of many with his powerful example. I ventured with (this example) once in order to please a friend while in Madrid in 1625, and I painted him a little canvas with two figures from life, flowers and fruits and other trifles which my learned friend Francisco de Rioja now has; and I succeeded enough so that by comparison the other things from my hand appear painted.

Annex II

Account from a contemporary source of a banquet in court.

El almirante de Castilla hizo esta semana pasada banquete a los grisones; hubo cuarenta convidados; todos los más grandes títulos de la corte... Hubo tres aparadores riquísimos, uno de piezas de oro, otro de plata y otro de cristal y vidrios venecianos y búcaros de Portugal, todo puesto con gran aseo y curiosidad... Hubo cuantas diversidades de viandas son imaginables y cuantas suertes de vinos hay en España y afuera...

The Admiral of Castile made this past week a banquet for the grisones; there were forty guests, all the biggest titles of the court ... There were three handsome cabinets, one of pieces of gold, one of silver and one of glass and Venetian crystal and vases from Portugal, all set with great curiosity and decorum ... There is every diversity variety of dishes as are imaginable and as many of the wines from Spain and elsewhere...

From La Gula en el Siglo de Oro, by José Carlos Capel. Pp. 74
Festín en Honor del Duque de Moyenne

Día de la carne:

8 pavos, 26 capones cebados de leche; 70 gallinas; 100 pares de pichones; 100 pares de tórtolas; 100 pares de conejos y liebres, 24 carneros; 2 cuartos traseros de vaca; 40 libras de cañas de vaca; 2 terneras; 12 lenguas; 12 libras de chorizo; 12 perniles de Garrovillas; 3 tocinos; 1 tinajuelo de cuatro arrobas de fruta; cuatro frutas a dos arrobas de cada género; 6 cueros de vino de cinco arrobas cada cuero y cada cuero diferente.

Día de pescado:

100 libras de truchas; 50 de anguilas; 50 de otro pescado fresco; 100 libras de barbos; 100 de peces; cuatro modos de escabeche de pescados y de cada género 50 libras; 50 libras de atún; 100 sardinillas en escabeche; 100 libras de pescado Cecial muy bueno; 1000 huevos; 24 empanadas de pescados diferentes; 100 libras de manteca de vaca fresca; 1 cuero de aceite; fruta, pan y otros regalos extraordinarios como en el día de carne.

Feast in honour of the Duke of Moyenne

Day of the meat:

8 turkeys, 26 capons fattened with milk, 70 chickens, 100 pairs of pigeons, 100 pairs of turtledoves, 100 pairs of rabbits and hares, 24 sheep, 2 cow forequarters, 40 pounds of cow shins, 2 calves, 12 tongues, 12 pounds of sausage, 12 Garrovillas hams, 3 bacons, four pounds of fruit, four pounds of fruit each kind, 6 cueros of wine, five pounds each and each one different.

Fish Day:

100 pounds of trout, 50 of eels; 50 other fresh fish, 100 pounds of catfish, 100 fish, four fish marinated modes of each gender and 50 pounds, 50 pounds of tuna, sardines marinated 100, 100 pounds of Cecial very good fish, 1,000 eggs, 24 different fish pies, 100 pounds of fresh cow butter, 1 leather oil, fruit, bread and other extraordinary gifts as in a day of meat.

In Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1594 hasta 1614 From La Gula en el Siglo de Oro, by José Carlos Capel. Pp. 74
Annex III

Recipe for Olla Podrida, from the cookbook by Diego Granado

Toma dos libras de garganta de puerco salada y quatro libras del pernil desalado, dos ocicos, dos orejas, y quatro pies de puerco partidos y rezien sacados de un día, quatro libras de puerco jabalí con el callo fresco, dos libras de salchichones buenos, y limpio todo hágase cozer con agua sin sal: y en otro vaso de cobre, o de tierra, cuézanse también con agua u sal, seys libras de vaca gorda, y dos capones, o dos gallinas, y quatro pichones caseros gordos, de todas las dichas cosas las que estuvieren primero cozidas se vayan sacando del caldo antes que se deshagan y consérvense en un vaso, Y en otro vaso de tierra o de cobre con el caldo de la sobredicha carne cuézanse dos quartos de liebre traseros cortados a pedacos, tres perdizes, dos faysanes, o dos ánades gruesas salvajes frescas, veinte tordos, veinte codornizes, y tres francolines, y estando todo cozido, mézclanse los dichos caldos y cuélese por cedacol advirtiendo que no sean demasiadamente salados. Téngase aparejados garvanços negros y blancos que ayan estado a remojo, cabeças de ajos enteras, cevollas partidas, castañas mondadas, judiguelos, o frisones hervidos, y todo se haga cozer juntamente con el caldo, y quando las legumbres estarán casi cozidas, pónganse repollos y berças, y nabos, y rellenos de menudo, o salchicha, y cuando todo estará cozido antes tiezo que desecho, hagase de todo una mezcla y encorporese, gustese muy a menudo por respeto de la sal y añádase una poca de pimienta y canela, y después téngase aparejados platos grandes, y póngase una parte de la dicha composición sobre los platos sin caldo, y tómesse de todas aves partidas en quatro quartos, y las aves gruesas, y las saladas cortadas a tajadas, y las aves menudas, dexensse enteras, y repártansse en los platos sobre la composición, y sobre éstas pongasse de la otra composición del relleno cortado, y desta manera háganse tres suelos, y téngasse una cucharada de caldo más gordo, y póngasse por encima, y cúbrasse con otro plato, y dexesse media hora en lugar caliente, y sírvase caliente con especias dulces. Puédense después de hervidas assar algunas de las dichas aves.
Take two pounds of salt pork throat and four pounds of unslated pork, two, two ears, and four fresh feet, four pounds of pork boar, two pounds of good sausage and clean everything yourself and cook in unslated water: in a different earthenware or copper vessel, cook also with water and salt, six pounds of fat cow, and two capons, or two chickens and four fat pigeons.

Take all the things that are already cooked and take them out of the broth, and reserve them in a vessel. in another earthenware or copper vessel with the remaining meet broth cook two back quarters of hare, three partridges, two pheasants, or two fresh wild ducks, twenty blackbirds, twenty quails, and three francolins, and when everything is cooked well, mix the broths and sieve, taking care it is not too salty. Prepare black and white chick peas, that have been soaked, whole garlic heads, chopped onions, peeled chestnuts, boiled beans, and cook everything together with the broth until the vegetables are almost cooked, add cabbages, and turnips, until everything is cooked nut firm, and when all is done mix well and taste the seasoning, and add a little pepper and cinnamon. Have readied big plates, and place a part of the mixture onto the dishes without broth, and place the meats in layers, with quarters of the bigger birds, and slices of the rest, add a spoonful of broth on top, cover with another plate and leave to rest for half an hour in a warm place, and serve hot with sweet spices. After boiling you can roast some of the birds.

From Historia de la Gastronomía Española, by Manuel Martinez Llopis.