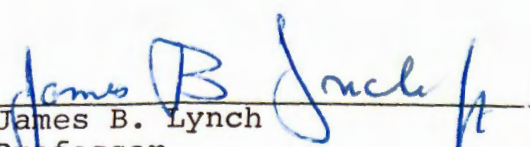


APPROVAL SHEET

Title of Thesis: Alonso Berruguete: A Re-examination
of the Polychrome Lunettes Adorning
the Archbishop's Choir Stall in the
Cathedral of Toledo

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Master of Arts, 1976

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ABSTRACT

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Karen Leslie Silberman, Master of Arts, 1976

Thesis Directed by: Professor James B. Lynch, Ph.D.

The principle concerns of this study of the three Spanish lunettes are establishing Alonso Berruguete as their sole carver, the lunettes' iconography, and an exploration of their stylistic sources.

That the lunettes are not workshop pieces is derived by studying Berruguete's documented works. When the lunettes are compared with them it can be seen that they share the unique carving techniques and peculiarities of one and the same artist.

The study made here of the iconography of the lunettes examines their very individual interpretation of the themes of the Flood, the Brazen Serpent and the Last Judgement, by comparing them to scenes of the same subjects. The reasons for a new interpretation of the iconographic scheme the three works present are established.

For reasons of style, influence from antique art are explored. The work of the Renaissance and other Mannerist artists which in terms of style, closely corresponds to Berruguete's lunettes are comparatively examined.

The results of the research make for a re-evaluation of the lunettes and help to illuminate the figure of Alonso Berruguete.

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INTRODUCTION

Mannerism is the term used to designate and characterize the complex, stylistic phenomena occurring in Europe in the period between the High Renaissance and the Baroque. The art of this period has been subject to a wide range of critical interpretation -- being viewed as a final exhaustion or degeneration of Renaissance artistic premises, as a vital elaboration essential to a new stylistic synthesis, or simply as the expression of a self-sufficient esthetic entity.

It has been viewed negatively by some who maintain that Mannerism exists when forms that originally had precise meaning and expressive value are taken over and carried to extremes, so that they appear affected, artificial and empty. Those who recognize rather the subjectivity of Mannerism, see it as embodying a new kind of art in which the dramatic aspect of the image was intensified on the basis of premises opposed to the naturalism and rationalism of the Renaissance.

The work of one little known and little appreciated Mannerist sculptor is the topic of this thesis. The artist is Alonso Berruguete. The works are the three wooden lunettes which adorn the Archbishop's choir stall in the Cathedral of Toledo. I will first examine these works for their

visual content in an effort to reveal whether they are workshop pieces or were carved by the master himself. Secondly I will consider the iconography of the three pieces to show where Berruguete followed tradition and where he was innovative. My thesis will reveal that the iconographic program of the three lunettes represents the three eras: The Flood (pl. 1) symbolizes the era before the Law: The Brazen Serpent (pl. 2) symbolizes the era under the Law: The Last Judgement (pl. 3) symbolizes the era under Grace. To establish this iconographic scheme I will prove that the theme of the lunette which has been referred to as the Crossing of the Red Sea, is actually a representation of the Flood. My last consideration of the lunettes will reveal their stylistic sources.

CHAPTER I

BIOGRAPHY

Before beginning, some biographical information is in order. Unfortunately, the dates surrounding Berruguete's life are as enigmatic as the style which his work epitomizes. The commemorative exposition of his work, held in 1961, at the Casón del Buen Retiro in Madrid, honored the Fourth Centenary of his death, as his exact date of birth has yet to be uncovered. The questionable birthdate of 1489 is given in the catalogue of this exposition.⁽¹⁾

Chandler Post, deducing from the information concerning Alonso's father, Pedro Berruguete, tells us that he could not have been born before 1486 or after 1490, at Paredes de Nava, Valladolid.⁽²⁾ Alonso, no doubt, received his first art lessons from his father who was a celebrated Spanish Renaissance painter. Like his father, at an early age he went to Italy to study painting. His exact date of arrival in this country, where his father had contributed many magnificent works, is also uncertain. We can deduce that this sojourn took place after 1504 when, still at Paredes de Nava, it is recorded that he petitioned his mother to assume the guardianship of himself and the other five children of his deceased father.⁽³⁾ We can guess that he was in Italy shortly after the excavation of the Laocoon in Rome in 1506, when Vasari tells us he competed with Jacopo Sansovino in making a wax model of the statue. His further

activity in Rome included the study of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling, which Chandler Post authenticates by the figure of hanging Haman on one of the ceiling spandrels, which can be seen in a drawing of the Crucifixion by Berruguete in the Academy of Saint Ferdinand in Madrid. The influence of Michelangelo's work, and especially that of the Sistine Ceiling will be elaborated upon in my discussion of the stylistic sources for the lunettes.

His stay in Florence is documented again by Vasari, who records his study of the Battle of Cascina, and by Michelangelo's own letters, asking his brother to gain the permission for Alonso's study of the cartoon. Later, Michelangelo wrote again to Florence to inquire about Berruguete's health, calling him the "garzione spagnuolo".⁽⁴⁾

And so we find Berruguete in Florence during the years 1515-18, which marked the birth of Mannerism there, although his work is not considered to be influential in the formation of this style, as is that of Pontormo and Il Rosso.⁽⁵⁾ Later I will examine the work of these two contemporaries of Berruguete and trace their stylistic influence on the lunettes.

A record of his travels to other Italian cities is also unavailable. Yet, I do not doubt that he visited those cities which housed great works of art, including Padua,

since Donatello's works there can be seen as stylistic sources for the lunettes.

A record of a specific maestro, under whom Berruguete studied while in Italy is also absent. But I believe it can be said that the works of art themselves, beginning with the ancient Greek and Roman which he saw, served as his "teachers". Motifs from these ancient works can also be seen in the lunettes. Although the details of his stay in Italy are vague, the influence this trip had upon his artistic development can be clearly established by examining the lunettes.

In 1518 Berruguete was back in Spain where he began his career as court painter for Carlos V in Saragossa. His success was short-lived and for financial reasons he accepted a position as escribano del crimen in 1523.

After this date, he began to undertake sculptural commissions offered to him by the ministers and ecclesiastics of the realm, although he always aspired to be a painter. He soon became recognized throughout Spain as one of the best sculptors of his time. As such he was given the title of magnífico and led a princely life in accordance with it. The Regent of Spain, Infanta Juana, gave him the village of Ventos de la Cuesta as his own estate. He later built a palatial home in Valladolid and thereby shifted the center of

sculpture from Burgos to that city. His commissions were many throughout his lifetime, with his fame and fortune ever increasing until his death in the year 1561.

CHAPTER II

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF BERRUGUETE'S CARVING

In an effort to solve the first problem the lunettes pose, that of their carver, I will analyze the works already documented as being sculpted by Berruguete's own hand. In this way the characteristic elements of Berruguete's carving technique can be established. Let us backtrack, then, to 1528, when Berruguete began work on the retable for the Monastery of San Benito in Valladolid. According to Manuel Gomez-Moreno, the structural design of this altarpiece, its figures, paintings and polychromy, are all Berruguete's own work.⁽¹⁾ Likewise, Ricardo de Orueta, author of the most extensive book devoted to Berruguete, states that the conditions of the contract for this work are "que las historias del pincel e imagines vayan de mano del dicho maestro."⁽²⁾ In terms of its style, the seeds of his later work are planted in the San Benito retable. Its reliefs share a common mode of expression with the lunettes. In both cases, great force defines the movements of the figures, which cover the entire space, leaving no areas vacant and making concrete actions paramount.

It is easy to see that the hand which carved the lunettes is the same one which carved the reliefs of the retable of San Benito. The waters in the relief of The Miracle of San Benito (pl. 4) are carved in the same pattern of primitive

(3)
 swirls which we see in The Flood and The Last Judgement lunettes. In The Epiphany (pl. 5) and The Circumcision (pl. 6) scenes, Berruguete carves the Christ Child with an extremely short neck and a very robust and smooth body. This is the same manner in which he carves the child who rides above the waves of the Flood, on top of his father's shoulders. In the same two San Benito reliefs, the painfully flat, distorted hand of the Virgin, which ends in arthritic fingers, is characteristic of Berruguete's carving and can be seen in all three lunettes.

The carving of the drapery in the relief of The Conversion of King Totila (pl. 7) is such that the cloth forms flat planes, which neither define the body nor harmonize with it. Rather, they make large areas of disjointed patterns across the surface of the forms, as in the Christ and Virgin figures of The Last Judgement lunette. The treatment of the carving of the hair in The Destruction of the Temple (pl. 8) relief is also identical to that in the lunettes, where we see thick locks of hair which wave slightly to show the contour of the skull and trace its shape. The flattened limbs which seem to cripple the figures in both the San Benito retable and the lunettes surely identify the carving technique of one and the same person. The swirl of drapery, which sweeps out from behind a figure in The Epiphany relief to form a flattened oval shape, can be seen

repeated in The Last Judgement lunette. In both instances Berruguete employs this elliptical shape to convey motion and enhance the drama of the scene.

Although the lunettes were done twenty years after the documented San Benito retablo, their similarities in carving suggest that they are by an artist whose technique did not alter. When we see how these three works contrast with the back rests of the Toledo choir stalls, commissioned to Berruguete in 1539, but executed with the help of the auxiliary masters, Inocencio Berro, Manuel Alvarez, Juan de Guaza and Pedro de Frias,⁽⁴⁾ their similarities in carving become even clearer. It is clear that the workshop pieces retain some of the expression of Berruguete's original design, in terms of the movement and pose of the figures, but an adherence to naturalistic details distinguishes their execution from that of the master's.

The lunettes are first mentioned in 1548 in the appraisals of the grandiose decorative scheme for the Archbishop's choir stall of which they are only a part. Along with the lunettes, the Archbishop Tavera commissioned a large transfiguration scene to go above the stall and a trascoro with two lateral reliefs. These works, done in alabaster, were commissioned five years earlier, in 1543, to be done by Berruguete's "propio mano".⁽⁵⁾ These, therefore, can also be used to establish Berruguete's carving techniques and au-

thenticate the lunettes.

Looking first at The Transfiguration (pl. 9), the figure of Moses, to Christ's right, is carved in the same curious way as the first figure in the left foreground of The Last Judgement. Both figures are in profile in what appears to be a kneeling position. Berruguete does not finish the entire leg, but stops abruptly after the knee area. He portrays muscle and bone with bumps and indentations which make an irregular surface, foreshadowing those of Rodin.

The drapery of these two figures hangs in such a way as to expose their legs and trails down at their backs almost like a tail. The folds of their draperies are square and flat. They cover large areas and are not interrupted with intermediate folds. They do not help us to know the anatomy beneath, nor are they beautiful in their own right.

The two folds which fall from Mary's knee in The Last Judgement are again large, flat, uninterrupted trapazoidal shapes, whose edges are hard and straight. We observe the same handling of the figures of Saint Peter and Saint James in The Transfiguration. (pl. 10) The Christ figures in both The Last Judgement and The Transfiguration again show Berruguete's drapery carving to be unintelligible. We must strain to see where their robes end and cloaks begin. The

round bands around each figure's wrists serve as their cuffs. An irregular surface is carved in some areas instead of folds. Flaps of inanimate drapery hang awkwardly in others, and speak of stone and wood rather than woven materials.

The drapery is not graceful in either work, but rather it serves an expressive purpose. It flows off of the arms of Saint Peter and a fleeing woman in The Flood and so makes the same pattern of waves which accentuates their movement. Gashes, which cut across the cloth are left without being modeled and can be seen as incisions which crystalize the torment of the figures in both works. Wide pieces of material are carved into flat bands which keep their owners visually fixed in their poses, as if they were bound. The figures of Saint John in The Transfiguration and Mary in The Last Judgement bear these oppressive lengths of cloth which wrap around their arms and necks.

Unlike The Transfiguration, the emphasis in the lunettes is on the nude figure. However, when drapery is included, it plays an important role and exhibits the same characteristics seen in The Transfiguration.

To compare the carving of the anatomy, we must look at the four nude cherubs which frame the three saints at the bottom of The Transfiguration. The first, on the left, (pl. 11) bears the same sweet yet silly expression on his

face, as the child carried by his father in The Flood. Both figures' fat lumpy arms show Berruguete's lack of anatomical detail. Their large chests and backs are crudely misshapen and make them appear dwarf-like. The strange carving of the lower portion of this cherub's body speaks of Berruguete's peculiar carving technique: his leg is a combination of bumps and flat planes which mass together to form his thigh; his calf is much smaller and seems stunted, making him out of proportion. We see this same lack of bone structure and variation from large to small proportions in the nude child who crawls in the foreground of The Flood. Both figures are also portrayed without feet.

The second cherub on the left bears the same pose as the figure in front of the column in The Brazen Serpent lunette. Both figures raise their right arms up and place their hands on their heads. Their arms are carved with bulges on the sides to somehow convey roundness. Neither figure has his wrist defined, and their misshapen hands end in irregular spikey projections for fingers, which become part of their wavy hair.

The cherubs on the right (pl. 12) also suffer with the deformities of Berruguete's carving. The first's right leg is thin and flattened out, like that of a polio victim. This same leg formation can be seen in the female figure in the background (and in many of the others), of The Brazen Ser-

pent. Likewise, this cherub's right leg shows Berruguete's repeated pattern of carving a large buttocks and long thigh which is attached to a small and stunted calf.

Berruguete's unique technique of gouging out a straight wide line to represent a muscle or bone, can be seen on the left leg of the second cherub on the right, as on most of the figures of the three lunettes. This characteristic of Berruguete's carving makes many of his figures elongated and flattened out, rather than robust and three dimensional. These strange indentations, which seem to be drawn on the surface of the figures, make linear patterns which emphasize the movement of the figures and the direction of their limbs. They are contrary to the principles of sculpture and relate his work more to a drawing technique.

To complete my analysis of the visual content of the lunettes. I will compare them to the two lateral relief panels which adorn the trascoro of the choir stall at Toledo. These reliefs are similar to the lunettes in size and sentiment. They seem to lack premeditation and to have been carved with a maximum amount of spontaneity. Their swift and tumultuous execution marks them as kindred spirits to the lunettes.

Like the lunettes, they are not visible from a normal

view. Yet possibly for this very reason I believe these works may be the most personal of Berruguete's production. In these hidden miniature sculptures, Berruguete gives full rein to the choice and interpretation of his subject matter and his handling of them.

The lunettes describe religious themes, although Berruguete's interpretation makes them appear pagan. In the two trascoro reliefs he makes no concessions and carves the only profane themes to be seen in the choir. That Berruguete was allowed to decorate the trascoro with a family of tritons and nereids and a battle scene with nude combatants is curious. But perhaps this was done with the approval of Don Diego López de Ayala, canon of the Cathedral of Toledo from 1518-1557. He and Cardinal Tavera were the directors of the artistic work at Toledo. Don Diego was an "erudito eclesiástico y buen literato, amigo de artistas y poetas."⁽⁶⁾ He translated Boccaccio's Laberinto de Amor and Il Filocio, the latter being published in 1546. Jacopo Sannazzaro's pastoral romance, Arcadia, which is filled with pagan festivals, was also translated by Don Diego. His literary activity makes his close association with Cardinal Tavera seem strange, as Tavera served as a member of the⁽⁷⁾ tribunal of the Inquisition. With his understanding and appreciation of pagan literature, it is likely that Don Diego would have looked on these unusual works of Berruguete

with a permissive, or perhaps even approving eye.

The first trascoro relief (pl. 13) I will discuss, portrays the nude figures of a man, two women and two children, who maintain themselves over the waves of a river or sea in swaying dance-like poses. The composition is simple and dominated by the central male figure, who is flanked on either side by a child and a female.

The male figure has his back to us as he stretches his arms out, in a typical mannerist pose, to touch the heads of both females. The lobster-like claw, which serves as his right hand is like that of the first figure on the left, in low-relief in The Brazen Serpent lunette. His arms are carved like those of the first figure on the right in The Last Judgement lunette. They are flat and seem to have been crushed by an enormous weight, which has left them useless. A rubble of broken bone and torn muscle seems to lie below the surface. There is no definition of an elbow or forearm. Instead, Berruguete carves a flat and truncated trapazoid shape, which tapers at the end, to represent the arms of these figures.

The carving of the hair for this male figure, as well as for his two female companions, was accomplished by cutting a piece of stone which follows the shape of the head. The lines to represent a few individual locks of hair are later modeled onto that surface. In this way the figure's hair

seems to be in one piece and appears wig-like. This type of handling is repeated in all three lunettes.

The male figure of the trascoro relief has pointed shoulder blades. They are the result of Berruguete's cutting away the part of the back adjacent to them. The shoulder blades of the figure who grasps a serpent and of the two nude swimmers on the left of The Flood are created in the same way.

Another interesting feature of Berruguete's carving is the way he finishes, or leaves unfinished, the legs of the three main figures of this trascoro relief. As if to harmonize with the rhythm of his work, he ends their legs with an irregular sweep of stone, which blends in and becomes part of the waves upon which the figures ride. This same impulsive carving is observed in numerous instances in all three lunettes. The two figures who crawl to safety in the right foreground of The Flood are specific examples of this type of handling.

This trascoro relief and the lunettes speak of a caprichoso artist who does not restrain or temper his carving tools to satisfy set standards. Instead, he satisfies his own need to create in the most spontaneous way possible, even if it means deforming a figure or changing the inter-

pretation of a theme.

In his carving of the female anatomy Berruguete rarely endows his figures with a feminine grace or a womanly allure. The two females of this trascoro relief are strong-bodied and small-breasted. The woman on the right, like the women in The Flood, has been fashioned with high, flat, small breasts, which press against her chest. Her right thigh can barely be distinguished from the background, because it is in such low relief. The flatness of this part of her body is unnerving in its abnormality. This same handling of the thigh can be seen in the central figure in The Flood and the two seated men on the left in The Last Judgement.

The waters upon which the figures ride in this relief create a forceful rhythm, which gives movement to the scene. The water is represented by thin horizontal bands of stone, which undulate across the entire length of the relief. The close proximity of the low but steadily moving waves creates the impression of a continuously flowing body of water. The same carving technique creates the waters in The Flood and The Last Judgement lunettes and the second trascoro relief panel.

This second trascoro relief (pl. 14) portrays four men who battle over the waves of a surging body of water. There

are two primary figures who charge at each other on horse-back in the foreground. The tails and hooves of their horses are extended and distorted so that they become an integral part of the pattern of the waves. This is the same expressively fluid treatment Berruguete gives to the legs of the figures of the aforementioned comparisons. This carving technique can be established as Berruguete's own, since we do not see it in workshop pieces, where it was his responsibility to smooth the figures and conclude the heads and hands.⁽⁸⁾ After looking at the chair backs of the choir stalls in Toledo, this becomes obvious. The limbs of the figures of these workshop pieces are terminated and this is done in an anatomically correct way. These figures are interpreted more naturalistically than the more expressively dematerialized figures created entirely by Berruguete himself.

The two riders of this trascoro relief bear Berruguete's trademarks. The rider on the left extends one arm which almost defies description in its deformity, except as it can be compared to other Berruguete figures. For such a comparison we may look at the last figure on the right in The Last Judgement. The same misshapen arm which appears too wide and too short and at the same time elongated because of its spikey skeletal fingers, is seen in both instances.

The arms of the rider on the right bulge and bend as if without bones. They end brutally in stunted hands which are attached directly to the forearms, since Berruguete has not given this figure wrists. Looking at the first figure on the right side in The Brazen Serpent, we see a close replica of this rider's affliction.

The semi-circular swirl of drapery, which flies out from behind the right rider and the figure perched above the rider on the left, can also be seen in The Last Judgement. In both instances, Berruguete's handling of drapery makes us feel a rush of wind, which sets the scenes into movement.

The last figure in the trascoro relief enters on the extreme left. He is the only completely nude figure represented. He stands in a profile position as he watches the ensuing battle. Although Berruguete places him in a profile position, he raises his left shoulder so that the part of his back, which should be hidden is exposed. In this way he resembles a hunchback. This cubist-like simultaneous view of the back is carved over and over again by Berruguete in the lunettes. It can be seen in The Last Judgement on the second large standing figure on the left side and on the first two nude figures in The Flood who can also be called "hunchbacks". The old nude man who is crawling at the bottom can be described as such. The father carrying his child

and one of the swimmers on the left side of this work are two others who fit this description. In The Brazen Serpent, another example of this type of carving is the figure grasping a serpent.

The characteristics of Berruguete's carving, which I have compared, do not appear in his documented works as created with the assistance of a workshop. These attributes of his carving technique indicate rapid execution of the works, unpreoccupied with the complexion of his sculpture, but rather its forcefulness.

In addition, two other factors speak in favor of their being sculpted by Berruguete alone. The central lunette, The Last Judgement, measures thirty-three inches in diameter. The other two lunettes are each nineteen and a half inches in diameter. It is my opinion that Berruguete would not employ the assistance of another artist for works of such small size. The second factor has to do with the location of the lunettes. They comprise the part of the decoration for the Archbishop's choir stall, which is nearest to the Archbishop's seat. Although they are difficult to see and remain out of view for the most part, they occupy the most important position of the entire work, of which The Transfiguration and the lateral reliefs are a part. Their prestigious position makes it likely that Berruguete would have been the artist to carve them.

CHAPTER III

ICONOGRAPHY

To begin my discussion of the iconography of the individual lunettes and their interrelations, I will first analyze The Last Judgement. Here we have three centers of activity which form a pyramidal composition. On the left side we see the Blessed rising up from the wavy ground of the earth. There are two completely emerged figures, two seated boosting themselves up, and one smaller figure in a kneeling position. The profile face of one other figure can be seen from behind this last kneeling figure. All of the Saved look towards the Damned who ride in the boat of Charon and fill the right hand side of the lunette. The Damned are many and outnumber the Saved. They are the nude figures of men, women, and children represented in seated, standing and tumbling positions. Each bears an expression of grief and torment. Some reach out their arms in desperation. Others open their mouths to form an unheard wail. Some stare blankly in disbelief.

These two groups of the Saved and the Damned divide the composition roughly in half. Above them, in the middle of the lunette, the figures of Christ and Mary are seated in profile on a swirl of clouds from which the heads of seraphim peep out. Berruguete uses the ancient Deësis theme: Mary holds her hands in prayer and pleads for mercy for man-

kind.

Berruguete's interpretation of this theme is unusual, as will be seen by comparing it to the Spanish and Italian examples which follow. ⁽¹⁾ Beginning with the anonymous late Fifteenth Century Catalan Retable of Saint John the Evangelist in the church of Palau-del-Vidre, France, we note that trumpeting angels and demons who there push the Damned into the jaws of the monsters of hell are missing in Berruguete's work, as is the Archangel Michael who is weighing souls. In the Saint John Retable, there is a Deësis group, but in this case and almost without exception, the Deësis consists of a central Christ figure with Mary on his left and John on his right. The Sixteenth Century Catalan Retable of Saint James, Iglesia Parroquial, Centellas, includes a portrayal of the Last Judgement with a Deësis group in the upper portion of the panel. Below we see souls emerging from the ground as in Berruguete's works; however, here again we have an archangel who pushes the Damned into the flames of hell on the left. The Sixteenth Century Castillian Triptych in the Cathedral of Pamplona is very similar. Here we see again the three-figured Deësis group above, Michael the Archangel below, the emerging Saved on the right and the demons of hell on the left. The Sixteenth Century retable by Juan de Zamora in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, Colegiata, Osuna, portrays angels on either side of the Deësis group. To the left we have the

architecture of the City of God with the Saved. On the right the Damned are seen in the mouth of a hellish demon. In Fernando Yañez de la Almedina's work, *Colegiata Jativa*, the Deësis group is flanked on either side by a row of saints. Below this more classical scene, the Archangel Michael is holding a scale while angels blow the Judgement Day horn. To the left the Saved emerge from a rocky landscape while the Damned are licked by the flames of hell on the right.

The Last Judgement seems to have been a favorite topic of the Valencian School. The Christ figure of the Deësis group of the Fourteenth Century Doomsday Retable, of the Ermita de San Bartolomé, Villahermosa, shows us the scars on his palms. Two angels on either side of the very large Christ figure carry the instruments of the Passion. In another panel of this retable we see the motif of the dispute between the angels and demons. The Saved emerge from their coffins with the assistance of the angels, while a demon tries to pull them away and into hell. Christ is framed by a mandorla in the Deësis group of the Retable of Bonifacio Ferrer from the Carthusian Monastery of Portaceli. This work is now in the Provincial Museum of Valencia. Here again, Christ is framed by four angels carrying the instruments of the Passion. Below the Deësis group four angels are blowing trumpets. This scene of The Last Judgement, like Berruguete's, excludes the demons and the representa-

tion of hell exemplary of the other Spanish works. The Saved emerge from holes in the ground, looking up towards heaven. Christ holds his palms up revealing his scars in the Deësis group of an early Sixteenth Century altarpiece from the Iglesia Parroquial, in Nules. Below the Deësis group a row of saints on the left and right kneel in prayer. In between this bilateral grouping of saints, the Saved pass through with the angels. Below, to the left, other angels lift the Saved up from Purgatory to Heaven. On the right we have a gruesome display of the Damned being pushed down into hell by spear-bearing angels. Other lost souls are being pushed into a cauldron by demons who wield pitchforks.

Another Sixteenth Century Valencian retable from the Iglesia Parroquial at Castellón de la Plana, portrays Christ revealing the scars on his palms in a Deësis group. Again is a row of saints on either side of this group, and below each row is an angel with a trumpet. A cross and a column are placed below the figure of Christ to remind us of his Passion. Below these two instruments we see Saint Michael with his sword pushing the Damned into hell. To the left of Saint Michael, angels assist the Saved in their ascension to heaven. To the right, demons stand watch over the boiling cauldron of hell which is inhabited with the Damned who hold scrolls upon which are written their sins. Except for the absence of Saint Michael and the column, a similar repre-

sentation of the Last Judgement by Cortes de Arenso is seen at the same church. Here, however, Saint Michael and the pillar are missing and the Damned are being thrown from a rocky ledge into the flames of hell, where we see a cauldron held between the jaws of a monster. In this mouth of hell the Damned again have scrolls next to them which name their sins.

Three early Sixteenth Century representations of the Last Judgement by the Master of the Artés Retable can be seen in the Museo Provincial de Pinturas in Valencia. The first portrays a Deësis group with Christ in a mandorla surrounded by a ring of angels. Christ's feet rest on a globe and his palms are raised to show his scars. A row of saints kneel with their hands in prayer on either side of the Deësis. Below the Deësis is Saint Michael accompanied by trumpeting angels on either side. The Saved are in a row on the left. The Damned and the monsters of hell inhabit a rocky landscape on the right. The other works by this master show Christ in a mandorla surrounded with groups of two or three angels and saints. Below we see a cross and angels with trumpets. The second work has the same scene below, except for the absence of Saint Michael. In the third work angels stand with the Saved on the left. In the center other souls are rising from the grave. On the right winged black devils are dragging the Damned into the fires of hell. Fur-

ther down, devils make a sport of catching sinners with large hooks, as they struggle in stagnant waters.

It is affirmed by Jusepe Martínez that upon his return from Italy, "Berruguete residió en la capital de Aragon mas de año y media."⁽²⁾ He was obviously not influenced by a typical Sixteenth Century work which he could have seen in the Church of Santa Maria Magdalena in Tarragona. Here we see a figure of Christ flanked on either side by a row of saints. Below the figure of Christ in the center of the composition, Saint Michael wields his sword. Below and to the left are a group of figures representing the Saved. To the right the demons of hell preside over the Damned.

Going north from Valencia, we find the fresco The Last Judgement by Dello Delli in the Old Cathedral in Salamanca.⁽³⁾ This work was contracted in 1445. Here an angry Christ raises his right hand in a gesture signifying damnation. Six angels ring around him and carry the instruments of the Passion. Mary is on his right and John is on his left again to form a Deësis group. Two angels blow trumpets below the Deësis. On the bottom left are four rows of the Saved. In the middle the dead rise from their coffins. On the right the Damned cringe as they walk into the mouth of hell.

The final two representations of the Last Judgement in

Spain which I will discuss are in the Toledo Cathedral along with Berruguete's. The first is the Retable Mayor, 1500-04, by the sculptor Copín of Holland. The Deësis group here portrays Christ enthroned to judge the dead who rise from their tombs, while the Virgin and Saint John kneel to intercede. This work is more extraordinary for the nude forms of the dead than for the chief participants. Those to be judged are half-figures which are remarkable for the bold treatment of their nude bodies and their detailed musculature in contorted positions. The three figures of the Deësis are natural and noble. They display a serene composure in both their faces and figures. Their heavy garments rest in a realistic fashion. Christ raises both of his hands. His feet rest on a globe. Mary, on his right, stands on a cloud and holds her hands together in prayer. Saint John wears a sheepskin. One knee is on a cloud and his hands are also in prayer. In each upper corner the half figure of an angel blows a trumpet. There are four half figures below. Two women on the right look up and pray. One man on the left emerges from the earth in a twisted fearful pose as he reaches his body around to look up. The other man emerges from the earth with both hands on his head to display his bewilderment. Although twisted and contorted poses are present, as in Berruguete's The Last Judgement, the feeling which prevails is one of classical calm and serenity.

The final Spanish representation of the Last Judgement I will discuss is a fresco by Juan de Borgoña. He worked on it from 1508-11 in the Sala Capitulare in the Toledo Cathedral. Once again we have a representation of the Deësis group prevalent in Spanish art. Borgoña portrays Christ over a rainbow and a globe. His arms are raised and his palms are turned towards us. Mary and John are accompanied by a row of apostles and angels. Below Christ we see a cross framed by the familiar trumpeting angels. On the left there is a row of nude figures with their hands in prayer who represent the Saved. Below this row are others of the Saved emerging from holes in the ground. On the lower right is the nude multitude of the Damned. There are a few figures on the far right within the fiery mouth of hell. Their sins are shown by six monsters who carry scrolls in their mouths or claws upon which six of the Seven Deadly Sins are inscribed in Castilian. Borgoña personifies their sins with the activity of several mortals in the foreground.

The only iconographic similarity Berruguete's interpretation of the Last Judgement shares with any of these Spanish works is his portrayal of the Saved rising from the earth. His Deësis group lacks the figure of Saint John we have seen in all of them. The prevalent subjects of bands of angels and the participation of Saint Michael the Archangel are abandoned by Berruguete. The traditional interpretation of hell as a place peopled with devils and demons who torture

the Damned and push them into the fiery pits, boiling cauldrons and monsters' mouths is sacrificed by Berruguete for the portrayal of the boat of Charon. The boat of Charon is part of the Italian representations of the Last Judgement. These works must have influenced Berruguete, along with the literary source of Dante's writings.

Siente nuestro escultor honda predilección por los versos de Dante y conserva amorosamente una rara edición florentina de La Divina Comedia, que fue impresa en vida poeta. Cuando algún pasaje del Infierno le detiene en su lectura traza apresuradamente unas líneas esquemáticas para recoger las imagenes que le ha sugerido el excelso florentino.(4)

When we look at Berruguete's figures, they seem to reflect Dante's philosophy of art, which he thought should be a direct translation of the movements of the soul. Berruguete's figures which ride in Charon's boat seem a visual translation of the feeling expressed by Dante in these words:

Meanwhile, those spirits, faint and naked,
colour changed, and gnashed their teeth,
soon as the cruel words they heard. God
and their parents they blasphemed, the
human kind, the place, the time and seed
that did engender them and give them birth.
Then all together sorely wailing drew to the
cursed stand that every man must pass who
fears not God ... Charon, demonic form. With
eyes burning coal, collects them all, beckon-
ing, and each that lingers, with his oar
strikes. As fall off the light autumnal
leaves, one still another following, til the
bough strews all its honors on the earth be-
neath.(5)

The last lines of the Canto describe the scene from Dante that Michelangelo chose to portray in his representation of the Last Judgement. Michelangelo's hell is not a place where Satan presides over a hive of sinners, as it is in the previously mentioned Last Judgement scenes. The sulphur pits and pitch forks have vanished. Instead his hell is a mass of writhing nudes whom Charon is flailing out of his boat onto a dun-colored shore where they stumble in despair. Berruguete had returned to Spain before this work was begun and therefore it is conjectured that he could not have been influenced by its iconography. The notable scholar Gómez-Moreno writes concerning the influences on Berruguete's representation of The Last Judgement:

Su principal escena el Jucio final, tuvo gran acogida en el arte, ya llenando portadas goticas ya en pinturas murales, y aquí las teníamos en León, Salamanca y la misma Toledo: ni ellas ni las magnificas de Italia, aun contando la de Miguelángel posterior a su vuelta de allá, fueron mirados por Berruguete al componer ésta.(6)

It is true that Berruguete did not see Michelangelo's work on the wall of the Sistine Chapel, but engravings were made of The Last Judgement, and certainly these engravings were circulated in Spain. Adam Bartsch documents these engravings: one was done by the Sixteenth Century Italian artist
(7)
Martin Rota. Two other engravings which Bartsch documents as representing Michelangelo's The Last Judgement are by the Sixteenth Century Fontainebleau artist Domenico del Barbieri.

Bartsch writes that one of del Barbieri's works represented "la groupe de plusieurs Saints, tiré du jugement universel peint par Michelange dans la chapelle Sixtine. On remarque en bas St Barthelème tenant de la main gauche un couperet, et de la droite une peau d'homme."⁽⁸⁾

The second engraving represents "une autre groupe tiré du jugement universel peint par Michelange. On y remarque a droite quatre anges portant la colonne, a la quelle le sauveur a été attaché lors de sa flagellation, et vers la gauche un autre ange tenant un forêt de la main droite."⁽⁹⁾

The artist, George Ghisi, whose documented work appeared from 1536-40, is also cited by Bartsch as having engraved "le jugement universel peint par Michel-Ange."⁽¹⁰⁾ Nicolas Beatrizet's engraving of Michelangelo's The Last Judgement is the most important because Bartsch tells us that it represents the boat of Charon.⁽¹¹⁾ The engravings bearing Beatrizet's stamp appear from 1540-62.

Two other representations of the Last Judgement which include the boat of Charon were already available for the artist's inspection while he was studying painting in Italy. The first is the work in the Cappella Strozzi, of the Santa Maria Novella Church in Florence. It was done by Nando di Cione, circa 1354. His representation of hell has won special fame as a faithful illustration of Dante's lines. In

di Cione's representation of the first division of hell we see a standing figure rowing a simple craft which resembles the boat in Berruguete's The Last Judgement. In his third division of hell the same boat is occupied by two figures. One nude man sits in the back of the boat. He hands his head down in despair. The rower of the boat is portrayed by di Cione as being a monsterish figure with wings, a tail and a snout-like mouth from which a fiendish tongue escapes.

In Luca Signorelli's Last Judgement, 1500-04, in the Cappella di San Brizio in the Duomo at Orvieto, Charon plies his boat while in the background despairing souls follow a mocking demon who runs before them with a banner. In this case Charon is represented as being an old man with long hair and a shaggy beard. He is wearing a ragged skirt-like garment. Although Signorelli portrays him as a winged figure, he lacks any other supernatural attributes which might make him appear demonic, as does the figure of Charon in Nardo di Cione's work.

Berruguete's portrayal of Charon rowing a boat filled with a circular configuration of nude bodies rocking the vessel with desperate rhythm, differs greatly from the di Cione and Signorelli works. However, their inclusion of the boat of Charon makes them important iconographic sources for Berruguete's The Last Judgement. Neither is Berruguete's work identical to that of Michelangelo, who paints Charon brandishing an oar, although the full load of pathetic pas-

sengers which we see in each makes them similar.

Also, like Michelangelo, Berruguete abandons the typical representation of hierarchies exemplified by the Spanish Last Judgements and those by Giotto, Fra Angelico and Fra Bartolomeo. The horizontal zones of enthroned apostles, saints with halos, angels with wings, and the Saved and the Damned of different social positions are absent from Berruguete's work. Berruguete has eliminated the didactic schemes of the hierarchies of angels, the heavenly tribunals, Saint Michael holding the balance, and heave1 and hell, from his work.

It is because of this important feature, the absence of Saint John from the Deësis group, and the presence of the boat of Charon as a figure for the punishment of the Damned, that Berruguete's iconography for this piece is unusual, if not unique.

Berruguete turns to an Old Testament theme for the subject of the lunette on the right side of the Archbishop's choir stall, to depict one of the miraculous salvations of the chosen people: Moses and the Brazen Serpent.

During the course of their wandering, the people of Israel came to the land of Edom. They were much discouraged because of the long and difficult way that they had traveled. There were murmurings against God and against Moses, and in

punishment the Lord sent a scourge of fiery serpents that bit the people, so that many of them died. But Moses prayed for the people, and the Lord said: ... Make thee a fiery serpent and set it upon a pole and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it shall live. And Moses made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole, and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived. (Numbers 21:8)

Berruguete's representation of this theme consists of two groups of people which practically fill the entire composition. The nude figures of those being attacked by serpents and fleeing from their venomous bite and the prostrate dead form a writhing triangular mass of tangled arms, legs and pain-wracked bodies. This group begins at the left side of the composition and ends almost at the opposite edge. Berruguete reserves only a small space on the right for the five figures who receive salvation looking at the Brazen Serpent. These five figures consist of: an old man supporting a woman in a backbend; a serenely posed nude athletic youth; and the partial figures of two men in profile who raise their arms in prayer to the Brazen Serpent. The scene of punishment, which is played by fourteen figures in violent and contorted poses, overpowers the scene of salvation which Berruguete has relegated to a subordinate role. As in his interpretation of the Last Judgement, Berruguete emphasizes the tragedy of the event and the anguish and peril of a transitory world.

In the central background, Berruguete erects on a tiny mound of earth a small column which ends abruptly without a capital. Around this piece of column he wraps the large body of the Brazen Serpent. The figure of Moses, which is traditionally distinguished by either his pointing to the Brazen Serpent, his role as a leader, or his proximity to the column, is not to be found in Berruguete's work. This, together with Berruguete's emphasis on the punishment, not the salvation, makes this work iconographically exceptional.

The only other work which is iconographically similar is Michelangelo's. In Michelangelo's representation of the Brazen Serpent, on one of the large spandrels of the Sistine Ceiling, we once again witness a tragedy which speaks of the hopeless struggle of humanity. The emphasis is placed on the nude figures who struggle against the fiery serpents on the right side of the composition. The few figures who worship the Brazen Serpent are on the left side of Michelangelo's work. Moses cannot be found among them. As in Berruguete's work, Michelangelo relegates the image of the Brazen Serpent to a relatively unimportant position in the background and with it the idea of salvation.

The uniqueness of Berruguete's iconography can be seen in the light of representations of the Brazen Serpent by artists other than Michelangelo. Let us first look at the work of the Florentine artist Poggibonsi, which is in the Cathedral

of Valencia. In 1419 Poggibonsi signed a contract to carve twelve alabaster reliefs representing Old Testament themes.⁽¹³⁾ In his carving of the Brazen Serpent, Moses is easily recognized, portrayed with horns and pointing to a square pier upon which the Brazen Serpent rests in a horizontal position. The leader of the Jews is flanked by figures standing in quiet classical poses as they look up at the Brazen Serpent. Those who cursed God and Moses are represented by only one figure. Poggibonsi places this sinner at Moses' feet.

Justus of Ghent portrays the theme of the Brazen Serpent in one panel of a triptych he did for the Ghent Cathedral in 1465. The attack of the fiery serpents on the sinners is absent from this work. What we see is a calm group of elaborately dressed figures who look up at Moses as he points with a rod to the Brazen Serpent.

Pacher Frederick's Fifteenth Century fresco in the Museo Diocesano, Bressanone, is another traditional example of the Brazen Serpent theme. Here too, Moses is distinguished as the figure pointing to the serpent. One man stands next to Moses and two dead figures lie at his feet. On the left side of the fresco a small boy is attacked by the serpents as they fly toward him.

In a Florentine engraving, circa 1480, (pl. 15), Moses is represented as he is in Numbers 21:6-9.⁽¹⁴⁾ On the left side of

this Fifteenth Century engraving, we see an elaborate dragon-like serpent perched on the top of a pole. Moses is the figure who raises his arms up to the Brazen Serpent. The Saved are elegantly dressed. They form a half circle around the pole. Some are looking up at the serpent perched on the pole and others look at the figure of Moses. On the right the Damned are fighting off the attack of the fiery serpents.

In 1483, Bartolomeo Bellano worked on ten biblical reliefs in bronze for the choir screen of the Church of San Antonio in Padua. In the foreground of the scene of the Brazen Serpent we see a doric column. Moses in a long robe stands to the right of this column, pointing to the Brazen Serpent on the capital. The Saved around Moses gaze at the serpent. On the opposite side a congregation randomly gaze upward. In the corners of the foreground are mourning figures standing over the bodies of the dead, in poses expressive of their sorrow.

In the background we see tents and trees in a mountainous landscape. Fleeing figures, men on horseback and animals run to escape the deadly bite of the fiery serpents which dart through the air. Bellano's emphasis, like that of the other works I have mentioned, is on the healing, which takes place in the foreground.

Berruguete's work does not follow the traditional icono-

graphy for the Brazen Serpent theme. His iconography is like that of Michelangelo's work which has been repeatedly cited for its originality. We know that Michelangelo's work, done in the Sistine Chapel, was revealed while Berruguete was in Italy. A multitude of young artists made drawings from it. The iconographic similarity of Berruguete's lunette to Michelangelo's work strongly implies Berruguete's knowledge of the Brazen Serpent spandrel. His acquaintance with Buonarroti's genius in the Sistine Ceiling is demonstrated by the authenticated drawings belonging to the Academy of Saint Ferdinand in Madrid. One of the drawings is Berruguete's study of Michelangelo's figure of Haman as it appeared in a Sistine Ceiling spandrel.⁽¹⁵⁾ Therefore, we can say that Berruguete's study of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling accounts for the similarly exceptional iconography in both artists' representations of the Brazen Serpent.

The lunette which adorns the left side of the Archbishop's choir stall is recorded in the appraisals made of Berruguete's work, as representing the Crossing of the Red Sea. The appraisals began on April 7, 1548. Jeronimo Quijano was named to represent the Cathedral and Juan de Juní represented Berruguete in these proceedings. Both men agreed on the iconography of the lunettes and recorded that:

las tres ystorias que tiene hechas el dicho
Alonso de Berruguete de madera de nogal que
pasaron el mar bermejo el pueblo de yrrael y
las otra historia de la serpiente que puso

(16)
moysen en el palo.

However, they disagreed on the monetary value of the works and a third party was called in by Cardinal Siliceo. Pedro Machuca was named to make a third and final appraisal of the works. In his appraisal we see that:

las Ystorias de madera de nogal la una juzio
la otra del pueblo de yrrael que paso el mar
bermejo y la otra de la serpiente que mostro
moysen vale y merece dos mil y ochocientos
ducados. (17)

The appraisals of Juan de Juní and Jeronimo Quijano requested that the lunettes be polished and touched up with gold and silver leaf.

Las quales tres ystorias han de ser dadas de
blanco y broñido y rretocadas de plata y oro
molido a costa del dicho Alonso de Berruguete. (18)

Berruguete did not portray the event of the Crossing of the Red Sea. The last lunette portrays a scene of twenty-one people running, crawling, swimming and riding in the waves of a rising body of water. We see them as a homogenous group. Berruguete does not distinguish Israelites from Egyptians by their garb or position. Nor are any distinct groups formed by the compositional arrangement of the figures as in The Last Judgement and The Brazen Serpent lunettes.

Caught in the high waves on the left side of the relief

are two figures on horseback. That they represent Pharaoh's army is doubtful since they are an integral part of the throng of people portrayed here as struggling against the rising water. They are not dressed or armed for battle, nor do they bear any other trademarks which would distinguish them as soldiers. In low relief in the distance one figure moves towards these riders as he struggles in the waves. Would not this person flee from his enslavers rather than move toward them if this scene represented the Crossing of the Red Sea? The muscular bodies of two nudes are seen in the foreground, as they make an attempt to swim to safety. Underneath them two other men are gasping for breath as they are about to go under the waves. Conversely, the Crossing of the Red Sea is depicted with the waters parted to permit the Jews to walk freely, on dry ground, to their safety. (Exodus 15:19)

In the middle of the composition we see a fallen nude trying to boost himself up to escape the onrushing waves. Behind him a huge muscular male nude carries an infant on his shoulders. Running before these two figures is a nude female figure who turns to see the high waves and the drowning people behind her. In front of her are four smaller figures who run alongside two asses with their possessions strapped to their backs. Berruguete seems to suggest that they are a family as he groups them tightly together. He spares neither the aged nor the young from the tragedy he

creates. The figures of an old bearded man and a young child are the last to be portrayed as they crawl on their hands and knees amongst the treacherous waves. These two figures of age and youth symbolize all of humanity which is being engulfed by the waters. It is visually impossible to see this work as a representation of the Crossing of the Red Sea when we look at the traditional iconography for this Old Testament theme. The Crossing of the Red Sea occurs during the exodus of the Israelites from the land of Egypt.

The army of the Egyptians came upon the Israelites on the shore of the Red Sea. And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea; and the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon dry ground; and the waters were a wall unto them on the right hand and on their left. (Exodus 14:21-2)

When the army of Pharaoh, still in pursuit, tried to follow the Israelites across the Red Sea, Moses again stretched out his hand over the sea,

And the waters returned, and covered the chariots and horsemen, and all the host of Pharaoh, that came into the sea after them; there remained not so much as one of them. (Exodus 14:28)

The conventional iconography for this event was set down in early Christian art. A Vatican sarcophagus from this period typically shows Pharaoh's horsemen submerged on the left side of the work. The Israelites stand on dry ground

on the right side. Moses is identified as the figure who directs the waters with his rod. This convention continued for centuries.

Belbello de Pavia's miniature in the National Library, Florence, which belongs to the first years of the Fifteenth Century, portrays Moses on dry ground with his rod upheld. (20.) The Jews are shown calmly walking with their belongings. Behind them the sea's waves roll back and engulf Pharaoh's army. The scattered bodies of Pharaoh's soldiers distinguished by their uniforms and chariots, are seen amongst the waves.

Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco, The Crossing of the Red Sea, Campo Santo, Pisa, is almost completely destroyed. However, the parts which remain bear witness to Gozzoli's traditional iconography as described by Urbain Megin as follows:

On distingue encore quelques têtes des hommes et des chevaux que se noient. Sur le rivage après avoir traversé la mer à pied sec on se repose et on rend grâces à Dieu. Une femme donne le sein à son enfant; Moïse improvisé des sources. (21)

In 1482, Piero di Cosimo painted his fresco of this theme on the left wall of the Sistine Chapel. He also portrayed the Israelites standing quietly with their belongings on dry ground. Moses holds his rod as he stands with them. Strug-

gling in the waters of the Red Sea are the soldiers of Pharaoh's army and their chariots. Dressed in armor, they carry spears, swords and lances. This is one representation Berruguete must have been familiar with, which shows the importance of the representation of the Egyptians as identifiable by military garb.

Bartolommeo Bellano's bronze relief of 1483 in the Church of San Antonio, Padua, is another work which Berruguete would have known as a result of his time and study in Italy. However, Berruguete's lunette does not indicate this. Bellano portrays Pharaoh's horsemen riding into the waters of the Red Sea. Eleven riders on horseback are drowning in the waves. Many other foot soldiers are shown drowning in the sea. Legs and arms of numerous others, swept under the waves, stick out of the water. Bellano has represented these soldiers in the uniform of Pharoah's army. Moses stands on the land on the right side of the relief. His arm is outstretched over the waters. Some of the Israelites stand with Moses and watch the army being engulfed in the sea at Moses' signal. Others pick up their belongings, rush with their children and flee towards the back of the landscape to escape the awful sight of the drowning army. This representation is missing in the Spanish relief.

Raphael's The Crossing of the Red Sea, in the Loggi, also did not influence Berruguete's iconography. On the left side of

Raphael's composition are Pharaoh's horsemen. Towards the middle of the composition the rolling waves of the Red Sea drown two prominent riders. On the right, Moses accompanied by the Israelites stands with his arm raised to signal the sea to close. In the background Raphael has painted the pillar of fire which led the Israelites through the wilderness.

In Titian's representation, the merciless sea waters fill most of the composition. Pharaoh's men, equipped with their shields, banners, lances and horses are shown drowning. The dry land upon which the Israelites stand appears in a small area on the right side of the composition. Moses is recognized as a figure holding out a rod towards the sea. In the Berruguete version all figures are anonymous.

The later Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century representations of this theme are more elaborate, but follow the traditional iconography. The works of Donato Tempestino, Esteban March and Jacopo Palma il Giovane are cited here as examples of the elaboration of the regalia of Pharaoh's army and the activity of the Israelites who here pray, read and feed their children while their enemy meets death at the
(22)
bottom of the sea.

Once having studied the traditional iconography for the Crossing of the Red Sea, it becomes obvious that Berruguete's

third lunette does not illustrate this theme. If Berruguete was commissioned to sculpt this theme, he either ignored the stipulations of his contract or carved this lunette in an ambiguous enough manner so that it could be accepted as such. In reality Berruguete depicts an entirely different event which serves to make the iconographic cycle of the three lunettes meaningful.

That this lunette has been accepted by appraisers and art historians alike as The Crossing of the Red Sea, does not weaken the argument that it is in actuality a portrayal of The Flood. Certainly Berruguete was not the only mannerist artist to create a work which bears the title The Crossing of the Red Sea, but recalls the theme of The Flood. For instance, Bronzino's fresco in the Palazzo Vecchio, also entitled The Crossing of the Red Sea, vividly recalls Michelangelo's Deluge, as intended.

This was the kind of quotation that lent authority to the learned Maniera style. On the other hand, none of Michelangelo's poses are exactly, or even approximately repeated. Bronzino shows that he can vary the vocabulary and improvise on a Michelangelesque theme. He tosses figures about with some abandon in the rising sea, along with the floating baggage of Pharaoh's army which he piles impressively along the foreground plane. (23)

In Berruguete's case, the primary reference is to the Flood, since there is little in common with other representations of the Crossing of the Red Sea, and most in common

with previous portrayals of the Flood.

It must have been with Michelangelo's work in mind that Berruguete turned to the theme of the Flood to complete the only iconographic program that the three lunettes can represent. When the third lunette is reinterpreted as the Flood, the group may be seen to represent the three eras: ante lege, sub lege and sub gratia. This was the same thematic program Michelangelo sought to complete with his Sistine Ceiling frescoes of the Life of Noah. The eras sub lege and sub gratia were represented by the frescoes of the History of Moses on the left wall and the Life of Christ on the right wall of the Sistine Chapel. The frescoes were on view at the time of Berruguete's visit to Rome. The work of Michelangelo has demonstrated influence on the iconography of The Last Judgement and The Brazen Serpent lunettes. Berruguete had Michelangelo in mind when he represented the Flood. This with his other two works created the same iconographic program as in the Sistine Chapel when Berruguete was in Rome. This must have inspired Berruguete to create his miniature of the Sistine Chapel cycle. It is not surprising that the lunettes are among Berruguete's most outstanding works since they pay tribute to Michelangelo who aided Berruguete as a young student and served as his outstanding source of inspiration throughout his career.

Berruguete portrays the mood and feeling traditionally

expressed in the Flood theme: the desperate people of the earth struggle to save themselves from their destiny. He focuses only on the dramatization of the human element. As his custom, he intensifies the mood and expression of the figures, so as to reveal the drama of the event.

The absence of the Ark is possibly a disturbing factor to those who are accustomed to its appearance in the portrayal of the Flood, as is traditional in early representations of this theme. Uccello's famous work in the Chioostro Verde, Santa Maria Novella, Florence, 1445-47, presents two views of the Ark. Uccello seems to emphasize the redemption of man by giving us this double image.

There is no border dividing the episodes, the figures in one scene tend to overlap those in the other. On the left side the Ark is afloat, beset by thunder, lightning, wind and rain. A bolt of lightning strikes near the point to which the perspective of the sloping flank of the Ark rapidly vanishes, casting on the flanking shadows of the tree being blown away by a little wind-God hurtling through the air past the Ark. Doomed humans lay hopeless siege to the floating fortress, one brandishing a sword as he rides a swimming horse, another threatening him with a club, a third clutching at the Ark with his fingers. Others attempt to stay afloat on wreckage or in barrels. On the right side the Ark has come to rest, and from its window leans Noah, to whom is returning the dove sent forth to discover dry land. (24)

Uccello's work, which powerfully illustrated the intensity of the tragedy of the Flood, influenced the work of an anonymous Florentine master who made an engraving of the theme

circa 1480 (pl.16). In this representation, the Ark is half upset as figures clamber on the outside of it to save themselves. Other figures are portrayed huddling on the tops of mountains. The artist includes animals as a means of escape. Here, as in Uccello's and Berruguete's work, two riders on horseback appear in the waves on the left side of the composition.

As we trace the iconographic development of the Flood, we note that the Ark becomes relegated to an unimportant place in the composition, as it is pushed further and further into the background. Of particular significance is the position of the Ark in Michelangelo's The Flood, which was the first panel he was to work on in the Sistine Chapel in 1508. There is no doubt that Michelangelo intended to give a new interpretation to this biblical theme, by emphasizing man's cruel fate. To do this, he deviated from earlier iconographic tradition. In his work the Ark is represented as floating off in the distance. In this way he only hints at man's redemption instead of emphasizing it, as Uccello did with his double view of the Ark in the foreground of his composition.

The idea of putting the Ark in the background was taken over in later paintings of the Flood. We see this in Raphael's fresco, in the Loggie. In the foreground three main figures tell the drama of the event. On the left a rider

on a horse makes his way through the waves, as do the riders in Berruguete's work. The middle figure in Raphael's foreground is seen supporting the body of his wife. The figure on the right carries his children to the safety of the plateau. In the distant background we can see the Ark.

In Baldassare Peruzzi's fresco of the Flood (pl.17) in the Cappella Ponzetti of the Santa Maria della Pace Church, Rome, the Ark is a solitary image already far off in the distance. Peruzzi does not represent any figures clinging to it, which would emphasize its power of salvation. In this work as well the dominant action is in the foreground. On the left a group of people row a boat to the safety of a small plateau. A horse also swims through the water to this plateau, where a group of figures huddle together.

In an anonymous Sixteenth Century engraving, (pl. 18) the Ark, which was once a mighty structure, now resembles a tiny rowboat. It is placed by itself in the distance, deserted of figures. The traditional iconographic significance of the Ark is now conveyed by the foreground scene of people seeking and finding safety on a piece of high ground.

Berruguete carries this progression to its completion and leaves out the Ark entirely in his representation of the Flood. By doing this, the idea of man's cruel fate, which Michelangelo stressed, is reinforced by Berruguete. As Berruguete abandons the Ark, he abandons the idea of salvation

and redemption for mankind. Exclusion of the vehicles of man's salvation is in keeping with the iconography of the first two lunettes, which represent a greater number of Sinners than Saved, and a greater number of Israelites attacked by the fiery serpents than saved. The tortured and tormented nude figures, which Berruguete focuses on in his three lunettes, symbolize his pessimistic attitude toward the fate of mankind.

The argument for the interpretation of the Flood as the subject of the last lunette is further supported by two other art historians, who refer to it as The Flood.

In his book, Alonso Berruguete en Toledo, Juan Gaya Nuño refers to the lunette in question as El Diluvio Universal, despite the fact that the appraisals of the work, listed by him as a reference, refer to it as The Crossing of the Red Sea.

Andreina Griseri is the second author to refer to Berruguete's lunette as Il Diluvio in her article, "Berruguete
(25)
e Machuca".

CHAPTER IV
STYLISTIC SOURCES FOR THE LUNETTES

To conclude, I will examine the visual sources Berruguete would have known and which appear to have influenced his creation of the three lunettes. Most of the works I will cite are ones which Berruguete would have had first hand knowledge of, as a result of his stay in Italy. The others are works he would have seen in Spain.

The Greek and Roman works which can be pointed to as stylistic sources for Berruguete's three compositions speak of a youthful artist's admiration of the antique. His early stay in Italy afforded him the opportunity to study the examples of antique art preserved there, and those being discovered at the time. The antique-maniera relationship, which includes the specific use of antique poses and gesture by Mannerist artists, can easily be established in the case of Berruguete's lunettes.

(1)

An ancient mosaic in the Piazza Armerina, Italy represents a scene of vanquished giants being attacked by serpents. One of the giants is represented as shielding his eye from the serpents' attack. This motif was used by Berruguete in his representation of the Last Judgement. A seated nude figure in Charon's boat also covers his eye to

shield it from the inevitable pains of hell. Berruguete seems to quote the pose of another giant from this mosaic with the position of the fallen nude figure in the center of the Flood scene. Both this giant and Berruguete's figure are kneeling, as they extend one arm out horizontally and raise it high above the shoulder line, in an effort to stop the oncoming disaster which faces them. Even the positioning of the fingers of the extended hand is the same. In both instances the thumb is separated from the other four digits. The shape of the hand is a chevron. Both figures turn their heads to the extreme left and are locked in profile. The figures face their respective enemies in this position.

Berruguete's intense study of The Laocoön is recorded by Vasari, who tells us that the artist competed in making a reproduction of this work. The impression this sculpture made upon Berruguete may have inspired him to carve the Brazen Serpent theme, which afforded him the opportunity to make a free paraphrase of this ancient group. Berruguete does not make direct quotes from The Laocoön, but the overpowering emotionalism and the tortured convolutions which characterize his figures no doubt derived in part from his personal study of this work.

The Belvedere Torso is another work which can be cited as influencing the general body types seen in Berruguete's

lunettes. This First Century B.C. Roman work has its hallmark in a torsion and spiraling movement. The Herculean proportions of the father, who carries his child on his shoulders in The Flood, recall this antique work. Both figures have chests rippled with muscles. The round knotty protrusions their muscles form at the sides are also shared features. A back view of the famed torso reveals the same strangely formed shoulder blade we see in the Flood figure and in the aged erect nude in The Last Judgement. The Belvedere Torso seems to have set an example for Berruguete, not only with torsion and contraposto, but also in the emphatic anatomy of the large and compact muscular masses which are in action.

Roman sarcophagi of the Second to the Fourth Centuries anticipate la maniera in many ways: the flattening of figures; (the keeping of both shoulders en face); the action in two dimensions; the isolation of principal figures and groups of figures from each other; frequent emphasis on arms and legs and the system of linear compositions with its stress on diagonals in the pattern of figures and limbs; agitated movement; the lack of compositional focus; and the copiousness of the figures.⁽²⁾

Berruguete's work exhibits these general characteristics. We can look at two specific sarcophagi which make this comparison concrete. Both sarcophagi illustrate the history

of Orestes, which like the Laocoön, links them most vividly to the lunette in which Berruguete's figures are attacked by fiery serpents. In The Sarcophagus of Orestes, in Saint John Lateran, Rome, (pl.19), the central episode is composed of the massacred bodies of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra. Their ferocious deaths are expressed through the poses in which their dead bodies lie. Aegisthus has been turned upside-down so that his huge body now balances on his head; Berruguete chooses this inverted pose for one of his dead figures in The Brazen Serpent. Clytemnestra is shown with her head thrown back; one of Berruguete's figures in The Brazen Serpent has his head in the same position, as he throws his body back.

The second sarcophagus comes from Husillos, Palencia (pl.20) and is now in the Museo Arqueológico, Madrid. Its composition is less crowded. The figures which appear are mostly in the same positions as in the first sarcophagus. This is true of the poses of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra in particular. Berruguete's nude figure seated in profile while painfully struggling to release himself from the grave in The Last Judgement, recalls the first figure on the right of this sarcophagus. The pose of both figures originates in the traditional River God.

Looking at this sarcophagus in its broader and more meaningful sense, we can see how Berruguete's style was in-

fluenced by its exaggerated poses; its use of rhetorical hand gestures and excited movement; its urgency of expression; and the frantic rhythm which is carried across the work by the linking of the figures through their poses and gestures.

The one grotesque face appearing in a frontal position in Berruguete's boat of Charon seems to spring directly from the artist's experience of ancient sarcophagi. The same portrait appears on a sarcophagus which dates from 250 A.D., now in the Torlonia Museum.⁽³⁾

Roman columns are also stylistic sources for the lunettes. The boat which occupies the bottom rung of Trajan's Column is very similar in shape to Berruguete's boat of Charon. On the column, the scenes of men riding horseback through bodies of water have also found a place in Berruguete's interpretation of the Flood.

The battle scene which decorates a marble urn in the Archaeological Museum, Florence,⁽⁴⁾ is another work which would have influenced Berruguete's involved compositions and vigorous attitudes. The painful terror of the fallen kneeling soldier of this urn, reminds one of the central figure in The Brazen Serpent lunette.

The Brazen Serpent figure who bends over to support his companion around the waist recalls the traditional pose in

which we find the figures of Ajax and Patroclus in many Greek works.

It is on The Arch of Constantine that Berruguete would have studied the battle scenes which seem to have influenced his portrayal of the two figures who dive among the waters of The Flood. In the depiction of The Battle at Ponte Molle, Constantine's soldiers push their enemy off the bridge. One of the enemy is hunched over in the same diving position Berruguete has given to two of his figures. The swirls which serve to portray the waters of the Tiber are similar to Berruguete's Flood waters. The Arch of Constantine also depicts the struggle of horse and rider in dangerous waters, which Berruguete uses in The Flood.

Turning now to Italian sculpture of another age, we discover that the works of Donatello may have served as models for Berruguete. The same qualities found in Donatello's sculpture such as dramatic force, psychological depth and revolutionary boldness, are found in Berruguete's lunettes. Berruguete translates the frenzied movement of the angels which decorate the pulpit of the Prato Cathedral, near Florence, 1433-38. Their complicated angular poses and gestures become the frenzy the The Flood and The Brazen Serpent lunettes. The standing female nude of The Flood is as beautiful and alive as Donatello's dancing angels. She twists and turns in her effort to escape the

Flood.

Donatello's sculptural decoration of the Old Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence, can be pointed to as another source of inspiration for Berruguete's work. It was here Berruguete would have studied pictorial dynamics. The freedom of action and expression which Donatello gives to his figures, providing his narratives with dramatic intensity, culminates in The Escape of Saint John. Berruguete's desire to give his figures the force of flight, which Donatello bestows on Saint John, can be seen in The Brazen Serpent. Here two figures in the left background collide and bounce off each other with enough force to send their bodies through space.

The style of Donatello's bronze doors in the Sacristy of San Lorenzo, 1437-43, criticized by Filarete as lacking decorum, would have inspired Berruguete. Filarete's statement, "If you have to do apostles, do not make them look like fencers, as Donatello did.⁽⁵⁾", was borrowed from Alberti, who was first to warn against the twisting of figures into incongruous poses to suggest movement and vivacity. Donatello does exactly this in the San Lorenzo Sacristy works and Berruguete as well in the lunettes. Berruguete bends his figures to show front and back views at the same time, creating the turbulent movement present in Donatello's work. The standing female of The Flood again speaks of

Donatello, when we compare her to the figure in the last panel on the left of The Martyrs Door. Donatello simultaneously moves the drapery and the body of this martyr, whose head is sharply turned to the right, though the body momentum is to the left. The figures in the third row of the right panel of The Apostle Door, which Filarete referred to as "fencers", exhibit urgent gestures and shouting faces. The figures which collide and those who raise their arms to pray in The Brazen Serpent do also.

The lunettes can be seen in the light of Donatello's work on the high altar, in the Church of San Antonio, Padua, 1446-50. Looking at the twelve angel panels, one course for the wild gestures which punctuate the lunettes becomes apparent. Donatello's cymbalist is one angel among several who bursts the boundaries of the frame with wild gestures. The fearful expression of the angel is disquieting. The body moves in many ways at one time, punctuating dance rhythms rather than musical sounds with the cymbal. A similar excitement bursts the frame of The Brazen Serpent lunette as figures throw themselves into back breaking positions to escape death.

The four reliefs on this altar which describe The Miracles of Saint Anthony, share with the lunettes the dynamic intensity of a surging crowd. The relief of The Irascible

Son, has been criticized for its confusion and child-like representation. Its carving has been called hasty and disjointed. Berruguete's work has been criticized for the same "offenses". The agitated pose of the son, who writhes on the floor after he has cut off his foot for having kicked his mother, is mindful of the victims of the fiery serpents' bite. The impact of the event on the populace was Donatello's artistic concern. He portrays the many different reactions of the people through their facial expressions, poses, movements, and drapery. The frantic gestures of Donatello's passionate crowd bind its members together in a fluid wave-like rhythm. Berruguete's lunettes also are animated by the reactions of the crowds he carves.

The mass hysteria, which Donatello creates in his representation of The Ass of Rimini, is intensified by the figures he portrays lunging forward at either side of the priest, who presents the host to the kneeling ass. We have only to look at Berruguete's Flood for a re-enactment of this gesture by the two nude figures in the left foreground. In Donatello's The Heart of the Miser, we again observe the urgency of the crowd lunging forward to observe a miracle. Berruguete captures this sense of immediacy and incorporates it into the group of figures rushing forward to be cured by the Brazen Serpent.

There is a uniformly high pitch of intense grief in the lunettes which we also find in Donatello's limestone relief carving done in 1449, of The Entombment. The raised and sharply extended position of the figures' arms is a standard Mannerist motif which Donatello uses here and Berruguete employs in his lunettes. The violent gestures of Donatello's The Entombment equal those of the most agitated groups of his Paduan panels and his later carvings on the bronze twin pulpits, 1460-70, in the San Lorenzo Church, Florence. In Donatello's The Deposition Berruguete would have seen another array of figures who wildly mourn in awkward positions. The swooning figure of Donatello's The Deposition appears twice in The Brazen Serpent. The ether of death which fills the figure of Christ in Donatello's The Resurrection, permeates the figures which ride in Berruguete's boat of Charon.

The exploration of human gestures by a contemporary of Donatello also influenced the style of Berruguete's work. This artist was Uccello, whose portrayal of the Flood reveals in horror, the cataclysm which overwhelmed mankind. Uccello expresses the emotions of the spirit through the movements of the bodies and faces of his figures. Uccello's work includes a motif of two swimmers with their arms extended. As these two figures echo each other and form a pair, so do the two swimmers in the foreground of Berruguete's The Flood.

Leonardo, like Berruguete, was an artist for whom the theme of the Flood held significance and was an important part of his philosophy concerning mankind. Leonardo's drawings of the Flood bear no influence on Berruguete's interpretation of this event, but there are others of his works in which are found stylistic sources for the lunettes.

Leonardo was commissioned in 1481 to paint The Adoration of the Magi for a cloister outside of Florence. The work was never completed, but in its unfinished state Berruguete could have seen what is regarded as an illustrated treatise on the movements of horses. Here are to be found horses standing, walking, prancing, and rearing. They are seen from the front, back and side. José María de Azcárate remarked that, "Los caballos terrestres y marinos de las sillería de Toledo, recuerdan que hizo Leonardo."⁽⁶⁾ The horses Berruguete represents in The Flood resemble those in The Adoration of the Magi. They are distinguished from Leonardo's later horses by the smallness of the head, the wide foreheads, narrow nostrils, and the wide, circular muzzles. We can compare the horse who bears a young rider on the left side of The Adoration of the Magi, to the horse in profile in Berruguete's The Flood. Berruguete retains the small size for the head of the second horse in this scene, but he increases the proportions for the rest of the body, and uses the large scale of Leonardo's horses in The Battle of Anghiari. The three-quarter hind view of Berru-

guete's horse is the same as two out of the three horses Leonardo portrays in this battle scene.

In the background of a drawing Leonardo did circa 1481, Uffizzi Gallery, for The Adoration, are the figures of naked men crawling up a flight of stairs. Berruguete chooses this same pose for two of his foreground figures of The Flood. At the top of the stairs is a balcony where Leonardo places the figures of men and animals writhing in a fantastic tangle. The mood of this crowd is felt in The Brazen Serpent.

The composition for Leonardo's The Adoration includes a crowd of people who are pressed close together as they bend and gesture in a variety of expressive ways towards the figure of the Virgin. Behind this scene is a small outcrop of land crowned with a tree. The composition of Berruguete's The Brazen Serpent recalls that of The Adoration. A crowd of people push towards the center of the work and in the background, on a small mound of earth, stands a column.

In 1505, Leonardo was commissioned to paint The Battle of Anghiari. In one of the drawings he did for this work, Windsor Castle Collection, No.12,340, a horseman appears riding with one arm raised. He rides his gasping horse against the wind. This image can be found in Berruguete's

The Flood. In another drawing there is a man brandishing a sword above his head. His horrific face is like that of the mask-faced figure in Berruguete's boat of Charon. Both artists endow these screaming faces with heavy scowling brows, flat and straight noses, and irregular, oval, wide and gaping mouths. The arrangement of the figures in the boat of Charon recalls the central design for Leonardo's The Battle of Anghiari, in which all compositional lines radiate inward. Nothing leads the eye away from the bestiality of war Leonardo has expressed. There is no element to distract us from the torment of the Damned whose bodies all curve inwards and form a circular composition in Berruguete's work. Both artists keep us captive within the counter-clockwise movement their figures create.

Leonardo had finished the cartoon for The Battle of Anghiari in 1505. He began the painting in the Sal del Gran Consiglio of the Palazzo Vecchio, in Florence. For some years the cartoon for this work, and one for Michelangelo's The Battle of Cascina, remained in Florence when Berruguete was studying there; he would have had the opportunity to see both works.

The influence that Michelangelo's work had on Berruguete's stylistic development culminates with the lunettes, which pay tribute to Michelangelo in the similarity between their iconographic scheme and that of the Sistine Ceiling,

which Michelangelo was working on when Berruguete was in
 (7)
 Rome. We can surmise from the warm letter of introduction,
 dated July 2, 1508, which Michelangelo wrote for Berru-
 (8)
 guete, the young Spanish artist would have seen and stu-
 died such other works by Michelangelo as his The Battle of
 the Centaurs. This early and impressive relief would have
 reinforced the lessons Berruguete learned from the sar-
 cophagi of the Roman period. The confusion of figures in
 Berruguete's The Brazen Serpent speaks of this 1492 work
 by Michelangelo in which it is difficult to decide who is
 male, female or centaur, because of the lack of clarity.
 The urgency with which Michelangelo fills the entire space
 with masses of figures, strongly suggests the style of the
 lunettes, which can be described as horror vacui. The un-
 chained energy of Michelangelo's figures also finds its
 counterpart in the lunettes. The rotary movement which
 floods around the central figure in Michelangelo's relief,
 begins in the upper right background, flows downward and
 then ascends towards the left. This same whirling move-
 ment is created by Berruguete through the flow of the forces
 within his figures in The Brazen Serpent and The Last Judge-
 ment.

Another early achievement of Michelangelo, the cartoon
 for The Battle of Cascina, helped inculcate in Berruguete
 a fondness for the twisting bodies which prevail in the lu-
 nettes. The cartoon, completed in 1505, was to an extent

a Mannerist composition with complicated and partially forced attitudes. "A fact with significant bearing on the stylistic character of his work is that Berruguete began studying and copying it immediately on his arrival in Florence in 1508."⁽⁹⁾

Vasari, who discusses the cartoon in the life of Michelangelo and again in the life of Baccio Bandinelli, records that Berruguete acquired technical ability by making drawings from the agitated and convoluted nudes of the cartoon of Cascina. Moreover, in the set of drawings ascribed to Berruguete in the Uffizi, there is one generally accepted as his handicraft. It represents two masculine nudes, both of which seem to be adaptations from figures in the cartoon.⁽¹⁰⁾ This drawing shows the Mannerist swirl of drapery, clothing a standing figure on the left of The Last Judgement.

As in The Flood, Michelangelo emphasizes the "inward event" of the participants of The Battle of Cascina. Berruguete follows this philosophy in The Last Judgement, particularized by the absence of hellish manifestations, and The Flood, which expresses the cataclysmic event without the embellishment of the Ark and salvation.

Many figures appear frozen in frantic poses in the lunettes. The two nude swimmers in The Flood, the colliding

figures and the man who grasps the snake in The Brazen Serpent, as well as the two large nudes next to Charon in The Last Judgement are here cited as examples. In the same way, the figures which climb onto the rock and those which lunge forward in their excitement in the Cascina cartoon, seem frozen in time and space and speak of man's helplessness. The figure in the background of Berruguete's The Last Judgement, who leaps from Charon's boat, is caught in the same frozen pose as the third man on the right in the first row of Michelangelo's cartoon. Berruguete borrows the pose of the last figure on the left of the cartoon's second stratum for the central figure of The Flood. Both figures balance themselves in a bended knee position as they try to raise themselves up. They lean on their right hands and they raise their left high. Both turn their heads sharply to the left and their knees to the right as they lean in that direction. The ardent stare which fixes their faces enhances the static quality of their pose.

With the lunettes, Berruguete found the opportunity to express the intimate physical life of bodies, the play of their muscles and the participation of each figure in a dynamic action, all of which he studied in the Cascina cartoon. The power of the dramatic grouping of figures in the cartoon impressed Berruguete. The influence was reinforced by his exposure to the compositions of the Sistine Ceiling.

In The Flood of the Sistine Ceiling, Michelangelo composed three dramatic groups of figures parallel to the picture plane. The first group is a race of Titans who carry their possessions up to a dry bank. These figures form a triangle in the first plane which cuts the lower part of the painting diagonally, relegating the tribe of people on a rock to the second plane, the figures in a boat and the Ark to the third plane. De Tolnay writes this type of composition was taken up by the Mannerists.⁽¹¹⁾

Berruguete uses this compositional device for his portrayal of the Flood. A triangular shape, which cuts diagonally across the lunette, is formed by the figures in the foreground. The six running figures on the right make up the second plane. The two figures in the background at the left occupy the third plane.

There are many other motifs which suggest Michelangelo's The Flood was a source of inspiration for Berruguete. On the plateau in Michelangelo's work, the blissful ignorance of youth is portrayed in a child who toys with his mother's hands while she locks him in a fearful embrace. A similar pair in Berruguete's The Flood can be found in the father whose face is distorted with fear while his child rides on his shoulders, smiling the sweet way the naivete of youth brings to his lips.

Berruguete repeats Michelangelo's group of figures attempting to save their possessions. Berruguete portrays an elderly man worried for his bundle of worldly goods, being carried by an ass. Berruguete's decision to include this particular beast of burden is not surprising, as it appears in a similar role on the extreme left of Michelangelo's The Flood.

Another of Berruguete's motifs has a counterpart in the second plane of Michelangelo's The Flood. In both cases figures try to help others emerge from the water. Berruguete condenses Michelangelo's scene into two figures which appear in the left foreground of The Flood. Here he carves one nude man trying desperately to save another from the waves. They are shown from the waist up and their torsos reveal their physical struggle for survival. Their faces record their emotional struggle. The grieved face of the figure aiding his companion is remarkable. The expression on his face tells of a major but futile battle. We can relate this poignant struggle to that of the father and son in the second plane of Michelangelo's work. The father pathetically struggles to carry the body of his dead son.

Motifs and stylistic sources for Berruguete's The Brazen Serpent are found in Michelangelo's interpretation of this theme. Berruguete reverses the positions of Michelangelo's players but, otherwise, the compositions are almost identical.

cal. On one side of each composition are the figures being attacked by the serpents. They press up against each other in every conceivable pose until they reach the limits of their frames. On the other side of each work is a small group of figures who are miraculously saved. The five adult figures which comprise these groups are lined up in identical order in each work. We first see the figure of a man who supports a collapsing woman by holding her under her left arm. Next to the woman is a figure standing in quiet repose. Alongside the man are the faces in profile of two other figures. Berruguete has given them outstretched arms. Michelangelo adds the figure of a baby to this line of characters. In both works there is an opening in the middle of the background where we find the column around which is entwined the Brazen Serpent.

The twisting serpentine motions in Berruguete's work is derived from Michelangelo's The Brazen Serpent. Berruguete also adopts the unusual and dramatic foreshortening of Michelangelo's figures. The motif of a snake opening its jaws to seize the skull of a man is seen in the corner of Michelangelo's spandrel and is used by Berruguete in the left foreground of his work. In the group awaiting healing in Michelangelo's subordinate scene of salvation, is the prominent figure of an exhausted woman assisted by a man, who helps her extend her arm to the Brazen Serpent. Berruguete adopts this motif. He dramatizes it with the

exaggerated thrust he gives to the woman's body, which seems to propel her towards the object of her adoration. The position of the man's body remains true to the model. The three-quarter frontal view of his chest, and the positioning of the right knee, which is bent and projects out of the picture frame, seem to be quotes from Michelangelo's figure.

The figure standing next to this couple in Berruguete's work recalls Michelangelo's sculpture, The Dying Captive. Both figures tilt their heads to the right. Their right legs are straight while their left legs are bent at the knee. Both legs are pressed firmly together. Berruguete alters The Dying Captive's pose slightly by raising his right arm instead of his left. But, like Michelangelo, he bends it back at the elbow so that the figure's hand may be placed on the top of his head. Berruguete guards the classical contrapposto, perhaps in an effort to make a subtle figure which would possess the calm of The Dying Captive. Berruguete relates this figure to The Dying Captive by endowing him with the elegant form and grace which makes him stand out from all the figures of the lunettes.

The motifs in Michelangelo's The Last Judgement, 1536-41, which Berruguete used for his interpretation of that theme, came from the engravings of Michelangelo's work. Domenico del Barbieri was one Fontainebleau engraver who reproduced the works of Michelangelo. In his engravings of The Last Judgement, circa 1541, he scrupulously indicated Michelangelo

as his source. The motif of the boat of Charon in Berruguete's work bears witness to the wide circulation of this Fontainebleau print. The pose of the second seated nude on the left side of Charon's boat also implies Berruguete's knowledge of Barbieri's engraving. This figure would be Berruguete's translation of the damned soul who appears in Michelangelo's The Last Judgement being pulled down by three demons. Berruguete's figure rides in Charon's boat in a profile position, but like Michelangelo's figure, he huddles with fear as he holds his left hand before his face in a desperate gesture. As with Michelangelo, the figure's exposed staring eye mirrors the horror and dimension of his fall. They additionally share the expression of disbelief with their partially opened mouths.

One figure in low relief is jumping out of Charon's boat in Berruguete's work. Caught in the split second pose before his mad leap, he reminds one of the figures escaping from the same boat in Michelangelo's fresco.

The sole face, which Berruguete turns to the viewer from Charon's boat resembles the devil in Michelangelo's The Last Judgement. This face, which Berruguete carved into a gnarled grimace, resembles even more a drawing by Michelangelo of a damned soul. Berruguete echoes the physiognomy of terror of this 1525 drawing, which was engraved by A. Salamanca.⁽¹²⁾ It was probably in Salamanca's engraving that Berru-

guete saw this gorgon head, which he carved in his work with the greatest care. He seems to have included the details of the facial features as worthy tribute to Michelangelo's work. This face is the only frontal one seen in all three lunettes.

The tremendous impact that Michelangelo's work had on Berruguete as a young artist in Italy is easily understood. However, the lunettes bear witness to the fact that even in his old age, Berruguete was not to lose sight of Michelangelo.

During his stay in Florence, Berruguete also came in contact with the younger artists of his generation, who, like himself, were emerging in the matured classical style of the Renaissance and sought to find a nonclassical means to give a new direction to their art. The style of Berruguete's lunettes speaks of his youthful association with his Italian contemporaries, Jacopo Pontormo and Rosso Fiorentino.

We must look to Pontormo's drawings to discover the influence that this artist had upon the style of Berruguete's lunettes. The figures in Pontormo's drawings are vitalized by his expressive use of line in contrast to his paintings, which must be thought of in terms of their color. The vigorous quality of line in Pontormo's spirited sketches is common to Berruguete and his execution of the lunettes. The fervor with which Pontormo produced his drawings is preserved

in the wood of Berruguete's sculpture.

Many of the drawings Pontormo produced during his first years of activity in Florence, from 1514 to 1519, were accomplished while Berruguete resided there. Janet Cox Rearick tells us that Pontormo's drawings of 1516 to 1518 reveal his experimental mentality earlier than his paintings. (13) The drawings reveal the evolution of his formal vocabulary. They document the beginnings of Mannerism.

Berruguete's three-dimensional work relates to Pontormo's two-dimensional drawings. In both, line is stressed at the expense of a strong plastic form. The life and nervous energy Berruguete gives to his figures is created by his use of line rather than modeling, as in Pontormo's drawings.

(14)
In Pontormo's drawing of Joseph, we see the swiftness with which the artist compelled his line to move. The broken rhythm of Pontormo's line dislocates Joseph's back and throws it into the unnatural "hunchback" of Berruguete's lunettes. The figure perched above Charon in Berruguete's The Last Judgement can be cited as one example. The rhythmic excitement and energy of the line which forms Joseph's back, (Pl.27), in another of Pontormo's drawings seems to propel him into a dynamic upward movement. This same type of strong line, which carves the giant nude figure in Berruguete's The Last Judgement, causes the boat of Charon to rise up.

Certain of Pontormo's drawings would have also influenced the rhythmic mode of handling Berruguete employs in the lunettes. The rhythms in Berruguete's work which connects one form to another is like Pontormo's in that it is involved and swift and close to the surface of his work. The rhythmic line of Pontormo's figure of Saint John the Baptist, (Pl.48), seems also to sway the figures of Berruguete's lunettes. In Pontormo's drawing of the arm for Saint John, (Pl.50) the fingers are represented by quick straight lines. Berruguete uses this mode of representation for the fingers of the two outstanding nudes in Charon's boat. The straight lines which form the fingers on the hands of the figures worshipping the Brazen Serpent add great impact to the meaning of this gesture. Berruguete has adopted the stabbing angular gestures of Pontormo which effectively disrupt and agitate his figures.

Pontormo's new concept of line in these years grew from his desire to animate form. His line no longer contained and controlled form as in classical drawings, but rather served to make his figures energetic and moving. With characteristic line Pontormo gave his figures any design his arabasque demanded. Berruguete employs line for the same purpose. As with Pontormo, Berruguete's line breaks and bends his figures. His dramatic use of line intensifies his personal response to and interpretation of the three lunettes.

The influence that Pontormo's alert and responsive drawings had on Berruguete can be felt when we look at the figures of the lunettes who seem to burst with the energy of their contours. As Pontormo's line defines his visual and psychological experience, so does Berruguete's line reflect his objective and subjective sensations.

Berruguete's use of line plays an important part in the style of his lunettes. His awareness of the role line played in Pontormo's drawings would seem to have inspired his use of line for its aesthetic and emotive possibilities.

Many aspects of the paintings by Rosso Fiorentino could be considered as stylistic sources for the lunettes. In his earliest painting of The Assumption, of 1515, the closely massed apostles overlap in the lower part of the picture, leaving little room for recession in depth. The overlapping of figures in the foreground of Berruguete's works creates the same lack of space. The strange foreshortening of the putti in the upper part of Rosso's composition would also have served as an example for Berruguete. The raised arm of the Virgin is the gentle beginning of the wild gesturing in Rosso's work which Berruguete repeats.

In Rosso Fiorentino's later works the expressiveness of The Assumption is heightened by his suppression of all which is usual and balanced. The new type of spirituality we ex-

perience in his The Deposition From the Cross, 1521, is in part created by the sharpened gestures of his figures. The expressive power of Berruguete's work also depends on the gestures his figures make. We experience the pathos of the figures in Charon's boat as they reach their arms out in despair and clutch themselves in fear. The painting of Moses and the Daughters of Jethro executed by Rosso before 1523, when he left Florence, is made powerful by its brutally projected gestures. The wild movements of the figures are incorporated into Berruguete's work. Had Berruguete been in Florence during the years when this painting was being executed, we could trace the howling face of the nude in Charon's boat to that of the fallen figure on the right side of this work by Rosso. The figure storming in from the left side of Rosso's composition could be pointed to as the inspiration for Berruguete's figure in The Brazen Serpent who similarly rushes into the scene. However, Berruguete had already returned to Spain when this work and The Deposition were painted by Rosso.

The influence that Rosso's style had upon Berruguete's work would have been established by the prints of the school of Fontainebleau. The style of the prints of the Fontainebleau school, which stresses restlessness, was the effect of Rosso, who came to work there in 1531.⁽¹⁵⁾ Because of the wide exposure of the prints of Fontainebleau, Berruguete would have been familiar with his style.

The print Circe Giving a Drink to Ulysses' Companions, (pl.21), 1542, by Antonio Fantuzzi, can be one of the sources for the circular wave of the drapery in Berruguete's The Last Judgement. The spike-like fingers with which Circe holds her garment and the sailor grasping the cup she offers are those with which Berruguete's figures make their impassioned gestures. The small and crowded craft in which Ulysses' companions ride resembles Berruguete's boat of Charon.

The poetic motif of a nude holding up a dying figure in the background of Berruguete's The Brazen Serpent is seen in the etching of Achilles Removing Patroclus' Body from Battle, (pl.22) by the Master L.D.. Henri Zerner considers ⁽¹⁶⁾ the Master L.D. to be the finest Fontainebleau etcher. His prints were made between the years 1542 and 1548. The right side of his etching, Jesus Healing Ten Lepers, (pl.23), is dominated by the wild gestures of the lepers. In their frenzy this group resembles the worshippers of Berruguete's The Brazen Serpent. One leper at the extreme right of the composition is cut off at the waist, as is the figure who occupies the same position in The Brazen Serpent lunette. Both figures vigorously extend their arms in an attitude of prayer. In terms of their pose and position these two figures are identical. The positioning of the spikey fingers of several of the lepers is like that of the female bent into prayer in the same Berruguete relief. The chevron formed by the hands of these figures resemble cutting de-

vices. This shape sharpens and exaggerates their gestures.

The giant nude in Charon's boat seen in Berruguete's The Last Judgement holds both his arms above his head. This is a frequent gesture in many Fontainebleau etchings. The etching of The Death of Adonis (pl.24) by the Master L.D. as well as his three prints of Hunting and Fishing, could have supplied Berruguete with this motif.

The etchings of Jean Mignon might even have been the strongest stylistic influence for Berruguete's work. In comparing Mignon's work to the other Fontainebleau artists, his stands out in terms of the ferocity of his expressions and the wildness of his gestures. Mignon's prints were executed in a comparatively short span of time, probably beginning in 1543 and ending no later than 1545.⁽¹⁷⁾ In his etching of The Last Judgement, which appeared in two states, (pl.25, 26), one with a decorative border, we see the motif of the boat of Charon which is outstanding in Berruguete's work. In Mignon's work the boat is seen in the background. Figures are already seated in it while others are shown climbing aboard. Charon is the large figure rowing at the front of the boat. He is represented as an old man with a beard and wings.

Among the figures of the Damned emerging from the ground, a devil grabs a female by the hair. The tremendous curve

her back forms as she tries to escape the devil's embrace is like that of the first two nudes in Berruguete's boat. In the foreground of Mignon's work, a damned soul throws his arm in front of his face to protect himself. This motif is used by Berruguete for the central figure in the foreground of The Brazen Serpent. Two of the Saved Mignon portrays emerge from their graves with arms raised in the typical Fontainebleau pose already described as the one Berruguete gives to the giant nude in Charon's boat.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The work of Alonso Berruguete, the most important Mannerist sculptor, has long remained neglected. To this day there does not exist a monograph on Berruguete written in English. Dr. Irving Zupnick, Professor of Art History at the State University of New York has work in progress. The one existing monograph, Berruguete y Su Obra, written by Ricardo de Orueta in 1914, neglects to discuss the three choir lunettes. Orueta's treatment of Berruguete's art is scant and superficial. There is no author who provides more than a string of adjectives to describe his style and a short list of the most obvious artists who influenced him.

This thesis presents an examination of Berruguete's capabilities and artistic career as seen in the lunettes. The research establishes the characteristics of Berruguete's carving. I have re-examined the iconographic scheme of the lunettes and proposed a new and valid meaning. In my discussion of the visual content of the lunettes, I have uncovered the wide range of stylistic sources and motifs by which Berruguete was influenced and which he incorporated into his work.

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FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

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3. Post, Spanish Painting, XIV, 4.
4. Post, Spanish Painting, XIV, 11.
5. S. Freedburg, Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961, 536.

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3. I will refer to the lunette, accepted as representing The Crossing of the Red Sea, as The Flood, since one objective of this thesis is to prove this title correct.
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5. M.R. Zarco del Valle, Documentos de la catedral de Toledo, Madrid, 1916, 43.
6. J.A. Gaya Nuño, Alonso Berruguete en Toledo, Barcelona, 1944, 8.
7. P. Salazar de Mendoza, Chronico de el cardenal Iuan Tauera, Toledo, 1603, 221.
8. Gómez-Moreno, Las Aguilas, 160.

Chapter III

1. Photographs of the cited Italian and Spanish representations of The Last Judgement are available at the Frick Art Reference Library.
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Plate 1. Alonso Berruguete: The Flood, Toledo
Cathedral of Toledo. (Photo: Mas)



Plate 2. Alonso Berruguete: The Brazen Serpent,
Toledo, Cathedral of Toledo. (Photo: Mas)

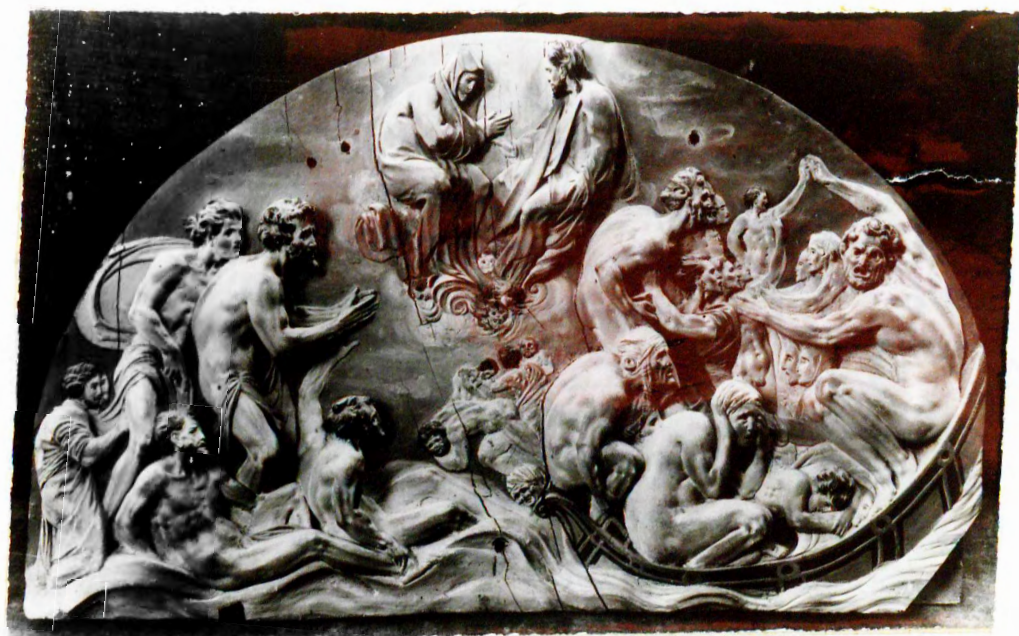


Plate 3. Alonso Berruguete: The Last Judgement,
Toledo, Cathedral of Toledo. (photo: Mas)

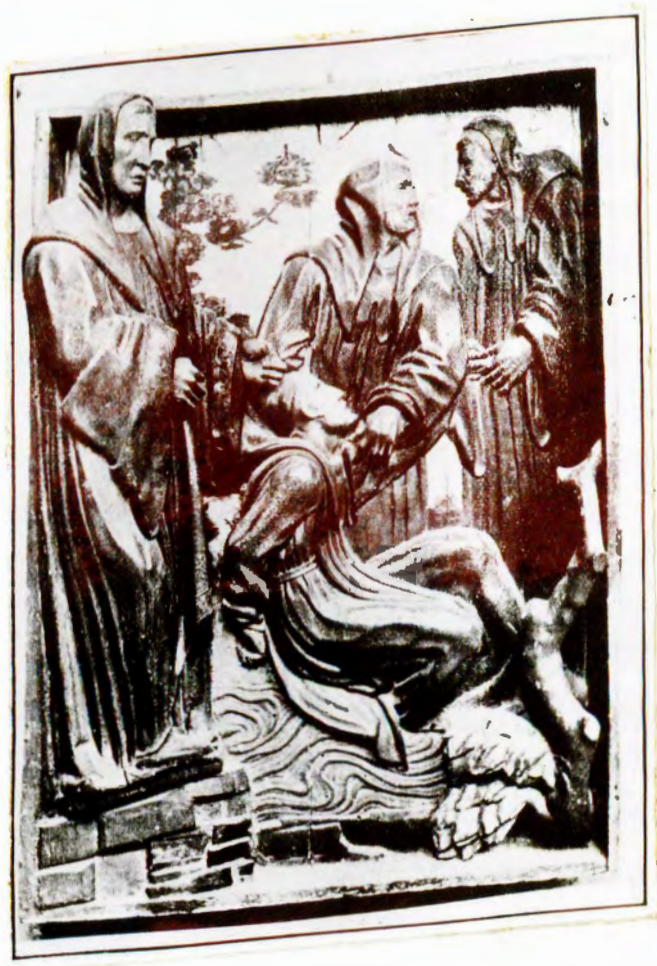


Plate 4. Alonso Berruguete: The Miracle of San Benito,
 Valladolid, Museo Nacional de Escultura. (R. de Orueta,
Berruguete y su Obra, Madrid, 1914)



Plate 5. Alonso Berruguete: The Epiphany, Valladolid,
Museo Nacional de Escultura. (R. de Orueta, Berruguete
y su Obra, Madrid, 1914)



Plate 6. Alonso Berruguete: The Circumcision, Valladolid,
 Museo Nacional de Escultura. (R. de Orueta, Berruguete y
su Obra, Madrid, 1914)



Plate 7. Alonso Berruguete: The Conversion of Totila,
Valladolid, Museo Nacional de Escultura. (R. de Orueta,
Berruguete y su Obra, Madrid, 1914)



Plate 8. Alonso Berruguete: The Destruction of the Temple,
Valladolid, Museo Nacional de Escultura. (R. de Orueta,
Berruguete y su Obra, Madrid, 1914)

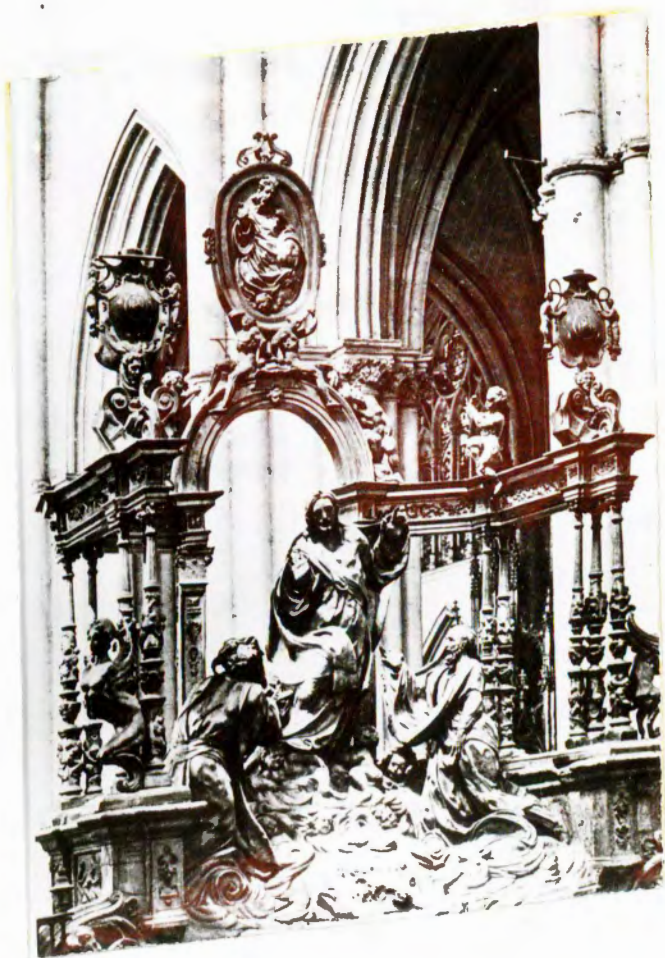


Plate 9. Alonso Berruguete: The Transfiguration
 (detail), Toledo, Cathedral of Toledo. (J.A. Gaya
 Nuño, Alonso Berruguete en Toledo, Barcelona, 1944)

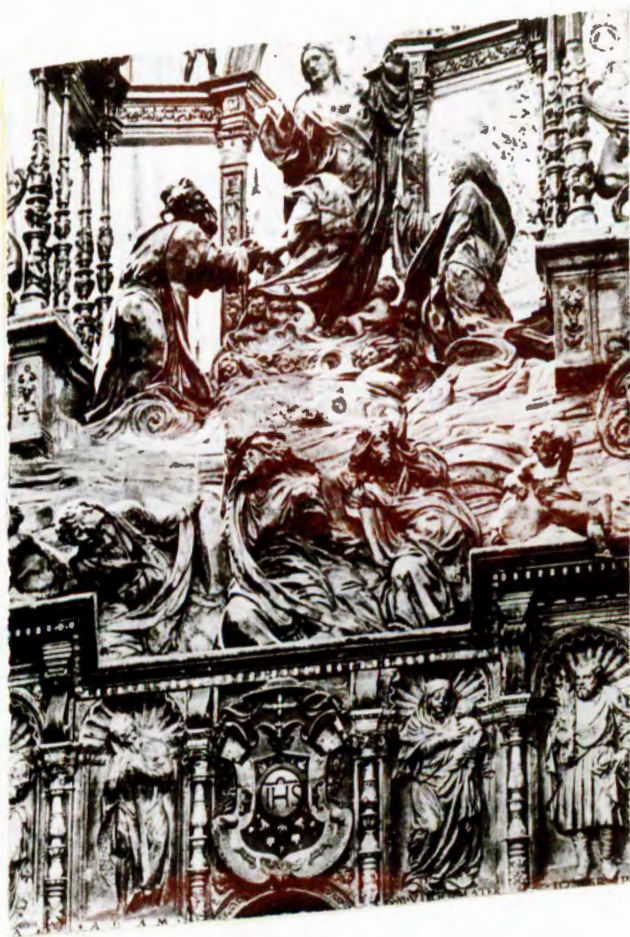


Plate 10. Alonso Berruguete: The Transfiguration
 (detail), Toledo, Cathedral of Toledo. (J.A. Gaya
 Nuño, Alonso Berruguete en Toledo, Barcelona, 1944)



Plate 11. Alonso Berruguete: The Transfiguration
(detail), Toledo, Cathedral of Toledo. (J.A. Gaya
Nuño, Alonso Berruguete en Toledo, Barcelona, 1944)

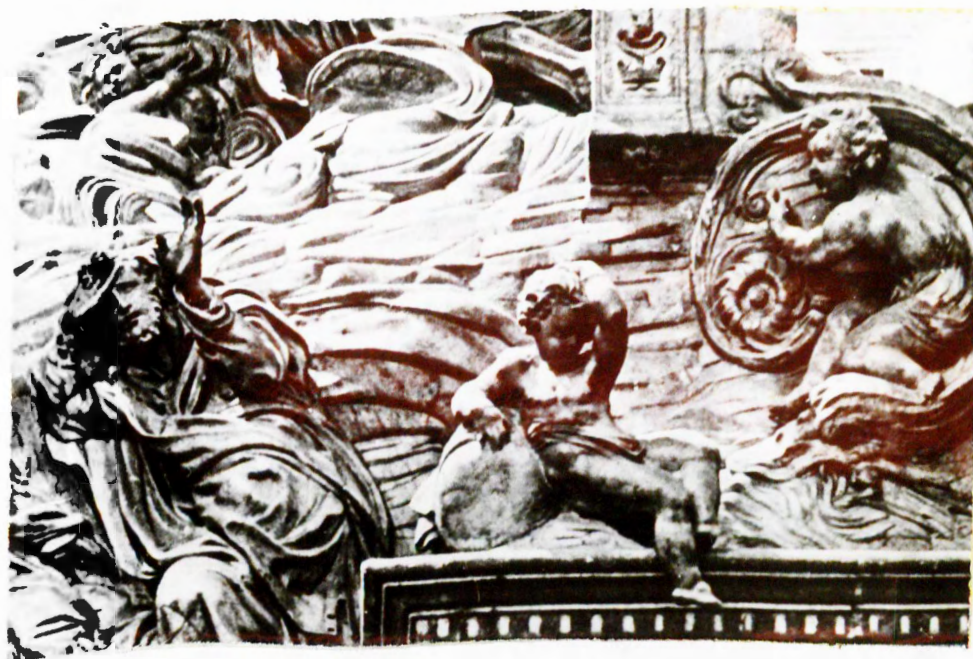


Plate 12. Alonso Berruguete: The Transfiguration
(detail), Toledo, Cathedral of Toledo. (J.A. Gaya
Nuño, Alonso Berruguete en Toledo, Barcelona, 1944)



Plate 13. Alonso Berruguete: Lateral relief panel, Toledo, Cathedral of Toledo. (J.A. Gaya Nuño, Alonso Berruguete en Toledo, Barcelona, 1944)



Plate 14. Alonso Berruguete: Lateral relief panel,
Toledo, Cathedral of Toledo. (J.A. Gaya Nuño, Alonso
Berruguete en Toledo, Barcelona, 1944)



Plate 15. Anonymous Florentine master: The Brazen Serpent and Moses on Mount Sinai (Bartsch, III, 5,4).
(C. De Tolnay, The Sistine Ceiling, Princeton, 1945)

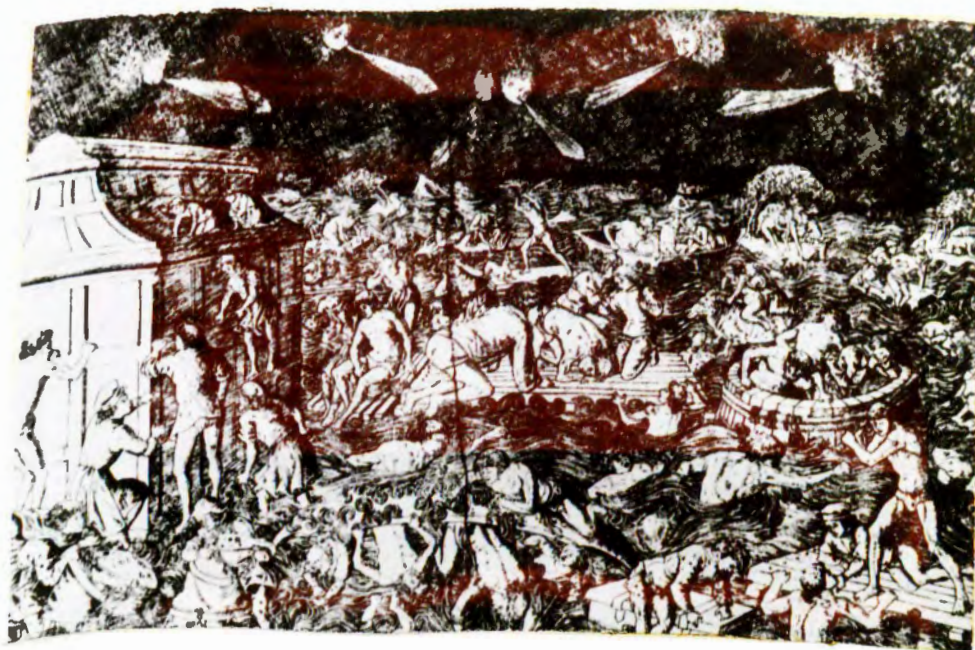


Plate 16. Anonymous Florentine master: The Deluge
(engraving) (Bartsch, III, I, 1). (C. De Tolnay,
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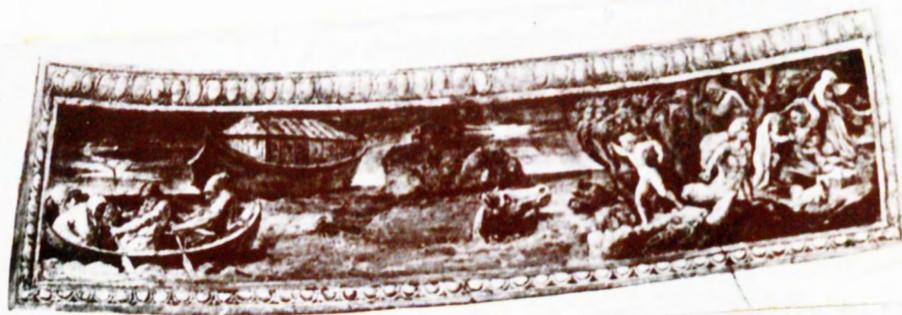


Plate 17. Baldassare Peruzzi: The Deluge in the Cappella Ponzetti. Rome, Chiesa della Pace. (C. De Tolany, The Sistine Ceiling, Princeton, 1945)



Plate 18. Anonymous master: The Deluge (engraving).
Paris, Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Na-
tionale. (C. De Tolnay, The Sistine Ceiling, Princeton,
1945)



Plate 19. Front view of ancient sarophagus: The Myth of Orestes. Rome, Museo Laterano. (Photo: The Myth Anderson)



Plate 20. Front View of ancient sarcophagus: The Myth of Orestes. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico. (Photo. Mac)



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Plate 21. Antonio Fantuzzi: Circe Giving a Drink to Ulysses' Companions. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Rogers Fund 1918. (H. Zerner, The School of Fontainebleau, London, 1969)



Plate 22. Master L.D.: Achilles Removing Patroclus'
Body from Battle. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Alber-
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don, 1969)



Plate 23. Master L.D.: Jesus Healing Ten Lepers.
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Plate 24. Master L.D.: The Death of Adonis. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-Arts. (H. Zerner, The School of Fontainebleau, London, 1969)



Plate 25. Jean Mignon: The Last Judgement. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des Estampes. (H. Zerner, The School of Fontainebleau, London, 1969)

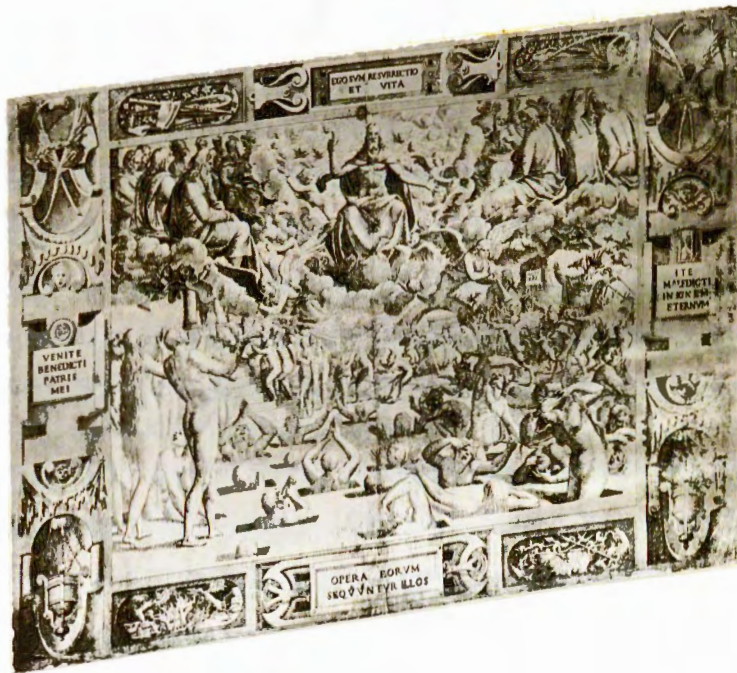


Plate 26. Jean Mignon: The Last Judgement. London, British Museum. (H. Zerner, The School of Fontainebleau, London, 1969)