



Alonso Berruguete
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August 2016

1 CATALOGUE ENTRY

TYPE AND OBJECT

Pair of sculptures of the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, carved in walnut wood, free-standing statues, polychromed and hollowed out on the reverse side. Both figures are found in unbalanced equilibrium on a convex base.

Measurements: 54 cm. high.

Author: This is an autograph work by Alonso Berruguete (1488-1561), both in design, sculpturing and polychrome colouring.

Dating: First third of the XVIth century, between 1529 and 1532.

Style: Mannerist Renaissance. Castilian school

TECHNIQUE OF EXECUTION

Carved walnut wood, water-gilt, decorated with “estofado” and “troquelado” techniques with outstanding execution of “corlas” “esgrafiadas”. Human flesh is depicted in oil by means of a light, unfinished polishing technique evident in details such as eye sockets or fingers. In the painting of hair, eyes and lips, Alonso Berruguete combines a meticulously detailed effect in the hair of the beard and eyes with another technique which reveals a masterly “bravura” endowing the sculptures with the expressionistic style so characteristic of Berruguete and also his incomparable capacity for combining sculptural and painterly effects in a sculpture. The “estofados” are executed with pigments “al tempera”, in “cardenillo” green and “azurita”, employing the “esgrafiado” technique to represent very finished and stylized vegetal design but which do not follow faithfully a pre-established model.

PROVENANCE

The sculptures supposedly proceed from the bench of the altarpiece of the School of Santiago de Fonseca (Salamanca), executed by Alonso Berruguete by his own hand, according to Pons, referring to the contract signed in 1529 in Madrid between Alonso Berruguete and Don Santiago de Fonseca (see note on their historical provenance).

- Through several generations in the collection of the Garnica family.
- Gabriel Garnica Collection (Toledo) till 2015.
- Since 2015 Private Collection, Madrid 2015.
- Private European Collection.
- Bought by the Institute of Old Masters Research in 2017.

STATE OF CONDITION

The sculptures, as Sara Cavero indicates in her detailed report after restoration, are in a specially good state of condition which is unique for sculptures of polychromed wood, dating from the first third of the XVIth century. The sculptures do not show any substantial loss or deterioration and their polychromy is entirely original and does not reveal any later overpainting except partial varnishing. This, together with the masterly execution of the carving and the great variety of combinations of polychrome techniques carried out in such a personal way and not following pre-established models, make this work, thanks to its well preserved condition, its authenticity and homogeneous quality, not only one of the best examples of the artistic genius of Alonso Berruguete, but also an authentic repertoire of the most advanced and best techniques of Castilian polychrome work of the first third of the XVIth century (see Report on State of Condition).

2. NOTES ON THE EXCEPTIONAL NATURE OF THIS PAIR OF SCULPTURES AND ON THE FACT OF THEIR BEING AN AUTOGRAPH WORK MADE BY BERRUGUETE

The uniqueness of this masterpiece of polychrome sculpture of the Spanish Renaissance is based, on the one hand, in that it is considered an autograph work of Alonso Berruguete who is without any doubt the most revolutionary artistic figure of Spanish XVIth century sculpture. On the other hand, it reveals in its unsurpassable state of condition as an example of the most outstanding techniques in sculpture and polychromy ever achieved by the artistic circle of the Castilian Renaissance.

2.1 THE AUTOGRAPH NATURE OF THE DESIGN, THE CARVING OF THE SCULPTURES AND THEIR POLYCHROMY.

DESIGN

Alonso Berruguete brings, on his return from Italy (1508-1518)¹, a wealth of artistic knowledge and experience renewed, to a great extent, under the influence of the “quattrocento” movements not only of Donatello², Ghiberti and Jacopo della Quercia, but also by the most advanced painters as the “enfants terribles”³ of the time, the very

¹ Following Longhi's studies culminating in the publication of his innovative article “Comprimari spagnoli della maniera italiana” 1953, Mozzati, Zeri, Becheruzzi, Dacos, Waldman, Arias Martínez, Barbara Agosti and Anna Biscecla, amongst other researchers of the Italian style in Alonso Berruguete, coincide in considering the following documentary sources of prime importance: three letters by Michelangelo mention Alonso Berruguete with interest and affection as a “good young man” and indicate worry about his health; the first two letters refer to him only as “the Spaniard” and are addressed to his brother “Buonarrotti”, one of them is dated the 2nd and the other one the 31st of July 1508; the most surprising of these letters is the second one for its condescending, though not irritated, tone of Michelangelo due to Berruguete's not having yet seen the cartoon of the battle of Cascina, and the last letter addressed to his father Ludovico in which he now refers to Berruguete by his name and makes a reference to his friendship with the painter Granacci in April 1512; a contract for a current account in the Salviati Bank, recently discovered by Wadman, 2002 page 29, which records Berruguete's sharing a rented apartment in Florence with the painter G. Francesco Bembo from August 1509 till February 1510 when he travels to Rome; various references by Vasari include Berruguete amongst the painters who studied Massaccio's Brancacci chapel and Michelangelo's cartoon of the battle of Cascina; Vasari also refers to Berruguete as one of the participants in the competition to reproduce in wax the Laocöe in 1510 and as the painter who finished the picture of the Crowning of Our Lady by Filippino Lippi, just before returning to Spain in 1517- Vasari likewise indicates Berruguete amongst the painters who collaborated in Rafael's workshop in the Vatican Loggias. “Il sogno di Giacobea” in the Vatican Loggias is attributed to Berruguete by Anna Biscecla. Nicole Dacos in 1985, 1986, 2012, p. 53-62 supports this interesting idea which is confirmed by Arias Martínez in 2011 and, on the contrary, is placed in doubt by Waldman due to excluding a later stay in Rome by Berruguete since in 1516 he was painting in Florence the “Coronation of Our Lady” and Berruguete did not exhibit amongst his works the last Roman innovations. Cagliotti in 2001 connects the picture “Madonna coll bambino” of the Uffizi with a document dated 30th Dec. 1513 indicating payment to Berruguete by Giovanni Bartolini.

² Gian Carlo Gentilini's very opportune article “Attualità di Donatello: Alonso Berruguete e l'eredità del Quattrocento Fiorentino” (2014) and specially his references to Donatello's great influence, in particular of his “Madonnas” from Padua, many of which were reproduced in stucco for the Florentine market and which influenced so much Berruguete's early paintings, (Gentilini perceives the connection between Loeser's “tondo” with its typically Berruguetesque expressionistic expression as found in the “Madonna coll bambino” belonging to the Madonna of Verona types (stucco in Castel Vecchio Museum, cat. II 8p. 242 Norma e Capriccio) as the interpretation of Donatello made by Jacopo della Quercia and Michelangelo, Ciardi Dupré 1968, Griseri 1969, Cagliotti 2011. Also in Arias Martínez and Orueta, p.48-52.

³ Antonio Natali in “Berruguete e Bembo e i compagni Fiorentini” studies the importance in Florence of the Santa Annunziata basilica, “Il Chiostro de Volti”, as an authentic and intense centre in Florence of the “maniera moderna” propitiated by the followers of Andrea del Sarto, Pontormo and Rosso Fiorentino, revolutionary painters who, together with other ultramodern artists, constituted the “Scuola dell'Annunziata” in opposition to the “Scuola di San Marco”. The former “Scuola dell'Annunziata” must have been attended by Alonso Berruguete as his friends Francesco Granacci and Giovanni Francesco Bembo were also habitual members, due also to revealing in their later work the same innovative character. There is a similarity to Berruguete which is evident in their eccentricity and incisive

young Pontormo and Rosso Fiorentino. On the other hand, his contact with the circle of Michelangelo and the classical sculptures recently discovered in Rome amongst them notably the Laocoonte group⁴. According to Vasari, Berruguete, participated, together with Giacompo Sansovino and four other sculptors, in a contest to copy these sculptures.

We must therefore, consider that in Alonso Berruguete's work two tendencies co-exist: the purely Florentine tendency which follows an expressive mannerism typical of Gian Francesco Rustici and of the style of Leonardo represented in his painting of the battle of Anghiari, in a an ultra-modern manner, but continuing the natural evolution of the Florentine "quattrocento" style of Donatello and Pollaiuolo, emphasizing concentric movement and the nervous nature and psychological expressiveness of his compositions as the fundamental axes of his work. On the other hand, we have the Michelangelesque style in which can already be perceived incipient lines of escape, a more serene, and grave tempo, even more impressive and monumental, as expression of universal values, which shape the modern and progressively triumphant mannerism, integrated already at that time in the works of the Florentine artists Baccio Bandinelli and Giacompo Sansovino after their sojourn in Rome⁵.

expressionism which is still evident in Pontormo's and Rosso's development, once he returned to Spain (cat. "Norma e Capriccio", 2014). Longhi and Arias Martínez reached similar conclusions. Mazariago Pajares, cap. II "Alonso Berruguete y el Manierismo" p. 50 and following pp. In accordance with Azcárate 1961 who expands repeatedly on the extraordinary influence which Berruguete exerted on Rosso and Pontormo who were much younger than him and who, together with the Sienese Domenico Beccafumi, formed the first generation of "manierista" painters. In fact, Azcárate considers Berruguete the first entirely and essentially mannerist artist due to his essentially gothic medieval roots which, in his opinion, is a key question in the mannerist renovation and its eclectic development which causes its opposition to the Renaissance.

⁴ See *"The Laocoonte and Spanish sculpture"* (J.J. Martín González) in which he states that the Laocoonte is the sculptural group that has caused the greatest commotion in the history of art and studies the influence it has exerted on the artists who worked in Spain like Giacompo Fiorentino in his San José de Arimatea for the cathedral of Granada, one of the first Renaissance translations of the Laocoonte executed around 1520, although it is not documented "Entierro de Cristo" (Alhambra Museum). In Alonso Berruguete's work the Laocoonte appears in his diagonal compositions, in his grimace expressing pain, his upward gaze and open mouth which are evident in many of his sculptures representing various Apostles and in the Abraham of San Benito where Berruguete tries to give greater intensity to the suffering and to expressivity, regardless of the beauty of form. See Orueta 1917. Martín Gonzalez, however, considers that the most evident influence exerted by the Laocoonte was, above all, on Juan de Juní and especially on his polychrome clay sculptures of Saint Jerome, Saint Sebastian (1537), and Saint Francis at Medina de Rioseco and his sculptures of Saint John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene for the church of San Benito in Valladolid.

⁵ See Azcárate 1961 p.12 where he defends the influence of Michelangelo in technical questions such as "contraposto" and "línea helicoidal" and also the influence of Leonardo in the study of character and spirit manifested in movement. At this time Leonardo was particularly interested in the artistic representation of impetus and frenzy so well expressed in the Battle of Anghiari and in the terracottas of his disciple Rustici. The "Epiphany" of the church of Santiago el Mayor in Valladolid is clearly influenced by Leonardo (documented by Arias Martínez 2011), his "Eva" in the choir stalls of Toledo may be related to the Leda of Leonardo and the frequency of horses in all Berruguete's work is a reminiscence of Rustici.

Nevertheless, the greatest contribution of the Italian world to Berruguete is not essentially a question of technique or style, but rather of concept, that of having assimilated the importance of design in conceiving a work of Art. This question Berruguete could have proved it in practice if, as Vasari reported, he participated actively in Rafael's workshop which carried out the frescos of the Vatican Loggias. Berruguete assimilated all this inasmuch as it favoured his very personal and creative genius. A genius who expresses himself through sketches as does Pontormo, the most skilful and modern drawing artist of his time whose sketches combine sharp, angular, almost cubist shapes with recurrent rotatory lines which remind us of the nervous designs of many of the sculptural works of Alonso Berruguete.

Design and its expression in drawing implies a much more intellectual conception of the work of art and thus of the artist raising him up to a level above the figure of the artisan⁶. Design grants priority to drawing inasmuch as it is the artistic translation of the work conceived as a mental idea and gives a meaning to the new artistic devices often merely sketched which determine the guide lines of a style basically focused on expressiveness and on attracting the attention of the spectator.

In view of all this, the very scarce drawings by Alonso Berruguete, many of which are conserved in the Uffizi Gallery⁷, are extremely important material if we are to understand the origin of his creative process. Some of these drawings have a soft, lineal carefully drawn execution, others are more spirited and lively, but they always seem unfinished, sometimes voiceless, occasionally strident, always leaving room for our imagination and displaying great artistic sensitivity⁸. In the drawing of Levi by Berruguete, directly related to the sculpture of the Levita by Gian Francesco Rustici, whose version as a sculpture we see in Berruguete's Levi at San Benito, and in the drawing of "Christ tied to the Column"⁹ by Berruguete (Uffizi) we observe in both

⁶ Arias Martínez, 2014 p.173 refers to a complete training based on the practice of drawing which would lead to a higher esteem and consideration of the artist. Arias likewise refers to the profession of the artist as embracing various activities in which the artist must be proficient in the various techniques, but always giving priority to imagination and to his capacity to transfer the idea to wax models or to drawing. See also Parrado del Olmo, 2001.

⁷ On reading the magnificent study of the drawings of Berruguete by Lizzie Boubli (1994), one must make reference to Benito Navarrete in his comments on the Master's drawings in the catalogue brought out on the occasion of the exhibition of "Spanish drawings at the Uffizi" in the Academia de San Fernando (Madrid) in 2016.

⁸ A very interesting commentary by Michele Zurla on the drawing "studio per la capella Brancacci", attributed successively to Rosso, Berruguete (Waldman) and nowadays by Michele Zurla (2014) to Baccio di Bandinelli. The attribution to Bandinelli in this commentary could partially be diverted to Berruguete, as the drawing is the result of a meditation on the Brancacci chapel by Massaccio, who according to Vasari, studied this chapel, but since the result was more Michelangelesque and less Donatelliano this makes Michele Zurla incline his opinion more to the authorship of this drawing by Bandinelli rather than by Berruguete. In this sense, the latter drawing could also be connected with the recently discovered "Study of a Man" illustrated fig. 5 pp.152-153 of the catalogue "Norma e Capriccio" (2014) which in her article "Studio e Invenzione: Pedro Machuca e Alonso Berruguete" Lizzie Boubli attributes to Berruguete and in which, nevertheless, the impact caused by Michelangelo's interpretation of Massaccio had a lasting effect.

⁹ Arias Martínez, 2011, p.134 considers that the drawing "Cristo de la Columna" by Berruguete could be a study for his sculpture "Cristo de la Columna" which, according to the contract he signed, must have been the only figure which was in the central niche at the Church of Santiago Mayor, Valladolid, and which is now missing. See likewise his article "Alonso Berruguete, sperimentazione e maniera" (2014),

drawings the position of the foot on tiptoe, an artistic figure frequently used in Berruguete's autograph works, but in this case used in a similar way as the leg movements of our Saint Paul, which follows one of the most original amongst A. Berruguete's designs¹⁰.

Alonso Berruguete's style, which is clearly defined in these sculptures of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, is based on a combination of unbalanced composition, asymmetric faces, deliberate lack of proportion in shapes, use of movement to denote expressive force and contrast in the lines, attitudes and emotions portrayed. All these questions are the corner-stones of a work of art which is tremendously unique as forerunner of future artistic trends.

Unbalanced composition is evident at first sight due to placing these sculptures on a convex base which makes Saint Peter lean slightly backwards, giving the impression of instability and sliding, so typical of Berruguete. These convex bases are similarly observed at the Santiago de Fonseca altarpiece in Saint John, in the two angels and in the formerly incorrectly identified Saint Peter. The Saint Paul we are now studying has adopted a spiral, winding, and, almost helical movement which is quite unstable, tremendously forced and therefore absolutely manneristic, due to its unreal position. We appreciate this gesture inversely and more naturally in the figure of Levi at the San Benito sculpture and in the more restrained Saint John and Saint Andrew at Santiago de Fonseca. This movement is used by Berruguete for the first time in his "Ecce Homo" at Mejorada de Olmedo, inspired in the "Mercury" at present in The Uffizi which he could have viewed at the Belvedere¹¹. Nevertheless, only in the drawing of "Christ tied to the column" does Berruguete adopt a similar position, even though in a more natural and realistic way than with Saint Paul who twists and stretches his body slightly forward so that in the end his face is turned towards Saint Peter and not downwards as in the drawing of Christ tied to the column (Fig. 7). This design is an original interpretation by Berruguete of a gesture which was already treated in antiquity, was used by Rafael in

about the influence of the archeological discoveries and the repertoire of gestures which his contemporary artists collected as a result of these classical sculptures. Salvatore Settis has left us a quotation referring to the selection made by each artist of the repertoire of classical gestures to whose models they awarded authorship and an expressive effectiveness much greater than their own.

¹⁰ See Parrado del Olmo, "*Saint Peter and Saint Paul by Alonso Berruguete*" (August 2016). In this text Parrado del Olmo, on studying the movements of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, considers as one of the most significant characteristics of Berruguete's creativity, his capacity for varying the classical repertoire of gestures, endowing them, as only he could do, with an expressivity of movement which was, in any case, unique. This also occurs with Berruguete's faces where one perceives certain types, but they seldom are physical features literally repeated, except in a few sculptures at San Benito and Mejorada de Olmedo where the activity of the workshop was intense and the polychromy still of an elementary level. This explains their numerous errors in carving and the occasionally uncouth polychromy which only serves to make more outstanding the works where the Master's own hand is perceived and his supreme technique in sculpture and painting is absolutely proved. Nevertheless, we only observe in the polychromy the refined and, at the same time, free execution of the Master's hand in few cases at San Benito, and, above all, in the "estofados" of the altarpiece representing the "Epifanía" at the Church of Santiago Mayor in Valladolid, also in the altarpiece at Santiago de Fonseca and in the sculptures of Saint Peter and Saint Paul we are now studying.

¹¹ María José Gainza comments on this movement which Berruguete shapes in art, for the first time, in the "Ecce Homo" at Mejorada de Olmedo; she refers to Winkelmann who considers it a symbol of affliction for ancient classical artists. This is the attitude with which Antilochus announces Achilles' death to Patroclus. Berruguete correctly takes his inspiration from this source to express Christ's affliction.

his School of Athens (1510), by Gian Francesco Rustici in his Levi in the Baptistery of Saint John in Florence (1506), by Sebastiano el Piombo in his Saint Peter in the Borgherini Chapel (1521), by Pontormo in his Saint John the Evangelist at Empoli (1528) and in his preparatory drawing of the Fine Arts Museum in Lille^{12 13 14}. This instability, so characteristic of all Berruguete's work, is in fact the fundamental stylistic feature which defines all the sculptures at Santiago de Fonseca in a more homogeneous way than at San Benito. We would like to point out especially his Saint Bartholomew who is virtually leaning forward in a position which reminds us particularly of sailors fighting against the wind; his Saint Christopher whose instability is caused by the frailty of his legs, contrasted with the sturdy boy who is pressing forward; and finally his Saint Roque, at present in the Marés Museum (Barcelona) who indicates decisive movement forwards^{15 16}.

¹² Parrado del Olmo sees many classical connotations in the altarpiece at Mejorada de Olmedo, specially in its composition which he believes was inspired by the drawings of Roman buildings done by Giugliano di Sangallo. These drawings also inspired Giacopo Fiorentino in the composition of the altarpiece of the royal chapel of Granada, according to Gomez Moreno and Parrado del Olmo "El retablo del renacimiento y los Jerónimos, Mejorada de Olmedo y el Parral de Segovia" (2000). This interest in antiquity is equally revealed for the first time in his "Ecce Homo" in a similar movement of legs as in the Mercury of the Uffizi which we have documentary evidence that it was at the Belvedere in 1536, so Berruguete could have seen it there beforehand. For a summary of historical opinions on the "Ecce Homo" in which all coincide in that it is supremely disconcerting and admirable the way he expresses moral suffering (see María José Gainza p. 20). See also Orueta 1917 and Azcárate "Alonso Berruguete cuatro ensayos", Salamanca 1988.

¹³ Arias Martínez 2014 refers to Alonso Berruguete's capacity as worthy of a genius to reinterpret the classical repertoire of gestures in the masterpieces of contemporary artists through a wise process of meditation in search of new formulas within a common heritage of images of great homogeneity. He treats the classical references to the sibyls at San Benito, the connection between the Laocoonte's arm and that of Saint Joseph in the Nativity of the Church of Santiago el Mayor in Valladolid and following more in the line of our Saint Paul, connects the Levita of San Benito with Donatello and Rustici. Lizzie Boubli (2014) treats this process of appropriation of the gesture of the Levita by Rustici, modifying his posture and the fall of the folds of his tunic, though such a capacity for invention inspired in models is much more surprising and original in the movement of our Saint Paul. Arias Martínez (2014) p.178 likewise considers that Berruguete's presence amongst those who studied Massaccio's "Capella Brancacci" is one more proof of his wish to mix the traditional vocabulary with the development of a new language which was developing in Florence and whose best confirmation were the cartoons for the battles of Cascina and Anghiari.

¹⁴ María Concepción García Gainza in "Alonso Berruguete y la antigüedad" narrates that Vasari situates Berruguete as the most excellent sculptors of the Renaissance; that is, in the Belvedere courtyard and together with the collection of classical sculptures which Pope Giulio II had in this courtyard and which included the Apollo, Laocoonte, Hercules and Anteus, Hercules, the Felix Venus and the Tiber. She also makes an allusion to Berruguete's celebrated sentence regarding the excellence of the sculptures when "los Hursillos" sarcophagus was discovered in Palencia and which Ambrosio Morales quoted in his "La relación del viaje" (1572): "Never have I seen anything better in Italy and few things equally good". Indeed, the excellent dramatic movement displayed on this sarcophagus which narrates the life of Orestes is a proof of Berruguete's sound judgement.

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¹⁶ Arias Martínez' recent attribution to Berruguete (2010 and 2014) p. 175 of the extraordinary bronze pulpits of Toledo cathedral appears to me particularly relevant. One of them represents Saint Paul and the other one Saint Matthew; they are closely connected to our Saint Paul and to the drawing of "Christ at the column" thanks to their forced position and exaggerated left leg. All this also shows how Berruguete dominated the various sculptural art areas working in wood, marble, wax, polychrome sculpture or painting as a result of the complete artistic education acquired in Italy.

Asymmetry is caused by Berruguete's inspired conception of transmitting different sensations to one single face, according to the angle or side from which it is observed: an idea which Michelangelo created in some of his sculptures and with which, five centuries later, Picasso coincided in his cubist portraits¹⁷ Thus Saint Peter's head is on one side round when he utters his traditional lament, and is elongated on the other side when he shows himself to us as Prince of the Church. As for our Saint Paul, he appears with his left profile, corresponding to our vision of his firmly grasped sword, his furious, violent expression, his face out of joint, with a fiery gaze loaded with all the intellectual self-assurance inherent in the Apostle who originated the expansion of the Church. This was conveyed in 1526 with similar strength by Dürer. As for his right profile, we observe a more spiritual side, more in keeping with a person who lives a mystical experience on being selected by God for such a mission which is magnificently indicated by an outstretched and gradually ascending hand. Facing us, we see the saint's expression is tormented and melancholic, with the typical anxiety of Saint Paul confined in the desert or exiled at the end of his life, conscious of his impotence and his trivial existence which reminds us in some measure of the work "Christ the Man of sorrows" (1493) by Albert Dürer. All these aspects are intrinsic and show up the contradictory nature of Saint Paul, violent, intellectual and imbued with a tragic sense of his destiny¹⁸.

Lack of proportion together with asymmetry, are all features used by Berruguete to impress the spectator and enhance the rhythm of the composition. We observe disproportion in Saint Paul's right leg which is too long and seems dislocated at the hip; and also in Saint Peter's left leg which is bent slightly in a typical "quattrocento" movement revealing a tibia of a shorter size than would correspond to the saint's body. These disproportions and asymmetries which may seem errors in design are, however,

¹⁷ This question is treated by Arias Martínez in his comments on the Saint George at San Benito for the catalogue of the exhibition "Norma e capriccio" in the Uffizi 2014. In that instance, and following a quotation by Pacheco recalling Berruguete's comments on a criticism regarding the incapacity of a sculpture of his to provide a satisfactory solution from various points of view, the sculptor replies "four profiles for Michelangelo...". Berruguete knew well and he was interested to play with the rich effects afforded by the different points of view of a sculpture. Although he recognised his own limitations compared with Michelangelo, his sculptural work, the great variety and originality of his composition, his foreshortened figures on the sides are absolutely essential if we are to understand his conception of space and reveal to us his deep study of the classical as well as his contemporary artists.

¹⁸ See Antonio Natali (2014) and the connection of Dürer's engravings with the painters of the "Scuola dell'Annunziata". It is also interesting to mention here the theory that Alonso Berruguete returned via Flanders, which would explain why Berruguete appears only as painter of the Burgundian court of Charles V and not on the pay-roll of the royal house of Castile, and also how he could inherit the post of his father Pedro Berruguete if, as many maintain, he was painter of the court of Philip I of Burgundy. (José María Azcárate p.10 "Alonso Berruguete y el Renacimiento castellano" (1961). Jesús Mazariegos Pajares (1975)). This would explain the parallelism between Berruguete and Mattías Grünewald and specially between his Crucifixion of Isenheim, painted 1512-1516, and the "Ecce Homo" of Mejorada de Olmedo. Its character so strange and full of contrasts, as realistic and idealistic as it is brutal and tender, is closely related to Berruguete. In his "Ecce Homo" of Mejorada de Olmedo, with his red cloak and rustling folds which fall with impressive weight and markedly vertical line, just as occurs with the San Sebastian and Saint John the Baptist of the Isenheim altarpiece. Its emaciated and elongated limbs, its dramatic and enigmatic expression, its fine or claw-like hands, the sharp, angular position of his right arm, the strident dramatism of all Berruguete's work up to mid-1530's, all this has many connotations with Mattías Grünewald. His Crucifixion in the altarpiece of the Monastery of Isenheim which is situated precisely on the route which Berruguete could have taken to travel to the Burgundian court and which, of course, must have specially drawn the attention of any artist of his time.

made on purpose with a strong artistic intention and are, undoubtedly, signs of stylistic authenticity. They are frequently the result of expressive or aesthetic concepts due to the sculptures being often placed on high. This feature is similarly observed in the left shoulder of Saint Bartholomew at Santiago de Fonseca which is completely out of proportion to the Saint's right shoulder. In fact we see the same treatment in various sculptures at San Benito¹⁹.

Movement constitutes the fundamental axis of Alonso Berruguete's expressive force²⁰, which stamps the tempo and rhythm of the emotions which the artist wished to express in his sculptural compositions²¹. Thus, in our Saint Peter, we have a scene dominated by a restrained though nerve-racking intensity, expressed, on the one hand, by the conventional folds of the cloak derived, to a great extent, from the sculptures of Donatello and, on the other hand, by the fact that this cloak is hooked up by his left hand, sinewy as are mostly the Berruguete hands at San Benito and at Mejorada de Olmedo's altarpiece. Under the draperies of our Saint Peter can be seen tough feet with high instep which are one of the most outstanding elements of the sculpture and which we see again in Saint John or in the Christ on Calvary and in other sculptures at Santiago de Fonseca and at San Benito, such as the feet of Saint Jerome or Abraham²². In the sculpture of Saint Paul, which is more spiritual, the movement is tremendously mannerist. Rendered by a winding movement which creates successively rotating folds inspired not only in the sculptures by Sansovino but also in the Greek bacchantes with their tunics whirling in the wind, subtly showing off their bodies. This sensation of wind which pervades these sculptures gives them life and is another of the characteristics of the Master which we see in many of his sculptures at Santiago de Fonseca, such as the Saint Christopher, or the Saint Bartholomew and even the San Roque (now in the Marés Museum, Barcelona). In the case of the Saint Paul, this wind makes his tunic cling to his body revealing his belly and his advancing right leg, as in his Levi or his Saint Bartholomew at Fonseca. In the case of Saint Peter, in accordance with the Saint's psychological control mentioned above, this imaginary wind affects his instability creating an effect of resistance which recalls the relief works of the choir-stalls of the Cathedral of Toledo.

This expressivity in constant movement is reinforced by the wish of the Master to contrast opposing emotions and attitudes which may surprise the spectator. On the one hand, we see Saint Peter with an expression of deep emotion appearing on his face, set in a conventional and natural composition, but nevertheless with clenched hands and

¹⁹ Arias Martínez (2011), Orueta p.63 and Parrado del Olmo on errors and disproportions. Also Mazariego Pajares p.66 who writes amply on the difference between imperfection and the very mannerist concept of deformity. Parrado del Olmo (2002) refers to the typical "chapucerías" of Berruguete in the workshops of sculptors in XVth century Castille and Leon.

²⁰ Orueta p.58, 60 on movement as an expressive force and the capacity to contrast opposing sensations so as to surprise the spectator. See also Azcárate 1961 p.17 "esta voluntad de sorprender al espectador mediante la expresividad de las formas se une con el concepto estético hispánico de la primacía de la vision total en la que enlaza lo Gótico con lo Barroco....". Here we find Berruguete the scenographer of San Benito and later of the Transfiguration of Toledo which, nevertheless, combines an independent artistic consideration of each one of the figures he develops with a most varied range of attitudes, types and gestures in search of concordance and contrast.

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²² These twitching and clawing hands, those sinewy feet so typically Berruguete remind us of the hands and feet on edge of the Christ of Grünewald.

feet on edge, in opposition to Saint Paul's exalted spirituality, a true reflection of his passionate temperament, with light appearance and elongated limbs in an extremely mannerist style²³. We are equally surprised at San Benito by the aged Abraham's unprecedented cry of pain, as if it were something issuing from Mother Nature, in confrontation with the deep and essentially human psychological suffering of such a beautiful youth as San Sebastian^{24 25 26}. Thus Saint Paul's left hand which grasps the sword, showing the strength of earthly power as opposed to the right hand which embodies divine power, much more in harmony with his spiritual strength and which is subtly held out as in his "Ecce Homo" in Mejorada de Olmedo or, in a lesser degree, in his Saint Bartholomew at Fonseca. St. Paul's beautiful elongated feet, very similar to those of Saint Sebastian or even to those of San Roque of the Marés Museum in contrast with those of Saint Peter which are sinewy to the point of appearing like claws, as are similarly those of Abraham and Saint Jerome at San Benito, or those of Christ or Saint John of the Calvary at Fonseca. We could find many other contrasts, as in the depiction of flesh in stronger red tones in Saint Paul in opposition to the paler complexion of Saint Peter; in his blue eyes deeply concentrated on an uncontrollable suffering very similar to that of Saint Sebastian and different from Saint Paul's brown eyes which are irate or mystical, depending on the profile visualized. Finally, in the rich design of the "estofados" of Saint Peter, Prince of the church, in contrast with Saint Paul's less coloured brocades which, though rendered with an equally fine artistic technique,

²³ See Parrado del Olmo "Dos esculturas de San Pedro y San Pablo de Alonso Berruguete". August 2016.

²⁴ J.M. Martínez refers to Winkelmann and Lessing on the expressive force of suffering in order to define the pain. Laocoonte expresses, the controlled suffering shown by his body and his face, but quite different from the rage and fury Virgil attributes to Laocoonte. Laocoonte's sculpture does not utter any terrible cry. His open mouth indicates rather a controlled and smothered sigh. This is what Winkelmann considers regarding the poem which Saboleto wrote in 1506 on Laocoonte in which he expresses himself like Virgil in intense terms, which is the contrary of his artistic ideals. Lessing culminates Winkelmann's interpretation based on "la noble sencillez y reposada grandeza del arte" in his Laocoonte or on the limitations in painting and poetry" (1766) and he wonders if suffering should be expressed with violence or with moderation and solves the dilemma considering that the poet allows himself to be convinced by anger whereas the artist is drawn by harmony in his search for beauty. The Laocoonte expresses suffering, but above all acceptance, which allows himself to be a correct model and a spiritual Christian. J.M. Martínez p.461. In this sense Berruguete is more a poet in his reaction to Abraham's terrible suffering, but in his representation of Saint Sebastian he attains supreme beauty, such as that conceived by Winkelmann, when he expresses in a contained manner the silent and intimate suffering of the young Saint.

²⁵ Following the indications of Mazariegos Pajares p.52 the "terribilità of Michelangelo rises to a special degree in Berruguete due to his Spanish nature more abstract and distant from Becerra the Spanish sculptor who follows faithfully Michelangelo. Thus Berruguete looks for what is surprising, dynamism and deformity, following in literature what Gian Battista Marino says "whoever does not know how to provoke should visit a stable". "I laugh at all those who consider that what is good is natural ". For this reason weightlessness is considered, as the most opposed to the general rule, is present in many of Berruguete's works and in many of the great mannerist Masters such as El Greco.

²⁶ Orueta, p.55 It is emotion in nature which our artist's soul perceives and places in his work with a fire which has no equal example in art..... the suffering Berruguete expresses is a universal sorrow which he feels as the result of having lived through years of unrest (sack of Rome 1528) and a crisis of humanism. Following F. Holanda, Orueta and Pajares write about the soul which pervades their sculptures, a sense of anguish and suffocation which has no apparent cause, but is something existing in the artist himself and which, according to Longhi, we also see in Pontormo and Rosso.

appear unwilling to compete with his much more original design and its unsurpassable sculptural execution.

This style culminates in the sculptural group of the Transfiguration, the crowning piece decorating the Archbishop's Chair in the choir-stalls of the Cathedral of Toledo. Though losing their initial expressionism, it is here that all these characteristics are manifest, reminding us of El Greco whose Saints recall to us our Saints Peter and Paul. Furthermore, it appears to forestall the Baroque whose sculptural compositions show overwhelming movement and a deliberate capacity to surprise by means of continuous contrasts of attitudes, "contrapostos" and opposing forms. We only observe these artistic figures to the same extent in Berruguete's contemporary artists such as Rustici or Pontormo and especially in Masters of the Baroque, such as Rubens or Bernini over a century later. Nevertheless, if we wish to find expressive strength of a comparable depth with that of the Abraham and the Saint Jerome at San Benito, we will have to wait until Goya, in his black paintings or even till Münch in his famous picture "The Cry"; and for the psychological suffering of the young Saint Sebastian at San Benito, we shall not find a comparably overwhelming expression till Picasso in his blue or pink period many of whose figures are circus puppets similar to Saint Sebastian, which make us tremble in the same way.

CARVING

Alonso Berruguete, on not obtaining the commissions expected from the royal entourage which his return from Italy should have propitiated, devotes his attention to making sculptural works, taking advantage of the knowledge and practical experience he developed in Italy. As we have remarked earlier, Vasari relates that he participated in the contest to copy in wax the recently discovered Laocoonte, which gives us an idea of the esteem and relations enjoyed with other great artists by Berruguete^{27 28 29}.

²⁷ Tommaso Mozzatti 2007 and 2014 defends sculptural activity, particularly in the final part of Berruguete's Italian period, but only in polychromed wood and not in marble as Diego de Siloé and Bartolomé Ordoñez did. Hence is defended the attribution to Berruguete of the "Madonna della Cintola" (Fig. ²⁴) Basilica del Santo Spirito, as a "raro esempio italiano", already pointed out by M. Gracia Ciardi Dupré, relating it to the Virgin of the Annunciation of the Altarpiece at Mejorada de Olmedo, both works following closely the lines of Donatello. Mozzatti, however, opposes the attribution to Berruguete of the magnificent relief work "Deposición de Cristo" in the sepulchre "Capella Teodori" (Naples) suggested by M.G.Ciardi Dupré (1968), assigning it to the workshop of Ordoñez on the basis of being a painter's son whose first inspiration was practice in painting which he wished to improve in Italy, Berruguete's name does not appear in the Florentine documents at Carrara, on the contrary Diego de Siloé and Bartolomé Ordoñez do appear in view of the lack of sufficient space to carry out the work in marble in the house rented with Bembo and due to the fact that Michelangelo, in his last letter of 1512, refers to him as a painter. Gian Carlo Gentilini, regarding his proposal to visit Naples before embarking to Spain, defends Berruguete's authorship of the said relief on the basis of stylistic notes "Berruguetescos" and to his connection with various drawings of Donatello's circle which influenced his artistic maturity: "Deposizione" (Uffizi inv. 14525) and "Dollente" by Bandinelli (British Museum). The fact that he participated in the Laocoonte competition in 1510 could be significant in that evidently he was familiarized with the technique of sculpture, though painters usually practised their design in wax or plaster and that practice gave them the plastic knowledge indispensable to enable them to turn them into drawings. Arias Martínez (2014) p. 174. In any case, Arias Martínez maintains as very significant the advanced practice which Berruguete must have exerted in "pittura statuaria" to be chosen amongst the group of artists who should compete to copy the Laocoonte under the judgement of Rafael and

Alonso Berruguete is distinguished as a sculptor for combining precise and meticulous shapes attaining great technical virtuosity with apparent disregard in certain cases for finish. For him the “non finito”³⁰ is inseparably and deliberately identified by his creative process as a designer, sculptor and painter, though he occasionally uses it in its most Michelangelesque way in order to emphasize the expressivity of shapes and movement.

When Alonso Berruguete creates sculpture for the lower bodies of the altarpieces and specially for its bench he does it with his unique stamp, with carving showing great detail and care. Thus when he models Saint Peter’s feet he makes them as if he were shaping wax; He sculpts sinewy feet³¹ with a high instep, carving meticulously the heels and indicating clearly the toes which are rather like claws, as are those of the Abraham or the Saint Jerome at San Benito and the San Roque of the Marés Museum. In the arms he usually shows precisely the shape of bones and muscles, subtly focusing the light reflected on the wood so as to suggest their shape³². As occurs with El Greco, he centres in the hands a great part of the expressive strength of the work. In the upper parts of the altarpiece the hands are large, out of proportion and carved in much less detail; in contrast, in the lower parts of the altarpiece Berruguete strives intensely with his technique, making sometimes tense hands, as the case of Saint Paul’s right hand, thus showing an almost scientific knowledge of the human body. It is in these sculptures of smaller size and fine finish that we can appreciate the Italian artistic techniques and, paradoxically, fully understand this tendency towards the “non finito” so Michelangelesque, which Berruguete could only have known in its early outset, but

Bramante. It is not therefore a misfortune to think of replicas of Donatellan models, Cagliotti 2001 p.115. Though one should consider them more as terracotta figures similar to those attributed to Giacompo Sansovino, del Bravo (2008) or even the “Madonna con il bambino”, a very Berruguetesque stucco of the Castelvécchio Museum, rather than works really sculptured.

²⁸ Gian Carlo Gentilini p.81 (2014) refers to the good work perceived in the “Madonna della Cintola” attributed to the Berruguete of the Italian period; how he moves timidly in perfect synchronism with the expression of humility and thankfulness and how splendidly he twists his robe, searching, like Donatello, for the naked body, just as the ancient artists did.

²⁹ Parrado del Olmo, and Professor J.J. Martin Gonzalez (see G. Weiss 1925 and F. Portela 1977), attribute to Berruguete, as his first sculptural work in the Castilian area, the Calvary in the principal altarpiece at Olivares de Duero, Valladolid. “En este grupo escultórico domina un expresionismo crujiente, una artificiosa deformación y un dinamismo impetuoso...” The facial features of Saint John intensify his dramatism with his eyes in oblique position, his half open mouth and straight nose. “The technique is just sketched, with errors and the well-known “chapuceras” and big disproportionate hands...” All this is connected with the Master’s way of doing things when he is working on the sculptures of the “cuerpos altos” of the altarpiece. Parrado also perceives the direct influence of Michelangelo in his way of presenting heavily loaded shoulders and an evident connection with the Florentine mannerism in the lengthening movement of the conventional folds. Parrado stresses many of these statements in his attribution to Berruguete himself of the sculptures of Saint Peter and Saint Paul which we are now studying . Parrado del Olmo, August 2016.

³⁰ Regarding the “non finito” see Arias Martínez and Orueta. Gian Carlo Gentilini connects it with Donatello’s traditional capacity for reaching a solution based on certain quickness in execution, already indicated by Vasari and which appears in the sketchiness and “non finito” of certain figures of the “Cantoria” as the most poetic expression in art which “con pochi colpi in un subito si esprime il concetto dell’animo”, in opposition “alla diligenza e la fatica nelle cose pulite”.

³¹ Orueta makes reference to transversal ligaments in hands and feet which give great expressive strength to mechanical contraction and nervous force. Orueta. P.64 considers them an example of his work and usually marks them with a vigorous projection.

³² See Parrado del Olmo “Saint Peter and Saint Paul” by Alonso Berruguete, August 2016.

could develop later as his own style. Michelangelo, already in his first works, like the “Battle of the Centaurs”, the “Madonna of the Steps” and, of course, in the Saint Matthew of the Duomo at Florence, experiments on this technique which gives greater expressivity to his works culminating in the slaves carved for the tomb of Julio II and in his “Day and Night” sculptures in the tombs of Giugliano de Medici. It is perhaps in the latter work that one observes more clearly the effect in the manner interpreted by Berruguete. That is to say, in the way Michelangelo alternates in this work very polished shapes which define a languid and melancholic movement with a finish deliberately blurred, giving the composition a halo of mystery, anxiety and melancholy. In Berruguete, however, the “non finito” is something inherent in himself, in the sense that more than the choice of an artistic resource, it is an intrinsic element of his creative process, or even, I might say, of his artistic needs and thus of his genius, essentially pictorial, even when he makes sculpture³³.

Following along these ideas, if we observe Saint Paul’s hands which are rendered with supreme delicacy, his elongated fingers, shown in perfect profile, are not completely carved. In his face, personalized and asymmetrical, his eye-sockets show evident wrinkles which we also find in the Saint Jerome and Abraham at San Benito and in his toes we can only imagine nails. Furthermore, the “Cristo della Pietà” at Santiago de Fonseca has apparently unfinished the side corresponding to the arm which hangs down from Christ and perhaps, due to its being on high, its shape is slightly simplified in contrast to the careful “esgrafiado” work of the Madonna’s cloak, as the Master wished to concentrate all one’s attention on the pathos imbued in the work and not on its details, favouring the profound sense of gravitas and natural movement which unite the Virgin and the recumbent Christ. In short, Berruguete’s sculptural technique, occasionally not refined, is thus, precisely because he does not wish to separate it from his facet as a painter. For this reason, when he carves the curl, so typical of Donatello, on the withered hair of Saint Peter, he leaves it unfinished and outlines it with the tip of his paint-brush. The same thing occurs with the tips of the hair, beard and nails of Saint Paul, or the frayed locks of Saint Sebastian at San Benito which are so similar to the strands of hair painted in our Saint Peter. In this way, the best sculptures of Alonso Berruguete can only be fully appreciated if we observe the artistic result of this incomparable symbiosis between what is sculptured and what is painted³⁴. It is

³³ See “The sculpture of Michelangelo” where Umberto Baldini describes the different interpretations given to this “non finito” feature which proceeds from dissatisfaction and boredom after the creative fury has passed. Marini considers it a consequence of the eternal conflict between the spiritual and the material. There are those who believe that it rises from his preoccupation with the difficulty of endowing the pagan forms with a Christian content. Venturi and Bertini see it as a formula to exalt forms by means of the contrast between highly polished areas and others unfinished. Bertini adds that emotional intensity increases movement, emanates from the struggle of form to free itself from the marble block.

³⁴ Arias Martínez (2014) studies deeply the fact that was most cherished in Spain by the Church, principally on account of its realism and naturalism; this gave Alonso Berruguete the opportunity of developing his genius in a complete synthesis of artistic areas, allowing him to imprint on wood concepts which the most revolutionary Italian painters of his generation, like Pontormo, worked on panels or on canvas. Arias Martínez connects preparatory studies by Pontormo for the frescos of San Lorenzo (1546) with small relief works “El Diluvio”, “La serpiente de bronce” and the “Juicio final” in the Archbishop Chair of the Toledo Cathedral carried out by Berruguete in 1548, as he had not found any other example in the Spanish world of such daring composition, with no order or perspective. “La

fundamental in the technical valuation of his sculptures that the polychromy, specially the coloured flesh tones and hair, be original and not altered by later restorations. In this sense, as the restorer Sara Caverio points out, perhaps the most important contribution of the Saint Peter and Saint Paul we are studying, is not only their homogeneous and masterly sculpturing, as regards carving and polychromy, both worthy of Alonso Berruguete, but also their exceptional state of condition which allows us to study in depth the way he combines like no one else his artistic gifts.

In the “cuerpos altos” of the altarpieces at San Benito and at Santiago de Fonseca, Alonso Berruguete simplifies surfaces, suppresses shading and is only interested in the outlines which give movement to the sculptures. At this point, his sculptural technique dries up and when he is dealing with the folds of robes, he does it in a sharp, angular way, with two or three straight lines combining sometimes with a centrifugal one. This is, without any doubt, the most essentially pure Berruguete, his most modern scenographic style and the one most similar to the artist’s own drawings. In this sense we are surprised to appreciate the stylistic coincidence of the sculptures of the Calvary at Santiago de Fonseca, Berruguete’s Saint Andrew and Saint Bartholomew, with the insuperably dynamic drawings of Pontormo. Both artists are very close in expressivity yet also distant forerunners of the “Demoiselles d’Avignon” of Picasso, whose challenging, angular and sculptural bodies, are probably the artistic manifesto of greatest transcendence in the XXth century^{35 36}.

One particular detail of these sculptures which appears in many of Berruguete’s works is that they are hollowed out and not carved at the back, so as to enable their placing or hanging in position, as in the statue of Levi, the Calvary at San Benito and the majority of the sculptures on their altarpieces, as well as various sculptures at Santiago de Fonseca, specially his well known Saint Bartholomew. Furthermore, many of his sculptures appear only carved or painted in detail on the side they would be seen, which demonstrates to us the innovative character of the Master centred on the scenographic sense of the altarpiece as a whole and not on the sculptural works themselves. Some of these even are carved flat at the top of their heads, as in the case of our Saint Paul and in the figure formerly identified as Saint Peter, or in the pair of angels at Santiago de Fonseca³⁷.

One of the key issues of the sculptural works of the Master and which appears in all its splendour in the Saint Paul is the way he treats the tunic which moves in a spiral curve, falls in a series of volute-shaped folds, very similar to the treatment given to Levi, and clings to his body when the Saint steps forward with his right foot revealing his thigh

serpiente de bronce” and the “Diluvio” have an evident connexion with the cartoon of the “battle of Cascina” by Michelangelo in accordance with M.C. García Gainza’s indications p.17.

³⁵ Regarding the simplification of lines, spaces and the almost cubist nature of his sculpture which we also find in drawings by Pontormo, see Orueta p. 60-61. Arias Martínez likewise p.344 cat. “Norma e Capriccio” mentions his greater preoccupation for concept than for form and the simplification of the carving and polychromy due to most of his works being planned to be placed at a great distance from the spectator.

³⁶ Arias Martínez 2014 also comments on the importance of the simplification in Berruguete and how this was due to the final position given to the statue.

³⁷ Regarding the lack of importance of the back in Berruguete’s sculptures see also Arias Martínez p.344 cat. “Norma e Capriccio”.

and a flash of light on his belly subtly indicates his navel amongst rhythmically serpentine waves which remind us of some of the relief works in the choir-stalls of the Cathedral of Toledo. It is in fact absolutely masterly the way he carves the shoulders of the Saint Paul, emphasizing a line which favours the helical movement of the sculpture with the tunic falling on his back, clinging to his body as he twists himself moderately. All this is not only a design inspired in classical Greek sculptures, but rather an authentic “tour de force” of sculptural technique and purely artistic talent which we see in the sculptural works he makes with great care and detail. This special, tremendously elegant way of carving clothes, perfectly synchronized with the movement and stressing the basic lines of the design is one of the magical charms of Alonso Berruguete’s hand and is one of the hallmarks to distinguish the autograph nature of his work in sculpture.

Finally, Alonso Berruguete has a special predilection for carving open, yearning mouths, marking clearly the corner of the mouth wherein can be seen teeth and tongue, sometimes painted and occasionally sculptured in absolute display combining sculptural and pictorial techniques. All this, added to frowning eyebrows and deep-set eyes, gives an expression of intense suffering to the persons portrayed who, in the case of the Saint Peter, shows a profound suffering in his sense of guilt and, in the Saint Paul, gives frontally an expression of anxiety and spiritual exhaustion, as also are the deeply expressed emotions by Saint Sebastian, Abraham and the Saint Jerome at San Benito. All these artistic features arose in ancient Greece with Skopas, and appear again in the “quattrocento” with the dramatic Donatello’s “Lament for the Death of Christ”, 1460, (Victoria and Albert Museum), Pollaiuolo’s “Hercules and Antaeus”, 1460, (Bargello Museum in Florence) and by Leonardo’s (drawing of a man deceived by gypsies), (Royal Collection, London). These artistic resources acquire all their influence with the discovery of the Laocoonte in 1506 when they were absorbed in a magnificent way by Gian Francesco Rustici in his “Terracotas” in 1510 (Louvre and Bargello Museum) inspired by Leonardo’s “Battle of Anghiari” (1504-1505). Finally they were made public with the “Bocca della verità” sculpture in Rome at the beginning of the XVIth century. In Santiago de Fonseca the medallions of the heads of the prophets remind us by their simplicity and the frontal way they look at us of the “Bocca della verità” and the Roman masks. Berruguete integrates these artistic techniques in a very personal way, giving them occasionally almost volcanic power. In this sense the Cry of Abraham or of Saint Jerome should doubtless be linked to the forerunners of many of the most heart-breaking religious and mythological paintings depicted by Caravaggio several generations later (Head of Medusa in Florence, Galeria Uffizi) and nearly five centuries afterwards to the Cry by Münch (1893).

Other distinguishing characteristics of his sculpturing are the way he treats hair: That is, in light relief, differently from Juni’s curly way of arranging it and treating the hair as a compact mass giving the impression of being wet and almost always finished with a pointed paintbrush which El Greco echoes in his paintings of many of the apostles^{38 39}.

³⁸ See Orueta, Azcárate, J.M. Martínez, M. Pajares, García Gainza, Parrado del Olmo and Arias Martínez .

³⁹ With reference to his pointed beard, rather wet and stuck fast to his chest, as occurs with our Saint Paul, see Parrado del Olmo, August 2016. It is interesting to refer these comments to Lommazzo’s rules in which he declares that the shapes produced by fire are the best at reflecting movement due to finishing in a point and varying constantly in shape, as are the elongated and continually twisting figures

POLYCHROMY

The recognition obtained by Berruguete as polychromist is partly due to the remarkable fact that the cathedral of Oviedo⁴⁰ was on the point of contracting him in 1522 for carrying out the polychromy for its principal altarpiece which in the end was commissioned to the most highly considered polychromist of the moment, León Picardo⁴¹.

These sculptures, if they may for any reason be distinguished from the rest of Alonso Berruguete's work, with the exception perhaps of the "Pietà" of Santiago de Fonseca⁴², is due to the exceptional state of condition of their polychromy which is so extremely good that it allows us to study much more deeply the techniques used by the Master, demonstrating his great care and precision in execution, due to these sculptures being destined to be viewed close up. In this sense, it is worth while halting a few moments at various points of the study disregarding the fact that the restorer, Sara Caverro, has analyzed these points in greater detail⁴³. The first question which stands out in these works, both in the flesh tones and in the "estofados" and "troquelados" is the tremendously meticulous work combined, contrastingly, with an extraordinary freedom of execution which could only be carried out by a Master. In fact taking into account all Alonso Berruguete's work, only on a few occasions have such coloured works survived to our times. No doubt this lack of exceptional polychrome designs is due to the successive restorations and cleaning which the great body of Spanish Renaissance sculptural works have suffered in the XIXth century. This has prevented deep study of its techniques so as to be able to distinguish between the different levels of quality and mastery⁴⁴.

Meticulousness and extreme delicacy are distinguished in the way Berruguete paints with fine strokes the hair of the beard and the wrinkles in Saint Paul's face; in how he outlines the typically Donatellan curl in Saint Peter's hair painting two tones, one brownish and on top, the other one white. The same occurs with his grey beard whose hairs can be distinguished and, in the space between the brows of both saints, he paints

of Berruguete, or when they are pressed into niches from which they manage to escape like sudden blazing flames.

⁴⁰ See Simancas Consejo Real leg.9 fol. 1 hoja and Gómez Moreno "El retablo mayor de la catedral de Oviedo".

⁴¹ Regarding Berruguete's importance as a painter in Italy see Longhi and his followers Zeri, Criseri, Becheruzzi and Mozzatii..... also Jesús Mazariegos Pajares 1975 in "Alonso Berruguete pintor" 1975, where he describes the scorn shown by the critics for his painting contrasted with his sculpture until the publication of Longhi's celebrated article. Almost unanimous opinion that in Italy he is considered mainly as a painter, as we may deduce from Michelangelo's famous letters and from the fact that his most important work in this period was his participation in the Coronation of Our Lady by Filippino Lippi, mentioned by Vasari. His sculptural work appears fundamentally in Spain and was produced by his adaptation to the principally ecclesiastical medium and by his progressive distance from Charles V's court as royal painter.

⁴² See the "Colegio Mayor del Arzobispo Fonseca" 1977 by Manuel Sendín Calabuig.

⁴³ See report on the restoration of Saint Peter and Saint Paul by Sara Caverro.

⁴⁴ See article by René Payo 2016.

a few fine ocre lines. In the “estofados” we can also appreciate his superb delicacy when all the shapes he depicts are lengthened and finished with a fine curl. This work is extremely rich, specially that on Saint Peter where we find four different designs of “esgrafiado”, including the one done for the “corlas” and yet another design to show up the gold by means of the “troquelado”. The “esgrafiados” of Saint Paul are less rich, although a few very fine “corlas” stand out and are visible against the light spiral movement; none of the designs are the same although they follow the same style as Saint Peter’s. If we compare this polychromy with that of the sculptures at San Benito we perceive an evident connection with the way Berruguete paints “encarnaduras” (flesh tones), eyes and above all the tips of his hair and beard always have curved endings; nevertheless the “esgrafiados” are much rougher and more recurrent at San Benito”. In this sense, the statues we are now studying can only be compared with the cloak of the “Pietà” at the Santiago de Fonseca altarpiece, due to its well preserved polychromy and to its great quality. This sculpture is doubtless the most trustworthy example with which to compare the magnificent work in “esgrafiado” specially regarding Saint Peter⁴⁵.

Freedom of execution is also inseparable from these works and is a vital characteristic showing that they have been made by a painter endowed with such special and unique qualities as are demonstrated by Alonso Berruguete. Therefore the autograph identity of his polychrome work is the same as that of his paintings whose remarkable examples we find in the altarpiece at the Santiago de Fonseca. The freedom of execution we find in it, not only in the courageous and determined way he depicts the eyes, hair and nails of the saint, but also we perceive it in the portrayal of the “esgrafiados” and the “troquelados” which, though they are based on a pattern, they are completed and modified without recourse to specific criteria. This makes these designs unique; as are the brocades of the cloak of the “Pietà” at Santiago de Fonseca altarpiece, and in the Saint Roque (Museo del Marés) although in a precarious state of condition. In this sense, we wish to stress the homogeneous quality of the work, the unity in its style and the way it coherently integrates with the rest of the sculptures and the decorations which compose this altarpiece at the Colegio de Santiago de Fonseca. The curls and locks of hair, the designs of the “estofados”, the “grutteschi” and even the painting reveal curved and rather frayed finish. Their lack of respect for pre-established models, their own errors, “las chapucerías” and, doubtless, as well as Berruguete’s wish not to finish certain details, all these are key elements which determine their autograph character⁴⁶.

We must, however, also admit the tremendous expressivity which is attained in these sculptures⁴⁷ when, with the use of scarcely four touches of colours, the eyes are painted, both clearly asymmetrical, framed in rugged sockets, with a degree of strength in their

⁴⁵ Orueta p.65 describes his polychromy as very special and in perfect harmony with his artistic ideals.... it is shining, not dull as was usual at that time and he used an uncommon technique of applying shining gold to wide surfaces; his flesh tones are rich and his shading shows up in contrast in warm and reddish colours his “estofados” make up a very fine and delicate blending over greenish blue or brown and are freely executed when they are done by Berruguete’s hand, as referred by Pajares quoting Cossío.

⁴⁶ See Cossío, M. Pajares and René Payo.

⁴⁷ Parrado del Olmo “San Pedro y San Pablo de Alonso Berruguete”.

look which makes each one different from the other and transmits to us a profound sadness for Saint Peter and anxiety in the case of Saint Paul, when we contemplate him facing us. This capacity for transmitting a spiritual sentiment by means of the sincerity and realism exhaled by a gaze is something only the great Masters of painting can do, the only ones who with their natural talent give a significant touch which brings to life an eye or an iris. It is not merely by chance that in his Saint Sebastian Berruguete attains the level of a great genius when he conquers us with that look of a martyr who has lost his last ability to fight. Here, at this point, he reaches the height of a Velazquez, a Watteau or a Picasso, three geniuses, who, each in his epoch, knew how to transmit a sentiment of profound melancholy.

We come now to the hallmark which reveals to us the autograph nature of his polychromy, that is the perfect fusion with his art of sculpturing and designing. His “non finito” is always accomplished with the tip of his paint brush when he treats the curl of Saint Peter or his nails with a light white stroke of his brush, sometimes emphasized by a black line, as can be seen in our Saint Paul and the San Roque, or in the way he leaves without sculpturing the last fingers and toes, or when he paints individually the hairs entwined in the curls of the wet beard, or the typically frowning eye-brows of Saint Paul, always traced by a single curved and falling line. This solid artistic effect, obtained by the use of a gouge or a paint brush, can only be the response to a specific talent, to a particular artistic conception and skill in carrying out the idea⁴⁸.

Finally both sculptures represent a repertoire of polychrome techniques which are unique in their state of condition and in their superb artistic quality.

An incipient technique of polishing flesh with oil “técnica de pulimento”, used by Alonso Berruguete only in his sculptures for a “predella” such as his Saint Sebastian and his Abraham at San Benito, was considered in 1529 very innovative. For this reason their finish is executed in a rather uncouth way of polishing though Saint Paul’s right arm is admirably expressed. The shading of colour is superbly achieved and executed with a very natural gloss which appears to focus the light and define shapes. We also find these qualities in the “Ecce Homo” at Mejorada and in the magnificent San Roque at Santiago de Fonseca, with flesh equally well polished and coloured specially in his legs and though Saint Peter’s feet have a paler flesh tone than Saint Paul’s, his cheek bones are marked by evident red brush strokes which give him such a natural appearance, also found in the formerly incorrectly identified Saint Peter at Santiago de Fonseca⁴⁹.

⁴⁸ Cossío lays down the basis of modern critique indicating the difficulty in separating in Berruguete the carving of the sculpture from its polychromy, inasmuch as they form a whole, since Cossío is the first to consider Berruguete as a fundamentally pictorial sculptor; as painting surpasses sculpturing, in the sense that the paintbrush corrects the volumes of the sculpture. Camón Aznar likewise accepts all the exaggeration of Berruguete’s paintbrush as mannerist with features even more innovative than the Italian artists who considered him a forerunner, a solitary misunderstood artist who forestalled El Greco and Baroque forms. Chapter I. “La fortuna crítica de Alonso Berruguete pintor”. Mazariegos Pajares p.31- p. 47.

⁴⁹ See Carrasson López de Letona “Las encarnaciones y algunas reflexiones sobre sus tratamientos”, Pajares, p.31- p.47.

The “estofados”, executed in “tempera” are very innovative in their design on “cardenillo” green or “azurita” blue backgrounds, in contrast with the gold and reddish tone of the “corlas”. They are all very finely and sumptuously rendered, only shown to the same extent in the “Pietà” at Fonseca; they were certainly inspired by Alonso Berruguete’s memory of the Domus Aurea designs which were in this case even more stylized by the artist, adding fine lines to each bunch of vegetation and making them very original. The motives represented had, undoubtedly, a revolutionary effect on the Castilian school of brocade decoration and above all in the arrangement of horizontal sashes, reserving the most beautiful “estofados” for the borders of cloaks and tunics. It is worth while insisting on the original designs of the “esgrafiados”, closely connected not only to the “estofados” of the “Pietà” and San Roque, but also to the designs of much of the decorative relief work at Santiago de Fonseca. These all have an elegance and a stylized homogeneity which we do not find at San Benito and make this sculptural group a transition towards Alonso Berruguete’s work in Toledo^{50 51}.

The “corlas” are perhaps the most original element of the polychromy of this pair of sculptures and, above all, the rarest due to being “esgrafiadas” and in such a good state of condition. Hence they are worthy of a specialized study, in this case carried out by Sara Cavero, the restorer of these sculptures. They are situated in the interior of Saint Peter’s robe and Saint Paul’s cloak and executed in colophony as indicated in the stratigraphic analyses. Another example of “corlas” we may find in the red cloak of the “Ecce Homo”; although we have not found other examples of “corlas esgrafiadas” in Alonso Berruguete’s work except perhaps in the lining of San Roque de Fonseca, where we perceive a very original design based on silver clover leaves on an also reddish background which, in spite of its poor conservation state, could correspond to “corlados esgrafiados”. This scarcity of examples does not mean that Berruguete did not use this technique in other works, but that, in view of its extreme fragility and its difficulty in preserving at least a minimum good state of condition, these factors have caused the disappearance of the transparency which is an element inherent in this technique; it has therefore been difficult to distinguish between the translucent and almost kaleidoscopic effects of the “corlas” and the simple semi-transparent “estofados”. Thus explaining why worthy examples of this technique have not been found amongst the polychrome sculptures of other XVIth century Castilian sculptors. In fact, the best examples of XIVth century “corlas” are found at the “Christ of Cisneros” in Palencia and during the XVth century, but none of these are “esgrafiados”⁵².

The “troquelado” of gilt zones, a technique found on many panels of the XVth century, and of the first third of the XVIth Century, could have been learnt by Alonso Berruguete in his father’s workshop as in the latter’s Works; we observe this technique also perceived in Italy, Alonso Berruguete uses exceptionally this technique, on this

⁵⁰ See the stratigraphic report on the sculptures, specially the examples of blue (azurite) and green (cardenillo) “estofados” and the flesh tones of Saint Paul carried out by Artelab.

⁵¹ See Arias Martínez 2011 and Manuel Sendín Calabuig 1981 and the report on the restoration of Saint Peter and Saint Paul 2016.

⁵² See the references annotated by Sara Cavero referring to the “corlas” and specially the thesis of Luis Angel de la Fuente on the metals painted with silver plate, the polychromy and his report on the “corladuras”.

occasion, on account of the work being seen at close quarters, showing special care in its design and execution. The “troquel” (or metal punch) has 14 circumferences surrounding one at the centre which is bigger and richer than usual, containing eight circumferences and a freely inspired design, not bound to a pattern as occurs in the rest of the techniques used in these sculptures⁵³.

2.2 TRANSCENDENCE OF ALONSO BERRUGUETE’S WORK: INFLUENCES, CORRESPONDENCE AND COINCIDENCE WITH OTHER MASTERS

Alonso Berruguete’s work, as much for the outstanding importance of his artistic figure, as for the innovative nature of his vigorous creative conception, exerts influence on many of the most inspired Spanish artists to the point that he may be considered the source of what has been named “the Spanish Genius”⁵⁴. On the other hand, his sense of movement, expressivity and scenographic nature are part of the evolution of an expressive mannerism towards the Baroque and hence one of the most evident forerunners of its greatest exponent Gian Lorenzo Bernini.

The influence he exerted on the future of the Spanish XVIth century school of sculpture, though including distinguished figures such as Giralte, Villoldo or Jamete,^{55 56} was

⁵³ See the Catalogue of “troqueles” included in the book which is a treatise of the gilding, silver plating, polychromy and their interpretation by Sara Cavero in her report on the restoration. See also “Polychrome sculpture” by Johanes Taubert, p.97-101, Getty Conservation Institute 2015.

⁵⁴ There now comes to mind what may be considered the origin of the Spanish Genius: the pertinent words of Azcárate 1961 p.14 and following pages, regarding the resistance of the Spanish people to lose their medieval tradition in favour of the cult of the pagan ideas which idolized apparent beauty. The Renaissance in fact opposed the religious and political ideas which were in force in the Spain of the Catholic Kings which considered itself the Defender of Christianity. This idea which was wrought throughout the centuries thanks to the determination with which the various Spanish kingdoms fought against Islam and which culminated in the conquest of Granada and in its own union as a nation and a State. This messianic sentiment continued with the evangelization of the recently discovered American territories, thus causing to rise up a fundamentally Christian Renaissance, in opposition to the Italian Renaissance which was basically pagan in its origin. This movement, however, has all the fundamental roots required to give a great impulse to the artistic renovation of the modern age which would lead to the mannerism of Trento and finally to the Baroque. This Spanish Renaissance, whose greatest representative in sculpture is Berruguete, and later El Greco, following in his tracks, scorns external form and subordinates all its valuation to the level of its expressivity in its desire to move its spectator’s soul which is led from the visible to the invisible by means of the intellectual perception of eternal beauty. All this partially explains the unreal suffering of Saint Jerome and the pathetism of his Saint Sebastian. Berruguete seeks refuge in the world of ideas, in the intellectual conception which is coherent with the neoplatonic currents of thought, though never loses contact with reality, with the world of sensations and sentiments, which is precisely where the “Barroquismo” and the modernity of Berruguete has its roots. It is this wilful deformation of visible forms in order to create a new world of forms which advances parallel to the schism of the cubist and abstract painters from the sensual vision of the impressionists.

⁵⁵ Azcárate 1961 p.18 and 19. The importance of Berruguete lies in his transcendency as the indubitable protagonist of the Spanish Renaissance who influences not only Castilian sculpture during the first third of the XVIth century, through his first collaborator Felipe Bigarni and his magnificent disciples Giralte, Villoldo and Manuel Vazquez, but also in Aragon with Damiant Forment through whom his art spreads to Zaragoza, Huesca, Rioja and Andalusia by means of the influence he exerts on Bautista Vazquez who constitutes the basis of the great Sevillian school.

rapidly diverted due to the favouring of more Romanesque forms and to the success of Gaspar Becerra⁵⁷ and Italian sculptors such as Pompeo Leoni; nevertheless he produced a great impact in the XVIIth century when the expressivity of his movement caused his spirit to gain a more lasting significance, specially on the Andalusian school and on its greatest figure, Martínez Montañés, as well as on the foremost figure of the XVIIth century Valladolid school, Gregorio Fernández.

It is, however, in painting that the originality and modernity of his genius have left a greater and deeper impact, both individually and, in each case, differently. It is here that the authentic Alonso Berruguete in all his force, though it be indirectly and by means of the importance of other Spanish artistic geniuses, makes his art a renovating source of inspiration which flows into international artistic movements such as Mannerism, Baroque or, in the XXth century, Expressionism even in its most abstract form, that of Jackson Pollock. This makes Berruguete a timeless genius, but fundamentally and above all a modern one⁵⁸.

In this sense, Alonso Berruguete is, at the beginning of the XVIth century, one of the first artists who is considered nowadays a modern genius because his work, and specially what he does for the altarpiece at San Benito, is a true manifestation of his inner soul, his temperament, the oscillations of his sensitivity; in short, what we would now call his psyche⁵⁹. Abraham's cry, or that of Saint Jerome, is the cry of Mother Nature by means of which Berruguete expresses in a violent way a universal suffering whose roots are in one's subconscious. His Saint Sebastian expresses a state of perplexity, of paralysis, almost of self-absorption caused by his suffering which prevents any rebellious action. It is the sickness of his age, melancholy, so well expressed by Dürer, and which we later see in the paintings of Velazquez and Watteau; that sense of an abyss, of chaos which is felt in times of upheaval or when men of genius perceive or know intuitively things which they themselves cannot explain⁶⁰. This

⁵⁶ See also Parrado del Olmo. "Sculptors followers of Berruguete in Palencia", 1981; Sculptors followers of Berruguete in Avila. 1981. Francisco Giralte's work in Valladolid June 2009, and "La influencia de Alonso Berruguete en la escultura del siglo XVI". August 2016.

⁵⁷ His influence, although superficial and only essentially understood by cultured Castilian circles, was interrupted by Gaspar Becerra, faithful follower of the Michelangelesque forms who with his fleshy figures following Juan de Arfe's words gradually displaced Berruguete's style. In this sense Pacheco's reference to the famous words of Berruguete contemplating the work of his new rival: "Qué tal quedaba yo, si no hubiera hecho el Agosto de mi fortuna". Pacheco says: "Gaspar Becerra quitó gran parte de la Gloria de Berruguete, y..."

⁵⁸ Santiago Amón, in his book on Picasso, wonders whether there exists a Spanish school or only Spanish Masters imbued with the Spanish genius, and arrives at the conclusion that, since they are all rebels, the key to them lies in their inimitability which prevents them from creating a school and makes it impossible for them to form a stylistic succession amongst themselves; regardless, of course of the rise of the "Berruguetesque", "Velazqueño", "Goyesque" and indeed of the "Picassiano". Hence, we must deduce that the lack of disciples of importance left by these Masters is due to their possibility of being superseded only by other artists of equal genius.

⁵⁹ See Francisco de Holanda, Orueta, Mazariago Pajares. They all coincide in affirming that Berruguete's work is the pure expression of his individual soul.

⁶⁰ María Bolaños investigates deeply in Melancholy in her article on the occasion of the catalogue for the exhibition of the National Museum of Sculpture in Valladolid "Tiempos de melancolía, creación y desengaño en la España del Siglo de Oro", 2015. Here she alludes to how Berruguete lived through the decline of humanistic optimism in a sense which harmonised with the nature of the artist identified by Felipe Vergara in his comments on painting 1560 as "a melancholic, Saturnine type of man who

need to express the innermost side of one another is found in other great creators who constitute a common line which cuts across the history of art, such as El Greco, Goya, Picasso, Munch or Jackson Pollock; they are all artists whom we perceive as geniuses due to their capacity for transmitting through their works in a violent, strident and disinhibited manner their individual and deeply concealed sentiments which they reveal as their reaction to the outer world in which they, by chance, are destined to live.

As an example, I shall only indicate a few instances: Our Saint Paul's hands and those of the "Ecce Homo" at Mejorada de Olmedo correspond with Saint Paul's and Saint Peter's hands in El Greco's double Portrait at the Museo Nacional d'Art in Barcelona. The unsteadiness, the unreality of Berruguete's sculptured forms, as well as the soft way he treats their beards are all details he shares in common with the Cretan artist^{61 62}.

doubtless was of an irate, bad tempered nature, and who, although he wished to paint angels and saints, his natural disposition forced him inevitably to paint terrible and heart-breaking situations." María Bolaños, p.22 analyses deeply the culture of melancholy, a refined spiritual tragedy which is converted in the sign of the metaphysical talent of the modern creator of his mental energy, of that "pazzia" of which Michelangelo, Pontormo... and also Berruguete have left us evidence. The special anguish through which all the artists had to live after the sack of Rome in 1528 and which implied their exile is, doubtless, the cause of the decisive expansion of the exaggerated mannerist ideas throughout Italy, Bohemia, France and northern Europe, forming a second generation of artists who will gradually lose that profound sensation of suffocation and anguish of the early years of Pontormo, Rosso and Beccafumi in favour of a more decorative and superficial activity. These styles were convincingly and effectively rejected by the "escuelas emilianas" of the Carracci and the Caravaggists.

⁶¹ The influence which Berruguete could have exerted on El Greco is corroborated by Orueta, Azcárate 1961, p.15 and by Julián Marías who, however, surprises us indicating the indifference and almost apparent dislike which El Greco showed towards Berruguete as he made no greater note in his book "Lives" by Vasari than just indicating the presence in Italy of El Greco "History of an exaggerated painter" 2013, p.290. His terse comments on the artist stand out in blatant contrast to the words of praise which Tristan inscribes in the book. Such coldness might perhaps be justified by El Greco's proximity in artistic style to Berruguete which might have diminished El Greco's fame as a revolutionary painter and initiator of new forms of art, all of which would turn contemporary criticism in favour of Berruguete. El Greco's envy of the artistic gifts of others, as demonstrated by his apparent contempt for the frescos of the Capella Sistina are sufficient proof. The same occurred in Picasso's case with his stubborn silence when facing Goya, his most immediate precedent in art. Nevertheless, the parallelisms between Berruguete and El Greco are evident in character, education, entrepreneurship, the cultural background where their creativity grew up and their determination to break with the traditional Italian models developed. Their temperament rooted in the Judeo-Christian world in contact with the Islamic world, their common combative characters as proved by the fact that both were accustomed to solve their disputes by means of litigation, the special importance both gave to a broad education, but after their sojourn in Italy both maintained themselves absolutely up to date regarding modern tendencies, the great importance they both gave to their rise in social standing and their right to social recognition, a characteristic also shared by Velazquez, their multicultural Castilian background mixed with fanaticism, their late development as artists of genius, combined with a special technique, their capacity as entrepreneurs to create an extensive workshop, and, above all, their absolute necessity to break with what was traditional, creating new forms which would claim the spectator's attention: all this induces us to consider these two Masters as constituting a corpus of similar artistic connotations and permits us to view Berruguete as an evident precursor of El Greco, even though this would lessen the innovative character which for the last century is attributed to the Cretan artist. Nevertheless, the fact that Berruguete's painting was not as revolutionary as his sculpture, would grant exclusively to El Greco the merit of being the first in the art of painting to break radically with the principles which guided the Renaissance, that is, breaking particularly with traditional perspective focused in depth and to introduce its typical "horror vacui", all questions which El Greco could contemplate in Berruguete's work, specially

Velazquez who in temperament is considered the opposite of Berruguete and the supreme modern genius, but, at the same time, the painter with the greatest talent to depict the appearance of things, and also the most revolutionary in his technique, even to the point of forestalling the impressionists, was certainly inspired by the “Visitation of Saint Ursula” by Berruguete to compose the principal scene of the “Rendición de Breda” where he painted the scene of the spiritual clash of two forces which are united in a sentiment of noble uprightness⁶³.

Berruguete’s masterpiece, the Transfiguration, in the choir-stalls of Toledo cathedral, by its overwhelming movement, explosive energy and elegance in the sequence of opposing shapes anticipates Bernini’s best Baroque composition such as conceived for “La Fontana di Trevi” in Rome⁶⁴.

In Goya the roots of his “black painting” echo from Berruguete’s style of the San Benito period and specially in Goya’s “Chronos devouring his son” and in the heart-breaking expression of a dog drowning⁶⁵.

In the XXth century Picasso coincides with Berruguete in his Blue and Rose periods whose links with the Saint Sebastian at San Benito we have already mentioned and in his “Demoiselles d’Avignon” whose composition and simplicity of lines and surfaces

in the small relief works in the Archbishop’s Chair behind the choir- stalls already mentioned. Thus Berruguete’s style, still alive in the most cultured Toledan circles, specially in the ecclesiastical ones, could probably serve as an adequate cultural medium enabling El Greco’s painting to be understood and facilitating his acceptance as principal painter of the Archbishop’s city, due to the previous generation having already assimilated Berruguete’s exaggerations.

⁶² I would like to mention in this section the revealing article of Parrado del Olmo “The Stigmatization of Saint Francis” by Alonso Berruguete and a painting of “Saint Peter in Montorio” by Michelangelo, now lost, but surviving through a Sketch, for the special closeness which, in my opinion, exists between this composition represented in the Major Altarpiece of the Church of Santiago in Cáceres, and the iconography of Saint Francis and his brother Leo by El Greco. Parrado does not take a stand in this question, but defends that it is a late autograph work of Berruguete. The composition is very original, showing San Francis with open arms in diagonal and slightly twisting his body. His brother Leo is in “serpentinata” position and fore-shortened, creating space where none exists. As Parrado indicates, Berruguete contributes greater dynamism and spatial grandeur and transforms the sketch of supremely classical composition into a fully mannerist version which it would not be risky to think might have inspired El Greco.

⁶³ In Velazquez there is no more parallelism with Berruguete than the rupturism which is implied in both men of genius, mainly due to the importance given to renewing the conception of traditional space, a question which Velazquez raises in rank, conceiving an interior space, when he paints an emptiness which gives solidity to space and which wraps up the things which are part of the space. Velazquez, however, as the deep connoisseur that he was, knows better than anyone how to distinguish quality and select his sources of inspiration, so long as they have, or allow him to reach, that universal grandeur which characterizes all his work

⁶⁴ It is very appropriate to mention in defence of the “barroquismo” of Berruguete the constant references made by Orueta to the artist’s desire to act in accordance with the spectator’s sentiments and Mazariego Pajares’ allusion to this conception of space and composition, sublimely expressed in his “Transfiguración”, where the figures are free in space and where light plays a fundamental role. All this gives Berruguete his Baroque character. Georg Weisse, in one of his chapters referring to Spanish sculpture, extends himself on this question “Berruguete y otros maestros del Barroco temprano”.

⁶⁵ Berruguete exists in Goya’s black paintings inasmuch as this may ultimately be considered the most distant precedent of what is called Veta Brava in Spanish Art and whose greatest exponent is the Genius of Fuentetodos.

recall the sculptures of the altarpiece of Santiago de Fonseca. Furthermore, in his interlocking style which one sees in “Girl facing the mirror” (1927) and in “The painter and his model” (1926) Picasso is obsessed with the idea of reproducing curls and entwined curves very similar to Berruguete’s style and which will influence painters so widely diverse as Marc Ernst, Paul Klee, Georges Braque, and above all Jackson Pollock⁶⁶. It is worth while mentioning specially his connection with Jackson Pollock and Edgar Munch⁶⁷, turbulent persons in real life, challenging one another as artists, endowed with the same earthy strength and a similarly true creative violence. Jackson Pollock, in his works of the 1940 decade, as in his “Crucifixion” and in 1950, in his “Autumn rhythm” (Metropolitan Museum. New York), or in his “Number 1A (1948, Museum of Modern Art, New York) through the direct influence of Picasso and specially in his entwining style, reaches surprising coincidences with Berruguete’s art. Berruguete and Pollock, taken as a whole, have a similar choreographic rhythm, based

⁶⁶ In my opinion the line in common which unites Berruguete, El Greco, Picasso and Pollock is that which gives all the modernity to the Corpus of Alonso Berruguete and their perfect interaction, is the best demonstration of how up to date he is. What unites El Greco and Picasso is their obstinate urge to break away, to simplify forms and their imperious need to express their ideas and inner sensations through Art, which doubtless also applies to Berruguete and Pollock.

Rupture in Berruguete and El Greco means breaking away from all they had learnt in Italy, specially from Renaissance composition which was always treated in depth and perfectly balanced. As Malraux says with reference to El Greco “he freed himself from Italy”, substituting the figure of Apollo for that of Dionysios. Picasso breaks away from tradition as he is the one who “throwing a resounding stone, the “*Demoiselles d’Avignon*” at the face of traditional painting, changed figurative painting into an art based on concepts, separate from visual reality, distorted, which forms an authentic declaration of rupture. Pollock makes the break in his own way, giving creative priority to gestures rather than to their final consequence, liberating the subconscious as the only creative source. Simplification is a process observed in the design of Berruguete’s sculptures of the upper part of the altarpiece which are sketchy and where importance is only given to movement, so as to cause a greater impact on the spectator. El Greco follows this idea specially in his “*Quinto Sello del Apocalipsis*”, where appear unexpectedly in the foreground spectral, evanescent figures. Picasso reaches simplification destroying completely form by means of decomposing and recomposing new images dissociated from reality, questioning the spectator who, under the guide of the Master’s genius, must give them a meaning. In Pollock simplification is treated as part of the creative process in itself, in the first instance, with his bright idea of dripping, that is applying the paint in drops, or splashing it (by means of throwing cans of paint) on the canvas, stressing its casual nature which rises from his instinct imbued with ferocious intensity, and indifferent to its artistic result. Pollock in fact simplifies art, reducing it to its most essential expression of his psyche and depriving it of any intellectual or cultural content. The will to express oneself is common to all artists and, in the case of a genius, becomes an imperious necessity to reveal his preoccupations, his suffocating inner anguish, as Berruguete does in “*Abraham’s Heraclitian cry*, or in his *San Sebastian’s* mute groan”. Picasso expresses his intimate self in his blue painting, whose infinite sadness could only burst out in his “*Demoiselles d’Avignon*”, as an act of rebellion demonstrating his superiority as a genius and his Nietzschean triumph over the misfortune and submission of the common people. In Pollock, his subconscious leads him to flood his pictorial space with a skein of nervous Berrugetesque lines, continual turns and obsessive rotative movements which, surprisingly, form a work equally great as Picasso’s, El Greco’s and Berruguete’s masterpieces. This, of course, has not occurred by chance, but is the consequence of a common volcanic psyche which forces them to break with all their acquired culture, and thus is the essence of their genius. For them creative inspiration and intuition have priority over talent, technique and skill, regardless of the fact that, above all in Picasso, they may have these qualities in plenty.

⁶⁷ The Berruguete of before Toledo connects with Munch due to his direct dramatic and intense images and to his expression of profound nihilism which rises from his own subconscious. The “*Cry*” and “*Beneath the Stars*” by Munch (Oslo Museum) are works which show up this coincidence of creative spirits.

fundamentally on gestures and scenic representation. Furthermore if one studies their art individually, one may perceive coincidences, such as the obsession with frayed, often interrupted lines, spontaneous finishes, all of which are signs indentifying Alonso Berruguete's work.

2.3 HISTORICAL PROVENANCE OF THESE PAIR OF SCULPTURES: THE ALTARPIECE OF SANTIAGO DE FONSECA (SALAMANCA)

The possibility that these sculptures proceed from the altarpiece of Santiago de Fonseca in Salamanca is based principally on stylistic reasons and on their execution, although it is important to indicate certain historical coincidences such as the size and proportion of these sculptures which support the thesis developed in detail by Professor Jesús Parrado del Olmo⁶⁸.

The altarpiece of the Colegio de Santiago de Fonseca, as indicated by Pons⁶⁹, referring to documents of that period which now are lost, was commissioned under contract for Alonso Berruguete in 1529. Berruguete accepted the contract to make the sculptures and paintings by his own hand since the execution of this work contemporary with that of the convent of San Benito. Unlike the altarpieces at Mejorada de Olmedo and at San Benito, the altarpiece of Santiago de Fonseca has survived incomplete to our age; at least four sculptures of importance are missing, as well as the Santiago of the central niche and its original structure is partly modified. Its history has been marked by events which began with the extension of the chapel between 1540 and 1546, which forced the altarpiece to be modified; then the fire, occurred in 1638, affecting the higher zones of the altarpiece and its bench, and the abolition of the schools initiated in 1798 when the dispersal of some of the sculptures began; finally in 1830 and 1970 were effected the two important restorations of the altarpiece. Furthermore, we must add that in the altarpiece at San Benito, the other work stylistically related to this one, its sculptures are all completely identified and this is the reason why the sculptures discovered which correspond, due to style and quality, to the Alonso Berruguete of this epoch, are assigned to this altarpiece of Santiago de Fonseca, though, up to the present, there is no documentary proof to demonstrate it. Following these considerations Manuel Arias and Jesús María Parrado del Olmo have considered the Saint Jerome of the Diocesan Museum of Salamanca, or the San Roque of the Marés Museum as belonging to the altarpiece Santiago de Fonseca. In this sense, the pair of sculptures of Saint Peter and Saint Paul we are now studying correspond in style, carving, polychromy and even size to the Santiago de Fonseca altarpiece. Therefore, due to historical coincidences we are able to assert with almost absolute certainty that these sculptures have belonged to the bench of this altarpiece⁷⁰.

COINCIDENCES IN STYLE AND RENDERING

The altarpiece of Santiago de Fonseca has a very homogeneous style which is easily recognizable and different from those at Mejorada de Olmedo, San Benito and the Epiphany altarpiece of Santiago in Valladolid inasmuch as it is, on the whole, more

⁶⁸ See Parrado del Olmo "Saint Peter and Saint Paul by Alonso Berruguete", August 2016.

⁶⁹ See Pons, letter VII, tomo XII of his "Viaje a España" p.1099.

⁷⁰ Manuel Sendíng Calabuig "El Colegio Mayor del Arzobispo de Salamanca" 1977. University of Salamanca.

Italianate. Its principal characteristic is that of being calmer and more elegant, corresponding to a transitional state of creativity between the San Benito work and the choir-stalls of Toledo. On the other hand, the quality of its execution is maintained uniformly both in the carving of the free standing sculptures and in the “grutteschi” work as well as in its exceptional polychromy considered among his finest coloured works.

The pair of sculptures of Saint Peter and Saint Paul which indubitably proceed from its bench, due to their small size (54 cm high) and to the infinite care and detail in their finish, reveal to us a more restrained, and by no means strident Berruguete, following the style of the Fonseca altarpiece where the freestanding sculptures appear unbalanced, poised on convex, flimsy bases, caught in a spiral movement and buffeted by a mysterious wind.

The correspondences between the Saint Bartholomew’s design and our Saint Paul, in the sense that both works recall to us Giacopo Sansovino, are evident in the way in which he carves the tunic which fits close to his body marking his belly, in the movement of his arms which evokes in us the “Ecce Homo” at Mejorada de Olmedo, his frowning brow, his deep-set and roughly finished eye-sockets and open mouth revealing surprise or expectation rather than suffering. Nevertheless this sentiment of suffering, we find it, though in a moderate way, in the expression of our Saint Peter, following the expressivity of the “Pietà”, of the Calvary or of the formerly incorrectly identified Saint Peter at the Santiago de Fonseca altarpiece. All this is rendered with a moderation we do not find in the altarpiece of San Benito where spiritual exaltation, opposition of contrast, search of the unexpected and a resounding monumentality, mark the impetuous rhythm of this altarpiece and the sculptures that compose it.

The sensation of instability is another of the common characteristics of all the sculptures of this altarpiece and which we also find in our Saint Peter and Saint Paul. This instability is propitiated by the fact of having convex bases, as in the case of the Saint John, in some of the small angels and in the Saint Christopher and is due to almost all the sculptures moving in a similar “alegre ma non troppo” rhythm, stepping one leg forward and twisting their bodies, creating “contraposto” or serpentine postures, as done splendidly in our Saint Paul. This movement is very different from that which we perceive at San Benito where Berruguete, using the same resources and technique, achieves much more exaggerated results.

Finally, perhaps the most singular facet of our pair of sculptures, and the most in accordance with those of Santiago de Fonseca, are their magnificent “estofados”, in view of the fact that we only find this level of refinement in the cloak of the “Pietà”. In both “esgrafiados” we appreciate the art of a Master, in which he demonstrates, on the one hand, a task executed with great care, detail and delicacy, but also carried out with all the freedom with which Berruguete endows his unique designs, so characteristic of his kind of mastery. These curved lines, in which each element is outlined with finely finished spiral scrolls; we also perceive them at Fonseca in the “grutteschi” of the

Friezes. Here Alonso Berruguete clearly demonstrates his capacity as a designer, sculptor, painter and decorator, in short, the authentic conductor of an orchestra⁷¹.

SUITABILITY OF SIZE AND PROPORTION IN THE SCULPTURES

The altarpiece of Santiago de Fonseca has a composition very like, though more simplified than that of San Benito, to the point that it is very similar in structure to its lateral “calles” which may have been inspired in models from Lombardy. All this may lead us to presume what must have been the structure of the bench which was partially destroyed in the fire of 1638 and reconstructed at the beginning of the XIXth century. This bench must have followed the design of the upper structures and contained the tabernacle placed just below the principal sculpture of Santiago now lost. On either side of the tabernacle were situated two niches decorated with columns similar to those in the upper structures and containing on the right the Saint Peter and on the left Saint Paul. On the outer edges of the bench were placed two angels as Atlas, sustaining directly the “entablamiento” as attested by their flat-topped heads. The height of 69 cm of the angels and the 54 cm of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, smaller due to being included in a niche, correspond perfectly to the 83 cm of the present day reconstructed bench, in descending proportion to the upper structure⁷².

HISTORICAL COINCIDENCES

Although in the contract to which Pons refers, he only mentions a free-standing sculpture of Santiago, a crucifix and a “Piedad”, it is very significant that in 1830, on the occasion of the restoration of the altarpiece, Pedro Micó was commissioned to make two small sculptures of Saint Peter and Saint Paul which were missing from the lower niches (at present in the Diocesan Museum of Salamanca) just on top of the reconstructed bench^{73 74 75}.

The fact that these sculptures by Pedro Micó are so small and out of proportion to the two niches where they were situated in the “cuerpo” (see photograph) and that, even though they were not the same, they remind one, to some extent, of our statues, induces us to think that they must have been made at the indication of the canon of the chapel who would have remembered small sculptures by Alonso Berruguete situated equally

⁷¹ See Parrado del Olmo, August 2016. Arias Martínez, 2011 p.121 and ss. And Orueta, 1917 p.102.

⁷² Manuel Sendín Calabuig 1977 and Parrado del Olmo. “Una hipótesis razonable de la procedencia del San Pedro y San Pablo de Berruguete”, August 2016.

⁷³ Report June’71 on the last restoration carried out between 1969 and 1971 by Chief Restorer Sr. Santos Ramos and Restorers Rocío and María Dávila in which it is specially indicated that the small XIXth century sculptures which filled the lower niches were eliminated.

⁷⁴ Manuel Sendín Calabuig 1977 and Parrado del Olmo. August 2016.

⁷⁵ See Reports by Don Benito Lobato Caballero addressed to the Presidente de la Comisión Negociadora del Restablecimiento de los Colegios Mayores 1831 y los Contratos de Obra para la Restauración del Retablo fechados el 10 de febrero y 26 de mayo de 1832 firmados por Pedro Micó.

disproportionately in the said niches⁷⁶. The reason for the disproportion of these sculptures must have been because they were originally placed on the bench of the altarpiece, as corresponded to their size and to the place where the Princes of the Church were usually situated, on each side of the “sagrario”. This bench, as we have already said, was very deteriorated by the fire occurred in 1638, which was the reason why these sculptures were removed from it, and has permitted them to be conserved in such an exceptional state, unlike the rest of the sculptures of the altarpiece which were repainted on other occasions in the 1830’s, with very poor results and losing the magnificent polychromy which they must have had and is attested by our sculptures and the “Piedad” of the second structure⁷⁷.

During the period which goes between the abolition of the religious schools in 1798 and their re-establishment in 1815, a time of great upheaval in the historical events leading to the dismantling of the patrimony of the Church, these sculptures, as a pair, passed to some private collection or to an antique dealer, as happened to other sculptures of the altarpieces, such as the Saint Jerome (Diocesan Museum of Salamanca) and the San Roque (Marés Museum of Barcelona) and where sold to the Garnica family were they remained for several generations.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ It is indicated in the Report attached to the second Contract that the two lower niches were empty and the convenience of filling them with images was pointed out. Accordingly, Pedro Micó was commissioned to make two carved sculptures of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, with their pedestals, for the high altarpiece at eighty “reales” each.

⁷⁷ See the XIXth century sculptures of Saint Peter and Saint Paul made by Pedro Micó in the Museum of Salamanca.

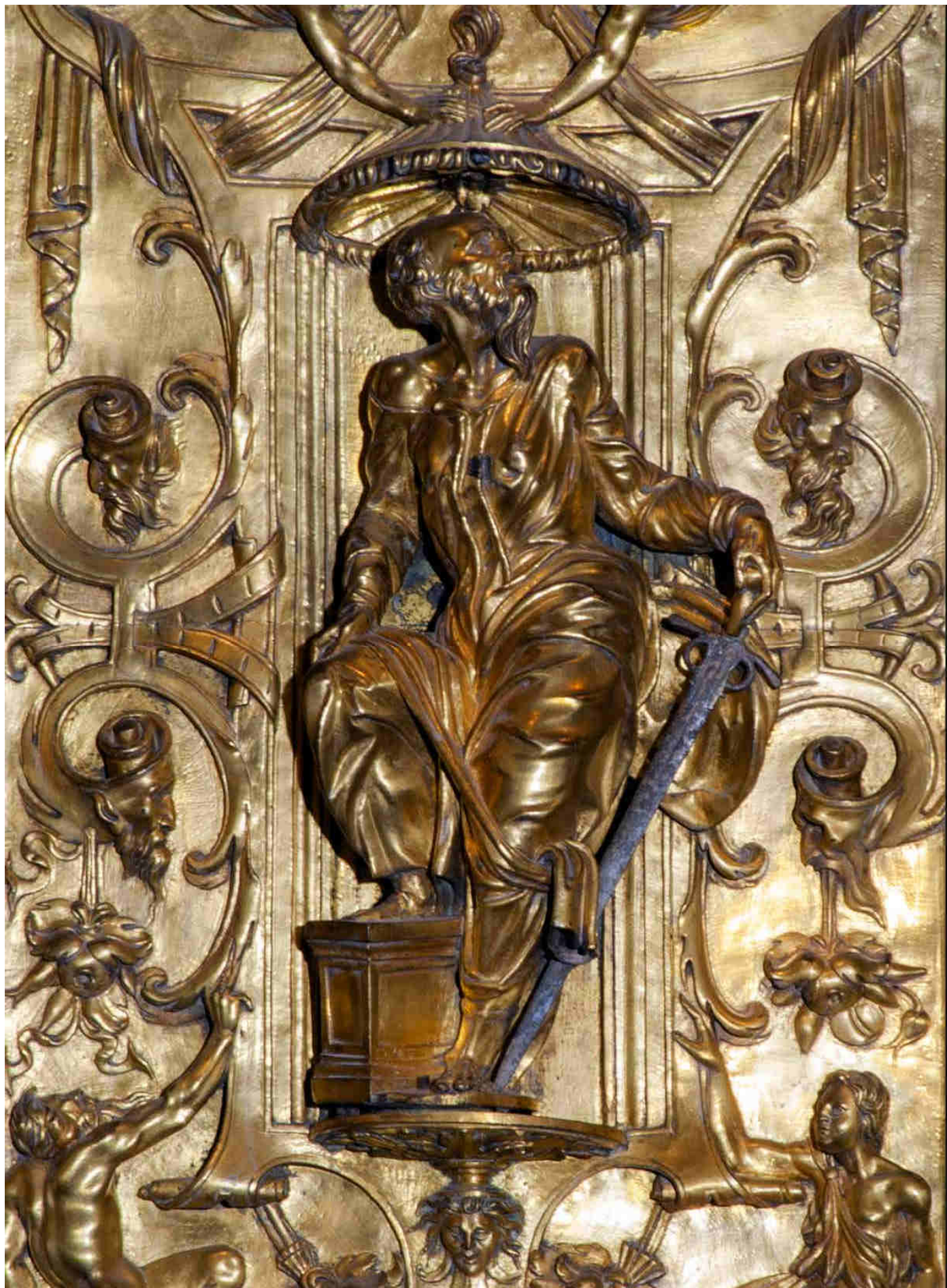
⁷⁸ “Two sculptures of Saint Peter and Saint Paul by Alonso Berruguete”. Parrado del Olmo, August 2016.

CATALOGUE OF IMAGES

Published in Treasures of Spanish Renaissance Sculpture. The origin of the Spanish manner.
Ed. Carlos Herrero Starkie. Institute of Old Masters Research (IOMR), 2019.
ISBN: 978-84-9543-84-3



Alonso Berruguete, (Paredes de Nava (Palencia) 1489. Toledo 1561). A pair of sculptures, Saint Peter and Saint Paul, 1529/1532, 54 cm Polychrome walnut wood. **Provenance:** Historical provenance presumably from the altarpiece of the colegio of Santiago de Fonseca, Salamanca. Garnica Collection Toledo, until 2015. IOMR Collection, The Netherlands. **Literature:** Prof J M. Parado del Olmo, Prof René Payo Hernanz, in Treasures of Spanish Renaissance Sculpture. The origin of the Spanish Manner, IOMR September 2019. Will be included in the forthcoming: addenda to the book "Alonso Berruguete, Prometeo de la escultura", Manuel Arias Martínez, 2011.



Alonso Berruguete, *pulpit*, gilt bronze, circa 1545, Toledo Cathedral.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Paul*, 1529 - 1532, polychrome walnut wood, IOMR collection



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Paul*, polychrome walnut wood 1529- 1532, IOMR collection.



Alonso Berruguete. *Christ tied to the column*, pen and brown ink on paper, circa 1537, 10286 Galeria degli Uffizi



Alonso Berruguete. *Ecce Homo*, 1525, polychrome wood, Monastery of Nuestra Señora de la Mejorada, currently at Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid.



Alonso Berruguete. *Apostle*, 1526-1532, polychrome wood, Monastery of San Benito, currently at Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Paul*, polychrome walnut wood 1529- 1532, IOMR collection.



Alonso Berruguete, *David*, relief, walnut wood , high choir stalls, 1539-1542 Cathedral of Toledo.



Alonso Berruguete, *drawing*, circa 1526-1532, The Art Institute of Chicago.



Alonso Berruguete. *Levi*, polychrome wood, 1526-1532, Museo Nacional de Escultura Valladolid.



Alonso Berruguete, *Apostle*, Monastery of San Benito, currently at Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid.



Alonso Berruguete, *Ecce Homo*, detail arms, currently at Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Paul*, detail, arms, IOMR Collection.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Paul and Saint Peter*, detail hands, IOMR Collection.



Alonso Berruguete, *Ecce Homo*, detail hand, currently at Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Roque*, detail hand, Museo Marés, Barcelona.



Alonso Berruguete, *Patriarch*, Museo Nacional de Escultura de Valladolid.



Alonso Berruguete. *Saint Bartolomew*, circa 1530, polychrome wood, altarpiece of Colegio de Santiago de Fonseca, Salamanca.



Alonso Berruguete, *Apostle*, 1526- 1532, polychrome wood, Monastery of San Benito currently at Museo Nacional de Escultura.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Paul*, polychrome walnut wood, 1529- 1532, IOMR collection.



Alonso Berruguete, *Relief representing Isaías*, 1539- 1542, walnut wood, High Choir-stalls detail, Toledo Cathedral.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Peter*, polychrome walnut wood 1529- 1532, IOMR Collection



Alonso Berruguete. Apostle, detail hands, Monasterio de San Benito, currently at Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Peter*, polychrome walnut wood 1529- 1532, IOMR Collection



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Peter*, polychrome walnut wood 1529- 1532, IOMR



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Jerome*, 1526- 1532, detail feet, Monastery of San Benito currently at Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Paul*, polychrome walnut wood 1529- 1532, IOMR



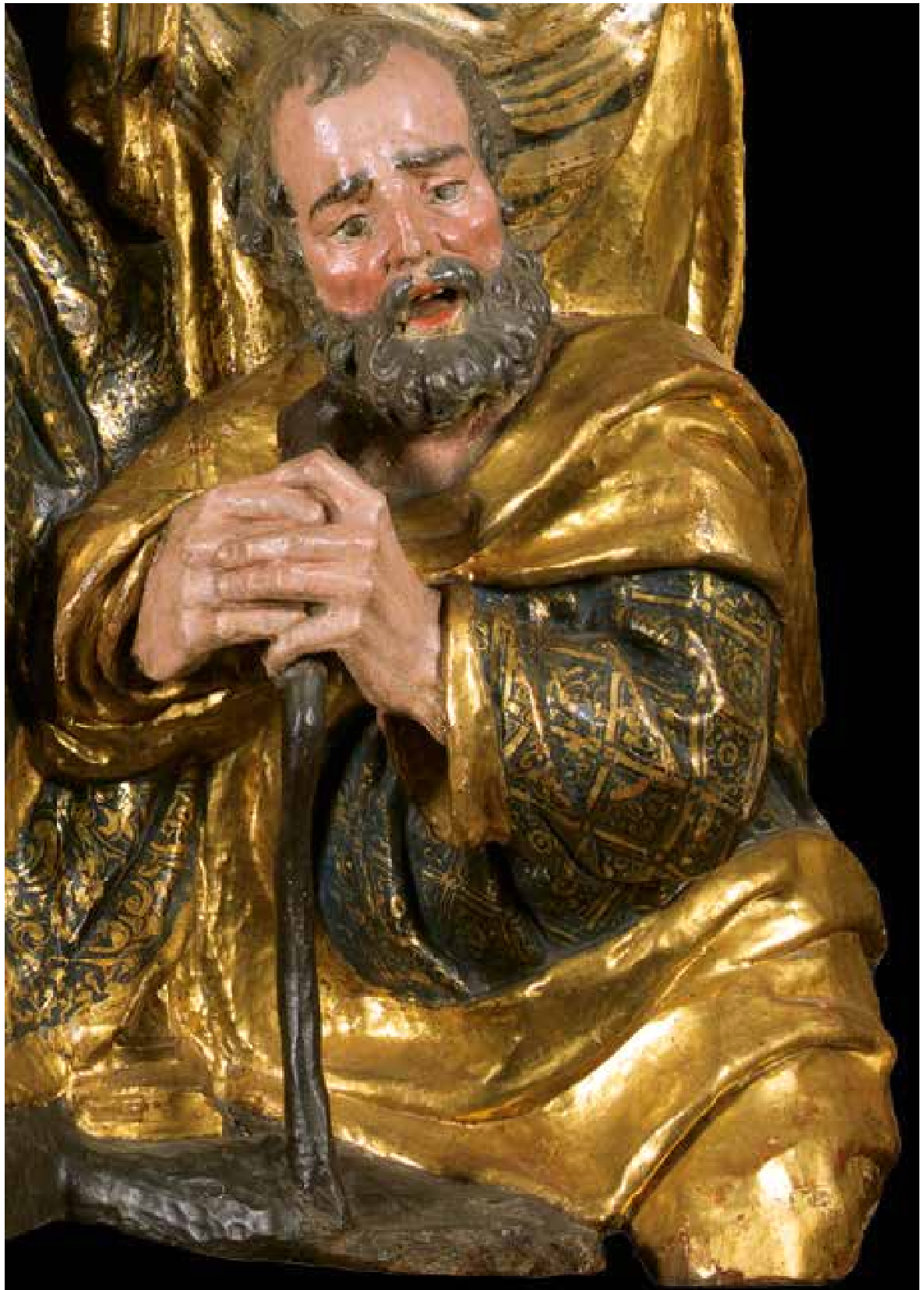
Alonso Berruguete, *San Sebastian*, Detail feet, Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid.



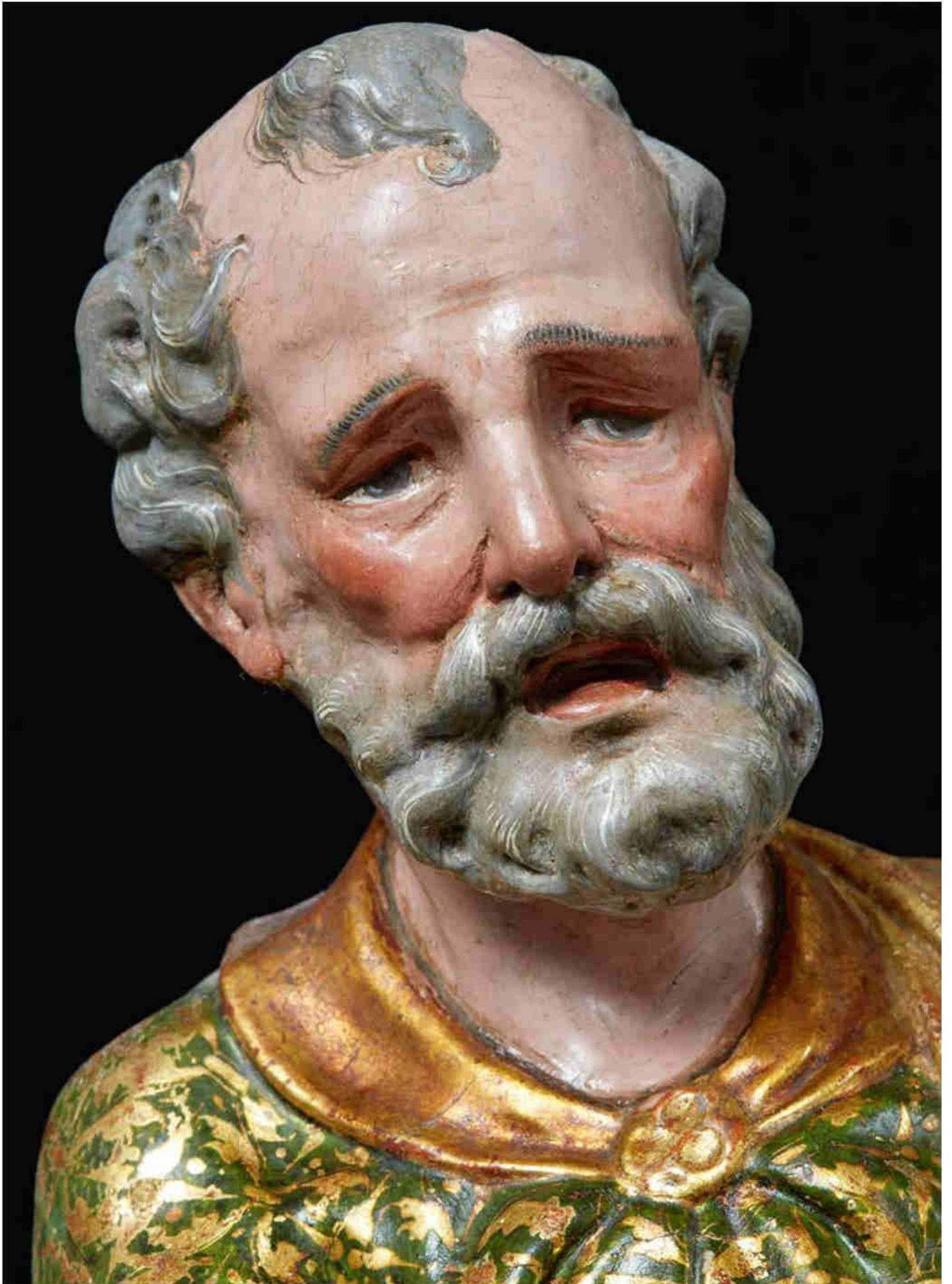
Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Paul*, polychrome walnut wood 1529-1532, IOMR collection.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Roque* detail feet, Museo Marés, Barcelona.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Joseph*, altarpiece of the church Santa Úrsula, Toledo



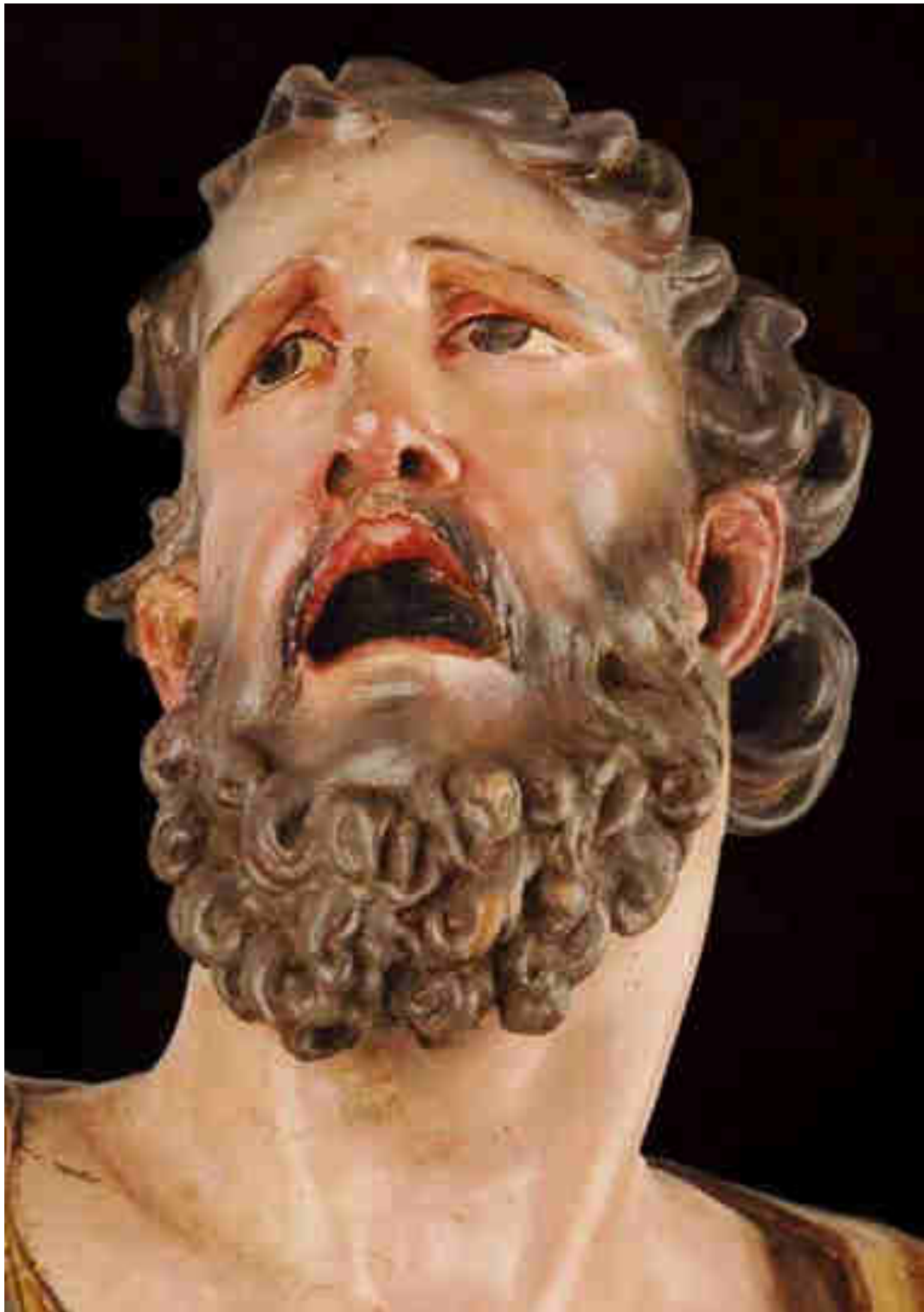
Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Peter*, polychrome walnut wood 1529- 1532, IOMR.



Alonso Berruguete, *Apostle*, polychrome wood, Monastery of San Benito currently at Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid

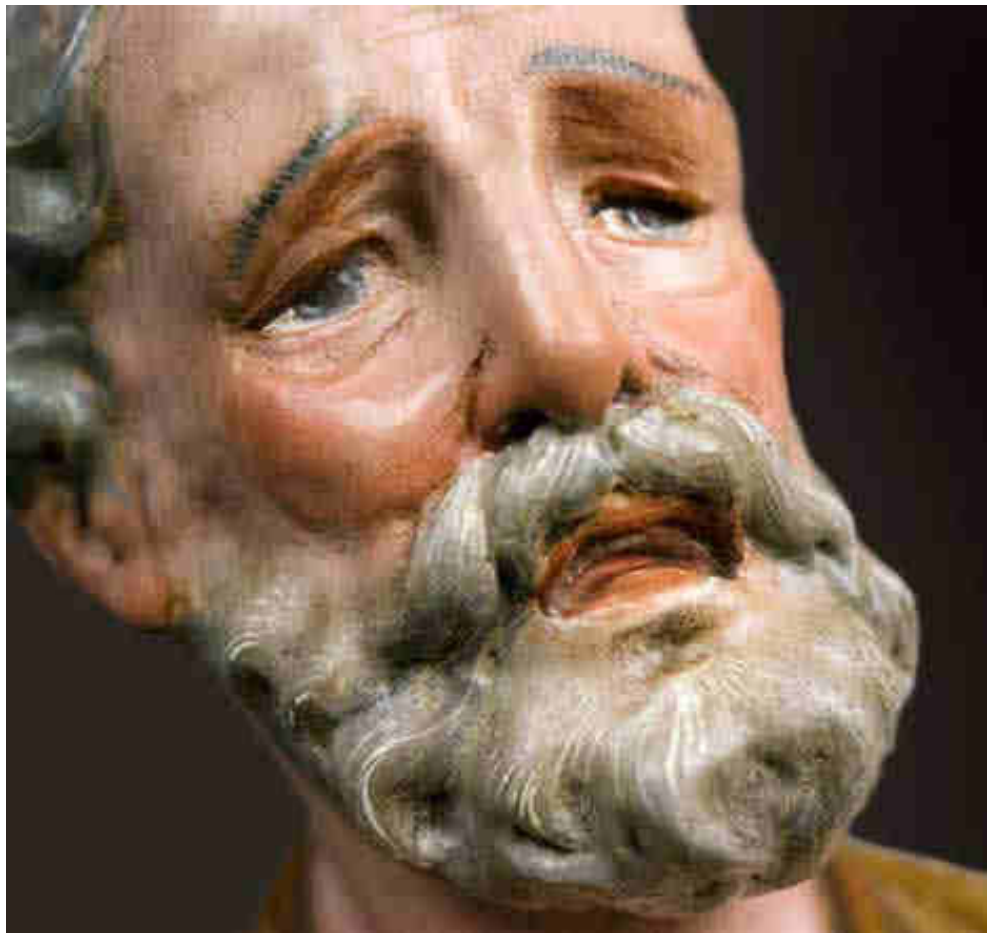


Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Paul*, polychrome walnut wood 1529 - 1532, IOMR Collection

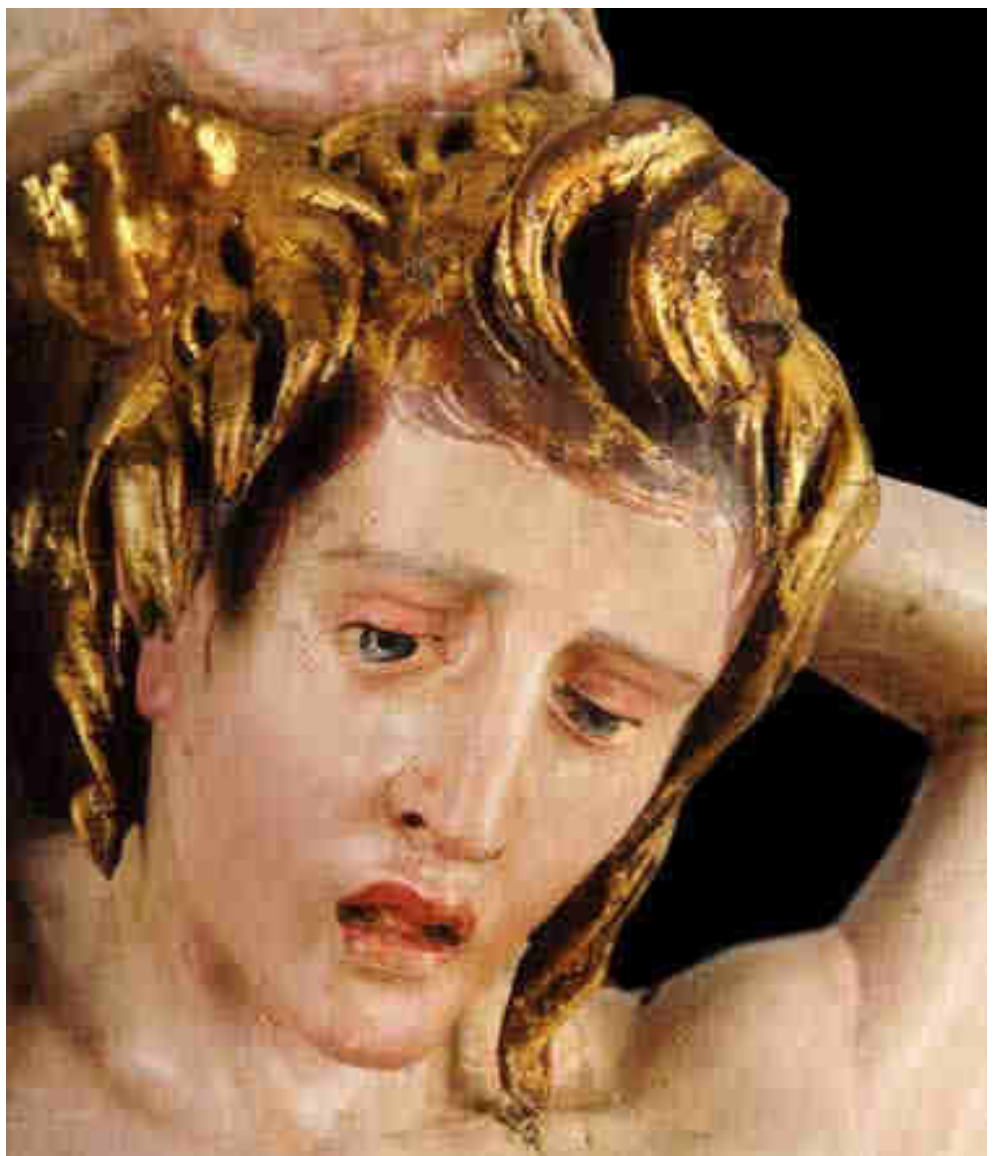


Alonso Berruguete, *Patriarch*, detail face, Museo Nacional de Escultura de Valladolid

Alonso Berruguete,
Saint Paul, polychrome
walnut wood 1529 -
1532, IOMR Collection

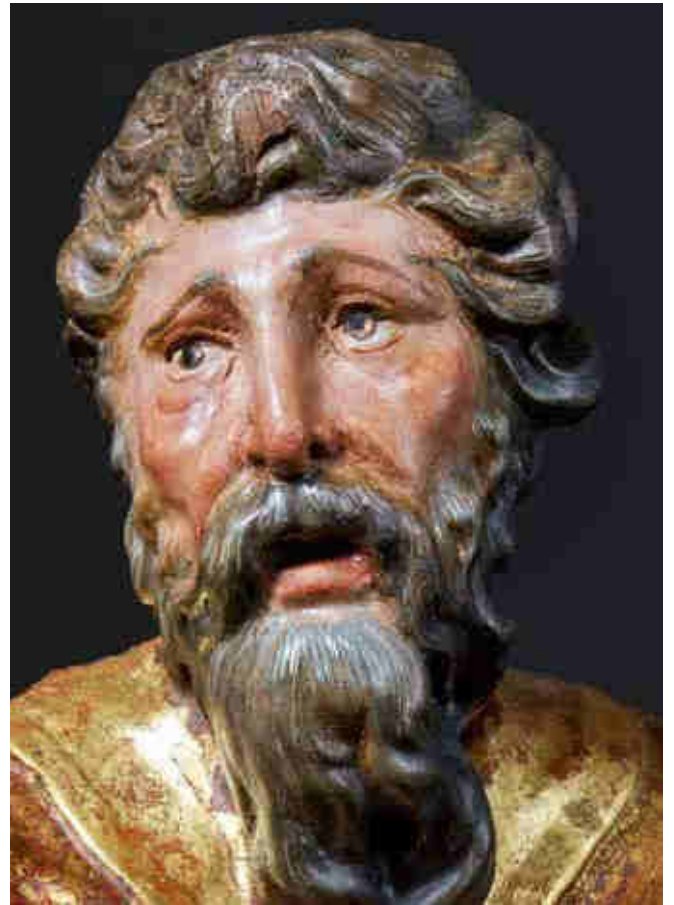


Alonso Berruguete,
Saint Sebastian, detail
face, 1526-1532,
Monastery of San
Benito, currently at
Museo Nacional de
Escultura de





Alonso Berruguete. *Saint Bartolomew, detail face*
circa 1530, polychrome wood, altarpiece of Colegio
Santiago de Fonseca, Salamanca.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Paul, detail face,*
polychrome walnut wood 1529- 1532, IOMR
Collection.



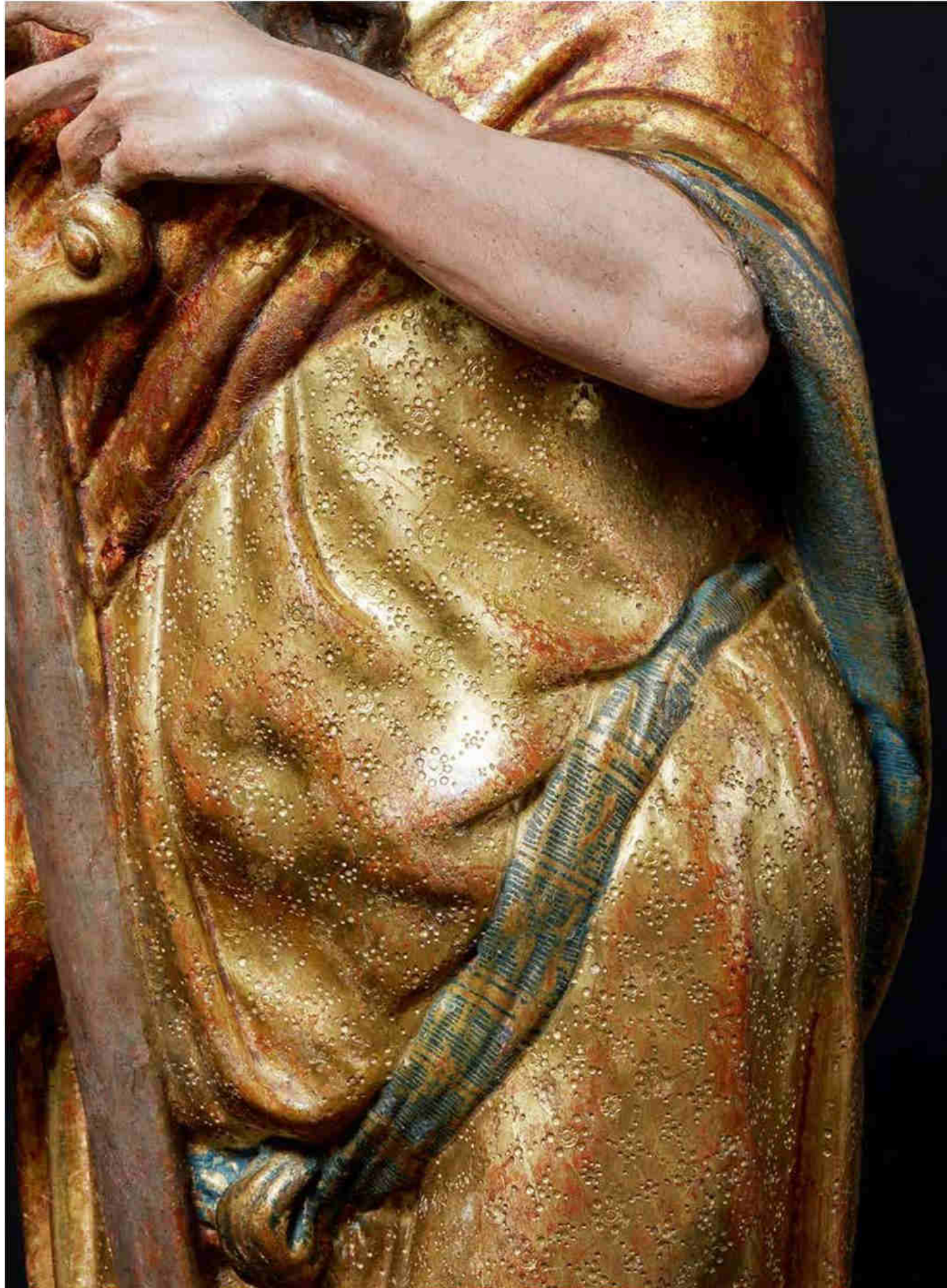
Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Paul, detail face*, polychrome walnut wood 1529- 1532, IOMR Collection.



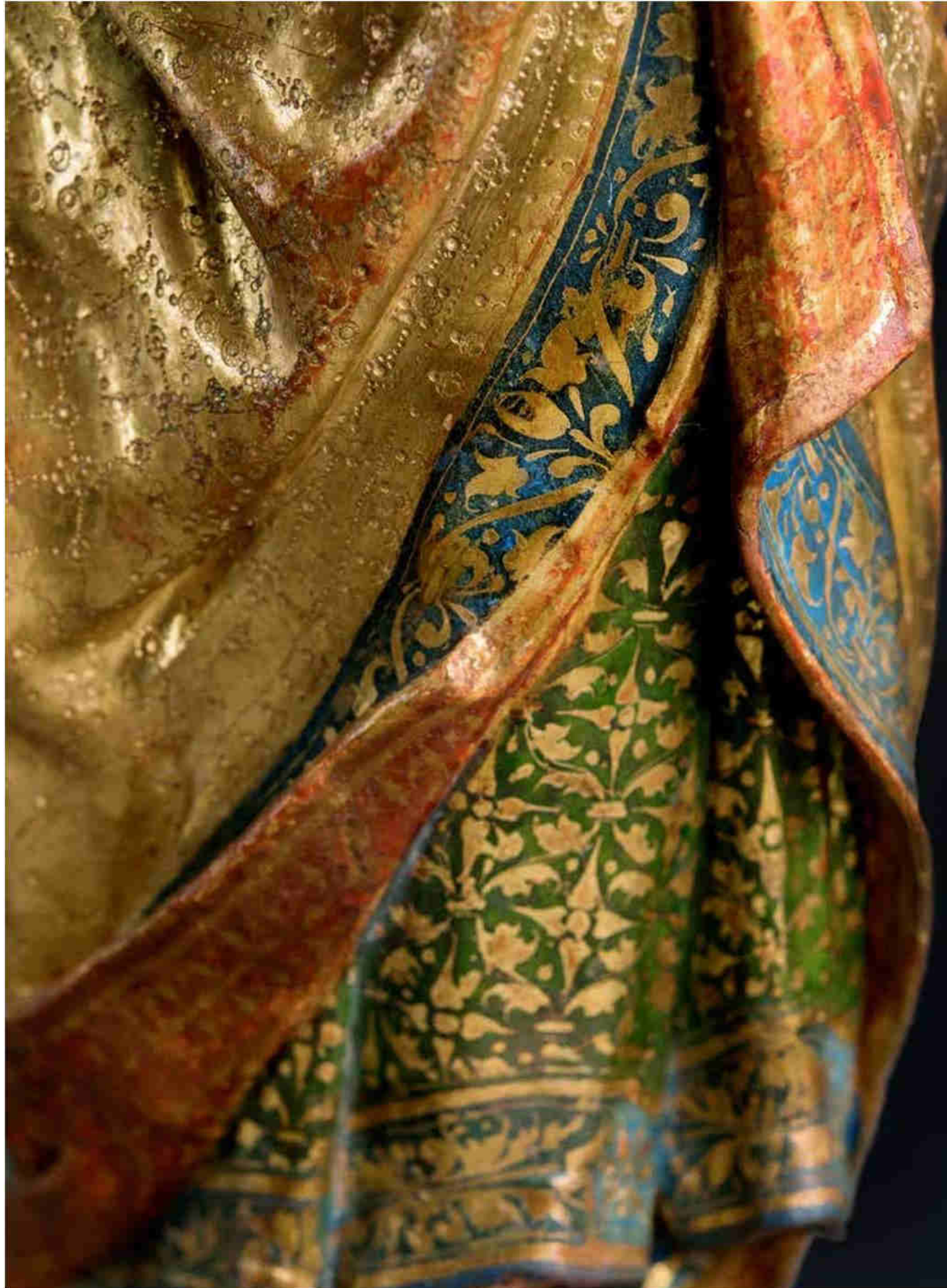
Alonso Berruguete. *Apostle, detail face*, altarpiece Monastery of San Benito. Museo Nacional de Escultura de. Valladolid.



Alonso Berruguete, *detail Saint Peter*, polychrome walnut wood, circa 1529-1532, IOMR Collection



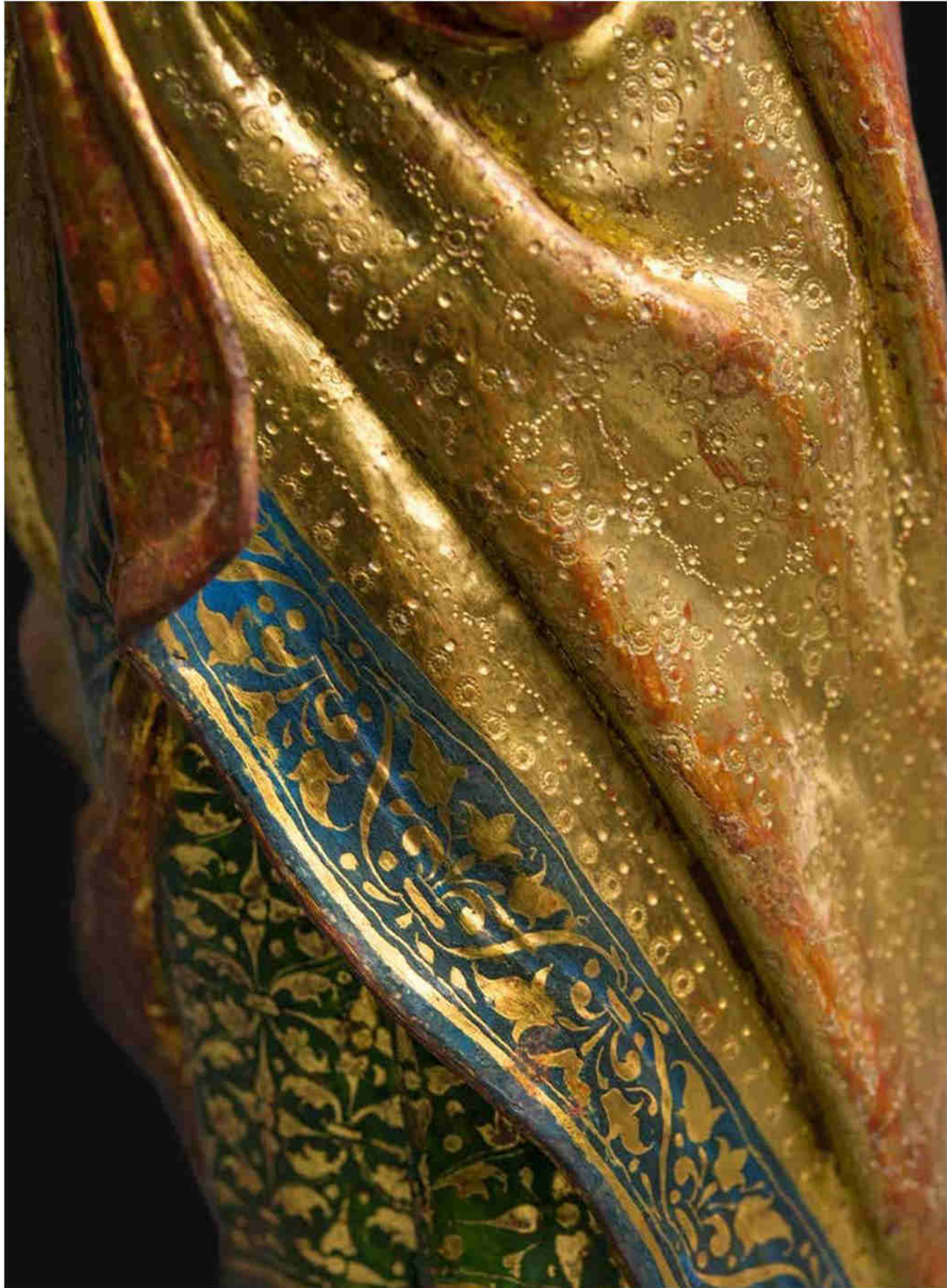
Alonso Berruguete, detail Saint Paul, polychrome, walnut wood, circa 1529-1532, IOMR Collection



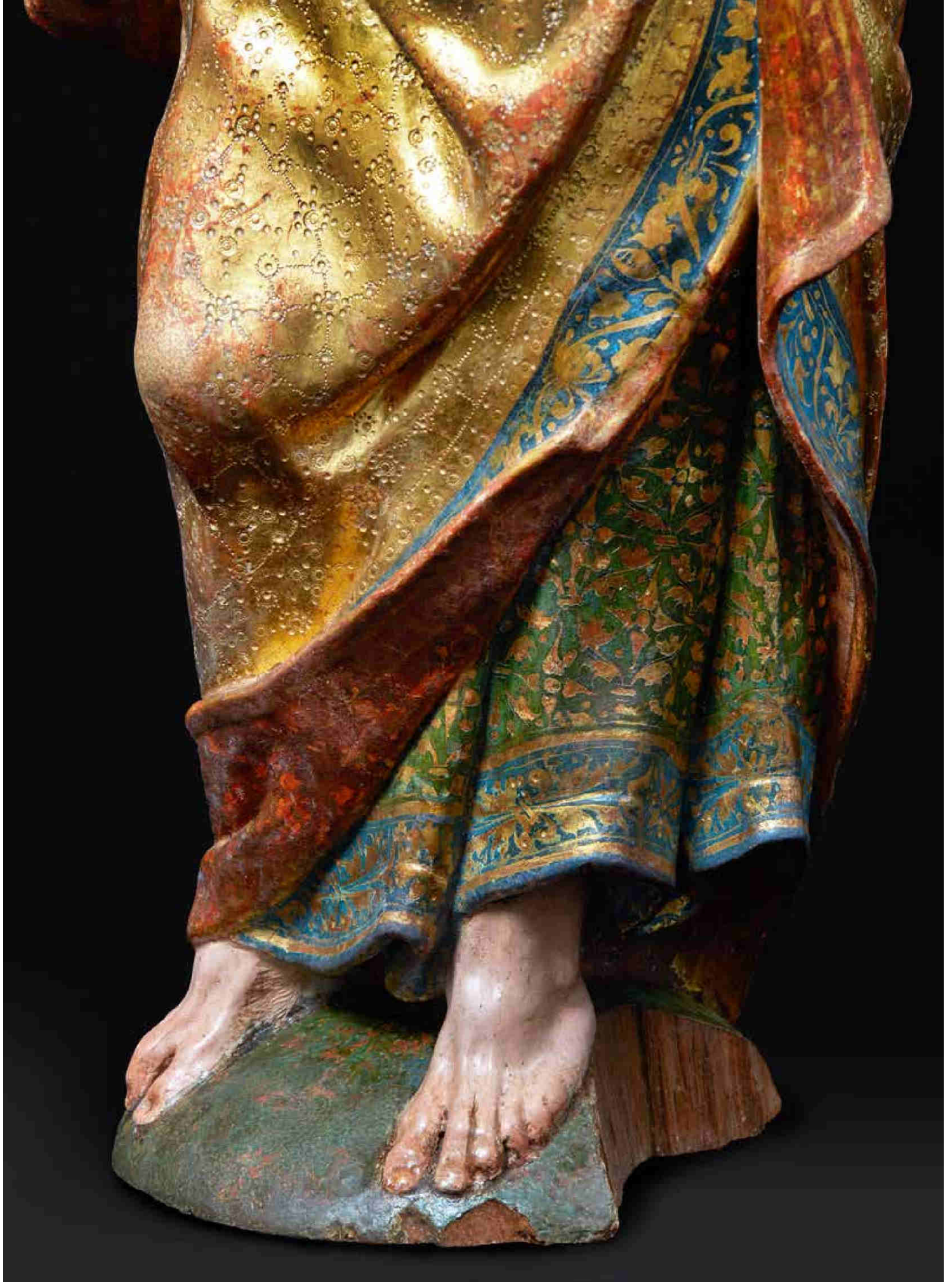
Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Peter*, detail of corla, polychrome, walnut wood , circa 1529- 1532, IOMR Collection.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Peter*, detail, IOMR Collection



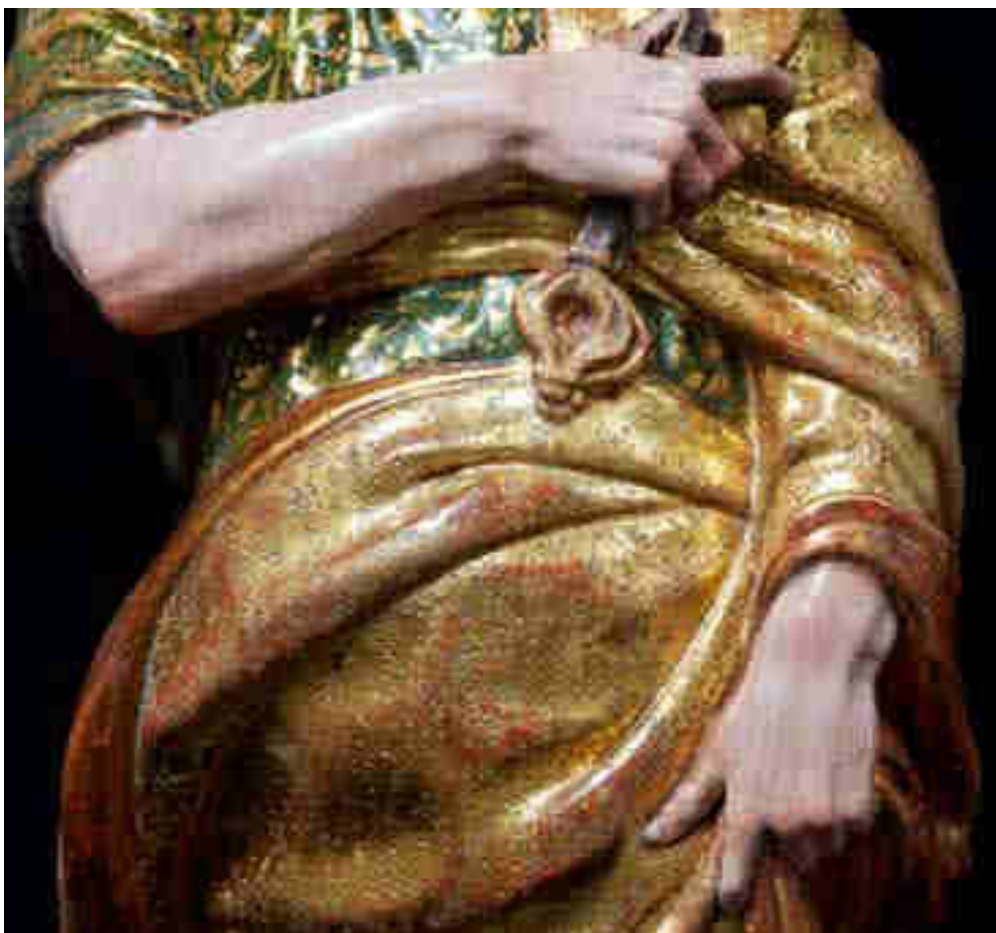
Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Peter*, detail of sash, IOMR Collection



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Peter*, detail, IOMR Collection



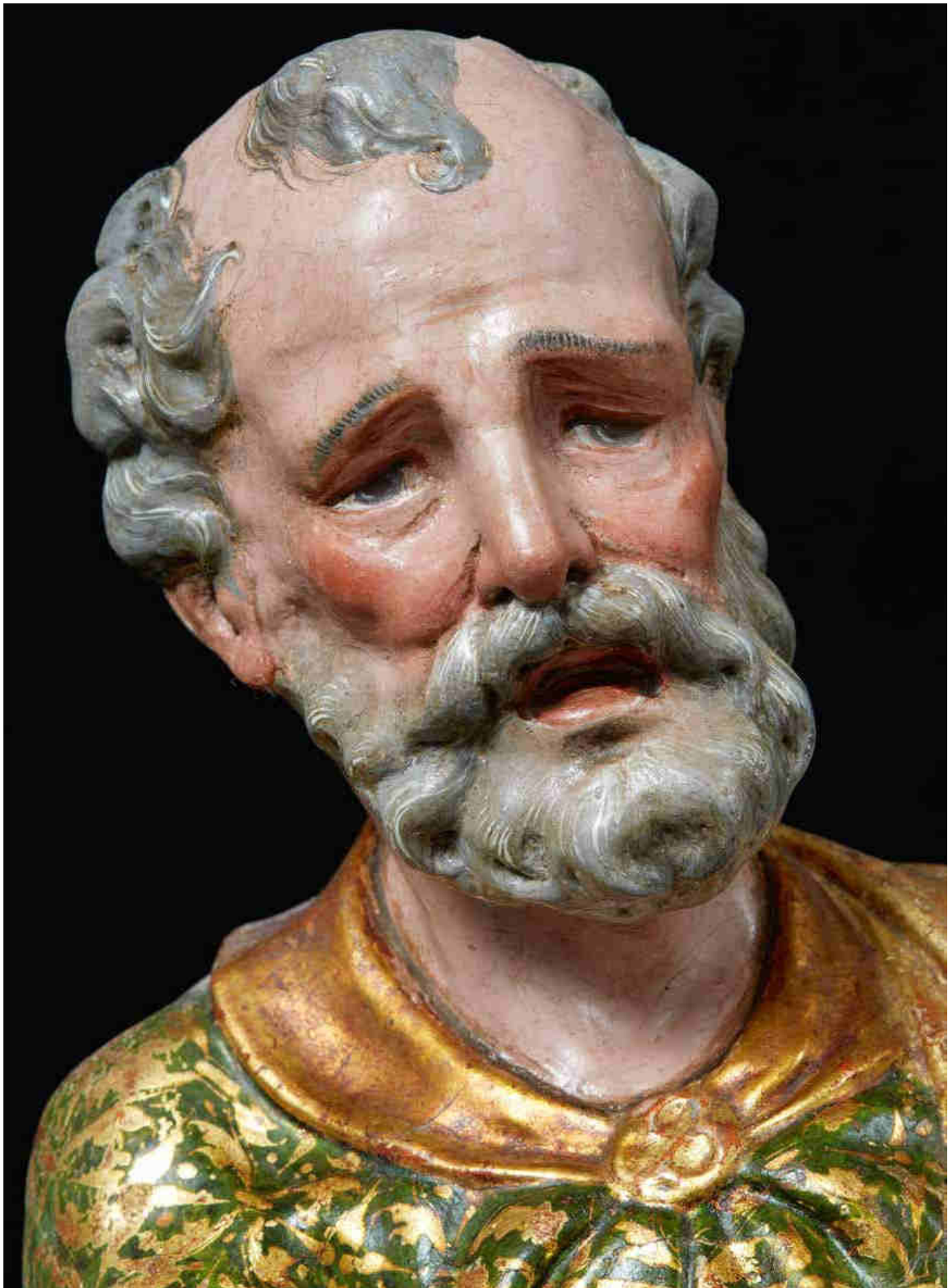
Alonso Berruguete. Comparison of polychromies: *Pietà* of the Chapel of Santiago de Fonseca College, Salamanca,) *Holy family*, altarpiece Wise Kings of Church of Santiago,Valladolid;() *figure of* altarpiece of the Monastery of San Benito, Valladolid, detail of *Saint Peter*, IOMR Collection



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Peter*, detail, hands , IOMR Collection



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Peter*, detail, feet, IOMR Collection



Comparison, *detail face of Saint Peter*, IOMR collection, */Saint Joseph, Epiphany*, of the Church of Santiago, Valladolid, 1539, *Apostle*, Altarpiece of the Chapel of the Santiago de Fonseca College.

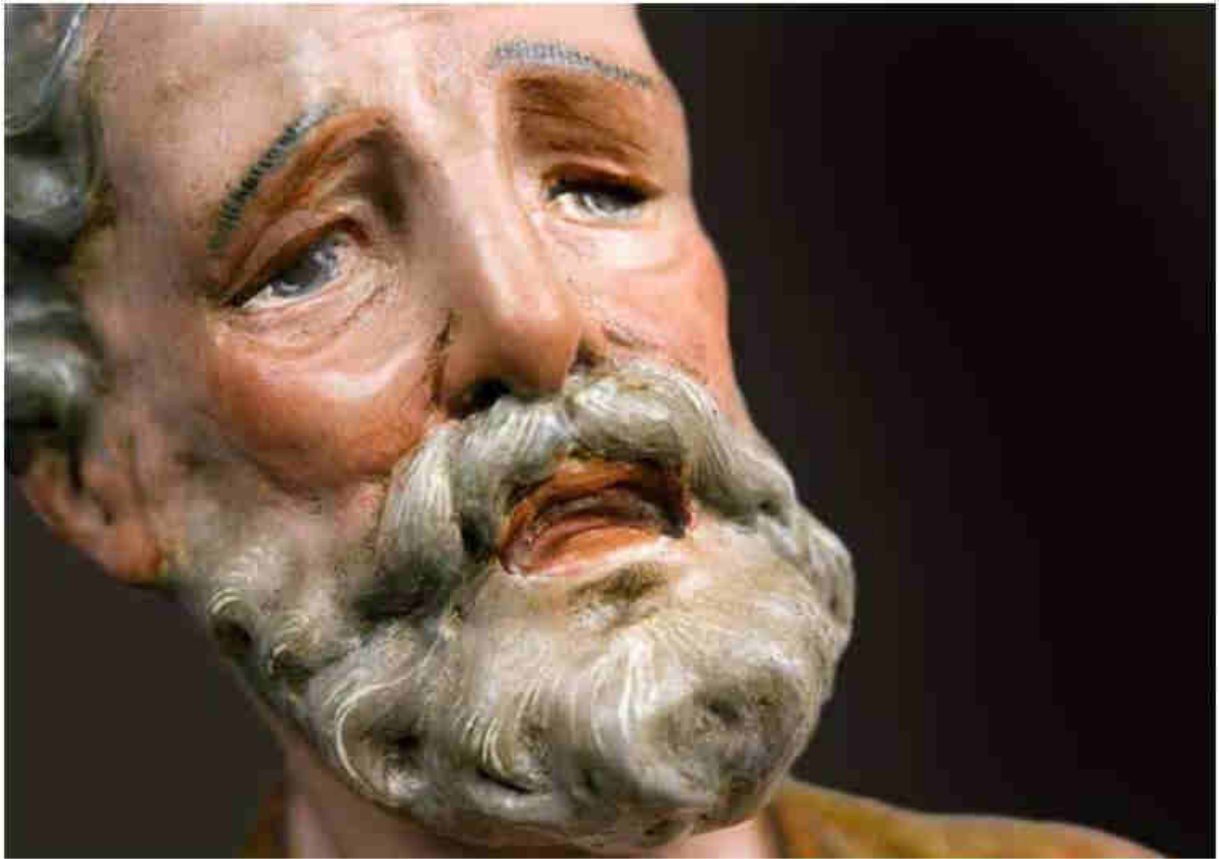




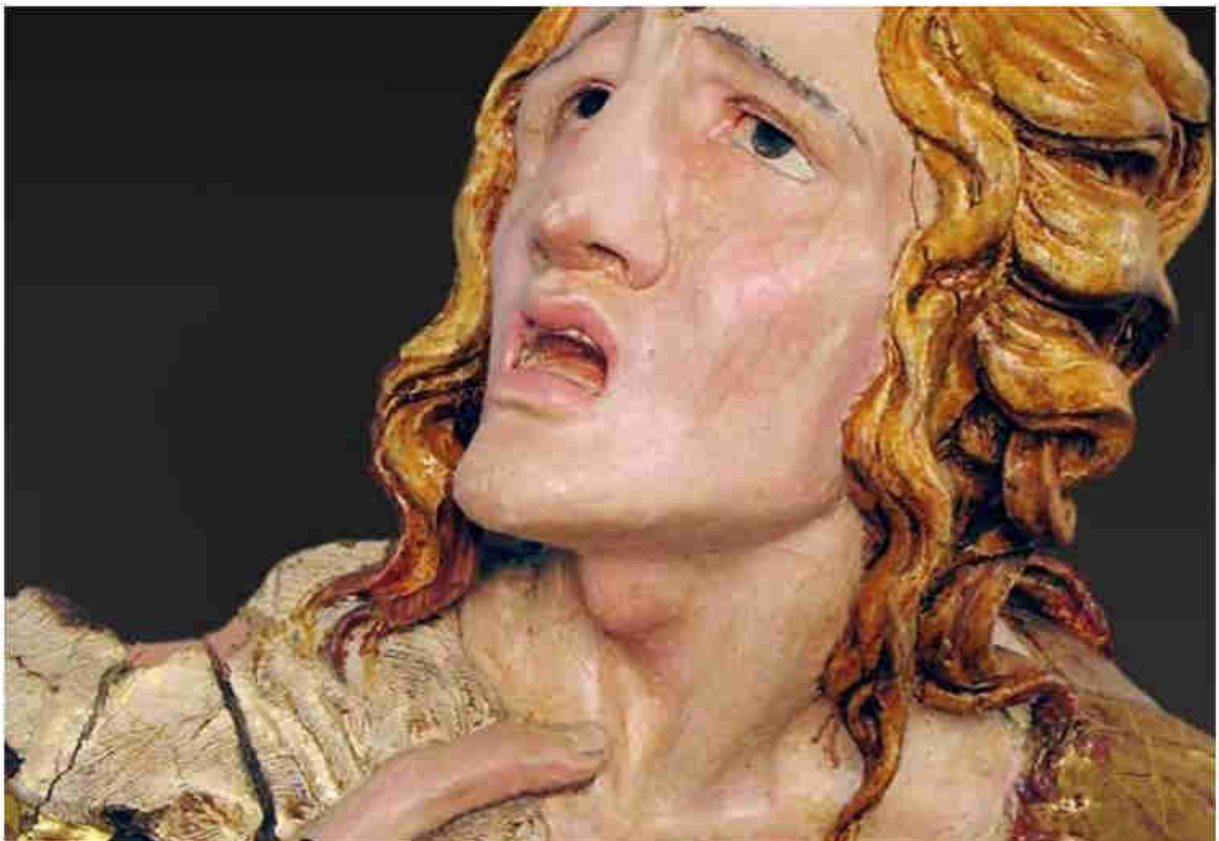
Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Peter*, detail of eyes, IOMR Collection.



Alonso Berruguete. *Saint Sebastián*, San Benito Monastery, Valladolid, currently at the Museo Nacional de Escultura de Valladolid.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Peter*, IOMR Collection.



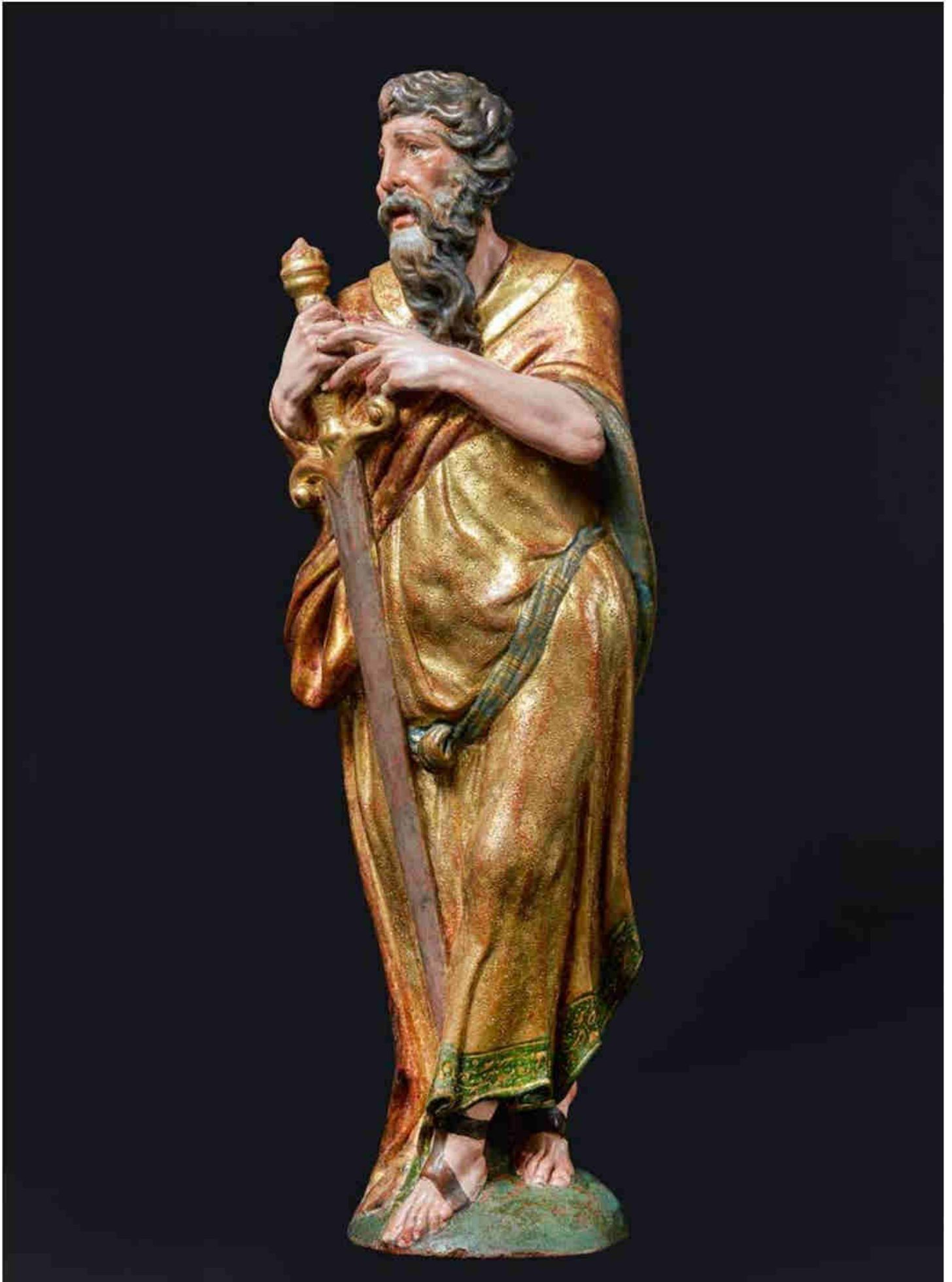
Alonso Berruguete, *Saint John*, detail mouth, Monastery of San Benito currently at Museo Nacional de Escultura de Valladolid.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Peter*, IOMR Collection



Alonso Berruguete. *Saint Sebastián*, San Benito Monastery, Valladolid, currently at the Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Paul*, IOMR Collection

Alonso Berruguete. *Saint Paul*, detail of the “cíngulo”, IOMR Collection.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Paul*, detail “Corla”, IOMR Collection.

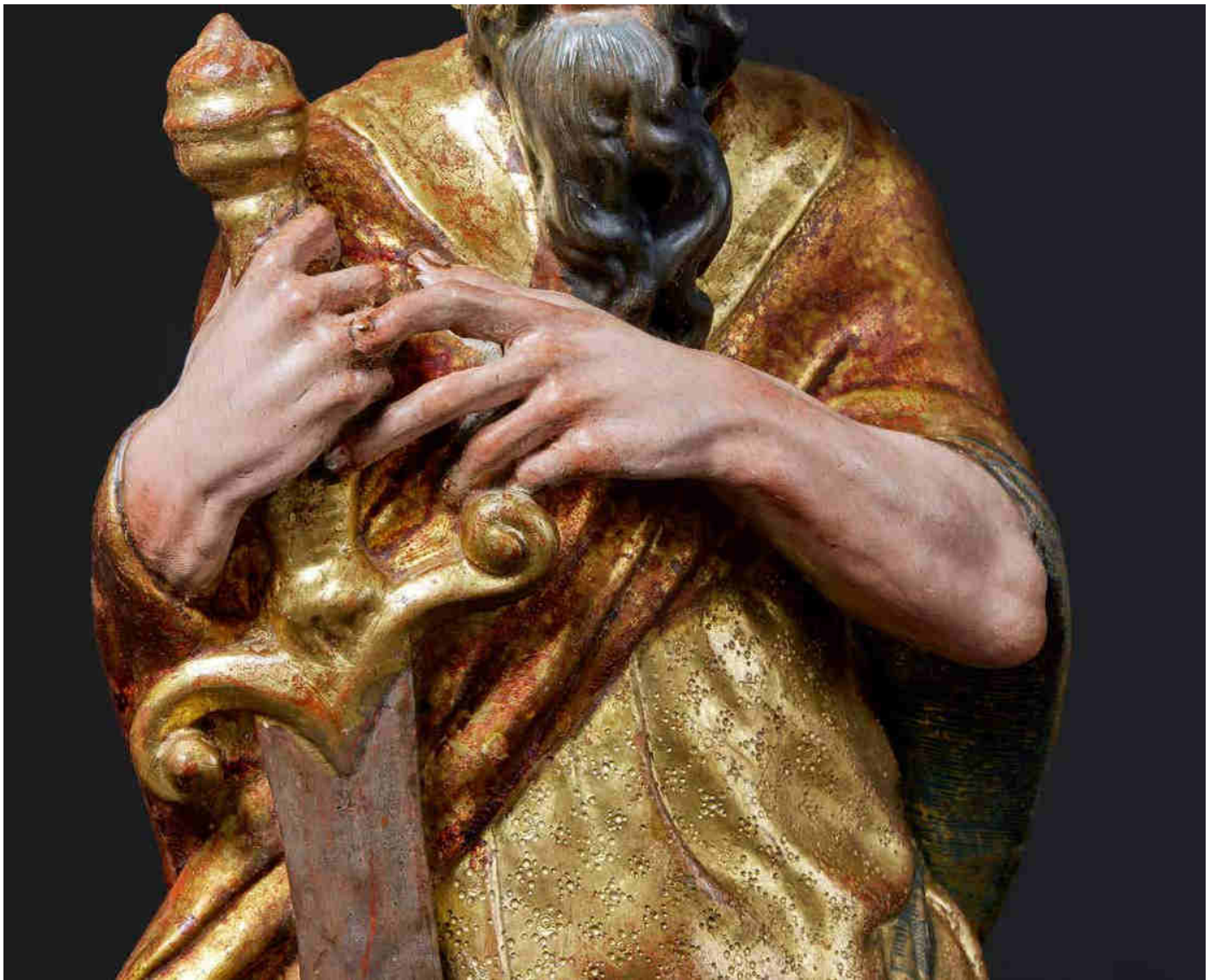


Alonso Berruguete , *Saint Paul* , detail of sash,
IOMR Collection



Alonso Berruguete, *Levi*, Monastery of San Benito
Valladolid currently at the Museo Nacional de
Escultura, Valladolid.





Alonso Berruguete,
Saint Paul, detail,
IOMR Collection.

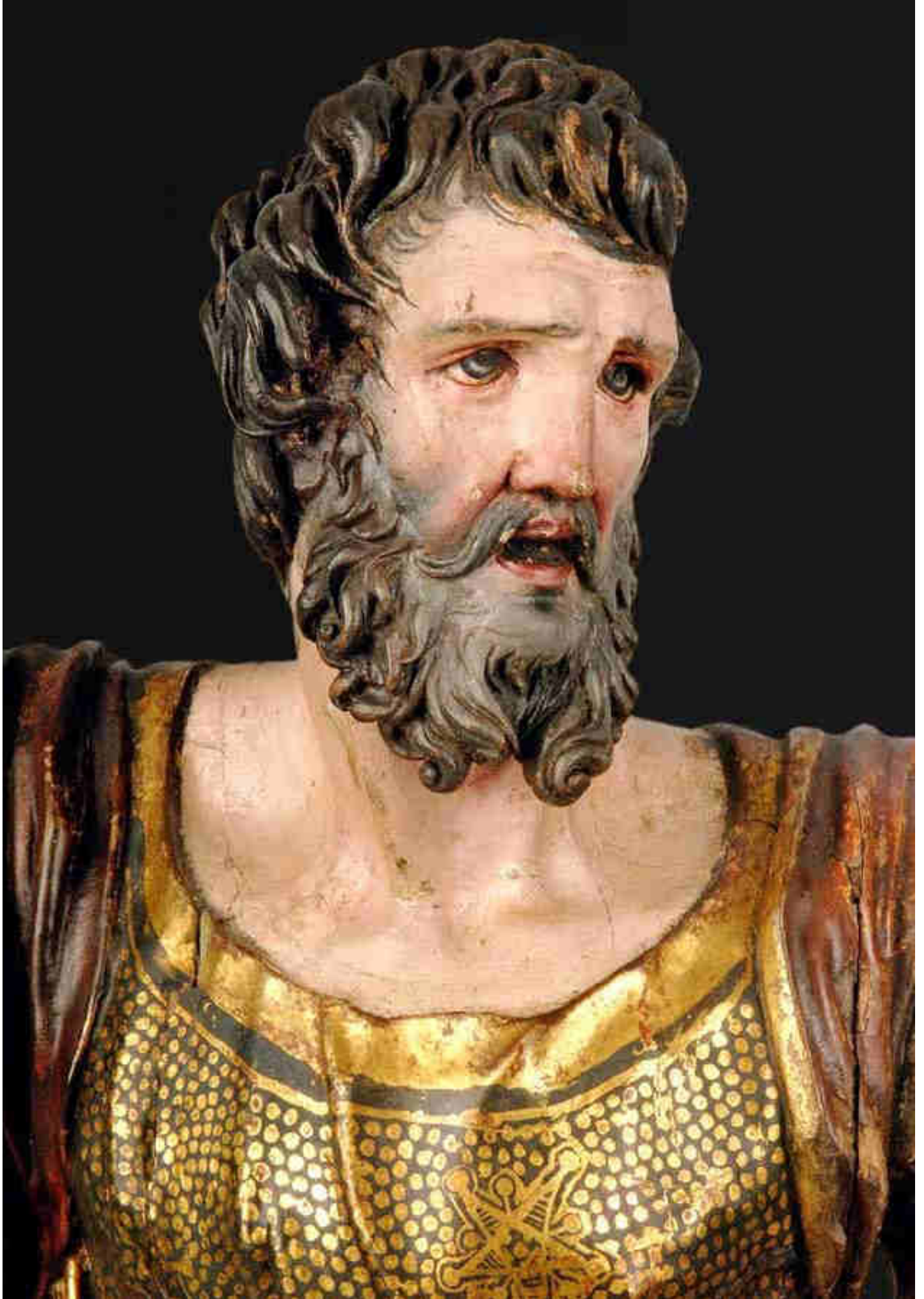




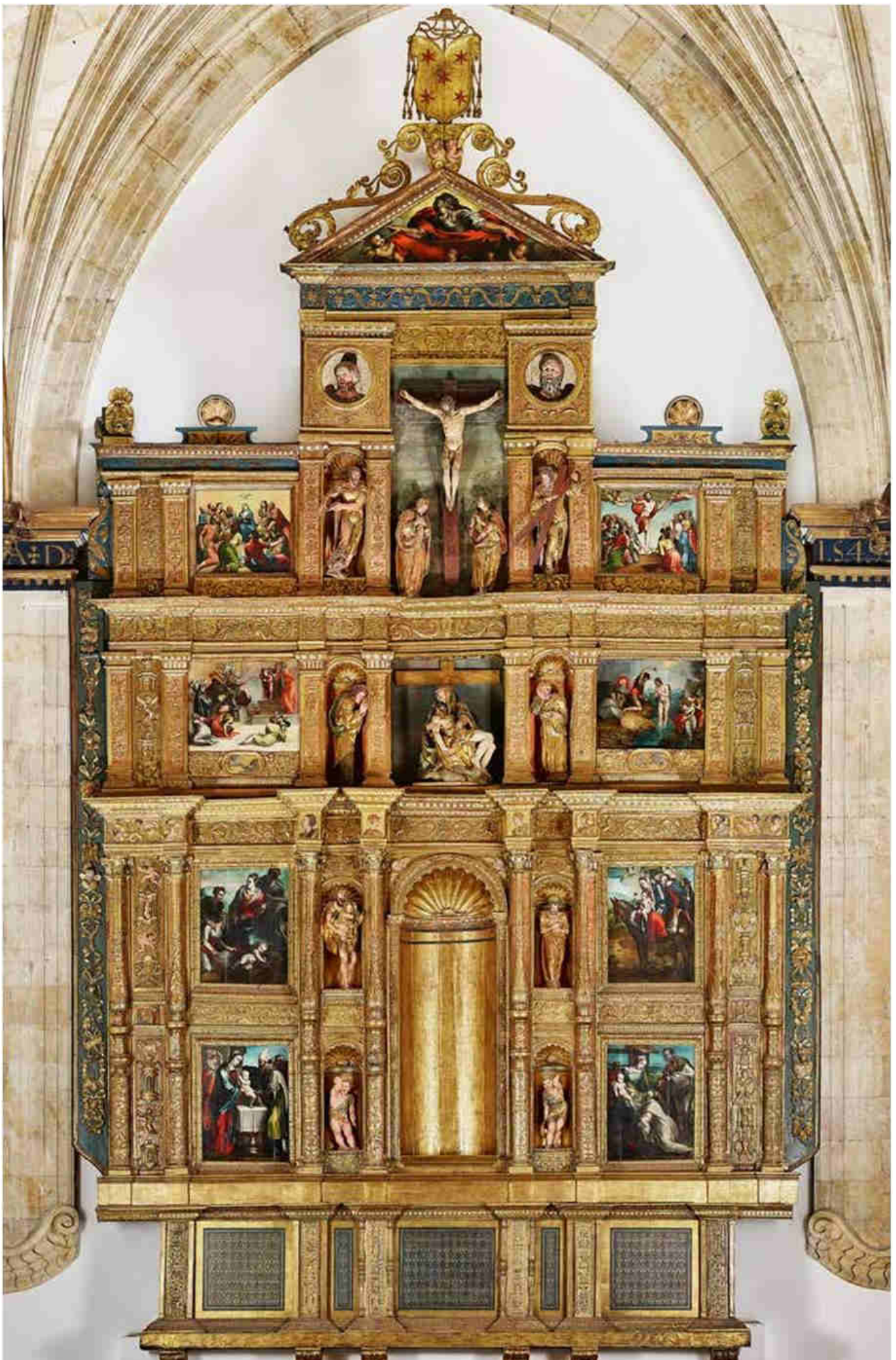
Alonso Berruguete. Detail of *Saint Andrew*, 1539 - 1542, high choir stalls, Cathedral of Toledo.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Paul* , profile, IOMR Collection



Alonso Berruguete, *detail, Apostol/ Patriarch*, Monastery of San Benito currently at the Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid.



Alonso Berruguete, altarpiece of the Chapel of the Colegio de Santiago de Fonseca, 1529, Salamanca



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Roque*, altarpiece of the Chapel of the Colegio de Santiago de Fonseca, circa 1530, Salamanca. Currently at Museo Marés.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Paul*, polychrome walnut wood 1529 - 1532, IOMR collection.



Alonso Berruguete , *Saint Christopher*,
altarpiece Santiago de Fonseca.

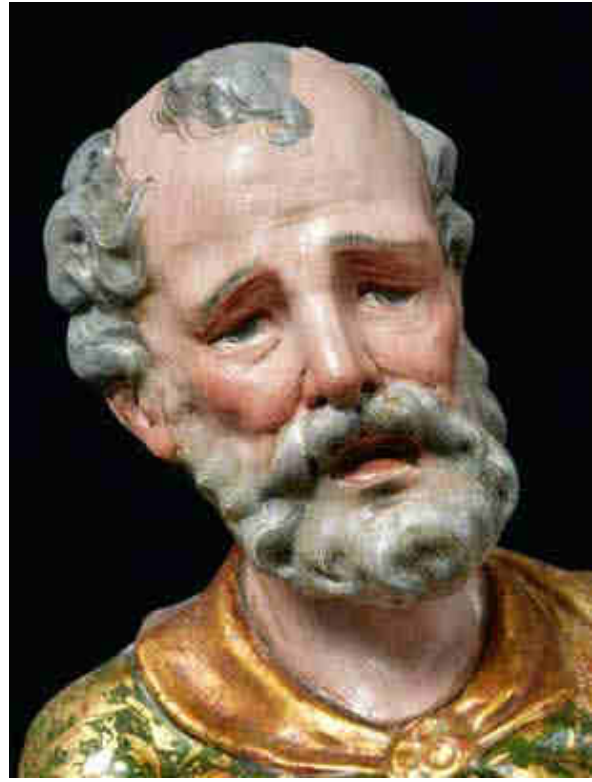
Alonso Berruguete. *Saint Andrew*,
altarpiece Santiago de Fonseca.

Alonso Berruguete , *Saint Bartholomew*,
altarpiece Santiago de Fonseca.

Alonso Berruguete. *Saint Jerome*, Museo
Diocesano de Salamanca.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Paul*, polychrome walnut wood, 1529 - 1532, IOMR Collection



Alonso Berruguete, *the incorrectly identified as Saint Peter, detail face*, altarpiece of Santiago de Fonseca

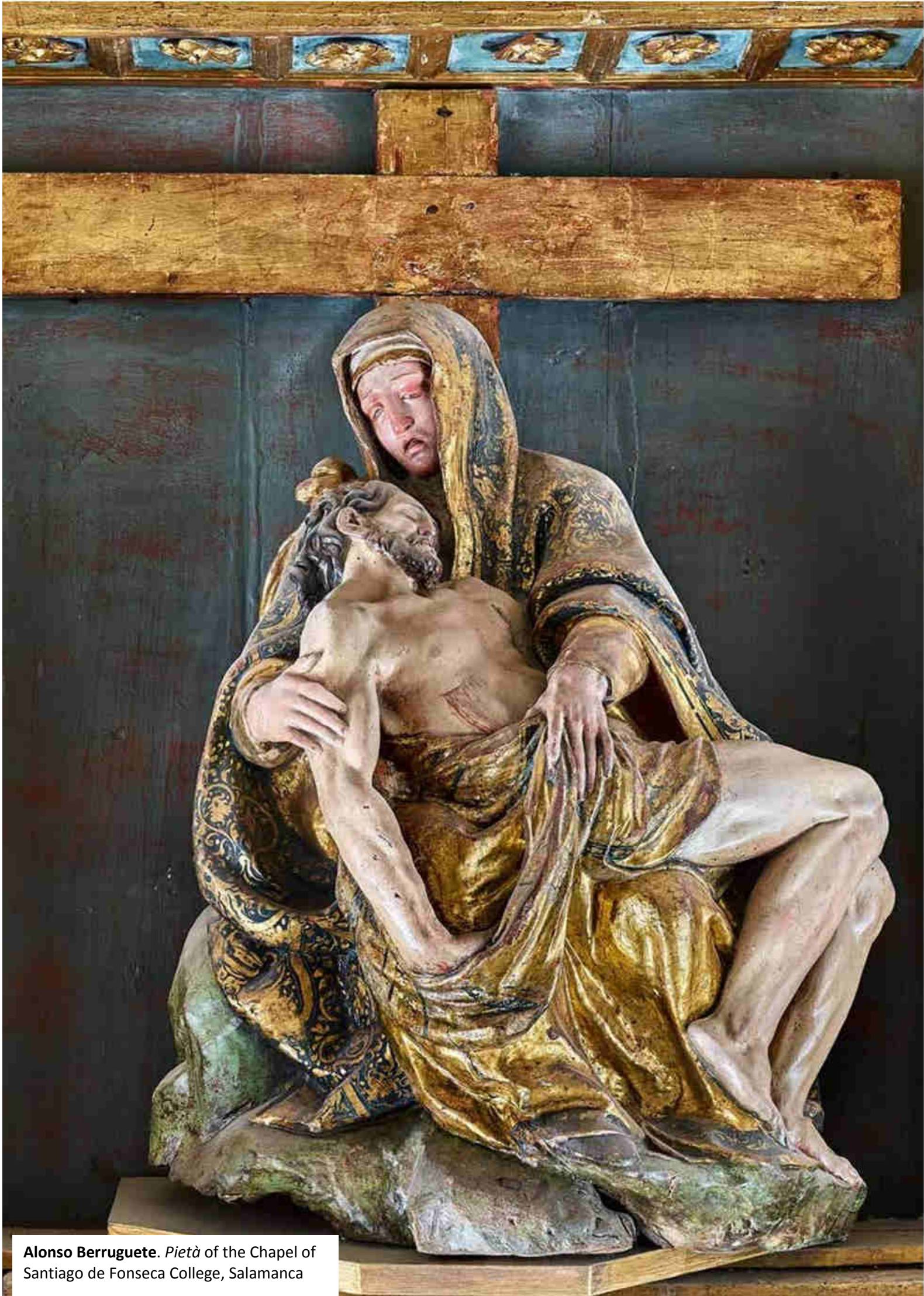
Alonso Berruguete, *Saint*, altarpiece of Santiago de Fonseca.

Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Peter*, polychrome walnut wood 1529 - 1532, IOMR Collection

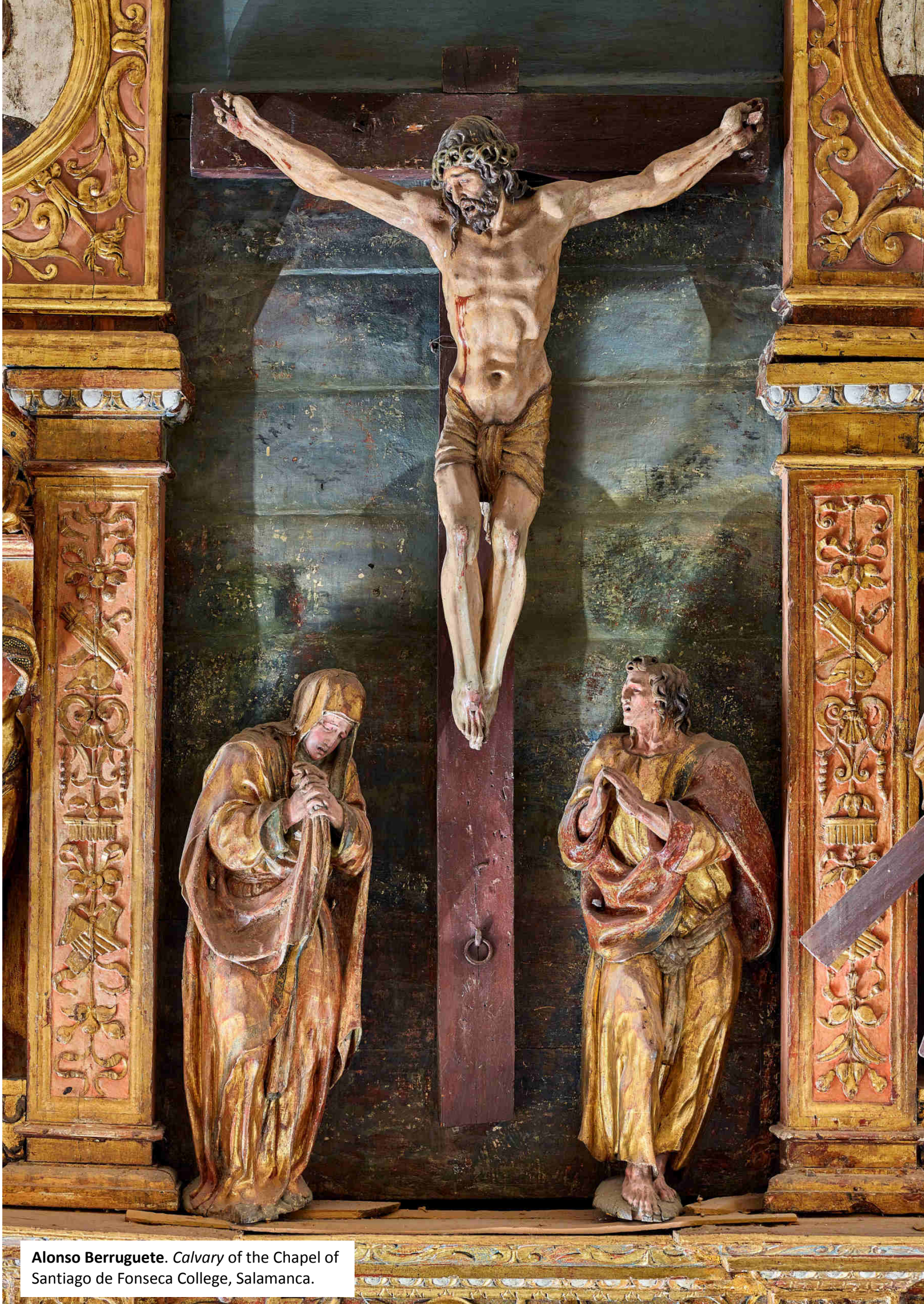
Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Joseph*, Group of the Holy family, Altarpiece of the Epiphany, circa 1537, Church of Santiago, Valladolid



Comparison, **Alonso Berruguete**, *Saint Peter*, detail feet, IOMR Collection and **Alonso Berruguete**, *Saint John*, detail feet, circa 1530 altarpiece of the chapel of the College of Santiago de Fonseca, Salamanca.



Alonso Berruguete. *Pietà* of the Chapel of Santiago de Fonseca College, Salamanca



Alonso Berruguete. *Calvary of the Chapel of Santiago de Fonseca College, Salamanca.*



Alonso Berruguete. *Angelote* of the Chapel of Santiago de Fonseca College, Salamanca.



Alonso Berruguete, *Saint Paul*, detail, IOMR Collection.

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