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BACK COVER: Francisco de Zurbarán (Spanish, 1598–1664), *Levi* (detail), c. 1640–45. Oil on canvas, 79 × 40¾ in. (200.7 × 103.5 cm). Auckland Castle, County Durham. © Auckland Castle Trust/Zurbarán Trust. Photo by Robert LaPrelle.





ZURBARÁN Jacob. and His Twelve Sons

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> PAINTINGS from AUCKLAND CASTLE

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Jacob and His Twelve Sons

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The impressive series of paintings Jacob and His Twelve Sons by Spanish master Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664) depicts thirteen life-size figures from Chapter 49 of the Book of Genesis, in which Jacob bestows his deathbed blessings to his sons, each of whom go on to found the Twelve Tribes of Israel. Co-edited by Susan Grace Galassi, senior curator at The Frick Collection; Edward Payne, senior curator of Spanish art at the Auckland Castle Trust; and Mark A. Roglán, director of the Meadows Museum; this publication chronicles the scientific analysis of the series Jacob and His Twelve Sons, led by Claire Barry at the Kimbell Art Museum's Conservation Department, and provides focused art historical studies on the works. Essays cover the iconography of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, the history of the canvases, and Zurbarán's artistic practices and visual sources. With this comprehensive and varied approach, the book constitutes the most extensive contribution to the scholarship on one of the most ambitious series by this Golden Age master.

COVER: Francisco de Zurbarán (Spanish, 1598–1664), *Joseph* (detail), c. 1640–45. Oil on canvas, 79¼ × 40¾ in. (201.3 × 103.5 cm). Auckland Castle, County Durham. © Auckland Castle Trust/Zurbarán Trust. Photo by Robert LaPrelle.

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> EDITED BY Susan Grace Galassi Edward Payne Mark A. Roglán

Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica (CEEH) Center for Spain in America (CSA) Meadows Museum, SMU The Frick Collection Auckland Castle Trust

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Foreword

JONATHAN RUFFER

s a local boy in the northeast of England, I found the bishop's palace at Auckland a shadowy and somewhat unsettling feature of the local landscape. The gatehouse, dating around the year that the Zurbarán pictures arrived, was an architectural security guard with the unspoken message "Toffs only beyond this point." Untoffy, it was as near as I ever got to the Spanish masterpieces. I nevertheless marveled at the idea of an English bishop's palace, stuffy, introverted, home to the fourth most important Anglican prelate—a Prince Bishop, no less—and housing a set of flamboyantly theatrical Counter-Reformation pictures of Jacob and the Twelve Tribes of Israel. I had no idea that these pictures would come to define my life.

The Church of England has seen better days, and its baton has passed from proud prelates to accountants. Someone observed that the Zurbaráns were not nailed to the floor, and it was decided they were to be offered for sale at auction. The intention was that the interval of time between their removal from the premises and the sale should be no more than six weeks, but a lowly officer in their public relations department managed to leak the news. This resulted in a six-month delay—enough to save them from sale. But how appropriate is that word, "save"? Zurbarán's canvases were not painted for Auckland; why should the fact that they had been there for over 250 years make it appropriate that they stayed?

I think there are two reasons. A palace is only tangentially about bricks and mortar. It is much more about stories-the underlying events and lives lived there that give power to a place. Take away the trophies of life, and there is left nothing more than a husk. The story of the Zurbaráns' arrival is an important event in the legacy of Judaism in Europe, and Auckland Castle has a history of serving as a beacon of support for the Jewish community. In the 1930s, the bishop (by then, the "prince" had gone) fulminated against the Nazi treatment of the Jews, and—almost uniquely among the British establishment—hurled episcopal abuse at the craven settlement with Hitler at Munich in 1938. He followed Bishop Trevor, who had steered a bill through Parliament for the naturalization of the Jews in 1753—an act of astonishing (and premature) foresight. It was passed, but after rioting mobs vented their disgust, it was quickly repealed. Trevor rebuilt the Long Dining Room at Auckland Castle to accommodate Zurbarán's paintings and set them in place as a silent rebuke to the grandees who dined beneath the gaze of the Patriarchs. These pictures resonate in the history of the Jewish people in Europe, and they resonate loudly through the corridors of Auckland Castle, one of the great centers of Christian power stretching back a thousand years.

Francisco de Zurbarán, Master Painter of Seville

JONATHAN BROWN

The decade of the 1590s was a fertile epoch in the history of European painting. The period commenced with the birth of Guercino in 1591. Three years later, Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) was born. The painter-architect Pietro da Cortona (1596–1669) appeared on the scene in 1596. Two years later, Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664) saw the light of day in the village of Fuente de Cantos (Extremadura). Diego Velázquez (1599-1660) and Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) were sons of 1599 and Claude Lorrain (1604–1682) brought the cycle to a close in 1604. At first glance, this information seems random and contributes little or nothing to an understanding of these artists. However, upon scrutiny, one name leaps off the page—Francisco de Zurbarán, the odd man out. All his contemporaries in one way or another were trained in the theory and practices of the Italian Renaissance, especially the mastery of perspective and figural drawing. Zurbarán alone does not fit into this mold. Perhaps the best way to demonstrate this perception is to analyze one of his most important works, The Adoration of the Shepherds (fig. 1), part of the commission of the main altarpiece for the Cartuja (Charterhouse) de Jerez de la Frontera (1638-39), and compare it to the treatment of the same subject by an older Italian contemporary, Domenichino (1581–1641), executed some thirty years earlier.

Domenichino's version fulfills the mandate of classicizing painting; it is concerned equally with drama, decorum, and design. In terms of its subject, the painting depicts the solemn moment of the Nativity, which is organized around the illuminated body of the Christ Child. Three angels hover just over his head in reverent adoration. The shepherds approach the manger and react in studiously differentiated ways to the wondrous sight that unfolds before their eyes. At the left, a bagpiper provides a theatrical touch, while in the background Saint Joseph lugs a bale of hay on his shoulder. Despite the shallow space, the figures are anatomically correct and seamlessly integrated into the composition.

Zurbarán uses an entirely different method of composition. In his scheme, massive figures dominate the space. Indeed, it seems that the background is an afterthought. This subverts the conventional construction of perspective, which is accomplished with reference to the scale and placement of the figures within a geometrically determined space. Zurbarán's figures, by contrast, all appear to be on the same scale as they fill the foreground and command the

Fig. 1 Francisco de Zurbarán, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1638. Oil on canvas, 102³/₄ × 68% in. (261 × 175 cm). Musée de Grenoble. viewer's attention. Another crucial difference involves the characterization of the human figures. Zurbarán's are rough country folk; their ruddy faces have been toasted by the sun and beaten by the weather. They are a far cry indeed from the sculptured demigods who inhabit the realm of Domenichino. In compliance with the strict orthodoxy that prevailed in Spain for rendering religious imagery, the figures in Zurbarán's work (excepting the putti) are fully clothed; this stands in contrast to the exposed hands and legs that populate Domenichino's composition.

Zurbarán seldom painted the nude, a fundamental component of the Classical canon, except for depictions of Christ on the Cross. His only sustained exercise in corporeal representation is the ten scenes from the life of Hercules commissioned for the Salón de Reinos (Hall of Realms) of the Buen Retiro Palace in Madrid (1634–35). In the scene featuring Hercules and Antaeus, for example, the flaws are manifold; the figures are out of scale and poorly drawn. Antaeus's leg is outsized given the rest of his visible body and his shoulders and arms are not drawn with the same specificity of musculature as the rest of him or Hercules. Clearly, Zurbarán was marching to a different drummer. Next to other painters of Seville, not to mention the rest of Europe, Zurbarán went his own way.

Zurbarán was virtually unknown outside Andalucía until the middle third of the nineteenth century. At that point, most of his commissioned pieces remained in their original site. A key event in their dispersal was the establishment of the Galerie Espagnole, a trove of painting acquired in Spain for the French King Louis Philippe and installed at the Louvre from 1838 to 1848. The Galerie Espagnole, which comprised 440 works, came as a surprise to the cultured elite of Paris, who enthusiastically admired this important national "school" of European painting that they had scarcely known. The star of the show was Zurbarán, to whom some eighty canvases were attributed. Critics were especially impressed by Saint Francis in Meditation (see fig. 26, p. 62, London, National Gallery). Visitors to the Galerie were quick to perceive that his work could be compared to the avant-garde of French painting; indeed, he seemed to be one of its precursors. When the collection, which was the personal property of the ruler, was sold in London in 1853, Zurbarán's paintings were dispersed far and wide. Many have come to rest in American museums. Scholars and aficionados alike went in search of the origins of these odd but strangely affecting paintings, and a variety of interpretations were put forth. A common element of these readings was Zurbarán's perceived spirituality. Some writers connected him with religious movements within the Catholic Church, not least of which were the monastic orders that flourished in seventeenth-century Seville, where the artist spent the best part of his career.

Since the middle years of the last century, scholars have been restoring the historical Zurbarán. The "new" Zurbarán is a different creature—not heavensent but rather rooted in the thriving artistic life of Seville. He was an opportunist, a canny businessman, an efficient manager of a productive workshop. The administration of the Spanish global empire was centered in Seville, which by the later years of the sixteenth century had become something of a boomtown, attracting artists and artworks from the various centers of the monarchy. As the population grew to over 100,000, numerous religious institutions were founded that required adornment; they included not only monasteries,



Fig. 3 Francisco de Zurbarán, *The Apparition* of Saint Peter to Saint Peter Nolasco, 1629. Oil on canvas, 70¹/₂ × 87³/₄ in. (179 × 223 cm). Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

head. Saint Peter Nolasco's reaction is interiorized; his hands are like parentheses framing his muted reaction. The rendering of the robe is a passage of rare beauty. It is envisioned as a cascade of crisp white fabric that trails off to the right and comes to a halt just as it reaches the edge of the canvas. Zurbarán here used the resources of naturalism to explore the world of the supernatural. The intricate patterns of drapery conveniently conceal Zurbarán's uncertain grasp of the human figure.

The dichotomy in the treatment of multi-figure and single-figure paintings became standard practice for Zurbarán. Whether by choice or circumstance, he largely dispensed with conventional approaches to the art of painting. For instance, his large, complicated compositions are discordant. Eschewing even the slightest attempt at verisimilitude, he places figures in the foreground of often gigantic size, reducing the room available for ancillary figures, who are represented only from the waist or even the neck up. Architectural features are strictly arbitrary; columns are often used as isolated motifs, bearing no relationship to any of the standard orders or to practical use. Close attention is paid to drapery: this may be the most distinctive facet of Zurbarán's works. He used Flemish practices for rendering drapery folds of inordinate complexity; the ravines and ridges obey only aesthetic imperatives. Another characteristic is the exploitation of dramatic contrasts of darkness and light.

Zurbarán's paintings proved to be irresistible. During the first four years following his return to Seville, he received commissions not only from the

Theological Context of the Series *Jacob and His Twelve Sons*

JOHN BARTON

HE PATRIARCHS IN THE BIBLE

Zurbarán's paintings of Jacob and his twelve sons have a rich biblical and historical background, and also build on the postbiblical reception of the stories about these characters in the Old Testament. In their contemporary context they may also have had further theological and political resonances. According to the biblical book of Genesis, Jacob was the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham. Jews look back to these three men as the founders of the Jewish people, and they are also important in Christianity, while Islam reveres Abraham. Since the mid-twentieth century it has become customary to describe these three monotheistic faiths as the "Abrahamic religions." Jacob, Abraham's grandson, is said to have been renamed "Israel" (Genesis 32:28) and is thus considered the ancestor of the Israelite nation. He had twelve sons, some by his two wives and others by two concubines: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun by his first wife, Leah; Dan and Naphtali by his concubine, Bilhah; Gad and Asher by a second concubine, Zilpah; and finally Joseph and Benjamin by his second wife, Rachel (see Genesis 30).

The story of these sons of Jacob is told in Genesis chapters 34 to 50. These chapters recount the various exploits-some of the violent and unsavoryof the "Patriarchs," as they are traditionally called, but the story concentrates chiefly on Jacob's favorite son, Joseph. Joseph attracted the hatred of his brothers due to his arrogance (as exemplified by his delight in his multicolored coat).¹ His brothers' jealousy led them to sell Joseph into slavery in Egypt (fig. 4). Though imprisoned after being falsely accused of trying to rape the wife of his master, Potiphar, his ability to interpret dreams brought him to the notice of the pharaoh. He became a great administrator, and averted the effects of a major famine in Egypt. Eventually he invited his father Jacob and his eleven brothers to live in Egypt with him, after first putting them through an ordeal in which they were tricked into appearing to have stolen money and a valuable cup from him. The story of Joseph and his brothers is one of the great narrative works in the Bible. At its heart is the theme of divine providence and its overruling of human wrongdoing. As Joseph says to his brothers, "do not be distressed, or angry with yourselves, because you sold me here; for God sent me before you to preserve life . . . God sent me before you to preserve for you a remnant on

Fig. 4 "Joseph and his brothers," from the *Bible moralisée*, Paris 1233. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 270b, fol. 22r.

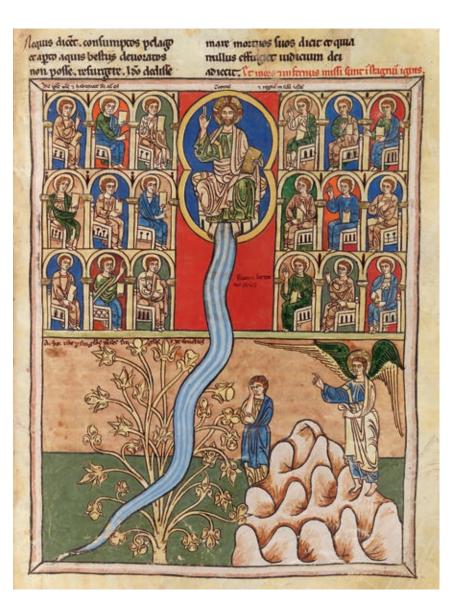


Fig. 8 "The new Jerusalem with the river of life and the twelve apostles," 13th century. John Rylands Library, Manchester, Latin MS 8, fol. 197r.

> Jewish diaspora in the ancient world. Over the centuries various groups have been proposed as the descendants of the "lost tribes," including the British and the American Indians.⁶ In the seventeenth century it was not unusual to believe that the native peoples of Spanish territories in the Americas were descended from the Israelite tribes. This could be the reason, some think, why Zurbarán's paintings of Jacob and his sons may originally have been intended for South America.⁷

> An impetus to believe that native peoples in the Americas were descended from the lost tribes came from Menasseh ben Israel (1604–1657), an important Jewish figure who settled in the Netherlands. He was one of the teachers of Baruch Spinoza, as well as the owner of the first Hebrew printing press in Amsterdam.⁸ In 1644, Menasseh met Antonio de Montezinos, a Portuguese traveler and Sephardic Jew who had been in the New World, and who persuaded him that the native inhabitants of the Andes were descendants of the lost tribes. This gave support to Menasseh's messianic hopes, as the settlement of Jews throughout the world was supposed by some to be a sign that the Messiah would come. The importance of the tribes of Israel in this period was thus considerable, and it provides a plausible context for Zurbarán's work.

Auckland Castle and the Purchase of Zurbarán's *Jacob and His Twelve Sons*

CHRISTOPHER FERGUSON

he thirteen life-size figures of Jacob and His Twelve Sons were the first paintings by Francisco de Zurbarán to be brought to England, and today constitute one of the most significant series of the Golden Age master's work outside Spain. It might therefore come as a surprise that these paintings still hang in an Anglican episcopal palace in a small town in northeast England: Bishop Auckland, County Durham. The story of the paintings' journey to Auckland Castle almost three hundred years ago is a remarkable one. As the ancestors of the people of Israel, Jacob and his sons are richly symbolic figures in the Jewish and Christian faiths. Yet Zurbarán's depictions of them were purchased by one of the most important figures in the Church of England at a time when Jews and dissenting non-Anglican Christians in Britain were treated with indifference, if not contempt. As we shall see, this series was brought to Auckland Castle as a plea for religious tolerance and social equality.

Auckland Castle was one of the two principal residences of the Prince Bishops of Durham from the eleventh century, along with Durham Castle, adjacent to the cathedral in Durham City. Given extraordinary powers to collect their own taxes, raise an army, operate a separate legal system, and hold parliaments, England's only Prince Bishops were among the most powerful individuals in British history. Through their unique position among the episcopates of the Church of England, they amassed great wealth, their income being principally derived from the coal and lead mineral extraction that occurred within their diocese. In the eighteenth century, their income was more than the archbishops of Canterbury and York plus the four poorest bishoprics combined.¹ This truly staggering income stream enabled the Bishops of Durham to undertake massive construction programs, charitable giving, and on occasion, the collection of artworks.

Notable among these Prince Bishops, particularly for his part in the acquisition of *Jacob and His Twelve Sons*, is Richard Trevor (fig. 10), who was born on September 30, 1707, in Surrey, the youngest son of Thomas Trevor, first Baron Trevor (1658–1730). Educated at Westminster School, he went on to study at Queen's College, Oxford. He graduated in 1727 and was immediately elected a fellow of All Souls College. Four years later, at the age of just twenty-three, Trevor received his master's degree and was ordained in the Church of England.

Fig. 10 Thomas Hudson (English, 1701–1779), *Richard Trevor, Bishop of Durham*, 1756. Oil on canvas, 49 × 39 in. (124.5 × 99.1 cm). Auckland Castle Trust and the Church Commissioners of England.



passed into the collection of Lord Willoughby de Eresby and was installed in Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire, where it remains. Trevor thus commissioned a copy from the painter Arthur Pond (bap. 1701–1758) for £21 and paid him a further £1 6s. for relining *Joseph* (fig. 12). The cost of Pond's copy was almost as much as the most expensive of the original paintings, *Issachar* and *Naphtali*. In total Trevor paid £184 2s. 6d., which includes an unspecified sum for *Joseph* and the cost of transport.⁸ It is this set of thirteen paintings that has hung at Auckland Castle ever since.

Fig. 13 Jacob and His Twelve Sons and other works installed in the Long Dining Room. Auckland Castle Trust.

BISHOP TREVOR'S REMODELING OF AUCKLAND CASTLE

Bishop Trevor spent the significant sum of £8,000⁹ on improvements to the episcopal palace and parkland at Auckland. On the advice of the landscape architect Joseph Spence (1699–1768),¹⁰ Trevor made substantial improvements to the castle's medieval deer park, commissioning a striking new deer house in the fashionable Gothic style.¹¹ This castellated stone structure has been described as "a set of cloisters turned inside out,"¹² with its long arcades framing an open square; it served as a romantic setting for the bishop's guests to rest and picnic after a day's hunting. Completed by 1760, it is likely that the deer house was designed by Sir Thomas Robinson (1703–1777), a gentleman architect whose estate at Rokeby Park (home of Velázquez's Rokeby Venus between 1813 and 1906) was only sixteen miles from Bishop Auckland, and who was working on the new Gothic gateway to the palace from the Market Place (the area outside the palace boundary) at this time. Bishop Trevor significantly remodeled the southern walled gardens at Auckland as well, which became productive for the episcopal estate while also exemplifying the conspicuous consumption of the age. These gardens contained a series of glass houses for the production of pineapples, known as pineries. Pineapples were enormously expensive to produce in the British Isles, the first homegrown fruit having been produced less than forty years earlier; their presence at Auckland Castle effectively demonstrated the wealth of the bishop to visitors as they approached his residence.

"A Terrifying Object": The Invention of Zurbarán

ALEXANDRA LETVIN

ccording to legend, one day in the late eighteenth century the French architect Jean-Antoine Morand (1727–1794) paid his sister Madeleine a visit at the Couvent des Colinettes, a Franciscan convent of tertiary nuns in Lyon founded in 1665. Charged with renovating the historic structure, he made his way to the attic when his dog suddenly began to bark. As Morand approached, he discovered the cause of his dog's alarm: a painting by Francisco de Zurbarán.

The image that so startled Morand's canine companion depicts Saint Francis, the founder of the Franciscan order, standing in a dark, shallow space (fig. 20).¹ On a canvas measuring almost seven feet tall, this life-size figure looks upward, his mouth slightly parted. Illuminated from the left by an unseen source, the saint's body casts a shadow on the wall behind him. The folds and pleats of his heavy, brown monastic robes similarly create the suggestion of a body, but it is completely concealed: only opaque shadows where his hands and feet should be suggest their presence.

This painting was one of only two works by Zurbarán to leave Spain and enter a continental European collection before 1800.² Executed in the same years as *Jacob and His Twelve Sons*, between 1640 and 1645, its first home was likely a Franciscan establishment in Spain. It may already have arrived at the Colinettes in the late seventeenth century, however, perhaps as a gift from Mariana of Austria (1634–1696), the wife of King Philip IV of Spain (1605–1665).³

Like the Auckland series, then, this painting represents one of the first European encounters with Zurbarán's art beyond Spain. Although both the Lyon *Saint Francis* and *Jacob and His Twelve Sons* found themselves unmoored from their original contexts and transplanted to unlikely and far-flung locations by the eighteenth century, their reception in their new homes radically diverged. While *Jacob and His Twelve Sons* was swiftly assimilated into a series of private collections relatively removed from the public eye, the Lyon *Saint Francis* entered a museum where it baffled its early French viewers, who recorded their responses to the painting in texts and images.

Ultimately, it would be Zurbarán's paintings of monks such as the Lyon *Saint Francis*, not his series such as *Jacob and His Twelve Sons*, that would capture the imagination of nineteenth-century authors and critics and come to emblematize the artist and his oeuvre, and it would be French writers rather than British

Fig. 20 Francisco de Zurbarán, Saint Francis According to the Vision of Pope Nicholas V, c. 1640– 45. Oil on canvas, 82¼ × 43¼ in. (209 × 110 cm). Musée des Beaux Arts de Lyon, Inv. A 115.

Zurbaranesque Tribes of Israel in the New World

AKEMI LUISA HERRÁEZ VOSSBRINK

he theme of Jacob and His Twelve Sons—also known as the Patriarchs, as each son represented one of the Twelve Tribes of Israel-was a subject matter exclusively produced for a New World audience in the early modern period. It is completely absent from seventeenth-century Sevillian inventories.¹ Three of the four surviving painting series of the Tribes of Israel are in Latin America, and the Auckland series was itself probably destined for the Americas. Zurbarán was actively involved in New World trade between the 1630s and the 1650s. As he kept himself busy with commissions for religious institutions in Spain, he relied heavily on his workshop for his New World production, which is recorded in seven shipment listings, most of which are preserved today in the Archivo de Indias and the Archivo Histórico Provincial, both in Seville. One of these shipments, destined for Buenos Aires in 1649, included a series of Patriarchs.² Another series was given the Hieronymite Order in 1659, in exchange for a pending debt of a property owned by them which they rented to Zurbarán.³ Since the subject was exclusive to the American market, it is very likely that it was intended to be sent there, although we can only hypothesize, as the current location of this series is unknown. Some of these series from Zurbarán's workshop might have been intended for specific religious foundations in the New World, whereas others of inferior quality may have been sold on the open market.

The three known series of the Twelve Tribes of Israel presently in Latin America are found at the Convento de San Francisco in Lima, Peru; the Museo Universitario (Casa de los Muñecos) in Puebla, Mexico; and in a private collection in Mexico City. All three follow Zurbaranesque prototypes. Zurbarán expert Benito Navarrete Prieto conducted significant studies of the Lima and Puebla series, identifying their print sources and examining the theatrical costumes worn by the figures.⁴ The series in Mexico City has only been mentioned in passing in a study by Santiago Sebastián, who briefly saw it in a private collection and noted that it is incomplete and stylistically modeled on Flemish prints.⁵

The present discussion begins with the Lima series because it is most closely tied to the Auckland series in that both follow the same composition and a similar palette. I then turn to the Puebla series, analyzing its iconography, style, and current state of conservation. The series in a private collection in Mexico City is







Fig. 31 Workshop of Francisco de Zurbarán, *Saint Longinus*, c. 1650. Oil on canvas, 74 × 43 in. (189 × 108 cm). Convento de San Francisco, Lima, Peru.

Fig. 32 Limenian workshop, Levi (?), second half of the seventeenth century. Oil on canvas, 75 × 42 in. (190 × 107 cm). Convento de San Francisco, Lima, Peru.

Fig. 33 Limenian workshop, Naphtali (?), second half of the seventeenth century. Oil on canvas, 75 \times 42 in (190 \times 106 cm). Convento de San Francisco, Lima, Peru. (fig. 31)—was probably painted by Zurbarán's workshop, as it is practically identical to a painting of Saint Longinus, also by Zurbarán's workshop, that appeared in the commerce.¹² Unlike the other paintings, it includes a detailed scene of Christ's Resurrection in the background—an event linked to the vita of Longinus—and is not labeled. It is therefore evident that it did not form part of the initial series and was only incorporated following the addition of the inscriptions as a substitute for the missing Jacob.

The inscriptions, which were added in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, provide the other three replacement figures with their new identities. The attributes of the figures labeled Levi and Naphtali do not correspond with the conventional iconography of these Patriarchs (figs. 32–33). *Levi* might have originally been an allegory of summer, which is often represented as a figure reaping or holding wheat. The figure labeled Naphtali holds two fish, which could relate to the zodiacal sign of Pisces. The figure that should actually be labeled Naphtali is given the mistaken identity of Gad (fig. 34); it is evident that the painter of the inscriptions made an error in this instance, as this composition is clearly based on the Naphtali type found in the Auckland series. As for Dan, the rim of his robe was repainted over the frame of a harp, indicating that the figure initially represented King David (fig. 35).¹³

THE PATRIARCH SERIES IN PUEBLA, MEXICO (CASA DE LOS MUÑECOS)

A second series of Jacob and his sons is in the collections of the museum of the Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla in Mexico (also known as the Casa de los Muñecos). It comprises twelve canvases; the image of Judah



Fig. 41 Puebla or Mexico City workshop, Judah, eighteenth or nineteenth century. Oil on copper, 15×9 in. (37×29 cm). Private collection, Mexico City, Mexico.

Fig. 42 Puebla or Mexico City workshop, *Jacob*, eighteenth or nineteenth century. Oil on copper, 15×9 in. $(37 \times 29$ cm). Private collection, Mexico City, Mexico. produced in this period by a Puebla or Mexico City workshop; the range in their quality likewise suggests the work of several hands.²⁰

The Mexico City series includes the only Patriarch missing from the Puebla series, Judah (fig. 41). Following the Auckland and Lima versions, Judah appears with royal attributes such as the crown, scepter, and lion. However, instead of facing the viewer, he strides sideways, increasing the series' processional nature. Its model was probably based on a sixteenth-century Flemish print. Jacob (fig. 42) and Joseph (fig. 43) are practically identical to the Puebla versions, although there is less detail due to the reduced dimensions, and Jacob appears slightly compressed in relation to the surrounding space. In a departure from the Puebla series, these two figures appear with halos, possibly indicative of Jacob's predilection for Joseph over his other sons. In the depiction of Zebulun, the sea is clearly visible (fig. 44), whereas in the Puebla series it has largely faded.

Fig. 43 Puebla or Mexico City workshop, Joseph, eighteenth or nineteenth century. Oil on copper, 15 × 9 in. (37 × 29 cm). Private collection, Mexico City, Mexico.

Fig. 44 Puebla or Mexico City workshop, Zebulun, eighteenth or nineteenth century. Oil on copper, 15×9 in. $(37 \times 29$ cm). Private collection, Mexico City, Mexico.

THE PRESENCE OF JACOB AND HIS SONS IN RELIGIOUS AND CIVIC CELEBRATIONS IN THE SPANISH VICEROYALTIES

While the symbolic appearance of Jacob and his sons in Sevillian religious festivities has been well documented, less attention has been paid to their presence in colonial festivities.²¹ Searching through colonial accounts of religious and civic festivities in the seventeenth century, I have identified three occasions that featured one or all of the Patriarchs. Following Seville's example, in 1619 the Catholic University of Lima hosted celebrations for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception that included Jacob and his sons.²² Each seminary within the university was in charge of organizing specific episodes from the Old and New Testaments, which were followed by allegorical presentations of countries or ethnic groups. The Seminary of Santo Toribio included theatrical representations featuring Old Testament figures such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Jacob's sons, and their corresponding wives and servants.²³ Diego Cano Gutiérrez's chronicle of the event offers lengthy descriptions of the Patriarchs' classicizing and orientalizing costumes as well as their order of procession.²⁴ Benjamin, for instance, is said to have worn a flower-covered turban and carried a small carved wolf alluding to the passage in Genesis (49:27) that compares him to

Paintings Cut Loose: Zurbarán's Work in Museums in the United States

SUSAN GRACE GALASSI

ike the Lost Tribes of Israel, represented in Zurbarán's extraordinary series Jacob and His Twelve Sons making its first voyage to America on the occasion of this exhibition, paintings by Francisco de Zurbarán have fanned out from their places of origin in seventeenth-century Spain to-in biblical parlancethe four corners of the Earth. Unlike the tribes, however, the paintings are not lost, with many of Zurbarán's greatest works accessible to American audiences. Of the approximately three hundred paintings assigned to the master, close to thirty found homes in museums in the United States-the largest concentration of his work in public collections in any country outside of Spain.¹ Not only is this number of works impressive, but the location of the paintings spans the entire country, with California, New York, and Massachusetts taking the lead. The following is intended to expand the tour of the tribes in Texas and New York, with stops from coast to coast where many works long at home in the United States can be seen. Our circuit includes as well a backward glance at the extraordinary journeys that many of these paintings made before finding sanctuaries in American museums. Many passed through some of the most prestigious collections in Europe-including those of the Emperor Napoleon and his generals, King Louis Philippe, and various aristocrats-garnering luster and interest en route to America as trophies of war and coveted artistic treasures. These histories significantly enhanced the value and desirability of these paintings as museum acquisitions. Along with a core group of authentic works by Zurbarán, an array of misattributed paintings and outright fakes migrated to American shores as well, at first obscuring the image of the artist. Over the first half of the twentieth century, with the accumulation of a critical mass of genuine works in the United States and the growth of scholarship on Zurbarán, his profile and oeuvre gradually came into focus.

This essay will examine the rise of Zurbarán's reputation in the United States as he went from being a relative unknown at the beginning of the twentieth century to one of the leading Spanish masters of the Golden Age by the 1960s. In a foundational article, John Marciari has chronicled the arrival of Zurbarán's work in America, demonstrating that the artist's path to recognition was slower from that of other major Spanish masters.² Expanding on Marciari's study, I chart the changing perception of Zurbarán as works began to find their way

Fig. 45 Francisco de Zurbarán, A Doctor of Law, c. 1635. Oil on canvas, 76¹⁵/16 × 41¹/s in. (195.5 × 104.5 cm). Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, P21528.

Introducing Zurbarán's Jacob and His Twelve Sons

EDWARD PAYNE

The context surrounding the genesis of Francisco de Zurbarán's Jacob and His Twelve Sons, one of the artist's most remarkable and enigmatic series, is shrouded in mystery. It is unclear for whom Zurbarán painted the series, why he depicted this particular subject, and what motivated him to do so in this way. The discussion that follows seeks not to address the considerable lacunae regarding these works, but rather to provide an overview of what is known about them and what can be seen in the paintings themselves, thereby serving as both a hinge for the essays and technical analysis in this catalogue, and a common reference point for generalist and specialist readers alike.¹ Issues of iconography, visual sources, and artistic conception are the central concerns of this introduction to Zurbarán's Jacob and His Twelve Sons, as well as the serial nature of the works and the cross-references between them. In the subsequent catalogue entries, color reproductions of the paintings are complemented by digital infrared reflectogram and X-radiograph mosaics, revealing what lies beneath the painted surface, and this material is analyzed in the technical study by Claire Barry.

The series comprises thirteen life-size figures representing the founders of the Twelve Tribes of Israel. With the exception of one painting which is at Grimsthorpe Castle in Bourne (Lincolnshire), the paintings are housed at Auckland Castle in Bishop Auckland (County Durham) and are most likely the first works by Zurbarán to have arrived in Britain. They can be dated stylistically to the 1640s when the painter was in his prime. While the early history of the series is unknown, it has been suggested that the paintings were destined for export, as the subject of the Twelve Tribes is not widespread in Europe. However, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was commonly held that the indigenous inhabitants of the New World were descendants of the so-called "Lost Tribes" of Israel, which were dispersed following the invasion of Israel of the Assyrian King Shalmaneser (fl. 8th century BCE; r. 726–721 BCE). Documentary evidence indicates that Zurbarán executed at least two sets of Patriarchs or "ruling fathers" destined for the New World. Although they may not be related to those specific paintings, another two sets of Patriarchs associated with Zurbarán's workshop are now in Lima, Peru and Puebla, Mexico.² The high quality of the Auckland series has led Gabriele Finaldi to suggest that

1 Jacob c. 1640-45

Oil on canvas, 79½ \times 40½ in. (201 \times 102.4 cm) Auckland Castle, County Durham

Then Jacob called his sons, and said: "Gather around, that I may tell you what will happen to you in days to come.

Assemble and hear, O sons of Jacob; listen to Israel your father."

(Genesis 49:1-2)

A FRAIL OLD MAN bent by age leans upon his staff. Turbaned and draped in heavy garments, he turns to face the viewer, his thick flowing beard richly painted with visible brushstrokes. This image operates as the visual and conceptual beginning and ending of the series, connecting Reuben, his "might" and firstborn, with Benjamin, his youngest and favorite. The portrayal of Jacob inspired the travel writer Thomas Pennant, who saw the paintings at Auckland Castle in 1776, to describe Jacob as "bowed under the weight of the years." The figure's pose reappears in Zurbarán's painting of *Nuño Salido* (private collection, Madrid) from the series of the Infantes de Lara, which dates to the same decade, although Jacob's back is bent at a greater angle. With his eyes slightly veiled by shadow, suggesting that he is lost in thought, Jacob appears literally weighed down by the inevitability of death and the earthly trials of life.







CAT. 6 Digital infrared reflectogram mosaic

Courtesy of the Kimbell Art Museum Conservation Department



CAT. 6 Digital X-radiograph mosaic Courtegy of the Vimbell Art Muy

Courtesy of the Kimbell Art Museum Conservation Department

Revisiting an Old Testament Subject for the New World:

Uncovering the Artist's Process in Zurbarán's Patriarch Series

CLAIRE BARRY

NTRODUCTION

The temporary closing of Auckland Castle in 2016 for two years of refurbishment presented a rare opportunity to carry out a comprehensive technical examination of Zurbarán's series Jacob and His Twelve Sons. This is the first study to take an in-depth look at the materials and practices that shaped a significant Old Testament subject by the artist and his workshop.¹ This project offered the possibility of examining an ambitious cycle created in Zurbarán's studio in Seville at a time when he employed a large and active workshop. Although the subject matter was not new, Zurbarán picked it up as he was beginning to generate and market paintings for sale in the New World. A primary goal of this investigation, which was carried out in the conservation studio of the Kimbell Art Museum, was to gain a broader perspective on Zurbarán's artistic practice and try to ascertain the extent of workshop involvement in the production of these paintings that were likely destined for export. As Gabriele Finaldi observed, their high level of quality suggests that Zurbarán played a major role in creating them. The series possibly began as an important commission for a Dominican or Franciscan religious house in Mexico or Peru, or even the palace of a viceroy or administrator in the New World, rather than being intended for sale on the open market.²

Documenting the present condition of the Auckland paintings, all of which are obscured by layers of discolored varnish and overpaints and had been lined in the past, some as early as the eighteenth century, was an integral part of the study.³ Unfortunately, few written records of previous restoration campaigns survive, which makes the conservation history of the series largely unknown except for some limited information provided by Auckland Castle.⁴ Using technical examination to evaluate the actual condition of the series was essential to gaining a better understanding of the artist's original intent; however, certain questions regarding condition cannot be fully resolved until the paintings are properly cleaned and restored.⁵

Fig. 63 Detail, *Issachar* (cat. 7), showing (in raking light) the modeling of flesh tones using the dark brown ground and the artist's use of an energetic brushwork to lay in the highlights, including areas of zigzag strokes.

Previous technical studies on Zurbarán have already advanced a greater understanding of the artist's working practice, providing an essential starting point for the present study.⁶ Largely self-taught, Zurbarán was nevertheless an artist of his time who generally adopted contemporary Sevillian painting

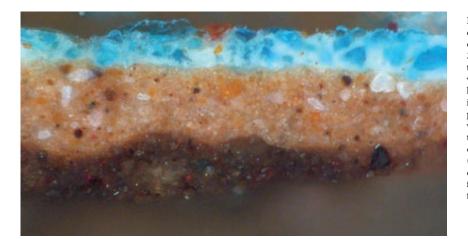


Fig. 64 Cross section of a sample taken from one of the blue stripes in Zebulun (cat. 6), showing the top layer of paint, lead white and azurite, the locally applied red brown imprimatura layer of the pants comprising lead white and umber, and the upper ground layer consisting of brown earth (potassium clay, calcium carbonate, quartz, sodium feldspar, and pyrite framboids).

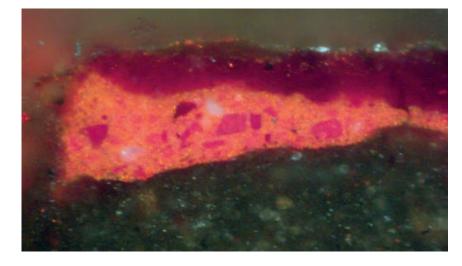


Fig. 65 Cross section of a sample taken from the deep red lake stripe on the upper proper right arm sleeve of Zebulun (cat. 6), showing the top layer of paint, a red alumina lake glaze, the underlying layer of vermilion, red lake and lead white, and the upper ground layer of brown earth (potassium clay, calcium carbonate, quartz, sodium feldspar, and pyrite framboids), and the lower ground (partial) of brown earth.

and sand-size detrital grains of quartz and sodium feldspar.²⁰ By contrast, the particle size in the second ground layer was much finer, creating a smoother, more even surface for painting.²¹ One of the possible benefits of Zurbarán's use of the brown earth ground was that it naturally contained manganese, which accelerated the drying of the upper paint layers that contained paint with a high portion of medium, therefore requiring extended drying time.²²

Zurbarán exploited the tonality of the Sevillian earth-based ground for creating the deepest shadows. Modeling the flesh tones from dark to light, the artist only needed to apply mid-tones and highlights to obtain a full chromatic range. The exposed ground in the shadowed areas of the figures also functioned as a paint layer, enabling Zurbarán to develop the faces and hands of the Patriarchs efficiently. The artist painted the skies directly on top of the double-layered brown ground, without making allowances for the reflectivity generally required for these luminous backgrounds in the form of an underlying, light preparatory layer.²³ Employing the underlying light-absorbing quality of the dark ground throughout the skies connects the backgrounds with the figures. Painting practice has shown that a dark ground can be quickly covered using broad, thickly applied paint layers.

Examination of the surfaces of the series under the stereomicroscope revealed the existence of local underlayers in various shades of warm brown and cool gray covering the brown ground. This underpainting coincides with specific compositional elements; it occurs beneath draperies and individual colors recall the warm and cool tones in *Issachar*'s rocks. Zurbarán then added a bending, willowy tree in front of the finished temple. By inserting the temple into the landscape, Zurbarán further clarified Levi's role as a Jewish priest. As Finaldi observed, "[i]t is a mark of the artist's originality that Levi is shown from behind, his head turned over his shoulder, since the traditional means of representing Jewish priests was with the ceremonial breastplate showing as can be seen in numerous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings."⁷¹

Technical imaging also brought to light that Zurbarán significantly revised Zebulun's appearance, who previously appeared as a gaunter and more weathered figure, by adding a full beard, so that he more closely resembled the facial type depicted in de Gheyn II's engraving (fig. 80).⁷² Finally, Zurbarán revised Asher's bread basket (a detail inspired by de Gheyn II's depiction of this Patriarch). The painter added more loaves to the top of the pile, thereby enhancing the prominence of the bread, a symbol of the bounty given to him by Jacob and his blessing (fig. 81). Asher's bread also carried potentially important religious symbolism as a reference to the body of Christ. As Finaldi wrote, "Asher prefigured Christ who in the Eucharist becomes rich bread for the faithful" (fig. 82).⁷³

Fig. 79 Left: Infrared reflectography detail, *Levi* (cat. 4), showing underlying trees that were later painted over by Zurbarán and replaced with a classical temple and a slender tree. Right: Detail, *Levi* (cat. 4), showing the zigzag brushwork used to hurriedly block in the form of the temple, which has been interpreted as a sign of the master's hand.



Fig. 80 Left: X-radiographic detail, Zebulun (cat. 6). Middle: Infrared reflectography detail, Zebulun (cat. 6). Right: Detail, Zebulun (cat. 6), highlighting the addition of a fuller beard, transforming his appearance from a gaunter, more weathered figure to a robust one.



Appendix I: Print Sources

RAFAEL BARRIENTOS MARTINEZ and CLAIRE BARRY

CAT. 1 JACOB, C. 1640-45

Primarily depending on Jacques de Gheyn II's representation in *The Twelve Sons* of Jacob and Martin Schongauer's depictions in the *Twelve Apostles* in formulating the general pose and gesture of the figures in this painting series, Zurbarán was left to find an alternate print source for inspiration in depicting the aged Patriarch Jacob. For this he turned to Jacques de Gheyn III's *Thales Milesius*, which depicts the seated Greek philosopher, who was also a mathematician and astronomer. The artist rendered Jacob as a standing figure, incorporating the hunched back and lowered gaze of Thales, supporting himself with a cane.





Jacques de Gheyn III (Dutch, c. 1596– 1641), Thales Milesius from Septem Sapientum Graeciae Icones [Seven wise men of Greece], 1616. Etching, $12\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$ in. (30.7 × 18.8 cm). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

CAT. 2 REUBEN, C. 1640-45



For this composition Zurbarán does not appear to consult Jacques de Gheyn II's representation of Reuben. Utilizing Schongauer's *Saint James the Greater*, the artist chooses to mimic the frontal pose of the saint with one arm drawn into his torso. To a larger extent, Zurbarán seems to base the overall appearance of Reuben, the eldest son whose betrayal of his father Jacob ultimately sealed his fate, on Albrecht Dürer's representation of Pontius Pilate in *The Flagellation* from Dürer's *Small Passion* series. The column, on which Reuben rests his proper right hand, is understood as a traditional symbol of fortitude and is also featured prominently in Dürer's print.





Jacques de Gheyn II (Dutch, 1565–1629) after Karel van Mander I (Dutch, 1548–1606), *Ruben* from *The Twelve* Sons of Jacob, 1589. Engraving, $6^{1/16} \times 4^{1/8}$ in. (15.4 × 10.5 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art. The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949.



Martin Schongauer (German, c. 1430–1491), Saint James the Greater from The Apostles. Engraving, $3'/16 \times 1^{11}/16$ in. (8.8 × 4.3 cm). Bartsch 036; Lehrs 44; Hollstein (German) 44. Museum of Fine Arts Boston. The Harvey D. Parker Collection, The Harvey Drury Parker Fund. Photograph © 2017 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. P2064.

Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528), The Flagellation from Passio Christi ab Alberto Durer Nurenbergensi effigiata cum varii generis carminibus Fratris Benedicti Chelidonii Musophili, 1511. Woodcut, $5 \times 3\%$ in. (12.6 \times 9.8 cm). Bridwell Library Special Collections, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University.

Appendix II: Canvas Weave Analysis

DON H. JOHNSON and CLAIRE BARRY

utomated thread counting, a tool used in the examination of painting canvases, was one of the methods used to assess the physical characteristics of twelve paintings from the series *Jacob and His Twelve Sons* by Francisco de Zurbarán. Details of the actual canvas, including individual threads, can be made visible through high resolution X-radiography. However, this diagnostic tool does not image the actual canvas, which is transparent to X-rays of the intensity typically used in the examination of paintings. Rather, it images variations in the thickness and density of materials in the ground layer. X-radiography can produce a clear image of the overall canvas weave, because the radiopaque components in the ground settle into the depressions of the canvas weave.

Since the early twentieth century X-radiography has been used to examine paintings, providing art historians and conservators with information about artists' working methods and materials, including canvas supports. Traditionally conservators manually measured the densities of the vertical and horizontal threads visible in X-ray films, in order to categorize individual canvases. Sometimes this helped to determine whether two paintings originated from the same roll of canvas. Obtaining these measurements manually, however, was very time-consuming, and thread densities would typically be collected at only a few points on the canvas to determine average horizontal and vertical thread densities, producing results that were less than optimal.

With the advent of computational technologies, X-ray films can now be scanned, and signal processing algorithms have been developed to determine the vertical and horizontal thread densities across the entire surface of a painting's canvas. The algorithm used for this study of Zurbarán's Patriarch series exploits the regularity of thread positions in woven canvas by computing the spatial spectrum, which measures both vertical and horizontal thread-density variations everywhere on the painting. For technical reasons, measuring both the thread densities required estimating thread angles as well. These reveal the cusping (thread garland) patterns along the edges of the canvas.

Cusping occurs during the preparation process when raw canvas is stretched and then attached to the strainer at discrete points along the edges, using either tacks or strings. These attachment points distort the positions of the threads running parallel to each edge, resulting in thread garlands. The depth of the

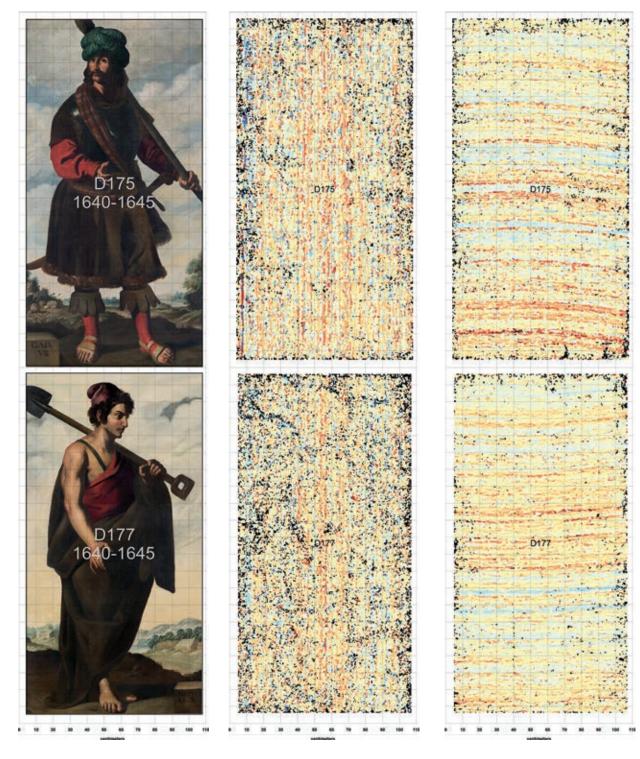


Fig. 91 Clique 3: Paintings shown in warpmatch (vertical) alignment.

Fig. 92 Clique 3: Warp-thread density maps for the paintings shown in warp-match alignment. Note how the warp threads (represented by color-coded lines) continue in the same configuration from one canvas to the next, indicating that they derive from the same bolt of canvas.

Fig. 93 Clique 3: Weft-thread density maps for the paintings shown in warp-match alignment. Note that the weft threads (represented by color-coded lines) do not appear as straight horizontal lines due to the skewed mounting of the fabric onto stretchers, implying that the short ends of the canvas were pulled separately in a lopsided approach.

A Zurbarán Postscript

GABRIELE FINALDI





Fig. 94 The leaflet that accompanied the National Gallery exhibition in 1994.

t is fair to say that Zurbarán's series of *Jacob and His Twelve Sons* was practically unknown until March 1994 when it was brought to the attention of the public in an exhibition in the Sunley Room at the National Gallery in London. The Spanish art historian César Pemán had written about the pictures for a scholarly readership in *Archivo Español de Arte* in the late 1940s; a selection of four of them had been shown locally at the Bowes Museum in 1967 in an exhibition of Spanish painting curated by Eric Young, and in 1988 the Grimsthorpe *Benjamin* (the only one not acquired by Bishop Trevor) was lent to the great Zurbarán exhibition held at the Grand Palais in Paris in 1988. But the exhibition in London brought the whole series together for the first time since the mid-eighteenth century, and it asked people to sit up and take notice (fig. 94). Here was a remarkable group of works by Zurbarán, fascinating on account of their appearance, history, and subject matter, which deserved to be much better known.

I had recently joined the staff of the National Gallery and was responsible for curating that exhibition. It provided the opportunity for me to get to know the pictures firsthand in Bishop Auckland and to undertake some research on Zurbarán and the appreciation of his work in Britain. The paintings had arrived in the country in the mid-1720s, within three generations of the artist's death, and even though almost nobody could have known who he was, the name of the painter of the series was recorded then as "Zuburan" [*sic*]. Murillo and Velázquez were much better known in Britain. After the paintings' removal to County Durham, the Auckland Castle pictures effectively fell into oblivion and remained a local secret until the twentieth century.

My first concern as the curator of the 1994 exhibition was that the appearance of the paintings was compromised by discolored varnishes and heavy retouchings and that the simple gilt moldings in which they were framed were not in good condition. Time, however, did not allow for any restoration work and only the frames were smartened up in advance of the display. The scale of the works, the powerful designs and strong personalities of the Patriarchs, as well as the rich colors of their costumes, combined with some sensitive artificial lighting in the gallery space, made for an impressive ensemble and the public reacted with enthusiasm to this quirky procession of exotic Biblical heroes. Fig. 95 The exhibition of Zurbarán's Jacob and His Twelve Sons in the Museo del Prado in 1995. A painting from the Labours of Hercules can be seen in the neighboring room.



The press too responded warmly, although the critic of the *Evening Standard* doubted that there was much of Zurbarán's own hand in the execution of the series. The then Bishop of Durham, the controversial theologian David Jenkins, was not present at the opening but there was a frisson of excitement as the two renowned international financiers Jacob Rothschild (a former Chairman of Trustees of the Gallery) and Gianni Agnelli walked in together. The director of the Museo Nacional del Prado, Francisco Calvo Serraller, came shortly afterward and requested that the pictures be shown in Madrid, too. The exhibition took place in the spring of 1995 and the paintings were shown with a very different series by Zurbarán, the *Labours of Hercules*, which the artist painted in 1634 for the Hall of Realms in the Buen Retiro Palace in the capital and which form part of the Museo del Prado's collection (fig. 95).

In the article I wrote for *Apollo* in 1994, which doubled up as the exhibition publication, "Zurbarán's *Jacob and His Twelve Sons:* A Family Reunion at the National Gallery," I explored the history of the series, the iconography of the individual Patriarchs, Zurbarán's visual sources and the interest in seventeenth-century Spain and its American empire in the theme of the

ZURBARÁN: JACOB AND HIS TWELVE SONS, PAINTINGS FROM AUCKLAND CASTLE

RESEARCH PROJECT AND EXHIBITIONS Scientific Director Mark A. Roglán

MEADOWS MUSEUM, SMU, DALLAS Zurbarán: Jacob and His Twelve Sons, Paintings from Auckland Castle September 17, 2017–January 7, 2018

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COORDINATION Julie Herrick Bridget LaRocque Marx

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMING Scott Winterrowd Kayle Patton

PRESS Carrie Sanger

INSTALLATION Unified Fine Art Services

GRAPHICS Anne Hume Tom McKerrow

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COORDINATION Diane Farynyk

educational programming Rika Burnham

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