# Making Visible the Invisible.
# The Civic Life of Africans Visualized in the Sevillian Paintings from 1600 to 1750.

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## Statement of Copyright

# Abstract

My thesis explores how the civic life of people of African descent was represented in early modern Seville, where various artworks featuring African figures were produced. An entry point for this research is Diego Velázquez's *Kitchen Maid with the Supper at Emmaus* (ca. 1617-1618, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin), a fascinating example in Western art because the artist endowed an African woman with a central position in the painting. Remarkably, the picture has been interpreted with the social conditions of early seventeenth-century Seville, marking an essential point of reference in the study of black representation in general. In this thesis, I attempt to analyze the visualization of Black Africans in Sevillian paintings of the early modern period. By extending the analytical framework of previous studies on Velázquez's work to examine other Sevillian paintings with African figures, this study seeks to understand the multiple functions and meanings of black figures in Sevillian art. Since Seville was an international port city with connections both inside and outside the European continent, a close examination of Sevillian paintings would provide a more transcultural perspective to the study of black representation in the visual arts.

# Acknowledgments

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## Thesis Outline

# Introduction

[Fig. 1] Diego Velázquez's *Kitchen Maid with the Supper at Emmaus,* ca. 1617-1618.

Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez's *Kitchen Maid with the Supper at Emmaus* (Fig. 1) is a remarkable example in European art for considering the individuality of African figures in European painting that has often exoticized and sometimes bestowed negative imagery on people of non-European origins. As a native of Seville, the young artist chose and prominently showcased an African woman from the city, as the central figure of the painting. The maid in the focal point of one of his *Bodegón* paintings[1] is considered one of many enslaved people living and working in Seville during that time. At her back is inserted a biblical episode of Supper at Emmaus (the Gospel of Luke, 24: 28-32).



[1] *The Dictionary of Art* 4, 1996, p.209
"Bodegón. Term used up to c. 1650 in Spain with reference to genre paintings; in modern Spanish it means still-life. According to Sebastián Covarrubias's dictionary *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (1611), explains that a *bodegón* was a rough public eating-place where offal was consumed. (…) As early as 1590s Flemish and Italian kitchen and market scenes were referred to as *bodegones* in Spanish inventories."

The African woman in *The Kitchen Maid with the Supper at Emmaus* had received little scholarly attention until the late twentieth century. However, as preceding studies have demonstrated,[2] combining a humble kitchen scene with a woman of non-European origins in Velázquez's said work cannot be separated from the social conditions of Seville in the early modern era. In 1990, Norman Bryson emphasized the insignificance of the miracle taking place for the African servant in the foreground. In 1996, David Davies and Enriqueta Harris raised the possibility that the painting contains a message of universal salvation, which formed the basis for the following studies. In 2008, Tanya J. Tiffany interpreted the painting in the context of the seventeenth-century debate over the Christian salvation of enslaved Africans in Seville, where she demonstrated the strong affinities between the painting and the ideas of Sevillian clergy concerning the baptism of Africans. Similarly, Luis Méndez Rodríguez[3] attributed the exceptional nature of Velázquez's work to the bestowment of a central position to the kitchen maid, describing the distance the artist took from the traditional ways of representing Africans. In the studies shown above, the contested issues of race, religion, and gender are entangled, highlighting the city's unique status as the economic hub of the Spanish Empire, connecting both inside and outside of Europe.

[2] Norman Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked: Four Essays on Still Life Painting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), 154-155.; David Davies, Enriqueta Harris, eds., *Velázquez in Seville* (exh. cat.), (Edinburgh: Yale University Press, 1996), 134.; Tanya J. Tiffany, "Light, Darkness, and African Salvation: Velazquez's Supper at Emmaus", *Art History* 31, no.1 (February 2008): 33-56; Luis Méndez Rodríguez, *Esclavos en la pintura sevillana de los siglos de oro* (Sevilla: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2011), 208-209.
We also have a Chicago version without the religious scene in the background (Fig. 2). Both the *Kitchen Maid with the Supper at Emmaus* (Dublin version) and the secular version now in Chicago are thought to be autograph. For the third (another secular) version recently attributed to Velázquez, see: Kerry Ingram, "Rediscovering a Velázquez: The Attribution of 'Kitchen Maid'" (18/12/2028), The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, accessed June 4, 2024: https://www.mfah.org/blogs/inside-mfah/rediscovering-a-velazquez-the-attribution-of-kitchen-maid

[3] Here, I would also like to note that Méndez Rodríguez was among the researchers who in the late 1990s excavated the documents related to the early years of Diego Velázquez. With the discovered primary sources, Méndez advocated the possibility that the painter is of Jewish origin. For further discussion on this problem, see Luis Méndez Rodríguez, *Velázquez y la cultura sevillana* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2005), 55-56.

Compared to the recent development in the interpretation of Velázquez's *Kitchen Maid with the Supper at Emmaus*, enough attention has not been paid to the other Sevillian paintings with Black African figures. I do not intend to deny the outstanding quality of Velázquez's oeuvre. However, a brief look at the contemporary paintings created in Seville demonstrates that Velázquez was not the only person in early modern Seville to have portrayed people of African origins with solid realism. There is room for further exploring how Sevillian artists visualized Black Africans in local art, which marks the starting point of my research.

This thesis seeks to understand the representation of Black Africans[4] in Sevillian Art of the early modern era by focusing on paintings with black figures from 1600 to 1750. It aims to examine how white-male Sevillian artists visualized Black Africans who resided in the city, with particular attention to the nuanced functions and meanings rendered to black figures in pictorial space. In this thesis, I expand the interdisciplinary approach adopted in Tiffany's article on Velázquez's work to examine other Sevillian paintings depicting African figures. My thesis contributes to various strands of literature, as we shall see below.

First, my research addresses a relatively new topic in Art History: the representation of Black Africans. While cultural or public historians have paid more attention to their visibility in visual images, Black Africans, as well as Muslims or Jewish people, had long been "overlooked" both in art historiography and art museums. Nowadays, however, the representation of the "Other" is gaining position as an art historical topic as well. The most

[4] In this study, I use terms "Black Africans" and "Africans" interchangeably since my study focuses on the visual representation of people of Africans origins, who have been lumped together under the adjective "Black." Here, however, I would like to emphasize that "race" is a social construct given concrete shape in nineteenth-century Europe. Despite a large number of different cultures, languages, ethnic groups in African continent, people of African descent have long been characterized by their appearance, namely by their dark skin color, which could in itself form an important research topic. In the visual arts, in most cases, it is almost impossible to clearly indicate the actual ethnicity of a non-European model with their dark-colored skin. When I use the term "a black figure / black figures" in this thesis, I am suggesting that their "blackness" function as their foremost trait and I avoid clarification on their actual ethnic backgrounds.

important work of this trend is "The Image of the Black in Western Art (IBWA)." It is a scholarly project with the image archive initiated in the U.S. in the 1960s under the influence of the Civil Rights Movement.[5] IBWA aimed at surveying the representation of black figures in European Art from antiquity to the present, and in 2010, it culminated in the publications of ten rich volumes, each of which discusses the complex and multifaceted ways black figures have been represented throughout the history of art.[6]

In the last decades, many art museums have organized exhibitions on black representation, which in many cases parallels the political movement Black Lives Matter in their aim to tackle the racial inequality and violence against Black Africans. Well-known examples are "Black is Beautiful. Rubens to Dumas." in Nieuwe Kerk (2008, Amsterdam), "On Being Present" in the Uffizi Galleries (2020-2021, Florence),[7] and "Juan de Pareja, Afro-Hispanic Painter" in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (2023, New York). Notably, *On Being Present* was curated by Justin Randolph Thompson as part of the Black History Month Florence.[8] In addition to these museum exhibitions, there was a noteworthy documentary made on the Black presence in Italian Renaissance Art, "Il Rinascimento Nascosto – Presenze Africane nell'Arte (TIWI, 2023)."[9] As seen above, research on black representation has

[5] "The Image of the Black in Western Art," Harvard University, accessed June 1, 2024, https://www.hup.harvard.edu/features/the-image-of-the-black-in-western-art

[6] For the past several years, the IBWA extended its research scope beyond the European continent. In 2017, Harvard University Press published *The Image of the Black in African and Asian Art*, and in 2024, *The Image of the Black in Latin American and Caribbean Art* (Book 1, 2). What these additional publications suggest is the necessity to overcome the dichotomy of West and non-West for a more comprehensive understanding of black representation in art.

[7] The Uffizi exhibition was in online format thus it is not easy to tell precisely how many visitors to the Uffizi encountered the hidden aspects of the collection. Visiting the Uffizi for several times while I was in Florence, I realized the captions of the artworks taken up in the *On Being Present* barely said anything about the black presence. The museum captions could have been altered a bit more; the significance of the said project is immense in offering, with their own collection, the diverse materials to consider the multiple possible meanings of blackness in European paintings.

[8] Justin Randolph Thompson, "I shall not be moved," in *Le rappresentazioni dei neri nell'età moderna: Temi e questioni metodologiche*, ed. Chiara Savettieri (Rome: Carocci editore, 2022), 169-182.

[9] Thanks to the support of Professor Tarantino and the generosity of the documentary's producers, I not only had

developed in line with the current political situation surrounding people of African descent. An in-depth exploration of Black History is beyond the scope of the present research. Nevertheless, I am very aware that black representation is a topic closely connected to the ongoing problems concerning race and ethnicity. The transmission of prejudice or discriminatory sentiments via visual images has endured, transcending time and space.

Studies of black representation have shown progress in Spanish art over the last decade. Authors often referred to are Victor Stoichita, Luis Méndez Rodríguez, and Carmen Fracchia.[10] They examine black representation in Spanish art with reference to contemporary literature or historical sources, thereby providing various case studies. While the contributions of the existing literature must be greatly appreciated, they tend to analyze and discuss diverse artworks produced in different regions of Spain simply as "Spanish" art, which would require reconsideration. In her most recent article, Fracchia has attempted to utilize a transnational scope of "Iberian" art. Still, her argumentation remains within the generalized discussion of black representation in "Spanish and Portuguese" art.[11] Thus, I suggest that regional diversity

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the opportunity to attend the pre-screening of the documentary in November 2023, but I was also able to get access to the English version of the documentary. I truly appreciate their offer.

[10] Victor Stoichita, "The Image of the Black in Spanish Art: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *The Image of the Black in Western Art vol. III, From the "Age of Discovery" to the Age of Abolition, Part 1: Artists of the Renaissance and Baroque*, eds. David Bindoam, Henry Louis Gates Jr., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 191-234.; Luis Méndez Rodríguez, "Bailes y fiestas de negros. Un estudio de su representación artística," *Archivo Hispalense*, *Revista histórica, literaria y artística* 90, no. 273-275 (2007): 397-412., Luis Méndez Rodríguez, "Visiones iconográficas de la esclavitud en España," in *La esclavitud negroafricana en la historia de España: siglos XVI y XVII* (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2010), ed. Aurelia Martín Casares: 95-126; Luis Méndez Rodríguez, *Esclavos en la pintura sevillana de los siglos de oro* (Sevilla: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2011); Carmen Fracchia, "(Lack of) Visual Representation of Black Slaves in Spanish Golden Age Painting," *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 10, no.1 (January 2004): 23-34.; Carmen Fracchia, '*Black but Human': Slavery and Visual Art in Hapsburg Spain, 1480-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Carmen Fracchia, "The African Presence in Iberian Art," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 100, no. 1 (January 2024): 1-32.

[11] Fracchia, "The African Presence in Iberian Art," 1-32.
I suggest that the selection of the works discussed in this article lacks sufficient justification thus is somewhat unbalanced. In the beginning, Fracchia discussed Lisbon's landscape *King's Fountain* and then Murillo's *Three Boys* (without explaining why she chose this work among others) and several landscapes of Seville with black figures. Afterwards she moved onto discussing Spanish and Portuguese Adoration of the Magi paintings, the

has not been sufficiently considered. Aside from their similarities, artworks created in Castille, Catalunya, and Andalusia reflect the different economic and political circumstances of each region. Moreover, the early modern period was when neither the notion of the nation-state nor the concept of a "national school" in fine art had fully emerged. Therefore, relying heavily on national borders to define the geographic scale of analysis risks obscuring the diverse realities of Black Africans in different micro locations. In this research, I propose that using micro locations (e.g., cities) for the analysis will provide new insights into the study of black representation in fine art.

Acknowledging the achievements and limitations of the existing literature mentioned above, in this thesis, I focus on the representation of Black Africans in Sevillian painting.[12] This study examines the visualization of the civic life of African Sevillians in pictorial space. Given Seville's unique position as an exclusive trading port with the Americas, it is very plausible to start from this city. The first theoretical chapter evaluates the applicability of two concepts to my study: (1) the concept of entangled history and (2) the tension between microhistory and global history. The second chapter, *Representing the "Other" – Blackness in European Art,* first deals with the concept of otherness in European thought and European art, and then examines the representation of Black Africans in visual images. The third chapter, *Africans in Early Modern Seville,* traces the often-overlooked history of African inhabitants in Seville, aiming to understand how Africans navigated life in a Sevillian society dominated by the European population during this period. Finally, in the fourth chapter, I analyze three interesting Sevillian examples of black representation: (1) Juan de Roelas, *The Allegory of the*



Castilian iconography of Miracle of the Black Leg, and Cristobal Morales's portrait with a black page. She concluded the article with Diego Velázquez's *Portrait of Juan de Pareja* (Fig. 24) and Juan de Pareja's *Calling of Saint Mathew* (1661, Prado Museum).

[12] In this study, those who created "Sevillian" painting are not exclusively native to Seville. Some of them were native Sevillians while others migrated to (and left) the city at some point of his artistic career.

*Virgin of the Immaculate Conception* (1616, Museo Nacional de Esculturas, Valladolid), (2) Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Marriage Feast at Cana* (ca. 1672, Barber Institute of Art, Birmingham), and finally, (3) Domingo Martínez, *Carriage* series (ca. 1748-1749, Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla, Seville). By examining the multilayered functions of black figures in these paintings, with particular attention to the visualization of Africans' participation or agency in the cultural life or politics of the city, I attempt to observe distinctive features commonly present in Sevillian school painting. As a result, it demonstrates the need to move beyond the exclusively national lens when addressing and analyzing black representation in the visual arts.

# 1. Theoretical Chapter

The first chapter prepares a theoretical ground for the entire thesis. This thesis focuses primarily in visual images, mainly paintings, with reference to the historical context of Seville. While the discussion examines several materials written by elite Sevillians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the central focus remains on artworks, analyzing them as a primary medium. Each selected object could serve as a "historical source," as Roelas's painting, for example, contains much textual information within the painting (the inscription at the bottom of the left recounts a religious procession held in Seville in 1615). Hence, these paintings tell us about the lives of Africans, and to borrow the term Kate Lowe gave, they could possibly be considered "history narrative paintings."[13]

An analysis of the black representation in Sevillian paintings, therefore, requires a solid understanding of the historical contexts of the city. It is the history of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the evangelization or conversion of non-Europeans, the dynamic movement of people, products, and ideas across oceans and continents, and the power dynamics between white Europeans and Black Africans in different cities in different parts of the world that lie behind the creation of the paintings I address in this study. It thus presupposes that I am sufficiently aware of the historiographical debate: (1) the concept of entangled history and (2) the tension between microhistory and global history.



## 1.1 Entanglement

Entangled history is a historiographical concept that focuses on the interconnectedness

[13] Kate Lowe, "Visible Lives: Black Gondoliers and Other Black Africans in Renaissance Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (June 2013): 427.

of societies by taking a transcultural perspective as the main point of departure; it also emphasizes a process of interaction and global circulation.[14] As Sanjay Subrahmanyam articulates, "a good part of the dynamic in early modern history was provided by the interface between the local and regional (which we may call the 'micro'-level), and the supra-regional, at times even global (what we may term the 'macro'-level)."[15] This emphasizes the importance of having regional and global perspectives intertwined. Paul Gilroy, one of the most prominent figures in black history, recognizes the pitfalls and limitations of the then-dominant approaches prioritizing national or ethnic particularities. He, with the concept of "Black Atlantic," suggests that cultural historians could approach the history of the Atlantic region with transnational and transcultural perspectives.[16] Gould suggests that purely comparative approaches tend to accept fixed national boundaries; entangled history is better suited to addressing the history of the Atlantic world, which in the early modern period was an "interconnected" zone.[17]

Two points can explain the relevance of the entangled history perspective for my research. First, the chronological and geographical focus of my study, early modern Seville, requires careful consideration of transnational, transcultural, and transcontinental elements. As detailed in Chapter 3, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the city of Seville flourished as an exclusive trading port with the Americas, functioning as the economic and cultural center of the Spanish empire. The early modern Seville, in other words, was the main



[14] "Entangled History," Universität Bielefeld, accessed June 1, 2024: https://www.uni-bielefeld.de/einrichtungen/cias/publikationen/wiki/e/entangled-history.xml

[15] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian studies* 31, no. 3 (July 1997): 745.

[16] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London and New York: Verso Books, 1993), 15.

[17] Eliga H. Gould, "Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery," *The American historical review* 112, no. 3 (June 2007): 766, 783.

center of the entangled network of the trans-Atlantic slave trade.[18] It is thus necessary to pay special attention to the commercial, intellectual, and religious networks within and outside Europe.

Secondly, my focus on black representation in art also requires a transregional perspective, which is at the heart of entangled history. Any local art of any region cannot be completely independent of the influence of art from other areas. The port of Seville received many oil paintings and engravings from the Netherlands and Italy, which influenced local painters. Therefore, the analysis and discussion of the black representation in Sevillian painting should always be done with examples from different regions, countries, areas, and cities. In addition, although this thesis must limit the main scope of the analysis to European examples, I am quite aware of the global presence of artworks with black figures; their diverse modes of representation have developed across borders, regions, and even oceans. Addressing the issue of black representation in Sevillian painting from the perspective of entangled history would effectively challenge the dominant centrality of European perspectives in black representation studies in the visual arts.

### 1.2 The Tension Between Microhistory and Global History

Another historiographical debate surrounding my study is the tension between two types of history: microhistory and global history. I will conduct a micro-scale case study of Seville, focusing on the overlooked presence of Black Africans in Spanish historiography and art history. However, as shown above, the study is also rooted in the broader historical context

[18] "The trans-Atlantic slave trade," Britannica, accessed June 1, 2024: https://www.britannica.com/topic/transatlantic-slave-trade
The trans-Atlantic slave trade is "a segment of the global slave trade that transported between 10 million and 12 million enslaved Africans across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas from the 16th to the 19th century."

of trans-Atlantic slavery, which resulted in the global diaspora of enslaved Africans. Therefore, I must consider whether and how micro-historical approaches are compatible with global history.

First, microhistory refers to an analytical approach to history that gained popularity among Italian historians in the late 1970s and 1980s and then spread to other countries. One of the most prominent figures in microhistory is Carlo Ginzburg. The author of *The Cheese and the Worms*, Ginzburg, sees a micro or analytical approach as the fundamental idea of microhistory while acknowledging the diversity of approaches taken by different researchers.[19] Francesca Trivellato summarizes the essential characteristics of Italian microhistory in three aspects: (1) the intensive use of primary sources, (2) the focus on the interconnectedness of different phenomena, and (3) the protagonism of white male Europeans, which is fundamentally opposed to the approaches taken in macrohistory.[20]

With the rise of global history in the 1990s, historians have been faced with the question of how to reconcile the microhistory approach with the new emerging trend. Caffiero highly evaluates the global history approach to studying the history of slavery; she argues that the methodology of global history has enabled historians to transcend the national historiographical traditions when dealing with the history of the slave trade and slavery.[21] And what about micro-historians? Ginzburg, acknowledging the gradual spread and reception of microhistory in different parts of the world, emphasizes its relevance in today's globalized world.[22] Trivellato, standing on the side of microhistory, suggests that combining micro and

[19] Carlo Ginzburg, "Our Words, and Theirs: A Reflection on the Historian's Craft, Today," *Cromohs* (Cyber Review of Modern Historiography) 18 (January 2013): 109.; Carlo Ginzburg, John Tedeschi, and Anne C. Tedeschi, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It," *Critical Inquiry* 20, no. 1 (October 1993): 17, 33.

[20] Francesca Trivellato, "Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?" *California Italian Studies* 2, no.1 (January 2011): 5.

[21] Marina Caffiero, *Gli schiavi del papa: Conversioni e libertà dei musulmani a Roma in età moderna* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2022), 15.

[22] Ginzburg, "Our Words, and Theirs: A Reflection on the Historian's Craft, Today," 110.

macro approaches could prevent global history from tending toward Eurocentric narratives.[23] Garg questions the validity of the new combined term used by some scholars, "global microhistory," noting that the combination of micro and macro scales, from the start, has been inherent in microhistory studies.[24] Trivellato is also skeptical of the concept of "global microhistory," pointing to the incompatibility of microhistory's main ambition to revise the grand narrative with the homogenization that occurs when writing a history of the global.[25] On the other hand, Putnam focuses on the connection between Atlantic history and microhistory, which, although seemingly opposed, have several things in common: the transcontinental scope and the variation of analytical scales.[26] In sum, no clear answer has defined the relationship between the two seemingly opposite but overlapping methodologies.

Given the ongoing and complex discussion on micro vs global histories, my research opts for the micro-historical approach because it focuses on several exceptional cases to show the relevance of Sevillian instances in the overall discourse of the black representation in European art. I consider that it is in line with the core idea of micro-history to revise commonly accepted grand narratives through detailed examinations of specific cases with microscopic analysis.[27] Similarly, the examination of several primary sources written in seventeenth-century Castellano, including documents on the black brotherhoods and the treatises of Sevillian clerics on the discussion over the conversion of enslaved Africans, seems to parallel



[23] Trivellato, "Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?" 1-2.

[24] Gaurav C. Garg, "Between Global History and Microhistory: Rethinking Histories of 'Small Spaces' and Cities," *Comparative studies in society and history* 66, no. 1 (November 2023): 41-42.

[25] Francesca Trivellato, "Microstoria/Microhistorie/Microhistory," *French Politics, Culture & Society* 33, no.1 (March 2015): 130.

[26] Lara Putnam, "To Study the Fragments/Whole: Microhistory and the Atlantic World," *Journal of social history* 39, no. 3 (March 2006): 616.

[27] Ginzburg, "Our Words, and Theirs: A Reflection on the Historian's Craft, Today," 110; Trivellato, "Microstoria/Microhistorie/Microhistory," 122, 125.

the traditional methodology of microhistory. At the same time, however, trans-Atlantic slavery remains of paramount importance, given the broader context. It is impossible to confine the phenomena involving multiple actors around the globe to "European" history. By applying both micro and macro perspectives, mainly based on micro-historical approaches, I have to situate the representation of Black Africans in Sevillian art in broader contexts that could cover the historical phenomena that run across time and space.

# 2. Representing the "Other" —Blackness in European Art

The second chapter deals with the concept of representing the "Other." The first part examines the key ideas concerning "otherness" in visual media, both in European thought and the visual arts. Overviewing the process of othering/selfing is crucial to understanding what blackness stands for. The second part provides a thematic overview of diverse examples of black representation in European art, with particular attention to the works from the Renaissance to the Baroque and Rococo periods.[28] The third and final part then categorizes the visual examples into two groups, utilizing the terms characteristic of the microhistory approach, "typical" (norms) and "non-typical" (exceptions).[29] By taking a close look at what is at the core of the representation of "Other" and by reviewing ways in which Black Africans were visualized, this chapter prepares the conceptual ground for analyzing the function and meaning blackness had in Sevillian art of the early modern period. In doing so, it establishes the selective criteria of paintings to be discussed in Chapter 4.

## 2.1 Otherness in Visual Art

"Being or feeling different in appearance or character from what is familiar, expected,

[28] Due to my limited expertise and the constraint of the length of the thesis, this study limits its scope of analysis to the paintings usually categorized as "Western Art." Here, however, an emphasis has to be made that the visualization of Black Africans as the "Other" is not a unique phenomenon confined to Europe; in East Asia, where I am from, or in Latin America, there have been many interesting examples of black representation. There is room for further exploring the transregional or global presence of Black Africans in the visual arts. In this regard, having a geographical scope of "Mediterranean," which is capable of dealing with the more entangled network ranging among Europe, Africa, and Asia, would be effective.
For the notion of the "Mediterranean" see: Giovanni Tarantino, "Introduction: Early Modern Mediterranean Entanglements," in *Twelve Cities – One Sea: Early Modern Mediterranean Port Cities and their Inhabitants*, eds. Giovanni Tarantino and Paola von Wyss-Giacosa (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2023), 5-17.

[29] The first category encompasses examples of subjects typical of black representation, such as the Adoration of the Magi, black saints, and the Allegory of Africa. The latter group, by contrast, refers to works of the subject matter where including Black African figures was not commonplace.

or generally accepted" is the definition given to the term "otherness" in the Cambridge Dictionary.[30] Before addressing the complicated issues of black representation in visual art, the first step is to understand what otherness means. It may sound contradictory, but the process of othering, or differentiating the "Other," cannot be separated from that of selfing, because the construction of one's identity requires that we have a clear idea of "what we are not."[31] Baumann tries to illustrate the complexity of the grammars of "selfing/othering" by dividing them into three categories: Orientalism, Segmentation, and Encompassment.[32] The three grammars illustrated by Baumann are of great importance in this research, especially in considering the changing dynamics among Sevillians of all colors. First, the concept of Orientalism is fundamental in considering the ways in which blackness is visualized in European art. Second, the process to encompass racial/ethnic Other into the Christian/Catholic Self took place in early modern Seville, as seen in the Sevillian movement to promote the conversion of Black Africans into Christians, as well as the Muslim and Jewish populations. The third, Segmentary grammar, would be appropriate to consider the different degrees of tolerance that Seville society had toward ethnic groups: Jews, Muslims, Black Africans, and gypsy people.

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[30] "Otherness," Cambridge dictionary, accessed June 1, 2024: https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/otherness

[31] Alyson Peimer, "Othering, Belonging, and the Construction of Self," *Othering & Belonging Institute,* Accessed on June 1, 2024: https://belonging.berkeley.edu/othering-belonging-and-construction-self

[32] Gerd Baumann, "Chapter 2: Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach," in *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach,* eds. Gerd Baumann and Andre Gingrich (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005), 18-27.
The first grammatical category is Orientalism, whose significance lies in its double-edged play between exclusion and exoticized appreciation of others. It is thus not a simple binary opposition of "we are good, and they are bad," and the desire on the side of the Self is often reflected upon the other. The second grammar is called Segmentation; the Other, who is deemed a foe in a lower level of grammar, can be its ally of the Self at a higher level of classification, where identity and alterity (selfing/othering) end up simply being a matter of context. The third category, Encompassment, embraces two hierarchical levels where the difference recognized in the lower level is muted on the higher caste, and there, the Other becomes part of the larger Self.

How, then, might the notion of "othering/selfing" be applied to the analysis of artworks? Peter Burke provides a detailed account of otherness in the visual arts, which he suggests is often laden with stereotypical representations.[33] Burke argues that encounters between different cultures can lead to the formation of stereotypical images that often exaggerate certain aspects of an opposing culture.[34] There may be some positive images, but for the most part, stereotypes of others are negative, either hostile or contemptuous, where people seek to distinguish the "civilized" self from the "exotic" or "uncivilized" other.[35]

Burke's accounts of stereotypical representations of others apply to any encounter between self and others, and his arguments are not limited to the representations of Black Africans. However, my research raises another thematic question. Why am I focusing exclusively on black representation in Sevillian art? Couldn't it be discussed with the representations of Muslims or Jews, who existed and were considered the "Other" in early modern Spanish society? In this study, the answer would be no; not only is it necessary to maintain the microscopic approaches to better understand the multilayered functions of black figures in paintings, but also the uniqueness of anti-Black sentiments is the key to understanding blackness in art. To elaborate on the latter, I would like to draw on Goldenberg's explanation of the difference between anti-Black racism and other sorts of racism. Throughout history, any hostilities or stereotypes directed at Africans have always been related to or based on their dark skin color. Although we know and understand in our minds that there have been different ethnicities with different characteristics in Africa, we still tend to use (and this study



[33] Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Use of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 123-139.

[34] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 125-126. Also focusing on the concept of "gaze," including the Western, colonial, and male gaze, makes it clear that the projection of fear, hatred, and desire on others also forms the core of the representations of others.

[35] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 126.

also has to use) the generic term "black." Goldenberg focuses on the notion of color symbolism, along with the high visibility of black color, as the basis of anti-Black sentiment:

> So, in considering the origins of racism in regard to the black African, I find that color symbolism played a key role. The very dark skin color of the African was interpreted negatively in the classical world (as a color of ill omen and death), in Philo (as evil), and in Rabbinic literature (as sin). Christian interpretation then adopted this symbolism, greatly expanding its application for its own exegetical and theological purposes. From here, it influenced the West's developing racism against black Africans.[36]

Spicer also described the skin color of Africans as "an obvious visual attribute of otherness," locating it as the primary element in defining African otherness.[37] Therefore, an examination of blackness in visual arts must include consideration of the unique nature of the anti-Black sentiments listed above. It is for this reason that this research chooses to focus on the black representation despite the problematic nature of the term "black" embraces. Rather than discussing the representation of different ethnic minorities in a generalized manner, I prioritize a close examination of the functions and meanings of African figures, who have historically been marked off by their dark skin color. The efficacy of this micro-level approach would not be diminished by the multiethnic nature of early modern Seville, which we will see in the next chapter.



[36] David Goldenberg, "Chapter 4: Racism, color symbolism, and color prejudice," in *The Origins of Racism in the West,* ed. Miriam Eliav-Feldon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 104.

[37] Joaneath Spicer, "European Perceptions of Blackness as Reflected in the Visual Arts," in *Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe* (Baltimore: the Walters Art Museum, 2012), 35.

## 2.2 Black Representation in European Art

European art contains many different types of artworks with African figures.[38] This section reviews the widely known examples of black representation by subject matter, intending to suggest that the roles and functions black figures play in pictorial space are not homogeneous. An examination of "European" ways of representing Black Africans would lead to a consideration of how they were seen (or not seen) in the society where the work was created. Since their portrayal could vary according to the changing social, economic, and political circumstances of the place of creation, the overviewing process would emphasize the complexity that black representation studies face.

*Religious themes*

The vast majority of artworks depicting African figures deal with religious themes. When literacy was low, religious imagery would have had an immeasurable and long-lasting impact on people's thinking or perception of the world. Paintings, sculptures, and stained glass, among others, assumed a moral or educational function as a visual language. Let us now consider the functions of black figures in these religious images. There are indeed some exceptional cases that deviate from the norms. In many cases, however, black figures in religious art seem to reflect what white Europeans wanted to see in Black Africans.[39] At times,

[38] Here, I have to see critically the adjectives that accompany the word "art;" we use the terms such as Western, European, and Spanish as for granted, but the usage actually requires careful consideration. There is no clear defining border where Western or European Art starts and ends in the first place, and chronological focus of this study (1600-1750) makes the term "Spanish" problematic as well. In the said period the idea of "national school" in fine arts was still vague, as the concept of a nation-state had not consolidated yet. I chose to stand on the conventional framework of "European art" for the easier understandings in this thesis, but staying conscious of the pitfalls of the terms is necessary.

[39] In this regard, I would like to cite a comment made by Jonathan K. Nelson in the documentary *Il Rinascimento Nascosto. Presenze africane nell'arte* (2023) (Time stamp: from 22min 00sec to 23min 10sec.):

> "When we see the representation of black figures, in works of art, we need to read it at two levels: on one hand, sometimes, these figures represent figures that were actually visible in the city. But also, more importantly, works of art served to create reality, by placing black figures in a certain location, having them in the

negative images are not cast on black figures, but they almost always function as embodiments of European supremacy, contrasting whiteness (virtue) and blackness (sin). As we shall see, the most common function ascribed to black figures in religious themes should be to symbolize the universal reach of Christianity.

The first category to be mentioned is torturing or martyrdom scenes of Jesus and white Christian saints, where it somehow became customary to include Black Africans as **(1) torturers or executioners**. A quick glance at Italian Renaissance masterpieces such as Giotto di Bondone's *Flagellation of Christ* (Fig. 3) and Paolo Veronese's *Martyrdom of Saint Justina* (Fig. 4) reveals that the inclusion of black male figures in the scenes of cruelty was not uncommon.[40] Consciously or subconsciously, European artists equated blackness to evil or sin.[41]

The functions assigned to Black Africans in religious art are many and varied and not limited to scenes of cruelty. The most powerful example of noble black figures is **(2) The Adoration of the Magi**. It is a biblical story from the Gospel of St. Matthew (2:1-12), one of

foreground, or more often in the background. By having them at the margins, the artists and the society, as a whole, is projecting an image of how they thought blacks should be seen. Paintings are active. They construct the world that they want you, the viewer, to see. You the viewer in the 1400s, but also you, the viewer today." (transcribing mine)

Nelson's profound observations into the multilayered functions black figures could have had in art testify to the importance of carefully examining black figures' functions or meanings in the visual depictions.

[40] If we compare an engraving based on Jusepe de Ribera's *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* (1624, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo's *Martyrdom of Saint Andres* (1675-1682, Prado Museum), it becomes clearer that the degree of demonization varies from artist to artist. However, it is also clear that the insertion of black figures in martyrdom scenes is by no means a positive image.

[41] As there was no imminent necessity to include Africans as executioners, we might be able to regard these depictions as a process of demonizing the "Other," which could somehow be connected to the racist idea of relating blacks to emotionless beings. See, Giovanni Tarantino, "Feeling White -Beneath and Beyond," in *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe 1100-1700,* eds. Andrew Lynch and Susan Broomhall (London and New York: Routledge, 2020), 308.

the most important themes related to the Nativity.[42] The iconography is considered to have been established in the Christian catacombs in the second century.[43] Initially, the three kings, Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthazar, were all portrayed as white men (Fig. 5); in fifteenth-century Germany, one of the magi, often Balthazar, the youngest, was made black.[44] The new tradition spread first in northern Europe and gradually took root in other regions, such as Italy, Portugal, and Spain (Fig. 8, 9).[45] The Black Magi often bear strong exoticism, and thus their images are far removed from the actual situations of Black Africans living in Europe. The remark by Devisse and Mollat is revealing: "the black King, while accepted everywhere, came to be a more and more conventional figure, lacking all connection with Africa, and the theme of the Adoration finally seemed not much different from a fairly-tale episode."[46]

**(3) The Queen of Sheba** is another famous example of a regal black person. The Bible does not clarify her ethnicity, and she has often been depicted as white.[47] The first textual

[42] When Christ was given birth, Three Wise Men or Kings from "the East" traveled to Jerusalem and visited the Infant offering luxurious gifts, including gold, frankincense, and myrrh, to the holy child.

[43] Carmen Fracchia, "The African Presence in Iberian Art," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 100, no. 1 (January 2024): 16-17.; "Exhibition Explores Balthazar, an African King, in Medieval and Renaissance Art," Getty, accessed June 1, 2024, https://blogs.getty.edu/iris/exhibition-to-examine-balthazar-a-black-african-king-in-medieval-and-renaissance-european-art/

[44] Vincent Boele, *Black is Beautiful: Rubens to Dumas* (Zwolle: W Books, 2008), 35.; Fracchia, "The African Presence in Iberian Art," 17. The inclusion of a black attendant or servant started in Italy, preceding the conversion of one of the Magi into a Black African man. The *Adoration of Magi* carved by Nicola Pisano, in the Siena cathedral, includes two sub-Saharan Africans as attendants riding camels, which is considered the first example of black attendants to be included in the subject (Fig. 6).

[45] IBWA vol. II, Part 2, 255, 188-190. As Bindman and Gates Jr. notes, with the rise of this new, very influential iconographical trend, the said representations of black torturers or executioners were gradually replaced with those of a page or servant. With this transition from black executioners to black servants, we might be able to observe the emotional shift on the side of Europeans; from animosity toward the complete "Other" to the sense of superiority or control of the ethnic "Other." Another interesting point mentioned in IBWA is that some of the great masters of the Italian Renaissance, such as Ghirlandaio, Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Raphael, never included a black king in their compositions.

[46] Jean Devisse and Michel Mollat, translated by William Granger Ryan, "Chapter 4 The African Transposed," in IBWA vol. II, Part 2, 201-202.

[47] Certainly, not so many painters in Western Europe represented the queen as a Black African; both Piero della Francesca's *Procession of the Queen of Sheba* (1452-1466, Capella Maggiore di San Francesco, Arezzo) and Jacopo Tintoretto's *The Queen of Sheba and Solomon* (ca. 1555, Prado Museum) depicted her as a white woman. Alhough they are beyond the scope of this thesis, the Orientalist painters in later periods also chose as the subject

association of the queen with blackness is found in the third century in the writings of the Origen of Alexandria; in the *Kebra Nagast* (The Glory of the Kings), a fourteenth-century Ethiopian national epic, the queen is described as a wise black queen.[48] The most iconic representation of the black Sheba is found in an early fifteenth-century illustration inserted in the *Bellifortis*, where she is elegantly depicted with long blonde hair (Fig. 10).[49] In Christianity, several **(4) black saints** gained intense devotion among people, the most famous examples being St. Maurice and St. Benedict of Palermo. The former, **St. Maurice**, was an Egyptian military leader of the Roman Empire who was martyred around 287 in what is now Switzerland. While the biblical text does not clarify his ethnicity, several examples depict him as a black man. The first known sculpture of black Maurice is found in the Magdeburg Cathedral in Germany (Fig. 11).[50] The blackening of St. Maurice was a phenomenon relatively confined to northern Germany and its adjacent regions.[51] **St. Benedict of Palermo** (1526-1589) was a famous Franciscan friar in Sicily, then part of Spain. The son of two enslaved Black Africans, he became the city's patron saint in 1652, was beatified in 1743, and canonized in 1807.[52] Many artworks depicting St. Benedict were produced during the Baroque period, often as sculptures (Figs. 12, 13). According to Campano Lorenzo, the representation of St. Benedict is a somewhat "distorted/inverted" image. Due to his exceptional social ascendance, his image

matter of their paintings the moment of encounter between the Queen of Sheba and the King of Solomon, where the queen appears as a white woman, in the compositions charged with exotism and eroticism.

[48] Jillian Stinchcomb, "Race, Racism, and the Hebrew Bible: The Case of the Queen of Sheba," *Religions* 12, no.10 (September 2021): 5-8. Origen, in his *Commentary on the Songs of Songs* associated Sheba with the lady in the *Songs of Songs*, who described herself as "black and(but) beautiful."

[49] IBWA, vol. II, Part 2, 58. The reason for the insertion of the Queen of Sheba in *Bellifortis* remains unclear.

[50] IBWA, vol. II Part 1&2, preface to a new edition, xv.: Paul H. D. Kaplan considers the mid-13th century Magdeburg sculpture to have been made without an actual black model.

[51] Even after the Renaissance period, many artists outside of the said regions often portrayed the Egyptian saint as a white man, as can be observed in El Greco's famous painting The *Martyrdom de Saint Maurice* (1580-1582, Monastery of El Escorial).

[52] Alberto Campano Lorenzo, "Anónimo, San Benito de Palermo, primer cuarto del siglo XVIII" in *Figuras de la exclusión* (Valladolid: Museo Nacional de Escultura, 2012), 80.; Marina Caffiero, *Gli schiavi del papa: Conversioni e libertà dei musulmani a Roma in età moderna* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2022), 69.

came to lack the connection to the realities of ordinary Black Africans in the Mediterranean region.[53]

Another exciting subject in religious art is the **(5) Miracle of the Black Leg**.[54] It is the story of a miracle performed by twin brothers St. Cosmas and St. Damian. To cure a pious white man who was suffering from a gangrenous leg, the twin saints conducted a limb transplantation, replacing it with the leg of a dead Ethiopian man. During the early Renaissance, the iconography of this subject developed in the Tuscan region of Italy, where the most famous example is Fra Angelico's *The Miracle of the Black Leg* (Fig. 14).[55] Although Angelico's work shows only a black leg, in other Tuscan or Florentine examples, it was common to include the body of a dead Ethiopian man as described in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*.[56] This image later spread to Spain, especially Castile, where a peculiar iconographic development occurred. As Fracchia has discussed in detail, many of the early sixteenth-century Castilian examples depicted a living African in agony at the time of amputation, rather than the then-common dead figure (Fig. 15).[57]

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[53] Campano Lorenzo, "Anónimo, San Benito de Palermo, primer cuarto del siglo XVIII," 80.

[54] The twin Christian physicians were martyred during the persecution by the Roman Emperor Diocletian. As patron saints of medicine, pharmacy, and surgery, they became, in Renaissance Italy, the patron saints of the Medici, based in Florence.

[55] Scott Nethersole, "Fra Angelico's The Miracle of the Black Leg: Skin Colour and the Perception of Ethiopians in Florence before 1450," *Art History* 45, no. 2 (April 2022): 255, 271, 273. Angelico's work generally follows the iconographical tradition starting from the said French illustration. Nethersole argued that the association of skin color and an idea of race had not fully been forged yet around the time when the Dominican friar-painter composed the work. However, in my opinion, the selection of a dead African man as a doner itself has a racist connotation. The said article should have also discussed why the leg had to be transported from the corpse of a black man, not that of a white man.

[56] For the detailed discussion see, Carmen Fracchia, "Chapter 5 Commodification: Is There Any Caste Lower Than Blacks and Slaves from Guinea?" in '*Black but Human': Slavery and Visual Art in Hapsburg Spain, 1480-1700,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 129-153.

[57] Fracchia, '*Black but Human,'* 143-153. The famous example is a sculpture by Isidro de Villoldo (1547, Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid). The departure of the Castilian iconography from the predecessors, as Fracchia suggests, cannot be separated from the consolidation of the system of slavery in the Spanish Empire around that period. Here, the well-circulated understanding toward Black Africans as "slaves" or mere "commodities" that do not necessitate humane treatment is observed.

In short, the roles and meanings assigned to black figures in religious themes are never monolithic. Indeed, the "anonymity" of black figures is conspicuous in many of the examples seen above. Yet the degree of realism varies depending, for example, on whether or not the artists had direct contact with Black Africans. Black executioners, black kings and queens, and black saints are often seen as the solid visual codes that convey specific messages supporting the universality of Christianity or the European supremacy. At the same time, however, we also have exciting examples that attest to the African individuality or agency in the religious life in Europe. In David Ghirlandaio's *Coronation of the Virgin, St. Jerome and St. Anthony of Padua* (c. 1494, Museum of Christian Art, Budapest), we encounter a donor of Black African origin.[58]

*Mythological and Allegorical Themes*

These themes contain fewer examples than the religious themes do, but they are no less attractive in terms of the functions and connotations that the black figures assume. It is also important to note that in many cases the black figures in mythological subjects appear as young women.[59] The first example is **(6) Andromeda** from Greek mythology. Andromeda was an Ethiopian princess who escaped from a monster with the help of Perseus, her future husband (Fig. 16). Traditionally, European artists have depicted her as white, as seen in Pietro di Cosimo's *Perseus Freeing Andromeda* (Fig. 17). According to McGrath, the description of Andromeda as black can be found in Ovid's *Heroides*, and this fact was mentioned in Francisco

[58] Kate Lowe, "Black African's Religious and Cultural Assimilation to, or Appropriation of, Catholicism in Italy, 1470-1520," *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 31, no. 2 (January 2008): 73-78.
Lowe argued that the long ignorance and denial of the identification the black man as the donor of the painting testifies to the strong prejudice toward the lives of Black Africans in Renaissance Europe. Although his identity is still unclear, it is possible that the donor originally came from the Iberian Peninsula, either from Portugal or Spain.

[59] The gender and age of the black figures are another interesting aspect of black representation studies. As we know from the examples in this thesis, most black figures in artworks are male.

Pacheco's artistic treatise, *Arte de la Pintura* (published posthumously in 1649).[60] Velázquez's erudite master Pacheco, while theoretically acknowledging her skin color to be black, accepted the artistic convention of depicting her as a white princess.[61] The whitening or whitewashing of black figures is not a phenomenon limited to mythological subjects, and here the aesthetic dimension seems to come to the fore.

Allegory or personification generally takes the form of a female nude or semi-nude. Several examples represent such a figure as black. In *The Four Rivers of Paradise* by Rubens (Fig. 18), we see the god of the river Nile accompanied by the "black beauty Africa," which is **(7) The Allegory of Africa**. Although not strictly speaking the "Four Continents" theme, Hendrick Goltizus used black women as the personification of Night as a part of the series depicting seven deities (Fig. 19). In these subject matters, as in the religious themes, the anonymity of the black figures stands out. However, the characteristic of these examples discussed in this section seems to be more black-and-white binary oriented, thereby highlighting "beauty" of European self. Despite the elegance of their depictions, the black female figures in these subjects contribute to delineating the European self with their African otherness.

*Portraits and Genre Paintings*

In the late 15th century, Black Africans appeared in **(9) Royal or aristocratic portraits**, a trend that continued until the Rococo period.[62] The pioneering work of this type is the *Portrait of Laura dei Dianti* (ca. 1523, Heinz Kisters Collection), done by Titian Vecellio

[60] Elizabeth McGrath, "The Black Andromeda," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55, no.1 (1992): 3, 4-6.
[61] Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura,* ed. Bassegoda I Hugas (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990, 2nd ed, 2001), 285-286.
[62] Atsushi Okada, [*Western Art and Racism*] *Seiyoubizyutsu to Reisizumu* (in Japanese) (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 2020), 33-34.

(Fig. 20).[63] Inspired by Titian, many other European artists included a black page next to the main subject, the white masters. One of the well-known examples is Cristóbal Morales's *Portrait of Juana de Austria Accompanied by a Black Page* (1553, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Brussels).[64] Here, too, we see a white gentleman accompanied by a black boy (Fig. 21).[65] Indeed, these black pages are presented with a certain level of dignity, and in the masters' delicate touching of their servants, we might even see their affection for their servants. However, we must remember that white pages could have also fulfilled the same role in portraits. The said portraits embody the power dynamics between the different races, from which we can observe a recurrent and colonialist structure of understanding Black Africans as "ornaments" of Europeans.[66]

**(10) Independent portraits of black individuals**, on the other hand, show somewhat different characteristics compared with the regal portraits mentioned above.[67] While the identification of the sitters is usually unclear, we have some impressive portraits of Africans with clear identification. In Renaissance Florence, we have a series of portraits depicting

[63] Okada, *Seiyoubizyutsu to Reisizumu*, 33-34.; Fracchia, '*Black but Human,'* 155.

[64] Fracchia, '*Black but Human,'* 154. In Spain, intriguingly, there have been no royal portraits with a black page, while figures of white and mixed-race dwarfs were sometimes included with the masters.

[65] We have similar examples by Anthony Van Dyck, the *Marchesa Elena Grimaldi* (1623, The National Gallery of Art, Washington DC) as well as *Henrietta of Lorraine* (1634, Kenwood House, London).

[66] Peter Erickson, "Invisibility Speaks: Servants and Portraits in Early Modern Visual Culture," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 9, no.1 (April 2009): 24. Erickson argued that black pages in these portraits are "reduced to object," as they appear in the pictorial space as the property of those who are being portrayed, namely the "object" of the subject to be portrayed.

[67] Well-known examples of this type are Jan Jansz Mostaert, *Portrait of an African Man* (c. 1525-1530, Rijksmuseum), Albrecht Dürer, *Katherina* (1531, Uffizi Galleries, Department of Printings and Drawings), Peter Paul Rubens, *Four Studies of a Head* (c. 1613-1615, Museés Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels), and Rembrandt van Rijn*, Two African Men* (1661, Mauritshuis, The Hague). Compared to the black figures in the traditional religious or mythological paintings such as the Adoration of the Magi or the Allegory of Africa, these African figures listed above are portrayed in a natural and realistic manner and thus seem to be based on actual African people living and working in European cities. In this regard, Velázquez's *Kitchen Maid with the Supper at Emmaus* could be placed in the middle of this group and the still life paintings we will see below.

Alessandro de Medici (1510-1537), who ruled the city as a member of the Medici family.[68] While the "official" portraits tend to Europeanize Alessandro's facial features to visualize his role as the ruler of the city, most notably in the work of Giorgio Vasari, some other examples represent the sitter realistically, giving him more private nature (Figs. 22-23). Another identified African man was immortalized in a portrait done by Velázquez (Fig. 24). The sitter's name is Juan de Pareja, who traveled to Rome with Velázquez as an enslaved person.[69] In Velázquez's portrait, Pareja wears an expensive white lace collar imported from Flanders and is portrayed as a Spanish gentleman.[70] These paintings show an outstanding level of dignity. However, they also contain the issue of whitewashing or, namely, the act of cultural assimilation.[71]

We can observe black servants in some of the still-life genres that emerged around the 1600s. I would call the sub-genre **(11) still-life paintings with a black page/servant**. In the seventeenth-century Netherlands, a Dutch painter, Juriaen van Streeck, produced a fascinating work, *The Still Life with a Male Figure* (Fig. 26). The black servant occupies the compositional

[68] There is some debate as to who his father was. However, it is believed that his mother was an enslaved African who worked in one of the Medici's palaces. Alessandro was the Duke of Florence when he was assassinated in 1537. Several portraits of Alessandro have survived and are mentioned in the documentary *Il Rinascimento nascosto* (2023): (1) Jacopo da Pontormo, *Alessandro de' Medici* (ca. 1534-1535, Chicago Art Institute): (2) Jacopo da Pontormo, *Portrait of Alessandro de' Medici* (ca. 1535, Philadelphia Museum of Art): (3) Giorgio Vasari, *Portrait of Alessandro de' Medici* (ca. 1534, Uffizi Galeries): (4) Bronzino and his workshop, *Portrait of Alessandro de' Medici* (ca. 1565-1569, Uffizi Galleries).

[69] On November 23, 1650, Velázquez issued a decree of liberation to Pareja in Rome, which granted his slave the manumission after another four years of servitude. From 1649 to 1651, Velázquez stayed in Rome with his slave Pareja. The portrait of Pareja was painted by Velázquez was exhibited to the public in Pantheon. It was just before the creation of the portrait of the Pope Innocent X (around 1650, Doria Pamphilj Gallery). After his manumission, Pareja became a professional court painter in Madrid.

[70] Fracchia, *'Black but Humam,'* 97, 158, 177.

[71] Many authors have compared the physiognomic traits of Pareja in Velázquez's Portrait with the Europeanized self-portrait in Pareja's *Calling of Saint Matthew* (1661, Museo del Prado). For example, see, Carmen Fracchia, "(Lack of) Visual Representation of Black Slaves in Spanish Golden Age Painting," *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 10, no.1 (January 2004): 30-31.; David Pullins, Erin Kathleen Rowe, *Juan de Pareja: Afro-Hispanic Painter in the Age of Velázquez* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2023), 124-125.; Fracchia, *'Black but Human,'* 182-184.

center, surrounded by luxurious still-life motifs such as a decorated jar, glassware, ceramic bowl, and fruits and nuts. In this genre, unlike aristocratic portraits in the previous section, white masters do not appear in the pictorial space. Still, their presence in front of the canvas is easily imagined (See for example, Fig. 27). Here again, we must critically examine the power dynamics between those in the still lifes and the commissioners or owners of the works.[72] The commodification of Africans is taking place, although their legal status is not easy to tell. African figures in the kitchen or market scenes with abundant still-life motifs often symbolize the wealth and social position of those who commissioned the work.

### 2.3 "Typical" Subjects – "Non-typical" Subjects

In the previous section, we have seen different ways Black Africans were visualized in European art. The motivations behind the insertion of black figures are more nuanced than expected. Suppose we are to see the commonalities among the works taken up in the prior section. In this case, two main points should be highlighted: (1) the normalized anonymity of black figures and (2) a certain distance from the social realities of both enslaved and freed Black Africans who visited or lived in European societies. We have to admit that artists construct works of art mainly based on aesthetic points of view, thus, not all, but some parts of artworks are merely fiction. However, they sometimes tell us something about the society in which the work was produced. Visual imagery, I would argue, is a potent means in addressing the history of minority groups, since there often is a paucity of written sources dealing with these "othered" people.



[72] "What Is a Still Life?" Getty, accessed June 1, 2024: https://www.getty.edu/news/what-is-a-still-life/
According to the Getty's article, the term still-life refers to "a work of art that shows inanimate objects from the natural or man-made world, such as fruit, flowers, dead game, and/or vessels like baskets or bowls. (…) still lifes depict things that are 'still' and don't move" (underlining mine)

As the overview suggested, there is no single, uniform motivation for the inclusion of black figures. Multiple factors influence the reasons for their inclusion in the composition and the functions expected of them. It is, therefore, essential to keep these different assumptions in mind. Otherwise, analyzing the artworks with black figures would run the risk of having fragmented and unclear argumentation in the face of an immense number of images and case studies. To avoid this risk, in the following paragraphs, I will try to divide the examples of black representation into two groups, "typical" and "non-typical (exceptional)" subjects.

Most of the works discussed in the previous section deal with subjects where the inclusion of black figures has become conventional. I would classify this type as a "typical" subject of black representation. The Adoration of the Magi, for example, belongs to this group; the iconography of black Magi spread throughout Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, although the speed and extent of its reception varied from region to region. Black pages in aristocratic portraits and still-life paintings with black servants can also belong to the first group since many European artists repeatedly included black figures in these works. Some subject matters, like St. Maurice, became popular only in certain areas. Still, if the depiction of black figures was repeated, at least in some places, it should be categorized as such. The representation of black figures in these subjects tends to be "fixed," often lacking in the social context of the place of creation. It is not a question of good or bad but of different "functions" assigned to blackness. However, it is not easy to imagine the actual life of Black Africans in Europe from the depictions of these "typical" subjects.

By contrast, another category of "non-typical" or atypical subjects includes works of art in which the depiction of Africans is not commonplace. In these "exceptional" subjects for black representation, the degree of abstraction or homogenization is much less, and African figures tend to be naturalistically portrayed without strong exoticism. The depictions are often

based on a specific context, and they are no longer imaginary figures but are depicted as an average person who existed in society. The aforementioned religious painting with a black donor mentioned earlier, the *Coronation of the Virgin, St. Jerome and St. Anthony of Padua,* would undoubtedly belong to this group, as would Velazquez's *Kitchen Maid with the Supper at Emmaus*. Focusing on this group, I propose, makes it much easier to see the reality of the African population living in European cities. The works from this category are more often found in the art of regions or cities where encounters between Black Africans and European residents were commonplace. Compared to the areas with a small number of Black Africans, for instance, Northern Germany, the artists in cities with a sizeable black population, including Lisbon, Seville, and Venice, could easily have come up with ideas on how to include African figures in the artworks. They, therefore, located black figures in a wide variety of subjects, sometimes deviating from the traditional ways of representing the "Other."

To conclude, when we look at paintings containing black figures, we need to consider these points: Who are they? Why are they represented? What is the function of the black figure in the overall composition? Were the artists able to depict actual African figures, or did they create the figure based on visual precedents or their imagination? Finally, and most importantly, does the image provide "reliable evidence of the past"?[73] As the following chapters will show, these questions can only be answered by a balanced examination of visual and written sources. All three Sevillian paintings analyzed in Chapter 4 belong to the "non-typical" subjects. Not only do they depict Black Africans with vigorous realism, but they are the visual testimonies to the ordinary life of African residents in Seville.



[73] Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 16.

## 3. Black Africans in Early Modern Spain/Seville

[Fig. 28] Anonymous painter, *View of Seville*, ca. 1660.

Black Africans constituted around 8-10% of the total population of Seville from the late 16th century to the early 17th century. Yet, the history of Africans in Seville, either in public spaces or museums, is conspicuously absent from the main narrative of the city.[74] Ángeles Lucas, in her online article in *El País* "The Cultural Legacy of Enslaved Africans in Spain is enduring" (October 2, 2016), explains how little attention has been paid to the history of Black Africans in Spain. The article also cites a comment by Isidoro Moreno (Seville University),

[74] Ángeles Lucas, "La huella cultural de los negros esclavos en España es indeleble" (02/10/2016), El País, accessed June 1, 2024, https://elpais.com/cultura/2016/09/29/actualidad/1475145150_732138.html#?rel=mas
On the historiographical silence on slavery in Spain, see also: Tamar Herzog, "How Did Early Modern Slaves in Spain Disappear? The Antecedents," *Republic of Letters* 3 (1), accessed June 1, 2024, https://shc.stanford.edu/arcade/publications/rofl/issues/volume-3-issue-1/how-did-early-modern-slaves-spain-disappear

which reads, “This is part of the silenced history. This silence is not a coincidence but a result of the intentional concealment coming from the fear of embracing the dishonor or stigma as the world’s most important center of slavery (translation mine).” Borrowing the words of Moreno, the history of Africans in Seville is *una historia callada* (silenced history).

The historiographical silencing in Seville proposed by the said article corresponds to what I sensed during my short stay in Seville. In the city’s historical places that have become tourist attractions, such as the Golden Tower, the General Archive of Indies, and the Seville Cathedral, the “glorious” past of the commercial city that once flourished as the exclusive trading port with the Americas is widely celebrated. By contrast, however, the history of the conquest and the subsequent oppression toward people of non-European origins, those who had lived in the Americas, and those who were forcibly brought from Africa to the ports, either in Europe or America, are not as visible as they should be.[75] Given the tension between the visible and invisible sides of Sevillian history, the third chapter examines the African presence in early modern Seville, thereby indicating the remarkable presence of Black Africans in the city’s life back then. It, at the same time, aims to comprehend how Africans navigated themselves in a seemingly open or “cosmopolitan” society that was, in practice, dominated by European Sevillians. The exclusive or discriminative aspect of an international commercial city is a topic gathering greater attention in recent historiography. For instance, Anastasia Stourait



[75] Here, I’d like to indicate and appreciate the contributions made by “Asociación Sevilla Negra” (Black Seville Association). Founded by Hassan Sall, a young activist from Guinea, Sevilla Negra conducts diverse outreach activities, ranging from educational workshops, guided tours in Seville and Cádiz, and to music and sports events. They are meant to offer more inclusive narrative in local history and also to forge solidarity among people with African legacy currently residing in Seville. I came to know about this association recently, thanks to the comment of Prof. Carsten L. Wilke, at the HIPS Thesis Writing Seminar on the June 21st, 2024. After the completion of this thesis, I am keen to contact them conveying my interest in their activities. For more information, see: https://sevilla-negra.com.

challenged the typical image of early modern Venice as a "cosmopolitan" or "inclusive" city in her recent article.[76]

### 3.1 The History of Seville and Its Transformation into the "Puerto y Puerta de Indias."

Seville, the capital of the Andalusian region, is the fourth largest city in Spain after Madrid, Barcelona, and Valencia. The history of the city begins in antiquity, with the name *Hisbaal,* and the Iberian people of Tartessos lived there. In the 2nd century B.C., when it was one of the colonies of the Roman Empire, the city was called *Hispalis*. In the Middle Ages, during the Visigothic period, the city hosted the royal court on several occasions. With the beginning of the centuries of Muslim rule in 711, the Roman name of the city was changed to *Ishbiliyah*. It became the first capital of the Caliphate of Cordoba (ruled by the Umayyad dynasty; 929-1031) and then the independent Tarifa of Seville (1023-1091). From this period onwards, Seville flourished as one of the most important commercial and cultural cities in Al-Andalus.

The military campaign, widely known as the "Reconquista," ended the Muslim rule in Seville in 1248.[77] Seville's economy temporarily stagnated as a significant number of Moorish and Jewish people left the city in fear of the coming persecution, but the economic development continued. The year 1492, during the reign of the Catholic Kings (Queen Isabel I

[76] Anastasia Stouraiti, "Venice – Tales of Displacement and Space Invaders" in *Twelve Cities – One Sea: Early Modern Mediterranean Port Cities and their Inhabitants,* eds. Giovanni Tarantino and Paola von Wyss-Giacosa (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2023), 209-224.

[77] While most of the buildings constructed during the time of the Muslim dynasties were converted into Catholic churches or palaces of Christian nobilitiy after the Reconquista, the Islamic legacy in Seville is very present in city's landscape today: The Royal Alcázar of Seville was originally built as a Moorish fortress; the Torre del Oro (Golden Tower), overlooking the Guadalquivir River, was built by the Almohad dynasty in the 13th century as a military watchtower; and the iconic tower of the Giralda was the minaret of the great mosque before it became the cathedral.

of Castile and King Ferdinand II of Aragon), is crucial for the entire history of Spain; the completion of the Reconquista with the fall of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada in January, the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in March, and the "discovery" of America in October. Among these, the last one marked a significant change in the history of Seville since it led to the creation of *Casa de Contratación* (The House of Trade) in 1503, which as Pike argues, "transformed a heretofore small Andalusian river port into the most famous and important city in sixteenth-century Spain."[78] From then on, Seville enjoyed its privileged status as the economic hub of the Spanish Empire until 1717, when the Casa was transferred to the neighboring city of Cádiz.

The seventeenth century cast a shadow over Seville's Golden Age. Not only did its economic power decline, but the recurrent flooding of the Guadalquivir River and the Great Plague of Seville in 1649 dramatically reduced the city's population. At the same time, however, this was the period in which Sevillian art flourished the most. Many of the essential figures in Baroque art came from Seville: Diego Velázquez (1599-1660), Francisco de Zurbarán (1598-1664) at the beginning and in the middle of the century, and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1618-1682) in the second half of the century. The most famous sculptor of the Spanish Golden Age, Juan Martínez Montañez (1568-1649), was also native to Seville. When the Bourbon dynasty came to Spain in the eighteenth century, the kings tried to revive the city's economy by promoting industry, but their influence did not last long. From an artistic point of view, Seville in the eighteenth century was long characterized by its artistic sterility.



[78] Ruth Pike, "Seville in the Sixteenth Century," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 41, no.1 (February 1961): 1.

### 3.2 The Influx of Enslaved Africans to Seville

In the early modern period, Seville was the largest slave-owning city in Spain. According to the population census conducted by church officials in 1565, approximately 6,500 out of 80,000 inhabitants were enslaved people.[79] The majority of the enslaved people in Seville were Africans of sub-Saharan origin who were part of the daily landscape of Seville.[80] If you compare this with the number of Black Africans living in France in the mid-eighteenth century,[81] it is easy to see how visible Africans could have been in early modern Seville.

Although no concrete sources document the first arrival of Black Africans in Seville, it is generally accepted that the influx of enslaved Africans into the city began at the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth century at the latest. Pike points out that the settlement of Portuguese merchants on the West African coast meant their direct involvement in the slave trade, which led to the transport of "Guinean blacks" or Black Africans from Guinea to major Spanish cities, including Barcelona, Seville, and Valencia in the second half of the century.[82] The strong demand for enslaved people in colonial America further accelerated the forced movement of enslaved Africans to Seville, making the Andalusian city the second most important center of transatlantic slavery.[83] They continued to be "shipped" to Spain and the Americas until the 19th century.[84] Even after the direct shipment of enslaved

[79] Tetsuyuki Seki, "Black Brotherhoods in an Andalusian City, Seville in Early Modern Period," *Bulletin of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies* 4 (March 2006): 87.; Ruth Pike, "Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen," *The Hispanic American historical review* 47, no. 3 (August 1967): 345.

[80] Pike, "Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen," 345.

[81] Andrew S. Curran, *The Anatomy of Blackness -Science and Slavery in an Age of Enlightenment* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 17. It is estimated that the number of Black Africans residing in France in 1750 was between 4,000 and 5,000.

[82] Aurelia Martín Casares, "Esclavitud y mentalidad: La población esclava de Granada a lo largo del siglo XVI," *Chronica nova: Revista de historia moderna de la Universidad de Granada* 25 (1998): 345.

[83] Pike, "Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen," 346.

[84] Aurelia Martín Casares, Marga G. Barranco, "The musical legacy of black Africans in Spain: A review of our sources," *Anthropological Notebooks* 15, no.2 (January 2009): 53.

people from Africa to the Americas became commonplace, the flow of enslaved Africans to Seville continued.[85]

In the sixteenth century, as Furugawa suggests, around 30% of Seville's slaves were Muslim, while in Portuguese cities, the majority of enslaved people were sub-Saharan Africans.[86] However, after the annexation of Portugal to Spain in 1580, the number of Black Africans brought from Lisbon to Seville increased, and black and mixed-race slaves made up as much as 80-90% of the city's slave population.[87] It is also known that the ethnicity of the Black Africans was diverse; they came from Senegal, Gambia, Angola, and Congo. In practice, however, they were often reduced to an imaginary and homogeneous ethnicity under the generic term "negros" (blacks).

Due to the large number of Africans who were forcibly brought to the port of Seville, owing enslaved people became a common phenomenon among Sevillians. The slave-owning was not limited to the upper classes, such as the nobility, the military, and the clergy. As Pike notes, the records of the purchase and sale of slaves confirm that middle-class Sevillians, including wealthy merchants, lawyers, public officials, artisans, artists, and shopkeepers, had slaves in their workshops or homes.[88] Juan de Pareja, the ex-slave of Diego Velázquez, is

[85] Pike, "Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen," 347.

[86] Masahiro Furugawa, "The Black Slavery in Portuguese Kingdom in 15th and 16th Centuries, No.2," *The Doshisha University economic review* 40, no.3 (February 1989): 86, 100. Muslim slaves consisted of either Moorish or morisco slaves; the former are mainly from North Africa, namely those enslaved in wars, and the latter refers to *moriscos*, who either voluntarily or forcibly converted from Islam to Christianity in Spanish territories during the Reconquista. For more information, see: Pike, "Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen," 344 (Footnote 2).

[87] Seki, "Black Brotherhoods in an Andalusian City, Seville in Early Modern Period," 87.

[88] Pike, "Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen," 350.; Isidoro Moreno Navarro, *La Antigua Hermandad de los Negros de Sevilla. Etinicidad, Poder y Sociedad en 600 años de historia* (Seville: Editorial de Universidad de Sevilla, 1997), 497-498.

thought to have come from the Andalusia region, although it is unclear when he began serving Velázquez.[89] Bartolomé Esteban Murillo also had several enslaved people.[90]

### 3.3 Living Conditions of the Black Africans in Early Modern Seville

With their growing population, Black Africans were part of the everyday landscape of early modern Seville. The question, therefore, arises: What was the everyday life of Africans in Seville like? Where did they live? What kind of work did they do? Were there any freed Africans? It is essential to answer the above questions before considering the relationship between the Black Africans and the white Sevillians.

Firstly, with regard to their living areas, as Seki indicates, many Black Africans in Seville lived in specific districts of Seville, such as San Roque, San Ildefonso, San Bernardo, Arenal, and Triana.[91] Most of the districts with a sizeable African population were located in the peripheral areas of the city, where many other poor workers lived. While domestic slaves lived with their masters, those who worked outside tended to be concentrated in the poorer districts.[92] There were some freed Black Africans, although their numbers were much smaller than those of the enslaved Africans. In Europe, Rome was considered exceptional as a city of

[89] It is known that Velázquez's father Juan Rodríguez de Silva, who was an ecclesiastic notary, had slaves at their home, and so did Velázquez's grandfather on his mother's side, engaged in the manufacturing and selling of knit fabric and socks. Velázquez's master and father-in-law, Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644), was also an enslaver. In Pacheco's case, the slave was probably an enslaved Muslim. For more information see, Luis Méndez Rodríguez, *Velázquez y la cultura sevillana* (Seville: Editorial de Universidad de Sevilla, 2005), 35, 43, 46, 112-113.

[90] Luis Méndez Rodríguez, *Esclavos en la pintura sevillana de los siglos de oro* (Sevilla: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2011),105; Luis Méndez Rodríguez, "Enslaved Artistical Labor in Seventeenth-century Spain," in *Juan de Pareja: Afro-Hispanic Painter in the Age of Velázquez* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2023), 37-38.

[91] Seki, "Black Brotherhoods in an Andalusian City, Seville in Early Modern Period," 88.

[92] Pike, "Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen," 355.

"liberation" because of its sacred character.[93] In Seville and more broadly in Spain, manumission sometimes took place, for example, when their masters passed away. In general, the living conditions of Black Africans were very humble, regardless of their legal status. Those who were freed or obtained freedom with the money they gradually collected continued to work as unskilled laborers, living in the same areas as when they were enslaved.

Black Africans in Seville were found in a wide range of urban occupations: attendants, cooks, porters, nannies, founders, leather tanners, esparto weavers, pottery makers, silversmiths, rope makers, braid makers, smiths, silk spinners, tailors, second-hand clothing merchants, shoemakers, plasterers (or tile makers), messengers, prostitutes, nuns' maids, vendors, water sellers, and workers loading and unloading ships.[94] As Pike suggests, some Sevillians were completely dependent on the income generated by their slaves.[95] Many female slaves were employed in domestic service, as depicted in Velázquez's *Kitchen Maid with the Supper at Emmaus*. There were many cases of enslaved African women becoming the lovers of their white masters. Sexual abuse and forced prostitution were not uncommon, and the white masters often sold their mixed-heritage children as profitable "commodities."[96] It is, therefore, plausible to say that Velázquez's painting could allude to the harsh reality of African women in Seville at the time.

Despite their difficult living conditions, Black Africans in Spain enjoyed a certain degree of cultural freedom. According to Martín Casares, they were allowed to perform songs

[93] Marina Caffiero, *Gli schiavi del papa: Conversioni e libertà dei musulmani a Roma in età moderna* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2022), 112. Interestingly, it was in Rome that Velazquéz granted to his slave Juan de Pareja a freedom contingent upon another four years of service in 1650. The original document written in Latin is preserved in Archivo di Stato di Rome. For the first full English translation, see: exh. cat *Juan de Pareja: Afro-Hispanic Painter in the Age of Velázquez*, 109.

[94] Méndez Rodríguez, *Esclavos en la pintura sevillana de los siglos de oro,* 63, 78-90.

[95] Pike, "Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen," 353.

[96] Méndez Rodríguez, *Esclavos en la pintura sevillana de los siglos de oro,*75-76.

and dances from sub-Saharan musical traditions at public events and celebrations, while morisco or gypsy communities were forbidden to do so.[97] With this regard, Ortiz de Zúñiga's comment in his *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble y muy leal de la ciudad de Sevilla, metrópoli de la Andalucia* (1677, Madrid) is revealing: "In Seville, Black Africans were treated with great tolerance from the reign of King Henrique III. They were allowed to gather on holidays, to perform their dances, and to hold festivities, which would increase their willingness to work… (translation mine)."[98] Of course, we should not conclude from Zúñiga's text alone that Africans lived and worked happily in Seville since it does not talk about the harsh conditions of enslaved Africans. Nevertheless, Zúñiga's allusion to the significant roles of Africans in the cultural life of Seville is important. As Luis Méndez argues, the participation of Black Africans in both secular and religious celebrations occurred throughout the territories of the Spanish Empire (in the courts of Aragon, Valencia, Lerma, Cartagena, and Seville, for example), with the most important for them being the festivities of Corpus Christi (See Figs. 30-31).[99]

[97] Martín Casares, Barranco, "The musical legacy of black Africans in Spain: A review of our sources," 51-52.

[98] Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble y muy leal de la ciudad de Sevilla, metrópoli de la Andalucia, que contienen sus más principales memorias desde el año de 1246 (...) hasta el de 1671 (...), Book XII* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1667), 374 (on the viewer, page. 396), acessed June 2, 2024, http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000134564&page=1

The original text: *Eran en Sevilla los negros tratados con gran benignidad, desde el tiempo del Rey Don Enrique Tercero, permitiéndoseles juntarse à sus bayles, y fiestas, en los días feriados, con lo cual acudían más gustosos al trabajo (...)*

This passage was cited in Moreno, *La Antigua Hermandad de los Negros de Sevilla*, 40; Méndez Rodríguez, "Bailes y fiestas de negros. Un estudio de su representación artística," *Archivo hispalense: Revista histórica, literaria y artística* 90, no. 273-275 (2007): 398.; Seki, "Black Brotherhoods in an Andalusian City, Seville in Early Modern Period," 89.

[99] Méndez Rodríguez, "Bailes y fiestas de negros. Un estudio de su representación artística," 403.

### 3.4 Relationships Between the African Population and the Sevillian Society

As discussed in the previous sections, the African population was very visible in Seville society then. They were able to exercise a certain level of freedom in the cultural life in Spain. African music and dances were accepted by the white Europeans, who sometimes received them with exoticism and eroticism.[100] However, it is also necessary to consider the changing power dynamics between the African population and the white Europeans who were dominant in the society.

As Seki suggests, the second half of the 14th century was a time of severe socio-economic crisis for the city. During this period, the number of abandoned enslaved Africans increased dramatically."[101] This prompted the then Archbishop of Seville, Gonzalo de Mena (in position from 1394-1401), to establish the first hospital for homeless Black Africans.[102] This led to the founding of the first black brotherhood in Seville, "Most Holy Christ of the Foundation and Our Lady of Angels (Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles)," later known as "Los Negritos."[103] In Seville, in addition to "Los Negritos," two other brotherhoods for black Africans were founded in the late 16th century: the "Cofradía de la Nuestra Señora de Presentación" (1572) and the "Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de Rosario" (1584).[104] These Black

[100] Martín-Casares, Barranco, "The musical legacy of black Africans in Spain: A review of our sources," 58.

[101] Seki, "Black Brotherhoods in an Andalusian City, Seville in Early Modern Period," 88; Méndez Rodríguez, *Esclavos en la pintura sevillana de los siglos de oro*. 27. Sevillians specifically faced plagues, floods, crop failures, and famines, and in 1391, the first anti-Jewish riot in Spain occurred in Seville.

[102] Seki, "Black Brotherhoods in an Andalusian City, Seville in Early Modern Period," 88.; Méndez Rodríguez, *Esclavos en la pintura sevillana de los siglos de oro,* 26.

[103] Esteban Mira Caballos, "Cofradías étnicas en la España Moderna: Una aproximación al estado de la cuestión." *Hispania Sacra*, 66, no. Extra_2 (December 2014): 65.
The hospital and confraternity, whose original name was *Nuestra Señora de los Reyes*, was founded around 1393. It came to be called *Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles*, when another multiethnic brotherhood titled *Nuestra Señora de la Piedad* was merged with the former. They passed new regulations in 1558.

[104] A brotherhood for moriscos (Cofradía del Espíritu Santo) and one for gypsies (Cofradía de San Román) were built in Seville in the seventeenth century as well (See, Mira Caballos, "Cofradías étnicas en la España Moderna," 65).

brotherhoods sought to promote mutual aid among African inhabitants through religious and cultural solidarity. Not only freed but also enslaved Africans could join the brotherhood with the permission of their owners. Not a few owners, however, were reluctant to do so. Recent studies have shown that the establishment of black brotherhoods spread throughout the Iberian Peninsula, a phenomenon long overlooked in the historiography.[105]

In the case of Seville, in the late medieval period, when the number of Black Africans living in the city was still small, the city's authorities regularly implemented protective policies for them; interestingly, the treatment differed from those for other ethnic minorities, such as conversos, moriscos, and gypsies. Africans were considered "inferior" intellectually and morally by the European population, but at the same time, they received a certain degree of tolerance.[106] However, with the consolidation of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the situation began to change. With the rapid increase in the number of enslaved Africans entering Seville, a trend that was further accelerated by the annexation of Portugal in 1580, the general sentiments toward the Africans in Seville turned negative. Various socioeconomic factors, including the epidemic of plague and famine, the defeat of the invincible Spanish Armada, and the increased taxation caused by the Dutch War of Independence, strengthened discriminatory feelings against Black Africans and their autonomous communities.[107] In the late sixteenth century, as Méndez indicated, Africans were subjected to criticism based on prejudice or

[105] The foundation of black brotherhoods, as Mira Caballos has demonstrated, was not a phenomenon confined only to Andalusian capitals, Seville or Cádiz, where a significant number of enslaved Black Africans were brought. In early modern period, brotherhoods for ethnic minorities (e.g., black brotherhoods, mulatto brotherhoods, gypsy brotherhoods) proliferated throughout the Iberian Peninsula. From the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, these institutions were constructed not only in large cities such as Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Badajoz, or Granada, but also in medium-sized cities (e.g., Santa María, Úbeda, and Baeza) or even in some of the small villages in the Extremadura region (e.g., Almendral, Jerez de los Caballeros, Barcarrota, and Segura de León) near Portugal.
For the lists of the Black confraternities, refer to Mira Caballos, "Cofradías étnicas en la España Moderna" 61-63, 65.

[106] Seki, "Black Brotherhoods in an Andalusian City, Seville in Early Modern Period," 89.

[107] Seki, "Black Brotherhoods in an Andalusian City, Seville in Early Modern Period," 92.

stereotypes, such as "a race lacking reason," "ridiculous people," and "they always cause troubles."[108]

A turning point in this deteriorating relationship, as Méndez illustrates, was the debate over the Christian salvation of African slaves in Seville at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[109] The debate over the conversion of non-Europeans is seen as the social background for the creation of Velázquez's *Kitchen Maid with the Supper at Emmaus,* as mentioned in the introduction.[110] Here, two central figures in the discussion, whose names are often mentioned in the discourse of black representation in Spanish Art, should be noted. The first figure is Pedro de Castro y Quiñones (1534-1623), the archbishop of Seville from 1610 to 1623. In Seville, Castro initiated a campaign to promote the baptism of enslaved Africans; in 1614, he published the *Instruccion para remediar, y asegurar que ninguno de los Negros... carezca del sagrado Baptismo* (Instructions for Remedying and Assuring that None of the Blacks is Lacking in Sacred Baptism). He sent a memorial to Pope Paul V in 1617, expressing his concerns about the growing number of enslaved Black people who were not adequately baptized in Europe and America.[111] As Tiffany points out, the archbishop emphasized the necessity of Africans to be taught in a simple language and with patience because "they have

[108] Méndez Rodríguez, *Esclavos en la pintura sevillana de los siglos de oro*, 178.
For example, when they marched in religious processions in the city, white residents would approach them and shout insults, often leading to skirmishes. There were also instances of black brotherhoods being excluded from important religious processions in the city, and, in 1604, a dispute over the order of the procession of Semana Santa (Holy Week) took place between the Noble Brotherhood of Seville, "La Real Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Antigua, Siete Dolores y Compasión," and the "Los Negritos." The noble white brotherhood filed a lawsuit against the black brotherhood, and in their testimonies, they repeatedly expressed stereotypical opinions about the Black African inhabitants.

[109] Méndez Rodríguez, *Esclavos en la pintura sevillana de los siglos de oro*, 190-208.

[110] Tanya J. Tiffany, "Light, Darkness, and African Salvation: Velazquez's Supper at Emmaus", *Art History* 31, no.1 (February 2008): 33-56.

[111] Tiffany, "Light, Darkness, and African Salvation," 42.

little capacity."[112] The concept of "European superiority," regarding non-Europeans as inferior, is feeding this paternalistic compassion toward the African population.

Another important figure is Alonso de Sandoval (1576-1652), a Seville-born Jesuit who dedicated his life to baptizing enslaved Africans arriving at the port of Cartagena. Sandoval migrated to the Americas at a young age with his family and wrote *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* (On the Salvation of the Blacks to Be Restored; first published in Seville in 1627), which is the first book that discussed the Africans in colonial America.[113] As Sandoval corresponded with Castro, the archbishop's instruction and the memorial are cited in his treatise. This is mentioned in Tiffany's article in detail, but, like Castro, Sandoval focused on how clergypersons could save Africans' souls through missionary acts, emphasizing the importance of conducting proper pre-baptismal education to enslaved Africans.[114] Sandoval insisted on the need to "enlighten" and save the souls of Black Africans who, in Sandoval's mind, are suffering spiritual darkness or "blindness."[115] The uniqueness of Sandoval's thoughts is that he takes a certain distance from the tradition of directly equating the black skin color with evilness. Sandoval, while quoting the sermons of Pedro de Valderrama (1550-1611),[116] argued

[112] Tiffany, "Light, Darkness, and African Salvation," 42.

[113] Paulo Genci, "African Slavery and Salvation in the *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* of Alonso de Sandoval S. J. (1577-1652)", *Patristica et Mediaevalia* 36, (2015): 76.

[114] The repetition of the baptismal sacrament was forbidden in Italy. In the case of Italy, the ethnicity of the enslaved people was much more diverse (not only Muslims or Africans, but also Orthodox Greeks, Balkan, Russians, Slavs, among others). On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the clergy of Seville believed that a second baptism could be granted if the first baptism of enslaved Africans on the slave ships was not properly done. Seville was more inclined toward the proper baptism and evangelization of non-Europeans, and this attitude may have stemmed from the city's unique status as the departure point for all the ships bound for Americas, where those involved in the missional acts embarked, as well as the strong religiosity that Spain contained throughout the early modern period. For the Italian case, see: Caffiero*, Gli schiavi del papa: Conversioni e libertà dei musulmani a Roma in età moderna*, 82.

[115] Tiffany, "Light, Darkness, and African Salvation," 43.

[116] Pedro de Valderrama was an Augustinian preacher who associated the skin color of blacks with the immorality and wickedness of Ham. He was a friend of Francisco Pacheco, and Pacheco's *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos ilustres y memorables varones de Sevilla* (Seville: 1599)*,* widely known as "Book of portraits," is

that blackness is something superficial and thus can be "removed" by Christian baptism as can be other sins.[117]

The slight distance Sandoval takes from the prevalent idea of white-black dichotomies, contrasting them as "purity and impurity," is described by Stoichita as the crucial factor in the changes in seventeenth-century Europe (especially Spain)'s understanding of Black Africans.[118] Nevertheless, I would propose that Sandoval did not see black skin as something positive either. In the minds of Castro and Sandoval existed (sub-)consciousness of racial hierarchies, locating Black Africans in a position lower than that for white Europeans. However, it is also undeniable, as Méndez Rodríguez argues, that the Sevillian discussion concerning the spiritual salvation of enslaved Africans contributed to mitigating the anti-Black sentiments among Sevillians or Spaniards in the 17th century, whose change Méndez notes is perceivable in Velázquez's or Murillo's paintings.[119]

### 3.5 Inclusion and Exclusion as the Two Sides of the Same Coin

As we have seen, Seville played a central role in the circulation of enslaved Africans both inside and outside the Iberian Peninsula. Africans gradually became a daily landscape of the city, as visualized in the *Vista de Sevilla* paintings by an anonymous Flemish painter (Fig. 28). Sky Arte's documentary on Black presence in art of Renaissance Italy (See footnote 9)

considered to be the most important source on his life. The source is available at *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica*: http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000215821&page=1 (on the viewer, page 22-23).
For their friendship, see: Tanya J. Tiffany, "Visualizing Devotion in Early Modern Seville: Velazquez's *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary,*" *Sixteenth Century Journal 36*, no.2 (June 2005): 439.

[117] Tiffany, "Light, Darkness, and African Salvation," 44.; Alonso de Sandoval, *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud* (*De instauranda Aethiopum salute*), ed. de Enriqueta Vila Vilar (Madrid: Alianza, 1987), 53.

[118] Victor Stoichita, "The Image of the Black in Spanish Art: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in IBWA vol. III, Part 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 192.

[119] *Esclavos en la pintura sevillana de los siglos de oro*, 208-219.

split several minutes to the city of Lisbon, as the center of the slave trade in Western Europe, showcasing *The King's Fountain of Chafari d'El-Rey* (1570-1580, Berardo Collection) (Fig. 32). The relevance of Seville, I propose, could be emphasized more. Its role in the global diaspora of enslaved Africans and their appearance in visual examples in local arts could indeed form another vital point of reference in the context of Spanish Art and the broader discourse on black representation in early modern art. Again, Seville was the second-largest market of the slave trade after Lisbon, and the two cities were closely connected. The documentary directed by Miguel Ángel Rosares, "Gurumbé—Canciones de tu memoria negra (Canal Sur Más, 2016)," which deals with the overlooked legacy of Black Africans in Andalusian music and culture, also emphasized the relevance of Seville as one of the most important cities with African population, along with Lisbon and Cádiz.

Another point to note before moving on to the final chapter is the complicated and changing dynamics between the majority society of Seville and African residents that formed part of social minorities there. We could never conclude that Africans enjoyed rights similar to white residents in Seville. The majority of them, in the first place, remained enslaved, although many of them had been baptized and made Christians. Enslavement of Christians was indeed prohibited. However, its actual meaning was just to illegalize the capturing of Christians, thus enslaving non-Christians and keeping them in enslavement after the conversion was practically speaking allowed.[120] Even if they were freed upon the master's death or achieved freedom by paying not a tiny amount of money, there were very few cases where a person of African origins achieved social ascendance.



[120] Raffaela Sarti, "Slaves, Servants and Other Dependent People: Early Modern Classifications and Western Europe's Self-Representation," in *Labour Laws in Preindustrial Europe: The Coercion and Regulation of Wage Labour, c. 1350-1850*, eds. Jane Whittle, Thijs Lambrecht (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2023), 114.

Nevertheless, we have also seen how Africans navigated themselves in the Sevillian society dominated by Europeans, sometimes exercising a certain level of agency. Not only their participation in the city's religious or secular events but also the existence of several black and mulatto brotherhoods in Seville is of great importance. As is closely related to the first case study in the next chapter, the lobbying activities of these brotherhoods, through their participation in the city's movement to defend the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, won the archbishop's favor for Africans living in Seville.[121]

Discrimination and prejudice have always existed, and the multiethnic situation of Seville at that time didn't necessarily mean that different ethnic groups coexisted peacefully and were in good relations at all times. The treatment of Black Africans, while it was milder compared to those of other ethnic groups, was subject to or very susceptible to the changing social, economic, and political situations of the time. At first glance, the attitude of the Seville clergy, who did not question the system of slavery while emphasizing the equality of Christians before God, may seem contradictory. However, in keeping up with the relationship between conversion and manumission of non-Christians mentioned above, it is clear that this was the essential attitude of the church toward Black Africans. Caffiero points out two practical reasons why enslaved people were willing to convert, even though conversion did not automatically mean manumission. One is from the perspective of the master and the other from the standpoint of the enslaved people: (1) masters perceived slaves who were converted as more docile or obedient, and (2) for slaves, the act of conversion implied their hope for better treatment by their masters.[122] Dealing with the visual representations of African Sevillians in local paintings would require a comprehensive understanding of this nuanced situation demonstrated in this

[121] Méndez Rodríguez, *Esclavos en la pintura sevillana de los siglos de oro*, 191-192.
[122] Caffiero*, Gli schiavi del papa: Conversioni e libertà dei musulmani a Roma in età moderna*, 121-122.

chapter; African Sevillians were almost fully encompassed in Christendom, but they remained in subordinate positions to European Sevillians.

# 4. Analysis of Sevillian Paintings

The final chapter of this thesis is dedicated to analyzing the Sevillian paintings with Black African figures. The authors of preceding studies on black representation in Spanish art, such as Stoichita and Fracchia, have argued that the number of Spanish paintings that include African figures is very small when compared with their larger visibility in visual images of other countries and also in contemporary literature.[123] Nevertheless, in light of what has been discussed in the previous chapters, I am still eager to keep the discussion in this chapter within the scope of the Sevillian paintings on the subjects in which the inclusion of African figures was not common. As we shall see, the peculiarities or commonalities of black representation in Sevillian art should derive from the city's unique status as the economic center of the Spanish empire in the early modern period. During this period, at the very early stage of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the city of Seville, along with Portugal's capital Lisbon, played a crucial role in the global dispersion or "diaspora" of enslaved Black Africans, whose presence is captured in local art of different parts of the world.

Here, I would like to mention briefly the Sevillian examples that follow the already-established code of representing the "Other" with dark-colored skin: Diego Velázquez's *Adoration of Magi* (1619, Prado Museum), which art historians have considered to be the family portrait of young Velázquez; Bartolomé Esteban Murillo's *Adoration of Magi* (ca. 1655-1600, Toledo Museum of Art), the only known example of this subject by the artist, and the



[123] Victor Stoichita, "The Image of the Black in Spanish Art: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in IBWA vol. III, Part 1, 191, Fracchia, "(Lack of) Visual Representation of Black Slaves in Spanish Golden Age Painting," 23; Carmen Fracchia, '*Black but Human': Slavery and Visual Art in Hapsburg Spain, 1480-1700,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 4-5, 200.

*Martyrdom of Saint Andrew* (1675-1682, Prado Museum) (Fig. 35-37).[124] These works indeed represented African figures without disdainful elements; at the same time, however, they lack some novelties that can indicate the connection with the Seville society around that period. Being based on the "traditional" or "typical" subjects of black representation that prevailed throughout Western Europe, the roles and functions bestowed to the African figures in those paintings (the black Magi or black executioners) are fixed: "Africa" to symbolize the universal reach of Christianity or as the embodiment of the "inferior" or "evil" other of the European self that is often associated with the virtue or purity in European thinking.

By contrast, the paintings to be discussed in this chapter embrace some remarkable elements that derive from specific contexts of Seville during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The list is as follows: (1) Juan de Roelas, *The Allegory of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception* (1616, Museo Nacional de Esculturas), (2) Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Marriage Feast at Cana* (ca. 1672, Barber Institute of Art), and finally, (3) Domingo Martínez, *Carriage* series (1748-1749, Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla). These works were created between 1600 and 1750 by renowned Sevillian artists, and their subject matters are not typical of black representation. The sixteenth century was when the system of the trans-Atlantic slave trade consolidated. However, I have not been able to spot any sixteenth-century Sevillian paintings that included Black African figures. We must, therefore, bear in mind that a certain degree of time gap exists between when some social change happens and when the changes are reflected in visual images. This is because, borrowing the words of Kaplan, "works of art do not usually provide a fully transparent picture of lived social experience."[125]



[124] The central part of the painting indicates the influence of Peter Paul Rubens's work on the same subject (1639, Carlos de Amberes Foundation). Since we do not see any Black Africans in the work of Rubens, the inclusion of a black man at the very center of Murillo's paintings (just beneath the saint being tied to the X-shaped cross) could possibly be understood as the reflection of the multiethnic environment of the 17th-century Seville. However, judging from the subject matter, in this thesis, I am excluding this work from the main scope of an analysis.

[125] Paul Kaplan, "Africa in Venice – the Past," in *African Venice: A Guide to Art, Culture and People,* eds. Paul

### 4.1 Juan de Roelas, *Allegory of the Immaculate Virgin* (1616)

[Fig. 38] Juan de Roelas, *The Allegory of the Immaculate Virgin*, 1616.

The first artwork to be discussed is now in the National Museum of Sculptures in Valladolid, Spain. It is a religious painting symbolizing the Immaculacy of the Virgin, the theme that gained popularity in Seville, especially during the seventeenth century. The author of the painting, Juan de Roelas (ca. 1570-1625), was a painter and clergyman of Flemish origins. The first record of his activity in Spain is in Valladolid in 1597, where he worked for the Marquis of Lerma. Roelas was active in Seville from about 1604 until 1616, when he began working as a royal chaplain in Madrid. He was a painter of about the same generation as Velázquez's master, Francisco Pacheco. His artistic style owes much to the Venetian art of the period, which suggests that he might have studied in Italy. Roelas was a pivotal figure of the Sevillian school at the beginning of the seventeenth century, especially in the stylistic transition from Mannerism to Baroque naturalism.

Kaplan and Shaul Bassi (Venice: wetlands, 2024), 33.

The *Allegory of the Immaculate Virgin* (Fig. 38) was painted in 1616, just before or after the artist left Seville for Madrid. It was commissioned to commemorate a religious procession held in Seville in 1615 in honor of the cult of the Immaculate Conception. After completion, the painting was presented by the artist to King Felipe III of Spain (reigned 1598-1621; also, King of Naples, Sicily, and Portugal) and entered the royal collection.[126] In the early modern period, Seville saw the strongest veneration of Mary's Immaculacy in Western Europe, and many works of art on the theme were produced throughout the century. Therefore, the inclusion of three Black African figures in this painting deserves much attention.

The iconography of this painting is very complex, and it is impossible to cover all of the elements present in the work in this thesis. The Virgin stands at the center of the composition, stepping on a small crescent moon. Around her are various saints, prophets, and fathers of the church who defended the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. In the lower part of the image is a large tree. At the bottom of it, we see the badge of the Franciscans, who initiated the defense of this doctrine. On the top of the tree is depicted the coat of arms of King Felipe III, which implies the support from the King of Spain. While the upper part of the painting represents the heavenly world, what is vital in the context of this research is the crowd of people that we see in the lower part of the painting.

As mentioned earlier, this painting represents a religious procession that took place in Seville on June 29, 1615, where more than twenty thousand Sevillians attended in honor of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, in great detail and also with a variety of symbols woven in. José Fernández notes that it is "the testimony describing a huge public festivity (translation



[126] Fracchia, '*Black but Human,'* 85. It was later moved to the Monastery of San Benito in Valladolid around the end of the 17th century.

mine)."[127] I propose that the documentary value of this painting is what makes the presence of three black figures significant. On the right side of the tree, we see two African figures, a boy and perhaps a girl, who are elegantly dressed and are portrayed naturalistically. On the left side of the tree, just behind a woman nursing a baby, we see another African man dressed in a habit, probably of the Mercedarians.[128] All three figures are integrated into the group of people, consisting predominantly of white Europeans. At the same time, however, they also "stand out" because of their conspicuously darker skin color. We do not know who these figures were precisely, as all the human figures in the lower part of the painting are anonymous Sevillians. However, it is undeniable that they form part of the "Sevilleness" in the entire composition. As Rowe has pointed out, non-European figures may have been needed in the composition to visually demonstrate the universality of the belief in the Immaculate Conception.[129] In addition to that function, the three black figures in the painting talk about the multi-ethnic environment of early seventeenth-century Seville. Here, let us focus on the inscription on the far-left side of the painting:

> In the year of the Lord of 1615 on the 29th day of June, day of the great vicar of Christ and prince of Apostles Saint Peter, Paul V governing the apostle seat and the very Catholic and powerful King Philip III governing in Spain, by his name the very illustrious **Don Pedro de Castro y Quiñones** being archbishop of Seville; the chief officer of justice of Seville being Diego Sarmiento de Sotomayor, count of Salvatierra. God our Lord inspired the hearts of all Sevillians that they repair to their great church

[127] José Fernández, *Programas iconográficos de la pintura barroca sevillana del siglo XVII* (second edition) (Seville: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2002), 127.

[128] Erin Kathleen Rowe, "Creating Black Catholics: The Artistic Tools of Conversion" in *Juan de Pareja: Afro-Hispanic Painter in the Age of Velázquez*, 45. At this moment, we do not know whether there existed African monks/members in the Mercedarian convent in Seville; however, it will be worth exploring the possibility by examining archival materials.

[129] Rowe, "Creating Black Catholics: The Artistic Tools of Conversion," 45.

where they left singing "everyone aloud, elect Queen, says that you are conceived without original sin." The friars of San Francisco and the Unshod of Santiago, those of La Merced and its Unshod, those of San Benito, those of San Basilio, those of the order of Saint John of God and the Third Order of Saint Francis, **[and] more than twenty thousand of the laity**. Knights of Santiago, of Alcántara, of Calatrava, dukes, counts, and marquises, all followed the banner of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Our Lady conceived without the stain of original sin. All the clergy and many collegians of the university of that city, **we went singing** with the greatest rejoicing and devotion. (English translation by Suzzanne Stratton; bolding mine)[130]

The entire verse on the left edge of the painting narrates the procession in 1615; here, in the first part of the text, we see the name of the city's Archbishop, Pedro de Castro, the central figure in the discussion over the baptism of city's African population. Another interesting point is the predicate in the final sentence. There, we observe the phrase "íbamos cantando," which conjugates the verb *ir* (meaning "go" in English) in the first-person plural mode. Some scholars consider it proof of the artist's participation in the procession, which is highly possible given that the artist was a clergy in Seville.[131] The hypothesis is further supported by an enigmatic insertion of an Eye and an Ear on the shoulder (or the pink-colored robe) of the angel blowing a trumpet on the left. It could refer to a specific section of *Acts* (22:15): "You will be a witness for Him to all men of what you have seen and heard." The entire composition is full of symbolism but based on the specific social context of Seville at the beginning of the seventeenth century.



[130] The transcription of the Spanish texts in the inscription is available at: https://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main?idt=663&inventary=CE0930&table=FMUS&museum=MNEVn

[131] *Velázquez en Sevilla* (Seville: Junta de Andalucía, 1999), 96.

I argue that the appearance of Castro's name in the painting is crucial for understanding the relationship between Black Africans in Seville and the main subject of the painting, Immaculate Conception. Castro was mentioned earlier in this thesis as the central figure in the discussion over the Christian salvation of enslaved Africans in the city. As the painting suggests, the archbishop played a central role in the Immaculist movement as well, and here, the two crucial issues of Seville overlap with each other, having Castro as the intersection. As explained in Chapter 3, three black brotherhoods were active in Seville in the seventeenth century. Since the end of the sixteenth century, the city's black brotherhoods, especially the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Angels, known as "Los Negritos," were facing multiple problems, for instance, being excluded from important religious processions in the city or having legal disputes with a noble confraternity of the municipality.[132] To win the archbishop's favor, they were enthusiastically engaged in this religious movement, which as Moreno argues, led to Castro's publication of the *Instruction* in 1614.[133] Here, we see continuities between the struggle of black brotherhoods to gain the favor of those in power and the Immaculist fervor that prevailed in all social classes of Sevillians.

[Fig. 39] Attributed to Juan de Roelas, *The Allegory of the Immaculate Virgin*, ca. 1616-1618.

Given that there are no other cases, except for this work and a more concise version

[132] See footnote 108.

[133] Luis Méndez Rodríguez, *Esclavos en la pintura sevillana de los siglos de oro* (Sevilla: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2011), 14, 187, 191-192.; Isidoro Moreno Navarro, *La Antigua Hermandad de los Negros de Sevilla. Etinicidad, Poder y Sociedad en 600 años de historia* (Seville: Editorial de Universidad de Sevilla, 1997), 90-92.

of the same theme by the same artist, where black figures were included in the Immaculate Conception paintings, both in and outside Seville, the insertion of some political message peculiar to Seville should not be overlooked. In the simpler version produced between 1616 and 1618, we also see a young African boy wearing a black garment with a white collar in the lower right corner of the work (Fig. 39). He is kneeling with other white European figures around a deep hole inhabited by white lilies, the symbol of Marian purity. In the group of seven figures, a white man on the left is holding a verse written by the Spanish poet Miguel Cid in 1614, to which Bernardo de Toro added music: "Let everyone sing aloud, chosen Queen, you are conceived without original sin. (translation mine)" It is the same song elevating the Virgin's immaculacy as the one quoted in the inscription of the 1616 version. In the second version, the group of choirs are singing a song to honor the Immaculate Conception. Thus, the inclusion of African figures could be interpreted as the invention of the Sevillian painter-clergyman. The African boy in the second version is dressed in a white collar, the outfit similar to that of Balthasar in Velázquez's *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 35), whose resemblance, as Rowe notes, is "further drawing attention to his Blackness."[134]

When compared to the "typical" *Inmaculada* paintings of the period, such as the works of Pacheco (Fig. 40), Velázquez, and Zurbarán, and also the *Immaculate Conception with Fernando de Mata* by Roelas himself (Fig. 41), the uniqueness of the two Valladolid versions stands out. While the depiction of the Virgin Mary follows Pacheco's codification of the iconography in many respects, such as the moon in its last quarter (i.e., concave moon),[135] the introduction of the African figures to the composition endows the Valladolid versions with uniqueness. Both illustrate how Seville's African population was involved in the city's public

[134] Rowe, "Creating Black Catholics: The Artistic Tools of Conversion," 46.
[135] Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura,* ed. Bassegoda I Hugas (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990, 2nd ed, 2001), 575-577.

events or religious processions, from which the relationship between Africans and the European population could be observed.

### 4.2 Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Marriage Feast at Cana* (ca. 1672)

[Fig. 42]
Bartolomé Esteban Murillo,
*Marriage Feast at Cana*,
1672.

The *Marriage Feast at Cana* (Fig. 42) is a religious work by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617-1682), a painter who played the central role in the Seville school in the second half of the 17th century. His style continued influencing local painters even after the 18th century, and his followers were called *murilescos*. "Marriage Feast at Cana" is a biblical story where Christ performed his first miracle at a wedding in Cana of Galilee (The Gospel of John, 2:1-11); Christ, who was one of the persons invited to the wedding, miraculously converted normal water into wine when it was running out. One of Murillo's prominent secular patrons, Nicolas Omazur, a wealthy silk merchant from Antwerp, commissioned the painting.[136] The work is widely considered to have been created to celebrate the Flemish merchant's marriage with Elizabeth Maelcamp in 1672, and many authors have considered the newlyweds at the

[136] *Juan de Pareja: Afro-Hispanic Painter in the Age of Velázquez*, 84.
The work is listed in the 1690 inventory of Nicolás Omazur (no. 26) (the inventory unchecked by the author).

center as the couple's portrait.[137] On the bottom left of the work, we see Chinese silk embroidery, which could visually describe the occupation of the probable commissioner. However, in this thesis, the central focus is not placed upon these central figures nor luxurious still-life motifs, but rather, on one of the figures on the right side of the composition: an African servant.

Among the people present at the wedding, we see a dark-skinned boy, which, I would argue, endows the painting with an iconographical peculiarity. The boy is dressed in red and stands in the foreground of the painting, on the same side of the table as Christ. Not the African boy but the gaze of one of the servants taking care of the water jugs and that of Christ meet, indicating something vital to the story is about to take place. According to the biblical text, when the wine ran out in the middle of the wedding, Christ ordered the servants to fill the jugs with water and bring them to the head waiter. When the person tasted it, the water had become wine. The Bible also notes that there were six water stone pots that Jewish people used for purification, but in Murillo's work, we confirm seven water jugs. A white man on the far left is pouring water into one of the jugs on the floor. Namely, the painting captures the moment just before the miracle takes place. In this circumstance, the black page appears. He is holding one of those water jugs, and in the last decade, this combination has prompted some authors to see in it an allusion to baptism, one of the most debated topics in Seville at that time.

Given the possible symbolism of an African boy in the composition, the first thing to consider is the boy's role in the story. Judging from the location where he is standing and his garment, he is one of the many servants working for the wedding or, more precisely, the couple's household. He is undoubtedly represented as a page or a servant. However, it is

[137] *Juan de Pareja: Afro-Hispanic Painter in the Age of Velázquez*, 84.

difficult to determine if he is enslaved or freed.[138] The depiction of the black page follows the artistic convention in European paintings of representing a person of African origins (usually a boy or a young man) as a page/servant (see Figs. 20-21, 26-27). Nevertheless, we need to further explore the social context behind Murillo's unconventional inclusion of a black figure in the story of Christ's first miracle. As David Pullins pointed out, there were very few examples of this theme in Spanish painting in the first place. Valdés Leal, a contemporary of Murillo, exceptionally produced several paintings on this subject. However, neither in Leal's works nor in an engraving by Jacob Matham of the painting by Francesco Salviati, to which both Murillo and Leal could have referred, are figures of African descent present (Figs. 44-45).[139] Where, then, did Murillo get the inspiration for this inclusion of the black page in the scene of the wedding scene?

Although admittedly rare, it is essential to emphasize that Murillo was not the only artist who introduced African figures to this subject. Another interesting, bit earlier example of the same subject was made in sixteenth-century Venice: Paolo Veronese's *Marriage Feast at Cana* (Fig. 43). Paolo Veronese (1528-1588) was a Venetian painter of the Late Renaissance period, and the large painting was commissioned to decorate a refectory of the San Giorgio Monastery in one of the small islands near the mainland of Venice. It is among many of his banquet paintings where the Venetian artist successfully located a biblical episode in the contemporary sumptuous settings. As Hanson indicates, Venetians in the sixteenth century used banquets and weddings to show their political or social power.[140] Black African figures in

[138] About the difficulties to tell the legal status of a black figure in paintings (enslaved or freed) see: Kate Lowe, Kate Lowe, "Black African's Religious and Cultural Assimilation to, or Appropriation of, Catholicism in Italy, 1470-1520," *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 31, no. 2 (January 2008): 42.

[139] *Juan de Pareja: Afro-Hispanic Painter in the Age of Velázquez*, 84.

[140] Kate H. Hanson, "Language of the Banquet: Reconsidering Paolo Veronese's Wedding at Cana," *InVisible Culture* 14 (January 2010): 41.

Veronese's painting can be read as the embodiment of the overseas power of the Venetian Republic, giving a sense of exoticism to the composition.

In Veronese's *Marriage Feast at Cana*, we see six figures with dark skin color. There, some are depicted as attendants, others as guests. The Venetian artist is known to have included in his works those who were considered "different" from the majority of people, such as African figures or dwarfs, in his works to secularize holy moments of the bible.[141] It is not certain whether or not there is a direct continuity between Veronese's work and Murillo's. However, in both paintings, we observe a black page accompanied by a white man holding a water jug, a similarity that art historians have yet to discuss. Looking closely at these two paintings created in international port cities, Venice and Seville, especially the area around the black page, we realize how similar the compositions of these parts are.[142]

Left: detail of Veronese's *Marriage Feast at Cana.* See [Fig. 43]

Right: detail of Murillo's *Marriage Feast at Cana.* See [Fig. 42]

[141] The *Feast in the House of Levi* (1573, Galleria dell'Academia), commissioned for the refectory of the Dominican convent of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, is another famous painting where Veronese included African figures in the biblical banquet scene. Originally, the work was intended to replace the Last Supper by Titian, destroyed in a fire in 1571, thus was commissioned as the "Last Supper." However, after the completion of the painting, the artist received criticism from the Venetian Inquisition (he was summoned to the Inquisition). The complaints from the Inquisition were on the overtly secular atmosphere of the painting, and in the end, the artist had to change the title to the "House of Levi." Although it was not mentioned in the caption of the painting, we can observe eight black figures (seven are depicted as pages, and the black man dressed in red is portrayed as a guest) in the composition, which could surely have contributed to adding the secular atmosphere to the work, which was deemed "inappropriate" and thus fueled the Venetian Inquisition's dissatisfaction with the work.

[142] Since Seville was a port city to which works of art from Italy arrived, there is further room for exploring the black presence in artworks of this subject.

At the same time, however, there is a small but essential difference between the two: the type of the liquid. In Veronese's *Marriage Feast at Cana*, the water is already turned into wine. On the left corner of Veronese's work, the African boy passes a glass of wine to the bride. By contrast, in Murillo's painting, we see water before being "transformed" into wine. This difference (water vs wine) might seem too trivial, faced with numerous still-life motifs and human figures in the composition. However, judging from the significance of the transformation in this biblical story, Murillo's choice of depicting seemingly ordinary water instead of "miraculous wine" or blood of Christ near a black page seems to have roots in the social contexts of Seville in the seventeenth century.

In recent years, the interpretations of Murillo's *Marriage Feast at Cana* have understood the combination of an African servant and the motif of "pouring water" as an allusion to the baptism of enslaved Africans or non-Christians.[143] Christ's first miracle of transforming water into wine is thus compared to the "transformation," by means of water, of pagans into Christians.[144] As noted in the introduction that discussed Velázquez's *Kitchen Maid with the Supper at Emmaus,* the issue of the baptism and conversion of enslaved Black people was actively discussed among Sevillians at the beginning of the century. Murillo's unique combination of a black page, water jag, and "water" is likely to come from this contested issue of baptism, especially of Black Africans, in early modern Seville.

In one of his genre paintings that portrayed street children in Seville, *Three Boys* (Fig. 46), we also see an African boy carrying a water jug on his shoulder. While it is again unclear



[143] Helen Cobby, Rebecca Randle, "In Depth: A Boy in Seville: The Representation of Black Identities in a 17th-century Spanish Paintings," *Midland Art Papers* 4 (August 2021): 6-8.

[144] For the symbolism of water in Spanish painting, see: Tae Morohoshi, "Velázquez's *The Waterseller of Seville*: the issue of conversos in the early seventeenth-century Seville and the interpretation of the work," *Art History* 58, no.1 (October 2008): 55-68.

if he was enslaved or freed, we can clearly see from the depiction that he is working as a water seller, the job typical of Seville or Andalusia (until recently, the work was known as a "Black Beggar" but from the fact that he is the only figure wearing shoes in this painting, it is clear that he is not begging.) In the decision of the famous painter native to Seville to include an African figure in a painting on the subject of the wedding at Cana, we might see the continuity from the works by Velázquez and Roelas. Both the African woman in *The Kitchen Maid with the Supper at Emmaus* and the African boy in Murillo's *Marriage Feast at Cana* are the witnesses to the miracle performed by Christ, the scene charged with symbolism alluding to the conversion of non-Christians. While using the already-established visual code of "black servant," Murillo's African figure can still be linked to the social realities of Black Africans in Seville at the time. By placing an African boy nearby, the Sevillian artist transformed the ordinary water into "baptismal water."

### 4.3 Domingo Martínez, *Carriage* Series (1747-1748)

As a final case study, we examine an example of black representation in eighteenth-century Seville. The *Carriage* series by Domingo Martínez refers to eight large paintings commemorating a festivity held in Seville between 1746 and 1747 (Figs. 47-54).[145] It was commissioned by the Royal Tobacco Factory of Seville or by the then director, José Antonio

[145] The series includes (1) *Carro del Pregón*; (2) *Carro de la Común Alegría*; (3) *Carro del Fuego*; (4) *Carro del Agua*; (5) *Carro del Aire*; (6) *Carro de la Tierra*; (7) *Carro del Parnaso* (Homenaje al Apolo y las Tres Nobles Artes y las Monarcas)*;* and (8) *Carro del Victor y Parnaso* (Entrega de los Retratos). It starts with a painting depicts a parade that took place on November 30th in 1746, where the employees and workers of the Tobacco Factory announced the Masquerade to be held in the coming year.[145] Works on no. 2 - 7 depict allegorical and triumphal carriages that paraded in the city in 1747. The series ends with *Carro del Victor y Parnaso* that depicts the delivery of the portraits of the new Kings Ferdinando VI and Bárbara de Braganza, the day after the masquerade took place, specifically on June 29th, 1747. In the first and the last works, Antonio Losada appears and takes part in the ongoing event. I organized the order of the paintings, according to the explanation in Pineda's article (1944) and info on the website. See: C. Sánchez Pineda, "Cuadros de la máscara de la Real Fábrica de Tabacos de Sevilla," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Sevilla* 68 (January 1944): 3-21.

Losada (in position from 1744 to 1764), to commemorate the masquerade held for celebrating the enthronement of King Ferdinand VI and Barbara de Braganza, in which many workers of the tobacco factory participated. Losada commissioned the paintings at his expense, along with a book by Ramón Cansino titled *Nuevo Mapa. Descripción iconológica del mundo abreviado. Real Máscara de simbólicos triumphos en festiva ostentación del más plausible culto (...)* (1751, Seville). The two sources, one visual and the other textual, nowadays constitute essential materials for discussing the history of the factory and the tobacco industry in the Spanish Empire in the early modern period.[146]

The series was created by Domingo Martínez (1688-1749), one of the few outstanding figures in the Seville school of the eighteenth century.[147] Interestingly, in the series pertaining to the final phase of his artistic career, Martínez repeatedly included black figures, or more strictly speaking, figures with dark skin.[148] Considering the drastic decline in the African population in Seville from the late seventeenth century,[149] we must carefully explore the reasons and motivations behind the constant inclusion of black figures throughout the series. Here, the fundamental questions made in Chapter 2 must be remembered: Who are the black figures? For what purpose did the painter include these black figures? By examining how Africans are located in the secular procession of Seville, in reference to the social and political factors surrounding the creation of these paintings, the final section attempts to understand



[146] Santiago de Luxán Melénendez, María de los Reyes Hernández Socorro, "La fábrica de tabacos de Sevilla durante la gestión de José Antonio Losada (1744-1764): fiesta y corrupción," *Scripta artium in honorem prof. José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos / coord. por Alejandro Cañestro Donoso* 2 (2018): 981-984.

[147] In art historiography, the eighteenth century has long been marked as a period of artistic sterility in Seville school. Although the economic decline had started to affect the art market of Seville already from the mid/late seventeenth century, the death of the pivotal figure Murillo in 1682 was decisive in the stagnation of the Seville school (no innovations nor big names).

[148] I have spotted black figures in five of the eight canvases: *Carriage of Proclamation (Pregón)*, *Carriage of Air*, *Carriage of Fire*, *Carriage of Common Joy*, and *Carriage of Victory and Parnassus*.

[149] By the 18th century, two of the black confraternities except "Los Negritos" had vanished.

better the meaning and function of blackness in Sevillian art.

Before analyzing the functions and possible meanings of black figures in the *Carriage* series, it is necessary to understand how the turn of the centuries affected the artistic production in Seville. The eighteenth century marked a fundamental change in the history of Spain. The first and foremost event was change of the dynasty; with the demise of Carlos II in 1700, the Hapsburg dynasty in Spain was discontinued, and Philip V from France, a grandson of Louis XIV, succeeded the throne, initiating the Bourbon dynasty. With this dynastic shift and with the gradual introduction of Enlightenment thought from France, the rigorous religious sentiment that had dominated Spain in all aspects in the previous centuries began to diminish. According to Valdivieso, these fluctuating political situations are essential, especially when considering the artistic renovations achieved by Domingo Martínez, who, while standing in line with other *murilescos,* introduced the new artistic style of Rococo.[150] The *Carriage* series, the last largest commission of the artist, can be characterized by its secularized elements and the fluid and elegant style he learned from French painters.[151] To add my point of view here, the transition from a "religious procession" in Roelas's *Inmacuadas* to a "secular procession" in Martínez's series, as a place for the Sevillians of all ranks to get together, should be another product of the said shifts indicated by Valdivieso.



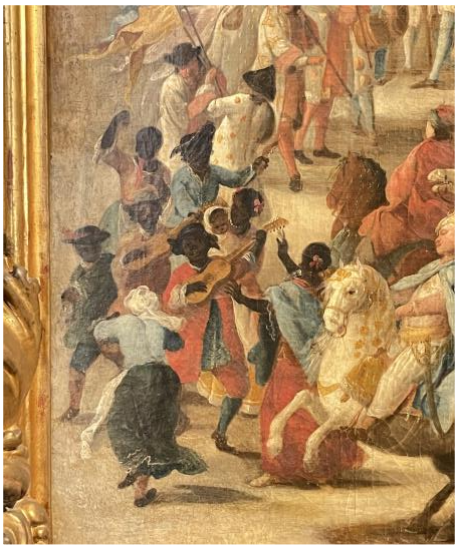
[150] Enrique Valdivieso, "Aires de renovación en la pintura sevillana del siglo XVIII: el caso de Domingo Martínez", en VV. AA., *Congreso Internacional de Pintura Española del siglo XVIII* (April 1998): 157-158. Martínez received strong influence from the foreign (mainly French) painters during the period the court was in Seville (1729-1733).

[151] Valdivieso, "Aires de renovación en la pintura sevillana del siglo XVIII," 163.

Left: the detail of *Carro del Pregón.* See [Fig. 47].

Right: the detail of *Carro de la Común Alegría.* See [Fig. 48].

As seen above, comprehending the multifaceted functions given to the black figures in Martínez's works requires a careful examination of the ideology behind not only the series but also the masquerade as a whole. Now, coming back to the details of the paintings, in the first work of the series, (1) *Carro del Pregón*, we have two trumpeters on the horse with dark skin on the left side of the composition. It is difficult to explain why their skin color is slightly different (one dark brown and the other lighter brown; perhaps an aesthetic decision of the painter), but we can at least describe them as "black figures," probably of Black African origins. They are wearing elegant costumes like those of other trumpeters of lighter skin color. In (2) *Carro de la Común Alegría*, another group of black trumpeters riding a horse is observed on the left back of the canvas.



The detail of *Carro del Aire,* See [Fig. 51]

The detail of *Carro del Victor y Parnaso* See [Fig. 54]

The detail of *Carro del Fuego.* See [Fig. 49]

All the photos in pp. 63-64 were taken by the author.

In the final one of the series (8) *Carro del Victor y Parnaso*, we again see two Black African figures running the horse and holding the trumpets. In the (3) *Carro del Fuego*, we see a group of people of dark skin color participating in the parade; some riding on the horse, others walking on foot. In this case, whether they are Africans or Indios is not certain.[152] Finally, in the (5) *Carro del Aire*, the one most often mentioned in the existing literature,[153] we observe a group of Black Africans singing and dancing freely on the left edge of the composition. This time, the age and gender of the African participants are diverse. Not only men and women but also infants in padded coverlets are present. They might have been the workers of the Tobacco Factory. Their portrayal is more realistic and vivid when compared with the black male trumpeters in no. 1, 2, and 8, which could be partly explained by the fact that the "carriage of Air" that appears in the fifth painting was meant to represent Africa as part of the World (Fig. 51). What would this repetitive insertion of black figures mean in the

[152] According to the information on the Red Digital de Colecciones de España, each of the Four Element carriages represented four parts of the world respectively; *Carro del Fuego* (fire) represents Asia, *Carro del Agua* (water) does America, *Carro del Aire* (air) is for Africa, and *Carro de la Tierra* (earth) embodies Europe. However, as far as I could see, the figures placed around each carriage do not necessarily correspond to the depiction of people that inhabited in each continent. In *Carro del Fuego*, we see a group of people wearing turbans (seemingly Muslims or people from the Ottoman Empire?); hence these "exotic" figures might be embodying Asia, a place in the "Orient" in a rough sense. However, the overall depiction is lacking in accuracy.

[153] Luis Méndez Rodríguez, "Bailes y fiestas de negros. Un estudio de su representación artística," *Archivo Hispalense*, *Revista histórica, literaria y artística* 90, no. 273-275 (2007): 410.; Aurelia Martín Casares, Marga G. Barranco, "The musical legacy of black Africans in Spain: A review of our sources," *Anthropological Notebooks* 15, no.2 (January 2009): 56.; Fracchia, *'Black but Human,'* 77-78.

entire iconographical scheme of the *Carriage* series?

On the one hand, they undoubtedly embody the typical role of Black Africans in festivities or processions in Sevillian society, the tradition continuing from the anterior centuries. Indeed, it is not limited to the cases in Seville or Spain because artworks in various parts of Europe (Portugal, Italy, and England) represent black musicians or trumpeters (See Fig. 17).[154] However, as was noted in Chapter 3, the celebration of sub-Saharan music and dances by Black Africans residing in Spain, especially in Seville, had already become a daily landscape of the city. Méndez Rodríguez's observation makes this assertion more solid: "In public and private celebrations, Black Africans were not only 'pieces of adornment,' but actively intervened in the festivals, acting as main protagonists of the show. (translation mine)"[155] The African population started to decrease in number in the mid-seventeenth century. However, even after entering the eighteenth century, local paintings continued to depict Black Africans as musicians or participants of the civic festivities. In the series of drawings that represented the Procession of Corpus Christi in Seville in 1747, we can see two African figures accompanying the religious procession in one part and three African men belonging to "Los Negritos" on the other part (Figs. 30-31). Furthermore, in the Monastery of the Encarnación in Osuna, there is ceramic tilework by an anonymous artist, *Alameda de Hércules*, where we see two black musicians playing the trumpet along with other European musicians (Fig. 29). It would not be a stretch to say that they are forming part of the civic life in Seville or "Sevilleness," as in the *Vista de Sevilla* painting (Fig. 28).

On the other hand, the black figures in Martínez's series could also symbolize the broad reach of the Spanish Empire, which resonates with the political message behind the

[154] Jean Devisse and Michel Mollat (Translated by William Granger Ryan), "The African Transported," in IBWA, vol. II pt.2, 215-221.

[155] Méndez Rodríguez, "Bailes y fiestas de negros," 401.

organization of the festivity. According to Luxán Melénendez and Hernández Socorro, the festival of 1746-47 was more than just a celebration of the coronation of the new kings, given the fact that the masquerade was organized at a time when the construction of the new building of the factory was almost paralyzed.[156] In other words, the civic festivity organized by the Royal Tobacco Factory in Seville was intended to win the favor of the Spanish monarch. To this end, the vast reach of imperial power was celebrated in a masquerade that Ramón Cansino described as "el mundo abreviado" (the abbreviated World). In many of the paintings in the series, we see various people of non-European origin, not only Black Africans but also Americans and Muslims. However, the degree of clarity in the depictions varies considerably, perhaps depending on the artist's familiarity with each ethnic group. The core message here is that people of different ethnicities are under the rule of the Spanish Bourbon monarch.[157] The continuation of this "Spanish Empire," beginning with the reign of the Hapsburgs, is represented in the form of grandiose, allegorical, and triumphal carriages. The masquerade is a political message charged with the expansionist ambitions of the new dynasty.

Recalling that the black figures in the *Immaculate Conception* made by Juan de Roelas in the prior century assumed the role of symbolizing the universality of the Christian faith, the black figures (most of them are trumpeters) in Martínez's series now embody the global reach of the Spanish Empire. We can observe in these paintings the multiple functions that black figures play in Sevillian painting. They are included in the compositions not only to contribute to the ideologies that lie behind each work but also to claim their place in



[156] Luxán Melénendez, Hernández Socorro, "La fábrica de tabacos de Sevilla durante la gestión de José Antonio Losada (1744-1764): fiesta y corrupción," 975.

[157] Luxán Melénendez, Hernández Socorro, "La fábrica de tabacos de Sevilla durante la gestión de José Antonio Losada (1744-1764): fiesta y corrupción," 972.

Sevillian society. In sum, the associations between black figures in Sevillian paintings and the social, cultural, or political contexts of the city are what we might have missed out on if we had treated and analyzed these paintings simply as “Spanish” paintings. In order to reveal the black presence and the daily lives of African inhabitants, it is important to use micro-locations as an analytical lens in addition to the generalized discussion of black representation in Spanish art.

# Conclusion

In this thesis, I have analyzed the representation of Black Africans in Sevillian paintings from the early modern period by comparing them with diverse examples in European art. Since the main interest of this study lies in understanding how the civic of the African population in Seville was visualized in paintings of the time, this thesis examined various written texts as well as paintings. The outcome of the pictorial analysis in the final chapter can be summarized in two key aspects.

The first aspect concerns the complex nature of black representation in the visual arts. As demonstrated, black figures in Sevillian paintings possess multilayered functions and meanings. On one level, these works were based on specific religious or political ideologies of their (possible) commissioners, and black figures often symbolize the worldwide reach of Christianity or the Spanish crown, either directly or indirectly connected to the notion of "European supremacy." On another level, however, these figures highlight that African Sevillians were not merely passive actors in the city's politics but exercised a certain degree of agency in Seville's religious and cultural life, regardless of the artist's awareness of these overlapping functions. In this regard, Roelas's inclusion of several black figures in his *Inmaculadas* is significant. I propose that the unique insertion of African figures in the iconography of the Immaculate Conception may allude to the lobbying efforts by the city's black brotherhoods to the Seville archbishop back then. Similarly, a black page in Murillo's *Marriage Feast at Cana* could be seen as an active participant in the baptism of non-Europeans in Seville with his position close to the water jag. In Martínez's *Carro del Aire*, the vivid depiction of black musicians and dancers reflects Africans' cultural freedom and agency in

early modern Seville. These paintings lively capture Black Africans' agency or self-expression in the civic life of Seville.

The second aspect to note is the entanglement of three Sevillian cases. Black African figures in Roelas's two versions of the *Allegory of the Immaculate Conception* and Murillo's *Marriage Feast at Cana* suggest that Christian belief transcended racial boundaries. Despite being separated by a century and theme, Roelas's *Inmaculadas* and Martínez's series also bear strong continuity, showcasing Africans' participation in the public festivities of the city. Roelas's work captures a religious procession of 1615 attended by over 20,000 Sevillians, while Martínez's series commemorates a masquerade organized by the Royal Tobacco Factory of Seville in 1746-1747. The decision by these Sevillian artists to include black figures in paintings of diverse subject matter suggests the significant presence of Black Africans in Seville. For these artists and other Sevillians, Black Africans were an integral part of the city's landscape, Seville being a central hub of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. This vibrant "social context" explains why Sevillian artists included African figures in paintings of "non-typical" subjects. While examples of black representation exist in other parts of Spain, I have not encountered, in artworks created outside Seville, such as in Castile, any localized elements that can rival the distinctiveness of Sevillian paintings. Thus, black figures constituted an essential element of "Sevilleness" in the early modern period. Several anonymous paintings with black figures mentioned in this thesis also support this assertion.

Through analyzing Sevillian paintings featuring African figures, this study underscores the significance of Sevillian cases in the discourse of black representation in European art, thereby suggesting the necessity to move beyond a "national history" approach to blackness in artworks. Albeit in diverse ways and with various emphases on particular aspects, they all depicted, with a certain level of realism, the civic life of Black Africans in

early modern Seville. As illustrated throughout the thesis, these paintings cannot be separated from the local context of the port city, which, I contend, has greater resonance with artworks produced in port cities both inside and outside Europe (Figs. 32-33). The city of Seville, the economic hub of the Spanish Empire, will serve as a knotting point in further considering the global presence of Black African figures in Early Modern art, tracing the early stage of the European colonialist expansion.

Finally, in this research, I used traditional Art History methodologies to approach visual examples with black figures (mainly stylistic, iconographic, and social history approaches). At the same time, I analyzed them in an interdisciplinary manner, considering race, religion, and the movement of people, products, and ideas. Public history perspectives have been especially crucial in tracing the overlooked presence in the visual arts, bringing visibility to those long made invisible in historiography and today's museum settings or public spaces. The transmission of prejudice or discriminatory sentiments often occurs through visual images, and we are very susceptible to the images surrounding us. Labeling the "Other" occurs not only in pictorial space but in our everyday settings. This study would provide an interesting entry point into considering prejudice or stereotypes we are either subconsciously or consciously following and internalizing.

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# Iconographic appendix

Images are solely used for the purposes of researching, writing and examining the thesis.

[Fig. 1] Diego Velázquez, *Kitchen Maid with the Supper at Emmaus,* ca. 1617-1618, oil on canvas, 55 × 118 cm, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

[Fig. 2] Diego Velázquez, *Kitchen Scene,* ca. 1618-1622, oil on canvas, 55.9 × 104.2 cm, Art Institute, Chicago.

[Fig. 3] Giotto di Bondone*, Flagellation,* ca. 1304-1306, fresco, 200× 185 cm, Scrovegni Chapel, Padua.

[Fig. 4] Paolo Veronese*, Martyrdom of Saint Justina,* ca. 1573, oil on canvas, 113×103 cm, Uffizi Galleries, Florence.

[Fig. 5] Unknown artist, *The Adoration of the Magi*, from a benedictional (text in Latin), Regensburg, Germany, ca. 1030-40, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

[Fig. 6] Nicola Giovanni Pisaro, *The Adoration of the Magi,* ca. 1268, marble, Siena Cathedral.

[Fig. 7] Domenico Ghirlandaio, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1487, tempera on panel,171.5 cm (diameter), Uffizi Galleries, Florence.

[Fig. 8] Albrecht Dürer, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1504, oil on wood, 99 × 113.5 cm, Uffizi Galleries, Florence.

[Fig. 9] Juan Bautista Maíno, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1612-1614, oil on canvas, 315 × 174.5 cm, Prado Museum, Madrid.

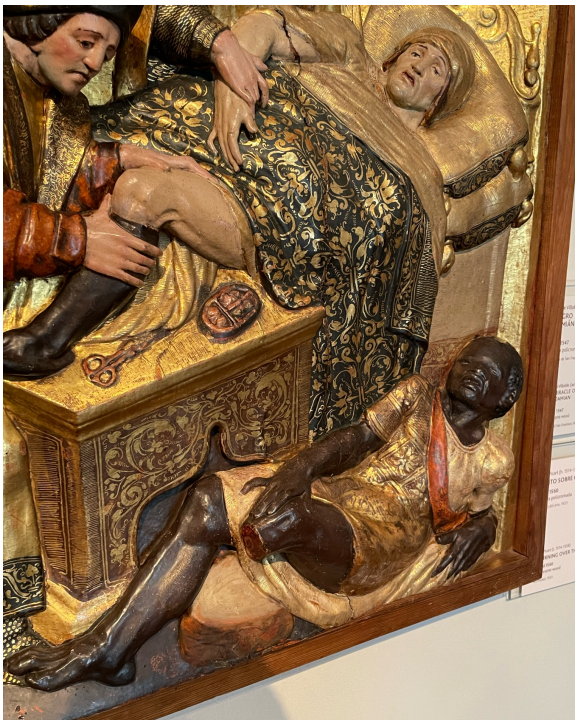
[Fig. 10] Unknown artist, *Bellifortis Queen of Sheba*, ca. 1405, Staats und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, 2 Cod. Ms. Philos. 63, Cim., fol. 122r of *Bellifortis* by Conrad Kyeser.

[Fig. 11] Unknown artist, *St. Maurice*, ca. 1240-1250, Magdeburg Cathedral.

[Fig. 12] Attributed to José Montes de Oca, *Saint Benedict of Palermo*, ca. 1734, polychrome and guilt wooden glass, 124.5 × 87.9 × 41.9 × 54.4 cm, Minneapolis Institute of Art.

[Fig. 13] Anonymous, *Saint Benedict of Palermo*, early 18th century, wooden polychrome, 158 × 85 × 53 cm, Museo Nacional de Esculturas, Valladolid.

[Fig. 14] Fra Angelico, *Miracle of the Black Leg* (San Marco Altarpiece), before 1443, tempera on panel, 37 × 45 cm, Museo di San Marco, Florence.



[Fig. 15] Isidro Villoldo, *Miracle of Saint Cosmas and Saint Damian* (Miracle of the Black Leg), ca. 1547, wooden polychrome, 70 × 78 × 9 cm, Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid.


[Fig. 16] Bernard Picart, *Perseus delivers Andromeda*, 1731, print, 35.4 × 25.7 cm, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

[Fig. 17] Pietro di Cosimo, *Perseus frees Andromeda*, 1510-1515, Tempera grassa on wood, 70 × 120 cm, Uffizi Galleries, Florence.

[Fig. 18] Peter Paul Rubens, *The Four Rivers of Paradise*, ca. 1615, oil on canvas, 208 × 283 cm, Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna.

[Fig. 19] Hendrick Goltzius, *Nox* (Night), 1558-1590, paper, 34.9 × 26.4 cm, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland.

[Fig. 20] Titian Vecellio, *Portrait of Laura Dianti*, ca. 1520-1525, oil on canvas, 119 × 93 cm, H. Kisters Collection.

[Fig. 21] Cristobal Morales, *Portrait of Juana de Austria*, 1553, oil on canvas, 99 × 81.5 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium.

[Fig. 22] Giorgio Vasari, *Portrait of Alessandro de' Medici*, 1534, oil on canvas, 157 × 114 cm, Uffizi Galleries, Florence.

[Fig. 23] Jacopo da Pontormo, *Portrait of Alessandro de' Medici*, ca. 1535, oil on panel, 101.3 × 81.9 cm, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

[Fig. 24] Diego Velázquez, *Portrait of Juan de Pareja*, 1650, oil on canvas, 81.3 × 69.9 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[Fig. 25] Albrecht Dürer, *Katherina*, 1521, The Uffizi, Department of Prints and Drawings, Florence.

[Fig. 26] Juriaen van Streeck, *Still Life with Male Figure*, ca. 1636, oil on canvas, 91.2 × 80.4 cm, Birmingham Museum of Art.

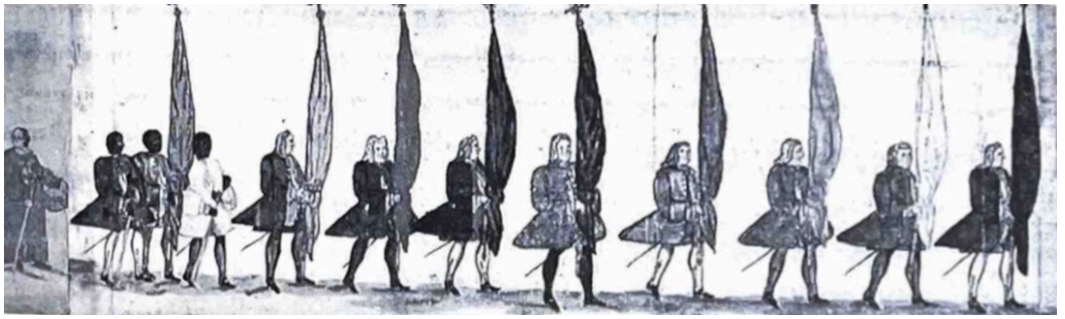
[Fig. 27] Giuseppe Recco, *Still-life with a Black Servant,* 1679, Casa de Pilatos, Seville.

[Fig. 28] Anonymous painter, *View of Seville*, ca. 1660, oil on canvas, Fundación Fondo de Cultura de Sevilla, Seville.

[Fig. 29] Anonymous, *Alameda de Hércules*, ca. 1780, Monasterio de la Encarnación, Osuna (near Seville).

[Fig. 30] Anonymous, *Procession of Corpus Christi*, ca. 1780, Seville.

Two black figures can be found in the entourage of "Gigantes y Cabezudos" (Bigheaded Giants).



[Fig. 31] Anonymous, *Procession of Corpus Christi*, ca. 1780, Seville.

On the left, we see a group of three African men, representing the brotherhood of "Los Negritos."

[Fig. 32] Anonymous, *The King's Fountain of Chafari d'El-Rey,* 1570-1580, Berardo Collection.

[Fig. 33] Vittore Carpaccio*, Miracle of the Cross at the Rialto Bridge,* ca. 1496, tempera on canvas, 371 × 392 cm Gallerie Academia, Venice.

[Fig. 34] Anonymous, *Alameda de Hercules*, mid-17th century, oil on canvas, Private Collection.

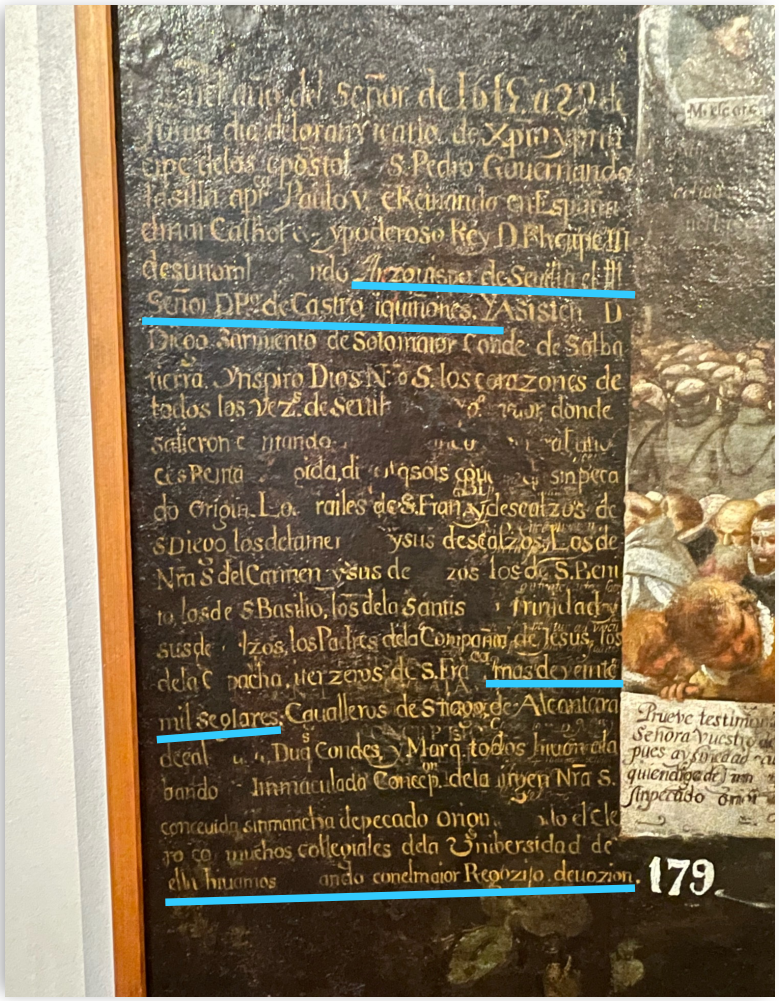
[Fig. 35] Diego Velázquez, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1619, oil on canvas, 203 × 125 cm, Prado Museum, Madrid.

[Fig. 36] Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *The Adoration of the Magi,* ca. 1655-1660, oil on canvas, 190.8 × 146.1 cm, Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo (Ohio).

[Fig. 37] Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, The Martyrdom of Saint Andrew, ca. 1675-1683, oil on canvas, Prado Museum, Madrid.

[Fig. 38] Juan de Roelas, *The Allegory of the Immaculate Virgin*, 1616, oil on canvas, 323.5 × 195 cm, Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid.

The amplified pictures of this painting (pp. 95-95) are taken by the author.




The lower left part of Juan de Roelas, *The Allegory of the Immaculate Virgin* (1616). Photo and underlining by the author.

En el año del Señor 1615 a 29 de / junio día del gran vicario de Cristo y príncipe de los apóstoles San Pedro, gobernando / la silla apostólica Paulo V y reinando en España / el muy católico y poderoso rey don Felipe III / de su nombre siendo arzobispo de Sevilla el Ilmo / sr. Don Pedro de Castro y Quiñónez y asistente don / Diego Sarmiento de Sotomayor conde de Salva / tierra inspiró Dios Nuestro Señor los corazones de todos los vecinos de Sevilla / que acudieron s su iglesia mayor donde / salieron cantando todo el mundo en general a vo / ces Reina escogida dicen que sois concebida sin peca / do original. Los frailes de San Francisco y Descalzos de / San Diego, los de la Merced y sus Descalzos, los de / Nuestra Señora del Carmen y su Descalzos, los de San Beni / to, los de San Basilio, los de la Santísima Trinidad y su Descalzos, los padres de la Compañía de Jesús, los / de la Capacha y Terceros de San Francisco, más veinte / mil seglares. Caballeros de Santiago, de Alcántara / de Calatrava, duques, condes y marqueses, todos iban a la / bando la Inmaculada Concepción de la Virgen Nuestra Señora / concebida sin mancha de pecado original todo el cle / ro con muchos colegiales de la Universidad de / ella ibamos cantando con el mayor regocijo y devoción.

Transcription offered at Ministerio de Cultura, Red Digital de Colecciones de Museos de España: https://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main?idt=663&inventary=CE0930&table=FMUS&museum=MNEVn

[Fig. 39] Attributed to Juan de Roelas, *The Allegory of the Immaculate Virgin*, ca. 1616-1618, oil on canvas, 140.5 × 110 cm, Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid.

[Fig. 40] Francisco Pacheco, *Immaculate Conception with Miguel del Cid*, 1619, oil on canvas, 179 × 108 cm, Seville Cathedral, Seville.

[Fig. 41] Juan de Roelas, *Immaculate Virgin with Fernando de Mata*, ca. 1612-1613, oil on canvas, 319.5 × 172.5 cm, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

[Fig. 42] Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Marriage Feast at Cana*, 1672, oil on canvas, 179 × 239 cm, Berber Institute of Art, Birmingham.

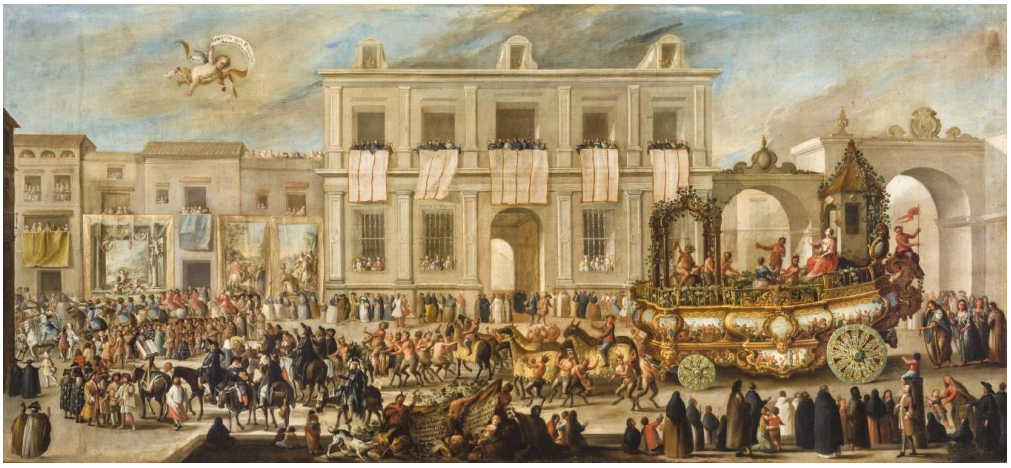
[Fig. 43] Paolo Veronese, *Marriage Feast at Cana*, 1562-1563, oil on canvas, 677 × 994 cm, Louvre Museum, Paris.

[Fig. 44] Juan de Valdés Leal, *Marriage Feast at Cana*, 1660, oil on canvas, 24 × 32 cm, Louvre Museum, Paris.

[Fig. 45] Engraving by Jacob Matham, after Francesco Salviati's *Marriage Feast at Cana*, 1559-1603, print on paper, 62.5 × 69.2 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

[Fig. 46] Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Three Boys*, ca. 1670, oil on canvas, 168.3 × 109.8 cm, Dulwich Picture Gallery, London.

[Fig. 47]
Domingo Martínez, *Carro del Pregón*, 1747-1748, oil on canvas, 135 × 292 cm, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville. (1)



[Fig. 48]
Domingo Martínez, *Carro de la Común Alegría*, 1747-1748, oil on canvas, 135 × 292 cm, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville. (2)

[Fig. 49]
Domingo Martínez, *Carro del Fuego*, 1747-1748, oil on canvas, 135 × 291 cm, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville. (3)

[Fig. 50]
Domingo Martínez, *Carro del Agua*, 1747-1748, oil on canvas, 135 × 291 cm, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville. (4)

[Fig. 51] Domingo Martínez, *Carro del Aire*, 1747-1748, oil on canvas, 137 × 292 cm, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville. (5)

[Fig. 52] Domingo Martínez, *Carro de la Tierra*, 1747-1748, oil on canvas, 136 × 293 cm, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville. (6)

[Fig. 53] Domingo Martínez, *Carro del Parnaso* 1747-1748, oil on canvas, 135 × 291 cm, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville. (7)

[Fig. 54] Domingo Martínez, *Carro del Victor y Parnaso*, 1747-1748, oil on canvas, 138 × 293 cm, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville. (8)