

# Baroque Masterpieces representing Mary Immaculate and her Assumption in the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum



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**BILBOKO ARTE  
EDERREN MUSEOA  
MUSEO DE BELLAS  
ARTES DE BILBAO**

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The exaltation of Mary by Catholics was centuries old when it received fresh political dimensions from the support of the Spanish Habsburgs who considered Mary a special protector of the Monarchy. Their support of the Virgin Mary came to center specifically on the doctrine of her Immaculate Conception. To innumerable theological treatises arguing for the immaculacy of Mary, that she was created free from Original Sin in the mind of God before all things, was added the political support of the Habsburg kings. During the reign of Philip IV, a series of fifteen ambassadors were sent to Rome with the specific charge of having the pope raise the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception to dogma of the Church. Philip's passion for papal recognition of a doctrine that had traditional Habsburg backing was perhaps influenced by his correspondent Sor María de Ágreda, who described Mary as the key supporter of the future of the Monarchy ("a la Reina del Cielo hemos de poner por intercesora, medianera, abogada y restauradora de esta monarquía").<sup>1</sup>

The efforts of the Philip IV through his ambassadors finally resulted in the papal bull *Sollicitudo Omnium Ecclesiarum* proclaimed by Alexander VII on December 8, 1661, which was not to be superseded until 1854 when Pius IV declared the doctrine elevated to dogma of the church. During the 17th century, the great masters of the Spanish Golden Age of painting all created images of the doctrine in response to an apparently insatiable demand. Each of them, as will be shown, both created their own, recognizable compositions within established parameters, and remained bound to propriety. Not long before the paintings of the Immaculate Conception in the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum were created in the mid-17th century, the orthodox iconography for the depiction of the subject was described by the artist/theorist Francisco Pacheco in his *Arte de la pintura* [The Art of Painting] (1649). Pacheco pointed to the origins of the visual depiction of the doctrine in the appearance of the mysterious Woman of the Apocalypse described by Saint John the Evangelist (John 12). More particularly, she was to wear a white tunic and blue mantle, "dressed with the sun, an oval sun of ochre and white that circles the whole image, sweetly blended with the heavenly sky, crowned with stars... ["vestido de sol, un sol ovalado de ocre y blanco, que cerque toda la imagen, unido dulcemente con el cielo; coronada de estrellas..."]. Of course, Pacheco stipulated that Mary should be painted as beautifully as might be possible for the "human brush" ["humano pincel"].<sup>2</sup> To this image of Mary Immaculate, suspended in the

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1 Quoted from Carrió-Invernizzi 2008, p. 87. This essay about a series of paintings related to the Spanish Monarchy and the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is only one of the studies published over the years that address this subject. Long ago, this writer published a book about the Immaculate Conception in Spanish art that apparently continues to serve as a useful reference. The story is by now so well known that there is no need to repeat it here. See Stratton 1989 (1994).

2 Pacheco 2001, pp. 575-77.

heavens, artists added joyously cavorting putti and symbols of Mary—roses, lilies, palm branches and other elements emblematic of her immaculacy. These inclusions are varied, from one painting to another, but share common sources in the Bible, particularly the *Song of Songs*, and the Lauretan Litanies to the Virgin Mary.

Of all the many paintings of the Immaculate Conception created in Spain during the 17th century, we concentrate our attention here on those in the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum, with brief introductions to the artists themselves. Another Marian theme, the Assumption of the Virgin, is also represented in this collection, by a beautiful work by Juan Carreño de Miranda.

## Juan Carreño de Miranda (Carreño, Asturias, 1614-Madrid, 1685)

The known biography of the painter Juan Carreño de Miranda begins with the manuscript of Lázaro Díaz del Valle who aimed, in his words, to write about the art of painting in general and to make known the lives and works of Spanish artists as Giorgio Vasari had done for the Italians in his *Lives of the Artists*. Díaz del Valle (León, 1606-Madrid, 1669), a castrato singer in the *Capilla Real*, entered the service of Philip IV in 1622. Living at the court, Díaz del Valle knew personally the great artists of the Spanish Golden Age in Madrid. His manuscript about art and artists was drafted between 1656 and 1659 with revisions made up to 1662. It was not published until recently, though the manuscript served as a resource for later writers such as the 18th-century painter Acisclo Antonio Palomino, who complained about the poor organization of Díaz del Valle's writings, but relied on them heavily nonetheless.<sup>3</sup> Palomino asserted that Carreño was from Avilés, in Asturias, and that has been followed by art historians. However, it seems that the artist was in fact from the eponymous town of Carreño where his family had its roots. Documents related to his father, also named Juan Carreño de Miranda, connect the family to that town.<sup>4</sup> As well, in the painter's lifetime, he is called a native of Carreño. Among the documents gathered in support of Diego Velázquez's claims to nobility, Carreño is described as "fíel executor por el estado de los caualleros hixosdalgo desta dicha villa y natural del consejo de Car[r]eño en el principado de Asturias," and when Carreño married he claimed the town of Carreño as his birthplace.<sup>5</sup> Most of what art historians have learned about the artist, however, is based on Palomino, who knew Carreño well enough to have been present at his deathbed.<sup>6</sup>

The boy first came to Madrid in 1625 at the age of eleven with his father. Carreño de Miranda "the elder" was an art dealer (*mercader de pintura*); an uncle, Andrés Carreño, was a painter and also an art dealer in Valladolid; and the youth's artistic inclinations found a home in the workshop of the Madrid painter Pedro de las Cuevas (1568-1635) where he learned to draw. Pedro de las Cuevas's oeuvre is unknown, but his instruction nurtured the talents of several outstanding artists: Francisco Camilo, Antonio de Pereda, and Antonio Arias among them. Carreño's apprenticeship continued in the workshop of Bartolomé Román, who is credited with teaching Carreño, Francisco Rizi, and indeed a generation of Madrid painters how to paint. According to Palomino, Carreño began to undertake commissions from around 1634, when he was twenty

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3 Lázaro Díaz del Valle's manuscript was titled *Origen y Ylustracion del Nobilísimo y Real Arte de la pintura y dibuxo*, with an additional section devoted to the individuals he knew called *Epilogo y nomenclatura de sus más ilustres o más insignes y más afamados profesores*. Long available only in the original manuscript form to Palomino and art historians, Díaz del Valle's text is now available in an annotated edition (García López 2008).

4 Pérez Sánchez in Madrid 1986, p. 18.

5 García López 2008, p. 315, note 371.

6 Acisclo Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco's *El museo pictórico y escala óptica* was published in three volumes between 1715 and 1724. The third volume, *El Parnaso español pintoresco laureado*, contains a trove of information about the artists he knew.



1. Juan Carreño de Miranda (Carreño, Asturias, 1614-Madrid, 1685)  
*The Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1657  
Oil on canvas, 167 x 125 cm  
Bilbao Fine Arts Museum  
Inv. no. 69/51





2. Juan Carreño de Miranda (Carreño, Asturias, 1614-Madrid, 1685)

*The Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1660-1669

Oil on canvas. 320 x 225 cm

Fundacji im. Raczyńskich przy Muzeum Narodowym w Poznaniu, Poland

Inv. no. MNP FR 412

years old, though documented works do not exist before the 1646 *Saint Anthony Preaching to the Fishes* now in the Prado Museum.

A number of dated paintings between then and 1656 lead us to a painting in the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum representing *The Assumption of the Virgin* [fig. 1].<sup>7</sup> According to Díaz del Valle, Carreño was commissioned to paint a large canvas depicting the Assumption for the parish church of Alcorcón (Madrid), which must have been in place by 1657. That painting, with the Virgin Mary ascending heavenward and the amazed apostles gathered around the empty sepulcher, is now in the museum of Poznan, Poland [fig. 2]. It is entirely likely, as has been suggested in prior publications, that the composition of this large Assumption, with figures of the disciples gathered around an open tomb as the Virgin Mary rises majestically heavenward, reflects the paintings of the subject by Peter Paul Rubens. His original compositions (*invenzione*) were widely disseminated through engravings by Paulus Pontius and Schelte à Bolswert. Like most painters of the era, Carreño used prints as models, to which end he purchased in 1649 from the estate of the artist Antonio Puga “twenty six large and small prints of different paintings.”<sup>8</sup> Perhaps Carreño found his compositional model for the Assumption among those engravings.

7 Provenance: gift of Doña Mercedes Basabe, widow of Don Manuel Taramona, 1953. Exhibitions: Madrid 1986, cat. no. 17; Madrid 1989-1990, cat. no. 16; Padua and Rome 1991, cat. no. 12; Budapest 1996-1997, cat. no. 18; Genoa 2003-2004, cat. no. 11. Bibliography: Marzolf 1961, pp. 117-118; Lasterra 1969, p. 24, cat. no. 51; Pérez Sánchez 1985, pp. 51, 110, plate 15; Madrid 1986, pp. 116, 202-203, cat. no. 17; Madrid 1989, pp. 62-64, cat. no. 16; Padua/Rome 1991, pp. 36-37, cat. no. 12; Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao... 2006, pp. 68-69 (entry by Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez); López Vizcaino/Carreño 2007, pp. 256-257.

8 Pérez Sánchez 1985, p. 19.



3. Juan Carreño de Miranda (Carreño, Asturias, 1614-Madrid, 1685)  
 Studies for *The Assumption of the Virgin*, 1657-1660  
 Pen, ink, brush and wash with traces of gouache  
 and charcoal on paper, 23.8 x 17.8 cm  
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.  
 Donated by Cornelius Vanderbilt, 1880  
 Inv. no. 80.3.490



4. Juan Carreño de Miranda (Carreño, Asturias, 1614-Madrid, 1685)  
*The Assumption of the Virgin*, 1656  
 Oil on marble, 51 x 47 cm  
 Seminario Diocesano, Segovia

However, a rare sheet of drawings by Carreño [fig. 3] shows that, while planning on adhering to what had become a standard representation of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, he sought to personalize his composition. In the sketches, Carreño experiments with several positions of the body of the Virgin Mary and turns of her head. Once he had resolved the manner of painting the figure for the altarpiece at Alcorcón, however, he was content to repeat it with little change in the smaller Bilbao *Assumption* and in a small painting on an octagon of marble that was discovered in 1985 in the Seminario Diocesano of Segovia, signed and dated "Juo Carreño.ft/1656" [fig. 4]. The Flemish model for the depiction of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary that Carreño adopted in these paintings in the Bilbao museum and in the Seminario Diocesano in Segovia was widely used by European painters, but it was not the only model for this subject in art.

A painting of modest dimensions, firmly attributed to Carreño de Miranda by Alfonso Pérez Sánchez and dated by him to around 1665-1670 also represents the *Assumption* [fig. 5].<sup>9</sup> The identification of the subject has been argued by those who have considered it as either representing the *Assumption* or the *Immaculate Conception*, with the most weight being given to the latter interpretation because of the immaculist symbols

9 Provenance: gift of Doña Mercedes Basabe, widow of Don Manuel Taramona, 1953. Exhibitions: Madrid 1986, cat. no. 26; Frankfurt, 1988-89, cat. no. 59. Bibliography: Lasterra 1969, p. 87, cat. no. 188; Pérez Sánchez 1985, p. 138, plate 43; Frankfurt 1988, pp. 710-712; López Vizcaino/Carreño 2007, pp. 266-267.





5. Juan Carreño de Miranda (Carreño, Asturias, 1614-Madrid, 1685)  
*The Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1665-1670  
Oil on canvas, 84.5 x 61.5 cm  
Bilbao Fine Arts Museum  
Inv. no. 69/188





6. Juan Carreño de Miranda (Carreño, Asturias, 1614-Madrid, 1685)  
*The Immaculate Conception*, 1670  
Oil on canvas, 211 x 145 cm  
The Hispanic Society of America, New York  
Inv. no. Acc. no. A85

included in the composition.<sup>10</sup> These include the twelve stars around her head, the crescent moon on which she stands, and emblems proffered by the putti who cavort joyfully at her feet: the spotless mirror (*speculum sine macula*), palm branches, an iris, and stem of white lilies. However, her pose and gesture are more important to interpreting the intention of the artist.

Mary is pictured dressed in traditional white with a blue mantle, standing with her arms outstretched, gazing heavenward. Her pose is common to many Old Master paintings of the *Assumption of the Virgin*. In the famous version by Titian of 1518 (Basilica di Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice) her outstretched arms signal her acceptance of her miraculous corporeal reception in Heaven by God the Father, to whom her gaze is directed. In later versions of the subject in European art, such as that painted by El Greco of 1577-1579 for the church of Santo Domingo el Antiguo in Toledo (Art Institute of Chicago) or in Peter Paul Rubens's 1623 altarpiece for the Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp, God the Father no longer appears at the top of the composition, but Mary's heavenward gaze implies his presence. Similarly, in paintings of the *Assumption* by Guido Reni such as his 1642 version from the Gemäldegalerie in Düsseldorf (currently in the Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich), Mary's expression is cast upward, and her arms are outspread, as Reni consistently depicts the subject from his earliest versions on.

Pérez Sánchez specified a painting by Guido Reni in the church of Castelfranco Emilia (1626-1627) as the model for this type of the Virgin Mary, perhaps circulated in Spain as a small version painted on copper.<sup>11</sup> In his analysis, however, Pérez Sánchez did not mention that the painting by Reni depicts the Assumption of

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<sup>10</sup> The attribution to Carreño was made by Pérez Sanchez 1985. The painting had entered the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum with an attribution to Acisclo Antonio Palomino.

<sup>11</sup> Frankfurt 1988, p. 712.

the Virgin, not her Immaculate Conception. In all Reni's oeuvre, the Virgin of the Assumption is pictured with her arms outspread, as in this painting by Carreño. In Reni's paintings of the Immaculate Conception she is depicted with her hands clasped in prayer (as in the version in the Metropolitan Museum) or clasped close to her body across her breast (as in San Biagio, Forlì). The Virgin of the Immaculate Conception is pictured in European paintings as the epitome of modesty, apt for God's choice of the maiden Mary to be free of original sin before all time and thus the appropriate vessel for Jesus Christ, the Son of God. In paintings of the Assumption her gaze is most often cast heavenward, where she is received by God the Father. In paintings of the Immaculate Conception, Mary most often gazes shyly downward. Reni painted the subjects of the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption in clearly different ways, and so did Carreño. In the 17th century the Italian artists Giovanni Pietro Bellori and Giovanni Battista Passeri published their theories about the representation of the passions (*affetti*) in art through gesture and expression. They went so far as to use the term "rhetoric" to describe the manner in which artists could use movement and gesture to bring the viewer to *devozione*. A contemporary viewer would not likely have been misled by Carreño's inclusion of symbols of the immaculacy of Mary in this painting into reading it as representing her Immaculate Conception. She was, after all, always immaculate. A more likely model for Carreño's painting was created by Francisco Rizi for the altarpiece in the parish church at Fuente el Saz (Madrid) in 1655. In Rizi's painting placed at the top of the ensemble, the Virgin Mary is received into Heaven by her Son and God the Father. Arms outstretched, she is crowned by twelve stars and angels at her feet bear roses.<sup>12</sup>

Carreño developed his own characteristic pose for the Virgin in the series of large canvases he painted of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception over a period of nearly two decades. The earliest example of these, dated 1666, is in the Cathedral of Santa María, Vitoria, and the latest is that of 1683 in the Monasterio de la Encarnación, Madrid.<sup>13</sup> In all of these, as in the painting of the Immaculate Conception in the Hispanic Society of America in New York [fig. 6], Mary's proper right hand rests on her breast, her left is extended, and she does not gaze heavenward, but rather casts her eyes modestly downward. The gestures rhetorically reflect in a visual language, Mary's response to the Angelic Annunciation: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it done to me according to thy word" (Luke 1:38).

## José Antolínez (Madrid, 1635-1675)

José Antolínez is considered one of the most original painters in Madrid during the second half of the 17th century. He created works in every genre with the exception of still lifes: outstanding portraits as well as history paintings based on the New Testament and antique myths, saints and bishops, and a number of versions of the Immaculate Conception, of which the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum owns two fine examples [figs. 7 and 9]. Antolínez's painting style, initiated in his studies with the artist Francisco Rizi, reflects the blend of Flemish and Venetian art that characterizes paintings of the time in Madrid.<sup>14</sup> Antolínez, like his contemporaries in Madrid, favored light colors, dynamic compositions and a free, painterly technique. In spite of the fact

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12 See Madrid 1986, p. 67, where Pérez Sánchez identifies the subject of Rizi's painting as the "Coronation of the Virgin."

13 Ibid., p. 207, cat. nos. 23 and 236, no. 59.

14 There has not been a monographic study of Antolínez's oeuvre since Diego Angulo Íñiguez's rather slim volume published in 1957. Angulo's approach to the artist's life and works, consistent with art historical methodology of the time, studied paintings thematically, discussing the paintings of the Immaculate Conception as a group. This does not result in a convincing picture of Antolínez's stylistic development. The contrast between a rather stilted painting of the Immaculate Conception of 1658 (March Collection, Madrid) and those created in the mid-1660s thus comes as a shock, though there were seven years of progress in between. More recent attention to Antolínez has identified more works by his hand. See Gutiérrez Pastor 2000, pp. 75-92, especially his endnote no. 1.



7. José Antolínez (Madrid, 1635-1675)  
*The Immaculate Conception*, c. 1665  
Oil on canvas, 201 x 149.5 cm  
Bilbao Fine Arts Museum  
Inv. no. 69/7





8. José Antolínez (Madrid, 1635-1675)  
*The Immaculate Conception*  
Oil on canvas, 188 x 135 cm  
The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, UK  
Inv. no. B.M.22

that Antolínez's career was cut short by his early death at the age of forty, he nonetheless painted at least 25 versions of the subject. The demand for Antolínez's production of this iconic subject naturally resulted in a number of quite similar compositions.

That being said, the Bilbao paintings of the Immaculate Conception by Antolínez represent two quite different compositional models. In the earlier one [fig. 7],<sup>15</sup> which may date to around 1665, Mary stands erect in easy contrapposto, with the expected plethora of little angels cavorting at her feet and providing much of the sense of movement within in the painting. Her long, brown, deeply waved tresses are carefully arranged over her shoulders. Antolínez's loving treatment of Mary's hair is a salient characteristic of his style. The fistful of flowers that appear below Mary's left leg exemplifies Antolínez's loose, nearly impressionistic brushwork. The pose of the Virgin Mary is restrained, the figure almost columnar, and the movement of mantle limited to one corner at her proper left caught in a breeze. She is shown with hands clasped in prayer, her head slightly tilted to the right as in a version in the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle [fig. 8] and others. The Bowes painting may be of a slightly later date, as the folds of her mantle are more agitated, the colors lighter and brighter.

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<sup>15</sup> Provenance: gift of Don Enrique de Gana, 1914. Bibliography: Plasencia 1932, p. 27, cat. no. 129; Roda 1947, illus. p. 147; Angulo 1957, p. 21; Lasterra 1969, cat. no. 6.



9. José Antolínez (Madrid, 1635-1675)  
*The Immaculate Conception*, c. 1665  
Oil on canvas, 196.5 x 157.5 cm  
Bilbao Fine Arts Museum  
Inv. no. 69/6





10. José Antolínez (Madrid, 1635-1675)  
*The Immaculate Conception*, 1665  
Oil on canvas, 165 x 110 cm  
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid  
Inv. no. P04015



11. José Antolínez (Madrid, 1635-1675)  
Preparatory study for *The Immaculate Conception*  
Tempera, chalk and ink on paper, 20 x 15.5 cm  
The Hispanic Society of America, New York  
Inv. no. Acc. no. A3083



Another painting of the Immaculate Conception in the collection of the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum [fig. 9],<sup>16</sup> also bearing Antolínez's signature, is one of several that compare in style and composition with a version in the Prado Museum [fig. 10] that is dated 1665. Both represent a type that was reproduced several times with only slight variations. A beautiful drawing by Antolínez in The Hispanic Society of America in New York [fig. 11] has been identified as a study for this Immaculate Conception.<sup>17</sup> While the Spanish masters were excellent draftsmen, there are fewer extant examples of their drawings than by other European artists. Even more rare are drawings that can definitively assigned to particular paintings as in this case.

## Juan de Valdés Leal (Seville, 1622-1690)

Among the paintings of Mary Immaculate in the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum, the only one by an artist from Seville is by Juan de Valdés Leal, who was born in that city in 1622 but emigrated in his twenties to Córdoba, where he studied with the painter Antonio del Castillo. When Córdoba was suffering through a plague in 1649, Valdés Leal moved his family back to the city of his birth. Although his style as a painter differed radically from the serene subjects painted by his contemporary Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, the two artists became friends and sometimes collaborators. Together, they formed the Academy of Art in Seville in 1656, and they worked together with the sculptor Pedro Roldán on the decoration of the Hospital of Charity in Seville. A pair of Valdés Leal's canvases for that commission, *In icto oculi* and *Finis gloriae mundi*, painted between 1671-72, represent the epitome of Valdés Leal's predilection for dark tonalities and dramatic, even macabre, subject matter. When Murillo died in 1682, Valdés Leal became the premier painter of Seville until his death in 1690.

In Madrid, Carreño de Miranda, Antolínez and their colleagues do not seem to have been required to depart from compositional formulas with which they and their patrons were perfectly comfortable. In contrast, Valdés Leal's paintings of the Immaculate Conception from the 1650s on are remarkable for their variety: *The Immaculate Conception with Saints Eloy and Anthon of Padua* (Córdoba Fine Arts Museum), *The Immaculate Conception with Saints Andrew and John the Baptist* (Musée du Louvre, Paris) and *The Immaculate Conception with Donors* (National Gallery, London) are some examples of Valdés Leal's creativity in varying an oft-repeated theme.

However, even Valdés Leal was prevailed on by the art market to paint, around 1660-1665, at least four versions of the Immaculate Conception that share many compositional and stylistic details. A painting in the Bilbao Fine Arts Museum [fig. 12]<sup>18</sup> bears close comparison to a version that was in a private collection in Granada when Enrique Valdivieso published his monographic study of the artist's life and work in 1988. Not only are the figures of Mary in these two paintings very similar, but the putti below her, with the fluttering red cloth that emphasizes their vigorous movement, are nearly identical. A similar painting by Valdés Leal, now known only from a photograph [fig. 13],<sup>19</sup> is a simplified version of the ones in Bilbao and Granada. A

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16 Provenance: donated by Doña Mercedes Basabe, widow of Don Manuel Taramona, 1953. Exhibitions: Madrid 1989; Budapest 1996. Bibliography: Angulo 1957, p. 19, plate 10; Lasterra 1969, no. 6; Madrid 1989, pp. 70-71, no. 19; Galilea 1995b, pp. 10, 28, 40; Budapest 1996, pp. 105-107, no. 20; Madrid/Barcelona 2007, p. 198, fig. no. 69; New York 2010, p. 108, fig. 27.

17 New York 2010, p. 108, fig. 27.

18 This painting, whose attributed to Valdés Leal has been confirmed by Enrique Valdivieso, has been recently incorporated into the museum's collection. It was sold by Sotheby's (lot 140) on 11 December 1991, and sold again at auction by the Sala Retiro in Madrid (lot 40) 29 May 1995. In 2014 the painting entered the collection of the Bizkaia Provincial Council, as a donation by a Bilbao art collector; the Council transferred it to the Museum that same year.

19 Formerly, Ángel de la Riva Collection, Madrid.



12. Juan de Valdés Leal (Seville, 1622-1690)  
*The Immaculate Conception*, c. 1660-1665  
Oil on canvas, 156.2 x 106.8 cm  
Bilbao Fine Arts Museum.  
Commodatum by the Provincial Council of Bizkaia in 2014  
Inv. no. DEP2929

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13. Juan de Valdés Leal (Seville, 1622-1690)  
*The Immaculate Conception*  
Oil on canvas  
Present whereabouts unknown  
Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic, Arxiu Mas, Barcelona

fourth version of these paintings was in a private collection in Úbeda in 1988.<sup>20</sup> All of which suggests that, as in case of Carreño, Antolínez and others of their contemporaries, Valdés Leal needed to reference his own models, with only slight variations, in order to respond to an insatiable market for paintings of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.

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<sup>20</sup> Valdivieso 1988, cat. nos. 98-99, p. 247, and figs. 106 and 107.



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