

Francisco de Zurbarán

Fuente de Cantos (Extremadura), 1598 - Madrid 1664

Francisco de Zurbarán, who was born on 7 November 1598 in Fuente de Cantos (Extremadura) and died on 27 August 1664 in Madrid, is now recognised as one of the greatest masters of painting of the Spanish Golden Age. In 1614, as an apprentice, he entered the Seville workshop of Pedro Díaz de Villanueva, a *pintor de imaginería* whose work remains unknown to us, and emerged in 1617, though he did not take the exams of the Seville painters' guild. These years of study in the Andalusian capital were no doubt more complex and enriching than they have appeared in past scholarship. It was there that he associated with Juan de Roelas and Francisco Herrera the Elder, as well as Velázquez and Alonso Cano, his contemporaries, who were then young apprentices in the workshop of Pacheco. During his three years of apprenticeship, Zurbarán was of course trained as a painter, but also in the arts of sculpture, polychroming of statues and gilding of altarpieces, and he would have studied goldsmiths' manuals in Seville, the financial heart of sixteenth-century Spain, its churches and wealthy residences brimming with works of art. Zurbarán then moved to Extremadura for eleven years (1617-1628), settling in Llerena where he appears to have been successful, though curiously very little is known about his work during these youthful years. Starting in 1626, the young painter received important commissions from churches and monasteries in Seville, multi-part works that were mostly dispersed with the advent of the Napoleonic Wars. Of his first great cycle, painted for the Dominicans of San Pablo, only a few canvases survive, including the first dated work to have come down to us, the admirable *Christ on the Cross* of 1627 (Chicago, The Art Institute). This is a work of startling expressive power, with the Redeemer's body emerging in violent light from a very sombre background, typical of the artist's early tenebrist manner, and which seemed like a sculpture to his contemporaries. This initial series brought him immediate success and attracted numerous contracts. The deeply moving *Saint Serapion* (1628, Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum), among his masterpieces, belongs to a substantial group of canvases commissioned for the decoration of the Monastery of the Merced Calzada, now the site of Museo de Bellas Artes of Seville. Surviving pieces of this project, including *The Crucified Saint Peter Appearing to Saint Peter Nolasco* (1629), *Saint Peter Nolasco's Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem* (both Madrid, Prado) and the *Virgin Bestowing the Mercedarian Habit* (private collection), demonstrate Zurbarán's ability to represent divinity bursting into the life of a saint. These clear, perfectly legible images explain his enduring success with the Sevillian monks who sought to endow their monasteries with decoration conforming to the dictates of the Council of Trent. In 1629 he also worked for the Franciscan College of San Buenaventura, painting four large canvases (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie and Paris, Louvre), typical of this first period, starkly lit and with faces seemingly carved from wood. In the same fertile year, 1629, Zurbarán settled permanently in Seville at the request of the Municipal Council, supported by his powerful clients, and was named "master painter of the city of Seville" in another important contract signed with the monks of the Trinidad Calzada. The following decade represents the zenith of his career as regards quantity and quality of commissions, and the numerous signed and dated works from this period enable us to judge the distinction he had achieved, but also to note the occasional presence of a significant workshop, especially in the execution of the major series of paintings. In 1630, he worked for the Jesuits, and in the following year he signed the monumental *Apotheosis of Saint Thomas Aquinas* for the chapel of the great Dominican College of Seville. Although the *Saint Peter* (part of the *Apostolado* in

the Museum in Lisbon, and very influenced by Ribera), is signed and dated 1633, the ensemble appears to have been painted with the extensive participation of assistants. Dating from the same year, the stupendous *Still Life with Lemons, Oranges and a Rose* in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena appears instead as a masterpiece of exceptional quality, showing the artist's brilliance in his treatment of *bodegones*.

Zurbarán's manifold success in Seville came to a head in 1634 with the invitation to take part in the decoration of the Grand Hall of the new Buen Retiro Palace in Madrid. There he painted ten *Labours of Hercules* and two large canvases depicting *The Battle of Cadiz*, which survive in the Prado. The artist made a swift return to Seville, where he was much in demand, and in 1636 signed a contract for an altarpiece for Nuestra Señora de la Granada de Llerena. In the same year two powerful pictures, a *Saint Lawrence* (Saint Petersburg, Hermitage) and a *Saint Anthony Abbot* (Madrid, Villar-Mir collection), were among the works painted for the Merced Descalza of San José in Seville. In 1638 he signed the imposing *Saints Romanus and Saint Barulas* in the Art Institute, Chicago. 1637 saw the beginning of a notable increase in commissions from beyond Seville. The series painted for the Charterhouse at Jerez de la Frontera is scattered through various museums, and in this case the painter was responsible for every canvas of the altarpiece, signing and dating the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in 1638 and the *Circumcision* in 1639; both masterpieces are in the Museum in Grenoble, which also houses the *Annunciation* and the *Adoration of the Magi*. Other pictures, including a series of angels and white-robed monks also painted for the Jerez Carthusians, are now in the Museum in Cadiz, while the grand *Battle of La Defensa* is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the sublime *Virgin of the Rosary* is in the Museum in Poznań. In the same years (1638-1639) he decorated the sacristy of the Monastery of Our Lady of Guadalupe, a well-known shrine to the Virgin as Patron of Spain. The *Mass of Father Cabañuelas*, dated 1638, was delivered ahead of time, no doubt as preliminary proof of his capacities before the execution of this major ensemble; most of the seven other canvases were signed in 1639. These exceptional pictures, culminating in the Chapel of Saint Jerome, form one of the rare cycles to have remained *in situ*, representing important figures of the Hieronymite Order such as the famous *Fray Gonzalo de Illescas*. At the peak of his power, Zurbarán adapted his exceptional gifts to the needs of the patrons of these two great cycles, without giving up any of his individual qualities: striking plasticity of form, harmonious colouring and intelligent distribution of light.

The art of Zurbarán was not limited to these extraordinary monastic series, which made such an impact on French Romantic writers: his celebrated *Female Saints* form an exquisite sequence of Andalusian belles, anachronistic but ravishing damsels, proud in bearing and dazzlingly dressed. Overwhelmed by commissions which he could only complete with numerous assistants, Zurbarán depicted the *Founders of Religious Orders* in processional series, as well as a startling group of Biblical Patriarchs, the richly-attired *Jacob and his Sons*, and legendary warriors such as the *Infants of Lara*, destined for the American market, and derived from Italian, German, Flemish and even French engravings. Alongside these essentially decorative series painted with varying degrees of workshop assistance, Zurbarán began (especially after 1640) to treat more intimate religious themes, full of grace but without any maudlin sentimentality. The *Immaculate Virgin* depicted as a young child, Christ's childhood, or that of the Virgin, the various images of *Veronica's Veil*, *Christ on the Cross*, and the numerous canvases of *Saint Francis* all reveal the variety of his oeuvre, steeped in restraint, immobility, and a fascinated eye for reality and the nature of things.

However, life in Seville became increasingly difficult for both political and economic reasons, and in 1649 the plague struck the city, decimating the population. Very few signed paintings appear during these terrible years; in 1653,

the intensely moving *Christ Bearing the Cross* (Orléans, Cathedral) precedes the three large subjects – including the celebrated *Supper of the Carthusians* – painted for the Carthusian Monastery of Las Cuevas. The light backgrounds, balanced compositional scheme and lightness of touch all point to the late date of 1655 cited in a subsequent document. Scarce commissions and domestic difficulties in Seville led Francisco de Zurbarán to leave for the Royal Court in 1658. We now know a good deal about these last years in Madrid: no doubt suffering from illness in his last two years, the artist died on 27 August 1664. Between 1658 and 1662 he signed and dated several works that were small in scale but exalted in quality, as if he wished to assert his skill for potential private patrons. The works from this last phase offer proof of a clear evolution with respect to his earlier periods. Influenced by Velázquez and Italian (especially Bolognese) paintings he could discover in the palaces of Madrid, Zurbarán must have found some satisfying professional prospects, as he settled in the city for good, with his family. He was often asked to paint the subject of the Virgin and Child, examples of which exist in the splendid *Virgin and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist* (1658, San Diego Museum of Art) and the *Virgin Suckling the Child* (1658, Moscow, Pushkin Museum), as well as a touching *Veronica's Veil* (1658, Valladolid, Museo de Escultura), a sort of religious trompe l'oeil. Several paintings signed and dated in 1659 have survived, including *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum) or the so-called “Hamlet” *Saint Francis* (Madrid, Arango collection). Others dated 1661 include two delicate depictions of the *Immaculate Virgin as a Child* (Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum and Langon, parish church) and a *Vision of Saint Francis at the Porziuncola* (private collection). His last known signed work is another *Virgin and Child with the Young Saint John the Baptist* (1662, Bilbao, Museum of Fine Arts). Most of these pictures executed without workshop participation and relatively small in scale, appear to have been destined for private oratories. Contrary to what is too often stated, the period after 1650 saw no diminution of Zurbarán's talent; rather, it evolved, with his abandoning the pronounced tenebrism of his early years in favour of a lighter palette and a vaporous manner that owes more to the influence of Bolognese paintings and the taste of his new clients than it does to the style of the young Murillo, the rising star of the Seville school. His obsessive love of describing objects is manifested in some rare still lifes or *bodegones* (Madrid, Prado and Barcelona, MNAC), pure masterpieces that have remained unequalled, but also in the details of other compositions involving the presence of some book, flower or pitcher, or fruits simply arrayed on a pewter plate. Zurbarán was not an inventor of forms; he was strongly influenced by polychrome sculpture, and in composing his pictures, like all his contemporaries, he was aided by Italian or Northern images which had become widespread through prints. Nonetheless, very often faced with specific commissions that lacked any form of iconographical precedent, he still succeeded in being the most scrupulous and authentic interpreter of contemporary religious thought, which explains his stunning success in Seville. The painter of asceticism, monastic discipline and militant Catholicism, he convincingly illustrates the homilies of his time. His art is informed by a more real, more concrete method of apprehending the marvels of creation, whether humble or magnificent, following the tenet of great Spanish mystics who proposed to “find God in all things”. More than anyone, he applies himself to a rendering of the tactile values of the objects he represents – the weight of fabrics, the brilliance of brocades and satins, the coarseness of a monk's cowl, the wool of a sheep, the polish of pewter. Through his own secret alchemy, he transmutes this scrupulous naturalism and turns the quotidian into something sacred. His taste for ample forms, his gift for conveying their fullness, the startling “silence” that emanates from his paintings, and his prodigious talent as colourist make him one of the Spanish Golden Age masters who most touches our modern sensibility.

Lamb with its Legs Bound 1631

Francisco de Zurbarán



Oil on canvas, 84 x 116 cm, 33 x 45.6 in
Traces of a signature

PROVENANCE

Madrid, collection of the architect Secundino Zuazo Ugalde
Spain, collection of the Fernández-Victorio y Canoura family
Spain, collection of Gonzalo Manuel Gómez Martínez De Escobar

LITERATURE

P. Guinard, 'Aportaciones críticas de obras zurbaranescas', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXXVII, 1964, p. 127, lám. II, no. 2;

J. Gállego and J. Gudiol, *Zurbarán 1598-1664*, Barcelona 1976, no. 79, fig. 81;
 M. Díaz Padrón, 'Una quinta repetición inédita del *Agnus Dei* de Zurbarán',
Goya, nos. 164-165, 1981, p. 66;
 O. Delenda, 'Biografía ilustrada de Francisco de Zurbarán, nuevos datos', in
Zurbarán ante su centenario [1598-1998], Seminario de Historia del Arte,
 Fundación duques de Soria, Valladolid [1997], 1999, p. 85;
 O. Delenda, *Francisco de Zurbarán, 1598-1664. Catálogo razonado y crítico.*
Volumen I, Madrid 2009, no. I-39, pp. 179-180, illustrated.

Francisco de Zurbarán became famous above all for his chronicle of Spanish monastic life during the seventeenth century, for his portraits of austere monks, steeped in spirituality, and also for his depictions of beautiful female saints wearing rich, sumptuous costumes. In his rare still lifes, he shows an immense talent for the representation of the most ordinary objects, lending them stylized, almost abstract forms of an almost unbelievable plasticity. On several occasions, he also painted striking images of lambs with their legs bound, placed on simple surfaces. This curious and profoundly original subject appears to have been personally invented by Francisco de Zurbarán. The painting before us, after recent conservation, is without doubt the first of these charming young ovines, known to us today in seven autograph versions. In the 1960s, when this picture belonged to a great friend of María Luisa Caturla, a renowned Zurbarán specialist, she read the remains of a signature in the upper left area of the canvas: "Fran^{co} de Z", as well as the date "1631", which would make this *Lamb with its Legs Bound* the first signed canvas of this series. The inscription is practically worn away, and is now illegible. Treated with great simplicity and an extraordinary sense of the natural in the rendering of their curly fleece, these lambs were appreciated very early on, to judge by the commentary written by Palomino, the painter's first biographer, in 1724: "A collector in Seville has a little lamb by this artist [Zurbarán], done from nature, which he says he values more than one hundred live rams!"¹ At the end of the eighteenth century, an unexpected anecdote shows us how undeniably successful Zurbarán's *Lambs* – so valued in our own day – were for foreign viewers. In an account of travel in Spain in 1786-1787, the Englishman Joseph Townsend describes a visit to the important collections in Seville, including that of Don Donato de Arenzana: "In the possession of the latter is, perhaps, the most perfect representation that was ever painted on canvass: it is a lamb, by Zurbarán, with which Velázquez was so much struck, that he took the pains to copy it. This [copy by Velázquez] I had seen in the possession of D. Fr. de Bruna; but when I had viewed the original [by Zurbarán], the copy, much as I had before admired it, sunk in my estimation."²

The curious subject of the painting discussed here poses a problem of interpretation, because the young ram with its legs crossed and bound with a cord seems asleep, stretched out in profile and pointing to the left, in an attitude that unquestionably evokes sacrifice. Its light body stands out against a very dark grey background. Certain authors like Paul Guinard see nothing more than a simple still life, with no hidden symbolism,³ whereas others like Diego Angulo, prefer to read all representations of sheep with bound feet as metaphors for the sacrificial *Agnus Dei*, even when they lack a halo or scriptural inscriptions.⁴ We know of seven autograph examples of these young lambs, very similar to the one offered by the shepherds in Zurbarán's *Adoration* in the Museum in Grenoble (Fig. 1), signed and dated 1638, that is,



Fig. 1
 Francisco de Zurbarán,
Adoration of the Shepherds,
 Musée de Grenoble

1 A. Palomino Y Velásco, *El Museo Pictórico y Escala Óptica*, Madrid 1724, 3 vols.; 1988 ed., p. 275. Palomino, *Lives*, translated by Nina Ayala Mallory, Cambridge 1987, p. 184.

2 J. M. Pita Andrade and Á. Aterido, eds., *Corpus Velazqueño. Documentos y Textos*, Madrid 2000, II, p. 655; Joseph Townsend, *A Journey through Spain in the Years 1786-1787*, London 1791, II, pp. 300-301.

3 P. Guinard, *Zurbarán et les peintres espagnols de la vie monastique*, Paris 1960; revised ed. by C. Ressort, Paris 1988, p. 280.

4 D. Angulo Íñiguez, 'Una variante del *Agnus Dei* del museo de San Diego en los Estados Unidos', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1950, XXIII, pp. 77-78.

during his maturity. Among the many versions of this subject, the one considered here – like the one formerly in the Plandiura collection in Barcelona, signed and dated 1632⁵ (Fig. 2) – are distinctly larger, and show a still slightly tentative balance between the dark background and the brightly-lit mass of the animal. For Guinard, in both instances, the creature is not a lamb (as in the painting in Grenoble) but a young ram with horns, emphatically defined and still growing, and thus a simple study from nature.

The perfect balance in this original composition was to be achieved with the version in the Museo del Prado, Madrid⁶ (Fig. 3), which although smaller than the *Lambs* of 1631 and 1632, seems the most finished, both in its quality and excellent condition; the back of this little canvas bears the royal seal of Ferdinand VII, which is why it was supposed that it belonged to the Royal Collections before being given to the family of the Marquesses del Socorro, in which it remained until it was acquired by the Prado in 1986. The excellent state of the canvas allows us to admire the texture of the woolly fleece, rendered with an exceptional truth to nature, creamy and ivory-like. The colour harmony, so true, points to a dating in the years between 1635 and 1640. An unpublished version of a *Lamb with its Legs Bound*⁷ (Fig. 4) of more or less the same size has recently come to light, also in perfect condition and displaying a recognized painterly quality; it may be considered as one of the most successful, together with the magnificent canvas in the Prado. These last two versions contain slight variants: the one in the Prado has the lamb almost completely filling the picture surface, whereas the new version gives greater space to the area above the little animal; but in both case it lies on its side, resting on the sacrificial block. These most delicate images were evidently painted using a live model, as were two others, fairly similar in aspect but in not as good condition (Spain, private collections).⁸

In each of these autograph replicas, with slight variants, Zurbarán always places the bound lamb against a dark background and on a more or less clearly visible stone or wood lintel; this is not so distinct in the version presented here, since it doubtless disappeared after old, over-zealous restoration, but it can be clearly seen with X-radiography. The presentation of the young ram, laid out on a flat surface evoking a sacrificial altar, as does the silently peaceful atmosphere, suggests religious intent. The emblem of sweetness, innocence and obedience, the lamb – his legs tied crosswise, a sacrificial victim – is charged with constant symbolic meaning in the Bible: Saint Peter (1 Pet 18-19) and Saint Paul (1 Cor 5:7) assert in their epistles that Christ's death perfectly fulfils the sacrifice of the Paschal lamb. In his Gospel, assimilating Jesus to this metaphor, Saint John the Evangelist (John 1:29) likewise connects it to the prophecy of Isaiah, a mysterious



Fig. 2
Francisco de Zurbarán,
Lamb with its Legs Bound,
private collection



Fig. 3
Francisco de Zurbarán,
Lamb with its Legs Bound,
Madrid, Museo del Prado



Fig. 4
Francisco de Zurbarán,
Lamb with its Legs Bound,
private collection

5 Oil on canvas, 61.3 x 82 cm (O. Delenda, *Francisco de Zurbarán, 1598-1664. Catálogo razonado y crítico. Volumen I*, Madrid 2009, no. I-55, pp. 223-224, illus.).

6 Oil on canvas, 38 x 62 cm (Delenda, 2009, cited in note 5, no. I-105, pp. 342-343, illus.).

7 Oil on canvas, 38 x 56 cm, private collection.

8 Oil on canvas, 37 x 58 cm, and oil on canvas, 36 x 51 cm (Delenda, 2009, cited in note 5, no. I-105 bis, pp. 344-345; and no. I-106, pp. 346-347, both illus.).

Fig. 5
Francisco de Zurbarán,
Agnus Dei, San Diego,
Museum of Art



Fig. 6
Francisco de Zurbarán,
Agnus Dei, Madrid, Real
Academia de Bellas Artes
de San Fernando



Fig. 7
Hieronymus Wierix, *Angel
Watching over the Dead
Christ at the Foot of the
Cross*

Fig. 8
Claudio Coello, *Tabernacle
door*, Madrid, Convent
Church of San Plácido

passage that foretells a suffering Messiah symbolized by the sacrifice of a lamb (Is 53:7). The representation of the Mystic Lamb was often used to symbolize Christ in Christian art of the early centuries, and in its immaculate whiteness, the lamb always embodies the triumph of renewal and the victory of life over death. The shedding of the redeeming blood of Christ on the Cross is not unrelated to the immolation of the Paschal lamb and the saving blood of the sacrificed lamb with which the Jews smeared their doors so as to avert the vengeance of Yahweh during the night of the last Passover in Egypt (Ex 12:11-13, 22-23). Furthermore, every morning and evening, a lamb was sacrificed in the Temple in Jerusalem to expiate the sins of the people (Ex 29:38-42). These daily premonitory sacrifices were seen as a means of leading the Jews to the saving grace of Christ on the Cross. Whether or not they are accompanied by Christian symbols, Zurbarán's depictions of lambs with their legs tied do assume a very likely religious meaning. Two of them are without a shadow of doubt images of the *Agnus Dei*. In a delicate painting in the San Diego Museum of Art⁹ (Fig. 5), as well as in a canvas signed and dated 1639, now housed in the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid,¹⁰ (Fig. 6), the halo over the lamb's head, and above all the inscription "*Tanquam agnus*" (like a lamb), inscribed on the flat surface, remove any doubt regarding the Christian symbolism of the young sheep, depicted without horns in both these versions: this is indeed an instance of a little lamb and not a young ram, symbolizing the Saviour handed over on behalf of sinners. An engraving by Hieronymus Wierix, made before 1619, shows an angel watching over the dead Christ at the foot of the Cross, as if resting against a lamb with its legs bound (Fig. 7). Below the engraving appears a verse from the Acts of the Apostles, itself a quotation from the prophet Isaiah "*Tanquam ovis ad occisionem ductus est: et sicut agnus coram tondente se, sine voce, sic non aperuit os suum*" (Acts 8:32: "Led as a sheep to the slaughter, and like a lamb silent before the shearer, so he opened not his mouth"). Likewise, the prophet Jeremiah compares himself in the Old Testament to the meek lamb who is taken to be slaughtered (Jer 11:19). In 1668, some years after Zurbarán's death, the young Claudio Coello signed a large altarpiece of the *Annunciation* for the church of the Benedictine nunnery of San Plácido in Madrid, painting a small sheep on the door of the tabernacle (Fig. 8), also offered as a sacrifice for the saving of sinners, surmounted by a cartouche inscribed as follows: "*Agnus/Tanquam/occisus/Qui tollit peccata mundi*", a text uniting the prophecies of Isaiah and Saint John the Baptist. The ancient symbolic figure of the Mystic Lamb, adopted by Zurbarán in the

9 Oil on canvas, 35.56 x 52.07 cm (Delenda, 2009, cited in note 5, no. 1-107, pp. 348-350, illus.).

10 Oil on canvas, 38 x 62 cm (Delenda, 2009, cited in note 5, no. 1-149, pp. 462-463, illus.).

paintings mentioned above, is also associated with the religious literature of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. The theme of the *Agnus Dei* greatly inspired the theologians of the Spanish Golden Age, and it appears in the work of contemporary writers and playwrights as frequently as it does in that of artists. These kinds of paintings were created to respond to the concerns of the period, and such a response was also offered by Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681) in his *El Cordero de Isaías* ("Isaiah's Lamb"), in which he identified the dead lamb as Christ sacrificed on the Cross. Such mystical texts sought to arouse a pious devotion among Christians for the names or titles ascribed to the Messiah in the Bible. The name *Cordero* (lamb) meaning "meekness of character, innocence, purity of life and joyful fulfilment of sacrifice" was added in a posthumous edition of Fray Luis de León's treatise *De los nombres de Christo*.¹¹ These paintings by Zurbarán, then, would indeed be of the Mystic Lamb, conveyed as a sort of *bodegón a lo divino* (a still life 'with a sacred meaning', in the words of Emilio Orozco),¹² later circulated through copies by the Portuguese painter Josefa de Óbidos (Seville, 1630-Óbidos, 1684), made gentler by the presence of ribbons and flower garlands¹³ (figs. 9 and 10). The felicitous rediscovery and painstaking conservation of this *Lamb with its Legs Bound*, a work of undeniable quality, is particularly interesting because it is Zurbarán's first version of the subject, stunningly realistic in the rendering of the woolly fleece and the resigned expression of the little creature with its eyes shut. Only a great painter of animals could achieve such a masterpiece, and with such extraordinary evocative power. His phenomenal attention to the texture of the ivory-hued wool, the beautifully-curved horns, the hooves and even the little bit of cord, lends a truly impressive presence to this humble young Merino ram. Our picture differs most from the other versions in the dimensions of the canvas, which are considerably larger here, and especially in the curious off-centre compositional layout of the young sheep, whose muzzle almost touches the left edge of the picture space, while his tail is set against a sizeable dark space. In spite of the secularisation of our era, Zurbarán's *Lambs* continue to startle us, thanks to the remarkable union of art, religion and poetry. This painting is one of the numerous examples of subjects that he created on his own – something that certainly suited the religious faith of his contemporaries, and explains why he was the dominant painter in Seville throughout the second quarter of the 1600s.

Odile Delenda



Fig. 9
Josefa de Óbidos, *Agnus Dei*,
Évora, Museu Regional

Fig. 10
Josefa de Óbidos, *Agnus Dei*,
Irmandade de Nossa
Senhora das Dores e Santa
Ana dos Congregados

9 Oil on canvas, 35.56 x 52.07 cm
11 Salamanca edition, 1600, folios 249-250.

12 E. Orozco Díaz, *Temas del Barroco*, Granada 1942, facsimile ed., Granada 1989.

13 See Josefa de Obidos of Portugal. *The Sacred and the Profane*, exh. cat., Washington D.C., National Museum of Women in the Arts (June-July 1997); London, European Academy of Arts (October-November 1997), no. 17, *Agnus Dei*, oil on canvas, 88 x 116 cm, Évora, Museu Regional; and no. 18, *Agnus Dei*, oil on canvas, 85.3 x 104.5 cm, signed and dated 1680, Irmandade de Nossa Senhora das Dores e Santa Ana dos Congregados.