

May 2014

Images of the Last Judgment in Seville: Pacheco, Herrera el Viejo, and the Phenomenological Experience of Fear and Evil

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IMAGES OF THE LAST JUDGMENT IN SEVILLE: PACHECO, HERRERA EL
VIEJO, AND THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL EXPERIENCE OF FEAR AND EVIL

by

Juan José López

A Thesis Submitted in

Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in Art History

at

The University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee

May 2014

ABSTRACT
IMAGES OF THE LAST JUDGMENT IN SEVILLE: PACHECO, HERRERA EL
VIEJO, AND THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL EXPERIENCE OF FEAR AND EVIL

by

Juan J. López

The University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee, 2014
Under the supervision of Professor Tanya J. Tiffany

During the early stages of the seventeenth century in Seville, images of the Last Judgment participated in a long artistic tradition of inspiring fear about the impending apocalypse. This thesis focuses on two paintings of the Last Judgment, one by Francisco Pacheco for the church of St. Isabel in 1614 and the other by Francisco Herrera el Viejo for the church of St. Bernardo in 1628. Pacheco was an influential artist and theoretician in the development of Sevillian art, who substantiated the core values of the Counter-Reformation. In a similar way, Herrera's participation in such development was vital because he was one of the first artists to experiment with naturalism in Seville. The Last Judgment paintings by Pacheco and Herrera sought to activate viewers' consciousness and self-assessment on their actions, and thus modify their behavior. By interpreting primary sources such as Pacheco's *Arte de la Pintura*, this thesis investigates the cultural impact of these paintings through phenomenological methods. These methods derive from theoretical materials formulated by Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Louis Lankford, and Paul Ricœur. The goal of these methods is to describe the experience of fear and evil in response to the Last Judgment paintings by Pacheco and Herrera. The results of this study illustrate the cultural perspective of evil by placing these paintings in relation to other popular and institutional manifestations of religion, particularly the Spanish *auto de fé*.

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Introduction

In the Catholic faith, the doctrine of the Last Judgment encapsulates the fear of the afterlife by presenting the possibilities of spiritual condemnation and salvation. This fear intensifies during humanity's most vulnerable deathbed moments, when agonizing believers have the final opportunity to evaluate their own deeds. This doctrine stresses that everyone is susceptible to the eternal punishments of hell unless their faults against God and the Church are processed through the sacrament of penance. Under these circumstances, the Church has assumed the indispensable role as facilitator of humanity's salvation. Since its early days, the Church has designed, produced, and exhibited images of the Last Judgment that instill the fear of God.

In this thesis, I analyze the effects of Last Judgment images produced in 17th-century Spain. My focus is on two images of the Last Judgment by two influential artists in Seville during the first third of the century. The scholar Francisco Pacheco (1564 – 1644) painted one of these images in 1614, and was commissioned for a patron's burial site at the church of St. Isabel (Figure 1). Francisco Herrera el Viejo (1587 – 1654) painted the second image in 1629 as a commission for the church of St. Bernardo (Figure 2). My goal is to describe the cultural response to these images and investigate their significance within their larger artistic, social, and religious contexts.

In this culture, where religion was embedded in every level of social and political structure, the population behaved according to its expectations of the

afterlife.¹ In this thesis, I seek to provide a new perspective on the contextual experience of fear and describe 17th-century cultural attitudes towards the philosophical problem of evil. In order to accomplish the objectives of this project, I approach the images by employing the phenomenological methodologies of perception and hermeneutics. I rely on Louis Lankford's method of art criticism,² which is based on the theory of perception by Maurice Merleau-Ponty,³ to describe my visual analysis and response to the paintings. I also utilize the hermeneutic theory by Paul Ricoeur to interpret primary sources in relation to the notion of evil in early modern Spain.⁴ One of these sources is Pacheco's art treatise, *Arte de la Pintura* (1649), which provides Pacheco's iconographical investigation and artistic criticism on representations of the Last Judgment.⁵ The next source is a 16th-century Spanish treatise of the Last Judgment by Nicolás Díaz that describes a contextual doctrine of the subject.⁶ Another primary source is the compilation of 17th-century Sevillian sermons, collected by Miguel Ángel Núñez Beltrán.⁷ The last source derives from the personal reflections of the religious leader and art patron, Miguel de Mañara.⁸ I select these sources to concentrate on issues that relate to the doctrine of the Last Judgment and its historical significance during this period of time.

¹ Enriqueta Vila Vilar and Lourdes Kuethe, "La Idea de Nobleza y el 'más allá': Advocaciones religiosas en los testamentos," *Boletín de la Real academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras: Minervae baeticae* 34 (2006): 213-233.

² Louis Lankford, "A Phenomenological Methodology for Art Criticism," *Studies in Art Education* (1984): 151-158.

³ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, (London: Routledge, 2012).

⁴ Paul Ricoeur, *The Symbolism of Evil*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986).

⁵ Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, Edited by Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990).

⁶ Nicolás Díaz, *Tratado del Iuyzio Final en el qual se hallaran muchas cosas muy prouechosas y curiosas*, (Valladolid: Diego Fernández de Cordoua y Ouiedo, 1588).

⁷ Miguel Ángel Núñez Beltrán, *La Oratoria Sagrada de la Época del Barroco: Doctrina, Cultura y Actitud ante la Vida desde los Sermones Sevillanos del Siglo XVII*, (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2000).

⁸ Miguel de Mañara, *Discurso de la Verdad*, Edited by Vicentelo de Leca (Madrid: A. Gómez Fuentenebro, 1878).

In chapter one, I provide a brief summary of the iconographical origins of the representations of Last Judgment. Although I use Spanish artwork to exemplify such developments, I discuss the foreign artistic influences that shaped the Spanish iconography of this subject. The next topic establishes the historical contexts of these paintings, so I discuss the artistic, economic, and religious history of Seville during the 17th century. The last two sections of this chapter provide Pacheco and Herrera's biographical information, and historical material on their *Last Judgment* paintings.

In chapter two, I apply methodologies based on the phenomenology of perception and hermeneutics to the works of Pacheco and Herrera. As part of my methodology, I provide a brief review of the primary sources and define their function in this investigation. In the following section, I employ phenomenology to argue that the paintings' viewers associate themselves with the resurrected body in the pictorial frame. Therefore, I focus my discussion on the phenomenological connotations of the resurrected body. This chapter ends with my implementation of Lankford's methods to develop my phenomenological descriptions of the paintings, which include visual and formal analyses.

In the final chapter, I relate my phenomenological descriptions to the primary sources through the lens of Ricœur's theory of evil. I explain the philosophical basis of his theory and discuss the origins of the Judeo-Christian problem of evil. I examine the theological explanations for the existence of evil in the world by comparing Díaz and Ricœur's arguments. This discussion leads to the objectification of evil as the figure of Satan, so I interpret Pacheco's artistic direction to depict the Devil through Ricœur's material on this subject. Ricœur approaches the problem of evil by dividing it into three hermeneutic symbols: sin, defilement, and guilt. I

employ these symbols to interpret the Inquisition's understanding of and attitude toward evil in the forms of heresy, witchcraft, and sodomy. I also discuss the manifestation of guilt as the fear of divine punishment. In the following section, I address the relationship between the Last Judgment and the Inquisition's performance of the *auto de fé*: the ritual for the public execution of heretics, witches, and sodomites. The last part of this chapter focuses on the effects of the symbol of guilt on an individual basis through my interpretations of Mañara's reflections.

Images of the Last Judgment, particularly the works by Pacheco and Herrera, facilitate viewers' participation in an event that has not occurred, but that has been substantiated by sacred texts. These pictures compel viewers to fear God's judgment; a fear that encourages believers to treat every thought, decision, and action as part of the final preparation for death.⁹ Thus, images of the Last Judgment permit a profound analysis of fear in early modern Spanish culture.¹⁰

⁹ Cinta Canterla González, "El Cielo y el Infierno en el Imaginario Español del Siglo XVIII," *Cuadernos Dieciochistas* 5 (2004): 90.

¹⁰ Adrian Anthony McFarlane, *A Grammar of Fear and Evil*, (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 83-109.

Chapter 1

When the Spanish King, Phillip III, agonized on his deathbed in March of 1621, his uncontrollable anguish increased as he feared God's judgment.¹ Spiritual advisors attempted to alleviate such fear by reminding the king about his religious role in achieving the official recognition of the Immaculate Conception doctrine and the canonization of several Spanish saints.² However, the king did not seem to find satisfaction on these achievements and continued to dread the consequences of divine judgment. This fear of damnation would have been reinforced by the imagery of the Last Judgment, which enacts fears and anxieties that are associated with the apocalypse.

After the Council of Trent of 1563, churchmen employed images of the Last Judgment to stress the importance of reaching a good death by inspiring the fear of God and the potential consequences of purgatory or hell. As a result, Spanish churches and patrons commissioned images of the Last Judgment to decorate side chapels and burials. These images were called *Retablo de Animas* (Souls' Retable) and their function was mainly to promote piety and prayers for the suffering souls in need of redemption.³ The Last Judgment paintings by Pacheco and Herrera participated in such indoctrination. However, these artworks also provided opportunities to investigate the pictures' iconographic decorum and experiment with a new style of representation during the transition to naturalism in Spanish art.

¹ Rosemary Mulcahy, "Images of Power and Salvation," In *El Greco to Velázquez: Art During the Reign of Philip III*, by Sarah Schroth and Ronni Baer, (Boston: MFA Publications, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2008), 123-124.

² Ibid. Phillip III was instrumental in the canonization and beatification of the following Spanish saints: Juan de Sahagún (1603), Raymundo de Peñafort (1605), Ignatius Loyola (1609), Luis Beltrán (1613), Teresa de Avila (1614), Tomás de Villanueva (1618), Pascual Baylon (1618), Francis Xavier (1619), and Isidore the farm worker (1619).

³ Mónica Domínguez Torres, "Imágenes de Dos reinos: Las Interpretaciones del Juicio Universal en el Orbe Hispánico del Seiscentos," *Archivo Español de Arte* 15, no. 299 (2002): 327-334.

The Last Judgment in Art

In Christian belief, the Last Judgment is one of the Four Final Things that will occur during the last days of the world. These apocalyptic things are Death, Judgment, Hell, and Heaven, which are also defined as eschatology.⁴ This notion originates from the prophecies in the book of Daniel (Daniel 12:1-5 DV), Gospel of St. Matthew (Matthew 25: 31-56 DV), and Book of Revelation by St. John the Evangelist (Revelation 20:11–15 DV). The Last Judgment symbolizes the triumph of Christ in his second coming to resurrect humanity and judge its deeds. Artistic representations of the Last Judgment are meant to validate the prophecy as they promote redemption for the pious and fear for the impious.⁵

Early medieval artists established iconographic conventions and elaborated the composition of the Last Judgment images into three sections. The top section contains the *parousia* or the glorious Second Coming, in which Christ appears enclosed in a radiant mandorla and surrounded by angels, saints, and martyrs. In that section, the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist are present on each side of Christ as active intercessors for humanity, and the combination of these three figures is called *deesis*.⁶ The lower sections display the division of the blessed from the damned souls, and these are aligned to Christ's right or left hands respectively. At his right side, the faithful rise from their tombs while they are guided to heaven by angels; heaven is depicted as a garden, mountain, or celestial city. On Christ's left side, the condemned are tortured by demons and dragged to the burning innards of

⁴ Robert Hughes, *Heaven and Hell in Western Art*, (New York: Stein and Day, 1968), 13.

⁵ Bernadine Barnes, *Michelangelo's Last Judgment: The Renaissance Response*, (Los Angeles: University of California, 1998), 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

the earth, where hell is believed to be located. The left and right orientations of this image carry significant symbolic power in relation to good and evil.

David Woodward makes a compelling analogy between the images of the Last Judgment with the medieval *mappaemundie* (Figure 3).⁷ The map consists of a circle divided into three sections that form the letter “T” in the center, and these divisions are based on bodies of water that separate the continents. The top semicircle, or the largest area, represents Asia and corresponds to the section of the *parousia* that is thought to occur from the east. The European continent coincides with the section of the blessed, while Africa appears on the section of hell.

Some images of the Last Judgment contain additional iconography that refers to the instruments of the passion such as the column, flail, nails, holy cross, and the crown of thorns. The image may also display four angels playing trumpets in different directions, and these represent the four blowing winds. But the most common symbol in this image is the scale that is used to weigh the souls of the resurrected and is usually carried by the Archangel St. Michael. The iconography of Last Judgment images became even more intricate after the 14th century, when Dante Alighieri’s *Divine Comedy* served as a rich source of inspiration, mainly to depict images of hell and demons.⁸ Dante’s influence is evident in iconography associated with Classical mythology and the division of hell into subcategories.

⁷ David Woodward, “Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space in Medieval World Maps,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* (1985): 515.

⁸ Barnes, 18-20.

Iconographical Development

Margarita Vila explores the changing of the Last Judgment from Early Christian art to the Early Modern period.⁹ According to Vila, some of the first instances appear on sarcophagi reliefs in European catacombs from the 3rd or 4th century, containing images of Lazarus, Daniel, or Jonas that refer to the resurrection of the body. Inferences on divine judgment derive from the gospel of St. Matthew and appear on sarcophagi that display Christ separating sheep from goats.¹⁰ In this representation, the group of sheep symbolizes the elected souls, while the goats are the condemned.

During the Middle Ages, scenes of the Last Judgment developed in various media and departed from their original funerary contexts. Some instances include painted manuscripts from illuminators such as Maius, who worked in the 10th century and represented the Last Judgment by organizing the iconographical program in several registers (Figure 4). On the left folio, the top register displays Christ in a mandorla and surrounded by two angels, while the bottom three registers depict groups of apostles with saints welcoming the blessed. The right folio has three registers representing damned souls during judgment and punishment. Maius states

⁹ Margarita Vila, "Orígenes Medievales de las Representaciones Barrocas del Infierno y el Paraíso," Edited by Norma Campos Vera and Teresa Gisbert. *Entre Cielos e Infiernos: Memoria del V Encuentro Internacional sobre Barroco*, (La Paz: Fundación Visión Cultural, 2010): 62-74.

¹⁰ Matt. 25: 31-34. 31 And when the Son of man shall come in his majesty, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit upon the seat of his majesty. 32 And all nations shall be gathered together before him, and he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats: 33 And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on his left. 34 Then shall the king say to them that shall be on his right hand: Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

that he painted the manuscript so the "wise may fear the coming of the future judgment of the world's end."¹¹

Public images of the Last Judgment were designed specifically to promote communal fear. These artworks were often created in relief sculpture and placed on the tympanums above the main entrance of churches and cathedrals. Such images were part of the first and last impressions on pilgrims who travelled across Europe and completed their journey at the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in Northern Spain. This cathedral's main entrance or *Portico de la Gloria* (c. 1188) has three arched gates that depict apocalyptic passages of salvation on the central tympanum and flanking archivolts (Figure 5). These passages are Christ in glory surrounded by the evangelists, the elected, angels carrying instruments of the passion, and the elders of the apocalypse. The archivolt on the right displays demons torturing the condemned souls.¹² Visual characteristics of the tortured souls allow the viewer to identify sinful actions with their consequential punishment. In addition, the artists labeled the human body with text indicating the actions committed against god.

Images of the Last Judgment also appeared inside churches, cemeteries, monasteries, or other religious buildings. Such images were displayed in the form of monumental frescos, sculpture, mosaics, or altarpieces. At the Cathedral of Toledo, for instance, Juan de Borgoña painted a Last Judgment scene around 1509 as part of a cycle of frescos decorating the monastery's Chapter Room (Figure 6). This fresco encapsulates the iconographical development of the Last Judgment; it neatly organizes the composition, allowing the viewer to read the visual program without

¹¹ Quoted in: "Apocalypse Then: Medieval Illuminations from the Morgan," The Morgan Library and Museum, n.d. <http://www.themorgan.org/collections/swf/exhibOnline.asp?id=551> (accessed January 12, 2013).

¹² Vila, 65.

difficulties. The *parousia* displays Christ as divine Judge, flanked by Mary on his right side, and St. John the Baptist on his left. Apostles and saints appear seated on a celestial tribunal with crowds of elected souls observing the judgment. The holy cross, symbol of Christ's sacrifice, divides the bottom register, where the blessed and the damned are highly contrasted. The blessed souls arise from their tombs, while praying and kneeling below the *parousia*. On the other side, the condemned are forced out of the earth and pushed into a chaotic group of sinners and demons.¹³ The technical artistic advances of the Renaissance are evident in the naturalistic rendition of poses and gestures in Borgoña's figures. The context of this fresco implies additional information about alternative functions of the pictorial theme because it was also displayed in locations where tribunals took place.¹⁴ The Chapter room for example, serves as place for communal meeting and prayer, but is also where reprimands are delivered to erratic friars. Borgoña's *Last Judgment* demonstrates that depictions of the body gained special semiotic significance by helping to shape the viewer's conceptions of good and evil. In this painting, the orderly clean bodies assume pious postures, which incites viewers to behave in this manner as symbolic means of salvation. The alternative perception of the body appears to Christ's left side, where the bodies are distressed, tortured and helpless.

Seville in 17th Century Contexts

Seville's history has two sides: one of cultural and artistic flourishing, while the other side was a series of natural and economic tragedies. On the positive side, it was a prosperous and wealthy city that fomented a rich intellectual culture that is part of what we know today as the Spanish Golden Age. The city's rapid development

¹³ Jonathan Brown, *Painting in Spain: 1500-1700*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 24-26.

¹⁴ Barnes, 8.

was due to its function as trading port to the Americas. By 1575 it was the exclusive access to the New World. Seville was a source of economic opportunities that attracted merchants and artists from other Spanish cities, Northern Europe and Italy, becoming the largest city in the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁵ The cultural diversity of Seville was unique from other European cities of the time. Besides the incoming immigrants, the population consisted of Spanish families that had converted to Christianity after the expulsion of the Moors and Jews by the turn of the 16th century. It is also important to take into consideration that incoming African slaves were brought to Seville, which played a central role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Lastly, there was a constant influx of travelers that stayed and mingled with Sevillian residents for short periods of time, bringing new ideas and economic prosperity.

On the negative side of its history, Seville suffered a slow downturn since 1561, when King Phillip II established the permanent Spanish royal court in Madrid. This event affected Seville because it had long served as one of the King's temporary residencies in Andalucía.¹⁶ During and after the reign of Phillip II, there were signs of governmental corruption and mismanagement of economic funds, which led to increasing economic crises and poverty. In the first half of the 17th century, Seville was a victim of natural disasters, plagues, and famine.¹⁷ The Guadalquivir River inundated the city several times, and deadly epidemic waves, like the bubonic plague of 1649, reduced the population by half. Another decisive factor in the decline of Seville's economic system was the relocation of its exclusive port to Cadiz.¹⁸ After this point, Seville was not able to recover its former grandeur.

¹⁵ Brown, 99.

¹⁶ Ibid., 48.

¹⁷ Antonio Martínez, *Francisco de Herrera "El Viejo"*, (Sevilla: Excma. Diputación Provincial, 1978), 1-3.

¹⁸ Brown, 200.

The religious fervor of Seville was strengthened in the wake of the Council of Trent, when the population strove to prove its strong Catholicism despite its Muslim and Jewish past. The prolific construction of churches, convents, and monasteries signaled the city's dedication to renew and defend the Catholic faith.¹⁹ The numbers of friars, nuns and church officials grew exponentially, which secured the economic power of the Spanish Church in Seville.²⁰ The new buildings required extensive decoration and this demand provided fertile grounds for artistic development and innovation.²¹ Private patronage also played an important role on the artistic production of religious images, and some of their commissions were designed for a specific church as a form of indulgences for personal salvation.²²

There were some exceptional patrons, such as the Duke of Alcalá, who contributed to the production of art by providing access to his personal art collection, and facilitating resources for the intellectual discourse in Seville. These patrons were engaged in erudite communities considered as literary academies, and their members were humanists including poets, writers, artists, and historians. At the beginning of the 17th century, there were at least four different academies sharing members and communicating with each other. Francisco Pacheco was the leader of one of these academies, which was attended by nobility such as the Duke of Alcalá, and humanists like Juan de Jauregui and Pablo de Céspedes.²³ These literary

¹⁹ Tanya J Tiffany, *Diego Velázquez's Early Paintings and the Culture of Seventeenth-Century Seville*, (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 23. Tiffany states that around 169 convents and monasteries were constructed during the 16th century, at the same time that older churches were expanded. This construction boon is due to the renewed monastic interests from the Council of Trent.

²⁰ Martínez, 4. This economic security was in the form of rent and according to Martínez, it was a concern to the Court in Madrid.

²¹ Brown, 99. Brown states that by the year 1600, there were 30 artistic masters to satisfy the commission of a population of 100,000.

²² Manuel Barbadillo, *Pacheco, su Tierra y su Tiempo*, (Jerez de la Frontera: Jerez Industrial, 1963), 78.

²³ Martínez, 4. Martínez lists the leaders and some members for each academy during the 16th and 17th centuries. Fernando Colón managed one of the first academies, which inspired the opening of future ones.

academies were not like the pedagogical institutions as we know them today; they were rather exclusive societies focused on humanistic learning. The members of these academies were interested in analyzing ancient texts in Latin or Greek, as well as investigating Classical art and history. Wealthy members such as the Duke of Alcalá collected ancient sculptures imported from Italy, so the rest of the academy's scholars would have the opportunity to study and write about their investigations.²⁴ Besides the focus on humanistic learning, the academies also aimed to investigate facts from biblical and theological inquiries.

Jonathan Brown offers a chronological sequence of influential artists working in Seville, and provides a picture of the artistic development in this city.²⁵ Brown starts his sequence in the first half of the 16th century with the work of Alejo Fernández, whose works demonstrate the prevalent Flemish style of the time and the artist's experimentation with Italianate linear perspective. In the second half of the 16th century, Pieter Kempeneer and Luis de Vargas became the leading artists, and their art was influential for future generations. Himself a Fleming, Kempeneer worked in the Flemish style, while Vargas practiced Italian Mannerism. The works of these artists reflect the Flemish and Italian stylistic symbiosis in Seville.²⁶ By the first quarter of the 17th century, the influential artists in Seville were Vasco Pereira, Alonso Vázquez, Juan de Roelas, Francisco Pacheco, and Francisco Herrera el Viejo.

These other academies were managed by Juan de Malara, the Count of Gelves, Juan de Arguijo, and the Duke of Alcalá. Francisco Pacheco was the leader of Malara's academy, but he attended other academies such as the Duke of Alcalá's.

²⁴ Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 21-43.

²⁵ Brown, *Painting in Spain: 1500-1700*, 27-100.

²⁶ Ibid, 40-41. According to Brown, Kempeneer worked in Seville until 1562, when he returned to his native Brussels. Even though his work is mainly in the Flemish style, he utilized some Italian elements based on prints since he never traveled to Italy. On the other hand, Vargas traveled to Florence and had communication with Mannerist artists, particularly with Giorgio Vasari. Kempeneer and Vargas receive major commissions to decorate the cathedral of Seville.

Working in Italian and Flemish styles, these artists are considered to be the foundations for the development of Spanish art during the Golden Age.

Flemish and Italian Influences

The development of 17th-century Spanish art thus descends from a long-standing cultural communication with other European regions, predominantly with Flanders and Italy. By the beginning of the 17th century, Spanish artists such as Pacheco and Herrera fostered both styles to generate their own technical and stylistic approaches. One of the most influential Flemish artists in Spain at that time was Maarten de Vos (1532 – 1603). His painting of the *Last Judgment* (1570) for the convent church of S. Agustín had a remarkable influence in Seville in addition to his prolific print production (Figure 7). This *Last Judgment* by de Vos displays the characteristic Flemish stylistic qualities of intense colors and vivid details. The iconography shows the traditional representations of the mouth of hell, supporting angels, torturing demons, and the purgatory at the center of the picture. In this painting, de Vos exhibits his engagement with Michelangelo on the anatomical emphasis on depicting male musculature that communicates dramatic movement.

The Italian stylistic influence on Spanish art stemmed from political and religious transitions during the 16th century. In the increasing power of the Spanish monarchy, Charles V and his heir Phillip II had a keen interest in Italian art, specifically on the works by Titian. The Italian presence in the royal collection expanded during the reign of Phillip II, who also brought Italian artists to decorate his monumental *Escorial*.²⁷ Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* initiated the discussion on artistic theory and was instrumental in raising the practice of art to the

²⁷ Ibid., 7.

realm of erudition. By the end of the 16th century, Vasari's theory predominated Sevillian intellectual circles and had great impact on Pacheco's artistic and academic goals.²⁸

Widely known through prints, Michelangelo's (1475 – 1564) *Last Judgment* painted in 1541 at the Sistine Chapel, had a profound influence on the later production of images of the Last Judgment (Figure 8). Michelangelo emphasized the depiction of human figures with extreme contortions, disproportionate anatomies, and compositions that explore new applications of the pictorial space. These artistic interests resulted in heated controversies regarding the religious function of art.²⁹ These controversies informed the paintings of the Last Judgment by Pacheco and Herrera.

In the following chapter, I will discuss more in detail the significant influence of de Vos and Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* on the versions by Pacheco and Herrera. My discussion will focus on Pacheco's critical approach to artistic authorship, pictorial decorum, and religious relevance of these images. In the case of Herrera's work, I concentrate on his aesthetic approach to the anatomical treatment of nudes in the section of hell, as well as his attempt to depict these bodies in naturalistic fashion.

Francisco Pacheco

Pacheco was baptized as Francisco Pérez del Río. He was born in 1564 to Juan Perez and Leonor del Río.³⁰ He grew up in the small port town of Sanlúcar de Barrameda, which is located about 60 miles southwest of Seville. Pacheco and his

²⁸ Anne-Sophie Molinié, "Giorgio Vasari, Francisco Pacheco et le Jugement Dernier," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez, Nouvelle série*, 41, n° 2 (2011): 165-184.

²⁹ Barnes, 71-101.

³⁰ Bardillo, 23.

three siblings grew up in a family dedicated to seafaring, until their parents died leaving the young children in their uncle's guardianship. The name of this uncle was Francisco Pacheco, and he held a powerful position as a canon for the cathedral of Seville. The canon supported the orphans in Seville and helped them to find apprenticeships in different trades. Before 1580, the canon placed the young Pacheco as apprentice in the art workshop of Luis Fernández, about whom little is known.³¹

By 1599, the artist Pacheco was an independent painter and headed his own workshop. He changed his name to Francisco Pacheco around the time he succeeded his uncle as the director of a group of humanist intellectuals and artists in Seville. By changing his name, he enjoyed the benefits of his uncle's reputation and social contacts.³² Pacheco became the leading artist in Seville from 1616 to 1626, until patronage favored the works by Francisco de Zurbarán and Francisco Herrera el Viejo.³³ During his active years, Pacheco obtained three important positions in the cultural and artistic institutions in Seville. In addition to directing the informal humanist academy, he also served as the governor of the painter's guild and artistic supervisor of sacred art for the Spanish Inquisition.³⁴ Pacheco's highest achievement was his art treatise *Arte de la Pintura* in 1649, published five years after his death.³⁵

Pacheco developed the *Arte de la Pintura* over a period of forty years, and his writing reflects the Sevillian ideology of the humanist poets, writers, theologians, and artists who attended his academy.³⁶ Pacheco's theory was particularly informed by

³¹ Enrique Valdivieso and Juan M Serrera, *Historia de la Pintura Española: Escuela sevillana del primer tercio del siglo XVII*, (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, Departamento de Historia del Arte "Diego Velázquez", 1985), 16.

³² *Ibid.*, 17.

³³ *Ibid.*, 19.

³⁴ Brown, *Painting in Spain: 1500-1700*, 101-102.

³⁵ Valdivieso and Serrera, 20.

³⁶ Brown, *Painting in Spain: 1500-1700*, 102.

the erudite Pablo Céspedes, who was Pacheco's close friend and fellow artist.³⁷ The treatise consists of three books, each covering a different topic, with an extensive appendix that serves as a manual for appropriate iconography in sacred art. In the first book, Pacheco argues that painting is a superior art form to sculpture because noblemen practiced painting throughout history, while sculpture was practiced by the lower classes. The second book compiles previous treatises, mainly by Italian theorists, and proclaims the practice of painting as a dignified liberal art equal to poetry. The last book describes painting techniques, materials, and art theories on representations of nature, as well as artistic masterpieces.³⁸ Pacheco's goals with his treatise was to elevate the status of art in Spain and to convince audiences that painters were responsible for leading the faithful to God.³⁹

Today, Francisco Pacheco is more famous for being the teacher and father-in-law of Diego Velázquez than for his own oeuvre. Surprisingly, the stylistic associations between master and pupil are minimal since Velázquez's art does not even resemble the work of Pacheco. Pacheco's style is defined as Late Mannerism and is influenced by the same Italian and Flemish trends that inspired the work of Maarten de Vos, Pablo Céspedes, and Alonso Vázquez.⁴⁰ Scholars describe Pacheco's oeuvre as mediocre, monotone and restricted by pictorial orthodoxy. Valdivieso and Serrera, for instance, claim that Pacheco's work lacks creativity and fails to portray life or movement.⁴¹ Brown agrees with Valdivieso and Serrera, describing Pacheco's

³⁷ Valdivieso and Serrera, 20.

³⁸ Ibid., 21. Valdivieso and Serrera state that Pacheco had limited knowledge about painting from nature of other works of art since the artist painted in Mannerist style and from engravings.

³⁹ Brown, *Painting in Spain: 1500-1700*, 102.

⁴⁰ Valdivieso and Serrera, 24-25.

⁴¹ Ibid.

compositions as “disjointed with dry execution”.⁴² These stylistic appraisals may be correct, but Pacheco’s art also exhibits ingenious iconography and clear pictorial message.

Pacheco’s influence transformed the creation and understanding of painting among his contemporary artists and intellectuals. The productive investigations of Pacheco’s academy resulted in texts concentrating on the accuracy of iconography to depict sacred subjects. Pacheco documented his research methods in *Arte de la Pintura* and painstakingly stated how to implement his results when painting religious images. This interest in iconographic accuracy was one of the goals of the Council of Trent, and it was implemented to authenticate the truth of scripture and indoctrinate believers in the Catholic faith. Pacheco’s influence among his peers was reinforced by his position within the Spanish Inquisition as iconographical supervisor.

Brown uses Pacheco’s *Christ on the Cross* of 1614 as an example of the artist’s preoccupation with appropriate iconography and his prominent presence in the artistic production of Seville (Figure 9).⁴³ Pacheco’s inquiries regarding the correct number of nails used in the crucifixion led him to a series of investigations with the poet and scholar Francisco de Rioja. This research concluded that a historically correct crucifixion utilized four nails, and this result is evident in Pacheco’s

⁴² Scholars such as Valdivieso, Serrera, and Brown mention Pacheco’s lack of artistic skills to correctly depict anatomy, perspective, and color.

⁴³ Johnathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*, 70-71. Brown states that Pacheco’s arguments on the appropriate use of four nails, rather than three, in crucifixion scenes influenced other artists such as Velázquez and Zurbarán.

painting.⁴⁴ Pacheco's legacy materialized when future artists like Velázquez and Zurbarán represented images of the Crucifixion with four nails.

Pacheco's large altarpiece depicting the *Last Judgment* was commissioned by Hernando de Palma on July 28, 1610. The work was designed to decorate de Palma's tomb at the church of St. Isabel in Seville, and the contract states that Pacheco received 500 ducats to complete this work in a year.⁴⁵ Pacheco completed this painting after a trip through Castile, where he studied the art of El Greco, El Escorial, and the royal collections.⁴⁶ Thus, this painting is relevant in studying Pacheco's art because it reflects the artist's stylistic changes after his significant travel to Castile.

Bardillo states that Pacheco had a predilection for this work because it allowed him to study its iconography, and make an affective devotional image.⁴⁷ Pacheco's preference for his own painting is also apparent because he dedicates two chapters in the second book of his art treatise to discussing the image's decorum and iconography.⁴⁸ This image was formulated after adaptations from Flemish prints, and it demonstrates the Late-Mannerist style persistent in Pacheco's art.⁴⁹

At first glance, Pacheco's *Last Judgment* may seem ordinary because of its clear and simple iconographic program. Nevertheless, I argue that Pacheco's clearness and simplicity were key factors to explain his success as artist and scholar. The compositional arrangement and iconographical program are perfectly defined, so the viewer does not face any confusion on understating the content. These aspects of sacred art were expected and praised by the Catholic Church after the Council of

⁴⁴ Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, Ed. Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990), 70-71.

⁴⁵ Valdivieso and Serrera, 79.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴⁷ Brown, *Painting in Spain: 1500-1700*, 105.

⁴⁸ Pacheco, 307-351.

⁴⁹ Valdivieso and Serrera, 28.

Trent. Pacheco's *Last Judgment* stood *in situ* until the French invasion of 1810, when the Marshal Jean-de-Dieu Soult looted this and other works, and took them to France.⁵⁰ Today, this work still contains its original retable, and belongs to the Musée Goya des Castres.

Francisco Herrera el Viejo

Antonio Martínez is the leading scholar investigating the life and work of Herrera el Viejo. Martínez attempts to refute the negative views regarding Herrera's art and personality that derived from unfounded historiography.⁵¹ This historiography describes Herrera as an irascible artist whose artworks were crude and unattractive. I agree with Martínez when he asserts that the current historiography is not productive and misinforms our knowledge about the artist. It is important to approach Herrera's work by following reliable primary sources, rather than utilizing sources built on rumors such as the work by Antonio Palomino,⁵² who was a 17th-century Spanish artist and scholar.

According to Martínez, Francisco de Herrera Aguilar el Viejo, or senior, was born in Seville not earlier than 1587. He grew up in a family of manuscript illuminators and printmakers, so he received artistic training from his father at a very early age. It has been suggested that Herrera was Pacheco's pupil from 1604 to 1608, but this fact has not been corroborated. In any case, Herrera started his independent workshop by 1609 specializing in the art of printmaking. Shortly after, the artist achieved a successful reputation in oil painting. Brown places Herrera,

⁵⁰ Bardillo, 110.

⁵¹ Antonio Martínez, "Francisco de Herrera el Viejo, Un Joven Pintor en Pos de la Modernidad," in *De Herrera a Velázquez*, Ed. Alfonso E Pérez Sánchez y Benito Navarrete Prieto (Sevilla: Focus Abengoa, 2005), 83.

⁵² *Ibid*, 84.

along with Zurbarán, as one of the most influential artists after the period dominated by Pacheco.⁵³

Despite Herrera's success, the artist had some turbulent relationships with the art guild of Seville and his patrons, facing legal action at least two times. The first occurred in 1619 when Herrera refused to take the examination required by the painter's guild. On this occasion, Pacheco intervened on Herrera's behalf. The second legal action originated from the nuns of the convent of Santa Inés in 1630, who complained that Herrera had not completed a commission on time. In 1650, Herrera moved to Madrid due to the economic crisis and a deadly plague in Seville. He continued to work in Madrid with his son Francisco Herrera el Joven or junior, until his death in 1654.⁵⁴

Herrera el Viejo embodies a transitional period to naturalism in Seville during the first quarter of the 17th century. Differing from Velázquez, Herrera starts his career with a strong Late Mannerism, which derives from the Flemish artists who travelled to Italy – such as Maarten de Vos. John Thacher suggests that Herrera's early works resemble Pacheco's art as he infers that Herrera was Pacheco's student.⁵⁵ Both Thacher and Martínez agree that Herrera's first transition to naturalism develops from Juan de Roelas's style, which has strong ties to Venetian art, particularly with artists like Titian and Tintoretto. I agree with this suggestion because Herrera applies Tintoretto's lighting effects and dynamic perspectives in his

⁵³ Brown, *Painting in Spain: 1500-1700*, 201.

⁵⁴ Martínez, "Francisco de Herrera el Viejo, un joven pintor en pos de la modernidad," 86-92.

⁵⁵ John S. Thacher, "The Paintings of Francisco de Herrera, The Elder," *The Art Bulletin* 19, n° 3 (1937): 328-336.

experimentation with naturalism. Nevertheless, Brown convincingly argues that Herrera was deeply influenced by Velázquez's naturalism.⁵⁶

Herrera makes evident his attempts to represent the human body in naturalistic manners by depicting nude figures in his *Last Judgment*, painted in 1628. This large work was a commission for the Sevillian church of San Bernardo, and Herrera received 250 ducats to complete the work in a year.⁵⁷ Martínez and Thacher agree that Herrera built upon the *Last Judgment* by Maarten de Vos, especially in the anatomical rendition of the condemned bodies on the lower right side of the picture. Herrera differed from de Vos by arranging a crowded composition and placing the figures in the first plane. His image focuses on the Archangel St. Michael, who appears dividing the blessed from the damned. The figures of St. Michael and the damned are the largest figures, creating an effect of closeness to the viewer.

Thacher describes Herrera's attempt to achieve naturalism when he states that "The painting of the nudes, which according to tradition was a startling innovation, is not new except for the attempt at complete realism."⁵⁸ Thacher demonstrates that Herrera's nudes in his *Last Judgment* were both innovative and followed the expected decorum of the time. Yet, the naturalistic rendition of the condemned bodies expresses a new effect that had not been experienced in past images of the Last Judgment, especially in Seville.

The theoretical and stylistic developments in Seville are clearly evident in the works of the Last Judgment by Pacheco and Herrera. I argue that Pacheco and

⁵⁶ Brown. *Painting in Spain: 1500-1700*, 131-132.

⁵⁷ Martínez, *Francisco de Herrera "El Viejo"*, 94.

⁵⁸ Thacher, 342.

Herrera provided new perspectives of the Last Judgment that reflected the intellectual and artistic concerns of their contexts. Pacheco's approach to the subject matter stresses the orthodoxy of iconography and aims to develop a simple and comprehensible model that can serve as reference for future images. In his theory, he analyzes and redefines the content of the Last Judgment by building on sacred texts, rather than literary sources such as Alighieri's *Divine Comedy*. Thus, Pacheco avoids representing the mouth of hell and minimizes the portrayal of demons that had been elaborated since the Middle Ages. This limited presence of demons emphasizes the fear of divine justice, rather of demons, or the devil. Pacheco also pays close attention to the narrative of the Last Judgment and avoids the representation the resurrection of the body to simplify the content of the image. He argues that the resurrection of the body happens before Judgment, so it is inappropriate to display both at the same time.⁵⁹

Pacheco's theoretical influence also informed the content and composition of the *Last Judgment* by Herrera. However, Herrera experimented with the developing naturalist style, which focuses on the realistic employment of light and anatomical rendition of the body. In the following chapters, I will explore how these naturalistic representations of bodies imply a new understanding of the human body through the process of self-reflection produced by the function of images representing the Last Judgment.

⁵⁹ Pacheco, 332.

Chapter 2

The artistic development of Spanish art at the beginning of the 17th century was dictated by the Council of Trent, which implemented naturalism as the preferred style of visual expression. As seen in chapter one, this artistic development is evident in Last Judgment images by Francisco Pacheco and Francisco Herrera el Viejo. In this chapter, I investigate the perception of the Last Judgment by analyzing and applying phenomenological methods. My focus is on the perception of fear, particularly from the representation of evil in the image's section of hell. I begin by studying the application of phenomenology as my research method and explain its implementation in this project. Next, I analyze phenomenological aspects of the pictorial narrative regarding the resurrection of the body. Lastly, I present my phenomenological descriptions on the Last Judgment works by Pacheco and Herrera. The goal of this chapter is to obtain descriptive data through phenomenological methodology in order to approach the images' impact on 17th-century viewers in Seville.

Primary Sources

In order to describe the historical perception of fear in Sevillian contexts, I approach the works by Pacheco and Herrera by offering phenomenological interpretations of primary sources. The most relevant primary source is of course Pacheco's *Arte de la Pintura*, in which I concentrate on his discussion of iconography in Last Judgment images.¹ This material allows me to develop phenomenological arguments from certain passages, such as in chapter three, where Pacheco narrates the sensual experience of a priest after contemplating the *Last Judgment* by Maarten

¹ Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, Edited by Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990).

de Vos. A second example arises from chapter four, in which Pacheco researches his theological interest in the resurrection of the body before the final judgment.

In addition to *Arte de la Pintura*, I include three other primary sources that convey the problem of evil and the emotion of fear in relation to the Last Judgment. One of these sources is a Spanish treatise on the Last Judgment written in 1588 by the Portuguese Dominican friar Juan Nicolás Díaz.² He interprets sacred texts, hagiographies, and writings from the Church Fathers, among other relevant theological material. He builds upon this material to elaborate explanations on issues regarding the Last Judgment's presages, purpose, location, time, and proceedings. Rather than providing specific answers to such issues, Díaz is more concerned on validating this eschatological doctrine, while concluding that the lack of detailed knowledge about this event is part of God's mysterious salvation plan. Díaz's treatise is significant for this project because it may have circulated among Spanish clergymen and intellectuals, such as Pacheco, and influenced the perception of the Last Judgment in the 17th century.

The next source consists of Miguel de Mañara's self-reflective writings on religiosity and death. Mañara's work, *Discurso de la Verdad*, or Discussion of Truth, was first published in 1671.³ Mañara was an influential intellectual and patron of the arts in Seville, who is remembered as an exemplarily pious man from his charitable works by the second half of the 17th century.⁴ In his writings, he expresses repentance

² Nicolás Díaz, *Tratado del iuyzio final en el qual se hallaran muchas cosas muy prouechosas y curiosas* (Valladolid: Diego Fernández de Cordoua y Ouiedo, 1588).

³ Miguel de Mañara, *Discurso de la Verdad*, Edited by Vicentelo de Leca (Madrid: A. Gómez Fuentenebro, 1878). I selected a later edition published in 1878 by the Association of Catholics in Madrid because this book includes Mañara's testament and some of his letters.

⁴ Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 131.

after sinning against God and his goal is to promote moral self-consciousness and penitence.

The last primary source is a compilation of excerpts from sermons preached in Seville during the 17th century.⁵ Edited by Miguel Ángel Núñez Beltrán, these excerpts illustrate major cultural aspects of Sevillian society and religiosity. Núñez's work is especially helpful for my purposes because it provides insight into sermons preached in churches where Sevillian images of the Last Judgment – like those discussed in this thesis – were displayed. Núñez stresses the significance of sermons as research material because the rhetoric of these texts reflects religious preoccupations of their times. In a period when secular and sacred contexts were not separated, these sermons are historical access points to social and religious issues such as perceptions of penance, indulgence, consequences of earthly actions in the afterlife, and the visions of hell and heaven.⁶ In addition, these sermons demonstrate the way that religious institutions maintain moral and social control by imparting formulaic interpretations of contemporary concerns, news, and events.⁷

Phenomenology and its Methods

Phenomenological methods aim to describe and discover the essence of phenomena such as manifestations of objects and experiences as these appear in the world. Edmund Husserl founded phenomenology as a philosophical discipline, but other philosophers interpreted his work in several different ways. The discipline developed into a philosophical movement of alternative applications such as

⁵ Miguel Ángel Núñez Beltrán, *La Oratoria Sagrada de la Época del Barroco: Doctrina, Cultura y Actitud ante la Vida desde los Sermones Sevillanos del Siglo XVII*, (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2000).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 32-34.

⁷ Hilary Dansey Smith, *Preaching in the Spanish Golden Age: A Study of Some Preachers of the Reign of Phillip III*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

phenomenology of the mind, spirit, and perception.⁸ Primarily in this chapter, I make use of the material in Maurice Merleau-Ponty's *Phenomenology of Perception* in order to obtain descriptive material about the reception of the Last Judgment paintings by Pacheco and Herrera.⁹ In the following chapter, I utilize Paul Ricœur's phenomenological work in *The Symbolism of Evil*, as I focus my attention on the perception of evil and fear from these pictures.¹⁰

Researchers such as Paul Crowther and Joseph Parry stress the importance of developing phenomenological methods in Art History that allow us to understand the viewer's emotional and behavioral response by describing the artwork's semiotic influence.¹¹ My thesis follows the suggestions by Crowther and Parry, as I formulate a methodological analysis of the Last Judgment images. Since this approach has not been applied specifically to images of the Last Judgment, I find it relevant to use this method because of the manner in which it involves the viewer.

Louis Lankford offers a phenomenological approach for art criticism that I employ as a complementary methodology for this thesis. Lankford's method is relevant for this project because he provides explanatory instructions for the appropriate implementation of phenomenology in artistic research. Lankford's methodology consists on the following analytical components: receptiveness, orienting, bracketing, interpretative analysis, and synthesis.¹² According to Lankford, receptiveness is approaching the artwork without pre-conception. Orienting refers to the direction and communication of the critic's perception in

⁸ Dermot Moran, *Introduction to Phenomenology*, (London: Routledge, 2000), 4-6.

⁹ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, (London: Routledge, 2012).

¹⁰ Paul Ricœur, *The Symbolism of evil*, (Vol. 17, Beacon Press, 1986).

¹¹ Joseph D Parry, *Art and Phenomenology*, (London: Routledge, 2011), 1-8.

¹² Louis Lankford, "A Phenomenological Methodology for Art Criticism," *Studies in Art Education* (1984): 151-158.

relation to the content of the image. Bracketing is the application of previous experiences that allow the understanding of meanings in the picture. Finally, interpretative analysis indicates the description of the work as perceived through this process.

Maurice Merleau-Ponty

Lankford seems to have elaborated his research method after the phenomenological theories discussed in *Phenomenology of Perception* by Merleau-Ponty, which analyzes behavioral structures by describing the sensual awareness of the world.¹³ Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological theory attacks the dominance of empiricism as the main approach for scientific investigation and acquirement of knowledge. Merleau-Ponty opens new approaches to exploring subjective corporeal perception and creation of experiences, which are difficult to express by empirical methods. An example of this is Merleau-Ponty's discussion of the complexity of sensing one's own body when holding both hands. In this situation, the hands feel and are felt alternatively, which for Merleau-Ponty conveys self-reflection: the way we experience our own bodies.¹⁴ Merleau-Ponty's perception theory is also informed by the holistic principles of Gestalt psychology, which argues that human perception captures the entirety of an object before understanding the object's features. He explores this psychological theory by studying veterans who suffered brain damage while active in war. Merleau-Ponty notices that although the veterans' bodies were in good condition, they lacked the ability to control movement. Without full mind capabilities, the body is unable to experience the world. Based on such

¹³ Moran, 407-409.

¹⁴ Ibid., 409.

disconnection between body and mind, Merleau-Ponty concludes that the body is a significant medium to sense and understand the world.

I am interested in Merleau-Ponty's discussion of physiological and psychological bodily experiences of the world through sensorial awareness. His description of one's own body is critical for this study, particularly with regards to the theological discussion of the resurrection of the body during the second coming of Christ or *parousia*. I pay close attention to Merleau-Ponty's discussion of the perception of painting, which focuses on the sensory properties of color, shapes, and composition in Cezanne's artworks.¹⁵ Merleau-Ponty provides his interpretation of Cezanne's paintings by describing their pictorial properties and reducing them to their essence. I employ this approach to explore the manner in which 17th-century viewers perceived the paintings of the Last Judgment, based on the same pictorial elements. In general, I am compelled by his encouragement to explore the world with a *phenomenological body* that permits the full range of sensorial capabilities.¹⁶

By following Lankford's phenomenological method, I analyze and compare the works by Pacheco and Herrera, especially in their representations of hell. I explore the artists' formal elements such as composition, color, shapes, and lighting to determine the perceptual impressions of the audience. I also study the stylistic differences, particularly with regards to anatomical renditions of the body's musculature, posture, and facial expression. The artists' styles are relevant to this approach since their mode of depiction communicates very different sensations of the Last Judgment to the viewers. Therefore, I draw conclusions based on the type of

¹⁵ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "Cezanne's Doubt," In *Maurice Merleau-Ponty: Basic Writings*, (London: Routledge, 2003): 272-289.

¹⁶ Moran, 417-426.

engagement that each style provides to the viewers. Throughout this process, I place high emphasis on the pictures' function and original contexts. This information allows me to reconstruct a 17th –century viewers' perception of Last Judgment images.

The primordial way to apply phenomenological methods is by studying the works of art in person so that the analysis can provide accurate description of color, design, scale and context. My investigation is limited because the paintings are in Spain and France. For this study, I rely on digital reproductions of the images from photographs in exhibition catalogues.¹⁷ To study Pacheco's painting, I utilize descriptions provided by the Musée Goya at Castres, France.¹⁸ During these examinations, I maintain awareness that reproduced color, shades, and lighting are approximate, so pictorial effects may vary from the experience of contemplating the original image. Another perceptual challenge is the artworks' scale. Pacheco's *Last Judgment* measurements are 3.38 m high by 2.35 m in length, and Herrera's piece is 4.28 m high by 2.91 m in length. I use the Archangel St. Michael from both works as a point of reference for the rest of the figures in the images. My last limitation is to examine the paintings in original contexts, especially the *Last Judgment* by Pacheco, which is hanging on a museum wall. Fortunately, Herrera's work remained in its original context since its creation, and it is still used for devotional practices. I take advantage of Herrera's *in situ* work to reconstruct the original settings and religious practices of Pacheco's work. In addition, I employ audiovisual material that depicts the interior of the churches of St. Isabel and St. Bernardo in Seville, so I can have a

¹⁷ For Herrera's work, I examine image reproductions and descriptions from the catalogues *De Herrera A Velázquez*, and *Arte de Sevilla*.

¹⁸ Musée Goya - Musée d'art Hispanique. "Le Jugement Dernier," Musée Goya, Castres, 2013, (accessed February 12, 2013). <http://www.musees-midi-pyrenees.fr/musees/musee-goya-musee-d-art-hispanique/collections/peinture-hispanique/francisco-pacheco/le-jugement-dernier/>

sense of the architectural space, sound, and pictorial functions in which the works were displayed.

The Resurrection of the Phenomenological Body

Before advancing to the methodological descriptions of images of the Last Judgment by Pacheco and Herrera, it is important to revisit the phenomenological aspects depicted in these images in relation to the resurrection of the body. These aspects are the act of resurrection, corporeal condition in the afterlife, and narrative qualities of judgment represented in the image. In phenomenological terms, I argue that these aspects of the resurrection serve as significant pictorial features, which engage Christian viewers to achieve a form of embodiment within the painting.¹⁹ This occurs because the image reconstructs a situation, where viewers acknowledge that their own bodies will suffer the transformations described in the theological understanding of the Last Judgment.

Throughout the history of Christianity, theologians, philosophers, and intellectuals have discussed the apocalyptic events at the end of time, especially the conditions of the resurrection of the body. For instance, Pacheco studied closely such eschatological discussions, so he could appropriately depict them in his *Last Judgment*. As Pacheco sought ecclesiastical approbations for his iconography, he received a detailed account about the resurrection of the body from his spiritual guide and personal friend, the priest Gaspar de Zamora.²⁰ Zamora summarizes and attempts to answer the issues deriving from ambiguous sources describing the resurrection of the body. These sources are writings by St. John the Evangelist, St.

¹⁹ I assume that general Christian believers understand the concept of the resurrection of the body because this concept appears at the end of the *Nicene Creed*: “We look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.”

²⁰ Pacheco, 326-333.

Paul, St. Thomas Aquinas, and St. Augustine, who developed theories on the resurrection of the body. Zamora attempts to clarify these texts by analyzing their metaphorical content and providing his own interpretation.²¹ Building on these sources, Zamora argues that the church will achieve a universal acknowledgment of God, who then will call every person that has ever lived and unite their body and soul, regardless of their race and religion.²² The resurrection will occur during the *parousia*, and before the process of divine judgment.

I utilize Pacheco's self-portrait in his Last Judgment to corroborate my argument about the phenomenological aspects of the viewers' perception and embodiment. Pacheco painted his self-portrait on the section of the blessed, between the woman and man in the bottom left corner, to attest to his presence during this event. In his treatise, Pacheco states that his decision to appear in the image is directly influenced by Titian and Michelangelo.²³ Titian depicted himself in his *Gloria* commissioned by Charles V, and Michelangelo represents his image as the flayed skin of St. Bartholomew in his *Last Judgment* fresco in the Vatican. It is worthwhile to note the iconographical differences between the self-portraits of Michelangelo and Pacheco. Michelangelo's self-portrait is not an example of the resurrection of the body because he appears as St. Bartholomew's flayed skin. In contrast, Pacheco's portrait faces the viewer in confidence that he will be resurrected and placed among the blessed. In doing so, Pacheco suggested that salvation was accessible and opposed the Augustinian tradition that prevailed in this subject

²¹ Ibid., Zamora explains the resurrection of the body after St. Paul's prophecy that Death will occur once the entirety of humanity acknowledges the Christian God, and the predestined number of elected souls reaches its capacity.

²² Ibid., 329.

²³ Ibid., 313.

matter since the Middle Ages, which infers that even the most pious will have difficulty achieving access to heaven.²⁴

Indeed, Pacheco's portrait testifies that viewers become part of the image by embodying the pictorial content upon their contemplation. The concept of embodiment in the artistic tradition is the ability to engage with the image by responding through physical senses and perception. Pacheco's type of pictorial embodiment relates to Merleau-Ponty's description of the *phenomenological body* as the instrument to experience the physical qualities of the environment.²⁵ Thus, Pacheco employed pictorial qualities such as color, light, composition and linear perspective to engage viewers with the image, so they could identify their placement within the picture. In addition, Pacheco's gaze functions as a strong link to pull the viewers' presence into this pictorial environment. As Crowther states "Through painting, the virtual and the physical, the world and the body are shown to inhabit one another simultaneously and inseparably."²⁶ By this, he means that viewers are able to feel themselves in the image through "corporeal-imagination".²⁷

In terms of the conditions of the body after resurrection, Zamora confirms that everyone, whether good or evil, will resurrect with a glorified version of their previous body.²⁸ Zamora analyzes description of the resurrected body from St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Paul. The saints refer to the glorified, resurrected body as of

²⁴ Clifford R Backman, "Arnau de Vilanova and the Body at the End of the World" in *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, eds. Caroline Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 140.

²⁵ Merleau-Ponty, 98 -153.

²⁶ Crowther, 77.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 62-71. Crowther adds four factors of pictorial awareness that are essential in approaching self-consciousness, and these are the following: Reversibility or the change of direction between object and subject; Species or the identification of *self* and *other*; Freedom, in relation to initiation of action; Existential belonging, when consciousness is directly related to physical needs.

²⁸ Pacheco, 329.

a *perfect male* at the age of 33.²⁹ These conditions relate to the physical state of Christ at the time of his death and resurrection. The ambiguous description of the *perfect male* raises several questions about gender, race, age, and physical impairments that are evident as natural qualities of the body. Zamora interprets the descriptions from the saints, and he attempts to answer these questions about the quality of the body, or what he calls *accidents*.³⁰ For Zamora, the *perfect male* is a metaphor of the body of Christ as the body of the Church itself. By the time of resurrection, the predestined number of blessed individuals will form this body of Christ/Church as a symbol of unity of the Christian faith. Therefore, Zamora suggests that the building of such a body may be physical, real or mystical.³¹

Zamora poses and answers questions about the body's age, complexion, and race by confirming that the body will resurrect with its same gender and race as in life. For instance, Zamora formulates the issue of race and complexion during the resurrection the body as:

The 3rd [question regards], natural and common accidents, such as white, black, blond, etc., and the ones that all the children of Adam had have, have, and will have. I said natural because the ones of cause, such as one-eyed, cripple and one armed, will not be seen there even if they are condemned.³²

Then, Zamora answers such questions as he states:

All will resurrect, even the condemned, without any defect, in state of perfect age, in the stature and age as in life, with the same face, form and natural accidents that they had, when the time arrives for their death...³³

²⁹ Ibid., 327.

³⁰ Ibid., 329.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., My translation from original:

La 3ra los accidentes naturales y comunes, como son blanco, negro, rubio, etc., y todos los que han tenido, tienen y tendrán todos los hijos de Adán. Dixe naturales, porque los causales, como ser tuerto, coxo y manco, no se verán allí aunque sean condenados. [sic]

³³ Ibid., My translation from the original:

Todos resucitarán, aunque sean los condenados, sin defeto alguno, en estado de edad perfeta, en la estatura y edad de vida, con el mesmo rostro, forma y accidentes naturales que tenían, cuando se llegó el tiempo de su muerte... [sic]

Zamora agrees that the body will maintain individual physical features as an important agent of identification, so judgment can follow on an individual basis. On the question of age, Zamora formulates a complex answer to reconcile variables of the body's age at the time of death with the saints' argument that humanity will resurrect at the age of 33. Some of these variables include the aspects of the body of an individual who dies before or after turning 33, such as a child or an elder. Zamora states that for individuals who died too young, they will resurrect as they would have looked at the age of 33. For the individuals who died in old age, they will resurrect maintaining their old appearance, but regaining the energy and vitality that they had at the age of 33. Zamora's intention with this mixture of age qualities is to highlight the perfection of the resurrected bodies by showing youthful strength and elderly wisdom. Since the body resurrects in a state of perfection, Zamora assumes that any type of physical impairment or disability will not appear in the afterlife. One of the ways to resolve these inexplicable aspects is through the miraculous power of God because Zamora is unable to offer further explanations for his assumptions.

The glorified body in the works by Pacheco and Herrera demonstrate clearly the conditions described in Zamora's discussion. In Pacheco's piece, the group of figures in the first plane includes his self-portrait and displays the bodies' aspects of gender, race, and age. For instance, there is a woman in front Pacheco's self-portrait, as well as two men with different skin colors. The darker man also displays signs of age because of his beard and gray hair. A similar diversity appears in Herrera's blessed group at the left side of the canvas. Both artists attempt to represent the universal participation of humanity during judgment by depicting individualized

women and men of different ages, and with different skin colors. The phenomenological implication of the racial representations admits the perception from a broader range of audiences that may identify themselves with these diverse figures. This pictorial diversity relates to Crowther's phenomenological term *species-identity*, which allows viewers to recognize that others share similar perceptual principles of the world.³⁴

Nudity is another important aspect of the resurrected body that Zamora does not discuss. Without any material belongings, every person will stand naked with his or her glorified body before the judging Christ. The theological significance of nudity during judgment relates to the idea that material attributes such clothing, medals, titles, or even crowns, will not affect the verdict. Nudity also places individuals in a state of shame and vulnerability, as they stand defenseless in a mass of people in the same situation. Humanity is represented with aspects of shame and vulnerability, which refer back to the original sin: when Adam and Eve felt ashamed of their nudity after eating the forbidden fruit.³⁵ Based on the human qualities of Adam and Eve, the notion is that nudity in representations of the Last Judgment indicates the resurrection of the dead in glorified bodies, but in vulnerable and shameful spiritual states.

Although nudity is part of the pictorial tradition of the Last Judgment, it seems that Pacheco faced the challenge of depicting nude figures due to his strong emphasis on decorum. He choreographs the resurrected in specific positions to hide their genitalia, exposing mainly their backs and lateral sides of their bodies. In similar ways, Herrera purposely hides the bodies' genitalia in his *Last Judgment*, but

³⁴ Crowther, 119-144.

³⁵ Martin Wayne, "The Judgment of Adam" in *Art and Phenomenology*, ed. Joseph Parry (London: Routledge, 2011), 106.

he ventures to depict a reclining frontal male nude as one of the condemned in the section of hell). This figure not only highlights Herrera's successful ability to paint natural qualities of the human anatomy, but it is also a rare example of a reclining nude in Spanish art at that time. As Pacheco explains in his treatise, the specific concern about descriptive nudity in sacred art is erotic stimulation, which deviates viewers' from devotional attention. He criticizes artists such as Michelangelo and Maarten de Vos for painting sensual nude bodies in their Last Judgments. To illustrate his concern, Pacheco narrates the following anecdote from a priest:

A certain cleric, pious and serious, from the Order of Saint Augustine, shared with me (while being then a bishop) that, when celebrating [mass] one day before the famous painting of this story, which is in his convent, in Seville (by the hand of Marteen de Vos), audacious Flemish painter, finished in the year 1570, while being in the middle of mass he raised his eyes and saw a figure of a woman in front of him, with plenty of beauty, but more inappropriateness, and it was so much the force that made to his imagination, that he was to the edge of losing himself; finding himself in the major distress and spiritual affliction that he ever had. And for having navigated to the Indies, he was affirming, with insistence that he will rather be in the Golf of the Bermuda during an unraveled storm, than being in that situation.³⁶

According to Pacheco, the priest avoided the image because he was afraid of the painting in the years to come.³⁷ In this way, Pacheco's evident attacks on nudity in sacred art derive from just such uncontrollable erotic projections of the body. Thus, Pacheco warns other artists for imitating the sensual figures by de Vos.

The narrative quality of divine judgment is the last phenomenological aspect that I discuss in this section. In the history of these images, there are two trends of illustrating the process of judgment after the resurrection of the glorified body. One tradition depicts the *psychostasis*, or the weighing of the souls, where the heaviness

³⁶ Pacheco, 315-316.

³⁷ To my point of view, the priest's anecdote carries phenomenological associations with Merleau-Ponty's descriptions of the *sexual being*, which assert that erotic perception cannot be understood with scientific methods such as physiology or psychology. Erotic perception is in a similar realm of corporeal subjectivity as visual or performing arts.

of the body reflects the virtues and vices in the history of the resurrected. The alternate form of judgment consists of Christ's power to discern the virtues and vices as if these were inscribed on the body, similar to Borgoña's descriptions of the capital sins. In both cases, the body seems to expose morality as physical characteristics of weight and markings. Pacheco and Herrera seem to depict a new form of judgment in their works by building upon the viewers' expectations and familiarity with these images. Pacheco, and consequently Herrera, are careful to portray the exact moment when the judgment takes place. In his descriptive iconographic guidelines, Pacheco states that it is inappropriate to illustrate the moment when judgment is taking place, while the resurrected bodies are coming out of the earth, and at the same time that such bodies are tormented by demons.³⁸ These are different scenes that occur at separate times in the narrative, so it is illogical to depict them in one image. Thus, Pacheco pays close attention to this narrative to avoid any viewers' confusion understanding the sequence of events.

By representing the precise moment of judgment, Pacheco and Herrera reproduce the critical instant of the verdict's announcement. This induces the viewers to recreate the narrative of the story and to discover that they are under the divine trial. Viewers become aware of this situation as they face the judging Christ, while being approached by the threatening archangel St. Michael. Crowther refers to this form of pictorial awareness as *reversibility*, which occurs when the relationship between subject and object is reversed.³⁹ In other words, the phenomenological narrative aspect of the Last Judgment happens when the viewer becomes the subject of the image's content.

³⁸ Pacheco, 310.

³⁹ Crowther, 62.

Phenomenological Descriptions

In analyzing the images of the Last Judgment by Pacheco and Herrera, I implement Lankford's critical method with its five descriptive components. These components are *receptiveness*, *orienting*, *bracketing*, *interpretative analysis*, and *synthesis*.⁴⁰ I organize these descriptions starting with Pacheco's *Last Judgment* and continuing with Herrera's version. I also apply these phenomenological descriptions as to the analysis of these paintings in their cultural and historical contexts. I am aware of the subjectivity of these descriptions, as I keep in mind that my perceptual analysis is not exactly the same as in historical contexts. However, these phenomenological descriptions provide the closest perceptual comparison available since I share the same senses as the historical viewer. In addition, this methodology encourages admitting any subjectivities as part of the research process since these may point towards further discoveries.

Pacheco's Last Judgment

Receptiveness

In the first impression, the composition of Pacheco's painting calls my attention to its midline, which is formed by a vertical axis with the figures of St. Michael, St. Gabriel, and Christ. This axis unifies the composition, connects the bottom and top registers, and enhances the picture's symmetry. The flanking sides expand from the central axis and give the impression that the figures on each wing invade my peripheral view because these are the largest in size. The focal point is located near St. Michael's head. Thus, the installation of the painting should be located at an appropriate level, where the perspective and composition can meet the

⁴⁰ Lankford, 156-157.

viewers' eyes facing St. Michael. The figure of St. Gabriel requests even more attention than the focal point because it provides the only pictorial source of light, which emanates from behind this angel. This light unifies the composition and contrasts the brighter center with the darker margins. Next, my attention moves to the inscription at the top of the cross, an inscription that seems to appear at the center of an oval, similar to an eye shape. This shape is formed by a top arch – where Christ sits – which connects to a concave cloud covered with cherubs. The harmonious colors create clear distinctions between celestial and earthly figures. The divine figures are clothed with bright tones of pinks, oranges, and yellows, but the emphasis is on Christ's red drapery and Mary's blue robe. The earthly colors of the resurrected bodies almost blend with the arid terrain of the landscape, in which the artist shows some green patches on the side of the blessed.

Orienting

Pacheco's *Last Judgment* was installed within a retablo placed on a burial site in the convent's church of Saint Isabel in Seville. Similarly, Herrera's *Last Judgment* was created for the monastery's church of Saint Bernardo, but this painting was not dedicated for a burial. Herrera's work functions as a devotional image to pray for the dead and for the suffering souls in purgatory. Because Herrera's work is *in-situ*, I compare such settings to infer the original context of Pacheco's painting. I provide this comparison in Herrera's discussion below.

Bracketing

Pacheco's use of composition, color, and light is pleasing because the image is organized, colorful, and bright. Although the canvas displays hundreds of bodies, the crowds are neatly arranged and there is even enough pictorial space to separate these

groups. This allows the effortless identification of saints, angels, the blessed, and the condemned, especially because Pacheco was very careful to provide the iconographical attributes to the figures. Far from depicting realistic bodies, objects, or landscape, the stylized image emphasizes an event that does not follow natural laws. In other words, the image enhances the aspects of a supernatural experience.

Interpretative Analysis

I have a clear sense that my presence in the canvas is right in the middle of the chaos that St. Michael is attempting to organize. I look to the blessed side and perceive calmness, order, and welcoming. In the section of the condemned, I perceive anxiety, panic, despair, and fear from the closest figures on my right side. My anxiety derives from the fierce angel wearing a blue robe and punishing a condemned soul, while my panic arises from the pale figure running towards the fire. The figure moving towards the right corner with his hands on his head, a quotation from Michelangelo,⁴¹ displays qualities of despair. Lastly, fear originates from the screaming and disturbing face that appears among flames at the bottom right corner.

Synthesis

Pacheco's *Last Judgment* seems to provide positive and hopeful viewpoints on this afterlife event. While facing the Archangel St. Michael, I look upward and see the reaction from the tribunal at the moment that Christ states the verdict. I feel vulnerable because I have not confessed my sins to the priest or participated in mass for a long time. I know that I cannot fit in on the blessed side, but I do not want to go with the condemned. In imagining the perception of this image in church, I become

⁴¹ See in Pacheco, 314.

aware of my sins and feel that other parishioners can be aware of them as well. In other words, the sense of vulnerability and guilt comes out as being exposed by the divine figures in the image. Yet, Pacheco provides three significant cues that allow me to hope for a good verdict. The first cue is Christ's gaze towards Mary and the blessed souls; the second is Pacheco's self-portrait watching me with a benign expression; and the last one is St. Michael's gesture directing me to move towards the blessed side.

St. Michael's guidance and the pleasing pictorial effects of the image indicate that Pacheco's goal in this image is to emphasize the soul's salvation, rather than eternal damnation. I argue that Pacheco's pictorial intentions stem from the painting's commission and context. Since this *Last Judgment* was created to decorate the burial site of Hernando de Palma Carrillo and his family, who were still alive at the time of the contract, Pacheco saw it suitable to emphasize the salvation of the patron's soul. Because this painting was donated to the convent's church of Santa Isabel as a form of indulgence, the nuns would pray for the patron and his family's souls.

Herrera's Last Judgment

Receptiveness

Herrera's painting differs drastically from Pacheco's. Herrera's composition is crowded; the figures seem to pile on top of each other in the first plane. There is not enough space in between these crowds to make a clear differentiation of their spatial location. Christ and the archangel St. Michael divide the sides of the top and bottom registers, creating a sense of symmetry. There is no apparent linear perspective or focal point, so the distance among the figures is based on their scale alone. St.

Michael's body for instance, is larger than the figure of Christ, so I realize that St. Michael is closer than the distant judge. Herrera's image is dark, and the only light originates from an unknown exterior source by the side of the blessed. This unknown source casts its light on St. Michael's upper right side, specifically on his right arm holding a flaming sword. This light also makes the section of the blessed, the angels with trumpets, and the *parousia* much brighter than the section of hell. The painting's deteriorated condition augments the dark and opaque tonalities. The prominent colors are ochre with the outstanding dark blue of St. Michael's armor and the bright red of Christ's robe.

Orienting

As mentioned above, Pacheco's painting was placed in the church of St. Isabel, while Herrera's work remains *in-situ* at the church of St. Bernardo. These churches are still functioning in Seville; therefore, my approach is to interpret their contemporary appearance in order to provide a phenomenological description of the paintings' original environment. The churches' lighting, wall colors, and architectural decorations might have been modified through the centuries, but the architectural plan of the building still provides a sense of the original space. Compared to Herrera's work, Pacheco's painting would have been accompanied by smaller paintings and contained in a golden retable. Pacheco's contract states that his painting was installed in a retable created by the sculptor Juan Martínez Montañés.⁴² This retable is lost, but the frame decoration was probably similar to that on Herrera's retable. The sculptural decoration of the retable and the effects from its golden frame would thus have enriched the connotations of its sacred content.

⁴² Ibid., 309.

In order to enhance the experience of Pacheco and Herrera's paintings, I have to stand at an adequate distance between myself and the painting, so the scale of the images can resemble natural size. I consider that the most appropriate placement to appreciate these works is facing the figure of St. Michael because this figure serves as access to the rest of the image. After facing St. Michael, the composition requires me to look upward to the highest figure, which is the seated Christ.

Bracketing

In the *Last Judgment* by Herrera, the crowds are overwhelming and give a sense of claustrophobia. St. Michael and the condemned appear closer, or more accessible to my viewpoint because of their large size, while the blessed recede into a far bright distance. The section of the *parousia* also appears to be distant and in a small space, and this makes it difficult to identify the saints, apostles, and martyrs. The dark and dull tones of the painting, which attempt to resemble the colors of the natural world, induce a sense of gloominess and anxiety.

Interpretative Analysis

Herrera's work provokes emotions of distress and fear in me. St. Michael appears as a threatening figure because the archangel gazes upon me as he rushes into my space, ready to swing his fiery sword. My reaction is to move to the sides and avoid St. Michael's attack. There is no more space on the side of the blessed since another angel wearing a red cloak blocks that access. My alternative is to resign myself and move to the side of the condemned. As I observe the sensual and natural nude bodies such as the reclining figure, I reflect on my sinful actions, which may also include looking at the erotic properties of the body.

Synthesis

Unlike the Last Judgment by Pacheco, Herrera's work conveys states of fear, hopelessness and guilt to me. His overcrowded composition, darkness, and murky colors enhance such gloomy effects. Herrera's St. Michael attacks and pushes the viewers to the condemned side, rather than providing direction as in Pacheco's painting. The naturalistic nudity of the condemned figures adds more confusion to the process of self-consciousness.

In summary, these two paintings of the Last Judgment by Pacheco and Herrera simulate my corporeal perceptions of this eschatological event. This occurs as I compare myself with the resurrecting bodies, which infer the vulnerability of being judged. Therefore, the artworks initiate the self-awareness of my personal experience of evil by instilling fear in me. Such fear increases because I seem to appear in the precise moment when Christ is going to state his verdict on my case. Thus, adding another layer of anxiety because I am not sure how my actions have been measured. In order to understand the full spectrum of these images' influence on the viewer, it is necessary to switch this research methodology, based on Merleau-Ponty and Lankford, to the phenomenological investigation of the experience of evil and fear by Paul Ricœur. In the following chapter, I will discuss Ricœur's material and utilize it to interpret my primary sources, as I aim to describe the perception of these paintings in their historical contexts.

Chapter 3

Based on my phenomenological observations, I argue that images of the Last Judgment contain a specific pictorial formula to engage their viewers in experiencing fear and vulnerability from the phenomena of evil. In order to understand the influential features of these images, it is important to analyze the concept of evil and its perception in the cultural and historical contexts of 17th-century Spain. For this reason, I utilize the phenomenological work by Paul Ricœur, in which he studies the Judeo-Christian problem of evil and interprets narrative elements from sacred texts to identify sin, defilement, and guilt as the symbols of evil.¹ In this chapter, I analyze the concepts of evil and fear in the social and religious contexts of the Last Judgment paintings by Pacheco and Herrera, applying Ricœur's theory to my primary sources. My goal is to establish an interpretative connection between my phenomenological descriptions from the previous chapter and contextual experiences of these images in 17th century Seville.

This research draws inspiration from the influential work by David Freedberg, particularly from his book *The Power of Images*.² I am interested in Freedberg's treatment of images as active agents that are capable of affecting the viewer's behavior through emphatic responses. I agree with Freedberg's argument regarding the affective role of images, when he states: "People are sexually aroused by pictures and sculptures; they break pictures and sculptures; they mutilate them, kiss them, cry before them, and go on journeys to them; they are calmed by them, stirred by them, and incited to revolt. They give thanks by means of them, expect to be elevated

¹ Paul Ricœur, *The Symbolism of Evil*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986).

² David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

by them, and are moved to the highest levels of empathy and fear.”³ Historical documentation can provide evidence that viewers responded to images in specific ways, but these sources do not describe the means and reasons behind their pictorial responses. For this reason, Freedberg stresses that it is important to approach such images in the most basic perceptual analysis since most viewers share the same biological perceptive capabilities throughout history. Nevertheless, Freedberg acknowledges that it will be impossible for present-day viewers to experience or replicate all historical perceptions and responses.⁴ My phenomenological descriptions of the Last Judgment paintings by Pacheco and Herrera are similar to Freedberg’s approach. In these descriptions, I address the ways that specific images convey the emotion of fear and prompt self-consciousness towards evil.

As I have argued, the experiences of hope and fear are the fundamental emotions inspired by the image of the Last Judgment. These emotions are symbolized by iconographies of heaven or hell, where the convention is to place the viewer in-between these extremes. Considering that fear is more aggressive than the emotional state of hope,⁵ I argue that experiencing fear from such images is the driving motivation to culminate the transition from evil to faith in Christian audiences. In this manner, the image becomes an agent of different fears that initiates self-consciousness for moral assessment and regulation. The pictorial formula of the Last Judgment is a device that collapses present actions with final

³ Ibid., 1.

⁴ Ibid., 22-23.

⁵ Maria Popczyk, "Fear and Anxiety in the Dimensions of Art," *ARGUMENT: Biannual Philosophical Journal*, no. 2 (2012): 333-346.

consequences that are believed to occur in the indefinite future.⁶ The Church engages in the creation and propagation of this anxiety towards the unknown future in order to assert its significance as the director of human salvation.⁷ Seville in the 17th century is an example of this situation, where the social fears of the time are evident in the Last Judgment paintings by Pacheco and Herrera.

At its most basic level, fear is a primal biological emotion that stems from evolutionary survival skills, and it has protective functions against the dangers of the environment. Fear has the quality of a warning system that spreads quickly and produces pandemonium among the population, especially in cases when unexpected events occur.⁸ This explains the human reaction to natural disasters and the eschatological anxiety of the destruction of the world at the end of time. I noticed from my phenomenological study on the works by Pacheco and Herrera that the emphasis of these paintings is to recreate a situation that exposes viewers to different Christian fears. The most significant of these fears is facing God while being guilty of sin, but I can also distinguish alternative fears that affect the overall contextual experience of these artworks. One of these is the fear of death, which arises from the subtext of these paintings and reminds viewers about their imminent demise. This fear of death is augmented when considering dying in sin due to unforeseen circumstances such as accidents.

Paul Ricoeur

Ricoeur's hermeneutic phenomenology derives from Martin Heidegger, who departed from Husserl's phenomenology to explore the manners and meanings of

⁶ Luther Link, *The Devil: A Mask without a Face*, (London: Reaktion, 1995), 85. The Art Historian Luther Link describes the concept of the Last Judgment as a judging machine, when final adjustment will be performed in order to advance to eternity.

⁷ Joanna Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History*, (Emeryville, CA: Shoemaker Hoard, 2005), 44-50.

⁸ Popczyk, 334.

lived experience.⁹ In this theory, Heidegger understands consciousness as the historical formation of lived experiences in the world, from which we interpret and construct its meanings.¹⁰ For Ricœur, hermeneutics is a variation of phenomenology, so he combines aspects of Husserl's reductions with Heidegger's emphasis on interpretation of phenomena. Although Ricœur highlights the close relationship between these branches of phenomenological thought, he also makes clear distinctions between Heidegger's and Husserl's theoretical goals.¹¹ One of the major differences is that Heidegger's hermeneutic phenomenology encourages the researcher to examine biases and self-reflections of prior knowledge during the investigation process. In this way, the goal is to maintain an open attitude in the consciousness of the researcher, where prior knowledge combined with new perceptions may prove beneficial for the investigation project.¹² Following Heidegger and Ricœur, I recognize that my phenomenological descriptions reflect my personal attitudes towards the images by Pacheco and Herrera. Therefore, I maintain an active awareness of these attitudes as I interpret research materials, so I can discern personal and historical responses. This methodology allows the interpretation of alternative sources, such as primary or secondary, that can enhance the comprehension of phenomena.

Ricœur's book *The Symbolism of Evil* was his first hermeneutic work, and it delineates his transition from phenomenology to hermeneutics. In this book, the

⁹ Dermot Moran, *Introduction to Phenomenology*, (London: Routledge, 2000), 234-237.

¹⁰ Susann M Laverty, "Hermeneutic Phenomenology and Phenomenology: A Comparison of Historical and Methodological Considerations," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 2, no. 3 (2008): 8.

¹¹ David M Kaplan, *Ricoeur's Critical Theory*, (New York: SUNY Press, 2003), 17-45.

¹² Laverty, 15-25.

author aims to explain evil in terms of its potential and actual occurrence.¹³ Ricœur analyzes the experience of evil in Judeo-Christian contexts by dividing his book into two parts. The first concentrates on sin, defilement, and guilt as the symbols of evil, while the second discusses the origin of these symbols in biblical and mythological contexts. My interest in this material is mainly in the first part, where Ricœur defines the perception and effects of evil. For instance, Ricœur differentiates two perceptions of evil based on the phenomenology of defilement and guilt. Defilement implies pollution from external entities or the other, while guilt connotes evil as an internal process of the self.¹⁴ Ricœur's discussion of the symbols of evil provides the basis for my discussion of the viewers' self-awareness at the moment of experiencing the images of the Last Judgment by Pacheco and Herrera. I elaborate on this material to identify these symbols of evil in pictorial formats inscribed on the condemned bodies and figures of demons. Such depictions lead to phenomenological aspects of fear, based on the existence of evil within the self or the other.

In Ricœur's work, Christian eschatology, or the Last Four Things after the end of the world, begins with the Adamic Myth. Ricœur interprets the Temptation of Adam and Eve as the origin of the human experience of evil. He argues that in Judeo-Christian cultures, humanity is seen as the product of the involvement of Adam and Eve with evil, and the awakening of their consciousness towards knowledge. The fallibility of Adam and Eve is the origin of the human imperfect condition and the religious journey towards redemption. Thus, the fall of Adam and Eve signifies the origin of evil coexisting with humanity, which will end through the eschatological process of the Last Judgment. Ricœur stresses the importance of St.

¹³ Richard Kearney, "On the Hermeneutics of Evil," in *Reading Ricœur*, ed. David M Kaplan (SUNY Press, 2008), 71-88.

¹⁴ Ricœur, 72.

Paul's term *Second Adam*, which refers to the coming of the judging Christ. This term creates the narrative introduction and conclusion to the Christian story of Salvation, given that the first Adam opened access to evil in humanity, while Christ, or the *Second Adam*, will end it.¹⁵

For Ricœur, good and evil are interpretations of experiences and fall under the subjective human perception of the world. Evil stems from human consciousness because no other living organisms have the awareness to experience iniquity.¹⁶ In other words, consciousness creates the concept of evil from experiences that humanity cannot control. Ricœur argues that Adam and Eve experienced good and evil through their own self-consciousness, which is defined as the ability to discern the self from the world. This experience of evil from self-consciousness allowed Adam and Eve to re-discover themselves in the world by recognizing and hiding their naked bodies. For Ricœur, this form of discovery displays the transitory quality of evil that aims to challenge the established order by modifying it with chaos.¹⁷ Ricœur contends that humans experience the world by constructing aspects of goodness, such as order, permanence, achievements, and morality, while evil supposes chaos, transition, frustration, and immorality. These constructions of good and evil are ambiguous and questionable, especially in situations such as warfare when good and evil seem to overlap. Examples of this may include a social revolution that incites chaos, or *evil*, to liberate oppressed populations; or the government that attempts to maintain peace and order, or *good*, by annihilating instigators. These constructions

¹⁵ Ibid., 260-278.

¹⁶ Adrian Anthony McFarlane, *A Grammar of Fear and Evil*, (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 147-148.

¹⁷ Ibid., 143-153.

are the foundations of religion, which seeks to implement laws and create a balance between the experiences of good and evil.¹⁸

Ricœur thus interprets the characters of Adam, Eve, and the serpent in the biblical story of Genesis as symbols of the human experience of evil. In this paradigm, Adam represents the self, Eve is the other, and the serpent becomes a complex symbol of evil that exists in human nature, social discourse, and interaction with the world. Evil is inherent in the world and its manifestation is produced by awareness and discovery. Ricœur contends that the symbols of Adam and Eve do not imply sexual difference; as he states, “Eve, then, does not stand for woman in the sense of ‘second sex.’ Every woman and every man are Adam; every man and every woman are Eve; every woman sins ‘in’ Adam, every man is seduced ‘in’ Eve.”¹⁹ This statement neutralizes sexual differences and stresses moral dynamics between self and other. Eve symbolizes the other when she questions and transgresses against God’s injunction due to her interaction with the serpent. Ricœur acknowledges that the existence of masculine resentment against woman in Judeo-Christian cultures originates from conceptual similarities between Eve and the serpent as mediators of evil. However, he interprets this resentment as jealousy for the fact that Eve’s transgressions also suggest the foundation of human civilization and greatness in the form of scientific curiosity.²⁰

Treatise on Last Judgment

In his 1588 treatise, Nicolás Díaz explains the doctrine of the Last Judgment by addressing specific issues such as the time, place, process, and divine reasoning

¹⁸ Ibid., 123-133.

¹⁹ Ricœur, 255.

²⁰ Ibid., 254.

behind this eschatological event. For the purposes of this study, I compare Ricœur's theory of evil to Díaz's discussion on the existence and function of evil, so I can identify similarities among their explanations in relation to the Last Judgment. These explanations are the human access of evil through free will, the role of the body in experiencing evil, and the conceptualization of evil as internal and external influence. It is relevant to consider that Ricœur and Díaz build their own arguments after interpretations from the same biblical sources, particularly from St. Paul's writings to Romans.²¹

In the following passage, Díaz differentiates between evil as it exists in nature and evil as a result of human action, based on humanity's free will and fault:

There is a difference between evil in nature and evil as human fault. Natural evil can be, and it is necessary that it can exist; however, fault is necessary that it can exist, supposing men's free will. Yet committing such evil proceeds from their free will, so they sin because they want.²²

Additionally, Díaz discusses two more reasons for his explanation of the existence of evil in the world by interpreting writings from St. Thomas and St. Paul:

This is what he [St. Thomas] says for two reasons. The first is a general reason because there is no creature that can do anything if not by reason of divine movement. The second is a particular reason that is for love to the condition and state of the human nature, which even when [God's] grace heals the soul, it still remains sick in terms of the flesh and persists a corruption and infection that serves to the law of sin, as says the apostle St. Paul.²³

²¹ Díaz and Ricœur develop their explanations of evil from Romans chapter 6 and 7, in which St. Paul discusses the susceptibility of the human body to encounter evil.

²² Nicolás Díaz, *Tratado del Iuyzio Final en el qual se hallaran muchas cosas muy prouechosas y curiosas*, (Valladolid: Diego Fernández de Cordoua y Ouiedo, 1588), 258. My translation from the original:

Aunque ay diferencia entre los males naturales, y entre los males de culpa. Que los naturales, puede ser, es necessario que sean: mas los males de culpa es necesario que pueden ser, supuesta la libertad del hombre: mas hazer los procede de su libertad, que pecca porque quiere. [sic]

²³ Ibid., 259. My translation from the original:

Esto Dize el por dos razones. La primera es vna razon general, porque ninguna criatura puede hazer cosa alguna, sino por razon del mouimiento diuino. La segunda es razon particular, q es por amor de la condicion del estado de la naturaleza humana la qual aunq por la gracia sane quanto al anima, qda toda via enferma quanto a la carne, en la qual queda vna corrupcion y infeccion, por la qual sirue a la ley del peccado, como dize el apóstol S. Pablo. [sic]

Ricœur's symbols of evil (guilt, sin, and defilement) are apparent in Díaz's implication that evil derives from free will and manifests itself as guilt or the consciousness of fault. According to Ricœur, "Guilt cannot, in fact, *express* itself except in the indirect language of 'captivity' and 'infection,' inherited from the two prior stages [sin and defilement]. Thus both symbols are transposed 'inward' to express a freedom that enslaves itself, affects itself, and infects itself by its own choice."²⁴ Ricœur encapsulates this internalization of evil, or guilt, with the paradoxical term *servile will*, which means the slavery of the self to evil after experiencing sin and defilement through free will.

Díaz claims that bodily senses are meant to approach goodness in nature in order to achieve God's grace, higher reasoning, and better understanding of the world. However, he acknowledges that such an approach is more arduous compared to the excessive sensual experiences of evil. Díaz illuminates the significance of the senses in the experience of good or evil:

In the same way, God our lord wanted to create men because the works of the soul had the need of an instrument that can be very convenient such as the noble sense of touch. Because the soul receives and reaches true knowledge by the senses, from which the sense of touch is fundamental and is more perfect in men than in all other animals... It was then convenient and necessary to make men with two natures, intellectual and sensitive, spirit and flesh, rational and sensitive appetite, so they can enjoy both assets, sensitive and intellective. And because we get accustomed to these sensible assets as we are born with them, whether these are delightful or advantageous, the daily routine makes it seem that we have mainly the sensitive nature, from which proceeds that all of our attention is to give to the body soft and sensual things, as well as delights.²⁵

²⁴ Ricœur, 152.

²⁵ Díaz, 260-261. My translation from the original:

De la misma manera, queriendo Dios nuestro Señor criar al hombre, porque las obras del anima tenían necesidad de vn instrumento que fuesse muy conueniente para el nobilissimo sentido del tacto, porque el anima recibe y alcanza el conocimiento de la verdad por los sentidos, de los quales el sentido del tacto es fundamento, y es mas perfecto en el hombre que en todos los otros animales.... Conuino pues y fue necessario hazer al hombre de dos naturalezas, intelectual y sensitua, espíritu y carne, apetito racional y sensitio, para que gozasse de entre ambos bienes, sensitios y intellectiuos. Y porque luego como nacemos nos acostúbramos a estos bienes sensibles, ansi a los deleytables como a los prouechosos, y con la costumbre

In differentiating logical from sensual natures, Díaz warns that evil enters the body through the senses. This distinction of humanity's sensual and intellectual natures places the soul as logical entity and the body as part of the natural world. This also indicates that evil can exist within the framework of the body's sensual experiences of the environment. Ricœur describes the complex symbol of the serpent that represents evil in the story of Genesis, and his description is helpful to interpret Díaz's distinction of sensual and intellectual human natures. Ricœur deduces that "Thus the serpent symbolizes something of man and something of the world, a side of the microcosm and a side of the macrocosm, the chaos in me, among us, and outside."²⁶ For Ricœur, the symbol of the serpent represents evil in the natural world because it appears in the form of an animal that already exists in the Garden of Eden upon creation. Since Adam and Eve are part of the creation of the natural world, Ricœur infers that the serpent also represents evil as inherent in the biology of the human body. Díaz's discussion of the role of the senses in experiencing evil is similar to Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of perception, particularly in his discussion of corporeal senses (as instruments to understand the world). Christian thought perceives the body's senses, including its sexuality, to be very susceptible to experiencing evil, so these corporeal sensations are in constant regulation, surveillance, and evaluation.

Lastly, Díaz asserts that the devil is the third reason that humans experience evil:

To these two reasons, a third one develops. We have an enemy so powerful, fast and malicious, and so eager to make us harm. He is always pursuing to

se nos hacen que nos parezca que lo principal que tenemos es la naturaleza sensitiva. De donde procede que todo nuestro cuidado es de regalar el cuerpo, y de las cosas blandas y sensuales, y de deleytes. [sic]

²⁶ Ricœur, 258.

see if he can eat us, as the apostle Saint Peter says. Therefore, he combats reasoning with false things and the senses with delights. If he thinks that we have good and spiritual intentions, he works to take them away or taint them... Therefore, we have so many interior and exterior opponents and enemies that it is not to wonder why the human republic is so full of evil and sin.²⁷

The external objectification of evil, as the devil, changes its manifestation depending on the experience that derives from human's social and ecological interactions.

Satan, or the Devil, embodies these interactions in different manifestations, including the symbol of the serpent in the story of Genesis. For Ricœur, Satan exists in a liminal state between the external and internal human experience. He explains that "The serpent, then, would be a part of ourselves which we do not recognize; he would be the seduction of ourselves by ourselves, projected into the seductive object."²⁸ In other words, the Devil denotes the projection of inner desires, anxieties, frustrations, and fears from the Self onto an external character that exists, or that is believed to exist, in the world. Such projection of faults allows for the irresponsibility of actions by blaming this external object, or the Devil, and claiming lack of immunity from evil influences.

Pacheco's Description of Evil in Art

In their writings, Pacheco and Díaz suggest that Satan resides in the outer environment and that he accesses the soul through the human body because the flesh is weak against his temptations. Díaz emphasizes the body's vulnerability as he compares Satan's influence as an infectious illness that is acquired through sensual

²⁷ Díaz, 261-262. My translation from the original:

A estas dos razones se acrecienta la tercera. Que tenemos vn enemigo tan poderoso, fagaz y malicioso, y tan desseoso de nos hazer mal, que siempre anda rondando para ver si nos puede tragar, como dize el apostól Sant Pedro. Y ansi combate el entendimiento con cosas falsas, a los sentidos con deleytes: y si piensa que tenemos algunos desseos buenos y espirituales trabaja por quitarlos o iuficionarlos... Y pues tenemos tantos contrarios y enemigos interiores y exteriores, no es de maravillar que la republica humana este tan llena de males y peccados. [sic]

²⁸ Ricœur, 256.

needs.²⁹ Thus, the iconography of Satan encapsulates the external notion of evil that resides in the biological world. This results in the artistic construction of Satan as the combination of animal and human physiognomies.³⁰ Pacheco discusses some guidelines to render the iconography of the Devil or demons by using the writings of Alonso Flores (1590-1650), a scholar who taught in Córdoba and Seville. Flores describes:

Demons do not require a determinate form and suit, although we should always observe in painted representations their essences and actions, which lack holiness and are full of malice, terror and fright. They have been and must be painted in the form of beasts, as well as of cruel and bloody animals, impure and disgusting, of poisonous serpents, dragons, basilisks, crows and raptors, and these names are given by Bruno. They also have figures of lions, that is a name given by St. Peter, I epistle, Chap. 5, in the shape of frogs. Apoc. 19, 13.

The most common painted representation is as a dragon and serpent, which is the figure that he took to deceive our first parents, and since the deception came out so well, he repeats this disguise in this aspect (according to St. Augustine, Lib II Gene. Lute Ad. 28) to accredit his first feat. Because he has such an inexplicable type of familiarity with the beasts, his form is of horrible nature, monstrous and strong, and so he is gifted with a large and sharp-eyed vigilance. It is called dragon, because he sees a lot, and this is how the divine Scripture calls him several times: Revelation. 12, 13, Isai. 27 and Job 40, 20, Ps. 90, 13, Ps. 103, 26. And the ancients judged that the dragon was an immortal nature, as Philo Bibliot refers.³¹

²⁹ Díaz, 261.

³⁰ Link, 35-80.

³¹ Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, edited by Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990), 570-572. My translation from the original:

Los demonios no piden determinada forma y traje, aunque siempre se debe observar en sus pinturas representen su ser y acciones, ajenas de la santidad y llenas de malicia, terror y espanto. Suélese y débense pintar en forma de bestias y animales crueles y sangrientos, impuros y asquerosos, de áspides, de dragones, de basiliscos, de cuervos y de milanos, nombres que les da Bruno. También en figures de leones, nombres que les da San Pedro, I Espístola, Cap. 5; en figura de ranas. Apoc. 19, 13.

La pintura más común es de dragón y serpiente, que esta figura tomo el para engañar a nuestros primeros padres, y como le salio tan bien el engaño, lo repite y toma este aspecto (dice San Agustín, Lib II de Gene. Ad Lute. 28) para acreditar su primera hazaña y porque tiene no sé qué genero de familiaridad con las bestias, y porque esta forma es de su naturaleza horrible, monstruosa y fuerte y está dotada de una vigilancia grande y aguda vista. Y se dice dragón, porque ve mucho, y así le llama muchas veces la divina Escritura: Apoc. 12, 13, Isai. 27, y Job 40, 20, Ps. 90, 13, Ps. 103, 26. Y jugaban los antiguos que el dragón era una naturaleza inmortal, como refiere Philon Bibliot. [sic]

Pacheco includes other ways to depict demons in humanoid forms that derive from Michelangelo's pictorial schemes. These forms appear as dark and hideous naked men with physical deformations and exaggerations.³²

Both Pacheco and Herrera adhered to this iconography to depict the demons that appear in their paintings of the Last Judgment. Pacheco adheres to Flores's iconography, but he ensconced the representation of demons among crowds of sinners. For Pacheco, the role of demons in images of the Last Judgment is to receive and torment only the condemned. He criticizes painters who depict demons engaged in separating and punishing all the souls, arguing that angels should perform this role instead.³³ Similar to Pacheco, Herrera also participated in depicting demons minimally because his *Last Judgment* displays only two demonic faces behind the group of sinners. In both works by Pacheco and Herrera, fear and terror are expressed by the sinners' bodies, which are punished by angels instead of demons.

The pictorial formula of diminishing the presence of demons permits sinners to empathize with the figures of the condemned souls through phenomenological embodiment. Thus, these paintings remind their viewers that evil derives from human actions rather than imputing such actions to demonic influences. In other words, this pictorial formula challenges the passive status of sinners by making them accountable for their evil actions, from which demons stem as punitive consequences.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., 314.

The Symbol of Sin as Rebellion and Separation

Discourse on Satan among Sevillians was broadly consistent with other European doctrines of the time, according to some sermons documented by Núñez.³⁴ These sermons narrate the original sanctity of Satan as the angel Lucifer, who was corrupted by his own pride and condemned for his rebellion against God. One of these sermons was preached in 1638 by the priest Ignacio Cotiño at the Convent of San Pablo in Seville, and delivered as a response to Protestants' attacks against images of the Virgin Mary in Flanders.

... because they have in mind what Lucifer, his consort and companion, has achieved with disordered appetite from the gluttony of divinity, extending his licentious hand to the table of the divine being, reason and cause of his eternal death.³⁵

In this statement, Cotiño compares Lucifer's rebellion with the Protestants' attacks against the Catholic Church. In a different sermon preached in 1617, the Sevillian scholar Alonso Gómez de Roxas explains that Satan's revolt and downfall was due to his refusal in accepting the Immaculate Conception. Gómez states that:

... he [Satan] fell from heaven, since (Mary) turned God into flesh, which he did not want to worship once made man, when they proposed it to him and recognized that it was also through her [Mary], the access to the celestial court; therefore, he was obligated to leave his standpoint and turn his back.³⁶

³⁴ Miguel Ángel Núñez Beltrán, *La Oratoria Sagrada de la Época del Barroco: Doctrina, Cultura y Actitud ante la Vida desde los Sermones Sevillanos del Siglo XVII*, (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2000), 241-247.

³⁵ Núñez, 242. My translation from the original:

...porque tienen presente lo que a Luzifer, su consorte y compañero, ha acontecido con el apetito desordenado de la gula de la divinidad, estendiendo la licenciosa mano a la mesa del divino ser, ocasión y aun causa de su eterna muerte. [sic]

Cotiño, Ignacio, O.P.: *María triunfante y heregía triunfada. Sermón que predicó el M (...) en el festivo y solemne Octaviario, que hizo el Real Convento de San Pablo de Sevilla, en honra de la siempre Virgen Madre de Dios y desagravio de la injuria, que los hereges hizieron a su sagrada Imagen, en la fortaleza de Calló de los estados de Flandes (...) por Francisco de Lyra, Sevilla, 1638 (2+11 ff.)* (B.U.S. Est. 113, no. 115 ; trat. 8).

³⁶ *Ibid.* My translation from the original:

...cayó del cielo, pues le dio (María) carne a Dios, que él no quiso adorar hecho hombre, quanto se lo propusieron y reconoció que también por ella se avía de entrar en la celestial corte; y así se vido obligado a dejar el puesto y volver las espaldas. [sic]

Sermón que predicó el Licenciado Alonso Gómez de Roxas, día de la Inmaculada Concepción de la Santísima Virgen María nuestra Señora, en la solene fiesta que celebró la insigne Cofradía de la Santísima Cruz en Ierusalén (...) por Alonso Rodríguez Gamarra, Sevilla, 1617 (12 ff.) (B.U.S. Est. 113, no. 62, trat. 11).

These sermons by Cotiño and Gómez directly associate Lucifer's defiance with heresy. This connection between sin and heresy is also central to discern the origins of images of the Last Judgment because the earliest pictorial models were created during the church's first battles against heretics.³⁷ Such battles were still prevalent in early 17th century Spain, when the war against heretics such as witches, Jews, Muslims, and homosexuals justified the permanence of the Inquisition and its oppressive methods.

Ricœur's theory of the symbol of sin as the threatening other provides a lens for interpreting these sermons on heresy. Equally important, Ricœur also provides a critical understanding of the faithful's engagement with sin and the devastating results from such experience. We have already seen that for Ricœur, sin develops as the internal conflict of the self that resides between the thresholds of good and evil.³⁸ Because of this conflict, the faithful can also experience self-alienation and subjugation from the evil influences that instigated the act on sinning.³⁹ This form of self-alienation does not only imply the separation from God, but also the identification of the self as the other, which produces a dysfunctional unity. For Ricœur, sin is the outcome of the human participation with evil that affects the sinners' identity and causes a state of powerlessness, or vulnerability. This separation incites fear because sinners assume the lack of self-identity and a broken relation with God. The penitents seek divine reunion with God by begging for pardon and patience while experiencing punishment.⁴⁰ This relationship with God also

³⁷ Link, 85.

³⁸ Ricœur, 48.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 47-99.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 71-79.

suggests fear of his presence, especially when the individual is under the influence of sin.

The Symbol of Defilement as Witchcraft, Heresy, and Sodomy

According to Ricœur, the symbols of sin and defilement represent two different experiences of evil. Yet, Ricœur also contends that there is a hermeneutic link between sin and defilement, which he denominates as the symbol of *binding*. Ricœur defines *binding* when he states, “The symbol of defilement is dominated by the symbol of ‘binding’, which is the symbol of externality, but which expresses seizure, possession, enslavement, rather than contagion and contamination...”⁴¹ In this case, the consequence of sin and defilement is enslavement to the sources of evil that instigated or contaminated the faithful. This connection between sin and defilement is relevant for this study since it provides a lens to interpret the Spanish Church’s goals on its approach to evil.

Based on Ricœur’s material, I deduce that the Church perceived witches, heretics and sodomites under the symbol of sin because of their rebellion against God’s establishment. Nevertheless, the Church also treated these sinners under the symbol of defilement due to fear of evil contagion. Thus, the Inquisition aimed to eradicate witches, heretics and sodomites not so much because of their sins as for their ability to reproduce evil.

The hunting and burning of witches in Spain was not as excessive compared to other European countries,⁴² but in such context, when anyone in the population

⁴¹ Ibid., 48.

⁴² José Antonio Mateos Royo, "All the Town is a Stage: Civic Ceremonies and Religious Festivities in Spain during the Golden Age," *Urban History* 26, no. 2 (1999): 184-185.

could be accused of witchcraft, women were the subject of this allegation because they were considered susceptible to the Devil's influence.⁴³ The following excerpt comes from a sermon addressed by the Dominican Iacinto de Colmenares during an *auto de fé* in the city of Valladolid on October 4, 1623. This sermon exemplifies negative connotations and fear against women in Spanish contexts:

Woman, you are the devil's door and first despiser of God's precept. You dared to approach man, to which the coward devil could not reach. You threw away God's image in the mud... She was the reason of fall to whom the naïve listened her lies and celebrated her mistakes.⁴⁴

Although the antagonism against women is not unique to Spanish culture during this time, this sermon by Colmenares displays contextual attitudes towards women. The belief on witches may derive from this antagonism in combination with mediaeval superstitions.

Nevertheless, the Inquisition's main goal was not to identify and execute witches, but rather to prevent and eradicate heresy, which was considered another facet of the Devil.⁴⁵ In Seville, the persecution of heretics – especially Jews and Muslims – partially created the environment of living in fear, particularly in 1609 during Phillip III's expulsion of the moriscos. These circumstances not only affected

⁴³ Laura A Lewis, "From Sodomy to Superstition: The Active Pathic and Bodily Transgressions in New Spain," *Ethnohistory* 54, no. 1 (2007): 134-135. The author states that such ludicrous knowledge derives from centuries of persecuting women accused of practicing witchcraft. This information also stems from the infamous book *Malleus Maleficarum*, which was written in the 15th century by the inquisitors Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger. In this book, the inquisitors demonized female sexuality by stating that women turn into witches by expressing inappropriate social and sexual behavior, which threatens men's pioussness.

⁴⁴ Núñez, 363. My translation from the original:

Muger, puerta del diablo eres, primera despreciadora del precepto de Dios, y tal que te atreviste al hombre, a quien el demonio cobarde no llegaba, y diste con la imagen de Dios en el lodo. Imitadora de las que he referido, y no desigual en nada de malicia a las passadas, llena de falsas revelaciones, fue ocasión de cayda a quien crédulo escuchó sus mentiras y celebró sus errores. [sic]

Sermón que predicó el muy Reverendo Padre Fray Iacinto de Colmenares, Calificador del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición, Predicador general dela Orden de Predicadores, y del Convento de S. Pablo, en el auto público de Fe, que se celebró en quatro de Octubre de este año, día del Señor San Francisco. Valladolid por Iuan Bautista Varesio, 1623 (2+59 pp.) (B.U.S. Est. 113, no. 84, trat. 5): 39.

⁴⁵ María Victoria González de Caldas, "El Santo Oficio en Sevilla," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 27, no. 2 (1991): 59-114.107. González de Caldas examines surviving documents from the Sevillian Inquisition, and indicates that 54.5% of trial processes were against the Jewish population, while 7. 2% were against witches.

other religious groups, but also the conversos, who were forced to practice Christianity under the threat of being denounced for heresy.⁴⁶ In addition to Jewish and Muslim religious minorities, there were other Christian cults condemned for heresy: among them are the *Alumbrados* and *Quietistas* that grew in numbers since the 16th century.⁴⁷ The same sermon by Colmenares during the *auto de fé* in Valladolid also condemns the *Alumbrados* as it follows:

And Catholics, children of the church, counterattack in this property to a genre of enemies that in Spain are the heretic alumbrados, people in virtuous and perfect appearance, [but] in the interior without faith, [they are] malicious, dishonest and obscene. This heresy is not new, yet it seems that it has its origins in Llerena, since without any doubt is the same [heresy] as the Gnostics, if seen what they have and profess.⁴⁸

In terms of sodomy, the Inquisition perceived and treated the *nefarious sin* as a mixture of witchcraft and heresy. The church approached sodomy as a form of heresy or treason against God and his laws of nature. The inquisitors formulated an extravagant understanding of male homosexuality, as similar to female uncontrolled sexuality, by claiming that the Devil possessed the sodomite to perform unnatural sexual acts.⁴⁹ Acts of homosexuality threatened the patriarchal system by challenging the basis of the male dominant role and homogeneity.⁵⁰ Church officials demonstrated an intense fear of contagion against male homosexuals to the point

⁴⁶ Ibid., 73-82.

⁴⁷ Núñez, 354-357.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 355. My translation from the original:

Y contrapónense los católicos, hijos de la Iglesia, en esta propiedad a un género de enemigos, que en España se llaman hereges alumbrados, gente en la apariencia virtuosos y perfectos, en lo interior sin fe, malos, deshonestos y obscenos. No es nueva esta herejía, aunque parezca tuvo en Llerena su principio, porque sin duda es la misma que la de los gnósticos, si se mira lo que tienen y professan. [sic] Sermón que predicó el muy Reverendo Padre (...) en el auto público de Fe, que se celebró en quatro de Octubre de este año, día del Señor San Francisco (...). Valladolid, 1623 (2+59 pp.) (B.U.S. Est. 113, no. 84, trat. 5): 35-36.

⁴⁹ Fernanda Molina, "La Herejización de la Sodomía en la Sociedad Moderna: Consideraciones Teológicas y Praxis Inquisitorial," *Hispania Sacra* 62, no. 126 (2010): 547-556.

⁵⁰ Cristian Berco, *Sexual Hierarchies, Public Status: Men, Sodomy, and Society in Spain's Golden Age*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).

that those accused of sodomy were separated from other criminals in the Royal prison in Seville.⁵¹

Ricœur's explanation of the symbol of defilement sheds light on the Inquisition's fear and treatment of witchcraft, heresy and sodomy. Ricœur offers a way to interpret such fear of contagion from church officials when he mentions "Dread of the impure is like fear, but already faces a threat which, beyond the threat of suffering and death, aims at a diminution of existence, a loss of the personal core of one's being."⁵² This explains the Church's dread about the corruption from these sources of evil that can destroy the self, or faithful Catholics, by transforming it into the other, considered as witches, heretics, or sodomites.

Ricœur explains defilement as the contamination of the soul from external sources of evil that produce suffering and require cleansing rituals.⁵³ He notes that the experiential effects of defilement are subjective, given that the victim can respond with different levels of dread and anguish. However, the perception of defilement is objective in the sense that the person can easily identify the external sources of contagion. This objective connotation indicates that defilement derives from the interaction with the other, the environment, or the Devil and its followers.⁵⁴

Ricœur argues that eschatology provides spiritual satisfaction to the believer, particularly in the purifying aspects of the Last Judgment.⁵⁵ In the Catholic tradition,

⁵¹ Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 123.

⁵² Ricœur, 41.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 25-46

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 29. For Ricœur, some examples of defilement relate mostly to sexuality due to the physical interaction with the other, including sexual interdictions such as erotic fetishes, rape, pre-marital sex, and homosexuality, among others. Ricœur also offers additional rare examples where infants are considered as defilement for being born in pollution due to the father's seed, the mother's impure genitalia, and other contaminations obtained during the act of birth.⁵⁴ The magnitudes of defilement are corroborated with particular cleansing ceremonies similar to baptism, marriage, communion, and extreme unction.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 42.

the eschatological function of purgatory is the final purifying resource after death. This doctrine imparts that a selection of souls can be cleansed only if their stains of evil are minor. Purgatory is then another form of cleansing, where the souls will temporarily suffer torments and anguish. The faithful can ameliorate the situation of these souls by fasting, praying, giving to charities, offering up masses, and purchasing indulgences.⁵⁶

A sermon of 1683 exemplifies the importance of indulgences to reach salvation and it sheds light on the perspectives of the purgatory according to 17th-century Spanish contexts. This sermon was preached in Madrid by Diego Camacho y Ávila, a cleric and scholar from the University of Salamanca.

The just soul went through God's tremendous judgment, God did not find any crimes to send him to the abyss, neither any purity for heaven. The soul resulted with a thousand years of Purgatory, a thousand of intolerable sorrows, of horrors, of fire, of regrets, [but] a merciful friend takes an indulgence. Apply this indulgence, accept it God, the soul gets out from these sorrows, goes up to rest. Now I wonder, what about the thousand years? And what about the soul not being ready for heaven? (...) Oh indulgence, powerful against strictness! Against the punishment! Against time!⁵⁷

The Spanish Church sought complete and continuous repentance from their parishioners' digressions in order to avoid the assumption that temporary suffering in purgatory was an alternate option for salvation.

In order to achieve such repentance, the church relied on agents of fear, such as images of the Last Judgment, to compel the population towards the church's

⁵⁶ Núñez, 255- 257.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 257. My translation from the original:

Passó el alma de un iusto al tremendo Juycio de Dios, no halló delitos para el abismo, pero ni pureza para el cielo. Salió con mil años de Purgatorio, mil de intolerables penas, de horrores, de fuego, de lamentos, toma la piedad de un amigo una Bula. Aplícale la Indulgencia, acéptala Dios, sale el alma de las penas, sube al descanso. Ahora pregunto, ¿y los mil años? ¿Y el no estar el alma purificada para el Cielo? (...) ¡O indulgencia, poderosa contra el rigor!, ¡contra la pena!, ¡contra el tiempo! [sic]

Camacho y Ávila, Diego: *Sermón del Juicio y Bula de la S. Cruzada*, que el día dos de diciembre de este año de 1685 predicó en Santa María la Real de la Almudena (...) el Doctor (...). Madrid, 1685 (7+16 pp.) (B.U.S. Est. 113, no. 64, trat. 16): 12-13.

redemptive capabilities. The following sermon of 1621 addressed by Alonso Gómez, a friar superior of the Sevillian convent of St. Domingo, describes the significant role of depicting condemned souls to move sinners towards repentance:

The greedy rich man thought it was necessary that a condemned soul came out [from hell] to warn men about the terrible sorrows and convince them to repent, so they would not suffer these punishments, which he describes as being in extremely rigorous and fiery flames (...) If he would have in front of him a condemned soul, burdened with chains, shackled, and oppressed, it will make him tremble.⁵⁸

As suggested by this sermon, images of condemned souls function as strong instruments of fear that motivate the parishioners' contrition and control over their future actions. Once the parishioners became aware of their evil deeds, they re-discovered themselves as sinners. It was in this re-discovery where fear continued to affect the emotional state of sinners, while they dreaded the repercussions of their actions. Thus, fear functions as the key factor through the process of self-analysis on the engagement with evil.⁵⁹ Images of the Last Judgment were designed to present these agents of fear in the form of tortured bodies that represent condemned souls.

Pacheco and Herrera also employed images of horrific punishment to move sinners to repentance. Like the sacrament of confession as described by Ricoeur's phenomenology, these images employ sophisticated pictorial programs that force the viewers' self-consciousness to re-enact prior wrongdoings and identify these actions as evil.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 258. My translation from the original:

Porque, si para avisar a los hombres las penas terribles del infierno, le pareció al rico avariento era menester saliesse un condenado a dezirles que hiziessen penitencia, porque no fuessen a padecerlas, como lo dixo él mismo, estando en aquellas rigurosísimas y ardentísimas llamas abransándose (...) Si vieran delante de sí una alma condenada, cargada de cadenas, aherrojada, rodeada, les haría temblar. [sic]

Gómez, Alonso, O.P.: Sermón que predicó el Padre (...) en las honras que se hizieron a la Católica Majestad del Rey Don Felipe III en el mismo convento (...). Murcia, 1621 (18 ff.) (B.U.S. Est. 113, no. 57, trat. 5): F. 4.

⁵⁹ McFarlane, 83-110.

The Symbol of Guilt as Fear and Punishment

We have already seen that, according to Ricœur, the internalization and personalization of sin and/or defilement produce guilt, which is the last symbol of evil in his phenomenological analysis. Ricœur argues that guilt causes an awareness of the self in relation to the world. He also describes guilt as a burden on the sinners' consciousness and as a measurement of evil at individual and communal levels.⁶⁰ For Ricœur, the differences between personal and communal guilt convey alternative eschatological paths as he states, "From the moment when the preaching of communal sin no longer signifies that a choice is open, but that fate has closed the doors on an entire people, it is the preaching of individual sin, of personal guilt, that has the value of hope. For if sin is individual, salvation can be equally so."⁶¹ Ricœur's argument corroborates the rhetorical significance of sermons that utilized guilt to convey the unforeseen apocalyptic doom on the population, while reinforcing the sense of the individual's salvation.

In Seville during the 17th century, the population questioned God's intentions after a series of catastrophes that transformed the city and challenged its religiosity. These disasters were river inundations, droughts, famine, epidemics, and an earthquake in 1680.⁶² During these harsh times, preachers interpreted these calamities as eschatological warnings on the moral qualities of the society. The ecclesiastics exhorted the public to confess its sins and perform acts of penance. On the one hand, the Church attempted to pacify the population by emphasizing God's

⁶⁰ Ricœur, 100-150.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 105

⁶² Miguel Luis López-Guadalupe Muñoz and José Jaime García Bernal, "El Temblor de 1680, entre Tradición Retórica y Pedagogía Moderna," *Baética* (2010): 350.

love and mercy in sending these warnings that provide more chances for salvation.⁶³

On the other hand, Sevillian preachers such as Juan Antonio Alcázar y Zúñiga, Canon of Seville's Cathedral and administrator of the Royal Hospital, articulate that these disasters derive directly from the society's evil actions. The following passage from 1683 demonstrates his preoccupations:

Are there sins in Spain? Are there vices in Seville? Respond from your own consciousness, respond from your own hearts, and say it from those repeated bangs that beat in the interior of your souls. But it is not necessary, given the public evil and corruption is so large, that without voices they enter through the ears, and even through the eyes, and the worst and most pitiful is that it is claiming, Or heaven does not want it to be heard!, for vengeance in the Tribune of Divine Justice. What else do you think that are those continuous and repeated punishments that we experience and surround us everywhere, other than pitiful echoes of our sad voices? The heaven, as if it was made of bronze, it closes to our cries, to our tears, to our weeping, negating the rains for so long. Earth, mother at times, is now a common enemy to all living, not only denies its fruits, but also withdraws the waters to its entrails, leaving us dying of thirst and remaining harder than rocks themselves, and it even seems that it wants to throw us out of itself. All the elements conjure against us.⁶⁴

After these natural misfortunes, Sevillian preachers admonished the population to induce the fear of God. At the same time, they also reminded the penitents that the end of the world was imminent event and could occur at any time. During these

⁶³ Ibid., 350-351.

⁶⁴ Núñez, 304. My translation from the original:

¿Ay pecados en España? ¿Ay vicios en Sevilla? Respondan vuestras mismas conciencias, respondan vuestros mismos corazones, díganlo aquellos repetidos golpes con que continuamente late en lo interior de vuestras almas. Pero no es necesario, porque la maldad y la corrupción pública es tan grande, que sin voces se entra por los oídos, y aun por los ojos, y lo peor y más lastimoso es que está clamando, ¡no quiera el cielo que sea oída!, en el Tribunal de la Justicia Divina por vengança. ¿Qué otra cosa pensáis que son tan continuados y repetidos castigos como experimentamos y nos cercan por todas partes, sino ecos lastimosos de nuestras tristes voces? El cielo, como si fuera de bronce, se cierra nuestros gemidos, a nuestras lágrimas, a nuestros sollozos, negándonos tanto tiempo ha las lluvias. La tierra, madre un tiempo, ya enemiga común de todos los vivientes, so sólo nos niega sus frutos, sino nos retira las aguas a sus entrañas, dexándonos morir de sed y quedando más dura que las mismas piedras, y aun parece que nos quiere arrojar de sí. Los elementos todos se conjuran contra nosotros. [sic]

Alcázar y Zúñiga, Juan Antonio: Panegyrico Historial y Exhortación Gratulatoria en la Solemníssima Festividad que consagró a Dios Sacramentado la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana y Patriarcal de Sevilla el día diez de Noviembre de este año, en acción de gracias por el feliz successo de milagrosa victoria, que contra las armas Otomanas obtuvieron las Cesáreas y, Catolicas auxiliadas del Señor Rey de Polonia, y gobernadas por el Señor Duque de Lorena, sobre Viena restaurada (...). Dísola el Doctor Don Juan Antonio del Alcázar y Zúñiga, Canonigo de la misma Santa iglesia, y administrador del Hospital Real de esta ciudad por su Majestad (...) por Juan Vejarano. Sevilla, 1683 (8+30 pp.) (B.U.S. Est. 113, no. 71, trat. 2): 13.

natural disasters, the public increased their devotion towards images of the Virgin Mary by praying for her intercession to appease divine wrath.⁶⁵ However, I argue that under such circumstances, the images of the Last Judgment by Pacheco and Herrera had a significant effect in the public's mind, who interpreted the images as near apocalyptic prophecies.

For the Sevillian parishioner, images of the Last Judgment presented the constant preoccupation about the frailty of life and dying without proper absolution rites. The following passage derives from a sermon that was preached in 1608 by the Sevillian priest, Luis de la Oliva:

But the lord in that entire gospel warns us to be prepared, to wait his coming after death (...) In Romance [language, he] tells us to prepare ourselves with the chores for our salvation, because death will come as a thief when we least expect it. The penitence that waits by then is very suspicious.⁶⁶

This sermon by Oliva not only demonstrates the fear of living and dying in sin, but also the fear of the incessant threat of the apocalypse. All these preoccupations conclude with the fear of suffering in the afterlife, either temporarily in purgatory or eternally in hell. Pacheco and Herrera depicted such fear of suffering in their images of the Last Judgment to remind their viewers that suffering have moral significance. This meaning of suffering, according to Ricoeur, entails cleansing and ethical properties, in which religious attitudes toward physical suffering become rituals that can help diminish divine punishment.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ López-Guadalupe and García Bernal, 347.

⁶⁶ Núñez, 322. This sermon refers to the gospel of St. Matthew 24, 44. My translation from the original: Pero el Señor en todo ese Evangelio nos avisa que estemos apercebidos, para esperar su venida en la muerte (...) En Romance nos dize que hagamos con tiempo las diligencias de nuestra salvación, porque la muerte vendrá como ladrón quando menos esperemos. La penitencia que para entonces se aguarda es muy sospechosa. [sic]

Oliva, Luis de la, O.P.: Sermón que predicó el Padre (...) entre los dos Coros de la Yglesia de Sevilla, día de San Clemente (...). Sevilla, 1608 (10 ff.) (B.U.S. Est. 113, no. 86, trat. 15): 6f.

⁶⁷ Ricoeur, 42-43.

Last Judgment and *Auto de Fé*

Ricœur's argument about suffering elucidates Divine Justice in the Last Judgment and earthly justice in the Sevillian legal system. Ricœur argues that divine and human justice demand suffering to cleanse transgressions, but suffering or cleansing can be meaningless without higher purposes. For Ricœur these purposes entail religious significance when he states, "And conscience, not *finding* the manifestation of the law of retribution any longer in real suffering, *looked for* its satisfaction in other directions, whether at the end of history, in a Last Judgment, or in some exceptional event, such as the sacrifice of a victim offered for the sins of the world, or by means of penal laws elaborated by society with the intention of making the penalty proportionate to the crime, or by means of a wholly internal penalty, accepted as penance."⁶⁸ In this statement, Ricœur argues that religious doctrines of extraordinary events, such as the Last Judgment, provide moral justifications for the correction of human transgressions by requiring repentance through suffering. This argument provides a context for understanding the creation and function of the Inquisition as the executor of God's judgment on earth.

This material by Ricœur relates to the work of the philosopher Michel Foucault, particularly in terms of religious motivations in the implementation of legal processes. Foucault also acknowledges the doctrinal connotations of the Last Judgment in the development and implementation of human penal system when he states, "Every death agony expresses a certain truth: but, when it takes place on the scaffold, it does so with more intensity, in that it is hastened by pain; with more rigour, because it occurs exactly at the juncture between the judgment of men and

⁶⁸ Ibid. 42

the judgment of God; with more ostentation, because it takes place in public.”⁶⁹ Foucault’s emphasis on the theatricality of suffering in connection with the Last Judgment opens a new perspective on the performance and exhibition of the Inquisition’s *auto de fé*.

The Inquisition implemented the ceremony *auto de fé* as an agent of fear to display its power over unorthodoxy. This performance was intended for the general community, and it demonstrated the judgment and punishment of social transgressions against God and his Church.⁷⁰ Despite the modern beliefs, the Spanish *auto de fé* was not as severe and frequent, especially in cities like Seville during the 17th century, when the ceremony was performed only four times approximately every twenty years.⁷¹ For the purposes of this research, I focus my attention on the manner in which the *auto de fé* was presented to the public, as well as its significance in relation to eschatological symbols on the Last Judgment.⁷²

In a semiotic approach to the *auto de fé*, the historian Maureen Flynn has argued that this Spanish spectacle functioned as a re-enactment of the Last Judgment.⁷³ Flynn applies Ricoeur’s theory of guilt as an approach to analyze the responses from sinners and the public alike during this ceremony. Flynn describes these responses when she mentions that “These acts of faith were vivid reminders of the trial and judgment that spectators believed would confront them all at the end of

⁶⁹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline & punish*, Translated by Alan Sheridan (Toronto: Random House of Canada, 1977). 45-46

⁷⁰ José Antonio Mateos Royo, 184.

⁷¹ María Victoria González de Caldas, 75-76. According to the author, the *Auto de fé* in Seville was celebrated every 2 years during the last half of the 16th century. However, in the 17th century the ceremony is only performed in 1604, 1624, 1648, and 1660. Similar occurrences appear in major cities in Andalucía, except in Granada, where the *auto de fé* was performed 5 times during that century.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 76-80. In her explanation of the last *Auto de fé* in Seville, González de Caldas links the performance to the symbolic content of the Last Judgment.

⁷³ Maureen Flynn, "Mimesis of the Last Judgment: The Spanish *Auto de fé*," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, (1991): 281-297.

their days. Watching penitents on stage, they lived through their own apprehensions of the Final Judgment. The Inquisition's trial of sinners rehearsed feelings of fear, awe, and submission that marked the final moments of human destiny."⁷⁴ As Flynn states, the Inquisition constructed the *auto de fé* as re-enactment of the Last Judgment to validate the fear of the events in the afterlife by the exhibition of guilt, penance, judgment, and death. The repercussions of such re-enactments were physical torture, which according to Flynn, the church encouraged as a form of penance since medieval times. Upon the advice of the church, the penitents inflicted the physical torments that they could suffer in hell on themselves, in order to reach absolution before death.⁷⁵

Flynn also compares the visual and theatrical structures of the *auto de fé* with biblical descriptions of Judgment Day by St. John and St. Matthew.⁷⁶ To her point, I argue that the format and arrangement of the *auto de fé* also seems to coincide with the conventional representations of the *parousia* in accounts of the Last Judgment. In the staging of the ceremony, the sinners were placed in pyramidal structures in front of the inquisitor and other church officials. The sinners were called one by one to face the inquisitor and hear their sins and final sentence.⁷⁷ The offenders were condemned or absolved based on their repentance, and such division parallels the just or damned in the eschatological images. The ceremony concluded with the execution of the unrepentant as an exhibition of the tortures of hell.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 297.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 291.

⁷⁶ Flynn observes that actions such as pronouncement of the penitents' sins represents St. John's vision of the Last Judgment in which God used the book of life to announce the penitents' deeds.

"And I saw the dead, great and small, standing in the presence of the throne, and the books were opened; and another book was opened, which is the book of life; and the dead were judged by those things which were written in the books, according to their works." Rev. 20:12

⁷⁷ Ibid., 294-297.

Based on my observations, the performance of the *auto de fé* resembles the process of looking at the image of the Last Judgment. In approaching the paintings by Pacheco and Herrera for instance, the spectators of the *auto de fé* may have rehearsed their own judgment by associating theatrical and visual experiences. As noted in my phenomenological observations in Chapter 2, the images reenact a situation where the sinner faces the judging Christ that is surrounded by the celestial court. This setting is similar to observing the trials of the *auto de fé*, where the sinner faces the Inquisitor in front of church and government officials. This perceptive association permitted the works of the Last Judgment by Pacheco and Herrera to remind their viewers about God's judgment in the afterlife, in addition to the penal repercussions implemented by the Inquisition before death.

Although most images of the *auto de fé* were destroyed after the Inquisition's abolition in 1813,⁷⁸ there are two extant representations from Seville that demonstrate the content of this ceremony and their relation to the Last Judgment. One of these images represents the last general *auto de fé* of 1660 at the San Francisco plaza in Seville⁷⁹ (Figure 10).⁸⁰ This painting documents the eschatological setting of the ceremony, such as the arrangement of dignitaries and church officials in ascending order, as well as the process of calling the sinners for judgment. It also illustrates the architectural employment of the space at the San Francisco Plaza, which was the official place for this ceremony.

⁷⁸ María Victoria González de Caldas, *¿Judíos o Cristianos?: El Proceso de Fe Sancta Inquisitio*, 66.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 64. This painting was originally commissioned to Francisco Herrera the Younger, who was Herrera the Elder's son. However, the commission was transferred to now unknown painters because the patrons could not meet Herrera the Younger's high prices. In any case, the unknown painters followed the preparatory drawings by Herrera the Younger

The other representation of the *auto de fé* in Seville is a fresco in the church of Santa Magdalena that was created by Lucas Valdés during the first years of the 18th century (Figure 11). The church commissioned this fresco to honor the Dominican Order by representing the victory of the Catholic Church against heresy. Valdés painted a narrative reconstruction of an *auto de fé*, in which a heretic is sentenced and condemned. The title of this fresco, *Suplicio de Diego Duro*, is based on an 18th-century assumption that the central figure of the condemned heretic was the Portuguese Diego Duro, who was executed on October 28, 1703 due to Judaizing.⁸¹ The narrative starts at the upper right corner of the fresco, which displays the sentence of the heretic that takes place at the San Francisco Plaza. The narrative continues on the central section that depicts the heretic riding a donkey amidst a procession towards the site for execution. This picture idealizes the mission of the inquisition by surrounding the heretic with the anachronical figures of the inquisitor Saint Domingo de Guzmán and two other Dominican friars. It also suggests Divine approval by including the figures of Saint Hermenegildo and the king Saint Fernando.

The Holy Office generated a culture that lives in fear by intimidating the population with horrific performances such as the *auto de fé*. As phenomenologist Adrian McFarlane has argued, the condition of *living in fear* indicates that given populations undergo constant threats and vulnerabilities from consequences of their past actions.⁸² This results in social insecurity, lack of communal trust, and living on the expectation of the worst possible outcomes from the future. This social paradigm foments the fabrication of absurd fears, such as witchcraft, based on illogical dangers

⁸¹ Ibid., 65.

⁸² McFarlane, 87-92.

in the form of superstitions that can produce paranoia. This model relates to the social contexts of Seville since it represents the fears from different social classes, particularly of marginal groups considered as the other. These groups are more specifically women and homosexuals that were punished as witches and sodomites, as well as religious minorities such as Jews and Muslims that were condemned as heretics. These groups were punished by the Spanish Inquisition for not conforming, or displaying alternate behavior to social homogeneity. In part, images of the Last Judgment are religious tools that serve to homogenize society and structure the Church's order. The eschatological resonance against rebellion is evident in pictures of the Last Judgment, where homogeneity means salvation, and unorthodoxy is condemned and punished.

Mañara's Self-reflections

A close parallel to Ricœur's concept of guilt is found in Mañara's late 17th – century reflections in the *Discurso de la Verdad*. In the following excerpt, Mañara expresses guilt as affliction from his wicked actions, while pleading divine forgiveness.

And I, that write this (with pain in my heart and tears in my eyes, I confess), for more than thirty years I left that holy mount of Jesus Christ, and I crazily and blindly served Babylon and its vices, I drank [from] the dirty chalice of its delights, and ingrate to my lord I served to his enemy [Babylon], not been satiated of drinking from the dirty puddles of her abominations: which it burdens me, and I beg to that highness and imperial kindness, forgiveness of my sins.⁸³

For Mañara, the fear of facing God while being consciously guilty of sinful deeds exemplifies the most effective form of living in fear in these specific contexts.

⁸³ Mañara, 35-36. My translation from the original:

Y yo, que escribo esto (con dolor de mi corazón y lágrimas en mis ojos lo confieso), más de treinta años deje ese monte santo de Jesucristo, y serví loco y ciego á Babilonia y sus vicios, bebí el sucio cáliz de sus deleites, é ingrato á mi Señor serví á su enemiga, no hartándose de beber en los sucios charcos de sus abominaciones: de lo cual me pesa, y pido á aquella altísima é imperial bondad perdón de mis pecados. [sic]

This is also the type of fear that Pacheco and Herrera aimed to generate in their respective images of the Last Judgment. These images trigger the viewers' consciousness to experience guilt by distinguishing their evil actions. This could imply that such images of the Last Judgment were effective only to sinners, but this is not the case since the state of spiritual purity in Catholic rhetoric is ambiguous.

The ambiguity of purity is prevalent in Mañara's remarkable autobiography, which describes his moral downfall, subsequent conversion, and aspiration to reach divine redemption.⁸⁴ Mañara was born in 1627 to one of the most influential families in Seville that developed its wealth through commerce to the Spanish colonies. In his youth, Mañara seems to have enjoyed a libertine and reckless life since he became the heir of his family. His life changed completely after the death of his young wife, who was known to be an outstandingly pious woman. After that, Mañara adopted an ascetic lifestyle and eventually became the prominent religious figure in the Brotherhood of the Holy Charity in Seville. Since his death, Mañara has been considered a candidate for sainthood, but his canonization is still pending.⁸⁵

Mañara seems to have experienced both extremes of good and evil. In the following excerpt from his will, he writes that the evil he has committed outweighs all the good that he has done.

Being the only true God, immortal king, invisible, omnipotent and holy; in front of such majesty I, his poor slave, am writing this testament and final will, to whom (is the divine Verb) for our health descended from heaven to earth... resurrected among the dead on the third day; and after the fourth day ascended to heaven; from where he is going to come on the final day to judge the world after the universal resurrection, when he will give to each one of us the rewards of our work, to the wicked the eternal fire, with Satan and his

⁸⁴ Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978): 130-131. According to Brown, the biography of Miguel de Mañara has been obscured by centuries of misinterpretations, particularly because Mañara was believed to inspire Tirso de Molina's *El Burlador de Sevilla*.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 131n9.

angels, and to the blessed the holy paradise, dwelling of the just souls, his elected.

I, Don Miguel Mañara, ashes and dirt, sinner and wretched, since in the most spoiled days I offended that highest majesty of God, my father, as a creature and vile slave I confess. I served to Babylon and to the devil, its prince, with a thousand abominations, prides, adulteries, oaths, scandals and frauds, whose sins and malevolence do not have number, and only the great wisdom of God can number them, and his infinite patience suffer them, and his infinite mercy forgive them...

And it is my will that a slab of a half a square yard will be place on my sepulcher, written on it these words: *Here rest the bones and ashes of the worst man that has been in the world. Pray to God for him.*⁸⁶

Mañara's exemplary repentance raises questions about the achievement of purity in the spiritual sense, especially when considering his conversion to a model of piety. Ricœur explains that the criterion of purity is subjective because it is based on St. Paul's standards of the Just Man, which maintains that the expectation for salvation is unachievable since everybody is susceptible to evil.⁸⁷

By reflecting on the subjectivity of purity or goodness, I argue that even pious audiences were affected by the works by the images of the Last Judgment because any misdeeds could have been self-analyzed as evil. The Church exploited its spiritual purposes on this very ambiguity by exploiting the faithful's guilt and fear through preaching, particularly when parishioners recognize their own imminent death. Under such circumstances, Church's patrons employed their testaments as

⁸⁶ Mañara, 88-94. My Translation from the original:

Siendo un solo Dios verdadero, Rey inmortal, invisible, omnipotente y santo; delante de cuya Majestad yo, su pobre esclavo, estoy escribiendo este testamento y postrera voluntad, el cual (esto es, el Verbo divino) por nuestra salud bajó del cielo a la tierra...resucitó de entro los muerto al tercero día; y después de cuarenta subió a los cielos; de donde ha de venir el postrero día a juzgar el mundo después de la universal resurrección, adonde dará a cada uno el premio de su trabajo, á los malos el fuego eterno, con Satanás y sus ángeles, y a los buenos el santo paraíso, morada de los justos, sus escogidos.

Yo, D. Miguel Mañara, ceniza y polvo, pecador desdichado, pues los más de mis malogrados días ofendí a la majestad altísima de Dios, mi Padre, cuya criatura y esclavo vil me confieso. Serví a Babilona y al demonio, su príncipe, con mil abominaciones, soberbias, adulterios, juramentos, escándalos y latrocinios, cuyos pecados y maldades no tienen número, y sola la gran sabiduría de Dios pueden numerarlos, y su infinita paciencia sufrirlos, y su infinita misericordia perdonarlos...

Y es mi voluntad se ponga encima de mi sepultura una losa de media vara en cuadro, escritas en ella estas palabras: *Aquí yacen lo huesos y cenizas del peor hombre que ha habido en el mundo. Rueguen a Dios por él.* [sic]

⁸⁷ Ibid., 107.

final attempts to amend any misdeeds that were not absolved in life. These attempts were by means of commissioning indulgences, masses, and monetary donations.⁸⁸

Ricœur asserts that fear and evil are inevitable and indispensable parts of the human experience.⁸⁹ His theory offers a new perspective for the understanding of evil and fear to interpret the message in Last Judgment images. These pictures inspire us to fear our actions and their consequences, but Ricœur encourages us to analyze our fears in order to understand these actions, so we can confront their outcomes. He describes this mode as the healthiest way to cope, confront, and accept fear as part of life.⁹⁰ After Ricœur's theory, I deduce that the 17th-century Sevillian experienced fear as oppression and it was the tool to oppress. Thus, I agree with Ricœur's solution to avoid the experience of fear and evil as oppression by approaching the changing and challenging environment with a new and accepting mode of awareness.

⁸⁸ Enriqueta Vila and Lourdes Kuethe, "La Idea de Nobleza y el 'Más Allá': Advocaciones Religiosas en los Testamentos," *Boletín de la Real academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras: Minervae baeticae* 34 (2006): 213-233. Vila and Kuethe state the importance of the final will to secure salvation in the afterlife. The authors analyze the written wills of some Sevillian merchants during the 17th century and notice the significant amount of monetary patronage for religious services. For instance, the average number of masses commission for the dead patron is 4000 among other services such as indulgences and prayers.

⁸⁹ Ricœur, 44-45.

⁹⁰ McFarlane, 153.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have developed my arguments based on the fact that images of the Last Judgment serve to compel the emotions of fear and hope to believers who felt vulnerable because of their moral mistakes. The Catholic Church designed, produced, and exhibited these influential images with the claim that these facilitate its religious goals to raise awareness of salvation. The relevance of these images seemed to renew with the constant threat of the end of the world, particularly when natural disasters transform fear into paranoia. Beyond the concerns of the end of times and the events of the afterlife, these images also convey the institution's fear of losing the spiritual control of its parishioners, particularly during periods of religious crisis.

In the context of 17th-century Seville, the artists Francisco Pacheco and Francisco Herrera el Viejo participated in the propagation of these images by painting their own versions of the Last Judgment. Although these paintings were created for religious purposes, they also provide access to the broader culture of Seville during the Spanish Golden Age. In this case, I argue that Pacheco took the opportunity to lead religious and academic investigations for the proper depiction of subjects regarding the Last Judgment. In his treatise, Pacheco presents this painting as a model for the appropriate representation of the Last Judgment that reinforces the strict artistic regulations on the Counter-Reformation. Furthermore, this painting also provided him with the opportunity to engage in developing art theory based on the work of the Italian Giorgio Vasari, as well as to participate in intellectual criticism on the works of Renaissance artists such as Michelangelo. Pacheco's theory influenced the iconography in the work by Herrera el Viejo, but the

latter took a different stylistic approach to represent the same subject matter.

Herrera's approach was to engage in the natural depiction of the human anatomy in his Last Judgment because this subject matter allows the representation of nudes.

In my application of phenomenological methods based on the theories by Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Paul Ricœur, I argue that the paintings of the Last Judgment by Pacheco and Herrera reconstituted the traditional perspective of the human relationship to evil. These paintings emphasize divine punishment through angelic figures rather than the conventional fear of demons, which induced viewers to have an active responsibility of their own misdeeds instead of blaming exterior influences such as the Devil. The phenomenological methods also allowed me to distinguish the artists' intentions, in which I argue that Pacheco aims to convey hope, while Herrera focuses on fear. These arguments are substantiated by interpreting the commission documents for each painting. For the purpose of this thesis, I approached these paintings as part of a larger cultural spectrum, where the images have an active role in shaping public awareness of its own social and religious realities.

My suggestions for future research in this topic include the implementation of phenomenology as methods of art historical investigation. I suggest continuing this study of the Last Judgment in the contexts of the Spanish colonies, where alternative racial and religious implications may enhance research outcomes. The development of phenomenological methods in Art History will enrich the study of images that inspire fear and their effects on a given culture, especially in the social control of marginal populations. This focus can include the philosophical theories by Julia Kristeva and Michel Foucault. I support Cristian Hainic's endeavor to develop new

phenomenological methods to approach the responsive continuity of images through different historical periods.¹ My final research suggestion is to explore the employment of iconography from the Last Judgment for political propaganda. The work by Anthony Blunt on the painting *Dream of Phillip II* (1579) by El Greco exemplifies my suggestion (Figure 12),² but this work can be updated with phenomenological methods by describing the association of political and religious content to eschatology.

In conclusion, I argue that fear is an intrinsic human emotion that pervades artistic production, so I encourage future scholarship to question images that produce fear and analyze their cultural effects in any historical contexts. In questioning the reasons behind these images, we can discover significant cultural constructions that support such fear, which might be ignored otherwise. Some of these constructions might be political, religious, social, or economical that benefit from the dispersion of fear to maintain stability and control.

¹ Cristian Hainic, "A Few Uses of Phenomenology within Art History," *Journal for Communication and Culture* 1, no. 1 (2011): 70-78.

² Anthony Blunt, "El Greco's 'Dream of Philip II': An Allegory of the Holy League," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 1, no. 2 (1939): 58-69.

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