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Influence and Innovation: Metapainting between the Collection and the Workshop in Seventeenth-Century Spain and the Netherlands

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Influence and Innovation:

Metapainting between the Collection and the Workshop in Seventeenth-Century Spain and the Netherlands

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Author's Declaration

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Abstract

Robyn Elizabeth Burley

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The phenomenon of repetition in the history of art has been the subject of numerous independent studies. For George Kubler, all artworks could be sorted within a linear chronological sequence of primes, replications, and mutations in order to address a particular visual problem. In contrast, outside the realm of mechanical reproductions, the anachronistic assembly of contemporary and historical quotations from existing visual models was suggested by Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood as simply being a part of the visual mechanics of an image. Nagel and Wood thereby defined the terms substitution and performance to categorize the shift in the perception of artworks in their dependence on existing images within the substitutional mode; whereby a new image within the same pictorial type substitutes the old through the replication of its primary features, from those which sublimate the temporal historicity of existing artworks within a contemporary work through the performative principles. Despite their contrasting theories on the theme of multiplicity in art, tradition is seen to manifest in the work of all artists through their perception and awareness of it. This study offers a discussion on the mechanisms of

influence and the replication of visual traditions in relation to the pictorial phenomenon of metapainting.

Artistic self-reflexivity is often deconstructive of the fabricating process; subsequently, this study will attempt to trace elements of the mode of their creation with regards to the transcription of metapictorial signs in relation to their original context of creation and original function. As a comprehensive panorama is outside the scope of this study, I would limit its parameters to two areas of geographical and historical significance in Dutch and Spanish art in the seventeenth century. In the first chapter, I address the socio-economic conditions of the Netherlands, which enabled this systemic succession of pictorial borrowings as elements of *rapen*. This is facilitated through the transmission of ideas between artists stimulated by cluster dynamics within the guild and artists workshops through the pictorial trope of the studio portrait. The second half of this study is centred on the context of the museological perception of the collection in facilitating access to, and prompting a response from existing schemas, with a particular focus on the art of Velázquez. With the alternating political and cultural environments based on their geographic differences, coupled with the added consideration of the patron whose influence on the selection and utilisation of certain motifs from existing works in the collection is highly considered. I will explore the diverging attitudes to the culture of copying when the temporal and cognitive distance between prototypes is increased.

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Introduction

As a structural model, pictorial progress is often mediated by a discursive temporality alluding to tradition. This manifests as the pictorial conflation of a historical objectivity of pre-existing schemas within the focused perspective of lived experience, generating a dialectical relationship between the art of the past with the circumstances of its fabrication in the present. Each generation of artists can therefore be seen as being built upon the last, generating a successional trajectory, subscribing to a criterion of recognition, reception, and response.[1] This general tendency within the visual arts to dislodge and transpose pictorial and iconographic conventions from the past into a contemporary context resulted in a visual synergy of an interlocking historicity between "the visually familiar and the unfamiliar."[2] This transposition of a visual sign system outside the temporal confines of its original creation as an allusion to the art of the past, situates the artistic process within a successional mimetic discourse, in accordance with the flow of artistic influence. Subsequently, the neophyte painter is perpetually bound by the imposition of aesthetic and compositional conventions defined by their antecedents within contemporary artistic discourse.[3] Within this conception, influence is the antithesis of pure artistic innovation. This study will address the indexical dimensions of artistic influence in line with a particular pictorial phenomenon: Metapainting; however as a form of artwork traditionally considered as a hallmark of artistic innovation, this evokes the question of how an artist might

[1] Norman Bryson, *Tradition and Desire: From David to Delacroix* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 19

[2] Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, "Toward a New Model of Renaissance Anachronism," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol.87, No.3 (2005): pp. 403, 405-407.

[3] Keith Moxey, "Anachronic Renaissance by Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood," *Contemporaneity: Historical Presence in Visual Culture* Vol.1 (2011), pp. 153-155.

articulate their own enterprise without "retracing problems already solved."[4] Can one copy metapictorial attitudes, and if so, how?

To begin to understand how examples of metapainting were perceived and replicated, it is first important to understand what defines an artwork under this term and how this concept links to visual innovation. The prefix *meta*, within this context infers a reflexive experience on part of the artist and the beholder through sign relations within the inner structure of a work. The exact form of this terminology first emerged in the writing of Victor Stoichita to refer to a range of pictorial devices, these included: self-portraiture, embedded paintings maps or mirrors, or otherwise integrating the beholder into the work as an active participant.[5] The metapictorial effect engendered by the incorporation of these devices within the visual plane invite the viewer to reflect on the function of a work, its materiality, or how it was created, thereby demonstrating the fictiveness of the painted image. The picture-within-picture operates through a representational semiosis, which can manifest as a duplication of itself as an example of Mise en Abyme, or an intertextual reference to a fictional or existing work, and is designed to mediate a dialogue with the beholder and stimulate their interpretation of the meaning of the painting overall. The map belongs to an alternative visual dynamic from the representational domain of the embedded painting, instead the map is descriptive and exact, this structural difference showcases alternative representational processes used by artists in the creation of a work. The representation of a mirror represents a duality in depicting the object itself but also due to its nature and function reflects the scene before it, which is usually the reverse of what we, as the viewer

[4] Bryson, *Tradition and Desire*, p. 13-14, 22-24.
[5] Walter Melion, Joanna Woodall and Michael Zell, "Introduction: Picturing Love and Artifice," in *Ut pictura Amor: The Reflexive Imagery of Love in Artistic Theory and Practice, 1500-1700,* Eds. Walter Melion, Joanna Woodall and Michael Zell (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2017), p. 1.

can observe within the surface representation, creating a dialogue between the object of the representation and its reflected image.[6]

While examples of metapainting can be categorized through the use of a structural motif to dislodge the beholders natural perception of a work of art, metapainting also manifested in the form of independent pictorial genres. The self-projection of an artist within his own work in a disguised self-portrait within an *istoria* (a fictional or allegorical context) or as a contextual self-portrait demonstrates the artist's aesthetic awareness of his own art through the projection of an assertion of authorship.[7] This notion was taken further in the seventeenth century in the narrativization or disassembling of a painting's materiality or mode of production as in the studio portrait.[8] In more simple terms, in the words of Lorenzo Pericolo, metapainting can be defined as "the self-staging of painting in painting."[9] Subsequently, because artistic self-reflexivity betrays a conscious engagement of the artist with the nature of a work's materiality there is a tendency to experiment with the limits of the medium, thereby leading to creative solutions to visual problems through visual experimentation.

Stoichita's revival of this subject in art historical scholarship in the 1990s, in which he posited the notion that the emergence of artistic self-reflexivity coincided with the emancipation of images from religious functions, signalled a revision of the broader aspects of this concept, shifting away from the prevailing understanding defined by Clement

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[6] Victor Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Metapainting* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2015), pp. 208, 211.
[7] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image,* p. 231.
[8] Péter Bokody and Alexander Nagel, "Metapainting before Modernity," in *Renaissance Metapainting*, Eds. Péter Bokody and Alexander Nagel (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2020), pp, 3-4.
[9] Lorenzo Pericolo, "What is Metapainting? The Self-Aware Image Twenty Years Later," in *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Metapainting* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2015), p. 12.

Greenberg.[10] Greenberg defined the idea of self-reflexivity in line with the pictorial dynamics of Modernism to stress the "ineluctable flatness of the support," as a form of 'purity' through the emphasis of pictorial elements unique to the art of painting.[12] The reduction of the pictorial stage to two-dimensionality functioned as a metapictorial effect to reveal artistic discourse to the viewer by highlighting its objective characteristics.[13] However, Stoichita's study brought attention to earlier attitudes preceding the advent of Modernism that projected this same level of aesthetic awareness. André Chastel, stretched this notion further still and theorised pictorial self-referentiality was an epiphenomenon of the typological and historical stage of art when reaching a certain degree of technological advancement, asserting that the "phenomena of recurrence (reference to previous works) and duplication (evoking painting within painting itself) happens in every country at a certain level of artistic progress."[14]

More recent studies within this field have found that in its primacy metapictorial attitudes can be dated back to at least 600 years ago. These early works still served a liturgical function, and so these solutions emerged as contextualised motifs within the iconographic or narrative structure of a work, accessory to the primary image.[16] However, Stoichita's study highlighted how the permeation of self-reflexive attitudes as a typological nuance within the "modality of style and…visual expression" did not emerge until the disassociation of art objects from religious or cultural functions with the inception of the tableau or easel

[10] Péter Bokody and Alexander Nagel, "Metapainting before Modernity," pp. 3-4.
[12] Leo Steinberg, *Other Criteria: Confrontations with Twentieth-Century Art* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 67.
[13] Pericolo, "What is Metapainting? p. 12.
[14] André Chastel, "Picture within Picture," in *Renaissance Metapainting*, eds. Peter Bokody and Alexander Nagel (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2020), p. 302, 306.
[16] Péter Bokody, "Tradition and Innovation: Images within Images in Italian Painting after the Age of Giotto," in *Renaissance Metapainting*, Eds. Péter Bokody and Alexander Nagel (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2020), p. 59

picture.[17] While the reception of these themes marked a new level of originality and innovation, this new form of media created a cultural unknown through altering the meaning and fabrication of artistic processes, thereby inciting a reflection on the past through the laicization of the iconographic structure of metapictorial prototypes from tradition.[18] We find this phenomenon in the contextualised studio portrait, a Dutch invention, which displaced the iconographic structure of Saint Luke or Apelles as part of the dominant visual culture in seventeenth century Baroque art.[19] This period can therefore be understood as one of cultural transposition, signifying a return to a relative dependency on existing schemas, from one which favoured an experimental approach.[20] Subsequently, the interval between 1600 and 1700 will serve as the basis of this study in the pursuit of a developmental chronology of the history of artistic influence through the nuances of Netherlandish and Spanish meta-discourse.

When discussing these themes in relation to Spanish and Netherlandish art, three artists come to mind, Rembrandt, Vermeer and Velázquez. In Chastel's study, *Picture-within-Picture,* the author condensed the seventeenth conception of metapictorial ideation of the studio portrait to the visualisation of three metapictorial effects, which correlated with the work of these artists. The Rembrandt effect was characterised by the assertion of the painter's artistic consciousness within the visual plane of the canvas. However, as stylistic attitudes evolved in the second half of the seventeenth century, metapictorial solutions were used to "emphasize the contemplative aspect of painting [as in the work of Vermeer, or in the case of Velázquez, to highlight] its enigmatic side."[21] Chastel's comparison of these

[17] Chastel, "Picture within Picture," p. 296.
[18] Hans Belting, "Image, Medium, Body: A New Approach to Iconology," *Critical Inquiry* Vol. 31 (2005): p. 315.
[19] Chastel, "Picture within Picture," p. 296
[20] Bokody, "Tradition and Innovation," p. 60.
[21] Chastel, "Picture within Picture," p. 306.

three artists frame their work as constituting the evolution of the studio portrait from its genesis to the apogee of seventeenth century reflection on the art of painting. My aim here is not to suggest an implicit line of borrowing delineating a progressive morphology from Rembrandt to Velázquez, which is surely unrealistic due to the temporal and topographical conditions that divide them, but to examine the ontological discourse of the mechanisms of influence that enabled the transposition of certain metapictorial features, which transcend their cultural divergences.[22]

The art historical procedure for the study of influence traces the source of a later production and examines how the inherited formula is discovered and adapted against the artist's own artistic knowledge as a "model of progress."[23] This notion is central to the theories of George Kubler, who proposed the notion that the production of art functions as an act of referral in conflating existing configurations and visual forms from tradition to resolve a particular visual problem.[24] Within the parameters of this theory, Kubler devised the notion of 'prime objects' to describe works of singular holistic ingenuity, which defy convention in a manner that eluded its predecessors.[25] The manifestation of 'primes' generated an ideological divergence, distinguishing two categories in regards to virtuosity, between those artists who conformed to the themes and ideas disseminated by their antecedents, generating a mimetic system of aesthetic appropriation, and those who sublimated the meaning associated with the "inherited symbols and motifs," within their own style.[26] These were termed by Kubler respectively as 'replications' and 'mutations'. Kubler theorised the

[22] Pericolo, "What is Metapainting?" p. 17.
[23] Bryson, *Tradition and Desire*, pp. 1,8.
[24] Hans Christian Hönes, "Posing problems: George Kubler's prime objects," *Journal of Visual Art Practice* Vol.15 (2017): p. 261.
[25] Hönes, "Posing Problems," p. 261.
[26] Matthewa Rampley, "Iconology of the Interval: Aby Warburg's legacy," *Word & Image* Vol. 17, No.4 (2001): pp. 319-320.

level of mimesis within successional sequences of artistic responses to the creation of prime objects was dependant on phases within society. He created two terms to categorise these variations, 'fast and slow happenings.' A 'fast happening' occurs "when a wide selection of active sequences is available," this typically leads to the creation of more visually innovative works, as opposed to a 'slow happening' which is characterized by a 'replica mass' originating from a single source, creating a categorical continuity, where variations between artworks are limited.[27] Kubler's model was devised under the methodological principles of formalism. Consequently, the reductive parameters of this method limited his study to stylistic concerns which aided in the conceptualisation of a linear chronology of homogenous units of styles, condensing artistic influence into two categories.

Due to the sociological factors which influence an artist's repetition of certain features, the study of influence cannot be reduced to a single criterion of pattern analysis of stylistic attributes and should be approached through the lens of iconology. This enables the conception of a more realistic notion of a network of juxtaposing temporalities, in which each artwork within a chain could have an alternate starting point facilitated by a dialogic correspondence between works.[28] Despite this, Kubler's seminal work formed the basis for further studies into mimetic discourse, thus the fundamental basis of his theory can be found in Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood's conception of pictorial sequencing and replication. This follows the notion that the creative process is mediated by an anachronic correspondence between two artistic principles: substitution and performance. The context of substitution imposes a continuity of identifying features understood as a token of a

[27] Priscilla Colt, "The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things by George Kubler," *Art Journal* Vol. 23, No. 1 (1963): pp. 78-79.
[28] Bryson, *Tradition and Desire,* pp. 24-25.

pictorial type, whereby in the absence of a traceable historical origin, the token can be substituted by another generating the perception of an entire corpus or nexus of images of a particular pictorial type, "as chains of substitutable replicas."[29] This can be broadly understood as being governed under the same the parameters of Kubler's notion of a 'slow happening' whereby multiple copies can be tied back to a single 'prime object.' Under this principle, the circumstances of an object's creation is governed by a relative dependence on pre-existing models. In opposition, the performative mode "traces an artwork's origin to a specific creative gesture and its authority and efficacy rests in its material identity over time."[30] Diverging from Kubler's theories, Nagel and Wood made a point of defining all objects as products of this temporal hybridity, in which performative and substitutional principles were categorical elements in their fabrication; however, their interdependency was subjective in the degree of their application.[31]

When viewed through the lens of self-reflexivity in the seventeenth century, the cultural framework of Dutch picture making (built upon a network of mutual influence between Dutch contemporaries reflecting their disposition to look to each other, in favour of existing religious models), can be understood under the cultural apparatus of a substitutable succession of replicas. Conversely, I would argue the artistic process of Velázquez, while taking influence from historical models within the context of the collection, tended towards a predominantly performative one through their reinvention within his own style. These diverging practices can be accredited to the methodologies within Spain and the Netherlands as autonomous localised practices. When considering the mechanisms of

[29] Nagel and Wood, "Toward a New Model of Renaissance Anachronism," p. 405.
[30] Jakub Stejskal, "The Substitution Principle Revisited," *Notes in the History of Art* Vol.37 No.3 (2018): pp. 152-154.
[31] Bokody, "Tradition and Innovation," p. 61.

artistic influence, the temporal distance between sources is variable through the author's perception as opposed to a transhistorical absolute. In this context, the temporality of cultural historicity is discontinuous, whereby the governing principles that define the transposition of a historical style within a modern work is dependent on the manner of its encounter, through their redistribution and restructuring within particular historical or geographical moments.[32] This coincides with Aby Warburg's ideological precedent, which questioned the mediation between cultural symbolism and social experience, developing a system of exchange between "representation, spectatorship and cultural memory," which he termed the 'iconology of the interval.'[33] The concept of cultural memory stems from the notion of collective mentalities within the theories of Michel Foucault, whereby the art of each generation of artists is shaped by their antecedents and their own historical circumstances.[34] Thus when approaching the notion of influence within each of my chapters, we can begin to situate one artwork in relation to another based on the author's own experiences but also the structure of their economy and environment in which it was produced.

In the Netherlands, while the political and economic environment during the seventeenth century prompted the reassessment of the painter's profession outside the religious confines of church commissions, it was also pivotal in promoting a culture of aesthetic appropriation. In fact, the sharing and adoption of another artist's techniques and visual features was widely documented in publications from the period, where it was referred to as elements of *rapen* meaning 'gathering.' This practice was neither uncommon nor was it

[32] Nagel and Wood, "Toward a New Model of Renaissance Anachronism," pp. 404, 409.
[33] Rampley, "Iconology of the Interval," pp. 303-304.
[34] Rampley, "Iconology of the interval," pp. 319-320.

limited to minor masters or less accomplished painters as explanation of their lack of ability to conceive of original concepts.[35] The cultural exchange of ideas and reuse of motifs as an autonomous phenomenon, outside the realm of localised trends implies first-hand interactions between artists, aligning with theories on spatial clustering. Cluster theory considers how pictorial enterprise and ingenuity is often localized within cultural production centres over a short period of time. Urban creativity thereby gives way to commonalities and patterns within cultural production, mediating a dialogue between urban centres with increased productivity and the successful adoption and invocation of pictorial traditions within visual discourse.[36]

The ontological nuance regarding the repetition of certain motifs typically relied on the subjective ideological values of the artist, who selected motifs for a number of reasons, this could be from works, which demonstrated technological ingenuity, was "characteristic of the work of a successful artist or because they knew it would appeal to their clients."[37] At a time of totalising epistemic metapictorial innovation, the reuse, revision and quotation of metapictorial solutions was a dominant part of Dutch-picture making in the seventeenth century. The proliferation of these themes however in regards to spatial clustering suggests a sociological factor and therefore must be examined within this context.

During this period, the growing number of artists led to the restoration of the guild system concentrating a large number of painters within certain artistic centres, thereby facilitating this network of mutual influence. In the first section of this study, I will consider the role of

[35] Adriaan E. Waiboer, "Vermeer and The Masters of Genre Painting," in *Vermeer and The Masters of Genre Painting* Ed. Adriaan E. Waiboer (London: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 9-10.
[36] Claartje Rasterhoff, *Painting and Publishing as Cultural Industries: The Fabric of Creativity in the Dutch Republic, 1580-1800* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam university Press, 2017), p. 19, 293-294.
[37] Waiboer, "Vermeer and The Masters of Genre Painting," p. 9-11.

the guild and workshops in promoting the active appropriation of metapictorial motifs. The typology of the contemporary artist within a studio environment manifested in the work of Rembrandt, as a pictorial experiment as a statement on his practice and technical ability.[38] Rembrandt's work exhibited a profound effect on his students and followers particularly on Gerrit Dou, whose engagement returning to the subject of Rembrandt's schema facilitated his master's entry into visual tradition. Thus, I will begin by examining the direct responses and reinventions of his original schema in the first half of the century.

The philosophical dynamics of this system of reception and exchange through interrelationships between master and pupil, became a recognised phenomenon and was later visualised as a subgenre of this type. Through the course of my investigation, I will explore the socio-political aspects of these developments and their relation to the original prototype, in the use of self-reflexive principles. Through this, I will attempt to establish if the repetition of certain features define an artwork's place within an uninterrupted tautological chronology or as produced within a separate culture of anachronic performance, reflecting a wider network of influence within the corpus of Dutch picture-making. Finally, I will consider the culmination of these themes within Vermeer's *The Art of Painting* as part of a chain of metapictorial retakes within the studio portrait genre.

Visual testimonies of Dutch artists demonstrated a supplementary tendency to place metapictorial paradigms within a successional model of replicas. However, despite the unique conditions of the low-countries in the seventeenth century this was not by any means an isolated phenomenon. The second half of this study will follow an alternative

[38] Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550-1700* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 38, 115.

structure to mnemonic principles relating to innovation and the conflation of metapictorial effects, with a particular focus on the art of Velázquez and his position as court painter to Philip IV of Spain. From the perspective of an epistemic model, in which the art of painting is shaped by the "collective mentalities" of a historical period, when considering the conflation of artistic attitudes and visual traditions within a courtly context, it is important to consider the role of the culture of collecting in facilitating Velázquez's access to past creations.[39] Subsequently the scope of possible visual citations is expanded to include works from a broader range of sources. The cultural impetus of collecting practices during the reign of Philip IV, served as a form of political mediality to restore the reputation of the crown through cultural acquisitions and increased foreign exchange. While political tensions between Spain and the Dutch republic strained the trading relationship between the two countries, thereby limiting the number of contemporary Dutch paintings within the collection, works from the surrounding areas exhibiting similar metapictorial tendencies were heavily favoured by the King, particularly works by David Teniers. A number of Teniers' works in the collection were archetypal of the Flemish tendency to reflect on the growing artistic culture within their area, which was comparable with that which emerged within Dutch studio painting. However, Flemish self-reflection took an alternative route, instead of visualising a painting's act of creation; Flemish artists devised a genre highlighting their creative output in a museological environment. The metapictorial device of the inset image was prevalent in both visual types, and was clearly influential when juxtaposed with Velázquez's own adaptation in *Las Meninas*.

[39] Rampley, "Iconology of the Interval," pp. 317, 323-324.

Collecting practices, as an early form of museology were pivotal in shaping art historical narratives through the display and organizational principles of objects implemented within the disposition of a gallery, influencing the nature of acquisitions and commissions in the imposition of a preconceived ideological aesthetic within the collection.[40] Thus, in addition to thematic or iconographical constraints imposed within royal commissions, Velázquez had to exhibit not only an understanding of contemporary technological processes, but also a historical consciousness implementing a geographical and historical nuance within his oeuvre, due to the corpus of works available to him. *The Arnolfini Betrothal* by Jan van Eyck which was at the time present in the royal collection, has been frequently been compared to *Las Meninas* due to the shared pictorial trope of the mirror, reflecting the external space outside the pictorial dimensions of the principal image. However, less considered is the influence of Titian and Rubens. As favoured painters of Philip IV's predecessors, occupying comparable positions within the Spanish court to Velázquez, their art represented the social and artistic values of the Spanish painter's aspirations for the elevated status of his profession, inciting the direct quotation of paintings from their oeuvre as pictorial quotations within two of Velázquez's most important works, *The Spinners* and *Las Meninas*.[41]

Many of the artists I am about to discuss have been the subject of numerous independent studies often through the hegemony of a Catalogue raisonné, defining a master narrative on the history of art from the internalised perspective of their stylistic profile. This idealist view frames their works as definitive of an entire epoch and typically omits the context of their

[40] Carol Duncan, *Civilising Rituals*: *Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 103, 107.
[41] Marlise Rijks, "Defenders of the Image. Painted Collectors' Cabinets and the Display of Display in Counter-Reformation Antwerp," in *Arts of Display: Het Vertoon van de Kunst*, Eds. H. Perry Chapman, Frits Scholten, Joanna Woodell (Boston: Brill Publishers, 2015), pp. 55-56.

fabrication. It is my intention to propose an alternative perception of their place within the history of art, displacing the notion of their works as examples of pure autonomy though highlighting the self-strictures of artistic creation in line with artistic influence. In aspersing this aesthetic and conceptual glorification, it becomes possible to view these artworks as a product of an artist's own subjectivity and historical understanding of their own profession.

The creation of this conception is reliant on the socio-economic conditions that enabled this system of intertextual borrowings. Through this, it is important to consider the cultural differences and economic evolution from the previous century. In the protestant Low Countries, this follows the re-establishment of the guild system prompting a localised preoccupation of Dutch artists to reflect on studio-practice. Furthermore, the development of a global art market facilitated the dissemination of these themes at a time when the genre was fundamentally a localised practice, inciting a dialogue between artists of an alternative geographical and cultural disposition. Subsequently, collecting practices engaging in this global market functioned as a driving force for a historical and "geographic imaginary," creating a diverse array of sources for artistic inspiration when posed in relation to the context of the court of Spain.[42] By tracing "the migration and transformation of artistic formulas," it becomes possible to determine a work's influences and the cause for utilising motifs derived from existing artworks.[43] In the absence of a documented connection, when analysing a nexus of images, which correspond to the same thematic and

[42] Byron Ellsworth Hamann, "The Mirrors of Las Meninas: Cochineal, Silver, and Clay," *The Art Bulletin* Vol. 92, No. 1/2 (2010): pp. 8-9.
[43] Wolfgang Kemp, "The Work of Art and its Beholder: The Methodology of the Aesthetics of Reception," in *The Subjects of Art History: Historical Objects in Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Mark A. Cheetham (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), pp. 181, 190.

conceptual typology, to establish a sequential correspondence between images, I will rely on close visual analysis, in the context of the social and economic conditions of its creation.

1. The Principles of Influence of Artist's Workshop: Self-reflexive attitudes in the Dutch Studio Portrait

The period between 1588 and 1672 heralded an unprecedented era of "economic efficiency and social concord" within the Dutch Republic.[44] This period of increased productivity gave way to a number of cultural product and process innovations within the field of painting, defining an artistic and intellectual precedent within the economic and cultural milieu of the republic, heralding a reflection on studio practice as one of the major preoccupations of seventeenth century art.[45] This thematic conformity within Dutch picture-making, emerged as a laicized transposition of the allegorical values of the scene of mythological production, outside the religious archetype of the disguised self-portrait within an istoria, whereby the studio scene is staged through a third person perspective as Saint Luke painting the Madonna and child, or Apelles painting Campaspe. This displacement of the dominant iconographic paradigm in the visualisation of the pictorial act can be tied to the philosophical discovery of *cogito* in the seventeenth century, following the circumvention of church commissions incited by the events of the protestant iconoclasm and the Dutch revolt against the Spanish Hapsburg in the sixteenth century.[46] This phenomenon featuring a departure from religious themes created a "body of provisional images" with their own

[44] Jan de Vries, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 1.
[45] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 256.
[46] Amy Powell, "Painting as Blur: Landscapes in Paintings of the Dutch Interior," *Oxford Art Journal* Vol. 33, (2010): p. 145.

pictorial conventions.[47] However, through recognition the new work could not completely sever itself from the ideological and semiotical associations from its original context. Subsequently, in relation to the notion of intertextuality, defined by Mikhail Bakhtin to refer to the reinvention or deconstruction of visual signs found in existing artworks by later artists, this introjects a temporal and ontological interval within the interpretative structure of the work.[48]

Despite being a time of war,[49] the Dutch economy flourished as Amsterdam became a cultural centre in international trade and the capital of The Dutch Republic, assuming the role previously held by Antwerp following the Flemish city's fall to Spanish forces in 1585, forcing those skilled protestant workers, merchants, and artists living in the southern provinces to move north.[50] The rapid increase in the number of artists living in the Republic led to a growing interest and demand for paintings by the urban middle classes. The resulting revival of the cultural market and guild status led to a break-down of the customary channel between patron and artist from a system based on a pre-agreed sale, in place of more affordable works sold on the open market.[51] In view of the changing economic environment, the pictorial archetypes of devotional imagery depicting Saint Luke and Apelles were no longer representative of the nature of their profession. Instead, artists began to reflect on the status of their vocation within the current social hierarchy and

[47] Bryson, *Tradition and Desire*, p. 104, 110, 144.
[48] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 275.
[49] The Eighty years war began in June 1568 ending in 1648.
[50] Oscar C. Gelderblom, "From Antwerp to Amsterdam: The Contribution of Merchants from the Southern Netherlands to the Commercial Expansion of Amsterdam (C. 1540-1609)," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* Vol. 26, No. 3 (2003): p. 248.
[51] Maarten Prak, "Guilds and the development of the art market during the Dutch Golden Age," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* Vol. 30, No. 3/4 (2003): p. 239-241.

displace the notion of the artist as a craftsman to attain the same level of prestige awarded to the liberal art of poetry.[52]

In this chapter, I will explore how the painter's workshop and market development functioned as a vehicle of influence between artists of the Dutch republic in the evolution of the typology of the studio portrait.[53] I will argue that it is within these workshops that initiated the introjection of iconographic or thematic precedents as part of the topological cultural milieu of a certain place, which was often defined by the authority of a particular artist and the success of their followers and apprentices in the dissemination of these themes.[54] I will explore the development of the studio portrait genre as an iconographic pictorial type and address the continuities and discontinuities within the specialization, examining metapictorial elements and visualising self-reflexivity as *rapen* features. In doing so, I will attempt to establish a chain of derivation enabled through a network of mutual influence and interrelations between artists through apprenticeships, shared guild membership, and co-location.[55]

In terms of the historiography of the genre, Rembrandt's *Artist in his studio* (Fig.1.1) has often been credited as the first "scene of production in the first person."[56] Recourse to the "poetics of self-referentiality" within the scene of production often functioned as a means to express the societal aspirations of the artist. As such, many artists would return to the specialisation during different aspects of their career, thus a study of this genre in relation

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[52] Denise Giannino, *Gerrit Dou: Seventeenth-Century Artistic Identity and Modes of Self- Referentiality in Self-Portraiture and Scenes of Everyday Life* (Florida: Florida State University, 2006), p. 22.
[53] Eric Jan Sluijter, "Neat Concepts and Messy Realities: On Local Schools, Tastes and Identities," in *City Limits: Urban Identity, Specialisation and Autonomy in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Dublin: The National Gallery of Ireland, 2008), p. 10.
[54] Bryson, *Tradition and Desire,* p. 14-21.
[55] Rasterhoff, *Painting and Publishing as Cultural Industries*, p. 293.
[56] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image,* p. 266.

to a single artist's oeuvre can exhibit multiple variations of this same theme as their professional ambitions and values changed over time.[57] We know of 12 self-portraits in this format by Gerrit Dou, Rembrandt's student.[58] While undoubtedly influenced by Rembrandt in his early works, I hope to explore whether later adaptations of the genre can also be considered a response after Rembrandt's painting had become part of the longstanding tradition, and its influence on Dou's own student Gabriel Metsu.[59] These relations between master and student were also visually portrayed as a subgenre initially emerging in the work of Pieter Codde and later in the art of his followers, such as D. Witting and Simon Kick. The progressive divergences of the agency of self-reflexive artifice within Dutch studio portraiture is defined in the second half of the seventeenth century with Vermeer's *The Art of Painting*; thus, I will conclude this chapter by exploring Vermeer's influences in conceptualising the painting which marked the apogee of the genre.

Rembrandt's Studio and the Origin of a Genre

Rembrandt's, *Artist in his studio*, initiated the secularisation of the religious or allegorical renditions concerned with the art of painting, and defined an exegesis of the scene of production in visualising the artistic process of the contemporary artist.[60] The work was painted between 1628 and 1630; during this time, Rembrandt's oeuvre was dominated by small history paintings, so here we ask the question of why with success as a history painter

[57] Arthur Wheelock Jr., "Dou's Reputation," in *Gerrit Dou 1613-1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt* ed. Arthur Wheelock Jr. (London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 22.
[58] The Kremer Collection, "Gerrit Dou: Self-Portrait," *Thekremercollection.com,* revised 2021, https://www.thekremercollection.com/gerrit-dou/, (Accessed May 30, 2021).
[59] Bryan Wolf, *Vermeer and the Invention of Seeing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 3-4
[60] Chastel, "Picture within Picture," p. 302.

would he conceptualise such a composition within the context of genre painting?[61] The answer can be found through close visual analysis of the material aspects of the work. Through analysing x-rays, it is possible to observe a thicker impasto in the lighter areas on the left, and evidence of paint being scraped away on the right.[62] These irregular unmodulated brushstrokes and the treatment of the panel, suggests the surface was repurposed.[63] Thus, the artist may have used this opportunity to experiment with the self-referential discourse of the artist in his studio, as a visual commentary on his profession and methods as an artist. This notion is supported by the compositional elements.[64] While later adaptations would expand on Rembrandt's formula altering the typology to present a theoretical statement on the artist's subjectivity and professional and social status through use of disguised symbolism and apparent realism; the Boston portrait exhibits a sparse painted interior, devoid of ornamentation save only a few objects that correspond to the artist's materials and method.[65]

The lone figure in this painting, who stands some distance away from a large panel on an easel, can be identified as the painting's author based on earlier self-portraits. This identifies the painted scene as one of production in the first person, this acts as a visual progression on the genre of self-portraiture, as while including the author's own likeness, it also pictured or referred to the manner of its making. The artist conceives of his own likeness (through

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[61] Svetlana Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise: The Studio and the Market* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press Ltd., 1990), pp. 60-61.
[62] Wetering, *Rembrandt: The Painter at Work*, p. 6.
[63] Bruyn, Haak, Levie, Van Thiel, Wetering, "Catalogue: A18 The Artist in his Studio," in *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings I 1625-1631,* Eds. J Bruyn, B Haak, S.H Levie, P.J.J Van Thiel and E van de Wetering. Trans D. Cook-Radmore (London: Martinius Nijhoff Publishers, 1982), pp. 209-210.
[64] Ernst van de Wetering, *Rembrandt: The Painter at Work* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997), p. 87.
[65] Bruyn, Haak, Levie, Van Thiel, Wetering, "Catalogue: A18 The Artist in his Studio," pp. 208-209.
The items include objects such as a glass bottle and jug stand on a table to the left and a "grinding stone…on a support consisting of a round tree-trunk," for the grinding and mixing of dry pigments.

use of a mirror), to depict himself as the "other" who exists within the painting and "I" who produces the overall image through an act of self-scission.[66] This metapictorial invention of contextual self-projection within a scene of production in the first person presented a pictorial problem, whose resolution preoccupied many artists of the period.[67] Visual innovation had not yet progressed to a point where both the artist and his work could be made visible to the viewer. Due to the nature of this pictorial type the preservation of the artists pictorial semblance took precedence over the visibility of the painted panel; thus the typology of this form of scenography typically depicts the artist from a frontal perspective and the panel from behind.[68] This is the case in Rembrandt's painting. We see the artist head-on, and thus are denied access to the view of the inset image, which makes it impossible to determine its subject or stage of completion. This creates a polysemic interpretation, in which, the scene can depict the moment before Rembrandt begins painting, or a moment where the artist has stepped back to evaluate its progress.[69]

Ernst van de Wetering connected the theme of this painting with an anecdote from Samuel van Hoogstraten's *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst*, in which he recounted the events of a painting contest from around 1630 between Francois Knibbergen, Jan van Goyen and Jan Porcellis. Though initially seen as wasting time, the victory of Porcellis was the result of "first forming in his imagination the whole conception of the work…before he put his brush into the paint."[70] Wetering theorized Rembrandt's painting illustrated the

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[66] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image,* pp. 257, 265, 270.
[67] Until this point, artists could only include their own likeness within a work of this type when disguised within allegory as the legendary painters, Saint Luke or Apelles.
[68] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image,* pp. 232, 257, 266-267.
[69] Due to the scale of the embedded panel and the date of the initial painting suggests the work may be Rembrandt's *Judas Repentant* c. 1629. In conceiving an Istoria for a contemporary audience its iconology defines how it is received, thus, Rembrandt's intention may have been the documentation of the manner in which he approached such a task; thereby, thematizing the conceptualisation of the pictorial idea.
[70] Wetering, *Rembrandt: The Painter at Work,* p. 84.

same method that led to Porcellis's victory over his peers, through thematizing the conception of the pictorial idea. This notion is reinforced by the observation that seventeenth century artists were typically seated at their easel when working. As Rembrandt's depiction features a standing artist, holding a single brush poised as if contemplating the method of its inception, suggests the work was conceived as a visual allegory on the culture of method through recourse to Hoogstraten's anecdote as an intertextual quotation.[71]

Rembrandt's enterprise formed the impetus for a visual archetype, which prompted the redefinition of the genre. However, such a small inconsequential pictorial experiment could not have achieved this through the agency of the painting alone; thus, in this section I will discuss how this was facilitated by workshop regulations defined by the guild. In training their students, painters were expected to impart knowledge regarding the fundamentals of the art of their profession, as well as their visual style and "the specific "inventions" that a master and his workshop contributed to the art of painting."[72] The integration of Rembrandt's schema into pictorial tradition may be accredited to the master's instruction in replicating his pictorial inventions by his students and members of his circle. Gerrit Dou's numerous works of this type is a good illustration of this.[73] Dou entered the studio of Rembrandt aged 14 and remained under his tutelage until the Master left Leiden for Amsterdam in 1631; after which, Dou became firmly established within Leiden's artistic milieu as the progenitor of the stylistic and thematic character of the Leiden fine painters (*Fijnschilders*).[74] As a group of artists topologically unified in meticulous finely detailed

[71] Wetering, *Rembrandt: The Painter at Work,* p. 87- 88.
[72] Prak, "Guilds and the Development of the Art Market during the Dutch Golden Age," p. 240.
[73] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image,* p. 256-260, 267.
[74] Adriaan Waiboer, "The Early Years of Gabriel Metsu," *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 147, No. 1223 (2005): p. 83.

small-scale paintings, artworks of "neatness and curiosity," became characteristic of works produced in the region.[75] This typology directly corresponded with the theme of the studio portrait. Studio organisation was viewed as a subject of curiosity for connoisseurs and art lovers and it was through this genre that enabled the observation of studio organisation and the artist at work.[76]

One of his earliest examples, *Artist in his Studio* from 1630-1632 (Fig.1.2), was completed during the course of this three-year apprenticeship with Rembrandt. While records are incomplete regarding the Boston portrait's provenance, it cannot be said with any certainty that the work was still in Rembrandt's possession at the time of this painting's production; however, Dou would have at least been aware of it.[77] By extension the dating, subject, monochromic palette and treatment of light invites comparison between the two works.[78] In terms of the metapictorial novelty, Dou adopted Rembrandt's format of the reversed easel; at this early point in his career, it would have been beneficial for the young artist to align the stylistic and thematic character of his work with that of his highly successful Master to attract greater commissions and build his own client base. However, contrasting to Rembrandt's painting, the allusion to the invention of the pictorial idea is not the central theme of this work. Instead, in this case the viewer's inaccessibility to the embedded painting, which Dou in seen working on is indicative of the artist's preoccupation with the

[75] Christopher S. Wood, "Curious Pictures and the Art of Description," *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* Vol. 11 No.4 (1995): p. 333.
[76] H. Perry Chapman, "The Wooden Body: Representing the "Manikin" in Dutch Artists' Studios," *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* Vol. 58 (2007): p. 190.
[77] The earliest known sale of the Boston portrait is dated 1745.
[78] The work shows a palette of muted browns, yellows, and the use of black to add definition and atmosphere through his use of chiaroscuro, the clothing worn by the painter mainly consists of grey tones and purple over brown. Aside from the vivid blue of the tablecloth the tones used for the painters coat and overall composition is consistent with those in the Boston portrait. Furthermore, the strong chiaroscuro, illuminating the scene from a single natural light source from the upper left is used in both paintings.

notion of status, adopting the schematic framework established by Rembrandt through self-reflexive discourse to present a recognisable self-portrait as a scene of production in the first person.[79] The artist is depicted seated at a cluttered worktable; displaying objects consistent with motifs from a still life composition: a lute, open book, skull, pen, and inkwell as well as additional objects of a plaster mask and globe. As the artist is depicted seated, this defines the scene as one of production; however, while Rembrandt held one paintbrush apart from the others in his opposite hand to signify the painting process was about to begin, Dou holds a selection of brushes in one hand, the other resting on his leg. Therefore, the subject of the work is one of observation, the artist is surveying the objects of his inspiration, which due to the lighting and position of the easel adjacent to a cluttered table it may be assumed that the works intended subject is a still life. This amalgamation of objects corresponds to the iconographic precedent developed in Antwerp of the encyclopaedic still life, which acts as a visual catalogue of the artists inventory and studio props depicting objects of both natural and artificial origin, at a time when the "visualisation of knowledge and artistic imagery were at the forefront of intellectual debates."[80] As an artist known for his curious pictures, his scenes of artistic poesis depicting intellectual and scientific inquiries, narrativizes the "theological critique of curiosity."[81] This diverges from Rembrandt's sparse setting to visualise the artist as ideologically engaged with the cultural ideology of Leiden, which held in esteem the renown of their university.[82]

The authorial self-portrait can be seen as a reduction of the author's character to a visual representation, within the context of a scene of production this can also present the

[79] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image,* pp. 266-267
[80] Marlise Rijks, "Defenders of the Image," pp. 55-56.
[81] Wood, "Curious Pictures and the Art of Description," p. 335.
[82] Arthur K. Wheelock, "Erudition and Artistry: The Enduring Appeal of Dutch Genre Painting," in *Vermeer and The Masters of Genre Painting* eds. Adriaan E. Waiboer (London: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 30.

multiplicity of the taxonomies of the role of the painter as *pictor doctus* (a learned painter), and "*alter deus* (artist as creator)."[83] Within the boundaries of this representation, the artist may circumvent the strict line of demarcation between life and fiction to present an idealist view of themselves to present to their client base.[84] In particular, Dou's aspirations coincided with the ideology of *pictor doctus*, which asserts the intellectual erudition of the painter's profession to elevate the social position of the creative arts to the same level as those of the liberal arts. This is reflected through the visual comparison of the theological and philosophical issues assessed by the university and pursued by scholarly professions with the semiotical insertions of vanitas symbolism.[85] This demonstrates "the scholarly underpinnings" of art and contrasts with the realist portrayal of Rembrandt in his paint smeared smock in the Boston Portrait, as the embodiment of *pictor vulgaris*.[86]

Niche paintings

Dou returned to the subject of the artist in his studio throughout his oeuvre. In the 1630s and 1640s, while experimenting with different methods of framing Dou displaced the studio scene format into the background, implementing an arched half-length self-portrait similarly adopted from works by Rembrandt such as his *Self-Portrait at Age of 34* (Fig.1.3).[87] Dou's *Self-Portrait* painted in 1645 (Fig.1.4) presents the artist in the foreground dressed in finery with a studio scene behind him through an embrasure. If we compare the Boston Portrait to Dou's *Self-Portrait*, while the two paintings exist within the same thematic specialisation, there are a number of departures from the original design. I would here refer Kubler's

[83] Giannino, *Gerrit Dou*, p. 3.
[84] Jan Biatostocki, "Rembrandt and Posterity," *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art ,* Vol. 23 (1972): p. 143.
[85] The skull and the sword are used to signify the transience the life, and the open book highlights the pursuit of knowledge.
[86] Wheelock, "Erudition and Artistry," p. 31.
[87] Arthur Wheelock Jr., "Catalogue," in *Gerrit Dou 1613-1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt* Ed. Arthur Wheelock Jr. (London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 68-69.

theory on primes, replication, and mutation to consider at what point of innovation and progression does a work repudiate its pictorial debts to the prime and become integrated into visual tradition as a schema in its own right. When applied to this study, it is important to first establish the differences between the mutant faction and replications in relation to their adjustment and reuse of prime traits within the parameters of Kubler's theory. Kubler compares artistic innovation and historical sequencing to the evolution of a mutant gene, which in biological sequencing can be defined as a small variant in the genus of its progeny with a fundamental adjustment in behavioural differences. In the context of the study of art, this centres on the particular details which pertain to the original rather than the work of art as a whole, and "are dynamic in provoking change" as opposed to their repetition.[88]

When comparing Dou's model to Rembrandt's initial schema there are a number of disparities in relation to self-reflexive devices, for one, the self-portrait takes precedence over the metapictorial precepts used within the traditional studio scene. For example, the scene of production is omitted in favour a more stately self-portrait and is simply staged within a studio environment. Furthermore, as the artist is not depicted engaged with the medium on display, and the typology of the inset picture in this painting when compared to previous renditions of this genre, is reversed, and its subject is visible to the viewer. The inset picture in the seventeenth century often takes an emblematic function, which reflects or emphasizes the scene overall; this is achieved by Dou, by shifting the modalities of viewing through the artist's displacement in the foreground. The subject of the canvas, *Rest on the flight into Egypt*, alludes to the painting's function as a demonstration piece to attract potential clients, presenting the values of humanists of the time who favoured

[88] George Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (London: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 40-41

history painting, demonstrating the theological discourse of the art of painting.[89] Dou never depicted a work on this subject; thus, the embedded image acts as a polysemic sign, alluding to the relative merits of history painting over genre scenes and his tutelage under Rembrandt as history painter.[90] While Dou's design still exists within the self-reflexive parameters of Rembrandt's prototype, certain aspects are altered; such as, the reshaping of the scenography to focus the viewer's attention on the artist himself as an autobiographical statement and revealing the subject of his canvas as a product of his artistic process. Thus, this composition acts as a dialogical alternative within the typology of the studio portrait, aligning with Kubler's definition of a 'mutant' in a visual sequence of influences, in which the new work refers to Rembrandt's schema only in its basic pictorial dynamics to evoke change to the specialisation within the chain.

This concept was refined and then fully realised in his *niche paintings.* In response to the arched format of his own painting, Dou extended this visual component into the narrative structure of the piece, framing his portraits within a niche using a vensternis format.[91] The painted representation of a stone niche, which acts as a natural frame for the artist's compositions juxtaposes the two types of media as a visual allusion to the notion of *Paragone*, the comparative debate between painting and sculpture. This debate comparing the relative merits of the different mediums was revived in 1642 with the publication of *Lof der Shilder-konst* by Dou's townsman Phillip Angel. By staging the painting in this way demonstrating the ease of painters to represent the product of sculpture within painting,

[89] Jana Finkel, *Gerrit Dou's Violin Player: Music and Painting in the Artist's Studio in Seventeenth Century Dutch Genre Painting* (Ontario: Queen's University Kingston, 2008), p. 41.
[90] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image,* p. 195.
[91] Angela Ho, "Gerrit Dou's Enchanting Trompe-L'oeil : Virtuosity and Agency in Early Modern Collections," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* Vol. 7, No.1 (2015): pp. 1-3.

visualises Dou's preoccupation with his image and status, and projects the artist's subjective beliefs concerning the societal and intellectual status of painting over other mediums.[92] Dou demonstrated painting's distinction through trompe l'oeil, emulating the mimetic discourse of sculpture in rendering a naturalistic imitation of the carved stone architecture of a window.[93] The framing of the initial scene through a window acts as a metapictorial mechanism to mediate the "consubstantiality between the image and the space of its display by marking the threshold between life and fiction."[94] This affirms the painted scene as a staged artifice, formulated by the artist who creates a pictorial reality for the appreciation of the viewer.

The limits of this pictorial representation was the subject of his *Violin Player* (Fig.1.5), presenting a half-length portrait of a musician within his characteristic format. The violinist leans out from the window while playing his instrument; however, the background identifies the painting as a studio scene as an artist sits before an easel smoking a pipe while his assistant grinds pigment. The scroll of the violin directly points to the carved stone relief beneath the window ledge depicting a painted imitation of François Duquesnoy's *Bacchanal of Putti with a goat* (Fig.1.6), exhibiting the mimetic ability of painting as a medium to realistically imitate the carved stone sculpture, and thereby demonstrating the precedence of one medium over the other.[95] Dou draws upon several pictorial traditions in formulating the visual elements of this scene. The activity of smoking was often associated with contemplation, thus, artists were often depicted smoking to portray the philosophical elements of the profession. This corresponds with the moral implications within

[92] Adriaan Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu: Rediscovered Master of the Dutch Golden Age* (Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, 2010), p. 57.
[93] Wheelock Jr., "Dou's Reputation," p. 22.
[94] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image,* p. 89-91, 192.
[95] Giannino, *Gerrit* Dou, pp. 34-35.

Rembrandt's earlier portrayal. Furthermore, the identity of the painter in the background has been theorised as a representation of Rembrandt himself with a student grinding his pigments. The presence of the grinding stone as one of the few objects present in the Boston portrait supports this theory. Thereby, while a more distant variation, this painting still takes influence from Rembrandt, through a dynamic reshaping of the comparative elements, while also asserting Dou's own contribution to the genre's continued development.[96]

Dou's frequently reprised the visual devices of the arched window, and the delineation of carved bas-reliefs after Duquesnoy which led to their immediate association with his work becoming known as his personal emblems, as parergon, meaning 'beside work.' This makes reference to the painting's threshold or as "something subordinate or accessory to the main subject."[97] Personal emblems were utilised to mediate the principal elements of a work with self-advertisement and visual experimentation. These characteristics became instantly recognisable as an appendage by a certain artist or within the topology of a region.[98] This marketed this schema as distinct to the artists of Leiden to distinguish them from others who practiced this genre within an already crowded art market.[99] However, the sociological and economic mechanisms of the market generated a standardised convention, whereby there was an expectation of artists from these regions to adopt the specialisation associated

[96] Wheelock Jr., "Catalogue," p. 104.
The subject of the relief depicting Bacchanals celebrated the Greek God Dionysus. While this form of imagery often alluded to frivolous drunken affairs, Dionysus was known as the masked god of theatre and patron of the arts; therefore, the mask held by the putti to the far left may signify the god himself or may be interpreted as a symbol of pictura. This expresses the view that the liberal art of music and creative arts of sculpture and painting are equal with regards to creative invention.
[97] Paul Duro, "What Is a Parergon?" *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 77, No. 1 (2019): p. 23-24.
[98] Wood, "Curious pictures and the Art of Description," p. 344.
[99] Eric Jan Sluijter, "Emulative Imitation among the High-life Genre Painters," in *Vermeer and The Masters of Genre Painting* eds. Adriaan E. Waiboer (London: Yale University Press, 2017), pp. 40- 41.

with their city of origin.[100] This phenomenon is evident in Gabriel Metsu's appropriation of the schematic characterisation of Dou's niche format, after relocating from Leiden to Amsterdam in the 1650s.

Metsu's *Self-Portrait,* of 1655-58 (Fig.1.7) was his first recorded self-portrait after taking up residence in Amsterdam.[101] By moving to Amsterdam, the artist was tasked with organising a new workshop and building up a new client base. As a student of Dou during his time in Leiden, who at the time was one of the most celebrated artists in the Dutch Republic, Metsu would have recognised the benefits of highlighting this association and thus based his portrait on Dou's model, adopting the visual characteristics of Leiden's typology.[102] Due to the localisation of the genre around Dou, the inherited typology and replication of the pictorial emblems commonly associated with Dou, through use of the nisstuk format and the addition of a plaster cast of the Virgin Mary by Duquesnoy, clearly pays homage to the Leiden master as an artistic response.[103] Thus, this painting serves as a demonstration of his ability to his Amsterdam patrons, but also explicitly highlights his nuanced understanding of Dou's repertoire enabling him to replicate his success and therefore capitalise on his network of clientele. Metsu imitates the presentation of Dou's self-projection emphasizing the cultural role of the artist as a learned and esteemed individual, constructing his portrait in a "sophisticated tabard," while simultaneously acknowledging the craft based nature of his profession.[104] This is highlighted in his reference to the paragone debate as it evokes the

[100] Sluijter, "Neat Concepts and Messy Realities," pp. 10-11.
[101] Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu*, p. 57.
[102] Sluijter, "Emulative Imitation among the High-life Genre Painters," pp. 40-41
[103] Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu*, p. 57.
[104] Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu*, p. 57.

ideation of the art of painting as a dignified intellectual based craft, in opposition to the manual laborious task of sculpture, used to craft the bas-relief by Duquesnoy.[105]

The artist is depicted drawing, identifying the scene as one of active production, as a divergence from the original prototype. In works by Dou, the artist retained the visual formula established by Rembrandt to preserve the artist's profile through the implicit allusion to the studio in the background of his self-portrait and depicting a moment of contemplation as seen with the man smoking the pipe in *The Violin Player.* However, Metsu adapted the pre-existing model in an attempt to formulate a solution to the visual problem tackled by his predecessors. Due to the scenography of a scene of production, the author typically impedes the viewer's access to the depiction of either the artist's profile or the subject of the work in progress to preserve the other. In Metsu's composition, while the image he is seen sketching is not visible to the viewer, the canvas affixed to the easel is turned towards us, presenting a preliminary sketch of a male nude. This composition appears as the reverse of the printed engraving on the ledge by Lucas Vosterman as a variation after Gerard Seghers' *Christ at the Column* (Figs. 1.8-1.11).[106] As stated earlier, studio scenes were typically produced as an advertisement of the artist's abilities to potential consumers or as an object of intrigue to connoisseurs to observe the artist behind the scenes. If we assume this work was created as a response to Dou's visual schema, this illustrates the stages of Metsu's artistic process and demonstrates the commonality of *rapen* borrowings through the artist's acknowledgement of his own pictorial debts. The intertextual dialogue generated by this interaction introduces the multifaceted means of

[105] Sybille Ebert-Schifferer, "Trompe L'Oeil: The Underestimated Trick," in *Deceptions and Illusions Five Centuries of Trompe L'oeil Painting* Ed. Sybille Ebert-Schifferer (London: National Gallery of Art, 2002), p. 26-28.
[106] Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu*, p. 57.

dissemination of artistic ideas through the inclusion of a more implicit means of communicating thematic and compositional schemas, through print.

Metsu, like his master, rarely engaged in religious imagery; however, as in Fig.1.4, he similarly depicts himself as a history painter, thereby proposing a commentary on the doctrine of the hierarchy of genres. However, the painting has been cast aside in favour of the subject of his sketch, which indicated by the artist's gaze extending beyond the frame of the aesthetic boundary, is the viewer themselves. By "merging the limits of the intertextual threshold," this mediates a dialogue between the artist depicted within the image, the exotopic painter who created the image and, the viewer in how they perceive the painted scene.[107] As the intended point of reception positions the viewer as a consumer, by performing an act of self-scission, the context of the works reception is transversed by situating the viewer in the same position as the exotopic painter, enabling their view of the scene through the gaze of the painting's author in the place of its conceptualisation.[108] While Metsu did not invent the scene of production in the first person with the parergon of the nisstuk format and Duquesnoy relief, he did innovate through their unification, which was not fully visualised in Dou's work until the 1660's. This condensation of the overall scene was later achieved by Dou in *Self-portrait,* 1665 (Fig. 1.12), thereby generating a self-reflexive conversation between the two artists through their collaboration and rapport.

The Student in the Workshop and the Motif of the Lay-Figure

As a genre developed as a socio-economic reflection on the changing status of the artist, the replication and reinvention of "pre-existing visual models" led to an increased

[107] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 69-70.
[108] Nagel and Wood, "Toward a New Model of Renaissance Anachronism," p. 403.

understanding and self-awareness of the painter's profession, generating a more culturally and economically engaged representation of the artist.[109] As noted above, workshop organisation was pivotal in facilitating the advancement of the genre through training younger generations of artists in the thematic and compositional trends established by their predecessors, reconciling visual tradition with contemporary technological artistic processes. This created the notion of the artist as a student. This ideology is present in works by Dou through his attempts to portray the synchronicity of the studio as a learned environment for both the production and study of art, visualising the shift in the artist's profession from one of craft, to one based in intellect, which is mirrored in the function of the artist's workspace. When viewed in the historical context, the notion of the seventeenth century studio is derived from the conflation of the artist's bottega as the workspace of a craftsman and the studiolo as a place of study and contemplation. While the attributes of both Dou's craft and scholarly pursuits are present in the examples of his works discussed in this study, the artist is rarely depicted directly engaging in either, instead, Dou addresses the viewer and art lovers of the period to encourage the acknowledgment of intellect and craft's equal importance in the creation of art. This "absorption of scholarly standards" in the culture of making was reflected in the training of young artists "in which the methods and aims of the more prestigious crafts were explored and developed."[111] The typological concerns of the artist-student gradually evolved into depictions of student-artists as a visual study picturing the dialectical process of the nature of artistic evolution through the pedagogical approach of the workshop. This brought about the development of a subgenre

[109] Erik Eising, "Depicting Panel Painting in Fifteenth Century Netherlandish Art: Questions of Transfer and Reception" in in *Renaissance Metapainting*, eds. Peter Bokody and Alexander Nagel (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2020), p. 94.
[111] Cole and Prado, "Origins of the Studio," pp. 3-5.

of the studio portrait with its own thematic and semiotical conventions, on the theme of the institutional context of workshop practices.[112] Moving away from the explicit appropriation of metapictorial elements within the historical trajectory of Rembrandt's influence, at this point, I shall pursue another line of enquiry exploring the mutual influence and borrowings within depictions of apprentices drawing in an artist's studio.

Works of this type maintained the thematic precedent established within the antecedents of the genre but exhibit an inversion of the comparative elements resulting from the alternating social and institutional parameters of their conceptualisation. Unlike the examples discussed so far, which thematized this aspect of the painter's life through the ontological discourse of staging oneself within the painting, within this sub-genre, the authorial element is omitted. These changes coincide with an alternative iconological function in which the artist's identity is not longer centralised; thus, the poetics of self-referentiality is not impeded by the parameters of an autobiography.[113]

In 1609, the new guild letter for the administration of the guilds of Saint Luke, issued ordinances outlining the conditions required for the training of apprentices as part of five primary objectives to stabilize the economy and protect native painters.[114] Those who wished to train apprentices, first had to be registered as a master with the guild, which in The Delft required a six-year apprenticeship, however this stipulation could be circumvented through submitting evidence of their work and their ability to qualify as a

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[112] Ernst Gombrich, "Style," in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology,* ed. Donald Preziosi (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 156, 162.
[113] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, pp. 267,270.
[114] John Michael Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 74-75.
This treatise defined the "craft occupations and the activities which required status of master in the guild for their exercise," this included stipulations for the registration as a master, guild administration, membership fees and expenditure, and the training of apprentices, following the truce between the Dutch rebels and Spanish Hapsburg.

master. [115] In addition to presenting a dynamic mediation on the contemplative elements within the art of painting, this form of studio portrait publicized the artist's workshop organization and their reputation as a teacher to promote their style of painting and attract apprentices for a higher tuition fee.[116]

The earliest known depiction of this type is Pieter Codde's *The young draughtsman* (Fig.1.13). The work portrays a young boy seated on a "painter's box (*schilderkistje*)," holding a drawing board.[117] The procedure of drawing (*tekenkonst*) was a fundamental element of the typology of this visual tradition to emphasize the importance of mastering the rudiments of the fine arts, before advancing to painting itself.[118] The boy is absorbed in his task, as such his face is concealed from the viewer as he draws the scene before him. It is clear that within this subgenre the identity of the student is not important as the function of the painting serves as a promotion of their master and the parameters of their instruction.[119] The object of his study is the table stacked with various sculptures after antiquity, papers and sketchbooks, as well as various paraphernalia associated with still life.[120] The presence of a lute identifies the scene as a realistic view of Codde's artistic practice, as the artist often used musical instruments as source material for his merry

[115] In the Delft, statutes for the registration as a master required a six-year apprenticeship, during which time they paid a tuition fee for training and would contribute to production output. Thus, the training of young artists was a preoccupation of many Dutch Masters as a convenient source of income and for the division of labour.
Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft,* p. 88-90.
[116] Sluijter, "Neat Concepts and Messy Realities," p. 12.
[117] Jochai Rosen, "The Obscure D. Witting and the Art of Painting in Amsterdam in the 1630s," *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies* Vol.36, No.2 (2015): pp. 53, 56.
[118] Giannino, *Gerrit Dou*, p. 29.
[119] Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist* (London: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 2, 79, 109-110.
[120] Cole and Prado, "Origins of the Studio," p. 3.

companies, as such those apprenticed to him would have been instructed in the ability to render musical instruments for instruction in Codde's pictorial specialisations.[121]

Pieter Codde was active predominantly in the 1630s in Amsterdam, during this time he accumulated considerable influence to the same degree as that of Rembrandts. This can be traced through analysis of his stylistic and thematic characterisations within his oeuvre, which are consistent with a number of his followers and within artistic circles. Among whom were Wilhelm Duyster, Simon Kick, Pieter Quast, Pieter Potter, and Dirck Witting, referred to as the "Codde Group" in contemporary scholarship.[122] Among the members of this group, two artists stand out for following in this aspect of Codde's oeuvre, Simon Kick who I will discuss later and Dirck Witting. Witting's *Young Artist, Drawing in his Studio* (Fig.1.14), displays many similarities reminiscent of Codde's *Young Draughtsman*, suggesting the work was made in response.

Minor masters like Codde and Witting, are rarely the subject of individual studies; consequently, their contributions are often neglected within the broader socio-economic context and their role within the local painting community. What is known about Witting and his association with the Codde group is mostly grounded on conjecture. It has been suggested Witting resided in Amsterdam and as his entire oeuvre consists of only six paintings dated between 1630 and 1640, suggests the artist died young.[123] The Codde group

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[121] Louis Peter Grijp, "Conclusions and Perspectives," in *The Hoogsteder Exhibition of Music & Painting in the Golden Age* eds. Edwin Buijsen and Louis Peter Grijp (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1994), pp. 111, 174. Furthermore, an inventory from 1636 records the ownership of a violin and lute, which we can assume is the one included in this painting, downturned to the far right of the composition. The use of musical instruments were often included in works of this type alluding to the position of the painter's profession in relation to the liberal arts of music.

[122] Rosen, "The Obscure D. Witting," pp. 52-53, 57.

[123] Edwin Buijsen, Fred Meijer and Paul Verbraeken, "Paintings," in *The Hoogsteder Exhibition of Music & Painting in the Golden Age* eds. Edwin Buijsen and Louis Peter Grijp (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1994), p. 325.

was defined as a circle of painters mostly based in Amsterdam of roughly the same age born between 1590 and 1610 who specialized in merry companies and guardroom scenes. Witting's oeuvre adheres to this narrative and presents unifying characteristics, which tie him to the group. Thus, this work may have been produced as a direct imitation of Codde's thematic schema or as a product of spatial clustering based on Codde's wider influence within the group. This coincides with the dynamic between Dou and Rembrandt, in regards to how visual schemas and thematic traditions are often centered around a single artist, and replicated "by less ambitious artists for a lower price."[124] This network of mutual influence and competition is facilitated due to their close proximity with other artists, formed through their associations through the guild, the effects of co-location or through apprentice, master relationships, which promoted the transmission and exchange of knowledge.[125]

As with Codde's painting, Witting's *Young Draughtsman* portrays an apprentice seated on a painter's box, equipped with a drawing board. The boy is positioned in the foreground before a table featuring a plethora of still life objects, such as a skull and musical instruments including a viola da gamba, theorbo, and a drum; the drum along with a sword and cavalier's overcoat, which hang on a hook on the wall are also common attributes of guardsmen scenes. This pays homage to other paintings in the artist's oeuvre, reinforced through the addition of an unfinished painting on the easel depicting a comparable scene, which can be tied to a work by Pieter Potter (Fig.1.15). The work by Potter features two soldiers gathered around a drum, as support for a game of cards. This mechanism of an image within an image, functions as a polysemic sign as an intertextual quotation promoting

[124] Sluijter, "Neat Concepts and Messy Realities, p. 10.
[125] Rasterhoff, *Painting and Publishing as Cultural Industries,* p. 293.

the art of Witting's contemporaries (further affirming his association with the art of Codde's circle), while also alluding to the functionality of workshop props in the artistic process.[126]

As the embedded painting appears unfinished and is accompanied with a palette and Mahlstick propped against the easel indicates the presence of the master, who has stepped away from his work to instruct his student. This notion is supported through the active gaze of the apprentice who looks up from his drawing to address the viewer, thereby integrating their presence into the painting as the role of the master addressing the boy's progress or method. This derivation from Codde's schema engages in the subjectivity of the viewer through unifying the temporality of the scene within the painted surface and the external reality occupied by the viewer. In this case, the self-reflexive connotations of this pictorial device break the walls of the intertextual barrier, in which the painted scene is no longer self-enclosed.[127] The viewer is further absorbed into the scene through the accessibility to the subject of the boy's drawing, which is discernable as the preliminary stages of a sketch of a face, possibly after the plaster cast of the head of Christ positioned on the floor closest to the sitter. Witting's work can therefore be interpreted as a narrativization of his instruction as a master through incorporating the viewer as a participant.[128]

What's interesting about this particular work is a secondary motif of a life-sized wooden manikin, also referred to as a leeman or lay figure wearing a wide brimmed hat in the background.[129] The function of the leeman was used for the physical articulation of a painting's spatial configuration, enabling the artist to articulate and experiment with the arrangement of the "principal elements" of a painting before its composition was

[126] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image* p. 189, 192-194.
[127] Bryson, *Tradition and Desire,* pp. 45-46.
[128] Daniel Arasse, *Vermeer: Faith in Painting* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 31.
[129] Chapman, "The Wooden Body," p. 189.

finalised.[130] In Witting's work, the mannequin functions as a mediator in facilitating a self-reflexive dialogue between the metapictorial devices used in this image, demonstrating his methods within studio practice through the "deconstruction and re-assemblage" of the artistic discourse used to create the image overall. This is visualised by transposing the identity of the figure in the inset painting as the leeman positioned in the 'real' of the studio, identified by the shared attribute of a wide brimmed hat. This is enhanced by the leeman's placement within the work overall, beside the cavalier's coat and sword which completes the costume indicating its use in its creation. The novelty of this motif within the scenography of this work constitutes a metapictorial commentary on the processes of artistic creation, framing a visual dialogue between what is 'real' and the fictive imagery within the embedded painting. Despite Witting's relative obscurity, as the first known application of this motif, his painting acts as a self-reflexive template in influencing those of his circle and other minor masters.[131]

Two notable examples which succeed Witting's own use of this motif, occurs in Wallerant Vaillant's, painting of a *Young Draughtsman Copying a Painting in a Studio* (Fig.1.16) and Simon Kick's *Artist in his Studio* (Fig.1.17). Vaillant's painting utilises the same iconographic material as Witting's, of an apprentice drawing after a landscape present in his master's studio using a drawing board as support, but also replicates the motif of the lee-man propped against the wall as a *rapen* feature. The similarity in subject depicting a boy drawing a landscape similar to one on the wall of Witting's studio, coupled with the inclusion of the manikin suggests the work was produced in response. In these two works

[130] Jan Blanc, "Works in Progress: Painting and Modelling in Seventeenth-Century Holland," *Art and Technology in Early Modern Europe* Vol. 39, No.2 (2016): pp. 239, 247-248.
[131] Blanc, "Works in Progress," p. 247.

the leeman is set aside and is not currently seen in use, while Witting demonstrates its function as a tool in defining a composition, Simon Kick visualizes its active role in the creation of an authorial insertion in his *Artist in his Studio.* As Kick was associated with the Codde group, it seems likely his inclusion of a full sized wooden manikin in the background of his studio scene was by transgression of Witting's preliminary model. Historically, the leeman was used by artists since the renaissance as a mechanical support in place of a living model to accurately capture detail and create a more naturalistic scene. As demonstrated in the work by Rembrandt, to represent the 'self' within the pictorial field requires an act of self-scission, visualizing the conception of the endotopic painter. This depicts an ontological distinction between the author of the image and the "other" painter who exists solely within the visual confines of the work, and it is this "interplay between "I" and "he" [which] underlies the scene of production."[132] In Kick's painting, I would argue the artist visualized this process in mediating the "observed reality" of the scene with the manner of its conception.[133] The painting depicts Kick, standing beside an easel gesturing towards his model (a wine merchant holding a roemer filled with wine); however, as with Witting's painting the lay-figure is situated in the background so as to not distract from this initial scene.[134] The mimetic stance of the manikin, which appears to copy that of the painter, suggests its initial position was in place of the painter while the overall composition was still being formulated by the artist, until such time when Kick inserted his own likeness.[135] This addition thematizes the author's artistic output by illustrating the transition from "endo" to exotopic painter.[136]

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[132] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, pp. 257, 267-268.
[133] Chapman, "The Wooden Body," pp. 189, 204.
[134] Rosen, "The Obscure D. Witting," pp. 66-67.
[135] Chapman, "The Wooden Body," pp. 190-191.
[136] Pericolo, "What is Metapainting?" pp. 12-13.

There is no ambiguity as to the object of Kick's study as the canvas is turned towards the viewer, presenting a direct reflection of the figure from the artist's perspective, thereby creating a visual dialogue between the artist, his work, the model and the viewer. While the viewer is not visually present in the composition, the curtain positioned in the foreground is folded in such a way that presupposes the presence of the hand lifting it; therefore integrating the beholder as not only an onlooker, but a participant in unveiling the scene.[137] The motif of the painted curtain has a long history regarding illusionism and expressing the limits of pictorial representation, visually referencing Pliny's anecdote regarding the competition between Zeuxis and Parrhasius. Parrhasius is declared the greater painter due to his ability to deceive Zeuxis through depicting an illusionistic painted curtain.[138] The visual procedure of the curtain being lifted away from the initial scene acts as an unveiling function, and "thematizes the curiosity of seeing," thereby denoting the presence of the viewer as an intrusion.[139] The curtain is pulled back, held in place by an unknown force as the viewer interrupts the painter at work, who along with his model has not been made aware of their presence through their absorption in the scene. Neither figure is turned towards the painting's surface; only the lee-man faces the viewer, further emphasizing the fictive nature of the composition.

The Apogee of the Genre

Despite Kick's relative obscurity in modern art history, in recent decades, studies into more minor masters have shown that current artistic appreciation is not a direct reflection of their popularity and influence during the period.[140] While Kick "did not initiate entirely new

[137] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 283.
[138] Chastel, "Picture within Picture," p. 306.
[139] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 283
[140] Piet Bakker, *Gezicht op Leeuwarden Schilders in Friesland en de markt voor schilderijen in de Gouden Eeuw*

methods of composition and invention, he did, however, innovate by combining one method with another."[141] When juxtaposed against works by his contemporaries from the Amsterdam region; for example, the much more recognised Gabriel Metsu, the comparative elements suggest his influence was broader than modern art history might suggest and demonstrates the importance of minor masters in maintaining and developing a thematic niche within a particular area. The work in question by Metsu, *Interior of a Painter's Workshop with an Artist Painting a Woman holding a Viola da Gamba* (Fig.1.18), was composed in Metsu's first year after taking up residence in Amsterdam. In line with theories on spatial clustering, Metsu may have become familiar with local artist's Specialisations including the artists of the Codde group in order to create a niche for himself in the market, grounded in the artistic traditions of Amsterdam, while simultaneously introjecting the pictorial conventions, which shaped his education in Leiden. This coincides with Ernst Gombrich's theory of schema-corrections considering how artists formulate their own style through synthesis of traditionally derived "pictorial conventions" recalled from existing schemas with their own experiences.[142] Through visual analysis, we can see similarities between Kick's and Metsu's schemas through his choice and treatment of the subject; furthermore, the interplay between the artist, model and viewer imply both thematic and compositional elements were borrowed from Kick's work. Repeated features such as the positioning of figures, the use of the foreground to present still life motifs, and the curtain across the right hand side framing the composition overall, acts as visual quotations alluding to his predecessor's composition. However, in Metsu's painting the scene is no longer

PHD. Dissertation (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 2008), p. 13-15.

[141] Blanc, "Works in Progress," p. 247.

[142] Leslie Cunliffe, "Gombrich on Art: A Social-Constructivist Interpretation of His Work and Its Relevance to Education," *The Journal of Aesthetic Education* Vol. 32, No. 4 (1998): pp. 64-66.

staged as an intrusion as the artist gazes directly towards the viewer acknowledging their presence.

Metsu's painting presents the artist seated at his easel before an empty canvas assessing his subject, who has been identified as the artist's wife, Isabella de Wolff holding a viola da gamba. His model is dressed as the embodiment of Terpsichore, the muse of poetry and dancing who was known as a source of inspiration for artists.[143] The codified agency of her presence signifies the paragone of ut pictura poesis (as is painting so is poetry). While less contentious than the competition between art and sculpture, Metsu elevates his profession "by association with the far more intellectually esteemed art of poetry."[144] The poeticizing discourse evoked by this representation of an allegory "suggest a mutual dialectic relationship" between Metsu's studio scene and *The Painter's Studio* (Fig.1.19) by Frans van Mieris.[145] In the painting by Van Mieris, the artist depicts himself within a studio, while taking a break from painting, while his female model is seen beside him assessing his progress. To the left of the artist stands a viola da gamba, which has been set aside while the model rests, alluding to her role as the personification of the same muse as seen in Metsu's painting. Suspended above the model, we can observe a cupid whose presence along with the staging of an allegory establishes the artists place within the iconographic tradition of a male artist depicting a female model in the pursuit of the ultimate beauty. This signifies a return to allegorical themes within a scene of production namely, the iconography of Apelles and Campaspe. To depict the moment Apelles fell in love with his model, a cupid is typically depicted piercing the artist's heart with an arrow; thus, with the

[143] Michael Zell, "The Mirror as Rival: Metsu, Mimesis and Amor in Dutch Seventeenth century Genre Painting," in *Ut Pictura Amor: The Reflexive Imagery of Love in Artistic Theory and Practice, 1500-1700,* eds. Walter Melion, Joanna Woodall and Michael Zell (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2017), p. 388.
[144] Zell, "The Mirror as Rival: Metsu, Mimesis, and Amor in Seventeenth Century Dutch Genre Painting," p. 388.
[145] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 286.

presence of a cupid in van Mieris' painting, the work can be interpreted as a contemporary take on the traditional iconography.[146] The whole scene is overseen by a servant who stands in the doorway. When compared with the work by Metsu it becomes apparent we are looking at the same scene from an alternative temporal and spatial perspective as a direct response. Metsu suspends the moment before the artist begins his work, from the view of the servant in the doorway of van Mieris' painting. This visual dialogue between the two works is facilitated by the notion of pictorial ambiguity within Metsu's work; by concealing the subject of the embedded painting, thereby enabling the exotopic contemplation of the viewer.[147] This theory is supported by their familiarity with each other's work, and their shared apprenticeship under Gerrit Dou.

In addition to Metsu's response, Van Mieris' painting was directly copied by his contemporaries and replicated in other mediums such as in ceramic and in print. The widespread dissemination of this imagery is indicative of the demand for works of this type across the market and how such a schema might have come to influence what is now understood as the apogee of self-reflexive ingenuity within works of this type in the seventeenth century in Vermeer's *The Art of Painting* (Fig.1.20). With this understanding, their geographical differences are less problematic. While neither van Mieris nor Metsu were recorded visiting The Delft and records suggest Vermeer engaged only in short sojourns to Amsterdam during the period, the Delft master likely encountered the work through the Market or independent patrons. Interrelations between collectors from patrician families of the Low Countries were not uncommon and their collections often

[146] Iconographically Apelles is usually depicted being pieced in the heart by an arrow from cupid as he gazes upon Campaspe, visually portraying his love for her.
[147] Svetlana Alpers, *The Vexations of Art: Velázquez and Others* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 29.

featured many works by distinguished artists like Vermeer, van Mieris and Dou.[148] Through his clients, Vermeer may have gained access to the art of his Leiden and Amsterdam contemporaries. Notably, Vermeer's patron Pieter Claesz van Ruijven's great aunt's son was Pieter Spierincx Silvercroon, who paid Gerrit Dou a fee of 500 guilders each year for the right of first refusal on paintings by the artist. Through Gerrit Dou, his apprentices were often introduced to his client base; thus, Silvercroon likely possessed works by both van Mieris and Metsu. Subsequently, addressing the conditions of access when tracing the chain of derivation between these paintings, the association between Vermeer's Patron, van Ruijven and Silvercroon remains a possible connection.[149] Furthermore, early art historical sources such as John Smith's *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French painters*, cite Jan Vander Meer of The Delft (who we can assume refers to Vermeer), as an imitator of Metsu who he classes as superior to every other artist in the Dutch School, which reinforces this supposition.[150] Since its publication, contemporary tastes have changed and Vermeer has become more recognised, while Metsu is now relatively obscure. An in-depth analysis of the connection between these two paintings has not been explored beyond a brief comparison by Stoichita in which he identified similarities within the compositions and the use of the motif of the curtain, citing Vermeer's *The Art of Painting* as a source of inspiration for Metsu who he acknowledges was well acquainted with his work. However, the provenance suggests Metsu completed his studio portrait before Vermeer. Therefore, we can assume Stoichita's notion was likely grounded on a

[148] John Michael Montias, "Vermeer's Clients and Patrons," *The Art Bulletin* Vol. 69, No. 1 (1987): p. 68.
[149] Montias, "Vermeer's Clients and Patrons," p. 68, 75-76.
[150] John Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French painters Volume 4* (London: Smith & Son, 1833), p. 71.

twentieth century bias towards more recognised artists, evoking *The Art of Painting's* status as a metapictorial 'prime' by ignoring Vermeer's pictorial debts.

In *The Art of Painting,* the artist is depicted from behind, seated at an easel equipped with a maulstick and paintbrush. While his position obscures the artist's identity, this scenography functions as a visual mechanism to reveal the object of his study, who is also present in the studio. His model is a young woman dressed in blue; however, her attributes, a crown of laurel leaves, book and a trumpet coincide with those associated with the muse Clio or Glory. Like his predecessors, Vermeer allegorizes a pictorial meditation on the idea of painting in contemplation of love (Amoris Causa), or glory (Gloriae Causa) in the pictorial tradition of picturing a female model.[151] However, Vermeer disassociates the allegory from its staging, as his model, while dressed as the embodiment of Clio is represented as a real person in a costume. In creating a clear distinction between his model in the studio and the personification within his painting, this creates a more realistic commentary on the nature of his profession and studio practice than those works by Metsu and van Mieris who similarly attempted to unify these themes.[152]

Very little of the canvas is visible, obscured by the artist himself, signifying the role of the inset painting within the composition as only an attribute of the artist to identify the work as a scene of production. This is evident when examining its content displaying an indistinct underpainting and a few blue strokes illustrating the beginnings of the model's headdress, which does not coincide with the current understanding of Vermeer's technological approach to composing a painting. A table can be seen to the left, which partially obscures

[151] Eric Jan Sluijter, "Vermeer, Fame, and Female Beauty: The Art of Painting," *Studies in the History of Art* Vol. 55 (1998): p. 227.
[152] Arasse, *Vermeer: Faith in Painting,* pp. 42-43.

the viewer's access to the model, housing objects typically found in an artist's studio, a sketchbook, scarf and plaster cast; while the overall scene is framed by a large tapestry held in place by an unseen force.[153] By staging the painting in this way, we, as the viewer take the role of an intruder who unveils the scene through the action of lifting the tapestry. This form of exotopic contemplation is mediated by figures absorption in the scene as despite the intrusion neither figure acknowledge the viewer's presence. This is emphasized through staging the scene as a form of self-referential discourse in the third person, the artist depicts himself as the "creative other" through the repudiation of any form of self-portrait by facing away from the viewer.[154] Subsequently, because the artist depicted within the painting cannot be identified as Vermeer, *The Art of Painting* does not subscribe to the typical typography of a demonstration piece, as it cannot be considered a direct promotion of the author of the work, and thus sets itself apart from the two paintings discussed previously. Conversely, the motif of the curtain and dynamic interplay between the artist, his model, and the viewer recalls the work of not only of Metsu, but also Simon Kick. Kick's influence on Vermeer seems plausible in this regard; however, we should also consider the likelihood that the use of these motifs may have been filtered down through his more successful Amsterdam contemporaries.[155]

Vermeer adds a further metapictorial element to the work through the inclusion of a map of the seven provinces on the wall in the background. Like the embedded painting, the map acts as an emblematic accessory or quotation sign evoking an "intertextual discourse… on the status of the representation.[156] The embedded painting mediates a polysemic

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[153] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 281, 283.
[154] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, pp. 268, 281, 289.
[155] John Michael Montias, *Vermeer and his Milieu: A Web of Social History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 147.
[156] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 204.

interpretation between the two modalities of condensation and displacement, which functions to either displace a latent element by alluding to its meaning, or is the product of a number of displacements condensing the meaning of the painting into one visual sign.[157] While, the embedded painting asserts a symbolic significance, the map is meticulous in its precision and descriptive nature. This creates a comparison between the three-dimensionality of painting and the two-dimensionality of cartography, illustrating the many facets of pictorial representation. The map in *The Art of Painting* can be identified as the one created by Claes Jansz Vischer.[159] Its inclusion in Vermeer's painting emphasizes the different taxonomies of surface representation through comparing the representational structure of these two visual signs to thematize the limits of pictorial representation through antithesis, juxtaposing cartography "planar projection," with its representational opposite, perspective, through the addition of landscape depictions of towns in its border.[160]

After Vermeer

While *The Art of Painting* never left Vermeer's possession during his lifetime, this did not impede its impact on the specialisation. Between 1667 and 1670, Michiel van Musscher a Rotterdam born artist is thought to have visited Vermeer's workshop and created his work *The Artist in His Studio* (Fig.1.21), in response.[162] While there is no documented event of this visit, van Musscher had several lessons from Gabriel Metsu during the period he painted his

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[157] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, pp. 195-196.
[159] Arasse, *Vermeer: Faith in Painting,* pp. 44-45.
The map can also be interpreted as asserting a socio-economic commentary on the state of Holland at the time. Vermeer creates a division of the Netherlandish territories through a crease in the middle of the map, which not only adds to the realism but also alludes to the rule of the Spanish Hapsburgs in the south shown on the left of the map and the Calvinist Dutch republic on the right.
[160] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, pp. 208, 209, 288-289.
[162] Adriaan E. Waiboer, "Appendices," in *Vermeer and The Masters of Genre* Painting eds. Adriaan E. Waiboer (London: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 260

1665 studio scene. Through association, this may have prompted van Musscher's visitation to Vermeer's studio enabling the artist's familiarisation with The Delft Master's visual model.[163] After the conclusion of his education, van Musscher settled in Amsterdam, the journey from which to The Delft would have been a relatively short by trekschuit, a horse drawn barge, taking only a few hours. While the provenance surrounding this painting is incomplete, there is no equivocation surrounding the artist's primary influence, through comparison of the works visual components in relation to Vermeer's *The Art of Painting*. Unlike the previous examples discussed in this chapter, which the artists were seen to respond to, or expand upon, the themes and motifs within the genre within their own style; with the explicit replication of the principle spatial and metapictorial elements from Vermeer's prototype, this work may be understood under the definition of a pastiche. The scene depicts a modelling session *in actu*, a map is hung on the wall behind the initial scene, and a table presenting numerous accoutrements from a painter's trade is positioned before the window on the left, a tapestry similarly frames the scene, held in place by a chair. In contrast the artist is depicted frontally, his model positioned closer to the visual plane, obscuring the viewer's access to embedded work in progress to enable the visualisation of an identifiable self-portrait. This may even refer back to Rembrandt's Boston portrait in the thematization of the inaccessibility of the image and the depiction of the artist as pictor vulgaris in a painters smock and cap.[165]

The reason behind the revision of Vermeer's archetype becomes clear when viewed through the context of its creation. The artist's posthumous inventory from the year of his death,

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[163] Piet Bakker, "Painters of and for the Elite," in *Vermeer and The Masters of Genre* Painting eds. Adriaan E. Waiboer (London: Yale University Press, 2017), pp. 85-86.

[165] Furthermore, the addition of the door to the far left of the composition (as the door is cut off it seems unusual to include it as it serves no narrative purpose unless the painting has been cut down or as a *rapen* feature.

states its intended function to be displayed in the window of his workshop for the attraction of prospective patrons.[166] Subsequently, this work is not a theoretical statement on the limits of visual discourse and serves a linear purpose as a treatise on the personal dynamics of the artist's workshop. As a portraitist for some of the most prominent families across the Dutch Republic, the artist is advertising his profession to clients of similar social standing to his model depicted here, dressed in black velvet, contrasting with the allegorical fanciful dress of the model in Vermeer's work. Vermeer's allegorization of "the painter and his studio while de-allegorizing the allegorical figure," coincides with the presentation of van Musscher's model as a real person, similarly demonstrating workshop organisation and practice though circumscribing to a more naturalistic, descriptive pictorial vocabulary, reminiscent of Rembrandt, based on empirical observation.[167]

As the function of the painting is different, discrepancies can also be found in the agency of the metapictorial devices used by the artist. While the placement of the map is replicated, van Musscher presents a "pascaarte or sea chart of Europe," [168] and omits the border presenting the different views of towns, which pictured the "congruity between pictures and maps."[169] In *The Art of Painting*, reference to the competition between Zeuxis and Parrhasios within the inclusion of the curtain is purely anecdotal, and functions primarily for staging the viewer's presence as an intrusion as a visual demonstration of the "curiosity of seeing."[170] However, van Musscher makes direct reference to this artistic topos through instilling the curtain with a narrative function, by making the subject of the woven tapestry

[166] Sluijter, "Vermeer, Fame, and Female Beauty," pp. 266, 278.
[167] Arasse, *Vermeer: Faith in Painting,* pp. 42-43.
[168] James A. Welu, "Vermeer: His Cartographic Sources," *The Art Bulletin* Vol. 57, No. 4 (1975): p. 538.
[169] Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (London: John Murray Publishers Ltd., 1983), pp. 26, 119.
[170] Stoichita, The Self-Aware Image, p. 283

a grape vine. This introjects an intra-painting dialogical element alluding to the subject of the allegory, which tells of how Parrhasios's painted trompe l'oeil of a curtain tricked even the eye of Zeuxis, who had prematurely declared himself the winner after painting a bowl of fruit so realistic a bird flew down in an attempt to steal a grape. Van Musscher was known for the surface intricacy of his painted fabrics; subsequently, this detailing cannot be considered a coincidence and was likely intended as an intertextualised quotation in referencing the subject of both trompe l'oeil compositions from Pliny's legend. These changes identify the painting as a response and not a direct copy serving "as evidence of new artist thinking," yet simultaneously the artist makes little to no attempt to disguise its influence.[171] In this painting, these motifs may have served less of a metapictorial purpose and are simply displaying the artist's breadth of skill in depicting the many different modes of picture making and in addition his own virtuosity in pictorial representation.

Conclusion

As I have attempted to demonstrate through these juxtapositions, the systemic recurrence of metapictorial themes and motifs in Dutch studio portraiture is indicative of the role of its unique topological and temporal conditions, in the espousal of self-reflexive and substitutional principles. Through my research, I have found there is no one vehicle of influence in the appropriation of existing themes and motifs, only determining factors. The selection of certain pictorial elements could be based on the degree of innovation, its appeal to their client base, localized trends, and crucially, being technically feasible for the artist.[172] However, the transmission and dissemination of schemas by contemporary

[171] E. Melanie Gifford and Lisha Deming Glinsman, "Collective Style and Personal Manner: Materials and Techniques of High-Life Genre Painting," in *Vermeer and The Masters of Genre Painting* eds. Adriaan E. Waiboer (London: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 75.
[172] Waiboer, "Vermeer and The Masters of Genre Painting," p. 11.

seventeenth century artists can be accredited to the dynamics of spatial clustering resulting from the effects of co-location, whereby artists inevitably share ideas and knowledge by working in the same area.[173] While this enabled the interactions between artists, the effective transcription, replication and reshaping of the art of their predecessors and contemporaries were more often facilitated through workshops, in the education of young artists in emulating their master's pictorial vocabulary, personal emblems, and manner of painting.[174] As pictorial innovations were often centered around the work a particular master, pictorial quotations alluding to their debts with their master generated a chain of artistic derivation in the replication of an epochal metapictorial novelty. This was likely then filtered down through an artist's followers and students and further circulated by lesser artists through producing an imitation or pastiche to take advantage of their success.[175] This is clearly apparent through the work of Rembrandt and Dou who defined the primary features within the schema of the studio portrait.[176] Through the replication of certain nuances such as Dou's niche format, the metapictorial novelty of these specialisations evolved into a collective formula, as part of a topological pictorial tradition in the Netherlands, through invoking certain metapictorial elements explored in the art of the past and by their Dutch contemporaries.[177]

In opposition to the role of the workshop in reinforcing an internalised set of interrelations between painters, the role of the guild was more nuanced. The establishment of local guilds across the Netherlands led to an increased concentration of artists in industrial areas enabling the development of a network of artistic interactions, and put in place restrictions

[173] Rasterhoff, *Painting and Publishing as Cultural Industries*, p. 293.
[174] Rasterhoff, *Painting and Publishing as Cultural Industries*, p. 293-294.
[175] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 257.
[176] Cole and Prado, "Inventions of the Studio," p. 4.
[177] Bryson, *Tradition and Desire,* p. xviii.

regarding import and export of paintings to support the development of local artistic specialisations. However, while the guild was involved with the artistic training and apprenticeships of young painters, their involvement was typically only superficial in regulating the registration of apprentices, rather than their actual training. Apprenticeship contracts were usually between the artist and their student and it was here, which often stimulated the transference of the fundamental principles of painting and drawing, as well as the artist's own pictorial inventions, not through the association with the guild.[178] Furthermore, documents suggest that in 1644 in Leiden, a group of artists acquired a room to hold regular meetings, thereby enabling the exchange of knowledge, preceding the establishment of Leiden guild in 1648.[179] This is indicative of the mutual appreciation and familiarity of their contemporaries among artists without being prompted by the guild. Ultimately, the guild had very little influence on the sway of the market and artistic preferences, which influenced the characterization and popularity of certain specializations.

The development of the market, however, altered the reception and production of art, which was pivotal in the establishment of the Leiden *fine painters* creating small detailed works, which could be easily transferable, thereby enabling the dissemination of local specializations across the country. Artist's working for an open market led to the breakdown of the system of a pre-agreed sale between patron and artist.[180] However, more well-known painters such as Rembrandt, Dou and Vermeer had a preferred client base, who purchased the bulk of their works. Subsequently, private collectors can be considered their patrons who also had a role in the dissemination of these themes. "A patron or even an occasional

[178] Prak, "Guilds and the development of the art market during the Dutch Golden Age," pp. 243-244.
[179] Waiboer, *Gabriel Metsu*, p. 5.
[180] Prak, "Guilds and the development of the art market during the Dutch Golden Age," p. 240.

client provides a link to the social world not normally accessible to an artist of modest background" enabling their access to a higher quality of works not found on the open market and stimulated the pictorial emulation or revision of works preferred by their clients, emerging as a metapictorial variant.[181]

2. The Collection: Metapictorial Reflection in the Art of Velázquez

We can deepen our understanding of the transposition of intertextual borrowings within an artistic response, or as a pictorial variant, by examining the "network of cultural forces," which engendered the creation of a pictorial type or thematic specialization from which it generated. In the previous chapter, I discussed the socio-economic and political conditions, which enabled the development of the fundamental elements of self-thematization within a scene of production in the Dutch Republic through the lens of cluster dynamics within painters workshops and through the guild. The invention of a laicized iconography of the studio portrait engendered a pictorial convention within the genre, prompting the systematic adoption and replication of the pictorial and iconographical dynamics of this visual prototype, inciting a thematic conformity. Stoichita proposed that the apogee of Dutch studio portraiture culminated in the 1650s with Vermeer's *The Art of Painting*; however, the Dutch example represented only one of "two opposite poles" in the evolution of the typology of the genre overall, and proposed its constitution within *Las Meninas* by Diego Velázquez (Fig.2.1).[182] Despite this, there is no evidence to suggest these paintings respond to each other, or that the artists even knew of each other's work. Subsequently, in this chapter, I will explore how the emblematic interpolation of metapictorial devices could

[181] Montias, "Vermeer's Clients and Patrons," p. 76.
[182] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 273.

be introjected in works produced under two different socio-political and religious ideologies, in relation to their geographical and structural divergences within their respective cultures.

Since its creation, *Las Meninas* has been the subject of critical art-historical and philosophical interpretations, and has come to be known as a visual representation of the epistemological conflation of metapictorial ideation in the seventeenth century.[183] At the beginning of this study, I posited the notion that the art of Velázquez subscribed to a performative framework through the artist's innovative methods of sublimating existing visual tendencies and historically distinct styles in a single image as deliberate anachronisms, linking to works in the royal collection. However, when posing this notion in relation to *Las Meninas,* a painting with an already rich source of literature debating its subject and history, it is important to first consider existing interpretations to understand its theoretical exegesis and impact within the history of art.[184] Nineteenth and early-twentieth century art historians interpreted the work through the lens of traditional art historical methodologies. These strategies were conditioned to coincide with the narrative art of Italy, inciting the attempt to "reconstruct an iconography" or conceive an iconological interpretation based on the artist's own subjectivity within the period, viewing the work as a visualisation of Velázquez's motivations regarding his social and professional standing.[185] Conversely, other interpretations explored issues on the theme of representation and the

[183] Matthew Ancell "The Theology of Painting: Picturing Philosophy in Velázquez's Las Meninas," *The Comparatist* Vol. 37 (2013): p. 157.
[184] Nagel and Wood, "Toward a New Model of Renaissance Anachronism," pp. 403-404, 407.
[185] Emily Umberger, "Velázquez and Naturalism II: Interpreting "Las Meninas,"" *Anthropology and Aesthetics* No. 28 (1995): p. 95.

philosophies of vision.[186] The most significant contribution devoted to this understanding is within Michel Foucault's seminal essay in the opening chapter of *The Order of Things.*

Foucault focused his commentary on *Las Meninas* on the two discontinuities of western thought, visualised through the representational mechanics of the mirror and the reciprocity between the reflection of the perceived presence identities. Foucault describes this as the "three observing functions," which can only be realised from a point outside the surface of the painted representation, these represent the projection of the viewer's perspective within the canvas, as the origin of the reflection. [188] This notion is centralised on the intended recipients, identifying the figures in the mirror as the King and Queen of Spain, characterising the pre-classical episteme, and generating the notion of "spectacle-as-observation," they observe the scene before them while simultaneously being observed by an external viewer.[189] Their identities exist only within the context of the mirror, projecting the medieval epistemic function relating to idolatry. Within this notion, the image of the sovereigns are considered as a substitute for their physicality, coinciding with the "dictum *regis imago, rex est*, 'the image of the King is the King."[190] As a result, this representation is recognisable by a layman with no prior context through their resemblance to an image engraved on Spanish currency. Velázquez as the author of the painting embodies the classical episteme from the age of representation, who, when constructing the overall image was present within the extra pictorial reality reflected in the mirror. Therefore, he stood and occupied the same position as the King and Queen. This notion extends to the modern viewer, who is also physically represented within the painting as the figure in the

[186] Hamann, "The Mirrors of Las Meninas," p. 6.
[188] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 14-16.
[189] Foucault, *The Order of Things*, p. 15.
[190] Adam Jasienski, "Velázquez and the Fragile Portrait of the King," *Art history* Vol.20 No.1 (2021): p. 928.

doorway, embodying the notion of subjectivity on part of the spectator within the modern episteme.[191]

Foucault's examination brings into question how a contemporary mentality might perceive and reinterpret visual motifs created using an outdated intellectual disposition when transposed into a more modern context, considering whether the adoption of a sign acts as a *priori* for the adoption of its meaning.[192] In lieu of mediating this debate surrounding these converging methodologies, in this Chapter, with respect to existing theories, I aim to address the socio-economic conditions that facilitated Velázquez's access to a broad scope of visual traditions including archetypal examples of metapictorial reflection, which promoted a historical consciousness within his art-making. In doing so, I will explore the role of the royal collection of the same monarchy whose secession of the north facilitated the revision of the religious connotations within Dutch studio portraiture, in its mediation of a synthesis of images which guided the artist's adoption of metapictorial precepts derived from works present in the collection at that time. Due to the scope of the collection, I will narrow my investigation to four areas of interest. These include cabinet paintings, the influence of Titian and Rubens through their shared royal patronage serving the Habsburg dynasty, the painter in the studio, and the artistic topos of the mirror in the *Arnolfini Betrothal* by Jan van Eyck.

The juxtaposition of mimetic discourse as a chain of metapictorial derivation from earlier pictorial sources in Dutch picture-making to the artistic process which led to the creation of *Las Meninas*, demonstrates an increase in the temporal distance between the influential

[191] Foucault, *The Order of Things,* pp. 14-15.
[192] Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," *The Art Bulletin* Vol.73, No. 2 (1991): p. 207.

meta-prototype and the response. This is apparent through the artistic attitudes of the period in the Dutch republic, whereby, the adoption of visual inventions as *rapen* features was stimulated by a "collective mentality," creating a network of mutual influence between Dutch contemporaries, thus the temporal dimensions of their creation was more limited. However, in Velázquez's art there is a notable tendency of the artist to look further into past pictorial traditions.[193] This can be accredited to the inner-preconditions that govern the chain of influence in these difference environments. The orthodoxy of the Dutch Calvinists as iconoclasts prompted artists to look to each other rather than to religion or allegory when creating art; however, within the royal court there was a historical consciousness within the culture of collecting, which prompted artists to acknowledge past visual traditions. Furthermore, the royal collections accommodated a broader scope and number of works, displaying a wider pool of intertextual sources to take influence from, predominantly collected across the reigns of three members of the Habsburg monarchy, beginning with Charles V.[194] While Charles V introduced an "international orientation into Spanish collecting," his collecting habits retained a medieval ideology.[195] Subsequently, the system of ordering and classification used for the precious objects tended to by the *guardajoyas* (the keeper of the royal treasures) were contemporaneous with the early modern collections of the princely Kunst- or wunderkammern.[196] This afforded the same consideration and value to natural curiosities as to painted artworks.[197] In this context, art

[193] Rampley, "Iconology of the Interval," pp. 317, 323-324.
[194] Eva Shultz, Notes on the History of Collecting and Museums: In the Light of Selected Literature of the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century *Journal of the History of Collections* Volume 2, Issue 2 (1990): pp. 205-206.
[195] Marcus B. Burke and Peter Cherry, *Spanish Inventories: Collections of Painting in Madrid, 1601–1755 (Part 2),* Ed. Maria Leilani Gilbert (Los Angeles: Provenance Index of the Getty Information Institute, 1997), pp. 109-111.
[196] Burke and Cherry *Spanish Inventories: Collections of Painting in Madrid,* p. 109.
[197] Marlise Rijks, "Defenders of the Image," pp. 55-56.

objects were collected for their representational qualities of imitating nature in order to stimulate intellectual or aesthetic debates.[198]

It was not until the reign of Philip II when changing cultural perceptions conferred an "elevated conception" of the visual arts, whereby collecting habits moved away from an encyclopaedic amalgamation of objects from the previous century, towards more picture-based collections.[199] Despite the failures of Philip III as a cultural leader, who did little to improve the quality or value of the royal collection, by the time of Philip IV's ascension to the throne, the picture collection within the royal treasury was extensive.[200] Under the influence of Gaspar de Guzmán the Count of Olivares, Philip IV ushered in a revival of the arts, which would come to be known as the Spanish golden age of collecting.[201] Aware of the unstable position occupied by the Spanish monarchy within Europe, Guzmán imposed a number of initiatives to rebuild the reputation and influence of the Habsburg dynasty following its decline during the previous reign.[202] As part of these initiatives in 1623, Olivares appointed Velázquez as royal painter.

Velázquez quickly gained favour with the king which led to his appointment as assistant superintendent of the palace works in 1643, initiating his role as court decorator, and culminated in 1652 with the elevation of his position to *aposentador mayor de palacio.* This involved "him in matters of connoisseurship, selection, and restoration," and conferred his residence within the palace.[203] A glimpse of these quarters, the former apartments of the

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[198] Thierry de Duve and Rosalind Krauss, "Echoes of the Readymade: Critique of Pure Modernism," *October* Vol. 70 (1994): p. 91.
[199] Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550-1700*, p. 194.
[200] Burke and Cherry, *Spanish Inventories: Collections of Painting in Madrid,* p. 109-110, 116-177.
[201] Jonathan Brown, *Kings & Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 114.
[202] Brown, *Kings & Connoisseurs*, p. 114.
[203] Jonathan Brown, *The Golden Age of Painting in Spain, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 216-217.

late prince Baltasar Carlos (which was redecorated following his death in 1646, and granted to Velázquez to use as a studio), can be observed as the primary setting for *Las Meninas*. In the painting, Velázquez documents a visitation of the Infanta Margarita Teresa of Spain to his studio, who is attended to by her entourage. (A menina on the left Doña María Agustina Sarmiento de Sotomayor kneels beside the princess offering her a glass of water while a second menina Doña Isabel de Velasco, curtseys opposite.) [204] To the right of the infanta, two dwarves have been identified as the court official Mari Bárbola and Nicolás Pertusato who places his foot on a mastiff, while Doña Marcela de Ulloa and the unidentified *guardadamas* are seen conversing behind the overall scene. A figure can also be observed through an embrasure, seen standing at the doorway in the background who is thought to be Don José Nieto Velázquez, who shared a similar position to Velázquez as the Queen's aposentador, and was in charge of the royal tapestries.[205] Velázquez as the author of the painting stands to the left after taking a few steps back from an easel, which is placed in the direct foreground, identifying the scene as one of production. Though its subject is obscured, the mirror acts a dynamic element in reflecting the canvas depicting a royal portrait of King Philip IV and Queen Mariana of Austria alluding to their presence in the extra pictorial reality outside the painting.

Las Meninas as a Visual Catalogue and the Influence of Cabinet Paintings

In conceptualising *Las Meninas* as a visual document of a selection of works from the royal collection, Velázquez ascribed to the pictorial tradition of cabinet painting. Cabinet

[204] Jonathan Brown, "On the Meaning of Las Meninas," in *Collected Writings on Velázquez,* trans. Neil Mann and Rachel Stein (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 48-50.
[205] Umberger, "Velázquez and Naturalism II," p. 97.

painting's or Kunst-wunderkammern's proliferated in Antwerp as the Flemish pictures of collections genre, though was later adopted across Europe and were developed as a means of documenting and classifying the visual arts. This pictorial type functioned as visual catalogues, integrating both imagined and extant collections as metapictorial insets, within the formalised structure of a gallery. As a result, this genre of works functioned not only as documentation of the collecting habits of the virtuoso from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but also as a medium for the projection of visual precedents by their predecessors. Despite no existing documents suggesting Velázquez visited Antwerp, the King is known to have possessed a number of works of this type and therefore can be applied to its study in this context.

In 1636, Medina de las Torres gifted a series of allegorical paintings from this genre on the subject of *The Five Senses* to the King to be displayed in the Alcázar. The works were a result of a collaboration between Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder. Of these works, *The Sense of Sight* (Fig.2.2), implemented inset images to visualise the "linguistic conflation of the perceptible world and… assigned primacy to paintings" outside the context of religion in the period following the protestant iconoclasm.[206] In the work, a lone figure is depicted, as Juno as Optics, seated at a table in a room of paintings, sculptures and various accoutrements pertaining to visual perception, such as a telescope and sextant.[207] Coinciding with the tradition of the Flemish pictures of collections genre, the paintings depicted within this work do not typically correspond to an actual collection but rather depict an assemblage of paintings, which align with the visual traditions practiced by the author's contemporaries.

[206] Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp,* p. 70.
[207] Traditionally Juno is depicted gazing into a mirror; however, in this depiction she directs her attention to a painting of Jesus healing the blind.

For example, the pictorial invention of the *Madonna in a Flower Garland* by the Flemish artists Brueghel and Hendrick van Balen, seen in the right midground, is common pictorial motif within the topos of this genre, as evangelical imagery was still favoured by the virtuoso and connoisseur as they viewed "knowledge as a handmaiden of faith."[208] Furthermore, the genesis of the Madonna in a Flower Garland disassociated the religious function of the image of the Madonna and child as an icon of worship entailing a visual dialogue on the pictorial discourse between "sacred image, painting, and reality."[209]

On the same table as the one where Juno is seated, there is a double portrait of the Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia, who are thought to have commissioned the work; this introduces an intertextual dialogue relating to the political and compositional influence of patrons on a commission. The double portrait is positioned directly in front of a mirror, which is identifiable for the white brushstrokes concentrated in the top right hand corner to indicate it a reflective surface and to distinguish it from the surrounding paintings. This is comparable with the method to discern the mirror from the surrounding oil paintings within *Las Meninas*. As an object of curiosity, within the context of the collection, the mirror functioned as a medium in furthering the perception of the beholder, and doubling the splendour of the precious objects within the collection.[210] Subsequently, its motif within the tradition of gallery paintings had a polysemic interpretation in not only representing the specular reverse of the objects in the 'real' of the pictorial field, but also "served to remind the viewer that a painting, however persuasive in its imitation of nature, was in fact a flat surface covered with coloured pigments."[211] The

[208] Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp,* p. 70-71.
[209] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 115.
[210] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 276.
[211] Genevieve Warwick, "Looking in the Mirror of Renaissance Art," *Art and Technology in Early Modern Europe* Vol. 39, No. 2 (2016): p. 255.

positioning of a portrait of the patrons before a mirror in this work, may have dictated the visual precedent implemented by Velázquez in positioning his patron both within and outside of his composition. Furthermore, the presence of a mirror, the large archway and embrasure in the background leading to another gallery, presents a visual discourse of thematizing the definition and creation of the image, which reoccurs in *Las Meninas* in the motifs of the embedded paintings, mirror, and doorway.[212] *Las Meninas,* however is more dynamic in mediating the hermeneutics of the self-staging of painting as artifice, by thematizing the act of production and facilitating the absorption of the viewer into the painting by depicting the King and Queen as the intended recipients outside the frame of the pictorial space.[213] Zirka Zaremba Filipczak theorised when discussing this genre "a person was most likely to repeat inherited ideas when he was conscious of making a statement about the nature of art."[214] Consequently, the visual discourse invented by other artists and then replicated within gallery paintings may have been implicit allusions to the art of their contemporaries, rather than pictorial meditations on the self-referential ideology defined by their predecessors. However, the dynamic reshaping of many of the metapictorial elements found within *Las Meninas* as allusions to the Flemish genre indicate this is not the case.

A laicized form of this iconography perpetuated by David Teniers II in the 1630s and 40s, replaced the allegorical works by Rubens and Brueghel as the iconographic precedent of the genre to offer a more explicit reflection on the nature of representation itself.[215] The typology of these works by Teniers presented a contextualised intertextual discourse

[212] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 275.
[213] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 23, 273, 12.
[214] Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp,* p. 138.
[215] Chastel, "Picture within Picture," pp. 295-296, 302.

alluding to paintings from a real collection.[216] This type of work was termed by Alexander Marr as "portraits of collections," as a visual document attesting to the wealth of works within a patron's collection.[217] Philip IV is documented as having an extensive collection of works by Teniers, and devoted an entire gallery to the display of his works; among them was *The Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in his Painting Gallery in Brussels* (Fig.2.3). In the painting, the Archduke is depicted among his peers amidst an impressive collection of paintings. The Archduke displayed considerable interest in documenting the works in his collection, publishing *Theatrum Pictorium* as the first illustrated catalogue of works; therefore, the works pictured in Teniers' painting likely refer to actual works in his collection. Portraits of collections function as a statement on the patron's social and intellectual prestige, presenting the ideology of the culture of collecting as a leisurely inclination of the cognoscente. However, the only figure engaging with the materials on display is the artist himself, who included an embedded self-portrait standing at the table, while inspecting engravings. This serves the artist as a statement, presenting himself as the author of the work but also his associations to his wealthy patrons. This notion is synonymous with the historiography of cabinet paintings, which often introduced a level of intertextual discourse relating to a painting's creation and reception, in which alongside the presence of virtuosi and connoisseurs, an artist would often be featured framing the act of pictorial creation. This coincides with Velázquez's presence working on a large canvas, in the foreground. *Las Meninas* holds the same values and allusions to social stature as with Teniers, similarly, Velázquez presents himself as both the author of the work, but also presents his role as the curator, tasked with acquisitions of notable works of interest to his patron. Subsequently,

[216] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 122.
[217] Alexander Marr, "The Flemish 'Pictures of Collections' Genre: An Overview," *Intellectual History Review* Vol.20, No.1 (2010): p. 10.

while the embedded paintings do not belong to Velázquez, he presents a visual commentary on the nature of their acquisition and his role as a courtier with direct access to the King.[218]

Contrasting with Teniers, who relied on the full legibility of the inset paintings to construct visual catalogue of works owned by his patron (which was likely not an accurate rendering of their museological position within the collection), the limited clarity of the paintings in the background of *Las Meninas* demonstrates Velázquez's acknowledgement on the pictorial genre to which it belongs but also the manner he secedes from it.[219] The pictorial discourse of mediating the presence of embedded paintings within an imaginary or allegorical setting involved a dialectical process transposing the original image within a new context.[220] While the setting of *Las Meninas* in the Pieza Principle, was rendered accurately to reflect its function as both an atelier and as a room in the palace museum, this scenography clearly references the genre to stage the pictorial act through "the different modalities of framing."[221] The paintings on the walls have been identified and recorded in the positions documented by Velázquez in *Las Meninas* when the painting was completed.[222] The two works on the back wall, depict scenes from Ovid's metamorphoses, depicting the judgement of Midas and Minerva punishing Arachne. Though initially recorded by Palomino in the paintings earliest description of the painting, as by Rubens, the paintings were later identified as reproductions after Rubens' series on Ovidian legends by Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, Velázquez's assistant and son in law, commissioned by the King to decorate the Torre de la Parada. The paintings hung on the surrounding walls are now

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[218] National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, "David Teniers the Younger: Flemish, 1610 – 1690," *nga.gov,* https://www.nga.gov/collection/artist-info.1923.html?artobj_artistId=1923&pageNumber=1 (Accessed December 2021).
[219] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 275.
[220] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, pp. 103-104, 118-120.
[221] Jonathan Brown, *Velázquez: Painter and Courtier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 241
[222] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 275.

thought to depict subjects from same mythological series. In the painting, the windows are shuttered and the celling lamps are unlit, enabling a demonstration of the artist's virtuoso handling of chiaroscuro, leaving much of the room in shadow.[223] This is also implemented as a visual device to distinguish a mirror on the far wall, which reflects the little light let in through the windows from two oil paintings.

As the most successful and sought after painter in Europe, Rubens' presence in Spain following a diplomatic mission in 1628-29 left a lasting impression on the King, who called upon the Flemish artist for a number of commissions. Consequently, it was during this year, Rubens completed the original works later copied by del Mazo, depicted in *Las Meninas*.[224] The favour afforded to the Flemish artist by the royal patron actuated a friendly rivalry between himself and Velázquez. While Velázquez would have had full access to the historical scope of visual sources from the royal collection, the influence of contemporary artists working within the Spanish Court likely also had an impact on the artist's creative process. As noted in the previous chapter, rivalry and a localised topology between artists facilitated the adoption of pictorial elements between contemporaries as part of cultural practice. Subsequently, coinciding with theories on cluster dynamics, their shared patronage likely promoted the exchange of ideas between the two artists prompting the implicit allusion to the art of Rubens as embedded paintings in the background of *Las Meninas* as intertextual quotations. This also highlights the impact of court culture on Velázquez's artistic output.

[223] Alpers, *The Vexations of Art,* p. 185.
[224] Alpers, *The Vexations of Art,* pp. 151, 164.

Titian, Rubens and Velázquez

The prevalence of synthesizing *rapen* features within contemporary artworks during this period was reinforced by humanists of the time, who encouraged artists to refer to the "intertextual garden" for artistic inspiration.[225] This was characterised by a historical awareness of how the poetics of the aesthetic experience of art is mediated by the temporal and functional context of the environment of which the artwork and viewer is a part.[226] Thus, the historical preconditions of the royal collection as an early form of museology operated a source of "collective knowledge" in mediating the communication and exchange of visual concepts from extant artworks.[227] This ideology was reflected in court culture through the knowledge that the Spanish golden age was one not only of collecting, but also of copying.[228] The King often commissioned copies after his favoured works to display across his residences. However, despite being raised in Seville within a "culture that entailed and rewarded copying," Velázquez rarely explicitly acknowledged his influences except within two works, *Las Meninas* and *The Spinners*.[229] The network of mutual influence between contemporary artists working under the patronage of Philip IV, as well as existing works within the collection to correspond to the artistic preferences of their patron, foreshadow the reuse of self-reflexive devices implemented in *Las Meninas.*

During Rubens' first visit to Spain, he remarked in a letter to Mantua, on May 24, 1603 on "the many splendid works of Titian, Raphael and others, which have astonished me, both by their quality and quantity, in the King's palace."[230] This early interest in Titian gave rise to a

[225] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 261.
[226] Kemp, "The Work of Art and its Beholder," pp. 180-182.
[227] Bryson, *Tradition and Desire*, pp. 6-7.
[228] Alpers, *The Vexations of Art*, p. 192.
[229] Alpers, *The Vexations of Art,* pp. 189-193.
[230] Alexander Vergara, *Rubens and his Spanish Patrons* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 9.

project during his second visit in 1628-29, to copy the works by Titian in the royal collection. Of these, Rubens copied Titian's *Venus with a Mirror,* although the original is now lost (thought to have been seized during the Spanish peninsular war) it was one of a series of works on the same subject, and a comparable piece exists today in the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC (Fig.2.4-2.5). A description of the original painting by Simón Rodríguez exists in an account from 1636:

> "An oil painting, of a Venus, with bare breasts, dressed for rising from bed, in red, with a pearl bracelet on her right hand, and a ring on the little finger of her left hand, and Cupid in front of her, naked with a mirror in which she is looking, by the hand of Titian."[231]

This notes some minor discrepancies with the existing version in Washington; however can be directly compared to Rubens' copy.

Contrasting with the minor application of the mirror in *The Sense of Sight*, the full metapictorial effect of this motif as a hermeneutical tool is realised in this work, acting as an object of representation, which functions as a "natural sign of what it represents."[232] As the Venus is seen in side profile, the mirror is used to uncover the side of her face that is obscured from the viewer. This pictorial trope of showing an object or figure from different viewpoints alludes to the notion of paragone through demonstrating painting's capability to equal the representational qualities previously confined to the art of sculpture.[233] The shared thematic traits and use of this motif in a later work by Velázquez *The Toilet of Venus* (Fig.2.6), can be linked to the artist's shared patronage with Rubens, which served not only as a source of rivalry but also of mutual respect in the Flemish artist's virtuoso skill and

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[231] Mar Borobia, "Peter Paul Rubens: Venus and Cupid," *museothyssen.org*, https://www.museothyssen.org/en/collection/artists/Rubens-peter-paul/venus-and-cupid, (Accessed December 2021).
[232] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image,* 215.
[233] Warwick, "Looking in the Mirror of Renaissance Art," p. 259.

visual innovation. The favour afforded to his contemporary by the King is likely what incited Velázquez' replication of certain visual elements, which he knew would appeal to his royal client.[234] *The Toilet of Venus* was considered unusual for its time, as such subjects was "largely confined to the court and to works by non-Spanish artists, notably Titian and Rubens," it therefore seems unlikely Velázquez would have been influenced from elsewhere outside the collection.[235] In Velázquez's painting however, as the model (who stands for the personification of female beauty) is depicted from behind, the dialectic between mirror and its subject is fully exploited as the only means to enable the beholder's view of her face, whose reflection is intentionally blurred to correspond to the viewer's ideal of true beauty.[236] This device originally evoked in the work of Titian, would also be implemented in *Las Meninas* to the same effect, evoking a secondary image reflecting an alternative viewpoint from one we perceive as the viewer. While the mirror in the *Toilet of Venus* reflects the face of the figure within the pictorial space, duplicating its use in the earlier works by Rubens and Titian, in *Las Meninas*, Velázquez extends the pictorial space to include the King and Queen who stand adjacent to us as the viewer, which completes the composition.

This same line of metapictorial derivation can also be traced through the sublimation of the fable of Arachne as a product of intertextuality, linking with the iconography of the Rape of Europa within Velázquez's oeuvre. Of the works by Rubens in his project to reproduce Titian's paintings in the royal collection, one was the *Rape of Europa* (Fig.2.7-2.8), which was then in the Titian vaults of the Alcázar.[237] While Rubens' copy was taken back with the artist

[234] Waiboer, "Vermeer and The Masters of Genre Painting," p. 11.
[235] Brown, *Velázquez: Painter and Courtier*, p. 182.
[236] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 209.
[237] Brown, *Velázquez: Painter and Courtier*, p. 252.

when he returned to Antwerp, it was later purchased as one of thirty-two pictures by Francisco Rojas, the guardajoyas for the cardinal infante, as a representative of the King following the sale of the artist's personal collection in the 1640s.[239]

While Velázquez's position facilitated his access to the works within the royal collection, it was likely Rubens' intervention in reproducing the works after Titian, which evoked a response from Velázquez, leading to a visual quotation of *The Rape of Europa* within narrative structure of his painting *The Spinners*. *The Spinners* or *Las Hilanderas* (Fig.2.9), depicts the fable of Arachne, who, boasting her skill challenged Pallas the goddess of weaving, to a competition. As a show arrogance and conceit, Arachne weaved a series of legends on the subject of the deceit of the gods, one of these was Jupiter's rape of Europa. Such a tale offended Pallas through the depiction of her father in an unfavourable light and, for her impertinence she transformed Arachne into a spider. As a narrative which likened the skill of artists as equal to the gods, this theme resonated with the artist inciting its inclusion in two of his works as scenes of poiesis. In *Las Meninas,* the narrative is represented as a visual quotation as one of the two painting's on the back wall depicting Del Mazo's copies after Rubens' painting *Minerva and Arachne* 1636-37 (Fig.2.10), however the narrative is fully explored as a metapictorial inset in *The Spinners*. In the painting, the initial scene depicts the workshop of a group of women in the various processes of yarn making.[240] However, beyond this through an embrasure portrays the iconographic language of the Ovidian legend; the figure of Pallas, identified through her attribute of a helmet raises her

[239] Brown, *Velázquez: Painter and Courtier*, p. 189.
[240] Richard Stapleford and John Potter, "Velázquez' Las Hilanderas," *Artibus et Historiae* Vol. 8, No. 15 (1987): pp. 159-160.

arm against Arachne standing before her completed tapestry, which here functions as an embedded quotation after Titian's composition.

The transcription of Titian's schema within *The Spinners* constructs a sign-system based on the criterion of recognition through the supposition that the work's intended recipient, the King, would have been familiar with the works in his collection at that time.[241] As the work is still recognisable as the iconographic language defined by Titian, Velázquez demonstrates his historical consciousness of his predecessors through his acknowledgement of his source while introjecting his own style. Furthermore, as this work was created following the acquisition of Rubens' copy, this inclusion may be interpreted as a homage to two great masters while simultaneously invoking a dialogue between the artwork and its beholder. As the interpretative structure of this work was designed to disclose its own influences and thereby invoke a reaction from its intended recipient (the King) through stimulating his awareness of his own collection, he becomes integrated as an active participant. Thus, in line with the theory of the "aesthetics of indeterminacy," whereby works of art are considered unfinished in themselves in order to be finished by the beholder, *The Spinners* is completed by this interaction.[242]

While it was one of his more famous reproductions after Titian, Rubens was not wholly successful in rivalling the Italian master. Within his imitation, the initial image was diminished "through hardening the effect in order to clarify the objects in view," in *The Spinners,* Velázquez emphasized this failure through sublimating the painting as a visual quotation within his own looser style of brushwork.[243] This manner of painting also

[241] Bryson, *Tradition and Desire,* p. 21-23.
[242] Kemp, "The Work of Art and its Beholder," p. 186.
[243] Alpers, *The Vexations of Art,* p. 165.

emphasizes the tapestries medium as distinct from the events within the 'real' of the painting. In addition, by transcribing the work as a tapestry, altering the original medium used by Titian, introduces an element of paragone. As a painter, Velázquez portrays the versatility and virtuoso skill within his craft to reproduce the effect of alternate mediums; thereby asserting the notion of painting as a higher form of art making. In doing so, the artist highlights the derivative nature of directly copying the works of his antecedents and the importance of advancing visual discourse through reflection and refinement. [244] This notion is translated in *Las Meninas* through the interplay between the embedded image depicting *Minerva and Arachne* and the implied identity of the figure who stands in the doorway as Don José Nieto Velázquez due to his charge of the royal tapestries. Nieto gestures in the direction of del Mazo's reproduction while leaving the room, although both the painting and Nieto himself are diminished in relation to Velázquez's much larger presence while working on a canvas of his own.

The Historical Trajectory of the Studio Portrait in the Collection of Philip IV

The intertextual mechanisms of this culture of copying, situated the artist within a museological context as a place for an artist to study and replicate the art of the past.[245] These activities of court painters were visualised in the studio portrait by the synthesis of contemporary courtly and artistic practices and the iconographic allusions to "verbally articulated ideas through allegory." [246] In particular, this ties to the narrative of Apelles and Campaspe in the visualisation of the interplay between the patron, artist relationship, in which Alexander visits Apelles as he's constructing the portrait of his favourite Muse. As

[244] Alpers, *The Vexations of Art,* p. 164.
[245] Alpers, *The Vexations of Art,* p. 181.
[246] Umberger, "Velázquez and Naturalism II," pp. 95-96, 104.

part of his "1533 patent of nobility Charles V characterised Titian as the modern Apelles and himself as the current Alexander."[247] The prestige afforded to Titian for his service to Charles V and Philip II, including a knighthood, set a social and artistic precedent for Velázquez. Therefore, it makes sense that Velázquez would attempt to duplicate the manner of the Italian master's work and self-presentation, in his own work. As a result the characterisation regarding the patron-artist dynamic between Titian and Charles V was later adopted by Antonio Palomino (a seventeenth century Spanish painter and Velázquez's biographer), in drawing an analogy between Pliny's legend and frequent visits by Philip IV to Velázquez's studio to observe the painter at work, visualised within *Las Meninas*. This is supported by theories regarding the nature of the presence of the royal couple pictured in the reflection in the mirror. While some theorize the royal couple were the subject of the concealed work in progress, others suggest due to the angle of the canvas the couple were simply visiting; such a deliberate ambiguity suggests it was the artist's intention to "recall the classical precedent."[248]

Palomino's description of *Las Meninas* highlights an ideological parallel to a self-portrait by the Italian master, depicting himself holding the portrait of Philip II, which was gifted to the Spanish monarch in 1552/3.[249] While lost, this composition can be compared to an engraving on a medal attributed to Agostino Ardenti, portraying Titian with a portrait of his son (Fig.2.11). This composition revealed the autonomy of the artist and mutual respect between himself and his patron; exhibiting his own likeness within the central position and thereby marginalising the monarch's presence by the embedded portrait's "small scale and

[247] Joanna Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self-portraiture: The Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 164-165.
[248] Umberger, "Velázquez and Naturalism II," p. 95.
[249] Brown, *Velázquez: Painter and Courtier*, p. 259.

subsidiary location."[250] In this case, the embedded image acts as a tangible representation of the monarch, in contrast in *Las Meninas* the King is represented as a specular image in a mirror; whereby, the mirror acts as a mediator for the image it represents. As the source of the representation, in order for the King's likeness to be reproduced as a specular reflection, his presence is implied standing before the mirror. Subsequently, Velázquez emphasizes the King as a dynamic presence despite his liminal, subsidiary position within the compositional frame. As the provenance of the lost portrait is incomplete its presence in the royal collection during Las Meninas' conception is uncertain, although Palomino's comparison suggests it was at least known of. Furthermore, another self-portrait by Titian can be traced within the collection as one of the thirty-two paintings purchased by Rojas from Rubens' collection and is still in the Prado museum today (Fig. 2.12). The Prado portrait of Titian while more subdued still displays the characteristic elements of a studio-portrait. The artist is presented in profile dressed in a black *tabaard* and skullcap though holds in his right hand a paintbrush emphasizing the manner in which he accumulated his esteem and riches through his craft.

With the understanding that Velázquez took inspiration from Titian's schema, further comparisons can be made from works within Velázquez's oeuvre, as a corpus of images depicting the artist's social distinction within the cultural milieu of the patron-artist relationship. In representing their royal patrons, painters had to observe certain "constraints within which the painter of royal portraits had to operate."[251] Subsequently, as well as occupying the position as court painter, Velázquez also had a role as a censor. This involved reviewing works sold by street vendors depicting members of the royal family and

[250] Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self-portraiture*," p. 164.
[251] Jasienski, "Velázquez and the Fragile Portrait of the King," p. 923.

judging if they were an accurate or favourable depiction. A recorded event on the 3 October 1633 documented Velázquez's role in examining eighty-four paintings depicting the royal personage and judged seventy-two works to have the 'face erased so that they might be redone and that they bear resemblance and be in conformity with the art of painting."[252] This role is visualised in his painting of the sculptor *Juan Martínez Montañés* (Fig.2.13).

The painting depicts the sculptor, addressing the viewer while holding a sculpting tool to a bust of Philip IV. The work was painted during Montañés' time in Madrid to sculpt the likeness of the monarch in preparation for Pietro Tacca's equestrian statue in Florence. The area depicting the bust appears unfinished, enabling the examination of the artist's painting technique displaying a thin layer of grey over the brown preparation ground; the delineation of the King is completed through a few swift strokes demonstrating the artist's virtuoso skill of capturing the likeness of his patron. Despite this, Adam Jasienski proposed Velázquez purposefully suspended working on the painting before detailing the stone bust. Velázquez gained a reputation for reworking and retouching elements of his paintings to coincide with his vision. This notion is supported by the application of a thick white impasto on Montañés' sleeve cuff, which the artist used only in the final stages of painting.[253] The implications of leaving this area unfinished allude to his role as a censor and the esteem he held himself and his profession. Velázquez had been endowed with exclusive privileges to the King's portrayal, which served a source of rivalry between himself and his contemporaries. Thus, as a portrait by Velázquez depicting a competing artist who had been granted the rare permission to reproduce his patron's likeness, albeit in an alternative discipline could be interpreted as a visual expression of a rivalry between the two artists, as typically depictions

[252] Jasienski, "Velázquez and the Fragile Portrait of the King," p. 923.
[253] Jasienski, "Velázquez and the Fragile Portrait of the King," p. 924-925.

of sculpture in paintings allude to notions of *paragone*. However, as the painted sculpture is unfinished, this seemingly defies this interpretation. This, I would agree was intentional. Had the portrait of the King been completed the portrait would exhibit "two competing images: a portrait of the King, scandalously relegated to the status of a sculptor's prop, and a portrait of a sculptor, condemned to censure for overshadowing the image of his monarch."[254] Subsequently, in leaving this area of the painting unfinished Velázquez censored his own painting.

A previous attempt of this thematic choice depicting a sculptor with a Royal Bust was attempted by El Greco for Philip IV's ancestor Philip II. The two works have been compared many times in the past; however, I can find no evidence to suggest the work was in the royal collection at that time therefore its comparison falls outside this area of study. Conversely discounting the notion of paragone, the painting can be compared with Orazio Borgianni's *Self-Portrait.* As an Italian artist who spent some time in Spain, elements of Borgianni's work recall a Spanish precedent in a number of stylistic and thematic elements, which later became characteristic of works by Velázquez. This can be observed through the practice of Tenebrism derived from the effects of chiaroscuro, in the background in both portraits. Borgianni's self-portrait depicts a frontal half-length portrait of the artist dressed in black with a white collar and sleeve cuff. To the right, the edge of a panel on an easel can be seen on which the artist is working, in one hand, he holds a paintbrush to the surface of the panel thereby identifying the scene as one of production and in the other, he holds accompanying attributes of a selection of paintbrushes, palette, and Mahlstick balancing his hand. The artist's stature and the manner he holds his attributes is repeated in Velázquez's portrait,

[254] Jasienski, "Velázquez and the Fragile Portrait of the King," p. 927.

Montañés positions one hand on the top of the bust and holds his carving tool in the other as if it were a paintbrush exhibiting a "disdainful ease in the execution of strenuous tasks."[255] Furthermore, in both portraits the figure looks outwards beyond the frame within the pictorial space represented, presenting the notion that their subject is positioned in the place of the observer, which in the case of the portrait of Montañés, is the King. The panel the artist is seen working is turned at an angle thereby creating depth through use of perspective against the plain background. The work appears to be in the first stages of an underpainting; however, due to the angle its subject is indistinguishable.[256] Despite this, a drawing of this painting from the collection belonging to Fernández Durán included an inscription, identifying the artist in the painting as Esteban March and the subject of the panel depicting his son, Miguel; while this attribution has since been discarded, it suggests the subject of the embedded painting is a portrait.[257]

The Pictorial Trope of the Mirror in Art

Velázquez's portrait of *Juan Martínez Montañés* was an important precursor to *Las Meninas* as both paintings can be understood as examples of royal portraiture, which centralise the act of production. In the portrait of *Juan Martínez Montañés* this is achieved through integrating the royal likeness as the subject of a work in progress, this notion is carried forward into *Las Meninas,* however is mediated through the device of the mirror. The complexities of the mirror has been discussed in many existing studies and it is not my intention to solve this visual problem here. The mirror operates as having a polysemic

[255] Andreas Prater, *Venus at Her Mirror: Velázquez and the Art of Nude Painting* (Munich: Prestel, 2002), p. 90.
[256] Ian Verstegen, "Between Presence and Perspective the Portrait-in-a-Picture in Early Modern Painting," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* Vol. 71. No. 4 (2008): p. 513.
[257] Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, "Orazio Borgianni (attributed to) Self-Portrait," *museodelprado.es*, 1985, https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/self-portrait-/f9529a56-643e-4d56-91bd-fe2bf026d039, (Accessed December 2021).

interpretation in which it can be interpreted as either reflecting the portrayal of the King and Queen as the subject of the large canvas in the foreground or reflecting their presence outside the pictorial confines of the work. In either case, the royal presence is implied without actually including their physical representation within the totality of the piece. The conception surrounding the notion of the image of the King as an emblematic signifier of his presence alludes to the Habsburg tradition whereby in cases the King could not attend certain events, on ceremony his portrait would act as a substitute.[259] However, in altering context of the King's representation, translating his likeness from a physical representation as a bust in the *Montañés* portrait to a specular image in *Las Meninas* engenders a metapictorial reflection on commonalities and distinctions between the different forms of visual signs generated from a single signifier.[260] In contrast to the emblematic function of a painting or sculpture, in which where the object of the representation is the royal personage the image of the King is the King, the mirror is not a substitute for the "thing signified but represents it by reflecting it." [261] For the mirror to replicate an image of an object or figure who stands before it, it must be present, subsequently once the source of the representation is removed, the reproduction is withdrawn. Thus, the use of the mirror as an inset motif reveals the semiological temporality of the moment of the painting's creation.

Due to the conditions of the use of the motif of the mirror in *Las Meninas*, whereby the original source of the representation is obscured, scholars have often cited Jan van Eyck's *The Arnolfini Betrothal* (Fig.2.15) as an influence. Within the historiography of the mirror tradition, the motif was typically utilised as a synthesizer for duplicating objects or figures

[259] Jasienski, "Velázquez and the Fragile Portrait of the King," p. 928.
[260] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image,* p. 195-196, 204, 214.
[261] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image,* p. 195-196, 204, 214-215.

found within the pictorial space. It was not until its use by van Eyck, where the mirror was used to extend and reflect "an external reality."[263] The painting was recorded in an inventory taken after the death of Mary of Hungary, in 1558, when it entered the royal collection of Philip II of Spain. The painting was later recorded in 1559 in the Alcázar where it remained until 1794. Subsequently, it is reasonable to assume Velázquez would have been aware of it due to his role in the reorganisation of the collection and the duplication of the function of van Eyck's metapictorial prototype and authorial allusions in *Las Meninas*. The *Arnolfini* depicts two figures who are thought to be Giovanni di Nicolao Arnolfini and his wife within an interior. The man raises his hand in greeting addressing the viewer while taking the hand of the woman in the other.

The painting's subject has been frequently debated by scholars, Jakob Quelviz thought it depicted an engagement, however it has also been described as a marriage, as the man is seen to raise his hand as a symbolic gesture in "matrimonial oath." [264] Ernst Panofsky theorized the painting functioned as a visual testament of their marriage, signed by the artist as a witness on the wall above the convex mirror in Latin "Johannes de Eyck fuit hic" meaning Jan van Eyck has been here, 1434.[265] The act of signing the painting in this way was also replicated by Velázquez in a painting of a horse, where after being criticised by his contemporaries the artist "erased it and signed what remained *Didacus Velasquinius Pictor Regis expinxit* (Diego Velázquez painter to the King," unpainted it)."[266] Within the mirror in a frame housing ten small roundel's depicting the passion of Christ, van Eyck depicted his own

[263] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, pp. 223-224.
[264] Susan Foister, "Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini portrait," in *Reflections Van Eyck and the Pre-Raphaelites* Ed. Alison Smith (London: National Gallery Company, 2017), p. 11-13.
[265] However, Panofsky was later contested by Margaret Carroll, who asserted that the woman would have worn her hair down if she was unmarried.
[266] Alpers, *The Vexations of Art,* p. 160.

likeness, visualising his attendance. This visual innovation of not only reflecting the reverse of the scene within the pictorial space but also the external reality occupied by a witness (the viewer), and the artist as the author, while visually innovative, coincides with the ideological societal aspirations of the seventeenth century artist. Artists were rarely depicted within the proximity of their wealthy patrons due to their difference in station. However, the ennoblement of both Velázquez himself and of painting as an intellectual vocation in lieu of its craft status were ideological concerns in the formulation of *Las Meninas's* imagery.[267] This is apparent in the red cross on the artists doublet for the Order of Santiago, alluding to his knighthood, however this was a later addition and likely added after the artist's death.

The indication of the presence of the royal couple in the room with the artist fulfils Velázquez's ambitions by producing a visual document of his association, which could otherwise not be performed without the function of the mirror due to court etiquette. In *Las Meninas,* the reflection alludes to the presence of the King and Queen who take the place of the Velázquez as the author of the image. The artist wanted to make it apparent the King stands as a viewer where he stood to produce the work, thereby embodying the notion of the "artist-viewer."[268] Furthermore, in pictorializing the epistemological transversal between the visual field and the physical space of the viewer demonstrates the technological role of the mirror as a mechanism in the painting's own creation. In order to construct an image of the self, the mirror acted as a "mimetic aide" to facilitate the transcription of the artist's own likeness in two-dimensionality.[269] In order to place himself

[267] Umberger, "Velázquez and Naturalism II," p. 95, 103.
[268] Svetlana Alpers, "Interpretation without Representation, or, the Viewing of Las Meninas," *Representations* No.1 (1983): p. 37.
[269] Warwick, "Looking in the Mirror of Renaissance Art," p. 265.

among his royal counterparts Velázquez's must have had the use of mirror, this is supported through his recorded inventories documenting at least ten mirrors in his possession at the time of his death.[270]

Las Meninas can therefore be interpreted as a visual allegory on the nature and processes of pictorial representation, through visualising Velázquez' methods to create a naturalistic imitation of life, within a scene of production. In doing so, the artist advocates the relative merits of the art of painting as a reflection of reality, through the choice of medium itself, thereby drawing attention to the painting's materiality. The representational qualities of oil paint with its natural lustre reflects light, thereby emphasizing a comparative mimetic and representational discourse between painting and specularity, which is further highlighted by the position of the inset mirror in the centre of the back wall between two embedded oil paintings.[271] This representational discourse localised on the back wall signifies a visualisation of Velázquez's position at court by alluding to his role in acquisitions and as a decorator within the collection and his royal patronage. These factors enabled and endorsed his success as an artist thereby facilitating the complexity and innovative nature of his artistic methods, which further reinforces the notion that *Las Meninas* acts as an attestation of Velázquez's value as an artist.

Despite the visual correlations between the motif of the mirror in the *Arnolfini* and in *Las Meninas*, there are some distinctions. The mirror in the *Arnolfini* alluded to the wealth of his patron, as glass mirrors were considered to be luxury items. However, the mirror in *Las Meninas,* because it is situated within a gallery, acts as a synthesizer for the modalities of

[270] Hamann, "The Mirrors of Las Meninas," p. 10.
[271] Warwick, "Looking in the Mirror of Renaissance Art," p. 257.

looking, as, in the culture of curiosity and collecting, mirrors were typically included to reflect the objects within. Furthermore, the mirror in *Las Meninas* is flat corresponding with the modern methods of creating them in the seventeenth century, whereas during the fifteenth century mirrors had to be backed with molten lead giving their distinct circular convex form.[272] Subsequently, the mirror in *Las Meninas* does not distort and compress the mimetic sign as in the *Arnolfini* and does not project the reverse of the pictorial space, presenting only the reflection of the King and Queen giving the appearance of a portrait on the wall, which is only distinguished by the few white paint strokes to allude to its reflective qualities. Thus, in this case the motif mediates the dialectic between the source of the representation (the implied presence of the King and Queen beyond the aesthetic boundary of the painting), Velázquez's representation of the reflection as an embedded portrait and its signifiers as a specular image. This dialogue is what creates the visual paradox, which has eluded art historians regarding the source of the reflection, whether the presence of the king is implied as a pictorial representation whereby the mirror reflects the canvas depicted in the left foreground, or if the royal couple are implied standing in the extra pictorial space taking the position of the viewer. When examining the historical context in which the painting was inventoried in pieza del despacho de verano, an office for the personal use of the King, his inclusion as a reflection is likely the latter, indicating his presence before the painting itself as opposed to the reflection of the image on the embedded canvas.[274] However, it is this ambiguity which demonstrates the "the codified and aporetic nature of the" painting.[275]

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[272] Allison Smith, "The Pre-Raphaelites and the Arnolfini Portrait: A New Visual World," in *Reflections Van Eyck and the Pre-Raphaelites* Ed. Alison Smith (London: National Gallery Company, 2017), p. 43.
[274] Brown, *Velázquez: Painter and Courtier*, p. 259-260.
[275] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 275-277.

Epilogue: The Aftermath and Influence of the Art of Velázquez

Within Spanish visual culture, the art of Velázquez became the leading example by which the quality of all subsequent Spanish artists were measured. After his death, Velázquez' reputation as an artist in Spain was unrivalled and, in the words of Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, "when he [Velázquez] died, the glory of painting in Spain died with him."[276] Jovellanos himself owned a copy of *Las Meninas* from the seventeenth century, though initially thought to be an original preparatory sketch by Velázquez, it is now understood as a copy by del Mazo and currently resides within Kingston Lacy Estate in Dorset (Fig.2.16).[277] Due to the accepted cultural milieu of copying after the King's favourite paintings, the sketch was likely created within this capacity. In his *Account of the Lives and Works of the most Eminent Spanish Painters,* Palomino described del Mazo as singular in his ability to replicate the works of his predecessors to a level whereby "there's no distinguishing the copies from the originals."[278] Despite this, the sketch exhibits a number of slight variations, which distinguish the quality of the original. The infanta is depicted to be slightly shorter in stature, and the Red Cross distinguishing Velazquez as a member of the order of Santiago is just barely legible on the artist's tunic. The overall palette is subdued with heavier tonal contrasts leaving much of the background in shadow, further obscuring del Mazo's own copies after Rubens so that their subject is almost imperceptible. However, the most notable discrepancy between the sketch and the original is the omittance of the delineation of the reflection of the King and Queen in the mirror, which in the sketch is left blank, save

[276] Manuela B Mena Marques, "Goya: A Free Disciple of Velázquez," in *The Spanish Portrait From El Greco to Picasso* Ed. Javier Portús Pérez (Madrid: Scala Publishers, 2004), p. 200.
[277] Enriqueta Harris "Las Meninas at Kingston Lacy," *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 132, No. 1043 (1990): p. 125-127.
[278] Antonio Palomino, *An Account of the Lives and Works of the most Eminent Spanish Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (London: Sam Harding, 1739), p. 76.

for the edge of the curtain in the upper right corner. Subsequently, the question of why, with del Mazo's virtuoso skill in executing many of his copies did he replicate *Las Meninas* with these variations.

As a metapictorial element that has stimulated many debates regarding the possible meanings and metapictorial connotations towards the understanding of the painting, I will first turn my attention to the mirror in the sketch. In *Las Meninas,* the mirror was positioned in the central axis of the painting to draw the viewer's attention, staging Velázquez's artistic process by revealing the subject of his painting depicted in the foreground as a royal portrait of the King and Queen. The mirror demonstrates the royal presence, representing the episteme of the pre-classical era, characterized by resemblance, which relates to a lay-man's ability to recognise the royal patrons. Their absence in the sketch evokes the notion of ambivalence, as the subject of the canvas is now obscured. This relates back to the subject of Rembrandt's Boston portrait depicting the artist standing before a large canvas, emphasizing the formidable nature of his profession. However, the retention of the curtain in Del Mazo's reproduction, in the corner of the mirror is significant. The curtain in *Las Meninas* is often overlooked as minor element or contextual accessory often used within compositions by Velázquez; subsequently, its presence in the painting is overshadowed by the aporetic nature of the overall composition.[279] The hermeneutical implications of removing the royal presence and obscuring the subject of the canvas on which Velázquez is seen working evokes a humanist interpretation, linking the theme of the work to Parrhasius' painted illusion from Pliny's legend within a scene of poiesis. In doing so, del Mazo creates a comparison between Velázquez and the legendary painter as a homage to his master. When

[279] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 275.

read in line with this interpretation, the concealment of del Mazo's own copies after Rubens emphasize Velázquez's pictorial achievements and visual innovations by disguising his debts to his predecessors. This in turn denies comparison between the Kings two favourite painters and thus del Mazo's copy functions purely as a celebration of Velázquez's most celebrated work.[280]

In earlier descriptions of the painting by William Stirling, the work was described as "a finished sketch or small repetition' of Velazquez's painting," however by 1883 in Velazquez's first complete catalogue raisonné, the sketch had earned the apocryphal reputation of being an original by the artist.[281] Jovellanos adhered to this belief, though he acknowledged the discrepancies and expressed his desire for Francisco de Goya to make a "comparative study between the sketch and the finished painting."[282] Despite his own established practice, Goya himself had been known to make copies after Velázquez, and published two sets of prints of his works in 1778, including *Las Meninas*. In his 1789 eulogy, Jovellanos described Goya as the appropriate person to make such a comparison "for in drawing and engraving the works of Velázquez he has come to imbibe his very spirit and is the most distinguished imitator of his manner."[283]

The omittance of the compositions in the background of the Kingston Lacey *Las Meninas* was theorized by Jonathan Brown as evidence of the artist's inability to replicate the detail of these metapictorial solutions.[284] However, the central concern of Brown's essay was on

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[280] Hamann, "The Mirrors of Las Meninas," p. 6.
[281] Harris "Las Meninas at Kingston Lacy," p. 125.
[282] Harris "Las Meninas at Kingston Lacy," p. 127.
[283] Nigel Glendinning, *Goya and his Critics* (London: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 36.
Goya was known to have made a careful drawing and etching of Velázquez painting in 1778 and the its influence can be observed throughout his oeuvre. However, in his own portrait of the Spanish royal family in 1800-1801, the artist directly referenced Las Meninas, in *Charles IV of Spain and His Family*.
[284] Jonathan Brown, "Las Meninas at Kingston Lacey: a Velázquez original or from the original," in n *Collected Writings on Velázquez,* trans. Neil Mann and Rachel Stein (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 149.

its attribution, which at the time of publication in 1997 the painting was not proven as a del Mazo. With this updated attribution when looking at del Mazo's oeuvre it becomes clear that any omittance was likely purposeful. In discussing copies after Velázquez, in his *Lives of the Artists* Palomino characterised two forms of copying, those of a middling capacity to replicate the works of their predecessors as a "servile copiest" and those who execute the works with "a masterly and free pencil," thereby improving them.[285] Del Mazo's copy of *Las Meninas* framed the artist as the latter; however, in a later painting *The Artists Family* (Fig.2.17), composed between 1659 and 1660, it becomes clear he used his initial imitation as an exercise in understanding Velázquez's artistic process and self-reflexive attitude through the modification of the composition, within his own style.

In line with the original subject and title of *Las Meninas (The Family)*, the work is a family portrait, depicting del Mazo's four children from his first marriage to Velázquez's daughter, depicted on the left, and his second wife and their children on the right. This painting offers a glimpse into an alternative view of another of the quarters of the apartments granted to Velázquez, upon his appointment as aposentador in the Alcázar where he staged *Las Meninas*.[286] This work by del Mazo was completed in the final years of his master's life; this painting can therefore be interpreted as a visual testimony of del Mazo's preparation to succeed him as the official court painter by staging the work as a studio portrait in the background. Del Mazo's painting features a reverse of the self-reflexive mechanisms of the motif of the canvas seen in *Las Meninas*, inverting the scenography so that the artist is seen from behind and his subject and canvas is seen before him, which resembles del Mazo's

[285] Palomino, *An Account of the Lives and Works of the most Eminent Spanish Painters, Sculptors and Architects,* p. 76-77.
[286] Brown, *Velázquez: Painter and Courtier*, p. 216.

portrait of *Infanta Margarita Teresa in a Pink Dress* (Fig.2.18). This portrait coupled with an embedded portrait of King Philip IV occupying the central position on the back wall, evokes a thematic conformity with *Las Meninas*, in integrating royal portraiture as a means of introducing a level of intertextual discourse "that constitutes a self-referential dialogue on the status of the representation."[287] Subsequently these examples after Velázquez by del Mazo serves as further recourse of the meta-prototypes within the royal collection in prompting an intertextual meditation on visual tradition within extant artworks.

Conclusion

To conclude, in establishing Velázquez's earlier influences when conceptualising the visual rhetoric of metapictorial elements within the artist's epochal work, it must be understood that the socio-economic conditions that facilitated their encounter was pivotal in their transposition. The methodology of reception aesthetics enables us to explore and recognize the "activity of perception" allowing us to trace the origin of an artist's encounter with an existing artwork, and explore the reasons behind certain similarities and variations between the original meta-prototype and its response.[288] While facilitating the artist's access, the Spanish royal collection is contextualised within the court. Contemporary metapictorial retakes and responses to works in the collection are therefore inevitably influenced by courtly procedures and the patron himself, whose connoisseurial bias would have shaped the artist's perception of significant historical trends and styles through his collecting habits and works already present in the collection. This contrasts with the examples discussed in chapter one, in which artists produced works largely for a general audience for the art market, whereas court artists were subject to the strictures and commissions of their

[287] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 204.
[288] Kemp, "The Work of Art and its Beholder," p. 179-181.

patron.[289] In addition, Velázquez's aspiration to attain the ennoblement of his profession and subsequently the social prestige granted upon the admittance into the order of Santiago, influenced his approach to his duties in the royal household. Velázquez did not accept payment for his commissions in order to qualify for his nomination. Subsequently, to retain his status and high standing with the king he took influence from his patron's favourite works in his collection, which served as a visual and thematic starting point in his artistic process. However, when referring to his source to overcome the "burden of the past" without resorting to direct quotation like his contemporary Rubens in replicating the art of Titian, or del Mazo, Velázquez introjected the inherited motifs and pictorial conventions from works in the collection within his own stylistic profile.[290] This is most evident in *Las Meninas* and *The Spinners*.

While the artistic and cultural milieu of the Spanish court incited a general repetition of certain stylistic and thematic choices through the culture of copying, which is clearly evident in the work of del Mazo, the explicit accreditation of pictorial debts were rarely present in works by Velázquez. Despite this, through my research and juxtaposition of case studies, I would argue there is a clear line of derivation of replication and reinvention of metapictorial precepts found through the work of Titian, Rubens, and Velázquez. While these artists were all masters in their time, this system of exchange resulting in the synoptic visualisation of self-reflexive tropes within his works like *Las Meninas* and *The Spinners* were likely prompted by politics, as both Titian and Rubens both occupied positions in the royal household which coincided with Velázquez's own social and political aspirations.[291]

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[289] Jasienski, "Velázquez and the Fragile Portrait of the King," p. 923.
[290] Bryson, *Tradition and Desire*, pp. 7, 19.
[291] Titian achieved a knighthood for his services as a painter to the previous Habsburg monarchs was likely of great interest to Velázquez who strove to achieve the same and Rubens occupied a similar position to himself

During this period, the acquisition of artworks and the employ of the Velázquez himself was part of a number of initiatives by Guzmán to rebrand Spain as a cultural centre. The inception of this provisionality can be largely accredited to the financial burdening and disarray of the Habsburg dynasty and its colonial empire during the mid-seventeenth century. Despite this, the sustained hegemony through the familial relation between Philip IV and his cousin the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm within the Flemish Low Countries enabled a system of exchange of cultural and artistic commodities, which is particularly evident through the Spanish King's collection of works by David Teniers of whom the Archduke was patron to.[292] Despite the political implications, aesthetic considerations were of prime importance following the king's growing interest in the arts in the 1650s, favouring works of Flemish and Italian origin.[293] Therefore, it is unsurprising that in the major elements of his epochal work, *Las Meninas*, Velázquez would reference the conditions of his employment, emphasizing his role as a painter and decorator but also alluding to Philip IV's role as a collector in pictorializing the traditions and works coinciding with his patron's artistic preferences. By staging the painting within a gallery, alluding to the Flemish pictures of collection genre with a centralized mirror while alluding to the schematic mimetic discourse of the specular representation of the external space within van Eyck's *Arnolfini* also demonstrates the conditions in which the work was created and its function within the culture of collecting. The acknowledgement of the origin of these metapictorial motifs, recreated in the artists owns style prompts the viewer (who in this case was intended to be Philip IV) to see his work perspectivally amidst his sources creating an identifiable link to

though with more artistic freedom subsequently it was their political status which was what prompted such a response.

[292] Hamann, "The Mirrors of Las Meninas," p. 10.

[293] Brown, *Velázquez: Painter and Courtier*, p. 241.

works already in the collection; thereby adding to the aesthetic narrative promoted by the collection. This resists the uniform succession of artistic replications fabricated in line with the substitutional mode of production, therefore identifying the conditions of the fabrication of works by Velázquez within this context as predominantly one of performance.

Conclusion

Artistic self-reflexivity is in-itself deconstructive of the fabricating process. When posed in relation to the mechanics of influence, this promotes a perception of the specificity of the origin of historical and contemporary quotations. This level of self-awareness in the fabricating process to perpetuate an aesthetic reflection on the earlier models preceding the current one in the chain as traces of the art of the past condensed into one historical moment, stages the mode of creation implemented within meta-discourse as one of performativity.[294] However, from my study this is clear when posed in relation to each other, metapictorial reflection on the art of painting is not a priori for anachronistic performance, and it is the subjectivity of the author of the image to conceal or acknowledge their pictorial debts. Subsequently, the philosophical discourse governing the emergence of substitutional tendencies relating to the replication of certain themes and motifs in line with the artist's tendency to hide or reveal their borrowings is tied to the dominance of their moral and political agency within their creative practice. Within this study, I have attempted to demonstrate the consequence of socio-economic divergences on metapictorial reflection, tracing a perceptual line of artistic succession as a network or series of indexical associations relating to the art of the past, through the taxonomies of self-reflexive dynamics, in the Spanish Royal collection and Netherlandish workshop organisation. While a general

[294] Nagel and Wood, "Toward a New Model of Renaissance Anachronism," p. 403.

tendency to look towards pre-existing models can be observed through both lines of derivation, the manner of their replication, readjustment and level of autonomy is indicative of the disparities within the cultural ideologies of their geography.

In the Netherlands, the circumvention of church commissions and market development transformed artistic processes through breaking down the customary channels between patron and artist, thereby removing the aesthetic and ideological concerns related to the patron's visual preferences and religious constraints. The dynamics of this professional redefinition within the context of the market emphasized a competitive dialogue between the growing number of Dutch artists who crowded the market.[295] Contemporary sources indicate many artists relied on the replication and reinvention of existing pictorial aspects, eliciting a reflection on visually familiar sources to prompt the viewer to recall the art of their more successful contemporaries, to remain marketable. From an economic point of view, the repetition and reuse of compositional schemas and motifs in works produced for the market can be interpreted as process innovations to decrease production time and generate a larger production output.[296] This form of artwork prioritised the speed the production in place of visual innovation and as a result, in many cases "their autonomy was limited to pictorial and iconographic adjustments."[297] This is particularly clear in the work of Metsu in reusing the schema of window niche to frame the scene of production, but is also apparent in the emergence of the sub-genre depicting students in their master's workshops. Despite altering the thematic structure, through the omittance of an authorial allusion, while not a direct reflection on their practice as an artist, works of this type still served a

[295] Prak, "Guilds and the Development of the Art Market during the Dutch Golden Age," pp. 236-237.
[296] Angela Ho, "Gerrit Dou's Niche Pictures: Pictorial Repetition as Marketing Strategy," *Athanor* Vol.25 (2007): pp. 59-60.
[297] Bokody, "Tradition and Innovation," p. 84.

promotional function of their role as a master. Subsequently, the typological and metapictorial nuances still corresponded to a general model of the studio portrait, whereby, the primary departure from the genre was an ideological one relating to their social stratification.

Despite this, the Netherlandish tendency regarding the appropriation of visual solutions often featured a reversal or reworking of the semiotical or pictorial structure, what changes is the degree of reliance and transformation of the original motif. In line with the theories of Nagel and Wood, substitutional tendencies (based on a replicative-orientation towards the creation of art), and performance which tended towards the power of innovation were "co-dependant, but what changes is the relationship between them (and its perception)."[298] Thus, if we consider the sociological implications of the inner-preconditions of Kubler's definition of a replication, in condensing the artist's historical and aesthetic considerations of their predecessors within the hermeneutical levels of their own style, the work ceases to be a replica and takes the role of a response.[299]

The protocol of the pictorial dynamics characterising a pictorial response in place of a replica is pursued in the work of Dou, in reshaping the compositional aspects of the scene of production. While he initially took inspiration from Rembrandt's Boston portrait, Dou enhanced the metapictorial novelty of his master's prototype through the construction of a visual boundary conflating various self-reflexive traditions within a single iconographic formula; thereby constructing a nuance within the market, which was easily replicated by his students and contemporaries. Subsequently, while the idiom defined by Rembrandt is

[298] Bokody, "Tradition and Innovation," p. 61.
[299] Bokody, "Tradition and Innovation," p. 61.

significant as an epochal work, were it not for the structural divergences from the existing model of the scene of mythological production, due to its small scale and monochromatic palette, the Boston portrait would have been an entirely inconsequential addition to the artist's oeuvre as an early pictorial experiment. Its rediscovery in 1925 confirms this, since its attribution was contested by scholars of the time, and was thought to be by Gerrit Dou. However, Seymour Slive discerned that without a work by Rembrandt of this subject there wouldn't have been such a prolific impact on his followers.[300] Its presence in Rembrandt's studio may have influenced a generation of artists, however, it is the developments incurred by his students in the work of Dou or van Mieris, which reverberated with broader audience and prompted further innovations.

At a time when the studio-portrait genre was rapidly evolving, the framework of Dutch art followed a substitutional framework, in which, in later adaptations of the genre the original historical prototype was no longer the primary archetype. As a result, the second half of the century gave way to a number of minor iconographic adjustments. While, the initial schema was born out of the disassociation of scene of production from religious functions, the work of Metsu, van Mieris, and Vermeer featured a structural reversal of this ideology through a return to allegorical themes. "The themes of allegory of painting and the painters studio, were well known during the period but were separate, the allegory was developed according to the rules of the genre," however the studio portrait enabled the visualisation of actual studio practices.[301] Where Metsu and van Mieris created a contemporary allegory of painting though an unveiling function in the motif of the curtain, and allusions to the poetics

[300] Svetlana Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise: The Studio and the Market* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press Ltd., 1990), pp. 60-61.
Wetering, *Rembrandt: The Painter at Work*, p. 87.
[301] Arasse, *Vermeer: Faith in Painting*, p. 42.

of artistic inspiration in the depiction of female figures from mythology, Vermeer innovated through the unification of these themes within *The Art of Painting*. The theoretical framework of *the Art of Painting* was framed in such a way as an ontological subversion of the traditional conception of classical allegories, by means of registering the transcriptive nature of creating one.[302]

It is within the examination of this painting, the notion that the tendency of Dutch artists to look to pre-existing models as a strategy to expedite process innovations for commercial gain becomes reductive. *The Art of Painting* was not sold during Vermeer's lifetime and is acknowledged as being personal to the artist in embodying "the character of his artistic ambition."[303] The name itself is highly suggestive, asserting its status as a pictorial mediation on his medium and profession in place of a promotional piece. In light of my investigation in highlighting Vermeer's pictorial debts through the compositional arrangement and adoption of certain motifs, such as the use of drapery negates its status as a metapictorial 'prime,' corresponding to Kubler's definition as it can no longer be characterised as an enigmatic "original entity."[304] If we were to examine Kubler's distinctions between primes, replications, and mutations as absolute, once a genre or visual nuance was invented, no work conceived late in the stage of its development, could subscribe to this definition. Instead, by acknowledging how Rembrandt built the initial prototype on an existing religious model, we can value an artworks level of ingenuity by the reinvention and reformulation of historical prototypes. Subsequently their examination is better suited to the performative

[302] Arasse, *Vermeer: Faith in Painting*, p. 54.
[303] Arasse, *Vermeer: Faith in Painting*, p. 45.
[304] Hönes, "Posing problems," pp. 261-262.

theory of origins in which the circumstances of an objects creation is manifested in its formal elements. [305]

The internalisation of visual traditions from the historiography of the scene of production, and of transitional pictorial ambiguity through the motif of the curtain as an allusion to Pliny's legend, within contemporary visual elements, *The Art of Painting* visualises a temporal plurality as a "deliberate anachronism."[306] Through this level of ingenuity, Vermeer succeeded in establishing a visual precedent shifting towards a more performance based mode of production. Despite this, the replication of the exact metapictorial nuances of the motifs of the curtain and the map within a scene of production by van Musscher signifies a return to the substitutional framework. As van Musscher's portrait was a demonstration of his representational capabilities, this reaffirms the notion that it is the resolution of the artist, in the assertion of their cultural and political agency in determining the degree of borrowings and originality in their work.[307]

In Spain, within the context of the royal collection this oscillation between the two modes of production is mediated by the additional factors of the patron and courtly procedures. In this case, the process of replicating motifs and themes is centralised within a rich history of collecting and artistic appreciation. This poses a number of concerns, prompting the artist to look to past acquisitions to conform to a particular art historical narrative imposed within the museological structure of the collection, but also to successful solutions to the problems imposed by certain constraints placed on depictions of the royal family. With Velázquez, this conception was explicitly conceived as a visual feature in *Las Meninas* and *Portrait of Juan*

[305] Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), pp. 13, 17, 32.
[306] Nagel and Wood, "Toward a New Model of Renaissance Anachronism," p. 403.
[307] Alpers, *The Vexations of Art,* p. 29.

Martínez Montañés. The structural phenomenon of displacing the king's likeness to a contextual accessory on a level of meta-discourse as a specular image in the mirror or as a stone bust, can be compared to the work of Titian. Titian's *Self-Portrait* holding a smaller embedded "portrait with the image of King Philip II," enables the observation of the original conception of this pictorial transgression.[308] While it cannot be said with any certainty the *Self-Portrait* by Titian was in the collection during the period Velázquez created these works, its comparison with *Las Meninas* by Palomino in *El Museo Pictórico* published in 1714 suggests it was a possibility.

Velázquez's capacity to "combine and eclipse his sources of inspiration," was documented by scholars from the period, which is suggestive of the conflation of a number of meta-pictorial nuances depicted in *Las Meninas*. While the mirror mediated the portrayal of the King and Queen through their containment within a specular reflection, the motif itself, reflecting the reality outside the pictorial space, ties to its use to the *Arnolfini Betrothal*. However, its function in *Las Meninas* is polysemic in relating to the manner in which the artist 'signed' the painting. We know the artist could be somewhat unorthodox in signing his paintings and signed only his works, "he considered important," subsequently the question of why he would not sign *Las Meninas* as a work that conveys the elevation of his status and profession, lies within the allusion to van Eyck's painting.[309] In the *Arnolfini*, van Eyck signed the painting above the mirror portraying his own reflection. Without the textual allusion to his presence, due to its small scale, the artist's likeness would have been inconclusive. As a

[308] Brown, *Velázquez*, p. 259.
[309] National Gallery of Art, London, "Philip IV of Spain in Brown and Silver," *nationalgallery.org.uk*, https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/diego-velazquez-philip-iv-of-spain-in-brown-and-silver, (Accessed December 2021).

solution, Velázquez projected his likeness outside the mirror creating an authorial insertion to sign "the work of which it is a part."[310]

The juxtaposition of the patron's interest in certain artists and historical periods, offers some insight into the promotion of aesthetic and thematic commonalities, linking contemporary artworks with those already in the collection. The projection of this relationship within *Las Meninas* thematizes Velázquez's encounter of existing visual prototypes in the collection, as a critical evaluation of visual representation through the guise of the studio portrait.[311] The paintings in the background of *Las Meninas,* while coinciding with the positions as indicated by an inventory from this period, can be interpreted as a promotion of the art of his son-in-law and assistant, del Mazo, while also presenting his familiarity with the pictorial traditions of the genre to which the painting belongs. The visual references of del Mazo's works function as historical tokens to prompt the viewer, his patron, to recognise his influences as works already within the collection. In fashioning these conceptual allusions, the artist creates an intertextual dialogue between his creation, Ruben's original works, and the genre of gallery paintings, (particularly to a work of this type collaboratively produced by Rubens and Brueghel, *The Sense of Sight*).[312] This duality in the invocation to the art of Rubens, projects Velázquez's insecurities and ambitions through picturing a visual comparison between himself and his highly successful contemporary.

When viewed in the context of the culture of copying within the court, Velázquez's allusion to Rubens' unsuccessful attempt to rival the virtuoso skill of Titian when copying his works

[310] Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image*, p. 236.
[311] T. J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982), pp. 16-17.
[312] Nagel and Wood, "Toward a New Model of Renaissance Anachronism," p. 403.

in the collection, affirms this notion. This is particularly evident in the direct copy of Titian's *Rape of Europa* through the hardening of the pictorial effects. This particular copy was described by Svetlana Alpers as a representation of the "dangers of imitation."[313] Velázquez clearly held an accord with this ideology and visualised his distain of explicit replications of another's work without disguising their borrowings, by intertextualizing Titian's allegory as a metapictorial effect as the tapestry in *The Spinners*. This concept is further integrated into Velázquez's oeuvre through referencing the *Fable of Arachne* as the principle narrative depicted in *The Spinners*, and as an inset image in *Las Meninas.* The process of insetting his visual influences within his own style while still enabling an identifiable link to the original, returns to the idea of the use of metapictorial devices to mediate the circumstances of its creation (of which influence should be considered) within the space of a new representation. Within the dialectics of substitutional and performative principles, this situates the art of Velázquez towards a more performative perspective.

In his analysis of Stoichita's *The Self-Aware Image*, Lorenzo Pericolo notes how "the most elaborate examples of metapainting emerge at the peripheries of the academic culture…[as a] product of the cultural rebellion against the arts and its self-strictures."[314] While I would agree with this proposition, in light of the current study, I would argue that as unusual sites of metapictorial activity and innovation, these parameters be expanded to include the Netherlandish market guild economy and the context of the royal collection in Spain. Meta-pictorial ingenuity is then perpetuated within these cultural peripheries through the dissemination of these themes through replications, as elements of *rapen* within the Netherlands, and through a broader cultural engagement with works of historical

[313] Alpers, *The Vexations of Art,* p. 165.
[314] Pericolo, "What is Metapainting? p. 31.

importance and aesthetic value within an enclosed context of the court relating to royal patronage. Within this conception, self-reflexive attitudes were mediated through mnemonic techniques relating to cultural memory, which exemplify questions surrounding the phenomenon of repetition within the creative process.[315]

[315] Pericolo, "What is Metapainting? p. 24-25.

Appendices: Figures

Fig. 1.1. Rembrandt, *Artist in his studio*, 1628 – 1630, Oil on Oak Panel, 24.8 x 31.7 cm.

Museum of Fine Arts Boston, Boston.

Fig.1.2. Gerrit Dou, *The Painter in his Studio*, 1630-1632, Oil on Panel, 59.1 x 43.2 cm,

Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden.

Fig.1.3. Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait at the Age of 34*, 1640, Oil on Canvas, 102 cm × 80 cm.

National Gallery, London.

Fig.1.4. Gerrit Dou, *Self-Portrait*, 1645, Oil on Panel, 12.4 x 8.3 cm, The Kremer Collection, Amsterdam.

Fig.1.5. Gerrit Dou. *The Violin Player*. 1653. Oil on Panel. 31.7 x 20.3cm. Princely Collections, Vaduz Castle, Liechtenstein.

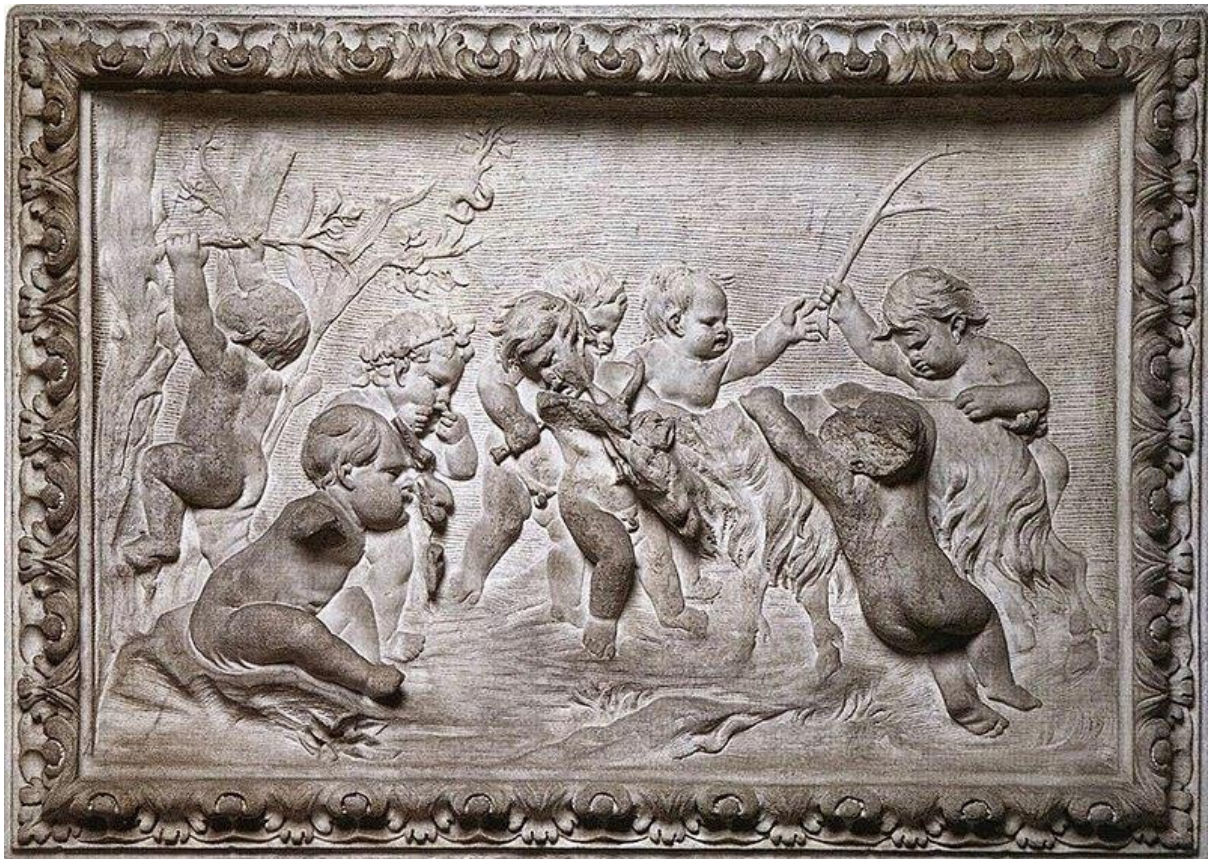

Fig. 1.6. François Duquesnoy, *Duquesnoy's Bacchanal of Putti,* 1620s, Marble Relief, Palazzo Doria Pamphilj, Rome.

Fig.1.7. Gabriel Metsu, *A Self-Portrait,* 1655-8, Oil on Panel, 37.7 x 31.4 cm. Buckingham Palace, London.

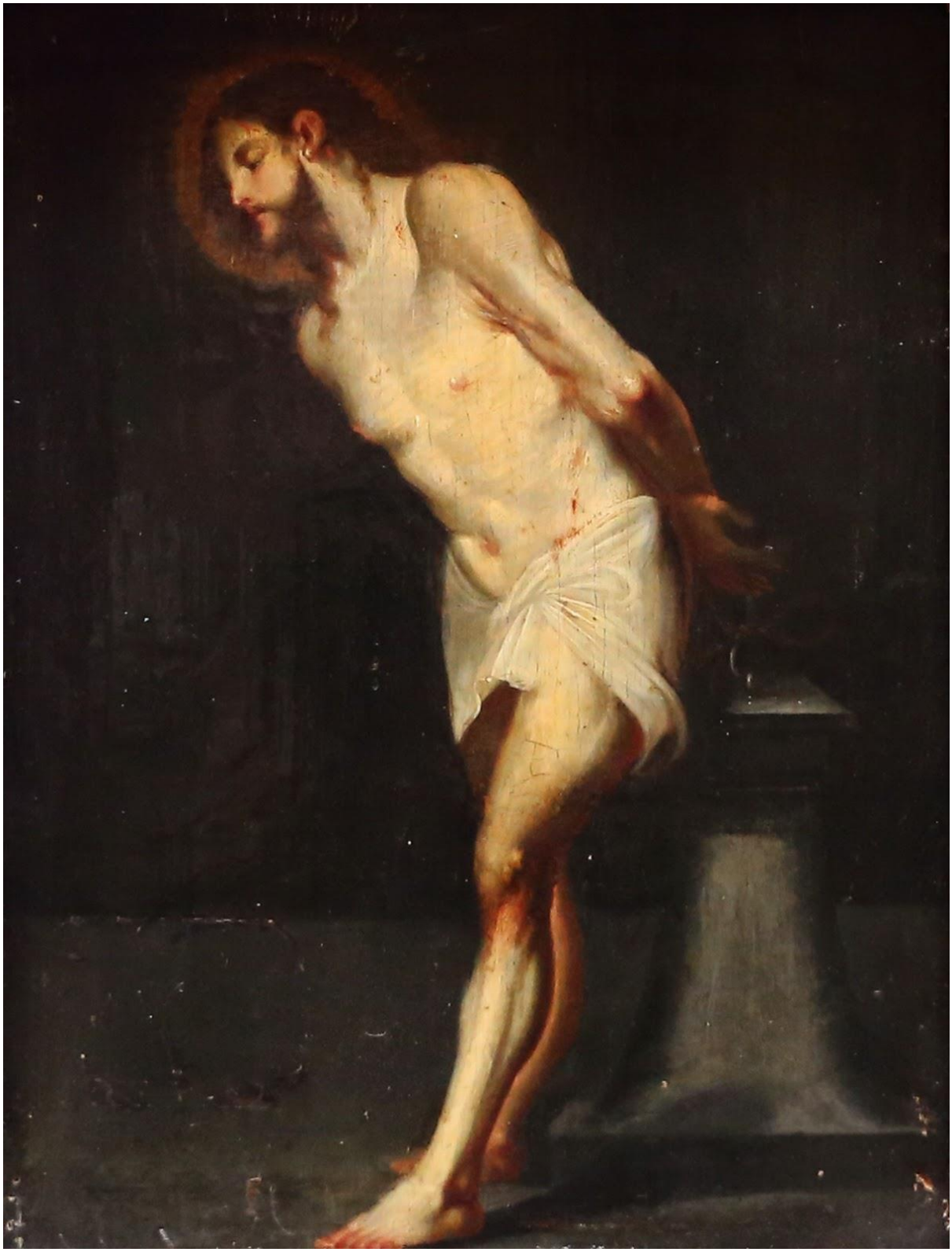

Fig.1.8. Gerard Seghers (1591 - 1651), *Christ at the Column,* before 1651, Oil on Copper, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Tournai.

Fig.1.9. Lucas Vorsterman I (1596 - 1675) *Christ at the Column,* after Gérard Seghers, Engraving, Print 378 mm x 276 mm. Royal Academy of Arts, London.

Fig.1.10. Gabriel Metsu, *A Self-Portrait,* Detail of Fig. 1.6.

Fig.1.11. Gabriel Metsu, *A Self-Portrait,* Detail of Fig. 1.6.

Fig.1.12. Gerrit Dou, *Self-Portrait*, 1665, Oil on Wood, 48.9 x 39.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum Art, New York.

Fig.1.13. Pieter Codde, *The Young Draughtsman*, 1630-35, Oil on Panel, 28 x 36.5 cm.

Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels.

Fig.1.14. Dirck Witting, *Young Artist, Drawing in his Studio,* 1640, Oil on Panel, 39 x 50 cm with the Art Dealer F. Stöcklin, Basel, 1942.

Fig.1.15. Pieter Potter, *Guardroom scene: Soldiers in a Guardroom Smoking and Playing Dice on a Drum*, Oil on Panel, 21x28.5 cm, Private Collection, Amsterdam.

Fig.1.16. Wallerant Vaillant, *Young Draughtsman Copying a Painting in a Studio*, 1658, Oil on Panel, 31.6 x 39.5 cm. London, Guildhall Art Gallery.

Fig.1.17. Simon Kick, *Artist in his Studio,* 1645–1650, Oil on Panel, 92 x 69.5 cm, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

Fig.1.18. Gabriel Metsu, *Interior of a Painter's Workshop with an Artist Painting a Woman holding a Viola da Gamba*, 1655, Oil on Canvas, 39.4 x 34.2 cm. Location Unknown.

Fig.1.19. Frans van Mieris the Elder I, *The Artist's Studio,* 1653-1657, Oil on Panel, 59.5 x 46 cm. Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden.

Fig.1.20. Johannes Vermeer, *The Art of Painting*, 1666–1669, Oil on Canvas, 120 cm × 100 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Fig.1.21. Michiel van Musscher, *The Artist in His Studio,* 1670, Oil on Canvas, 77 x 65.5 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 2.1. Diego Velázquez, *Las Meninas*, 1656, Oil on Canvas, 318 cm × 276 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Fig. 2.2. Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens, *The Sense of Sight,* 1617, Oil on Panel, 64.7 x 109.5cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Fig. 2.3. David Teniers, *The Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in his Painting Gallery in Brussels*, 1647-1651, Oil on Copper, 104.8 cm × 130.4 cm. Prado Museum, Madrid.

Fig. 2.4. Titian, *Venus with a Mirror*, c. 1555, Oil on Canvas, overall: 124.5 x 105.5 cm.

National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

Fig 2.5. Peter Paul Rubens, *Venus and Cupid*, ca. 1606 – 1611. Oil on canvas, 137 x 111 cm.

Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid. Inv. no. 350 (1957.5)

Fig. 2.6. Diego Velázquez, *The Toilet of Venus* (*The Rokeby Venus*), 1647-51, Oil on canvas, 122.5 x 177 cm. National Gallery, London.

Fig. 2.7. Titian, *Rape of Europa*, 1560–1562, Oil on canvas, 175 x 205cm Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.

Fig. 2.8. Peter Paul Rubens, *Rape of Europa*, Oil on Canvas, 181 x 200cm Museo Del Prado, Madrid.

Fig. 2.9. Diego Velázquez, *The Spinners* (*The Fable of Archane*), 1655, Oil on Canvas, 220 cm × 289 cm. (Original dimensions). Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Fig. 2.10. Peter Paul Rubens, *Minerva and Arachne*, Oil on Panel, 27 x 38cm Virginia Museum of Fine Arts Richmond.

Fig.2.11. Agostino Ardenti, Medal of Titian with Portrait of his Son Orazio, Bronze, 103 mm.

Bowdoin College Museum of Art Brunswick, Maine.

Fig. 2.12. Titian (Tiziano Vecellio), *Self-Portrait,* 1562. Oil on Canvas. 86 x 65 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Marid.

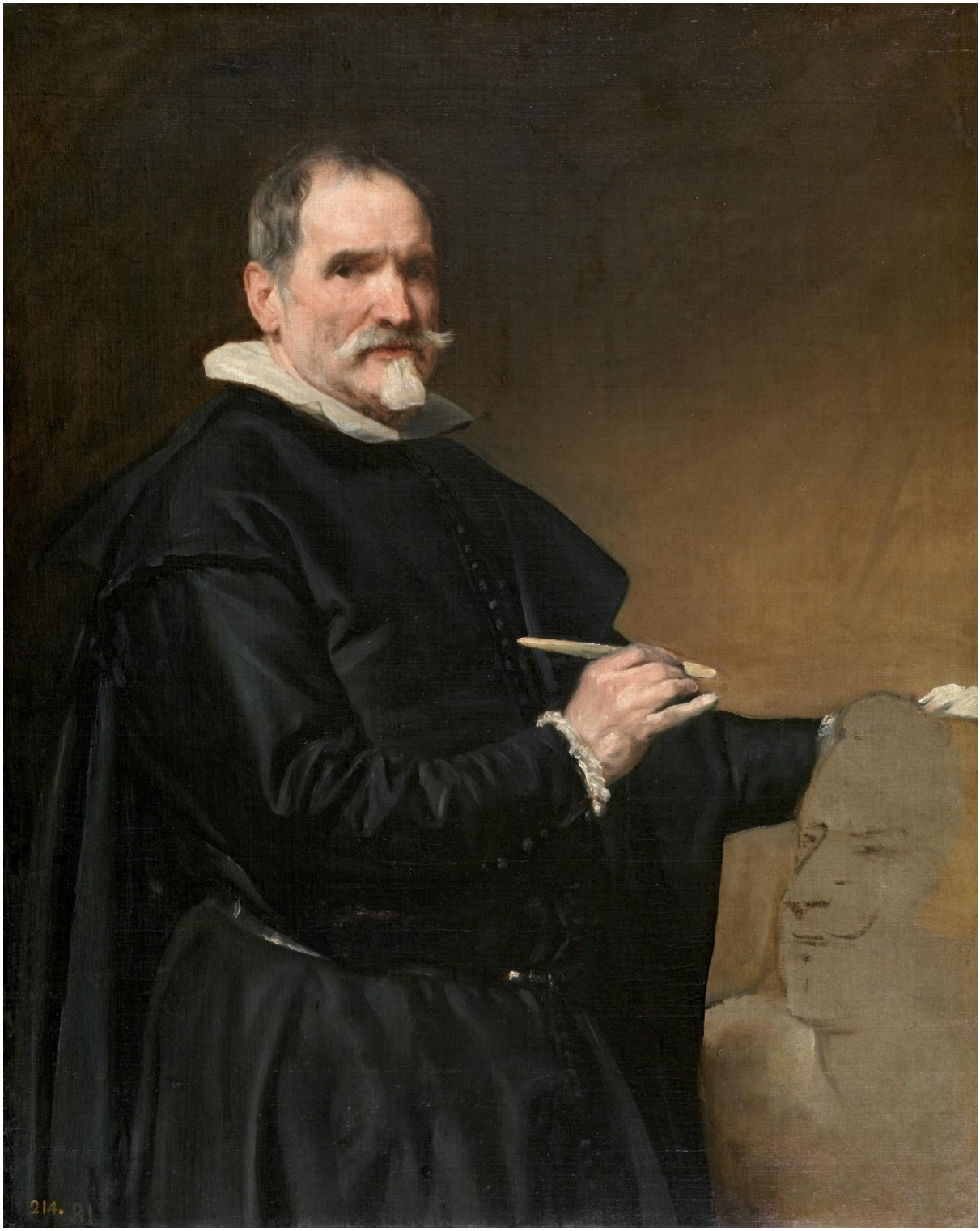

Fig. 2.13. Velázquez, *Juan Martínez Montañés*, 1635, oil on canvas, 109 x 88 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Marid.

Fig. 2.14. Orazio Borgianni, *Self-Portrait,* 1600 – 1610, Oil on Canvas, 95 x 71 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Marid.

Fig. 2.15. Jan van Eyck, *The Arnolfini Betrothal*, 1434, Oil on Oak panel of 3 Vertical Boards, 82.2 cm × 60 cm. National Gallery, London.

Fig. 2.16. Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo*, Las Meninas* (*The Handmaidens of the Infanta Margarita in the Household of Philip IV*) after Velázquez, between 1656 and 1657, Oil on Canvas. 142.2 x 121.9 cm. Kingston Lacy Estate, Dorset.

Fig. 2.17. Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, *The Artists Family*, between 1659 and 1660. Oil on Canvas, 150 x 172 cm. Kunsthistoriches Museum Vienna.

Fig. 2.18. Juan Bautista del Mazo, *Infanta Margarita Teresa in a Pink Dress*, 1665, Oil on Canvas, 212 cm × 147 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

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