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Picturing the Afro-Hispanic Struggle for Freedom in Early Modern Spain

In *The Calling of St Matthew* the Afro-Hispanic painter Juan de Pareja positioned his self-portrait against the backdrop of the local and transatlantic slave trades, the final expulsion of the Muslims between 1607 and 1614, and, the post-Tridentine mission of Christianization of enslaved Africans in early modern Spain.¹ I intend to explore the articulation of freedom from slavery in imperial Spain by concentrating on the construction of the visual voice of the ex-enslaved subject in the only self-depiction that we know of a freedman in the crowns of Castile and Aragón. I will therefore focus primarily on the ways in which the enslaved Pareja and the freedman Pareja confronted the ideological associations of the word “black” and “slave”, the paradoxical beliefs in the whitening of the soul of Africans and the policies of purity of blood.

Pareja was born c. 1606 in the city of Antequera, in the Province of Málaga, home to Africans mostly of Muslim origin from North Africa, especially after Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros’s conquest of Oran (Algeria) in 1509.² Furthermore, Málaga was the most important slave port in the Iberian Peninsula after Lisbon, Seville and Valencia. Pareja was the slave of Diego Velázquez (1599 -1660), painter to King Philip IV of Spain. He therefore lived

¹ The painting *The Calling of St Matthew* by Juan de Pareja is a very large oil on canvas (225 x 325 cm) and is kept in the Prado Museum in Madrid.

² María Dolores Torreblanca Roldán, *La redención de los cautivos malagueños en el Antiguo Régimen (Siglo XVIII)* (Málaga: Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 1998), p. 33; María Carmen Gómez García and Juan María Martín Vergara, *La esclavitud en Málaga entre los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Málaga: Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 1993), p. 77; and Raúl González Arévalo, *La esclavitud en Málaga a fines de la Edad Media* (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2006), pp. 20, 59, 457- 68.

and worked in Madrid at the Habsburg court until his death in 1670.³ Pareja was at the centre of political power in imperial Spain and he had a special relationship with his master. Velázquez trusted his slave to sign many legal documents as his witness, from 1634 to 1653 in Spain, and later in Rome, where both lived from 1649 to 1651,⁴ and where Velázquez decided to legally liberate his slave on 23 November 1650.⁵ Pareja's notarial document *Donatio Libertatis* notifies that Diego Velázquez, resident in Rome, granted freedom from captivity to his *schiauo Joannes de Parecha*. The Italian document clearly states that Pareja's freedom will be applicable in Spain. It specifies, following the formula traditional in most documents of manumission, that he should serve his master for another four years.⁶ In fact, when Velázquez died in 1660, Pareja became the "servant" of his master's son-in-law, the Court painter Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo (1605 - 1667) until his death. Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco in his art treatise *Museum Pictorium (El museo pictórico y escala óptica, 1715-1724)* recorded:

Pareja was so honourable as to continue not only to serve Velasquez, as long as he liv'd, but his Daughter after him.⁷

³ The document of Pareja's manumission from slavery, issued in Rome on 23 November 1650, disclosed his origins: see Jennifer Montagu, "Velázquez Marginalia: His Slave Juan de Pareja and his Illegitimate Son Antonio", *Burlington Magazine* 125 (1983), p. 684 and Carmen Fracchia, "Metamorphosis of the Self in Early Modern Spain: Slave Portraiture and the Case of Juan de Pareja", in Agnes Lugo-Ortiz and Angela Rosenthal (eds.), *Slave Portraiture in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 148- 150.

⁴ Ángel Aterido Fernández (ed.), *Corpus Velazqueño. Documentos y Textos* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2000), vol.1, pp. 100-101, 151, 182-85, 290, and Montagu, "Velázquez Marginalia", p. 684.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 684.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 684.

⁷ Palomino, English translation, "Life of Juan de Pareja", in Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *An Account of the Lives and Works of the Most Eminent Spanish Painters, Sculptors and Architects, and Where their Several Performances are to be Seen. Translated from the Museum Pictorium of Palomino Velasco* (London: printed for Sam. Harding, on the pavement in St. Martin's-Lane, 1739), p. 75. For the Spanish version, see Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, "Juan de Pareja", in *El Museo Pictórico y Escala Óptica (1715-24)* (Madrid: M. Aguilar, 1947), vol. 3, p. 961: "todo lo restante de su vida sirvió, no sólo a Velázquez [...] sino después a su hija, que casó con Don Juan Bautista del Mazo." See also Montagu, "Velázquez Marginalia", p. 684.

Manumission or legal freedom from slavery was uncommon in early modern Spain and the status of emancipated slaves was not the same as “that of a free born person”.⁸ Freedom from slavery could only be obtained either by documents of emancipation (*cartas de ahorrias* or *cartas de ahorros*) or by the expressed wish of the slave’s owner in the latter’s will. Since the economic cost of liberation was greater than the purchase price of a slave, a document of freedom would mainly be obtained with the help of the slave’s own family. Captive Moors from Granada, Málaga and from North Africa were successful in this endeavour, but not slaves from Sub-Saharan Africa, Native Americans from the New World or slaves from the Canary Islands.⁹

In Rome, between July 1649 and 19 March 1650, Velázquez also painted Pareja, before he liberated his slave.¹⁰ Palomino gave an account of the origin of the portrait *Juan de Pareja*:

When it was decided that Velázquez should make a portrait of the Sovereign Pontiff [Innocent X], he wanted to prepare himself beforehand with the exercise of painting a head from life; and he made one of Juan de Pareja, his slave and a painter himself, with such likeness and liveliness that when he sent it with Pareja for the criticism of some friends, they stood looking at the painted portrait and the model with admiration and amazement, not knowing which one they should speak to and which was to answer them.¹¹

⁸ Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada del siglo XVI: género, raza y religión* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, Diputación Provincial de Granada, 2000), pp. 435-69.

⁹ José Luis Cortés López, *La esclavitud negra en la España peninsular del siglo XVI* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1989), pp.140-52; Alfonso Franco Silva, *La esclavitud en Sevilla y su tierra a fines de la Edad Media* (Seville: Gráficas del Sur, 1979), pp. 243-46; Manuel Lucena Salmoral, *Regulación de la esclavitud negra en las colonias de América Española (1503-1886): Documentos para su estudio* (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá and Universidad de Murcia, 2005), pp. 26-28, 52-54; and, William D. Phillips, Jr., *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), pp. 122-45.

¹⁰ Velázquez returned to Rome from Naples in July 1649 and exhibited the *Juan de Pareja* portrait on 19 March 1650: see José López Rey, *Velázquez: A Catalogue Raisonné of his Oeuvre* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), pp. 174, 176, 180.

¹¹ Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, “Life of Velázquez”, trans. from Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *El Museo Pictórico y Escala Óptica (1715-24)*, 3 vols (Madrid: M. Aguilar, 1947), in Enriqueta Harris, *Velázquez* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1982), vol. 3, p. 209.

Velázquez exhibited this portrait on 19 March 1650 at the Roman Pantheon, where the Renaissance master Raphael is buried, and it had an outstanding success:

Of this portrait (which is half-length, from life) a story is related by Andreas Schmidt, a Flemish painter now at the Spanish court, who was in Rome at the time. In accordance with the custom of decorating the cloister of the Rotunda (where Raphael of Urbino is buried) on Saint Joseph's day [19 March], with famous paintings, ancient and modern, this portrait was exhibited. It gained such universal applause that in the opinion of all the painters of the different nations everything else seemed like painting but this alone like truth. In view of this Velázquez was received as Roman Academician in the year 1650.¹²

Velázquez portrayed Pareja with a powerful expression of pride before he was made free from slavery, even though Pareja could not have been depicted as a gentleman, since his social reality as a slave would not have qualified him as an individual worthy to be portrayed for posterity. Nor could he be painted as a painter, since only a free man could be an artist.¹³

Velázquez's depiction of his slave shows that he was in tune with the early modern Spanish belief that the physical appearance of blackness was a signifier of the specific social condition of slavery.¹⁴ So was Palomino when he defined Pareja as "of *mestizo* breed and strange color" in the biography he dedicated to him in the first part of the eighteenth century.¹⁵ The word "black" designated a diversity of ethnic backgrounds and included groups of people mainly from sub-Saharan Africa, Berbers, Iberian Muslims, and to a lesser

¹² Palomino, "Life of Velázquez", pp. 209-10.

¹³ Fracchia, "Metamorphosis of the Self in Early Modern Spain", pp. 146-69.

¹⁴ Aurelia Martín Casares, "Free and Freed Black Africans in Granada in the time of the Spanish Renaissance", in Thomas F. Earle and Kate J. P. Lowe (eds.), *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 252 and Carmen Fracchia, "The Urban Slave in Spain and New Spain", in Elizabeth McGrath and Jean Michel Massing (eds.), *The Slave in European Art: From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem*. The Warburg Colloquia Series, vol. 20 (London and Turin: The Warburg Institute and Nino Aragno Ed., 2012), p. 204.

¹⁵ Palomino, English translation, "Life of Juan de Pareja", p. 73. For the original version, see Palomino, "Juan de Pareja", p. 960: "de generación mestizo, y de color extraño".

extent Jews.¹⁶ The classification of blackness found in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documents from Málaga, the region where Pareja was born, shows how the term “black” generated a range of arbitrary and contradictory colour classifications regardless of the person’s origins: black (*negro*); dark (*moreno*); somewhat dark (*moreno claro*); quince (*membrillo*); cooked quince (*membrillo cocho*); light cooked quince (*membrillo cocho claro*); dark cooked quince (*membrillo cocho oscuro*); light wheat (*trigueño claro*); dark wheat (*trigueño oscuro*); wheat (*trigueño*); blond (*rubio*); pink or rosy (*rosa*); with a black skin or with black hair (*pelí negro*); and, good colour (*buen color*).¹⁷

Documentary, critical and visual evidence shows that Pareja was already an independent visual artist before his manumission. The recent restoration of two paintings in the Hermitage revealed Pareja’s signature: on the back of the canvas of the *Portrait of a Gentleman of the Order of Santiago*, possibly dated in the 1630s, well before his legal freedom from slavery, and on the work *Portrait of a Capuchin Provincial* dated 1651, one year after his manumission.¹⁸ Pareja’s career as an independent artist goes against the theoretical belief that painting as a liberal or intellectual art could only be practised by free men, according to the premises set up since antiquity. However, new documents also reveal that Pareja was not an exception since economic considerations allowed the presence of slaves or freedmen in the artistic workshops of early modern Spain:¹⁹ the records reveal

¹⁶ Gómez García and Martín Vergara, *La esclavitud en Málaga*, pp. 28-31.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁸ Ludmila Kagané, *La pintura española del Museo del Ermitage. Siglos XV al XIX* (Seville: Fundación del Monte, 2005), pp. 94, 160, 318, 322, 410, 477.

¹⁹ Julián Gállego, *El pintor, de artesano a artista* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1976), p. 85 and Luis Méndez Rodríguez, “Gremio y esclavitud en la pintura sevillana del Siglo de

that slaves and ex-slaves were artisans, painters, sculptors, and silversmiths. In addition to mechanical activities, Afro-Hispanic people sold their master's work in the street or they mass-produced paintings to be sent to the New World, or else they were trained as craftsmen in the owners' workshops.²⁰

Palomino singled out Pareja's portraits for praise. He pointed to the portrait of *The Architect José Ratés Dalmau* (c. 1665-70):

Our Pareja had in particular a most singular talent for portraits, of which I have seen some that are most excellent, such as the one of José Ratés (Architect in this Court), in which one recognizes totally the manner of Velázquez, so that many believe it to be his.²¹

In 1957, Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño recorded Pareja's lost and surviving religious compositions and portraits.²² The whereabouts of almost 20 paintings by the artist out of the 30 recently identified by María del Mar Doval Trueba are still unknown,²³ such as the *Portrait of Philip IV* and several portraits of unidentified subjects, such as: *Bust-length Portrait of a Gentleman*, portraits of a *Boy*, a *Man*, a *Cleric*, a *Knight*, and a *Lady Wearing a Nun's*

Oro", *Archivo Hispalense* 84, n. 256-257 (2001), pp. 243-56. The most notable seventeenth-century slave-owners were the painters and art theorists Vicente Carducho (c.1576-1638) and Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644). The painter Bartolomé Estéban Murillo (1617-1682) also had a slave, who became an independent painter: the Granada-born mixed race Sebastián Gómez known as *El Mulato* (1646-1682).

²⁰ Palomino describes Pareja's mechanical activities suited to a slave: "to grind his [Velázquez's] Colours and prepare the Canvas, and other servile Offices belonging to the Art and about the House". Palomino, English translation, "Life of Juan de Pareja", p. 73. For the Spanish version, see "Juan de Pareja", p. 960: "moler colores, y aparejar algún lienzo, y otras cosas ministeriales del arte, y de la casa."

²¹ Palomino, English translation, "Life of Juan de Pareja", p. 75. For the original version, see Palomino, "Juan de Pareja", p. 961: "Tuvo especialmente nuestro Pareja singularísima habilidad para retratos, de los cuales yo he visto algunos muy excelentes, como el de José Ratés (Arquitecto en esta Corte) en que se conoce totalmente la manera de Velázquez, de suerte, que muchos lo juzgan suyo." See also María del Mar Doval Trueba, *Los "velazqueños": pintores que trabajaron en el taller de Velázquez*, Doctoral thesis (Madrid, Universidad Complutense, 24 March 2000), pp. 236-37. The portrait *José Ratés* is in the Museo de Bellas Artes, in Valencia.

²² Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, "Revisiones sexcentistas: Juan de Pareja", *Archivo Español de Arte* 30 (1957), pp. 271-85 and Carmen Fracchia, "The Fall into Oblivion of the Works of the Slave Painter Juan de Pareja", translated by Hilary Macartney, *Art In Translation* 4.2 (June 2012), pp. 168-70

²³ Doval Trueba, *Los "velazqueños"*, pp. 238- 41.

Habit. There are also religious paintings under this category: the *Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple*, *The Annunciation*, *The Visitation*, a *St Barbara* signed by Pareja, and the four pictures which the traveller Antonio Ponz saw in 1776 in the Augustinian Monastery of los Recoletos in Madrid: *St John the Evangelist*, *St John the Baptist*, *St Orentius*, and the *Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico*.²⁴ Other paintings noted by Gaya Nuño are the *Battle of the Hebrews and the Canaanites* in the University of Saragossa — recently attributed to the painter Matías de Torres on stylistic grounds, even though the inscription on a label on the back reads “Juan de Pareja (the mulatto) / year 1660–1 / author of the *Calling of St Matthew* in Seville”.²⁵ It is also accepted that the portrait of the playwright *Agustín Moreto y Cabañas* in the Museo Lázaro Galdiano in Madrid, attributed to Pareja, probably dates from the 1650s, therefore this is one of his earliest portrait we know by the artist.²⁶ Other paintings attributed to the Andalusian artist are the portraits of *Don Martín de Leyva* and *Don Alonso de Mora y Villalta* in the Hispanic Society of America in New York.²⁷ The Pareja’s surviving works that are signed and

²⁴ Antonio Ponz, *Viaje de España en que se da noticia de las cosas más apreciables, y dignas de saberse, que hay en ella* (Madrid: D. Joaquín Ibarra, Impresor, 1776), vol. 5, p. 55 and Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España* (Madrid: Imprenta Viuda de Ibarra, 1800), vol. 4, p. 52. Doval Trueba, *Los "velazqueños"*, pp. 239-40, does not mention Ponz.

²⁵ Gaya Nuño, “Revisiones sexcentistas: Juan de Pareja”, p. 280: the inscription in the painting *Battle of the Hebrews and the Canaanites* reads: “Juan de Pareja (el mulato) / año 1660–1 / autor de la *Vocación de San Mateo* de Sevilla”. The oil on canvas belongs to the Prado Museum and it was originally in the Museo de la Trinidad. Pareja’s painting has been attributed to Matías de Torres (Aguilar de Campoo, Palencia, 1635- Madrid, 1711) by José María Quesada, “Perspectivas y batallas de Francisco Gutiérrez y Matías de Torres”, in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, 79 (1994), pp. 278-82.

²⁶ The portrait *Agustín Moreto y Cabañas* was first attributed to Pareja by José Camón Aznar, *La pintura española del siglo XVII*, Summa Artis, 25 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1978), pp. 390-92. Doval Trueba, *Los "velazqueños"*, p. 238.

²⁷ Doval Trueba, *Los "velazqueños"*, pp. 237-38: the inscription on the canvas portraying *Don Alonso de Mora y Villalta* reads: *Alonso de Mora / y Villalta Nat. de Malaga / Cauallero de el Orden / de Santiago*.

dated are: *The Flight into Egypt* (1658)²⁸; *The Calling of St Matthew* (1661), three versions of the *Immaculate Conception*,²⁹ the *Baptism of Christ* (1667),³⁰ *The Last Communion of St Mary of Egypt*,³¹ and, the *Mystic Marriage of St Catherine* (1669), executed a year before his death.³²

It is significant that Pareja's devotional work shows his engagement with post-Tridentine Catholic theology and the key narratives promoted for the conversion and catechism of African slaves and freedmen in Spain and in the New World, as we shall see.

In *The Calling of St Matthew*, Pareja decided to represent himself.³³ Nothing is known about Pareja's client or the functions of this hugely ambitious oil painting on canvas, measuring over three metres in length. It was first mentioned in the royal inventory of the La Granja Palace in the collection of Queen Elizabeth Farnese (1692 – 1766), wife of King Philip V of Spain (1683-1746). This painting was inherited by their heir King Charles III of Spain (1716 – 1788), who had it displayed in his dressing room in the royal palace of Aranjuez, south of Madrid.³⁴ This work was first recorded in 1800 by

²⁸ Pareja's *The Flight into Egypt*, oil on canvas, is in Sarasota, Florida, Bequest of John Ringling, Collection of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, the State Museum of Florida John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art: see Gaya Nuño, "Revisión sexcentista: Juan de Pareja", p. 276 and Anthony F. Janson, ed., *Great Paintings from the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art* (New York: The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, 1986), p. 113. Doval Trueba, *Los "velazqueños"*, p. 234.

²⁹ René Jesús Pavo Hernanz, "Una Inmaculada de Juan de Pareja", in *Archivo Español de Arte* (2013), vol. 86, n. 341, pp. 60-64.

³⁰ *The Baptism of Christ* by Juan de Pareja is also a very large oil on canvas that was originally in the Museo de la Trinidad and now belongs to the Museo de Huesca, but is stored in the Prado Museum in Madrid. Doval Trueba, *Los "velazqueños"*, pp. 234-35.

³¹ Doval Trueba, *Los "velazqueños"*, p. 236: this painting is signed and belongs to a private collection.

³² Pareja's painting is in the parish church of Santa Olaja de Eslonza, in the province of León. I would like to thank Dr José Antonio Díaz Rojo, then Director of the Instituto de Historia de la Ciencia y Documentación López Piñero (IHCD), Centro mixto de la Universitat de València y del CSIC (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas) in Valencia, for this information.

³³ For a detailed visual analysis of *The Calling of St Matthew*, see Fracchia, "Metamorphosis of the Self in Early Modern Spain", pp. 146-69.

³⁴ Pedro de Madrazo, *Catálogo descriptivo e histórico del Museo del Prado de Madrid. Escuelas Italianas y Españolas* (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1872), p. 513. See also Aterido

Agustin Ceán Bermúdez in his *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes de España*.³⁵ Pareja's painting is now in the store of the Prado Museum in Madrid; it is therefore still invisible to the general public, except for two occasions when it was temporary shown at the museum.³⁶

In the painting, Pareja is the only figure that is looking straight at the viewer, while all the other characters are involved in the religious event of the calling of St Matthew. The chosen narrative is an episode related in the Gospel of Matthew (9: 9): "Jesus saw a man called Matthew at his seat in the custom house, and said to him, 'Follow me', and Matthew rose and followed him".³⁷ Matthew is seated in front of the column at his desk and he is looking towards Christ with a surprised expression and pointing to himself in wonder at his call to follow him. On the right, Pareja sets the figures of Christ and a group of apostles, who are distinguishable from the third follower by the white divine light of grace above their heads, while on the left, tax officials and members of the public are gathered at a table. Pareja inserts himself next to another man who is looking outside the picture and they are both standing behind the elegant client sitting at the corner of the table, viewed in profile and from behind. In the space of Matthew's tax office, a great wealth of material culture is displayed, including the oriental carpet that unusually covers the table, coins, jewels, sheets of paper, books, urns, and a picture that hangs on

Fernández, ed., *Corpus Velazqueño*, vol. 2, p. 670.

³⁵ Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico*, p. 52 and Doval Trueba, *Los "velazqueños"*, p. 235.

³⁶ *The Calling of St Matthew* by Pareja was shown twice to the general public in the Prado Museum: from October 2004 to February 2005, in the exhibition *The Spanish Portrait: From El Greco to Picasso* and during the same period in 2012, Pareja's work replaced Herrera el Mozo's painting *Apotheosis of Saint Hermenegildo* during its restoration.

³⁷ *The Holy Bible, English New Revised Version: with Illustrations from the Vatican Library* (London: HarperCollins, 1996).

the wall in the background, depicting *Moses and the Brazen Serpent*. Below this painting and between Matthew and the bespectacled bookkeeper is a young page holding a large folio volume and behind him are four figures. The one standing by the column is the only visibly black man of the composition who is behind and above Matthew's head, with his face illuminated by the white divine light of grace, which crowns the apostle's turban.

I would argue that in this work Pareja also codified the collective identity of Africans and their struggle for freedom in the crowns of Castile and Aragón. In 1661, one year after his master's death and eleven years after his manumission from slavery in the city of Rome, Juan de Pareja inserts himself at the extreme left margin of his composition, beneath the window with his head against a halo-like golden plate. He portrays himself as a contemporary white Spanish gentleman with his sword and he makes sure that his audience is aware of his authorship by holding a piece of paper where he has signed and dated: "Juan de Pareja F[ecit].1661." The view Pareja has of himself substantially differs from the view his master had of his slave, although Pareja follows Velázquez's subversion in depicting a slave as a human being and as a subject. Pareja even has in mind his master's self-portrait as a nobleman and member of the Order of Santiago in *Las Meninas* (1656), and the place his ex-master occupies in his huge canvas peopled by members of the Habsburg monarchy.³⁸ While Velázquez is depicted in the act of painting, Pareja does not represent himself as a painter engaged in manual activity. Instead, he chooses to embed himself as a Spanish nobleman in the context of a complex religious narrative. This is an interesting choice not only because

³⁸ Fracchia, "Metamorphosis of the Self in Early Modern Spain", pp.153-35.

the latter had to defy the perception that slaves were confined to mechanical activities, but also because in Spain, the liberal arts were still considered a manual activity until the end of the seventeenth century.³⁹

When Velázquez depicted him as a proud mixed race nobleman, he was still a slave but eleven years later, when Pareja fashioned himself with Europeanized features as a Spanish nobleman, he was a freedman. Pareja could however have depicted himself as a mixed race man following Velázquez's example in his *Kitchen Maid with Supper at Emmaus* since he re-appropriated his master's juxtaposition of the image of a slave at her workplace with a sacred scene in the background.⁴⁰ Pareja's problem was that the colour of his skin would have signified his previous condition and it would not have conveyed his freedom from slavery. The association of the terms "black" and "slave" created serious problems as the 1566 document from a widow in Granada, who donated her estate to two free siblings of African origin, testifies:

The colour of their faces gives rise to the suspicion that they are slaves, but I say they have never been but free people.⁴¹

Pareja had to find a visual devise to convey his freedom from slavery. He would certainly have been aware of the notion in early modern Spain of the conversion of Africans and the whitening of their souls by the transformative powers of the sacrament of baptism. I believe that Pareja, in fact, made use of

³⁹ Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, "El retrato clásico español", in Fundación Amigos del Museo del Prado (ed.), *El Retrato*, (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2004), p. 228.

⁴⁰ Fracchia, "Metamorphosis of the Self in Early Modern Spain", pp.160-61.

⁴¹ Martín Casares, "Free and Freed Black Africans in Granada in the time of the Spanish Renaissance", p. 252 and Philips, Jr., *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, pp. 144-45.

the deep belief in the whitening of the soul and its visualization in early modern Europe to fashion himself.

It is significant that Velázquez's *Kitchen Maid with Supper at Emmaus* probably belonged to the Archbishop of Seville, Pedro Castro y Quiñones, who published his *Instructions for Remedying and Ensuring that None of the Blacks Is Lacking in Sacred Baptism* in 1614 to promote the baptism of Africans in Seville.⁴² This mission was in perfect agreement with the belief in the universality of the Catholic Counter-Reformation Church and in its evangelical charitable mission.⁴³ Needless to say that when Castro was writing this treatise, Velázquez's father-in law, the painter and art writer Francisco Pacheco, was collaborating with the Archbishop in championing the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in Seville, the subject of at least three of Pareja's paintings.⁴⁴ Castro's arguments also affected Velázquez's parents in their decision to baptize their slave's daughter in 1621.⁴⁵ His work had a great influence on the 1627 *Treatise on Slavery (De instauranda Aethiopum Salute, 1627)* by his friend the Jesuit Alonso de Sandoval from Seville. The latter personally promoted the baptism of African slaves in Cartagena de Indias in the Viceroyalty of New Granada (Colombia) between 1605 and his death in 1652.⁴⁶ In the frontispiece of his 1647 edition, on either side of the *Adoration of the Magi* at the top of the engraving, there is an image of the

⁴² Pedro de Castro y Quiñones, *Instrucción para remediar, y asegurar ... que ninguno de los Negros ... carezca del sagrado Baptismo* (Seville: Alonso Rodríguez Gamarra, 1614). See Francisco de Borja Medina, "La experiencia sevillana de la Compañía de Jesús en la evangelización de los esclavos negros y su representación en América", in Aurelia Martín Casares and Margarita García Barranco (eds.), *La esclavitud negroafricana en la Historia de España. Siglos XVI y XVII* (Granada: Comares, 2010), pp. 85-88.

⁴³ Borja Medina, "La experiencia sevillana de la Compañía de Jesús en la evangelización de los esclavos negros y su representación en América", pp. 75-94.

⁴⁴ Tanya J. Tiffany, "Light, Darkness, and African Salvation: Velázquez's Supper at Emmaus", *Art History* 31 (February 2008), p. 42.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-46, nn. 58, 60.

collective *Baptism of Africans*. The neophytes are not black but they are rendered as white Europeans.⁴⁷ Sandoval stated that baptism was a sacrament intended for the inner whitening of all humans and that one of its effects is the erasure of blackness:

although they [slaves] are black to the eye, they can have the innocence and whiteness that Christ's blood gives to one who is washed in it.⁴⁸

Sandoval also promoted the cult of "Ethiopian saints" as "models of black sanctity" to the Afro-Hispanic enslaved and liberated. There is no doubt that Pareja was familiar with these images displayed in the black confraternities of Seville, where he visited with his master. Velázquez was born in this cosmopolitan slave centre and lived there until 1623 before he moved to the Habsburg court. The most popular black saints were Princess St Iphigenia, who was baptized by St Matthew⁴⁹ and St Eslabaan, King of Ethiopia,⁵⁰ and above all St Benedict of Palermo. A slave from Spanish Sicily (1526-89) and the son of Christianized African slaves, he was a Franciscan lay brother and was considered the first black European saint, even before he

⁴⁷ Victor I. Stoichita, "La imagen del hombre de raza negra en el arte y la literatura españolas del Siglo de Oro", pp. 259-90, and his chapter "The Image of the Black in Spanish Art", in David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (eds.), *The Image of the Black in Western Art: From the "Age of Discovery" to the Age of Abolition: Artists of the Renaissance and Baroque*, 3, part 1 (Cambridge, Mass., London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 225-26, 228-29, 232-34.

⁴⁸ This quotation is cited in English in Tiffany, "Light, Darkness, and African Salvation", p. 44. See also pp. 41-46. See Alonso de Sandoval, *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud (De instauranda Aethiopum salute)* (1627), ed. Enriqueta Vila Villar (Madrid: Alianza, 1987), p. 53: "aunque a la vista son negros, pueden tener la candidez y blancura, que dà la sangre de Christo a quien se lava con ella".

⁴⁹ Rafael Castañeda García, "Devociones y construcción de identidades entre los negros y mulatos de la Nueva España (s. XVIII)", in *Memoria del VI Encuentro Internacional sobre el Barroco. Imagen del Poder* (La Paz: Visión Cultural, 2012), p. 242. See also Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. and adapted by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1941), pp. 561-66.

⁵⁰ Castañeda García, "Devociones y construcción de identidades entre los negros y mulatos de la Nueva España (s. XVIII)", p. 241.

was beatified later in 1643 and canonized in 1807.⁵¹ Benedict was known during his lifetime as “The Holy Black” and soon after his death (4 April 1589) and especially from 1606, following the arrival of his relics in the crowns of Castile and Aragón, he was adopted as the patron saint of black slaves not only in Spain, but also in Portugal and in the New World.⁵² The cult of saints was promoted by the Council of Trent (1545-63). It was inseparable from the liturgy and feasts of saints and it gave a sense of social continuity and corporal identity to members of the same confraternity.⁵³ In fact, a proliferation of penitential confraternities in Spain took place after the reforms initiated by the Council, which passed legislation to inspect the religious and financial activities of these institutions.⁵⁴ Black brotherhoods were founded with the dedication to black patron saints, such as St Benedict of Palermo or St Iphigenia of Ethiopia, and mixed-race confraternities were dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary, a cult promoted by the Dominicans in 1571, after the Spanish victory over the Moors at Lepanto.

Pareja might have also been aware of the whitening of an African man in the popular prints of the *Baptism of the Ethiopian by Saint Philip*, where the only clue to the ethnicity of the African neophyte was to be found in the written inscription below the images, as in the engraving of this same subject by

⁵¹ Isidoro Moreno, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla: Etnicidad, poder y sociedad en 600 años de Historia* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1997), p. 120.

⁵² Nelson H. Minnich, “The Catholic Church and the Pastoral Care of Black Africans in Renaissance Italy”, in Thomas F. Earle and Kate J. P. Lowe (eds.), *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, p. 299 and Joaneath Spicer, “Free Men and Women of African Ancestry in Renaissance Europe”, in Joaneath Spicer (ed.), *Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe* (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2013), p. 85.

⁵³ Moreno, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla*, p. 65.

⁵⁴ Susan Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 23-4,48. See *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, translated by H. J. Schroeder (St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder Book Co., 1950), Session 22, p. 157. See also Maureen Flynn, *Sacred Charity*, pp. 116-19.

Michel Lasne: “You are not washing the Ethiopian in vain. Do not stop. The water poured by the priest can illuminate the black night”.⁵⁵ Sandoval included in his list of Ethiopian saints the African neophyte baptized by Saint Philip. He was the eunuch prime minister of Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians, and when St Matthew, subject of Pareja’s painting, went to Ethiopia, he stayed at the minister’s house.⁵⁶

In *The Calling of St Matthew*, the spiritual legitimization of the process of self-whitening or the Europeanization of African features gives a clear signal of the new status of a freedman in early modern Spain and his struggle. Pareja’s transformation, which subverts the genre of portraiture, does not disguise his attachment to his collective African past. This is evident in the visual and conceptual relations that the artist establishes between Matthew and Moses and between Christ and the nobleman Pareja. Matthew, the apostle of Ethiopia, considered the first Christian nation, became one of the four evangelists and he is positioned between Moses and Christ. Matthew is seen as the instrument of Christ’s liberation in Ethiopia. Moses is presented as a liberator of the enslaved Jews from Egypt where Matthew also preached and in accordance with Catholic doctrine he also represents Moses as the precursor of Christ as the liberator of Humanity.⁵⁷ Moses prayed for his people and on God’s command he made a serpent of brass, which he fixed to the top of a pole. All those who gazed on it were safe from the poisonous snakes (Numbers 21: 4-9). This story foretold the healing effect of Christ’s

⁵⁵ Jean Michel Massing, “From Greek Proverb to Soap Advert: Washing the Ethiopian”, *Journal of the Warburg and the Courtauld Institutes*, 58 (1995), pp. 188–91.

⁵⁶ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), vol. 2, p.184: “was given hospitality by the eunuch of Queen Candace, whom Philip had baptized.”

⁵⁷ Fracchia, “Metamorphosis of the Self in Early Modern Spain”, pp. 159-60.

death and resurrection. In the New Testament, John the Evangelist (3: 13-15) explains that as the Israelites were saved by looking at the bronze serpent at the top of the pole, so all those who gaze at Christ on the cross will be saved and enjoy eternal life. Not only does Pareja depict Moses and Christ as wearing the same robes and colours, but he also positions himself at the other end of the table, mirroring Christ, and in this way refers to himself as a biblical Ethiopian and subsequently as a free man. Thus, Pareja makes it clear to his audience that he himself belongs to the first Christian nation, which became the first source for “old Christians” before Spain. Pareja’s self-portrait also defies the core of the imperial policy of purity of blood that excluded “new Christians” (*Moriscos* and *Conversos*, Muslims and Jews converted to Christianity), Jews, Muslims, and black people in terms of their lack of purity of faith and therefore from economic and political power.⁵⁸ Thus, Pareja implies that biblical Ethiopians are older and purer than the orthodox Christians of Spain. We have also to bear in mind that a correlation between “blackness” and unorthodox Christianity was reinforced by the tribunal of the Inquisition. This institution defended the purity of the Catholic faith that, in law, was equated, after the middle of the sixteenth century, with purity of lineage or blood.⁵⁹ The main targets of the Inquisition were the “new Christians” who “were suspected of having covertly returned to their old beliefs”, the marginal and the foreign, including enslaved and liberated Afro-Hispanics. In the list of the 309 people condemned to death at the royal prison in Seville, from 1578 to 1616, provided by the preacher the Jesuit Pedro de León, Mary Perry

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁵⁹ Jeanette Favrot Peterson, “Perceiving Blackness, Envisioning Power: Chalma and Black Christs in Colonial Mexico”, in Dana Leibsohn and Jeanette Favrot Peterson (eds.), *Seeing Across Cultures in the Early Modern World* (Farnham and Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2012), p. 50.

identified “one was a gypsy, 17 were foreigners and 42 were *moriscos* (Christianised Moors), negroes and mulattoes.”⁶⁰

Even if baptism had the power to whiten the soul, this sacrament did not remove the stigma of slavery and did not improve the social condition of Afro-Hispanic slaves, freedmen and freedwomen. The established association that existed between the early modern social condition of chattel slavery, the identity of “new Christians” and the non-white skin colour of the Afro-Hispanic people, made sure that the latter group, even after their emancipation, could never escape their marginal position. Thus, in my opinion, the baptized and Europeanized freedman Pareja in *The Calling of St Matthew* chooses to articulate his attachment to his Christian African past, primarily to differentiate himself from black Muslims, especially after their final expulsion from Spain by 1614. However, I would also like to propose that in his painting Pareja shared and codified the painful and ambivalent experiences of the enslaved and liberated Afro-Hispanics in the crowns of Castile and Aragón. Their exclusion from membership of the city’s guilds and from religious confraternities, and the social restrictions which Africans suffered,⁶¹ partly prompted the

⁶⁰ Pedro de León, “Apéndice primero a la segunda parte del compendio en el cual se pone la lista de los ajusticiados que el Padre Pedro de León de la compañía de Jesús ha ayudado a bien morir desde el año de mil y quinientos y setenta y ocho” in Pedro Herrera Puga (ed.), *Grandeza y Miseria en Andalucía: Testimonio de una encrucijada histórica (1578 – 1616)* (Granada: Facultad de Teología, 1981), pp. 393-600. The full title of León’s work is *Compendio de algunas experiencias en los ministerios de que usa la Compañía de Jesús, con que prácticamente se muestra con algunos acontecimientos y documentos el buen acierto en ellos, por orden de los superiores, por el Padre Pedro de León, de la misma Compañía*. See also Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Crime and Society in Early Modern Seville* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1980), pp. 67, 83. I am extremely grateful to Mairi Macdonald for this reference.

⁶¹ Ruth Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century* (London and Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), p. 181: only a limited number of enslaved and liberated Africans could gather in “taverns, inns, and cheap restaurants” and they were not allowed to carry arms unless “in the performance of their regular duties” or when they were with their masters. See also Martín Casares, “Free and Freed Black Africans in Granada in the Time of the Spanish Renaissance”, p. 256.

foundation of exclusively black and mixed-race confraternities mainly by freedmen in Spanish urban centres.⁶² The exclusion of Africans is clearly articulated in most of the confraternities' regulations "regarding the qualities that those who want to become our brothers must have" in Seville, the most important slave city of the crown of Castile.⁶³ The 1691 rules of Confraternity of Cristo de la Expiración y María Santísima del Patrocinio are a clear example:

We command that the Persons who might become Brothers of this Confraternity be good Christians and not Moors, Jews, Mulattoes, nor Slaves, not those newly converted to our holy faith, nor the sons of such [persons], nor still less condemned to shameful penalties by the Court, nor Indians, but honorable People of good reputation lifestyle and habits [about] whom information is collected by the Officials of our Confraternity [and] about whom we search our consciences.⁶⁴

The oldest black confraternity in the western world run by black freedmen in Seville was dedicated to Our Lady of the Kings.⁶⁵ This referred to the Magi, and 6 January, day of the Epiphany, was the congregation's most important festivity, also because on this occasion their members nominated their own King.⁶⁶ This institution for liberated slaves was legally formalized at the end of the fourteenth century by Cardinal-Archbishop Gonzalo de Mena y Roelas of

⁶²Isidoro Moreno, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla*; Maureen Flynn, *Sacred Charity: Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400-1700* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989); Debra Blumenthal, "La Casa dels Negres': Black African Solidarity in Late Medieval Valencia", in Thomas F. Earle and Kate J. P. Lowe (eds.), *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, pp. 225- 46.

⁶³ Moreno, *Cofradías y Hermandades andaluzas: estructura, simbolismo e identidad* (Seville: Editoriales Andaluzas Unidas, 1985), p. 5.

⁶⁴ This quotation is from Susan Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*, p. 39.

⁶⁵ Moreno, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla*, pp. 51-52.

⁶⁶ The African Magus known either as Balthasar, Melchior or Caspar was adopted by Africans as their patron and protector and their identification with the African wise man was promoted by the church to accelerate their spiritual inclusion. The black confraternities of Jaén, Jerez de la Frontera and the first of the fourteen brotherhoods founded in Lima were also dedicated to Our Lady of the Kings, see Moreno, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla*, pp. 50-53.

Seville (1394-1401), primarily to regulate the social behaviour of slaves and manumitted slaves.⁶⁷ The confraternity's rules specified that only black ex slaves were to be members. They were given the possibility to join the black confraternity as members under certain conditions, such as the presentation of a written licence from their owners with their signature and if they could not write they should provide witnesses.⁶⁸ Mixed race people (*pardos* or *loros*) were excluded from this confraternity. In Seville in 1572, mixed-race slaves and freedmen also created, with the authorization of the archbishop of Seville, Cristóbal Rojas y Sandoval (1571-80), their own Confraternity for *pardos*, dedicated to Our Lady of the Presentation in the parish of San Ildefonso, inside the city walls, where they stayed until it was abolished after the last procession of Holy Week in 1731.⁶⁹

On 8 November 1475, owing to the increase of the black population in Seville,⁷⁰ the Catholic Monarchs nominated their royal servant Juan de Valladolid as the first steward of black and mixed-race slaves and freed slaves. According to the historian Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga (1677), Juan de Valladolid was an African of noble descent and a servant in the royal chambers. He was also known as the "Black Count" (*Conde Negro*) and behind the confraternity's chapel the street is named after him, Conde Negro Street until today.⁷¹ His main duties were to represent and to act as intermediary between the Afro-Hispanic population and the civil, religious and political authorities. Stewards also could help slaves to go to court if they were

⁶⁷ Moreno, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla*, p. 60.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁷¹ Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders*, p. 174. Moreno, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla*, pp. 43, 53.

promised freedom from their slave owners but it had not been delivered or when there were strong social pressures from wealthier confraternities and from the royal authorities to dissolve the black confraternities by constantly accusing them of theft, alcoholism, riots, and killings. In fact, when the black confraternity in Seville was suppressed in 1614, their members appealed to Pope Urban VIII and their confraternity was successfully reinstated in 1633.⁷² Their steward also represented the interests of the brothers and acted as their intermediary in the judicial system, organized their festivals (*fiestas*), dances (*zarabanda* and *paracumbé*)⁷³, weddings, and, processions such as at Corpus Christi and in Holy Week.⁷⁴ In 1504, Juan de Castillo was the first designated confraternity leader elected and defined as the “King of Blacks”.⁷⁵ The confraternity’s aims were to run the Hospital-House that was founded at the same time for the black population, especially for the sick, the elderly and the disabled, to offer decent burials for their dead, and to support their widows.⁷⁶ This congregation also adopted mechanisms to punish the immoral behaviour of their members.⁷⁷ In 1587, the oldest black brotherhood merged with the black Confraternity of Our Lady of Piety, a penitential group, founded in 1554 in Seville. The new black brotherhood adopted the name of Our Lady of the Angels,⁷⁸ and the denomination of this Confraternity as that of “little

⁷² Moreno, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla*, p. 34.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-4, 54. Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders*, pp. 178-9.

⁷⁵ Moreno, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla*, p. 44. The Spanish historian mentions that the black confraternities in the Caribbean and in New World followed this tradition.

⁷⁶ Moreno, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla*, pp. 71-72.

⁷⁷ Iván Armenteros Martínez, “De hermandades y procesiones. La cofradía de esclavos y libertos negros de *Sant Jaume* de Barcelona y la asimilación de la negritud en la Europa premoderna (siglos XV-XVI)”, *Clio - Revista de pesquisa histórica* (2011) n. 29.2, p. 8.

⁷⁸ Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*, pp. 33, 34, 35, 38; Franco Silva, *La esclavitud en Sevilla y su tierra a fines de la Edad Media*, p. 223; Moreno, *Cofradías y Hermandades Andaluzas*, p. 195; Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada del siglo XVI*,

blacks" (*vulgo de los Negritos*), that is still in use today, was added to the name of the confraternity for the first time in 1784.⁷⁹ Black freedmen and slaves exclusively composed the governing board of Our Lady of the Angels, until the beginning of the eighteenth century and one century later there were no black members left.⁸⁰ Their members met periodically to organize and control their finances and their membership and they were chosen annually by general election: a steward (*mayoral*), a supervisor to collect money from their members, a secretary to keep the books, a treasurer, a caretaker of the chapel, images and altars, four deputies, various magistrates, and the collector of alms from the public. The key source of funding was donations in wills of money, properties or belongings. This income enabled members of the confraternity to hire white priests to celebrate mass and perform the sacraments, to maintain and commission devotional images and altars and to meet the confraternity's charitable aims.⁸¹ The confraternity's chapel was built in the middle of the sixteenth century and the prominent images of devotion were Our Lady of the Kings; Our Lady of the Nativity; the Flight into Egypt; and St Ferdinand and other saints. When Pareja was working at the Habsburg court and visited Seville with Velázquez, the most venerated images were the three main sculptures still displayed in their chapel: Our Lady of the Angels;

p. 423. The members of Our lady of the Angels were allowed to participate as equals in the city's religious celebrations and in the Holy Week processions with the rest of the city's confraternities that numbered forty by 1602.

⁷⁹ Moreno, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla*, pp. 25, 141.

⁸⁰ Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders*, pp. 188-89, Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*, pp. 140-41. Bernard Vincent, "Devoción a Santa Ifigenia en España", in Aurelia Martín Casares and Rocío Periañez Gómez (eds.), *Mujeres esclavas y abolicionistas en la España de los siglos XVI-XIX* (Madrid and Frankfurt: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2014), p. 115.

⁸¹ Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*, pp. 36-37, Moreno, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla*, pp. 59- 67.

Christ on the Cross (1622) known as *Cristo de la Fundación* by Andrés de Ocampo (1560-1623);⁸² and St Benedict the Moor of Palermo.

Black confraternities were intended to control the social behaviour of the enslaved and freed Afro-Hispanic population, but these congregations also provided an opportunity for the support and representation of Africans within the city. They were, as the Spanish anthropologist Isidoro Moreno rightly argues, the only formal place for the black community to assert their collective identity with dignity. Their members conceived these religious institutions as their symbolic “black nation” (*nación de negros*) and were devoted to Ethiopian saints, regarded “as the resident patrons of their communities”.⁸³ The concept and infrastructure of Our Lady of the Angels were adopted by confraternities for black and mixed race people, enslaved and liberated, in most urban centres in the crowns of Castile and Aragón from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries: Barcelona, Valencia, El Puerto de Santa María, Cádiz, Málaga, Jaén, Jerez de la Frontera, Granada, Gibraltar, Úbeda, Baeza, and the Canary Islands, amongst other cities.⁸⁴ Our Lady of the Angels also became the prototype for the Native American and black confraternities in the New World from the second half of the sixteenth century, promoted mainly by Franciscans and Carmelites as means of

⁸² Moreno, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla*, pp. 99, 100. The sculpture of *Cristo de la Fundación* by Andrés de Ocampo (Villacarrilo, Jaén, 1560-Sevilla 10 August 1623) is an exact copy of the image commissioned by Philip IV for the Cathedral of Comayagua in Honduras, sent from Cádiz in 1621.

⁸³ Fernando Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 57-58.

⁸⁴ A bibliographical sample is Moreno, *Cofradías y Hermandades Andaluzas*, pp. 194-7, Joaquín Álvaro Rubio, *La esclavitud en Barcarrota y Salvaleón en el período moderno (Siglos XVI-XVIII)* (Badajoz, 2005), pp.173-36, José Luis Cortés López, *Los orígenes de la esclavitud negra en España* (Madrid, Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1986), p.175, and Philips, Jr., *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, p. 94.

evangelization.⁸⁵

I believe that in the *Calling of St Matthew*, Pareja codified the collective identity of the Afro-Hispanic slaves and ex-slaves which they forged in their black and mixed-race confraternities. The paradoxical position that enslaved and liberated Afro-Hispanic people suffered in the societies of imperial Spain were conveyed in their poems (*villancicos de negros*) written in their black confraternities to accompany their public religious processions in urban centres.⁸⁶ Their proverb “Though black, we are people” (*Aunque negro, gente samo*), written in black speech, was codified in 1627 by Gonzalo Correas,⁸⁷ clearly expressed their painful experience and resistance.⁸⁸ In his painting, Pareja’s visual and symbolic process of self-Europeanization signifies the price that the Afro-Hispanic community had to pay to achieve their freedom. They were paradoxically both included in and excluded from the societies of imperial Spain. The Europeanization of Pareja’s features visually cleansed the stigma of manumission to reclaim his social status as a free man and therefore as a painter at the Habsburg Court in Madrid. However, his visual transformation did not disguise his full engagement with the African experience in Spain. I consider the self-portrait of the freedman Juan de

⁸⁵ Moreno, *Cofradías y Hermandades Andaluzas*, pp. 196-97. See also Rafael Castañeda García, “Devociones y construcción de identidades entre los negros y mulatos de la Nueva España (s. XVIII)”.

⁸⁶ Glenn Swiadon Martínez, “Fiesta y parodia en los villancicos de negro del siglo XVII”, *Anuario de Letras*, 42- 43 (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2004-2005), pp. 285-304.

⁸⁷ Gonzalo Correas, *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales y otras fórmulas comunes de la Lengua Castellana, en que van todos los impresos antes y otra gran copia que juntó el Maestro Gonzalo de Correas, Catedrático de Griego y Hebreo en la Universidad de Salamanca (1627)*, edited by Miguel Mir (Madrid: Jaime Ratés, 1906), pp. 27-28. For the translation of this proverb, see Jeremy Lawrance, “Black Africans in Renaissance Spanish Literature”, in Thomas F. Earle and Kate J. P. Lowe (eds.), *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, p. 76.

⁸⁸ These issues are developed in my forthcoming monograph “*Black but Human*”: *Slavery and Art in Imperial Spain, 1480-1800*.

Pareja and the narrative of the calling of the apostle of Ethiopia as well as the portrait of the enslaved Pareja by his master Velázquez as expressions of resistance and codifications of an exceptional instance of recognition of the subjects' humanity. These portraits are unique if we consider that Afro-Hispanic enslaves and ex-slaves were not included in portraits of the aristocracy in Spain during this period, in contrast to the situation elsewhere in Europe. Most depictions of black people (who were perceived as slaves) are to be found in religious compositions, like the *Adoration of the Magi*, the *Miracle of the Black Leg*, the *Immaculate Conception* or depictions of black saints.⁸⁹ The low visibility of Afro-Hispanic enslaves and freedmen in early modern Spanish visual culture needs to be addressed and it requires further research. I would however argue, as the case of Juan de Pareja shows, that in early modern Spain the invisibilization and marginalization of Africans, rooted in the stigma of slavery and inscribed on the non-white colour of the enslaved's skin, did not completely prevent the struggle and the contribution made by Africans in the visual field.

⁸⁹Carmen Fracchia, "Constructing the Black Slave in Spanish Golden Age Painting", in Tom Nichols (ed.), *Others and Outcasts in Early Modern Europe: Picturing the Social Margins* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 180-84 and in her article, "Spanish Depictions of the Miracle of the Black Leg", in Kees W. Zimmermann (ed.), *One Leg in the Grave Revisited: The Miracle of the Transplantation of the Black Leg by the saints Cosmas and Damian* (Groningen: Barkhuis, 2013), pp. 79-91.