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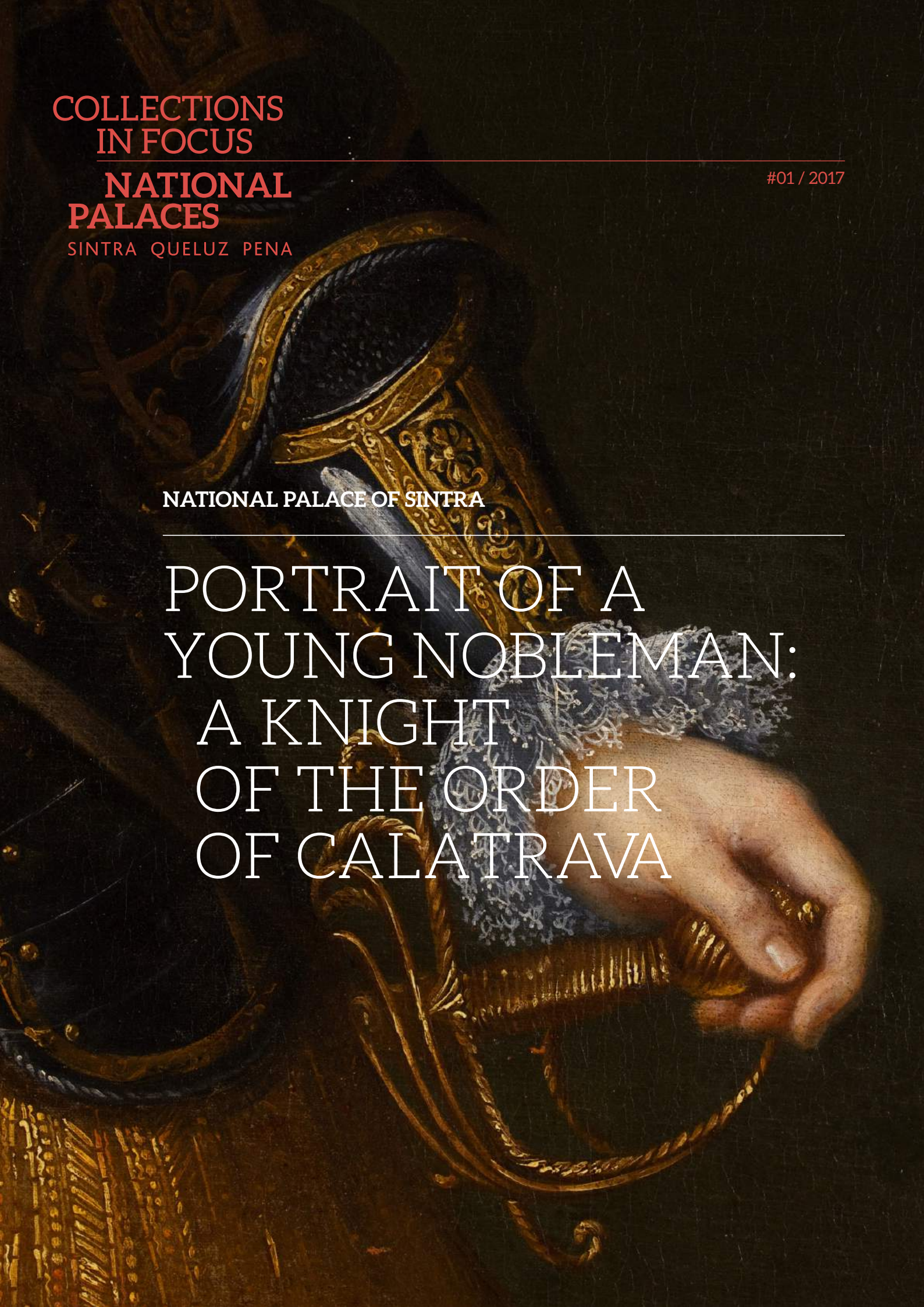
NATIONAL
PALACES

SINTRA QUELUZ PENA

#01 / 2017

NATIONAL PALACE OF SINTRA

PORTRAIT OF A
YOUNG NOBLEMAN:
A KNIGHT
OF THE ORDER
OF CALATRAVA



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**NATIONAL
PALACES**

SINTRA QUELUZ PENA

#01 / 2017

Fernando Montesinos

PORTRAIT OF A
YOUNG NOBLEMAN:
A KNIGHT
OF THE ORDER
OF CALATRAVA



Parques de Sintra
Monte da Lua

COLLECTIONS IN FOCUS

NATIONAL PALACES

SINTRA QUELUZ PENA

#01 / 2017

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PRESENTATIONS

Parques de Sintra - Monte da Lua, S.A. (PSML) is responsible for managing the most important natural and cultural sites located within the Sintra Cultural Landscape and Queluz, encompassing, amongst other monuments, the National Palaces of Sintra, Queluz and Pena. Included in its mission statement, therefore, is the objective to conserve, catalogue, research and divulge the cultural assets in its safekeeping, four pillars of the museological work of these palaces that ensure the safeguarding and enhancement of the integrated and movable cultural heritage. Since this heritage was transferred into its care in 2012, PSML has invested in particular in its renovation, requalification and revitalisation and in improving its accessibility, both in terms of physical access to its visitor circuit and access to information on the collection open to the public.

Providing information on the collections exhibited at the palaces is therefore one of the priorities of dissemination and visitor support. In the knowledge that the Internet and new technologies have radically changed the way in which people seek and relate to cultural heritage, PSML has manifested a special interest in digital media. This is especially noticeable in the case of MatrizNet, a collective online catalogue of Portugal's national museums and palaces which currently allows access to around 4,634 inventory records on the movable cultural assets in the collections of the Palaces of Sintra, Queluz and Pena; participation in international projects such as Europeana, Museum With No Frontiers and Google Art Project; and the multimedia guide Talking Heritage. The latter is a free app for mobile devices that enables users to freely engage with and use the available multimedia content, incorporating inclusive resources such as sign language, spoken texts, gesture-based controls and geolocalisation, alongside 360° panoramic views with active items of interest, high-definition images and texts written by experts.

To these digital resources, which contribute to a better understanding and interpretation of the collections, is now added a publishing project designed to convey the results of recent research on the holdings of the Palaces of Sintra, Queluz and Pena - or others intimately linked to the royal family and its life in these places - in a thorough, didactic and accessible manner, combining appealing high-quality graphics with the markedly scientific component of the information. These publications consist of free and free-to-access monographs published and distributed in digital format in Portuguese, English and Spanish, creating a novel project within the context of the national palaces.

Manuel Baptista

Chairman of the Board of Directors
Parques de Sintra - Monte da Lua, S.A.

The National Palace of Sintra, a royal residence for almost eight centuries, conserves and exhibits a remarkable collection of paintings, furniture, ceramics, sculptures, textiles and metal objects from the 15th to the 19th century, most of which stemming from the Portuguese royal collections, alongside an interesting set of historical photographs. Study and research on the Palace collections and their access by a wide and specialist audience, via interpretative media and diversified information, are central elements of the museological work undertaken over recent years. Deriving from this are several initiatives that have improved access to the distinctive spaces, figures, lives and objects, of which the following most recently stand out: the publication of a new guidebook to the Palace, the provision of an audio guide in Portuguese, English, Spanish and French, the updating of traditional information sources, the production of content for a future multimedia guide to the Palace, and the museological rearrangement of its rooms, incorporating new and more accurate content on the type, dating and provenance of the pieces exhibited.

This area of work is now being expanded with the creation of an open-access digital publishing venture based on the collections of the National Palaces of Sintra, Queluz and Pena and focused on the publication of material on numerous themes, each the responsibility of one or various researchers. PSML therefore has the pleasure to present the first volume in the "Collections in Focus" series, a publishing initiative whose aim is to create a unique vehicle for the scientific dissemination of specific pieces and sections in the holdings of the National Palaces under its care, in line with the guiding principles of series such as "Collection Solo" (Musée du Louvre), "Dossiers" (Rijksmuseum) and "Point of View" (KHM-Museumsverband).

The study presented in this first volume, for which responsibility lies with Fernando Montesinos, the curator of the National Palace of Sintra, focuses on an emblematic painting from the collections of the Royal Household, a magnificent court portrait acquired in the time of Queen Maria Pia of Savoy about which little detail existed in

terms of authorship, dating, context surrounding its production, prior whereabouts, the acquisition process and its incorporation into the royal collections as the "Portrait of King Sebastião".

The "Collections In Focus" project is open to contributions from both recognised and emerging external researchers, invited for that purpose, from the academic, museum and heritage world. The content in this series of monographs is intended as much for researchers and scholars as it is for students interested in the history of the collections of the National Palaces of Sintra, Queluz and Pena in the hope that it may provide a stimulus and basis for future research.

Sofia Cruz
Board Director
Parques de Sintra - Monte da Lua, S.A.

INTRODUCTION

One can never over emphasise how essential and structural continued research in the area of history and art history is to the activity of a monument as important as the National Palace of Sintra. This research provides the support required for work as varied as the restoration and rehabilitation of spaces, the museological arrangement of the rooms, the cataloguing and study of the collections, and the dissemination and interpretation of these collections by visitors and researchers, both in person and virtually. This new publishing project is therefore both highly interesting and opportune. Its format and the choice of its three languages – Portuguese, English and Spanish – takes into account both the broad audience it was designed for as well as the international dissemination of the collections.

Fernando Montesinos, the driving force behind this initiative, is responsible for the first volume in this series of monographs. The piece in question is a court portrait by the Spanish school from the early seventeen hundreds. Since 2006 it has been attributed to Juan Pantoja de la Cruz and has been associated with the National Palace of Sintra since the final years of the monarchy, during the period of Maria Pia of Savoy, the last queen of Portugal to inhabit the royal palace, from where she left in exile following the republican revolution.

The publication launched here consists of eight chapters over the course of which the author compiles and contrasts scattered information, presents new and unseen details, and proposes original interpretations and theories, providing consistent arguments that open new channels of research. Of note are the exhaustive survey of documentary and bibliographical material on the portrait; the substantiated reasoning intended to confirm the painting's authorship; the identification of the person represented based on the relationship and contrast with another identical and previously identified portrait by Pantoja; the genealogy revealing the family ties to the Portuguese and Spanish nobility and royalty; a suggested chronology and place of production, incorporating it into the historical and artistic context in which

it originated; an iconographic analysis of the picture in light of the events surrounding the commission and the codes of court portraiture during the reign of Felipe III of Spain (Filipe II of Portugal); and the charting of the portrait's external whereabouts between 1867 and 1885, an aspect ignored until today. With this, the painting acquired in Paris by express order of Maria Pia of Savoy, previously part of one of the most important private painting collections of the second half of the European 19th century, is incontrovertibly identified.

The text is accompanied by an extensive and careful selection of comparative images from other collections, both public and private, which allow a broader knowledge of this most inescapable of pieces in the National Palace of Sintra's painting collection. We would therefore like to express our particular gratitude to all those institutions who have contributed to this publication by agreeing to loan, free of charge, images of portraits and documents of which they are either the owner or custodian. In this way they provide readers with the immediate possibility to visualise almost all of the works mentioned in these pages thus enhancing the publication, which it is hoped will be the first of many.

Inês Ferro

Director of the National Palaces of Sintra and Queluz



COLLECTIONS
IN FOCUS

**NATIONAL
PALACES**

SINTRA QUELUZ PENA

#01 / 2017

CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH

SOURCES AND CONSIDERATIONS
CONCERNING THE PORTRAIT

The National Palace of Sintra houses a remarkable art collection, most of which is originally from the Portuguese Royal Collection. Amongst the paintings, one, a court portrait which was hung in the Swans

Room during the final years of the Portuguese monarchy, stands out in particular. Several black and white photographs, watercolours [fig. 1, 2] and photographic postcards allow us to visualise the decorative atmosphere of this hall, which was used as a sitting and reception room by the royal family during the sojourns by the queen, Maria Pia of Savoy (1847-1911), consort to King Luís I (1838-1889), at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Until now, the sole written reference to this work, prior to the fall of the monarchy and the nationalisation of the Crown's property, is found in the words of António Maria José de Melo Silva César e Meneses (1854-1923), Count of Sabugosa [fig. 3] and author of the monograph *O Paço de Cintra* (1903), the first major historical and archaeological description of the exterior and interior of the royal palace in Sintra. The count, Lord High Steward (*mordomo-mor*) of the Royal Household and a peer of the realm (*par do reino*), mentions the following in his book about the Swans Room: "There are various portraits of historical figures on the walls, amongst which one painted by Anthonis Mor which is said to be King Sebastião. This was acquired by Her Majesty Queen Maria Pia. Some doubt whether it is actually this king, since he wears a Cross of Calatrava around his neck"¹ [fig. 4, 5]. In the words of one of the people closest to the inner and courtly circle of the royal family, therefore, the portrait was by the Flemish painter Anthonis Mor (1516/20-c.1575) and was possibly of King Sebastião² (1554-1578), having been acquired by order of the queen. Old photographs and illustrated postcards in fact confirm that three paintings hung in

[fig. 1]

Swans Room

Enrique Casanova
Portugal, 1889-1895
Watercolour on paper
National Palace of Ajuda
Inv. 54186

© DGPC/ADF | Photo: José Paulo Ruas
Courtesy of the
Direção-Geral do Património Cultural

In the background, the official entrance, which is still the entrance to this room today, is hidden by a large tapestry. In the middle, on the left, can be seen the bench with canopy that in the illustrated postcards from the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century is surmounted by the portrait in question in this study, although in this watercolour its place is taken by a tapestry.



[fig. 2]

Swans Room

Enrique Casanova
Portugal, 1889-1895
Watercolour on paper
National Palace of Ajuda
Inv. 55450/15

© DGPC/ADF | Photo: Henrique Ruas

View of a corner of the Swans Room with the fireplace and door leading to the Central Courtyard and Magpies Room on the right.



[fig. 3]

The Count of Sabugosa

Photograph published in *Ilustração Portuguesa*
Issue of 23rd January, 1905

© Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa
Courtesy of the Hemeroteca



[fig. 4]

Decorative arrangement of the Swans Room in 1903

Photograph published in the book *O Paço de Sintra*
Library of the National Palace of Sintra

© PSML | Photo: Cláudio Marques

View of the Swans Room and, in the background, the door leading to the Audience Room flanked by two paintings from Luis I's old gallery: the portrait of Paola Visconti on the left and the Philosopher on the right.



[fig. 5]

Swans Room, Royal Palace of Sintra

Carlos of Bragança, King of Portugal
Portugal, c.1895-1908
Printed photograph, mounted on card
National Palace of Ajuda
Inv. 62593

© DGPC/ADF | Photo: Cláudio Marques
Courtesy of the Direção-Geral do Património Cultural

On the left, a partial view of the portrait above the bench with canopy. This photograph, signed by King Carlos, has the following handwritten dedication: "A Sua Magestade A Rainha / offerece / respeitosaemente / Carlos" (To Her Majesty the Queen / respectfully / from / Carlos).

this room: the supposed portrait of the Portuguese king, above a bench with canopy, and another two from King Luís I's aforementioned Painting Gallery³ in Lisbon: the Philosopher (or geometrician) today attributed to José de Ribera or his workshop, and the portrait of Paola Visconti⁴ by Paris Bordone [fig. 6, 7]. However, the visual records from the end of the 19th century, conserved in different Portuguese collections, and the words of the Count of Sabugosa do not allow us to date the exact moment when the painting first became part of the royal collections and, specifically, when it began to feature in the history of the Royal Palace of Sintra. In that sense, researching and contrasting the inventories and official correspondence prior to the establishment of the Republic was the necessary starting point to locate and cross check direct (and indirect) references and to compare them with photographs from the time, finding relevant clues and formulating several hypotheses.

The lack of information on the portrait's location in Luís I's Painting Gallery⁵ corresponds in principle to the information from the Count of Sabugosa about who was responsible for its acquisition: Maria Pia of Savoy. In fact, there is also no mention of the painting in the inventories conducted at the time of the king's death in 1889, where all of the paintings belonging to him spread around the different royal residences and, in particular, the rooms and private apartments of the Royal Palace of Ajuda are described⁶. By contrasting the inventories of the paintings at Ajuda and Sintra on 31st October 1889,⁷ undertaken almost in parallel, it is possible to confirm three interesting facts: the Palace of Sintra was home at that time to 17 paintings belonging to Luís I, the portrait of King Sebastião not being one of them, and various works from the king's collection of old paintings remained in the possession of Maria Pia, amongst which "a geometrician" of the Spanish school (no. 11; 300,000 réis) and the "portrait of the daughter of Paulo Visconti" by Paris Bordone (no. 57; 180,000 réis). These three paintings coexisted for decades in the Swans Room at the Royal Palace of Sintra from the end of the 19th century onwards.

After Luís I's death in October 1889, the official residence of Maria Pia of Savoy in Lisbon remained the Palace of Ajuda. In May 1892, their son, Carlos of Bragança (1863-1908), the new king of Portugal, officially granted the Palace of Sintra to the queen dowager as a recreational residence, which she inhabited primarily during the summer season. The queen took personal responsibility for decorating



[fig. 6]

Cintra - Reception room of the Royal Palace

Postcard, photographic print
 "Collection portugaise" series. Number 894. Undated.
 Produced by F. A. Martins (Faustino António Martins)
 Portugal, c. 1900-1904

Private collection | Photo: Cláudio Marques

At the start of the 20th century, it was possible to buy tickets to enter and see the Royal Palace of Sintra during the periods when the royal family was absent, as well as buy postcards with photographs of its more emblematic rooms. This demonstrates the interest that existed in the royal residence, which was an obligatory port of call on any visit to Sintra and recommended in the main guidebooks for foreign visitors in the second half of the 19th century.



[fig. 7]

View of the Swans Room

Unknown photographer (Carlos of Bragança?)
 Portugal, late 19th century - early 20th century
 Printed photograph on paper
 National Palace of Sintra
 Inv. PNS5962

© PSML | Photo: Cláudio Marques

these two palaces, both before and after the king's death. In the final years of the monarchy, several paintings from the royal collections regularly circulated between the two royal residences, but with practically no records of their movements. Where records do exist, insufficient information is provided to be able to identify which pieces were moved. For example, in official correspondence from 31st March 1890,⁸ sent by the administration of the *Fazenda da Casa Real* to the *almoxarife* Maximiano Joaquim de Freitas, all that is mentioned is the order to return the paintings in the Palace of Sintra belonging to the Royal Palaces of Ajuda and Necessidades, with the exception of those which are the property of "Her Majesty Queen Maria Pia". As regards the queen's paintings that remained at Sintra, a letter of 10th May 1890⁹ sent by Maximiano Joaquim de Freitas to the administrator of the *Fazenda da Casa Real*, António José Duarte Nazareth, informs us of the sending of 16 paintings belonging to Maria Pia of Savoy to the Palace of Ajuda, but without identifying them.

Between November 1889 and March 1891, the lens of the photographer Hubert Vaffier¹⁰ captured numerous architectural and landscape views in Spain and Portugal. Of this series of travel photographs, stored at the National Library of France, one in particular, dated 6th March 1891, is of interest. On it can be seen the interior of a furnished Swans Room but missing the paintings and tapestries on the walls [fig. 8]. Furthermore, an interesting handwritten document from the archives of the National Palace of Ajuda lists Maria Pia's movable assets in the Royal Palace of Sintra in 1894, which includes a very short description of the portrait in question. It is thus recorded in an inventory of the royal household and connected to the palace: "Swans Room ... A large oil painting with a portrait of King Sebastião". On the list of objects in the Swans Room, however, the portrait of Paola Visconti by Paris Bordone and the Philosopher by Ribera, attributed at the time to the Spanish school,¹¹ do not appear. In the lists for the other rooms in the palace, no mention is made of any paintings that relate to those in question.¹²

On 13 July 1896, the Queen Mother, Maria Pia of Savoy, requested that 33 paintings be moved from the Palace of Ajuda to the Palace of Sintra,¹³ including quite definitely various pieces from Luís I's old Painting Gallery. This piece of information doesn't prove that the portrait of King Sebastião was part of this set of paintings, but it also doesn't demonstrate the opposite, and as such it remains a possibility.



[fig. 8]

Cintra. The Great Hall at the Palace

Hubert Vaffier
 Portugal, 1891
 Printed photograph, mounted on card
 Bibliothèque Nationale de France
 Reference (cote) SG WC-296

© Société de Géographie

A list from 7th July 1898 of paintings owned by Luís I documents the presence at the Royal Palace of Sintra of four from the former Painting Gallery and a further one, also the king's, from the Palace of Ajuda: "11 A geometrician 300,000 / 57 Portrait of the Daughter of Paulo Visconte 180,000 / 75 View of a canal and a Castle 72,000 / 137 Arab Battle 200,000 / V.V. [reference attributed to the portrait] Catherine of Bragança [by Godfrey Kneller?] 90,000 / 842,000 [réis]."¹⁴ All of the pieces in the handwritten document with associated numbers follow the numbering and valuations from the paintings inventory of 1889. It is probably one of the partial inventories related to the division of Luís I's personal assets and possessions¹⁵ amongst his heirs, a process only fully resolved in 1899.¹⁶

In the archives of the National Palace of Ajuda is another list of 65 paintings from the Lisbon palace written in pencil and numbered from 1 to 65 and with no indication of date or authorship. It refers to the portrait of the Felipe II's nephew thus: "38 - Portrait of King Sebastião - Spanish School (Queen)."¹⁷ This short reference associates the painting with Queen Maria Pia and the Palace of Ajuda and includes an interesting detail about the artist. Until now, this is the oldest reference (1889-1896?) relating the portrait to an unknown painter of the Spanish school and not Anthonis Mor or the Flemish school. This is very important since the document may be one of the various lists or rough drafts of inventories, of paintings in this case, conducted after Luís I's death and at the time of the division of his assets. A certain care was taken to identify which paintings did or did not belong to him.

There also exists a general inventory of the assets of the Palace of Sintra that includes the value of the works of art (oil paintings, watercolours and engravings), pieces of furniture and other decorative objects (silverware).¹⁸ Undated, with no mention of the author, confusingly organised and written in pencil, the document provides an idea of the contents of the palace in the final years under Maria Pia. In the Swans Room, for example, most of the objects comprising the decor seen in the photographs from the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century are already recorded, alongside the value attributed to the painting: "Swans Room ... 1 Oil painting: portrait of King Sebastião - 135.000 [one hundred and thirty-five thousand réis]."¹⁹

In that sense, the written sources cited and analysis of the photographs conserved at the National Palace of Ajuda allow us to locate the painting in the Swans Room from the end of the 19th century, in the final years of the monarchy. Acceptance of this hypothesis involves the acknowledgment of the possible circulation of the portrait between the official residences of Maria Pia in Lisbon and Sintra, as well as its prior location at the Royal Palace of Ajuda, in an unknown room or storage area,²⁰ until being definitively transferred to the Royal Palace of Sintra (in 1894 or 1896), where it remained after the establishment of the Republic in 1910.

In 1908, José de Figueiredo,²¹ one of the most important figures in the world of museology and art history in Portugal in the early decades of the 20th century, published *Algumas palavras sobre a evolução da arte em Portugal* (text from 1905) in which he argued on behalf of the existence of a Portuguese school of painting and asserted the Portuguese ancestry of painters such as Sánchez Coello and Velázquez. Regarding the former, he draws attention to the need to undertake an inventory of artworks in Portugal, identifying various paintings, amongst which the portrait of King Sebastião at the Palace of Sintra, which he attributes to Sánchez Coello or his school.²²

The Decree Law (*Decreto-Lei*) of 16th June 1910, published in the *Diário do Governo* of 23rd June of the same year, classified the Royal Palace of Sintra as a “National Monument”, a category only applied to buildings of exceptional historic and artistic value. Months later, following the establishment of the Republic on 5th October 1910, the former royal residence was added to the list of state heritage. On 13th October, the Commission for the Judicial Inventories of the Royal Palaces (*Comissão de Arrolamento dos Paços Reais*) was created. Its main purpose was to conduct an inventory of the movable assets of the royal palaces and to separate the private property of the exiled royal family from that belonging to the Portuguese state.²³

In the case of the National Palace of Sintra, this process was carried out from 10th December 1910 to 7th January 1911,²⁴ but the specific task of conducting an inventory of the palace’s movable assets was completed from 12th-30th December 1910²⁵ by Jorge da Cruz Reis (*almoxarife*) – responsible for safeguarding and conserving the palace and its contents – and João Eduardo Guerreiro (a clerk) under the supervision of Judge Sebastião Maria de Sampaio. The 1910 judicial inventory, carried out at the dawn of the First Republic, reveals the objects that existed in each of the palace’s rooms, which were arranged in the fashion they had been left in by the Queen Dowager, Maria Pia, at the moment she departed in exile on 5th October 1910. In the Swans Room, the painting is referred to for the first and last time as the “oil painting of Felipe the Third of Spain”.²⁶ This judicial inventory was updated in 1917,²⁷ once again under the responsibility of Jorge da Cruz Reis, the palace administrator.

In the years following the proclamation of the Republic, the difficulty in producing a detailed record of the cultural assets of the Palace continued due, amongst other reasons, to the frequent rotation of objects between the various state buildings – a recurring practice during the first decades of the Republic which was not always accompanied by the appropriate documentation – and the setting out of a hierarchy of priorities that placed the restoration of huge exterior and interior areas before all else. This situation continued until the first complete record of the heritage assets of the National Palace of Sintra was produced as part of the *Cadastro dos Bens do Domínio Público* undertaken from 1938 to 1941 by Jorge da Cruz Reis, the Palace’s curator.²⁸ This was a kind of general inventory in which the painting in August 1938 (some thirty-five years after the scant detail given by the Count of Sabugosa) came with the following handwritten notes: “Item number” – “216”; “Description” – “Oil painting , portrait of King Sebastião”; “Value” – “2000\$00” [two thousand escudos].²⁹

In January 1946, Casimiro Gomes da Silva, curator at the Palace since 1944, aided by Augusto de Jesus and Artur da Silva, began an update of the 1938-1941 inventory of the Palace’s movable assets, a process which was completed in May of the following year. In this inventory, the portrait in the Swans Room (still mentioned as that of King Sebastião) was once again included with the following details: “XXX-Swans Room ... 617 [item number]-0216 [item number of 1938 *cadastro*, attributed to the object as an inventory number] – Item [oil portrait], King Sebastião, full-length, in ceremonial armour (1.88x1.12), by Anthonis Mor, in good condition, 15,000\$00 [fifteen thousand escudos], from the old collection.”³⁰ Notable is the expression “old collection”, denoting that an asset is from the collections of the Royal Household which were in the Palace at the time the Republic was proclaimed and therefore part of its original holdings.

These same inventory details were included by Casimiro Gomes da Silva in the list of movable assets which, in the event of armed conflict, should be transferred from the Palace to a safe place as a matter of priority. This list, sent to the *Direção-Geral da Fazenda Pública* on 1st January 1954, is divided into three sections according to the artistic and historical value of the assets. The first section is reserved for “pieces of greatest value”,³¹ which included the portrait: “155 [item

number in this list]–685 [number of the item’s inventory file]–216 [inventory number] – Item King Sebastião, in ceremonial armour, by Anth. Mor, 15.000\$00 [fifteen thousand escudos].”³²

The transformation of the Royal Palace into a historic palace museum, for the use and enjoyment of the public, was a gradual process in which conservation, restoration and enhancement work on the monument and its visitor circuit were fundamental. In the 1930s and 40s, this process was directed, with renewed energy, by the architect Raul Lino,³³ the person chiefly responsible for the repair work and interior arrangements. It had previously been possible to visit part of the Palace, as the cultural and tourist guides of the two first decades of the 20th century attest.³⁴ The first volume of the pioneering *Guia de Portugal*,³⁵ published in 1924, a period in which tourism was taking its first few steps in Portugal as an organised cultural activity of recognised economic value, is of interest in this respect. In the excerpt devoted to the Palace of Sintra, Reynaldo dos Santos³⁶ mentions the former private rooms of King Luís I annexed to the Archers’ Room and since converted. In this area there was a room in which one could admire “a small museum with several paintings and tapestries”, of which several works stood out, amongst which the portrait of “a nobleman from the time of King Sebastião, but which, however, is not the king.”³⁷ This paintings room, no longer in existence, would have occupied the space of two of the three rooms used by Luís I (reception room, office+toilette and bedchamber) that occupied what is now the Manueline Room, given the fact that following the change in the political regime, the first Superintendent for the Administration of the National Palaces, Joaquim Martins Teixeira de Carvalho,³⁸ ordered the removal of the partition dividing them and joined them together (working office and bedroom), possibly between 1910 and 1912. It was in this space that “what is presumed to be the portrait of King Sebastião” shared a wall with other paintings, at least until 1930,³⁹ before Raul Lino converted the Great Hall of Manuel I (Manueline Room) back to its original 16th-century size in the 1930s. Assembling the collection of paintings from the defunct Royal Household in a specific place of its own [fig. 9, 10, 11, 12], as a small gallery open to the public, makes sense if we consider all of the modifications and building work undertaken at different times in the various areas of the Palace.⁴⁰



[fig. 9]

Sintra - Entrance hall of the Royal Palace

Postcard, photographic print
Unnumbered. Undated.
Published by Alberto Malva
Portugal, 1920s?
National Palace of Sintra
Inv. PNS6206

© PSML | Photo: Cláudio Marques

View, in the background, of the area immediately adjoining the entrance hall, once part of the old private chambers of Luís I, which essentially consisted of three rooms (reception room, office and bedroom) and an adjacent corridor giving direct access to the chambers of the King and Queen Maria Pia.

In the 1920s, the area visible behind the Manueline entrance doorway was known as the Gobelin Room due to the remarkable French tapestry which hang there. The tapestry in the postcard, depicting a gallant scene, is not the one which gave the room its name, which was still visible in a watercolour painted by Alberto de Sousa in 1923. This room was followed by another where twenty-two paintings were hung, amongst which the portrait to which this study refers.

In 1932, a small tourism-oriented monograph was published about Sintra and its heritage landscape and illustrated with forty-eight photographs, eighteen of which of the royal palace, by Marques Abreu.⁴¹ In the illustration of the Swans Room [fig. 13] the portrait can be seen hanging in the same place and at the same height as in the time of Maria Pia of Savoy.

Once the repair work in the Swans Room had been completed in 1939, Raul Lino started on the interior décor,⁴² placing the portrait over the white marble chimney on the north wall in an attempt to bring it within closer reach of the observer [fig. 14]. Its former position, between two openings in the same wall and above a bench with canopy, meant that it was hung too high, compromising how it was perceived. In the 1980s, the portrait was returned to this position and remained there until 2002 [fig. 15]. In that year, after having hung in the palace's largest room for decades (except between c.1913 and 1929-30),⁴³ it was moved to the Galley Room, where it has remained ever since, hung at a height which allows it to be contemplated with greater ease.⁴⁴

The first inventory file cards for the National Palace of Sintra, as a palace museum responsible for a collection that it was necessary to identify, describe, document and organise piece by piece, were produced in the second half of the 1940s or first half of the 1950s. As far as the specific inventory file card for the painting in question is concerned, it reproduces the details mentioned in the general



[fig. 10]

Door of the palace's Manueline Wing

Drawing by Maria José Rosa from the original by Manoel Abella y Fernandez published in the guidebook *Cintra. Noticia Histórico-Arqueológica e Artística do Paço da Vila, do Palacio da Pena e do Castelo dos Mouros* (1930), written by Nuno Catharino Cardoso.



[fig. 11]

Gobelin Room at the Palace of Sintra

Alberto Augusto de Sousa
 Portugal, Sintra, 1923
 Watercolour on paper
 Museu Nacional de Arte Contemporânea
 Inv. 562

© DGPC/ADF | Photo: Luisa Oliveira

A draughtsman, watercolourist and illustrator, Alberto de Sousa documented monuments and architecture in watercolour and illustrations all around the country. In 1923, he painted a corner of a room at the Sintra Palace, in which we can see how the interior was decorated at the time. On the left is the Gobelin tapestry, from the 18th century, today at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon. At the right edge of the watercolour can be glimpsed the room which housed the small painting gallery for several years, referred to in the tourist guides of the time.



[fig. 12]

Sintra - View of a room at the old Royal Palace

Postcard, photographic print
 Published by M.C., number 246. France, 1928.
 Private collection | Photo: Cláudio Marques

Partial view of the Palace's former small painting gallery.



[fig. 13]

Swans Room

Portugal, 1929-1930
Photograph by Marques Abreu, published in volume 15 (1932) of the collection *A Arte em Portugal* dedicated to the monuments of the town of Sintra. Library of the National Palace of Sintra.

© PSML | Photo: Cláudio Marques



[fig. 14]

Interior decoration of the Swans Room after the refurbishment by Raul Lino, Artistic Superintendent of the National Palaces

Portugal, Sintra, 1940s-1950s
Printed photograph on paper
National Palace of Ajuda
Inv. 64279

© DGPC/ADF
Courtesy of the Direção-Geral do Património Cultural



[fig. 15]

The Swans Room in 1999

Photograph by Luís Pavão

© DGPC/ADF

inventory of 1946, along with some other interesting pieces of information: “Inventory file card number 685” – “Inventory number 216” – “DESCRIPTION: Oil portrait, framed, on canvas, King Sebastião, full-length, in ceremonial armour, by Anthonis Mor” – “PERIOD: 16th century” – “STYLE: Spanish” – “DIMENSIONS: 1.88 x 1.12” [metres] – “LOCATION: Swans Room” – “OBSERVATIONS AND CONDITION: in good condition, 15,000\$00 [fifteen thousand *escudos*], from the old collection”.⁴⁵ Despite the work’s quality and historical and artistic importance, these data remained unaltered for decades, as well as the doubt about the portrait’s authorship and the identity of the person portrayed. This was later resolved by resorting to attribution,⁴⁶ both as far as the authorship and dating of the painting and the identification of the young nobleman depicted are concerned.

The fact that it was shown at important temporary exhibitions also did not help to deepen the study or knowledge of the canvas. On this point, two ambitious exhibitions from the 20th century must be mentioned in which the inclusion and non-inclusion of the painting reveal, respectively, doubts or disagreements about its official appraisal. This is a reflection of the difficulty or lack of interest in questioning, based on objective criteria and documentary sources, the attributions founded above all on the words of the Count of Sabugosa and an analysis whose rationale is unknown.

In March 1942, the Academia Nacional de Belas Artes de Lisboa held the exhibition *Personagens portuguesas do século XVII. Exposição de Arte e Iconografia*,⁴⁷ jointly organised by Reynaldo dos Santos, Luís Keil,⁴⁸ Gustavo de Matos Sequeira⁴⁹ and Luís de Ortigão Burnay,⁵⁰ at which 82 oil portraits and 46 miniature portraits from private and public collections were shown. The selection of works was completed within a few months, as well as the parallel research. Very significantly, this short and diligent research left out the portrait of King Sebastião at the National Palace of Sintra.⁵¹ The exhibition resulted in an illustrated catalogue with an interesting introduction which announced the showing of unseen works and painters and informed that most of the figures in the portraits had been identified and some attributions corrected, a reflection of the interest in providing “scholars with new and broader horizons.”⁵²

In the 1980s, also in Lisbon, the Portuguese government held the 17th *European Exhibition of Art, Science and Culture*,⁵³ devoted to the theme “The Portuguese Discoveries and Renaissance Europe”, under the auspices of the Council of Europe. The exhibition, curated by Pedro Manuel Guedes de Passos Canavarro,⁵⁴ was open to the public from May to October 1983 and organised around five sections, coordinated by experts from various areas of culture, with their respective catalogues. Included in the section exhibited at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, entitled *The Discoveries and the Renaissance, forms of coincidence and culture*,⁵⁵ was the portrait from the Palace of Sintra [fig. 16]. The short record in the catalogue is limited to providing inventory details supplied by the Palace: “ANTHONIS MOR (?) (1517-1576) / Portrait of a Knight - King Sebastião (?) / Portugal, 16th century / Oil on canvas, 188 x 112 cm.”⁵⁶ The coordinator of this section, Jorge Borges de Macedo,⁵⁷ also worked on the book which complements the exhibition, together with Sérgio Guimarães de Andrade,⁵⁸ João Manuel Borges de Azevedo, Sylvie Deswarte,⁵⁹ Rafael Moreira⁶⁰ and António Miguel Trigueiros.⁶¹ Despite the scholarly texts and updated brief entries for all the works in the exhibition, the catalogue contains no further information about the painting at the Palace. Under the entry heading, the attributions continue to be shown with question marks and with no documentary justification, although one interesting detail does appear that is not from the Palace: the mention of Portugal as the place of production. The veiled purpose here may have been to make it coincide chronologically with the period of time in which Mor and his collaborators stayed at the court of King João III and Catarina of Austria between 1551-52 and 1553⁶² to paint the portraits of the royal family (at the time, Prince Sebastião was not yet born...). Or it could have been to open the possibility of its having been produced by another painter, perhaps the Portuguese-Spanish artist Alonso Sánchez Coello, one of Mor’s disciples who returned to Portugal at an unknown date between 1580 and 1582, or the Portuguese painter Cristóvão de Morais, active at the court in Lisbon between 1551 and 1571.⁶³ However, both possibilities are nothing but mere suppositions.



[fig. 16]

The National Palace of Sintra portrait exhibited at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon for the occasion of the 17th European Exhibition of Art, Science and Culture. 1983. Courtesy of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga

On the subject of the portrait's inclusion in the 17th *European Exhibition of Art, Science and Culture*, the art historian Vitor Serrão⁶⁴ wrote the following in an article published in the weekly newspaper *Jornal de Sintra* on 30th September:

[The] only piece exhibited from Sintra was ... the large oil on canvas painting of the Portrait of a Knight of the Order of Malta decorating the Swans Room at the Royal Palace. The composition is an elegant court portrait, aristocratic in style and accurately rendered from a psychological point of view – it clearly shows an air of authority in the severe angle of the head, the etched breastplate, etc. – and particularly well executed in terms of the naturalism of the accessories. ... it is a painting from the mid-16th century by a Netherlandish painter ... Anthonis Mor ... an excellent full-length portrait of a knight which the lack of identification in no way detracts from ...⁶⁵

The art historian also alludes in the article to Adriano de Gusmão's⁶⁶ opinion about the painting: "Some time ago, Adriano de Gusmão drew attention to this 16th-century painting, suggesting that, in view of the skilled brushwork, it was the work of a master ..."⁶⁷ This is a brief but interesting reference to the expert opinion of a renowned art historian who confirmed the high quality of the pictorial art without identifying either the artist or the subject.

At the start of the 21st century, on a visit to the Palace, Vitor Serrão refined his assessment of the painter, asserting that he could have been a follower of Anthonis Mor. Through direct observation and expert opinion, therefore,

the painting's cataloguing data was updated. The portrait was attributed to an (unknown) follower of Anthonis Mor, dating from the first half of the 16th century, and the (unknown) figure depicted is identified with the title "young knight".

In the second half of the 20th century and early years of the 21st, art historiography in Portugal on the Flemish and Spanish paintings in the Portuguese collections added nothing to deepen our knowledge about the Sintra portrait. The art historians interested in court portraits and the painters active in the courts of the Habsburgs even seem to forget to include the painting in their studies⁶⁸. In fact, nothing of note occurred until 29th November 2006 when Pedro Flor,⁶⁹ presented the paper *Dois Retratos de Corte no Palácio Nacional de Sintra* as part of the *II Colóquio de Historia da Arte do Palácio Nacional de Sintra*, a study which appeared in 2011 in the magazine *ARTIS* published by the Institute of Art History of the School of Arts and Humanities, University of Lisbon.⁷⁰ From all of the conclusions drawn, there was a decisive shift in terms of the painting's chronological and artistic goalposts, in terms of the linking of the knight to the Spanish nobility and his ties to the Order of Calatrava, and in terms of the attributions of authorship which until then had been debated. A hypothesis was even proposed as to the identity of the person in the portrait. In that sense, the ideas put forward had a strong impact on the cataloguing of the painting, which was updated based on the information and proposals of the research: the knight was a nobleman of the Order of Calatrava, aged 18;⁷¹ it might have been Juan Vivas de Cañamás, who joined the Order in 1586⁷² at the age of 18; the artist was one of the portrait painters who worked at Sánchez Coello's workshop, probably Juan Pantoja de la Cruz,⁷³ who was active during the reign of Felipe II (Filipe I of Portugal) and Felipe III (Filipe II of Portugal); the painting was dated between 1590 and 1600; and its provenance, acquired by Maria Pia of Savoy, may have been Italian.

As a consequence, Pedro Flor's study – based on a historical, stylistic and iconographic analysis – was an important step forward given the few preceding opinions. However, it still revealed the same difficulties and uncertainties surrounding the identification of the artist and the date. Furthermore, it was still necessary to re-establish the chronology of the acquisition process and how the

painting had arrived in Portugal, to confirm the supposed role of the queen as the instigator of the purchase and to reveal the reasons behind its inclusion in the royal collections as the “Portrait of King Sebastião”.

Between the paper’s presentation in 2006 and its publication in 2011, one of the great experts in court portraits of the Felipe II and Felipe III, Maria Kusche,⁷⁴ published *Juan Pantoja de la Cruz y sus seguidores* (2007) in Spain. This study, which is an indispensable source for any researcher interested in the life of the painter and his work, updates and expands her PhD thesis from 1961 (published in 1964) and emphasises the figures of Bartolomé González, Rodrigo de Villandrando and Andrés López Polanco, collaborators of Pantoja’s who extended his style well into the 17th century. In this exhaustive publication, hundreds of portraits are analysed from public and private collections around the world but not from Portugal. And it is in fact strange that no mention exists of the painting in the National Palace of Sintra either in the monograph of 2007 or the book of 2003 dedicated to the first court portraitists of the late 16th century – Sánchez Coello, Sofonisba Anguisola, Jooris van der Straeten and Roland de Moys – even if only to confirm or rectify the attributions supported and disseminated by the Palace itself.

As far as that discussed in this “current state of research” is concerned, it is possible to make four assertions: until now, no inventory or catalogue raisonné exists which records and analyses the presence of Spanish court portraits in Portuguese collections; since 1903, very little information with documentary evidence has come to light about the Sintra portrait, with Pedro Flor’s study (2006), regardless of the uncertainties it raises, being the first to analyse its formal, iconographic and stylistic aspects in any detail; art historiography on Spanish paintings outside Spain does not mention the Sintra portrait, perhaps through lack of knowledge or simply because the painting is not considered to be by a Spanish artist;⁷⁵ but despite the little interest it has aroused amongst researchers, there is a great deal to be said about the “Portrait of a young nobleman: a knight of the Order of Calatrava”, a highlight of the National Palace of Sintra’s collection of paintings.

NOTES

- 1 Sabugosa, 1903: 159. Original text: "*Nas paredes ha varios quadros com retratos de personagens historicos, entre os quaes um pintado por Antonio Moro, que se diz representar El-Rei D. Sebastião, quadro que foi adquirido por Sua Magestade a Rainha D. Maria Pia. Alguns duvidam que represente este Rei, por ter ao pescoço a cruz de Calatrava.*"
- 2 King Sebastião (1554-1578) was the grandson of João III of Portugal and Catarina of Austria on his father's side and Emperor Charles V and Isabel of Portugal on his mother's. This king of the House of Avis resided at the Palace of Sintra on various occasions.
- 3 Created by the king's wishes in the Royal Palace of Ajuda to exhibit his private painting collection. It was inaugurated in 1867, but only opened to the public in 1869. On its creation, inventory and dispersal, see Xavier, 2013.
- 4 Inventory numbers PNS3636 and PNS3599, respectively.
- 5 The portrait is not included in the Painting Gallery's 1869 and 1872 catalogues. The art historian Hugo Xavier's indispensable study identifies most of the works in Luís I's painting collection and charts the main stages in its creation.
- 6 The portrait is not registered in the inventory and valuation of the paintings in the Royal Palace of Ajuda on 31st October 1889, nor in the inventories and partition of assets in the royal palaces conducted later. Besides the two inventories mentioned in the following note, I note another three documents conserved in the archive of the National Palace of Ajuda: *Inventario dos bens... existente em 31 d'Outubro de 1889 no Real Palacio de Cintra*, 25th February 1890, 5.1.20a; *Escritura de partilha parcial dos bens da herança... em 12 de Abril de 1897*, 1897, 9.5.1, cx. 1, doc. 38; and *Partilha final da parte por dividir da Herança... feita no 1º d'Abril de 1899*, 1899, 5.1.24.

Furthermore, in the correspondence of the *almoxarifado* (administrative unit of the royal household responsible for managing the maintenance and finances of a royal palace) of the Royal Palace of Sintra conserved in the archive of the National Palace of Sintra, there are two items of official correspondence that point to the existence of inventories during the reign of Luís I, as yet unlocated or unidentified, with different purposes: the first from 23rd December 1885 by the administrator of the *Fazenda da Caza Real* (Royal Treasury, government department responsible for managing the financial affairs of the royal household), António José Duarte Nazareth, to the outgoing *almoxarife* (head of the *almoxarifado* and resident administrative official of a royal palace), Feliciano José dos Reis, requesting the delivery of an updated inventory of goods to Maximiano Joaquim de Freitas, the new *almoxarife* of the Palace of Sintra as of December of that year, as well as the sending of a signed copy to both *almoxarifes*; and the second from 29th January 1886 sent by the administrator of the Royal Treasury to Maximiano Joaquim de Freitas requesting a detailed list of the objects belonging to the Palace of Sintra transferred to the apartments of King Fernando identifying, where possible, those objects acquired before and after the time of Queen Maria II.

Concerning the death of Luís I and the consequent need to conduct an inventory and valuation of all the artworks and objects at the Royal Palace of Sintra at the time of the partition of the monarch's properties spread around the various royal palaces, the exchange of correspondence between the Administration of the Royal Treasury and the *almoxarifado* of the Palace of Sintra also comments on this: one from 29th September 1898, sent by the administrator of the Royal Treasury, Pedro Victor da Costa Sequeira, to the *almoxarife*, Maximiano Joaquim de Freitas, reporting on the creation of a list of objects in the palace for comparison with those mentioned in the inventory conducted at the time of the death of Luís I. The procurator, Senhor Taveira, and possibly the *almoxarife* of the Royal Palace of Ajuda (Joaquim Isidoro de Sousa) would have been responsible for this, along with the *almoxarife* of the Palace of Sintra. The other from 11th November 1907 sent by the *almoxarife* Jorge da Cruz Reis to Fernando Eduardo de Serpa Pimentel, the last general administrator of the Royal Treasury reporting that the latest inventory of goods of the Palace of Sintra was done at the time of the partition of the inheritance of Luís I.

I would like to thank my colleague Cláudio Marques for bringing these two last letters to my attention.

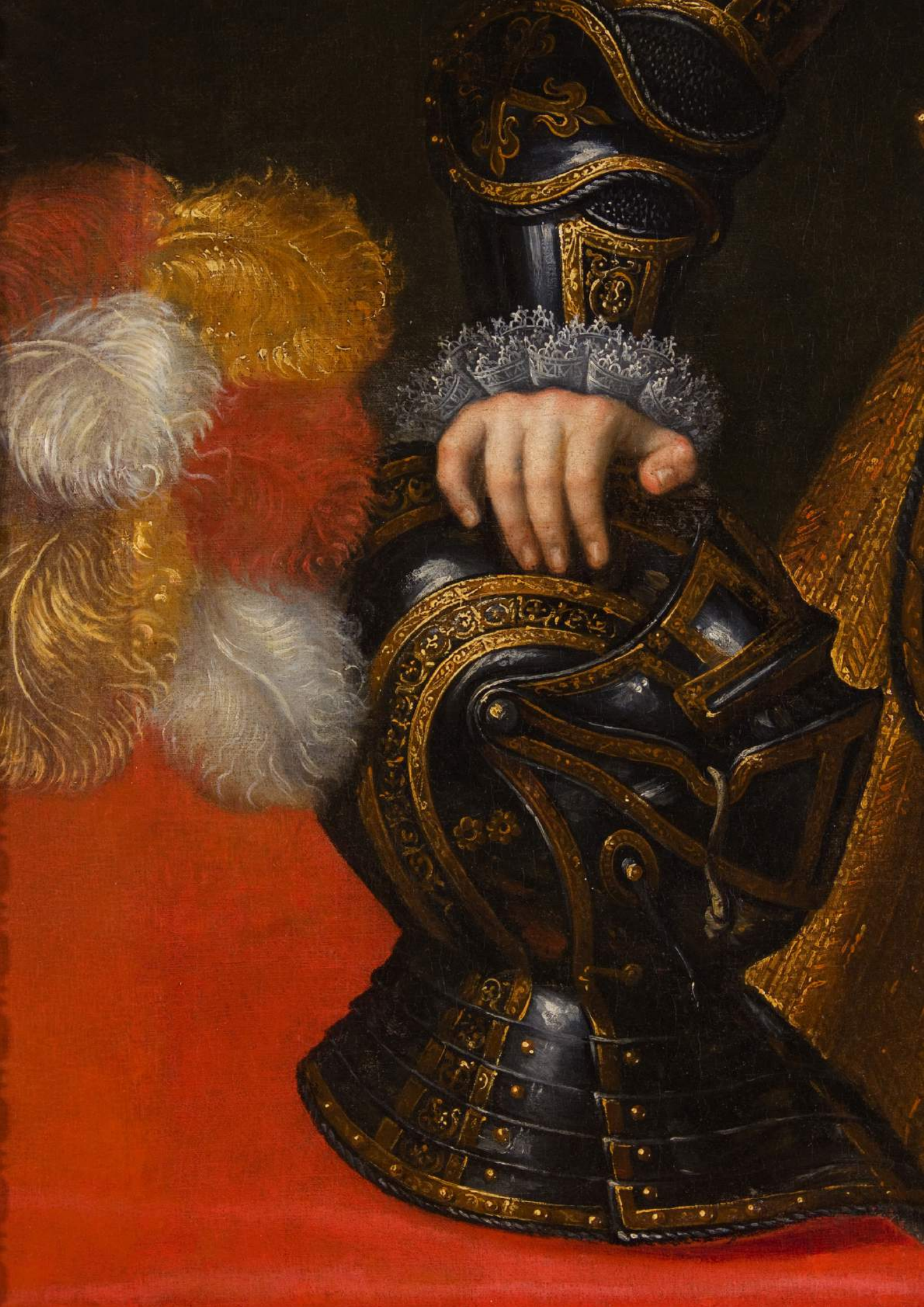
- 7 *Quadros do Real Paço de Ajuda 1889*, 4th February 1892, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional de Ajuda, Lisbon, 5.1.19; and *Quadros do Real Paço de Cintra 1889*, 2nd January 1892, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional de Ajuda, Lisbon, 5.1.21.
- 8 Arquivo do Palácio Nacional de Sintra.
- 9 Arquivo do Palácio Nacional de Sintra.
- 10 Hubert Vaffier (1834-1897). French industrialist, member of the Club Alpin Français and Société de Géographie of Paris.
- 11 *Real Paço de Cintra. Mobília, louças, pannos e mais artigos pertencentes a Sua Magestade A Rainha A Senhora D. Maria Pia. Salla dos Cysnes*, 1894, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisbon, 9.5.1, cx. 1, doc. 30. Original text: "*Salla dos Cisnes ... Um quadro grande a óleo com o retrato de D. Sebastião.*"
- 12 Arquivo do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisbon, 9.5.1, cx. 1.

- 13 *Almoxarifado do Palácio da Ajuda. Nota dos objectos que foram para o Palácio de Sintra*, 13th July 1896, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisbon, 3.1.2, cx. 1, doc. 24. I would like to thank Maria José Gaivão de Tavares, curator of the National Palace of Ajuda, for bringing this document to my attention.
- 14 *Relação dos quadros em 7 de Julho de 1898*, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisboa, 9.5.1, cx. 1, doc. 43. Original text: "11 Um geometra 300.000 / 57 Retrato da Filha de Paulo Visconde 180.000 / 75 Vista d'um canal e um Castelo 72.000 / 137 Combate d'Arabes 200.000 / V.V. – D. Catharina Bragança 90.000 / 842.000".
- The initials "V.V." correspond to the reference attributed to the painting "Catherine of Braganza", probably the portrait sent to the Portuguese Embassy in London in 1937. The document mentions many other portraits of kings, queens and princes that formed a group entitled "Family Portraits", inventoried with capital letters, from "A" to "UUU". This group was stored in the so-called *Arrecadação do Piso Térreo*, a storage area in the north wing of the Royal Palace of Ajuda. I would like to thank João Vaz, curator of paintings at the National Palace of Ajuda, for this information.
- 15 In a circular of 16th April 1880 on the inventory of Crown assets and real estate, ordered in the same year, it was decided that the Crown's assets were all those acquired prior to 1833 and private assets all those acquired after that date. This matter is included in the list of official correspondence of interest to the administration of the Royal Household, whose record (official correspondence no. 107) can be consulted in *Assentos de ofícios enviados 1878-1881*, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisbon, 4.1.2.
- 16 *Partilha final da parte por dividir da Herança de Sua Magestade El-Rei O Senhor Dom Luiz 1º, compreendendo todos os moveis, quadros, estatuas e mais objectos existentes nos Reaes Palacios d'Ajuda e Cintra, feita no 1º de Abril de 1899*, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisbon, 5.1.24.
- 17 *Relação de diversas pinturas do Palácio Real da Ajuda*, undated, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisbon, 9.5.1, cx. 2, doc. 35. Original text: "38 – Retrato de D. Sebastião – E. Hespanhola (Rainha)."
- 18 *Inventario Geral - Paço de Sintra*, undated, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisbon, 8.6.1, doc 16. Original text: "Mobiliario 38:978750 / Pratas 2:563700 / Quadros a oleo e aguarelas, gravuras 1:709000 / 43:251450 [réis]."
- 19 *Inventario Geral - Paço de Sintra*, undated, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisbon, 8.6.1, doc 16. Original text: "Sala dos Cysnes ... 1 Quadro a oleo retrato D. Sebastião – 135.000".
- 20 Perhaps in the so-called *arrecadação do piso térreo*, an area intended for storage in the north wing of the palace. This is a sort of depository or storage area for paintings not on show where pieces from the old royal collections were kept along with items acquired in the meanwhile. My gratitude to João Vaz, painting curator at the National Palace of Ajuda, for this information.
- 21 José de Figueiredo (1871-1937). Studied law at the University of Coimbra and moved to Paris in 1895, where he attended the courses at the École du Louvre, visited museums and associated with scholars, historians and artists. In that year he focused on studying the *Saint Vincent Panels*, six paintings attributed to Nuno Gonçalves, whose restoration he promoted with funding by the Count of Olivais e Penha Longa. He published several books dedicated to the study of various art subjects, above all Portuguese painting; he wrote regularly for newspapers and was intensely involved in Lisbon's cultural life. After the establishment of the Republic, he played a central role in setting out the new policies for heritage and museums. He was appointed director of the new Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in 1911 and chairman of the Academia Nacional de Belas Artes in 1932.
- 22 Figueiredo, 1908: 61.
- 23 This Commission was created by the Finance Minister of the Provisional Republican Government, José Relvas, in October 1910 in the aim of assessing the ownership of the movable assets in the royal palaces, detailing what belonged to the Portuguese state (assets purchased with the funds of the Royal Household) and what belonged to the House of Bragança (assets purchased with the personal funds of the royal family). The Commission comprised renowned figures from the heritage and art world: António dos Santos Lucas (Chairman), Luciano Martins Freire, João Barreira, Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro, Anselmo Braancamp Freire, José de Figueiredo, Raul Lino, José Pessanha, Joaquim Freire dos Santos Calado and Ludgero Maria de Lima e Quina.
- 24 *Processo d'arrolamento ao Paço de Cintra. Direcção da Justiça - 2ª Repartição*, 7th January 1911, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Ministério da Fazenda, cx. 7805.
- 25 This judicial inventory is what was probably sent to the Superintendent of the National Palaces on 6th February 1911. Another copy is kept at the Arquivo Histórico da Casa de Bragança (*cota* NNG 2740) in Vila Viçosa, handed over to the legal representatives of the deposed king, Manuel II, as the basis for the long and complicated process of establishing the ownership of assets. These documents were located by Maria de Jesus Monge, Director of the Museu-Biblioteca da Casa de Bragança.
- 26 *Auto de arrolamento do Paço de Cintra*, 12th December 1910, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Ministério da Fazenda, cx. 7805. Original text: "Verba numero =71= Um quadro a oleo representando Filipe Terceiro d'Hespanha."
- The identification of the figure in the portrait as Felipe III of Spain, albeit wrong, is a matter of summary importance, as we shall see throughout this study.

- 27 *Ofício 344 - Relação de alterações feitas no arrolamento judicial dos bens moveis d'este Palacio*, 13th February 1917, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional de Sintra, Sintra, *Registo d'offícios do Almoxarifado do Real Paço de Cintra, de 5 de Fevereiro de 1900 a 15 de Setembro de 1927*. Transcription of the letter sent by Jorge da Cruz Reis to the Director of the Public Treasury in which is mentioned the sending in attachment of the duplicate of the document *Relação de alterações feitas no arrolamento judicial dos moveis d'este Palacio, concluído em Janeiro de 1911* (Arquivo do Palácio Nacional de Sintra, Sintra, *Correspondência/Ofícios 1910-1939*).
- 28 In 1944, the curator Casimiro Gomes da Silva added to the list of movable assets on this "inventory", including all those which were part of the collections of the National Palace of Sintra after completion of the inventory conducted in 1938-1941.
- 29 *Cadastro dos Bens do Domínio Público-Palácio Nacional de Sintra*, 1938, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional de Sintra, Sintra, *Cadastros 1938-1944*, f. 8v. Original text: "Número de ordem" – "216"; "Descrição" – "Um quadro a oleo, retrato de El-Rei Dom Sebastião"; "Valor" – "2000\$00."
- Among the objectives of this initiative by the Directorate-General of the Public Treasury, conducted over various years, was to take stock of all the movable assets of the national museums and palaces.
- 30 *Inventário dos móveis existentes no Palácio Nacional de Sintra, feito no ano de mil, novecentos, quarenta e sete*, 1947, p. 34, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional de Sintra, Sintra. Original text: "XXX-Sala dos cisnes ... 617-0216 – Dito, D. Sebastião, corpo inteiro, armadura de gala (1,88 x 1,12), de António Moro, em bom estado, 15.000\$00, do fundo antigo."
- 31 "... These are pieces which should they disappear would amount to a truly irreparable loss to state heritage. ..." See *Ofício 2253 - Livro 3 - Processo 13 - Palácio Nacional de Sintra*, 1st January 1954, Arquivo Contemporâneo do Ministério das Finanças, Lisbon, *Movimentação de bens móveis artísticos*, Direcção-Geral da Fazenda Pública, cx. 002, pt. 26.
- 32 *Móveis, pertencentes ao fundo do Palácio Nacional de Sintra (Vila), cuja saída, em caso de emergência, por motivo de guerra, fica prevista, nos termos das circulares de 11 de Agosto e de 30 de Novembro de 1953, da Direcção do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*, 1st January 1954, Arquivo Contemporâneo do Ministério das Finanças, Lisbon, *Movimentação de bens móveis artísticos*, Direcção-Geral da Fazenda Pública, cx. 002, pt. 26. This document is a list of movable assets sent by the curator with the letter cited in the preceding note. Original text: "15-685-216-Dito D. Sebastião, armadura de gala, de Ant. Moro, 15.000\$00."
- 33 Raul Lino (1879-1974). Worked at the Directorate-General of Buildings and National Monuments from 1936 to 1949 (Head of Department in 1936 and Director of Service in 1949) and Artistic Superintendent of the National Palaces from 1938, under the Directorate-General of the Public Treasury.
- 34 In some tourist guides from the second half of the 19th century, especially those aimed at the more cultured visitor to Portugal, it is explained how one could gain access to the Palace of Sintra by way of the *almoxarife* at times when the royal family was absent. Murray (1855): 68; Baedeker, 1898: 543.
- 35 A Portuguese scholarly publication of a tourism and cultural nature (1924-1969). It consists of five volumes covering the nation's entire territory divided into eight tomes. The first volume, dedicated to Lisbon and the Surrounding Areas, was coordinated by Raul Proença, had 700 pages and featured the contribution of 25 experts from various areas. The section dedicated to the Royal Palace of Sintra was written by Reynaldo dos Santos.
- 36 Reynaldo dos Santos (1880-1970). Doctor, university professor, scientist, writer, historian and art critic. His huge oeuvre includes 400 studies on art history and criticism concerning a wide range of art forms.
- 37 Santos, 1924: 495-496. "One comes ... at the end to the former private rooms of the prince, latterly those of King Luís and Maria Pia of Savoy. ... They were converted at the time from the original salons into small compartments. Today one can only visit the part where a small museum with several paintings and tapestries was installed. / The 1st room, which was Luís's bedroom, had a remarkable tapestry ... A beautiful Gobelin. Another also French tapestry ... has had its charm slightly drowned by its ill-considered positioning. / Among the paintings in the following room stands out a sketch by Sequeira and several portraits, such as those of Catherine of Bragança ..., Paula Scarpia (?) [Paola Visconti] and a nobleman from the time of King Sebastião, but which, however, is not the king. This room also has a decorative tapestry from the 18th century. / The most interesting aspect of this part of the building is, however, the balcony or Manueline loggia ... facing the hills, ..., with an east-facing scalloped window adorned with artichokes motifs."
- 38 Joaquim Martins Teixeira de Carvalho (1861-1921). Doctor, teacher, archaeologist and art critic. See *Relatório ex(s)traordinário Sobre um projecto de decoração*, conservador Casimiro Gomes da Silva, 31st December 1947, *Ofícios e correspondência (Ministério das Finanças 1919-1962)*, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional de Sintra.
- 39 Cardoso, 1930: 41. "In the third room, besides a carpet [tapestry] depicting fishermen in Bloisfontaine, there are twenty-two paintings exhibited, of which the following deserve a mention: a portrait of Catherine of Bragança, by Godfrey Kneller, one which is thought to be by Ribera depicting Galileo, another assumed to be a portrait of King Sebastião and, finally, a sketch by Sequeira." Original text: "Na terceira sala estão expostos, além de um tapete representando os Pescadores em Bloisfontaine, vinte e dois quadros, entre os quais merecem ser citados: o retrato de D. Catarina de Bragança, feito por Godfrey Kneller, outro que se imagina ser de Ribera, representando Galileu, outro que se supõe ser o retrato de D. Sebastião e, finalmente, um esboço de Sequeira."

- 40 By way of an example, in 1912 work began on demolishing what had once been intended as service buildings along the perimeter of the palace courtyard, which separated the royal palace from the town; in 1921, the gilded wooden decoration in the Coat of Arms Hall was restored; in 1922, the restoration of the perimeter walls, building walls, roofs, floors and gardens was continued; in 1925, the repair of the floor in the Swans Room was begun; and, in 1928, treatment restoration of the ceiling paintings was begun.
- 41 Pessanha/Abreu, 1932.
- 42 *Ofício do Superintendente Artístico dos Palácios ao conservador do Palácio Nacional de Sintra*, 31st December 1938, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional de Sintra, Sintra, *Correspondência 1910-1939*, no. 72.
- 43 In Sintra, the portrait was almost always associated with the Swans Room, but for a few years, probably from 1913 (the date of Leonildo de Mendonça e Costa's guidebook) to 1929-30 (the plausible date of Marques Abreu's photograph of the Swans Room), it was hung in the area of Luís I's former private rooms, in what is now known as the Manueline Room, which was used as a small gallery for around twenty pictures. In 1932, the former great hall – the Manueline Room – on the piano nobile of the wing erected by King Manuel had already been restored to its original form, though the renovation work continued for some time longer.
- 44 The painting's inventory file (PNS3647) also notes where the portrait has been hung in the palace over time. The complete digital file is housed on MATRIZ, a platform for the inventory, management and dissemination of cultural heritage used by Portugal's National Museums and Palaces. Online access is available through MatrizNet, a collections inventory database.
- 45 Original text: "N.º de ordem 385" – "N.º de Inventário 216" – "DESCRIÇÃO: Retrato a óleo, emoldurado, tela, D. Sebastião, corpo inteiro, armadura de gala, de António Moro" – "ÉPOCA: século XVI" – "ESTILO: espanhol" – "DIMENSÕES: 1,88 x 1,12" – "COLOCAÇÃO: Sala dos Cisnes" – "OBSERVAÇÕES E ESTADO DE CONSERVAÇÃO: em bom estado, 15.000\$00, do fundo antigo."
- 46 In a later inventory file card, probably from the 1970s, the information about the painter of the portrait was altered from "Anthonis Mor" to "attributed to Anthonis Mor".
- 47 *Personagens portuguesas do século XVII. Exposição de Arte e Iconografia*, Palácio da Independência, Lisbon, March 1942.
- 48 Curator of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon.
- 49 A journalist, politician and writer.
- 50 A painter.
- 51 In 1941, the National Academy of Fine Arts in Lisbon requested the temporary loan of two paintings belonging to the collection of the National Palace of Sintra: the portrait of King Pedro II and portrait of King Sebastião. At the end of the same year, they were given permission for both paintings to appear in the exhibition. *Carta de João Celestino Sampaio, Chefe da Repartição do Património, ao conservador do Palácio Nacional de Sintra, Jorge da Cruz Reis*, 13th December 1941, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional de Sintra, Sintra, *Correspondência 1939-1945*.
- 52 Santos, 1942: 5-12. See the preface to the exhibition catalogue, written by Reynaldo dos Santos, at the time President of the National Academy of Fine Arts in Lisbon.
- 53 *XVII Exposição Europeia de Arte Ciência e Cultura*.
- 54 A politician, historian and museologist.
- 55 *As Descobertas e o Renascimento, formas de coincidência e de cultura*, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, May-October 1983.
- 56 Macedo, 1983: 199. Original text: "ANTÓNIO MORO (?) (1517-1576) / Retrato de um Cavaleiro - D. Sebastião (?) / Portugal, séc. XVI / Óleo sobre tela, 188 x 112 cm."
- 57 A historian and university professor.
- 58 Curator of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.
- 59 A historian of Renaissance art.
- 60 An art historian specialised in architecture and Renaissance sculpture.
- 61 A specialist on numismatics.
- 62 On Anthonis Mor and Alonso Sánchez Coello's trip to and stay in Portugal, see Jordan, 1994: 31-78; Pérez de Tudela, 2016: 423-429.
- 63 On Anthonis Mor's legacy in the work of Cristóvão de Morais, see Jordan, 1994: 105-115.
- 64 Vitor Serrão (b. 1952). An art historian and exhibition curator. Professor at the School of Arts and Humanities, University of Lisbon, where he heads the ARTIS-Institute of Art History research unit. His main area of study is the history of art in the modern age, with a special interest in Portuguese painting of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

- 65 *Jornal de Sintra*, 30th September 1983: 1, 6. Original text: “[A] única peça sintrense exposta foi ... a grande pintura sobre tela que representa o Retrato de um Cavaleiro da Ordem de Malta, que orna a Sala dos Cisnes do Paço Real. Esta composição é elegante retrato de aparato, de índole aristocrática, bem caracterizada sob o ponto de vista psicológico – traços vincados de uma ideologia de poder, na cabeça de recorte severo, na couraça lavrada, etc. – e quanto ao naturalismo dos acessórios, particularmente bem executados. ... trata-se de uma pintura de meados do século XVI e da autoria do pintor neerlandês ... António Moro ... um excelente retrato de cavaleiro em corpo inteiro, a que a falta de identificação não retira interesse ...”
- 66 Adriano de Gusmão (1908-1989). A researcher, historian and art critic. A specialist in Portuguese Renaissance painting, he was one of the founders of the Portuguese Association of Museology and the International Association of Art Critics's Portuguese Section. Director of the Museu Nacional Machado de Castro in Coimbra from 1975 to 1978. In 1963, he collaborated on volume two of the publication *Monumentos e edifícios notáveis do distrito de Lisboa* devoted to the Sintra-Oeiras-Cascais area, emphasising the quality of “a good portrait of a young nobleman with a Cross of Calatrava” among the paintings hanging in the National Palace of Sintra. Azevedo/Ferrão/Gusmão, 1963: 37.
- 67 *Jornal de Sintra*, 30th September 1983: 6. Original text: “Já Adriano de Gusmão chamara, em tempos, a atenção para esta pintura do século XVI, sugerindo que, dadas as potencialidades do pincel, se estivesse perante uma obra de mestre ...”
- 68 See for example Reis Santos, 1953; França, 1981; Jordan, 1994; Kusche, 2003; 2007; Flor, 2006. Reference studies in which the Sintra portrait is not even mentioned.
- 69 Pedro Flor (b. 1972). An art historian and university professor. PhD in History of Modern Art from the Universidade Aberta with the thesis *A arte do retrato em Portugal. Entre o fim da Idade Média e o Renascimento*, presented in 2006 and published in 2010. Deputy director of the Instituto de História da Arte of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- 70 Flor, 2011: 213-223.
- 71 The following inscription can be seen in the bottom left corner: “ÆTATIS SVÆ •18•”
- 72 On the details about Juan Vivas de Cañamás provided by Pedro Flor, see Fernández Izquierdo, 1992: 221-225. This is an indispensable study on the Order of Calatrava in the 16th century and its members. As regards the inquiry and report produced on the applicant (Juan Vivas de Cañamás) in order to enter into the Order, this took place in 1586, whereupon he received the habit and was made a knight in 1587.
- 73 Pedro Flor was the first researcher to directly connect the painting in the National Palace of Sintra with Pantoja de la Cruz.
- 74 Maria Kusche (1927-2012). An art historian whose research has been largely undertaken at the margins of the university and museum world. Graduated from the Complutense University of Madrid and took a PhD at the University of Bonn. Leading author on 16th- and 17th-century court portraits, she has written on this subject in numerous scientific reviews, contributed to the catalogues of important exhibitions and published monographs bringing to light virtually unknown portraitists, such as Sofonisba Anguissola, thus establishing new lines of research.
- 75 In 1958, the historian and art critic Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño (1913-1976) published *La pintura española fuera de España. Historia y catálogo*, an essential study in which he discusses the current state of research on the subject in question, analysing the causes for the dispersal of Spanish paintings and undertaking an inventory of those in exile. He identified a total of 3,150 paintings, with their respective records, an enormous task undertaken at a time when it was very difficult to compile and verify such a large amount of information and when the tools we today take for granted as essential to the work of the researcher, such as the internet and online access to databases on public and private collections around the world, were still a figment of the imagination. None of the records relate to the Sintra portrait, although one of them does refer to another portrait belonging to the Duveen Brothers (today in the Norton Simon Museum) whose history and subject matter are crucial to our study.



COLLECTIONS
IN FOCUS

NATIONAL
PALACES

SINTRA QUELUZ PENA

#01 / 2017

IDENTIFICATION OF
THE YOUNG KNIGHT
FROM KING SEBASTIÃO
TO THE COUNT OF SALDAÑA

The

attempt to identify the young nobleman by means of the inscription in the bottom left corner of the canvas [fig. 17] is based on a premise that, as Pedro Flor has mentioned, could be mere coincidence.

The grounds for attribution of his identity lie in the possibility of the portrait celebrating an important moment in the knight's life: his entry into the military Order of Calatrava and investiture as a knight at the age of 18. And as a result the young knight of the aristocratic Order was identified, somewhat reservedly, by Pedro Flor as Juan Vivas de Cañamás.



ÆTATIS SVÆ · J8 ·

[fig. 17]

Inscription indicating the age of the nobleman in the bottom left corner of the portrait. Reproduction of the inscription by Maria José Rosa. The number "456" above the inscription corresponds to an old inventory number.

Joan Vives de Canyamars (Valencia, ?-Sàsser, 1625), lord of the barony of Benifairó de les Valls and Santa Coloma, was granted the habit on 25th May 1587 and, a little while later, on 29th May, made a knight. Felipe III of Spain's ambassador in Genoa (between roughly 1602-1622) and Viceroy of Sardinia (from 1622-1625) during Felipe IV's reign, his career in the service of the Crown was essentially of note for his role as a Spanish political agent in Italy. Despite his important official responsibilities, Juan Vivas was never part of Felipe III's inner circle, linked to the high levels of the court nobility. For that reason, it is difficult to establish a connection in time and location between the Valencian knight and Pantoja de la Cruz, a painter principally active as a portraitist of the royal family and people of high social status within the family and political circle of the court. In other words, if the ambassador was not part of the Spanish court, it is very unlikely he would have been painted by the chamber painter of Felipe II (from 1596-1598) and Felipe III (from 1599-1608).

Whatever the case, proof for the erroneous identification can be found in the magnificent portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas by Pantoja de la Cruz (c.1553-1608) in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena (California), one of the most important private museums in the United States.⁷⁶ The art historian Martin S. Soria identified the person in the portrait in 1954 [fig. 18] and this has remained accepted to this day. The connection between this portrait and the one in Sintra is very clear, both in the proportions and physiognomy of the person portrayed and the scheme of representation adopted (courtly and princely), meticulously repeating the pose and all the items of clothing and the scenographic composition [fig. 19, 20]. A cross-checked study of both works is therefore essential to allow us to understand the sequence in which the Sintra portrait was executed and to appreciate those details which until now have been overlooked or difficult to interpret.

The Norton Simon Museum portrait is probably part of the vast number of paintings from palatial and religious buildings that left Spain in the 19th century as a result essentially of two types of “artistic export”: the plundering during the Peninsular War of 1808-1814 and the uncontrolled exports by Spanish and foreign art dealers of questionable ethics. These individuals took advantage of the chaos throughout the 19th century and the economic difficulties of the post-Napoleonic era, civil conflicts and the prolonged process of confiscation and sale of religious and civil assets in an unstable and disorganised Spain, devoid of effective legal measures to safeguard and protect its national heritage. It could be said, therefore, that until the early decades of the 20th century, Spain suffered a process of alienation and dismantling of original collections whose works ended up being acquired by art dealers or private collectors who subsequently sold them on.

From an uncertain moment until the 1950s, the painting in the American museum was catalogued as being a portrait of Felipe III of Spain.⁷⁷ Mistakes related to the identification of a person in a portrait were quite common in the 19th century, at times due to commercial interests. Their perpetuation over time made it difficult to correctly catalogue and study numerous court portraits produced by the Spanish school. A situation that also affects the portrait from the National Palace of Sintra.

CDH

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE
East Lansing

Department of Art August 28, 1954

Mr. E. S. Boggis
Duveen Brothers Inc.
18 East 79th Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Boggis:

I have done some further searching on your portrait by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz and wonder whether the sitter might be Diego Gomez de Sandoval y Rojas, Count of Saldana, and son of the all-powerful Duke of Lerma. As Lerma's son his grandmother was Isabel de Borja, daughter of St. Francis Borgia and great-grand-daughter of King Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain. This might explain the resemblance of the sitter to Spanish royalty. Saldana's mother was Catalina de la Cerda, daughter of the Duke of Medinaceli and a descendent of Alfonso X, king of Castille, thus another royal link. The Count of Saldana was encomendero mayor (Grand Master) of the Order of Calatrava, worn by the sitter in your Portrait. He married in 1603 (in effect or by proxy, I do not know which) Dona Luisa de Menchaca, heiress to the Dukes of Infantado.

Mendoza

Saldana thus belonged to the highest Spanish nobility. His father, Lerma, had during the rule of Philip III (1598-1621) the position comparable to that of Richelieu, Mazarin, and later Bismarck and Mussolini.

I do not have the Count of Saldana's birth and death date. These the Hispanic Society should be able to look up for you.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,
/s/ M. S. Soria
Martin S. Soria

P.S. Within the royal family, usually wearing the Golden Fleece, we have so far not found a candidate fitted by age. Outside the royal family, Saldana was the highest placed Knight of Calatrava, the one nearest the throne, and thus the one most likely to be portrayed by the King's painter Pantoja.

[fig. 18]

Letter from Martin S. Soria to B. S. Boggis. 28th August 1954.

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Chronologically, the Norton Simon Museum portrait appears to pre-date the portrait in this study. While in the former the face reveals the realism and vitality noticeable in the portraits painted from direct observation by the hand of the master, the latter exhibits a slightly more stereotypical face but one faithful to the Pasadena portrait. The Sintra painting retains the essence and affable quality of the facial features, but without the face playing a central role in the set of elements of the composition, sharing the focus with the colours, textures and details of the clothes and adornments. There are only slight differences between



[fig. 19]

Portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, Count of Saldaña

Pantoja de la Cruz. Spain, c. 1598. Oil on canvas.
Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, California.
Accession number F.1965.1.048.P

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Information taken from the painting's art file report.
In the bottom left corner of the canvas is the number "472" above
the painter's signature: "Juan Pantoja de la †".



[fig. 19]

Portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval

Norton Simon Museum
F.1965.1.048.P

© The Norton Simon Foundation



[fig. 20]

Portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval

National Palace of Sintra
Inv. PNS3647

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[fig. 21]

Portraits of Diego Gómez de Sandoval. Detail and digital superposition of the two faces. Norton Simon Museum (left). Sintra Palace (centre). Superposition (right).

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© PSML

By comparing the portraits and using digital image processing, we can see that the facial features match. In particular, the shape of the face, the relative distance between the eyes, the high and straight forehead, and the drawing of the nose, lips, ears and chin are nearly identical. Even the rosy cheeks, a sign of youthful good health, are visible in both faces.

the two pictures, in details that have no major impact, as if the Sintra work were based on a pre-existing version that may have been used as a model, i.e., produced from earlier *ad vivum* drawings or an easily obtained portrait, perhaps resulting in this sensation of less naturalism in the face of the figure when the works are compared side by side [fig. 21]. For that reason, I consider the version in America an original (signed), an *ad vivum* depiction,⁷⁸ and the version in Portugal a replica⁷⁹ (unsigned), an accurate reproduction in which a different facial concept can be seen that is more akin to an idealisation, an artistic practice commonly used by Pantoja depending on who and what the portrait was intended for. As regards the inclusion of Pantoja's signature or lack thereof, this can be seen either as a result of the difference in the way originals and replicas were regarded at the time, or as the involvement of the master, totally or partially, in the process of executing the portraits. In the case of the replica, therefore, it is possible to imagine the difficulty of painting the figure from direct observation, on the one hand, and the possible participation of another painter, on the other, especially when there was a great deal of work and in Pantoja's late period. If, in fact, a disciple or collaborator worked on the portrait in Sintra for some reason, it does not diminish the unmistakable style of the master. The refined reddish flush of the cheeks, the delicate use of shade and the subtle reflections in the hair, the accurate brushwork in the details of the ruff and the armour, the soft modelling suggesting the muscles on the legs – even surpassing the lack of corporeality in the original⁸⁰ – reflect the mastery of his art and his great talent as a court portraitist.

According to Maria Kusche, “it is the first known portrait ... of the second son of the Duke of Lerma ... He is depicted here in c.1598 after Felipe III had ascended the throne and begun to distribute royal gifts [*mercedes*] to the family of the Marquis of Denia, the recently appointed Duke of Lerma, raising this son to the rank of Grand Master of the Order of Calatrava. Diego married the Countess of Saldaña in 1604.”⁸¹ A little bit of explanation is needed here:

- In January 1599, papal dispensation was requested so that Diego could receive the Grand Commandery (*encomienda mayor*) of Calatrava since he was too young to do so (he was 11).⁸² This dispensation was issued by Pope Clement VIII in February.⁸³ On 13th February, Felipe III bestowed Diego with a royal cedula so that he could

receive the habit of the Order and on 15th February the inquiry into the noble genealogy and purity of blood of the Marquis of Denia's son commenced.⁸⁴ Inquiries in Lisbon, Gandía, Madrid, Medinaceli and Lerma extended through the second half of February and the whole of March (Francisco de Alfaro Osorio, procurator-general of the Order of Calatrava, and Dr. Frei Agustín de Villafranca, the superior of the Holy Convent of Calatrava, were responsible for conducting the investigation). The Council of Military Orders decided in favour on the "candidate" and on 3rd May Diego received a royal provision to be knighted. On 7th May another provision was issued confirming the *merced* of the habit granted by Felipe III months earlier to Diego (now 12 years old), a requirement in order to be able to enjoy the annual income of 10,000 ducats associated with the Grand Commandery.⁸⁵ The knighting ceremony took place on 17th May. Finally, on 9th August, Diego was granted a royal provision to administer the Grand Commandery (*encomienda mayor*) of Calatrava, whose income his father was to manage until he reached the age of 22, according to the special dispensation from the Pope.

Considering the above,⁸⁶ under no circumstances can the date attributed to the painting be 1598, nor can the figure be considered a Grand Master (*Maestre*). He could only be a Grand Commander (*Comendador mayor*)⁸⁷ since the Order's highest dignity had been reserved for the Crown since 1489, during the time of the Catholic Kings.

- Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, Marquis of Denia and Diego's father, received the title of Duke of Lerma on 11th November 1599 which means that at the time of his son's appointment to the position of Grand Commander no reference could have been made to his having been the Duke. However, he already possessed formidable power and influence at court due to his position as the new king's favourite (*valido*), initiating a process of accumulation of highest offices, royal grants and favours for himself and his family.⁸⁸
- The marriage settlement between Diego Gómez de Sandoval (aged 16) and Luisa de Mendoza (aged 21), Countess of Saldaña and heiress to the 6th Duchess of the Infantado, was signed in August 1603. The wedding was held on the night of 29th August at the court in Valladolid with extraordinary pomp and circumstance. The godparents were King Felipe III and Margarita of Austria.⁸⁹

BIOGRAPHY

Diego Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas (Madrid, 1587-Madrid, 1632) was the younger son of Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas and Catalina de la Cerda.⁹⁰ He was baptised in the church of Santiago in Madrid on 2nd May 1587,⁹¹ suggesting he was born in April.

The second son of a noble Castilian House, he was exposed to the transcendence of courtly life from an early age thanks to the brilliant palace career of his father, author of the recovery of the property and influence that had once belonged to the House of Sandoval.

In 1599, at his father's request, and by favour of Felipe III, he was granted the Grand Commandery of the military religious Order of Calatrava. In 1603, by virtue of his marriage to Luisa de Mendoza, he was appointed a gentleman of the King's chamber (*gentilhombre de la real cámara*). In 1607, he was made high constable of the Court (*alguacil mayor de la corte*), which had recently moved back to Madrid. And in 1615 he was appointed Master of the Horse (*caballerizo mayor*) of the Prince's Household (Felipe IV).

The son of the Duke of Lerma, as a member of a noble, powerful and rich lineage, was extremely wealthy primarily as a result of the revenues assigned to his Grand Commandery, the income from the *mayorazgo* entail (estate inherited only by a specified line of heirs, designated by its founders) established on his behalf by his father at the time of his wedding and the generous income from his first wife, Countess of Saldaña and heiress to the wealth and properties of the Duchy of the Infantado. This fortune allowed him to sustain a court of knights and gentlemen, as well as become a patron to writers such as Luis Vélez de Guevara and Lope de Vega. The former, in his opusculum *Elogio del Juramento del Serenísimo Príncipe don Felipe Domingo, Quarto deste nombre* (1608), dedicated more than ten verses to his patronage, writing the following: "The greatest king in the world is that of España / For at his side stands the Count of Saldaña" (*El mayor rey del mundo es el de España / Pues a pie lleva al Conde de Saldaña*).⁹² The latter dedicated the prologue to his tragic epic *Ierusalén conquistada* (1609) to him, praising him as a patron and benefactor.

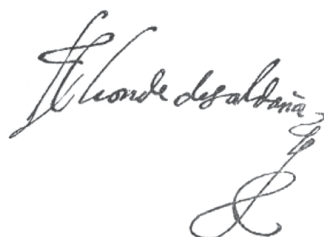
A great admirer of belles-lettres, in around 1606 he founded a literary academy that held soirées – more or less frequently until around 1612 – at which were read lines by the finest writers of the age, in the presence of literati and scholars, and compositions by the Count of Saldaña himself and other young noblemen.

His privileged position began to wane after 1618 when his father was ousted from court, further exacerbated after the death of his wife in Madrid in August of the following year, removing any chance of his becoming Duke of the Infantado. The count consort of Saldaña was in Lisbon at the time as part of the entourage of noblemen accompanying Felipe III and the Prince heir to the throne on their visit to Portugal, the last major court event in which he took part as Master of the Horse to the future Felipe IV. [fig. 22]

The valuable Mendoza inheritance passed down to his children, Rodrigo and Catalina, who had been placed under the guardianship of the old Duchess Ana, Diego's mother-in-law. His eldest son, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar y Mendoza, inherited the County of Saldaña in 1619 and the Duchy of the Infantado in 1633.

In April 1621, after Felipe III's death, the Sandovals' fall from favour was already evident.⁹³ Due to the insistence of the Count of Olivares, Felipe IV's favourite, he was deprived of the Grand Commandery of Calatrava – his chief source of income – and dismissed from all court positions and offices he had enjoyed, becoming a mere second son of a house once again fallen into disgrace whose members were banished from the court. On the new king's orders, he married a second time on 21st April 1621 to a lady-in-waiting called Mariana de Castilla y Córdoba with whom he had had an illicit relationship. This unequal union was sealed at the Convent of Las Descalzas Reales in Madrid, from where he left for Pastrana and then on to serve during the Dutch Revolt on an income of just 6,000 ducats. Years later, the Count-Duke of Olivares, the king's favourite, returned the Grand Commandery of Calatrava to Diego and restored him as a gentleman of the Royal Household.

On 7 December 1632, he died in Madrid at the age of 45 after blood-letting. His body was laid to rest at the chapel of the church of San Francisco de Borja at the professed house (*Casa Profesa*) of the Jesuits in Madrid, whose founding at the beginning of the 17th century was owed to the express desire of the Duke of Lerma, his father. Diego Gómez de Sandoval's final act as a Knight took place on the day of his ecclesiastical burial, dressed in the military clothes and attributes that appear in the Palace of Sintra's portrait, "dressed as a knight with the habit of Calatrava [ensign, jewel of the order] on his chest and a gilt sword and dagger" (*vestido de caballero con su hábito de Calatrava en el pecho y espada y daga doradas*).⁹⁴



[fig. 22]

**Reproduction of the signature
of the Count of Saldaña**

taken from a letter sent from Lisbon by
Diego Gómez de Sandoval to the Count of Gondomar.
Lisbon, 14th November 1619.

Courtesy of the Real Biblioteca, Palacio Real de Madrid

..... §



Black-and-white photograph of the portrait acquired by Norton Simon in 1965 from Duveen Brothers Inc.

Taylor & Dull Photography, 980 Madison Ave., N.Y. 21. 1948-1962?

© The Norton Simon Foundation
Courtesy of The Norton Simon Museum Archives

GENEALOGY

ASCENDING GENEALOGY

In 1600, the historian Friar Prudencio de Sandoval, a distant relative of the Duke of Lerma, published *Crónica del ínclito emperador de España Don Alonso VII* in Madrid dedicated to King Felipe III and designed to exalt the main noble lineages of the realm, in particular the House of Sandoval, whose ancient royal origins it accentuated. In Valladolid, the chronicler presented the two parts of his work *Historia de la vida y hechos del emperador Carlos V*, printed in 1604 and 1606, in which he underlined the court and military career of the Sandovals in the service of various monarchs.

Aside from these somewhat mythical genealogies, obtained through the patronage of Duke of Lerma, there are in fact links in Diego Gómez de Sandoval's historical past to various families of the Spanish and Portuguese nobility and royalty, as the following genealogical diagram shows.

Noronha Family

An illegitimate branch of the royal houses of Portugal and Castile. One of the most important noble families during the reigns of João I and Manuel I.

In the Coat of Arms Hall of the Royal Palace of Sintra, the first coat of arms at the lowest level of the octagonal ceiling – under those of the two daughters of King Manuel I (Isabel and Beatriz) – is that of the Noronha family. On the ceiling can be seen an armorial of the Portuguese court nobility from the first quarter of the 16th century. The coats of arms of seventy-two of the kingdom's most influential noble families surround that of the King and his eight children from his second marriage to the infanta Maria of Aragon, daughter of the Catholic Kings of Spain.



Noronha family coat of arms

16th century
Painting on wood
National Palace of Sintra

© PSML

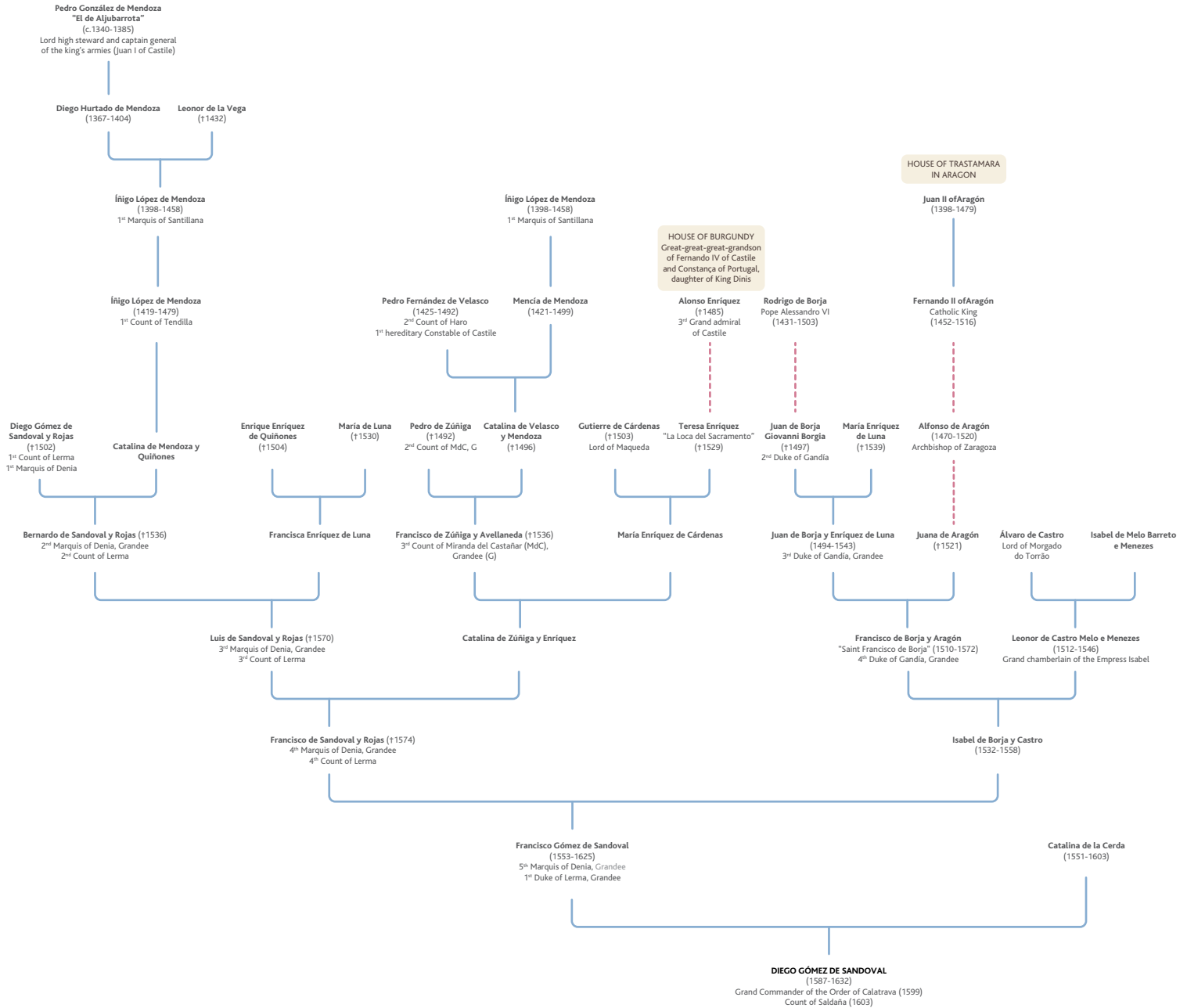
Photo: EPI_Escola Profissional de Imagem. Tiago Costa.

ASCENDING GENEALOGY / Paternal line

Symbols:

Legitimate descendant —————

Illegitimate descendant - - - - -



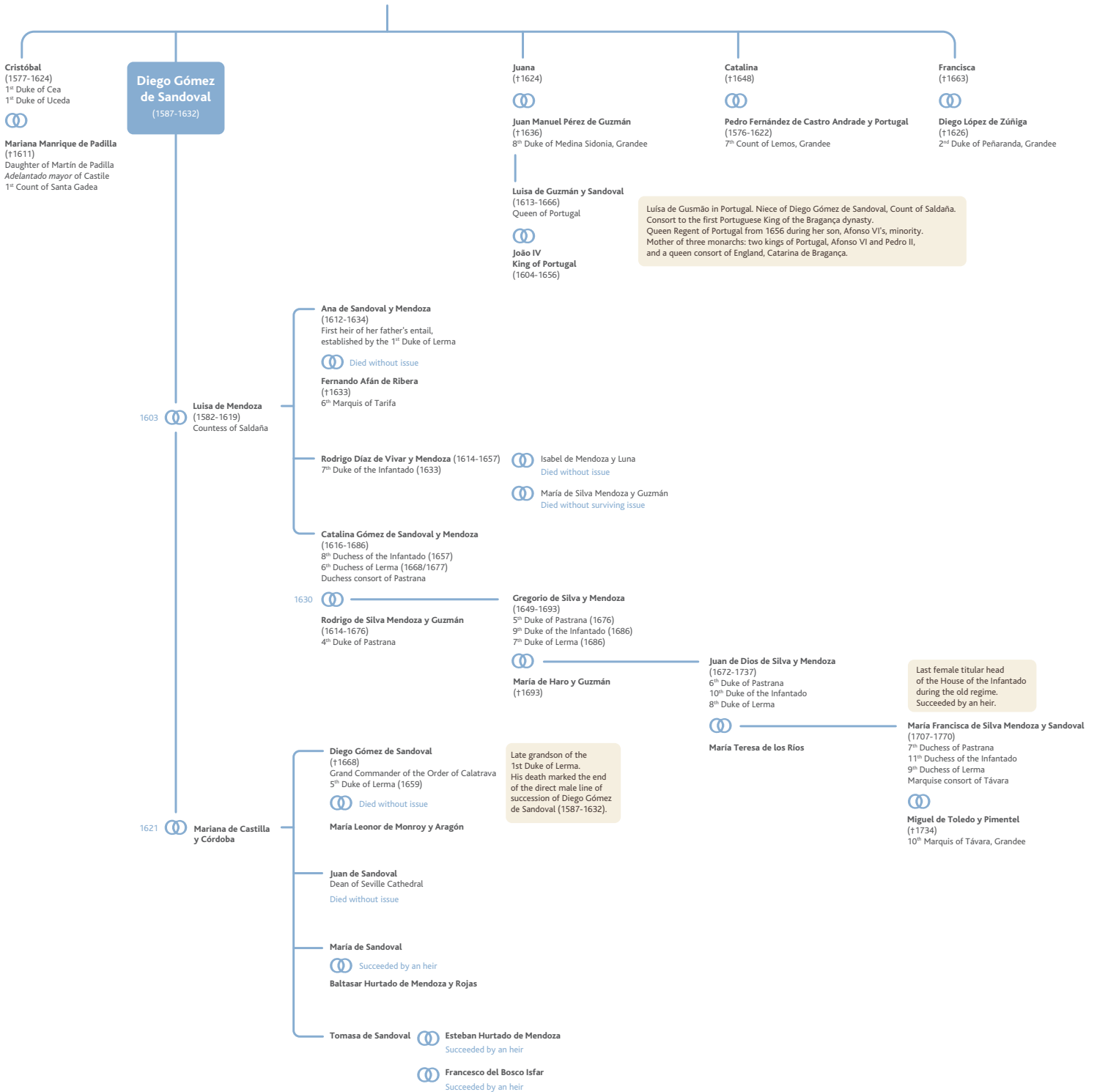
GENEALOGY

DESCENDING GENEALOGY

From 1602 to 1603, the Duke of Lerma, head of the House of Sandoval, decided to reorganise the family patrimony into two independent entailed estates (*mayorazgos*). The largest, based around the Duchy of Lerma, was for his eldest son Cristóbal, while the second, recently created, was established for his younger son, Diego, and his firstborn descendants. This new entail, providing an income of 20,000 ducats, was set up so that Diego would receive it in 1603 at the time of his wedding to Luisa de Mendoza, heiress to the Duchy of the Infantado. This union represented the culmination of the process to raise Diego's social and court standing which was begun by the Duke of Lerma in 1599 when he obtained for him the rank of Grand Commander of the aristocratic Order of Calatrava.

Diego Gómez de Sandoval never became the 7th Duke of the Infantado. The title and *mayorazgos* was instead assumed by his eldest son, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar y Mendoza, the first in a new line of the House of Sandoval incorporated into the House of Mendoza-Infantado. Rodrigo left no heir and so the titles and entails of the Infantado passed to his sister Catalina, the Duchess consort of Pastrana, who united under her and her descendants the Duchies of the Infantado and Lerma with that of Pastrana as a result of her marriage to the 4th Duke, Rodrigo de Silva y Mendoza.

DESCENDING GENEALOGY



NOTES

76 According to information provided by the Norton Simon Museum, this portrait belonged to the former Galeria Orléans, the collection of paintings assembled by Philippe II, duke of Orléans and regent of France (1674-1723), from 1700-1723 and sold in portions in London in 1792 by Louis Philippe Joseph d'Orléans (1747-1793), the regent's great-grandson. However, in my opinion, the reference "former Galeria Orléans" could also refer to the Spanish Gallery of the late king of France, Louis-Philippe I of Orléans (1773-1850), created between 1835 and 1837 through Baron Taylor, and sold by his sons at the London auction house Christie & Manson in 1853. Whatever the case, the portrait was added to the collection of the British merchant and collector Hollingworth Magniac (1786-1867), and was exhibited at his Colworth residence in Bedfordshire, England [probably acquired in the 1850s or 1860s]. On 4th July 1892, it was auctioned in London at Christie, Manson & Woods as a portrait of Felipe III, king of Spain [Colworth Collection, lot 124]. The painting remained in England and was bought by E. C. Smith, in whose family it belonged until 13th February 1948 when Nancy Oswald Smith sold it at Christie's in London [lot 39]. It was then acquired by Duveen Brothers, a firm of art dealers active between the end of the 19th century and mid-20th century with branches in London, Paris and New York [New York, stock no. 30031]. In 1965, the American businessman, philanthropist and collector Norton Simon (1907-1993) acquired the painting by Pantoja de la Cruz, already identified as a portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, Count of Saldaña, from it. Its identification was the work of Martin S. Soria (1911-1961), a renowned art historian and professor at the University of Michigan. In a letter dated 28th August 1954 to Bertram S. Boggis from Duveen Brothers Inc., Soria corrects and justifies the subject's identity after research begun in March or April of this year.

I would like to thank Norton Simon Museum Archives for the information provided and for access to the aforementioned letter.

- 77 In the list of paintings by Pantoja de la Cruz included in *La pintura española fuera de España* (1958), entry no. 2125 mentions a portrait of Felipe III, whose description and details coincide with the portrait acquired by Norton Simon in 1965 from the Duveen Brothers gallery in New York. In the information on the portrait's location is the following: "New York, Duveen Brothers". See Gaya Nuño, 1958: 264.
- 78 The term *ad vivum* in relation to court portraiture is applied to portraits executed from direct observation, resulting from an encounter with a living model. The treatise *Do tirar polo natural*, written by Francisco de Holanda (1517-1584) between 1548 and 1549, discusses this and other matters related to the art of portraiture. The text was translated into Castilian Spanish in 1563 by Manuel Denis.
- 79 As far as the concepts of "original", "replica", "copy" and "variation" are concerned, I shall follow in general terms the categories used by Maria Kusche in her studies on portrait art. Accordingly, an "original", painted from direct observation, corresponds to a portrait by a master that directly captures the features of the model, while a "replica" is a portrait by a master, on which there may be collaboration by his studio, which adheres exactly – or almost – to the first version of a certain portrait, without the introduction of significant variations (the replicas sometimes display small variations). By a "copy" is meant a reproduction of an original portrait by a different artist, including copies of original portraits by a master entirely produced by his workshop.
- 80 The Sintra portrait is of Diego Gómez de Sandoval at the age of eighteen. The physique, proper to his age, is more muscular than in the Norton Simon Museum portrait and clearly visible in the leg muscles.
- 81 Kusche, 2007: 171. Original text: "*es el primer retrato conocido ... del hijo segundo del Duque de Lerma ... Lo retrata c.1598, después de que Felipe III, ya transformado en Rey, comenzara a repartir mercedes a la familia del Marqués de Denia, recién nombrado Duque de Lerma, elevando a este hijo a Gran Maestre de la Orden de Calatrava. Diego se casa en 1604 con la Condesa de Saldaña.*"
- 82 According to the statutes of the Order of Calatrava of 1576, still in force in 1599, it was essential to have reached the age of 10 to receive the Habit and 17 to be made Commander. Gómez, 1576: 129. In 1599, to avoid this requirement, special dispensation was sought from Rome to award the Grand Commandery of Calatrava to Diego Gómez de Sandoval, who at the time was underage. This was undoubtedly granted, in the opinion of the historian Francisco Fernández Izquierdo, by the payment of a large donation whose amount is unknown. Fernández Izquierdo, 1992: 58.
- 83 On the bull by Pope Clement VIII, see *Colección don Luis de Salazar y Castro*, doc. I-31, f. 92-94, of 26th February 1599. This Castilian Spanish copy of the papal bull belongs to the collection of the court chronicler and knight of the order of Calatrava, Luis de Salazar y Castro (1658-1734), and is kept at the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid.
- See also Cabrera de Córdoba [relation of 26th February 1599]: 10. Around 21st February 1599, it was already public knowledge that a request had been made to the Holy See for special dispensation for Diego Gómez de Sandoval to be granted a Grand Commandery of Calatrava. Thus records the historian Luis Cabrera de Córdoba (1559-1623), who chronicled life in the Spanish court from 1599 to 1614. His close ties to the Spanish court began in the reign of Felipe II, where he held several positions of responsibility. He remained at the El Escorial until 1599. From 1603, he was in the service of Margarita of Austria, queen consort to Felipe III. I use the edition published in Madrid in 1857.

- 84 In this case, the administrative procedures necessary in order to become a member of the Order of Calatrava reveal the particular circumstances of being the son of the King's favourite, such that the date when the habit and commandery were granted is prior to the date when the inquiry's report should have been delivered to the Council of Orders, an investigation necessary to assess the suitability of Diego as a new member of the Order. Felipe III, as the highest authority of the Crown and Grand Master of the Order, had the power to authorise the entry of new members and to grant commanderies prior to the canonical collation, governed by ecclesiastical law and the rules and statutes of Calatrava. Without doubt, the case of Diego is one of the most extreme examples since he received the Grand Commandery directly from the King when he was still underage and before the individual appraisal had been conducted as to his suitability as a future member of the prestigious chivalric and military Order of Calatrava.
- 85 Cabrera de Córdoba [relation of 17th April 1599]: 10, 14. In February and April, the chronicler already refers to Diego Gómez de Sandoval as the Grand Commander of Calatrava, months before the title was officially confirmed by the Council of the Military Orders.
- 86 I would like to express my deep gratitude to Francisco Fernández Izquierdo, a scientific researcher and head of the Department of Modern and Contemporary History at the Instituto de Historia del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-CSIC, for his generous help and information about the Order of Calatrava and the person of Diego Gómez de Sandoval. The details provided stem from his published work on the military orders, direct contact with the author and the following "expediente de información": *Diego Gomez de Sandoval, hijo del Marques de Denia*, 1599, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, *Sección de Órdenes Militares, Caballeros de Calatrava*, exp. 1072.
See also Fernández Izquierdo, 1992: 58, 307-308; 2005: 204, 212, 214, 225.
- 87 The chief dignity of the Order after Grand Master. The latter was occupied by Felipe III during the process of granting the Grand Commandery of Calatrava to the then Marquess of Denia's second son.
- 88 At the beginning of 1599, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas (1553-1625), the 5th Count of Lerma and 5th Marquis of Denia, was Master of the Horse (*caballerizo mayor*) and Groom of the Stole (*sumiller de corps*) to Felipe III, Grand Commander of Castile in the Order of Santiago and member of the State and War Councils. On 11th November 1599, he was given the title of Duke of Lerma by royal decree. Felipe III's reign represents the high point of the political, economic and patrimonial importance of the House of Sandoval, accumulating official positions, properties and income of a varied nature and extending the Duke of Lerma's power beyond the court. One of the main strategic decisions he took as Felipe III's favourite was to replace much of the courtier political and administrative apparatus of the preceding reign, creating a highly loyal group of people including some from his own closest coterie, above all family members and friends.
- 89 Luisa de Mendoza (1582-1619) was the eldest daughter of Rodrigo de Mendoza and Ana de Mendoza. Luisa's marriage to Diego Gómez de Sandoval had been sought after by the Duke of Lerma since 1600. Between April and June 1601, there was also mention of the heiress of the Duke of Medinaceli as a future wife for Diego. For Lerma, the marriage with Luisa represented the uniting of the House of Sandoval with the powerful House of Mendoza-Infantado, a family with an illustrious Castilian lineage and one of the original Grandees of Spain (the elite of Spain's titled high aristocracy), while for Ana it provided privileged access to the king's favourite and, by extension, to the king himself. Cabrera de Córdoba: 64-65 [relation of 8th April 1600], 100 [relation of 21st April 1601], 106 [relation of 30th June 1601], 184-185 [relation of 9th August 1603], 188 [relation of 6th September 1603].
- 90 Catalina de la Cerda (1551-1603). Daughter of Juan de la Cerda, Duke of Medinaceli, and Joana Manuel de Noronha (one of the Portuguese noblewomen who accompanied Isabella of Portugal, daughter of King Manuel and consort of Emperor Charles V, on her journey to Castile), who was the daughter of Sancho de Noronha, Count of Odemira, and Ángela Fabra y Centelles, lady-in-waiting to Queen Maria, consort of King Manuel, and later grand chamberlain of the Empress Isabella.
- 91 Regarding Diego Gómez de Sandoval's date of birth (a crucial detail in ascertaining his age when he received the Habit and Grand Commandery of the Order), the information is scarce and at times contradictory. The most recent details were supplied by Santiago Martínez Hernández, a professor and researcher at the Universidad Complutense of Madrid, in the biographical entry for Diego in volume 45 of the *Diccionario Biográfico Español* by the Real Academia de la Historia. The author suggests he was born in 1587, though does not confirm it. See Martínez Hernández, 2013: 979-980.
I used the details contained in a major primary source, the investigation file for entry into the Order of Calatrava, in which there is a reference to the baptism (date and place) allowing us to deduce that when the inquiries were conducted in February-March 1599, Diego was 11 years old: "*En dos de mayo de mil y quinientos y ochenta y siete años, yo, el licenciado Martín Suárez Hurtado, cura propio desta iglesia de Señor Santiago de Madrid, baptizé a Diego Joseph Gaspar Luis, hijo del marqués de Denia y de doña Catalina de la Zerda, su mujer. ... El licenciado Suárez Hurtado y el dicho licenciado Villarreal, juró in verbo sacerdotis ser el libro de los bautizados en la dicha iglesia y lo firmó.*" Transcription with updated script and abbreviations written in full, courtesy of Francisco Fernández Izquierdo. Diego Gomez de Sandoval, hijo del Marques de Denia, 1599, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, *Sección de Órdenes Militares, Caballeros de Calatrava*, exp. 1072, f. 6v.

- 92 Entrambasaguas, 1941: 165.
- 93 Cristóbal Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas (1577-1624), Marquis of Cea since 1599, Duke of Cea since 1604, Duke of Uceda since 1610, Groom of the Stole and Master of the Horse to Felipe III. Knight of the Order of Santiago and Calatrava, he was granted the commanderies of Hornachos, Caravaca, Monreal and Bolaños. The eldest son and main heir of the Duke of Lerma, he replaced his father as Felipe III's favourite for a short period of time from 1618. When the king died in 1621, the ascendancy of the House of Sandoval disappeared completely. The reign of Felipe IV saw the advent of a new favourite (Gaspar de Guzmán, Count of Olivares) and the persecution of the Sandovals and their next of kin.
- 94 Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, Toledo, Osuna c.1775, D.7(3). I would like to thank Miguel F. Gómez Vozmediano, Chefe de Secção do Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, for this information.

For this biography, I essentially made use of information from the following sources: Cabrera de Córdoba, 1599-1614; Gascón de Torquemada, 1600-1649; López de Haro, 1622; Núñez de Castro, 1653; Álvarez y Baena, 1789.

I also consulted the detailed inquiry report for entrance into the Order of Calatrava: *Diego Gomez de Sandoval, hijo del Marques de Denia*, 1599, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, *Sección de Órdenes Militares, Caballeros de Calatrava*, exp. 1072.

On the literary academy of the Count of Saldaña, see Pedraza Jiménez, 2010: 53-68.



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STATIS SVA 18.

COLLECTIONS
IN FOCUS

**NATIONAL
PALACES**

SINTRA QUELUZ PENA

#01 / 2017

SUGGESTED DATING

AS

regards the date the portrait in the Norton Simon Museum was painted, around 1598 (determined by the firm Duveen Brothers based on the opinions of reputed experts)⁹⁵ is the year the museum has accepted and made official since it was added to its painting collection. Maria Kusche accepts this date and, without questioning it, gives her reasons for doing so on a premise that has not yet been proven, based on the reason for the commission: “possibly ... to celebrate his new dignity.”⁹⁶ The problem with this attributed date lies, on the one hand, in the fact that the author did not take the year of the birth of Diego Gómez de Sandoval (1587) into account, probably because she was unaware of it. And, on the other, in the need to deepen the context and origin of the commission. Therefore, based on certain reasoned facts, it is possible to make several assertions and propose various hypotheses:

- His age in 1599, when he was granted the Habit and Grand Commandery of the Order of Calatrava, was 11 and 12, respectively. However, the face of the portrait in the American museum does not suggest such a young age.⁹⁷ On the contrary, what one sees is the visage of a confident young man painted with great veracity already at the age of puberty,⁹⁸ conscious of the power of his family and his initiation into the complex game of court life by his father.⁹⁹ A game in which dynastic responsibilities played a crucial role, especially that of ensuring a fortunate marriage, with two clear goals: to strengthen the family lineage through ties to another important aristocratic line and to ensure its continuity by producing an heir.



[fig. 23]

**Portrait of Francisco Gómez de Sandoval,
1st Duke of Lerma**

Pantoja de la Cruz
Spain, 1602
Oil on canvas
Hospital de Tavera, Toledo
Ducal House of Medinaceli Foundation

© F.C.D.M. | Courtesy of the Foundation



[fig. 24]

**Portrait of Catalina de la Cerda,
1st Duchess of Lerma**

Pantoja de la Cruz
Spain, 1602
Oil on canvas
Hospital de Tavera, Toledo
Ducal House of Medinaceli Foundation

© F.C.D.M. | Courtesy of the Foundation

As I mention above, the main source for determining the age of the person in 1599 is the inquiry and report produced on Diego Gómez de Sandoval in order to enter the Military Order of Calatrava, or, in other words, the investigation into the nobility, purity of blood and other requirements imposed by the Order's statutes. The thoroughness of the genealogical research conducted allows confidence in the credibility of this source of dating, making it unlikely that the Norton Simon Museum portrait was painted in 1599, since the subject appears to be around 16 years of age rather than 11 or 12. That being so, it would have been produced around 1603, near in date to the first known portraits of the Dukes of Lerma by Pantoja de la Cruz¹⁰⁰ [fig. 23, 24] and the increasingly active and

strategic determination to project Diego onto the stage of court life until making him a key piece in the Duke of Lerma's ambitious policy of alliances based on the cleverly arranged marriages of his children¹⁰¹ in the aim of increasing the power and influence of the House of Sandoval at court. In light of this, the idea that the portrait was commissioned near to the date of the wedding to Luisa de Mendoza and regarded as an integral part of the process of visually constructing and projecting the status of the Duke of Lerma and his family, through the appropriation of the attributes and schemes of representation used by the royal family, in order to validate and promote his preferential position within the inner circle of the King and the government of the Spanish monarchy, gains greater weight. And, in fact, the pictorial construction of the ambitions and rise to state power of the Duke of Lerma do not merely manifest themselves in his own official portraits, but also in those of his second son, who reached the top of the high Castilian nobility and court hierarchy in 1603 thanks to his union through marriage with the Countess of Saldaña.¹⁰²

- Diego Gómez de Sandoval must have admired the portraits that Pantoja painted for his family and, in particular, the full-length portrait depicting him in equestrian parade armour since we know that the painter produced at least one other along the same lines, almost certainly the painting hanging today in the National Palace of Sintra. In fact, Pantoja's last testament,¹⁰³ from 7th October 1608, shows that he continued to work for the Duke of Lerma's second son: "I declare that I have a payment order [*libranza*] from the Count of Saldaña for the end of April of the coming year sixteen hundred and nine [1609] for three thousand two hundred *reales*, for, amongst others, his portrait, which I have yet to finish; if he wishes, he may pay in full, or his lordship may charge only what has already been delivered to the agreed payment order held by the administrator of his commandery."¹⁰⁴ Pantoja died on 26th October of the same year and in the inventory of his home and workshop¹⁰⁵ of 3rd November is detailed, amongst other property, all of the paintings still at the latter, mentioning Lerma's son again: "Another full-length portrait of the Count of Saldaña."¹⁰⁶ Judging by the closeness of the dates of both documents (testament and inventory made after Pantoja's death), it is likely that we are dealing with the same painting.

Based on these details and the year of Diego's birth (1587), it seems logical to assume that the Sintra portrait is that mentioned in the documentation of 1608 and that, consequently, the inscription in the bottom left corner ("ÆTATIS SVÆ •18•") places the date the portrait was commissioned at around 1605, which, interestingly, is the date Martin S. Soria attributed in May 1954¹⁰⁷ to the portrait owned by Duveen Brothers, later acquired by the art collector Norton Simon. If this proposed date is confirmed, then it would be a late commission that remained in Pantoja's workshop for years without reaching its client. This was very common, on the one hand, due to the great demand for the artist's work, obliging him to delegate part of the execution or completion of the portraits to his workshop collaborators. On the other, it was a consequence of late payment, which also affected clients such as the royal family and the affluent Sandovals. When Pantoja died, he had a considerable number of undelivered portraits. Amongst them were several of the Duke of Lerma and his family, including the portrait of the Count of Saldaña mentioned above that may have been completed, since the document of 3rd November 1608 includes nothing that would lead us to think otherwise. However, for the time being, it is impossible to confirm whether it was in fact finished or not.

- From a formal and rhetorical point of view, the portrait in the Norton Simon Museum is very similar to the portrait of the Duke of Lerma (1602) at the Ducal House of Medinaceli. In fact, the portrait of Diego can only be completely understood if we take into account the major campaign of personal and political promotion undertaken by the Duke, which was especially intense during the court's sojourn in Valladolid (1601-1606). Images, symbols, literature and ceremony served both to project the primacy of his person and lineage before the titled nobility and to legitimise his role as the king's only favourite.

In the visual construction of this discourse of power, an important role was played by the design of official images – both public and courtly – and that is exactly what the portrait in the Norton Simon Museum represents: the official image of a “prince” of the House of Sandoval. And not just any old prince of the high nobility, but the son of the king's favourite; the head of government in the service of the monarch and the monarchy, through whose hands passed all affairs related to the

direct exercise of power and the granting of positions and favours. It is an image of power expressed in the form of aristocratic propaganda and persuasion, at a time close to his wedding to the heiress of the Infantado. It moulds the person's youthful traits and high status in order to convey them to a specific palace and courtly audience, with the Grandees of the Castilian nobility very particularly included. The painting fits into one of the Duke of Lerma's key courses of action during his time as the king's favourite: to use all of the means available to him to attract the grandest families and to create a unique and powerful court faction under his leadership. And this political strategy, we should remember, required that he join his family to the oldest, wealthiest and most prestigious noble houses in Castile, using his children and family members to form alliances through marriage.

According to direct testimonies,¹⁰⁸ Diego Gómez de Sandoval had a "handsome face and pleasant bearing, combined with an affable and attractive manner",¹⁰⁹ qualities which Pantoja captures admirably. In 1617, the poet and playwright Lope de Vega confirmed this description when referring, in a letter, to Diego as "a portrait of his father: discreet, loving, courteous, sweet, affable and worthy of particular consideration."¹¹⁰

By depicting him as a Grand Commander of the Order of Calatrava, Pantoja extols the purity and antiquity of his bloodline, i.e. his noble lineage, as well as the idea of his being a soldier of Christ or *miles Christi*,¹¹¹ in turn evoking the glorious past of the Sandovals as warriors for the Spanish kings and defenders of the Roman Catholic Church during the reconquest of Spain from the Muslims (Moors).¹¹² If, through the image as a Knight of the Order of Calatrava, the young nobleman affirms the grandeur and martial prowess of his lineage by being depicted using the official formulas for court portraiture of the ruling dynasty, he shows his very close relationship with the king through whose favour he is allowed to be portrayed in princely tones, in his image and likeness,¹¹³ with all the significance that entails. It is a clever exercise in representation that dispels any idea that might suggest his position as a second son and which conveys an image in line with his status as a member of a large and wealthy noble house deserving of its titles, privileges and positions.

- Although no document is known which might identify the commissioner of the portrait and its exact purposes, it seems logical to assume that it was commissioned by the Duke of Lerma, coinciding with the establishment of the Court in Valladolid between January 1601 and February 1606.¹¹⁴ The transfer of the capital of the Spanish monarchy from Madrid to Valladolid is the supreme evidence of his influence over the king and his authority at court. Valladolid was Lerma's city and he it was who controlled the government mechanisms and affairs of the crown. The portrait of Diego makes complete sense in the context of these specific and special circumstances. I think that its chief purpose was to act as a form of propaganda, part of the strategy orchestrated by the Duke of Lerma to extol his family, a house descended from kings whose power, though deriving from the king himself, also required bonds of marriage and friendship to maintain its dominance over the different court factions and to achieve its private interests. It is important to recall the longed for union of the House of Sandoval with the powerful House of the Infantado, since it is known that the Duke of Lerma met the Dukes of the Infantado on various occasions with a view to marrying his son to the heiress to one of Castile's oldest aristocratic families. The portrait in question, therefore, far from being a mere representation of the physical appearance or recent military distinction of the favourite's second son, is an image of codified power in which nothing is surplus to requirements or randomly chosen. All of the elements of this composition were carefully considered, endowed with a meaning that goes beyond the commemorative or genealogical characteristics redolent of family portrait galleries. What it conveys in scenographic terms, in the style of the armoured princes of the House of Austria,¹¹⁵ is Diego's prestigious lineage and, above all, his excellent position within the structure of the main military orders and Felipe III's court, Grand Commander of the ancient and aristocratic Order of Calatrava, gentleman of the king's chamber and son of the monarch's sole favourite. Consequently, his privileged court position was unassailable, making him worthy of a wife whose status matched his circumstances and the expectations of his father, even if he were not the eldest son. From a socioeconomic and legal point of view, the fact that he was a second son was a disadvantage and a situation that required

correction. Between 1602 and 1603, therefore, the Duke acquired several properties near Madrid with the aim of creating an entailment (*mayorazgo*, inalienable heritable property) for Diego and providing him with an income of 20,000 ducats (5,000 of which were incorporated into the Duchy of the Infantado), besides the 10,000 ducats in annual income from his Grand Commandery of Calatrava. Not to forget the honour of being the head of the *compañía de arcabuceros a caballo* (company of mounted harquebusiers) responsible for protecting the captain-general of the Spanish cavalry (his father) and the prestige and influence associated with his (imminent) status as one of the king's closest servants.¹¹⁶ The purpose behind all of this was to afford him lands, offices and suitable income to ensure his high-ranking position in the hierarchy of the court and inclusion in the select circle of the high nobility, a necessity if, primarily, he were to be considered an attractive prospect in the marriage "market" of the kingdom's Grantees. In this way it would be possible to guarantee an advantageous alliance that served the interests of the House of Sandoval, though the Duke of Lerma would also have to grant palace offices and privileged positions as a means of persuasion.¹¹⁷

The first reports of contacts between the Duke of Lerma and the House of the Infantado in the aim of reaching a nuptial agreement appeared in April 1600. Íñigo López de Mendoza, the 5th Duke of the Infantado, refused to grant his granddaughter and heir's hand in marriage, even after Felipe III personally intervened in May 1601. Between April 1601 - the 5th Duke of the Infantado died in August of the same year - and June 1602, therefore, rumours spread around the court concerning a possible marriage to the eldest daughter and heiress to the Duke of Medinaceli. However, in 1603, after detailed negotiations between the Duke of Lerma - through Pedro Franqueza¹¹⁸ - and the Dukes of the Infantado, the Sandovals and the Mendozas, a noble Castilian house with a Grandeeship,¹¹⁹ were finally united through marriage. The marriage settlements between Diego Gómez de Sandoval and Luisa de Mendoza were ironed out during the month of August. The wedding took place on 29th August at the Royal Palace of Valladolid.

The terms established in the agreement are included in various sources from the time,¹²⁰ illustrating the Duke's firm desire to seal a marriage alliance that represented the culmination of a process of promoting his second son, to the point where Lerma agreed to pay a compensation of 100,000 ducats in the event the couple failed to produce any offspring for the House of the Infantado. The marriage settlement also mentions the practice of changing name in response to the altered fortunes of one of the couple: a better position or social standing, for example. In fact, to allow the wedding to go ahead and so that the married couple could receive the incomes from the Countess of Saldaña's entailed property, one of the clauses stipulated that Diego's surname be altered from Gómez de Sandoval to Hurtado de Mendoza.

Analysing the portrait in the Norton Simon Museum in this light, in the context of such a significant union and a strategy to construct and project a certain image of power, partly allows us to understand the reasons why it was commissioned, as well as its significance. In the case of the portrait in the National Palace of Sintra, this is also the best approach for a detailed reading of its iconographic aspects and intimate connections to Spanish Habsburg portraiture.

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NOTES

- 95 R[obert] Langton Douglas (c.1598, in a letter from 10th February 1949), former director of the National Gallery of Ireland, university professor, art historian, art dealer and collaborator of Duveen Art Galleries in New York from the 1940s onwards; Martin S. Soria (c.1605, in a letter from 10th May 1954), assistant professor of the Department of Art at the Michigan State College; and Manuel Lorente (c.1590, in a letter from 17th May 1954), curator at the Museo del Prado. See *Files regarding works of art: Pantoja de la Cruz, Philip III of Spain, 1948-1954*, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 960015 (bx. 271, f.7). Available in the "Duveen Brothers records, 1876-1981" database at <http://hdl.handle.net/10020/960015b271f007>. Accessed: 30th August 2016.
- 96 Kusche, 2007: 171. Original text: "*posiblemente... para celebrar su nueva dignidad.*"
- 97 16th-century Spanish historians, such as the humanist Pedro Mexia and Franciscan theologian Juan de Pineda, proposed the age of 14 as the end of childhood. See Mexia, 1602 [1540]: 157-163. Pineda, 1589: XXII, 45.
- 98 Puberty as a synonym for adolescence. In Pedro Mexia's *Silva de varia leccion*, one of the most widespread and successful encyclopaedic miscellanies of 16th-century Europe, man's life is divided into several stages according to the ideas of various astrologists, philosophers, doctors and poets. Adolescence is regarded by some to mean the period following childhood, from the age of 15, when a man is considered fit to marry and sire offspring, while for others childhood is deemed to extend to the age of 17. In fact, 16 was the age when many members of the high nobility were wed, such as in the cases of the 5th and 7th Dukes of the Infantado, Diego Gómez de Sandoval's grandfather-in-law and eldest son, respectively.
- 99 The first major event he took part in as Grand Commander of Calatrava while still at a young age was the entourage of the Marquis of Denia that left for the lands of Valencia on 29th March 1599 to receive Margarita of Austria, the wife of Felipe III. He also took part in the queen's ceremonial public entrance into the city of Valencia, where the royal marriage was ratified, which occurred on 18th April with pomp and circumstance and whose festivities included numerous soirées and tournaments, amongst other entertainment. Various entourages of nobility attended the event, of note the 5th Duke of the Infantado, Íñigo López de Mendoza, grandfather of the future wife of Diego Gómez de Sandoval. Sources from the time recount that the queen, before crossing the Puerta de Serranos and making her triumphal entry, paused and mounted "a richly decorated horse with a golden saddle and embroidered velvet cloth, dressed in a large silver skirt with gold embroidery and pearls. Holding her skirt was Diego Gómez de Sandoval, Grand Commander of Calatrava, son of the Marquis of Denia, with the king's equeries at her side. ... And thus did they enter the city at 12 o'clock behind Her Majesty." See *Relación de los casamientos del Rey nuestro Señor con la Reina Doña Margarita nuestra Señora, y de los Señores Archiduques Alberto é Infanta Doña Isabel*, one of the relations of political events printed in Seville by Rodrigo de Cabrera at the end of the 16th century during the reign of Felipe III. The original text reads as follows: "*una hacanea riquisimamente aderezada, con sillón de oro y gualdrapa de terciopelo bordada, vestida de saya grande de tela de plata bordada de oro y perlas de matices. Llevábale la falda Diego Gómez de Sandoval, comendador mayor de Calatrava, hijo del Marqués de Denia, y los caballeros del Rey nuestro señor á los lados. ... Y así entraron en la ciudad á las doce del día, detrás de S.M.*" This transcription is from the digital edition of the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, tomo XLIX, cuaderno I, July 1906. Rodríguez Villa, 1906: 21-27.
- On the very young age of Diego and the resulting problems of protocol, it is worth stressing his role at the joint general chapter of the Orders of Calatrava and Alcántara, agreed on 19th April 1600 at the royal convent of Saint Jerónimo in Madrid. There, in the presence of the King (the Grand Master), he participated in the ceremony associated with the assembly alongside many other commanders and knights but not as head of the Calatrava chapter, since his age of 13 or so was deemed too young to hold the office, despite his position as a Grand Commander, the second highest authority of the Order after the Grand Master. He was replaced by Martín de Alagón, Grand Commander of Calatrava for Aragon. See Cabrera de Córdoba [relation of 6th May 1600]: 66.
- 100 Property of the Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli. Portraits signed and dated (1602) bottom left.
- 101 As an example, he married Cristóbal, his eldest son, to Mariana de Padilla, daughter and heiress of the *adelantado* of Castile; and Diego, his second son, to Luisa de Mendoza, Countess of Saldaña and heiress of the Infantado. In the case of his daughters, he married Juana to Manuel Pérez de Guzmán, Count of Niebla, the eldest son of the Duke of Medina Sidonia; Catalina to her first cousin Pedro Fernández de Castro, Marquis of Sarria, the eldest son of the Count of Lemos; and Francisca to Diego López de Zúñiga, the heir to the Count of Miranda, Duke of Peñaranda and Marquis of Bañeza.
- 102 In his chronicle, Pinheiro da Veiga reveals the importance of this union: "*El segundo [son], Diego Gómez, es comendador de Calatrava, casado con la hija del duque del Infantado y su heredera, y conde de Saldaña, entretanto el mayor casamiento que dicen hubo en España ...*" Pinheiro da Veiga [relation of 22nd June 1605]: 101. I use here the Castilian edition of 1916 published in Valladolid.
- 103 Reproduced in Kusche, 2007: 488-492; 1964: 252-257. Document analysed for the first time in Sánchez Cantón, 1947: 95-120.

- 104 Original text: "*declaro que tengo una libranza del señor conde de Saldaña para fin de abril del año que viene de seiscientos y nueve, de tres mil y duzientos reales, y entre en ellos su retrato, el que esta por acabar; si le quisieren pagar por entero, si no su señoría quite lo que fuere servido y se cobre la libranza que esta sobre el administrador de su encomienda y acetada.*"
- 105 Reproduced in Kusche, 2007: 493-497; 1964: 258-263.
- 106 Original text: "Mas un retrato entero del conde de Saldaña."
- 107 Letter 10th May 1954 sent by Martin S. Soria to B. S. Boggis from Duveen Brothers Inc. See *Files regarding works of art: Pantoja de la Cruz, Philip III of Spain, 1948-1954*, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 960015 (box 271, folder 7).
- 108 Accounts compiled by Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, later mentioned by Joaquín de Entrambasaguas. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, founder of the Hispanic Society of America in New York and member of the Real Academia Española, was responsible for the academy's gazette, the *Boletín de la Real Academia*, from its first issue in 1914 until his death in 1936. See Entrambasaguas, 1941: 97-100.
- 109 Original text: "*bello de rostro y de agradable apostura, unido todo a un carácter simpático y atrayente.*" Entrambasaguas, 1941: 98.
- 110 Original text: "*un retrato de su padre, discreto, amoroso, cortés, dulce, afable y digno de particular consideración.*" Letter compiled by Agustín González de Amezúa in volume III (1941) of the *Epistolario de Lope de Vega Carpio* (1935-1943). I use the facsimile edition of 1989 here. González de Amezúa, 1989: 341.
- 111 The defence of the faith and protection of the Roman Catholic Church are two pledges the knights of the Order of Calatrava inherited in the 16th century from their medieval predecessors. See Postigo Castellanos, 1999: 257-272.
- 112 As far as the glorification of the heroic deeds of the Sandovals is concerned, it is worth recalling the silk and gold tapestries described at the time with the motif of the spectacular banquet offered by the Duke of Lerma to the Earl of Nottingham – Lord High Admiral of England – and his embassy on 7th June 1605, at which the Spanish kings attended as privileged but concealed spectators. It was the Duke, the centre of court attention, who was the admiral's host during his visit to the court of Valladolid to ratify the peace treaty between England and Spain signed the year before in London. The account of the state banquet served in his palace rooms, annexes to the royal palace, appears in various sources, Spanish, Portuguese and English. The rich tapestries evoking the history of the House of Sandoval and commissioned by the Duke himself around 1602 for exhibition at ceremonies (public and private) and celebrations (religious and profane) were displayed in one of those rooms. The tapestries glorify the host's ancestors – the host's power – who, for their services to the court and on the battlefield – especially at significant moments in the reconquest of Spain – received titles and filled strategic positions. It is a carefully designed and ostentatious way to extol the importance and achievements of his house in the succession of events that marked the political rise of the crown and to bind the favouritism of the king and prominent figures to the Sandovals. See Godinez de Millis, 1605: 25-28 [*Combite que hizo el Duque de Lerma, al Almirante de Inglaterra*]. I use the digitised version here courtesy of Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- 113 I adapt here Antonio Feros' two accurate expressions, "*representación en tonos regios*" and "*a su imagen y semejanza*", related to the interpretation of Pantoja's portraits of the Duke of Lerma as twin images of King Felipe III. Feros, 2002: 196-200.
- 114 In the payment receipts for the Duke of Lerma, quoted by Maria Kusche, no mention is made of the portrait now in the Norton Simon Museum. See Kusche, 2007: 178-182, 453-459. Neither does it appear in the Duke's portrait gallery reconstructed by Sarah Schroth from the inventories of 1603, 1605, 1606, 1607 and 1611. Schroth, 1990: 116-305.
- 115 I use the term "House of Austria" as a synonym for the Habsburg dynasty ruling in Spain and Portugal, known as the Spanish Habsburg line.
- 116 A small and select group of servants who benefited from the king's grace and, ultimately, shared his power (or, more precisely, the royal favourite's grace and power). He was appointed "gentleman of the king's chamber", a key palace office, as a reward for his marriage to the Infantado's heiress.
- 117 For the 6th Duchess of the Infantado, the marriage represented a means to obtain the support of the king's favourite in the legal dispute with her cousins concerning the familial properties and inheritances which could only be passed on to a male heir. It was also a means to ensure honours for her second husband and uncle, Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, who, in August 1603, was appointed a gentleman of the king's chamber and counsellor of state. At the same time, the Duke of Lerma and the Dukes of the Infantado signed the marriage agreement for Diego Gómez de Sandoval and Luisa de Mendoza. It should also be noted that five ladies of the Mendoza family were appointed the queen's ladies-in-waiting. See Cabrera de Córdoba [relation of 6th September 1603]: 188.
- 118 Secretary of state and the Duke of Lerma's confidant. Pantoja painted the favourite's favourite on more than one occasion.
- 119 A Grandeeship (*Grandeza*) is the highest honour bestowed on Spain's titled nobility, immediately below *Infante* or *Infanta*, titles given to the children of the king and heir apparent. Although its origin dates back further, it was in 1520 that Charles V conferred this grandee status to the Castilian nobility, giving rise to a small and select group of families which from that moment on were considered to have the oldest and most powerful lineages. The Spanish grandees were, in part, descended from royalty or had married into it. The 3rd Duke of the Infantado, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1461-1531), was the first member of the Mendoza house to be given the honour in 1520.
- 120 Cabrera de Córdoba [relation of 9th August 1603]: 184, 185. Núñez de Córdoba, 1653: 201, 202.



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A PORTRAIT IN PRINCELY TONES

Digital superposition of two portraits
executed by Pantoja de la Cruz

Portrait of Felipe III, King of Spain
Portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval (detail)

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The visual sources used by Pantoja de la Cruz to construct the full-length standing armoured portraits of Francisco (Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli, 1602) and Diego Gómez de Sandoval (Norton Simon Museum, c.1603) are the formulas and pictorial solutions established by the painters in the service of the ruling dynasty, whose chronological boundaries can be fixed between the mid-16th and turn of the 17th century for the reasons we shall see below. In the specific case of the Diego portrait, the time spectrum extends only to the 1590s.

Recognising these sources, and their visual language and possible symbolic significance, implies regarding both portraits as the special pictorial representation of two key members of the king's inner circle and power who flaunt their aristocratic, military and court status by using the iconography associated with the Spanish Habsburg kings and princes. In other words, these are two court portraits which, although they cannot – for obvious reasons – be included in the category of royal portraits with armour,¹²¹ share the same connotations of martial power and dynastic affiliation and authority. The first known use of this court visual language in the context of the Grandees of the Spanish nobility can be found in the portrait painted by Anthonis Mor at the Brussels court in c.1549 of the 3rd Duke of Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo y Pimentel,¹²² at the time Lord High Steward (*mayordomo mayor*) to Carlos I of Spain (Emperor Charles V), knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece and Lord High Steward to Prince Felipe, the future King Felipe II. In this painting [fig. 25], Mor adopts an innovative, and even quite novel, approach

to shaping the portrait of one of the Emperor's most trusted confidants, combining Nordic precision with a Titian prototype¹²³ that dates back to 1548¹²⁴ when Titian (c.1490-1576) painted, in Augsburg, an armoured portrait of Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor and first Habsburg king of a united Spain.¹²⁵ Unfortunately, this lost portrait is only known of through its copies.¹²⁶ Its huge success made it the most emblematic and widely divulged model for the emperor's official portraits. Its major impact on court portraiture gave rise to numerous versions and copies by court painters, of which the three paintings commissioned by Felipe III from Pantoja de la Cruz for the monastery of El Escorial stand out. The first (1599),¹²⁷ in three-quarter length, was intended for the dynastic gallery in the sacristy [fig. 26]. The other two (1605¹²⁸ and 1608¹²⁹) were full length in three-quarter view and intended for the library of El Escorial. [fig. 27]

Anthony Mor therefore used Titian's formula for the Emperor and replicated it, perhaps for the first time,¹³⁰ in a court and martial painting of a non-royal: the Duke of Alba. The purpose appears clear: to confer an aura of royalty and courtly victory on the image of power of a Spanish Grandee, a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece¹³¹ – as his collar and insignia flaunt – and champion of the imperial cause and the recently founded Spanish monarchy. Other members of the princely nobility loyal to the Habsburg dynasty had their portraits painted by Mor in the same mimetic pose and style, such as Willem, Prince of Oranje¹³² in 1555.

The portrait of the Duke of Alba, therefore, predated by decades the strategy of imitation visible in the portraits of the Duke of Lerma, whose pictorial language and codes are intelligible to a certain target audience.¹³³ After the fall of Felipe III's great favourite, this careful artistic exercise, designed to create a mimetic image of the king, was continued by the Count-Duke of Olivares, Felipe IV's favourite. Three people close to the ultimate source of power, aware of the value of state portraits in the context of how they circulated and were received and consumed at places where the courtiers assembled and their incredible potential as a tool of visual propaganda and legitimation, as a conveyance of coded messages of pride and supremacy. These portraits were commissioned, after all, by men who had a shared ability to influence the fate of the monarchy.



[fig. 25]
**Portrait of Fernando Álvarez de Toledo,
3rd Duke of Alba**

Anthonis Mor
Brussels, c.1549
Oil on canvas
The Hispanic Society of America, New York
Inv. A105

© The Hispanic Society of America, New York
Courtesy of the Museum



[fig. 26]
Portrait of Charles V

Pantoja de la Cruz, copy after Titian
Spain, 1599
Oil on canvas
Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial
Inv. 10014145

© PATRIMONIO NACIONAL
Courtesy of the Institution



[fig. 27]

Portrait of Charles V

Pantoja de la Cruz, copy after Titian
Spain, 1605

Oil on canvas

Museo Nacional del Prado

Inv. P01033

© Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado
Courtesy of the Museum

While the grand Duke of Alba held a crucial political and military position in the reigns of Charles V and Felipe II, during the time of Felipe III nobody was closer to the king than the Duke of Lerma, both inside and outside the palace. As his Master of the Horse (*caballerizo mayor*) from September 1598,¹³⁴ he was responsible for organising royal journeys, accompanying the king at all of his appearances outside the palace on foot, by carriage or on horseback. As his Groom of the Stole (*sumiller de corps*) from December 1598, he was in charge of the royal privy chambers and assisted the king during his most intimate rituals and actions. Under his command were the gentlemen of the royal chamber, whose appointments he could influence, thereby controlling the group of people who had daily access to the king.¹³⁵ The first position allowed him to control access to the king and to select those who served the royal household; the second gave him unbridled access to the king in the palace's more private rooms (a privilege of the *grandees*), control over requests for audiences and enabled the Duke to appear at certain ceremonies in the robes associated with the royal persona. They were therefore the highest offices in the king's household, along with that of Lord High Steward, on which Francisco Gómez de Sandoval based the foundations of his power, which reached its apogee during the court's stay in Valladolid (1601-1606).

Enjoying the favour of the king's favourite was tantamount to receiving royal favour, the main source of grants and gifts, above all after being affirmed as the only intermediary between Felipe III and any of his subjects and government institutions. Nevertheless, the authority and legitimacy of the Duke of Lerma as the king's sole favourite was not totally ensured, as proved for example by the tensions and factions amongst the aristocratic elites, the emergence of criticism in political literature and the Duke's need to offset these opposing forces through all the alliances and tools of propaganda he could muster. On the one hand, he resorted to historical and theoretical arguments to justify and legitimise his central role in monarchical government from an institutional point of view, a process begun in September 1598 when appointed a member of the Council of State.¹³⁶ On the other, he encouraged the use of external symbols and artistic manifestations of his power and influence. It is through this lens that the second son of Felipe III's favourite must also be analysed. An analysis which would be incomplete if insufficient attention is given to Pantoja's armoured portrait of the Duke of Lerma.¹³⁷



[fig. 28]

**Portrait of Felipe II with the armour
he wore on the day of the Saint-Quentin Battle**

Anthonis Mor, 1560
Oil on canvas
Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial
Inv. 10014146

© PATRIMONIO NACIONAL | Courtesy of the Institution



[fig. 29]

**Portrait of Felipe III
at the siege of Ostend**

P. Pantoja de la Cruz, c.1601
Oil on canvas
Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Gemäldegalerie
Inv. GG 9490

© KHM-Museumsverband

The portrait of Francisco Gómez de Sandoval [fig. 23] follows the pictorial formula created by Titian in 1548 for the lost portrait of the Emperor Charles V with armour and commander's baton¹³⁸ and by Anthonis Mor for the first armoured portrait of King Felipe II (1560) [fig. 28], painted after the Battle of Saint-Quentin, also a full-length portrait in which the king holds a baton of command.¹³⁹ The seminal lessons of these portraits can be seen in another work by Pantoja that also may have been used as a reference for the Duke of Lerma portrait. I refer here to the portrait of Felipe III at the siege of Ostend (c.1601) [fig. 29], a major Spanish victory over the Dutch rebels. This portrait, still in existence, is one of the first commissioned by the new king from Pantoja de la Cruz.¹⁴⁰ Numerous simplified versions of this portrait exist by the same painter, demonstrating its status as the king's official portrait. In some the crimson campaign tent and landscape background are featured [fig. 30], while in others a sober interior can be seen. [fig. 31]



[fig. 30]

Portrait of Felipe III

Pantoja de la Cruz, 1606
Oil on canvas
Museo Nacional del Prado
Inv. P02562

© Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado
Courtesy of the Museum



[fig. 31]

Portrait of Felipe III

Pantoja de la Cruz, 1605
Oil on canvas
Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria Collection
Inv. 417

© David Mecha | Courtesy of BBVA



[fig. 23]

Portrait of Francisco Gómez de Sandoval, 1st Duke of Lerma

Pantoja de la Cruz
Spain, 1602
Oil on canvas
Hospital de Tavera, Toledo
Ducal House of Medinaceli Foundation

© F.C.D.M. | Courtesy of the Foundation

Consequently, when selecting the prototypes at the time of painting the duke's portrait, Pantoja de la Cruz resorted to the staging and iconography of the official images of the monarchs of the House of Austria. He transposed the symbols of power that project the unique importance at various levels of the Duke of Lerma, establishing an intentional imitation and emulation of the martial portraiture of Charles V, Felipe II and Felipe III that flaunts the role of the Duke as royal personal favourite in the service of the King and Crown. It is an audacious pictorial solution to which the king's consent was no doubt given. This is an interesting "novelty" in Habsburg court portraiture (first glimpsed in 1549 in the portrait of the Duke of Alba), especially if we bear in mind that Lerma was not a member of the royal family.¹⁴¹

In Pantoja's portrait [fig. 23], the duke does not restrict himself to extolling his high dignity as Grand Commander of the Order of Santiago in Castile¹⁴² but also flaunts



[fig. 32]

Equestrian portrait of the 1st Duke of Lerma

P. P. Rubens
Valladolid, Spain, 1603
Oil on canvas
Museo Nacional del Prado
Inv. P03137

© Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado
Courtesy of the Museum

one element, the commander's baton, bestowing martial authority and a regal tone to the image. On the one hand, this element anticipates his future position as supreme commander of the Spanish cavalry¹⁴³ [fig. 32]. On the other, it evokes the assertive images of Charles V (engraving, *La Alamanna*, Antonio Francesco Oliviero Vicentino, 1567) and Felipe II (bronze sculpture, Leone and Pompeo Leoni,¹⁴⁴ 1551-1553) in the self-confident manner in which he holds the baton of command, almost vertically, based on representations of Roman emperors. This appropriation of the images exclusively used to represent Habsburg kings proclaims the Duke's privileged and unique position¹⁴⁵ and the special partnership between the monarch and his favourite. However, the portrait shows a prudent level of respect by diluting the regal tones, presenting his distinctive, and non-idealised, facial features – openly showing the squint in his right eye¹⁴⁶ and

V-shaped wrinkles on his forehead¹⁴⁷ – and deleting certain elements like the gauntlets and the crimson curtain in the portraits used as a reference. After all, mutual friendship was not tantamount to an equal partnership.¹⁴⁸

This premeditated and permitted strategy of appropriation, of constructing a mirror image, can also be seen in Pantoja's portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas [fig. 19], second son of the Duke of Lerma. It is inspired by the portraits of the armoured princes of the Spanish monarchy¹⁴⁹ [fig. 33, 34] and specifically adopts the formula used by the painter in the 1590s for the official portraits of Crown Prince Felipe¹⁵⁰ (Felipe III), the heir to the throne. This full-length representation of Diego in armour however does without the sumptuous curtains and gauntlets on a table covered by a scarlet velvet cloth [fig. 35, 36, 37]. What is created therefore is a kind of twin image of the king's successor whose significance, both implicit and veiled, has to do with the political and family issues already mentioned, related to the transmuting of royal favour into wealth, status and power, the key means by which to impress and attract the courtiers and dominate the network of alliances. In the end, the painting was a representation of the son of the most influential man in Spain during the reign of Felipe III. If the king's favourite – aware as he was of the factors of perception and reaction to state portraits¹⁵¹ – had himself painted in the image and likeness of the king, as if a kind of alter-ego,¹⁵² then it is logical to think that the "official" portrait of his son corresponds to the martial formula established for Felipe III as prince and heir; a portrait which served the interests of a family whose head was the Duke of Lerma and his successors his sons Cristóbal and Diego. It should also be noted that imitation and emulation at the time could be associated with fealty; with the love and obedience that the sitter had for their sovereign. In any case, it is a further demonstration of the path taken to legitimise his position and authority in the government of the monarchy¹⁵³ and to strengthen the supremacy and prestige of the House of Sandoval with regard to the great families of the Spanish nobility. In the case of Diego, his rise within the ranks of the elite of court noblemen involved an alliance with the prominent House of the Infantado, the main family of the Mendoza lineage, by marriage to Luisa de Mendoza, the Countess of Saldaña and heir to the Duchy of the Infantado, in August 1603, as mentioned earlier. A union was carefully negotiated by the heads of both families. Diogo was 16 years old and Luisa 21.



[fig. 33]

Portrait of Prince Felipe, the future Felipe II

Titian
Augsburg, 1550-1551
Oil on canvas
Museo Nacional del Prado
Inv. P00411

© Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado
Courtesy of the Museum



[fig. 34]

Portrait of Prince Carlos of Austria

Attributed to Jooris van der Straeten
Spain, c.1562
Oil on canvas
Real Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid
Inv. 00612065

© PATRIMONIO NACIONAL
Courtesy of the Institution



[fig. 35]

Portrait of Prince Felipe,
the future Felipe III
(lost or whereabouts unknown)

Pantoja de la Cruz, c.1590
Oil on canvas
Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic
Ref. G-20477

© Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic
Arxiu Mas. Photo: Gudiol, 1940



[fig. 36]

Portrait of Prince Felipe,
the future Felipe III
Pantoja de la Cruz, c.1591-1592
Oil on canvas
Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien,
Gemäldegalerie
Inv. GG 2581

© KHM-Museumsverband



[fig. 37]

Portrait of Prince Felipe,
the future Felipe III
Pantoja de la Cruz, 1594
Oil on canvas
Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien,
Gemäldegalerie
Inv. GG 4286

© KHM-Museumsverband

[fig. 19]

Portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval

Pantoja de la Cruz
Spain, c.1603*
Oil on canvas
Norton Simon Museum
F.1965.1.048.P

© The Norton Simon Foundation
Courtesy of The Norton Simon Museum

*Various dates have been proposed (c.1590, c.1598, c.1605)
for this portrait. The dating I propose here (c.1603)
seems to me more accurate.



The portrait in the Norton Simon Museum must have been painted at a date close to the wedding since besides the details in the composition (the jewel and couters) alluding to his high rank in the Order of Calatrava, one indispensable element of court military portraiture stands out – the ceremonial armour – which in this case may refer to Diego’s entry into the central branch of the Mendoza family tree as no other than consort and heir to the Duchy of the Infantado. In effect, he is wearing half armour that evokes the luxurious steel and gold example worn by Íñigo de Mendoza,¹⁵⁴ 5th Duke of the Infantado, in his emblematic portrait with the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece from around 1594 by an unknown artist¹⁵⁵ [fig. 38]. The type of gold hilt on the sword, and the matching dagger, also establishes a connection to the portrait in the American museum that is hard to ignore, and in which the items depicted seem to have been thoughtfully chosen. At first glance, no other element appears to suggest the conveying of this potential message and there are also no inscriptions or heraldic motifs. Or should the gold collar intertwined with a red silk ribbon also be regarded as an attribute? As an evocation or mimesis of his father-in-law, the former Count of Saldaña, a gentleman of Felipe II’s chamber, as we shall see further on? Whatever the case, the mere presence of the armour carries the implicit message or messages it was hoped to convey.¹⁵⁶ One of these is the connection of the person in the portrait to one of the main houses of the kingdom and, it should be added, owner of one of the largest and finest collections of arms and armours in 16th-century Europe.¹⁵⁷ In fact, around 1585, the 5th Duke of the Infantado presented Felipe III (still a prince) with a splendid Milanese suit of armour,¹⁵⁸ currently at the Real Armería de Madrid, which may be that which appears in three armoured portraits of the youthful prince by Pantoja from around 1590, 1592 and 1594, already identified as leading visual sources used to shape the official portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval.

Another little-known portrait of the Mendozas-Infantado that can also be tied to the portrait of Diego was produced by a painter in a style connected with Sánchez Coello and his circle.¹⁵⁹ It follows the same pictorial scheme as the portrait of the 5th Duke of the Infantado but varies the position and arrangement of several elements, such as the table and the plumed helmet¹⁶⁰ [fig. 39]. Opinion about the identity of the noble knight is not unanimous, though the distinctive jewel of the Order of Santiago would seem to indicate the brother (and son-in-law) of the 5th



[fig. 38]

**Portrait of Íñigo de Mendoza,
5th Duke of the Infantado**

Unknown artist, c.1594
Oil on canvas
Duque del Infantado Collection

Image from *La Casa del Infantado: Cabeza de los Mendoza* (1940)
by Cristina de Arteaga. Print 56.
Courtesy of the Biblioteca Pública del Estado en Guadalajara, Spain



[fig. 39]

**Portrait of Rodrigo de Mendoza,
Count of Saldaña**

Unknown artist, 1580s (?)
Oil on canvas
Private collection

Image from *La Casa del Infantado: Cabeza de los Mendoza* (1940)
by Cristina de Arteaga. Print 50.
Courtesy of the Biblioteca Pública del Estado en Guadalajara, Spain

Duke of the Infantado, i.e. Rodrigo de Mendoza,¹⁶¹ Count of Saldaña, a gentleman of the king's chamber, Commander of the Bastimentos de León and a member of the Council of Thirteen of the Order of Santiago. Aside from this doubt, it should be noted that the Count flaunts a badge in the form of a scallop shell emblazoned with the red enamelled Cross of the Order of Santiago.¹⁶² This is suspended from a gold collar whose design is related to the last armoured portraits of Felipe II bearing the ram's fleece.¹⁶³ [fig. 40] This type of collar, generally associated with the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece, is that which also appears in the portraits of prince Felipe (III) in armour and, years later, in the portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval, who came to be known and mentioned in the sources as the Count of Saldaña from August 1603 due to his marriage to Luisa de Mendoza, daughter of Rodrigo and granddaughter of Íñigo, both brothers. Neither had the pleasure (or misfortune) to see the heiress of the Infantado wed to Diego as

they both died beforehand. As far as the union of the Countess of Saldaña and the second son of the Duke of Lerma is concerned, the negative reply given to Felipe III himself in 1601 by the 5th Duke of the Infantado,¹⁶⁴ reluctant to draw the houses together, was due to a concern that accompanied Íñigo until the end of his days: the problem of direct succession due to the lack of male descendants¹⁶⁵ and the risk that the estates and entailed properties of the Infantado might be subsumed by another noble family.¹⁶⁶ Nevertheless, his death in August 1601 provided the possibility for negotiations between the new Dukes of the Infantado and the Duke of Lerma.

If these considerations are taken into account, the proposed date of c.1603 for the Norton Simon Museum's portrait is further reinforced. Furthermore, it was from 1601, the year when the court was transferred to Valladolid, that the Duke of Lerma began to make real efforts to promote, publicly and privately, a powerful image of himself. Two occurrences that demonstrate this new turn of events took place in March and July 1603. In March, he was appointed *capitán general de la caballería de España*, the highest rank and dignity of a military commander, usually reserved for the king himself [fig. 32]. In July, the palace etiquette for the queen's household was re-organised in the aim of limiting access to queen Margarita, thereby ensuring greater control over her, the only person until then with direct access to the king capable of supporting court factions in opposition to the Duke of Lerma.

From this period onwards, there was a regular succession of opulent displays of his eminent position on the court stage, both in public and in palace contexts. Of particular note are the palaces and gardens he had built, the large art collection he assembled and the endless celebrations and fabulous feasts he organised frequently to entertain the king and his courtiers and indirectly consolidate his pre-eminent position within the royal ceremonies, "as the only person entitled to sit on the king's right under the royal canopy and the only person allowed to represent him officially at public ceremonies."¹⁶⁷ The year 1605 was undoubtedly one of the most interesting in this regard, coinciding with the expected birth of the future Felipe IV, born on 8th April, and the ratification of peace with England¹⁶⁸ [fig. 41], two events of capital importance and international scope. The former guaranteed a male heir to the Spanish monarchy, while the latter was a declaration of the desire for prosperity without dispute or armed conflict. A witness par excellence of the feasts



[fig. 40]

Portrait of Felipe II, King of Spain

Copy by an unknown artist after an original by Sánchez Coello from c.1570
Oil on canvas
National Portrait Gallery, London
NPG 347

© National Portrait Gallery, London
Courtesy of the Museum



[fig. 41]

Portrait of Felipe III, King of Spain

Illuminated. Ratification of the Treaty of London (1604) by Philip III, King of Spain, signed at Valladolid in June 1605.
The National Archives UK

The peace treaty signed in London and ratified in Valladolid marked the end of almost two decades of war between Spain and England. The state portrait formula used here combines the symbols of his royal status – the crown and ceremonial ermine-lined scarlet robe – with the martial prototype of the king in armour, right hand resting on a plumed helmet, left hand on the sword and the insignia of the Golden Fleece suspended from a red ribbon. This model of state portrait was uncommon in the royal portraiture of the House of Austria.

and celebrations held in Valladolid to celebrate the two events was Diego Gómez de Sandoval, Count of Saldaña, 18 years old at the time, an age which coincides with the inscription in the bottom left corner of the portrait in the National Palace of Sintra: “ÆTATIS SVÆ •18•”. In fact, Diego’s eighteenth birthday coincided approximately with the first part of the commemorations to celebrate the birth of Prince Felipe, which lasted more than two months in total between April and mid-June.

On 9th April, Felipe III led the thanks-giving procession to the church of Our Lady of San Llorente. The king appeared to the people on horseback with his courtiers, amongst whom was the Count of Saldaña, strategically located at his side on foot. On 10th April, the count took part in the masque (*máscara*) organised by the city together with numerous knights of the nobility, in which music, singing and dancing enriched an opulent, triumphal and allegorical carriage whose internal workings were powered by the force of one hundred men. Feasts, plays, entertainments and ceremonies extended into the summer and included disturbances and quarrels, such as the street altercation in which Diego was involved on 24th April, from which he suffered a sword wound that led to two months of seclusion at the Ampudia fortress, far from courtly entertainment and nightly escapades, as the chroniclers Cabrera de Córdoba and the Portuguese Pinheiro da Veiga recount.¹⁶⁹ Despite his convalescence, on 1st and 2nd June he took part in the Corpus Christi procession in the company of princes, ambassadors, dukes, marquises, counts and other lords on horseback, advancing solemnly across the city’s main thoroughfare.¹⁷⁰

The portrait in the National Palace of Sintra [fig. 42], which thanks to its inscription is possible to date to around 1605, may have been commissioned at a time close to the fabulous events in Valladolid for the occasion of the birth of Prince Felipe, coinciding with the civic and royal celebrations to mark peace with England. Although the exact period when Pantoja was active in Valladolid is unknown, records reveal that he was more or less continuously resident in the city from 1601 to 1605. It is also known that in July 1605 he moved to Lerma and then Burgos with a view to finishing the portraits of the kings sent to the English court as gifts. So we can say that the painter worked as a portraitist above all in Valladolid, during the court’s stay in the city, in the service of the royal family and a court clientele, alternating



[fig. 42]

**Portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval,
Grand Commander of the Order of Calatrava,
Count of Saldaña**

Pantoja de la Cruz
Spain, 1605-1608
Oil on canvas
National Palace of Sintra
Inv. PNS3647

© PSML | Photo: e.m.i.g.u.s photography

this with religiously themed commissions. Undoubtedly he painted the Duke of Lerma's sons, though the whereabouts of the portraits of his eldest, Cristóbal, are unknown or as yet to be identified.

If Pantoja's portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval, now in the National Palace of Sintra, was commissioned around 1605, prior to the departure of the Counts of Saldaña to Madrid in early 1606, then it was a commission that took several years to complete and would not have been delivered to the client before November 1608, as can be gathered from the last will and testament (October) and posthumous inventory of the goods (November) of Pantoja's house and workshop.



[fig. 43]

Portrait of Diego de Villamayor (?)

Pantoja de la Cruz

Spain, 1605

Oil on canvas

The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia

Inv. GE-3518

© The State Hermitage Museum

Courtesy of the Museum

Around 1604-1605, Pantoja de la Cruz executed numerous commissions for the king and the royal family, as well as various portraits of young noblemen in richly decorated and gilded parade half armour, repeating the scheme of the portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval in the Norton Simon Museum: the right hand resting on the helmet, the left hand on a sword and a jewel suspended from a gold collar alluding to high rank in a certain military order. This is the case with the knight ascribed to Diego de Villamayor in the Hermitage Museum [fig. 43] and the knight in the Traumann collection, a portrait whose whereabouts are now unknown. This is the pictorial scheme that Pantoja returns to, literally, for Lerma's second son. In fact, he replicates the version from around 1603 [fig. 19, 20], keeping the same style, format and composition. This is undoubtedly the most logical and easiest choice both for the painter and the sitter. Firstly, Pantoja already had the necessary sketches drawn from life to execute the new portrait. Secondly, the young Diego was excused the long portrait sessions,¹⁷¹ immersed as he would have been in the active life in Valladolid, not to mention his period of necessary convalescence after an altercation that had almost cost him his life.



[fig. 19]

Portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval
Norton Simon Museum



[fig. 20]

Portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval
National Palace of Sintra

The commissioning of a replica of the portrait of Diego can be attributed to the Count of Saldaña himself, as can be gathered from the information taken from the painter's will and testament of 7th October 1608: "I declare that I have a *libranza* [payment order for the provision of a service] from the Count of Saldaña [identification of the debtor] for the end of April of the coming year sixteen hundred and nine [1609] for three thousand two hundred *reales* [total sum for various paintings] for, amongst others, his portrait, which I have yet to finish; if he wishes, he may pay in full, or his lordship may charge only what has already been delivered to the agreed payment order held by the administrator of his commandery."¹⁷² Pantoja's mention of the administrator of Diego's grand commandery is interesting and shows that he wanted to ensure that he received payment of the amount owed. In effect, the Duke of Lerma was the administrator of the income of the Grand Commandery of Calatrava - granted to his son on 9th August 1599 - until the end of April 1609 when the count reached the age of 22, the age of majority established

for that purpose. It should be noted that this document confirms that the portrait was unfinished in October 1608, but fails to directly mention if it is a replica or a workshop copy. As the inventory of 3rd November 1608 of Pantoja's house and workshop also state, there was a full-length portrait of the Count of Saldaña in his workshop at the time of the painter's death.¹⁷³

Pantoja de la Cruz may have had the collaboration of other talented painters in executing or completing the Sintra portrait, which would have been anonymously incorporated as workshop work.¹⁷⁴ Active in Valladolid during that period, amongst others, were Pedro Antonio Vidal (1575-1617), in the service of the Duke of Lerma, whom he painted on various occasions; Santiago Morán (1571-1626), a good friend of Pantoja's who collaborated at his workshop as a disciple; Bartolomé González (c.1583-1627), who worked with the master at the beginning of 1608, and was responsible after his death for completing the portraits for the Nueva Galería de El Pardo; Rodrigo de Villandrando (c. 1588-1622), trained at Pantoja's workshop and a witness to his will and testament of 1608; and Andrés López Polanco (c.1570-1641), a native of Valladolid like Pantoja to whom in some way he was bound, for in his will and testament of 1599 he refers to Polanco as a "good master". Little information exists about López Polanco's life, work and clientele, though his relationship with the Count of Saldaña – through a painting he produced for him in 1612 as a gift for the church of San Antonio de la Cabrera¹⁷⁵ – and with a branch of the Mendozas, that of Juan Hurtado de Mendoza Navarra y Arellano, Count of Castelnovo y Lodosa, who commissioned a series of twenty-eight official portraits in 1618 for a gallery of family portraits, are documented.¹⁷⁶ Maria Kusche is the author who has most recently reviewed and deepened the study of this painter's portrait work.¹⁷⁷ She has compiled the existing documentation about his life and work, not to mention bringing together the signed portraits already identified [fig. 44] and others whose style relates to López Polanco. Interestingly, it does not include the portrait of Luisa de Mendoza, Countess of Saldaña [fig. 45], a signed painting from the early 17th century¹⁷⁸ still belonging to the Ducal House of the Infantado.¹⁷⁹

All the court painters mentioned are portraitists who owe much to the style of Pantoja, but Bartolomé González [fig. 46, 47] and Rodrigo de Villandrando are those who collaborated most actively at the master's workshop towards the end of his



[fig. 44]
**Portrait of a young nobleman,
 a knight of the Order of Santiago**

Andrés López Polanco
 Spain, c.1622
 Oil on canvas
 Aljibe, Fundación Yannick y Ben Jakober, Mallorca
 Inv. 247

© Fundación Yannick y Ben Jakober
 Courtesy of the Foundation



[fig. 45]
**Portrait of Luisa de Mendoza (?),
 Countess of Saldaña**

Andrés López Polanco
 Spain, early 17th century (between 1600-1619?)
 Oil on canvas
 Duque del Infantado Collection

Image from *La Casa del Infantado: Cabeza de los Mendoza* (1944)
 by Cristina de Arteaga. Print 2.
 Courtesy of the Biblioteca Pública del Estado en Guadalajara, Spain

life, a period into which the portrait in the National Palace of Sintra falls (1605-1608). The former, a notable follower of Pantoja, went on to work for the Duke of Uceda, the eldest brother of the Count of Saldaña and successor to the Duke of Lerma as Felipe III's favourite. The latter, a gifted disciple of Pantoja, probably continued to work at the master's workshop for some years after his death, above all as a collaborator of Bartolomé González in the completion of the portraits for the royal palace of El Pardo between 1609 and 1612, as Maria Kusche affirms.¹⁸⁰ However, he quickly consolidated his own clientele at court, even earning the patronage of Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, the father-in-law of Diego Gómez de Sandoval and duke consort of the Infantado. Villandrando would find himself in Lisbon in 1619¹⁸¹ as part of a group of painters accompanying Felipe III, prince



[fig. 46]
Portrait of Prince Felipe, the future Felipe IV, and his sister the Infanta Ana Mauricia, the future Queen of France
 Bartolomé González
 Spain, c.1610
 Oil on canvas
 Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid
 Inv. 1687

© Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan | Courtesy of the Museum



[fig. 47]
Portrait of Prince Felipe, the future Felipe IV
 Bartolomé González
 Spain, 1612
 Oil on canvas
 Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial
 Inv. 10014151

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Felipe [fig. 48] and the respective entourages of court nobility – including the Count of Saldaña in the capacity of the prince’s Master of the Horse – for the occasion of the celebration of the *Cortes* in Lisbon, at which the Spanish crown prince was acknowledged as the heir to the Portuguese throne. In that same year, he painted the portrait of General Pedro González de Mendoza [fig. 49], the younger brother of the duke consort of the Infantado.¹⁸² If it hadn’t been signed and dated (“Rodrigo de Villandrando .f. 1619”), it could have been mistaken for a work by Pantoja. In fact, some of the portraits by González and Villandrando stick so closely to their master’s style that they still cause confusion and debate amongst scholars of their oeuvre to this day. At times, this difficulty in distinguishing a portrait by Pantoja from one by a disciple or collaborator – without the availability of signatures or documents – is complicated further if we also include those painters who followed Pantoja’s style but did not work at his workshop.¹⁸³



[fig. 48]
Portrait of Prince Felipe, in white and gold Portuguese court dress, **with a dwarf**

Rodrigo de Villandrando, c.1620
 Oil on canvas
 Museo Nacional del Prado
 Inv. P01234

© Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado
 Courtesy of the Museum



[fig. 49]
Portrait of General Pedro González de Mendoza, a knight of the Order of Malta

Rodrigo de Villandrando, 1619
 Oil on canvas
 Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid, Spain
 Inv. CE2826

© Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid
 Courtesy of the Museum

Regardless of the lack of a signature and the possible involvement of Pantoja's workshop in executing or completing the portrait to which this study is dedicated,¹⁸⁴ no doubts remain in my opinion as to the authorship of this notable painting: Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, the foremost portraitist to the Spanish court from the end of the 16th to the beginning of the 17th century in the reign of Felipe III (Filipe II of Portugal).

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NOTES

- 121 In the case of Diego Gómez de Sandoval's portrait, it could therefore be included in the category of "portrait of adolescent prince with armour", applying the classification proposed by Annemarie Jordan for portraits like that of King Sebastião of Portugal at around 16 years of age (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon). Jordan, 1994: 121, 124.
- 122 Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (1507-1582), 3rd Duke of Alba since 1531. He quickly entered the service of Emperor Charles V, starting a political and military career in the employ of the monarchs of the House of Austria. His life covered most of the reigns of Charles V and Felipe II, whom he served until his death, performing various offices and duties: captain-general of the Imperial and Spanish armies, member of the State and War Councils, overseer of the introduction of Burgundian protocol and etiquette into the Castilian court, governor of Milan, viceroy of Naples, governor of the Low Countries and first viceroy of Portugal after the Iberian crowns were united under a single monarch, etc.
- Mor met the Duke of Alba in Brussels and painted a half-length armoured portrait of him in three-quarter view (1549), today belonging to the Hispanic Society of America. A period replica of this portrait exists at the *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* in Brussels.
- 123 Mor was influenced by Titian in various ways, especially through the portraits of the Habsburgs in the Brussels collections of Cardinal Granvelle and the regent of the Low Countries, Mary of Hungary, Charles V's sister.
- 124 The year of the emperor's decisive military victory against the German Protestants. In Titian's lost portrait, Charles V appears again as the defender of the Catholic faith and protector of the Holy Roman Empire.
- 125 Some scholars claim that Titian painted the emperor's portrait with armour and a baton at an earlier date, between 1530 and 1533. Recent studies consider the portrait of this period, known of only through its copies, to be related to the model in which Charles V appears in armour raising his unsheathed sword in his right hand, but without the baton. Thus was he painted by Giovanni Britto (1536, *Graphische Sammlung Albertina*, Vienna) and Rubens (1603, private collection, England), based on a vanished original by Titian.
- 126 Charles V painted with armour and a commander's baton. Selection of examples in three-quarter length: Wilfred Goepel Collection, Detmold; El Escorial, Royal Palace; Fugger-Babenhausen Collection, Augsburg; Czartoryskich Museum, Cracow; Schloss Ambras, Innsbruck; British Royal Collections; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Real Colegio Seminario del Corpus Christi, Valencia. Selection of full-length standing examples: El Escorial, Royal Library; Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
- 127 Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial.
- 128 Museo Nacional del Prado.
- 129 Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial.
- 130 Though the portrait of Charles V with armour and baton painted by Titian in 1548 failed to make it to the present day, a portrait of a knight attributed to Titian still exists that follows this imperial scheme of martial representation: that of Giovan Battista Castaldo (c.1550), sold at Sotheby's in London on 8th December 1971. The Italian general in the service of Charles V received several noble titles for his prowess in various military campaigns. This portrait, previously in the Becker Collection in Dortmund, shows that Titian also used this specific formula for people other than the Habsburgs. Once again, it is difficult to state with any accuracy who was actually responsible for introducing this new aspect into Habsburg court portraiture. It becomes even more complex if we take into account the armoured portrait of Francesco Maria I della Rovere, Duke of Urbino (Titian, 1536-1538, *Galleria degli Uffizi*), which has evident similarities to the martial image of Charles V.
- 131 In 1546, Charles V, Grand Master of the Order, granted him this honour in Utrecht, just prior to the imperial campaign against German Protestantism. It was the highest knightly honour bestowed by a Habsburg monarch.
- 132 Willem I of Oranje (1533-1584), of the House of Oranien-Nassau. Educated in the Catholic court of the Low Countries by order of the Emperor, he was given the title of Prince of Oranje in 1544. His personal qualities saw him develop a close relationship with Charles V, whose abdication he attended in Brussels in 1555, and take command of one of the imperial armies. In 1555, Felipe II appointed him to the Council of State. Years later, he changed allegiance and played a key role in the Dutch Revolt against the Spanish monarchy. Anthonis Mor painted him in 1555, at the age of 22. *Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister Kassel*, Germany.

- 133 For a theoretical understanding of the portrait in European court culture in the second half of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century, it is necessary to mention a recurring idea in the treatises of the era: the restricted right to representation by portrait. This elitist aspect of selecting those who were worthy can be seen for example in the treatise *Do tirar polo natural* written by the Portuguese painter and essayist Francisco de Holanda in 1549. In general terms, while the Italian poet Pietro Aretino advocated in his writings that only exemplary figures whose memory ought to be perpetuated should be painted, Francisco de Holanda held that only some kings, emperors and princes, those worthy of being glorified and immortalised for their deeds or personal qualities, were entitled. This idea, in the context of the realm of the court, would come to be associated with ideas of superiority and aristocracy, since the portrait not only celebrates the person and their virtues and deeds, it is also a medium for showing – and legitimising – their status, wealth, power and family networks.
- 134 In fact, it was a continuation and confirmation of a position he had held since August 1598 as Master of the Horse to Prince Felipe, who was crowned king at the death of Felipe II in September 1598.
- 135 His son Diego, for example, became a gentleman of Felipe III's chamber.
- 136 The Council of State was the most important governmental institution of the monarchy during the reign of the Spanish Habsburgs. It was the king's highest advisory body, over which he presided. The Council of War was an extension of the Council of State to which it was subordinated. In Felipe III's reign, the Council of State gained greater authority beyond its consultative function. After the rise of Francisco Gómez de Sandoval, the high Castilian nobility gained greater political power, with members of his own family and allies being added to the Council. The Duke of Lerma even came to address the Council of State as the king's humble spokesman. See Tomás y Valiente, 1990: 94.
- 137 The link between the portrait of the Duke of Lerma (Fundação Casa Ducal de Medinaceli) and that of his son (Palácio Nacional de Sintra) were established for the first time by the art historian Pedro Flor. This accurate association in terms of formal and stylistic analysis did not however include the family connection, since the art historian was unaware of the identity of the knight in the Sintra portrait. He was also responsible for identifying the association with the military prototypes established by Titian and Mor for the Emperor Charles V and his son Felipe II, respectively. See Flor, 2011: 215-217.
- 138 A painting which had a great impact on Habsburg court portraiture. No armoured portrait exists that isn't to some extent based on it, as Maria Kusche has shown. See Kusche, 2004: 61-69. Original article in German published in 1991.
- 139 The first version of this portrait was painted in Brussels just after the victory over France at the Battle of Saint-Quentin on 10th August 1557. In 1560, the replica in the Real Monasterio of El Escorial appeared at the Alcázar de Madrid and it was later moved to the Royal Palace of Valladolid, where it stayed until being transferred to Pantoja's workshop as a model for the portrait intended for the new Habsburg dynasty portrait gallery at the Royal Palace of El Pardo, under reconstruction after being destroyed by fire on 13th March 1604.
- 140 Gemäldegalerie, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Austria. An official portrait intended for Vienna, it maintains the same pictorial scheme as the armoured portraits of Felipe III as Royal Prince but with the hands in different positions. The right hand, previously resting on the helmet, is here seen securely holding the military baton of power. Numerous versions of this portrait exist. See Kusche, 2007: 101-121.
- 141 This matter is addressed in studies by such as Antonio Feros, Hélène Tropé, Sarah Schroth and María A. Roca Mussons, the latter focusing on the figure of the Count-Duke of Olivares.
- 142 The Grand Commandery of Castile of the Order of Santiago, estimated at an annual income of 16,000 ducats, was granted by Felipe III to the then Marquis of Denia in September 1599. In his report of 8th April 1600, Cabrera de Córdoba makes the following interesting comment: "... the people are starting to say that he [the Duke of Lerma] will be given the mastership of Santiago [Felipe III administers the masterships of the Orders of Santiago, Calatrava, Alcántara and Montesa], but, since it is incorporated into the Crown, it would appear to be somewhat difficult; but His Majesty shows him so much favouritism that nothing is much of a hindrance." See Cabrera de Córdoba [relation of 8th April 1600]: 65. Original text: "... *el pueblo comienza á decir que se le dará el maestrazgo de Santiago, si bien, por estar incorporado en la Corona Real, parece que tiene esto dificultad; pero es tan grande la merced que S.M. le hace, que para él en nada se porná impedimento.*"

The badge hanging on the duke's chest – a gold insignia in the shape of a scallop shell displaying the red enamelled Cross of Santiago – alludes to his belonging to this military order and his status as Grand Commander of Castile and member of the Council of the Thirteen. This type of male jewel, exclusive to the nobility, is called a "*hábito*" or "*encomienda*" in Spanish and, in this case, is suspended from a rich gold collar. In the context of luxury men's jewellery, it is the main sign of its user's high rank, like the *toison d'or* in the case of the crown prince, the king and the select group of princes and noble knights bound to the European courts and territories of the Habsburgs. It is interesting that the Duke of Lerma did not belong to the Order of the Golden Fleece. Presumably this is because he preferred the well remunerated Castilian commandery of the Order of Santiago, a military order and associated annual income that were incompatible with the Golden Fleece.

- 143 The Duke of Lerma held the position from March 1603 to March 1611, receiving 12,000 ducats per annum. The imposing equestrian portrait painted in Valladolid by the young Rubens in 1603 for Felipe III's favourite shows the Duke as a proud and valiant general mounted on his magnificent white horse, with the baton of command in his right hand. This state portrait, one of the rare paintings by Rubens that is signed, is a celebratory representation of his military rank as captain general of the Spanish cavalry and Grand Commander of the Order of Santiago, also evident in the insignia suspended from the collar, like the portrait painted by Pantoja in 1602 (the armour is different), but in this case on horseback. It is one of the first equestrian portraits in Europe of a person not belonging to the royal family. On the similarities between the portraits by Pantoja and Rubens, it should be recalled that nothing is known about a possible meeting of both painters during the latter's stay from September 1603 to May 1604. Nonetheless, Rubens visited the royal collections, including those of El Escorial, and saw paintings by artists working at the court in Valladolid, amongst which the Carducci brothers and Pantoja himself. He praised the work of Titian and the other old masters, but lamented the technical limitations and carelessness of the court painters of the time. See Protter, 1971: 64-65.
- 144 Commissioned by Maria of Habsburg (1505-1558), the *Infanta* of Spain, Archduchess of Austria, queen consort of the King of Hungary and governor of the Low Countries. The statue of her nephew was located in Spain in 1556, at the Palace of Cigales near Valladolid, where Maria died in 1558. It was later moved to Madrid.
- 145 Feros, 2002: 175-200.
- 146 This facial feature can also be seen in the portrait of his son in the Norton Simon Museum.
- 147 In the Rubens portrait, exactly the same peculiarities can be observed in the duke's face.
- 148 The Royal Friendship was the greatest grace that a king could give to one of his subjects. See González Dávila (1771): 40. This official biography of Felipe III, completed in the 1620s-1630s and published in 1771, is the third volume of the work *Monarquía de España*, by the Spanish historian and royal chronicler Gil González Dávila.
- 149 The full-length armoured portrait of Prince Felipe (King Felipe II) painted by Titian in Augsburg between 1550 and 1551 is one of the examples of a state portrait that marks a key moment in Habsburg military portraiture, placing special emphasis on the symbols emphasising the Crown Prince's grandeur and dignity, such as the column, crimson velvet-covered table and parade armour. This portrait was reinterpreted by numerous court painters, amongst which Sánchez Coello and Jooris van der Straeten, the latter active in the Spanish court from 1560 to 1568.
- 150 Archivo Amattler (c.1590) and Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (c.1592 and 1594).
- 151 On the working methods and painting procedures used in the 16th-century court portrait, see Serrera, 1990: 37-62. On the role and significance of the state portraits intended for a courtier audience, see Bouza, 1998: 31-36. On the Renaissance portrait and its functions, uses and display, see Fletcher, 2008: 71-89.
- 152 Lerma's supreme status was officially confirmed by Felipe III in a decree from October 1612 in which he commanded all institutions of government to obey Lerma's orders as if they were issued by his mouth or hand. This document, known as the *decreto de delegación de firma*, has been subject to various interpretations. The analysis of the historian Antonio Feros from the University of Pennsylvania would appear the most accurate: Felipe III doesn't delegate his sovereignty to the Duke of Lerma, but recognises in writing the role of the duke as his main friend and political counsellor, as his favourite, and as such his intermediary and spokesman. See Feros, 2002: 227.
- 153 Several authors mention his supposed ambition to make the status of favourite an institutionalised and hereditary office in the royal household and monarchy government for his family, in a similar way to the *mayorazgos* for his descendants. I recommend reading *The Great Favourite: The Duke of Lerma and the Court and Government of Philip III of Spain, 1598-1621* (Williams, 2006) and the notable and numerous writings of Antonio Feros.
- 154 Íñigo López de Mendoza (1536-1601), a gentleman of Felipe II's chamber who accompanied him to England for his wedding to Queen Mary Tudor. In 1560, with his father, he attended the king's marriage to his third wife, Elisabeth of Valois, held at the Palace of the Infantado in Guadalajara. In the same year, he became the Count of Saldaña, the title reserved for the future dukes of the Infantado. He inherited the duchy in 1566 and received the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1593. At the time of Felipe III's wedding to the Archduchess Margarita of Austria, the king gave the duke a key role in organising the festivities, which he attended with all of his relatives and court. He was the last direct male descendant to head the Ducal House of the Infantado.
- 155 The Duke of the Infantado Collection. Various artists have been suggested as the painter of this portrait, from Tintoretto to Sánchez Coello. Most recently, the name of Frans van Cleve (Francisco de Cleves) was mooted, a painter and servant to Rodrigo de Mendoza, Count of Saldaña, between 1587 and 1588, and to the 5th Duke of the Infantado until 1601. See González Ramos, 2006: 61-76.
- 156 The armoured portrait of Felipe II at the Battle of Saint-Quentin (1559-1560) by Anthonis Mor is one of the finest examples of this idea. The king is not depicted wearing a complete set of armour, but merely an etched and gilt cuirass, making do without a helmet or gauntlets. This way, the observer focuses their attention on the breastplate and tassets, where the message is stated: to present the new king as a military hero in the footsteps of his father, Emperor Charles V, by connecting the armour to an important military victory, the first of his reign. The inclusion of the golden fleece and cross of Burgundy on the armour's decoration is quite enough to convey the implicit dynastic tone and historical feat to which it refers.

- 157 González Ramos, 2013: 1-7; 2014: 153-198.
- 158 In the last quarter of the 16th century, Milan and the north of Italy began to regain ground on their German counterparts in the production of luxury arms and armour. This can be seen in the Spanish court portraits of the time, a reflection of the influence of the Spanish monarchy over these territories. See Soler del Campo, 2009: 206-210.
- 159 Private collection.
- 160 The armoured portrait of Felipe II (private collection, London) in three-quarter length, attributed by Maria Kusche to Jooris van der Straeten, also shows this interesting arrangement of the table and helmet. I am unsure whether this is the example currently at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, UK.
- 161 Rodrigo de Mendoza (c.1540-c.1588), Count of Saldaña from 1566. Brother, son-in-law and prematurely deceased heir to the 5th Duke of the Infantado. A Knight of the Order of Santiago since 1562, gentleman of Felipe II's chamber since 1573, Commander of the Bastimentos de León of the Order of Santiago since 1579 and member of the Council of the Thirteen. In 1581, he was in Portugal in the service of Felipe II, but returned to Guadalajara at the request of his brother who, without a male heir, decided to marry him to his eldest daughter. The marriage, after special dispensation due to Pope Gregory XIII's family ties, was sealed on 20th January 1582 and almost regal in its opulence, according to the sources of the time. Layna Serrano, 1942: III, 251-259.
- 162 A jewel of the same type can be seen in the equestrian portrait of the Duke of Lerma painted by Rubens in Valladolid in 1603.
- 163 Sánchez Coello, c.1570, Pollok House, Glasgow; and a copy by an unknown artist after Sánchez Coello, National Portrait Gallery, London.
- 164 Cabrera de Córdoba [relation of 30th June 1601]: 106. This conversation between Felipe III and the Duke of the Infantado took place in May 1601 during the king's stay at the castle in the town of Buitrago, property of the Infantado, during a hunting trip.
- 165 Ana de Mendoza, his eldest daughter and 6th Duchess of the Infantado, was the first female head of the House of the Infantado.
- 166 As in fact occurred in 1657 at the death of the 7th Duke of the Infantado, the eldest son of Diego Gómez de Sandoval and Luisa de Mendoza. As he left no heir, the title of Infantado passed to his sister, married to the 4th Duke of Pastrana. It was at this time that the Duchies of the Infantado and Pastrana were united.
- 167 Feros, 2002: 196.
- 168 On the impact of these celebrations on the English embassy and their importance as the origin of the baroque court in 17th-century Spain, see Williams, 2009.
- 169 Cabrera de Córdoba [relation of 14th May 1605]: 242. Pinheiro da Veiga [relation of 24th April 1605]: 25.
No written document better portrays the permanent festival atmosphere in Valladolid during several months in 1605 as the "*Preludio das solemnidades que precederam á Semana Sancta (1605)*", a chapter in *Fastigimia* by Pinheiro da Veiga, which contained detailed descriptions and shrewd observations on the events of this period and court life in the reign of Felipe III. Pinheiro da Veiga (c.1570-1656) was a Portuguese courtier who lived in Valladolid until the court of Felipe III returned to Madrid.
- 170 Pinheiro da Veiga [relation of 1st and 2nd June 1605]: 53-54.
- 171 On the methodology and painting procedures of the court portraitists such as Sánchez Coello and Pantoja de la Cruz, both in terms of painting *ad vivum* portraits and producing replicas, see Serrera, 1990: 61-62.
- 172 The original text can be found in note 104.
- 173 It makes sense to imagine that since the portrait mentioned in October 1608 was unfinished, it was still at the painter's studio in November of the same year.
- 174 The list of apprentices, assistants and collaborators with whom Pantoja de la Cruz worked is quite extensive and raises several questions. Some have no known work, while others have been attributed work on which opinion is divided.
- 175 Matilla Tascón, 1987: 415.
- 176 Caturla, 1956: 389-405.
- 177 Kusche, 2007: 408-435.
- 178 This painting was shown at the *Exposición Internacional de Barcelona* in 1929-1930. Its historical and bibliographical catalogue, published under the Duke of Berwick y Alba, includes numerous pieces from important Spanish collections, including the portrait mentioned. See Berwick y Alba, 1933: 242. "1026 Luisa de Mendoza; portrait signed by Andrés López; early 17th century. Measures 2.30 X 1.41 metres. Duke of the Infantado. Madrid." Original text: "1026 Doña Luisa de Mendoza; retrato firmado por Andrés López; principios del siglo XVII. Mide 2'30 X 1'41 ms. Señor Duque del Infantado. Madrid."

- 179 Confirmation of this and access to this and other historical portraits would not have been possible without the generous help of Ana de Arteaga y del Alcázar, Countess of Santiago, responsible for the management of the Duke of the Infantado collection.
- 180 Kusche, 2007: 359.
- 181 Kusche, 2007: 363.
- 182 Pedro González de Mendoza (c.1555-1620). Youngest son of Íñigo López de Mendoza – Marquis of Mondéjar and Count of Tendilla – and María de Mendoza, sister of the 5th Duke of the Infantado, Íñigo de Mendoza. His life was closely linked to the Order of Malta, where he held high military positions and commanderies. He was also ambassador for the Order on various occasions: in Rome, Venice and the Spanish court, namely during the years it was moved to Valladolid. The 1619 portrait, today at the Museo Nacional de Escultura de Valladolid, has an inscription that shows the age of the figure: "ÆTATIS 64 ". For Miguel Ángel Marcos Villán, museum curator, the painting was executed in Spain, possibly at the request of Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, duke consort of the Infantado, Villandrando's patron at court. Marcos Villán, 2010: 71-75. My gratitude to the author for providing this article.
- 183 Other less well-known painters who adopted a similar portrait style to Pantoja are Bartolomé de Cárdenas (c.1575-c.1628), Domingo de Carrión (c.1589-c.1660) and Felipe Diriksen (1590-1679).
- 184 On the difficult subject of the relationship between originals, replicas, copies and variants of portraits at Pantoja's workshop, see Kusche, 2007: 241-244. The degree of involvement of apprentices and assistants depended on the system used by Pantoja to execute his portraits, which he would have learnt at the workshop of Sánchez Coello, his master. It is known that Sánchez Coello used to sign the first version of a portrait but not the later replicas, thus differentiating between a prototype and a replica. This method does not mean that the first version of a portrait was necessarily the best, since Sánchez Coello painted second versions with just as much dedication and attention to detail, even improving aspects that he was not satisfied with in the first. Kusche, 2003: 339-387.



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SINTRA QUELUZ PENA

#01 / 2017

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

The portraits in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena and the National Palace of Sintra share a common sitter, format, iconographic formula, composition and colouring schemes. They are even similar in terms of the position of the inscription (beneath the table) and the size of the canvas: 185.4 cm (height) by 104.5 cm (width) in the case of the portrait in the American museum and roughly 191 cm by around 113 cm in the case of the painting in Sintra. Therefore, although the description which follows relates to the work in the National Palace of Sintra, it could apply to both, with the exception of the inscriptions in the bottom left corner and some almost imperceptible details. These insignificant differences are the result of the distinct pictorial interpretation involved in the process of producing replicas of portraits painted from direct observation and used as models.¹⁸⁵ [fig. 19, 20]

Diego Gómez de Sandoval is depicted full-length standing in an indoor setting, in three-quarter view and almost life-size. The table and brick floor,¹⁸⁶ shown in perspective, are the sole references to an interior room.

The figure of the noble knight, looking down on the observer, stands out against the dark and neutral background. He wears a large white lace ruff collar – a Spanish *lechuguilla* – which reaches to the ears and isolates the head from the rest of the body, completely encircling his face.¹⁸⁷ From the ends of the vambraces of the armour can be seen matching wrist ruffs. He is clad in equestrian parade half-armour, made of steel with gilt decoration, probably from a Milanese workshop. Over it he wears a stylised collar consisting of a double gold chain intertwined with a red silk ribbon¹⁸⁸ whose interesting design appears in the last



[fig. 19]

Portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval
Norton Simon Museum



[fig. 20]

Portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval
National Palace of Sintra

armoured portraits of Felipe II, the martial portrait of Rodrigo de Mendoza – the previous Count of Saldaña – and the state portraits of Felipe III in armour as a Prince¹⁸⁹ and King.¹⁹⁰ In all of them,¹⁹¹ except that of Diego’s father-in-law, the insignia of the Golden Fleece can be seen on the collar, while in the portrait of Diego it is the insignia of the Order of Calatrava that we see.¹⁹² Thus, this collar may have been an attribute of his palace office and close proximity to the King. Ultimately, regular access to the monarch was the most important instrument by which to influence him and, by extension, to gain power.

The oval pendant suspended from the collar has an eyelet at the top. This badge consists of a simple gold frame surrounding a white enamelled surface on which is painted, also in enamel, a red cross with the ends finishing in fleur-de-lis, the distinctive symbol of the Order of Calatrava¹⁹³ [fig. 50]. It is a luxury male jewel called a “hábito” or “encomienda”, alluding to the high and noble status of the bearer, a Grand Commander of the Order.¹⁹⁴

[fig. 50]

Frontispiece of *Diffiniciones De la Orden y Caualleria de Calatraua: con relacion de su infitucion, Regla y aprobacion*

Madrid, 1576

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich

2 H.mon. 51

Courtesy of the Bavarian State Library



The second son of the Duke of Lerma is represented in armour at the age of 18, a fact provided by the inscription in the bottom left corner:¹⁹⁵ “ÆTATIS SVÆ •18•” He is wearing close-fitting riding boots, tight white stockings and trunk-hose with gold embroidery.¹⁹⁶ Over his coat of mail, he is wearing half-armor decorated with gilt bands of interlacing branches or stems framing open flowers (embossed?) and parallel scrolling foliage along the edges of the bands. The armor consists of a cuirass with a lance rest and tassets of lames, the gorget and arms being fully protected, including couters adorned with a gilded cross of the Order of Calatrava. His left hand rests on the pommel of his sword and his right on the plumed helmet¹⁹⁷ placed on the table, covered by a crimson velvet cloth and depicted at an oblique angle to give a greater sensation of depth. The sword and gilt spurs are key elements that attest to his status as a full-fledged Knight of the Order of Calatrava, an armed Knight of the aristocratic elite.¹⁹⁸ The ceremonial sword, hanging on his left side, is a swept hilt rapier, apparently Italian or German in style, a type that was in vogue in Spain from the mid-16th century onwards and still in use at the

beginning of the 17th. The pommel and grip of the dagger visible behind his waist, on his right side, is similar in design to the sword, making them a pair.

The figure of Diego, slightly turned to his left, is softly modelled by the focus of light from the left of the picture that creates interesting chiaroscuro effects. They draw particular attention to the shadows cast on the floor by the knight's legs, as well as those projected by the table on his right leg and by the helmet on the trunk-hose. The darkness visible in certain parts of the painting give the space and the volume of the figure a greater sensation of depth, emphasising the light that falls on his face, ruff, hands, feathers of the helmet and the gilding on his armour.

Above the inscription indicating the age of the person can be seen the number "456", painted with an irregular line in a yellowish colour and corresponding to an old inventory number.¹⁹⁹ Along the right edge of the stretcher, on the canvas itself and hidden by the frame, is what appears to be the number "26" painted in black. [fig. 51]



[fig. 51]

Approximate drawing of the number painted on the right tacking margin of the canvas, nailed to the edge of the wooden stretcher and covered by the frame.

..... §

BETWEEN STEEL AND GOLD

Short hair, as was the fashion at the time.

Wheel-shaped starched lace ruff collar that reaches up behind his ears.

Gorget

Pauldron

Couter decorated with the insignia of the Spanish military Order of Calatrava.

Lance rest in upright position. Armour for use on horseback contained this characteristic feature designed to support a lance.

Baldric. A belt from which the sword and dagger were suspended.

Helmet decorated with gilt bands of vegetal motifs and a plume of white, red and yellow feathers. In Spain, this type of head protection was known as *celada borgoñona*. This complex and luxurious piece, consisting of several articulated parts, emphasises the sitter's princely image.

Table covered with a cloth of crimson velvet decorated with gold galloons, fringes and knots.

Tight boots, over white stockings, made of leather or suede reinforced with a hard sole. The bifurcated straps fastened the boots to the thighs to ensure they remained close-fitting.

Age of the sitter: 18

Steel armour.

The characteristic black colour is the result of the treatment used to preserve it against corrosion and to emphasise the gilt decoration.

Cuirass (breastplate and backplate).

Long double gold chain intertwined with a red silk ribbon.

Dagger, on the opposite side to the sword.

Oval pendant badge with the cross of the Order of Calatrava, a jewel worn exclusively by Commanders.

Vambrace

Coat of mail, made of linked metal rings.

Sword

A pair of tassets of lames. The lames are articulated, fastened to the breastplate by leather straps and buckles.

Paned trunk-hose embroidered with gold thread.

Buckles and leather straps with flower-shaped gilt rivets. The straps and buckles are for attaching the tassets.

White silk stockings.

Gilt spurs. Swan neck with a large rowel.



NOTES

- 185 As an example, see the only visible table leg. In both portraits it is smooth but it differs in section, rounded in the case of the Norton Simon Museum portrait and quadrangular in the Sintra portrait. Another difference is also evident in the knight's spur rowels. They have eight points in the American portrait and six in the Sintra portrait.
- 186 The interior flooring in the Norton Simon Museum portrait does not appear to have the marking of the brick floor in the Sintra portrait. The latter underwent conservation and cleaning treatment between November 2000 and February 2001 that included the removal of older varnish on the surface, allowing the floor to be properly examined.
- 187 In the 1570s, ruff collars (*lechuguillas*) extended up to the ears, a feature that remained in vogue during Felipe III's reign, approximately until 1620.
- 188 Could this be the collar that Rodrigo de Mendoza wears in the portrait in the private collection? Could this attribute reflect his proximity to the King as a gentleman of the royal chamber? Or is it the collar, worth 4,000 *reales*, that Queen Margarita had given Diego as a gift on 28th May 1599? Archivo General de Palacio, Palacio Real de Madrid, Madrid, *Sección Histórica*, legajo 190. See IULCE Biografías, "Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, Diego", <http://iulce.es/biografias>. Accessed: 30th July 2015.
- 189 Pantoja de la Cruz, portrait of Prince Felipe in armour, various versions known, c.1590, c.1592 and 1594.
- 190 Pantoja de la Cruz, portrait of Felipe III in armour, various versions, the first – still conserved – from c.1601.
- 191 I exclude from this list some of the portraits of the Archduke Alberto, wearing ceremonial half armour and the golden fleece, produced from 1600 onwards. He was then married to his cousin, the *Infanta* Isabel Clara Eugenia, Felipe II's eldest daughter, and ruler of the territories of the Habsburg Netherlands, under the Spanish monarchy's direct control. See, for example, the engraving with the portrait of the archdukes included in *Ducum Brabantiae Chronica...* (Antwerp, 1600).
- 192 It is worth mentioning another court portrait (by a Flemish painter?) with this attribute associated with the badge of a military order held at the convent of the Trinitarias Decalzas de San Ildefonso in Madrid. It is a portrait of Sancho de la Cerda y Portugal (1550-1626), the Duke of Lerma's brother-in-law, the first Marquis de la Laguna de Camero Viejo (1599), lord high steward of the Queen's chamber (1607), gentleman of the King's chamber (1614), commander of Moraleja y Ceclavín of the Order of Alcántara and counselor of State and War.
- 193 "Cruz colorada de Grana con quatro flores de Lis en los quatro eftremos trae por infignia las perfonas del habito de Calatraua ... " See *Diffiniciones De la Orden y Caualleria de Calatraua: con relacion de su inftitucion, Regla y aprobacion*, 1576: 283.
- 194 This type of oval men's jewel can be seen in court portraiture from the last third of the 16th century, generally suspended from a gold collar in the case of knights from the noble families. On "*hábito*" or "*encomienda*" type jewels, see Arbeteta Mira, 1998: 45-50. On Late Mannerist enamelled jewellery, see Arbeteta Mira, 2006: 45-67.
- 195 Nothing would suggest that the inscription is not authentic. Indicating the age was a common practice in portrait painting at this time. See, for instance, the armoured portrait of King Sebastião at the age of 18, attributed to Cristóvão de Morais, belonging to the Museo Nacional del Prado collection. The painting has an inscription at the top: "SEBASTIANVS PRIMVS / REX PORTVGALLIA / ANNVM AGENS XVIII". Other court portraitists such as Sánchez Coello or Frans Pourbus the Younger also included an inscription in Latin on the canvas with the age of the person written in Roman or Arabic numerals. In some of their portraits the inscription is in the same style of writing evocative of Ancient Roman capitals.
- 196 The codpiece is not visible in the trunk-hose. This piece of clothing would fall into disuse by the end of the 16th century.
- 197 On the arms corresponding to the commanders and knights of the Order, see *Diffiniciones De la Orden y Caualleria de Calatraua: con relacion de su inftitucion, Regla y aprobacion*, Gómez, 1576: 69, 148, 237.
- 198 In the first part of the solemn ceremony to be armed a Knight of the Order, the sponsor girds a gilt sword to the new knight, while two other knights place gilt spurs on his feet. See *Diffiniciones De la Orden y Caualleria de Calatraua: con relacion de su inftitucion, Regla y aprobacion*, Gómez, 1576: 132.
- 199 The size, font, colour and position of this inventory number are similar to the inventory number painted on the portrait in the Norton Simon Museum ("472").



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SINTRA QUELUZ PENA

#01 / 2017

**BY EXPRESS ORDER
OF THE QUEEN**

Maria Pia of Savoy, Queen of Portugal (detail)

João Francisco Camacho
Lisbon, c. 1880
Printed photograph, mounted on card
National Palace of Ajuda
Inv. F61966

© DGPC/ADF | Photo: Luisa Oliveira

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In light of the words of the Count of Sabugosa at the dawn of the 20th century, we know that the painting was acquired at an unknown date and place by the queen, Maria Pia of Savoy, as a portrait of King Sebastião. This fact represents the starting point for a process of research and documentation that examines the world of European painting collecting in the second half of the 19th century.

The archives of the Portuguese Royal Household kept at the Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, the archive of the Portuguese Legation in Paris at the Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático of the Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros in Lisbon, the archives of the Portuguese Royal Household of the National Palace of Ajuda, today at the Ajuda Library in Lisbon, the archives of the *Commissaire-Priseurs* of Paris (1801-1989) at the Archives de Paris, and the Drouot Paris auction catalogues were the main resources available to us to retrace a key part of the painting's whereabouts until it entered the royal collections, compiling and fitting together pieces of a complex puzzle that provides important fragments of information. These new facts are significant if we bear in mind that little was known with any certainty about the inclusion of this court portrait in the collection of the Royal Palace of Sintra.

Until now, the only piece of information in a reference from the monarchical era was by the Count of Sabugosa [fig. 52] in his aforementioned book *O Paço de Cintra* (1903).²⁰⁰ It also contained another interesting fact relating to its authorship, which was connected to the Flemish painter Anthonis Mor. An acquisition of this calibre would, in that sense, have quite certainly been cause for mention in a periodical in circulation at the time when the portrait was bought and included in the Portuguese royal collections. My research



[fig. 52]

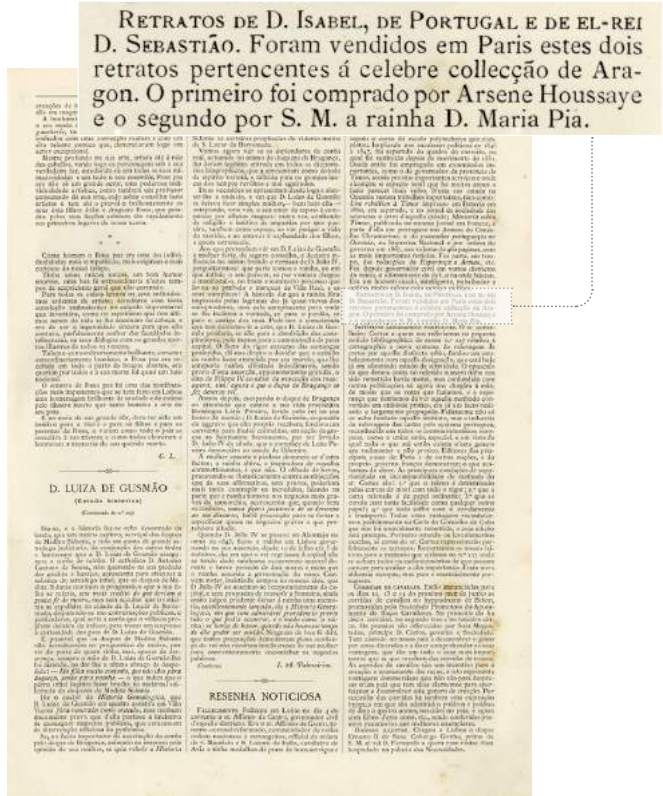
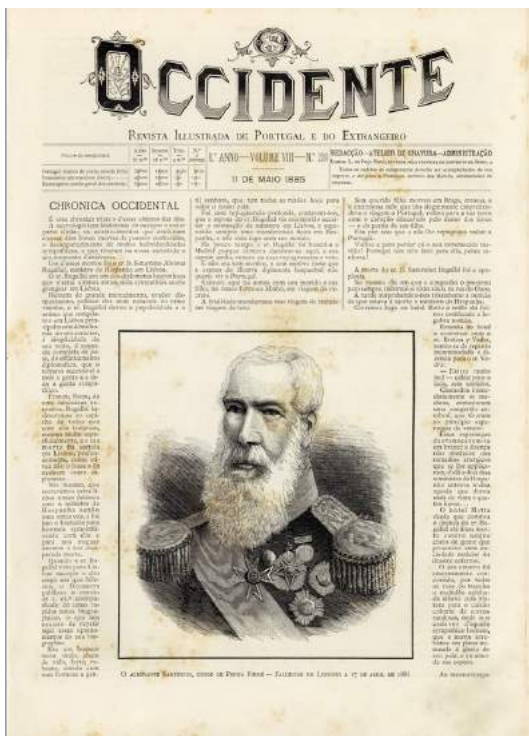
Count of Sabugosa

Os dez vencidos da vida (detail)
Domingos Alvão
Photograph

Arquivo de Documentação Fotográfica
da Direção-Geral do Património Cultural
Inv. 156.001.003

© DGPC/ADF

therefore focused on the period between 1865 – when Queen Maria Pia made her first tour of Europe²⁰¹ after marrying King Luís I – and 1902, when she made her last one abroad prior to 1903.²⁰² The sources consulted were the *Archivo Pittoresco*, an illustrated weekly whose final issue was published in 1868, the magazine *O Occidente*, published from 1878 to 1915, the literary and art review *A Illustração Portuguesa*, launched in 1884, the *Diario Illustrado*, published from 1872 to 1911, and the *Diário de Notícias*, from 1865 onwards. Only one periodical, the 11th May 1885 issue of *O Occidente: Revista illustrada de Portugal e do Extrangeiro* [fig. 53], mentioned the purchase of a portrait of King Sebastião, in the following terms: “PORTRAITS OF ISABELLA, OF PORTUGAL, AND KING SEBASTIÃO. These two portraits belonging to the renowned Aragon collection have been sold in Paris. The former was bought by Arsene Houssaye and the latter by Her Majesty the Queen Maria Pia.”²⁰³



[fig. 53]

Front page of the magazine *O Occidente* of 11th May 1885 and a zoomed-in detail of the news item published.

© Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa | Courtesy of the Hemeroteca

This short item, which has been referred to before,²⁰⁴ has been associated with an excellent half-length portrait of King Sebastião (1571-1574) in armour attributed to Cristóvão de Morais [fig. 54]. On this work, the catalogue entry for the anthological exhibition *Meisterwerke aus dem Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lissabon: Die großen Sammlungen VIII*²⁰⁵ held at the Bundeskunsthalle (Bonn) in 1999 mentions the following: "... In corroboration of this supposition [the theory that the portrait was commissioned by Juana of Austria, Princess of Portugal by marriage, from Cristóvão de Morais] is also the fact that this painting was bought in Paris in 1885 by Maria Pia of Savoy, having earlier belonged to the collection of Maria del Carmen Aragon Azloré Idiáquez, a descendant of the House of Aragon (*Occidente*, 1885)."²⁰⁶

This association between the news item of 1885 and the painting in the Lisbon museum directly ties the "Aragon collection" to the María del Carmen Aragón de Azlor e Idiáquez collection, when in fact they were two different collections.²⁰⁷

María del Carmen Aragón de Azlor e Idiáquez (1841-1905) was the Duchess of Villahermosa, a Grandee of Spain, Countess-Duchess of Luna, Countess of Cortes, Countess of Guara, Countess of Javier, Marquise of Cábrega, Duchess of Palata, Princess of Massa in Naples, Countess of Moita in Portugal and Lady of the baronia y honor de Panzano. This Aragonese aristocrat, of royal descent, was an active and generous patron of the arts and letters. She dedicated her enormous fortune to safeguarding the built and artistic heritage under her ownership and to fostering cultural activities and research in Spain. Owner of an important art collection, before her death she bequeathed various large donations, one of the most important of which being that relating to the Velázquez paintings that were part of her family inheritance. According to accounts, a wealthy American offered her 1,500,000 francs for one of them, but the Duchess refused, preferring to donate them to the Museo del Prado: "I love my family, my homeland and art deeply, but money very little. I wouldn't sell my Velázquez for all the millions in the world, and wish that when my days come to an end that it be given to the Museo del Prado."²⁰⁸

The bequest to the museum appears in the 24th clause of her will: "the same lady bequeaths the two original paintings by Velázquez to the Museo del Prado de Madrid ... , so that they might never leave Spain."²⁰⁹ Though these facts may appear nothing

more than mere curiosities, they are illustrative of the duchess's sense of "patriotism". She had no interest in selling works from her art collection (and much less in seeing them disappear from Spanish soil) as, amongst other reasons, she had no need to. As a result, this raises serious doubts, in my mind, as to the true source of the portrait acquired by Maria Pia in 1885. Added to this is the fact that in 1885 María del Carmen Aragón de Azlor e Idiáquez was not yet Duchess of Villahermosa and therefore was not in personal possession of the core of the family painting collection.

And these difficulties continue when we come to the problem of identifying, on reasoned grounds, which of the portraits known and inventoried in Portugal's museums and palaces as the portrait of King Sebastião actually corresponds to the news item. Here, at least three possibilities can be considered:

- The armoured portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval in the National Palace of Sintra bought, it would seem, by the queen, Maria Pia of Savoy, and which was thought to be a representation of King Sebastião at the time of its acquisition. Full-length. [fig. 20]
- The armoured portrait of King Sebastião (1571-1574) in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, donated in 1909 by the 2nd Count of Olivais and Penha Longa, José Pinto Leite²¹⁰. This may be one of the portraits that Juana of Austria, the daughter of Charles V, commissioned of her son. Half-length. [fig. 54]
- The portrait of Prince Carlos (last third of the 16th century, from 1567 onwards), the heir to the Spanish throne, son of Felipe II and his first wife and cousin Maria Manuela of Portugal. It came from the Palace of Ajuda as a portrait of King Sebastião, and has hung at the National Palace of Sintra since 1939. It is unknown whether it belonged to the collections of the Royal Household or not. Its restoration in 1911 brought to light the error in the traditional identification of the figure portrayed. Radiographic analysis showed that the jewel with the cross of the Order of Christ hanging from the gold collar had been painted over the golden fleece, the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece, at a later date, perhaps in the 17th or 18th century. The portrait is currently attributed to Sánchez Coello or his workshop, a copy after the original by Sofonisba Anguissola from around 1567.²¹¹ Half-length, in court dress. [fig. 55]

[fig. 20]
**Portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval,
Grand Commander of the Order of Calatrava,
Count of Saldaña**

Pantoja de la Cruz
Spain, 1605-1608
Oil on canvas
National Palace of Sintra
Inv. PNS3647

© PSML | Photo: e.m.i.g.u.s photography



[fig. 54]
Portrait of King Sebastião of Portugal

Cristóvão de Morais, 1571-1574
Oil on canvas
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon
Inv. 1165 Pint

© DGPC/ADF | Photo: Luisa Oliveira, José Paulo Ruas



[fig. 55]
**Portrait of Prince Carlos,
son of Felipe II of Spain**

Attributed to Sánchez Coello and his workshop
Copy after Sofonisba Anguissola, c.1567
Oil on canvas
National Palace of Sintra
Inv. PNS3641

© PSML | Photo: e.m.i.g.u.s photography

Having reached this point, in order to clarify this key issue, I began by consulting the sale catalogues published in 1885 by the Hôtel Drouot, one of the oldest and most important auction houses in Paris and intimately linked in the second half of the 19th century to the sale of historic collections belonging to a declining European aristocracy. Although the news item of 11th May omitted the authorship of the painting and the type of intermediary involved in the transaction (auctioneer, *marchand*, antique dealer), the catalogues of paintings auctioned at Hôtel Drouot were crucial, since they made it possible to track the portrait in question and provided details about its movements and into whose hands it fell.

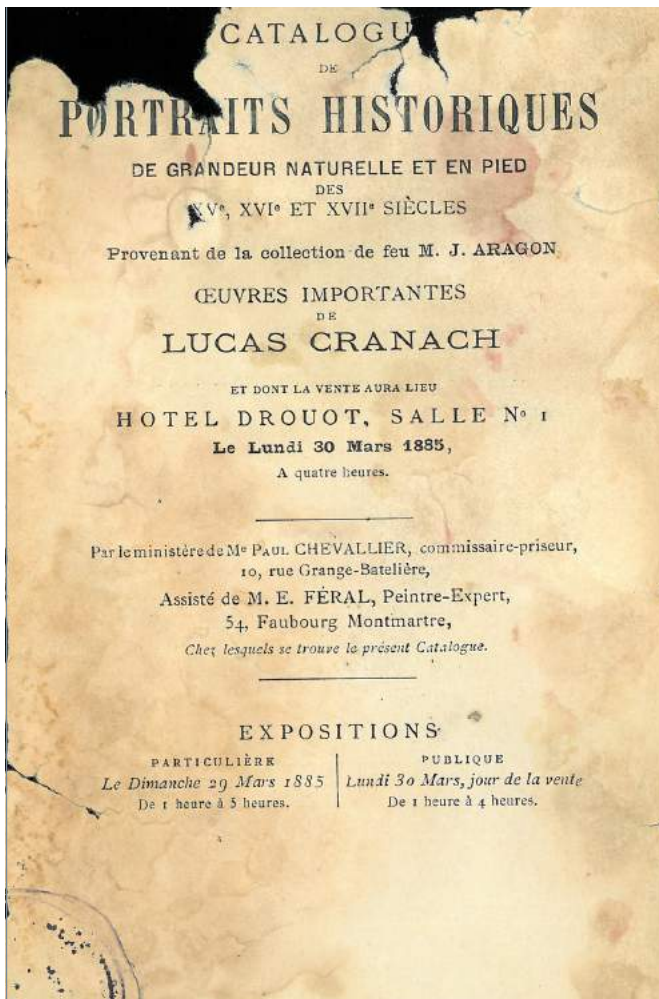
These practical documents include a cover announcing the sale and the auction dates, as well as a list or index organised according to schools or based on the names of the artists whose works featured in the – numbered – lots to be auctioned. At times, when the quality of the collection merited, an introductory text is also included in which an expert places the collection in context and underlines the best works and masters in the sale. The pieces are accompanied by a brief catalogue entry and also, in the more scholarly auction catalogues, by information on the provenance and “pedigree” of the works.

The catalogues were intended for interested parties and potential buyers, such as amateur and connoisseur collectors, art dealers, experts and even auctioneers. The auction market in the second half of the 19th century therefore saw a new type of collector, in particular a powerful and wealthy, and sometimes titled, upper middle class made up of bankers, businessmen and politicians.²¹²

The auction in which the portrait of King Sebastião mentioned in the periodical of 11th May 1885 was included took place on Monday, 30th March 1885, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The painting (lot no. 13) was shown alongside a further 39 at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris in room no. 1. Its description in the sale catalogue included some technical details and a very short description that coincided with the Sintra portrait,²¹³ even as far as its size is concerned: “13. DON SEBASTIÃO / KING OF PORTUGAL (16TH CENTURY) / Dressed in a damascened cuirass; head turned to the right in three-quarter view, blond hair, double ruff in guipure. Left hand resting on the hilt of the sword and the right on the helmet. / A very good portrait by the Flemish school. / Canvas. Height 1 m. 90 cm.; width 1 m. 12 cm.”²¹⁴

At this same auction, entitled *Portraits historiques de grandeur naturelle et en pied des XV^e, XVI^e et XVII^e siècles...*,²¹⁵ was the portrait of Isabella of Portugal (lot no. 2) acquired by Arsène Houssaye,²¹⁶ as the magazine *O Occidente* noted. The catalogue itself confirms this on page 4 thanks to the handwritten notes on the hammer price (230 francs) and the buyer.²¹⁷ Interestingly, according to the handwritten note accompanying lot no. 13, the portrait of King Sebastião was sold for 840 francs to an individual by the name of Féral [fig. 56], which leads us to think that the queen of Portugal did not acquire the work at auction, or that this individual may have been acting secretly as an intermediary on behalf of the Royal Household so that nobody would be aware of the queen's interest in the painting. This would seem unlikely. What we can be sure of is that Féral attended the auction not just as an expert, buying at least three portraits of which one was the portrait of the Portuguese king. The man in question is certainly Monsieur E. Féral, who appears on the cover of the catalogue as a *peintre-expert*.²¹⁸ He assisted the *commissaire-priseur*²¹⁹ Paul Chevallier, one of the most important auctioneers of the age. In principle, it was Féral who confirmed or attributed the portrait of King Sebastião to a 16th-century painter of the Flemish school.

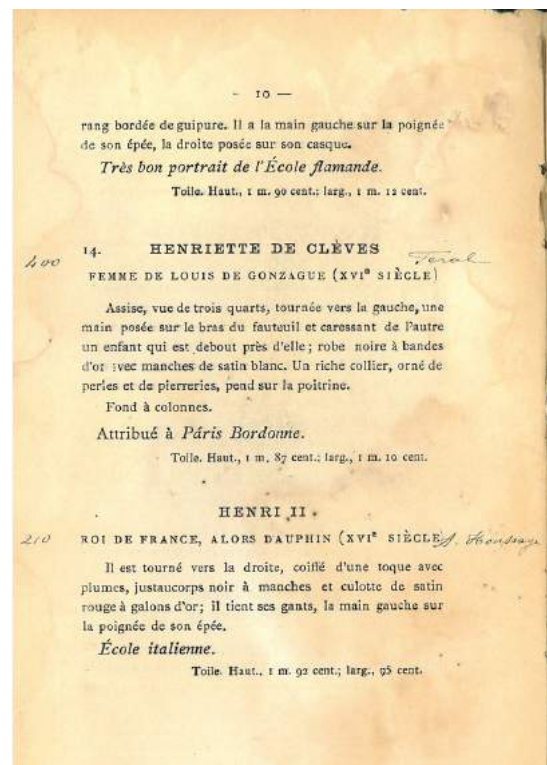
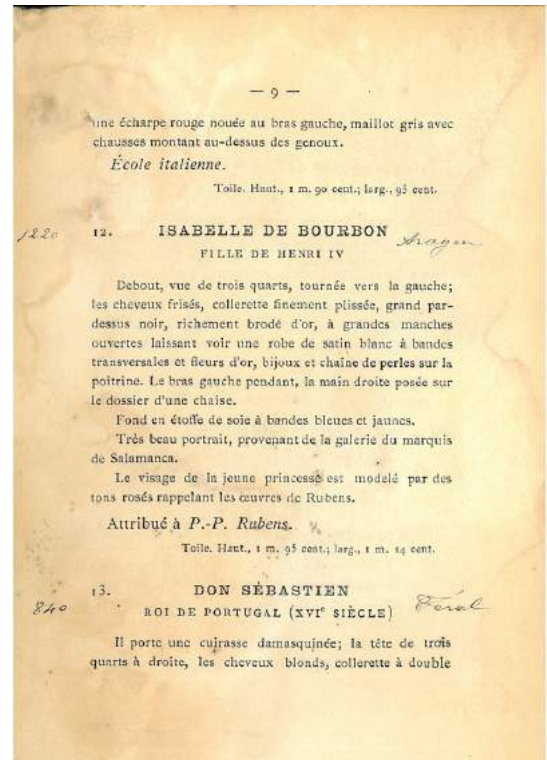
Eugène Féral-Cussac (1832-1900) was active in Paris as an expert in ancient and modern painting from 1868 to 1900, providing advice for the valuation and sale of artworks. A painter, restorer, connoisseur, collector and art dealer, he worked for the Hôtel Drouot as a painting valuer from the 1870s on. In the 1880s, he resided at 54 Faubourg Montmartre and, earlier, at 23 rue de Buffault. He was trained as a *restaurateur de tableaux* at his uncle, Jules Cussac's, studio. He visited the Louvre frequently, where he studied and copied the masters, above all those of the French school. Through the collector Louis La Caze²²⁰ he completed his education as a connoisseur and gained access to a network of art dealers and specialists. Once his reputation as a knowledgeable authority on painting was established, he followed the advice of the art critic Thoré-Bürger²²¹ and became a professional expert, becoming more and more sought after by collectors and auction houses. He even sold works such as *Le Bois de La Haye* (1650) by Paulus Potter and *La Fée aux perles* (1857) by Narcisse Díaz de la Peña to the Louvre. Amongst the important sales he accompanied at auction over the years, of note is the sale of *The Angelus* (1857-1859) by Jean-François Millet, today at the Musée d'Orsay.



[fig. 56]

**Front cover of the sales catalogue
and pages describing lot number 13**

Courtesy of Drouot Documentation, Paris



Sold at the Galerie de Charles Sedelmeyer in July 1889, this piece from the Secrétan collection reached a record price of 553,000 francs.

The elite of European collecting were not in attendance at the sale of the collection of Monsieur J. Aragon, but present were scholars such as Arsène Houssaye, the author of *Histoire de la peinture flamande et hollandaise* (1846), and connoisseurs such as the magistrate Martin Le Roy, member of the *Commission supérieure des beaux-arts* for the universal exhibitions of 1889 and 1900 and one of the founders and directors of the *Société des Amis du Louvre*, created in 1897 to enrich the museum's collections. In the handwritten annotations in the catalogue also appear the names of Mortemart (Duke of ?), Spiridon (Joseph?), Janzé (Viscount of ?) and the painting expert and art dealer Monsieur Lannoy. All were collectors, with different profiles and aims, and all were interested in the portraits of historical figures belonging to a lawyer established in Paris, as Paul Eudel (1837-1911) noted in his book *L'Hôtel Drouot et la curiosité en 1884-1885*.²²²

Eudel, a collector, scholar, writer and art chronicler, underlined the quality of the collection of 40 large full length and life-size portraits assembled by “a simple bourgeois located in Paris”, stressing this rare occurrence “reserved for palaces and museums”. It seems that the owner of the portrait gallery, J. Aragon, was a lawyer and the beginnings of his collection dated back to 1855 when a rich lady who asserted that she was of royal descent requested his services, paying his fees with two portraits of monarchs. This was the start of a collection which little by little would incorporate pieces from the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th centuries acquired in Spain, Italy and France through different intermediaries. Some had come from different collections, such as that of the Marquis of Salamanca and the Prince of San Donato.

Amongst the set of portraits from various schools, Paul Eudel noted that of particular value were those of Ferdinand I of Habsburg, attributed to Pierre Pourbus the Elder; Charles V, by the Spanish school; Cosimo I de Medici, by the Italian school; Caterina de Medici, attributed to Anthonis Mor; Felipe II of Spain, accepted as a work by Sánchez Coello; Isabelle of Bourbon, attributed to Rubens; Frederick III of Saxony, by Lucas Cranach the Elder; and King Sebastião of Portugal, “un beau” portrait of the Flemish school. We should recall here the words of the Count of Sabugosa (1903),

asserting that the author of the portrait in the Royal Palace of Sintra was no other than the Flemish painter Anthonis Mor.

The value of this chronicle by Paul Eudel lies precisely in the accuracy of the author's account. On the one hand, he attended the major art sales and mixed with the major collectors of his age. On the other, he has gone down in the history of collecting as a specialist writer with the most books to his name on the research into the illicit trade in artworks, focusing above all on fraud and falsification.

Between 1881 and 1888, Eudel published an annual volume entitled *L'Hôtel Drouot et la curiosité en...*²²³ in which he listed and commented on the main transactions, those concerned and the atmosphere, incidents and curious episodes at the Hôtel Drouot prefaced by top historians and critics such as Jules Claretie, Edmond Bonnaffé, Philippe Burty and Champfleury.

In 1885, in his book *Collections et collectionneurs*, he selected and analysed interesting collections of the era of various types, such as that of the important *collectionneur-connaisseur* Jean-Charles Davillier. He also mentioned the name of various prestigious experts established in Paris he considered arbiters in their different fields: Arthur Maury on stamps, Charavay on manuscripts, Mannheim on faience, Porquet on books and Féral on paintings.²²⁴

In sum, I have no doubt that the canvas acquired by Maria Pia of Savoy in 1885 is the same one bought by Féral for 840 francs at the auction on 30th March 1885 at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris. But this then raises two questions that need answering: what were the circumstances in which the queen bought the portrait? And who was the intermediary?

To answer them, it was essential to locate documents in the Lisbon archives with information related to the Royal Household. In that sense, the Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo and the Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático of the Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros provided new useful information. The documentation discovered allowed us for the first time to unveil an important part of the process that made it possible for the portrait to be added to the Portuguese royal collections, besides clarifying the role played by the queen.

On 5th April 1885, Maria Pia of Savoy asked for a telegram to be sent to the Viscount de Azevedo, first secretary of the Portuguese Legation in Paris and charge d'affaires ad interim, with the following instructions: "Buy King Sebastião painting but take all necessary precautions to ensure a low price. Send immediately to Lisbon with all due care."²²⁵ It would seem that the queen had already requested that inquiries be made about the portrait.

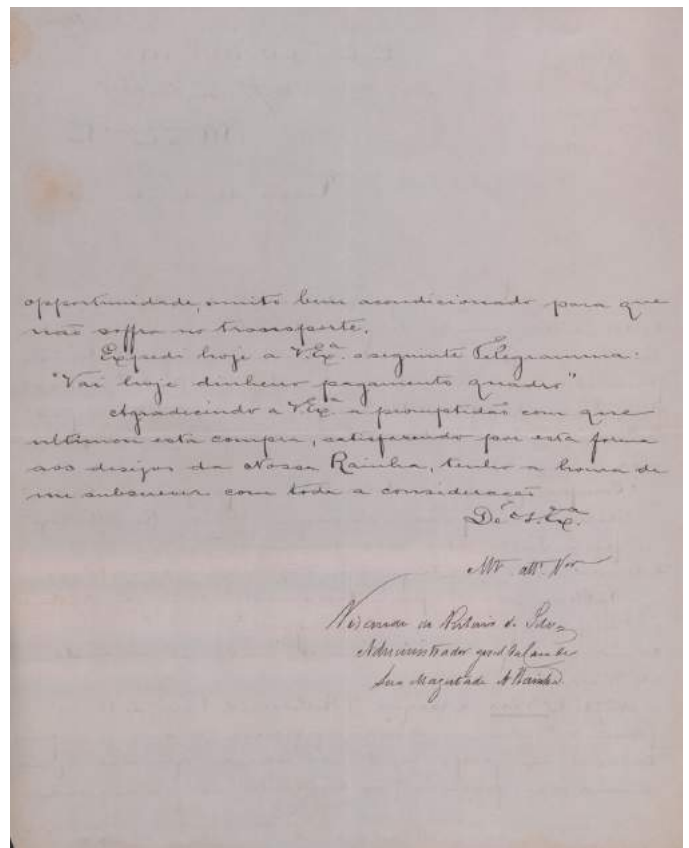
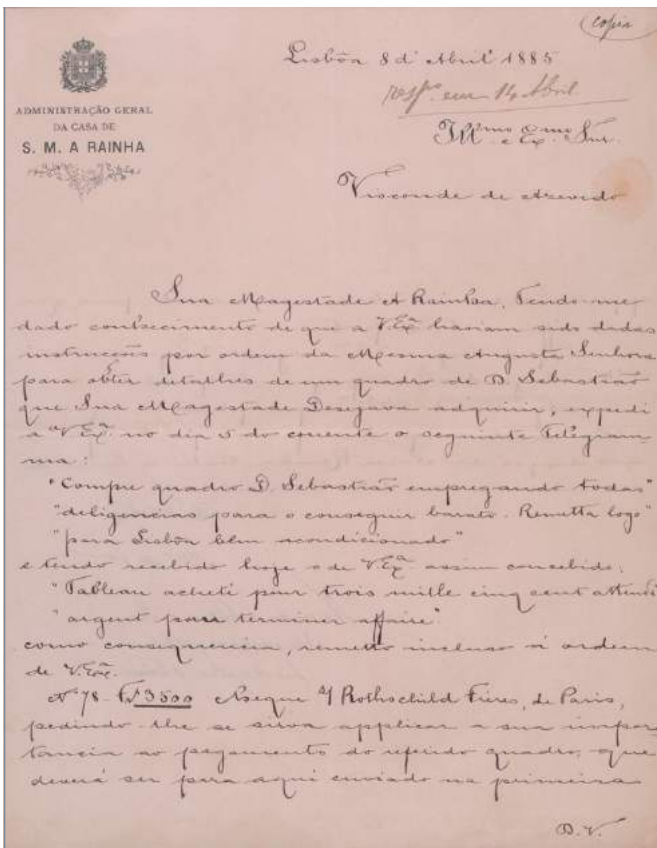
On 8th April, the Viscount de Azevedo replied via another telegram, in French, in which he wrote: "Painting bought for three thousand five hundred; I await money to conclude the deal."²²⁶ On that same day, the Viscount de Ribeiro da Silva, Head of the Royal Household of Her Majesty The Queen, sent an official letter to the Viscount de Azevedo enclosing a cheque for 3,500 francs drawn on de Rothschild Frères bank in Paris. The letter specifies that the money was to be used "to pay for the aforementioned painting, which must be sent here [Royal Palace of Ajuda] at the first opportunity, and very carefully packed to prevent damage during transit", also informing that the following telegram had been sent in parallel: "Money to pay painting sent today."²²⁷ [fig. 57]

On 14th April, the Viscount de Azevedo confirmed to the Viscount de Ribeiro da Silva that the letter and respective cheque had been received [fig. 58]. The correspondence also included the receipt for payment of the portrait bought at the Parisian establishment of Monsieur Lannoy, an art dealer, in 14 Rue Lafayette. The Viscount de Azevedo also provided other pieces of interesting information:

... according to the opinion of the experts I consulted on the matter, the painting may be attributed to the famous painter Porbus [Pourbus], or at least one of his disciples. Whatever the case, it is a painting of true artistic value and the terms of its acquisition can be considered good.

The painting was sent to Your Excellency on 11th of this month via Le Havre and insured for the same amount as its cost, as the documents enclosed show. ²²⁸

The fact that he mentions having consulted various – unidentified – experts for their opinion on the painting reveals, despite everything, a certain care in ensuring the quality and authenticity of the work and in trying to clarify its authorship. It seems that these experts did not question the identity of the subject, recognised



[fig. 57]

Official correspondence of 8th April 1885 from the Viscount de Ribeiro da Silva to the Viscount de Azevedo

This letter is an identical copy of the correspondence, sent on the same day by mistake with no date.

Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Lisbon

the great quality of the portrait and tended to attribute it to Pourbus [fig. 59] or one of his collaborators.²²⁹ Nevertheless, it was a very risky transaction since the queen shouldered payment of an artwork which she had never actually seen, trusting blindly in the judgment of others.

On 30th April, the Viscount de Ribeiro da Silva sent a new letter to the Viscount de Azevedo confirming the arrival in Lisbon of the portrait of King Sebastião in perfect condition²³⁰ [fig. 60] and that it was already in the hands of the queen, whom he had informed of the possibility of its attribution to Pourbus.²³¹ [fig. 61]

The speed with which the acquisition was finalised reveals Maria Pia of Savoy's determination to own the portrait at any cost, despite the expenditure involved at a time when the finances of the Queen's Household, managed since 1883 by the

1885
 Abril 14
 Ex.^{ma} Sr. Visconde de Ribeiro da Silva,
 Administrador Geral da Casa de S. M.
 a Rainha.

Accusando recebida a communicacão
 que V. Ex.^{ma} se servio dirigir-me juntamente
 com um cheque de Frs. 3,500 sobre
 a casa Pottcheld, bem como a copia
 da mesma, dotada de 8 do corrente,
 tenho a honra de passar ás mãos de V. Ex.
 o recibo relativo ao pagamento de um
 retrato de D. Sebastião, que em obediencia
 ás ordens recebidas, comprei ao Sr. Lan-
 noy, negociante em quadros, com loja
 em Paris, na rue Lafayette n.º 14; cum-
 prindo-me participar a V. Ex.^{ma} que a juizo
 dos peritos competentes que consultei
 sobre o assumpto, pode o referido quadro
 attribuir-se ao celebre pintor Torbus ou
 pelo menos a algum discipulo d'elle, e
 em todo o caso é uma pintura de ver-
 dadeiro valor artistico, podendo consi-
 derar-se esta compra aqumissão como
 havendo sido effectuada em boas condi-
 ções.

O quadro foi expedido a V. Ex.^{ma} em 11
 do corrente, por via do Havre, e seguro

em quantia igual a do seu custo, segun-
 do consta dos inclusos documentos.

D. J. a V. Ex. (a) V. de Azevedo

[fig. 58]

Copy of the official correspondence of 14th April 1885 from the Viscount de Azevedo to the Viscount de Ribeiro da Silva

Transcription on the copier of correspondence sent by the Portuguese Legation in Paris.

Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Lisbon



[fig. 59]

Portrait of the Archduke Albert of Austria

Frans Pourbus, the Younger

Flanders, 1599

Oil on canvas

Real Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid

Inv. 00612211

© PATRIMONIO NACIONAL

Courtesy of the Institution

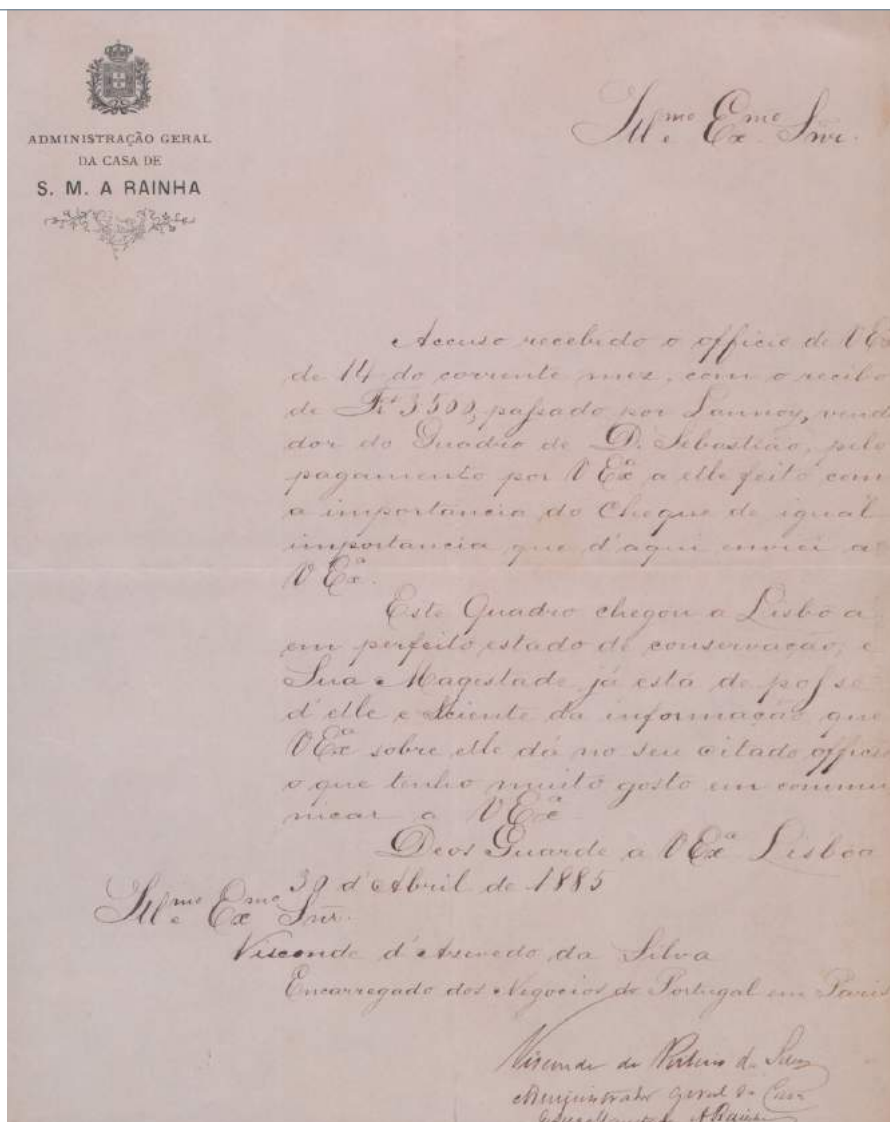
This state portrait, by Pourbus II, was produced for the occasion of the wedding of the archduke to his cousin, the *infanta* Isabel Clara Eugenia, daughter of Felipe II of Spain. The painter borrows the formula created by Anthonis Mor to portray Felipe II after the Battle of Saint-Quentin as Habsburg ruler and military leader to depict the King's nephew and son-in-law, specifically in terms of the pose and the accompanying military accoutrements of power. This is the official image of the archduke Albert during his early years as Sovereign Prince of the Habsburg Netherlands. This portrait by Pourbus II was for some time attributed to Pantoja de la Cruz.

Viscount de Ribeiro da Silva, had accumulated debts of 182 contos and 700 réis²³² by the end of 1885, not including bank loans.²³³ In 1885, under the item “*móveis, quadros, adereços*”, which includes the artwork, the Queen’s Household spent a total of 1,555,255 réis, of which 632,335 were used to buy the portrait. In fact, in the income and expenditure for the month of April, the portrait acquired in Paris can be clearly seen under “*móveis*”. The expenditure corresponds to the 3,500 francs already mentioned. At an exchange rate of 542 réis for 3 francs, this amounted to a total of 632,335 réis.²³⁴ This amount does not include the additional costs associated with insurance, packing and transportation from the port of Le Havre to Lisbon.²³⁵ [fig. 62]

[fig. 60]

**Official correspondence of 30th April 1885
from the Viscount de Ribeiro da Silva
to the Viscount de Azevedo da Silva**

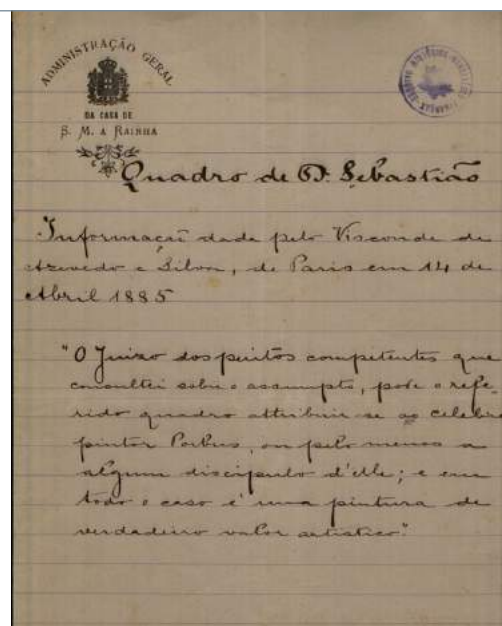
Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático do
Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Lisbon



[fig. 61]

**Brief handwritten note on a small piece of letter-headed paper
from the Administration of the Queen's Household
with information about the possible
authorship of the portrait**

Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
© ANTT



We therefore now have enough information to know when and how the painting arrived in Portugal, why it was added to the royal collections as a portrait of King Sebastião, and who were involved in the acquisition process. It is also possible to safely state that the portrait was acquired by express order of the Queen.

Mes d'Avril 1885

ADMINISTRAÇÃO GERAL
DA CASA DE
S. M. A RAINHA

**Movimento da conta da
Receita e Despesa da Admi-
nistração da Casa de Sua
Majestade a Rainha.**

Despesa

Depositos nas contas de Sua Magestade	470.000	
2 Letras pagas, accitadas a Vossa Magestade pela antiga administração vendidas este mes	5.000.000	
Ordenados do mes de abril	1.234.099	
Gratificações	140.500	
Pensões e Pensões de Morte da Camara 2 Trimestres 1885	87.610	
a Henrique Eusebio da Silva, fôr mór do General Cunha, este Agosto 1884 até abril 1885	9.000.121.500	
a Diversos	515.500	504.910
Movens. Retrato de D. Sebastião, comprado a Paris 400.000 até 20 de Agosto 1885	652.555	
1 Letra com flôr de porcelana	19.000	654.555
continua.		7.000.844

6881 7.11.12.15 1885

Despesa

Donativos - Custo de 1 Phacton vindo de Londres para Sua Magestade - Juro de 20 ff	30.000
Pensões para Barões	66.000
para Jijon	34.000
para a nova Capella de Fundel	90.000
Custo de 1 Livro para 1 obelisco do cruzeiro de Maria Pia para mór do parque de Fonteira	8.000
Cafes para mudeiros	15.000
Guarda Roupa Pago a Thell Este de Paris, sua conta de calgado desde Dezembro 1882 até Dezembro 1884	474.085
Bondados comprados a M ^{te} Pedro	89.700
Gasolinas e Engomada mora de Fevereiro até Maio 1885	81.970
1 concerta	160
Jornaes - Diversos assignatarios	56.570
Livros - Conta da Sineria Mercantile	28.600
continua.	9.417.554

Despesa

Emendas a Diversos	190.700	
distribuidas nas Alcaidarias	408.850	599.550
Remessa do P ^o de Londres, Transportes remetidos em Lisboa para o custo de 2 obeliscos e suas pontarias comprados no mes de Maio 1885 e juro até 30 de abril	5.550.000	
Telex pagas e mais despesas do retrato de D. Sebastião do Rainha para Lisboa	7.070	
Juros pagos a Caixa Geral das Depositas desde 1 de Janeiro até 30 de abril 1885 do empréstimo de noventa e sete contos de reis	4.574.520	
Salgemmaes	570	
gratias Diversos, Sellos, pntas de cartões	4.475	
		15.191.944

segue a Receita

Transporte da Despesa 15.191.944

Receita

Dividendo do 4 ^o Trimestre 1884 de 40 contos de Cabo de Lince	27.500
Juro do 1 ^o Trimestre 1885 de 12.000.000 em Juros pagos	1.880.000
novos impostos de realtaes 3%	52.320.475.100
	1.502.400
Deficit	13.539.544

Neste mes d'abril 1885, foi supprido o deficit da
Majestade a Rainha pelo Visconde de Ribaudo da
Silva, com a quantia de 13.539.555, satisfazendo o
total do seu credito para com esta Administração
Reis 154.543.386

Lisboa 30 d'abril 1885

Visconde de Ribaudo da Silva
Administrador geral

[fig. 62]

Statement of income and expenditure for the Queen's Household for the month of April, 1885. 30th April 1885.

Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
© ANTT



[fig. 63]

**Maria Pia of Savoy,
Queen of Portugal**

Augusto Bobone
Lisbon, c.1883
Photograph
Coloured image under glass
National Palace of Ajuda
Inv. 2090

© DGPC/ADF | Photo: Luisa Oliveira

MARIA PIA OF SAVOY, QUEEN OF PORTUGAL

Maria Pia of Savoy (1847-1911) was the granddaughter of Carlo Alberto, King of Sardinia-Piedmont and Duke of Savoy, and youngest daughter of the prince and heir Vittorio Emanuele and the Archduchess Adelaide of Austria, who would become the first constitutional monarchs of Italy. She was educated at the Royal Palace of Turin, the sumptuous residence of the House of Savoy, where she spent her childhood and pre-adolescence.

In 1862, she became Queen of Portugal upon marriage, while not yet 15 years old, to Luís I. Her refined sense of elegance and luxury was soon noted. The national and foreign press reported on her trips abroad and expensive purchases from Europe's finest furniture, jewellery and fashion houses. But it was from 1880s onwards that this extraordinary expenditure became so high that it placed Maria Pia's own personal accounts at risk.

On 5th October 1910, she left the Royal Palace of Sintra to go into exile, ending her days at the Palace of Stupinigi, in her native Piedmont, at the age of 63.

VISCOUNT DE AZEVEDO DA SILVA



[fig. 64]

Count d'Azevedo da Silva

Ilustração Portuguesa, issue no. 63, 6th May 1907.

© Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa
Courtesy of the Hemeroteca

Fernando de Azevedo e Silva (1845-1923), a graduate in letters from the University of Paris, began his diplomatic career at the Portuguese Legation in Paris as attaché in 1872. He then worked in Madrid, Rome, Brussels and Paris as secretary to the legation and chargé d'affaires, with brief stints in Lisbon at the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

In August 1881, he returned to Paris where he worked on and off as first secretary and chargé d'affaires ad interim from 1882 to 1888. There he mixed with artists, writers and diplomats.

Outside his career in the diplomatic corp, he wrote poetry, composed operas and translated *The Lusíads* by Luís de Camões into French.

King Luís I made him a viscount in 1884 and then a count in 1889.

VISCOUNT DE RIBEIRO DA SILVA

Libânio Ribeiro da Silva (1824-1895), a financier linked to several companies and industrial firms, occupied various high positions such as the chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bank of Portugal from 1883 to 1886 and chairman of the Board of the General Meeting of the Companhia das Águas de Lisboa.

In 1883, he was appointed Head of the Household of Her Majesty the Queen, Maria Pia of Savoy, a position he occupied until 1891 when he resigned and requested in writing the payment of the bills of exchange he himself had accepted in order to support the expenditure of the Queen's Household.²³⁶

King Luís I made him a Viscount in 1873 and a Count in 1887.



[fig. 65]

Count de Ribeiro da Silva

© PSML | Photo: Cláudio Marques

What still needs to be done, however, is to establish the connection between Féral, who acquired the work at auction on 30th March for 840 francs,²³⁷ and Lannoy, who resold it a few days later for 3,500 francs.

One of the keys to solving this mystery comes from the annotations on one of the preserved copies of the sale catalogue for the Aragon collection, handwritten in the margins of its pages, beside the sold lots, noting the hammer price and the name of the respective buyers.²³⁸

The sale – whose paintings were catalogued and valued by Féral – was attended by aristocrats, liberal professionals, scholars and picture dealers, amongst which a certain Lannoy, as already mentioned, who bought at least two portraits for 500 and 240 francs. So Féral and Lannoy, two painting experts, were at the same auction. As such, they were recorded as “*Experts de Paris*” in the *Annuaire artistique des collectionneurs 1882-1883* by Ris-Paquot.²³⁹ In this list of experts, the annual stated the following about Lannoy: “Mr. Lannoy, sales management, 14, rue La Fayette. Buys and sells private collections, paintings.”²⁴⁰ These details match the information in the correspondence between Viscount de Ribeiro da Silva and Viscount de Azevedo da Silva.

We can deduce from this that Féral must have resold the portrait to Lannoy, a professional art trader who no doubt saw a good business opportunity, judging by the sizeable profit he seems to have obtained.²⁴¹ But it is also possible that Féral and Lannoy formed a business partnership. Féral as the prestigious expert with a stock of paintings by old masters and Lannoy as the sales agent dealing directly with the buyer. However, aside from this possible association, consideration should also be given to other matters: how did the queen get word of the sale of the portrait at Lannoy’s establishment? How can the queen’s knowledge of this reseller of paintings be explained? The answer may lie in an unavoidable figure in Portuguese society of the latter half of the 19th century. I refer here to the successful businessman and private banker Henri Burnay (1838-1909), Count of Burnay from 7th August 1886 onwards, a title granted by Luís I. Relations between Burnay and the Portuguese government and royal family took various forms,

both official and unofficial. On some occasions he mediated on behalf of the state with international banks, on others his services were used to supply decorative objects for the royal residence. Notable, for the amounts involved, were the personal loans extended by the count to Maria Pia in the first decade of the 20th century to ease the financial difficulties of the Queen's Household, whose annual budget had remained unchanged since its creation in 1862.

Henri Burnay, like other ennobled upper-middle-class gentlemen, assembled an important art collection in a short period of time, essentially during the 1880s. In his official residence, the Palace of Junqueira, he established a painting gallery, above all between 1883 and 1886, with works acquired abroad, in particular Paris, both at auctions held at the Hôtel Drouot and at the shops of art dealers. In the latter case, Burnay always used the same painting dealer between 1883 and 1886: Lannoy, a reseller and restorer of paintings with an establishment in 14 Rue de Lafayette. On the invoices sent by Lannoy, on headed paper, there appear the trader's name and address: "*Lannoy Tableaux Achats & Ventes de Collections particuliers Rue de Lafayette, 14 Paris.*"²⁴² This is certainly the same Monsieur Lannoy who sold a portrait of King Sebastião to Maria Pia of Savoy. In that case, could the queen have had access to Lannoy through Henri Burnay? Could she have known of the existence of the portrait through the financier?

The portrait, whose purchase and additional costs were covered by the annual budget of the Queen's Household, does not seem to have decorated any of the state or private apartments of the Royal Palace of Ajuda, Maria Pia's official residence in Lisbon, even after the death of her husband Luís I in 1889. The queen combined long stays at her manor house chalet in Estoril with those at the Palace of Sintra, this latter being officially granted to the Queen Dowager as a summer residence in 1892. She took personal charge of decorating all of her homes, choosing and ordering items of furniture and decorative art, old and modern, and both Portuguese and European in origin. The portrait she acquired in Paris, and which was definitively moved to Sintra in 1896 from the Palace of Ajuda, was incorporated into the incoherent and eclectic, albeit comfortable, decor of the Swans Room. This room, used as a living and reception area, featured green and



[fig. 66]

Swans Room

Carlos of Bragança (?), King of Portugal
Portugal, c.1895-1908
Printed photograph on paper
National Palace of Ajuda
Inv. 61938

© DGPC/ADF | Photo: Cláudio Marques
Courtesy of the Direção-Geral do Património Cultural



[fig. 67]

Swans Room

Carlos of Bragança, King of Portugal
Portugal, c.1895-1908
Printed photograph on paper
National Palace of Ajuda
Inv. 64160

© DGPC/ADF | Photo: Cláudio Marques
Courtesy of the Direção-Geral do Património Cultural

white tiles on the walls and pictorial decoration on the ceiling side by side with paintings from various eras and schools, photographs of the royal family and historicist and orientalist objects, alongside a varied range of tapestries and items of furniture. [fig. 66, 67]

..... §

NOTES

- 200 Sabugosa, 1903: 159.
- 201 Between October and December 1865, the Portuguese royal family visited Turin, Florence, Genoa, Milan, Brussels, Paris and Madrid.
- 202 In August-December 1902, the queen dowager travelled to Italy, also visiting Nice, Karlsbad and Paris.
- 203 *O Occidente*, 11th May 1885: 111.
- 204 Item mentioned for the first time in 1999 by the art historians Anísio Franco and Alexandra Curvelo during research into the portrait of King Sebastião by the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. The work was included in the exhibition *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. Lisboa-Bona*. Franco/Curvelo, 1999: 180.
- 205 This exhibition in Germany from 26th March to 11th July 1999 included the Portuguese edition of the respective catalogue. Exhibition produced by Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland as part of the "Die Großen Sammlungen" (The Great Collections) series.
- 206 Franco/Curvelo, 1999: 180. Original text: "... A corroborar esta suposição alia-se ainda o facto de esta pintura ter sido comprada em Paris em 1885 por D. Maria Pia, pertencendo anteriormente à coleção de D. Maria del Carmen Aragon Azloré Idiáquez, descendente da Casa de Aragão (Occidente, 1885)." This information is also contained in the portrait's inventory file record (1165 Pint). MatrizNet, "Retrato do Rei D. Sebastião", <http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objectos/ObjectosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=247677>. Accessed: 31st August 2016.
- 207 This association is repeated in Flor, 2010: 318.
- 208 Laurencin, 1906: 183-184. Original text: "*Amo mucho a mi familia, a mi patria y al arte, y muy poco al dinero. Por todos los millones del mundo no vendería yo mi Velázquez, que quiero que después de mis días vaya a formar parte del Museo del Prado.*"
- 209 Enciclopedia of Museo Nacional del Prado, "Aragón de Azlor e Idiáquez, María del Carmen, XV duquesa de Villahermosa", <https://www.museodelprado.es/aprende/enciclopedia>. Original text: "... *lega la misma señora testadora al Museo del Prado de Madrid ... , a fin de que no salgan nunca de España, los dos cuadros originales de Velázquez.*" Accessed: 7th April 2016.
- 210 In 1906, the *Diario Ilustrado* put this painting in Paris in the property of the Count of Penha Longa. *Diario Ilustrado*, 24th March 1906: 2.
- 211 On the copies of the portrait of Prince Carlos by Sofonisba Anguissola and the location of one of them at the National Palace of Sintra by Annemarie Jordan, later repainted as a portrait of King Sebastião, see Jordan, 1998: 53-68.
- 212 Examples in the Portuguese context were Luís Augusto Ferreira de Almeida (1817-1900), count of Carvalhido, and Henri Burnay (1838-1909), an ennobled businessmen. The count of Burnay offered a portrait of King Sebastião to the Portuguese monarchs in 1888, accurately identified by the art historian Pedro Flor as the portrait, by the French school, of Charles IX of France.
- 213 The Sintra portrait, without its frame, is approximately 191 cm (height) by around 113 cm (width).
- 214 *Catalogue de Portraits historiques de grandeur naturelle et en pied des XV^e, XVI^e et XVII^e siècles. Provenant de la collection de feu M. J. Aragon. Œuvres importantes de Lucas Cranach*, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 30th March 1885: 9-10.
- 215 Full title in English: *Life-size whole length historical portraits of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From Mister J. Aragon Collection. Important works by Lucas Cranach*.
- 216 François Arsène Houssaye (1814-1896). A writer, collector of paintings and art historian and critic. In 1856, he was appointed *inspecteur général des œuvres d'art, des écoles de dessin et des musées des départements autres que les musées impériaux*, a position he held until 1870.
- 217 I would like to thank Laurence Mille, head of Drouot Documentation, for access to this catalogue.
- 218 An art appraiser and expert specialised in painting.
- 219 Auctioneers are known as *commissaires priseurs* in France. They are public officers who must take an exam similar to that necessary to enter the legal profession. They are therefore professionals authorised officially to sell art and antiques in auction sales. The public-officer status of French auctioneers has existed since the 19th century, restricting foreign auction houses from entering the French auction market until the year 2000-2001, when French protectionist legislation was amended.
- 220 Louis La Caze (1798-1869). Doctor, philanthropist, amateur painter and scholarly collector. The collection of 583 paintings he bequeathed to the Louvre is the largest donation of paintings ever made to the museum by a private individual. A close friend of Féral's, his residence in Paris, where his paintings could be admired and copied, was also frequented by painters like Fantin-Latour and Manet. La Caze's case is very interesting for his willingness to allow access to his artworks and permit them to be divulged.

- 221 Étienne-Joseph Théophile Thoré (1807-1869), better known as Thoré-Bürger or W[illem] Bürger, a lawyer by training, was a political journalist, collector, art historian and critic. He was important for rediscovering Vermeer and rehabilitating the 17th-century Dutch school, as well as for defending the painting of Manet, Courbet, Millet, Renoir and Monet.
- 222 Eudel, 1886: 307-311.
- 223 The first volume was entitled *L'Hôtel Drouot en 1881*.
- 224 Eudel, 1885: 209.
- 225 Transcription of the telegram sent on 5th April 1885 to the Viscount de Azevedo, included in the *Ofício de 8 de Abril de 1885, do Visconde de Ribeiro da Silva para o Visconde de Azevedo*, Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Lisbon, *Arquivo de Paris, Ministérios Portugueses 1885*, maço 23. Original text: "*Compre quadro D. Sebastião empregando todas diligencias para o conseguir barato. Remetta logo para Lisbõa bem acondicionado.*"
- 226 Transcription of the telegram sent on 8th April 1885 by the Viscount de Azevedo included in the *Ofício de 8 de Abril de 1885, do Visconde de Ribeiro da Silva para o Visconde de Azevedo*, Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Lisbon, *Arquivo de Paris, Ministérios Portugueses 1885*, maço 23. Original text: "*Tableau acheté pour trois mille cinq cent attends argent pour terminer affaire.*"
- 227 *Ofício de 8 de Abril de 1885, do Visconde de Ribeiro da Silva para o Visconde de Azevedo*, Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático of the Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Lisbon, *Arquivo de Paris, Ministérios Portugueses 1885*, maço 23. Original text: "*... aplicar a sua importancia ao pagamento do referido quadro, que deverá ser para aqui enviado na primeira oportunidade, muito bem acondicionado para que não sofra no transporte ... Vai hoje dinheiro pagamento quadro.*"
- 228 *Cópia do Ofício de 14 de Abril de 1885, do Visconde de Azevedo da Silva para o Visconde de Ribeiro da Silva*, Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Lisbon, *Legação de Portugal em Paris*, Casa Real, 1863-1896, Livro 64 (copier of sent correspondence). Original text: "*... a juizo dos peritos competentes que consultei sobre o assumpto, pode o referido quadro attribuir-se ao celebre pintor Porbus, ou pelo menos a algum discipulo d'elle, e em todo caso é uma pintura de verdadeiro valor artistico, podendo considerar-se esta aquisição como havendo sido effectuada em boas condições. O quadro foi expedido a V. Ex. em 11 do corrente, por via do Havre, e seguro em quantia igual á do seu custo, segundo consta dos inclusos documentos.*"
- 229 I think the reference here is to Frans Pourbus the Younger (1569-1622), a court portraitist in the tradition of Anthonis Mor, of Flemish origin, who throughout his life was in the service of the Habsburg Archdukes Albert and Isabel Clara Eugenia, Vincenzo I Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, and Maria de' Medici, Queen of France.
- 230 *Ofício de 30 de Abril de 1885, do Visconde de Ribeiro da Silva para o Visconde de Azevedo da Silva*, Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático of the Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Lisbon, *Arquivo de Paris, Ministérios Portugueses 1885*, maço 23.
- 231 *Quadro de D. Sebastião*, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Casa Real, cx. 7334, no. 300.
- 232 One "*conto de réis*" is equivalent to one million *réis*.
- 233 Lopes, 2011: 245-254.
- 234 I would like to thank João Pedro Vieira, a member of the team at the Bank of Portugal Museum, for his help in interpreting the standard unit of exchange between the French franc and the Portuguese real used at the time: 3 francs = 542 *réis*.
- 235 *Movimento da conta da Receita e Despesa da Administração da Casa de Sua Magestade A Rainha*, 30th April 1885, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Casa Real, cx. 7333, no. 296.
- 236 Silveira/Fernandes, 2006: 118-120.
- 237 On this hammer price, Féral also paid 5% commission.
- 238 Copy preserved at Drouot Documentation, Paris. Another copy of the catalogue, minus handwritten notes, exists at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- 239 Oscar-Edmond Ris-Paquot (1835-19??). A painter and prolific art historian.
- 240 Ris-Paquot, 1883: 230. Original text: "*M. Lannoy, direction de ventes, 14, rue La Fayette. Achat et vente de collections particulières, tableaux.*"
- 241 Although it is unknown how much Lannoy paid Féral for the portrait, the vast difference between the hammer price (Féral bought it at the sale of the Aragon Collection for 840 francs) and its later resale price at the shop (Lannoy resold it to the Viscount de Azevedo da Silva for 3,500 francs) seems to suggest an excessive hike to ensure a profit and to offset the taxes and additional fees that would have been involved in buying from another art dealer.
- 242 On the origin and creation of the Burnay collection, see Rossi Vairo, 2003: 41-63, 250-277.



COLLECTIONS
IN FOCUS

NATIONAL
PALACES

SINTRA QUELUZ PENA

#01 / 2017

A PORTRAIT OF
KING SEBASTIÃO
THAT NEVER WAS
AND A CONNECTION
TO PANTOJA
THAT ALWAYS EXISTED

The 1st Marquis of Salamanca

Jean Laurent
Carte-de-visite, c.1865
History Museum of Madrid
Inv. 1991/18/1-120

© Ayuntamiento de Madrid | Courtesy of the Museum

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The portrait of King Sebastião acquired by Queen Maria Pia of Savoy at the beginning of April 1885 arrived in Lisbon at the end of that same month. Thanks to the Count of Sabugosa it is known that doubts as to the identity of the historic figure and the author of the painting rapidly emerged. It was eventually attributed to the Flemish painter Anthonis Mor, in line with the opinion of the painting appraiser and expert Eugène Féral, who associated the oil on canvas with the sixteenth century Flemish school. It must have come as a surprise to the queen to hear the first doubts concerning the identification of her yearned for portrait of King Sebastião.

It is true that the aura and Habsburgian features of the figure, together with the mistaking of the cross of the Order of Avis for that of the Order of Calatrava,²⁴³ led to the belief that it was “the Desired one”, the Portuguese king whose relationship with the Palace of Sintra, which he frequently inhabited, can still be sensed today due to a room bearing his name. His premature and heirless death in 1578 caused a dynastic crisis that culminated in the crowning of his uncle, Felipe II of Spain, as Filipe I of Portugal. The union of the kingdoms of Portugal and Spain for sixty years (1580-1640) gave rise to the messianic and prophetic myth of Sebastianism, according to which King Sebastião would return on a foggy morning to help Portugal in its hour of need. In the 19th century, Sebastianism and the mythology of the figure of the prematurely deceased monarch still endured in the imagination of various sectors of Portuguese society, subject to different approaches, purposes and manifestations. As far as the, far from copious, iconography in circulation



[fig. 68]

Sebastianvs XVI Rex Portvgalliae

Guillaume François Laurent Debrie (de Brié),
after a drawing by Vieira Lusitano.

1737. Burin engraving.

Reference (cota) 9-(5)-4-3-10

Courtesy of the Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra

Engraving by Debrie, engraver of the Academia Real da História, from *Memorias para a Historia de Portugal, que comprehendem o governo del Rey D. Sebastião...* (1736-1751) by Diogo Barbosa Machado, one of the literary works that nurtured the cult of Sebastianism.

at the time is concerned, it shows the image of a young king with short blonde hair, at times beardless and at others with a moustache and goatee. Besides the painted portraits, the portrait of King Sebastião [fig. 68] engraved by Debrie in 1737 from a drawing by Vieira Lusitano is probably one of the images of the king that most took hold and endured in the intellectual and courtly imagination of the 18th and 19th centuries.²⁴⁴ In the case of Queen Maria Pia, it is not hard to imagine her desire to possess a full length portrait of King Sebastião, perhaps in the hope of discovering one of the last paintings of the monarch prior to his departure for North Africa, a replica or contemporary copy of one of the portraits sent by Portugal to the mother of King Sebastião and to the Spanish court. In effect, the existing studies that, directly or indirectly, address the royal painting collections suggest the possibility of the absence of full-length, standing, 16th-century examples in Maria Pia's time as a fact, albeit unconfirmed, that helps to understand the queen's reasons for the acquisition.

Without wishing to explore at greater depth the issues related to the queen's possible motives, the truth is that the person in the portrait is not King Sebastião and the work does not correspond to that of Anthonis Mor, as demonstrated in the preceding pages. However, a piece of evidence, chronologically preceding the Aragon collection, is still lacking that would allow us to pinpoint with some accuracy the moment when the martial portrait of a young nobleman metamorphosed – certainly thanks to the work and talent of an expert – into that of one of the most mythical kings in Portuguese history.

The French auction catalogues published between 1865 and 1885, preserved to this day,²⁴⁵ are once again the primary source of information for this search, with my attention focused on the Hôtel Drouot and also the private sales held at the Parisian residences of the owners of the collections themselves, almost always as a result of a worsening financial situation. In the 19th century, these auctions of collections by members of the declining titled and financial aristocracy became one of the main causes for the dispersal of art objects from Spain, since they were used as a standard means for paying off debts. In this environment of economic necessity, an alliance developed and prospered between two art agents: the expert (sometimes employed by the auctioneers) and the art dealer (sometimes selected dealers were consulted in the role of experts, working closely with auctioneers). In the context of the auctions, also of interest were the cases in which the expert acted as an art trader too, given that he it was who directed the transactions and influenced the value and auction price of objects, not to mention being responsible for writing the catalogue, attributing paintings to a particular artist and confirming the authenticity of the works whose sale and purchase he might have a direct interest in.

Though the international art auction market was concentrated in Paris and London in the 19th century,²⁴⁶ the choice of the former was a logical starting point, not least because it was there and in that context that the portrait had been detected (Aragon; Féral; Lannoy). This research²⁴⁷ was the key to try to locate the portrait in an earlier collection or collections to those identified here and to examining how it appeared and was described.

Of the hundreds of sales catalogues consulted and analysed, one in particular was of interest, of which several copies can still fortunately be found in various libraries: those of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Getty Research Institute, University of Virginia and Drouot Documentation. I refer here to the auction catalogue for the painting collection of the Marquis of Salamanca, auctioned in Paris on 3-6 June 1867. This sale contained one lot, number 197 [fig. 69], catalogued and described as follows:

PANTOJA
(Attributed to)

197 – Portrait of a young man.
Figure represented standing, life-size,
his right hand resting on a helmet with a tri-coloured plume
placed on a table with a red cloth, his left hand on the
hilt of the sword.
Half-armor in blackened steel with richly
gilded ornaments and a coat of mail;
brown trunk hose embroidered with gold,
tight leather boots.

At the bottom the following words:
AETATIS SUÆ. 18.

Canvas. Height 2 m. 11 cm.; width 1 m. 17 cm.²⁴⁸

The person responsible for directing the sale and publishing the catalogue was Charles Joseph Pillet (1824-1889), one of the most highly regarded French auctioneers of the era.²⁴⁹ The catalogue entries for the paintings of the Marquis of Salamanca were prepared and written by the experts Étienne Le Roy, *commissaire-expert du Musée royal de Bruxelles*, and Alexis Febvre, who were also responsible for the valuations. In the introduction, Le Roy notes the high quality of the 233 paintings intended for sale and the exceptional nature of the collection and the section of 16th and 17th-century works by the Spanish school, placing the Marquis's gallery on a par with the maréchal Soult collection.²⁵⁰

With regard to lot no. 197, the description of the portrait, the reference to the inscription “ÆTATIS SVÆ •18•” and its attribution to Pantoja de la Cruz are three major reasons leading me to believe that it is the same one as purchased by Maria Pia in 1885.

E 637-6
L 29861

CATALOGUE
DES
TABLEAUX ANCIENS

DES ÉCOLES
Espagnole, Italienne, Flamande & Hollandaise

COMPOSANT LA GALERIE DE
M. LE M^{re} DE SALAMANCA

VENTE
En son Hôtel, à Paris, rue de la Victoire, 50

Les Lundi 3, Mardi 4, Mercredi 5 et Jeudi 6 Juin 1867
à deux heures précises

Exposition Particulière | Exposition Publique
Les Mardi 28 et Mercredi 29 Mai | Les Vendredi 30 Mai et Samedi 31 Mai
de six heures à cinq heures.

M. CHARLES PILLET
SOUSSAIGNE-TRIBUNEUR, 11, RUE DE GONDOLI.

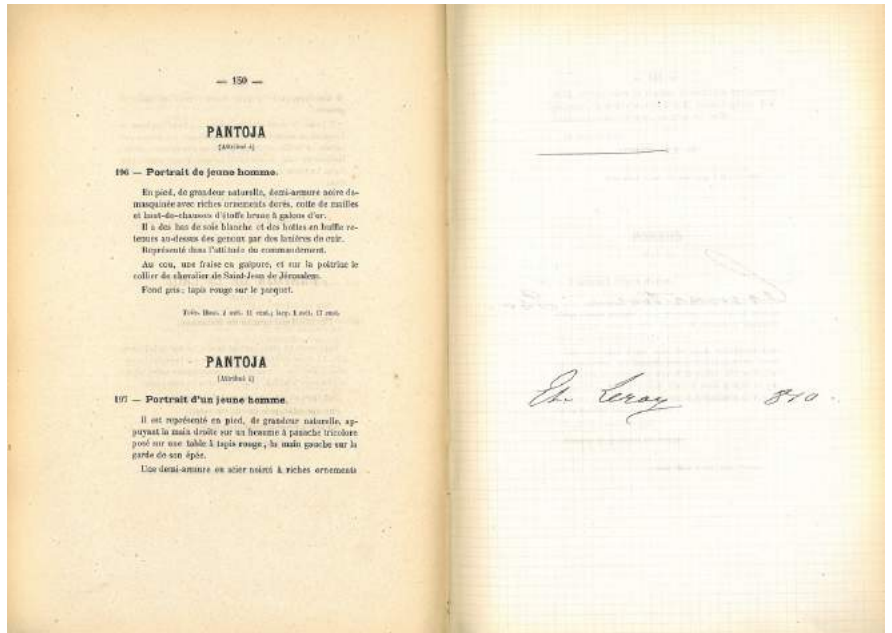
Experts :
M. ÉTIENNE LE ROY | M. A. FÉVRE
Commissaire-priseur de Paris, rue de Valenciennes, 11 | 11, rue Lafayette.

1867

[fig. 69]

Front cover of the sales catalogue and pages describing lot number 197

Courtesy of Drouot Documentation, Paris



— 130 —

PANTOJA

196 — Portrait de jeune homme.

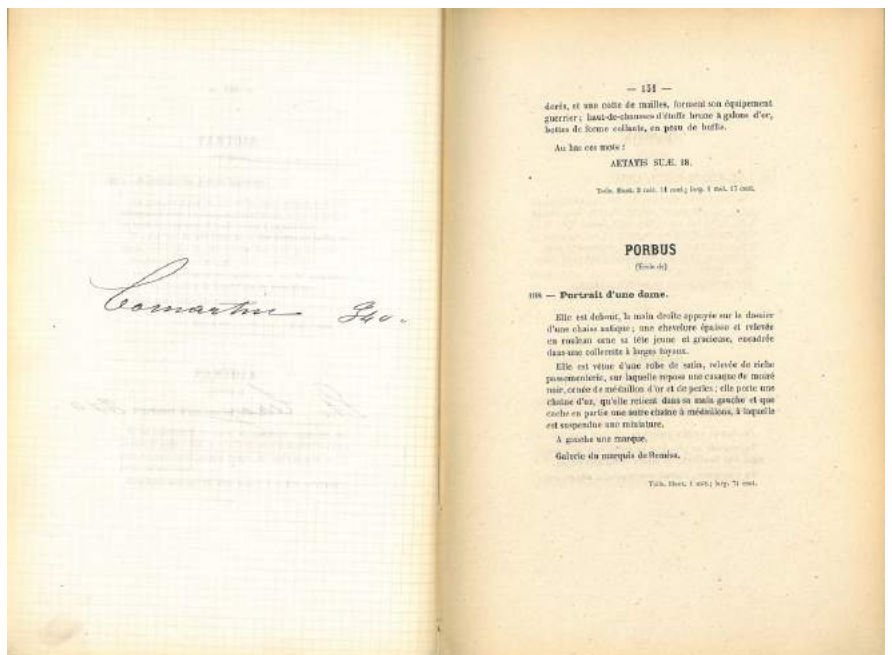
En pied, de grandeur naturelle, demi-armure noire de-
maquillée avec riches ornements dorés, cotte de mailles
et haut-de-chausses d'ivoire lreux à galons d'or.
Il a des bous de soie blanche et des bottes en buffle re-
teintes d'ancien des genoux par des boutons de cuir.
Représenté dans l'attitude du commandement.
Au cou, une fraise en galopure, et sur la poitrine le
collier de chevalier de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem.
Fond gris : tapis rouge sur le parquet.

Taille, Haut, 1 m. 11 cent; long, 1 m. 17 cent.

PANTOJA

197 — Portrait d'un jeune homme.

Il est représenté en pied, de grandeur naturelle, ap-
puyant la main droite sur un bouc à panache tricolore
poil sur une table à tapis rouge; la main gauche sur la
garde de son épée.
Une demi-armure en acier nain et riches ornements



— 131 —

dorés, et une cotte de mailles, formant son équipement
guerrier; haut-de-chausses d'ivoire lreux à galons d'or,
bottes de Rome collantes, en peau de bœuf.

Au bas ces mots :
ACTAVIS S.C.A. 18.

Taille, Haut, 2 m. 11 cent; long, 1 m. 17 cent.

PORBUS

198 — Portrait d'une dame.

Elle est debout, la main droite appuyée sur la chaise
d'une chaise antique; une chevelure épaisse et relevée
dans une coiffure à bords rayés.
Elle est vêtue d'une robe de satin, relevée de riche
passermenterie, sur laquelle repose une ceinture de moiré
noir, ornée de médaillons d'or et de perles; elle porte une
chaîne d'or, qu'elle retient dans sa main gauche et que
cache en partie une autre chaîne à médaillons, à laquelle
est suspendue une miniature.

A gauche une marque.
Galerie du marquis de Beauséjour.

Taille, Haut, 1 m. 58 cent; long, 71 cent.

At the sale at the Parisian mansion of the Marquis of Salamanca, in 50 rue de la Victoire, the portrait was acquired at the session of 6th June by Étienne Le Roy himself, one of the experts working with Pillet, for 810 francs. This hammer price appears as a handwritten note on three existing copies of the catalogue: one at the library of the Getty Research Institute, one at the library of the University of Virginia and one at the library of Drouot Documentation. On the latter can also be seen the name of the buyer.

Incontrovertible confirmation of this is provided by the official sale record²⁵¹ which adds information about the terms and conditions of the contract between the seller and the *commissaire-priseur*, the inventory of the lots that were sold and unsold, and a record of the surnames of the buyers, the hammer prices reached and the total sale amount.²⁵² The written contract document is between the auctioneer and Charles Daugny, acting on behalf of the Marquis, who is charged with acquiring those paintings which failed to reach their reserve price at auction, as in the case of the portrait of King Sebastião at 18 years of age (lot no. 183), taken as a work by Sánchez Coello, which the Marquis recovered through Daugny for 880 francs. A state portrait (actually of the Portuguese king this time) whose description and size perfectly match the portrait acquired by the Museo Nacional del Prado in 1997, today attributed to Cristóvão de Morais. [fig. 70]

The sale catalogue for the Marquis of Salamanca's gallery casts a new light on the inclusion of the Palace of Sintra's portrait in the collection of one of the most controversial figures in Isabel II's Spain, in which no reference is made to King Sebastião and the painting is attributed to Pantoja.²⁵³ Other key details are its arrival in Paris in May 1867, the relatively low winning bid (810 francs) for the lot at auction and its destination after the sale, in the hands of Étienne Le Roy from 6th June of the same year. At this point, it is important to clarify who the Marquis of Salamanca was and what Étienne Le Roy's interest was in the painting.

Étienne Le Roy (1808-1878) was a specialist and restorer of paintings by old masters, a collector, auctioneer and art dealer, but it was his position as official commissioner and expert of the Royal Museum of Belgium from 1846²⁵⁴ that turned him into a leading international authority on the valuation of antique paintings, above all those



[fig. 70]

Portrait of King Sebastião of Portugal

Attributed to Cristóvão de Morais

1572

Oil on canvas

Museo Nacional del Prado

Inv. P07709

© Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

Courtesy of the Museum

of the Flemish and Dutch schools. He was responsible for advising the museum on new acquisitions, assessing the authenticity, authorship, quality and market value of the paintings offered to the Brussels museum for sale, and recommending or opposing the suitability of a purchase. His dual role as expert museum advisor on the one hand and art dealer on the other, sometimes as a *marchand* and others as an auctioneer, raises a question as to the multiple roles of this type of intermediary and the possible conflicts of interest – and profits earned – while undertaking their work. It seems logical to imagine that a person of his stature would never put at risk their main asset as an art world professional: their credibility and reputation. However, studies on collecting and the art market in the 19th century raise doubts as to the ethics of renowned art dealers and experts, though until now Le Roy seems to emerge unscathed.

In Belgium, he was also recognised for his work in restoring paintings by old masters and achieved fame through his involvement with a case concerning two masterpieces by Rubens in the cathedral of Antwerp. His role was so important that the following inscription appeared on his portrait by François-Joseph Navez in 1857: «*Témoignage d'estime et de reconnaissance, pour nous avoir conservé par / sa belle restauration la descente de croix, et l'Erection de la croix / chef-d'oeuvre de Rubens.*»

Le Roy's firm had various offices in Brussels, with a later branch in Paris. He organised some of the most important art sales between the 1840s and 1875 in the Belgian capital. In Paris, he was well known, respected and sought after for his services as an expert, working for example for the Hôtel Drouot. At the same time, he had business dealings with a wealthy clientele, who bought paintings from his establishment whose stock consisted mainly of paintings purchased at auction at a low price, such as the portrait now in the National Palace of Sintra. Many of the pieces his firm dealt in are currently held by leading museums, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

José de Salamanca y Mayol (1811-1883) [fig. 71], made Marquis of Salamanca (1863) and Count of los Llanos (1864) by Isabel II of Spain, was a banker, politician and businessman with interests in the stock market, banking, railways, industry and real estate projects. Part of his huge fortune was used to build a large painting collection divided amongst his palaces in Recoletos [fig. 72], Vista Alegre, Aranjuez and Los Llanos. He also had residences in Rome, Paris and Lisbon.²⁵⁵

His business dealings and trips through Europe certainly facilitated the contacts necessary to create an exceptional paintings gallery like other European bankers such as the Rothschild family, perfectly embodying the quintessential wealthy upper middle class whose recent economic and political power required the ennoblement and social legitimacy that an art collection provided. This model of behaviour is reflected in the magnificent collections of paintings, sculpture and numismatics, amongst others, he assembled in a short time.



[fig. 71]

The Marquis of Salamanca

Jean Laurent
Carte-de-visite, c.1865
History Museum of Madrid
Inv. 1991/18/1-120

© Ayuntamiento de Madrid
Courtesy of the Museum



[fig. 72]

Palace of the Marquis of Salamanca in Recoletos

Andreas Pic de Leopold
Madrid, 1864
Coloured lithograph
History Museum of Madrid
Inv. 2413

© Ayuntamiento de Madrid | Courtesy of the Museum

The vicissitudes of his business life were closely linked to his interest in collecting paintings. This collection, begun in the mid-1840s, was dismembered and dispersed throughout the world at two auctions in Paris in 1867 and 1875 due to severe financial problems.

In general terms, the gallery was created by buying paintings from other collectors: from the sale of collections by the grand houses of the Spanish nobility; from contact with the collections of an artist's inner circle, such as the descendants of Goya; from purchasing at auctions in Paris and London; and from buying from painting "suppliers" or dealers. The advice of experts such as the Madrazos²⁵⁶ and the art historians and critics Valentín de Carderera and Gregorio Cruzada Villaamil had an important role in the development of the collection.

The Marquis of Salamanca's collection eventually numbered over 1,000 paintings, some of which had belonged to historic collections as notable as that of the Duke of the Infantado, Marquis of Leganés, Infante Luis of Borbón y Farnesio and even the Spanish royal collections. For the sale at the Marquis's *hôtel particulier*, José de Salamanca himself chose the works he considered the best, a total of 233, included amongst which was the portrait now in Sintra. At the last moment, he decided to add another 4 paintings.

In the auction sale catalogue – distributed in the main European capitals²⁵⁷ – the lots were organised into seven categories: 16th and 17th-century Spanish school; Italian school; Flemish and Dutch schools; 15th and 16th-century old schools; 18th-century modern schools; historical portraits by masters of various schools²⁵⁸; and miscellaneous.

All of the paintings were hung in the rooms and galleries of the Parisian mansion, which opened its doors on 28th and 29th May for a private exhibition (open to the public on 31st May and 1st June) at which major collectors and magnates, as well as diplomats, experts, proxies and art traders, could attend by invitation only. There was a great deal of interest, as there was a realisation that this was an exceptional private collection comparable to Spain's royal museums. Amongst the various crowned heads who attended the private viewing was Napoleon III,²⁵⁹ emperor of the French, at that moment promoter and host of the Exposition Universelle in Paris, the main attraction of a dynamic capital visited by members of the royalty, high political dignitaries and magnates from around the world. It was, undoubtedly, the ideal moment to meet the best buyers of paintings, who would all be going to the auction. And so it was.

The list of buyers included large fortunes and important art market professionals: William Ward, Count of Dudley, represented by Cooke; duke consort de Fernán Núñez, Manuel Falcó d'Adda, Marquis of Almonacid de los Oteros and Spanish Ambassador in Paris; Barons Adolphe von Rothschild and Achille Seillière; Duke of Fernandina, José Joaquín Álvarez de Toledo; Prince of San Donato, Anatole Demidoff; Khalil-Bey, Ottoman Ambassador in Paris; Felix Bamberg, Prussian Consul in Paris;

Richard Seymour-Conway, Marquess of Hertford; Madame Stephens, probably Yolande Marie-Louise Duvernay, widow of Stephen Lyne-Stephens; the journalist and art critic W. Bürger; and the *experts-marchands* Étienne-François Haro, Charles Sedelmeyer, Ludwig Kohlbacher, Alexis Febvre and Étienne Le Roy, amongst others.

On the list of paintings sold are masterpieces by Spain's greatest painters such as *Portrait of a Lady* by Velázquez (98,000 francs), today in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; *The death of St. Clare* by Murillo (95,000 francs), today in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden; *Old Gypsy Woman with Boy* by the same painter (95,000 francs), in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne; and *The Annunciation* by Zurbarán (40,000 francs), in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Given these high hammer prices, a result of the growing international value of the painters of the Spanish Golden Age,²⁶⁰ the portraits connected to Pantoja de la Cruz²⁶¹ did not go higher than the 1,240 francs of lot no. 195 (*Portrait of the Count of Salazaer*). Better results were achieved by the portraits said to be the work of Sánchez Coello, his master.

Aside from these monetary factors, it is important to stress that the sale of paintings from the gallery of the Marquis of Salamanca was received by the knowledgeable as one of the major art events in Paris during the 2nd Exposition Universelle. In the chapter *Les collections particulières* – included in the famous *Paris Guide* (1867), aimed in particular at an educated and interested audience – W. Bürger, without yet knowing of the auction, mentions the problems faced by scholars in accessing the private Parisian art collections. He takes the opportunity to list the major private collectors in the French capital – mostly businessmen – and to provide a succinct list of the leading galleries that could be visited in the main European countries, selecting that of the Royal Museum of Madrid and that of José de Salamanca in Spain as examples of collections worthy of mention and accessible to scholars and researchers interested in admiring and studying them.²⁶²

This auction of 1867 marked the beginning of the gradual overseas dispersal of the Marquis of Salamanca's painting collection. Years later, in 1875, another 118 paintings were put up for sale at a second auction in Paris, held at the Hôtel Drouot and once again directed by *commissaire-priseur* Charles Pillet. This time, however, it featured the *peintre-expert* Étienne-François Haro, who had attended the first auction.

Here, then, and ignored until now, is the history of the Sintra portrait between 1867 and 1885, tracing and identifying its previous owners. It proves without any doubt that the painting, a work earlier incorporated into one of the most important 19th-century private European galleries, was acquired in Paris by express order of Maria Pia of Savoy and added to the Portuguese royal collections as the "Portrait of King Sebastião".

THE QUEEN IN PARIS

On 4th May 1867, Queen Maria Pia of Savoy, then 19 years of age, departed Lisbon for Italy – accompanied by an entourage of six people²⁶³ – to attend her brother, prince Amedeo's, wedding in Turin to princess Maria Vittoria dal Pozzo della Cisterna on 30th of the same month. Travelling by train, she made stops, amongst other cities, in Madrid and Paris. She remained in the Spanish capital from 5th-7th May, where she was graciously received by the monarchs. On 6th, in the company of Queen Isabel II and the king consort Francisco de Asís de Borbón, she visited the Museo de Pinturas in the Paseo del Prado, where masterpieces from the history of painting from the Spanish royal collections were exhibited, including magnificent court portraits by Titian, Mor, Rubens, Velázquez and Van Dyck.

Maria Pia arrived in Paris on 8th May, where she stayed at the Hôtel Bristol, located between rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré and Place Vendôme. The young queen witnessed the dynamic urban life of the renewed and modern French capital, full of life and people of all nationalities for the occasion of the second Exposition Universelle.²⁶⁴ She attended balls, received ambassadors and members of the royalty, visited fashionable spots and commercial establishments, and contacted prestigious fashion houses, jewellery stores and antique dealers. She saw her sister Clotilde and her brother-in-law, the cousin of Emperor Napoleon III, frequently and visited princess Mathilde, sister of prince Jerome Napoleon, once wed to the Russian magnate, patron and collector Anatole Demidoff, Prince of San Donato.

The queen stayed in Paris until 23rd or 24th May. On 11th and 15th May, she visited the Exposition Universelle, on 15th with her sister,²⁶⁵ and on 12th May,²⁶⁶ Sunday, enjoyed a pleasant soirée at princess Mathilde's mansion.²⁶⁷

During her stay in Paris, the French press covered the sale of the Marquis of Salamanca's gallery, scheduled for the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th June. As early as March, *La chronique des arts et de la curiosité*, a supplement distributed with the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, made tentative reference to it.²⁶⁸ Spanish magazines and newspapers also mentioned the "unfortunate" event,²⁶⁹ basing their reports essentially on the details provided by the French newspapers, such as *La France* and *La Presse*. In fact, news and publicity about the auction in the press were cleverly orchestrated. The catalogue was distributed in Paris before the event and publications like the *Journal des beaux-arts et de la littérature*, *Revue nationale et étrangère, politique, scientifique et littéraire*, *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, *Le Temps* and *Gazette des beaux-arts*, amongst others, ensured that any potential buyer and lover of paintings by the old masters was aware of the Salamanca sale. Nevertheless, Queen Maria Pia was not in Paris when one of the art events of the year took place, having arrived in Italy on 24th May and, at the beginning of July, setting off to meet her husband in Geneva. From Switzerland they followed on to Brussels, via Frankfurt, until arriving together in Paris on 20th July, where they remained until 11th August. The King visited the Universal Exhibition on 22nd, 25th and 26th July.²⁷⁰ As Napoleon III's guests of honour, they were housed at the Pavillon de Marsan in the Tuileries Palace. They visited prince Jerome Napoleon and princess Clotilde, attended ceremonial events and receptions, and were invited to sumptuous dinner parties like that given at the imperial palace and the Hôtel de Ville.



Portrait of Luís I, King of Portugal

Michele Gordigiani
Italy, 1865-1868
Oil on canvas
National Palace of Ajuda
Inv. 2391

© DGPC/ADF | Photo: Mário Soares



Portrait of Maria Pia, Queen of Portugal

Michele Gordigiani
Italy, 1865-1868
Oil on canvas
National Palace of Ajuda
Inv. 2390

© DGPC/ADF | Photo: Mário Soares

It is unknown whether the king or queen had any knowledge of the Salamanca sale at any point. Interestingly, in 1867, the painter Marciano Henriques da Silva,²⁷¹ on Luís I's orders, made a series of acquisitions in Italy and France for his painting gallery. In Paris, between the end of March and the end of April, he bought five paintings for 2,625 francs, probably via *marchands*.²⁷² And in the French capital he entered into contact with the Viscount of Carvalhido. The art historian Hugo Xavier suggests that the king's painter may have been invited, perhaps through Carvalhido himself, to one of the famous *Vendredis du Louvre*, soirées organised by Count Émilien de Nieuwerkerke²⁷³ – the leading authority on managing the imperial museums – and attended by the artistic and social elite of the time, bringing together artists, writers, literati, high-ranking government officials, diplomats and members of the aristocracy. Given this, it is hard to imagine that Marciano Henriques da Silva knew nothing about the great auction sale of paintings scheduled for early June.

As regards the very young queen, while it is difficult to consider her an art collector *per se*, it is known that she bought several paintings abroad and her refined taste in sumptuous and decorative objects must also be acknowledged, especially items of jewellery, silver, furniture, porcelain and glass, reflecting a preference and knowledge of the decorative arts attuned to

the trends of the time. Maria Pia commissioned the renovation of the interiors of the Royal Palace of Ajuda, which was undertaken throughout the second half of the 19th century, completely refurbishing and decorating the palatial rooms to her own taste. The known documentation also reveals the Maria Pia's appreciation for luxury jewellery from a young age, visible in the high number of jewels bought both in Portugal and on her travels abroad. It is known for example that in 1867 she acquired various pieces of jewellery at one of the finest establishments in Paris, *maison* Samper,²⁷⁴ almost certainly that of the diamond jeweller and goldsmith Félix Samper, one of the great craftsmen of Spanish high jewellery of the era. Samper had a workshop and salesroom in Madrid and a branch in Paris, first at 24 rue de Trêvise and a little later at 16 rue de la Paix and 18 boulevard des Italiens. Amongst his select clientele was Isabella II of Spain and the Empress Eugenia de Montijo.

As far as the portrait she acquired in 1885 via a Parisian art dealer, and today hanging in the National Palace of Sintra, is concerned, the Queen never discovered that she could have bought it in 1867 at the sale of the Marquis of Salamanca's gallery during the second World Fair in Paris.

[fig. 75]

Swans Room, Royal Palace of Sintra

Manuel of Bragança, *Infante* of Portugal
Portugal, 1898-1906
Museu-Biblioteca da Casa de Bragança
Inv. UI5188_02b

© J. Real Andrade / MBCB, Arquivo Fotográfico
Courtesy of the House of Bragança Foundation

This photograph, signed by the future
Manuel II of Portugal, has the following
handwritten dedication:

"A minha querida Mãe / Seu filho muito Amigo / Manuel"
(To my dear Mother / From your loving son / Manuel).



NOTES

- 243 The insignia of the Order of Calatrava is a cross in gules (red) with its points ending in fleur-de-lis. The design is very similar to the crosses of other orders, for example that of Avis, which uses the same model but in sinople (green). The Order of Avis is the oldest military religious order of the kingdom of Portugal and it remained subordinate to the Order of Calatrava until the proclamation of João I (1385), master of Avis from 1364 and the first king of the Avis dynasty. Thenceforward, the Order was connected to the Portuguese Crown. After the issuing of the papal bull *Praeclara Clarissimi* (1551) by Pope Julius III, the king became the Grand Master and chief administrator of the Order's properties *in perpetuum*.
- 244 It is also worth mentioning the engraved portrait of King Sebastião (Petrus o Pieter Perret) in *Elogios dos Reis de Portugal com os mais verdadeiros retratos que se puderaõ achar* (1603) by Frey Bernardo de Brito and the five portraits in the *Series potentissimorum Regum Lusitaniae iconibus illustrata, et ordine temporum exposita, coordinata mensibus aprilis, et maii anno domini M.D.CCLXXXI.*, an artificial album conserved at the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa. Engravings by various artists from different eras produced between 1600 and 1791.
- 245 All of the sale catalogues consulted and used in this research originate from: libraries and document centres in Paris digitised by the Getty Research Institute as part of the *Getty Provenance Index Databases* project and are available on the "Sales Catalogs Files" database; American libraries, archives, universities and museums, available on the The Internet Archive and Open Library; the digital library of the Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, on the "Guide Catalogues de vente" database; the digital collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, available on Gallica; the HathiTrust Digital Library; and Drouot Documentation, the library and document centre of the Hôtel Drouot. Mention should also be made of *Relevé détaillé des tableaux et dessins de l'Ecole Espagnole ayant passé dans les ventes de collections depuis 1801 / par L. Soullié*, a handwritten document at the Biblioteca of the Museo Nacional del Prado, available on the "Biblioteca Digital" database.
- 246 A situation which continues to this day, with the addition of New York.
- 247 Consideration was also given to the possibility of the work, at some point in its history, being the subject of an illegal or clandestine transaction, or a legal transaction conducted through a form of sale other than an auction. However, this possibility was not explored.
- 248 *Catalogue des Tableaux Anciens des écoles Espagnole, Italienne, Flamands & Hollandaise composant La Galerie de M. Le Marquis de Salamanca*, Paris, 3rd-6th June, 1867, p. 150-151. Original text: «PANTOJA / (Attribué à) / 197 – Portrait d'un jeune homme. / Il est représenté en pied, de grandeur / naturelle, ap- / puyant la main droite sur un heaume à panache tricolore / posé sur une table à tapis rouge, la main gauche sur la / garde de son épée. / Une demi-armure en acier noirci à riches ornements / dorés, et une cotte de mailles, forment son équipement / guerrier; haut-de-chausses d'étoffe brune à galons d'or, / bottes de forme collante, en peau de buffle. / Au bas ces mots: / AETATIS SUÆ. 18. / Toile. Haut. 2 mètr. 11 cent.; larg. 1 mètr. 17 cent.»
- The Sintra portrait was roughly 191 cm (height) by around 113 cm (width) without the frame. The dimensions in the 1867 sale catalogue are similar to those of the Sintra portrait with frame: 209 cm by 125 cm.
- 249 Active between 1855-1881. He was replaced by Paul Louis Chevallier, the *commissaire-priseur* who directed the auction sale of 1885.
- 250 Nicolas-Jean de Dieu Soult (1769-1851), maréchal general of France and Duke of Dalmatia. The origin of his painting collection, with works by the great Spanish old masters, lies in the looting of convents, churches, monasteries and brotherhoods in Seville by the French forces during the Peninsular War. In 1852, after Soult's death, his heirs sold part of the collection at auction (1852 and 1867) in Paris, now spread around various international museums, while the other part can be found in the Louvre.
- 251 *Procès-verbal de la vente Salamanca*, 1867, Archives de Paris, Paris, *Fonds du commissaire-priseur Maître Pillet*, D48E3 58. I would like to thank Gérald Monpas (département des recherches historiques) and Vincent Tuchais (département des services aux usagers) for providing access to this document.
- 252 Over 1,600,000 francs, exceeding the initial estimate by a little over 1,200,000 francs.
- 253 It might be that the details on the identity of the sitter and author of the painting, included in the sale catalogue, were supplied by the Marquis of Salamanca himself directly or indirectly and later confirmed by the experts hired for the 1867 auction.
- 254 Ministerial decree of 26th August 1846. He retained this position until his death.
- 255 The Palace of Mitra in Lisbon, bought at auction by the Marquis in 1864 and owned until 1874.

- 256 A dynasty of Spanish painters founded by José de Madrazo, a chamber painter in the service of Carlos IV, director of the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando and director of the Real Museo de Pinturas y Esculturas from 1838 to 1857. José and his sons Federico (director of the Museo del Prado from 1860 to 1868 and 1881 to 1894) and Pedro were the Marquis of Salamanca's art advisors. The art historian and critic Pedro de Madrazo, together with Gregorio Cruzada Villaamil and Valentín Carderera, was one of the major figures of the historiography of Spanish painting art of his age and author of all the official painting catalogues of the Museo del Prado from 1843 to 1893.
- 257 The catalogue was distributed from the end of April at selected establishments in Paris, London, Brussels, Berlin, Vienna, Frankfurt, St. Petersburg, The Hague, Rotterdam and Rome.
- 258 The first lot of this group was a genuine portrait of King Sebastião mentioned above (lot 183). The portrait in the National Palace of Sintra was also included in this category (lot 197).
- 259 *Revista de Bellas Artes*, 2nd June 1867: 280. Original text: "*Gran número de personajes han visitado estos días los salones del palacio del Sr. Salamanca, donde aquellas joyas artísticas se hallan expuestas, notándose en ellas al emperador Napoleon, que examinó minuciosamente los principales cuadros.*"
- In 1865, Napoleon III was the godfather of *infante* Afonso, son of Luís I and Maria Pia. In 1862, he gave Maria Pia two wedding gifts, a diamond tiara and a rich dress adorned with lace. In 1859, Prince Jerome Napoleon, Napoleon III's cousin, married princess Maria Clotilde of Savoy, Maria Pia's elder sister.
- 260 Spanish painting was almost unknown in France at the start of the 19th century. Decisive to the discovery and appreciation of the 17th-century painters of the Spanish school – above all Velázquez, Ribera, Murillo, Alonso Cano and Zurbarán – was the opening in 1838 of the Spanish Gallery of Louis-Philippe, the last king of France, in the Louvre Colonnade, a collection sold in London in 1853. Its impact was key to the spreading of a taste for Spanish painting in Europe. The art market was not immune to the effects of this magnificent gallery, nor that of maréchal Soult, the biggest and finest private collection of Spanish painting on French soil kept at his Paris mansion, attracting countless figures from the artistic and cultural world between 1819 and 1851, until it was split from 1852 onwards.
- 261 In the 19th century, European historiography did not always regard the work of Pantoja within the context of the history of Spanish painting (Charles Gueullette, *Les peintres espagnols*, 1863). It was therefore subject to unrivalled critical fortunes outside Spain, above all relative to other court portraitists of the Philipine dynasty.
- Frédéric Quilliet (*Dictionnaire des peintres espagnols*, 1816, p. 245-246) summarised the information by Ceán Bermúdez (*Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*, vol. 4, 1800, p. 43-48) and assessed Pantoja's portraits in the context of the style and tradition of Sánchez Coello and Mor, regarding him as better than the other painters of his era. Étienne Huard (*Vie complète des peintres espagnols et Histoire de la peinture espagnole*, 1839, p. 47-49) recognised that Pantoja was practically unknown in France and his portraits were frequently attributed to Flemish and German painters. He also wrote that his reputation as an artist in Spain was similar to that of Holbein in Germany, Bronzino in Italy and Jean Cousin in France. Louis Viardot (*Notices sur les principaux peintres de l'Espagne*, 1839, p. 250-252) included Pantoja on the list of major painters of Felipe II's reign, alongside Sánchez Coello and Navarrete el Mudo, and stressed that, as his master, he stood out for his drawing, the simplicity of the poses and the nobility of the expressions. Johann David Passavant (*Die christliche Kunst in Spanien*, 1853, p. 97) judged Pantoja's portraiture positively but was of the opinion that his work was not as brilliant as that of Sánchez Coello. Gustav Friedrich Waagen (*Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, 1854, p. 25) put his style on a par with painters such as Angelo and Alessandro Bronzino, admiring him also for his powerful sense of colour. Édouard Laforge (*Des arts et des artistes en Espagne jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, 1859, p. 160-161) stressed the purity of his drawing, the delicacy of his finishing, the skilled treatment of the skin and the gracefulness and expressiveness of the figures. W. Bürger (*École Espagnole, Histoire des peintres des toutes les Écoles*, 1869, p. 70-73) affirmed the great importance of Sánchez Coello and Pantoja within Spanish portrait painting, stressing the similarity of Pantoja's style to his master's, even to the point of attributing his works to Sánchez Coello and vice-versa. He considered the modelling and finishing of the physiognomies to be extremely delicate and precise, equivalent to the portraits of Holbein and Clouets.
- 262 Bürger, 1867: 536-551.
- 263 The Duke of Loulé, two *veadores* (the Count of Vale de Reis and Marquis of Sabugosa), two ladies (the Countess of Sousa Coutinho and Gabriella de Sousa) and one of the royal doctors (Dr. João José de Simas).
- 264 Inaugurated on 1st April, the second World Fair in Paris was visited by kings and princes from all around the world during the six months it was open.
- 265 *Rapport sur l'exposition universelle de 1867, à Paris*, 1869: 476.
- 266 *Le Moniteur universel, journal officiel de l'Empire français*, 14th May 1867: 1. Original text of the news item: "S.M. la reine de Portugal a assisté à la soirée donnée dimanche dernier par S.A.I. la Princesse Mathilde." I would like to thank J. Pujolas, of the Centre de documentation France-Europe-Monde de la Direction de l'Information légale et administrative, for providing access to this periodical.

- 267 Princess Mathilde Bonaparte (1820-1904) was one of the predominant figures in Parisian society during the Second French Empire. Every week, at her *hôtel particulier* in rue des Courcelles, she organised *salons* for interesting and select personalities from the world of culture and politics. On Wednesdays, she hosted writers and journalists, on Fridays artists and on Sundays people in positions of power and government.
- 268 *La chronique des arts et de la curiosité*, 17th March 1867: 83.
- 269 *Revista de Bellas Artes*, 7th April 1867: 214-215.
- 270 *Rapport sur l'exposition universelle de 1867, à Paris*, 1869: 476.
- 271 Luís I's painter. From 1865 to 1873, he was responsible for organising the King's Painting Gallery at the Royal Palace of Ajuda. He was appointed director of the gallery on 17th June 1867 and it was inaugurated on 16th October 1867 on the occasion of Maria Pia's 20th birthday.
- 272 On Marciano Henriques de Silva's foreign acquisitions for Luís I's gallery, see Xavier, 2013: 89-104.
- 273 Alfred Émilien O'Hara, Count de Nieuwerkerke (1811-1892). An aristocrat, sculptor, high-ranking government official and collector. His brilliant career and influence during the apogee of the Second French Empire can only be understood if we bear in mind the close connection with Princess Mathilde, the emperor's cousin, with whom he maintained a relationship that endured until the 1860s. In 1849, he was appointed *Directeur général des musées nationaux* (Louvre, Versailles and Luxembourg, later *musées impériaux*). In 1853, he was appointed to the honorary position of Intendant des Beaux-Arts of the Emperor's Household and, from 1863 to 1870, Superintendant des Beaux-Arts.
- 274 Xavier, 2013: 101.



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SINTRA QUELUZ PENA

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FINAL SUMMARY

THE PORTRAIT IN THE
WRITTEN SOURCES

1867-2016

1867

Portrait of a young man. Attributed to Juan Pantoja de la Cruz (1551-1610). 211 x 117 cm.

Inscription: AETATIS SUÆ•18•

Catalogue des tableaux anciens des écoles Espagnole, Italienne, Flamande & Hollandaise composant la Galerie de M. Le M^{is} de Salamanca. Vente en son Hôtel, à Paris, rue de la Victoire, 50, les lundi 3, mardi 4, mercredi 5 et jeudi 6 juin à deux heures précises. 1867.

Commissaire-priseur (auctioneer): Charles Pillet.

Experts: Étienne Le Roy and A. Febvre.

Lot no. 197. Session: 6th June 1867, "Portraits Historiques des Maitres de diverses Écoles".

Sold for 810 francs to Étienne Le Roy.

1885

Portrait of King Sebastião of Portugal. Flemish school. 16th century. 190 x 112 cm.

Catalogue de portraits historiques de grandeur naturelle et en pied des XV^e, XVI^e et XVII^e siècles. Provenant de la collection de feu M. J. Aragon. Œuvres importantes de Lucas Cranach et dont la vente aura lieu Hotel Drouot, salle n^o 1. Le lundi 30 Mars 1885, à quatre heures.

Commissaire-priseur: Paul Chevallier.

Expert: E. Féral.

Lot no. 13. 30th March 1885.

Sold for 840 francs to Eugène Féral-Cussac.

1885

Portrait of King Sebastião of Portugal. Attributed to [Frans] Pourbus [the Younger] or one of his disciples by an unidentified expert(s), according to the documentation currently available.

Addition of the portrait to the Portuguese royal collections. Acquisition process begun at the start of April.

The Queen, Maria Pia of Savoy, through the mediation of Viscount de Ribeiro da Silva and Viscount de Azevedo da Silva, bought the portrait from Lannoy, an art dealer, at his establishment in 14 rue Lafayette, Paris.

On 30th April, the painting arrived at the Royal Palace of Ajuda.

Sold for 3,500 francs = 632,335 réis.

1889-1896 (?)

Portrait of King Sebastião. Attributed to the Spanish school in an inventory by an unknown person.

Property of Queen Maria Pia.

Relação de diversas pinturas do Palácio Real da Ajuda, undated, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisbon, 9.5.1, cx. 2, doc. 35.

Painting no. 38 on a list of 65 paintings kept at the Royal Palace of Ajuda.

Administrator (*almoxarife*) of the Royal Palace of Ajuda at the time indicated: Joaquim Isidoro de Sousa.

1894

Portrait of King Sebastião. Large oil painting. Property of Queen Maria Pia. Swans Room of the Royal Palace of Sintra. Inventory by: unknown.

Real Paço de Cintra. Mobília, louças, pannos e mais artigos pertencentes a Sua Magestade A Rainha A Senhora D. Maria Pia. Salla dos Cysnes, 1894, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisbon, 9.5.1, cx. 1, doc. 30.

Almoxarife of the Royal Palace of Sintra in the year indicated: Maximiano Joaquim de Freitas.

Almoxarife of the Royal Palace of Ajuda in the year indicated: Joaquim Isidoro de Sousa.

c.1895-c.1910 (?)

Portrait of King Sebastião. Oil painting valued at 135,000 réis. Swans Room of the Royal Palace of Sintra. Inventory by: unknown.

Inventario Geral - Paço de Sintra, undated, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisbon, cx. 8.6.1, doc. 16, fólio 3.

Almoxarifes of the Royal Palace of Sintra at the time indicated:

Maximiano Joaquim de Freitas (1894-1899) and Jorge da Cruz Reis (1900-1910).

1903

Portrait of King Sebastião. Anthonis Mor. Purchased by Queen Maria Pia. Swans Room of the Royal Palace of Sintra.

SABUGOSA, Conde de (1903): *O Paço de Cintra. Desenhos de Sua Magestade A Rainha A Senhora D. Amélia. Apontamentos Históricos e Archeológicos do Conde de Sabugosa. Colaboração artística de E. Casanova e R. Lino*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, p. 159.

Details based upon the testimony of the Count of Sabugosa, a member of the Queen's entourage.

1905-1908

Portrait of King Sebastião. The art historian and curator José de Figueiredo attributes this picture to Alonso Sánchez Coello or his school. Royal Palace of Sintra.

FIGUEIREDO, José de (1908): *Algumas palavras sobre a evolução da arte em Portugal*, Lisbon, Editora Livraria Ferreira, p. 61. [Text written in 1905]

1910

Portrait of Felipe III of Spain [the sitter is not identified as King Sebastião]. Oil painting.

Item number: 71. Swans Room of the Palace of Sintra.

Information recorded on 12th December.

Processo d'arrolamento ao Paço de Cintra. Direcção da Justiça - 2ª Repartição, from 10th December 1910 to 7th January 1911, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Ministério da Fazenda, cx. 7805.

[Another copy is kept at the Arquivo Histórico da Casa de Bragança in Vila Viçosa]

This is the judicial inventory of the movable assets at the Palace of Sintra taken on 12th-30th December 1910 by the *almoxarife* Jorge da Cruz Reis and the clerk João Eduardo Guerreiro, under the supervision of Judge Sebastião Maria de Sampaio. This process was conducted after the establishment of the Republic in October 1910.

1913

Portrait of King Sebastião. Located in one of the rooms (*quartos*) formerly occupied by King Luís I [the picture is no longer displayed in the Swans Room]. National Palace of Sintra.

COSTA, L. de Mendonça e (1913): *Manual do viajante em Portugal*, 4th edition, Lisbon, Typ. da Gazeta dos Caminhos de Ferro, p. 97.

1924

Portrait of a nobleman from the time of King Sebastião. Painting hung in a small gallery [the term used is "museum"] with several other paintings and tapestries in the former private rooms of King Luís I. National Palace of Sintra.

SANTOS, Reynaldo dos: "Paço real de Sintra (mon. nac.)". In PROENÇA, Raul (1924): *Guia de Portugal. Generalidades. Lisboa e Arredores*, vol. 1, Lisbon, Oficinas Gráficas da Biblioteca Nacional, p. 496.

The first book of this collection was published in 1924 and focused on the theme of Lisbon and surrounding areas. This volume was organised and mostly written by Raul Proença. It also featured contributions by a number of major figures within Portuguese culture, such as Reynaldo dos Santos for the History of Art's texts.

1930

Supposed portrait of King Sebastião. Located in a room adjoining the Archers' Room.

CARDOSO, Nuno Catharino (1930): "Descrição das principais salas e dependencias do Palacio Nacional de Cintra". In *Monumentos de Portugal. Cintra. Noticia Historicó-Arqueológica e Artistica do Paço da Vila, do Palacio da Pena e do Castelo dos Mouros*, no. 7, Porto, Litografia Nacional Edições, p. 41.

1938

Portrait of King Sebastião. Oil painting valued at 2,000 escudos. Item number: 216. Swans Room of the National Palace of Sintra.

Information extracted from the inventory of the state's public assets in the Palace of Sintra, specifically from the register for August (map no. 1).

Cadastro dos Bens do Domínio Público-Palácio Nacional de Sintra, 1938, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional de Sintra, Sintra, Cadastros 1938-1944.

This detailed inventory was conducted by Jorge da Cruz Reis between 1938-1941, at the time the Palace's curator.

1946-1947

Portrait of King Sebastião. Full length with ceremonial armour. Oil painting by Anthonis Mor, valued at 15,000 escudos. 1.88 x 1.12 m. From the old collection [royal collections]. Item number: 617. Inventory number: 216. Swans Room of the National Palace of Sintra.

Inventário dos móveis existentes no Palácio Nacional de Sintra, feito no ano de mil, novecentos, quarenta e sete, 1947, p. 34, Arquivo do Palácio Nacional de Sintra, Sintra.

This was the new inventory of the movable assets of the Palace of Sintra conducted between January 1946 and May 1947 by Casimiro Gomes da Silva, at the time the Palace's curator.

Between c.1945 and c.1955

First individual inventory file card, probably filled out by Casimiro Gomes da Silva, the Palace curator during this period.

"Inventory file card number 685" – "Inventory number 216" – "DESCRIPTION: Oil portrait, framed, on canvas, King Sebastião, full length, in ceremonial armour, by Anthonis Mor" – "PERIOD: 16th century" – "STYLE: Spanish" – "DIMENSIONS: 1.88 x 1.12" [metres] – "LOCATION: Swans Room" – "OBSERVATIONS AND CONDITION: in good condition, 15,000\$00 [fifteen thousand escudos], from the old collection"

1953

Portrait of King Sebastião in ceremonial armour. Oil painting by Anthonis Mor valued at 15,000 escudos. Item number: 155. Item number (*verbete*): 685. Inventory number: 216. Swans Room of the National Palace of Sintra.

Móveis, pertencentes ao fundo do Palácio Nacional de Sintra (Vila), cuja saída, em caso de emergência, por motivo de guerra, fica prevista, nos termos das circulares de 11 de Agosto e de 30 de Novembro de 1953, da Direcção do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 1st January 1954, Arquivo Contemporâneo do Ministério das Finanças, Lisbon, Movimentação de bens móveis artísticos, Direcção-Geral da Fazenda Pública, cx. 002, pasta 26.

This is an abridged inventory with a list of movable assets which, in the event of war, should be removed from the Palace for safekeeping as a matter of priority. Conducted in 1953 by Casimiro Gomes da Silva, Palace curator, and sent on 1st January 1954 to the *Direcção-Geral da Fazenda Pública*.

1963

"Among the paintings ... is a good portrait of a young nobleman with a Cross of Calatrava (Swans Room) ..."

AZEVEDO, Carlos de/FERRÃO, Julieta/GUSMÃO, Adriano de (1963): "Palácio Nacional (mon. nac.)." In *Monumentos e edifícios notáveis do distrito de Lisboa. Sintra, Oeiras, Cascais*, vol. 2, Lisbon, Junta Distrital de Lisboa, p. 37.

1983

Included in the exhibition *The Discoveries and the Renaissance, forms of coincidence and culture* as part of the 17th European Exhibition of Art, Science and Culture, devoted to the theme of "The Portuguese Discoveries and Renaissance Europe".

"ANTHONIS MOR (?) (1517-1576) / Portrait of a Knight - King Sebastião (?) / Portugal, 16th century / Oil on canvas, 188 x 112 cm".

Information provided in:

MACEDO, Jorge Borges de (1983): *As Descobertas e o Renascimento, formas de coincidência e de cultura* [exhibition catalogue] / Comissariado para a XVII Exposição Europeia de Arte Ciência Cultura, Lisbon, Conselho da Europa, Presidência do Conselho de Ministros, p. 199. Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, May-October 1983.

2000-2002

According to Vitor Serrão, the authorship of the portrait could be attributed to a follower of Anthonis Mor.

Information entered in 2002 in the MATRIZ inventory, the collective catalogue of the Portuguese National Museums.

2006-2011

According to Pedro Flor, the sitter is a nobleman belonging to the Order of Calatrava, perhaps Juan Vivas de Cañamás, who was initiated into the Order in 1586 at the age of 18. The author of the painting is one of the portrait artists who collaborated in Sánchez Coello's workshop, probably Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, who was active during the reigns of Felipe II and Felipe III of Spain. The painting can be dated somewhere between 1590 and 1600; acquired by Queen Maria Pia, its provenance may have been Italian.

FLOR, Pedro (2006): *Dois Retratos de Corte do Palácio Nacional de Sintra*, a talk given at the *II Colóquio de História da Arte* at the National Palace of Sintra. 29th November 2006.

FLOR, Pedro (2011): "Dois Retratos de Corte no Palácio Nacional de Sintra". In *Artis - Revista do Instituto de História da Arte da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa*, no. 9-10, p. 213-223.



2016

**Portrait of Diego Gómez de Sandoval,
Grand Commander of the Order of Calatrava,
Count of Saldaña**

Juan Pantoja de la Cruz (Valladolid, c.1553 - Madrid, 1608)

Spain, 1605-1608

Oil on canvas

191 x 113 cm (without frame)

209 x 125 cm (with frame)

Inscription: ÆTATIS SVÆ •18•

Painted above the inscription is the number "456" relating to an old inventory number.

National Palace of Sintra

Inv. PNS3647

Provenance / Ownership history:

- Diego Gómez de Sandoval (1587-1632), Count of Saldaña, 17th century;
- Painting Gallery of José de Salamanca y Mayol, Marquis of Salamanca (sale, Paris, 6th June 1867, lot 197 "Portrait of a young man", Pantoja de la Cruz), sold to Étienne Le Roy;
- Painting Gallery of J. Aragon (sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 30th March 1885, lot 13 "Portrait of King Sebastião of Portugal", Flemish school, 16th century), sold to Eugène Féral-Cussac;
- Then acquired by Lannoy, who sold it on to Queen Maria Pia in April 1885, "Portrait of King Sebastião of Portugal", Pourbus;
- Royal Palace of Ajuda, Lisbon, from 30th April 1885 to around 1895, after which it was transferred to the Royal Palace of Sintra;
- National Palace of Sintra.

> [Catalogue entry available in the MatrizNet inventory](#)

> [High definition image available at Google Art Project](#)



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VISUAL SOURCES

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Procès-verbal de la vente Salamanca, Fonds du commissaire-priseur Maitre Charles Pillet, conservé aux Archives de Paris, cote D48E3 58.

Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid

Diego Gómez de Sandoval y de la Cerda, hijo del Marqués de Denia, 1599, Sección de Órdenes Militares, Caballeros de Calatrava, expediente 1072.

Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Nobleza, Toledo

The *Duques de Osuna* Collection:

Capitulaciones para el matrimonio de Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y Luisa de Mendoza Condesa de Saldaña, Osuna, C.1782, D.11.

Cláusula y árboles del mayorazgo que fundó Francisco Gómez de Sandoval, Duque de Lerma, en las capitulaciones para el matrimonio de su hijo Diego con Luisa Mendoza, hija de los Duques del Infantado, Osuna, C.1954, D.2(1).

Depósito de cadáver del conde de Saldaña, 7 de dezembro de 1632, Osuna, C.1775, D.7.

Escritura de mayorazgo de 20.000 ducados fundado por el Duque de Lerma, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval, a favor de su hijo Diego al casarse con Luisa Mendoza, hija de los Duques del Infantado, Osuna, C.1955, D.1(1).

Mayorazgo fundado por Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, Duque de Lerma, a favor de su hijo Diego para el casamiento de éste con Luisa de Mendoza, hija de los Duques del Infantado, Osuna, C.1760, D.20.

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Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Legação de Portugal em França (Paris), correspondência recebida e expedida, 1866 a 1885.

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Norton Simon Museum Archives, Pasadena

Letter of 28th August 1954 sent by Dr. Martin S. Soria, professor of art history at Michigan State College, to Mr. B. S. Boggis from Duveen Brothers Inc.

Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid

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Escritura de capitulaciones otorgadas por Francisco Gómez de Sandoval, I duque de Lerma; por Diego Gómez de Sandoval, comendador mayor de Calatrava, su hijo, y de la duquesa doña Catalina de la Cerda, de una parte; y por la otra Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, duque del Infantado, por doña Ana de Mendoza, VI duquesa del Infantado, su mujer, y doña Luisa de Mendoza, IX condesa de Saldaña, su hija, para el matrimonio de ésta con dicho Diego, 25 agosto 1603, M-19, f. 56-64.

Relación de provisiones Reales, despachadas con motivo de la boda de D. Diego Gómez de Sandoval, comendador mayor de la Orden de Calatrava, con doña Luisa de Mendoza, condesa de Saldaña, 25 junho 1604, legajo 14, carpeta 8, nº 5.

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413 phot. d'Espagne et du Portugal par Hubert Vaffier, 1891. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Société de Géographie, SG WC-296.

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Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisboa

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Gazette des beaux-arts
Jornal de Sintra
Journal des amateurs d'objets d'art et de curiosité
Journal des beaux-arts et de la littérature
Journal des débats politiques et littéraires
Journal du Loiret
La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité
La Época
La Renaissance: politique, littéraire et artistique
Le Gaulois
Le Monde illustré
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Le Temps
O Occidente: Revista ilustrada de Portugal e do Extrangeiro
Revista de Bellas Artes
Revue nationale et étrangère, politique, scientifique et littéraire

ELECTRONIC RESOURCES

Arquivo Fotográfico do Centro Português de Fotografia

<http://digitarq.cpf.arquivos.pt>

Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa

<http://arquivomunicipal2.cm-lisboa.pt/Sala/online/ui/readerlogin.aspx>

Arquivo Municipal de Sintra

<http://arquivoonline.cm-sintra.pt>

Arquivos e coleções arquivísticas do Sistema de Informação para o Património Arquitetónico (SIPA)

<http://www.monumentos.pt>

Biblioteca Digital de Historia del Arte Hispánico

<http://www.bib.uab.cat/human/bdhah>

Biblioteca Digital Hispánica

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Biblioteca Digital del Museo Nacional del Prado

<http://www.museodelprado.es/aprende/biblioteca/biblioteca-digital>

Biblioteca Nacional Digital, Lisboa

<http://purl.pt>

Bibliothèque numérique de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art (INHA)

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Biografías - Instituto Universitario "La Corte en Europa" (IULCE)

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Digitarq - Portal de pesquisa do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo

<http://digitarq.arquivos.pt>

Gallica - Bibliothèque numérique de la Bibliothèque nationale de France et de ses partenaires

<http://gallica.bnf.fr>

HathiTrust Digital Library

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Hemeroteca Digital, Biblioteca Nacional de España

<http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/index.vm>

Hemeroteca Digital, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa

<http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt>

MatrizNet - Catálogo coletivo online dos Museus e Palácios Nacionais portugueses

<http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt>

PARES - Portal de Archivos Españoles

<http://pares.mcu.es>

The Getty Provenance Index Databases

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Parques de Sintra
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