

The Journey of Cosimo III de' Medici and Spanish Paintings in Florence

Miguel Taín Guzmán<sup>1</sup>

In 1668-1669, the twenty-six year old Cosimo III de' Medici, Prince of Tuscany, son of the Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici, made a long trip through Europe, including Spain, Portugal, England, Holland and France, between 1668 and 1669 (fig.1).<sup>2</sup> The places he and his entourage visited, which were important for cultural, religious, economic or political reasons, were carefully selected in order to prepare the Prince for becoming the next Grand Duke of Florence. In fact, he took over this position some months later. The visit to Spain involved one of the longest journeys (fig. 2).<sup>3</sup> Leaving Livorno, he reached the Spanish coast stopping for a few hours in Cadaqués, Roses, and Palamós, on the coast of Catalonia. Finally, he debarked in Barcelona on 29 September 1668. From this city, he began his overland trip, in a carriage brought from Florence, visiting towns and cities such as Martorell, Montserrat, Igualada, Lleida, Zaragoza, Daroca, Guadalajara, and Alcalá de Henares, before finally arriving in Madrid, where he stayed between 24 October and 25 November. From there he went south to towns and cities such as Toledo, Mora, Consuegra, Villanueva de los Infantes, Andújar, El Carpio, Córdoba, Castro del Río, Granada, Écija, Carmona, and Seville. From here he travelled to Zafra, Badajoz, and Portugal, where he stopped in Lisbon. He then continued his journey towards Galicia, entering Spain at Tui and stopping in Redondela, Pontevedra, Padrón, and Santiago de Compostela. In this last city, he visited the sanctuary of the Apostle Saint James. His stay in Spain lasted a total of one hundred and twenty-six days, including the day of arrival to Cadaqués and the day of departure from Coruña, where on March the 19 he embarked for England, having spent enough time in Spain to gain a proper understanding of the country's culture.

As a prince, he travelled with an entourage comprised of twenty-seven people including nobles, servants and a French cook. Some of the travelers kept accounts of the journey. Lorenzo Magalotti was one of the nobles, who had an important role as a diplomat, writer and scientist, and was responsible for writing the official diary of the trip *Relazione Ufficiale del Viaggio di Cosimo III de' Medici* and describing the places they visited, the local monuments and customs, ceremonies and religious life, receptions and food.<sup>4</sup> The young artist Pier Maria Baldi, also a member of the retinue, was charged with drawing views of the cities, villages, and inns they visited, and which serve as illustrations to the *Relazione*. Thanks to his work, we now have the most complete graphic testimony of Spanish locations in the seventeenth century, as he drew a total of eighty-six views of the country.<sup>5</sup> A second interesting diary is the *Memorie del viaggio* by Filippo Corsini, Cosimo's

cupbearer on the journey (*scalco*), was the source from which Magalotti copied a large amount of information.<sup>6</sup> The accounts by Giovan Battista Gornia, doctor of the retinue,<sup>7</sup> and Jacopo Ciuti, the administrator of provisions (*spenditore*),<sup>8</sup> are much more anecdotal and spontaneous as regards the details of the visits. In contrast, the diary by the chaplain Felice Monsacchi is the most succinct.<sup>9</sup> Finally, the expenses and tips detailed in the accounts book of the journey by Filippo Marchetti (*maestro di casa*) provide information about the people the Prince met on this visit, and the objects he acquired.<sup>10</sup>

These five diaries, together with the letters written by members of the entourage, the records of expenditures, and other documents, inform us that during the trip Cosimo acquired examples of Spanish culture and artistic developments in the form of paintings, drawings, glass, silverware, leather, items from the Americas, weapons, devotional objects, and books. These items reflected the Prince's interests, curiosity, and concerns. This study focuses on a series of Spanish paintings which are associated in one way or another with the journey and which are now preserved in the city of Florence.<sup>11</sup>

## TWO ROYAL PORTRAITS IN THE GALLERIA PALATINA

Before becoming Grand Duke, Cosimo does not seem to have had any great interest in acquiring paintings and drawings for his family's collections. A clue to understanding this neglect is found in his letter to his uncle, Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici, on 15 November 1668,<sup>12</sup> in which he gave his opinions on the paintings in the Escorial Monastery, which he had seen the previous day,<sup>13</sup> and in the diaries of the journey where their authors describe the rich collections of paintings of the Buen Retiro Palace seen on 2 November, the Royal Alcázar Palace seen on 11 November, the Escorial seen on 14 November, and the Aranjuez Palace visited on 26 November. These four royal sites were known in Europe for their collections of hundreds of paintings from Spain and different nationalities and deserved positive valuations in the accounts of the Cosimo's journey. Gornia, for example, states that the authors of the paintings displayed in the sacristy of the Escorial are "the most famous painters of the planet".<sup>14</sup> Significantly, this letter and these accounts mainly mention artworks attributed to Italian artists such as Raphael, Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, Correggio, Andrea del Sarto, Jacopo Bassano, Annibale Carracci, Guido Reni, Caravaggio. In the case of the Royal Monastery, Cosimo states that "there is a great number of beautiful paintings in El Escorial, most of which are history paintings" and, quoting Martial, that "they are good, some are mediocre, and there are many more that are bad".<sup>15</sup> This means that the Prince and his retinue do not seem to have been interested in Spanish paintings, probably due to a lack of

knowledge, which may explain the lack of acquisitions of good local paintings, for example by Diego Velázquez, the famous royal painter who had recently died in 1660. In fact, the only Spanish artist mentioned is José de Ribera, called *Lo Spagnoletto* by Corsini and Monsacchi, but probably because he was so well known in Italy through his workshop in Naples.<sup>16</sup> Corsini also cites the canvases in the altars of the church of El Escorial by El Greco, Luca Cambiaso, and Federico Zuccaro, all of whom were foreigners but who were based in Spain. Cambiaso and Zuccaro were Italians, and the latter was known for having earlier worked for Cosimo I in Florence.<sup>17</sup>

Still, the accounts do contain references to some Spanish paintings, although they are mentioned because of their subject matter, without commenting on aesthetic qualities or providing details of authorship. For example, when Corsini and Gornia describe the paintings depicting the battles won by Felipe IV in the “Hall of the Kingdoms” of the Buen Retiro Palace, they mention the subject matter but not their Spanish or foreign authors.<sup>18</sup> Magalotti does note that several rooms in the palace are decorated with paintings “by the most famous painters of Spain”, including those in the Hall of the Kingdoms, celebrating the triumph in Germany of the Duke of Feria, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, in 1633.<sup>19</sup> Once again the subject matter is the reason why Magalotti, Corsini, and Gornia emphasize the series of portraits of the kings of Asturias, León, and Castile, displayed between the two rooms of the “Gilded Hall” in the Real Alcázar palace.<sup>20</sup> Although painted by different artists, mainly Spanish artists, Corsini and Gornia state that they were created by only one “famous” painter, who was “quite esteemed in Spain”.<sup>21</sup> The only exception is the unidentified “The Strengths of Hercules”. We don’t know if this is one or a series of paintings, singled out by Gornia because of quality, attributed to a “famous” Spanish painter whose name he does not mention, displayed on the walls of the Real Alcázar.<sup>22</sup> I do not think he is referring to the eight paintings from the series titled “The Labors of Hercules” by Rubens displayed in the Octagonal Room, but it could be a reference to a replica by Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, Velázquez’s son-in-law, displayed in the Prince’s Room.<sup>23</sup> However, I wonder if Gornia made a mistake and is, instead, referring to Francisco de Zurbarán’s series of “The Labors of Hercules” which decorated the Hall of the Kingdoms of the Buen Retiro Palace, which he had seen some days earlier.<sup>24</sup> The presence of the Greek hero in these chambers and the citation in the account of the journey are justified since Hercules was considered an ancestor of kings of Spain and because of the association of the semi-god and the King Felipe IV with the sun, which is the emblem of the virtue of a good leader.

This complete lack of knowledge on the part of the Prince and his entourage with regard to Spanish painting may explain their disinterest in purchasing fine works for the Medici collections during their journey

across the country. Cosimo's advisers on artistic matters in the retinue, the courtier Paolo Falconieri and Baldi, did not have any training in Spanish art.<sup>25</sup> It therefore comes as no surprise that there is only one documented acquisition in Spain, and it was clearly obtained because its subject matter. This was the oil painting of the Queen-Regent Mariana de Austria, which Cosimo acquired while he was visiting the Palace of Aranjuez on 26 November (fig. 3). The *Guardaroba* gave him the painting,<sup>26</sup> presumably with the Queen's permission, at the express request of the Prince. This information is noted in Marchetti's book of accounts, as Cosimo gave a tip of 15 *scudi* to the person who brought him the gift: "and on that day [26 November], 15 *scudi* more than the others, for the *Guardaroba* of this palace, who gave the portrait of the Queen".<sup>27</sup> This painting is currently kept in the storeroom of the Galleria Palatina in the Pitti Palace (inv. 5203; measurements: 76 x 58 cm). The Queen is well characterized in the portrait, which is by an anonymous artist. It is clearly based on the work of the new official portrait of Mariana as the widow of King Felipe IV and tutor of the new child King Carlos II, best exemplified by the famous portrait of the Queen (1666, National Gallery, London) which was the new official portrait created by Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, the King's chamber painter until 1667.<sup>28</sup> This model was repeated by Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo, the King's new chamber painter, between 1667 and 1671, as seen in the double portrait of the Queen with her son that is attributed to him, now in a private collection in Madrid.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, in the portrait from Aranjuez, like those by Martínez de Mazo and Herrera Barnuevo, the queen is depicted as a young woman, with a cold, distant air, dressed in mourning, and in a nun's white habit and long black veil in the style of the time. The canvas only shows her from the waist up, on a dark monochrome background, which avoids having to represent a particular palatial setting. However, the portrait was originally larger and wider and has been trimmed by the abrupt cropping of the sleeves and the hands. She also seems to be seated on a chair, as in the other portraits, due to the position of her arms. If this were the case, the chair would be a reference to the governance of the Queen, who only used it for audiences and ceremonies, as the general custom in the court was for the Queen and her ladies-in-waiting to sit on cushions on a platform on the floor.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, the neutral background is very degraded, and possibly retouched.

The reverse of the painting shows inventory numbers corresponding to the Medici inventories. There are three numbers that this painting shares with an oil portrait of Carlos II as a child (Galleria Palatina, Florence, inv. 5145; measurements: 76.5 x 58.5 cm) (fig. 4): apparently the oldest number is 496 (in black and crossed out); the following one would be 670 (in black and crossed out), and the final one would have been 7902 (in black).<sup>31</sup> This is uncommon in the Medici collections, and could be explained if both paintings were hung

together. Moreover, this would be the reason why the Queen's portrait was cropped: it was originally larger than the King's portrait, from which his left hand, part of his hat and clothes also seems have been trimmed.

Upon his arrival in Florence, the Prince presumably gave the painting from Aranjuez to his uncle Leopoldo, a collector of portraits of the members of European royal families. The King's portrait would also have been destined for the cardinal's collection. Thus explaining why they appear together in the inventory of Leopoldo's paintings in the *Stanza Grande* of the *Guardaroba* of Pitti Palace. Completed between 1675 and 1676 after his death, this inventory describes the inheritance left to his nephew: "a painting on canvas, with a height of 1 ¼ *braccia*, a width of 1 *braccia*, upon which is painted the portrait of the reigning King of Spain, in an ordinary manner" and "a painting on canvas, similar to the previous, upon which is painted a portrait of the Queen Mother of Spain, dressed as a nun, with a white habit and black veil".<sup>32</sup> The two paintings are marked in this inventory with the initials 'PR', indicating that they were transferred to the Medicea Villa of Pratolino. In fact, they were given to Leopoldo Melli,<sup>33</sup> the keeper of the *Guardaroba* of the villa, on 2 August 1680, and they were still listed there in an inventory from 1748.<sup>34</sup> In the nineteenth century they were transferred to the Galleria degli Uffizi, after which they were separated and given different reference numbers: the painting of the Queen is shown as number 1641 in the 1881 inventory, and then with its present number in the inventory from 1890, after which it was hung in the Magazzino Lambertesca, corridor C, first wall. In turn, the portrait of the King is shown as number 816 in the inventory from 1881, and then with its present number in the 1890 inventory, after which it was hung in the Magazzino Lambertesca, room B, first wall. The portrait of Mariana de Austria has been stored in the Magazzino Occhi of the Pitti Palace since 1972.

Carlos II is around seven years of age in the portrait, which is the time when Cosimo visited Madrid: in fact, the diaries describe how the Prince visited the Real Alcázar because of the royal birthday on 6 November. According to Rodríguez de Ceballos, the King is shown wearing red trousers and a *chamberg*, a long, ample coat (*casaca*),<sup>35</sup> the uniform of his new personal bodyguard created in 1669 to protect him from the threat of his stepbrother Juan de Austria the Younger, according to a recent study by Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño.<sup>36</sup> If both of these facts are correct, as they would seem to be, it would mean that the portrait of Carlos II could not have been acquired by the Prince during his stay in Madrid, but instead would have been commissioned by him before leaving the court. Indeed, it would have been unexpected for him to obtain only the portrait of the Regent for the collection of European Royal Portraits on display in the villas and palaces of the Medici. In fact, the English ambassador, Edward Montagu, received the portraits of both the regent and Carlos II as a gift some months later.<sup>37</sup>

Herrera Barnuevo was responsible for the idea of portraying the King wearing a *chamberga* in 1669, as can be seen in the painting from the Leopoldo Gil Nebot collection in Barcelona, or in the previously-mentioned double portrait of the Queen with her son from a private collection from Madrid, both dated around this year, which was then copied in several versions by anonymous authors, one of which is the portrait from the Galleria Palatina.<sup>38</sup> In it, the face of the King is tender and innocent, and with his unique physiognomy, although this has been idealized. He is shown standing, looking towards the viewer, revealing his long, curly hair, a detail that characterizes his portraits of this period. He holds the baton (*bengala*) in his right hand, the hat of the uniform (*chambergo*) in his left, and has a sword at his waist, only the grip of which can be seen, indicating that he is the highest authority of the new guard. The golden *toisón*, an attribute of the House of Austria, hangs around his neck. All in all, the painting presents a healthy, idealized image of a healthy child, in order to dispel any doubts about his well-known weak physical and mental constitution.

This first acquisition was followed by other portraits of Carlos II. For example, the inventories of Cosimo's wardrobe from 1689 and 1690 include the Spanish King's portrait as a young man ("*da giovane*") dressed in black ("*vestito di nero*").<sup>39</sup> In another from the wardrobe of Vittoria della Rovere in the villa of Poggio Imperiale, there is one that forms a part of a series of the ruling houses of Europe, where he is shown in armor, with a crimson sash with laces ("*armato, con ciarpa e galano ponsò alla pezzuola di trina*");<sup>40</sup> and finally, the 1791 inventory of the Pitti Palace mentions another, oval portrait, in which he is shown still as a child ("*da fanciullo*").<sup>41</sup> Today only two are in the Galleria degli Uffizi: one is in the series of Illustrious Men<sup>42</sup> (Ic106),<sup>43</sup> and the other is in the series of "*Douven Ovali*" on the family of Johann Wilhelm Kurfürst von der Pfalz, Elector Palatine and the husband of Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici, Cosimo's daughter (Ic791).<sup>44</sup>

### THE 'VIRGIN OF THE KINGS' IN THE CATHEDRAL OF SEVILLE

From a very young age, Cosimo spent long periods in the company of friars, went to mass once or twice a day, diligently recited prayers to the Virgin Mary, received communion on Sundays and feast days, and read all types of devotional books,<sup>45</sup> all of which was quite normal behavior for an heir educated in the spirit of the Counter-Reformation.<sup>46</sup> He attended mass every day in local churches during his journey across Spain no matter where he was, as we know from the accounts by Magalotti, Corsini, and Gornia. When it was not possible, for example in desert regions of Andalusia, his chaplain Monsacchi celebrated mass in the rooms of his accommodation, something that is also indicated in the diaries. The Prince's particularly pious nature explains

why he purchased hundreds of devotional objects from the Spanish hermitages, churches, cathedrals, monasteries, and sanctuaries he visited. The inventory of his wardrobe from 1690 mentions many medals, small religious images, crosses, and other devotional articles which were probably acquired during the journey and which were intended to be gifts for relatives, friars and friends.<sup>47</sup> They include a number of cloth ribbons (*medidas*), silver crosses and medals of the Virgin of Monserrat, whose sanctuary he visited on 6 and 7 October 1668; a number of cloth ribbons, a golden small statue for a rosary, and two small golden statues of the Virgin of El Pilar in Zaragoza, whose image he visited on 14 October; the silver medals of the reliquary of the *Corporal* of Daroca, which he saw on 18 October; several cloth ribbons and one silver *portapaz* of the Virgin of Atocha, whose temple he visited on 28 October and on 2, 10, 17, and 21 November; and the silver medals of the Apostle Saint James of Galicia, before whose altar he prayed on 4 and 6 March 1669. All these objects relate to images and relics for which the Prince felt a special devotion, and whose presentations in their respective churches, richly decorated with robes, silverwork, pearls, and precious stones are described in the accounts of Magalotti, Corsini, Gornia, Ciuti, and Monsacchi. Although a large number of items are included in the inventory of 1690, they would be only those not given to relatives and members of the court up until this date. Unfortunately, it seems that not even one of these objects has survived to the present day, or at least I have not been able to track them down. The absence of such Spanish commemorative medals in the extensive collection of the Museo Nazionale del Bargello may be due to the fact that they were melted down, together with many others, by the first dukes of Lorena, who had economic difficulties.<sup>48</sup>

Cosimo also purchased a number of items made of jet stone from Compostela (such as small boxes, shells, adornments, small crucifixes), which were kept together in the Guardaroba in 1690. They are the typical devotional objects that pilgrims would buy, and this may also be the origin of a statuette of a Saint James as a Pilgrim, wearing a cape, a wide-brimmed hat adorned with a shell, a staff, a bag and a gourd, with two donors kneeling down in an attitude of prayer, which is now in the Collezione Medicea di Pietre Lavorate in the Museo di Storia Naturale di Firenze (inv. 13704). This inventory also refers to dozens of crosses of Caravaca. They could have originated from this trip, although he never visited the *Murciano* sanctuary, or from a gift of a Spanish friar at the court in Florence. Cosimo's interest in the cross is also demonstrated by a copy that crowns the church of the convent of the Franciscan order of San Pedro de Alcántara, which he founded at his Villa Ambrogiana in 1678 and which he insisted should only be occupied by Spanish friars, whose masses he liked to attend.<sup>49</sup> He must have been very impressed with this newly reformed order when he discovered it during his visit to the convent of San Gil El Real in Madrid on 17 November 1668.

Cosimo's devotion to the Virgin Mary from an early age, confirmed by his biographer Sandrini, explains his visits to Marian churches in Spain and the variety of Marian objects acquired during the journey.<sup>50</sup> This piety for Spanish devotional images of the Virgin continued after he returned to Florence as is shown by his presentation of a silver lamp made by the Florentine silversmith Arrigo Brunich to the Virgin of Montserrat in 1671.<sup>51</sup> Another example is the anonymous Andalusian oil painting on canvas of the image of the Virgin of the Kings displayed in the Royal Chapel of the Cathedral of Seville (*Virgen de los Reyes*), displayed in one of the chapels in the Pitti Palace according to an inventory of 1761 (fig. 5). Cosimo had a particular regard for this Virgin when he visited the chapel on 28 December 1668, an event reported in the accounts of the journey. According to them, the Prince was attracted to the royal nature of the building, its pantheon of monarchs, and the fact that it served as a reliquary, containing the remains of the holy King St. Fernando. Corsini refers to the Marian sculpture as "...a miraculous Virgin. It is said that she appeared to King Fernando just a few days before the Moors were driven out of Seville",<sup>52</sup> referring to the local tradition of the miraculous appearance of the Virgin Mary before Fernando III and the conquest of Seville.<sup>53</sup> Magalotti offers more details, stating: "there is a chapel, which surrounds the area behind the high altar of the cathedral, where a notable imagine of the Virgin is revered, which appeared to King Fernando the Holy after the final defeat of the moors of Seville according to the tradition; whose uncorrupted body, with that of the queen, his consort, are in a great urn covered with a red cloth with different crowns above similar pillows and before the altar. This whole chapel is built of stone but of modern architecture with great ornaments of bas-reliefs".<sup>54</sup>

The inventory of 1761 described this painting as "a similar painting [to the previous one mentioned in the register], 1 *braccia* high,  $\frac{3}{4}$  *braccia* wide, upon which is painted the Holy Virgin with the Christ Child in her arms, both with crowns on their heads, and beneath a tabernacle flanked with candelabra, and several cherubs to the sides and above; and in front there is an altar with four candlesticks and two saints to the sides, in the niches; and above this tabernacle is the Eternal Father amongst the clouds and surrounded by several cherubs, with the world in his hands, with the inscription below stating "conceived without sin"; all of the above is between two columns with golden adornments, and an arch above, and two vases with several flowers to the sides; with an undecorated frame, with arabesques carved in the corners, and all covered in gilt; registered as number 11862".<sup>55</sup> The canvas now measures 60 x 47 cm, and I was able to study it in 2013 in the offices of the Ufficio di Ricerche de la Soprintendenza per I Beni Artistici e Storici in Florence (inv. 1890, n. 2210).<sup>56</sup> The painting depicts a fairly accurate representation of the altarpiece containing the image of the Virgin of the Kings, an object of great devotion amongst the local population. The altarpiece made for the image by the

sculptor Luis Ortiz de Vargas between 1644 and 1647 is shown inserted in a niche and framed by two columns with gilt grotesques that mimic the architecture of the chapel.<sup>57</sup> In the central section, beneath a silver canopy, is the wooden Gothic image of the Virgin, seated, articulated and dressed, with the Christ Child seated in her lap. He is also dressed, articulated and wearing a crown. The base, supported by cherubim, includes a medallion with the bust of Saint Joseph and the Christ Child. To the left and right there are two niches with the images of Saint Joachim and Saint Anne, topped by medallions showing the effigies of Saint Justa and Saint Rufina, the patron saints of Seville. Finally, pairs of angels and symbols of the litanies are distributed along the sides of the altarpiece. The painting in Florence has some value as a document, as it shows the appearance of the altar in the second half of the seventeenth century or early part of the eighteenth century, when it was probably created. It is also of interest as it contains information about one of the many lavish garments used for the image<sup>58</sup> and the wedding crown of Beatrice of Swabia, probably donated by King Fernando III in the 13<sup>th</sup> century due to his devotion to this Virgin. This crown was unfortunately stolen in 1873 and is now only known from a photograph by Jean Laurent from 1872. However, the author took a great deal of license in representing this jewel, mainly evoking its shape and precious stones, its most eye-catching aspects.<sup>59</sup>

This same topic is depicted in at least two engravings<sup>60</sup> and numerous paintings,<sup>61</sup> proof of the popularity of the sculpture and how extensively it was worshipped: one of them was painted by Estebán Márquez de Velasco for King Carlos II in 1691.<sup>62</sup> Some of them are very similar to the painting in Florence, such as the anonymous oil painting in the Museo de Bellas Artes of Seville (inv. CE0812P) or the painting by Francisco Meneses Osorio, from 1696, in the Museo Nacional de Escultura of Valladolid (inv. CE0914). The image was concealed during certain types of celebrations, using wooden doors. This may explain the presence of the curtains that are pulled back in the painting in Florence, although it seems more likely that the drapes were an artistic invention, together with the vases of flowers, to create a divine *trompe l'oeil*. I am referring to a type of religious depiction that shows images of devotion - generally sculptures - in the way they are worshipped on their altars, accompanied by the furniture in which they are exhibited, their attributes and accessories<sup>63</sup>. The painting includes other freely-interpreted elements, such as the metal canopy, simulating a Baroque piece, when it is actually Gothic and decorated with castles and lions.<sup>64</sup> Also, the painting of the attic, showing God the Father in Glory, seems to have never actually existed. Further it is not possible to recognize the antependium depicted on the altar. Like the painting from Valladolid, the Florentine canvas bears the inscription "CONCEBIDA SIN PECADO" ("CONCEIVED WITHOUT SIN") on the canopy of a second, smaller red curtain with lace trimmings, which is gathered behind the columns.

The unresolved question here is whether Cosimo obtained the painting during his stay in Seville, or if it was sent to him at a later stage. In any event, this canvas is not the only example, as there are records of the delivery of another Spanish canvas of the Virgin Mary to Florence in 1687, which ended up in the Spanish Franciscan monastery of the Villa Ambrogiana.<sup>65</sup> I am convinced that there are many more works yet to be discovered and documented, which could provide further evidence of the dedication to Spanish devotional images by Cosimo III, one of the longest living Grand Dukes of Florence.

+ + +

Altogether, only a small number of paintings have been identified as being connected with the Spanish leg of the Prince's journey. They do not stand out for their aesthetic qualities, but instead as graphic documents. The portraits of the monarchs are important, because they bear witness to a complicated time of the House of Austria, with a widowed Queen, who was facing a growing number of difficulties in the government of the country, and a child King who wears the uniform of a newly-created guard that was specifically intended to protect his personal safety. The painting from Seville is relevant, as it suggests that the Prince was devoted to certain Spanish sanctuaries, especially those dedicated to the Virgin Mary. All of them confirm the fact that Cosimo was involved in acquiring paintings for the Medici collections from an early date. From the information on numerous acquisitions provided by the documents from the journey, it is likely that there could still be many more Spanish paintings – especially Spanish religious paintings – that have not been identified in Florentine institutions.

After becoming Grand Duke, Cosimo continued the family tradition of being a great collector, patron, and doyen of good taste and promoted architecture, sculpture, painting, the fine arts, and the weaving of tapestries. However, he seems to be disinterested in Spanish master painters in general, and Velázquez in particular – a lacuna in Florentine museums today – although he did acquire two works which are considered as Velázquez's self-portraits for the series of artists' portraits that now hang in the Galleria degli Uffizi. I hope that future research carried out into the documentation, the Medici collections, and the churches of Tuscany, will lead to a more complete understanding of Spanish art acquired by Cosimo III.

---

<sup>1</sup> Professor of History of Art at the University of Santiago de Compostela.

<sup>2</sup> For the biography of the Prince in the years prior to the journey, see Franck Lafage, *Côme III de Médicis Grand-Duc de Toscane. Un règne dans l'ombre de l'Histoire (1670-1723)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2015), 27-51.

On his personality and concerns also see Riguccio Galluzzi, *Storia del Granducato di Toscana* (Florence: 1781) 8 (Florence: Leonardo Marchini, 1822), 3-68; George Frederick Young, *The Medici* (London: 1909) 2 (London: Murray, 1911), 450-7; Harold M. M. Acton, *The Last Medici* (London: 1932) (London: Methuen, 1958), 25-108; Christopher Hibbert, *The rise and fall of the house of Medici* (London: Lane, 1974) 287-93; Elena Fasano Guarini, *Cosimo III de Medici*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 30 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1984), 54-5; Marcello Vannucci, *I Medici. Una famiglia al potere* (Rome: Newton Compton, 1987), 392-5. On the details of his education, see the hand-written biography of Fra' Domenico Maria Sandrini, *Della vita di Cosimo 3° Gran Duca di Toscana*, ms. by 1723-1725, now in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze (hereinafter ASF), Miscellanea Medicea (hereinafter MM) 458, ins. 11, ff. 2r-13r. On the scientific environment surrounding his education, see Paolo Galluzzi, ed., *Scienziati a Corte. L'arte della sperimentazione nell'Accademia Galileiana del Cimento (1657-1667)* (Florence: Sillabe, 2001). On the Prince's artistic interests during the years of the journey, see Marco Chiarini, "Il Granduca Cosimo III dei Medici e il suo contributo alle collezioni fiorentine", in *Gli Uffizi. Quattro secoli di una galleria*, ed. Paola Barocchi et al. 1 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1983), 319-29.

<sup>3</sup> On the journey through Spain, see Ángel Sánchez Rivero, and Angela Mariutti, "An introductory study", in Lorenzo Magalotti, *Viaje de Cosme de Médicis por España y Portugal (1668-1669)*, ed. Ángel Sánchez Rivero et al. (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1933); Paolo Caucci von Saucken, "Introducción", in *El viaje del Príncipe Cosimo dei Medici por España y Portugal*, ed. Jacopo Aldighiero Caucci von Saucken (Santiago: Xunta de Galicia, 2004), 17-48, the introduction, with notes, is republished in Paolo Caucci von Saucken, "Un principe toscano nell'autunno del Granducato", in *Santiago e I Cammini della Memoria*, ed. Paolo Caucci von Saucken (Pomigliano d'Arco: Edizioni compostellane, 2006), 102-23; Xosé A. Neira Cruz, ed., *El viaje a Compostela de Cosme III de Médicis* (Santiago: Consellería de Cultura, Comunicación Social e Turismo, 2004).

<sup>4</sup> Lorenzo Magalotti, *Relazione Ufficiale del Viaggio di Cosimo III de' Medici*, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Mediceo Palatino, Cod. 123, 1. The draft of the text, written by Magalotti himself, is kept at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (hereinafter BNCF, Conv. Soppr., G, IX, 1863), as well as a copy of the final *Relazione* in folio format (BNCF, Ms. II, III, 431).

<sup>5</sup> The full text of the journey through Spain and its illustrations have been published by Sánchez Rivero and Mariutti, *Viaje de Cosme de Médicis* and by Caucci von Saucken, *El viaje del Príncipe Cosimo dei Medici*. On Magalotti see Cesare Preti and Luigi Matt, *Magalotti, Lorenzo*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 67 (Rome, 2006), 300-5. On Baldi, see Renzo Chiarelli, *Baldi, Pier Maria*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 5 (Rome, 1960), 470-1.

<sup>6</sup> Filippo Corsini, *Memorie del viaggio fatto in Spagna, Portogallo, Inghilterra, Olanda e Francia dal Serenissimo Principe Cosimo di Toscana*, private library of the current Prince Corsini, to whom I am grateful for having allowed me to consult it in 2013. On the author, see Luigi Passerini, *Genealogia e storia della famiglia Corsini* (Florence: Cellini, 1858), 155-6; Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, *Filippo Corsini*, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner 7 (New York: Grove, 1996), 896-7. On his patronage of the arts in Florence see Stella Rudolph, "Mecenati a Firenze tra Sei e Settecento, I. I committenti privati", *Arte Illustrata* 5 (1972): 230-2.

<sup>7</sup> Giovan Battista Gornia, *Viaggio fatto dal Serenissimo Principe Cosimo Terzo di Toscana per la Spagna, Inghilterra, Francia et altri luoghi negl'anni 1668 e 1669*, British Library, ADD Ms. 16504.

<sup>8</sup> Jacopo Ciuti, *Relazione del secondo viaggio del Serenissimo Principe Cosimo di Toscana per le Spagne, Inghilterra, Irlanda, suo ritorno in Olanda, e passaggio in Francia*, Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Rari, K 975 r, fols. 40r.-85v.

<sup>9</sup> Felice Monsacchi, *Viaggio di Spagna, d'Inghilterra e di Francia fatto dal Serenissimo Signore Principe Cosimo di Toscana*, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center of the University of Texas, Ranuzzi Family Manuscripts, vol. Ph 12742, folder 6, fols. 97r.-115r.

<sup>10</sup> Filippo Marchetti, *Libro dell'entrata e uscita del viaggio di Spagna et altre corone che è per fare il Serenissimo Principe Padrone questo presente anno 1668, tenuto da me Filippo Marchetti, suo Maestro di Casa in detto viaggio*, ASF, Acquisti e Doni, 82, ins. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Miguel Taín Guzmán, “De España a Florencia. Obras de arte y artículos de lujo adquiridos por Cosimo III de’ Medici durante su viaje hispánico”, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* LVI (2014): 193-213; Id., “Cultura española en Palacio Pitti: libros de arte, antigüedades, medallas y otros temas adquiridos por Cosimo III de Medici durante su viaje hispánico”, *Studi secenteschi* 56 (2015): 225-62; Id., “Imágenes y objetos devocionales adquiridos en Santiago de Compostela y otros santuarios de España por el príncipe Cosimo III de Medici”, in *Topografías culturales del Camino de Santiago / Kulturelle Topographien des Jakobsweges*, ed. Javier Gómez-Montero (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag, 2016), 235-51.

<sup>12</sup> According to Sandrini (*Della vita di Cosimo 3°*, f. 4r), the Prince had a special relationship with his uncle, with whom he would discuss princely or academic topics (“*trattava seco spessissimo ma sempre di cose o principesche o studiose*”).

<sup>13</sup> ASF, Mediceo del Principato (hereinafter MdP), 5499, f. 327rv; this letter was published by Paola Barocchi and Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà, *Collezionismo mediceo e storia artistica* (Florence: SPES, 2011), vol 4.1, 71-2.

<sup>14</sup> Gornia, *Viaggio*, f. 34v.

<sup>15</sup> “*Madrid, li 15 de novembre 1668. Eminentissimo, Reverendissimo, Serenissimo mio zio Osservandissimo. Mantenendo la promessa a Vostra Eminenza di darli un breve ragualio delle pitture che ho visto nel Palazzo Escuri[a]le, le dirò in primo luogo che nel Palazzo ci è una grande quantità di quadri ma non ci sono grande istorie, eccetto una di Pavolo, che molto buona. Moltissimi ritratti di Tiziano, del Rubens, poi ce ne di tutte le grandezze, ma si puole dire con Marziale “Sunt bona, sunt quedam mediocria, sunt mala plura”. Nel Escuriale poi ci è una grandissima quantità di bellissimi quadri et quasi per la maggiore parte istorie: di Pavolo molti, del Tintoretto molti, di Raffaello molti, di Tiziano moltissimi, et fra le altre tre grande istorie che sono senza paragone le più belle et le meglio che li habia fatto, ecetuato il San Pietro Martire di Venezia. Questi sono: il martirio di San Lorenzo dove sono molte figure al naturale; un Paradiso dove si vedono tutti li Patriarchi et molti Santi et la Madona, et non si puole vedere cosa più bella. Il terzo è una Cena dove c’è Cristo con li 12 Apostoli, maggiori del naturale, con un ministro che serve, intero, et due altri che a uno se li vede la mano el piede et al altro un braccio solo, havendo tagliato il resto, che sono quasi due figure intere. Ho senta che barbaria: per potere mettere questa nobilissima gioia in un puzolentissimo refettorio di frati, acciò entrassi fra due finestre in testa al refettorio, cose che non si farebbono in Turchia. Mentre finendo questa maltenuta relazione, assicuro Vostra Eminenza del desiderio che tengo di servirla e di cuore le bacio le mani. Di Vostra Eminenza, affezionatissimo nipote il Principe di Toscana*”; ASF, MdP 5499, f. 327rv.

<sup>16</sup> Corsini, *Memorie del viaggio*, f. 91rv and Monsacchi, *Viaggio di Spagna*, ff. 101v and 112r.

<sup>17</sup> Corsini, *Memorie del viaggio*, f. 91r.

<sup>18</sup> “*L’altro braccio del cortile viene occupato da tre gran sale in cui sono dipinte diverse battaglie*” (Corsini, *Memorie del viaggio*, f. 64r); “*Questi ancora si vedono sopra gl’arazzi in una sala delle maggiori ove sono rappresentate le maggiori imprese fatte da i re con l’imagine de i loro capitani*” (Gornia, *Viaggio*, f. 22v).

<sup>19</sup> “*Le sale, alcune, sono adornate d’arazzi, altre di pitture de più celebri pittori di Spagna, e fra queste degna è di considerazione quella in cui si vedono rappresentate in gran quadri le azioni più illustri del Duca di Feria*” (Magalotti, *Relazione Ufficiale*, 47). He is referring to “The Relief of Constance” and “The Capture of Rheinfeldten” by Vincenzo Carducci, and “The Relief of Brisach” by Jusepe Leonardo, both painters of Italian origin. These three paintings are currently in the Museo del Prado; cf. Jonathan Brown and John H. Elliot, *Un Palacio para el Rey: el Buen Retiro y la corte de Felipe IV* (Madrid: Taurus, 2003), 170-202. On the topic see Miguel Taín Guzmán, “The Buen Retiro Palace and its Italian and Florentine works of art in the diaries of the journey to Spain of prince Cosimo III of Medici”, *Studi di Storia dell’Arte* 26 (2015): 189-91.

<sup>20</sup> “*Vi è la Sala Dorata che è in sustanza una galleria con volta di legno a cassette, intagliata e dorata... Quivi, dalla parte opposta alle finestre, è la serie dei ritratti di re e regine di Castiglia*”; Magalotti, *Relazione Ufficiale*, 51.

<sup>21</sup> “*Di qui s’entrò in una camera d’audienza parata di richissimi arazzi d’oro rappresentanti i sette peccati mortali all’usanza di quelli d’Inghilterra; nello spazio che è tra questi e la soffitta, che è tutta dorata, vi è La Genealogia de Re di Spagna in ritratti interi fatti da un pittore spagnuolo da loro assai stimato. Di qui... s’entrò nella Sala che chiamano delle Commedie... Questa era parata con 13 pezzi d’arazzi con oro, assai alti, dentro de quali si vedevono l’imprese di Carlo Quinto fatte in Affrica... La soffitta, che è tutta riccicata,*

intagliata e dorata, ha la forma di una pianera a rovescio. Vi è da tre parti attaccato ad essa un ballatoio che la ricorre. E dall'altra i ritratti della Casa d'Austria" (Corsini, *Memorie del viaggio*, f. 83rv); "La Genealogia de i Re di Spagna, di un pittore celebre spagnolo, con tutti i ritratti intieri, che si estendono nella Sala Dorata sino a Filippo 4, padre del re Carolo vivente... La Sala delle Commedie, tutta dorata, con i ritratti de i re" (Gornia, *Viaggio*, f. 29v). These works were painted by Antonio Arias, Francisco Camilo, Alonso Cano, Félix Castelo, Francisco Fernández, Jusepe Leonardo, Pedro Núñez del Valle, Diego Polo, and Francisco Rizi between 1639 and 1641, based on a model created by Vincenzo Carducci. Regrettably, most of them were destroyed in the fire of 1734; cf. Steven N. Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 125-35; Fernando Checa, "El Salón Dorado o de Comedias", in *El Real Alcázar de Madrid. Dos siglos de arquitectura y coleccionismo en la corte de los Reyes de España*, ed. Fernando Checa (Madrid: Nerea, 1994), 395-8; Ángel Aterido Fernández, "Alonso Cano y «la alcoba de su majestad»: la serie regia del Alcázar de Madrid", *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 38 (2002), 9-36.

Gloria Martínez Leiva and Ángel Rodríguez Rebollo, *El Inventario del Alcázar de Madrid de 1666. Felipe IV y su colección artística* (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2016), 44-9.

<sup>22</sup> "Le Forze d'Ercole, d'uno spagnolo pittore famosissimo"; Gornia, *Viaggio*, f. 29r.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar*, 156 and 168; Martínez Leiva and Rodríguez Rebollo, *El Inventario del Alcázar*, 56, 101-2, 562-4, and 731-43.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Brown and Elliot, *Un Palacio para el Rey*, 163-70.

<sup>25</sup> This role of Falconieri and Baldi as artistic trainers is mentioned in a letter by the Prince to his uncle: "Madrid li 10 di novembre 1668. Eminentissimo, Reverendissimo, Serenissimo mio zio Osservandissimo... Domani vo a vedere il Palazzo [the Royal Alcázar Palace], dove vedro moltissimi quadri de piu squisiti maestri che siono stati. Et secondo il parere del Falconiere e del Baldi ne manderò un pocho di relazione"; ASF, MdP 5499, f. 326r.

<sup>26</sup> A person responsible for the custody of the royal wardrobe and clothing in general.

<sup>27</sup> "E a di detto, scudi quindici di più agl'altri, al Guardaroba di detto Palazzo che ha donato un ritratto della Regina"; Marchetti, *Libro*, f. 22v.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Alfonso Rodríguez de Ceballos, "Retrato de Estado y propaganda política: Carlos II (en el tercer centenario de su muerte)", *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte UAM* 12 (2000): 94-5; Álvaro Pascual Chenel, *El retrato de estado durante el reinado de Carlos II. Imagen y propaganda* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2010), 31-43, 456-9.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Rodríguez de Ceballos, "Retrato de Estado", 98; Pascual Chenel, *El retrato de estado*, 45-6 and 460-1; Abraham Díaz García, "Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo (1619-1671): obra pictórica", *Cuadernos de arte e iconografía* 19 (2010), 90 and 222.

<sup>30</sup> Cosimo saw these cushions and platform on his visit to the Queen's rooms in the Buen Retiro Palace; see Magalotti, *Relazione Ufficiale*, 48.

<sup>31</sup> Information from the Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici, Paesaggistici, Storici, Artistici ed Etnoantropologici per le Province di Firenze, Pistoia e Prato, Archivio Catalogo Beni Storici Artistici, File on the painting.

<sup>32</sup> "Un quadro in tela, alto braccia 1 ¼, largo braccia 1, dipintovi il ritratto del Re di Spagna regnante, de mano ordinaria" and "un quadro di tela, simile al sudetto, dipintovi il ritratto della Regina madre di Spagna, vestita da monaca, con abito bianco e velo nero"; ASF, Guardaroba Mediceo (GM), 826, f. 87r; document published by Miriam Fileti Mazza, *Eredità del cardinale Leopoldo de' Medici: 1675-1676* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1997), 169 and by Barocchi and Gaeta Bertelà, *Collezionismo mediceo*, vol. 2, 686.

<sup>33</sup> ASF, GM, 870, f. 30v.

<sup>34</sup> ASF, GM, APP, 83, f. 21v.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Rodríguez de Ceballos, “Retrato de Estado”, 97-8.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño, “La Chamberga: el regimiento de la guardia del rey y la salvaguarda de la majestad (1668-1677)”, in *Carlos II y el arte de su tiempo*, ed. Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2013), 21-103.

<sup>37</sup> According to Alistair Malcolm, both by Herrera Barnuevo; cf. Alistair Malcolm, “Arte, diplomacia y política de la corte durante las embajadas del conde de Sandwich a Madrid y Lisboa (1666-1668)”, in *Arte y diplomacia de la monarquía hispánica en el siglo XVII*, ed. José Luis Colomer (Madrid: Villaverde Ed., 2003), 169.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Rodríguez de Ceballos, “Retrato de Estado”, 97-8; José Luis Sancho and José Luis Souto, “El arte regio y la imagen del soberano”, in *Carlos II. El rey y su entorno cortesano*, ed. Luis Ribot (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2009), 169-70; Pascual Chenel, *El retrato de estado*, 55, 59-62, 333-43, 348-9 and 460-1; Díaz García, “Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo”, 90-3, 220-2 and 227-9; Víctor Mínguez, *La invención de Carlos II: apoteosis simbólica de la casa de Austria* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2013), 70-2.

<sup>39</sup> ASF, GM, 904, ff. 222v and 250r.

<sup>40</sup> ASF, GM, 992, f. 91r.

<sup>41</sup> ASF, Imperiale e Reale Corte (hereinafter IRC), 4682, f. 362r.

<sup>42</sup> A document certifies its arrival in the Uffizi on 13 November 1723, namely just a few days after Cosimo’s death; ASF, GM, 1292, f. 113v. A catalogue of the collection from 1784 indicates that in this year, it formed a part of the group of portraits of the Spanish royal family, in the “series of portraits of sovereigns, illustrious captains and other great men”; cf. Miriam Fileti Mazza and Bruna M. Tomasello, eds., *Catalogo delle pitture della Regia Galleria compilato da Giuseppe Bencivenni già Pelli. Gli Uffizi alla fine del Settecento* (Florence: SPES, 2004), 64.

<sup>43</sup> According to Pascual Chenel (*El retrato de estado*, 268-70 and 560-7), the painting would have been a copy of another painted by Carreño de Miranda in 1679, when the King was eighteen years old, which was sent to France when talks were underway to arrange his marriage with Marie Louise of Orléans. The original has been lost, although several copies remain, including the one from the Uffizi.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Luciano Berti, ed., *Gli Uffizi: catalogo generale* (Florence: 1979), (Florence: Centro Di, 1980), 617 and 725.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Sandrini, *Della vita di Cosimo 3°*, ff. 7v-8r.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Marcello Fantoni, “Il bigottismo di Cosimo III: da legenda storiografica ad oggetto storico”, in *La Toscana nell’età di Cosimo III*, ed. Franco Angiolini et al. (Florence: Edifir, 1993), 389-402.

<sup>47</sup> ASF, GM, 959, *Inventario di robe esistenti nella Guardaroba di Camera del Serenissimo Gran Duca, 12 luglio 1690*, ff. 76v-78v. On these objects, see Taín Guzmán, “Imágenes y objetos devocionales”, 235-51. When Cosimo made a pilgrimage to La Verna in 1666 and visited the monastery of Camaldoli, he bought several rosaries to the monks “which he gave as devotional presents in Florence later” as he would have done again with the devotional objects from Spain; cf. Sandrini, *Della vita di Cosimo 3°*, f. 12 bis rv.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Fiorenza Vannel and Giuseppe Toderi, *Medaglie italiane del Museo Nazionale del Bargello*, 4 vols (Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2003–07), vol. 2, Secolo XVII (2005).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Nicodemo Delli, *Il convento del Granduca Cosimo III all’Ambrogiana* (Florence: Pagnini, 1998).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Sandrini, *Della vita di Cosimo 3°*, f. 6r.

<sup>51</sup> ASF, GM, 742, f. 20r. Unfortunately, the lamp was lost during the War of Independence; cf. Josep Galobart i Soler, “Cosme III de Mèdici i Montserrat”, *Montserrat, Butlletí del Santuari* (1996): 41-7.

<sup>52</sup> “*Si vidde una cappella appartata dove è una Madonna miracolosa, la quale dicono che al quanti giorni avanti che fussero scacciati i mori di Siviglia, apparisse al Re don Fernando, il di cui sepolcro, con quello d’Alfonso Sesto e della sua moglie, quivi si vedono*”; Corsini, *Memorie del viaggio*, f. 177rv.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Teresa Laguna Paúl, “Devociones reales e imagen pública en Sevilla”, *Anales de Historia del Arte* 23 (2013), 127-57.

<sup>54</sup> “*Una [chapel] ve n’è, che torna per appunto dietro all’altar maggiore, dove si venera un’immagine di rilievo della Vergine, quale è tradizione che, dopo l’ultima sconfitta dei mori di Siviglia, apparisse al re Ferdinando il Santo, il di cui corpo incorrotto riposa con quello della Regina, sua consorte, in una grand’urna coperta d’un*

panno rosso con diverse corone sopra guanciali simile a pie dell'altare. Tutta questa cappella è parimente di pietra ma di architettura moderna con grandissimi ornamenti di bassi rilievi"; Magalotti, *Relazione Ufficiale*, 95.

<sup>55</sup> "Un detto [picture] simile, alto braccia 1, largo braccia  $\frac{3}{4}$ , dipintovi la SSma. Vergine con Gesù bambino in collo, ambi due con corona in capo sotto un tabernacolo con candelabri dalle parte, e diversi angioli e dalle parti e sopra; e per d'avanti un altare con quattro candeglieri e due santi dalle parti in una nicchia; e, sopradetto tabernacolo, il Padre Eterno fra de nuvole in mezzo a diversi angioli, con mondo nelle mani, con iscrizione sotto 'Concebida sin pecado;' tutto il sudetto in mezzo a due colonne con rabeschi d'oro, et arco sopra, e due vasi con diversi fiori dalle parti; con adornamento scornicimento(?) liscio, con rapporti su le cantonate intagliati e il tutto dorato; segnato di numero 11862"; ASF, IRC, 4675, ff. 247v-248r: the chapel is indicated as "a chapel to the right hand of this chamber, with a circular window that looks out towards the church of Saint Felicity" ("*cappella a mano manca alla sudetta camera con occhio che guarda verso S. Felicita.*") The painting is also in the inventories of 1771 and 1791; ASF, IRC, 4678, f. 682v and 4682, f. 18v.)

<sup>56</sup> It was restored in 1959; Archivio di Pietre Dure of Florence, file 2758.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Fátima Falcón, Francisco Herrera and Álvaro Recio, *El retablo sevillano. Desde sus orígenes a la actualidad* (Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla, 2009), 200.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Juan Carlos Martínez Amores, "El atuendo de la Virgen de los Reyes, su evolución a través de la estampa (siglos XVII-XIX)", *Boletín de las cofradías de Sevilla* 498 (2000): 48-51.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Teresa Laguna Paúl, "El robo de la corona de la águilas y las coronas del siglo XIX de la Virgen de los Reyes", *Laboratorio del Arte* 27 (2015): 345-61. I am grateful to the authoress of the cited article for supervising the analysis of the painting presented here.

<sup>60</sup> One was made by Matías Arteaga, and illustrates the book *Fiestas de la S. Iglesia Metropolitana y Patriarcal de Sevilla, al nuevo culto del señor rey S. Fernando el Tercero de Castilla y de León* (Sevilla: En Casa de la Vidua de Nicolàs Rodriguez, 1671) by Fernando de la Torre Farfán. One copy of the other is included in the manuscript *Religiosas estaciones que frecuenta la religiosidad sevillana* by Abbot Alonso Sánchez Gordillo (c. 1635), now in the Colombina Library of Seville. There is a recent edition by Jorge Bernal Ballesteros (Sevilla: Patronato Ricardo Cantu Leal del Consejo General de Hermandades, 1982).

<sup>61</sup> For some examples see Ana Aranda Bernal and Fernando Quiles García, "La Virgen de los Reyes", in *La Virgen de los Reyes de Sevilla. Cien años de su coronación* (Sevilla: Guadalquivir, 2004), 23-8.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*, 28.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, "Tramantojos a lo divino", in *Lecturas de Historia del Arte* 3 (Vitoria: Ephialte, 1992) 139-55.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Teresa Laguna Paúl, "Mobiliario medieval de la Capilla de los Reyes de la Catedral de Sevilla. Aportaciones a los 'Ornamenta ecclesiae' de su etapa fundacional", *Laboratorio del Arte* 25 (2013): 69-70.

<sup>65</sup> "Receví la cariñosa carta de Vuestra Caridad llena de afectos muy devotos a Nuestra Señora, la gran Madre de Dios, para encenderme a amarla y servirla aún en la santa imagen de la gloriosa Virgen del Ovillo (?), que se ha de colocar en el convento de la Ambrosiana, donde en verdad aquellos buenos religiosos sabrán rendirle major, que no yo, la devida veneración..."; ASF, MM, 366, f. 54r: letter by Cosimo III in Florence, dated 6 May 1687 to Fray José de Canales in Madrid.