

Portraits by Feliciano de Almeida (1635-1694) in Cosimo III de' Medici's Gallery

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Abstract

In early January 1669, prince Cosimo de' Medici (1642-1723, Grand Duke of Tuscany 1670-1723) crossed the Portuguese border, with an entourage of more than forty companions. During his short visit to Portugal (from 9 January to 1 March), he established contacts with the high nobles of the Portuguese court and familiarized himself with the political and economic history of Portugal, recently liberated from the Spanish Crown. In the aftermath of this visit, he commissioned fifteen portraits of the generals of the War of Restoration (1640-1668). The present paper will focus on the commissioning of these works, analysing the mediators of this process and the historical and artistic context of the Portuguese 17th century.¹

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The painter Feliciano de Almeida (1635-1694)

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To the memory of Prof. Marieta Dá Mesquita (1955-2011), whom I did not know, but whose work I admire

The visit to Portugal: a brief review of the literature

[1] Since the work of Ángel Sánchez Rivero, various studies have been published on the fascinating journey of Cosimo de' Medici to the Iberian Peninsula, Ireland, England, Holland, Flanders and France, undertaken between 1668 and 1669.² As far as Portugal is concerned, one should mention the pioneering work by António de Portugal de Faria.³ This publication was followed by other texts, based on analyses of greater or lesser depth depending on their aims. Some authors focused on the description of the Portuguese cities visited during this journey (such as Santarém, Coimbra or Tomar) in order to better illustrate the country's history.⁴ Others centred their attention on the figure of the latter Grand Duke of Tuscany (r. 1670-1723), giving special prominence to the network of personal contacts he had established, which included the Jesuit Father António Vieira and the writers Dom Francisco Manuel de Melo, Dom Rafael Bluteau and Dom Luís de Meneses (the Conde de Ericeira), to name but a few.⁵ More recently, two studies have focused on the historical context of this journey during the Restoration period, thereby providing new research clues.⁶

² Ángel Sánchez Rivero and Angela Mariutti de Sánchez Rivero (eds.), *Viaje de Cosme de Médicis por España y Portugal* (1668-1669), Madrid 1930.

³ António de Portugal de Faria (ed.), *Portugal e Itália: litteratos portugueses na Italia ou collecção de subsídios para se escrever a Historia Litteraria de Portugal*, Livorno 1905.

⁴ A. G. da Rocha Madahil, "Viagem de Cosme de Médicis a Lisboa, em 1669", in: *Revista Municipal* 3 (1942), n. 11/12, 55-66; n. 13/14, 45-58; n. 16, 43-53; José H. Barata, "Cosme de Médicis e o Ribatejo", in: *Biblos. Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Coimbra* 22 (1947), part 1, 1-16; João Miguel dos Santos Simões, "Tomar e Cosme de Médicis", in: *Museu Nacional do Azulejo, Arquivo Histórico Santos Simões* 79 (1943); and Raquel Magalhães, *Viagem de Cosme de Medicis a Coimbra no século XVII*, Coimbra 2008.

⁵ Aníbal Pinto de Castro, "O Padre António Vieira e Cosme III de Médicis", in: *Revista de História Literária de Portugal* 1 (1962), 158-190; Aníbal Pinto de Castro, "Correspondentes portugueses de Cosme III de Médicis - nótula sobre a actividade literária de Seiscentos em Portugal", in: *Revista de História Literária de Portugal* (1965), 231-287.

The aims of the visit to Portugal

[2] Initial studies suggested that the Florentine prince's journey had been mainly motivated by the longstanding conflict with his wife, Margarite Louise d'Orléans (1645-1721). However, a more recent study by Xosé Neira Cruz has listed various causes and the unhappy marriage is mentioned only at the very end: "an opportunity for an inexperienced youngster to grow up, a lesson for a monarch-to-be, a pilgrimage for the devout believer [...] and an escape for a husband who had fallen out with his wife."⁷ This historiographical reassessment was based on the premise that a complete scientific and geographical education had been fundamental for efficient government in seventeenth-century Europe.⁸

[3] In 2003, Carmen M. Radulet used this new contextual approach in her study of the visit, arguing that it had also been driven by political and diplomatic motives. Accordingly, she explained that in the second half of the seventeenth century Florence witnessed political and economic crises, and it:

"is therefore understandable that the prince and his closest and most qualified collaborators always tried to undertake a discreet but effective evaluation of the Portuguese kingdom regarding its ability to confront and defeat the Spanish power."⁹

For Portugal this defeat of the Spanish meant twenty-eight years of fighting and sacrifice, which only abated after 1661, following the marriage between Catarina de Bragança and Charles II of England. This diplomatic victory of the Portuguese crown resulted in new supplies of troops and arms, as well as a convergence towards European cultural models and, as a consequence, a greater political distance from neighbouring Spain.¹⁰

⁶ Carmen M. Radulet, "Cosimo III Medici and the Portuguese Restoration: A Voyage to Portugal in 1668-1669", in: *E-Journal of Portuguese History* 1 (2003), n. 2; Vítor Serrão, "Portugal y las artes de la guerra", in: *El viaje a Compostela de Cosme III de Médicis*, ed. Marcelina Calvo Domínguez, exh. cat., Santiago de Compostela 2004, 540-551, and Paolo Caucci von Saucken, *El viaje del Príncipe Cosimo Dei Medici por España y Portugal*, Santiago de Compostela 2004.

⁷ Xosé A. Neira Cruz, "Las razones de una exposición", in: *El viaje a Compostela de Cosme III de Médicis*, ed. Marcelina Calvo Domínguez, exh. cat., Santiago de Compostela, 2004, 33-35, 33: "maduración para el hombre joven e inexperto, lección para el monarca en formación, peregrinación para el devoto [...] e huida para el marido desavenido con la esposa [...]". It should be noted that von Saucken shares Sánchez Rivero's conviction that the matrimonial conflict had been one of the main reasons for the above-mentioned journey.

⁸ Elisa Bianchi (ed.), *Geografie private. I resoconti di viaggio come lettura del territorio*, Milan 1985.

⁹ Radulet, "Cosimo III Medici and the Portuguese Restoration", 4-5.

[4] It should be recalled that in 1669 Portugal was undergoing a political recovery, strengthening its economic, social and diplomatic relations both with the Holy See and Spain. For instance, in 1668 a treaty of peace was signed and in 1669 the Spanish ambassador Charles de Watteville made his public entrance in Lisbon, as described in the diaries of Lorenzo Magalotti, the Florentine diplomat escorting Cosimo on his tour. It is therefore natural that Cosimo would follow with interest the changes occurring in the recently appeased Portugal as well as study the experience the country had gained during the military conflict. Carmen Radulet reaffirmed this idea quoting from the diary of Filippo Corsini, Cosimo's cupbearer:

„His Highness prince Cosimo III of Tuscany considering important to whom stands [sic] the duty and weight of ruling those subjected to him, to learn the rituals of various nations, to know the quality of different nations and to observe the politics of the great rulers, not contenting himself with having - the previous year - visited a great part of Germanium and having seen The Court of the Great Electors of Mainz and Saxony, many of the free cities including Hamburg, a great part of Holland, some bits of Flanders, decided near the end of 1668 to undertake a greater and longer voyage to strengthen relations with the greatest European powers and to visit those subjected to them, maintaining himself perfectly informed in matters of power and quality.”¹¹

[5] In 2004, Vítor Serrão further developed the idea that the prince was interested in assessing Portuguese military power. In doing so, Serrão identified the soldiers and engineers participating in the Restoration War, the locations of battles (mainly the ones fought in Alentejo, notably at Montes Claros and Ameixial), the forts built and the arsenals used. When taking stock of Cosimo's visit to Portugal, he concluded that one of its greatest benefits had consisted in "determining the extent of the Portuguese knowledge of fortification and military architecture, which had made it possible for this isolated country, subject to an international embargo, to successfully resist a more powerful opponent."¹²

[6] Therefore, the analysis of the collection of texts by Lorenzo Magalotti, Filippo Corsini and Giovanni Battista Gornia, Cosimo's personal physician,

¹⁰ Susana Varela Flor, *Aurum Reginae or Queen Gold - Retratos de D. Catarina de Bragança*, Lisbon 2012; Susana Varela Flor, "Que las riquezas del mundo parecian estar ali cifradas: Catherine of Braganza's Wedding Festivities in the Context of the Portuguese Restoration (1661-1662)", in: *Archivo Español del Arte* 350 (2015), 141-156.

¹¹ Radulet, "Cosimo III Medici and the Portuguese Restoration", 4.

¹² Serrão, "Portugal y las Artes de la Guerra", 550: "determinar el grado de conocimiento adquirido por los portugueses sobre la arquitectura militar y de fortificación, que habái permitido a un reino aislado y sometido a un bloqueo internacional resistir com tanto êxito ant un adversio poderoso".

indicates that the Florentine prince's interest in the Portuguese War of Restoration was such that he held various meetings with some of the leading soldiers and engineers of that time, for example the Italian Antoniaci and the Portuguese Luís Serrão Pimentel.¹³ In all of these long conversations, held in different locations (such as the Igreja de São Roque, the Colégio de Santo Antão-o-Novo or a palace situated in Rua das Janelas Verdes, where he took up residence in Lisbon), Cosimo exchanged information and received topographical maps. In the early 1670s, after his return to Italy, and with a view to immortalizing the men fighting for Portuguese independence, he commissioned fifteen oil paintings depicting some of the generals and captains of the War of Restoration.

[7] A careful analysis of the information provided by different members of the royal entourage suggests that, in addition to his interest in the Portuguese military capabilities, Cosimo III de' Medici's journey was motivated by several other factors.

[8] The first of these factors related to the prince's interest in the Portuguese empire, and especially India and all its wealth. The second factor concerned Portuguese art; painting, ceramics, and in particular royal iconography. His interest in the Portuguese empire motivated the prince's journey to Spain, where he collected information on Western India. According to Miguel Taín Guzmán, this interest was intrinsically related to the prince's passion for geography and history, especially of remote countries. Evidence of this interest is corroborated by the fact that the prince purchased in Amsterdam a number of books on seamanship, voyages, India, the Levant and China.¹⁴ Some of these books were purchased in 1667, which is suggestive of the prince's careful preparation for his journey to the Iberian Peninsula. Similar to events in his journey to Spain, Cosimo collected information in Portugal about Africa (on the 22nd of January he met with three Capuchin friars who had worked as missionaries in Congo), India (on the 24th of January he met with a Jesuit priest, Lobo, known for his expert knowledge on the Indian territory), Angola and Brazil (on the 12th of February he met with a former governor, Salvador Correia de Sá).¹⁵ Of equal significance is the fact that the King Regent of Portugal, Dom Pedro, offered him a number of exotic items, such as Persian carpets and a chest made of pearls which included a knife and a sheath studded with rubies, multi-colour fine cloths from China (silk?),

¹³ Radulet, "Cosimo III Medici and the Portuguese Restoration", 6.

¹⁴ Miguel Taín Guzmán, "De Espanã a Florencia: obras de arte y artículos de lujo adquiridos por Cosimo III de' Medici durante su viaje hispânico", in: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 56, 2 (2014), 193-213, 197.

¹⁵ António de Portugal de Faria (ed.), *Portugal e Itália*, 49, 51 and 60.

bezoar stones and cordials.¹⁶ For his part, the Spanish king, Carlos II, offered Cosimo luxurious items from Western India.¹⁷

[9] As regards the history of Portugal, Cosimo familiarized himself with the city of Lisbon (its geographical location, buildings, institutions, authorities) as well as with the royal court, the Church, the Inquisition, the Casa da Índia (which managed the Portuguese overseas territories) and the Customs Office.

[10] As for the prince's interest in Portuguese art, special attention should be paid to tile painting (or azulejos, called „maiolicha” by Cosimo's biographers). The use that the Portuguese made of tiles, for example when decorating the interior of Elvas Cathedral, was registered in the account of Magalotti and commented on: "all the walls are covered with 'maiólica', the diverse colouring of which has a bizarre effect."¹⁸ The Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Conceição in Vila Viçosa was equally impressive to the author: "the walls are covered up to the cornice with 'majólica', affording a strange but cheerful experience."¹⁹ Filippo Corsini returns to this subject in his description of the Conde de Castelo Melhor's gardens: "and on a steep slope, partly inlaid with a flight of steps, everything is adorned with majolica, which in Spain, Talavera and here is called azulejo."²⁰

[11] However, the greatest prominence is given by Corsini to the tilework from the Marquês de Fronteira's palace in Lisbon, visited by the prince on 7 February 1669: "the whole building and the garden fence are decorated with figurative tiles depicting stories and fables. They say that, to date, the owner has spent 50,000 cruzati and yet a lot still remains to be done."²¹ Although this account suggests that the work was still incomplete,

¹⁶ António de Portugal de Faria (ed.), *Portugal e Itália*, 55.

¹⁷ Taín Guzmán, "De Espanã a Florencia: obras de arte y artículos de lujo adquiridos por Cosimo III de' Medici", 205-208.

¹⁸ António de Portugal de Faria (ed.), *Portugal e Itália*, 30. The original reads as follows: "e ha le muraglie tutte incrostate di maioliche che per la diversità dei colori arrecano vaghezza."

¹⁹ António de Portugal de Faria (ed.), *Portugal e Itália*, 33. The original reads as follows: "e le muraglie incrostate di majoliche fino ai cornicioni, com che fa una vista vaga ed alegra."

²⁰ Sánchez Rivero and Mariutti de Sánchez Rivero (eds.), *Viaje de Cosme de Médicis por España y Portugal*, 275-276. The original reads as follows: "e da una parte molto ripido, dove hanno adattati alcuni gradini, ornati tutti di quelle maioliche, che in Spagna Talavera, e qui Asolejo addimandano [...]."

²¹ Sánchez Rivero and Mariutti de Sánchez Rivero (eds.), *Viaje de Cosme de Médicis por España y Portugal*, 282. "La casa tutta, com le muraglie del Giardino é ornata di maioliche figurate, rappresentanti diversi histori, e favole, dicono, che fino ad ora vi habbi spesso detto signore 50.000 cruzadi, e vi resta ancora molto de fare."

in February 1669 the whole building and all of its fences had already been fully decorated with figurative tiles and, reportedly, had featured a considerable amount of garden ornamentations; namely the Formal Garden encompassed parterres, statuary and low-reliefs, "five large and many small fountains", a lake, a maze, two grottoes inlaid with mother-of-pearl, porcelain pieces and broken glass. It can therefore be argued that Cosimo de' Medici saw the tilework of the Gallery of the Kings [Galeria dos Reis] (situated in the Formal Garden) as well as the initial phase of the tilework of the Paintings' Gallery [Galeria de Pintura], representing the battles of the War of Restoration. A letter to the Portuguese ambassador in England - Dom Francisco de Melo Manuel da Câmara (1612-1678) - dated 25 December 1670, makes a reference to the installation of tapestries, suggesting that the decorative works in the hall were already at an advanced stage. It should also be recalled that, as far as the installation of ceramic pieces from the Art Gallery [Terraço ou Galeria das Artes] in 1678 is concerned, Alexis Collotes de Jantillet points out that "the initial decoration of the private chapel is magnificent, yet the entrance hall, coated with tile mosaics depicting various figures, is still incomplete".²²

[12] The visit to the estate of the first Marquês da Fronteira (Dom João Mascarenhas) in Benfica provided the Prince of Tuscany with the context necessary for understanding the commission of the fifteen paintings under analysis here (Fig. 1-15). This is supported by the fact that there the Prince had the opportunity to meet on a daily basis with this and other generals of the War of Restoration. Equally relevant is the fact that he was able to become acquainted, albeit only superficially, with a series of tiles featuring military motifs. It should also be recalled that, in 1672, Dom Luís de Meneses, Conde de Ericeira, commissioned for his gallery a collection of tapestries featuring the battles of the War of Restoration in which he had participated together with Dom João Mascarenhas.²³

[13] As regards the attention that the Prince paid to oil paintings, many references are made to the visits that the entourage paid to the main Portuguese royal collections. These visits are recorded mainly in the manuscript authored by Giovanni Battista Gornia, the Bolognese physician, who accompanied the prince on his journey.

[14] The first gallery worth mentioning is the one at the Casa Ducal de Bragança, in Vila Viçosa. In fact, the existence of this gallery had already

²² José Cassiano Neves, *The Palace and Gardens of Fronteira - Seventeenth & Eighteenth Century Portuguese Style*, Lisbon 1995, 20; Ana Paula Rebelo Correia, "Um retrato real nos jardins do Palácio Fronteira", in: *Monumentos* 25 (2006), 226-233.

²³ Susana Varela Flor, "*Do seu tempo fazia parelha aos mais*". *Marcos da Cruz e a pintura protobarroca do século XVII*, unpublished MA thesis, University of Lisbon 2002.

been revealed in the Portuguese historiography.²⁴ However, only from Gornia's testimony can we learn more about its decoration: "The hall's interior is poorly furnished and contains images of the princes of the same blood on one side, and of Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus, Hector, Alexander the Great, King Arthur and Godfrey of Bouillon on the other."²⁵ The Italian visitors took special interest in this ceiling representation of seven *uomini illustri*, who assisted the princes of the blood of the Portuguese monarchy. Only seven men are described in this account, but in 1618 a Portuguese chronicler mentioned nine renowned men and nine muses (in fact, the personalities specified above are counted among the *Neuf Preux*). During the reign of duke Dom João II (1630-1640), the muses were replaced by the images of the princes of the blood and the dukes of the Bragança dynasty. These Renaissance decorations are similar to those of the Italian noble galleries from the 15th and 16th centuries, and were inspired by Suetonius' *De vitis Caesarum* and the collection of portraits gathered by Paolo Giovio in Como. Significant examples of glorified representations of ancestors are at Villa Carducci di Legnaia and Palazzo del Tè in Mantua, which in all likelihood inspired the creation of the gallery in Vila Viçosa, during duke Teodósio's II rule.²⁶

[15] After arriving in Lisbon on 4 February 1669, Cosimo visited the Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Belém. His physician mentioned in his account an important yet no longer existing gallery, located in the Kings' Hall [Sala dos Reis]: "At the entrance to the dormitory there is a hall with images of all the Portuguese kings before João IV, a heavily built man, with his son, the last king, Dom Afonso."²⁷

[16] Finally, during Cosimo's visit to Coimbra, and in particular to the Main Hall [Salão Nobre] of the local University, Lorenzo Magalotti took careful

²⁴ Susana Varela Flor, "*Do seu tempo fazia parelha aos mais*". *Marcos da Cruz e a pintura protobarroca do século XVII*, 84.

²⁵ Sánchez Rivero and Mariutti de Sánchez Rivero (eds.), *Viaje de Cosme de Médicis por España y Portugal*, 248; "Dentro tiene poça abitazione da una sola in poi, nella quale sono dipintitutti i principi del sangue da un lato, e dal altro Giosuè, David, Giuda Maccabeo, Ettore, Alessandro Magno, Artu Re d' Inghilterra e Gofredo di Buglione." This fact has already been mentioned by Vítor Serrão, *O Fresco Maneirista do Paço de Vila Viçosa - Parnaso dos Duques de Bragança (1540-1640)*, Caxias 2008, 48.

²⁶ For more information on the *uomini illustri* galleries in the Renaissance see, e.g., Édouard Pommier, *Théories du portrait - de la Renaissance aux Lumières*, Paris 1998, 192-208, and Natalia Gozzano, "Uomini illustri a Siviglia e a Saluzzo: modelli umanistici e rinascimentali nella Casa di Pilatos e Casa Cavassa", in: *Atrio* 17 (2011), 69-76.

²⁷ Sánchez Rivero and Mariutti de Sánchez Rivero (eds.), *Viaje de Cosme de Médicis por España y Portugal*, 276: "All'ingresso di questo dormitorio vi è una sala dove sono le immagini di tutti i Re di Portogallo fino a Giovanni Quarto, uomo di presenza assai rozzo col figliuolo ultimo Re D. Alfonso [...]."

note of the royal iconography: "All around the hall there are life-size portraits of all the Kings of Portugal, with gilded ornaments." Gornia, for his part, added the following: "Amongst the images, one can find the University emblems represented by a queen with a sceptre, holding a sphere with the motto: *Per me Reges regnant, et legum latores iusta decernunt.*"²⁸

[17] All this shows that the research done on Portuguese history, geography, politics and military, as well as the careful examination of tile and oil paintings, depicting both the historical context of the Restoration period and the historical figures fighting for Portuguese independence, cannot be dissociated from the study of the fifteen portraits commissioned by Cosimo III four years later.

The commissioning of the portraits and the main mediators

[18] It was Marieta Dá Mesquita who published in Portugal the correspondence between Cosimo III and the Portuguese Jesuit Father António Melo documenting the former's commissioning of the portraits. This correspondence is stored at the Archivio Mediceo del Principato in Florence and encompasses three letters. It was transcribed in a documentary appendix to Dá Mesquita's dissertation, which was actually dedicated to the architectural study of the Marquês de Fronteira's Palace.²⁹ The series of fifteen portraits of Portuguese generals resulting from Cosimo's commission is currently kept in the Gallerie degli Uffizi in Florence (inventory numbers 2695-2709, Fig. 1-15). In recent years, other authors, both Italian and Portuguese, have mentioned this series of portraits. However, it appears that, until now, there has been no systematic study on the circumstances of this commission and the authorship of the paintings.³⁰

²⁸ António de Portugal de Faria (ed.), *Portugal e Itália*, 89: "Intorno dei mura sono i ritratti di tutti i Re di Portogallo, di grandezza naturale com ornamenti dorati."

²⁹ Marieta Dá Mesquita, *História e arquitectura - uma proposta de investigação: O Palácio dos Marqueses de Fronteira como situação exemplar da arquitectura residencial erudita em Portugal*, 3 vols., unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade de Lisboa 1992.

³⁰ Marilena Mosco, "La serie di ritratti di generali portoghesi", in: *Gli Uffizi - catalogo generale*, ed. Luciano Berti, Florence 1979, 722-724; Caterina Caneva, "La 'Collezione iconográfica'", in: *Il Corridoio Vasariano agli Uffizi*, ed. Caterina Caneva, Florence 2002, 235; Cristina Acidini Luchinat, "Las Artes en Florencia durante el reinado de Cosme III", in: *El viaje a Compostela de Cosme III de Médicis*, 69; Antonella Viola, "Lorenzo Ginori: Console della Nazione Fiorentina e agente del granduca di Toscana in Portogallo (1674-1689)", in: *Di buon affetto e commercio - Relações luso-italianas na Idade Moderna*, ed. Nunziatella Alessandrini, Mariagrazia Russo, Gaetano Sabatini and Antonella Viola, Lisbon 2012, 171; and Giuseppina Raggi, "Italia & Portogallo: un incrocio di sguardi sull'arte della quadratura", in: *Di buon affetto e commercio - Relações luso-*

[19] The above-mentioned portraits depict fifteen Portuguese men with different ranks in the military hierarchy. In what follows, they will be described in more detail.

André de Albuquerque Ribafria

[20] André de Albuquerque Ribafria (1621-1659) was born in Sintra, where his father, Gaspar Gonçalves de Albuquerque, held the post of leading municipal magistrate. In 1638, while still a youngster, he became an arquebusier in the Conde da Torre's armada and embarked for Brazil to fight against the Dutch. In 1640, he was among the nobles who acclaimed Dom João IV as King of Portugal. In return, he was granted the post of leading municipal magistrate, which he inherited from his father, and was promoted to Captain of the Cavalry in the Alentejo Regiment (under the command of the Conde de Alegrete) and later to the position of General of the Cavalry (1658). In his short life, he fought heroically in various military conflicts, losing his life in the Battle of Elvas, which brought the first victory to Portugal (Fig. 1).³¹



1 Feliciano de Almeida, André de Albuquerque Ribafria (1621-1659), 1673-1675. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (© Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico [SSPSAE] e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze - Gabinetto Fotografico)

Dom António Luís de Meneses

[21] Dom António Luís de Meneses (1603-1675) was one of the noblemen who, in 1640, acclaimed Dom João IV as King of Portugal and who, in

italianas na Idade Moderna, 189, note 33.

³¹ António Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica da Casa Real portuguesa*, 12 vols., Lisbon 1735-1749, vol. 1, 155.

return for this, was granted various political (e.g. land overseer) and military positions. In 1641, he was appointed Colonel of a regiment of the Infantry in the Beira province. In 1658, he became Colonel General of the Alentejo, thus contributing to the victory at the Battle of Elvas. Between 1661 and 1662, he was appointed to the rank of Colonel General of Estremadura. In 1663, he was granted the title of Marquês de Marialva for his actions at the Battle of Ameixial. As Captain General of the Alentejo Army (1664), he helped Dinis de Melo e Castro in the Battle of Montes Claros (1665) against the army of the Marquês de Caracena.³² He was a member of the Council of War. Cosimo III de' Medici tried to visit the gardens of his palace near Saint Catherine's Gate in Lisbon (Fig. 2).³³



2 Feliciano de Almeida, Dom António Luís de Meneses, Marquês de Marialva (1603-1675), 1673-1675. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (© SSPSAE e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze - Gabinetto Fotografico)

Dinis de Melo e Castro

[22] Dinis de Melo e Castro (1624-1709) was one of the most active figures in the War of Restoration, having started his military career at the age of 16 during his service to the Conde de Vimioso. He was also a Cavalry Lieutenant, a Governor of the Alentejo (1662 and 1663) and a Cavalry General at the Battle of Montes Claros (1665), in which he managed to prevent the destruction of Vila Viçosa by the Spanish army (ordered by the Marquês de Caracena). He personally informed Cosimo III de' Medici about this deed in 1669, at the site of the battle. Dom Pedro II appointed him the

³² António Caetano de Sousa, *Memórias históricas e genealógicas dos Grandes de Portugal*, Lisbon 1755, 146.

³³ António de Portugal de Faria (ed.), *Portugal e Itália*, 58.

first Conde de Galveias (1691) and a member of the Council of War (Fig. 3).³⁴



3 Feliciano de Almeida, Dinis de Melo e Castro (1624-1709), 1673-1675. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (© SSPSAE e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze - Gabinetto Fotografico)

Fernão Teles de Menezes

[23] Fernão Teles de Menezes (1600-1656?) was a gentleman of the Royal Household and, as is suggested by the conspicuous badge with the representation of a cross on his chest, a Commander of the Military Order of Avis in Moura and Albufeira. As a youngster, he served in Flanders, Italy and Brazil. In 1641, Dom João IV appointed him Chief Ensign of Portugal. A year later, he was granted the title of Governor General of the Army of the Beira province. In 1653, he became the first Conde de Vilar Maior. From 1656 onwards, he was a member of the Council of War and served as Chief Steward to the queen, Dona Luísa de Gusmão (Fig. 4).³⁵

³⁴ Manuel José da Costa Felgueiras Gayo [1750-1831], *Nobiliário das famílias de Portugal*, ed. Agostinho de Azevedo Meirelles and Domingos de Araujo Affonso, 17 vols., Braga 1938-1941, vol. 11, 39-40.

³⁵ António Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica da Casa Real portuguesa*, vol. 9, 338-339; Maria Paula Marçal Lourenço, *Casa, corte e património das Rainhas de Portugal (1640-1754). Poderes, instituições e relações sociais*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade de Lisboa 1999, vol. 3, 4.

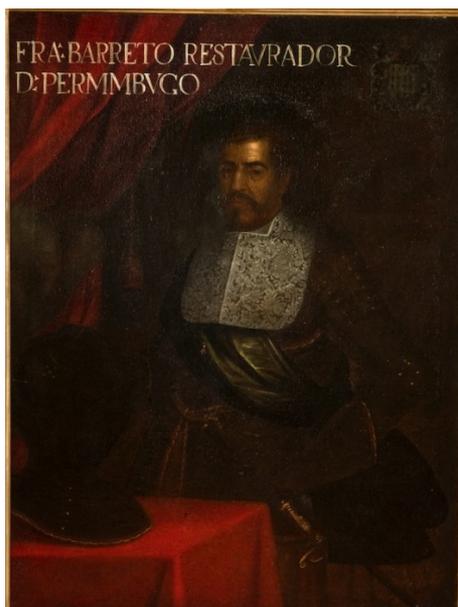


4 Feliciano de Almeida, Fernão Teles de Menezes (1600-1656?), 1673-1675. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (© SSPSAE e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze - Gabinetto Fotografico)

Francisco Barreto de Meneses

[24] Francisco Barreto de Meneses (1616?-1688) was popularly known as the "Rebuilder of Pernambuco" ["Restaurador de Pernambuco"]. He was born in Peru, in around 1616, where his father held the post of Commander of Plaza del Callao. By order of Dom João IV, he was appointed to the post of Colonel General (1647) and defeated the Dutch military forces at the Battle of Guarapes (April 1648 - February 1649). In 1654, he led resistance movements in Recife, thereby contributing to the expulsion of the Dutch from Brazil. In return, the king appointed him Governor of Pernambuco for the period 1656-1663. After his return to Portugal, he held various administrative positions (e.g. Governor of Setúbal and President of the Council of Trade). He was part of the Council of War and was made the first Conde de Rio Grande. The title was later inherited by his daughter and used by his son-in-law Lopo Furtado de Mendonça (Fig. 5).³⁶

³⁶ Felgueiras Gayo, *Nobiliário das famílias de Portugal*, vol. 6, 52.



5 Feliciano de Almeida, Francisco Barreto de Meneses (1616?-1688), 1673-1675. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (© SSPSAE e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze - Gabinetto Fotografico)

Dom João Mascarenhas

[25] Dom João Mascarenhas (1633-1681) was a gentleman of the Royal Household and the son of the first Conde da Torre. He took an active part in the Portuguese-Spanish military conflict and occupied a number of different positions: Colonel General of Estremadura and Minho; General of the Cavalry of the Alentejo. He was a distinguished general in the War of Restoration. In 1659, he took part in the Battle of Elvas and suffered severe injuries. He also distinguished himself in the Battles of Ameixial and Montes Claros. In recompense for taking the side of Dom Pedro II in his conflict with Dom Afonso VI, he was granted the position of a gentleman in the former's Council. Apart from being a member of the Council of War, in January 1670 he was granted the title of the first Marquês de Fronteira. He knew Cosimo III de' Medici personally and received him at his estate in Benfica (Fig. 6).³⁷

³⁷ António Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica da Casa Real portuguesa*, vol. 11, book 12, p. 315.



6 Feliciano de Almeida, Dom João Mascarenhas (1633-1681), 1673-1675. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (© SSPSAE e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze - Gabinetto Fotografico)

Dom Luís Álvares de Távora

[26] Dom Luís Álvares de Távora (1634-1672) was a gentleman of the Royal Household and the third Conde de São João da Pesqueira. According to António Caetano de Sousa, "he served at war with valour, reputation and extremely good fortune; as one of the most distinguished men of his time, he risked his life for the glory of his motherland on numerous occasions".³⁸ For this reason, he was appointed to the post of General of the Cavalry of Entre Douro e Minho (1661) as well as Colonel General of Trás-os-Montes (1662-1665). Also in recompense for his actions, Dom Pedro II granted him the title of the first Marquês de Távora (1669). He became a gentleman in the King's Council and, in this capacity, had personal contacts with the Italian entourage (Fig. 7).

³⁸ The original reads: "serviu na guerra com valor, reputação e felicíssima fortuna, sendo hum dos varões sinalados do seu tempo que, em obsequio da pátria tantas vezes soube arriscar a sua pessoa para a fazer gloriosa." Cf. António Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica da Casa Real portuguesa*, vol. 5, 128.



7 Feliciano de Almeida, Dom Luís Álvares de Távora (1634-1672), 1673-1675. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (© SSPSAE e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze - Gabinetto Fotografico)

Dom Luís de Meneses

[27] Dom Luís de Meneses (1632-1690) was a nobleman and, when his brother stepped down, the third Conde de Ericeira. Having grown up at the Paço da Ribeira in the service of the Infante Dom Teodósio, he was known to have been very close to the Portuguese royal family. Under the influence of Dom João da Costa, the Conde de Soure, he took part in military campaigns in the Alentejo. In 1633, he was promoted to General of the Artillery of Beira province and, in this capacity, participated in the Battles of Ameixial (1663) and Montes Claros (1665). After the signing of the Peace Treaty, he was appointed to various administrative positions and participated in the Council of War. He was the author of the important work entitled *História de Portugal restaurado*, in which he registered the deeds of the Portuguese in the war of independence.³⁹ His portrait is accompanied by a book lying on a table with the title on the spine only partially legible - "Guerra d: PT" -, but obviously alluding to his work as a historiographer (Fig. 8).

³⁹ António Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica da Casa Real portuguesa*, vol. 5, 214.



8 Feliciano de Almeida, Dom Luís de Meneses (1632-1690), 1673-1675. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (© SSPSAE e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze - Gabinetto Fotografico)

Martim Afonso de Melo

[28] Martim Afonso de Melo (1595?-1671) was a descendant of one of the most ancient Portuguese families. Just like his father and grandfather, he held the position of leading municipal magistrate in Elvas. From the very beginning, he supported Dom João IV in his struggle for the crown, being granted, in recompense, the position of Governor General of the Alentejo Army. After the death of his father-in-law (Pedro da Silva) in 1658, he was appointed the second Conde de São Lourenço. For this reason, the coat of arms attributed to him in this portrait features the conspicuous symbols of the Silva family. He was a member of the Council of War and of Dom Pedro's II household (Fig. 9).⁴⁰

⁴⁰ António Caetano de Sousa, *Memórias históricas e genealógicas dos Grandes de Portugal*, 406.



9 Feliciano de Almeida, Martim Afonso de Melo (1595?-1671), 1673-1675. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (© SSPSAE e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze - Gabinetto Fotografico)

Matias de Albuquerque

[29] Matias de Albuquerque (1595?-1647) was the son of the third Governor of the Captaincy of Pernambuco and soon distinguished himself in fights against the Dutch. In 1635, he was incarcerated at the Castelo de São Jorge (for conspiracy at the Royal Court) and released on the day that Portuguese independence was acclaimed. Immediately afterwards, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Alentejo and, as a result, was made the first Conde de Alegrete. He died in 1647, leaving no offspring (Fig. 10).⁴¹

⁴¹ António Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica da Casa Real portuguesa*, vol. 13, part 1, 227.



10 Feliciano de Almeida, Matias de Albuquerque (1595?-1647), 1673-1675. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (© SSPSAE e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze - Gabinetto Fotografico)

Gil Vaz Lobo Freire

[30] Gil Vaz Lobo Freire (?-1678) was born in the Beira province, the son of Gomes Freire de Andrade and a descendant of Freire de Andrade da Galiza. In 1640 he joined his father in a coup that resulted in the acclamation of Dom João IV as King of Portugal. He served in the War of Restoration, firstly as a Captain of the Infantry (1642) and later as Lieutenant General of the Cavalry (1659) and Colonel General of the Beira province (1669). He was a member of the Council of War and died in Castelo Branco in 1678 (Fig. 11).⁴²

⁴² Jorge Penim de Freitas, "Gil Vaz Lobo Freire - herói e vilão", in: *Guerra da Restauração. Blog de história militar dedicado à Guerra da Restauração ou da Aclamação, 1641-1668*, <https://guerradarestauracao.wordpress.com>, posted 2012, accessed 22 September 2016. See also "Andrades e Freire" in: Felgueiras Gayo, *Nobiliário de famílias de Portugal*, vol. 1, 176.



11 Feliciano de Almeida, Gil Vaz Lobo Freire (?-1678), 1673-1675. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (© SSPSAE e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze - Gabinetto Fotografico)

Pedro Jacques de Magalhães

[31] Pedro Jacques de Magalhães (1600-1688) was a gentleman of the Royal Household. When the news of the restoration of Portuguese independence reached him, he was stationed in Central America in the service of Felipe IV of Spain, but immediately joined the faction supporting Dom João IV. Upon his return to Portugal, he was appointed Governor of Olivença (1646). In the 1650s, he assisted Francisco Barreto de Meneses in his fight against the Dutch in Brazil. Having been appointed Captain General of the Artillery of the Alentejo (1658), he participated in the Battle of Elvas and subsequently in the Battles of Ameixial and Montes Claros. Between 1663 and 1668, he was Governor General of the Beira province. In return for his services, Dom Pedro granted him the title of the first Visconde de Fonte Arcada (1671). He was a member of the Council of War and a General of the Royal Armada (Fig. 12).⁴³

⁴³ P. António Carvalho da Costa, *Corografia portugueza e descripçam topográfica do famoso Reyno de Portugal*, vol. 3, Lisbon 1712, 376-377.



12 Feliciano de Almeida, Pedro Jacques de Magalhães (1600-1688), 1673-1675. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (© SSPSAE e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze - Gabinetto Fotografico)

Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides

[32] Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides (1602-1688) was born in Cadiz in 1602 and, like Francisco Barreto, played a key role in the expulsion of the Dutch from Brazil. Having acclaimed Dom João IV as King of Portugal, he became part of the Overseas Council (1644) and the Council of War. In 1647, he reconquered Angola from the Dutch and was appointed Governor of Rio de Janeiro and Angola, where he gave orders to Captain Pascoal de Almeida, the father of the painter Feliciano de Almeida (see below). In 1656, he was appointed to the position of Governor of the Captaincies of Southern Brazil. Upon his dismissal from this post in 1661, he returned to the metropolis. Due to his close relationship with the Conde de Castelo Melhor and Dom Afonso VI, he was incarcerated at the Casa Professa de São Roque in Lisbon at the orders of Dom Pedro II. It was at this Jesuit institution that he twice met with Cosimo III de' Medici to tell him the story of the main events in which he had found himself involved (Fig. 13).⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Felgueiras Gayo, *Nobiliário das famílias de Portugal*, vol. 12, 23; see also António de Portugal de Faria (ed.), *Portugal e Itália*, 51 and 60.



13 Feliciano de Almeida, Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides (1602-1688), 1673-1675. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (© SSPSAE e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze - Gabinetto Fotografico)

Dom Sancho Manuel de Vilhena

[33] Dom Sancho Manuel de Vilhena (1610?-1677) was a gentleman of the Royal Household and a son of the Commander of Macains. He was a member of the Order of Malta, the insignia of which are clearly visible in his portrait. During the time that he spent in service to the Crown, he visited Italy, Germany and Flanders. He fought against the Dutch in Brazil in his capacity as Sergeant Major of the regiment of Dom Fernando de Ludenha. Immediately upon receiving the news of the acclamation of Dom João IV, he returned to Portugal, where he was appointed to the position of Colonel in a regiment of the Infantry of the Beira province (1642). He was promoted to the post of Colonel General and, in 1658, was appointed Governor of the Fort of Elvas, having been responsible for the first major Portuguese victory, which earned him the title of Conde de Vila Flor. He held the post of Governor of the Beira province (1658/9-1662/3) and was appointed Chief of Defence, together with the Conde de Schomberg, thereby contributing to the victory in the Battle of Ameixial (1663). Years later, he was appointed Governor of the Torre de Belém and a Councillor of War (Fig. 14).⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Felgueiras Gayo, *Nobiliário das famílias de Portugal*, vol. 16, 32-33.

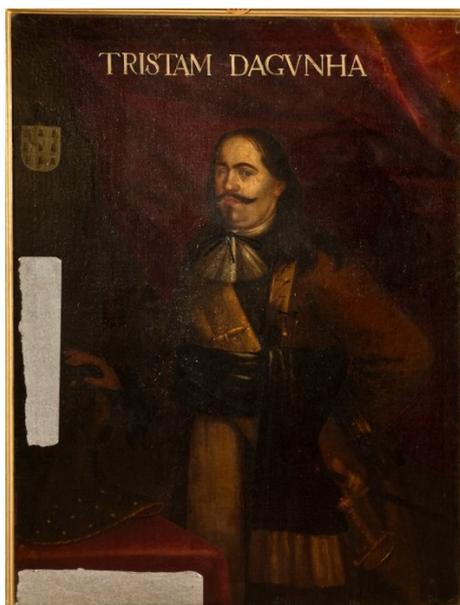


14 Feliciano de Almeida, Dom Sancho Manuel de Vilhena (1610?-1677), 1673-1675. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (© SSPSAE e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze - Gabinetto Fotografico)

Tristão da Cunha de Mendonça

[34] Tristão da Cunha de Mendonça (1640?-?) was a descendant of Tristão da Cunha (ca. 1460-1540), the discoverer of the Coast of Madagascar and the Ambassador of Dom Manuel I in Rome. He was the son of Pedro da Cunha and Dona Helena Mendonça and served in the War of Restoration as Colonel of the Infantry (1665), as Governor General of the Kingdom of Angola (1666-1667) and as Colonel General of Trás-os-Montes (1668). He was appointed the first Senhor de Valdigem (Fig. 15).⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Felgueiras Gayo, *Nobiliário das famílias de Portugal*, vol. 10, 156. The information about the different titles and ranks comes from Jorge Penim de Freitas (<http://guerradarestauracao.wordpress.com>) and from the research project on the Halls of Battles of the Casa de Fronteira and the Casa de Alorna (<http://www.fronteira-alorna.pt/batalhas.asp>), accessed 22 September 2016.



15 Feliciano de Almeida, Tristão da Cunha de Mendonça (1640?-?), 1673-1675. Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (© SSPSAE e per il Polo Museale della Città di Firenze - Gabinetto Fotografico)

[35] It can be assumed that Cosimo III de' Medici made personal acquaintance with some of these figures, for there are records of his meetings with the Conde de Galveias, the Marquês de Marialva, the Marquês de Fronteira, the Marquês de Távora, the Conde de São Lourenço and Salvador Correia e Sá. Interestingly enough, during his encounter with Salvador Correia e Sá at the Casa Professa de São Roque in Lisbon, the prince was offered a topographical map of Angola. He met some of the others in the course of formal audiences (e.g. the Conde de Ericeira and the Marquês de Távora). The rest he did not know, either because they had already passed away (André de Albuquerque and Matias de Albuquerque) or were away from Lisbon in the service of the Portuguese Crown (e.g. the Conde de Vila Flor as the Alderman of Porto, or Gil Vaz Lobo, in his capacity as Colonel General of the Beira province, in Castelo Branco).

The production of the portraits

[36] From Father António de Melo's letter to Cosimo III, dated Lisbon 16th May 1673, we know that Cosimo III de' Medici commissioned a collection of portraits depicting "soldiers who so generously defended their motherland".⁴⁷ The Jesuit starts by praising the "truly Caesarean"

⁴⁷ Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato 5063, quoted by Dá Mesquita, *História e arquitectura - uma proposta de investigação*, vol. 2, 267. Father António Melo (1610-1679) was born in Santa Comba Dão and joined the Jesuits in 1632. Afterwards, he studied in Rome. At the time of the Portuguese Restoration, he was summoned to provide service to king Dom João IV. In 1646, he accompanied Father António Vieira on his diplomatic mission to Holland and also went on missions to Africa. In the late 1660s, he met with the prince of Tuscany at

generosity with which the grand duke "glorified and immortalized the Portuguese noblemen" and moves on to two practical issues. The first one concerns the artist who painted these portraits. He does not identify him, but merely mentions that he is "a well-known, highly-skilled copier", "famous for his *ad vivum* portraits". However, thanks to subsequent correspondence, we know that the portraits were produced by Feliciano de Almeida (1635-1694), a Portuguese royal painter who had been urged by Father António de Melo to abandon all of his current projects and head directly to the residence of Lorenzo Ginori, then consul of the "Florentine nation" in Portugal (1674-1689).⁴⁸ There, the painter would first study a portrait of Cosimo III de' Medici (which would later be sent to Father Pedro Zuzarte, a Jesuit missionary in India), and then discuss with the Jesuit and the consul all the details connected with the production of the paintings (the kind of canvas, the type of depiction – bust or equestrian portrait, etc.).⁴⁹

[37] The second issue raised by Father António de Melo was the list of the personages to be portrayed. Though such a list had apparently already been provided, the Jesuit found it incomplete, as "some figures with equally important names and deeds" were missing. In a generous response to the Jesuit's comment, the Grand Duke granted him the liberty to choose personages of his liking or, if deemed necessary, to include additional portraits.⁵⁰

[38] In his third letter to Father António de Melo, dated 4 July 1673, Cosimo III de' Medici reported that the portraits of the Marquês de Fronteira and the Marquês de Marialva were already in progress. He also commissioned an additional portrait of Pedro César de Meneses (appointed Governor of Angola in 1668/69), of which there now remains no trace. Moreover, the

the Colégio de Santo Antão in Lisbon. For more information on this Jesuit, see António Franco, *O Ano Santo da Companhia de Jesus em Portugal*, Coimbra 1720, 781.

⁴⁸ For more information on Ginori, see Antonella Viola, "Lorenzo Ginori: Console della Nazione Fiorentina e agente del granduca di Toscana in Portogallo (1674-1689)", in: *Di buon affetto e comercio. Relações luso-italianas na idade moderna*, ed. by Nunziatella Alessandrini, Gaetano Sabatini and Antonella Viola, Lisbon 2012, 163-176; Aníbal Pinto de Castro, "O Padre António Vieira e Cosme III de Medicis. Com quatro cartas inéditas", in: *Revista de História da Literatura Portuguesa* 1 (1962), 158-190; and Aníbal Pinto de Castro, "Correspondentes portugueses de Cosme III de Médicis: nóvula sobre a actividade literária de Seiscentos em Portugal", in: *Revista de História da Literatura Portuguesa*, without number, 1965, 231-287.

⁴⁹ The letter suggests that this portrait was sent to Father Pedro Zuzarte, but there is no mention as to whether it was painted in Portugal.

⁵⁰ Dá Mesquita, *História e arquitectura – uma proposta de investigação*, vol. 2, 269-270.

Duke seems to have been flattered at the prospect of having his portrait displayed in the Marquês de Fronteira's gallery of paintings at the latter's estate in Benfica.⁵¹

[39] Two observations should be made regarding the final choice of this collection of paintings of Portuguese Generals. The first has to do with the absence of some of the figures who played an important role in the history of the War of Restoration, such as Dom João da Costa, the Conde de Soure (1610-1664) and Colonel General of Artillery, as well as the Conde de Schomberg (1615-1690), who was Chief of Defence and became the first Conde de Mértola in 1663. Although the absence of the latter seems justifiable due to his foreign (German) origin, as well as the fact that he had not been on friendly terms with the Marquês de Fronteira,⁵² the absence of the former comes as a surprise. Although the present research has not been able to provide a proper explanation for this choice, according to Father António de Melo, it must have been quite difficult "since only Portuguese hearts can suffer with the most refined jealousy of the most bizarre judgement".⁵³

[40] The second observation may be more useful in justifying this absence. A closer examination of the list of Portuguese personalities portrayed in Cosimo's collection reveals that half of the paintings represent members of the Portuguese Council of War. It seems highly probable that the very same principle dictated the choice of paintings in the collection discussed here.

[41] From an artistic standpoint, the observation of the whole set of paintings reveals evident technical and manual differences. Six of the portraits display work of a high technical quality, both as regards the depiction of the subjects' physiognomic features and the distribution of the light (Gil Vaz Lobo, Dinis de Melo e Castro, Pedro Jacques de Magalhães, Francisco Barreto de Meneses, Fernão Teles de Meneses and Salvador Correia de Sá, figs. 3, 4, 5, 11, 12, 13). The production of another seven portraits, however, was of average quality, presenting certain limitations in the representation of the facial features and the hands, as well as in the distribution of the light (André de Albuquerque, João Mascarenhas, Luís Álvares de Távora, Luís de Meneses, Martim Afonso de Melo, Sancho Manuel e Tristão da Cunha, figs. 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 15). Finally, the last two portraits display a poor artistic quality: the ones depicting Matias de Albuquerque and António Luís de Meneses (Figs. 10 and 2). This

⁵¹ Dá Mesquita, *História e arquitectura - uma proposta de investigação*, vol. 2, 271-272.

⁵² Jorge Penim de Freitas, *O combatente durante a Guerra da Restauração. Vivência e comportamentos dos militares ao serviço da coroa portuguesa, 1640-1668*, Lisbon 2007, 305.

⁵³ Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, 5063, letter from António de Mello to Cosimo III, 16 May 1673.

irregularity can only be explained by the hasty execution of the grand duke's commission. According to information retrieved from the correspondence between Father António de Melo and Cosimo III de' Medici, the work on some of the portraits began in July 1673. By February 1674, nine out of the fifteen portraits commissioned already formed part of the Medici collection.

[42] According to the Medici inventory, the entire commission of Cosimo III was completed in January 1675. This, in turn, means that the work on each piece, including the stage of painting from life (*ad vivum*) or copying from a pre-existing model, took approximately one month. To this, we should also add the time spent shipping the portraits from Lisbon to Florence.

[43] Although it was Feliciano de Almeida, the finest Portuguese portrait painter in activity at that time, who received this commission, he was surely assisted by a number of disciples. Therefore, the bulk of his work should be considered to have been a workshop activity.⁵⁴ As a result, there are some high-quality portraits that can be attributed to Feliciano de Almeida and that were not based on any pre-existing models (Fig. 5, 11, 12, 13). Indeed, Francisco Barreto de Meneses, Gil Vaz Lobo, Pedro Jacques de Magalhães and Salvador Correia de Sá were not high nobles of the royal court and it is only natural that, in their case, there were no previous depictions to fall back on. It seems plausible that in order to paint the portrait of Salvador Correia de Sá (Fig. 13), Feliciano de Almeida had to visit the São Roque church (where Salvador Correia de Sá was held) with a view to painting the *ad vivum* portrait, possibly after receiving the king's permission.

[44] However, the same does not hold true in the case of the portraits of average quality, depicting such prestigious figures as João Mascarenhas (Fig. 6) or Luís de Távora (Fig. 7). These must have been produced by Almeida's disciples, under his supervision and following the already existing models, which had perhaps been painted by Almeida himself. The existence of the poor quality portraits, however, is more difficult to justify. In 1673, Matias de Albuquerque (the Conde de Alegrete) had already been dead for over twenty years, which might explain the difficulties encountered in achieving a faithful reproduction of his features (Fig. 10). In the case of the portrait of António Luís de Meneses, the Marquês de Marialva (Fig. 2), the copying of earlier models seems to have gone wrong, but only with further information provided by laboratory tests and written documentation will we be able to arrive at a more solid explanation of all these artistic discrepancies.

⁵⁴ Feliciano de Almeida had a brother, José de Almeida, who was also a painter. They shared a residence in Lisbon at Rua do Boi Formoso aos Anjos. Direção Geral do Livro, dos Arquivos e das Bibliotecas. Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (DGLAB/TT), "Legitimação dos filhos do Capitão Pascoal de Almeida", 2^o Cartório Notarial de Lisboa, Livro de Notas de 1661, cx. 49, no. 243.

The painter Feliciano de Almeida (1635-1694)

[45] The examination of relevant documentation suggests that Feliciano de Almeida was born in Achem, present-day Guinea, in 1635. The fact that his parents were Captain Pascoal de Almeida and Filipa da Silva may well explain his overseas birthplace.⁵⁵ An oil painter, controller-cum-inspector, portrait painter and one of the most highly sought after copiers of his time, Almeida became famous for his *ad vivum* paintings, such as the portrait of Francisco Jacinto dos Anjos.⁵⁶ Hardly anything is known about his return to Portugal or his education. However, it was possible to identify useful sources with biographical information concerning his father, which contributes to a better understanding of the painter's career.

[46] In 1630, Pascoal Roiz de Almeida served king João IV as a corporal and, together with Captain Miguel Maldonado, conquered the territory of Cabo Frio. Between 1632 and 1634, in his capacity as sergeant, he fought against the Dutch army for the stretch of land between Rio de Janeiro and Cabo Frio. He retired later in 1634, but he continued to serve the Portuguese monarch as an overseer and a captain at the Fortaleza de Santo António de Achem, close to São Jorge da Mina, where he was kept hostage by the Dutch (9th of February, 1642). His captivity did not last long, as he managed to flee to London on an English vessel. Later in 1642, he was reported to have settled in Rio de Janeiro.⁵⁷ He returned to Portugal in 1644 and fought, again alongside Salvador Correia de Sá, against the Spanish occupation of Alentejo. As a reward for his services and under the orders of Dom João IV, he took on the post of overseer at Fortaleza de São João, in Rio de Janeiro (1646),⁵⁸ where he remained from 1647 until the 7th of January, 1651.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ DGLAB/TT, Arquivo Distrital de Lisboa, Registos Paroquiais da Freguesia dos Anjos, Livro de Casamentos (1666-1692), 13v, see <http://dglab.gov.pt/>, accessed 22 September 2016.

⁵⁶ Frei Jerónimo de Belém, *Crónica Seráfica da Santa Província dos Algarves [...]*, Livro VII, Cap. XXVIII, Lisbon 1755, 233. For information on this painter, see also Vítor Serrão, *A pintura proto-barroca em Portugal, 1612-1657*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Coimbra 1992, vol. 2, pp. 31-32; Vítor Serrão, "Retrato de D. Luís de Sousa", in *Antiga Coleção Palmela. Uma família de colecionadores. Poder e cultura*, ed. Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos et al., exh. cat., Lisbon 2001, p. 128; Miguel Soromenho, "D. Luís de Sousa (1637-1690), o gosto de um mecenas", in *Antiga Coleção Palmela. Uma família de colecionadores. Poder e cultura*, ed. Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos et al., exh. cat., Lisbon 2001, p. 30.

⁵⁷ DGLAB/TT, "Feliciano de Almeida", Registo de Mercês D. Afonso VI, Livro 6, 1663, fl. 252.

⁵⁸ DGLAB/TT, "Pascoal Roiz de Almeida", Chancelaria de D. João IV, Livro 17, 1646, fl. 225-226.

⁵⁹ DGLAB/TT, "Feliciano de Almeida", Registo de Mercês D. Afonso VI, Livro 6, 1663, fl. 252.

[47] Though direct information on Pascoal de Almeida's family seems hard to find, it is possible that, in the 1640s, they joined him on his voyage to Portugal, and settled there for good. One of the first pieces of information on the young painter can be found in a document dating from 1658, in which Feliciano de Almeida and his brother, José de Almeida, testify in favour of Manuel Barreto de Meneses (a young man who intended to marry against his mother's will, and thus required special permission).⁶⁰ To confirm the *bona fide* character of his actions, Manuel Barreto de Meneses asked Feliciano de Almeida and his brother José de Almeida, both living at Rua do Boi (or Bem) Formoso and working as professional painters, to state that they had known Manuel since he was nine years old. Of particular relevance is the fact that Feliciano claims to have known Manuel from Lisbon and not from a particular parish, such as the parish of Anjos, to which Rua do Boi Formoso belongs. In his early years, Manuel resided in the parish of Santiago and, at that time, in 1658, he resided in the parish of São José. This, in turn, means that after his return from Brazil, Pascoal de Almeida is likely to have resided in the parishes of Santiago and São José. Years later, he and his sons would move to Rua do Boi Formoso. This last piece of information comes from the document in which Pascoal de Almeida requests king Afonso's VI permission to legitimize his four sons: Feliciano de Almeida and José de Almeida (born to Filipa da Silva), and Manuel de Almeida and Paulo de Almeida (born to a women of unknown identity).⁶¹

[48] As regards Feliciano's artistic education, it is plausible that his father helped him in the early stages of his career. Firstly, due to his social status: Pascoal de Almeida was a knight-nobleman of the royal household, as attested in his will from the 30th of December 1661, signed at Rua dos Oleiros, in the parish of Anjos.⁶² Secondly, very early on in his career Feliciano was appointed to positions of high importance, which also suggests that he had received his artistic education in Lisbon from one of the court painters (possibly José de Avelar Rebelo). However, neither the documentary sources consulted in the present research, nor the account given by the portraitist and tempera painter Félix da Costa Meesen confirm this assumption. In fact, the latter is highly critical when it comes to Feliciano's work, accusing him even of lack of perspective and a "Gothic-like" style.⁶³

⁶⁰ DGLAB/TT, "Joana Lobo da Gama", Câmara Eclesiástica de Lisboa, Sumários Matrimoniais, doc. 2, 1658, 3.

⁶¹ DGLAB/TT, "Legitimação dos filhos do Capitão Pascoal de Almeida", 2º Cartório Notarial de Lisboa, Livro de Notas de 1661, cx. 49, no. 243.

⁶² DGLAB/TT, "Testamento de Pascoal de Almeida", 2º Cartório Notarial de Lisboa, Livro de Notas, nº 244, cx. 49, 6/22/4/4.

⁶³ *The Antiquity of the Art of Painting by Felix da Costa* [1696], facsimile, ed. George Kubler, London/Yale 1967, fol. 109v.

[49] The first documentary record of Feliciano's artistic career dates back to 1653, when, in his capacity as a painter, he was witness in a process for the confirmation of a legal proxy. At that time he was registered as residing in Rua do Boi Formoso, in the parish of Anjos, where he had his studio.⁶⁴ In 1665, he still lived in the parish of Anjos, in Rua Direita dos Anjos, in the noble Bairro das Olarias (characteristically a place of residence of oil, tempera, tile and ceramic painters), and was referred to as the painter of Dom Afonso VI. Also noteworthy is his connection with a pottery artist, Vicência de Faria, which in turn contributed to reinforce artistic links between oil painters and potters.⁶⁵ Two years later, he is said to have married Isabel da Cunha. According to the documentary sources, their children (Joana Maria, Maria Antónia, Joana and Francisca) had been born between 1669 and 1677, and important noblemen and women such as Dom João Rolim (17th Lord of Azambuja), Dona Joana Madalena de Castro (First Marquise of Fronteira), Dona Catarina Maria de Meneses (First Condessa de Mesquitela) etc. were the godparents at their baptism.⁶⁶

[50] In the year of the visit of Cosimo III de' Medici, Almeida is reported to have still been in close contact with the Portuguese court. In particular, his name appears on a list of people in the service of Dom Afonso VI, at that time a prisoner in Angra do Heroísmo on the island of Terceira.⁶⁷ In 1677 he joins the Brotherhood of painters of São Lucas, donating 700 reais for the enrolment, and later was elected its scrivener.⁶⁸ In 1683 he acts as the judge and the secretary of this association, with other renowned figures, such as the tile and tempera painter Gabriel del Barco, the author of *The Great Panorama of Lisbon* in tiles (1698-1699).⁶⁹ Records indicate that in 1679 he still lived in the parish of Anjos, this time at Rua da Carreira dos Cavalos, with his wife (Isabel da Cunha), two daughters (Juliana and Maria Antónia), a brother-in-law (Father Agostinho da Cunha), a housemaid

⁶⁴ Serrão, "Retrato de D. Luís de Sousa", 128.

⁶⁵ Susana Cavaleiro Gonçalves, *A arte do retrato em Portugal no tempo do barroco (1683-1750). Conceitos, tipologias e protagonistas*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade de Lisboa 2012, 150.

⁶⁶ DGLAB/TT, Registos paroquiais da Freguesia dos Anjos, Livro de baptismos (1656-1678), 121; DGLAB/TT, Registos paroquiais da Freguesia dos Anjos, Livro de baptismos (1656-1678), 173v; DGLAB/TT, Registos paroquiais da Freguesia dos Anjos, Livro de baptismos (1656-1678), 238v; DGLAB/TT, Registos paroquiais da Freguesia dos Anjos, Livro de baptismos (1656-1678), 276.

⁶⁷ Joana Almeida Troni, *A casa real portuguesa ao tempo de D. Pedro II (1608-1706)*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade de Lisboa 2012, 229.

⁶⁸ Susana Varela Flor and Pedro Flor, *Pintores de Lisboa dos séculos XVII e XVIII. A Irmandade de S. Lucas*, Lisbon 2016, 73.

⁶⁹ Cf. Pedro Flor, Maria João Pereira Coutinho, Sílvia Ferreira and Susana Varela Flor, "Rediscovering the Great Panorama of Lisbon in Tiles", in: *TACS Journal (Journal of the Tiles & Architectural Ceramics Society)* 19 (2013), 20-27.

(Maria Antunes), a servant (André) and a slave (Nicolau).⁷⁰ Later on he welcomed under his roof his brother, Paulo de Almeida, and, from 1681 to 1695, a nanny (Maria Roiz) of his new-born baby, Pascoal de Almeida, and, years later, in 1691(?), of Felícia. Feliciano resided here until his death. As to the painters working as his assistants, there are only references to Matias (1679), José dos Santos (1693) and José da Cunha (1694).⁷¹

[51] Although not much is known about the professional activity of this painter, data regarding the 1680s seems particularly interesting. The first piece of information concerns the inventory of Dom José de Meneses' gallery, carried out before his nomination as Bishop of the Algarve. On the 20th of September 1680, Feliciano visited Dom José's residence, at Calçada de Santa Ana, in order to undertake the inventory: "one (life-size) cloth painting of Patriarchs of the Religions" and one painting depicting "the birth of the Virgin" in ivory framing and bronze ornaments. It is important to note that the inventory of the remaining patrimony was performed by other royal servants, such as the assessor António Rodrigues de Matos or the upholsterer António de Campos.⁷²

[52] Also in 1680, Feliciano de Almeida produced a portrait of Dom Luís de Sousa, the Portuguese ambassador in Rome, for the Gallery of the Archbishops in Braga.⁷³ Furthermore, Feliciano de Almeida worked for the House of Cocolim, in particular for the son of the Marquês de Fronteira, Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, portraying his wife Maria Josefa de Noronha (1656-1731). The high esteem that Feliciano enjoyed at the time among the nobles of the kingdom is reflected, for instance, by the fact that Dom Francisco Mascarenhas dedicated one of his laudatory sonnets to him.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Arquivo Histórico do Patriarcado de Lisboa, Róis de confessados da Freguesia dos Anjos, 1679.

⁷¹ No reliable information could be found on the profession of each member of the household. In Pascoal Roiz de Almeida's will (1661) there is a reference to one of Feliciano de Almeida's witnesses named Matias, who is said to work as a professional painter. DGLAB/TT, "Testamento de Pascoal de Almeida", 2^o Cartório Notarial de Lisboa, Livro de notas, n. 244, cx. 49, 6/22/4/4. It is possible that José da Cunha was Feliciano's brother-in-law.

⁷² Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, "Inventário dos Bens Patrimoniais do Bispo D. José de Menezes [1680]", Cod. 54-XII-17.

⁷³ For more information on Dom Luís' iconography see Vítor Serrão, "Entrega por Inocêncio X a D. Luís de Sousa do breve papal para a capela do Calhariz", in: *Antiga Coleção Palmela. Uma família de colecionadores. Poder e cultura*, ed. Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos et al., exh. cat., Lisbon 2001, p. 130; Soromenho, "D. Luís de Sousa (1637-1690): o gosto de um mecenas", 31; Cavaleiro Gonçalves, *A arte do retrato em Portugal no tempo do barroco (1683-1750)*, 159-160.

⁷⁴ Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Cod. 51-VIII-43, fol. 511.

[53] In 1668, in his capacity as the royal painter, Almeida produced a portrait of Edward Montagu, the Earl of Sandwich (1625-1672).⁷⁵ This ambassador praised Feliciano's skills as a portraitist: "I sat for my picture this day to send it to the Convento of St. Eloy for a memorial where we concluded the peace between Spain and Portugal. One Feliciano drew it, a picture to the knees in a vest [the then habit of England] and a hat in the right hand hanging straight down; it was an extraordinary like picture."⁷⁶ It was also in this capacity that Almeida received the commission of Cosimo III de' Medici from the hands of Father António Melo, and started with the portraits of the Marquês de Marialva (Fig. 2) and the Marquês de Fronteira (Fig. 6). This information further elucidates the network of patrons among which he circulated: the religious elite of the Jesuits (it should be borne in mind that Dom Pedro's II confessor was a Jesuit) and the high nobles who favoured works from royal painters.⁷⁷

[54] Feliciano de Almeida died on the 7th of October 1694 and was buried at the church of Anjos in Lisbon.⁷⁸

The importance of commissions: collectionism or political awareness?

[55] In her article on the Florentine arts during the reign of Cosimo III de' Medici, Cristina Acidini Luchinat mentions the latter's contribution to the Medici collection, commenting that it "encompassed a vast array of forms of Italian and foreign origin, thanks to his travels to various European countries and lifelong international contacts".⁷⁹ In this way, she summarizes the Grand Duke's inclination for collecting books, scientific instruments, maps and *naturalia*, as well as portraits (Jesuits, Portuguese generals, English ladies, self-portraits of Dutch painters, to name but a few).

[56] Nonetheless, the present historical reassessment of Cosimo's visit to Portugal leads to the conclusion that his collection of Portuguese paintings differs substantially from the later examples of eclectic and curious collectionism, to use Cristina Acidini Luchinat's expression. This

⁷⁵ 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 XVIII*, ed. José Luis Colomer, Madrid 2003, 161-175, and a reproduction of the painting is available at p. 160.

⁷⁶ Carlos Azevedo, "Um retrato português em Inglaterra", in: *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, vol. XII, 2nd series, no. 1 (1956), 263-270, here p. 268.

⁷⁷ Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Cod. 51-VIII-43, fol. 511.

⁷⁸ DGLAB/TT, Registos paroquiais da Freguesia dos Anjos, Livro de óbitos (1687-1716), s/f.

⁷⁹ Acidini Luchinat, "Las artes en Florencia durante el reinado de Cosme III", 66 and 69.

assumption is corroborated not only by the historical state of affairs with which the prince became acquainted during his sojourn in Portugal, but also by the place where the portrait series of Portuguese generals was eventually displayed.

[57] As far as the historical context of Cosimo's visit is concerned, one cannot overlook the numerous figures that greatly contributed to the creation of this portrait series. First and foremost, one should mention the high nobles whom the Duke met personally and who occupied important military ranks during the Restoration period: Dinis de Melo e Castro (the Conde de Galveias), at the time of Cosimo's visit to Portugal a Cavalry General, who, in his capacity as Forester-in-Chief, showed him the Tapada Ducal de Vila Viçosa; the Marquês de Fronteira; the Marquês de Marialva; and the Conde de São Lourenço, whose gardens he visited. There are also reports of the prince's meetings with Salvador Correia de Sá and Pedro César de Meneses, who, though of a lower social position, had each played a decisive role in the Portuguese victories. It should be stressed again that Father Melo's choice was driven not only by the fact that he had personally known these figures, but also by the fact that they had served on the Council of War (the Conde de Ericeira, the Conde de Vila Flor, the Marquês de Távora, the Marquês de Fronteira, Gil Vaz Lobo, the Visconde de Fonte Arcada and Salvador Correia de Sá).⁸⁰

[58] Secondly, mention should also be made of the Jesuits, with whom Cosimo III de' Medici maintained permanent contacts. Particularly important was the accommodation at Jesuit colleges that was offered to the Italian entourage (Évora, Vila Viçosa, Santarém, Coimbra and Porto) and the meetings held with their members. In this context, reference should also be made, for example, to Father Cosmader, an engineer in the War of Restoration, Father Manuel Fernandes, the confessor of Dom Pedro II, Father Lobo and Father Inácio Mascarenhas.⁸¹

[59] Lastly, one should also recall Father António Vieira (an important figure in Portuguese history) and the cordial friendship that Cosimo III de' Medici enjoyed with him until the latter's death in 1698.⁸² In Lisbon, they met five times at different Jesuit headquarters (Santo Antão, São Roque and Cotovia).⁸³ Months later, in Marseille, on his way back from England, Cosimo III de' Medici met with Vieira and invited him to join him on his vessel. This meeting resulted in a second invitation for a short visit to Florence. Their friendship continued via epistolary correspondence, partly revealed in the study carried out by Aníbal Pinto de Castro, which emphasizes Vieira's influence on the affirmation of Portuguese

⁸⁰ António de Portugal de Faria (ed.), *Portugal e Itália*, 67.

⁸¹ António de Portugal de Faria (ed.), *Portugal e Itália*, 49, 51.

⁸² Aníbal Pinto de Castro, "O Padre António Vieira e Cosme III de Médicis", 8-10.

⁸³ António de Portugal de Faria (ed.), *Portugal e Itália*, 49, 51, 54, 55 and 60.

nationalism.⁸⁴ Before returning to Lisbon, in 1675, Vieira paid a new visit to Cosimo III de' Medici in Florence, the city he "cannot help but visit, always with a very busy agenda".⁸⁵ Due to this liaison with the Society of Jesus and his sympathy for the Jesuit cause, Cosimo III de' Medici later sponsored Saint Francis Xavier's sepulchral monument in Goa.⁸⁶

[60] The last noteworthy figure is António de Sousa Macedo (1606-1682), a 17th-century intellectual, the secretary of the first embassy to England after the Restoration of Portuguese rule (1641-1642), ambassador in The Hague (1650-1651) and Secretary of State during the reign of Dom Afonso VI.⁸⁷ In 1667, he fell into disgrace with Dom Pedro II for having supported his dethroned brother. Under these circumstances, he is known to have fled to England, seeking help from Queen Catarina de Bragança. The reports made by Portuguese ambassadors from Paris and London indicate that he accompanied Cosimo III de' Medici on his voyage to London aboard the ship *Portland*. The physician Giovanni Battista Gornia corroborates this suggestion, although, in his Italian account, the name of António de Sousa Macedo is miswritten as "Don Antonio Losa Portuguese".⁸⁸ While Father António Vieira's influence is useful for a better understanding of the commissioning of portraits devoted to such a specific theme, the role played by Macedo is not less important. It was Macedo who had written in 1645 *Lusitania liberata ab injusto Castellanorum dominio* (one of the most important 17th-century texts, published in London, voicing the opposition to the rule of the Spanish Crown and defending Dom João IV's right to the throne), in which he glorified the Portuguese nation and its ancestral values.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Aníbal Pinto de Castro, "O Padre António Vieira e Cosme III de Médicis", 8-10.

⁸⁵ "Carta do Padre António Vieira a Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo de 27 de Março de 1675", in: *Obra completa do Padre António Vieira*, tomo 1, vol. 3: *Cartas de Roma*, ed. Ana Leal de Faria, Lisbon 2013, 530.

⁸⁶ Claudia Conforti, "Cosimo III de' Medici patrono d'arte a Goa: la tomba di San Francesco Saverio di Giovan Battista Foggini", in: *Lo specchio del principe. Mecenateismi paralleli: Medici e Mogul*, ed. Dalu Jones, Rome 1991, 109-121.

⁸⁷ Ana Leal de Faria, *Arquitectos da paz. A diplomacia portuguesa de 1640 a 1815*, Lisbon 2008, 234.

⁸⁸ This information had already been provided in the correspondence between Dom Francisco de Melo Manuel da Câmara and Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo. DGLAB/TT, *Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, "Carta de Francisco Manuel de Melo para Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo", Cx. 4, Ms. 5 [The Hague, 25 April 1669, 9 May 1669, 4 July 1669; London, 21 December 1671]. See also Ana Maria Domínguez Ferro, "Análisis del viaje de Cosme III de Médicis por España de Giovan Battista Gornia", in: *El viaje a Compostela de Cosme III de Médicis*, 266.

⁸⁹ António de Sousa Macedo, *Lusitania liberata ab injusto Castellanorum dominio. Restituta legitimo Principi Serenissimo Joanni IV [...]*, London 1645. For more information on this author, see Edgar Prestage, *O Dr. António de Sousa Macedo*

[61] With respect to the place in which the paintings under analysis were displayed, relevant information can again be found in Cosimo's correspondence. According to this source, the portraits were displayed in his private gallery, where they were treated with great care and admiration.⁹⁰ In a letter to the Duke, dated 1674, the Conde de Ericeira calls this gallery "the hall of His Majesty".⁹¹

[62] According to Marilena Mosco, the Portuguese portrait series was already mentioned in 1674/1675 in one of the inventories: nine paintings were mentioned on 5 February 1674 and six on 30 January 1675, "venuti in Galleria di camera di S.A.R.". The portraits were again registered in the Uffizi inventory in 1704 and remained in the gallery at least until 1881, when they were transferred to the Corridoio Vasariano. All the paintings were transferred to Palazzo Pitti in 1949 and returned to the Gallerie degli Uffizi in 1990, except for the portraits of the Marquês de Fronteira and Salvador Correia de Sá which were transferred to the Palazzo Pitti in 1960 and returned to the Uffizi only in 1999.⁹²

[63] The analysis of the Portuguese figures that provided Cosimo III de' Medici with information on the War of Restoration and persuaded him to commission the fifteen portraits under study here, together with the examination of the final destination of these portraits in Florence, highlights a number of differences between this and other pictorial collections of foreign provenance. This is confirmed by a testimony given by Cosimo III de' Medici himself. Indeed, in 1698, the Conde de Ericeira published a second volume of his work entitled *História de Portugal Restaurado* [Post-Restoration Portugal], in which he included a letter from Cosimo de' Medici. This fact alone confirms the Duke's importance for the Portuguese spirit.⁹³ Cosimo was grateful for the offer of the first volume of

Residente de Portugal em Londres, Lisbon 1916, and Nuno Saldanha, "António de Sousa Macedo na teoria artística do barroco seiscentista. Contributo para o estudo de ideias estéticas no Portugal do Século XVII", in: *Cultura - História e Filosofia* 1, 7 (1993), 113-156; Lilian Pestre de Almeida, "A Lusitania liberata ou a Restauração Portuguesa em imagens", in: *Talia Dixit* 6 (2011), 85-119.

⁹⁰ Dá Mesquita, *História e arquitectura - uma proposta de investigação*, vol. 2, 271: "le immagini de suoi più famosi capitani da collocare nella mia galleria, come uno de piu illustri ornamenti di esta".

⁹¹ Archivio di Stato di Firenze, 5053, Letter from Conde de Ericeira to Cosimo de Medici, Lisbon, 1 June 1674. These documents were consulted in July 2014 under the scope of the DigiTile Library Project funded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (PTDC/EAT-EAT/117315/2010).

⁹² Marilena Mosco, "La serie di ritratti di generali portoghesi", in: *Gli Uffizi - catalogo generale*, ed. Luciano Berti, Florence 1979, 722-724.

⁹³ Luis de Menezes, Conde de Ericeira, *História de Portugal Restaurado. Oferecida a El Rey D. Pedro II, Nosso Senhor. Escrita por Dom Luís de Menezes Conde de Ericeira [...]*, 2 vols., Lisbon 1679/1698, vol. 2, introduction: "Illustrissimo, et

the Conde de Ericeira's work (published in 1679-80) and praised both the author and the Portuguese nation: "[the work] has been composed in an eloquent style by His Excellency, with such nobility and tribute paid to this renowned nation that there are endless possibilities to illustrate its great endeavours."⁹⁴

[64] Finally, it should be added that a lost portrait of the Duke's bust, dressed in glittering armour and posed exactly like the Portuguese generals, leads us to two assumptions.⁹⁵ In fact, it seems reasonable to assume that the portrait, which served as a model for Michelangelo Palloni's design for a tapestry executed by Bernardino Masi, could be placed in iconographical dialogue with the Portuguese paintings. Secondly, it should be borne in mind that the similarity between Cosimo III de' Medici and these illustrious and virtuous high nobles was depicted for the sake of glory, to use the prince's own expression.⁹⁶ Therefore, his interest in military portraiture, evident in the number of portraits gathered together over the years at the gallery, reveals yet another of his facets. Apart from his devout piety, the above-mentioned commission and epistolary correspondence bring to light his admiration for both military actions and the values that lay behind the struggles for an independent homeland. Accordingly, it should come as no surprise that the erudite Conde de

Eccellentissimo Signore, Quando pieno di riconoscimento volleva ringratiare l' Eccellenza Vostra, mi trovo sopraffatto da nuove finnezze de la bontà sua, e nelle espresioni che ha voluto farmene con tanta galanteria, e nello stimabilissimo dono inviatomi della prima parte dell' Istoria de Portogallo, compillata dall erudita penna di V. Eccellenza con tanta nobilita, e gloria di codita famosa Nazione, che dieda agli inchiostri infinita matèria d'illustrar si nelle sue grandi intrapese. Vorrei esser capace di giudicare di un opera si grave per haver parte anch'io negli aplausi, che riporterà dal mondo leterato, ma il mio corto intendimento mi fara solo andare a seconda dele aclamations universal, che non possano mancare alla conosciuta virtù di V. Eccellenza, la qual sola saprà discernere a pieno le perfettioni dell'opera stessa, et argumentare l'impasiensa, con cui sarà aspettata la Seconda Parte, che dovendo ridurre a memoria di chi gli vedde, e gl'intese con stupore fatti celebri, e recenti, non può eccitarne in ogni amatore del vero un curioso desiderio [...]. Di Firense le 30. Aprile 1680."

⁹⁴ Ibid.; the original reads: "escrita pela pena erudita de V. Excelência, com tanta nobreza e glória desta famosa nação, que há material infinita para ilustrar nela a sua grande empresa".

⁹⁵ Marilena Mosco, "Retrato de Cosme III de Médicis", in: *El viaje a Compostela de Cosme III de Médicis*, Santiago de Compostela 2004, 127-128, and Giovanni Matteo Guidetti, "Additional Information about the Sources of Michele Arcangelo Palloni's Artistic Language", in: *Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis* 51 (2008), 75-88, here 75-79.

⁹⁶ Archivio di Stato di Firenze, 5053, Letter from the Conde da Ericeira to Cosimo de Medici, Florence, 13 August 1674. This document was consulted in July 2014 under the scope of the DigiTile Library Project funded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (PTDC/EAT-EAT/117315/2010).

Ericeira had a different opinion about Cosimo III de' Medici. In fact, in a letter he revealed that he meant to show that "His Highness is the greatest Trajan of our times".⁹⁷

Conclusion

[65] Cosimo's visit to Portugal in 1669 is one of the most valuable 17th-century testimonies to the state of the arts in Portugal after the twenty years' war against Spain. One of the chief objectives of Cosimo's tour was to study the way in which the Portuguese regained their independence. This goal was achieved through the examination of the sites of the different battles and military measures as well as through contacts with the general officers. Once back in Italy, Cosimo found a perfect location to exhibit the portraits of the Portuguese generals and captains who had fought in this military conflict – his private gallery. These paintings, produced by the Portuguese royal portrait painter Feliciano de Almeida and his disciples, depict the personages in the chiaroscuro technique, which was very characteristic of the Baroque period.

[66] There is no doubt that Cosimo's visit to Portugal left its mark on the historiography of the Portuguese Restoration, since, as was pointed out by Father António de Mello, the duke's commission immortalized the Portuguese nobility and the soldiers who had generously defended their motherland.

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⁹⁷ Archivio di Stato di Firenze, 5053, Letter from the Conde da Ericeira to Cosimo de Medici, Florence, 13 August 1674. The original reads: "que logra em Vossa Alteza o nosso século [XVII] o melhor Trajano".