

The *Portrait of Philip Emmanuel of Savoy*

The Imaging of an Italian Prince at the Spanish Court



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**BILBOKO ARTE
EDERREN MUSEOA
MUSEO DE BELLAS
ARTES DE BILBAO**

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“Juan de la Cruz, tho’ with child ungraced,
gave life almost and soul to a silent face”
Lope de Vega, *The Beauty of Angelica*, 1602

When this magnificent portrait by the Spanish court portraitist, Juan Pantoja de la Cruz (Valladolid, c.1553-Madrid, 1608), appeared on the art market in 1959, the sitter was identified as a Nobleman and the painter as Alonso Sánchez Coello [fig. 1]¹. Purchased at one point in its history, before 1913, by the Parisian gallery owner and dealer, Eugène Fischhof², it reappeared on the art market for a third time, in 1994, now attributed to the studio of Sánchez Coello, with the sitter still unidentified³. Acquired by Caylus, the Old Master Paintings gallery in Madrid⁴, this portrait, at this juncture, was now identified as Philip Emmanuel (1586-1605) (Filippo Emanuele)⁵, Prince of Piedmont⁶, and correctly attributed to Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, entering the collection of the Fine Arts Museum in Bilbao in December of 1994⁷. Since its acquisition, this portrait has been shown in exhibitions in Spain and abroad⁸.

Painted in the period when the Spanish court transferred its capital from Madrid to Valladolid, between 1601 and 1606, this portrayal of King Philip III's eldest nephew, must have been commissioned not long after the prince's arrival in Valladolid in August of 1603. Philip Emmanuel, heir to the Duchy of Savoy, had been sent to Spain with his two younger brothers, Vittorio Amedeo (1587-1637) and Emmanuel Philibert (Emanuele Filiberto) (1588-1624), at the insistence of their father, Duke Charles Emmanuel I (Carlo Emanuele) (1562-1630)⁹, to complete their education and military training at the Spanish court¹⁰. However, until the birth of Philip III's heir,

1 Christie's, London, 1 May 1959, lot 18.

2 On the frame, a wax seal with the inscription: "Collection E. Fischhof. Paris". See *Catalogue des tableaux anciens... 1913*. The library of the Royal Palace in Madrid contains an archive of older photographs, which includes one of the Bilbao portrait of Philip Emmanuel. The attribution of this painting, as noted then, is given to Alonso Sánchez Coello and its provenance, the Leon Ad Lafitte Collection (Phot./842(3-9)). These photographs were taken by E. Otero, active at the Carrera San Jerónimo in Madrid, in the late 19th century.

3 *Important Old Master Paintings*, Phillips, London, 5 July 1994, lot 34. Oil on canvas. 101.5 x 89.5 cm. The correct measurements are 111.5 x 89.5 cm.

4 Kusche 1995; Kusche 1996, in particular pp. 149-150, fig. 13; Kusche 2007.

5 The eldest of five sons, Philip Emmanuel, had been nicknamed, "ermano grande," by his younger brothers. Cf. Mansau 1998; Mansau 2005a; Mansau 2005b; Calzona 2005, p. 110, no. 19.

6 Recently, the sitter was identified as Philip Emmanuel's brother, Vittorio Amedeo, without substantial evidence. Cf. José Ignacio Hernández Redondo. "El Príncipe de Saboya", in Valladolid 2002, pp. 67-70.

7 Inv. no. 94/119 (with a label on the reverse: "1099 Coello Emanuel Philibert"). F. Chacón. "El Museo de Bellas Artes compra un retrato de Pantoja de la Cruz", *El Mundo del País Vasco*, 16 December 1994; Ana Galilea Antón. "Retrato del príncipe Felipe Manuel de Saboya", in Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao... 1999, pp. 94-95; Alfonso Emilio Pérez Sánchez. "Portrait of Prince Philip Emmanuel of Savoy", in Bilbao Fine Arts Museum... 2006, p. 46.

8 Ana Galilea Antón. "Retrato del Príncipe Felipe Manuel de Saboya", in Budapest 1996, pp. 53-55, no. 2; José Ignacio Hernández Redondo in Valladolid 2002, pp. 67-70.; Ana Galilea Antón. "Il Principe di Savoia", in Genoa 2003, pp. 76-77, no. 2; Alexandra Millón Mate, "Príncipe de Saboya Filippo Emanuele", in Madrid 2005, p. 371, no. 145; Turin 2007a, p. 44.

9 Charles Emmanuel married Philip III's sister, Infanta Catalina Micaela, daughter of Philip II, in 1585. She subsequently died in childbirth in 1598. Their sons were 17, 16 and 15 years of age, respectively, when they arrived in Valladolid in 1603.

10 For a reconstruction of the residency of the Savoy princes in Spain, from 1603 to 1606, see the excellent study (with a compilation of older bibliography) by Río Barredo 2006. This is not the first instance of Italian princes, closely related to the Habsburg house, being sent to the Spanish court to complete their education. Alexander Farnese (1545-1592), the son of Margaret of Parma, lived in Spain from 1559 to 1565 (see Pérez de Tudela (in press)_a). Two other Italian princes from pro-Spanish families educated in Spain were Ferrante Gonzaga and Francesco Maria della Rovere. Princes from the Austrian branch of the Habsburg dynasty were also sent, including the sons of Emperor Maximilian II and Maria of Austria, the future Rudolf II and the Archduke Ernst, who were replaced by their younger brothers, Albert and Wenceslaus, all of whom spent years at Philip II's court completing their princely educations. Cf. Mayer-Löwenschwerdt 1927.



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1. Juan Pantoja de la Cruz (c. 1553-1608)
Portrait of Prince Philip Emmanuel of Savoy, c. 1604
Oil on canvas, 111.5 x 89.5 cm
Bilbao Fine Arts Museum
Inv. no. 94/119

the future Philip IV, in 1605, these Italian princes were also considered, as direct grandsons of Philip II¹¹, first in line in the succession of the Spanish throne. The festivities, entertainments, receptions and honors paid them in late August 1603, in Valladolid, were worthy and dignified of their princely rank. As the diplomatic envoy from Savoy, Segismundo d'Este, reported back to the Turin court¹², the princes were treated not only as the king's nephews, but also as his own children: "como hijos del rey, como infantes de España"¹³. Political interests lay behind Philip III's objective in commissioning from his principal court painter, Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, a portrait of the eldest prince and his brothers¹⁴. Philip Emmanuel, then 17 years of age, was seriously considered, at this date, by the Spanish royal family to be the future crown prince.

Hence, Philip III's official presentation of the Italian princes to his court, necessitated official images of his "infantes". As did many of the Spanish court, Pantoja de la Cruz abandoned his residence in Madrid, and, from 26 November 1603 until 18 January 1604, is documented in Valladolid in the service of the king, where he painted the monarch, the queen, Margarita of Austria, and their family, including Philip Emmanuel and his brothers¹⁵. As the Savoy ambassador informed his patron, Duke Charles Emmanuel I, the three brothers sat for their full-length portraits in Valladolid before 26 July 1604, establishing the portraitist had extended his stay there for the completion of these commissions¹⁶. Pantoja perhaps resided during this sojourn in the house of *licenciado* (Doctor) Barrionuevo de Peralta, who lived in Valladolid since 1590, and with whom Pantoja cultivated a close relationship through his wife, Francisca de los Huertos¹⁷.

In 1605 Pantoja moved to Lerma and Burgos, where he completed portraits of the king and queen sent as gifts to the English court. In 1606 he was at El Escorial, executing portraits of the queen, and her daughter, Infanta Ana Mauricia, and, in 1607, he returned to El Escorial to complete portrayals of the prince, the future Philip IV, and his elder sister. Pantoja's portrait of Philip Emmanuel was unquestionably painted before the painter departed for Lerma in July 1605, and before this prince died in Valladolid of smallpox on 9 February the same year. Therefore, we propose to date the Bilbao museum portrait between July and September of 1604, when a royal tour of Spain, including the Italian princes in its entourage, was initiated.

We know from the same ambassador, Segismundo d'Este, Pantoja de la Cruz not only executed the official portraits of the Italian princes, but he was also commissioned to paint a number of replicas intended as gifts for Turin and for distribution amongst the nobility of Philip III's court¹⁸. Given that demand was great,

11 Cf. Spivakovsky 1975, p. 72 (letter XII: Philip II to Catalina Micaela, Madrid, 27 April 1586): "Antes de rresponder a vuestras cartas os diré lo que he holgado de la buena nueva que he tenido de vuestra buen alumbryento, que he sido para my el mayor contentamyento que podia ser, / y así estoy alegrísimo della y también de que sea hijo y me ayais dado el primer nieto que he tenido".

12 Detailed letters were written to Turin from two courtiers in the princes's entourage: the Savoy ambassador, Sigismundo d'Este, and the Jesuit priest, Giovanni Botero.

13 Philip III was also godfather of Philip Emmanuel. Río Barredo 2006, pp. 408, 416-417.

14 Two (unidentified) portraits of the princes of Savoy were in Pantoja's studio at the time of his death in 1608 (Sánchez Cantón 1947). The inventory of the painter's studio and possessions reproduced in Kusche 1964, p. 259: "Dos retratos de los principes de Saboya". It is clear from the latter (p. 254) portraits intended for the Pardo palace were still Pantoja's workshop when he died in 1608.

15 Kusche 1964, pp. 246-247; Serrera 1990, particularly p. 61: "Deve más el Rey Nuestro Señor todo el tiempo que estube fuera de mi casa en Madrid, estando la corte en Valladolid, por mandado de Su Magestad, con dos criados a mi costa".

16 For d'Este's letter from Valladolid, dated 26 July 1604, see Archivio di Stato di Torino, Corte, *Lettere Ministri Spagna*, mazzo II, published by Anna Maria Bava ("Giovanni Caracca alla Corte dei Savoia") in Turin 2005, p. 43, no. 56: "Li ser.mi Principi desiderano li retrati in piedi delle ser.e Principesse e Principi, essendo molti che gli desiderano e loro ne avranno gran gusto, compiaciasi di comandare che si faciano, ch'in contraccambio manderanno li loro che si stano facendo". For an unpublished payment made to Pantoja in Valladolid in 1603, probably for portraits commissioned by Philip III, see Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Consejo Junta y Hacienda (CyJH), leg. 431: "A Joan pantoja de la cruz de Camara del Rey nuestro señor se deven y estan contados por el bureo de su Magestad quarenta y seis mill seteçientos y çinquenta mrs que montaron las obras que hizo de su serviçio en todo el año passado de mill y seisçientos y dos/y mas otros trejnta mill mrs que hubo de haver por su gajes en todo el dicho año que todo monta setenta y seis mill seteçientos y çinquenta mrs la paga delos quales ade ser por mano de francisco guillamas de lazquez maestro de la Camara de su Magestad/en Valladolid a diez de henero de mil y seisçientos y tres anos. Hieronimo de quinquoces". I am grateful to Félix Labrador Arroyo for this reference.

17 Pantoja's wife once worked in Peralta's household, and this personal connection served Pantoja well whenever he resided for longer periods of time in Valladolid, in the service of the king. Peralta may have also been a patron of Pantoja.

18 For example, there were two portraits of the princes of Savoy in the collection of Gil Ramírez de Arellano in 1618, see Burke/Cherry 1997, vol. I, pp. 66 and 209. Kusche 2007, pp. 400-401, identifies a gentleman with a cape as Vittorio Amadeo, basing this on the 1622 will and testament of R. de Villandrando, which cites two small models for portraits of the Savoy princes: Emmanuel and Philibert. See Varela 1999, pp. 200-201.

Pantoja probably delegated these copies to studio assistants. The high-quality of Philip Emmanuel's portrait, however, proves this work was executed by Pantoja alone, without any workshop intervention, resulting in a potent, dynamic image, which exemplifies princely propaganda at its best. Pantoja de la Cruz achieved here a successful and superb portrayal of Philip Emmanuel, one of his best in this genre of royal portraits, which visually assured Philip III's court, his dynastic succession was secure in the hands of this virile prince.

During Pantoja's residency in Valladolid, he may have been assisted in the completion of these numerous commissions by two court painters, for whom the Italian princes also sat for their portraits. One of them, Pedro Antonio Vidal (1575-1617), *pintor de cámara* of Philip III's minister and *valido*, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, the I Duke of Lerma (1552-1625)¹⁹, is recorded having painted Vittorio Amedeo's portrait, when this prince became the next Savoy heir after his elder brother's untimely death. Vidal solicited, in 1617 in Madrid, payment for a *retrato original*, now lost, he had painted of Vittorio in half-armor, wearing yellow trousers (*calzas bajas*), executed in the same style, format and composition Pantoja de la Cruz had previously portrayed Philip Emmanuel in the Bilbao portrait²⁰. Vidal's portrayal of Vittorio, along with two other portraits of Philip III Vidal painted at the same date, one of which was sent to the French court as a gift and is now lost²¹, the other of Philip III as king, today in the Museo del Prado²², must have been executed before the two surviving Italian princes, Vittorio Amedeo and Emanuele Filiberto, left the Spanish court to return to Turin in 1606.

The other painter, Santiago Morán (?-1626), closely associated with Pantoja de la Cruz and who may have trained in his workshop, became Philip III's painter, *pintor del Rey*²³, in 1609, after this post was left vacant by Pantoja's death in 1608²⁴. In 1607, with another painter, Juan María Bussan, Morán was taking an inventory of the paintings in the collection of the Duke of Lerma, located in his residence, Palacio de la Ribera in Valladolid, half of which (631 pictures) had been sold in 1606 to Philip III. Morán is documented

19 Vidal also painted the Duke of Lerma on several occasions. Cf. Vigo/.../Toledo 1993, p. 130. The Duke also sat in Valladolid for a full length portrait painted by a hitherto unknown female painter, Doña Juana de Peralta, which later entered Philip III's collection in 1606. Peralta's portrait of Lerma hung, after 1615, in the Alcázar palace, in Madrid. Peralta may have been a relation, or daughter, of Barrionuevo de Peralta in Valladolid who was closely associated with Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, and with whom she may have apprenticed. What other portraits she executed remains to be determined. Archivo General de Palacio (AGP), Madrid, Sección Administrativa, legajo 902, *Cuentas de cargo... que entraron en poder de Hernando de Espejo (1617-1641)*, unfoliated: "El Retrato del Duque de Lerma armado en pie guarnecido de dos varas y media de mano de Doña Juana de Peralta". The latter portrait was not recorded in Lerma's collection. Cf. Schroth 1999, pp. 102, 185-186; pp. 255-256, fig. 1.

20 AGP, Inventarios Generales (Sección Histórica), box 82, unfoliated: "Recivese en quenta al dicho Hernando Despejo tres mil setecientos y çinquenta Reales que valen çiento y veinte y siete mil y quinhentos mrs en birtud de una zedula de su Magestad firmada de su Real mano [...] fecha en Madrid a primero de Abril de mil y seisçientos y diez y siete anos [...] por haver los pagado por mandado de su Magestad a Pedro Antonio Vidal pintor por los Retratos y obras que hiço de su oficio segun y de la forma que avajo se declara en esta manera: Mil y quinhentos Reales por un Retrato de su Magestad [Felipe III] armado con armas negras y un baston en la mano derecha y la yzquierda en la espada y a los pies un globo y todo al natural guarnecido con una moldura de palo santo negro de mas de dos varas y media de alto y de vara y media de ancho el qual dicho Retrato se entrego; Ochoçientos y ochenta Reales por un retrato original del Rey Nuestro Señor siendo Principe armado con armas gravadas moradas la una mano en la espada y la otra en el baston con una zelada y su manoplas en el suelo que dicho Retrato segun dicho es entrego el dicho Hernando Despejo a quien le mando su Magestad para llevar le a françia como en la dicha çedula se rrefiere [...]; Setecientos e setenta Reales por un Retrato original del Bitorio Principe de saboya sobrino de su Magestad de medio cuerpo arriba armado con armas gravadas con su bufete y encima del una zelada con sus manoplas y la mano en la espada tiene de alto vara y media y de ancho vara y quarta que quedo en poder el dicho Hernando Despejo [...]".

21 This lost Vidal portrait was perhaps a replica after an earlier work by Pantoja de la Cruz of Philip III as prince, also now lost. It could also have been a portrait of the future Philip IV.

22 Inv. no. 1950. Oil on canvas. 200 x 135 cm. Cf. Jesús Urrea. "Retrato de Felipe III", in Vigo/.../Toledo 1993, p. 40, no. 2, and Alexandra Millón Maté. "Felipe III", in Madrid 2005, pp. 326-327, no. 89.

23 The only portrait attributed to Santiago Morán is one of Philip III's daughter, Infanta Margarita Francisca (1610-1617), painted ca. 1610, today in the Museo del Prado (inv. no. 1282. Oil on canvas, 100 x 72 cm). Cf. Lucía Varela. "La infanta Margarita Francisca, hija de Felipe III", in Cáceres 2000, pp. 336-337, no. 6.10.

24 Angulo/Pérez Sánchez 1969, pp. 68-73, especially p. 68, for the document written by the king's secretary, Juan de Ibarra: "no era [Morán] en las obras [y Bosques] como los demás, sino en la casa de su Magestad y que tenía sus gajes consignados en el maestro de camara y el asiento en los libros del Bureo y por eso no se le dio cédula".



2. Giovanni Caracca (Jan Kraek) (active between 1568 and 1607)
Portrait of Prince Philip Emmanuel at one year of age, 1587
 Oil on canvas, 121 x 83 cm
 Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid
 In deposit at the Spanish Embassy, Buenos Aires
 Inv. no. 1980

painting portraits of Philip III and Margarita of Austria²⁵, before 30 April 1615, including another, now lost, of the youngest of the three Italian princes, Emmanuel Philibert (Emanuele Filiberto)²⁶. This later portrayal, perhaps executed after Philip Emmanuel's death in February 1605, was hung next to one of his deceased elder brother, painted by Juan Caracca (Jan Kraeck) in 1587, when Philip Emmanuel was one year old²⁷, and which is still extant today in the Museo del Prado [fig. 2]²⁸. Both of these portraits hung side by side in the Inner Gallery, or *Galería de Adentro*, in the Alcázar palace in Madrid, along with others of their brothers, as will be discussed below. Morán's portrait appears to have been identical in format and composition to the lost portrait of Vittorio Amedeo by Pedro Antonio Vidal, and which also depicted Emmanuel Philibert in half-armor, wearing, as his brother, yellow *calzas bajas*²⁹. This series of portraits of the Savoy princes, along with those of the Spanish royal family, formerly in the king's collection in Valladolid, were returned to the Alcázar palace in 1615, and dispersed among various portrait galleries which showcased Philip III, his queen, Margarita, their children and Habsburg relatives of the *Casa de Austria*.

25 AGP, Secc. Admin., legajo 902, f. 249 (after 1621): "[...] por un Retrato original de la Reyna nuestra señora siendo princesa de dos varas y media de alto y vara y media de ancho vestida de tela rica de oro y plata guarnecida de passamanos de oro y plata, con las Joyas ricas y botones de a tres diamantes y cintura y una sarta de perlas blancas y encarnados en la gorra y una Joya de diamantes en medio, la una mano en una silla y la otra en un lienço de puntas con cortina carmesi que hizo Santiago Moran [...]; por un Retrato original del Rey Don Phe[lipe] 3o nuestro señor que aya Gloria del mismo tamaño que el en la partida antes desta con armas negras perfiladas de oro, calça negra de obra, la una mano en el baston y la otra en la celada questa sobre un bufete con sobre messa de terçopelo negro y cortina de lo mismo y suelo enlössado que hizo el mismo Santiago Moran [...]". Mention is made in these accounts of another full-length portrait of Queen Margaret, dressed in black, holding a fan in one hand and a kerchief in the other, also by Morán, in the *Galería de Adentro* in the Alcázar in Madrid. AGP, Secc. Admin., legajo 902, f. 1: "Relacion de las Pinturas que quedan en la guardajoyas que no estan entregadas a D. Joan Pacheco y quedan por quenta Hernando de Espejo".

26 AGP, Secc. Admin., legajo 902, *Cuentas de cargo... que entraron en poder de Hernando de Espejo (1617-1641)*, unfoliated: "30 de abril 1615, Aranjuez. Su Magestad manda que embeis luego de Valladolid las pinturas originales que se truxeron de la galeria de la cassa Real de alli para que buelvan a poner donde estavan, y vayan de suerte que no reciban daño".

27 Inv. no. 1980. Oil on canvas. 121 x 83 cm. On deposit at the Spanish Embassy in Buenos Aires. Also AGP, Secc. Admin., legajo 902, "Relacion de las Pinturas que quedan en la guardajoyas que no estan entregadas a D. Joan Pacheco y quedan por quenta Hernando de Espejo", f. 1v: "Otro retrato del Principe filiberto de Saboya armado con calzas amarillas dellas Rodillas arriba [margin: "Principe Filiberto Sant. Moran"]; "Otro retrato entero del Principe Felipe de saboya niño con una ginetta en la mano y papagayo al cavo della" [margin: "Principe Felipe de Saboya"].

28 Turin 2005, p. 36, fig. 9.

29 It appears the Vidal and the Morán portraits of Vittorio Amadeo and Emmanuel Philibert respectively were intended to be the same size as the Pantoja portrait of Philip Emmanuel.

Juan Caracca (Jan Kraeck): Flemish Painter at the Courts of Turin and Madrid

Time, space and distance between family and relatives dispersed among different courts of Europe, was bridged by resident ambassadors residing at these courts, and by frequent correspondence. The letters written by Philip II of Spain to his daughter, Catalina Micaela, at the Turin court after 1585, underscore their close relationship, enhanced through their exchange of numerous gifts and court portraits. After the birth of her first son, Philip Emmanuel, in 1586, Catalina began sending her father and her sister, Isabel Clara Eugenia, portraits of her children, which documented the Spanish king's grandchildren at key stages of their development and growth. For this specific task of painting her seven children, she recruited the Flemish painter, Jan Kraeck (?-1607), also known as Juan Caracca, Carracha, Carranza or Carraza in Spain, who was employed at the court of Savoy³⁰, and had been in the service of her husband, Duke Charles Emmanuel, since 1568³¹. Catalina took recourse to a tradition of portraiture long fostered at her father's court and one firmly established by his court painter, Alonso Sánchez Coello, that of portraying royal children and adolescents. The pictorial conventions set down by Sánchez Coello in his portraits of princes and adolescents set a pattern followed by other painters engaged by the Habsburgs in Spain and elsewhere. Catalina promoted a Habsburg style of royal portraiture in Turin, which was reinforced by court portraits she brought in her trousseau from Spain, as well as, by those family portraits she later received in Turin, sent over the years from Spain.

Often these images of royal children, depicted at various ages and in different guises, were uniform in size and format, in order to conform to a specific function, space or location, according to where they were hung and displayed. Other times, these portraits were smaller in scale and composition, intended for private, more intimate use, as in 1589, when Philip II received from Charles Emmanuel a small book which contained the miniature portraits of Catalina and her sons executed by Caracca³², and which may have closely resembled this miniature group portrait of Catalina, her husband and family, attributed to Caracca [fig. 3]³³.

Caracca traveled to the Spanish court on two different occasions, first in 1585, and later in 1591³⁴, in the entourage of Duke Charles Emmanuel. While in Spain, he was exposed to the court styles of Alonso Sánchez Coello, Sofonisba Anguissola and Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, which greatly influenced the portrait commissions he undertook in Turin for Catalina Micaela. After the birth of her first son, Philip II's first grandson, Catalina sent her father, in 1587, Caracca's portrait of Philip Emmanuel, today in the Museo del Prado [fig. 2]. The infant prince, depicted in a familiar setting with his pet dog and parrot, wears a children's Spanish dress, known as a *baquero*, holding a short military lance (*gineta*) with a decorative tassel³⁵, an indication of the military duties later expected of him. This lance used by Infantry captains, symbolized Philip Emmanuel's future martial role as a Savoy and Habsburg prince of the *Casa de Austria*, this concept reinforced by the statuette of a military figure on the table next to him. This was the first of many portraits sent from Turin to Spain, which Philip II delighted in receiving, as he wrote his daughter in 1591, when Duke Charles personally brought to Spain, her portrait and more of his grandsons³⁶, such as the portrait of Philip Emmanuel, painted

30 For more on Carraca in Turin and the cultural ambiance fostered at the Savoy court see Bava 1998.

31 Turin 2005, pp. 27-44. Also Spivakovsky 1975, p. 107, Philip II to Catalina Micaela, 6 July 1589 (Letter XXXV): "con lo que decís de mys nietos he holgado mucho, y con un lybrillo quel Duque me embió de vuestro retrato y los suyos, / aunque más holgaría de veros a vos y a ellos". In this letter, the king, although happy to have received portraits from Turin, writes he "would prefer seeing his daughter and her children." Court portraits were not always painted as state images, but more often for sentimental reasons, used as visual substitutes, not unlike photographs, of beloved relatives and family. Cf. Serrera 1990, pp. 48-49.

32 Turin 2005, pp. 32-33, no. 38. In 1585, Carraca was paid for: "molti ritratti grandi e piccoli di Sua Altezza e della Ser.ma Infante."

33 Abelló Collection, Madrid. Oil on canvas, 64.2 x 51 cm. Previously sold at *Old Master Paintings*, Sotheby's, London, 6 July 2006, sale 6032, lot 136; Kusche 2007, p. 54. Carlo Emanuele luce al cuello la orden de la Annunziata y la cruz de San Mauricio.

34 He portrayed Philip II, Isabel Clara Eugenia and prince Philip at El Escorial in 1591, returning to Turin with these portraits and others he had copied. See Bouza 1998, p. 180, and Pérez de Tudela 2001, pp. 486 and 487.

35 For the inventory description (before 1615) see note 27 above. The *gineta* was a short lance made of gilt iron with a tassel as an adornment.

36 Spivakovsky 1975, p. 126, Philip II to Catalina Micaela, 28 April 1591 (Letter LV): "el Duque [...] que ha llegado tan bueno que he holgado mucho de verlo y también de los retratos de todos mis nietos y de su madre". Also Bouza 1998, pp. 179-180, letter XCV.



3 Giovanni Caracca (Jan Kraek) (active between 1568 and 1607)
Group portrait of the family of Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy and the infanta Catalina
 Micaela (with their children: Philip Emmanuel, Vittorio Amedeo, Emmanuel Philibert and Margarita), c. 1590-1600
 Oil on canvas, 64.2 x 51 cm
 Abelló Collection, Madrid



4. Giovanni Caracca (Jan Kraek) (active between 1568 and 1607)
Portrait of Philip Emmanuel at the age of five, 1591
 Oil on canvas, 128 x 91 cm
 Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid
 Inv. no. 1264

by Caracca when he was five years of age, also in the Museo del Prado [fig. 4]³⁷. As in his earlier portrayal, the young prince is again imaged as a martial figure with all the necessary accoutrements needed for future military victories: sword, parade helmet and firearm (*arcabuz*) inlaid with ivory.

A series of seven portraits of the Savoy princes, most of which have not survived, hung in a room in the Alcázar palace in Madrid, with two full-length representations of their parents, Catalina Micaela and Charles Emmanuel, all painted by Caracca. This portrait gallery of the Savoy house was seen and described by Diego de Cuelbis in 1599³⁸. At the beginning of Philip IV's reign, once the court definitively returned to Madrid after 1621, five portraits of the princes of Savoy by Caracca, under the care of the keeper of the wardrobe (*guardajoyas*), were recorded in two rooms: the *Galeria de Adentro* (Inner Gallery)³⁹ and the *Galeria de Afuera*

37 Inv. no. 1264. Oil on canvas, 128 x 91 cm. Fernando Bouza Álvarez. "Felipe Manuel de Saboya, príncipe de Pramonte, a los cinco años de edad", in Madrid 1998, pp. 415-416, no. 105; David García López. "Felipe Manuel de Saboya a los cinco años", in Cáceres 2000, pp. 334-336, no. 6.9. In another portrait of Vittorio Amedeo by Caracca, painted in 1595, the prince, in a similar pose, is dressed in red, wearing a band embroidered with the motto: FERT and the Savoy knot, see Turin 2007b, pp. 10-13. Also in 1595, Caracca portrayed the eldest son, then nine years of age, wearing military boots and an armored collar, with a cannon in the background and a helmet on the ground, see Turin 2005, pp. 34-35, fig. 12, 13.

38 Bouza 1998, p. 179, no. 390; Checa 1994. At the time of Philip II's death, only two portraits of ancestors of the Savoy princes are described in the king's treasury (*guardajoyas*) in the Alcázar in Madrid. Cf. Sánchez Cantón 1959, p. 232, 3.980: "Otro retrato entero, en lienzo, al ollio, del Duque de Saboya [possibly Emmanuel Philibert, called "Testa di Ferro"], armado, con calzas blancas y collar de la Anunciada y una banda azul en el brazo derecho, con un perro a los pies: tiene de alto dos barras y una ochaba y bara y quarta de ancho. Tasado en treynta ducados"; and pp. 234-235, 4.003: "Otro retrato entero, en lienzo, al ollio, del Duque de Saboya [Carlo Emanuele (?)], armado con calzas blancas, con un pajecillo bestido de verde, que le lleva las manoplas; tiene de alto dos barras y una sesma y de ancho una bara y cinco dozabos. Tasado en cinquenta ducados". In the Municipal Museum of Vigo, a portrait (inv. no. 50), oil on canvas, purchased in Madrid in 1935, resembles in physiognomy the portraits of Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, painted by Argenta; however, there are no Savoy devices to identify the sitter. This portrait is clearly not Alexander Farnese, as is identified in the present catalogue.

39 AGP, Secc. Admin., legajo 902, Guardajoyas, "Relacion de las Pinturas que quedan en la guardajoyas que no están entregadas al s.r don joan Pacheco y quedan por q[ue]n.ta del s.r her.do despejo", f. 1 r and v: "En la Galeria de Adentro: un retrato entero de un hijo del duq[ue] de saboya con baquero con la mano izquierda jugando con un perrillo en marco dorado" [margin: "hijo del duque de saboya"]; "otro retrato del Principe filiberto de saboya armado con calças amarillas de las Rodillas arriba" [margin: "Principe Filiberto Sant.o Moran/ R.do en q.ta a H.do Desp.jo"]; "otro retrato entero del Principe Felipe Manuel de Saboya en camisa sentado en una almoada" [margin: "Felipe manuel de saboya"]; "otro retrato entero del Príncipe Felipe de Saboya siendo niño con una ginetá en la mano y un papagayo al cavo della" [margin: "Príncipe Felipe de Saboya"]. These inventory entries were reproduced with errors in transcription and a note saying the original document had disappeared, in Martínez Leiva/Rodríguez Rebollo 2007, p. 192.

(Outer Gallery)⁴⁰, alongside those of their parents, also by Caracca, in the *segundo aposento al subir dela escalera*⁴¹. Four of the five portraits depicted the princes as children and were those sent from Turin, between 1587 and 1591, while the fifth, was the portrait of Emmanuel Philibert, discussed above, painted by Santiago Morán in Valladolid after 1605. A series of surviving portraits of Catalina Micaela's children, by Caracca and his workshop, today in Turin and in other collections in Italy, give an idea of the appearance of those portrait versions sent to Spain⁴². These portraits of the Savoy princes, later recorded in the 1636 Alcázar palace inventory, were no longer described in this document as a portrait series, but hanging, as individual paintings, in galleries where portraits predominated the pictorial decoration⁴³.

Portrait galleries in the Alcázar palace, such as those of the Savoy house, placed together in one specific room, served as royal propaganda. The portraits of the Savoy princes underscored political and family ties of the Spanish court, acting as visual genealogies of Philip III and his family⁴⁴. Portrait galleries had played an important role in the previous reign of Philip II, whose own collection of portraits of the Habsburg dynasty in the Pardo hunting palace served as a model for his son. When this superb collection of forty-five portraits by the leading painters of Philip II's reign, such as Titian, Anthonis Mor, Alonso Sánchez Coello and Jooris van der Straeten were lost in a devastating fire in March of 1604, Philip III undertook to create a new series comprising of thirty-five family portraits, commissioned from his court painter, Juan Pantoja de la Cruz⁴⁵. For his initial concept of the new Pardo gallery, Philip III intended to include portraits of his sister, Catalina Micaela, her husband, Charles Emmanuel and two of their sons, Vittorio Amedeo and Emmanuel Philibert, which had not hung there before the 1604 fire⁴⁶. To undertake these commissions, Pantoja executed copies

40 Ibid., *Cuentas de cargo... que entraron en poder de Hernando de Espejo (1617-1641)*, f. 1v: "En la Galeria de Afuera: otro Retrato de pinzel al olio de un hijo del duque de Savoya en carnes con una paloma en las manos con marco de madera dorado" [margin: "hijo del duque de Saboya"].

41 Cf. Bava 2005, no. 15; Sluiter 2005, no. 16. Also AGP, Secc. Admin., legajo 902, *Cuentas de cargo... que entraron en poder de Hernando de Espejo (1617-1641)*, fol. 1v: "Mas retratos. Un Retrato de la Rodilla arriva en lienço al olio de Duque de Saboya armado en calças amarillas y un baston en la mano derecha y una vanda roja al cuello la çelada sobre una messa tiene de alto vara y siete ochavas y de ancho vara y sesma es original de mano de Juan Carraza. Otro Retrato del mismo tamaño en lienço al olio la señora Infanta Doña Catalina muger del Duque de Saboya vestida de negro con puntas y botones cinta y collar y una sarta de perlas al cuello de dos bueltas puesta la mano yzquierda sobre una silla y en la derecha un lienço original del dicho Juan Carraza". These may possibly be the portraits taken from Valladolid in 1615 as models for copies destined for the Pardo palace. Cf. Lapuerta 2002, p. 508, doc. 77. For a painstaking analysis of the reconstruction of the portrait gallery at El Pardo, see pages 405-442.

42 Turin 2005, pp. 33-37, fig. 9-18.

43 Martínez Leiva/Rodríguez Rebollo 2007, in "Pieça Terçera del passadiço [5]": p. 74, no. 97: "Otro lienço al olio y en él un retrato entero del Duque de Saboya siendo moço, armado y con calças y mangas blancas y un perro blanco grande"; p. 75, no. 116: "Un retrato al olio de medio cuerpo arriba que es el Duque de Saboya armado, con un bufete, una çelada y manoplas y bastón en la mano"; p. 76, no. 128, "Un retrato de medio cuerpo arriba del Príncipe Filiberto con armas sembradas de soles y una cruz blanca en el pecho" which may be the portrait by Santiago Morán. Recently on the art market, was a portrait of Catalina Micaela's third son, Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, painted in 1602, 76 x 88 cm, bearing a large white cross on his armor as Prior of St. John. For the same violet breastplate with golden suns, see Bava 1995, p. 279, tav. 70. In "Pieça obscura, junto a la galería de mediodía [21]": p. 92, no. 634: "Un retrato al olio de poco más de una vara de ancho, con moldura dorada y negra, que está el Duque de Saboya, padre del Príncipe Filiberto, armado, tiene mangas de malla y calças blancas con un bastón en la mano izquierda y en el cuello y braço unas bandas açules" (on p. 153, the latter painting identified as that of Emmanuel Philibert's grandfather at El Escorial. During the reign of Charles III, this portrait was cited with the number 289 in the inventory of the palace of the Buen Retiro, Fernández-Miranda 1988, p. 279, no. 2652, and may have hung beside Sofonisba Anguissola's *Philip II with a rosary*, today in the Prado museum); no. 636: "Otro retrato al olio halgo mayor, con moldura dorada y negra, en que está uno de los hijos del dicho Duque de Saboya vestido de blanco en un carreton y sobre un bufete cubierto de carmesí un perrillo y cortina verde". In "Pieça de las bóbedas que tiene puerta al jardín nuevo de la huerta de la priora [38]": p. 116, no. 1031: "Un lienço con un retrato de un Príncipe de Saboya que se llama Phelipe Manuel, con una lançilla en la mano, un perro blanco al lado hizquierdo y un papagayo ençima una ventana, tiene moldura dorada" (on p. 177, identified as Prado portrait, inv. no. 1980 (fig. 2); no. 1324 (blank) corresponds to Charles III's Buen Retiro inventory, Fernández-Miranda 1988, p. 351, no. 3687); no. 1039: "Otro retrato del duque de Saboya armado y con calças blancas, con un pajeçillo bestido de verde que le lleva las manoplas", formerly in Philip II's collection. In the Buen Retiro inventory the 1591 portrait of Philip Emmanuel is also cited (fig. 4), Fernández-Miranda 1988, p. 351, no. 3674 (no. 1311 blank).

44 For more on portrait galleries in Spanish collections see Jordan 1998.

45 Kusche 1996; Kusche 1999; Lapuerta 2000; Lapuerta 2002, p. 431; Kusche 2007, pp. 153-168 and 284.

46 At a later stage, the portraits of the two princes were eliminated from the Pardo pictorial program, and only those of Catalina Micaela and her husband were hung in the new gallery. However, after 1614, they were described in the Pardo palace inventory (AGP, Administrativa, leg. 768, file no. 3) in a gallery called the *Galería del Mediodía*: "otro Retrato de medio cuerpo del principe Vitorio sin marco/ otro Retrato de medio cuerpo del príncipe filiberto sin marco". In this same inventory, a half-length portrait of their father, with a black and gold frame (distinct from the one in the portrait gallery), formerly in the Mansfeld collection in Madrid, was cited in the entrance hall of the palace. In the later 1653 inventory the two portraits of the Savoy princes bore the numbers 159 and 160, and were mounted in black and gold frames (AGP, Administraciones Patrimoniales, El Pardo, box 9404, file no. 3). They are again cited in the same room in 1700. Fernández Bayton 1981, p. 145, no. 146 and 147.

of the Caracca portraits of Catalina and her husband, then displayed in the Royal Palace in Valladolid, as well as replicas of his own portraits of the younger Savoy princes, recently executed for the king in Valladolid, between 1603 and 1604, the latter two compositional variations of Pantoja's Bilbao portrait of Philip Emmanuel [fig. 1]⁴⁷.

Juan Pantoja de la Cruz and the Legacy of Alonso Sánchez Coello

Within the complex framework of Renaissance courts, portraits and the portraitists who executed them, played a key role in court life and politics. Like modern photographs and present day digital images, portraits in the Renaissance linked people and courts in a unique and decisive way. In an age where rulers and princes had no recourse to global media or the Internet, portraits and portraitists functioned as cultural ambassadors in the intricate diplomatic exchanges between courts. Portraits cemented political alliances, reinforced friendships, sealed dynastic marriages and served as visual replacements of loved ones (both alive and dead). Portraits bridged relatives and acquaintances separated from one another by distance, space and time, easing the pain of absent family and friends. The emphasis in the Renaissance upon status, family, ceremonial and etiquette affected the way portraits were used and displayed at the Spanish Habsburg court.

During the early 1600s, Philip Emmanuel and his brothers became key figures in the complex political situation which existed between the Savoy court and Spain. The three eldest brothers were sent to Madrid to learn the necessary arts of diplomatic guile and policy, and, if necessary, to assume political roles at the Spanish court. These measures assured the Spanish crown loyalty from Savoy, a state which also played a decisive role in Spain's policies with France. Pantoja's portrait of Philip Emmanuel projects the image of a virile prince, looking ahead to a bright future: a portrait whose intent was to present a reassuring message to Philip III's court [fig. 1]. The formal techniques Pantoja chose to adopt in his portraiture, and the pictorial traditions he relied upon, was a portrait tradition established in previous decades by his teacher, Alonso Sánchez Coello, and before him by Anthonis Mor, the renowned painter of the Habsburg court in Brussels⁴⁸. In keeping with the Flemish elements of this Habsburg court portrait style, Pantoja depicts details with great precision, representing clothes, accessories and jewels with great exactitude. His faces reveal a deep psychological study, while the heads of his sitters are executed with remarkable plasticity. Poses, however, are rigid, giving the appearance of being frozen. In many of his late portraits, figures appear static, forming a geometrical composition. Pantoja adopted a more affected style than either Anthonis Mor or Sánchez Coello. He opts for greater simplicity, abstraction, two-dimensionality and less optical depth, characteristic of Spanish portraiture at the end of the sixteenth century. Pantoja's style can be best described as "precious," the repetition of pictorial solutions and formulas becoming petrified.

Recently, Sarah Schroth demonstrated how Pantoja de la Cruz and painters in his circle devised a new visual language and a style of grandeur with which to communicate the needs and interests of Philip III⁴⁹. Schroth characterized abstract linear design and color as the unifying principle in Pantoja's representations, in which the royal sitter is transformed into a remote, icon-like image. The notion underscored in Pantoja's official representations is that of a monarch remaining hidden and inaccessible. The superb

47 These four portraits are now lost. Cf. Lapuerta 2000, pp. 30 and 36; Kusche 1964, pp. 265-268 and particularly p. 266: "Mas otro retrato del P[ríncipe] Victorio armado, con calzas moradas bordadas y cortina carmesí y en la mano un baston. Mas otro retrato de P[ríncipe] Filiberto armado, con calzas carmesíes y cortina verde revuelta a una columna y la mano sobre la espada y otra sobre un morion, questa sobre un bufete". Citamos por el documento original.

48 Annemarie Jordan Gschwend. "Juan Pantoja de la Cruz. Retrato del Archiduque Alberto de Austria. Retrato de Isabel Clara Eugenia", in Madrid 1999, pp. 145-147, no. 5-6; Jordan 2006.

49 Schroth 2000.

portrait of Philip Emmanuel exemplifies the new directives and vision of monarchy Pantoja undertook to delineate for Philip III and his court. His abstraction, however, remains one step removed from the austerity of Sánchez Coello's royal sitters.

Pantoja, born in Valladolid around 1553, moved to Madrid at an early age, to train in the studio of the Valencian painter, Alonso Sánchez Coello⁵⁰, who worked at the Spanish court as portraitist and *pintor de cámara* of the king, Philip II (1527-1598), and his sister, Juana, Princess of Portugal (1535-1573)⁵¹. On numerous occasions, Pantoja referred to Sánchez Coello as, *mi maestro*⁵², probably forming part of his large workshop situated in the Casa del Tesoro, adjacent the Alcázar palace⁵³. Until the death of his master in 1588, Pantoja collaborated with Sánchez Coello, as well as, with other painters in his studio: Isabel and Jerónimo Sánchez, Coello's daughter and brother from Benifairó, and the famed miniaturist, Felipe de Liaño. In this period, few works, if any, were signed by Pantoja and he probably assisted Coello in many of his last commissions. Sánchez Coello's shaky signature evidenced in his surviving last letters, leads to believe he was no longer able to manipulate a brush, indicating greater workshop intervention in portraits executed in the last years of his life. After Coello's death in 1598, Pantoja became an independent painter, executing a number of portraits for Prince Philip and Isabel Clara Eugenia, which prompted his appointment as official painter for Philip III.

For this portrait of Philip Emmanuel as prince of Savoy, Pantoja took recourse to a tradition established by Sánchez Coello, who in his long years of royal service, had specialized in the portrayal of royal children and princes. These portraits of children were commissioned by members of the Habsburg royal family to serve various functions. Some images were viewed as personal souvenirs, recording royal children at different stages of growth, development and youth, with replicas often sent as gifts to relatives at other courts. Other portraits of adolescent Habsburg princes were commissioned for a representational purpose, to function as a series within a portrait gallery commemorating the succeeding generation of the dynasty. Juana of Austria owned such a cycle of twenty-one portraits at the Descalzas Reales Convent in Madrid, painted by leading portraitists at the Spanish court: Anthonis Mor, Alonso Sánchez Coello, Cristóvão de Morais, Jooris van der Straeten and Sofonisba Anguissola. All were similarly framed, identical in size (approximately 97 x 85 cm) and painted on the same support (oil on canvas). Juana's portraits of princes, uniform in size and medium, especially the Jooris van der Straeten portrait of her nephew, Infante D. Carlos in armor [fig. 5] still *in situ* at the Descalzas Reales, were commissioned to fit a specific concept, in which family ties and visual genealogies were underscored. The portraits of her own son, prince Sebastian, later king of Portugal, painted at the Lisbon court and sent to her as gifts formed the "crown jewel" of this princely series⁵⁴. D. Carlos's image, as heir to the Spanish throne in 1565, encapsulates pictorial solutions first laid down by Anthonis Mor and Sánchez Coello, and which Van der Straeten, a Flemish collaborator, closely followed: the prince is depicted, three-quarter length, close to the foreground plane, confronting the viewer, while the directional light from the left highlights the richly, decorated armor. The table, upon which Carlos's right hand rests, is covered with red velvet, and both table, velvet cloth and helmet symbolize the prince's majesty and future duties as king and protector of his empire. Carlos's role as military commander and defender is accentuated by the red ribbon on his upper right arm and the resolute manner in which he holds his sword hilt with his left hand.

50 Jordan 1994; Annemarie Jordan Gschwend. "Alonso Sánchez Coello", in Lisbon 1995, p. 458; Mulcahy 2006.

51 For documents which refer to Sánchez Coello as "pintor de la Serenissima princesa", since 1557, see Jordan 1999.

52 Sánchez Cantón 1947, p. 99.

53 The Casa del Tesoro became the home and studio of royal painters at the Spanish court until the 18th century. For the 16th century, see Jordan 1998, pp. 60-62; Kusche 2003, pp. 339-387.

54 Jordan 1994, pp. 116-127.



5. Jooris van der Straeten (?-1577)
Portrait of Prince Carlos, c. 1565
Oil on canvas, 98.5 x 85 cm
National Heritage, Monastery of the Royal Discalced
Nuns, Madrid
Inv. no. 00612065

However, the military portrait *par excellence*, which initially inspired these portraits of princes by Sánchez Coello and Jooris van der Straeten, was the portrait of Philip II of Spain, today in the Palace of the Austrias at El Escorial and completed in 1560, when Anthonis Mor visited the Spanish court for the second time [fig. 6]⁵⁵. Painted to commemorate Philip's victory at the Battle of San Quentin in 1557, this military image of the king became the quintessential image of a Habsburg ruler and military leader, becoming more famous than the 1550-1551 portrait of Philip, in armor, painted by Titian [fig. 7]. Mor has reduced all extraneous elements, opting for an abstraction Pantoja later favored in his own portrayals. Philip II is contrasted against a neutral background overwhelming the viewer, the only concession made to space, is the green battlefield upon which the king stands. Visual emphasis is placed upon few, but decisive accessories: the armor decorated with Saint Andrew's cross, patron saint of the Order of the Golden Fleece (and the Duchy of Burgundy), the red ribbon and commander's baton, all of which represent a forceful king, with authority and power, worthy of his father, emperor Charles V. This notion is visually underscored here by the inclusion a small scar, deliberately removed from Philip's other portraits, painted on his forehead between the eyebrows, recalling

⁵⁵ Recently restored by the Patrimonio Nacional (National Heritage) in 2004, which brought to light the original signature and date ("Antonio Moro Pingebat 1560"), partially covered by later repainting. Glazes also obscured the black background and the *trompe l'oeuil* wooden frame, identical to that depicted in the 1566 Vienna copy by Sánchez Coello (KHM, inv. no. 3995). Philip II donated this portrait to the monastery at El Escorial in 1575, but several contemporary replicas and copies existed. See also Schroth 2004.



6. Antonio Moro (c. 1516/1519-1576)
Portrait of Philip II with the armor worn at the Battle of St. Quentin, 1560
Oil on canvas, 200 x 103 cm
National Heritage, Palace of the Austrias, El Escorial, Madrid
Inv. no. 10014146



7. Tiziano Vecellio (c. 1485-1576)
Portrait of Prince Philip II in armor, c. 1550-1551
Oil on canvas, 193 x 111 cm
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid
Inv. no. 411



8. Antonio Moro (c. 1516/1519-1576)
Portrait of Philip II, c. 1549-1550
Oil on oak panel, 107.5 x 83.3 cm
Bilbao Fine Arts Museum
Inv. no. 92/253



9. Antonio Moro (c. 1516/1519-1576)
Portrait of Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy with the armor he wore at the battle of St. Quentin, c. 1557
Oil on panel, 110.4 x 94 cm
The Royal Collection, Hampton Court, London
Inv. no. RCIN 403945

a wound received in battle⁵⁶, a detail Pantoja would later faithfully copy. Anthonis Mor was a master of abstraction, and his manipulation of space to project his patron, Philip II, as either the ideal king, capable military leader or educated Renaissance prince, is already evident in his first portrait of Philip executed in 1549, also in the Museum of Fine Arts in Bilbao [fig. 8]⁵⁷. Equally influential was the portrait of Philip Emmanuel's paternal grandfather, Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy [fig. 9], painted by Mor in 1557, also imaged as a hero of San Quentin, with the armor he wore in battle⁵⁸, subsequently sent to Innsbruck as a gift for Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol, wearing the collar of the Golden Fleece and red ribbon, holding the baton of power.

The solutions Mor adopted for the San Quentin portrait are close to those Pantoja made use of in his portrayal of Philip Emmanuel. In fact, Pantoja had been commissioned to copy Mor's portrait for the new gallery of the Pardo palace, and for this purpose a replica depicting Philip II in "the attire he wore at San Quentin," was sent from the Pardo palace to Pantoja de la Cruz in Valladolid⁵⁹. The novelty Pantoja introduces in his Bilbao portrait is the manner in which the Savoy prince is contrasted against the crimson curtain, identical in color to the tablecloth Mor depicted in his earlier portrait of Philip as prince, also in Bilbao [fig. 8]. A portrait of Philip II by Pantoja, today in the collection of Pérez Simón, may resemble the copy Pantoja executed for the new Pardo gallery [fig. 10].

The concepts favored by Anthonis Mor are reinforced in a portrait Pantoja painted of the Spanish heir, the future Philip III [fig. 11], around 1592, when the prince was fourteen years old, however, reinterpreted here in a novel way⁶⁰. Prince Philip is shown full length, positioned deeper in the background space, holding a military baton of power, while the helmet and table are given greater emphasis than in Titian's 1550-1551 portrait of Philip II [fig. 7], or Jooris van der Straeten's portrait of his son, Carlos [fig. 5]. This portrait of Philip III as prince and heir is very close to one of prince Philip (III) in Vienna [fig. 12], Pantoja painted almost contemporaneously. All the accessories: helmet, table, armor, sword, gauntlet are in place to project this prince as a brilliant military leader and rightful successor of his sick, elderly father as king of Spain, including the red curtain, theatrically drawn back, as if on a stage, to reveal the prince.

For the Bilbao portrait of Philip Emmanuel [fig. 1], Pantoja looked to earlier precedence in portraits of Habsburg princes, but taking his solutions one step further. The table and prince are placed obliquely to the foreground plane: Philip Emmanuel is oversized and assuming, directly confronting the viewer. The directional light comes from the front, and not from the left, as in earlier portraits by Mor and Sánchez Coello, making the setting and figure bright and more luminous. Philip Emmanuel's right hand forcefully holds the edge of the table, this same gesture repeated by the empty gauntlet resting on the table, while his other hand holds the baton of power. The golden intertwining knots of the red velvet table cloth are shaped to form the "Savoy knot," invariably depicted in other portraits of members of the house, engraved either on armor, as motifs for necklaces or embroidered on clothes. This heraldic device of the Savoy house, understood by contemporary viewers and helpful in identifying sitters, already appears in Giovanni Caracca's earlier portrait of the prince at the age of five, sent to the Spanish court and in the Museo del Prado [fig. 4]. Around his neck, the prince

56 Vespasiano Gonzaga, a pro-Spanish military figure, had his portrait painted in Brussels in 1559, in half-length armor, today in the Museo Civico, Como. Here, Mor emphasized the *nobilis cicatrix* on his lip, which he received during the siege of Ostia in 1556. See Mario Marubbi. "Ritratto di Vespasiano Gonzaga Colonna", in Naples 2006, pp. 196-197.

57 See Woodall 1993.

58 Now in Hampton Court, this portrait was recently published by Kusche 2003, p. 434, fig. 391. For the armor, today in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. NR. A. 697), see Christian Beaufort-Spontin. "Arnés de Manuel Filiberto de Saboya", in Valladolid 1998, p. 377, no. 189.

59 Lapuerta 2000, pp. 34-35. In Pantoja's list of paintings executed for the Pardo gallery, he acknowledges it as a copy after Mor's original, to which he added a crimson curtain and a desk cloth in the same color. This latter detail distinguishes it from the portrait reproduced in the catalogue *Pinturas de cuatro siglos* 1997, pp. 64-69. Also Kusche 2007, p. 163.

60 This portrait, now in the Carlos Ahumada Collection in Argentina, formerly at Wildenstein & Co. in New York, was exhibited in 1941 in Toledo, Ohio. See Toledo 1941, pp. 58-59, pl. 34; Pérez de Tudela (in press)_b; Kusche 2007, pp. 399-400.



10. Juan Pantoja de la Cruz (c. 1553-1608)
Portrait of Philip II, c. 1604-1608
 Oil on canvas, 110.5 x 89 cm
 Pérez Simón Collection, México

wears the military order of the *Santissima Annunziata*, the highest order of the Savoy court, bearing the motto: *FERT*⁶¹, just as in Caracca's portrait of his father, Charles Emmanuel I [fig. 13]⁶². This latter portrait (also in armor) equally could have served as a prototype for Pantoja, as Caracca's portraits of Philip Emmanuel's father were, as discussed further below, were well known through the replicas sent to the Madrid court⁶³.

Emphasis has been placed here on the red curtain, recently identified as a section of a tent used for military campaigns, which forms a dramatic, theatrical backdrop, framing the prince⁶⁴. Equal to the curtain, in visual importance, is the damascened armor Philip Emmanuel wears, the most significant iconographic element of this portrait. The richly de-corated and gilded Milanese half-armor is rendered with great exactitude and detail, particularly in the manner in which the light and red curtain are reflected in the blue steel. The armor is rendered here with as much attention to detail as the prince's portrayal.

61 Most likely, the initials of the mottoes: *Fortitudo Eius Rhodum Tenuit, Fides Est Regni Tutela*, or *Foedere Et Religione Tenemur*. Other scholars believe it to be an abbreviation of *fertè*, meaning firmness in old French.

62 G. Sluiter. "Carlo Emanuele I di Savoia", in Turin 2005, pp. 102-103, no. 16. The Order of the Annunziata was the Savoy equivalent of the ubiquitous Order of the Golden Fleece seen in portraits of the Spanish royal family. The same order was worn by the prince's grandfather, Emmanuel Philibert, in his portrait now at El Escorial (inv. no. 10014157), recently related to Giorgio Soleri. In 1564, a Titian portrait of the elder Emmanuel Philibert (now lost) was once in the Pardo portrait gallery. Kusche 1991a; Kusche 1991b, pp. 270 and 293, fig. 24, suggested this hailed from the collection of Mary of Hungary, and which was painted in Augsburg in 1548.

63 It should be remembered that Carraca himself was very influenced by the military portraits painted by Alonso Sánchez Coello and Anthonis Mor, especially the San Quentin portrait of Philip II, which the artist saw at El Escorial.

64 Alexandra Millón Maté. "Príncipe de Saboya. Filippo Emanuele", in Madrid 2005, p. 371.



11. Juan Pantoja de la Cruz (c. 1553-1608)
Portrait of Prince Philip in armor, c. 1592
 Oil on canvas, 170.2 x 95.3 cm
 Photograph courtesy of Wildenstein & Company, Inc., New York
 Carlos Ahumada Collection, Argentina



12. Juan Pantoja de la Cruz (c. 1553-1608)
Portrait of Prince Philip in armor, c. 1591-1592
 Oil on canvas, 150 x 73 cm
 Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien
 Inv. no. GG 2581

Armor formed a central part of royal collecting at the Spanish and Savoy courts⁶⁵: Philip Emmanuel's father, Charles Emmanuel I, acquired significant pieces from the best Italian armorers, such as the Milanese Pompeo Della Cesa. Many of his pieces are still preserved today in the Armeria Reale in Torino, and he purposely elected to wear specific pieces in his official portraits by Caracca⁶⁶. Collecting armor, in particular parade pieces, reflected not only the wealth and status, but also connoisseurship of the owner. A tour of the Royal Armory (Armería Real)⁶⁷ in Madrid was obligatory for visiting princes of the *Casa de Austria*, as part of their court education.

65 It should be remembered the Savoy princes provided the Spanish crown with military aid in its wars against France. The leading role of the prince's grandfather at the battle of St. Quentin, in which Philip II was barely involved, was crucial. His heir continued to lend military support during his marriage to Catalina Micaela.

66 Cf. Schroth 2004, pp. 112-126, who details the symbolism of armor as: war, authority, courage, victory, power, rank, status, entitlement and wealth.

67 In 1571, for instance, after a mass held in the Descalzas Reales convent and a meal in the Alcázar palace, Ana of Austria, her brothers Albert and Wenceslaus, along with Philip II's daughters, visited the Real Armería, as the Marquis of Ladrada informed Philip II (Madrid, 31 March 1571. British Library, Additional Ms. 28354, f. 166). Prince Philip (III) would often visit the armory, just before the death of his father. The author should like to thank Bernardo García for the latter information.



13. Giovanni Caracca (Jan Kraek) (active between 1568 and 1607)
Portrait of Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy, c. 1590-1591
Oil on canvas, 194 x 108 cm
Museo Civico Casa Cavassa, Saluzzo, Italy
Inv. no. OA 21

When his three sons arrived in Spain in 1603, Charles Emmanuel I sent his brother-in-law, Philip III, a sumptuous present, comprising of Milanese armor⁶⁸, garnitures (pieces of interchangeable armor) for man and horse, weapons and fire arms, officially presented to the king on 3 September in Valladolid, given in the expectation his sons would be given a favorable reception. This set of armor, part of which is still extant today in the Armería Real in Madrid, dates from 1585. Its high artistic value and rich decoration represented a dignified gift worthy of Philip III's personal armory, which also housed dynastic pieces once belonging to Charles V and Philip II⁶⁹. Charles Emmanuel fostered the hope, should Philip III remain without an heir and whose own first son was born in 1605, the succession of the Spanish crown would fall to his sons. His diplomatic gift of incomparable pieces was intended to persuade the Spanish king, a great amateur of armor, in this direction. This parade armor, not intended for use on the battlefield, later became the most priceless objects of the Madrid armory.

Pantoja's portrait of Philip Emmanuel as the future heir of the Spanish throne, in armor, holding the general's baton, was intended to promote him as a forceful ruler who would later lead his armies with authority. Nevertheless, the Spanish court was aware the young prince was dedicated more to equestrian exercises and the outdoors, rather than his studies, and sought to image the physical nature of his personality in this portrayal. At this juncture of the Savoy prince's life, this expensive, decorative armor can be better understood as ceremonial parade armor, worthy of his princely rank but not intended for real use, strictly worn for court entertainments, such as tournaments and jousts, which mirrored real combats⁷⁰. Much of the damascened decoration seen here in the vertical bands: the dragons, cherubs, harpies with outspread wings, military

68 This armor was probably commissioned in honor of Charles Emmanuel's marriage to Philip II's daughter, Catalina Micaela.

69 Geneve 2003, pp. 489-491, no. 87. See also corresponding records in Turin 2007a.

70 Cf. Schroth 2004, p. 126, who discusses, that at this date, armor at Philip III's court had evolved into spectacular male body jewelry.



14. Attributed to Giorgio Soleri (?-1587)
Portrait of Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, c. 1570-1575
 Oil on canvas, 114 x 90 cm
 National Heritage, Palace of the Austrias, El Escorial, Madrid
 Inv. no. 10014147

trophies, four-leafed flowers with damascened décor, or the medallions with armed figures, beside other details of the allegorical imagery [fig. 15], bears a strong resemblance to the armor worn by Philip III in his Pantoja portraits as a prince (figs. 12 and 16). Rather than wearing armor decorated with the Savoy knot, which the prince would have normally done at his natal court⁷¹, or opting to wear the Milanese armor executed by the Master of Castello, replete with heraldic emblems and crossed palms under a crown, today in the Armería Real in Madrid, which the Savoy prince once owned⁷², a deliberate decision to wear this particular Italian armor was taken [fig. 17]⁷³. On the one hand, it was easier for Pantoja to depict armor previously portrayed in his 1591 and 1594 portraits of Philip III as prince. Painting armor Pantoja was already familiar with, avoided subjecting the Savoy prince, fully immersed in court life at Valladolid, to long portrait sessions. On the other, wearing armor which belonged to his uncle seems intentional, underscoring blood ties linking him to the Spanish monarch, who probably consented his nephew be depicted in his personal armor. Aside from the half armor worn on top of the coat of mail, and despite its three-quarter length, one discerns that Italian costume, favored in the prince's earlier portraits, has been abandoned here for the latest Spanish fashion, another visual evidence for the Savoy prince's complete integration at his uncle's court. He wears a ruffled, oversized collar, or *lechuguilla*, and extended pants which are embroidered and slashed. Philip Emmanuel's portrait reflects the new elegance and grandeur of Philip III's court, a pictorial reaction to the severe portrait style promoted earlier by Philip II and exemplified by Anthonis Mor and Alonso Sánchez Coello⁷⁴. It is tragic Philip Emmanuel could not fulfill the expectations awaited of him, cut short by his premature death in 1605, the year the future Philip IV was born.

71 For example, see the portrait in the Racconigi palace (inv. no. 1951, no. 5527) or the one in which he appears with his brothers reproduced in the Caracca exhibition catalogue (Turin 2005, p. 38, fig. 21). New suits of armor were commissioned from Pompeo della Cesa in Milan for the three princes shortly before they left for Spain, although in July 1603, when they had arrived in Barcelona, this commission had neither been paid for, or even begun, as noted by Bava 1995, p. 279.

72 Turin 2007a, vol. II, p. 43, no. 2.30 (no. inv. A. 360/368).

73 This Milanese armor, similar to work by Pompeo della Cesa, could have been sent to Prince Philip (III) by the Duke of Terranova. For the identification of the armor he wears in the Vienna portrait with a suit still extant in the Real Armería in Madrid (B-6, inv. no. 19000311), see Terjanian 2007. We are grateful to Terjanian and Álvaro Soler del Campo for their interesting observations on these pieces. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Gemäldegalerie (inv. no. 4286) has another portrait of Prince Philip painted by Pantoja in 1594, with similar armor.

74 Cf. Schroth 2004, p. 130.



15. Juan Pantoja de la Cruz (c. 1553-1608)
Portrait of Philip Emmanuel of Savoy, c. 1604
 Bilbao Fine Arts Museum
 Detail



16. Juan Pantoja de la Cruz (c. 1553-1608)
Portrait of Prince Philip in armor, 1594
 Oil on canvas, 185 x 94 cm
 Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien
 Inv. no. GG 4286



17. Anonymous Italian
Armor worn by Philip III as a prince, late 16th century
 Steel, etching and giltwork, 36.5 x 36 cm (Breastplate)
 National Heritage, Royal Armory, Madrid
 Inv. no. 10036969

The Life of the Princes at the Spanish Court

It is impossible to conclude this essay, without outlining details of the background and sojourn of the Savoy princes at the Spanish court. Philip Emmanuel's grandfather, Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy (1528-1580), who was extremely close to Charles V and later Philip II, played a fundamental role, during these reigns, in Spanish diplomacy in regards France. His son, Charles Emmanuel, sustained his loyalties to Spain, by sealing a marriage with the youngest daughter of Philip II, Catalina Micaela, in 1585. In 1579, the elder Duke sent his court portraitist, Giorgio Soleri⁷⁵, to Spain, who remained there until 1580, when the painter returned to Savoy with nineteen finished and unfinished portraits. After his visit, an exchange of portraits between the two courts began⁷⁶, culminating in those intended to conclude the marriage with Catalina Micaela. In 1591, as we have discussed above, Caracca accompanied the younger Duke to Madrid, and in this same year, a number of portraits of Philip II's grandsons dispatched to Spain, were well received, as Mario Humolino reported back to the Duchess Catalina⁷⁷. One of these is the portrait in the Museo del Prado [fig. 4]. The younger Duke of Savoy returned to Turin with portrait copies of the four wives of Philip II and one of Charles V's spouse, while leaving Caracca in Spain, where he portrayed Philip II and his sons at El Escorial, to the great pleasure of the king. After recuperating from a grave illness, Caracca returned to Italy in 1592, via Genova, with twenty-four portraits in his baggage of Catalina Micaela's family and ladies in her sister's household. Since 1591, Isabel Clara Eugenia had decorated her oratory, in the Alcázar palace in Madrid, with a small portrait gallery of her sister and nephews, the latter images even outfitted with green curtains to protect them⁷⁸. Until her death, Catalina kept her sister well-informed of the welfare and development of her children and regularly sent her portraits of them. However, Isabel's portrait gallery was distinct from that described by Cuelbis in 1599, the latter more official and political in character. Not surprisingly, Philip III was equally well-informed about his nephews before their arrival in Valladolid in 1603. Not only portraits, but also, presents were exchanged between the two courts: exotic objects, clothes, jewels and religious images, such as those of the Holy Shroud and drawings of the sanctuary of Miraflores or the Madonna of Mondovi, whom Philip III was especially devoted to, ever since his sister Catalina sent their father an image in 1579⁷⁹.

When the Spanish visit of the Savoy princes had been decided in 1603, they were received in Barcelona by Giacomo Antonio della Torre, who traveled ahead with their luggage and belongings necessary for their service and household⁸⁰. After their arrival in June that same year, they set out to meet the king in the environs of La Ventosilla⁸¹, a country estate owned by the Duke of Lerma near Burgos, and where they later frequently joined the king for hunting excursions. The princes resided in Valladolid in the *Palacio Viejo*, the residence of the Duke of Benavente, which was connected to the "new" palace, where the Spanish monarchs lived, by a passageway often used by the king to visit the princes, and which during their stay had been nicknamed: "de los príncipes de Saboya"⁸². Permission had been asked of their uncle to exercise the same activities they

75 Pérez de Tudela 2001, p. 487; Baudi di Vesme 1963-1982, vol. III, p. 994. Portraits of the then Prince of Piedmont, Charles Emmanuel, similar to one Sánchez Coello painted for Argote de Molina, were already circulating in Spain in 1571. Zarco del Valle 1870, pp. 245-249.

76 For instance, the portrait of Philip II sent to the Duke in 1583 (ibid., p. 487) or one of the *infanta* Catalina which arrived in Turin in 1584 (Bouza 1998, p. 100).

77 12 May 1591. Baudi di Vesme 1963, vol. I, p. 263. More information on the painter's sojourn at the Spanish court, see p. 264. The passport and *cédula de paso* (export licence) for the Duke's return to Italy, in Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Consejos, libro 2336, XCVII.

78 This subject is dealt with at greater length in Pérez de Tudela 2010.

79 Confirmed by the inscription in Alonso del Arco's painting in the Convent of the Capuchins at El Pardo, in which the dedication to the Virgin was changed to that of the Consolation. Patrimonio Nacional (National Heritage), inv. no. 00730011. Philip II's *Madonna di Mondovi* (1595) is in the Sacristy at El Escorial, inv. no. 10034631.

80 AHN, Consejos, libro 2303, f. 124. For their reception in the city, see Cabrera de Córdoba 1857, p. 182.

81 Cabrera de Córdoba 1857, p. 187.

82 Bartolomé Joly in García Mercadal 1999-, vol. II, p. 727. For the Savoy princes's residency and the royal councils held in the palace of the Counts of Benavente in Valladolid, see Veiga 1989, p. 64. The authors should like to thank Mercedes Simal for her clarification of this matter.



18. Attributed to Giovanni Caracca (Jan Kraek) (active between 1568 and 1607)
Portrait of Vittorio Amedeo at the age of eight, 1595
 Oil on canvas, 118.1 x 92.7 cm
 Collezione Marco Voena, Italy

were used to in Turin: equitation⁸³, a ballgame called *pelota*, training with arms, tilting lances and jousting, and a cloth canopy was erected at the rear of their palace, under which they could practice these disciplines. During their first year, the princes joined the king in all state ceremonies, Philip Emmanuel always at the side of Philip III. In November 1603, they traveled with the royal family to San Lorenzo El Escorial, where they stayed several days longer to admire its treasures. They also visited the royal palaces at El Pardo and Madrid, where they lodged at the monastery of San Jerónimo⁸⁴. From there, they followed the king to Valencia⁸⁵, Cuenca and Guadalajara, returning to Madrid the following year. When the court moved from El Pardo to El Escorial in the early months of 1604, a disastrous fire broke out at the Pardo palace destroying the famed portrait gallery. Philip III decided to replace this with a new one, intending to include a portrait of his eldest nephew he had commissioned from Pantoja de la Cruz. By March 1604 they returned to Valladolid, where the princes partook in all important royal events, such as entertainments in the Ribera palace, where the *Conquest of Tunis* tapestry cycle was displayed, and in processions of the Corpus Christi. The youngest of the three brothers was granted the title of Prior of the Order of St. John of Malta, which was celebrated in a chapter held in July 1604 in Valladolid. In return for the many court festivities and fêtes held in their honor, the princes paid for a stuffed dummy or footman (*estafermo* or *paquin*)⁸⁶ to be displayed in front of the palace entrance, staging an event attended by the king and his court. For the latter, the princes planned and practiced for months, preparing their attire, decorations and inventions, even purchasing special lances in Barcelona. On 20 September 1604 the king returned with his nephews to El Escorial, and afterwards El Pardo, Aranjuez, El Bosque in Segovia, La Ventosilla and Lerma. Thus, it can be concluded Pantoja painted the portrait of Philip Emmanuel after the Pardo palace fire, when the prince returned to Valladolid in March

83 On 6 September 1603, the Medici ambassador Cosimo Concini related to Belisario di Francesco Vinta, from Valladolid, how, on the previous day, Philip III had gone to visit his nephews, who presented him with a special jumping horse, which Philip Emmanuel handled quite adeptly. Archivio di Stato di Firenze (ASF), Mediceo di Principato, 4932, f. 58. F. 59 also contains a description of the princes's evening entry.

84 Cabrera de Córdoba 1857, pp. 194-197. Much information on the life of the princes in Valladolid is derived from this source.

85 Although the King did not dance at the New Year's celebration in 1604, in Valencia, his nephews did (and very gallantly apparently), in particular, Philip Emmanuel and Emmanuel Philibert, as a Medici missive from 4 January relates. ASF, 5053, f. 205.

86 A revolving dummy with a shield in the left hand and a chain with balls, or sandbags, in the right, which, when the players hit the shield with their lances in passing, the dummy would swing round wildly, hitting less agile riders with its balls or bags as they rode past.

1604 and before he traveled with the royal entourage that following September. At the beginning of 1605, Philip III planned to travel with his nephews to La Ventosilla, this trip however cancelled, until February 3, because the two elder brothers had contracted measles and smallpox. The eldest, Philip Emmanuel, died on February 9. The court declared mourning⁸⁷, transferring his body by royal decree to El Escorial on 12 February for burial. His brother Vittorio [fig. 18] was declared heir and Prince of Piedmont, granted, that same year, the honor of acting as godfather of the future Philip IV.

The two surviving brothers, after their recovery from illness, made a pilgrimage to the Christ of Burgos and shortly thereafter reintegrated themselves at the Valladolid court. The first official event they partook in was the baptism of Philip IV, whose third name, Victorio, was given in honor of his godfather. During the signing of the peace treaty with England, also celebrated in Valladolid, the two brothers took part in an equestrian game called, *juego de cañas*, and on 13 June 1605, they formed part of a quadrille of a tournament, sponsored by Philip III, intended to be enacted on a platform in front of the royal palace. This fête was cancelled, but the king reimbursed his nephews for their expenses. The building of a new room connecting the royal palace with the church of San Pablo, decorated by leading artists at court, was inaugurated with a ball and masque in which the two brothers also participated. That summer of 1605 they lived in the vicinity of Lerma, where, with the complicity of the queen, they played a joke on the court jester, Alcocer. In the autumn, they accompanied Philip III for hunting expeditions at La Ventosilla. In 1606 they moved with the rest of the court to Madrid and were housed in the Alcázar palace, and on 14 June 1606, they departed from Madrid to return to Italy, accompanied for part of their voyage by the king. At one point, it was expected the youngest, Emmanuel Philibert, the Prior of the Order of St. John, would return to Spain in September 1606, with several of his younger brothers; however, these plans were abandoned in view of the pro-French policies cultivated at this date by Charles Emmanuel I.

During the stay of the Savoy princes in Spain, the tradition of sending gifts between Madrid and Turin was maintained, having reached its apex when their father married Philip II's daughter, until her death in 1597. In 1604⁸⁸, the brothers sent the Duke of Savoy ceremonial clothes, arms and plate for his service, and just before leaving the Spanish court, also horses and exotic animals⁸⁹, much appreciated in Italy, as were other Oriental wares⁹⁰. These gifts were distinct from the luxury goods and belongings the brothers took back to Turin upon their return in 1606.⁹¹ Their father, in reciprocation of gifts received from Spain during their residency⁹², sent his sons from Turin foodstuffs, arms, clothes, plumes for hats, and artistic objects, such as paintings. These were to be distributed at the Spanish court as gifts, to cultivate important court

87 As reported by the Mantuan Ambassador, Celerio Bonatti, to Vincenzo I Gonzaga, Valladolid, 10 February 1605. Archivio di Stato de Mantua, b. 607, f. 792-793.

88 *Cédula de paso* (export licence), Valladolid, 17 June 1604. AHN, Consejos, book 2303. Among other things, the princes sent in the care of their ambassador, Giacomo Antonio de la Torre, a cloak embroidered with the Order of the Annunziata, a gold collar with the same order, worth two hundred ducats, a sword with black and blue nielo work, six tall silver church candlesticks engraved with the princes's coats of arms weighing seventy marks (*marcos*), two gilded *brinquillos* with a silver tray, weighing five marks (*marcos*) each, and two ounces of musk stored a lead casket, to prevent the spilling of liquids. The above sword may once have belonged to Diego de Córdoba, Philip II's Master of Horse, who died in 1598, and which the princes sent to their father in August 1604, along with two crossbows for their sisters. See Bava 1995, p. 280, note 71.

89 Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy already had an agent in Spain, Simón Ribeiro, who supplied him with exotic objects. These animals and luxury goods, which arrived in Turin regularly, were objects Catalina Micaela loved since her childhood. Her children and her husband would have been familiar with such wares before their trip to Spain. The horses, monkeys, zebra skin and portrait of a zebra were transported by Juan Jacome Viso: "dos micos pequeños de la India, un pellejo de zebra listado de blanco y negro y un lienço pintado de la misma zebra...", La Ventosilla, 31 October 1605, AHN, Consejos, book 2304, f. 90.

90 *Cédula de paso* (export licence), La Ventosilla, 31 October 1605. AHN, Consejos, book 2304, f. 91v.- 92, the Marquess of Cangli, the Duke's ambassador extraordinary, took with him: "dos piedras veçares gruesas contrahechas de peso de hasta una libra de valor de quarenta ducados [...]", ambar, almizcle, "ocho vandejas de la India chicas y dos cocos [...] un rosario de calabuco con unos extremos de filigrana".

91 *Cédula de paso* (export licence), Madrid, 10 July 1606. AHN, Consejos, book 2304. Cabrera de Córdoba 1857, p. 284, recounts the princes's delight on leaving Madrid for Barcelona, on 14 July 1606, after Philip III presented them with many fine jewels, and ten horses with harnesses worth more than thirty thousand *escudos*.

92 *Cédula de paso* (export licence), Valladolid, 17 February 1605, Philip III to Cardinal Colonna, Viceroy of Aragón. AHN, Consejos, book 2304, f. 42-43, for shipment of cheeses, robes, feathers, paintings, arquebuses and pistols.

connections and to ensure his sons maintained a lifestyle in keeping with their rank. In exchange, the Savoy princes, accustomed to Spanish luxury goods, periodically began to send horses to Italy⁹³.

The impression left by the Savoy princes at the Spanish court was quite favorable, and Emmanuel Philibert decided to return years later, in 1610⁹⁴, when several artists of the royal family were patronized by him⁹⁵. Between 1613 and 1614, he was joined in Spain by his brother Vittorio Amedeo, who upon his return to Italy in 1614, took with him possessions and equipment worthy of his rank as the king's nephew⁹⁶.

93 *Cédula de paso* (export licence), Madrid, 8 October 1608. AHN, Consejos, book 2305, f. 25-26. aside from animals, silk and cloth saddle straps were also included.

94 *Cédula de paso* (export licence) for the arrival of the prince, Madrid, 5 October 1610. AHN, Consejos, book 2403, f. 19-20v. Passport for his servants returning to Savoy, Madrid, 9 June 1611, book 2402, f. 277. A similar document dated 2 April 1611, book 2403, f. 158v-160, specifies he sent his brother six black slaves. On f. 182-183v, Madrid, 8 June 1611, the prince sent his brothers and sisters five Spanish horses. He was splendidly lodged at the Casa del Tesoro. See Barbeito 1992, p. 71, note 205; Cabrera de Córdoba 1857, p. 420. In the latter, particulars about the second sojourn of the Savoy princes at the Spanish court can be gleaned.

95 Martín González 1958, p. 140. Philip IV inherited paintings of him by Bassano (Madrid 2001, p. 26). He was portrayed by Van Dyck in 1624, when serving as Viceroy of Sicily (Dulwich Gallery, London). The armor is still extant in the Real Armería in Madrid.

96 AGS, Dirección General del Tesoro, inv. no. 24, legajo 1345, 7. On his departure, the king presented him with several jewels (Cabrera de Córdoba 1857, p. 546).

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