Pietas Austriaca at the Lisbon Court

The Monumental Chapel and Funerary Tombs built by Catherine of Austria in the San Jerónimos Monastic Complex in Belém

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Prologue

In 1570, at a crucial stage in her life and reign, Catherine of Austria (1507-1578), Queen of Portugal, decided to retire from politics and government.[1] She sought official permission from court and church officials to leave Portugal and return to her native country of Spain, where she hoped to reside in a convent, living out the remaining years of her life in prayer and meditation. Although Catherine was inspired by earlier precedence discussed below, she was also troubled by intrigues at the Lisbon court. By 1570, after having been predeceased by her beloved husband John III and her nine children, the queen was ready to live out the rest of her life in solitude.

In 1498 the Dowager Queen Leonor of Portugal (1458-1525) had founded a new confraternity in Portugal dedicated to the Virgin of Mercy (*Virgem da Misericordia*), the primary purpose of which was to assist the indigent, ill and vagabond, ransom captives of the Moors, shelter orphans, run hospitals and hospices, promote works of charity, and build convents and churches.[2] Leonor, who earned a reputation in Portugal, as the 'Perfect Queen' (*Rainha Perfeita*), was celebrated by her subjects for her Christian virtues, charity and cultural patronage. The Madre de Deus convent of Franciscan nuns with its church in Xabregas on the city outskirts of Lisbon was founded and built by Leonor in 1519 to house the relics of Saint Auta and the 11,000 Virgin Martyrs that she had received from her cousin Emperor Maximilian I in 1517.[3] Leonor became an exemplary model for subsequent Portuguese queens and princesses, and was a great source of inspiration for Catherine of Austria. Following the Dowager Queen's example, Catherine retired to the summer palace of Xabregas several years after she gave up the regency in 1562, having ruled for her grandson for five years. Catherine's residence at Xabregas was situated near a princely retreat that her husband John III had built there between 1556 and 1557, based on designs by Francisco de Holanda.[4] Catherine's 'palace' was situated in quarters near the premises of Leonor's convent,[5] to which she had direct access via an interior door that linked her apartments with the Madre de Deus church and the chapel of the Passion of Christ, also known as the *Capela do Espirito Santo*.[6] In the latter, Catherine built a tribune to accommodate her and her female retinue when attending attend mass. A contemporary account describes Catherine leaving her apartments daily by means of a corridor to reach the small church where she heard mass with her ladies and the resident Spanish Ambassador, Juan de Borja (1533-1606), when he was present.[7] Catherine's determination to lead a *vita contemplativa* completely removed from court politics and intrigues is reminiscent of other close

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Habsburg family members who sought seclusion and refuge within the precincts of a religious foundation.

The dramatic decision of Catherine to choose to abandon the country she had ruled over as queen for close to fifty years was certainly inspired by the example of her elder brother Emperor Charles V (1500-1558), who abdicated and moved to a monastery at Yuste in the Extremadura (in Spain) in 1556. Catherine turned to her Habsburg nephew Philip II of Spain for guidance, support and advice regarding her retirement,[8] and this dramatic moment in Catherine's life is documented by a number of unpublished letters in the Archivo General de Simancas (Valladolid) exchanged between them, as well as with the above-mentioned Spanish Ambassador in Portugal, Juan de Borja.[9] This was the first time in her reign that Catherine had felt incapable of confronting the challenges which faced her, in particular, her intractable grandson King Sebastian of Portugal (1554-1578). Sebastian had since early childhood adamantly refused to follow her sound advice and heeded her counsel even less after he assumed the Portuguese crown in 1568. Catherine's insistence that he marry and produce an heir for the throne brought their already fragile relationship to a grinding halt. Catherine had tried in vain to secure a marriage worthy of Sebastian's rank, seeking alliances with the Valois court in France, the Habsburg courts in Spain and Austria, and the ducal court in Bavaria. Catherine had banked on bringing a marriageable princess to Lisbon whom she could educate to be the future queen of Portugal and its vast overseas empire. However, her various matrimonial plans to marry Sebastian to Margaret of Valois, Isabella Clara Eugenia (daughter of Philip II), Isabel of Austria (daughter of Emperor Maximilian II), and Maximiliana (daughter of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria) all met with failure.

By 1570 the elderly queen felt emotionally and physically overwhelmed, unable to further confront Sebastian's non-compliance and insubordination and the multiple court factions allied with him and his uncle the Infante Cardinal Henry (Henrique) (1512-1580), who, like Catherine, had served as regent for the young prince from 1562 to 1568. The queen decided it would be best for court and country for her to leave, and she initiated complex negotiations with the Spanish Habsburg court to verify her rents, properties and wealth both in Portugal and in Spain, so that she could finance her existence in her future convent.[10] However, her plans to depart to Spain were thwarted by her subjects, who refused to allow their beloved queen to go. Her departure officially impeded, the reluctant queen was compelled by duty and by her personal devotion to stay in Portugal and supervise an architectural project which would highlight the end of her life and reign: the rebuilding of the main chapel (the *capela mor*) of the Jerónimos monastery located in Bélem (Lisbon). The transformation of the former ornate Manueline chapel into a severe classicistic structure underscores Catherine's desire to build a chapel in an architectural vernacular and style never before deployed in Portugal, a desire coupled with an aspiration to leave a remarkable personal imprint upon the fabric of this monumental monastery (figs. 1-2). Catherine's piety, religiosity and devotion motivated her to rebuild the *capela mor* first built by her late father-in-law, King Manuel I (r. 1498-1521), shortly after Vasco da Gama discovered the sea-route to India in 1498.[11] Her sense of duty and dedication to the Avis and Habsburg royal houses also prompted her to build a pantheon worthy of her illustrious families.

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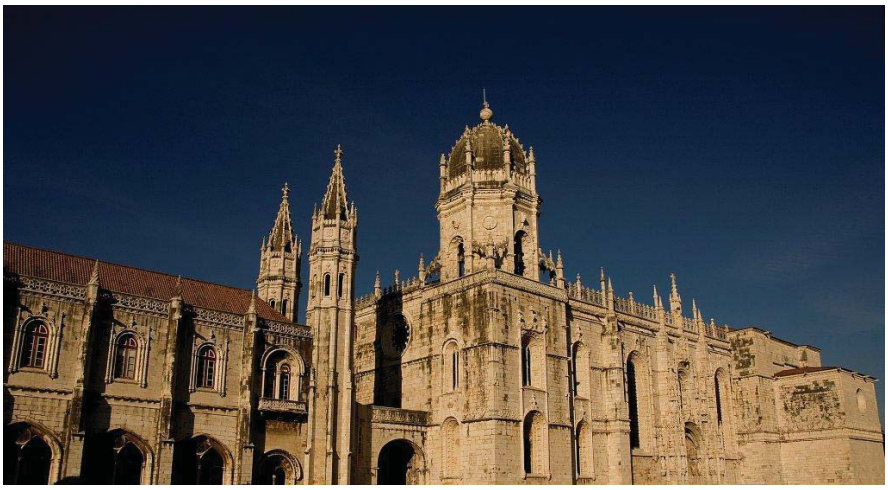

Fig. 1 Exterior view of the Jerónimos Monastery in Belém (Lisbon). The square box-like structure at the far right demarcates the *capela mor* built by Catherine of Austria. Photo: José António Silva.

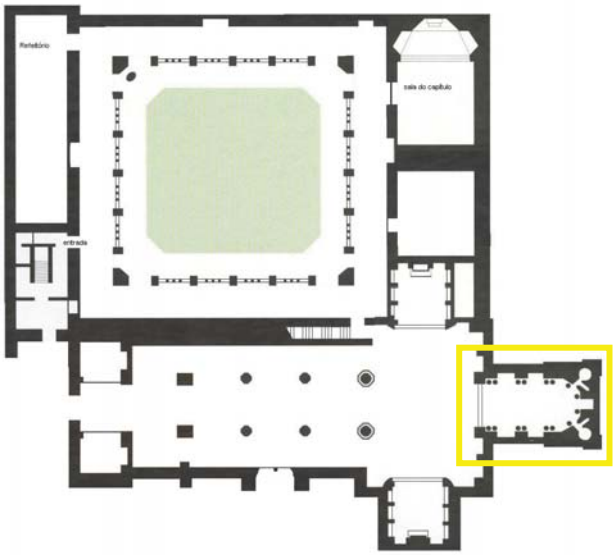

Fig. 2 Floor plan of the Jerónimos church with the *capela mor* marked in the yellow box. Photo: public domain.

Catherine of Austria's Royal Pantheon for the Avis Dynasty

Models and Precedences: The Ideal Habsburg Widow

In 1530, shortly before her death, Catherine of Austria's aunt Margaret of Austria (1480-1530), regent of the Netherlands, made a pivotal decision to build a funerary monument in the Flamboyant Gothic style at Brou near Bourg-en-Bresse (France), in memory of her third husband, Philibert II the Fair, Duke of Savoy, who had died prematurely at the age of twenty-four. Margaret undertook this architectural project in fulfilment of a vow she had made just before her beloved husband died. The monumental chapel and tombs, which the regent intended as architectural

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expressions of her piety, were attached to a sumptuous monastery with three cloisters erected there between 1506 and 1532. This funerary complex was to commemorate, in accordance with the teachings of the Spanish humanist and philosopher Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540), the glory of Margaret's dead husband and his family. During her regency Margaret took to fashioning herself as the ideal widow, as Vives advised in his writings. His influential book, *De institutione feminae Christianae*, published in Antwerp in 1524, defined marriage as the legitimate union of one man and one woman bound together for life. He strongly counseled widows to devote themselves to the memory of their dead husbands rather than to marry again. Vives advocated absolute faithfulness and chaste abstinence for widows: advice that Margaret took to heart. The Brou church was conceived of as a votive chapel, a temple of remembrance and a sumptuous setting for three princely tombs: one for her husband Philibert the Fair, one for herself, and one for her mother-in-law, Margaret of Bourbon.

During the lifetime of her beloved father Emperor Maximilian I and during her marriages, Margaret had been proud of her roles as exemplary daughter and wife. She was educated to be a paragon of virtuous womanhood: a good wife, loyal, true and submissive to father and husband. She assumed her wifely attributes with dedication, going so far as to mend and sew clothes for the men of her immediate family. In one letter dated 17 May 1511, Maximilian expressed his delight upon receiving shirts made by his daughter, 'grateful for the special care and attention she gives his body, especially since this year he must wear heavy, hard armor in the face of war and battle.'[12] Margaret was not, however, the only woman in Catherine of Austria's family to promote herself as the ideal spouse. Queen Isabel of Castile (1451-1504), Catherine's grandmother, the woman she was later often compared with, and who had also been Margaret of Austria's mother-in-law, set an even earlier precedence. Margaret's second marriage to the heir of the Catholic Kings of Spain, Prince Juan, in 1497, exposed her to the exotic splendor of Isabel's court, where the artistic and cultural influence of Islam coloured daily life. Isabel was a highly educated, scholarly woman who loved music and Latin; skilled in the domestic arts of sewing and needlework, she was praised by contemporaries for mending her husband's shirts with her own delicate hands.[13] She was well read in religious and secular works and especially fond of chivalric romances, and her library numbered nearly four hundred volumes. She guided intellectual life in Spain and solidified economic, cultural, artistic and dynastic ties with Burgundy and the Habsburg territories, which culminated in the marriage of her son Juan with Margaret. Isabel would have considerable repercussions upon Margaret and later generations of women in her family.

Margaret of Austria's third marriage in 1501 to Philibert II, Duke of Savoy, united her to a ducal house with close ties to the French court. This alliance consolidated Habsburg power south of the Alps and furthered her father's prestige as well as his dynastic and political aims abroad. Their short marriage was marked by a magnificent itinerant court life marked by royal entries, jousts, dances, masques, theatrical productions and *fêtes*. They held court throughout the duchy, which extended from Lake Geneva to the Piedmont, at their palaces in Bourg-en-Bresse, Chambéry and Turin. Philibert's untimely death in 1504 forced widowhood upon Margaret, who definitively returned to Flanders and refused all the marital alliances that Maximilian hoped she would contract again for the Habsburg dynasty. Not long after, Margaret took to fashioning herself in the visual arts, in particular, in her official court portraits, as a widow in perpetual state of mourning, adopting the

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motto: *Fortune, Infortune, Fort, Une* (Luck, Misfortune Makes One Strong), to promote her image as the ideal Christian widow devoted to her family and the Habsburg dynasty.[14]

Patronage provided Habsburg women, especially prominent widows like Margaret who were liberated from marital duties and childbearing responsibilities, with creative and social outlets. Margaret and such of her female relations who were in control of their own financial resources undertook projects and artistic commissions which not only promoted the interests of their natal and conjugal dynasties but also gave expression to their own personal piety within the context of the Church, in the form of family tombs, and the commissions of chapels with their decoration. This channel offered Habsburg female patrons the opportunity to exercise patronage outside of the private domain in the form of public piety.[15] But these Habsburg women were not the only prominent patrons and collectors of their day to follow such a path: Isabella d'Este (1474-1539), Marquise of Mantua, similarly acknowledged the necessity for widows to succumb to political exigencies and carefully stage acts of public piety by way of religious commissions. The Habsburg women who designed their own tombs cultivated and nurtured a personal agenda preoccupied with and focused upon self-promotion, self-imaging, and the legitimacy of status.

In addition, Margaret was motivated by her princely mausoleum to consciously celebrate her own family at Brou, with the intent of glorifying the Burgundian and Habsburg dynasties in this most public of settings by prominently positioning in the chancel's five stained-glass windows the coats of arms of these two royal houses. The church serves as a monumental platform which equally memorializes Margaret herself, with her princely background and rank being displayed throughout the church with personal heraldic emblems and devices. Her physical *memoria* is likewise remembered here by her sculptural portrayal, with the regent being realistically depicted recumbent on her tomb. Brou and its construction essentially offered Margaret of Austria the opportunity to identify herself as a contemporary Artemisia of Caria, who had built the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus in the fourth century BC. In the words of Margaret's French contemporary Pierre de Bourdeilles, *Seigneur* of Brantôme, Brou was a 'beautiful and sumptuous memorial' that far surpassed the one erected by her ancient female counterpart Artemisia.[16] The Brou complex constituted an astute act of political self-fashioning on the part of Margaret, where her identity as a pious widow was firmly consolidated.

As sovereign and regent, Margaret wielded more power than her dead husband, Philibert II of Savoy, and her ultimate objective with Brou may have been to rival the imperial, monumental tomb her father, Maximilian I, projected at Innsbruck. Besides Vives, Margaret was much encouraged by Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim's book *On the Nobility and Excellence of Women*, which he dedicated to the regent in 1529, a year before her death, and in which he unconventionally promotes the full equality of the sexes: 'Women and men were equally endowed with the gifts of spirit, reason and the use of words; they were created for the same end and the sexual difference between them will not confer a different destiny.'[17]

A dynastic message was therefore projected by Margaret for Brou, and one that was no less potent than the political messages which underscored the numerous artistic commissions her father undertook. As a self-fashioned, modern Artemisia, Margaret asserted herself both at the Flemish court and in the masculine, public realm of politics and war, without sacrificing her equality, power or influence within the Habsburg family network. Nor did Margaret compromise her role as a ruler,

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learned scholar and collector, becoming a model and example for other female relatives, especially her niece, Catherine of Austria. As a funerary complex, Brou established a prototype for a succession of Habsburg women and widows who followed Margaret's example with their own conceptions of personal and family tombs, and in particular dynastic pantheons, such as the *capela mor* of the Jerónimos monastery in Belém dedicated to the memory of the Aviz royal house.

Margaret certainly influenced Catherine of Austria's rebuilding of the Manueline chapel in this monastery, erected by Manuel I in 1498 to honor the maritime explorations of the Portuguese. This royal pantheon was one of the few building projects Catherine would assume as a personal initiative. In doing she also broke new ground architecturally, replacing a late-Gothic nave with a classical structure never before seen in Renaissance Portugal. Until this juncture in her life and reign, Catherine's architectural patronage had been moderate and constrained. She had often shouldered the costs of unfinished building projects initiated by other royals which she felt compelled by duty to complete, as she did with the Convent of Nossa Senhora da Assunção in Faro (Algarve) founded by her aunt, the Dowager Queen Leonor of Portugal (1458-1525). Immediately after her entry in 1525, Catherine ordered the court architect, Afonso Pires, to supervise and complete its construction in Faro, and by 1541 the first nuns of the First Order of Saint Clare entered this convent.[18] Until the Jerónimos project, Catherine's religious patronage can be best defined as gifting convents and religious institutions with endowments and donations, even with offerings of female black slaves,[19] preferring to leave architectural concerns in the hands of her husband, John III. As king, he used architecture to advance personal ideologies, and his building commissions reflect visions of global rule in which he promoted himself, as did his father Manuel I, as *dominus mundi* of a new Roman empire.[20] Catherine's interests in secular or profane building projects were not as ambitious, until she began remodeling and transforming the Jerónimos chapel into a family pantheon.

In the *capela mor* at Belém, on both sides of the main altar, set within individual arches, are four royal tombs in the form of sarcophagi, ornamented with gilt-bronze crowns resting upon caryatids in the form of an elephant, an exotic animal closely associated with the Lisbon court as a symbol of the Portuguese conquests (figs. 3-4).[21] Catherine's intent was to superimpose a severe, monumental program on the ornate, flamboyant decor of the Jerónimos complex, while the tombs reflect a hybrid intermingling of East and West. This was a conception where the exotic and the antique were perfectly amalgamated. The altarpiece commissioned by the queen depicting *Scenes of the Life of Christ* mirrors notions of imperialism and a universal Christian monarchy cultivated at the Lisbon court.[22] This pantheon reflects Catherine's concern with her own self-imaging for posterity. Not unlike what was the case with Margaret's funerary complex at Brou, she sought to promote two dynasties, first and foremost focusing on the Aviz dynasty while at the same time legitimizing her own association and status within the House of Habsburg. In essence, Catherine dedicated the Jerónimos chapel to the memory of the Aviz dynasty, who divided the world with Habsburg Spain in the Renaissance.

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Fig. 3 Interior view of the Jerónimos church. View of the *capela mor* through the ornate Manueline nave. Photo: public domain.

Fig. 4 The tombs of John III (far left) and Catherine of Austria on the right side of the *capela mor* facing the altar. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Sobriety and Opulence: The History of Construction of the *Capela Mor* (1563-72)

The *capela mor* underwent a complicated construction history before reaching its present form, starting with several building phases initiated by Manuel I before those undertaken by John III and finally Catherine of Austria.[23] In 1563, shortly after Catherine's abdication as regent, Sebastian of Portugal, under the influence of his grandmother, began remodeling the main chapel first constructed by Manuel I, which had been designated in his 1521 testament as his mausoleum. By the end of Catherine's regency in 1562, the Manueline chapel was considered by the court 'too small and too low in height,' despite transformations made by John III around 1551. Descriptions from this period, which could shed more light on the chapel's older appearance, have not survived. By 1569, all works in Belém were suspended upon Sebastian's orders: fortifications on the African coast necessitated financing from the crown and funds were re-directed for these military renovations. It

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was at this juncture that Catherine assumed responsibility as she had done for previous building projects, undertaking responsibility for the completion of the chapel's remodeling and defraying all costs from her personal income.

Sousa Viterbo was the first to publish, in his monumental dictionary of Portuguese architects and engineers, the series of documents in the Torre do Tombo archive which outline this later construction phase supervised by the queen.[24] The architect appointed master of the royal works in 1571, Jerónimo de Ruão (Jérôme de Rouen, ca. 1531-1601), son of the sculptor João de Ruão (Jean de Rouen), was contracted by Catherine.[25] The plan conceived was a tunnel-like barrel vault attached to the nave of the monastery (see fig. 3), replacing the older structure which was formerly square in plan. This chapel was the first of its kind seen in Renaissance Portugal and was to exert great influence upon later religious buildings.[26] In particular, as the architectural historian George Kubler found, the distinctive contrast between the Manueline nave and the chapel sanctuary created a forbidding antithesis between sacred and everyday space. Measuring thirteen meters in length and slightly over eight meters in width, the chapel interior is severe and restrained, in a formal classicism that contrasts greatly with the surrounding ornate style (fig. 5).

Fig. 5 The *capela mor* built by Jerónimo de Ruão. Photo: public domain.

Fig. 6 Panel with grotesque in the arch next to Catherine of Austria's tomb after a Flemish model. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Sixteen white marble Ionic columns superimposed by a slender Corinthian order (disproportionate in scale)—intersected by six windows above and two below—surround the walls until the arch, supporting cornices that circumvent the vault. The opulent, luxurious play of colored marble revetment (blue, white and red), brought from Vila Viçosa (Estremoz), is finely carved. The checkered floor laid out in geometric patterns reflects this same coloration. A total of 224,960 *reais* was spent on the cutting, polishing and transportation of the marble, all elements and details being highly carved and finely executed.[27] The vault imitates in stone a wooden coffered ceiling, in a simulation of wood paneling that is carried further in the window frames below, which are carved like wooden screens, projecting an illusionistic perspective meant to make the chapel appear larger than in reality. In each of the niches where the tombs are housed, carved in the upper registers of the

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arches, are very plastic, illusionistic grotesques copied after Flemish engravings designed by Cornelis Bos and Hans Vredeman de Vries (fig. 6).

The documents published by Sousa Viterbo indicate that the window grates were embellished with brass plates costing 20,000 *reais*, which were later gilded, the gilding being commissioned from the metal-founder Simão da Rosa. Aleixo Pires, locksmith and metal worker, was paid 40,000 *reais* for iron grates made for these same windows, while the tin-smiths, Diogo Fernandez and Simão Feio, were paid 50,000 *reais* for balusters described in Frei (or Fray in Spanish) Manuel Baptista de Castro's seventeenth-century chronicle of the Hieronymite order, *Chronica do maximo Doutor e Príncipe dos Patriarchas S. Jeronymo, Particular do Reyno de Portugal*.[28] These were made of bronze and placed above the steps leading up to the chapel, which clearly segregated this space from the nave. Now removed, they measured six *palmos* in height (132 cm). Baptista de Castro relates that another set of gilt bronze grates (in the form of spears) once divided the chapel from the presbytery. According to a contemporary 1572 account written by an anonymous courtier, the fenestration commissioned by Catherine of Austria came from Venice.[29] The project was finally completed by October of 1572.

Fig. 7 View of Catherine of Austria's Tomb. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 8 Detail with one elephant caryatid holding Catherine of Austria's sarcophagus with tusks of real ivory. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Throughout, Jeronimo de Ruão displays a preference for contrasting surface pattern and sober linearity. On both sides of the chapel, set into individual arcades, are four pyramidal tombs in the form of classical sarcophagi made of colored marble (pink and gray), resting on dark grayish-green marble elephant caryatids with real ivory tusks (figs. 7-8). Each elephant wears a different trapping or caparison; all eight were carved between 1571 and 1572 (fig. 9).[30] Set on top of the sepulchers are gilt bronze royal crowns resting on realistically carved marble pillows with four tassels (fig. 10). Catherine's decision to display Portuguese regalia resting on richly appointed pillows adorned with *trompe-l'oeil* textiles was borrowed from Habsburg ephemeral catafalques displayed at

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Fig. 9 View of the pair of elephant caryatids of Catherine of Austria's tomb. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 10 View of Catherine of Austria's bronze royal crown resting above her sarcophagus. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

royal exequies and funerals, prefiguring the adornment of theatrical Baroque funerary monuments with regal attributes.

Each tomb bears cenotaphs with panegyric inscriptions in Latin composed by the court humanist André de Resende (1498-1573) (fig. 11). Facing the altar to the left (the Gospel side) are the remains of Manuel I and his second spouse, Maria of Castile (1482-1517), while to the right (the Epistle side) are those of his son John III and Catherine of Austria (see fig. 4). The queen had first planned to be buried with her husband on the Gospel side, which is considered more noble. However, her intentions were challenged by Cardinal Infante Henry, who claimed this privilege belonged exclusively to his father Manuel I as founder of the Jerónimos monastery. A marble altar below the painted retable is encased with the same geometric patterns of circles, squares and lozenges, and the muted color schemes of pinks, grays and white used throughout the chapel. Its table was described, in this same 1572 anonymous account, as a large block of porphyry, a particularly hard, expensive stone used since Antiquity for sepulchers and *mausolea*. However, this stone is not native to Portugal and the author must have confused it with dark red marble, purple being a color long associated with royalty.

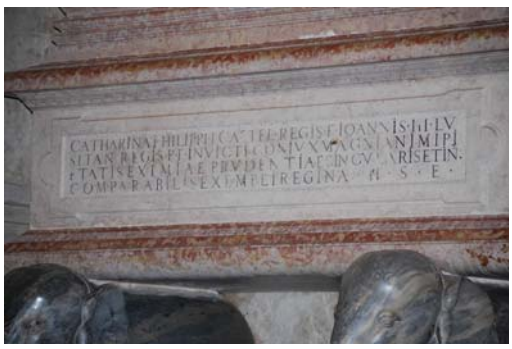

Fig. 11 Catherine of Austria's epitaph, composed by André de Resende. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

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The lateral chapels in the transept flanking the *capela mor* emulate the severe style used by Ruão for the main chapel. They post-date the commission issued by Catherine, who may not have even envisaged their conception, and became a repository for princes of the Aviz royal family after 1580. Ten tombs are set within niches, made with the same contrasting play of colored marble. Among those buried here are: Sebastian, Catherine's grandson, John III's brothers, Cardinal Infante Henry, former Regent and King of Portugal, Infantes Luis, Ferdinand and Afonso, and two of Catherine's children who died in early infancy. There is some confusion as to the dates of execution of these lateral chapels and whether Ruão himself undertook this later project. They were built sometime between 1587 and 1591. These later sarcophagi with Latin inscriptions also rest upon identical marble elephants, as in the *capela mor*.

The exterior of the *capela mor* is encased with a turreted square box with small round towers punctuated by small windows and a heavy bracketed cornice (figs. 12-13). Whether Ruão executed his own design or completed one drawn up earlier by Diogo de Torralva (active 1545-1566) has remained a point of contention. The outside echoes the interior sobriety and is architectonically reminiscent of military structures, in particular towers. George Kubler dubbed this style the *estilo chão*, or plain style. Ruão's intention, and to a degree Catherine of Austria's as patron, was to impose dignity and majesty on the Jerónimos complex. By the mid-sixteenth century the Lisbon court evidently found the ornate Manueline style too outdated to convey the royal decorum and stateliness the queen required. Both the interior and exterior of Catherine's *capela mor* demonstrate a complete break with older traditions, and the integration of novel architectural ideals borrowed from Italy was deemed appropriate by Catherine.[31]

Fig. 12 Exterior view of the *capela mor*. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 13 The rear of the *capela mor* with its fortified, tower-like exterior in a style George Kubler dubbed the *estilo chão.* Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

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Catherine renounced her regency in 1562. In 1563 Pius IV bestowed upon her the Papal rose, the highest recognition granted by the Church to a Renaissance queen. The rose, made of gold branches often embellished with jewels, symbolized Christ's love and passion, and was given on rare occasions to royal monarchs and queens for services to the Church, as a token of reverence and affection. Despite her capacity for government, especially during her regency (1557-1562), and the recognition granted her by the Papacy, in the late 1560s Catherine was determined to retire to a convent in Spain. In later letters to Pope Pius V of 1572 seeking his advice and support, Catherine confided in him, mentioning her discontent about residing in Portugal and her persistent wish to leave: '*tambem das razões que eu tenho para viver descontento e intentar, e ainda efectuar qualquer mudança*.'[32] Her earnest intent to relocate two years earlier had been fully supported by her nephew in Spain, Philip II, with whom she cultivated close personal ties. The Spanish king had even proposed various locations for his aunt, first among them Carmona and Baeza.[33] Then Talavera and Ocaña were considered optimal cities for the queen's new residence, and when Catherine finally settled for the latter location, much to Philip's satisfaction, she decided to travel there via the pilgrimage church of Guadalupe (Extremadura).[34] These plans soon disintegrated when news of her imminent departure reached government, court and church officials in Portugal.[35] At their insistence, Catherine resigned herself to remaining in Portugal, removing herself to the Madre de Deus convent in Xabregas, determined to complete the Jerónimos chapel according to her grandiose vision and intending this structure to be her last official undertaking as patron and queen. Despite her satisfaction with the building, the queen's desire to leave the kingdom of Portugal persisted long after she had completed her pantheon.

A combination of motives lay behind Catherine's rebuilding of the *capela mor*. Taking her aunt Margaret of Austria and Brou as one *exemplum*, Catherine sought to create her own monument honoring her late husband John III, his father Manuel I, and the Avis dynasty. With her tomb located in this sumptuous funerary chapel, Catherine also wished to glorify her Habsburg family. A third motive was to demonstrate her piety and her devotion to the religious order of the Hieronymites. The queen's attachment to religious orders in Portugal throughout her reign,[36] and in the closing years of her life to the Jerómonos monastery, did not differ from the devotion displayed by her Habsburg relatives at the Flemish and Spanish courts. Her brother Charles V retired to a Hieronymite monastery at Yuste, which was reconstructed to fit his specific need for a dignified retreat and a final resting place. Her nephew Philip II built a superlative Habsburg pantheon at the Escorial monastery, while her niece, Juana of Austria, conceived the idea of a personal tomb and memorial encapsulated within the Convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid, which she founded in 1555 and whose institutional purpose was to be the leading spiritual center in Spain. In these monastic complexes Catherine and her immediate family made public their common concern for salvation, *memoria*, and remembrance.

Above all, Catherine's commission reaffirmed the original intentions of Manuel I, who transferred control of the monastery in 1496 from the Order of Christ to the Hieronymites, building the church in 1498. From the outset he visualized the complex as a royal pantheon in combination with a symbolic, iconographical program that was implemented throughout.[37] In the medieval interpretation of kingship Manuel imaged himself as an Old Testament king, and more specifically as *David Lusitanus*. This ideology was applied in the decoration and sculptural program of the Jerónimos cloister where the Portuguese were depicted as the newly elected people of God, who because of

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their maritime achievements and conquests in Africa and Portuguese Asia were able to spread Christianity to the ends of the globe. The cloister sculptures show Manuel as the triumphant messiah surrounded by Virtues and being promoted as the victorious leader of the quasi-mythological and historical exploits of the Portuguese discoverers. His early pantheon was intended as a dignified final resting place for himself and his illustrious royal dynasty. André de Resende's Latin epitaph on Manuel I's tomb reconfirms this ideology: 'To whom—from the western sands to where the sun rises—extended the cult and knowledge of God. To whom so many subjugated kings relinquished their crowns. Here, in this tomb, rests Manuel the Great.'

In order to ensure eternal salvation, Manuel stipulated that a hundred monks be dedicated to the eternal service of the deceased royal souls. In her 1577 testament Catherine provided for *merceeiros* who would pray for her after her death.[38] Twenty people were appointed to the Jerónimos monastery for this purpose: courtiers with limited financial means were paid an annual rent of 20,000 *reais* to pray for the souls of the royal family, with precise instructions stipulated by the queen for the number of liturgical services and prayers to be said. The queen purchased land near the Jerónimos monastery for her *merceeiros*, in order to house them in the vicinity and facilitate the carrying out of the functions of their offices: '*tambem se lhes daram pera sua habitação e morada casas convenientes no sitio que pera ellas tenho mandado comprar perto do mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Beleem onde estão as sepulturas del rey meu senhor que Deus tem e minha*.' A plaque was hung in the sacristy listing all the perpetual masses and devotions to be said for the queen and John III. Thus, the relationship of the main altar to the royal tombs was intended to fulfill two functions: the service of God and the service of the dead. According to Counter-Reformation ideology Catherine of Austria was complying with objectives laid down by the Council of Trent: the intercession on behalf of the dead and the perpetual adoration of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament. The cult of the host gained momentum in Portugal precisely in this period. It was probably at this time that Jerónimo Osório (1506-1580), Bishop of Algarve and the queen's confessor, dedicated to Catherine a treatise on the sacrifice of the mass, which the court humanist considered one of the most profound mysteries of the Christian religion, entitled *Breve sumario do que a Religião christiana insina a çerca do sacrificio da missa*.[39] Catherine's devotion to the Eucharist was well known amongst convents and churches in Lisbon,[40] especially the Madre de Deus, for which church the queen made gray curtains embroidered with gold for the tabernacle where the Blessed Sacrament was reserved.[41]

The memorialization of deceased royals, with statues in perpetual prayer, within the context of a high altar sanctuary was certainly not novel, especially in funerary art in France, Italy, Austria and Spain. Contemporary examples can found on tombs with *gisants* of the Burgundian court (Dijon), on the tomb of the recumbent Mary of Burgundy in Bruges, on the monument to Maximilian I at Innsbruck with its life-size bronze portrayals of his Habsburg ancestors, on the royal French tombs at St. Denis, at the Cartuxa de Miraflores in Burgos, and in the Capilla Real in Granada. Ruão's pyramidal tombs show a conscious break with older traditions, rejecting representational jacent or orant effigies (with portraits) for severe, classical sarcophagi in keeping with the new, innovative type of sepulchers introduced by Catherine. The elephant caryatids in Belém recall those of the Sigismondo chapel in the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini, which were designed by Alberti and executed by Agostino di Duccio between 1446 and 1447 (see fig. 9). The Malatesta family adopted the elephant as an emblem and *devisa* that appeared everywhere on family escutcheons, medals, and sarcophagi. Although this Italian precedence may have influenced the Lisbon tombs, whether Francisco de

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Holanda (1517-1584), who was familiar with Italian monuments, had any influence as an artistic advisor to the queen is difficult to confirm. Holanda has often been proposed as designer of the *capela mor*, because of his first-hand experience with contemporary Italian architecture and his position as courtier-artist to Catherine of Austria. There is, however, no documentary evidence for his participation in this building project. During the period of the chapel's construction, Holanda's career at the Lisbon court was waning, and in 1572 he sought a post from Philip II of Spain, offering his services to the Spanish monarch through a letter of petition.[42] Alberti's *De Re Aedificatoria*, translated in 1551 by André de Resende upon the orders of John III, could equally well have transmitted ideas about the iconography and symbolism of the Malatestiano temple to the Lisbon court.[43]

In the Renaissance the representation of the elephant as a beast of burden (with a castle on its back) was assimilated by the Western imagination as the beast of regal triumphs, a symbol of vanquished might.[44] In Antiquity, Roman imperial triumphs invariably included elephants, and in the sixteenth century ancient entries coupled with imperial imagery were enthusiastically revived. Manuel I paraded daily around Lisbon—in triumph—with his five Asian elephants and their Indian mahouts.[45] Renaissance artists incorporated the time-honored motif of the elephant as a worthy visual element for pageants and festivities. A series of Tournai tapestries depicting the Portuguese conquests in India commissioned by Manuel I in 1510, which included depictions of elephants, were used as portable forms of visual propaganda for the nation's achievements in his royal residences.[46] The *Conquest of India* tapestry cycle was the single most important commission of his reign, which celebrated the Portuguese discovery of India in the manner of ancient Roman *trionfi*.[47]

Elephants had played a fundamental role at the Portuguese court since the early sixteenth century, both for the image and the prestige of Lusitanian monarchs.[48] Damião de Góis, the court humanist and chronicler of Manuel I's life and reign, was truly impressed with the elephants that Indian kings and Ceylonese emperors sent to Manuel as tokens of respect and as tribute.[49] In his writings he referred to these Lisbon elephants and especially to the spectacle they caused when paraded through the city streets. It is clear that Manuel's pachyderms were a source of pride for Góis, who viewed them as physical manifestations of the foreign lands discovered by the Portuguese. Catherine cultivated a special affinity for elephant imagery, often purchasing costly objects in the form of elephants for her *Kunstkammer* collection.[50] Her fascination with elephants is further evidenced by the quantity of ivory objects from Ceylon and India once in her collection; furthermore, as a token of her affection she presented live Asian elephants as gifts to her Habsburg relatives for their menageries in Spain and Austria. For the Portuguese court, the elephant represented the triumphant conquest of overseas territories. Not surprisingly, in Hindu culture the elephant was considered strictly the property of the king, a practice later adopted by the Portuguese monarchs, who regarded themselves as rulers of empire.

Elephant iconography permeated Portugal's artistic circles. In 1571, in an effort to boost his career at court, Francisco de Holanda sent Sebastian a manuscript entitled *Da fabrica que falece a cidade de Lisbon*.[51] In this treatise, the artist pleads with the young king to undertake certain architectural projects abandoned after John III's death in 1557, which would transform Lisbon into the jewel of all cities. Holanda's conception for a fountain placed near the royal palace, the *Paço da Ribeira*, built by Manuel I, was of an elephant with a castle on its back (fig. 14).

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Fig. 14 Francisco de Holanda, Drawing for a fountain projected for the ship dockyards of Lisbon (*Ribeira dos naos*) from *Da Fabrica que falece Lisboa*, 1571, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Ms.51-III-9, f. 18r.

During the Middle Ages the elephant also became the *topos* for the symbolic battle between good and evil; the death of the elephant was considered a prefiguration of Christ's death on the cross. Combats between wild beasts were staged in Lisbon. The natural antipathy of wild animals provoked debate at Manuel I's court. Curiosity and an interest in the writings of ancient authors such as Pliny combined with the desire to imitate animal combats of ancient Rome inspired the staging of a battle in June of 1515 between an elephant and a rhinoceros from Cambay (the first seen in Europe since Antiquity), which had been sent to Lisbon by the sultan of Gujarat. In a courtyard between the Lisbon royal palace and the *Casa da India*, the India customs house, this confrontation ended unexpectedly with the elephant fleeing in fright to his stables at Rossio square. The rhinoceros was declared victorious by default. The Lisbon court fully appreciated the medieval moralization of the elephant's virtues: power, might, diligence, sagacity, humility, and industry. This melding of pagan and Christian symbolism in the use of elephant caryatids for the *capela mor* was intentional on Catherine's part and in keeping with Manuel I's ideology and her own love for the Asian pachyderms she collected.

The *Retablo Mor* (1571-1572): Lourenço de Salzedo

Catherine of Austria's close supervision of the painting of the altarpiece she commissioned for the *capela mor* is demonstrated by a letter written by Catherine to her ambassador in Rome, João Telles de Meneses.[52] In this missive dated 7 July 1571 the queen thanked the diplomat for assiduously expediting the delivery of the colors she had requested. This was not the first time in the course of this commission that the queen would go to such lengths to obtain quality pigments from Italy. In reality the altarpiece took months to realize and Catherine's concept underwent several stages and transformations before reaching its final and present state.

For her original altarpiece, the queen chose to emulate her elder brother Charles V and the commission he gave Titian (ca. 1488-1576) for the monumental *La Gloria* altarpiece destined for the Yuste monastery church, today in the Museo del Prado (Madrid).[53] In 1568 Catherine commissioned from the same Venetian master a painting of the *Flagellation of Christ*, which is now lost but which was recorded in an engraving entitled, *Il Semolei* (fig. 15) by the Venetian draughtsman, painter and

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etcher Battista Franco (ca. 1510-1568?). Giorgio Vasari was the first to relate, in the second edition of his *Vit*e, that Catherine ordered from Titian a large-scale painting of *The Flagellation of Christ* for the Jerónimos chapel, which Vasari described as exquisite: '*alla reina di Portogallo in un quadro fece un Christo poco minore del vivo, battuto da' giudei alla colonna, che è bellissimo*.'[54] This was the first Italian Renaissance painting Catherine ever commissioned for a specific location and with a specific purpose in mind, and it is telling that she chose Titian, Charles V's favorite court painter, to execute for her an altarpiece intended for the most significant project of her reign. It equally emphasizes that the queen's original conception for the *capela mor* altarpiece was radically different from its present form. Her intention was to hang one single magnificent painting as the focal point of her austere chapel. Titian's *Flagellation* reflected Catherine's devotion to the Hours of the Cross and the Passion of Christ.

Fig. 15 Battista Franco (ca. 1510-1568?), *Il Semolei*, *The Flagellation of Christ*, engraving after a lost Titian, Venice, 1568, British Museum, London, inv. no. 1874, 0808.369.

Catherine was greatly influenced by a contemporary manuscript from the hand of the Hieronymite priest and mystic Frei Miguel de Valença, *Meditaciones sobre las horas de la Cruz*. Valença became Prior of the Jerónimos monastery in 1550, where he dedicated himself to study and meditation. Under his priorship, and in line with the dictates of the Council of Trent, the imaging and iconography of Christ in the monastery was given new direction and significance. Valença must have encouraged the queen to present in the visual program of the altarpiece a more direct, accessible and straightforward image of Christ. Through information provided by agents or resident ambassadors in Italy, the Portuguese queen may well have been aware of a contemporary commission for a *Transfiguration of Christ* executed by Titian for the Church of San Salvador in Venice and dated around 1560 (fig. 16), the Transfiguration being a Christological theme which deals with the dual nature of Christ as God and man.[55] The dedication of this church to the divine nature of Christ as Savior provided the justification for Titian's extraordinarily large painting (245 x 295 cm) at the main altar forming the central focus of the church (fig. 17). This monumental canvas is set into an elaborate marble tabernacle, recalling a small-scale monstrance containing the Holy Eucharist. Evidently, Catherine had envisaged, if not the identical theme, a similar concept and manner of presentation for her commission of the *Flagellation* for the *capela mor*, probably at the advice of Titian himself.

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Fig. 16 Titian, Transfiguration, Church of San Salvador, Venice. Photo: public domain.

Fig. 17 Interior view of the Church of San Salvador with the main altar, Venice. Photo: public domain.

For inexplicable reasons, however, Titian's *Flagellation* never reached Lisbon, and it is not known if the queen ever expressed regrets about Titian being unable to complete her altarpiece. Why the *Flagellation* remained in Titian's workshop, and why Catherine never received it, is enigmatic.[56] The answer may lie in the fact that Titian and his studio assistants were extremely busy in 1568 completing a number of other paintings for the Spanish court, which took priority, including the colossal *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* for Philip II and the Escorial monastery, which is still *in situ*. These commissions for Spain made it impossible for Titian to fulfil Catherine's wishes at this juncture, let alone to have the time needed to complete a gigantic altarpiece for the Jerónimos chapel. But who had guided and advised Catherine to order a *tour-de-force* painting by Titian? One possibility is that her sister, Mary of Hungary (1505-1558), one of Titian's foremost patrons, may have introduced the Portuguese queen to the Venetian master before her death in 1558.

Mary's own court portrait by Titian, of which Catherine owned a replica in her portrait gallery in the Lisbon royal palace, visually emphasized her political role as regent of the Low Countries. No

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longer extant but known through copies, it was executed in Augsburg in 1548 and depicts Mary dressed in widow's weeds standing in front of a column, a pictorial allusion to Charles V and his emblem of the twin columns of Hercules (*Non Plus Ultra*).[57] Mary specifically chose to mold herself in the likeness of her widowed aunt Margaret of Austria, self-imaging herself as a loyal servant dedicated to the rule of the Habsburg dynasty. This Titian portrait was a conscious commission, a political move by Mary, who chose to have herself portrayed both as a pious widow and as a stateswoman engaged in Habsburg court politics and diplomacy.

Catherine was not a connoisseur of Italian painting, nor did she collect the kind of Italian art works, sculpture or antiquities so avidly sought by contemporary princes, collectors and her sister Mary. An introduction to Titian through Mary of Hungary is quite plausible. An important link between the Habsburg court in Flanders and Portugal was cultivated through the relationship of Mary and Catherine. Documents in the Lisbon archive have disclosed that these sisters, who never met, maintained close contact, exchanging ideas on artistic and political matters.[58] Gifts, court portraits, Flemish tapestries, slaves, and exotica from Portuguese Asia were reciprocated between the two siblings. Catherine's patronage reflects patterns of collecting and modes of patronage established by Mary in Flanders.[59] Catherine's preference for Flemish art works and craftsmen reflects the guiding influence of this sister,[60] but in the case of the Jerónimos altarpiece, a Venetian—Titian—was considered by Catherine, under Mary's influence, to be a more suitable choice.

While few art works with an Italian provenance were recorded in Catherine's collection and *Kunstkammer*, Flemish tapestries, paintings and objects were present.[61] Through her close ties with the Papal court, Catherine did receive gifts from the Vatican, as in January 1577, when a casket full of *Agnus Dei* was sent by the Pope to the queen.[62] Only one painting from Rome is documented in Catherine's private chapel in the Lisbon royal palace: the miraculous image of the Virgin from Santa Maria Maggiore, commissioned by Francisco de Borja in 1569 for the queen. Or was it Charles V who inspired his younger sister to think of Titian as the painter for her altarpiece? Catherine idolized her brother and knew many details of his living arrangements and daily life at Yuste. From courtiers whom she sent almost on a daily basis to visit her brother she was well-informed about the emperor hearing mass from his quarters, with a direct view of the high altar in the Yuste monastery church where Titian's *La Gloria* hung. Despite the emperor's predilection for Flemish tapestries, portraits and paintings, his respect and admiration for the Venetian painter was celebrated at his court and among his family.

Circumstances in Titian's career and workshop forced Catherine to begin a new search for a new concept for her altarpiece and for a suitable painter of quality.[63] At this juncture she hoped to secure the services of the Spaniard Gaspar Becerra (†1568), who was engaged in the service of her niece, Juana of Austria in Madrid, or of the Fleming Frans Floris (1519-1570), through the intervention of her nephew Philip II and her ambassador in Spain, Francisco Pereira. However, Becerra had recently passed away and the queen was unaware that Floris resided in Flanders. Consequently, Catherine next solicited her nephew and her court diplomat Pereira to obtain the services of the Italian painter Francesco da Urbino (†1592), who was then working at the Escorial monastery, but this too ended in an impasse. Catherine's extended search finally led her to settle for a painter who was active at her own court—her last choice for reasons of necessity and time—and of Spanish origin (from Seville), Lourenço de Salzedo (ca. 1530-1577).[64] He subsequently designed an

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altarpiece radically different from her original masterpiece, the grandiose but minimalist conception to have been executed by Titian. Salzedo's retable, more complex in design, is made up of five panels superimposed on two levels with *Scenes of the Life of Christ*, mirroring the notion of a universal Christian monarchy cultivated at the Lisbon court.[65]

Once the queen had committed herself to Salzedo, she went, as discussed above, to great lengths to obtain for him the best artist's materials and pigments from Italy and from Spain, as recently discovered archival documents reveal. Catherine had no intention of leaving any detail to chance, as she expected her memorial to last forever. From two surviving letters,[66] we know she closely supervised Salzedo's altarpiece, having written her ambassador in Rome as early as February of 1571 to secure quality pigments, ordering him to send these as quickly as possible to Lisbon.[67] Time was of the essence for Catherine, and when those expected from Italy had in June 1571 not yet arrived in Portugal, she then requested Juan de Borja, the Castilian ambassador in Portugal, to intervene with her nephew Philip II.[68] The diplomat in turn asked the Spanish king's secretary, Gabriel Zayas, to organize the pigments Catherine needed for her altarpiece and to advise him of their cost and expense:

> *La Reyna me mando que de su parte escriviese a V. M. y le enbiase la memoria que con esta va de çiertas colores que a menester para el Retablo que manda pintar em belen para que si ay las huviere V. M. las mande comprar y las enbie avisando de lo que cuestan para que ay se den luego los dineros y no allandose a comprar se pidan a su Magestat* [Philip II] *de las que sus pintores tienen / su Alteza a muchos dias que tiene escrito por ellas a Italia y no se las [han] enbiado y aqui tienen ya neçesidad de ellas.*

When Zayas did not immediately react and respond, Borja reminded him again in a second letter of the importance of these colors for the queen's Jerónimos altarpiece: '*las colores me mando La Reyna* [Catherine] *que tornase a acordar a V. M. es cosa de que su Alteza lleva mucho gusto por ser para el monasterio de belen.*' Shortly after, Philip II sent word to Lisbon agreeing to help his aunt obtain pigments through his squadron of Italian and foreign painters working at the Escorial. Much to the queen's dismay and outrage, however, the courier organized by her Portuguese ambassador in Castile encountered problems en route to Lisbon and her package with colors was mistakenly confiscated by custom officials near Badajoz, in Albuquerque (in the Extremadura).[69] This mishap of course caused more unexpected delays, as Juan de Borja duly reported back to Zayas:

> *El correo que truxo las [cartas] de 26 [de Junio] que es uno que despacho el embaxador de portugal que se llama Pinto me dixo como me traya un emboltorio que V. M. le dio el qual le tomaron en Alburquerque como V. M. lo vera por la carta de Gaspar Ramirez que con esta va estoy con muy gran cuydado de saber lo que era aunque tengo por çierto que seran las colores que su Magestad* [Philip II] *enbia a la Reyna lo qual me pareze que es ya tanta desverguença que yo no se como llevarlo y confieso a V. M. que he tenido que hazer comigo el holvidar la tierra a donde naçi porque no se cosa que se lleve peor que sin justiçia armada la Reyna queda muy escandaliçada y tanto que queria enbiar un criado suyo a quexarse de todos estos*.[70]

Philip II again had to intervene and promised to remedy the matter and punish the official responsible for this blunder. Once matters were resolved, the pigments finally arrived at the Lisbon

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court and the monies for payment were forwarded to Spain.[71] Catherine's artistic exchange with her nephew at this date was a fruitful one and demonstrates that identical pigments were used for frescoes at the Escorial and for the altarpiece of the Jerónimos *capela mor*, thus creating a symbolic link, through color and paint, between these two representative churches and their pictorial decoration.

In a second series of letters from Lisbon, Borja informed Gabriel Zayas of a wooden writing desk, perfumes and gloves that Catherine had sent to the king's secretary for his invaluable assistance with the purchase of the pigments.[72] In equal gratitude, the queen sent her nephew a number of gifts, among them church vestments and *palios* for the Escorial monastery that she had personally embroidered in 1575, for which Philip was most grateful because they were made by his aunt, 'kissing her hands many times' for them.[73]

The need for no time to be lost in the completion of the altarpiece was due to Catherine's advanced age and fragile health at this date. This was compounded by the fact that her relations with her grandson Sebastian had disintegrated, both personally and politically. In a letter Catherine addressed to Sebastian in 1571 she justified her reasons for moving to Spain, complaining that he never resided in Lisbon when she did, and stating that because of their estrangement she preferred to bury herself alive ('*enterrarse viva*') in a convent.[74] In another letter to Jerónimo Osório, Bishop of Algarve, she confessed that her departure would be a wake-up call for the country: '*desejo de ser com minha ida hun despertador*.'[75] Just before the Jerónimos chapel and altarpiece were even completed, the queen again made serious moves to retire to a convent in Spain, making it imperative for her that the Jerónimos project be terminated before her intended departure. Both the Jerónimos project and the continuous strife with her grandson had left the queen tired and exhausted. In a personal note to Philip II, Catherine confirmed she would retire to the Madre de Deus convent founded by her aunt, Manuel I's sister, the Dowager Queen Leonor, and that she would reside in her aunt's former quarters.[76] The *capela mor* altarpiece had taken its toll: it had been a long journey from Titian to Salzedo. The queen, worn down by the tense political situation at the Lisbon court, was most pleased to see the completion of her chapel, as Juan de Borja reported to Philip II in October of 1572: '*a la capilla nueva que la Reyna les ha hecho en Belen, hizose con mucha solemnidad, y esta ya la capilla acabada y puesta en su perfeçion, es un edifiçio muy para ver, quedo la Reyna muy contenta de haverle dado fin*.'[77]

The Jerónimos altarpiece was first attributed to Lourenço de Salzedo by Baptista de Castro in his seventeenth-century account of the monastery. A total of five panels depict scenes from the life of Christ with two themes that which underscore the human and divine nature. On either side of the altar are paintings of the *Adoration of the Magi*, while above the altar are three scenes from the *Passion of Christ* (fig. 18a-b). The sequence of the two last scenes was deliberately inverted, so that one sees from left to right, *Christ carrying the Cross*, then the *Descent from the Cross* and then the *Flagellation*. The representation of Christ's dead body, which normally follows the *Flagellation*, visually dominates the central area, directly above the altar, and serves as an antithesis to the painting below, now lost, of the infant Christ, the new Messiah, in the manger being worshipped by one of the kneeling Magi: Caspar, the eldest of the three. To the right of the lost central panel, each with his retinue, are Balthasar, the black African, and to the left Melchior (or Belchior, the youngest of the three), to whom Salzedo gave the idealized appearance of the late king John III. The black king

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is realistically portrayed and may have been a real-life portrait of one the numerous slaves (some manumitted) employed in Catherine's household.[78] Balthasar wears the turban and cloak of an eastern potentate as he offers the child a luxurious gold vessel. The seated male and female figures to left of Melchior are very sculptural in appearance, particularly in their poses and drapery, reflecting the impact of the Roman school of painting represented by Michelangelo and Giulio Romano, and Salzedo's exposure to these artists during his influential period of residence in Rome.[79] Melchior is preceded by a page carrying a casket, dressed as an Old Testament king and wearing a crown. The elements of exoticism usually depicted with the three Magi—camels, tigers, leopards—were eliminated in this panel, being replaced by the realistic portrayal of two Asian elephants in the right background, sharing a water fountain with mules.

The decision to juxtapose the *Adoration of the Magi* with the *Life of Christ* was deliberate and Salzedo's *Flagellation* was evidently commissioned by Catherine to replace the painting she had expected from Titian. In the Late Middle Ages the three Magi came to represent the three parts of the known world: Europe, Africa and Asia. The luxurious symbolic gifts brought to the Christ child—frankincense (homage to Christ's divinity), myrrh (used for embalming), gold (symbol of Christ's kingship)—foreshadow his death on the cross. The theme of the *Adoration of the Magi* essentially represented the subjugation of temporal powers to the authority of God and the Church. In keeping with Catherine of Austria's beliefs and Counter-Reformation philosophy, the ultimate purpose of her chapel was the worship of Christ in the Eucharist, visually reinforced by the body of the dead Christ dominating the painted space above the altar.

The presbytery was considered the symbolic center of the Blessed Sacrament. The principal theme stressed here is the veneration of the Cross and the Eucharist in the form of Christ's body and blood. Devotion to the Eucharist became a form of family piety institutionalized by the Burgundian and Habsburg courts.[80] Piety, as Catherine fully appreciated, was a virtue claimed by the Habsburgs as an inalienable birthright of the family, and the Eucharist was adopted as an amulet and talisman of the Habsburg dynasty. The image of the Holy Cross and Eucharist became potent politico-religious symbols representing the sacrosanct nature of Habsburg power, which Catherine transposed to her chapel.

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Fig. 18 Lourenço de Salzedo, main altarpiece, *Capela Mor*, Jerónimos Monastery, Belém. Photo: Luís Pavão.

The Christological themes of passion and death in the altarpiece, highlighting Christ's dual nature as human and divine, were carefully selected and intentionally juxtaposed with the Magi as a prefiguration of the salvation of mankind. The entire conception and iconographical program of the *capela mor* and the retable with its pictorial program revolved around the mass, which was offered both for Christ and for the deceased members of the royal family. The symbols of majesty represented by the actual dead bodies of the monarchs and their queens, placed discreetly on either side of the chapel and reposing in severe classical sarcophagi set upon elephant caryatids, were subject to the glorification of Christ. Both terrestrial and celestial powers are honored here, as are the immortality and divine character of kingship. This notion was reinforced by the now lost iron balusters and grates that once separated the Aviz monarchs, the chosen representatives of God on earth, from the rest of the Church and humanity. Manuel I's ideology reflected in the decoration of the cloisters culminates here in Catherine's agenda for the *capela mor*: the Jerónimos complex had not only been dedicated by Manuel to the Virgin Mary, but also to the Three Magi.

There is no doubt that this altarpiece was conceived of with its architectural context in mind. Catherine's letters to Rome reconfirm that Salzedo had begun painting the retable in February of 1571, precisely when construction of the chapel was nearing completion. Details in the formal composition of the altarpiece show that Salzedo allowed himself to be dictated to by its structural and architectonic frame. Certain elements visually and illusionistically unite the two painted cycles: the background pilaster in the panel of *Melchior* is placed directly underneath the column in the *Flagellation* above. The small landscape with *Christ carrying the Cross* is precisely repeated below in the *Melchior* panel. The numerous figures are unusually large, placed close to the foreground plane,

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filling the entire scene. There is little room for any progression into background space and for extraneous details. The objective was to render the figures as large as possible, in order that they might be seen from a greater distance, particularly since the chapel was once divided from the church. Salzedo intentionally painted the Magi as bulky giants (*colossi*), while Christ appears more delicate and slender.

Salzedo adhered to the strict, cohesive symmetry of the chapel. There is uniformity in its simplicity, both in the architecture and in the altarpiece. It appears that Catherine of Austria informed herself of current aesthetic trends imported from Italy and consciously applied these to the *capela mor*. *Decorum* and *gravitas* are emphasized throughout, in conformity with Counter-Reformation thought, but who advised and guided her? Could it have been the intellectual Spanish Ambassador, Juan de Borja, who was very close to the queen and who observed the building of the *capela mor* at every stage? Or was it Salzedo, who had lived for a considerable period in Rome? The models for the figures were adapted from contemporary Italian art, and the strong and even lighting projects a sense of realism and monumentality. The red, blue, and yellow palette is strident, emulating in certain areas the compositions and color schemes favored by such contemporaries as Parmigianino and Sebastiano del Piombo, whose altarpieces and paintings were avidly collected by Spanish nationals residing in Rome. Despite his erstwhile 'rival' Titian, Salzedo fulfilled Catherine's patronage requirements, and was equally able under pressure to complete the altarpiece within the queen's restrictive time frame. Despite Catherine's need for no time to be lost, his retable broke with tradition, innovatively keeping in line with Italianizing influences which appeared in Portuguese painting in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. Salzedo, though obviously not of the caliber of Titian or del Piombo, nevertheless satisfied the queen's requirements, finding pictorial solutions which satisfied his demanding patron. The *capela mor* with the Salzedo altarpiece prefigured the stylistic and aesthetic tendencies that occurred slightly later (after 1576) at the court of Philip II, and which manifested itself at the Escorial monastery in the paintings and frescoes emulating the Roman school of painting by Pellegrino Tibaldi, Luca Cambiaso, Federigo Zuccaro and Romulo Cincinnato.[81]

The Queen's Funeral and Exequies: February 1578

A rare account of Catherine's death and funeral ceremony, the only one to have survived, can be found in the Archivio Segreto in the Vatican. The Papal Nuncio in Portugal, Roberto Fontana, summarized these events in two letters he wrote to Cardinal Como in Rome on 7 February 1578. Catherine's health had deteriorated to such a degree that two days before she had been given the last rites. Then, in the early morning hours of February 6, according to Fontana, the queen died with great pain, passing into a better world: '*e questa notte è passata a meglior vita, con gran dolore*.'[82] King Sebastian was present and retired afterwards to the Convent of S. Francisco in Xabregas, as was the Cardinal Infante Henry, who went to the Madre de Deus convent adjacent to the queen's residence. Fontana further explained to Cardinal Como how the queen's sepulcher was located many leagues from Xabregas, in the *capela mor* of the Jerónimos monastery, which she had built for herself, her husband and her children: '*molti legati [...] la sua seputtura ella stessa già si le haveva preparata nelle Capella Maggiore della Chiesa di Belem monasterio di monache de S. Geronimo dove tuvo parimente quelle de suo Marito e figliuoli*.' On the morning and evening of February 6, processions and orations were held throughout the city of Lisbon. In his second letter, Fontana

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relates how that same evening Catherine's body was carried to her sepulcher at Belém on a litter covered with black velvet, decorated with a white cross, in front of which marched many noblemen, courtiers and members of the Confraternity of the Misericordia.[83] This group was followed by one hundred friars, each carrying a torch, and the royal family on horseback surrounding the funeral bier. Catherine's chief lady-in-waiting walked behind the bier, with the Archbishop Teotónio of Braganza and a great multitude of gentlemen and courtiers on horseback. Other participants, priests and clergymen went ahead to Belém, to wait at the door of the Jerónimos church for the arrival of the Count of Vimioso and three other principal officials of the realm. When Catherine's funeral procession arrived, the ceremony and offices began, lasting well past midnight. Fray Luis de Granada (1504-1588), Catherine's spiritual advisor and confessor, delivered the principal sermon, which was well received by those present. In it Granada eulogized the virtues of the deceased queen, comparing her religiosity to that of a canonized saint: '*predicó [...] con gran encarecimiento de las virtudes de la Reina, que haya Gloria.*'[84]

In her own testament, Catherine of Austria requested that she be buried in her sepulcher with the 'accompaniment and funereal pomp normally observed for the burial of the kings and queens of this kingdom.'[85] Her sole concern was that her funeral exequies should not be excessive in display and spectacle; accordingly, as noted by the Castilian courtier in Lisbon Juan de Silva, although 'celebrated with pomp, they were less sumptuous than those observed at the Madrid court'.[86] Catherine of Austria was thus laid to rest in her splendid tomb with the same majesty, restraint and *decorum* with which she had lived her life. Her 'incomparable queenly virtues, pious soul and singular prudence' were praised and memorialized in her epitaph composed by André de Resende (see fig. 11).[87]

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Illustrations

Fig. 1 Exterior view of the Jerónimos Monastery in Belém (Lisbon). The square box-like structure at the far right demarcates the *capela mor* built by Catherine of Austria. Photo: José António Silva.

Fig. 2 Floor plan of the Jerónimos church with the *capela mor* marked in the yellow box. Photo: public domain.

Fig. 3 Interior view of the Jerónimos church. View of the *capela mor* through the ornate Manueline nave. Photo: public domain.

Fig. 4 The tombs of John III (far left) and Catherine of Austria on the right side of the *capela mor* facing the altar. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

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Fig. 5 The *capela mor* built by Jerónimo de Ruão. Photo: public domain.

Fig. 6 Panel with grotesque in the arch next to Catherine of Austria's tomb after a Flemish model. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 7 View of Catherine of Austria's Tomb. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 8 Detail with one elephant caryatid holding Catherine of Austria's sarcophagus with tusks of real ivory. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 9 View of the pair of elephant caryatids of Catherine of Austria's tomb. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 10 View of Catherine of Austria's bronze royal crown resting above her sarcophagus. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 11 Catherine of Austria's epitaph written by André de Resende. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 12 Exterior view of the *capela mor*. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 13 The rear of the *capela mor* with its fortified, tower-like exterior in a style George Kubler dubbed the *estilo chão*. Photo: A. Jordan Gschwend.

Fig. 14 Francisco de Holanda, Drawing for a fountain projected for the ship dockyards of Lisbon (*Ribeira dos naos*) from *Da Fabrica que falece Lisboa*, 1571, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Ms.51-III-9, f. 18r.

Fig. 15 Battista Franco (ca. 1510-1568?), *Il Semolei*, *The Flagellation of Christ*, engraving after a lost Titian, Venice, 1568, British Museum, London, inv. no. 1874, 0808.369.

Fig. 16 Titian, *Transfiguration*, Church of San Salvador, Venice. Photo: public domain.

Fig. 17 Interior view of the Church of San Salvador with the main altar, Venice. Photo: public domain.

Fig. 18a-b Lourenço de Salzedo, main altarpiece (and detail), *Capela Mor*, Jerónimos Monastery, Belém. Photo: Luís Pavão.

[1] The queen's malaise and melancholy were compounded by the fact that Lisbon was besieged by the plague in 1569, in the worst epidemic to have struck Portugal in the sixteenth century. Catherine and the Portuguese court fled to cities along and across the Tagus River, moving between Vila Franca de Xira, Santarém and Alvito, residing outside of Lisbon for months.

[2] Consult Lowe 2000, pp. 226–48, for Leonor's cultural and religious patronage. More recently, the exhibition catalogue: *Casa Perfeitissima. 500 anos da Fundação do Monasterio da Madre de Deus* (Lisbon, 2010).

[3] For a copy of a letter written by Maximilian in 1517 to Leonor concerning these relics see Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda (hereafter BA), Ms. 51-VI-25, no. 7: *Carta do Emperador pera a Rainha dona Lianor sobre as reliquias que lhe inviou*. See Bouza 1998, p. 52: '[...] *en la Madre de Dios de Enxobregas hay cuerpos de santos*.'

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[4] Jordan 1985, pp. 16–18; Jordan Gschwend 1990, pp. 187–98.

[5] See Bouza 1998, p. 52, note 73 for a letter which describes Catherine's residence at Xabregas: '[…] *en un monasterio que hay fuera de aquí, de la misma orden, que se llama Madre de Dios de Enxobregas* […]. *Y en medio está la casa donde la mia tia* [Catherine of Austria] *vivio y no la podré ver porque estan allí sus criados*.'

[6] Ferreira de Andrade 1990, pp. 21–23. On 18 August 1558 Catherine was granted a special Papal dispensation which allowed her to later build this door, giving her direct access to the Passion chapel. She was allowed to build such doors at other monasteries she frequented in Lisbon, such as the Esperança convent. Cf. *Corpo Diplomático Português*, vol. 8 (Lisbon, 1884), pp. 56–57: '*Bulla de penitenciaria à Rainha*. Bulla Exigit Celsitaclinem: *absolvendo a Rainha D. Catherina por ter aberto uma porta de seu hospicio para o convento da Esperança, e dando lhe permissão que o possa fazer para outros conventos*." Also Bouza 1998, p. 52, note 73: "*De alli dio en Xabregas, donde la sereníssima Reyna de Portugal tiene su alcázar y sale por un corredor a oyr misa a una yglesia no grande, con sus damas, y el embajador de España* […].'

[7] Juan de Borja, son of Francisco de Borja (a Spanish courtier who grew up with Catherine at Tordesillas), was ambassador to the Portuguese court from 1569 to 1575. He was a trusted confidant of the queen and in her 1578 codicil she left him the sum of 4,000 *cruzados* for his daughter's dowry. Borja was also active artistically during his Portuguese residency, enjoying the friendship of Francisco de Holanda. Borja, an amateur of emblems and *devisas*, published in Prague in 1581 a book entitled *Empresas Morales* which was partially conceived of during his residency at the Lisbon court.

[8] Catherine set into motion serious plans to consolidate her finances in Portugal in order to undertake her move to Spain. For letters which document her intentions see Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS). See especially the minute of a letter from Philip II to his ambassador Juan de Borja dated 12 May 1571, AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 388, f. 108 for the problems Catherine faced in taking her estate and monies to Spain, because her grandson Sebastian was her legal heir. At the same time, Catherine ordered research undertaken at the Habsburg family archives in Simancas to see which rents and properties were legally hers while a review of her 1524 marriage contract and capitulations was made. She wanted a copy of this contract sent to her to Lisbon. Cf. AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 388, f. 115 for the notarized court papers regarding Catherine's dowry and jewels dated 1525. As well as AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 390, f. 99. Also a letter from Juan de Borja to Philip II's secretary, Gabriel de Zayas, written from Lisbon (22 May 1571), AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 389, ff. 162 and 160, concerns Catherine's estate in 1570 which the ambassador found to be very modest in income: '[...] *no he podido entender lo çierto en lo que toca a dineros y a joyas y los demas muebles son pocos* […],' and f. 172, Borja to Zayas (12 June 1571): '*ya escrevi a v.m. como lo que sabia de la açienda de la Reyna era que la Renta seran como sesenta mil ducados, las joyas no se si llegaran a çiento y çinquenta mil, lo que se sabe la demas Recamara es poca cosa* [...].'

[9] The exchange of letters between Philip II, Juan de Borja and Catherine of Austria, regarding where she should retire to in Spain are in AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 387, f. 21 (21 August 1570); AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 388, f. 216 (29 August 1570). Also Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional of Portugal (hereafter BNP), Cod. 8570, ff. 143–144v, *De como a Rainha Dona Catherina se queria ir agravada destes Reynos pera Castella*.

[10] See AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 389, f. 91 (1571) for a letter Catherine addressed to Sebastian justifying her reasons for moving to Spain. She complained to Sebastian that he never resided in Lisbon when she did, and that she preferred to bury herself (*enterrarse viva*) in a convent rather than continue the tense relationship they cultivated.

[11] Moreira 1987.

[12] Lunenfeld 1977, pp. 57–78.

[13] Lunenfeld 1977, p. 69.

[14] Eichberger 2005.

[15] Lawrence 1997, p. 17; Carpin 1997, pp. 39–40.

[16] Brantôme 1991, p. 511. Also King 1991, pp. 188–193.

[17] King 1991, p. 182.

[18] DGARQ, NA 792, f. 193v (1543).

[19] For more on Catherine's religious patronage see Jordan Gschwend 2010, pp. 215–38. (http://arteysociedad.blogs.uva.es/files/2012/09/13-JORDAN.pdf).

[20] Moreira 1987.

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[21] Jordan Gschwend 2009, pp. 32–42.

[22] Thomaz 1991, pp. 35–103.

[23] Jordan Gschwend 1992, pp. 70–90; Deswarte-Rosa 1996, pp. 157–98; Oriol e Trindade 2008, pp. 459–533.

[24] Sousa Viterbo 1988, pp. 419–24; Jordan 1994, Part Two: Appendix 6, cats. 11, 13, 15–18, 20.

[25] DGARQ, CC I, maço 109, doc. 40; DGARQ, CC II, maço 248, doc. 23. Cf. Sousa Viterbo 1988, pp. 419–24.

[26] Kubler 1972, pp. 63–64.

[27] DGARQ, CC II, maço 248, doc. 80. Cf. Sousa Viterbo 1988, pp. 423–24; Alves 1991, pp. 183–84.

[28] DGARQ, CC I, maço 29, doc. 47; DGARQ, CC I, maço 109, docs. 42 and 55; DGARQ, CC II, maço 248, doc. 38; DGARQ, Torre do Tombo, Ms. da Livraria, Ms. 729, ch. 26, f. 597v.

[29] Carvalho 1990, pp. 181–84; Alves 1991, pp. 191–95.

[30] One pachyderm had broken during production or transportation and was immediately replaced.

[31] Oriol e Trindade 2008, pp. 459–533.

[32] BA, Ms. 46-X-22, f. 77v.

[33] AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 387, f. 21 (12 August 1570).

[34] AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 388, f. 216 (29 August 1570) and f. 225 (20 December 1570).

[35] Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (hereafter BNP), Reservados, Cod. 8920 (1571); London, British Library (hereafter BL), Additional Mss., ff. 61-65, for letters the city municipality (*camâra*) of Lisbon wrote the queen about her wish to move to Castile.

[36] Among them, the Hieronymite monastery at Vale Bemfeito near Obidós, the Dominican convent of Pedrogão Grande, the convent of São Francisco in Faro, and the churches of Santa Catarina and S. Domingos in Lisbon. In a letter to Pope Pius IV, Catherine told him of the special devotion she and John III had for the Convent of Santa Cruz in Coimbra. See Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter BAV), Barb. Lat. 9920, f. 213 (Lisbon, 8 October 1564): *'[o rei] a que tinha singular devoção* [to the Santa Cruz convent] *como eu tenho*.'

[37] Moreira 1987, pp. 16–18.

[38] BNP, Colecção Pombalina 686, ff. 803-822: '*Treslado do Compromisso das Capellas da Rainha D. Catharina tirado do original que está no Torre do Tombo donde está seu testamento. Trata da doação feita ao Convento de Belem para sustenção de 20 Merceeiros.*'

[39] Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (hereafter BNE), Ms. 474. This religious tract personally written by Osório has never been studied and remains unpublished. Also Jordan 1994, pp. 136-150; Jordan Gschwend 2001, pp. 60–68.

[40] Over the years a number of gifts had been given by Catherine of Austria to the Jerónimos monastery in Belém. She donated reliquaries (in a silver-gilt coffer), costly ornaments and religious objects (a miraculous cult statue of Our Lady of Ajuda and a St. Sebastian) which were later listed in the monastery's inventories in the seventeenth century. Other objects perhaps associated with the queen (a silver-gilt cross, chalice and various church vestments possibly embroidered by Catherine) are in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (Lisbon). For a summarized discussion of all these objects see Moreira 1987, p. 21.

[41] Jordan 1994, p. 27, note 66; Jordan Gschwend 2001, p. 62, note 129. See also *Noticia da fundação do convento da Madre de Deos de Lisboa das religiosas descalças da primeira regra de Nossa Madre de Santa Clara…*, located in the library of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Estante 74, no. 2, ff. 26–27r. Other generous donations made by the queen to the Madre de Deus convent included, in 1565, large-scale portraits of herself and John III in prayer and devotion by Cristóvão Lopes and in 1574 several organs. Sometime before Catherine's death in 1578, she gave the convent a number of important relics, including two heads of the 11,000 Virgin Martyrs, and curtains of gray silk embroidered with gold she had sewn herself for the tabernacle containing the Blessed Sacrament. This latter gift is noted in the above *Noticia...*, f. 27r: '*[a]inda estroutro dia soube que fizera a Senhora Raynha* [Catherine of Austria] *com suas maos as cortinas do Santissimo Sacramento de retros Pardo, lavrado de ouro*.'

[42] Segurado 1970, pp. 330–333; Deswarte-Rosa 1987, pp. 147–83.

[43] Moreira 1981, p. 98.

[44] Hecksher 1947, pp. 155–82.

[45] Jordan 1985, p. 30.

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[46] Jordan 1985, pp. 56–57.

[47] Jordan Gschwend 2009, p. 34.

[48] Jordan Gschwend 2010b.

[49] Hirsch 2001, p. 3; Jordan Gschwend and Beltz 2010.

[50] Jordan Gschwend 1991, pp. 121–26.

[51] Felicidade Alves 1984; Jordan 1985, p. 17, note 38 and pp. 121–22.

[52] Baptista Pereira 1986, pp. 53–66.

[53] Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 346 x 240 cm, inv. no. 432. (http://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/galeria-on-line/galeria-on-line/obra/la-gloria/).

[54] Vasari 1881, p. 453; Chiari 1982, p. 29.

[55] Bohde 2001, pp. 450–72.

[56] Another Venetian painter, Tintoretto, is recorded as having purchased Catherine of Austria's *Flagellation* at the auction of the contents of Titian's workshop after 1576. Whether the *Flagellation* was ever completed and what became of this painting is not known.

[57] Paris, Musée des Art Décoratifs, inv. no. PE 243. For more on this portrait consult Jordan 1994b, p. 88, fig. 51.

[58] Jordan 2005, pp. 91–113.

[59] 'Patterns of Patronage among Habsburg Queens, Regents and Princesses,' in Jordan 1994, pp. 417–31. For more on Habsburg women, their courts and collections in the sixteenth century see: http://habsburgsintherenaissance.blogspot.ch/.

[60] DGARQ, NA 792, f. 95v, for unspecified goods the Portuguese factor in Flanders sent the queen in 1538.

[61] Serrão 2003, p. 252, argues for Catherine's '*gusto romanista*' and her taste for things Italian (specifically Roman) throughout her reign. However, in the queen's inventories and related documents this cannot be corroborated, and Serrão's assertion that Catherine purchased engravings and works of art in Rome is not documented.

[62] Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereafter ASV), Segretaria di Stato, Portogallo, 3, ff. 32–33v.

[63] The complexities regarding Catherine's search for a suitable painter were first outlined in Bouza 1998b, pp. 77-78. Subsequently taken up by Serrão 2000, pp. 17–77; Serrão 2003, pp. 249–65.

[64] Moser 1950, pp. 27–31; Serrão 2003, pp. 249–65.

[65] Franco 1992, pp. 70–71.

[66] The queen wrote a total of three letters to Rome in 1571 requesting her ambassador buy high-quality paints.

[67] Two letters in BA, cited in Jordan 2000, pp. 285–86, note 56.

[68] AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 389, ff. 172–73 (12 June 1571).

[69] AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 389, f. 58 (7 July 1571).

[70] See AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 389, f. 59, for a response with a marginal note made by Philip II: '*Justo sera bolver a remediar esto y aun a castigarlo.*' In short: the need to remedy this unfortunate situation and to punish the customs officer for his blunder.

[71] AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 390, f. 94, letter from Borja to Zayas (9 January 1572).

[72] AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 390, f. 10 (July 25, 1572), f. 27 (7 September 1572), f. 33 (23 October 1572), f. 120 (29 October 1572) and ff. 121–22 (10 December 1572): '*estando para partirse este correo vino a mi posada el secretario de la Reyna y me dio esta escrivania para V. M. la qual le embia su Alteza por señal de agradeçimiento que tiene del cuydado que V. M. tiene en lo que toca a su servicio*.'

[73] Minute of a letter from Philip II to Catherine, in AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 392, f. 204 (19 September 1575): '*y tambien recibi mucha merçed y contentamiento con los corporales y palios para sanct lorençio [El Escorial], que por ser tan pulidos y de mano de V. A. los he tenido en lo que es razon y las beso a V. Alteza muchas vezes por ellos.'*

[74] AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 389, f. 91 (1571).

[75] BNP, Reservados, Cod. 8570, f. 144v.

[76] AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 392, f. 175 (18 July 1575): '*en çiertas casas y aposiento en que la reyna doña leonor my tia vivio.*'

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[77] AGS, Estado (Portugal), leg. 390, f. 117 (28 October 1572).

[78] Jordan 2005, pp. 155–80.

[79] Serrão 2003, p. 252 and p. 264. There is no documentation, however, which confirms Catherine of Austria brought Salzedo to her court in 1564 to work as her painter or portraitist.

[80] Tanner 1993, pp. 183–222. In 1565 Catherine commissioned from the Lisbon court painter Cristóvão Lopes two life-size portraits of herself and the late King John III at prayer, which she donated to the Convent of Madre de Deus. These portraits, which hung facing the main altar of the Madre de Deus church in adoration of the Eucharist, not only express the *pietas* and devotion of the Portuguese monarchs, but were also visual reaffirmations of the queen's own fidelity to the Habsburg notions of *Pietas Austriaca* cultivated by her and other members of the dynasty. For more on these devotional portraits see Jordan 1994b, pp. 136–50.

[81] For the immense interest Philip II showed in the building and construction of his aunt Catherine's *capela mor* consult Serrão 2000, pp. 29–34. The Spanish king went so far as to request a drawing of the Jerónimos monastery in 1568 (Serrão 2000, p. 21).

[82] The date of Catherine's death in the scholarship has invariably and erroneously been given as 12 February 1578. Cf. ASV, Segretaria di Stato, Portogallo, 1, f. 61v.

[83] ASV, Segretaria di Stato, Portogallo, 1, f. 63 (8 February 1578).

[84] Excerpt of a letter written by Juan de Silva to Philip II (April 1578) cited in Llanos y Torriglia 1923, p. 90, note 118, while a copy of Granada's speech sent by Cardinal Infante Henry to the Spanish king has not survived. Cf. Resina Rodrigues 1988, p. 578.

[85] '*Testamento e codycillo da Rainha Catarina que Deus tem* […],' in *As Gavetas*, 6 (1967), p. 10.

[86] Resina Rodrigues 1988, p. 578: '*a pesar de su innegable pompa, se revistió de un aparato menor que lo habitual en la corte de Madrid, en idénticas circunstancias*.'

[87] Resende's inscription reads: *CATHERINA PHILLIP I CASTEL REGIS F. JOANNIS III LUSITAN. REGIS. P. F. INVICTI CONIUX MAGNI ANIMI PIECTATIS EXIMIO PRUDENTIA SINGULARIS ET INCOMPARABILIS EXEMPLI REGINA H. S. E*.

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