

## PORTRAITS OF KING JOHN IV OF PORTUGAL: ICONOGRAPHY AND COPIES

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### RESUMO

O presente texto insere-se no âmbito de uma investigação pós-doutoral desenvolvida no Instituto de História da Arte da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa e no Laboratório HERCULES da Universidade de Évora. Tem como objectivo o estudo da iconografia de D. João IV, envolvendo as abordagens da História da Arte como sejam as autorais, a representação da imagem, bem como a utilização de cópias para a composição da retratística régia de Seiscentos.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE** RETRATO, ICONOGRAFIA, PINTURA BARROCA, RESTAURAÇÃO

### ABSTRACT

This paper is in the scope of a post-doctoral research developed at the Instituto de História da Arte from the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of Universidade Nova de Lisboa and the HERCULES Laboratory of Universidade de Évora. It aims at studying the iconography of King João IV. It also aims at approaching Art History fields such as authorship, image representation, as well as the use of copies to compose the royal imagery of the 17th century.

**KEYWORDS** PORTRAIT, ICONOGRAPHY, BAROQUE PAINTING, RESTORATION



## Introduction

**T**he theme of this study falls within the scope of my post-doctoral research work done between the Art History Institute of Lisbon NOVA University and the HERCULES Laboratory at the University of Évora.

For the *Copimonarch* Conference, we have chosen a figure that we have been studying — King John IV of Portugal, the Restorer — since we have several examples of pictures and engravings that help us to understand the production of the royal image and the related dissemination processes, for which copying was an essential tool.<sup>1</sup>

### I — John, the Restorer (1604-1656)

King John IV was born at the Ducal Palace of Vila Viçosa on the 18<sup>th</sup> March 1604, on the eve of St. Joseph's Day. For that reason, he would be compared to Christ's adoptive father and was often called the "Hidden", a type of messianic omen that directly connected him to the figure of King Sebastian and provided a genealogical and legitimating continuity of his ascension to "royal dignity" in 1640 (SPINOLA, 1681:651; MENEZES, 1679:592).

The work of Francisco Manuel de Melo titled *O Tácito Portuguez* is instructive enough to understand King John IV's childhood, with the advantage of the writer using a freer tone than the official records. When reading it, we clearly understand the environment in which the monarch-to-be grew up, his harsh upbringing, disagreements with his father and the political manoeuvres of the then young Duke of Barcelos. King John IV became known in history for his love of hunting at the Ducal Hunting Ground of Vila Viçosa, an activity which is also mentioned by Francisco Manuel de Melo (MELO, 1940:5). Physical descriptions of the monarch have been well recorded in pictures and engravings, and also in the words of Ericeira — raised in the princes' quarters of the Ribeira Royal Palace with Prince Theodosius — who knew the Portuguese royal family very well:

**"King John IV was of average stature, a very genial man before the pox, which altered his initial face: his hair was**

**blond, his blue eyes joyful and pleasant, his beard fairer than his hair, his body was stocky, but so strong that the disorder that fed it had not degraded it, and it promised a great duration" (MENEZES, 1679:905).**

### II — Who painted the King?

The task of tracing the iconography of King John IV is not an easy one. The 1755 earthquake and resulting destruction of the "House of Portraits" at Ribeira Palace (MARTINHO, 2009: 86), as well as the later 1834 confiscation of the assets of the religious orders caused physical and contextual losses in the iconography of both the House of Aviz and the House of Braganza. The portraits belonging to the royal series in convent galleries are prime examples of this statement. As an example, as regards John *the Restorer*, three of the portraits in existence today in national collections come from former convents, and the reports on their suppression are often vague in the description of the pieces, a situation that hampers the history of the artworks.

The oldest known image [Fig. 1] of the monarch is offered to us by an engraving in the book *Cordel Triplicado de Amor*, published in 1670 and dedicated to the *Infante* Prince Peter (the future king). The book was written by António Ardizzone Spinola, founder of the Theatine Clerics Regular of the Divine Providence of the city of Goa and Lisbon, with the political and financial support of King John IV and Queen Luísa de Gusmão. It is a piece that defends the restoring monarchy and contains a range of images showing, for example, the "Apparition of Christ to King John IV". The engraving that is most important to examine here is the one in which King John is depicted as a rather younger man, with a plump appearance, probably before the pox "which altered his initial face". We believe that this is a representation of King John IV, not

<sup>1</sup> Acknowledgements: Dr.<sup>a</sup> Maria de Jesus Monge (Head of the Museu-Biblioteca da Fundação da Casa de Bragança), Dr.<sup>a</sup> Silvana Bessone Head of the Museu Nacional dos Coches, Dr.<sup>a</sup> Graça Santa-Bárbara (MNC), Prof.<sup>a</sup> Doutora Clara Moura Soares, Dr.<sup>a</sup> Rute Massano Rodrigues, Prof.<sup>a</sup> Doutora Alice Nogueira Alves, Prof.<sup>a</sup> Doutora Fernanda Olival, Prof. Doutor Miguel Figueiredo de Faria, Sr. Embaixador Dr. Manuel Côrte-Real (Palácio das Necessidades), Dr.<sup>a</sup> Hélia Silva, Doutora Susana Valdez, Dr.<sup>a</sup> Odete Martins (Torre do Tombo), Dr.<sup>a</sup> Raquel Seixas. The laboratory results, in the more technical sense, will be the topic of another joint article with HERCULES Laboratory researchers. Susana Varela Flor is a researcher at the Art History Institute of Lisbon NOVA University's Science Faculty, where she is working on a post-doctoral project funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), the European Social Fund and Portuguese Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education national funds [SFRH/BPD/101741/2014]. She is also a researcher-associate at the HERCULES Laboratory of the University of Évora. The development of the research presented here was carried out under the COPIMONARCH Project.



**FIG. 1** Print depicting King João IV in his youth, published in *Cordel Triplicado de Amor* [1680] of Dom António Ardizzone Spinola. © [https://books.google.pt/books?id=fAGoIAWQo1AC&pg=RA2-PR49&dq=antonio+ardizzone+cordel&hl=pt-PT&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjJ6J\\_24sXWAhUHSBQKHZvFDIEQ6AEIKDAA#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.pt/books?id=fAGoIAWQo1AC&pg=RA2-PR49&dq=antonio+ardizzone+cordel&hl=pt-PT&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjJ6J_24sXWAhUHSBQKHZvFDIEQ6AEIKDAA#v=onepage&q&f=false)

only because the engraving is specifically included in Book III — “Desired Years and Happy Births of His Majesty the King of Portugal John IV explained in four sermons that The Most Reverend Father Antonio Ardizzone Spinola preached at the royal chapel in Lisbon and that their royal highnesses witnessed”, 1648 — but also because the engraving is signed. In the lower right-hand corner of it, the name Antonio Ardizzone Spinola appears accompanied by “DD”, a detail that may claim authorship of the text in Latin.<sup>2</sup> On the left-hand side, the illustration is also signed “T.D.F.”, i.e. “Thomas Dudley *fecit*”. Dudley was an English engraver living in Lisbon perhaps in the 1670s. He would have gone to Lisbon on the orders of Catherine of Braganza, Queen of England, to reproduce family portraits based on existing works, perhaps viewed in the royal collections at Ribeira Palace and later lost in the 1755 earthquake. It is therefore also worth recording that the book was printed at the workshop of António Craesbeeck de Mello, Printer to the Royal Household, who had the privilege of circulating the royal image (DIAS, 1996). There is a final argument that can strengthen this point of view: the engraving of King John IV is integrated into the text that mentions his childhood: “and his highness’ birth as flower of Portugal in Vila Viçosa, for King and Lord of his Kingdom on the day of St. Joseph of a rod that appeared unblossomed, and forgotten by the Portuguese kings...”. This prose appears to align with the engraved image, in which the young Duke receives the Portuguese crown and sceptre from the hands

of an angel. Following a chronological order, the second image [Fig. 2] to consider is the painting of John II while still a Duke, preserved at the Royal Castle in Warsaw, deposited there by the Ciechanowiecki Foundation.<sup>3</sup> Looking young, approaching thirty years of age, John II is depicted as the 8th Duke of Braganza with the physiognomy we know he had: blond hair and moustache, fair complexion and blue eyes inherited from his father Theodosius II. He is shown dressed in the Spanish style with a

<sup>2</sup> On the art of engraving in Portugal, see FARIA, 2005:229.

<sup>3</sup> Count Andrzej Stanislaw Ciechanowiecki (1924-2015) was born in Poland to a family connected to diplomacy. He himself was an ambassador until 1947, when he started teaching history of art at Krakow University, completing his doctorate in 1960. He was in Lisbon in the 1960s, studying with a grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, and then returned to London where he engaged in the art trade. In 1986, he set up the Ciechanowiecki Foundation at the Royal Castle in Warsaw, to which the portrait of King John IV belongs, under inventory number ZKW -sep.FC/25. We would like to thank Dr. Hanna Malachowicz and Dr. Dorota Juszcak for all their help. For more on the founder, see <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/12066787/Count-Andrew-Ciechanowiecki-obituary.html>

black, embroidered doublet that contrasts with the whiteness of the falling band. He wears short trousers to his knees adorned with rosettes in gold thread trimming. The ensemble ends with black, high-heeled shoes. To complement this, the outfit includes a short brimmed hat decorated around the crown with gold buttons, a detail that can also be observed throughout the entire outfit.

In a previous study (FLOR, 2016:127-141), we suggested that the 1630s as the time this painting was made, a time when Theodosius II was arranging, in highly confidential negotiations, the marriage of his son to Italian princesses, by way of the Jesuit priest Nuno Mascarenhas, who was in Rome (COSTA; CUNHA, 2006: 62). At the time, the topic of the Duke-to-be's marriage was the cause of disagreements between father and son, since Theodosius II did not look favourably upon John's growing closeness to the Madrid government, specifically to the Count-Duke of Olivares, through Francisco de Melo, Count of Assumar. In fact, the words of Francisco Manuel de Melo tell us that "for Theodosius, it was the utmost scandal and the final straw" (MELO, 1940: 5). At the beginning of the year 1631, Francisco de Melo, Count of Assumar, wrote to Duke John II suggesting Luísa de Gusmão of the House of Medina Sidonia as consort (RAPOSO, 1987:86). The greatest fears of the deceased Theodosius II therefore came to pass; he had made an effort to escape the Spanish entourage but had encountered obstacles not only with his own son but also in Assumar.

It is necessary to remind ourselves of the historical context described to try and better understand the painting in the Polish collection because, as the negotiations went on, Francisco de Melo, Count of Assumar, said that Luísa de Gusmão was:

**"17 to 18 years old, dark-skinned, beautiful, with big, dark eyes and they say extraordinary parts; I am negotiating a portrait because they are reluctant to move the matter forward..." (RAPOSO, 1987: 87).**

The expression "I am negotiating a portrait", alluding to an attempt to obtain a portrait, is ambiguous, simply because



**FIG. 2** Anonymus, *Portrait of Duke of Braganza (João II, future King João IV)*, c. 1630, The Royal Castle in Warsaw, INV. n° ZKW – dep. FC/25. ©Andrzej Ring, Lech Sanzewicz.

it could mean that the Count of Assumar was requesting that the Duke of Medina Sidonia provide a portrait of his daughter already in existence, to be viewed by the Duke of Braganza, or he could mean he was making his own efforts to send a painter

to San Lucar de Barrameda to obtain the image of the future Duchess. A plausible description of this second possibility may well have taken place in Vila Viçosa, with John II (to be King John IV) posing for an as-yet unidentified artist in order to show his image to the young Luisa.

Foreign artists being sent to Vila Viçosa was not unprecedented, if we remember the presence of the Italian painter Bernardino Della Aqua, who was hired the same year, 1631, by the representative of the Duke of Braganza, Francisco de Sousa Coutinho (FLOR, 2016b:116-133). The piece held by the Ciechanowiecki Foundation has been attributed to Peter Paul Rubens, but style analysis<sup>4</sup> and historical setting do not allow us to make this assumption. We know that the Flemish artist was in Madrid for nine months on diplomatic duties, and during this time he produced roughly 40 pieces (VILAAMIL, 2004:143). It may have been in that context that Francisco de Melo, Count of Assumar, or Francisco de Sousa, John IV's agent in Madrid, approached the Flemish artist to investigate the possibility of producing a portrait. However, echoes of this attempt may have been twisted, with historiography leaving a report of ridicule of the House of Braganza which, unlike what was conveyed, was used to receiving great entourages such as those of Cardinal Alessandrino (1571) and Cardinal Albert, Viceroy of Portugal (1583):

**“During Rubens’ stay in Spain, John, Duke of Braganza (later King of Portugal), who loved painting, and having spoken of Rubens, wrote to some gentlemen who were his friends in the court of Madrid to entreaty them to press Rubens to go and see him at Vila Viçosa, his place of residence. Rubens undertook this journey with pleasure, but as the friends of the Duke had warned him that Rubens had departed with a magnificent convoy, this terrified him in such a way that he sent a nobleman to meet him to tell him that the Duke, his master, had been compelled to leave for an important matter, he begged him to go no further and to accept a present of fifty *pistoles* to repay some of the expenses he had made during the journey. Rubens refused the fifty *pistoles* and replied that he had no need for this little rescue, and that he**

**had brought two thousand to spend at the court of this Duke in the fifteen days he had decided to stay there” (PILES, 1715:387-388).**

Of these supposedly historical reports, what we would like to highlight is the fact that the acquisition of a portrait of the Duke of Braganza in a modern style and in a state to be married would be arranged in the city of Madrid. Francisco de Melo and the Count-Duke of Olivares were the architects of this arrangement, something that displeased Duke Theodosius, as we have already seen. It is therefore possible that the image of the future Duke in the Polish collection can be explained either by a Flemish painter being sent to Vila Viçosa, of which no memory remains, or the making of a portrait in Madrid of a copy supplied for that purpose by agents of the Duke. The Count of Assumar in fact allowed himself to be painted by an artist from Flanders, who is not identified in the corresponding engraving, which was made by Antonius Van der Does, the usual engraver for Rubens and Van Dyck.

Some years later, there is an image of King John IV of which we only have record by way of an engraving. It is highly important for studying Johannine iconography because it is signed by a still-unknown painter: *Francis Ravenna pinx ad vivum*. The engraving is in the care of the Austrian National Library, and there is no information about the bibliographic work to which it was intended to. The picture shows the King wearing the collar of the Order of Christ, an attribute for the King and Master of the Order. This feature may place the painting of the portrait at the beginning of 1641, at a time when an updated iconography of the restorer monarch was being demanded. Francesco da Ravenna's presence in Portugal has not yet been detected in Portuguese sources, but the indication of having painted the King in person



**FIG. 3** Print depicting King João IV, after an original of Francis Ravenna, n° inv. PORT.00042420\_01. ©Austrian National Library

<sup>4</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Bert Schepers of the Centrum Rubenianum in Antwerp for his help on this matter.



**FIG. 4** Anonymus, *Portrait of King João IV*, c. 1641, n<sup>o</sup> inv. PT/TT/QDR/000002, ©DGLAB/ANTT

(*ad vivum*) is extremely significant, since the piece would condition later representation of the King. Military attire was chosen to represent him, in order to show “The most serene and powerful Prince”, according to the engraving’s caption. The King’s image became the base for the martial iconography of the restorer and we see it copied in the engraving by João Baptista Lusitano, done for the work *Restauração Portugal Prodigiosa* (1643), and for the painting of the Ducal Palace of Vila Viçosa, a theme to which we shall return later. Similarly, he is reproduced in painting on tiles, specifically at the entrance to the monastery of São Vicente de Fora, produced by artist Manuel dos Santos (FLOR, 2014:416).

The Portuguese national archive, Torre do Tombo, owns a painting depicting the early days of the new Braganza monarchy [Fig. 4]. King John IV is shown in a full-body pose with some royal emblems in a piece we believe to be an official portrait. Although there are discrepancies as to the measurements,<sup>5</sup> we would propose that this piece comes from the monastery of Santa Maria de Alcobaça. This hypothesis is based on several documentary sources. The first was taken from reading the description of the refurbishment of the decoration at the Library in 1654 under the management of Friar Manuel de Moraes, where we know that a gallery of royal portraits was placed to embellish the room (BERNARDO, 2012). The second source goes back to the 19th century, specifically the inventory of assets drawn up by the Deposit of the Libraries of Suppressed Convents in 1835, which recorded, under numbers 45 and 46, “two pictures of King John IV on cloth, black frame, with golden decorations.”<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, both portraits (the second of which we shall discuss further ahead) were inventoried away from their physical context (the monastery cloister) and without measurements, which makes them harder to identify. We know both were brought to Lisbon to the above-mentioned Deposit operating in the former convent of São Francisco da Cidade. In 1854, Canaes de Figureiredo recorded in his book “two full-body portraits of King John IV”

<sup>5</sup> The measurements are our biggest cause for concern. The 1835 inventory does not supply them. In 1900, Gabriel Pereira gives the measurement of 228x137 in his list of full-body portraits (PEREIRA, 1900:6), a size that matches the portrait that went to the National Archive in 1915 (PESSANHA et al., 1915:112-117). Currently, the measurements supplied by the National Archive are: 250x160cm with frame, but 198x110cm without frame.

<sup>6</sup> Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, “Relação dos Quadros do extinto Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça da Ordem de S. Bernardo, Março de 1835”. BN/AC/INC/DLEC/15/Cx05-02. A set of 18th century royal portraits inventoried in that document went to Moita Municipal Council but this does not include the image of King John IV.

belonging to the Public Library based in the same building (CASTELO-BRANCO, 1854:294) and, in August 1888, two images of the “Restorer” were worked on by Luciano Freire (SOARES; RODRIGUES, 2016:231-232), which we believe were the pieces under analysis in this text.<sup>7</sup>

It is therefore possible to posit that this painting of King John IV may have belonged to the former collection of the Library, since the 1835 inventory includes records of unpaired portraits from another 18<sup>th</sup> century royal series of Miguel António do Amaral. In fact, there are repetitions of royal images in the works, specifically: Afonso Henriques; Sancho II; Ferdinand I; Peter II and Joseph. There is also the detail that Amaral’s set appears not to have belonged to the Library, as it had been described by James Murphy in 1795 as being in the rooms of state (MURPHY, 1795:95), the former abbot’s residence.<sup>8</sup> The inspector of Erudite Libraries and Archives, Júlio Dantas, provides another argument for this painting having its origins at the Cistercian monastery: he organised a room called the “Alcobaça Room” at the Public Library, where he placed bookshelves from the monastery’s Library; 17th-century tiles with a “strip of dragons”, many of which had been chiselled off, and portraits on canvas and wood that he called “precious iconographic monuments”.<sup>9</sup> This consideration had led to the transfer of full-body portraits of King John IV (among others) to the Lisbon Academy of Fine Arts, in the same building, where they were received by Luciano Freire in 1911.<sup>10</sup> Four years later, most were returned to the National Library, where a list was drawn up under Inspector Júlio Dantas’ guidance, titled: “Report on the pictures in rooms 22 and 25 of the Lisbon National Library and in other offices that, due to their value as paintings and iconographic documents, should be properly treated and preserved” so they could be integrated into the National Archive (PESSANHA; VALDEZ; SOUZA, 1915: 112-117). The series of documents presented here may be a way of explaining the integration of this 17th-century portrait into the Torre do Tombo National Archive in 1915. It remained there until 2010, when it was moved to Necessidades Palace, under a deposit agreement with the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As for an iconographic analysis of the painting, the King is wearing the dress of the day of the Acclamation which took place on 15th January 1641 at Terreiro do Paço:

**“the king departed dressed in a dark, gold-embroidered *risso*<sup>11</sup>, and a lavish, brilliant collar, from which the emblem of the Order of Christ was hanging. He was wearing an *opa*<sup>12</sup> of trailing brocade, lined with white netting, all scattered with gold branches. He held a sceptre that had been some of the spoils from the Battle of Ajubarrota, in memory of how at the battle King John had taken it from the mother of Spain...The chamberlain João Rodrigues de Sá, count of Penaguião, lifted the train of the *opa*...Once the function was completed, the King came down to Terreiro do Paço and mounted a beautiful brown and richly caparisoned horse, with all the nobility accompanying him on foot...The senate received him under the canopy..” (MENEZES, 1679:112).**

As well as this information, there are two paintings at the Ducal Palace of Vila Viçosa showing the “Oath” and the “Acclamation” of King John IV, which are the images of texts by the major paraenetic writers of the time. The King is shown in a minuscule drawing, but the similarity of the dress can be observed. The works are not signed, although the name of the royal painter at the time, Miguel de Paiva, hovers in our mind for an attribution, since the inherent position he held enables us to do so.<sup>13</sup>

The royal portrait embodied in the painting belonging to the Torre do Tombo National Archive refers to the “Acclamation of 1641” and the need for the Portuguese crown to disseminate the royal investiture by means of visual propaganda. That urgency could also be seen in publications and António Caetano de Sousa himself confessed, years later, that reports of military successes dictated by John IV came from the hands of António Cavide (SOUSA, T. VII, 1740:132).

<sup>7</sup> DGARQ/TT/Inspeção Superior Biblioteca Arquivos, FREIRE, Luciano “Conta e Relação dos Quadros que tenho restaurado pertencentes à Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa” Cx. 170, 1888.

<sup>8</sup> On the Moita series, see the work of Anísio Franco; Pedro Penteado and Vítor Serrão listed in the bibliography.

<sup>9</sup> DGARQ/TT/Inspeção Superior Biblioteca Arquivos, Livro 405, “Carta de Júlio Dantas” de 21 de Junho de 1913.

<sup>10</sup> BNP, Arquivo Histórico da Biblioteca Nacional, “Guia em duplicado dos retratos em tela que o Director d’esta Bibliotheca remette para a Academia de Bellas Artes de Lisboa”, Bn/gpa/01/Cx 01 — 0117-7-1911

<sup>11</sup> Silk cloth. (BLUTEAU, vol. IX, 1728:189).

<sup>12</sup> *Opa real*: a lavish, grandiose and trailing garment that Kings wore on the day of consecration or at public ceremonies; regale paludamentum or with less meticulousness regia or regalis trabea (BLUTEAU, vol. VI, 1712:81-82).

<sup>13</sup> On Miguel de Paiva, read SERRÃO, vol. II, 1992:147-164.

Furthermore, the fact that the painting shows papers and an inkwell on the table and that the King holds a letter in one of his hands seems to coincide with the reason it was at the Library: that John IV returned all privileges to the Cistercian monks and this is celebrated by Friar Manuel dos Santos. The chronicler, when describing the Library, mentions the drawers in which the most valuable documents of the Cistercian Order could be found, including “the letter of restitution of King John IV; and others of this regard” (NASCIMENTO, 1979:57).

Two years later, the King appeared in a new portrait [Fig. 5], thankfully signed and dated (*Auellar fecit 1643*). We have already discussed its provenance in part since, like the previous one, the piece would have belonged to the Cistercian monastery, in particular to the rooms of state at the Royal Monastery of Alcobaça, in the new area that “the monks made at their expense in 1649” where, according to Friar Manuel dos Santos, John IV’s portrait could be found in the *Sala del Rei* (King’s Room), on the walls alongside Theodosius, Peter II and John V (NASCIMENTO, 1979:41).<sup>14</sup> In 1835, when the religious orders were suppressed, the whole journey of the previous painting became known: it was placed in the Deposit, integrated into the Lisbon Public Library and restored by Luciano Freire (SOARES; RODRIGUES, 2016:231-232). In our opinion, it would have been the work by Avelar Rebelo that suffered the greatest intervention by the conservator-restorer, something that laboratory analyses will be able to prove in the near future. In 1900, the then-director Gabriel Pereira recorded it under number 22 to decorate the Library’s Geography Room (PEREIRA, 1900:7). Eleven years later it was sent to the Academy of Fine Arts, but in 1915, when two lists of pieces at the National Library were organised, it cannot be found on either, since its value, in light of the artists who made it, meant it was not suitable to be left unused nor to be given to another institution. It therefore remained at the Lisbon Public Library until 1953, when it was transferred to the Ducal Palace of Vila Viçosa following a request by the committee responsible for the new museum at the monument (MONGE: 2017:87-88).

As in the previous portrait, John IV is shown smartly dressed, this time not in the coronation ceremony outfit, but



**FIG. 5** José de Avelar Rebelo, *Portrait of King João IV*, 1643  
© J.Real Andrade / MBCB, Arquivo Fotográfico

<sup>14</sup> In the *Sala del Rei*, the chronicler regretted the absence of a King: “The effigy of King Afonso VI is desired, as such a benefactor of this Royal House.”



displaying the military breastplate in what is, in our opinion, an intentional move. The autographed date of 1643 indicates a specific context: the year in which John IV decided to join the Portuguese army in the Alentejo in order to fight the Castilian troops of the Governor of Extremadura, the Count of St. Estevão:

**“This resolution having been taken, and all preventions taken too, the King announced that Queen Luisa would stay in Lisbon to govern in his absence... On the afternoon of 19 July, the King mounted the horse adorned, like those who accompanied him, with military dress; he went to the Cathedral to bless the standard...” (MENEZES, 1679: 377).**

The work is signed by José de Avelar Rebelo, an artist close to the Ducal Household whose initial training is unknown (FLOR; FLOR, 2016: 148-150). In *Arte da Antiguidade da Pintura* (1696), Félix da Costa Meseen states that he was close to the King (we know he worked for the Ribeira Palace on works for the Library and Royal Chapel). For this reason, he was commissioned to paint the full-body portrait in 1643 to commemorate the first military intervention in the Alentejo, the area that was most affected by the wars of the Portuguese Restoration.

What is important to note in the execution of this portrait is that the head and face of the piece appear to have been copied from a lost base painting by the Italian Francesco da Ravena, only with modifications to his garments, in a compromise between courtly style and military dress with the respective emblems (sword, Portuguese shield and commander’s baton). The image therefore corresponded to the view of the nation reported in *História de Portugal Restaurado*:

**“The King returned to Évora and on 5 October he left for Lisbon, with the people loving him as a father, venerating him as king and considering him victorious” (MENEZES, 1679: 392).**

**FIG. 6** Anonymus, *Portrait of King João IV*, 1640-50, nº inv. ID 0002, Museu Nacional dos Coches.  
©José Pessoa - DGPC/DDCI.



The date on which the painting was delivered to the monastery of Santa Maria de Alcobaça is unknown, but again we believe the gift is grounded in the large donation that John IV made to the monks of St. Bernard under the title of Commended Abbey of the Royal Monastery of Alcobaça, restoring revenues, jurisdictions and assets taken in 1580 (SOUSA, 1740:112).

Vergílio Correia discovered the authorship of this portrait of John IV that is located in the *Sala dos Capelos*, the former grand hall of the Royal Palace of Coimbra. In the chapter in his book *Obras* dedicated to the history of the University of Coimbra and the great baroque decoration campaign, Correia said he had found a book containing the expenses of works between 1601 and 1707. In it, he found receipts from the agent of the University of Lisbon to pay for the production of a royal gallery entrusted to a foreign painter by the name of Carlos Falch (CORREIA, 1946:187). Thanks to recent research we have carried out, we know that he lived in Rua das Parreiras, in the parish of Santa Catarina, in Lisbon, and that, in April 1652, he was excommunicated for not attending confession: “Carlos Falque, Simão Fogaça and Todo Jacobo the servant.”<sup>15</sup>

The work to refurbish the university spaces was done on the initiative of university rector Manuel de Saldanha and the undertaking of eighteen kings’ portraits in university’s great hall began to be paid on 12 June 1655 until 28 December 1655 in a total of 142,000 *reis*. The last stage of payment involved 72,000 *reis* “for the rest of the eighteen kings’ portraits you made for the university hall”, thereby attesting to the terms of this commission. The production of these portraits, from Afonso Henriques to John IV (excluding the Philips), over the course of six months required a partnership and the names cited above residing with the master — Simão Fogaça and Todo Jacobo — were perhaps members of his studio. The University of Coimbra’s series of royal paintings followed the models of the work *Elogios* by Bernardo de Brito that, having been done during Philip III’s reign, did not include an image of John the Restorer (FRANCO, 1993:490).

Perhaps due to the absence of an engraving, perhaps due to the disparity between the people involved or perhaps even

due to an accident during transport, the portrait of John IV did not satisfy the taste of the demanding rector Manuel de Saldanha. As a result, Carlos Falch was paid another 4,000 *reis* on 11 March 1656 “for the portrait of King John IV which he went to alter in Lisbon” (CORREIA, 1946:189). We do not know how Falch worked around capturing the true royal image, anachronistically crowned, and it has as yet been impossible to uncover the reason for this important commission from the foreign painter, but we believe the answer may lie in studying the rector Manuel de Saldanha, an important patron who supported art and several artists. As is known, in 1641, he had commissioned a book, frontispiece from the University of Évora, from the engraver Agostinho Soares Floriano (SOARES, LIMA, II vol., 1948:196-206), which shows the portrait by José Avelar Rebelo later copied by the engraver Cristiano Lobo. Five years later, the same Manuel de Saldanha supported the painter Filipe Lobo, perhaps a relation of Cristiano Lobo, paying him to paint a marine painting, a field in which he was a specialist.<sup>16</sup>

The last portrait of John the Restorer to be discussed in this text now belongs to the Portuguese National Coach Museum, exhibited there since 1923 on the initiative of the then-director and painter-conservator Luciano Martins Freire. According to him, the painting came from the Colégio dos Nobres, previously the novitiate of Cotovia (FREIRE, 1928).<sup>17</sup> At the end of the 19th century, it joined the Deposit of the Libraries of Suppressed Convents. In 1864, it was one of many paintings restored under the management of Mendes Leal (SOARES, RODRIGUES, 2016:230),<sup>18</sup> perhaps by the hand of João António Gomes (NOGUEIRA, 2016: 236-244). It is likely to have undergone new restorations around 1911, when it was sent to the Lisbon Academy of Fine Arts and again rescued by the Inspector of Libraries and Archives at the time, Júlio Dantas. As we have seen, at this point Luciano Freire was called upon to “restore a series of portraits, worthy

<sup>15</sup> Arquivo Histórico do Patriarcado de Lisboa, Rol de Confessados da Freguesia de Santa Catarina, 1652, fl. 40. See also SERRÃO, 1992:490.

<sup>16</sup> DGLAB/TT, Arquivo Conde da Ponte, Cx 13, S 78. Unfortunately this is just the existing reference to the painter.

<sup>17</sup> Although the inventory file published by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation contains no record of these portraits (LINO et al., 1959), it should be noted that Luciano Freire was familiar with the Jesuits’ assets. In his memoirs, he tells us that he knew the director of the Campolide school, Father Cabral, and he had given painting lessons at the same school.

<sup>18</sup> Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, “Relação dos retratos que foram restaurados e se acham collocados nas salas, corredores e escadas da Bibliotheca Nacional de Lisboa” in Arquivo Histórico da Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, BN/GPA/06/Cx 01-06 — 15 de Outubro de 1864 (signed by A da Silva Tullio).

of attention as documents and historical commemoration” (SOARES, RODRIGUES, 2016:233).

The painting in the Coach Museum’s collection is in fact a historical document, not just because it shows the King in a painting contemporary to him, but also because of the reflection it elicits. Firstly, the great connection the Portuguese Royal Household had with the Society of Jesus. The presence of a portrait of John IV (and Luísa de Gusmão) at Cotovia can be better justified if we remember that Father João Nunes was the Queen’s confessor and knew the King and Queen well from his times as Superior of the Professed House of Vila Viçosa (FRANCO, 1717:421). We have tried to locate the royal portraits in older descriptions of the monument but this has not been possible. A brief note about the existence of a confessors “room”, a space that is a candidate for displaying royal portraits:

**“it is in these cubicles [the windows of which follow the frontage of the church,] which have a very good view, that the priests confessors of our Queens have sometimes spent time, where they speak to people of respect that seek them without them having to enter the Novitiate” (LIMA, 1972:57).**

The King wears a black doublet, overlaid with contrasting gold buttons, a collar and white cuffs. To complete the ensemble, he holds a hat and displays a cape or vestment with a pleated shoulder (SILVA, 2007:162). The golden sword at his side contrasts with the clothing and provides John the Restorer with authority.

If we observe King John IV’s clothing carefully, we can see that it is the same as he was wearing as Duke in the Warsaw collection, analysed above. Except for John IV’s face, which is notably younger, and the sword placed on the opposite side, all the rest (clothing and adornments) follow the Spanish model and fashion, established, for example, in the Velázquez-style palette. This curious detail leads us to reflect on the production of the royal portraits and the copying thereof, since it appears to us that the painting at the Coach Museum was inspired by the model painted a decade and a half previously.

The origins of the portrait of John IV (and Luísa de Gusmão) belonging to the novitiate of Cotovia force us to mention the figure of one of the painters most active during the first decade of the 17th century: the painter Domingos da Cunha “The little goat” (1598-1644), thus named for his features. He was born in Lisbon to a family “of good standing”. He learned the art of painting in the capital, but later went to Madrid where he improved his craft with Eugenio Cajés, painter of Philip II of Portugal. He return to Portugal in 1623, living in one of the tall houses in Rua do Telhal, in the parish of São José in Lisbon, and was reported to the visiting bishop by other residents of the same street for living in sin with a widow (1628).<sup>19</sup> In professional terms, he was highly sought after for the art of portraiture, since he “made them very naturally” for noblemen and clerics of the court. At the age of 34 he joined the Society of Jesus, where he produced many pieces for different Jesuit buildings in Lisbon and Évora. Shortly after the acclamation of John IV in Lisbon, an event that he attended, he portrayed the new monarch following a recommendation from the Archbishop of Lisbon, Rodrigo da Cunha. Father António Franco, in *Imagem de Virtude*, reports that the painter went to Ribeira Palace several times to paint the young monarch, a difficult task because of John IV’s impatience. Laboratory analyses underway may confirm this historical context and add other explanatory data.

Regardless of who made the pieces, what is essential in this article is to record the matter of copying pictures, when it involved painting the monarch during the turbulent years in which he reigned and, above all, appreciating those same copies intended for convents, since in the absence of a main royal gallery, they were the custodians of the iconographic memory of the Portuguese Restoration period.

<sup>19</sup> Arquivo Histórico do Patriarcado de Lisboa, Livro dos termos desta cidade de Lisboa (1628), nº 133.

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