

## Juan Pantoja de la Cruz and the Circulation of Gifts Between the English and Spanish Courts in 1604/5

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The present paper has to be situated in the context of a discipline that has become fashionable in the last two decades: the study of gift-exchange among the elite classes in Europe. In terms of Anglo-Spanish cultural relations, it breaks new ground in dealing with the gift-giving rituals, the formalized international exchange of state portraits, the competitive display and presentation of jewels negotiated between the courts of England and Spain. In particular, it focuses on the cultural policy pursued by the two courts to exploit portraiture and jewelry in order to advance both their political and dynastic aims on the occasion of the peace negotiations and celebrations of the new alliance that was signed in London (1604) and in Valladolid (1605). Thus the English and the Spanish monarchs indulged in a diplomatic interchange of miniatures and full-length royal portraits. In London, Queen Anna harnessed Isaac Oliver's ability as court painter; in Valladolid, Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, court painter to King Philip III, was commissioned to paint the miniatures and the portraits of the Spanish monarchs as well as of the Infanta Ana de Austria. The article, moreover, takes up the unresolved debate about Pantoja's contested authorship of *The Somerset House Conference*, a memorial painting acquired by the National Portrait Gallery in 1882.

The political settlement initiated by the Archdukes in Brussels and concluded between England and Spain in 1603/4 was signed in Whitehall Chapel, London, on 19/29 August 1604, by the Constable of Castile and King James I and was ratified in the Salón Grande of the Royal Palace in Valladolid, on 30 May/9 June 1605, by the Earl of Nottingham and King Philip III.<sup>1</sup> The peace favoured the resumption of the old cultural intercourse that had been forged by the dynastic policy of the early Tudor monarchs and had been flourishing until severed by Queen Elizabeth and her brother-in-law, Philip II.<sup>2</sup> Both courts in 1604 and 1605 put on brilliant shows of cultural self-representation with a

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<sup>1</sup> Dates are mostly given in Old and New Style, for the English documents are invariably in OS, the Spanish in NS. [Editor's note: figures of gifts prices follow the common contemporary practice in each country, thus, whereas in English thousands and decimals are indicated by comma and point respectively, the reverse is observed in Spanish; if a figure occurs in the English text, it is written following English usage (*i.e.* £1,500 –a thousand, five-hundred pounds–), but if a figure is found within a quotation in Spanish, it follows Spanish usage (*i.e.* 1.500 –mil quinientos reales / a thousand, five-hundred reales–)].

<sup>2</sup> For the negotiations leading up to the peace treaty see Loomie (1963); for the Earl of Nottingham's embassy to Valladolid see Kenny (1970); for the celebrations and cross-cultural experience see Ramírez de Villa-Urrutia

view to strengthening the process of reconciliation. The prestige of painting played as important a role as the splendour of the court celebrations and the codified ritual of gift exchange.

In 1601 the Spanish court had moved to Valladolid and for the following five years the presence of the court and government transformed the town into the cultural centre of Spain. Town and court, in honour of the English embassy, mounted festivities on an unprecedented scale during a period of three weeks in May/June 1605. Among the 560 English and Scottish retainers chosen to accompany the Earl of Nottingham on his mission to Valladolid a good many were qualified to respond to the cultural encounter and even to take up the challenge issued by the Spanish court mythographers to outdo the celebrations staged in London in August 1604. Besides the Earl of Nottingham, patron of the Admiral's Men until 1603, I am thinking of Sir George Buc, Deputy Master of the Revels Office; of Dudley Carleton, on the threshold of a brilliant career as a diplomat and purchasing art agent; of the essayist Sir William Cornwallis, the son of the English ambassador to the Spanish court, Sir Charles Cornwallis; of the physician Robert Marbeck, the author of a *Discourse on the descent on Cádiz* in 1596 that contains an anecdote about Richard Tarlton "condemned to die in one of his prettie mearie commedies" (MS Sloane 226, fol. 21r<sup>o</sup>);<sup>3</sup> of the young art agent Thomas Coke; of Sir Robert Drury, the future patron of John Donne; and of Robert Treswel, who accompanied Nottingham in his capacity as Somerset Herald and as authorized chronicler.<sup>4</sup>

Thomas Coke, about to embark upon a career as art adviser to the Earl of Shrewsbury and, after 1613, to the Earl of Arundel, was well advised to join Nottingham's embassy which promised to open up cultural sites hitherto inaccessible to the English. It was indeed part of Philip III's cultural strategy to impress the English courtiers with the arts as practised and cultivated in Spain. The royal and aristocratic collections, rich in European paintings, in Italian and Flemish masterpieces, were all of a sudden within reach of Nottingham and his entourage. The Palacio Real in Valladolid and the suburban Palacio de la Ribera of the Duke of Lerma treasured hundreds of paintings. Coke, I think, can claim to be the first art expert working for the English nobility who in 1605 must have seen some of those masterpieces by Titian, Veronese and Correggio that, in 1623, whetted Prince Charles's desire in Madrid and Valladolid to add them to his own collection.<sup>5</sup> Coke is not known to have bought any pictures in Valladolid; nor has he left a record of a visit to a gallery in Astorga. Nottingham and his suite, on their strenuous overland journey from the Groyne to Valladolid, alighted at the castle of Don Pedro Álvarez Osorio, eighth Marquis of Astorga, on Saturday, 11/21 May 1605. The Marquis, providing a grandiose welcome to the English courtiers, showed them his "very faire gallery with many goodly pictures and pieces of painting both large and costly, and also a rich library with many fine rarities" (Treswell 1605: 27). Unfortunately, Treswell does not specify what paintings the Marquis called his own and took pride in displaying to his distinguished visitors from England. His may have been one of those traditional aristocratic collections that abounded in religious and mythological paintings. Coke, however, is unlikely to have missed the prestigious collection of the Count of Benavente, Juan Alonso Pimentel, Viceroy of Valencia and of Naples, who accommodated Nottingham in his castle at Benavente on Sunday, 12/22 May. The anonymous chronicler of the embassy, "a better Souldier, then a Scholler", as he styled himself in the Address to the Reader, compared the heavily fortified building to Windsor Castle. He recorded without much attention to

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(1907) and Stoye (1968); for the peacemaking policy in Brussels, London and Madrid/Valladolid see Carter (1964).

<sup>3</sup> The anecdote was omitted by Richard Hakluyt (Rhys 1928: ix, 249-275).

<sup>4</sup> Treswell's chronicle is entitled: *A Relation of such Things as were obserued to happen in the Journey of the right Honourable Charles Earle of Nottingham, L. High Admirall of England, His Highnesse Ambassadour to the King of Spaine* (London, Melchisedech Bradwood, 1605).

<sup>5</sup> For Coke in Spain see Howarth (1985: 20, 35); for Prince Charles's purchase of Italian masterpieces in Madrid see Millar (1977: 20-32); for the royal picture galleries in Valladolid see Rivera Blanco (1981: 134), and Urrea (1982: 155-192).

chronology that “this house was of six hundred yeares standing, and that Hanniball and Scipio had layen in it”. Obviously an officer in Nottingham’s guard, he must have been admitted to the Count’s “Wunderkammer” and to his gallery containing mythological pictures, the standard portraits of famous men, and some Italian paintings, for he entered in his chronicle that he “did see the portratures” of Hannibal and Scipio and “one of their thigh bones that was as big as any mans thigh, flesh and all, in anie part” (Anon. 1605: 5-6).<sup>6</sup>

The conciliatory force of portrait painting must first of all be seen in the context of the institutionalized rite of gift-giving and gift-exchange as prescribed by international court etiquette. The presentation of royal gifts and counter-gifts made during the ratification celebrations in London and Valladolid, the royal gifts for the departing English and Spanish ambassador and their retinues, the distribution of gifts made by the two ambassadors at their departure from London and Valladolid respectively, conformed to an ordered scheme. Each single item, from gold cups, gold and silver plate, jewels, pearls, chains, ewers, pendants, rings, cases, flagons, manufactured either in London, the Low Countries, or Valladolid, to hatbands, aigrettes and crosses set with diamonds, to dogs, horses and firearms was meticulously inventorized and priced. The ostentatious display of jewelry was a traditional manifestation of wealth and power that used to be publicized. Thus the demand for spectacular court news in the Spanish Netherlands was catered for by a tract like the anonymous *Vray discours de l’arrivée de Monsieur le Connestable de Castille en Angleterre, avec les cérémonies, pompes et grand triumphes, particularitez de joyaux, dons et présens donnez de part et d’autre* (Douai: Balthasar Bellère, 1604).<sup>7</sup>

Apart from the unbounded ostentation of wealth, gift-giving had a symbolic value. The formal rite of gift-exchange was seen as a public confirmation of the bond of amity concluded between the two countries. When the rite was officiated by the monarchs themselves, the ceremony used to assume an explicitly personal note. Thus King James opened the banquet, celebrated at Whitehall on the occasion of the ratification of the peace treaty, on 19/29 August 1604, by inviting Juan Fernández de Velasco, Constable of Castile and Duke of Frías, to share with him a melon and half a dozen oranges raised in the royal gardens, “diziéndole que era fruta de Hespaña transplantada en Inglaterra” ([López de Mendizórroz] 1604: 38).<sup>8</sup> The fruit gift transcended the historic moment of the English/Spanish commensality in symbolizing equality of political partnership and prompting the prospective dynastic

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<sup>6</sup> For the impressive collection of the Count of Benavente see Morán y Checa 1985: 170, 220-22, 233, 294-95, and Burke 1984: DA, 45 (1984/85) 1558-A.

<sup>7</sup> The only known copy is in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Douai. For the gifts of the Constable given to King James and Queen Anne, to the leading courtiers and the ladies-in-waiting, the total amounting to £104,500, see Kerr (1957: 167-170). Kerr, who does not disclose his source, is not a reliable scholar. The jewels, jewellers, recipients, bankers were entered by the Constable’s treasurer in the “Partidas”, the financial accounts, which are kept in the Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Sección Nobleza, Hospital Tavera, Toledo, Frías 617/20/1-18. A jewel bought by the Constable from Johnson, a London jeweller, valued at £500, was lost and got into the hands of a third party. See Public Records Office (PRO), SP 94/10/126. For the gifts of King James, some 70 pieces of silver and gold plate, among them the famous royal gold cup of the Kings of France and England, “delivered to the Constable” by the Royal Jewel House see PRO, SP 94/10/93, and the *Relación de la Jornada del Excmo. Condestable de Castilla a las Pazas entre Hespaña y Inglaterra* (Antwerp, 1604), 38-39, 45-46. Its author can be identified as the Constable’s secretary and biographer Fermín López de Mendizórroz (therefore, this work is hereafter identified with this name in square brackets). For the business-like inventory of Spanish gifts donated in Valladolid and valued at 166,300 ducats see Gascón de Torquemada (n. d.: ff. 313<sup>v</sup>-315<sup>v</sup>). See also Herrera (1605: 45 sqq.), and Treswell (1605: 54). For the gifts presented by the Constable see also Ramírez de Villaurrutia (1907).

<sup>8</sup> On 4/14 August 1604, the Queen granted John Gerrard, herbarist, the lease of a garden plot adjoining Somerset House on condition of supplying her with herbs, flowers and fruit according to the seasons. See Needham and Webster (1905: 68).

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alliance between Prince Henry and the Infanta Doña Ana. The exchange of their portraits, discussed below, underlines the seriousness of the dynastic issue.

King James was to pursue the idea of a dynastic alliance with Spain until 1623. In 1604, he had to content himself with a political accommodation that he coded as a “marriage” between the two countries and in token of which he presented the Constable with a diamond ring. The presentation is well-documented in contemporary annals. On Monday, 20/30 August, at 4 pm., King James, impatient to resume his summer progress and make the best of the interrupted hunting season, boarded a royal barge at Whitehall Stairs which took him to Somerset House. There in the intimacy of the bedroom he spent an hour in private conference with the Constable, who was down with lumbago, and with the Earl of Northampton who served as interpreter.<sup>9</sup> On taking leave, King James “con mucho affecto de amor y cortesía, le dexó de su mano vna sortija con vn diamante rico, para memoria del ‘mariage’, que assí llamó a la paz” ([López de Mendizórroz] 1604: 45).<sup>10</sup>

Memorial rings used to be given at crucial moments in human lives (Fumerton 1991: 34; Stallybrass 1996: 289-320, 312). In the present case, it was a time of dramatic transformation, a peace treaty concluded between two former enemies. The donation of the ring was both a private and public act. Thus the Flemish contemporaries were informed that the ring offered in remembrance of the “mariage” was valued at “cincq mil escus” (Anon. 1604: A6v<sup>o</sup>).<sup>11</sup> In 1605, Philip III, in accordance with court protocol, reciprocated the gift at the farewell audience he granted to the Earl of Nottingham on 8/18 June. He gave Nottingham a “ring with a Diamond, said to be of the valew of 3,000 pounds, which he put vpon his L. finger, and as he said, in token of wedding him in true loue perpetually” (Treswell 1605: 54-55).<sup>12</sup>

Queen Anna’s attempt to personalize her public relationship with the Constable of Castile deserves as much attention as the King’s. As Queen of England with overt Catholic leanings, she let the Constable know that she fully subscribed to her husband’s plans for a match between Prince Henry and the Infanta Ana (Williams 1970: 93-94; 109-110). What convinced the Constable that the Queen was a Catholic was her support for the plans nurtured by Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria, to return to the English court as a maid of honour and as an ardent advocator of the English recusants (Loomie 1973: 44 and 1983: ch. 4). During the peace celebrations the Queen took an active part in the court entertainments, making up for her husband’s physical incapacity to participate in the revels, particularly in the dances, and also for his seeming indifference to painting and drama. Unlike her husband, the Queen took to articulating her personal view in favour of a political *rapprochement* between the two nations through the power of portraiture: she presented the Constable with two miniatures and two portraits in large. The Constable, gallant as he was with his royal hostess, allowed her to score some points in the cultural interchange as far as portraits were concerned, but in the final account of the competitive gift-giving rites he gained the upper hand.

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<sup>9</sup> For Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, as an experienced hispanist see Ungerer (1956: 56-60 and 1976: ii, 268-269). For Northampton’s position at the Jacobean court see Peck (1991: 148-68).

<sup>10</sup> The event was also recorded at full length by López de Mendizórroz (1625: 175-176). In the late afternoon King James set out on his hunting progress. The Constable stayed on in Somerset House until 4 September. King James’s farewell visit paid to the Constable allows to date Letter 108 the king addressed to his “little beagle”, Sir Robert Cecil, as being written on 20/30 August 1604. James complained to Cecil that “in earnest, I lose this year’s progress if I begin not to hunt there upon Monday come eight days, for the season of the year will no more stay upon a king than a poor man, and I doubt if the Constable of Castile has any power in his commission to stay the course of the sun” (Akrigg 1984: 232-233).

<sup>11</sup> The relevant passage reads: “...le Roy print la main du dict Connestable, & luy mit au doigt vn diamant de la valeur de cincq mil escus, disant qu’il se marioit avec luy en amitié avec ceste paix, & que de sa part, elle seroit à iamais inuiolable”.

<sup>12</sup> Both kings opted for a diamond solitaire instead of a more elaborate marriage ring. For the history of rings see Scarisbrick (1993).

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Before entering upon a discussion of the Queen's gift, it seems opportune to review the calculated generosity showered upon her and her ladies-in-waiting by the Constable of Castile on behalf of the Spanish monarchs. The Constable presented the Queen with a dragon-shaped crystal cup, "vna serpiente de cristal guarnecida de oro con su tapador y vn Ercules encima de oro mazizo", which he had bought for 4,440 reales (£111) from "Euraldo Ciceron, platero". The bill of exchange is dated from Brussels on 4 April 1604 (NS). This is the cup with which he was to drink to the Queen the health of King James at the banquet held after the ratification of the peace treaty in Whitehall. He also presented her with a gold cross, "vna Joya Cruz de Oro quaxada de 260 Diamantes", which Don Blasco de Aragón had bought for 43,480.50 reales (£1,087) in Antwerp, the bill of exchange dated from Bruges on 25 July 1604 (NS). The Queen, moreover, received from him three pendants set with "Diamantes muy gruesos y con otros menores" which on 30 August 1604 (NS) he bought from "Pedro Gemens, joyelero jnglés" (*sic*) at a price of 130,000 reales, *i.e.* £3,250. Finally, the Queen was given two gold cases out of a set of twelve that had been ordered to be made by the three Brussels jewellers Pedro de Prado, Pedro de Quermens and Jean Guiset. The price of 62,475 reales (£1,561) for the twelve cases was paid by a bill of exchange dated from Brussels on 9 April 1604 (NS) (Partidas. AHN, Toledo, Frías 617/20/5-6, 9v<sup>o</sup>, 10v<sup>o</sup>; [López de Mendizórrroz] 1604: 32, 40; Kerr 1957: 168).

The Constable loaded or rather bribed Frances Howard, Countess of Suffolk, with jewels worth 160,000 reales; with one of twelve gold cases made in Brussels (see above); and with 200,000 reales in cash, the total amounting to £9,130. He gave "Madama Belfort", Lucy Harington, Countess of Bedford, an aigrette set with 106 diamonds "entre grandes y pequeños" and valued "con el oro y hechura en 1,800 escudos". It was one of six jewels the Constable bought in Brussels from Jean Guiset by bill of exchange dated 17 May 1604 (NS). "Madama Riza", Penelope Devereux, Lady Rich, got another aigrette bought from "Adrian Rotini, joyelero" for 12,000 reales (£300) on 27 August 1604 (NS); so did "Madama Elfort", Countess of Hertford, Lady Frances Howard, for 13,200 reales (£330). One of the six jewels made by Guiset in Brussels was an anchor, "vna Ancora con 39 Diamantes entre grandes y pequeños, tassada con el oro y hechura en 1.328 escudos". The recipient of this symbol of hope was Anne Hay, the daughter of Francis Hay, Earl of Erroll, one of the Catholic Ladies of the Queen's Bedchamber. "Madama Verde", who can be identified as Lady Susan de Vere, the future Countess of Montgomery, was rewarded with a cock, "Vn Gallo quaxado todo de Diamantes y rubíes, y seis Perlas, tassado en 160 escudos". It was one of eight jewels made in Brussels and paid by bill of exchange dated 11 February 1604 (NS). Another bill of exchange was issued on 27 August 1604 (NS) when 9,200 reales (£230) were paid to the London jeweller "Hernaldo Lux", Arnold Lulls, for a jewel set with diamonds which was to be handed out to "Madama de Erbi", Countess of Derby, Lady Elizabeth de Vere (Partidas. AHN, Toledo, Frías 617/20/1v<sup>o</sup>, 2, 4, 6, 17v<sup>o</sup>).

The recipients were chosen by the Count of Villamediana, the Spanish ambassador to the English court. In June 1604 he drew up a list of recommendations to be approved of by the Constable who was still in the Low Countries. One of the ladies on the list was "Madama Cidne", the daughter of Sir Robert Sidney, the Queen's Great Chamberlain. Although Sir Robert sympathized with the French party, Villamediana was of the opinion that a jewel ought to be given her for the sake of the Queen. Thus Elizabeth Sidney was honoured with a diamond set in a ring, which cost about 20,000 reales (£500) and was paid by bill of exchange dated 4 September 1604 (NS) (Partidas. AHN, Toledo, Frías 617/20/17).<sup>13</sup> Villamediana likewise advised the Constable to present Lady Arabella Stuart with "a jewel of some importance because of her position". Accordingly, the Constable, on 30 August 1604 (NS), signed a warranty in London for 72 "botones de oro con tres Diamantes cada vno en 47.520 reales" (£1,188) to be given to "Madama Arbela" (Partidas. AHN, Toledo, Frías 617/20/14v<sup>o</sup>; Loomie 1963: Appendix I).

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<sup>13</sup>For Villamediana's list of recommendations see Loomie (1963: Appendix I).

Besides the Countess of Suffolk, the most valuable collaborationist among the Queen's ladies-in-waiting proved to be Lady Susannah Drummond. The principal Lady of the Queen's Bedchamber, as Villamediana reported to the Constable, was a Catholic and had given the Spaniards "confidential advice". He therefore urged the Constable that "she be kept under our protection, both to sustain the peace and because of our rivalry with the French". He found her "a prudent person, ready to give help at any time" and his "trust in her... always proved well-founded". It was through her intercession that Villamediana "exchanged letters with the Queen". She deserved to be rewarded, he argued, and would continue to further Spain's interests "as in every way she maintains the Queen firmly in our friendship". The Constable's response to Villamediana's recommendation was favourable, but he could not help commenting in a marginal note added to Villamediana's report that it seemed "to be something new to go about in this fashion giving pensions to women". Accordingly, Lady Drummond was rewarded with an aigrette adorned with 75 "Diamantes entre grandes y pequeños, tassado con el oro y hechura en 920 escudos", which Jean Guiset had created and was paid for by a bill of exchange dated 17 May 1604 (NS); and before the Constable's departure from London she received a gratuity of 20,000 reales together with another jewel (Partidas. AHN, Toledo, Frías 617/20/3v<sup>o</sup>, 17v<sup>o</sup>).<sup>14</sup>

Queen Anna's gift for the Constable was partly made in response to Spanish munificence and was presented as a personal memorial of the "marriage" sealed in Whitehall. On the very day of the Constable's departure from London, Saturday, 25 August/4 September, the Queen's Vice-Chamberlain, Sir George Carew, rode to Somerset House and solemnly presented the Constable with a necklace set with rich pearls for his wife, Doña María Girón, Duchess of Frías, and with a so-called picture-box, "vna caja de retratos", as the Spanish chronicler put it, which contained the portraits of King James and Queen Anna as painted most likely by Isaac Oliver and set in lockets by John Spilman, the royal jeweller. The ornamental picture-case was set with diamonds. The privacy and intimacy of the presentation was underscored by the fact that Sir George presented the miniatures as love-tokens given to a cherished intimate.<sup>15</sup> Sir George declared on behalf of the Queen –and we can take it for granted that he delivered the Queen's personal message in Spanish–<sup>16</sup> that "se hallaua tan obligada a su Ex[cellenci]a, que le embiaua para sí aquellos retratos, en señal del reconocimiento y amor de sus dueños" ([López de Mendizórroz] 1604: 47).<sup>17</sup> The Constable responded to the gift-giving by rewarding Sir George with "vna joya de Diamantes" which he bought from a French jeweller in London at the price of 12,000 reales. His bill of exchange was dated 3 September 1604 (NS) (Partidas. AHN, Toledo, Frías 617/20/14v<sup>o</sup>).

Within a year or two after the accession of King James to the English throne, Queen Anna established a separate court of her own and set up an independent patronage scheme. In the summer of 1603, she appointed Sir Robert Sidney as Lord Chamberlain and Sir George Carew as Vice-Chamberlain (Barroll 1991), and in June 1605 she nominated Isaac Oliver as "painter for the art of

<sup>14</sup>I have not been able to identify the "Condesa de Motinan" and "Madama Bisinjar" (617/20/17v<sup>o</sup>).

<sup>15</sup>On 6/16 September 1604, Spilman was paid £1,000 "for a tablet of diamonds with a great pendant pearl hanging at it, having in it the picture of the King and Queen's Majesties, given by the Queen to the Constable as also the sum of £260 for one other jewel with an A and R", sent by the Queen to the Count Arenberg. See Devon (1836: 16). For a miniature as an expression of intimacy in Tudor and Stuart England see Fumerton (1991: 70-71).

<sup>16</sup>He was the translator of *The Historie of Araucana written in verse by Don Alonso de Ercilla translated out of the spanish into English prose*, ed. by Frank Pierce (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1964). He was also an assiduous reader of Spanish military treatises. See Ungerer (1956: 60-67).

<sup>17</sup>The high-flown rhetoric of the Constable's biographer Mendizórroz reads: [the Constable received] "vna caja con los retratos de sus Magestades, guarnecida de ricos diamantes, para que assí como le hauían entregado sus corazones, con el amor que le hauían cobrado, tuuiese cerca de sí sus retratos, ya que no les era posible gozar continuamente de su presencia" (López de Mendizórroz 1625: 177). The text may be rendered as follows: [he received] "a locket with the portraits of their Majesties set with rich diamonds so that he could keep their portraits close to his heart since it was not possible for them to be continually in his presence just as they had committed their hearts to him with the love they felt for him".

Limning". Oliver, who had made a name for himself as a new-wave artist, appealed more to the Queen's advanced aesthetic tastes than the traditionalist Nicholas Hilliard (Strong 1983: 97, 105, 151). It is, therefore, legitimate to advance the view that the miniatures representing Queen Anna and King James must have been painted by Oliver and that their commissioner was the Queen. The recipient of the gift, who had been governor of Milan, may also have had a say in the choice in so far as the Queen is likely to have sensed that Oliver's continental style would be more consonant with the Italian taste of the Spanish grandee than Hilliard's native style. Whether the portraits were originals made *ad vivum* or duplicates of standard portraits is a question that must be left unanswered.

The Spanish chronicle of 1604 provides some evidence to support the view that the Constable had already obtained two portraits, most likely full-length, of Queen Anna and Prince Henry. On 20/30 August, as the Spanish author records, just before King James presented the Constable with the memorial ring in his bedchamber in Somerset House, the King, the Earl of Northampton and the Spanish ambassador, Don Juan de Tassis, Count of Villamediana, spent more than a quarter of an hour at his bedside, "hablando de diferentes cosas de caça, y recreación, y de los Retratos de la Reyna, y del Príncipe, que tenía el Condestable en el mismo aposento; loándolos el Rey por bien hechos" ([López de Mendizórroz]1604: 44). It would, I think, be wrong to conclude from this account that the portraits belonged to Somerset House and were hung up in the bedchamber to grace the presence of the Constable. The fact that the two portraits caught the King's eye a few minutes before he was to slip off his ring and hand it over to the Constable goes to show that he must have been pleased to see the likenesses of his wife and son in the Constable's bedroom.

Their presentation must have taken place on 18/28 August, when the Queen, in the presence of some twenty ladies-in-waiting, received the Constable "con mucho affecto de gusto, y demostración de amor", refusing to sit down, contrary to the strict observance of court etiquette, before the Constable took his seat. The audience lasted more than an hour, during which the Queen asked Prince Henry to give a demonstration of his dancing talent. She also invited the Constable to kiss all her ladies, as was the fashion in England, on their mouths. After the Queen's audience, the Prince, left on his own, impressed the Constable by his horsemanship, and the Constable, appreciating the young prince's manly prowess, ordered his Master of the Horse, Don Martín de Bañuelos, to let Prince Henry have a Spanish horse, "ricamente enjaezado, y vna casaca, y vna banda bordada de lo mismo muy curiosa" ([López de Mendizórroz] 1604: 33-35).<sup>18</sup>

There were, then, at least some four or five portraits in the Constable's luggage crated for shipment to Valladolid: one state portrait of Queen Anna, another state portrait of Prince Henry, one miniature of King James and the companion piece of Queen Anna.<sup>19</sup> In addition to these royal portraits, it is justifiable to speculate that most of the English and Flemish commissioners who had sat with the Constable at the negotiation table at Somerset House had given him their standard portraits as a memorial.<sup>20</sup> It is on record that one of them, Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, gave him his type portrait as duplicated in the workshop of John de Critz the Elder (Strong 1969: i, 275). The de Critz stock representation of Cecil in the Constable's possession promises to help unlock the contested

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<sup>18</sup>The bill of exchange for the horse amounted to 36,000 reales (£900) and was dated from Ghent on 31 September 1604 (NS). The entry in AHN, Toledo, Frías 617/20/18v<sup>o</sup>, records that the harness was of embroidered velvet, "vn jaez rico de terciopelo bordado".

<sup>19</sup>The portraits of Queen Anne and Prince Henry are listed in the Inventory of the goods of Doña María Girón, Duchess of Frías, which was made on 29 February 1608 after her death. The Inventory lists some 380 paintings, most of them of religious subjects. The paintings were inventoried and assessed by the court painter Diego de Cueva. See Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, vol. 24850, ff. 40-45, 70-71, 249-50v<sup>o</sup>, 546-54v<sup>o</sup>. The relevant item reads: "Mas el Retrato de la Reina de Ingl[er]ra y el Príncipe de Gales que se hicieron en Londres tassados ambos en doze ducados" (f. 250).

<sup>20</sup>The Constable was a great art collector. He owned many Italian and Flemish paintings. In Flanders alone he acquired 98 pictures. See Morán y Checa (1985: 237). See also entry in Turner (1996: xx, 905-906).

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authorship of *The Somerset House Conference* and unravel the technique of portraying the commissioners in the Valladolid workshop of Juan Pantoja de la Cruz.

The mechanism of gift-exchange did not operate between the Queens of England and of Spain in 1604. Queen Anna who was frequently beset with financial difficulties, let the Constable know on the eve of his departure that although she felt so much obliged to Queen Margaret, she simply did not have the money, the “caudal para poderla corresponder” ([López de Mendizóroz] 1604: 47).<sup>21</sup> These seem to be the very words in which Sir George Carew couched the Queen’s apology after presenting the two miniatures to the Constable. It is not surprising to learn that the splendor and magnificence of the court festivities had drained Queen Anna’s exchequer so that she could not even afford a second set of miniatures with which to respond to Queen Margaret’s liberality.

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The list of presents Queen Margaret prepared for Queen Anna in July 1605 can be taken as proof that in the meantime Queen Anna had complied with her promise to reciprocate the presents. In fact, on Friday, 24 May/3 June 1605, Thomas Knowles, King James’s equerry, presented the Spanish monarchs with the royal gifts from England in the Duke of Lerma’s Palacio de la Ribera: “six Horses (three for the King, and three for the Queene) with saddles and clothes very richly imbroidered and costly; two Crosbowes with sheifs of Arrowes; foure Fowling-pieces, with their furnitures, all very richly garnished and inlayed with fine plate of golde; and one couple of Lime hounds of an extraordinary goodnesse”. The following day, as Treswell records, the Earl of Nottingham “visited the Queen and deliuered her a faire rich Iewell as a token from the Queen of England” (Treswell 1605: 39-40).<sup>22</sup>

Queen Margaret, in competitive response to Queen Anne, gave Nottingham the following gifts with the request to bestow them on the English Queen. Among them were two portrait miniatures painted by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz: “... dos acaneas con sus sillones de plata, ygual drapas bordadas, de muy grande estima, tasadas en 5.300 ducados” (...two palfreys with their silver side-saddles, similar clasps embroidered and very highly esteemed, valued at 5,300 ducats); “... vna cajita del tamaño de vn naipe con los retratos de sus Magestades, llena de dia-mantes , tasada en 6.000 ducados” (... a small case set with diamonds the size of a miniature with the portraits of their Majesties, valued at 6,000 ducats); “... dos cadenas de diamantes tassadas en 5.000 escudos” (...two chains set with dia-monds, valued at 5,000 dollars) (Gascón de Torquemada n. d.: f. 314r-314v).

In Gascón de Torquemada’s unpublished *Discurso*, the two miniatures figure explicitly under the gifts made by “La Reina”, yet they are listed by Pantoja in his Register of works painted for Philip III. This seeming contradiction is cleared up by a statement made by the Chamberlain to the Queen, Doña Catalina de Zúñiga y Sandoval, daughter of the Duke of Lerma. She certified on 20/30

<sup>21</sup> Bruce P. Lenman (1995) has shown that the Queen, a compulsive spender of jewels, was heavily indebted to her jeweller George Heriot.

<sup>22</sup> Sir Charles Cornwallis in his report to the Privy Council, dated from “Valiodalid”, 10 June 1605 (OS), confirms that Nottingham “deliuered vnto her a Jewell” (British Library, Harleian MS 1875, f. 19). However, Nottingham in his report to Sir Robert Cecil, dated from “Valdelith”, 23 June, speaks of “Jewells” (PRO, SP 94/11/132-34, resp. f. 134v<sup>o</sup>). For a more accurate account of the English presents see below. Thomas Knowles was paid, on 21/31 July 1606, by royal writ signed by the Earl of Worcester, Master of the Horse, on 10/20 March 1605, £82 and another £200 on 12/22 March 1607 for the provision of the horses and their transport from Dover to Valladolid as well as for “postages and carriages of trunks...from Portsmouth and back”. See Devon (1836: 43, 61, 62).

December 1607 that all the paintings commissioned by the Queen were actually paid by the King.<sup>23</sup> From this Register the fact emerges that the King owed Pantoja 220 “reales” for the two miniatures of Their Majesties mounted on two copper plates. The price difference between Gascón de Torquemada’s account and Pantoja’s Register is obviously due to the fact that the chronicler included the price charged by the jeweller for the case set with diamonds. On an average, Pantoja charged 110 to 150 “reales” apiece for what he styled an “original”, a miniature painted from life (Kusche 1964: 47, 237-39). Thus the two miniatures of the King and Queen must have been originals, not replicas supplied by Pantoja’s workshop where miniatures were in stock ready to be delivered at short notice.<sup>24</sup> The presentation ceremony was conducted by Antonio Voto, Keeper of the Crown Jewels, on Monday, 27 May/6 June 1605.<sup>25</sup> On that day the Earl of Nottingham, according to Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga, a Portuguese professor of law on a lengthy visit to the Spanish court, had an important conference with the Council of Spain in the Duke of Lerma’s suburban Palacio de la Ribera (Da Veiga 1989: 114). The palace, renowned for its art collections and its picture gallery, provided the suitable environment for the gift-giving ceremony as it had done on 24 May/3 June, when Thomas Knowles delivered the presents on behalf of King James.<sup>26</sup>

For the English and Spanish courts the circulation of portraits and jewels as a means to strengthen their political and dynastic bonds was no innovation. A steady traffic of artefacts had flowed between the two countries when Henry VII and Ferdinand of Aragon entered into a political alliance that was sealed by the Treaty of Medina del Campo in 1489. Two years later the two kings settled the match between Prince Arthur and Princess Catherine of Aragon as a pledge of the treaty. The marriage settlement generated an interchange of portraits. The Spanish monarchs and the princess sent their portraits to the English court and Henry VII, Elizabeth of York, and Prince Arthur sent theirs to the Alcázar in Madrid, where portraits of Catherine as Princess of Wales were also on display (Sánchez Cantón 1950: 6, 155, 168). Again portraits were exchanged when the marriage between Queen Mary and Prince Philip was being negotiated in 1554.<sup>27</sup>

Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, then, deserves to be acknowledged as ranking among those portraitists who from 1491 down to 1605 had been called upon to execute state portraits in support of the dynastic policies pursued by the courts of Spain and England, to wit, Michel Sittow, Titian, Antonis Mor, presumably Isaac Oliver, and some others. Very little is known of Pantoja’s formative years as a painter. A follower of Alonso Sánchez Coello, he must have assisted his master in complying with his duties as “pintor de cámara” to Philip II, turning out a great number of state portraits.<sup>28</sup> After Sánchez Coello’s death in 1588, Pantoja took over his workshop. He kept working for the court and the nobility, painting portraits of Prince Philip, the future Philip III, in 1592 and 1594 (Kusche 1964:

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<sup>23</sup>“Quenta de las obras de pintura que Juan Pantoxa de la Cruz, Pintor de Cámara del Rey Nuestro Señor, a echo de su arte para el seruiçio de su Magestad desde el principio del año de 1603” (Kusche 1964: 243-248). For the Chamberlain’s certificate see Kusche (1964: 241).

<sup>24</sup>The inventory of Pantoja’s workshop and house made on 3 November 1608 registers seven miniatures of the Queen found in a drawer. See Kusche (1964: 262).

<sup>25</sup>Pantoja’s entry reads as follows: “Deve más el Rey Nuestro Señor dos retratos chicos en dos chapas de cobre, vno de su Real Persona y otro de la Reyna Nuestra Señora, que se içieron para poner en una caja de diamantes para dar al Almirante de Yngalatera; entreguelos Antonio Boto en 6 de junio de 605; balen duçientos y beynte reales”. The marginal note reads: “Entregáronse a Antonio Boto y él [los entregó] puestos en una caja de oro con diamantes al Enbajador de Yngalaterra; ay zédula de descargo de 24 de agosto de 1605” (Kusche 1964: 243-44).

<sup>26</sup>For the rich holdings of Lerma’s collections in Madrid, Valladolid, La Ventosilla, and Lerma, see Schroth’s Ph.D. Thesis abstract (1991). Her thesis is also available in print.

<sup>27</sup>For the portraits and medal of Queen Mary and for a memorial painting of the wedding in 1554 which Philip II kept at the Escorial see Sánchez Cantón (1956-1959: ii, 174, 175, 229, 231, 251).

<sup>28</sup>Stephanie Breuer (1984) does not specify the nature of collaboration.

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plates 1 to 4). By 1596 he had consolidated his position as court painter to Philip II, for in 1597 he received his first annual fee of 883 “reales” for 1596. On Philip II’s death in 1598, his status as “pintor de cámara” was confirmed by Philip III, and when the court settled in Valladolid in 1601, Pantoja moved to the new capital (Kusche 1964: 25-46).

It is difficult to assess the quality of Pantoja’s output because the body of his work that has come down to us is very fragmentary. His art has also come under the severe criticism of those historians who, like Carl Justi (1933), were prejudiced against non-Italian portraiture and therefore dismissed Pantoja as an “uninspired, dull” though “painfully hard-working painter at the court of that feeble-minded Philip III”, an “anachronism” in the development of Spanish court portraiture from Antonis Mor and Alonso Sánchez Coello to Diego Velázquez.<sup>29</sup> It has fallen to Maria Kusche to redress the balance in the first full-length study of Pantoja and to disclose the debt Velázquez owed to his predecessor. A fair assessment of Pantoja as an artist is bound to take into account that besides scoring a great success as the foremost portraitist of his time, he was a highly versatile painter at home in all the genres *à la mode*, the traditional as well as the latest modes. Thus he supplied the Spanish court and the aristocracy with religious paintings, mythological canvases, and historical compositions. He was held in high esteem as an animal painter who, as we will see, portrayed the lead dog presented to the Spanish King by Thomas Knowles. He was also known as a landscape and still-life painter who exploited the new secularized art forms that spread across Europe at the close of the 16th century (see Jordan 1935: 4, 32).

Disparaged though he was by modern art critics, Pantoja was acclaimed as a gifted artist by contemporary writers. None other than Lope de Vega and Francisco de Quevedo have left eloquent evidence of their admiration for Pantoja. In *La hermosura de Angélica* (1602), an imitation of Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*, Lope de Vega couched his praise in the following couplet: “Juan de la Cruz que si criar no pudo / Dio casi vida y alma a un rostro mudo” (Kusche 1964: 9);<sup>30</sup> and Quevedo extolled Pantoja’s art as a miniaturist in the poem “El Pincel” written in 1615 seven years after Pantoja’s death:

Por ti Juan de la Cruz ha podido,  
docto, cuanto ingenioso,  
en el rostro de Lícida hermoso,  
con un naípe nacido,  
criar en sus cabellos  
oro, y estrellas en sus ojos bellos  
(Quevedo 1969: i, 401-406).<sup>31</sup>

The two miniature portraits painted by Pantoja and presented, on 27 May/6 June, to the Earl of Nottingham, form part of a series of royal commissions fostered by a coincidence of historic events and religious festivals solemnized in Valladolid: the birth of Prince Philip, the future Philip IV (24 March/8 April); the entry of Nottingham’s embassy to Valladolid (16/26 May); the christening of Prince Philip (19/29 May), delayed by royal order until after the arrival of the English embassy; the

<sup>29</sup>Justi’s wording reads: “Pantoja de la Cruz war der geist-und leblose, peinlich fleissige Maler des Hofes jenes schwachköpfigen Philipps III.; in seiner Zeit steht er wie ein Anachronismus” (Justi 1933, qtd. in Kusche 1964: 18).

<sup>30</sup>Here is my English prose rendering: “Juan de la Cruz, though he could not create the world, / almost breathed life and soul into a dumb face”.

<sup>31</sup>A variant of line one has : “Por ti Richi ha podido,” *i.e.* Antonio Ricci, an Italian painter working in the Escorial. My English prose translation reads: “Thanks to your art, Juan de la Cruz, / as learned a painter as ingenious, / you generated in Licida’s beautiful face, / which has come to life in a miniature, / gold in her hair and stars in her sweet eyes”.

Queen's churcing (21/31 May); three processions during *Semana Santa*, the most important being the Procession of Corpus Christi (30 May/9 June); the ratification of the peace treaty between Spain and England (30 May/9 June); and the routine banquets, revels, barriers, bullfights, cavalry parade, a masque by Gracián Dantisco, a performance of Lope de Vega's *El caballero de Illescas*, all staged in honour of the heir to the crown and the peace treaty with England and conceived as a conspicuous self-representation of the Spanish monarchy and nobility.

Pantoja was virtually swamped with commissions of paintings to be completed for the festivities and even with the combined forces of his studio, his attendants, apprentices, and collaborators, he could not cope with the orders of the Queen and of the King. On the one hand, Pantoja was expected to meet the Queen's demands obviously made in connection with the christening and the churcing; on the other, he was expected to comply with the King's requests made in connection with the new alliance with England. He gave the religious paintings commissioned by the Queen priority over the others. The state portraits commissioned by the King were still unfinished when Nottingham departed from Valladolid on 8/18 June.

On 27 May/6 June, the very day Pantoja delivered the two royal miniatures to Antonio Voto, the King's Keeper of the Jewels, he also delivered to Hernando de Rojas, the Queen's Keeper of the Jewels, a painting representing *The Virgin a Week before Her Confinement* with many angels surrounding the Virgin and Joseph kneeling down. The Queen ordered the painting for her oratory in lieu of a work that another painter had executed and that she disliked (see Pantoja's Register in Kusche 1964: 239). Three days later, on 30 May/9 June, Pantoja delivered two more paintings to Hernando de Rojas, one an original, the second a copy. The original, a huge canvas measuring 300 by 220 cm, had its place in the Queen's oratory, enriching her well-known collection of religious paintings. It was a representation of The Eleven Thousand Virgins, the virgins clad in damask vestments. Pantoja called it a perfect painting, rich in ornament and studded with figures (Pantoja's Register in Kusche 1964: 239). The copy, measuring 200 by 130 cm, was made from Hieronymus Bosch's *Temptation of St Anthony* (see Pantoja's Register in Kusche 1964: 239). Finally, on 29 June/9 July, Pantoja, then working in Lerma, gave the Queen a portrait miniature of the three-month-old Prince Philip, the Prince sitting on a velvet crimson cushion, dressed in white. This miniature, like so many of them, was sent to Germany to be added to the family gallery of the Habsburgs (Pantoja's Register in Kusche 1964: 239).

It was only after the departure of the English embassy when the festivities had come to an end that Pantoja set to paint the three state portraits Philip III had commissioned from him for the English court. Pantoja followed the court to Lerma and Burgos, and there during a period of thirty-five days, lasting from 30 June/10 July to 4/14 August 1605, he tried to complete the portraits of Philip III, Queen Margaret and the Infanta Ana, which he had begun in Valladolid, but he failed to do so (Pantoja's Register in Kusche 1964: 246-47). He therefore delayed their delivery to Antonio Voto until 16 February 1606, when the shipment of the portraits was entrusted to Don Juan de Mendoza, Marquis of San Germán, Governor of Galicia (Pantoja's Register in Kusche 1964: 244). On their arrival in England, they were hung in the Cross Gallery in Somerset House (Millar 1977: 29),<sup>32</sup> but by 1613 they were moved to Whitehall, where the Duke of Saxe-Weimar saw them (Millar 1963: 14-15).

The portrait of Philip III, now at Hampton Court (No. 406 in the 1898 Catalogue), is described in Pantoja's Register as an original full-length portrait, the King, aged twenty-seven, wearing a suit of armour, his right hand holding a field marshal's baton, his left hand the pommel of a sword.<sup>33</sup> Its

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<sup>32</sup>The portrait of the Infanta is not mentioned.

<sup>33</sup>Pantoja's entry in his Register reads: "Deue más el Rey Nuestro Señor vn retrato entero suyo orijinal, con calças blancas bordadas y vn bastón en la mano, armado con armas grabadas y una mano en la espada, debaxo de una tienda carmesí y en canpañá, con çielo y lexos y países y un bufete carmesí y un memorial sobre, todo muy bien

iconography is indebted to the representation of royalty, originating from Titian's portrait of Charles V, a copy of which, made by Pantoja, is at the Escorial.<sup>34</sup> The Titian legacy was handed down to Antonis Mor and from Mor to Alonso Sánchez Coello, who made a copy from Mor's portrait of Philip II.<sup>35</sup> These portraits share a number of iconographical features: identical pose, head and body turned to the right, legs astride, chest protected by suit of armour, right hand holding a baton, left hand the pommel of a sword.

In 1598, when he was called upon to commemorate Philip's accession to the throne, Pantoja adopted this formula for portraying Philip III as commander-in-chief. The portrait painted for the English court in 1605 and completed in 1606 is one of several pictures based on this iconographical paradigm.<sup>36</sup> But it has a variant that to me seems fraught with symbolic meaning. As the portrait was painted to commemorate the newly concluded bond of amity, King Philip, standing in front of a tent as commander-in-chief of the Spanish army, no longer points his left hand to a besieged fortress visible in the right-hand background, as he does in the 1598 portrait, but has now assumed the same peaceful posture of contained belligerence as depicted in the aforementioned portraits of Charles V and Philip II, his left hand holding the pommel of the sword and the background behind the tent commanding the view of a landscape. The portrait is a reflection of the King's spectacular change. The initially belligerent King Philip III is depicted as no longer seeking greatness in war but in peace with King James I.<sup>37</sup>

Compared to the portraits painted by his master and predecessors, Pantoja's do not strike a balance between the representation of the king as an individual and as an emblem of royalty. The predominance of symbolism over the delineation of character cannot, of course, be taken as proof of Pantoja's lack of creative sensibility; for in painting King Philip III, he was expected to respect the new concept of royalty as defined by the court of Philip III, then under the control of the Duke of Lerma. His portraits of commoners are less reserved.

The portrait of Margaret of Austria, Queen of Spain, now at Buckingham Palace, leaves no doubt that it was painted as a present to the Queen of England in commemoration of the new alliance. The portrait, in my opinion, was less a manifestation of wealth and power than a personal memorial of the new bond of amity that, in the courtly parlance of the two kings, was styled a bond of wedlock. In token of this "marriage", King James, as noted above, presented a diamond ring to the Constable of Castile, and so did King Philip III to the Earl of Nottingham. In like manner the Queen ordered from Pantoja a state portrait representing her in the full regalia of her wedding celebrated in 1598, when she was fourteen years old. In none of the portraits discussed by Kusche does the Queen wear her wedding robes except in the one she sent to England. The companion portrait of 1606, now in the Prado, conforms to the same formula. The composition and pose are the same, the headdress is alike, the shape and style of the gown identical, yet the Queen does not wear her wedding robes.<sup>38</sup>

Pantoja has left a minute description of the Queen's full-length portrait which he priced at 4,000 reales, twice as much as he did the King's portrait sent to England. The Queen, he recorded in his Register, is wearing her white wedding robes made of spring fabric and bedecked with the coats of arms of Castile, León, and Austria, and bespangled with pearls. She has put on display the panoply of

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acabado, que fue para ynbiar a Yngalatera; entreguele Antonio Boto en 16 de febrero de 606; bale dos mil reales" (Kusche 1964: 244).

<sup>34</sup>For the copy see Kusche (1964: plate 35).

<sup>35</sup>For the copy see Checa (1993: 168).

<sup>36</sup>For the variants see Kusche (1964: 65-69). Another portrait of Philip III painted by Pantoja in 1605 is in the Fundación Argenteria, Madrid. This portrait is not recorded by Kusche.

<sup>37</sup>For Philip III's exuberent belligerence see Williams (1973).

<sup>38</sup>For the Queen's portraits see Kusche (1964: plates 17-22); for a discussion of the portraits, Kusche (1964: 76-81).

her jewellery, her pearl earrings, her belt studded with jewels, her diamond bracelets and diamond chain, the magnificent jewel on the breast of her robe, her headdress adorned with jewelled plumes. With her right hand she is taking a book of hours from a table, on its cover the illuminated portrait of the Virgin, and in her left hand she is holding a lace kerchief.<sup>39</sup> Pantoja does not mention the Queen's face as if for him it were the least important part of the portrait. In fact, the small face of the twenty-year-old Queen, placed at the vertex of the triangle formed by the head, the left and the right hand holding the book of hours, is sticking out of the voluminous folds of the ruff, and together with the heavy stiffness of the conical gown it imparts an air of aloofness and creates the expression of a royal doll.<sup>40</sup>

The state portrait of Princess Anne painted by Pantoja in 1605 and sent to England in 1606, together with the portraits of the King and the Queen, has been lost. It seems worthwhile, despite its loss, to look for the reasons that induced the Infanta's parents to commission her portrait. Philip III, or rather the Duke of Lerma, thought it advisable to secure the new political alliance with a matrimonial union that would guarantee the process of peacekeeping and improve the situation of the English Catholics. Thus the prospective match between Princess Anne and Henry, Prince of Wales, was being aired by the two countries in 1603 when Spain sent Don Juan de Tassis, Count of Villamediana, as envoy to England. As already mentioned, King James made oblique allusions to a dynastic union at the state banquet held in August 1604. Yet right from the start the tentative matrimonial feelers were doomed to failure because the two courts used the bride and groom as ploys in their diplomatic struggle to settle the religious issue.<sup>41</sup> On his departure from London the Constable left instructions with the new Spanish ambassador, Don Pedro de Zúñiga, to inform King James that the marriage issue could be pursued only if he agreed to send Prince Henry to Spain to be educated as a Catholic (Gardiner 1965: i, 220). In 1604/5 the most tangible evidence of the matrimonial game then afoot has to be sought in the ritual of gift-giving, the reciprocal exchange of portraits representing the two royal houses. Queen Anna, left on her own by her husband, who had withdrawn to his hunting lodge, presented the Constable of Castile, as we have seen, with the portrait of Prince Henry, and Queen Margaret, with her husband's consent, balanced the gift with the portrait of the Infanta painted by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz.

Considering that the lost portrait of the Infanta was an instrument of dynastic propaganda, a reconstruction of the portrait seems imperative. Pantoja's Register offers plenty of information. Thus Pantoja recorded that he painted an original, full-length portrait of the Infanta in her stiff red gown she wore as godmother at the christening of her brother Philip, the butterfly sleeves slashed and trimmed with lace, its ornaments embroidered. The curtain (in the background) and the table (on the

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<sup>39</sup>Pantoja's Register reads as follows: "Deue más el Rey Nuestro Señor vn retrato entero de la Reyna Nuestra Señora, bestida de blanco con la misma saya que sacó el día que se casó, de tela de primavera, matizada con las armas de Castilla y León y Austria, senbrada de perlas, y todas las xoyas ricas, çintura, puntas, botones, braçetes de diamantes, y la banda de diamantes y el joyel rico y vna gora adereçada de xoyas y plumas, y un bufete de brocado y dosel de lo mismo, y en la mano derecha vnas oras, en ellas pintada Nuestra Señora ymitando yluminaçión y un tapete en el suelo; está tasado por tres pintores en quatro mil reales; fue para ynbiar a Yngalatera" (Kusche 1964: 244).

<sup>40</sup>Queen Margaret was not a woman of great beauty, but she was an intelligent, independent and critical observer of the court dominated by the Duke of Lerma. See Pérez Bustamente (1983: 119). The Queen did exercise a political voice at the Spanish court, as shown by Magdalena S. Sánchez (1996) who unfortunately remains silent upon the Queen as patron of the arts.

<sup>41</sup>For the matrimonial feelers see Loomie (1963: 25, 27). The Infanta, born on 22 September 1601, married Luis XIII in 1615. For an analysis of the desired dynastic alliance between the Habsburgs and the Stuarts see Palme (1957: 8-9).

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left covered with velvet) were crimson. On the table were some peaches, the Infanta holding a fruit in her (right) hand, as she does in her 1602 portrait,<sup>42</sup> and a kerchief in her (left) hand.<sup>43</sup>

All the contemporary chronicles I have consulted, in print and in manuscript, in Spanish and in English, contain eloquent accounts of the baptismal ceremony celebrated at St Paul's Church by the Archbishop of Toledo on Sunday, 19/29 May 1605, in the presence of the whole court of Spain and of foreign dignitaries and ambassadors, the Prince of Morocco living in Spain included. The English guests of honour watched the procession in the morning from the windows of the residence of the Count of Ribadavía and the baptism in the afternoon from a stand in the main chapel of St Paul's. All the chronicles mention the Infanta as godmother, who was borne "in a chaire", to quote from Treswell's eyewitness report, "by diuers Gentlemen of the Kings bed and Priuy chamber, on their shoulders, assisted by the yonger Prince of Sauoy" (Treswell 1605: 37). But only two of them refer to the gown the Infanta wore. Pinheiro da Veiga's sartorial description unfortunately is of no use, for he mistook the Infanta's gown for the white frock she put on two days later at the Queen's churching. However, Gascón de Torquemada's *Discurso* discloses some more details. The gown, he tells us, was made of red satin, lined with silver brocade, and the Infanta wore a satin golden headdress.<sup>44</sup>

Two conclusions can be drawn from these contemporary descriptions. First, the lost 1605 portrait of the Infanta was no doubt a variant of the 1604 portrait. The alterations entitled Pantoja to call the 1605 portrait an original. Second, both the 1604 and 1605 portrait of the Infanta conform, although in reduced scale, to the pattern of the Queen's two portraits executed in 1605 and 1606.<sup>45</sup> The composition of the Infanta's two portraits was the same: crimson curtain in the background, crimson table in the left middleground, Princess dressed in stiff conical satin gown with slashed butterfly sleeves ending in laced cuffs, the satin lined with silver and gold brocade. There were some differences. The gown's colour in the 1604 portrait is blue-green, not red as in the 1605 portrait; the Princess wears no headdress; on the table there is a monkey instead of peaches, and the Princess is holding the monkey's chain in both hands in lieu of a peach in her right and a kerchief in her left hand.

The Infanta's physiognomy in the 1604 portrait is that of a precocious girl, aged four, "very pretty and lively", as Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga noted when he saw her at the Queen's churching.<sup>46</sup> The regal posture she has been forced to assume is not consonant with her natural endowments as a girl. It must, however, be borne in mind that Pantoja was called upon to execute a representational portrait destined to introduce the Infanta to her Austrian relatives. For the same reason, the lost 1605 portrait was bound to conform to the formula for adult state portraits. It was, as mentioned, commissioned to introduce the Infanta to the English court as the prospective wife of Prince Henry and hence as the prospective Queen of England.

<sup>42</sup> See Kusche 1964: plate 28. For Pantoja's "bodegones" see Jordan (1985: 4, 32).

<sup>43</sup> Pantoja's Register has the following entry: "Deue más el Rey Nuestro Señor vn retrato entero orijinal de la Sereníssima Ynfanta Doña Ana, bestida de encarnado con saya entera y manga de punta, con que fue madrina del Príncipe Nuestro Señor, acuchillada y prensada; las guarniçiones bordadas y cortina y bufete carmesí y ençima unos alberchigos, tomando vno, y en la otra mano vn lienço; fue tambien para ynbiar a Yngalatera y está tassado por los dichos tres pintores en mil reales" (Kusche 1964: 244).

<sup>44</sup> The text of the Spanish chronicle reads: "...quatro passos detrás de su Alteza [Duke of Lerma] yua la S(ereníssi)ma Infanta su hermana y madrina en vna silla de manos descubierta sin cortinas ni cielo, con vn bestido de rasso encarnado acuchillado, forado en tela de plata, y vn capillo de rasso de oro del mismo color. Llevaban la silla quatro reposteros de camas de la Reina" (Gascón de Torquemada n. d. : f. 292).

<sup>45</sup> For the Infanta see Kusche (1964: plate 29) and for the Queen, Kusche (1964: plates 20 and 21).

<sup>46</sup> The Princess was "muy bonita y avispada, y de todo va dando fe" (Da Veiga 1989: 100). The 1604 portrait is at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

The immediate impact of the gift-giving ceremonies and its strict observance of reciprocity remains unknown. We do not know what reception Pantoja's three state portraits and two miniatures met with at the English court. In one case, however, in which Pantoja was implied, we do know the response to the gift. The Spanish King and Queen took great pleasure in being presented with a pack of English dogs by Thomas Knowles on behalf of the English monarchs; and Philip III, developing a particular liking for the lead dog, commissioned a portrait of the "lebrél de Yngalatera" from Pantoja. The painting, unfortunately, has been lost, but Pantoja has left an account in his Register.

The large canvas that Pantoja delivered about 1606/7 to Hernando de Espejo, Keeper of the King's Jewels, and that he valued at 300 ducats, or 3,300 reales, measured 200 by 150 cm. Taking up the iconographical stereotype of "dwarf" and "dog", which in Spain was known through Antonis Mor and which eventually was to climax in Velázquez's *Las Meninas*, Pantoja executed a full-length portrait of the court dwarf Bonami, who is keeping the English greyhound called Baylán on a leash. Bonami is booted and spurred, wearing hose and doublet of green velvet lined with silver and gold borders and a chain round his neck. In like manner Pantoja depicted a second dwarf, Don Antonio, who keeps two young hare hounds from Flanders on a leash. In the background of the painting there is a view of the Pardo and the countryside.<sup>47</sup>

The breed of the English dog portrayed is contested. According to Treswell, it was, as we have learned, a lym-dog, a bloodhound; for Pantoja it was a greyhound; and to believe the anonymous English reporter, it was a beagle. Surprisingly, the unidentified English eyewitness provides much more accurate information on the English gifts presented by Thomas Knowles in "Valledeley" than does the authorized chronicle written by the Somerset Herald. The unknown Englishman distinguished the presents given by King James from those given by Queen Anna and by Prince Henry. Thus he recorded that "Maister Knowles deliuered from his Maiestie to the King of Spaine, and to the Queene, sixe horses, three to the King, and three to the Queene, two with saddles and furniture to them, and foure with very rich cloaths, they being wrought with imbrodered workes: besides, hee deliuered a couple of very faire beagles, two Crossebowes, and two little peeces, the one beeing sent from Prince Henry, and the other beagle sent from the Queene with foure whelpes, which they didde receyue very graciously and royally, making very much of the beagles: besides, he deliuered to the Queene, a very rich iewel, sent vnto her from our king" (*The Royal Entertainment* 1605: 11). Credit must be given to Pantoja's words rather than to the two English chroniclers. Renowned as an animal painter (Kusche 1964: 11, 32, 38). Pantoja certainly knew that Baylán, the King's favourite dog he was painting, was a greyhound.

To sum up, the English royal house, as a result of the political union and the bond of amity, called five Pantojas its own. A sixth was acquired by King Charles I for his collection: the portrait of Isabel Clara Eugenia, the Archduchess of Austria, which Pantoja painted about 1597. It is now at Petworth House, Sussex (Kusche 1964: plate 11).

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Before broaching the subject of Pantoja's authorship of *The Somerset House Conference*, let us bear in mind that he was the only court painter and court portraitist to be involved in the peace treaty and

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<sup>47</sup>Pantoja's account reads: "Más debe el Rey Nuestro Señor vn lienço de dos bars y media de ancho y siete cuartas de alto, retratando en él el lebrél de Yngalatera, que llaman Baylán, y otros dos galgillos que trujieron de Flandes y el enano Bonami que tenía a Baylán de traylla, retrato entero, con botas de camino y calçetas y espuelas, bestido de terçiopelo berde con passamanos de plata y oro y una cadena al cuello y asimismo Don Antonio, otro enano, y de traylla los galgillos de Flandes y un pays de retrato del Pardo; entreguelo Hernando Despexo, Guardaxoyas de Su Magestad; bale más de treçientos ducados" (Kusche 1964: 245-46).

alliance with England. Both the Spanish King and Queen, as we have seen, relied on the prestige of Pantoja's art in 1605 to buttress the new political union and to promote the prospective bond of wedlock between Princess Anne and Prince Henry. It is, therefore, logical to speculate that whoever ordered, in 1604, a pictorial memorial of the peace settlement must needs have known that Pantoja was designated by the Spanish royal house as the painter to commemorate the historic event. Pantoja, as shown above, had the honour to portray the royal peacemakers, and I am now going to argue that he had also the privilege to portray the commissioners who negotiated the treaty in London. In his capacity as court painter to Philip III, Pantoja, to put it in King James's metaphorical vein, was also called upon to portray the matchmakers most likely by the Constable of Castile.

The English art critics have cast doubt on the authenticity of what they consider an enigmatic painting. Their views, however, rest solely on impressionistic evidence. The vague statements, to my mind, do not carry enough weight to unsaddle Pantoja and father the work on another artist. The painting has generally been attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. Feeling dissatisfied with this attribution, Roy Strong in his inventory of the National Portrait Gallery has hypothesized that the picture, to judge from its style of painting, is "directly connected with Frans Pourbus and his circle". Yet most biographers of King James and historians of his reign keep attributing the painting to Gheeraerts, who was living in London (Strong 1983: i, 353, No. 665, plate 680).<sup>48</sup> Kerr, on his part, has rejected the hypothesis of a Flemish artist in favour of an unidentified Spanish painter who accompanied the Constable of Castile on his embassy to London (Kerr 1957: 167-170).

In order to authenticate the painting as Pantoja's I will have to clear up some misunderstandings about the occasion and the likely patron before entering upon a discussion of its signature, its date, its key to the commissioners, and of the likelihood of the painter's stay in London. The last point raises a number of technical problems that any painter would have faced while working in Somerset House and then in his workshop, where his assistants under his supervision completed the painting. After authenticating the painting as Pantoja's, I will finally venture upon an analysis and reading. I admit that as a literary historian I am not armed with the tools of connoisseurship; nonetheless, I do hope to be up to the task I set myself of lifting the veil of mystery over *The Somerset House Conference* in the National Portrait Gallery.

At first sight *The Somerset House Conference* seems to be no more than the routine performance of a court painter who did his duty in executing a memorial painting commemorating the conclusion of a political alliance. We see the lower end of the Conference Chamber in which the commissioners used to meet in Somerset House. The upper half of the chamber, furnished with a state (throne) on a raised platform, lies outside the painted surface. It is the space in front of the conference table and the perspective of the composition that make it clear that the state, as we are going to see, is implied. The implied state, in fact, provides the key to a reading of the painting. The conference table is placed in the centre of the painted space, and the commissioners are seated on high-backed chairs on either side of the table. The room is hung with two tapestries, whose borders bear the date 1560. In the background there are leaded windows; the lower pane of the window to the left is open, looking into one of the two courtyards and thereby underscoring the depth of the room.

The whole article, that is, the following pages dealing with the Constable of Castile as Pantoja's likely patron, with the Constable's accommodation in Somerset House, where he was waited on by the King's men, among them William Shakespeare, and with the authentication of the memorial

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<sup>48</sup>The painting measures 205 by 268 cm. Kusche has failed to take notice of this picture. Xavier de Salas (1966), apart from José Valverde, is the only art critic known to me who has come up with a defence of Pantoja's authorship. Surprisingly, ten years before Strong's attribution to Pourbus, the curators of the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, erroneously attributed to Pourbus their portrait of Philip III painted by Pantoja (Kubler and Soria 1959: 378-379, n. 28).

painting as an original Pantoja sketched in Somerset House and completed in his Valladolid studio, can be read in *Shakespeare Studies* 1998.

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