ROYAL STUDIES JOURNAL

2023 X

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Mariana's Linage: The Political Aspects of Claudio Coello´s Portrait*

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UNIVERSITAT JAUME I

Abstract: The Habsburg continuity in the Catholic monarchy is represented by the House of Bavaria, or at least that was what Mariana struggled to achieve in the last years of her life. The Electress of Bavaria was the daughter of Leopold I and *Infanta* Margarita, Mariana's daughter. Maria Antonia's son, Maximillian Emmanuel of Bavaria, was thought of as the future heir of Charles II when it became clear that the King would not have issue. New portraits were portrayed to reflect the new roles played by the first Spanish Habsburg Queen Mother: Mariana of Austria, and she also used them to work for her great-grandson.

Keywords: Portraiture; Mariana of Habsburg; Queen Mother; Claudio Coello; Spanish Habsburg.

Introduction

María Anna of Austria was born in Neustadt on 23 December 1634, the daughter of Emperor Fernando III and the *Infanta* María, who was the sister of Felipe IV. She was supposed to have married Prince Baltasar Carlos, son of Felipe IV, but when her cousin Baltasar Carlos died, she married the Prince's father, the king—and her own uncle—instead.[1] The new Queen

* Granted a María Zambrano Postdoctoral contract MAZ/2022/2024 (UP2021-021) financed by the European Union – NextGenerationEU – Postdoctoral Researcher at Universitat Jaume I (Castellón, Spain).
This text has been made possible thanks to the support of the project La recepción artística de la realeza visigoda en la Monarquía Hispánica (16th to 19th centuries) (The artistic reception of Visigothic royalty in the Hispanic Monarchy (16th to 19th centuries) I+D+I. PID2021-127111NB-100.
And the UNED E-SENS Project, *Power and cultural representations: sensory scenarios and circulation of objects of the Hispanic elites (16th-17th centuries)* (PID2020-115565GB-C22), of the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation.

[1] On Mariana de Austria: Mª Victoria López-Cordón, "Mujer, poder y apariencia o las vicisitudes de la regencia," *Studia Histórica. Historia Moderna*, no.19 (1998): 49–66 ; Mª Victoria López-Cordón, "Poder femenino e interpretación historiográfica: el gobierno de las mujeres como manifestación de crisis política," Monica Bosse, Bárbara Potthast, André Stoll, *La creatividad femenina en el mundo barroco Hispano: María de Zayas, Isabel Rebeca, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1999), 67–88; Mª Victoria López-Cordón, "Entre damas anda el juego: las camareras mayores de palacio en la edad moderna," *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, Anejo II (2003): 123–152; Mª Victoria López-Cordón, "Mariana de Austria: Una historía cíclica," ed., María Leticia Sánchez Hernánadez, *Mujeres en la corte de los Austrias. Una red social, cultural, religiosa y política* (Madrid:

Consort arrived in Madrid in 1649; in Spain, she was called Mariana, the name by which she has come to be known. She gave birth to five children but only two survived to adulthood, the *Infanta* Margarita (1651-1673) and King Carlos II (1661-1700). After the death of Felipe IV (17 September 1665), Queen Mariana became regent, guardian-tutor, and guardian-*curadora* of her son, the child-king, and in his name she ruled the monarchy from 1665 to 1675.[2] It was the first time in nearly two hundred years that Spain had a minor regency period, and, during that time, Mariana had to both invent her role and create a new image for herself as governor. When Carlos II came of age in 1675, Mariana left government, although she continued to play a fundamental role: that of guardian-*curadora* (1675-1677). There are no Spanish precedents for the images of Mariana as Queen Mother. The first paintings of Mariana as *Queen Consort Mother* harked back to typologies developed by

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Polifemo, 2019), 391–447; Laura Olivan Santaliestra, "Mariana de Austria en la encrucijada política del siglo XVII" (PhD Thesis Universidad Complutense, 2006); Laura Olivan Santaliestra, "Clothes Make the Queen: Mariana of Austria`s Style of Dress, from Archiduchess to Queen Consort (1634-1665)," *Sartorial Politics in Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 214–217 ; Álvaro Pascual Chenel, "El retrato de Estado en época moderna. Teoría, usos y funciones," *Torre de los lujanes: Boletín de la Real Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País* (2009): 181–221; Álvaro Pascual Chenel, *El retrato de Estado durante el reinado de Carlos II. Imagen y propaganda* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2010); Mercedes Llorente, "The Image of the Catholic Queen. Mariana of Austria: Consort, Regent and Queen Mother" (PhD Thesis University College London, 2012); Merecedes Llorente, *Mulheres da realeza ibérica mediadoras políticas e culturais - Mujeres de la realeza Ibérica mediadoras políticas y culturales*, (Lisboa: MIL, 2019); Teresa Zapata Fernández de la Hoz, *La corte de Felipe IV se viste de fiesta. La entrada de Mariana de Asutria (1649)* (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 2016); Silvia Z. Mitchell, *Queen, Mother & Stateswoman. Mariana of Austria and the Government of Spain* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019); Víctor Manuel Mínguez Cornelles and Maria Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya, *El retrato del poder* (Castellón: Ed. Universitat Jaume I, 2019); José Rufino Novo Zeballos, "La casa de la reina Mariana de Austria durante el reinado de Felipe IV y el periódo de regencia," ed. José Martínez Millán, José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, Rubén González Cuevas, Manuel Rivero Rodríguez, *La corte de Felipe IV (1621-1665). Reconfiguración de la monarquía Católica* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2018) 1501–1539; Luis Ribot García (coord), *Carlos II: el rey y su enterno cortesano*, (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica CEEH, 2009); Luis Ribot García, "De mujer débil a gobernante consciente. La Historiografía sobre Mariana de Austria," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, tomo 218, Cuaderno 1, (2021): 97–114.

[2] Philip IV's testament bestowed on Mariana a third function: that of *curadora*, see Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Testamento del rey Felipe IV* (Madrid, Editorial Nacional, 1982).

Curatela has its origins in Roman times, in the *Cura minorum*. *Curador* is "la persona que cuida de alguno, u alguna cosa y procura su bien y provecho. El que cuida de un menor de los catorce años a los veinticinco" [the person who cares for someone or something, intending its wellbeing. He who looks after a minor from the age of fourteen to twenty-four] (*Diccionario de Autoridades,* Madrid, 1728).

To better understand the term *Curadora* see: Mercedes Llorente, "The Portraits of Queen Mariana of Austria as Governor, Tutor, and Curadora by Juan Bautista del Mazo and Juan Carreño de Miranda (1665-1676)," *Habsburg Women of Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anne Cruz and Maria Galli Stampino, (Famham: Ashgate, 2013), 197–222. See also: Olivan Santaliestra, *Mariana de Austria;* Silvia Z. Mitchell, *Queen, Mother & Stateswoman*.

Velázquez.[3] It was not until the marriage of Charles II to Marie-Louise of Orleans (1680) that she took on another role. Mariana continued to play an important part in politics and she became a key figure in factional struggles for the future succession to the Spanish throne; Carlos II was to be the last Habsburg king of Spain.

Mariana was the widow of King Philip IV for thirty-one years but, as the mother of Carlos II, she was not as marginalised as other widowed queens who had no successor. Mariana's portraits use costume in order to emphasise her widowed state and legitimise her inherited authority. She is shown as a strong, "manly" widow, a "person" able to rise above the essential limitations of her womanly body.[4] Her chastity is referenced as though it were a heroic virtue akin to courage. Hence she is shown in dress that clearly resembles a widow's habit (*monjil*), implying the double state of widowhood—white for virginity and chastity, black for the loss of her husband and the abandonment of her worldly life as queen consort.[5] Mariana's dress served as further remembrance of her marriage and as a mark of her continuing loyalty to Felipe IV.

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[3] Llorente, Mercedes, "The Portrayal of Mariana of Austria as Archduchess and Spanish Queen," ed. Stephen M. Hart and Alexander Samson, *Philip IV, Spain's Planet King*, (London: T&H, 2023), 210–229.

[4] On royal widowhood see: Sandra Cavallo and Lyndan Warner ed., *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1999); Joyce de Vrices, "Casting Her Widowhood: The Contemporary and Posthumous portrait of Catherine Sforza" *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allison M. Levy (London: Routledge, 2003), 77–92 and Elizabeth McCartney, "A Widow´s Tears, A Queen´s Ambition: The Variable History of Marie de Medicis´s Bereavement" in *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allison M. Levy (London: Routledge, 2003), 93–107.

On Consort Queen see: Magdalena S. Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen and the Nun. Women and Power at the Court of Philip III of Spain* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998); Magdalena Sanchez, "Court Women in the Spain of Velázquez." *The Cambridge Companion to Velázquez* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Magdalena S. Sánchez and Alain Saint-Saëns ed., *Spanish Women in the Golden Age: Images and Realities* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1996); Clarissa Campbell Orr ed., *Queenship in Europe 1660-1815. The Role of the Consort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[5] Aileen Ribeiro, "Some Evidence of the Influence of the Dress of the Seventeenth Century on Costume in Eighteenth-Century Female Portraiture," *Burlington Magazine*, 119.897 (1977): 832–840; Carmen Bernis, "El traje de viudas y dueñas en los cuadros de Velázquez y su escuela," *Separata CSIC Miscelania de Arte*, (Madrid: CSIC, 1982), 145-154. Carmen Bernis, "Velázquez y el Guardainfante," in AAVV, *V Jornadas de Arte*, (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez-Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1991), 49–60; Carmen Bernis, "La moda en los retratos de Velázquez," *El retrato* (Madrid: Galaxia-Gutenberg - Círculo de Lectores, 2004) 251-88; Carmen Bernis y Amalia Descalzo, "Spanish Female Dress in the Habsburg Period," ed. José Luis Colomer and Amalia Descalzo, *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe* (Madrid: CEEH Centro de Estudios Europa Hispana, 2014), 39–77; C. van Wyhe, *The Making and Meaning of the Monastic Habit at Spanish Habsburg Courts*, ed. Anne Cruz and María Galli Stampino, *Habsburg Women of Early Modern Europe* (Surrey & Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 243–273; Evelyn Welch ed., *Fashioning the Early Modern: Dress, Textiles and Innovation in Europe, 1500-1800*; (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 111–113; Mercedes Llorente, "Queen Mariana of Austria as Regent and the Boundaries of Her Power in Mazo´s Portrait," *Object*, Number 12, (2010): 26–40.

Mariana's role as Queen Mother brought new ways of representing her. There is a marked return to neutral spaces, while elements such as the Queen's piety are emphasised as in the Bowes Museum portrait. Her portrayal does not so much follow Spanish models as it refers to the Court which is to be the recipient of the given portrait. Such is the case with the Munich portrait by Claudio Coello, where elements of other court culture come into play.

Queen Mariana and Claudio Coello

Carreño died in 1685 and Claudio Coello succeeded him as chamber painter, receiving the various benefits that attached to the position, including a "house, [and] keys to the *furriera*."[6] The Palace archives confirm that Coello took the oath as chamber painter to the King on 31 December 1685: "Claudio Coello swear in the position of Chamber´s Painter of the King no. Mr (may God save) that void by death of Juan Carreño de Miranda in the hand of the Constable of Castile Mayordomo Mor on December 31, 1685 [the date he was sworn in]."[7]

This is also confirmed by a decree dated 5 March, which states that the debt owed by Claudio Coello to the King (for the favour that the King showed him in appointing him chamber painter) would be paid later, with the first "pairs" that he painted: "The Council of Hazienda agreed that lamª Anta that Claudio Coello owed by the mrd that his Mgd has been served to give him the vacancy of Chamber's painter will be deducted for the first Pairs that have to be and they will be paid with this job ... Madrid, April 4, 1686."[8]

Having returned to the Court from Zaragoza in 1683, he had been appointed King's painter, the position having fallen vacant after the death of the incumbent, Dionisio Mantuano, but also on Carreño's recommendation.[9]

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[6] Antonio, Palomino de Castro, *Vidas,* ed. Nina Ayala Mallory, (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1986), 316–322.

[7] "Claudio Coello juro en la plaza de Pintor de camara de el Rey nro sr (que Dios guarde) que vaco por muerte de Juan Carreño de Miranda en mano del condestable de Castilla Mayordomo mor en 31 de diciembre de 1685 (fue cuando juro su puesto)," in A.G.P.R.M., Sección Administrativa, Personal de empleados, *Claudio Coello,* caja 242.

[8] "Acordo el Consejo de Hazienda que lamª Anta que debe Claudio Coello por la mrd que su Mgd hasido servido de hacerle de la plaza de pintor de Camara sele desquantesn delos primeros Pares que hubiere de haver y selepagaren coneste empleo prebiniendose asi en el despacho quesele diere y quese tomala razon en los libros de la Cntria que las tiene desde... Madrid 4 de Abril de 1686," in A.G.P.R.M., Sección Administrativa, Personal de empleados, *Claudio Coello,* caja 242.

[9] In Zaragoza, he worked in the colegio de Santo Tomas de Villanueva, in the Mantería and in the simulacrum of the Virgen del Pilar. A.G.P.R.M., Sección Administrativa, Personal de empleados, Claudio Coello, *Claudio Coello Pintor de su Mggd que vaco por muerte de Dionisio Mantuano*, Caja 242. "Pago 3750 mrs de vellon por la media

Mariana had frequent dealings with Claudio Coello. According to Palomino, he executed two large paintings for the intercolumniations of the altarpiece in the temple of Jerusalem—"of whose order he executed two large paintings for Jerusalem, for the intercolumniations of the altarpiece of that Temple:" *Circuncisión del Señor* and *Adoración de los Santos Reyes*, the others from different hands depending on the devotees.[10] In Mariana's accounts, there are entries showing that she made several contributions to Claudio Coello's expenses from 1687 onwards. The following entry, for example, states that 1500 *reales de vellon,* or 51,000 *maravedies*, are to be paid to Claudio Coello as a contribution towards his expenses.[11] This is also confirmed in another Palace document dated 8 May 1687, which states that the Queen has decreed the payment of twenty five *doblones* to Claudio Coello, "Chamber Painter to my dear and beloved son".[12]

Claudio Coello was forced to ask for further assistance on 9 January 1688. He pointed out that he had served and continued to serve as *pintor de cámara* (chamber painter) with no other reward than the benefits of his job and contributions to his costs. He stated that he had "many obligations towards children and family and is very short of resources," and begged His Excellency to order that he be given what was customary to give other painters, so that he might continue to serve His Majesty with the same fervour.[13]

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anata poe lo onorifico de la mrd q s Mgd le ahecho dela plaza de su Pintor q vaco por muerte de Dionidio Manttuano sin gajes ni otro emolumº alguno como se refiere en dcho villete y para q conste doy esta zertificacion en Madrid a dos de Marzo de mill y seiscientos y ochenta y quatro" Payment of annates in respect of the position of King's painter. In another document dated 26 August 1685, it is stated that the benefits enjoyed by "Dionisio Mantuanom" should be passed on to Claudio Coello: "Q los gajes q gozava Dionisio Mantuanom ha resuelto SMgd se pongan en caveza de Claudio Coello q sirve el mismo arte de Pintor ... mando que por la Junta de Obras y Bosques se le despache la Cedula que se acostumbra" (signed by the King Carlos II).

[10] "de cuya orden ejecuto para Jerusalén dos cuadros grandes, para los intercolumnios de retablo de aquel Templo," in Palomino de Castro, Antonio, *Vidas*, 316–322. See also: Ángel Aterido Fernández, "Reyes de Jerusalén: Envíos de obras de arte desde España a Palestina, a finales del siglo XVII," *El Mediterráneo y el* arte *español. Actas del XI congreso del CEHA*, Coselleria de Cultura, Educació i Ciència - Generalitat de Valencia y Ministerio de Educación y cultura, Valencia, 1996, 207–209.

[11] A.G.P.R.M., Sección Administrativa, Tesorería Casade la Reina, *El dcho francisco Cruzado y Aragon Thesoreor de la Rª Nra Sª =Dcha datta de ayudas de costa y limosnas=*, caja 10.324.

[12] A.G.P.R.M., Sección Administrativa, Personal de empleados, Claudio Coello, caja 242. On 12 March 1687, he also applies for payment for his servants for the mourning of Empress Leonor. "Claudio Coello pîntor de Camara del Rey nuestro señor y de su furriera dice q SM q Dios guarde fue servido demandar por su Real Decreto sediessen lutos atodos sus criados siguientes actuales por muerte dela serenissima sª emperatriz Leonor Suppª a Ve le favorezcan mandandole del según y como se aecho con frano. Phelipin y Manuel Mayer y porque le suplican sealla en est ereal sitio de San Lorenzo el real muy yndecente en que reaviva mrd frla grandeza de Ve."

[13] A.G.P.R.M., Sección Administrativa, Personal de empleados, Claudio Coello, caja 242/15.

From 19 May 1691 until Coello's death in April 1693, Mariana provided some support and, after Coello died, payments continued to his widow. There are also records showing payments for pieces commissioned by the Queen Mother, including paintings for her room (for which there are no details) and several portraits, two of which we know to have been of Carlos II and his wife.[14] These portraits are recorded in the inventory of his goods drawn up after Coello's death. They were in the large *retrete*.[15] It does not seem likely that Claudio Coello was paid, since he continued to demand payment for these portraits.[16]

The relationship between the Queen Mother and the painter is therefore documented, although we have not been able to find any specific reference to his portraits of the Queen Mother.

The political aspects of Claudio Coello's portrait

To better understand these portraits, one must keep in mind the long struggle of the European monarchies for the succession of the Catholic Monarchy; some historians have called this long conflict that permeated all European politics of the period (1648-1700) "the Diplomatic War of Succession" ("la Guerra diplomática de sucesión").[17]

Both Louis XIV and Emperor Leopold I claimed it because they were respectively married to the half-sister and sister of Carlos II, Maria Theresa and Margarita. Although both *infantas* had renounced their rights of succession to the throne when they married, the Catholic Monarchy only recognised the renunciation of Maria Teresa and not that of Margarita, heiress of Carlos II, until his death in 1673, who named her daughter Maria Antonia as heir in her will.[18] Archduchess Maria Antonia married Maximilian Emanuel

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[14] A.G.P.R.M., Sección Administrativa, Personal de empleados, Claudio Coellos, caja 242. *Consta haver hecho SM mrd a Claudio Coello Pintor de Camara de 50 doblones deados escudos de oro por los Retratos de el Rey y la Rey*[a] *nr sres q hizo.*

[15] A.G.P.R.M., Sección Administrativa, Personal de empleados, Claudio Coellos, caja 242. *Consta haver hecho SM mrd a Claudio Coello Pintor de Camara de 50 doblones deados escudos de oro por los Retratos de el Rey y la Rey*[a] *nr sres q hizo.*

[16] See Appendix 1.

[17] Rocío Martínez López, "El Imperio y Baviera frente a la sucesión de Carlos II" (PhD Thesis, UNED, 2018). 7; Ribot García, *Carlos II: el rey y su enterno cortesano*. Luis Ribot García, *Origenes políticos del testamento de Carlos II. La gestación de un cambio*, Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2010); Luis Ribot García, "El reinado de Carlos II," ed. Alfonso Rodríguez de Ceballos y Ángel Rodríguez Rebollo, *Carlos II y el arte de su tiempo* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2013); Luis Ribot García, "De mujer débil," 97–114.

[18] Rocío Martínez López, "The 'imagined' portraits of an heiress. The dynastic and political construction of the image of Archduchess Maria Antonia of Austria (1669-1692)," in Jonathan Spangler and Mercedes Llorente (eds.), "Iberian Queens and Court Portraiture in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Court Historian*, Volume 27, no. 3 (2022): 208–227.

Elector of Bavariain 1685, and they had only one son, Joseph Ferdinand, on 28 October 1692. Maria Antonia died shortly after as a result of childbirth and her son would be the heir of his great-uncle Carlos II, if he failed to produce an heir. The Queen Mother, Mariana of Austria—his great-grandmother—had high hopes for this child, whom she carried "in her heart, for being the only thing left of my daughter [the Infanta-Empress Margarita]."[19] Mariana of Austria and Joseph's father, the Bavarian Elector, saw him as the future King of Spain and all their efforts were directed towards achieving this goal.[20] For Queen Mariana, her lineage was that of her daughter Margarita and she worked until her death to favour and support the Elector and to make her great-grandson the heir to the Catholic Monarchy. Unfortunately, he died before his uncle and thus all hopes of this outcome were dashed.[21]

In 1685, Claudio Coello worked on the portrait now in the Bowes Museum (catalogue number B.M.32), where he portrays Mariana as the Queen Mother of the Catholic Monarchy (plate 1), the first Queen Mother of the Spanish Habsburg dynasty.[22] This work, completed ten years before the Queen's death, would prove to be one of the last portrayals of Mariana. According to Palomino, Coello "portrayed the Queen Mother our lady, Doña María Ana de

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[19] "... en el corazón, por ser lo único que queda de mi hija (la infanta-emperatriz Margarita)," letter from Mariana of Austria to Elector Bavaria (17 and 31 March 1693, Retiro) in Adalberto de Baviera, *Mariana de Neoburgo. Reina de España*, Traduc. Del original por la Infanta Paz, Prólogo del Duque de Mauta, (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1938), 106.

[20] Baviera, *Mariana de Neoburgo*, 104.

[21] Baviera, *Mariana de Neoburgo*. Martínez López, "El Imperio y Baviera frente a la sucesión de Carlos II," 112; Martinez Lopez, "The 'imagined' portraits of an heiress," 208–220.

[22] Halldor Soehner, "Spanische Meister," *Gemäldekataloge*. vol. 1, (Munich, 1963); Edward J. Sullivan, *Baroque Painting in Madrid: The Contribution of Claudio Coello with a Catalogue Raisonné of His Works* (Columbia and London: Missouri University Press, 1986), 20–68; Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Carreño, Rizzi, Herrera y la pintura madrileña de su tiempo, (1650-1700)*; *Catálogo de la exposición celebrada en Madrid*, *Museo del Prado, Palacio de Villahermosa, Enero-Marzo, 1986* (Madrid: Ministerio de cultura, 1986), 103–107; Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, "En torno a Claudio Coello," *Archivo Español de Arte (AEA)*, núm. 250 (1990): 129–155; Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Pintura barroca en España (1600-1700)* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1992); Edward J. Sullivan and Nina Ayala Mallory, *Painting in Spain 1650-1700 from North American Colletions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); Jesús Úrrea Fernández, *Catálogo pintores del reinado de Carlos II*, Catálogo exposición (Madrid: Caja Murcia, 1996); Ángel Aterido Fernández, "Pintura y pintores en la corte de Carlos II," ed. Luis Ribot, *Carlos II. El rey y su entorno cortesano* (Madrid, Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2009), 187–218; David García Cueto, *Claudio Coello pintor, 1642-1693* (Madrid: Arco/Libros, D.L. 2016). Catalogue number B.M.32, Oil on canvas. (104,7 x 84,1 cm). Inscribed on the back of the original canvas in letters 5 cm high: Salazar. This is probably the name of a former owner. Prov. Conde de Quinto, no. 35. The painting was restored in 1967 and previously catalogued as by Juan Carreño de Miranda.

See: Eric Young, *The Bowes Museum Barnald Castle. Catalogue of Spanish Paintings* (Durham: The Bowes Museum, 1988).

Austria, with great skill."[23] The only signed painting of Mariana by Coello is in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (plate 2).

But in the mid-1690's, this was in the Bavarian Collection and so cannot have been the work described by Ponz and Palomino.[24] It was Pérez Sánchez who argued that the three-quarter length portrait of Queen Mariana in the Bowes Collection was the work in question (plate 1).[25] It is worth noting that there are some similarities to the Munich portrait (plate 2).

[23] Palomino de Castro, *Vidas*, 316–322. Sullivan, *Baroque Painting in Madrid*, 20–68. According to Sullivan there is a lost portrait of the Queen by Claudio Coello. He took this information from Palomino, who cites a painting of the Queen Mother that Coello executed in 1689, but I have not been able to find this information. He also said that Ponz lists a portrait of Queen Mariana in the Antecámara or Pieza de Aparador in the palace at La Granja. I have interpreted this as referring to Prado, inventory No. 665.

[24] Antonio Palomino de Castro, *Vidas*, 316–322. See footnote below.

[25] Pérez Sánchez, *Rizzi, Herrera*, 103–107; Pérez Sánchez "En torno a Claudio Coello," 129-155; Pérez Sánchez *Pintura barroca en España*.

Figure 1. Claudio Coello, *Portrait of Queen Mariana of Austria*, *c.*1685. Oil on canvas, [104,7 x 84,1 cm]. Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, County Durham (United Kingdom).

Two roles from different portraits that we have analysed in other articles are combined in this Bowes portrait: that of the Queen Consort, and that of the virtuous Queen. Mariana stands, resting her right hand on the back of a chair, but not grasping it as painted by Velázquez and Carreño. Instead, her hand rests in a relaxed manner on the chair, exactly as in the Munich portrait. Here, as in the Munich portrait, Mariana holds a book in her left hand, signifying her piety and the many hours devoted to prayer, as befits a widow. Her index finger marks the page and, in this, it resembles Carreño's version where he portrays Mariana holding a prayer book, although Coello manages a less forced position of the hand. This brings us to another element that forms part of the ideal Habsburg woman: piety. Piety gave Mariana a reputation for personal strength that she was able to use for political ends.

A light blue and silver gold drape completes the composition, showing the same colours and floral motifs as the Munich portrait. These elements—chair, drape, the Queen standing—are recurring elements in portraits of the women of the Catholic Monarchy.[26]

Mariana dedicated the last years of her life to working for the House of Austria and, more specifically, to looking for possible successors to Carlos II. Her efforts centred on the Bavarian Habsburgs, and she did all she could to avoid the succession of a French king. She followed Felipe IV's last will, in which clauses 12, 13, and 53 state that, in the event of the death of his male heir, he would be succeeded by his daughter the Empress Margarita, "who in the first clause of her will left her daughter María Antonia as her sole heir and warned that the provisions of the will of his father Felipe IV were to be followed."[27] In the event of Margarita's death, and indeed this is what occurred, the Crown should go to her issue. Mariana had hoped to install her great-grandchild (grandchild of her daughter *Infanta* Margarita), Prince Joseph of Bavaria, son of the Duke and Duchess of Bavaria, as already mentioned.[28]

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[26] Carmen García_frías Checa, "The pictorial image of Margaret of Austria: between luxury and devotion," in Jonathan Spangler and Mercedes Llorente (eds.), "The Image of the Portuguese and Spanish Queens from the Sixteenth to Seventeenth Centuries," *The Court Historian*, Volume 27, no. 3 (2022): 186-207. Llorente, M., "The Portrayal of Mariana of Austria," 210–229.

[27] "quien en la primera clausula de su testamento dejo como unica heredera a su hija María Antonia y advirtió que se siguiera lo dispuesto en el testament de su padre Felipe IV." See clauses 12, 13 and 53 of the King's testament, see Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Testamento de Felipe IV*. Clause 12: states that the Crown should go to *Infanta* Margarita, in the event of no surviving male issue of Felipe. It read as follows: "Si, lo que Dios no permita, faltare el Príncipe, como esta dicho, sin dexar hijos, ni descendientes varones, o hembras legítimos y de legitimo matrimonio, o dándome Dios mas varones de este o de otro matrimonio muriesen sin dexar hijo, ni descendientes legitimos, como queda dicho, instituio en falta de ellos por mi universal heredera en todos los dichos reynos, estados y señorios a la Infanta Margarita, mi hija y de la reyna doña Mariana, mi muy cara y amada muger, y a sus hijos e hijas y a los descendientes varones y hembras legítimos y de legitimo matrimonio...." And clause 13 establishes that: "... los descendientes varones y hembras de la infante emperatriz Maria, mi muy cra y amada hermana ya difunta..." That is to say, the succession should go, in the first instance, to *Infanta* Margarita and her descendants and only secondly to Empress María's issue, since Mariana was the eldest daughter of *Infanta* Maria and Emperor Ferdinand III, and together with her brother Leopold, they were the only surviving children of that marriage. See: Luis Ribot García, *Origenes políticos del testamento de Carlos II: La gestación de un cambio*, Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2010); Martínez López, "El Imperio y Baviera frente a la sucesión de Carlos II," 112 and also "The 'imagined' portraits of an heiress," 208–220.

[28] In her Testament, Mariana ordered that a diamond jewel in the shape of a heart be sent to her great-grandson.

Figure 2. Claudio Coello, *Donna Maria Anna de Austria, Gemahlin Köning Philipps IV, als witwe*, c. 1689-90. Oil on canvas, [181,7 x 131,8 cm]. Alte Pinakothek, Munich (Germany).

The last portrait of Mariana by Claudio Coello is the one briefly discussed above, in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (catalogue number 146) (plate 2).[29] It dates from the 1690s,

[29] Catalogue No. 146. Oil on canvas, (182 x 132 cm). It belonged to the Max Emmanuel-Maria Antonia collection and is listed in the 1770 inventory *Inventaren der Residen Manchen nachweisbar*.
See: Aureliano Beruete, *The School of Madrid* (London: Duckworth and Company, 1909); Narciso Sentenach, *La pintura en Madrid desde sus origenes hasta el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Ed. Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones, 1913); L. Augusto Mayer, *Geischichte der Spanischen Malerei* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1922); Daniel Berjano Escobar, *El pintor don Juan Carreño de Miranda (1614-1685). Su vida y sus obras* (Madrid: Mateu, 1930); Joaquín Pla y Cargol, *Carreño, Coello, Pantoja y Valdés Leal* (Gerona: Dalmau Carles, 1955); Pérez Sánchez, *Carreño, Rizzi, Herrera*, 103–107; Aterido Fernández, "Pintura y pintores en la corte de Carlos II," 187–218.

when Mariana was in her fifties. It was possibly sent as a gift from the Queen to her grandchild, Archduchess María Antonia Teresa Josefa, wife of Maximillian Emmanuel of Bavaria.

It was not until 1963 that Soehner attributed this picture to Coello.[30] Previously, most critics believed it to be by Carreño. As stated above, the work is very similar to the Bowes Museum portrait of Mariana in widow's costume by Coello. However, as Soehner points out, Mariana appears much older in this painting, whereas, at the time Carreño died, she was only fifty-one. In addition, the drawing and facial details are sufficiently similar to those in other portraits by Coello for the attribution to be accepted. No specific documentation has been found regarding this painting. It has been proven, however, that between 1687 and the death of Claudio Coello in 1693, Mariana acted as a protector to the painter. In my examination of the Queen's accounts, I noted various orders she made for her Royal room, including portraits of Carlos II and his Queen.[31]

In the Alte Pinakothek portrait, Mariana is sitting on a chair, a book in her left hand, while the right rests on the arm-chair. Close by, there is a table with a spectacular round clock which is crowned. A huge column and a blue and silver gold curtain complete the composition.[32]

This composition has several precedents, including the Prado Museum's portrait of *Felipe II* by Titian, which also features a column and table. Similar compositional devices can also be seen in Moro's portraits of the Archduchess Maria of Austria, as well as those of Pantoja de la Cruz. However, the paintings that come the closest to this composition are two portraits by Antonio Arias Fernández for the *Salón Dorado* or the *Comedias del Alcázar* in

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[30] Soehner, Halldor, "Spanische Meister."

[31] Queen Mother Mariana had the portrait of the Elector hung in front of her bed so that she could always look at it.

"*En quenta de las pinturas q se le an encargado pª mi quarto y q sele paguen en la mesada primera de octubre Rubricado de su Mgd a 23 de Septim de 1688 al Marqués de Mazera (...).*"A.G.P.R.M., Madrid, Personal de empleados, Claudio Coello, caja 242. According to a different record dated 8 October 1689, in Madrid, the Queen Mother paid the same amount, fifty doubloons, for the portraits that she had ordered of the "King and Queen, my children." There are records, then, to prove that Mariana had dealings with Claudio Coello in 1691, 1692 and 1693, when the painter was already very ill.

[32] On the column, Diego Saavedra said in his *Empresas* "if the crown is not firmly planted on this central column of reputation, it will fall to the ground." Reputation was considered important and although perceptions relating to the sitter's reputation were to be grounded on at least a minimal notion of reality, they might still be enhanced by ingenious sleights of hand. See: Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Empresas políticas*, ed. Francisco Javier Díez de Revenga. (Barcelona: Planeta, 1988).

1639, of *Carlos V* and *Felipe II*.[33] Coello places the Queen in the same position given to Felipe II in Arias's portrait. Coello's Mariana sits on an armchair and is turned slightly to the left, her feet resting on cushion.

This is the first time the Queen is portrayed with a huge cushion under her feet. Mariana holds a book in her left hand. Coello's subject is surrounded by luxury in the interior of a palace.[34] There is a monumental column, a heavy blue and silver gold drape, and a table on top of which rests a beautiful clock complete the composition. Naturally, Coello had other Mariana portraits as points of reference. He may also have been looking at Mazo's 1666 portrait of Queen Mariana as a prototype for the pose in this painting, together with Mariana's portraits by Juan Carreño de Miranda.[35]

Coello's portrait may possibly be read as a visual representation of Queen Mariana's political testament. The representation of her persona—the archetype of the state of widowhood and the practice of mourning—had remained unchanged since the death of Felipe IV. What could, and did change were the settings in which she might be placed in order to validate the range of activities undertaken by Mariana during her widowhood. The specific suggestion here is that the setting of this portrait, especially her seated posture, represents Mariana's investment in the Austrian Habsburgs and House of Bavaria.

For Mariana, the House of Bavaria represented a possibility of continuity for the Catholic monarchy as a Habsburg monarchy. In the context of what was discussed above regarding Mariana's hopes for the succession during the last years of her life—in opposition to those of her own brother. The Electress of Bavaria, Maria Antonia, for whom the image was intended, was the daughter of Leopold I and *Infanta* Margarita, Mariana's daughter. As we have seen, once it became clear that King Carlos II would not have children, Maria Antonia's son was considered a future heir.[36] The purpose of the portrait,

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[33] According to Palomino, he was chosen to paint the portraits of the King and Queen of Spain when the Count-Duke of Olivares was advisor to the King: "… que le eligieron para pintar los retrato de los reyes de España, en tiempo del onde-Duque de Olivares; cuando se renovó el salón de Su Majestad en su Real Palacio, que llaman de Comedias, y ya se dividió en diferentes estancias. En él se veían en un cuadro retratados el Rey Don Alonso el Sexto, con su madre la Reina Doña Urraca de Castilla; y en otro el señor Emperador Carlos Quinto, y su hijo Don Felipe Segundo," see Palomino de Castro, *Vidas*, 274–275. This painting is currently at the University of Granada, loaned by El Prado.

[34] It could refer to the Duke of Uceda's property.

[35] Sullivan, *Baroque Painting in Madrid,* 20–68, Pérez Sánchez, *Juan Carreño de Miranda,* 15–236, and Pilar López Vizcaíno and Ángel Mario Carreño, *Juan Carreño de Miranda. Vida y obra* (Oviedo: Caja Astur, 2007).

[36] This was the first time that the Elector of Bavaria had his own minister in the Spanish Court to safeguard his interests, because Mariana is related to him through his marriage to Archduchess Maria Antonia. See:

therefore, may have been intended to project a political "attitude" from the former Queen, directed towards the other Bavarian Habsburgs. It might even be argued that Mariana positioned herself as a link between the Bavarian Habsburgs and the Catholic Monarchy. She believed that the future of the Spanish Habsburgs depended on the heir of the Bavarian branch, because it was her both her own lineage and that of her deceased husband. Thus, Mariana presented herself before the Bavarian Court in "Bavarian" style, not only as the mother of Carlos II and executor of her husband's will, but also as the grandmother of Maria Antonia. Indeed, Mariana was the only figure who could have employed this charged and particular setting. The Queen therefore expressed herself in a particular way, referencing the traditions of both the Vienna and Bavarian courts. In Claudio Coello's portrait of Mariana, references to Bavarian, Austrian, and Spanish Habsburg portraits are gathered together, emphasising the larger Imperial idea of the Habsburgs.

As stated above, society was organized on the principle that any individual who possessed certain social characteristics had a moral right to expect that others would value and treat him or her in an appropriate way. Mariana's social role as Consort Queen had some rights and duties attached to it; her new status, as widow Queen Mother, entailed different rights and duties. The iconography of the Queen was necessarily re-negotiated along with these different attributes and this is represented, or performed, in portraiture. If we read Coello's portrait correctly, Mariana is given explicit portrayal as an imperial figure, not as a Spanish queen. This is the reason for Coello's use of the props of chair (on which she sits) and table (with clock and column). The composition is completed by the blue, silver, and gold curtain, the same colours used by her great-grand-son, Maximillian Emmanuel of Bavaria. These are precisely the visual equipment developed and deployed by Mariana for her imperial performances. In this way, she exerts a moral demand upon the others, obliging them to value and treat her in the manner that persons of this kind have a right to expect.

Baviera and Maura Gamazo, *Documentos inéditos referentes a las Postrimerías de la Casa de Austria en España*, 5–131.

The main concern for the minister, Juan Bautista Lancear, was the Electress's dowry. The dowry promised by Felipe IV (in the 1663 wedding contract for the Empress, his mother) was never paid, so it went to the Electress, together with the income accrued since Empress Margarita's death. See also: Luis Ribot García, "La sucesión de Carlos II: Diplomacia y lucha política a finales del siglo XVII," María de los Ángeles Sobaler Seco & Máximo García Fernández & Teófanes Egido López, *Estudios en homenaje el profesor Teófanes Egido* (Madrid: Caja Duero, 2004), Vol.1, 63–99; Martínez López, *El Imperio y Baviera frente a la sucesión de Carlos II*; Rocío Martínez López: "Los derechos sucesorios femeninos en la dinastía Habsburgo: Diferencias enfrentamientos (1500-1740)" *Mulheres da realeza ibérica mediadoras políticas e culturais*, 67–93.

Court portraits cannot be understood without reference to the entire courtly system. Indeed, it is the argument of my thesis that the evolution of the courtly portrait runs parallel to the evolution and development of social protocols, of *etiquetas* and *cortesías* and the whole codified system that is characteristic of this society. Since there were close links between the various courts, in this specific case between the Madrid, Vienna, and Munich courts, there were mutual "influences" between them too, this must be manifest in the iconography of majesty, royalty, and the Habsburg *imperium*. It is worth noting, when studying some other portraits destined for the Munich court, that the subjects are shown seated. We have, for instance, the Munich portraits of *Carlos V* and *Felipe II*, each sitting under a baldachin, albeit not on a carpeted dais, and the seated portrait of *Archduchess María of Bavaria*, holding a book in her hand, as well as that of her husband, also seated.[37] The Queen had ordered this portrait for her grand-daughter and her husband, the Elector of Bavaria.[38] It seems more than likely that in adopting a seated posture, Mariana had herself portrayed following German, rather than Spanish, protocol.

If we compare portraits of the Electress Maria Antonia and the Elector, we will see that they appear in several of them seated on the dais under the canopy, exactly as Mariana appears—although here the latter is not complete as it happens in the two portraits of the Bavarian princes. Two examples are a miniature, painted by Ferdinand Karl Bruni, and an engraving, by Johann van der Bruggen from Johann Andreas Thelot, representing Maximilian II Emmanuel, Maria Antonia, and Joseph Ferdinand of Bavaria.[39]

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[37] There are other portraits of seated royal women, but they must be studied in their context, which is not this one. Another royal portrait under a baldachin is that of Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, by Pantoja de la Cruz. There are other examples of sitting portraits of female majesty, primarily with Empress Isabella, wife to the Emperor Charles V; Princess Juana of Portugal and María of Portugal; the sitting portraits of Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia and Archduke Alberto, executed, inter alia, by Rubens and his workshop. Moro's sitting portrait of Mary Tudor is another instance, although, in this case, the reason she is sitting has more to do with the fact that Mary is the proprietor monarch and Philip the consort prince. See Joanna Woodall, *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997) and Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture* (London: Reaktion Books, 1991).

[38] Relations between Bavaria and the Queen grew closer during the last years of her life, as she battled hard for the Bavarian party. See: Martínez López, "El Imperio y Baviera frente a la sucesión de Carlos II," 112; Martinez Lopez, "The 'imagined' portraits of an heiress," 208–220.

[39] Miniature painted by Ferdinand Karl Bruni, preserved at the Residenz Palace at Munich, and engraving by Johann van der Bruggen a partir de Johann Andreas Thelot representando a Maximiliano II Manuel, María Antonia y José Fernando de Baviera. VV. AA., *Kurfürst Max Emanuel. Bayern und Europa um 1700* (Múnich: Hirmer, 1976), 16.

Thanks to Dr. Rocío Martínez López I can compare these portraits. See: Martínez López, "The 'imagined' portraits of an heiress," 208–220

As it is well known, the original use of the canopy or baldachin was as an image or representation of the heavens. Under it, the sovereign or ruler was seen as legitimised by God in his power and strength, and it also served as an earthly ornament.[40] One of the oldest symbols of power, it has remained practically unchanged from earlier cultures to our times. Just as the tabernacle veil separates heaven from earth, the sacred from the profane, so does the dais, with its baldachin or canopy, mark the area where Majesty manifests itself.

The most important thing about the Audience Chamber is, therefore, the richly carpeted dais on top of which rests the baldachin, signalling the "area of majesty." This is already found in the rituals of the Roman emperors, and has been recognised as a symbol of power. The space that the baldachin covers was considered special or exclusive to the royal person, the territory and the state. No one could step on it apart from the sovereign and his representatives, such as ambassadors. Its use was exclusive to the two courts. Both inventories and protocols of the Munich court make reference to different baldachins in different chambers of the Prince Elector's and the Princess Electress's. They were to be found not only in the public areas, but also in the private ones, belonging to both men and women, of the various palaces. We find an example in the Munich residence, whose 1638 inventory has an entry describing a baldachin in the Prince Elector's "table" Chamber, another one in the ante-chamber, and yet another in Maximilian's I Audience Chamber.[41] The importance of the baldachin in the Munich court is reflected in the different protocols and ambassadorial descriptions. It was Joseph Clement whose chamber order of 1617 had introduced the principle that respect, dignity, and honour were due to the Prince Elector in his apartments.[42] The Munich ceremonial protocols are not so detailed with regard to the baldachin's positioning but the new and sumptuous baldachin of the Audience Chamber is mentioned several times.[43]

The Queen ordered this portrait for her grand-daughter and her husband, the Elector of Bavaria. For this portrait of Mariana (plate 2), Claudio Coello uses iconography belonging to the German branch, rather than the Spanish one. Mariana sits on a chair to

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[40] Antonio de León Pinelo relates the how and the why for the introduction of the veil, finding its origins in God's command to Moses to hang veil and curtains in the Tabernacle, in Antonio de León Pinelo, *Velos antiguos y modernos en los rostros de las mugeres sus con veniencias y daños* (Madrid, 1641).

[41] The 1600 Protocol specified when to hold audiences standing up, and when sitting down in Henriette Graf, *Die Residenz in München.Hofzeremoniell, Ineräume und Möblierung von Kurfürst Maximilian I. Bis Kaiser Karl VII*, (München: Bayerische Verw. d. staatl. Schlösser, Gärten u. Seen, 2002); Christina Hofmann, *Das spanische Hofzeremoniell 1500-1700* (Frankfurt: Frank & Timme, 1985).

[42] Graf, Henriette, *Die Residenz in München.Hofzeremoniell.*

[43] See footnote 44.

the left of the painting, keeping to the side that corresponds to women, with a column in the background and a gold monstrance table clock that takes the shape of the host and the double headed imperial eagle crowns it, the clear reference is to the Habsburg dynasty and the Empire. We should understand that if Mariana is shown seated, it is principally because she is being portrayed not as the Catholic Queen of the Spanish Monarchy, but as a member of the House of Austria.[44]

In other words, the protocol of the House of Bavaria is in play here, underlining Marianna's efforts on behalf of the Bavaria Austrian line of the Habsburg family. She believed that the future of the Spanish Habsburgs turned on the heir of the Bavarian branch, because it was her own lineage too.

[44] "Up to the end of the sixteenth century, resemblance played a constructive role in the knowledge of Western culture. It was resemblance that largely guided exegesis and the interpretation of texts; it was resemblance that organized the play of symbols, made possible the knowledge of things visible and invisible and controlled the art of representing them," in Michel Foucalt, *The Order of the Things. An Archeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Routledge, 1974), 17.

Appendix 1

A.G.P.R.M., Sección Administrativa, Personal de empleados, Claudio Coello, caja 242. *Señor Maymo Mayr en Madrid a 22 de Abril de 1693. Para hazen Zª p en que se libren y hagan buenos al mismo Thesorero2.400 Rs de vellon que adepagar a Claudio Coello Pintor de Camara por los mismos que lo an ymportado cinco retratos que hico acondicion de su Mgd.*

Claudio Coello's widow later applies for payment of unpaid perquisites.

Dª Bernarda de la Torre, Viuda de Claudio Coello, supª en el memal incluso, mande sela pague lo q se quedo deviendo de gajes, asu marido, remitoosle paraque me digais lo que seos ofreciere y pareciere.

En Madrid 17 de Mayo de 1693 Al Condestable de Castilla

Señor

Dª Bernarda de la Torre, Viuda de Claudio Coello Pintor de Camara que fue de VMGd Dize que dicho su marido sirvio a VMgd desde el año de 1685 hasta que fallezio con la assistencia y puntualidad que esnotorio y que el salario que gozava con plaza de Pintor y Pintor de Camara de VM se le quedaron deviendo treinta y quatro mill setecientos y sesenta y ocho Rs como consta de dos certificaciones de D Joseph de Mendieta Veedor y Contralor de las Obras reales de esta corte y aunque el dicho marido yzo muchas y diversas diligencias assi con el veedor como con el pagador D Melchor de Arce para que le socorriessen no pudo conseguir cosa alguna por decir no se cobra la consignacion de las referidas obras; y por allarse la suplicabte sumamente necessitada con siete hijos los quatro barones y tres ijas pqeuñas sin tener otro amparo que el de Vmgd.

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