

Pompeo Leoni (Milan, c.1533–1608, Madrid)

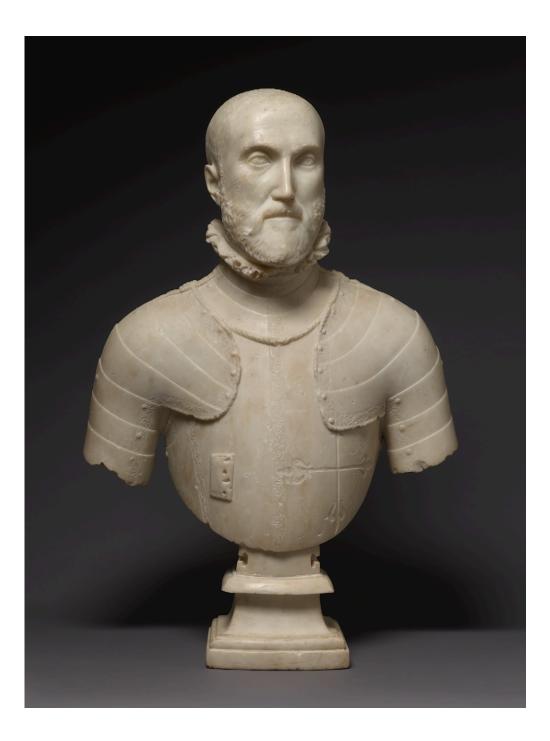
Portrait of Luis Quijada (*c.1515–1570*) *c*.1565-70 alabaster 78 x 53 x 24 cm; 30 3/4 x 20 7/8 x 9 1/2 in (including the pedestal) 65 x 53 x 24 cm; 25 5/8 x 20 7/8 x 9 1/2 in (without the pedestal)

Provenance

D. Antonio López y López, 1st Marquis of Comillas (1817–1883); By descent to D. Juan Antonio Güell y López, Count of Güell, 3rd Marquis of Comillas (1874–1958); Granados collection, Madrid, 1973; Private collection, Europe.

Literature

R. Coppel, 'Portrait of a Knight of the Order of Alcántara or Calatrava', in *Leone and Pompeo Leoni: Faith and Fame*, Madrid, 2013, pp. 112–47;
R. Coppel, 'Luis Quijada: Pompeo Leoni's *Portrait of a Knight of the Order of Alcántara or Calatrava* Identified', *Colnaghi Studies Journal*, 1, October 2017, pp. 56–73.



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In 2013 the current author published a study of an alabaster bust of an unknown sitter by Pompeo Leoni. Initial research led me to two prominent contemporary figures: Luis de Ávila, Marquis of Mirabel, who was close to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, a diplomat for the Spanish Crown. Both men collected sculpture, both were evidently admirers of the father and son artists Leone and Pompeo Leoni and both belonged to the Order of Alcántara or Calatrava (one of the few clues left by the artist was the cross of one of these military orders carved on the breastplate).¹

My recent acquaintance with a painted portrait in the Collegiate Church of San Luis at Villagarcía de Campos (Valladolid) has led me to link the bust instead to another figure from the same period. I argue below that the subject of Leoni's bust is not Luis de Ávila or Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, but Luis Quijada (*c*.1515–1570). Luis Quixada – as he was known at the time – belonged to a traditional military family. His grandfather, also called Luis Quijada, served under the Catholic Monarchs and his father, Gutierre Quijada, fought on Charles V's side in the War of the Gomuneros. This family history accounts for his entry into the imperial entourage at a very young age, around 1522.

Serving first as a page, then as soldier and steward, Luis eventually became one of Charles V's closest and most beloved counsellors, accompanying him on military expeditions to Africa, Germany, Italy, France and Flanders, and in his final move to the monastery at Yuste. He married Magdalena de Ulloa (1525–1598) in 1549 and settled in his hometown, Villagarcía de Campos, in a castle-palace (now in ruins), fifty-three kilometres from Valladolid. He and his wife took charge of the education of Juan of Austria (the natural son of the emperor and Bárbara Blombergh), who lived in Villagarcía de Campos for five years until the boy was taken to Guacos de Yuste, his father wishing to be close to him in his final retreat.²

The facts of Luis Quijada's biography are scant. Even his birthdate is unknown, although, according to Magdalena de Ulloa, he served at court for forty years, and, as he died in 1570, he must have been born around 1515. In 1534 he entered the Military Order of Calatrava at the lowest rank, Obrero Mayor.³ A year later, in 1535, he took part in the expedition to

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Tunisia as a captain. In 1549 he had to marry by proxy, being away in Flanders at the time, and the marriage was not made known in Valladolid until one year later.

After Charles V's death, Philip II continued to keep Luis Quijada close to his side, appointing him equerry to his heir, the prince, Don Carlos, and tutor to Juan of Austria in 1559. Soon afterwards he was made Infantry Field-Marshal, in 1564 was awarded the honorary Encomienda del Moral and later became a member of the Council of State for War. In 1568 Quijada was appointed President of the General Council for the Indias, a position he never took up since he died on 25 February 1570 of wounds sustained during the Alpujarras revolt – fighting for Juan of Austria, who, at only twenty-three, was already Captain General of the navy.

In 1572, two years after his death, Magdalena de Ulloa, carrying out her husband's wish for a foundation to receive his tomb, ordered the building of the Collegiate Church of San Luis at Villagarcía de Campos, modelled on the church at El Escorial, with designs by Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón. The tombs of both Luis Quijada and Magdalena de Ulloa are in a crypt under the altar, with cenotaphs beside the chancel.⁴ Magdalena de Ulloa, who was ahead of her time, carried out work of great social importance. On being widowed, she skilfully built up a network of influential advisers, including Fray Domingo de Ulloa, her brother and a monk at the San Pablo monastery in Valladolid; Knight Gommander Hernando de Villafañe; and Baltasar Álvarez, her confessor and a Jesuit. She was also in contact with Francisco de Borja, who approved the foundation as a college and novitiate house for the Jesuits. Except for a few short stays in Madrid, she lived in Villagarcía de Campos from 1549 to 1570, at which point she was widowed. She then went to live in Valladolid, in a house on the Corredera de San Pablo, where she died.⁵

PORTRAITS OF LUIS QUIJADA AND MAGDALENA DE ULLOA

In the painting in the Collegiate Church of San Luis, Villagarcía de Campos, Luis Quijada is shown standing, full length, following the model for military portraits of the time (fig. 1). He wears close-fitting armour over a doublet and high boots, holding the baton of command in his right hand and a sword in his left. The red sash of the highest rank in the navy crosses

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his chest, the medal of the Order of Calatrava around his neck. He is depicted against a background of blue sky and clouds. His helmet is placed on the ground at the bottom-left corner by a curtain. A small battle scene is depicted bottom right, just above a cartouche which reads: 'Luis quixada Steward to Emperor Charles V, Equerry to Prince Don Carlos – Field Marshal of the Spanish Infantry – President of the Council of the Indias – Councillor of State and War to King [Philip II] – Order of Calatrava – Commendador – native of Villaga[rcía] Villamayor Villanueba, Santo finia [sic] founder of this College and Chapel died fighting the Infidel 1570.'6

In the companion piece, Magdalena de Ulloa is depicted with a prayer book in her hands, kneeling on a large, pink cushion before a table covered with a green velvet cloth supporting a large crucifix. She wears a long, black dress with a white neck frill, and sleeves decorated with lace are visible underneath. Over the dress she wears a black cape with simple white decorations along the hem. Her only ornament is a long coral necklace. The background is covered with heavy curtains and in the bottom-left corner is the legend: 'Doña Magdalena de Ulloa wife of Luis quixada, foundress of this College and chapel of the Colleges of the Company [Society] of Jesus of Oviedo and Santander and of the monastery of the Penitence Valladolid died aged 73 1598.'⁷

The paintings were made around 1678, long after both had died, so a previous pair of portraits, now lost, must have been painted during their lifetimes and used as models. Pompeo Leoni could have made use of Quijada's for the alabaster bust. Other images of the Quijadas are to be found in the Collegiate Church of San Luis, where their funerary monuments are placed on either side of the chancel. They are portrayed kneeling in prayer on large cushions, in contemporary dress. Luis Quijada wears armour under the habit and mantle of the Order of Calatrava, his helmet at his feet, his gloves on a prie-dieu. These figures were made in 1672 by Cristóbal Ruíz de Andino (*c*.1625–1690), a sculptor from Valladolid, in polychromed wood imitating alabaster, but bear no resemblance to the figures in the portraits.⁸

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Many years later, Valentín de Carderera (1796–1880) included an engraving of Luis Quijada in his *Iconografía española* (1855). In his commentary on the print Carderera summarises Quijada's biography and describes him as follows:

His sombre, austere countenance shows courage combined with the prudence, discretion and steadiness of spirit necessary to one charged with the education of the intrepid youth and victor of Lepanto. He grasps the baton of command, head covered with a velvet cap at a slight angle, as Camoens portrayed the great Vasco da Gama. His long doublet and the top of his breeches are of white cashmere decorated with ruches of the same stuff. The Calatrava Cross on a double gold chain round his neck proclaims his rank as Knight Commander.⁹

The Junta de Iconografía Nacional (Board of National Iconography) commissioned a portrait of Luis Quijada from Manuel San Gil y Villanueva (Borja, near Saragossa; active last third of the nineteenth century) for the Gallery of Eminent Spaniards in the Museo Iconográfico. This portrait, now in the Museo del Prado,¹⁰ took as its model the painting in the collection of the Count and Countess of Santa Coloma in 1877.¹¹

THE LOST PORTRAITS OF LUIS QUIJADA AND MAGDALENA DE ULLOA

It is known that the two portraits of Quijada used as models, first for the engraving and then for the Manuel de San Gil copy, were very similar if not identical. In the Prado painting, Quijada is set against a dark background, the topcoat is unadorned, the glove is brown (not green, as described by Carderera) and the Calatrava cross does not hang from a double gold chain but from a red ribbon. The expression, too, is more distant. The print is in black and white, but Carderera's detailed description gives us an idea of the tones in the original painting. Carderera makes the valuable point that, if there were two copies of a half-length portrait of Luis Quijada, the original must have been done by an eminent artist. This artist may have been Titian, as Carderera suggests, at a time when Luis Quijada was with Charles V (1548–55), but it could also have been another great painter from the emperor's circle. The sitter's age and style of dress point to this period. The full-length portraits fit better, however, with the portrait painters in the court of Philip II in the 1560s, when Quijada was

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Field-Marshal and around forty-five years of age. It should be noted that Luis Quijada's pose is the same as that in the portrait by Alonso Sánchez Coello (1531/2-1588) of Don Juan of Austria, now in the convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid. Dated around 1567, when Don Juan was about twenty, this was commissioned by Juana of Austria for her portrait gallery in the convent. However, any of the court painters of the time could have done the portraits of the Quijada couple, copied by the anonymous artist a hundred years later for the collegiate church. Among them were Joris van Staeten, known in Spain as Jorge de la Rúa (active 1552–77), who painted the prince, Don Carlos (*c*.1565), and Juan of Austria (*c*.1567) – both of whom were close to Luis Quijada – or Sofonisba Anguissola (*c*.1535–1625), Jakob Seisenegger (1505–1567) or Sánchez Coello himself.¹²

Whatever the case, it is certain that Pompeo Leoni used a painted representation to sculpt the bust of Luis Quijada, as was his usual practice. He had already used paintings by Titian for his portraits of Charles V and his wife, the Empress Isabel. He would use a portrait painted by Sofonisba Anguissola (in his possession, as shown by an inventory¹³) for his image of Prince Don Carlos in the cenotaph group at El Escorial. We know that Pompeo Leoni was a keen collector who owned significant paintings and drawings by the best artists of the time.¹⁴

POMPEO LEONI'S EARLY YEARS IN SPAIN

On 28 September 1556 Pompeo Leoni disembarked with the royal retinue at Laredo. It is no secret that he found this a difficult time. Charles V had abdicated in favour of his son, Philip II, in whose absence Spain was ruled by his sister Princess Juana of Austria. The princess was the first to contract Leoni as court sculptor, in February 1557, with a monthly salary of thirty ducats back-dated to his arrival in Valladolid the previous November. In 1561, after the court's move to Madrid, Leoni opened a workshop there. He had spent a year shut away by the Inquisition in a monastery, but the only work he is known to have done before then was as a medallist. Evidence for this are the medals he made of Honorato Juan, the tutor to Don Carlos (1556), the prince himself (1557) and Abbot Diego de Lerma (1557).

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In the following years he finished the bronze portraits made by his father, Leone Leone, in Milan: *Charles V Restraining Fury, Empress Isabel, Maria of Hungary* and *Philip II.*¹⁵ No other work is known until 1564 (the date appearing with his signature on the imperial portraits), when Juana of Austria commissioned a portrait of Philip II in polychromed silver (61.5 x 43.5 x 29 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) (fig. 2). At the same time – as we know only from documentary evidence – she commissioned busts of Prince Rodolfo and Prince Ernesto of Bohemia, the nephews of Philip II who lived in Spain from 1564 to 1571. These are the first sculptures executed from his own models rather than those of his father in Milan.¹⁶

In 1566 Pompeo moved his workshop to the Carrera de San Francisco. He completed the imperial marble portraits, made ephemeral sculpture celebrating the entry into Madrid of Anne of Austria (1570) and made an (unfinished) marble pedestal with gilt bronze angels for the urn intended to contain Saint Eugenio's relics in Toledo cathedral. He was not appointed sculptor to the king until 1570. During the next decade he made a series of funerary monuments in several Spanish towns. The first was for Juana of Austria (deceased 1573), followed by one for the Inquisitor General Diego de Espinosa in the church at Martín Muñoz de las Posadas (Segovia) and for Fernando de Valdés in the collegiate church at Salas (Asturias).

POMPEO LEONI: WORKS IN MARBLE AND ALABASTER

In his new workshop, Pompeo took up the marble portraits commissioned by Charles V from Leone Leoni in 1549 which had been at a very preliminary stage when they arrived in Spain. This must have represented a kind of apprenticeship in marble for him as, like his father, he was inexperienced with this material. It is not possible to offer an in-depth assessment of the quality of these works since, owing to their long exposure to the open air in the gardens of the Royal Palace of Aranjuez, the details of the finish have been lost. As we have seen, they were not Pompeo's creation but Leone's and closely related to the bronze portraits. Perhaps the first one Pompeo completed was the statue of Charles V, because it is unsigned, followed in 1567 by *Philip II*, which bears only Pompeo's signature, and then the *Empress Isabel*, also signed only by him, in 1572.¹⁷

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In these works Pompeo developed an exceptional talent as a portraitist in stone. His most characteristic works show he was capable of infusing life in a way he could not do with his bronze portraits or medals, where the effect is much more distant. His masterpiece in marble is the large monument depicting *Juana of Austria at Prayer* (1574), in the church of the monastery of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid. It is placed in a small chapel on the Epistle side of the altar, used by the princess as an oratory (fig. 3).

BUST OF LUIS QUIJADA

This portrait bust in antique fashion represents a man down to the forearms. His face is elongated, he has a beard and a long, downward-pointing moustache, and a wide, wrinkled forehead with a receding hairline and scant hair. The pupils are drilled and kidney-shaped, the lines of the eyebrows are only lightly traced, the nose is straight, and the lips are shut, the lower one straight. The ears are precisely modelled. The figure faces forward, his bearing aristocratic. He wears a frill that emerges in a natural way from under the breastplate, and there are studded straps on his shoulders. On the right of the cuirass are traces of a lance-rest. By way of decoration there is a cord around the neck and along the pauldrons and the centre and sides of the cuirass is a narrow border with scrolls and flower motifs, small bells and a flower corolla, ending in a semi-circle in the lower part. On the left is a chiselled cross of one of the seven Spanish military orders of the time. This is the cross of the Order of Alcántara or Calatrava – both are represented in the same way and differentiated only by colour (green and red respectively).

The bust stands on a small base with semi-circular grooves on the sides, and a four-sided pedestal, all made from one block. A label with the number '735' or '732' is attached to the front, probably taken from the inventory of a previous collection. The back is hollow, with a small piece sticking out in the centre to add firmness and take the weight of the sculpture. The material in this back part has a completely smooth finish.

Among the surviving works by Pompeo Leoni, the bust of Luis Quijada should be placed for stylistic reasons between the statue of Philip II at the Palace of Aranjuez, the two busts of Philip II in the Prado and the statue of Juana de Austria at prayer. The full-length figure of

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Philip II (167 x 65 x 40 cm) belonging to the Patrimonio Nacional is in marble and was signed by Pompeo Leoni in 1567 (fig. 4).¹⁸ It is in very poor condition having been, amongst other things, exposed to the open air. The details of the face have therefore lost quality but evidence of the work of the two Leonis is still there. It was sent from Italy being one of the works from the first commission of Charles V and Mary of Hungary in 1549. Philip II's moustache points upwards, his beard and hair are slightly wavy and his age is similar to that in Leoni's full-length bronze statue in the Prado.¹⁹ The marble statue corresponds to the bronze particularly in the style of dress. The armour shows signs of its former rich decoration, and a cape hangs behind.²⁰

Another portrait of Philip II in the Prado is executed in alabaster and is much smaller at 80 cm high (fig. 5).²¹ The bust is cut off at the forearms, in the same way as Luis Quijada's, though in this case the pedestal is decorated with a large, winged figurehead. The hair in the portrait of Philip II is worked up more, though the eyes are carved in the same way, with kidney-shaped pupils. The lips are fuller but the ears in both portraits are typical of the two Leonis, with intricate curved lines. The moustache and beard are also similar in each. The frill on the ruff is a little larger and less tightly gathered. The decoration of the armour is richer, as befits a prince or king, but executed in the same way, with soft, linear chiselling. The decorative motifs, too, are very similar. This portrait of Philip II is close to the portrait in polychromed silver at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (see fig. 2). We know from the inventory of 1609 that this bust was in Pompeo Leoni's workshop.

Eugène Plon attributed the Prado bust to Leone²² but Beatrice Gilman Proske suggested it could have been made in Spain after Philip II's return in 1559. Proske argued that the different model and the less finely worked decoration of the armour preclude its inclusion in the series of portraits done in the Milan workshop.²³

Another marble head of Philip II now on deposit in the Museo de Historia de Madrid (fig. 6) is 22 cm high (34 cm including its jasper pedestal) and comes from the collection of Diego de Hurtado de Mendoza (1503–1575).²⁴ It appears in the Alcázar inventory of 1602 among the sculptures left by the ambassador to Philip II and is described as 'No. 3680. A white marble

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statue of king Don Phelippe, our lord, of only the head with a part of the chest set on a brown jasper pedestal the whole pedestal and portrait being five *dozavos* high [34 cm].²⁵ Hurtado de Mendoza returned to Spain from Rome in 1554, so this portrait of Philip II must be dated between 1559, when the king himself returned to Spain after the conclusion of the Italian Wars, and 1568, when he exiled Hurtado de Mendoza to Granada after his fall from grace. The styles of the Philip II and Quijada portraits are close. The ways in which the face has been sculpted and the eyes, nose, ears, hair, moustache and beard have been chiselled are very similar. The small ruff is, however, less lifelike in *Philip II*, and the small fragment of the breast is entirely undecorated.²⁶

Despite the connection between these three portraits of Philip II, other similarities between the *Luis Quijada* work and other portraits sculpted by Pompeo Leoni in the 1570s should be mentioned. Features shared with the *Juana of Austria* are the narrow ruff, the intricate lines of the ears, the shape of the pupils and the lightly traced eyebrows (see fig. 3).²⁷

The portrait of Fernando Valdés (kneeling before a prayer book), bareheaded and wearing priest's vestments) and three assistant clergy is very lifelike but still exhibits the idealized quality characteristic of the two Leonis. The life-size figure of Diego de Espinosa kneeling on a prie-dieu with an open prayer book also appears to be a perfect likeness, corresponding to a portrait supplied to Pompeo, although it still shows the same characteristics as the previous works. The effigy demonstrates the high degree of skill Pompeo displayed in representing the psychology of his subjects.²⁸

All of this culminated in the portraits for the El Escorial cenotaphs where Charles V, Philip II and Prince Don Carlos (to cite only the male figures) are based on models of the early portraits but finished in a similar way to these later ones.

The portrait of Luis Quijada must have been made before his death in 1570, firstly, because he is represented as a young man, in his forties, and secondly because if not, in all likelihood the work would have been a funerary statue and not a heroic bust drawing on classical antiquity. It does not seem possible, on the other hand, that this would have been a

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commission from Quijada himself or from Magdalena de Ulloa. We have no information about Quijada's own artistic interests, and we know that his wife's overriding interest was in religious objects, based on those in the museum in the Collegiate Church of San Luis in Villagarcía de Campos. Her magnificent reliquary is kept here, among other valuable ritual items and a superb collection of religious ornaments.²⁹

It is likely, then, that the portrait was a gift from one of the high dignitaries Luis Quijada served. The style suggests a date of between 1565 and 1570, and at that time the people who may have wished to bestow such an honour on him were Juana of Austria, Philip II, Don Carlos and Juan of Austria. Prince Don Carlos commissioned from Pompeo Leoni a work which must have been exceptional: a gold crucifix with a crown of thorns in green enamel, fixed to a cross made by the court silversmith Rodrigo Reinalte. The cross was placed on a Calvary of gilded brass, with two skulls and fourteen bones, all made of silver covered with gold. In accordance with the last wishes of his son, who died in 1568, Philip II donated this piece to the monastery of Our Lady of Atocha in Madrid, but it was lost probably in one of the disentailments.³⁰ The prince's close contact with Luis Quijada is evident from his will, in which he mentions him second only to his beloved tutor, Honorato Juan:

Item: I bequeath to Luis Quijada, my Equerry, all those things of mine in his keeping at the time of my death, he may keep these and need give no account of them, and I also bequeath all the artillery I possess and may possess in the alcázar of Segovia now in the keeping of the Count of Chinchón, Mayor of this alcázar, and of his lieutenant, whom I command to hand over, along with everything attached to them. All this I bequeath to him because of the work he will have to carry out as my executor.³¹

Leoni made an idealized portrait of Luis Quijada as a soldier still in his youth, his expression peaceful yet proud, keeping the characteristic shape of Quijada's prominent skull and wide forehead which allow the bust to be identified. It must have been made, we have seen, while he was working on the marble statues of Charles V, Philip II and Empress Isabel, perhaps at the same time as the bust and alabaster head of Philip II, and shortly before the effigy of Juana of Austria. In this latter portrait, as in the *Luis Quijada*, Pompeo Leoni stands out as a

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magnificent sculptor in stone, more skilled in psychological study than is evident from the later works made for the royal family in the cenotaphs of El Escorial. The comparative study of the *Luis Quijada* with the *Juana of Austria* and other works executed around 1570 reveals the same stylistic features and the mastery that Leoni had already achieved as a portraitist by this time.³²



Figure 1. Anonymous (Spanish), *Portrait of D. Luis Quijada (c.1515–1570)*. Oil on canvas, 1678. Collegiate Church of San Luis, Villagarcía de Campos, Valladolid



Figure 2. Pompeo Leoni, *Portrait Bust of Philip II (1527–1598)*. Polychromed silver head, *c.*1564. © Kunshistorisches Museum, Vienna



Figure 3. Pompeo Leoni, *Portrait of Dña. Juana of Austria (1535–1573).* Marble, 1574. Church of the monastery of the Descalzas Reales, Madrid © Patrimonio Nacional



Figure 4. Pompeo Leoni, *Portrait of Philip II (1527–1598)*. Marble, 1567. Palacio Real de Aranjuez, Madrid © Patrimonio Nacional



Figure 5. Pompeo Leoni (attr.), *Portrait of Bust Philip II (1527–1598)*. Alabaster, *c.*1565. © Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Figure 6. Pompeo Leoni (attr.), *Portrait of Bust Philip II (1527–1598)*. Marble, *c*.1565. Currently on deposit at the Museo de Historia de Madrid © Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

Footnotes

¹ R. Coppel, with M. Estella and K. Helmstutler Di Dio, *Leone and Pompeo Leoni: Faith and Fame*, Madrid, 2013, pp. 115–49 (see pp. 138–9 for the proposed identification).

² L. P. Gachard, *Retraite et mort de Charles V au monastere de Yuste: Lettres inédites*, 2 vols, Brussels, 1854–5. This contains the correspondence between Luis Quijada and Juan Vázquez, Charles V's secretary at Yuste, from 1556 to 1558.

³ Entry age to the Order could range from 5 to 9 (5.4 %) to more than 50 (6.9 %). The median age of entry was 20 to 24 (17%). Archivo Histórico Nacional, expediente 30 L., cited in F. F. Izquierdo, *La Orden Militar de Calatrava en el siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1992, p. 415.

⁴ C. Pérez Picón, *Villagarcía de Campos: estudio histórico-artístico*, Valladolid, 1982. I am grateful to D. Fermín Trueba S. J., museum director at the Collegiate Church of San Luis, for his time and help with the completion of this text.

⁵ J. de Villafañe, *La limosnera de Dios: relación histórica de la vida y virtudes de la Excelentísima Señora doña Magdalena de Ulloa*... Salamanca, 1723 (digital version: Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 2009–10); C. M. Abad, *Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, la educación de Don Juan de Austria y la fundadora del colegio de la Compañía de Jesús en Villagarcía de Campos (1525–1598)*, Valladolid, 1959; M. Gutiérrez Semprún, 'Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, mujer de Luis de Quijada', in *Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, 1598–1998: una mujer de Villagarcía de Campos (Valladolid). Su profundo influjo social*, Valladolid, 1998.

⁶ Luis quixada Maiordomo de el em / perador Carlos Quinto = Caballerico Mayor / del Príncipe D. Carlos = Gapitán General / de la Infantería española – Presidente / del Consejo de Indias – y consejero de es / tado y guerra del Rey Phe. Seg.do / Obrero – Mayor de Calatraba – Commen / dador del Moral, Sor. De villaga., villa / mayor villanueba Santo finia fundador / de este Colegio y Capilla murió peleando / contra Infieles año de 1570.

⁷ Doña Magdalena de ulloa muger / de Luis quixada fundadora de este / Colegio y capilla de los Colegios de / la compañía de fhs. de Obiedo y san / tander y del monasterio de la peniten / çia de valladolid murió a los 73. / años de su hedad y el de 1598.

⁸ E. García Chico, *Catálogo monumental de la Provincia de Valladolid*, vol. 2: *Partido Judicial de Medina de Ríoseco*, Valladolid, 1959, pp. 113, 161, n. 10.

⁹ He continues, 'The topcoat – or Portuguese overgarment – very common in Charles V's time, is black, with lapels revealing rich furs and sleeves embellished at the shoulder with shorter sleeves. These have mock slashes and are decorated with trimmings or little gold and pearl fastenings in trefoil shapes. In these costumes sleeves often fall loose and floating (giving rise to the term manga perdida) and were worn in various ways by ladies and gentlemen until well into the seventeenth century. This cut of the sleeve reveals the doublet, usually richer than the rest of the clothing. Finally, there is the neck attire, which later became a frill or hollow neck adornment, taken to extremes in Philip III's time. The left hand wears a greenish-coloured glove, which rests, rather clumsily, on the sword baldric.' Vicente Carderera y Solano, Iconografía española: Colección de retratos, estatuas, mausoleos y demás monumentos inéditos ... desde el siglo XI hasta el XVII, vol. 2, Madrid, 1855 and 1864), no. LXXX. The accompanying text reads: 'DON LUIS QUIJADA GENERAL / TO EMPEROR CHARLES V.' The drawing was supervised by Carderera, and the print engraved by Carlos Legrand. (1829–1858); lithograph by J. F. Martínez, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Sala Goya, Bellas Artes (ER/3086; IH/5801/1). Carderera goes on to some interesting facts about the painting which served as model for the print: 'This painting is scarcely to be praised for its artistic merit - rather lacking, if truth be told - and suffers from old, badly done restoration. This gives us reason to think that the original was painted by a master and has been lost in the course of the past three centuries. The rich, warm tone of the colour, the sober, individual, unaffected pose, together with the life and character of the head, show skill that is almost worthy of great Titian. What has become of its whereabouts? It would be hard to speculate about the fate of such an interesting painting. But we were pleased to discover there is, fortunately, another full-length, life-size portrait in the magnificent funeral chapel

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founded in Villagarcía for Don Luis by his wife, Doña María de Ulloa. The patron and heir to the foundation, the Marquis de Vallehermoso y de Fonclara, who told us of this, particularly appreciates this picture, keeping it in his home. It is reproduced here with his permission, granted with his habitual kindness and courtesy.'

¹⁰ This is the same portrait that appears as the frontispiece to the fictionalized biography *Jeromín* by Luis Coloma (1903), according to María Kusche, who cites another version in the Church of San Isidro, Oviedo. She refers to 'Artworks – paintings, tapestries and drawings – owned by Don Juan of Austria, with particular reference to portraits by Sánchez Coello'; in M. J. Redondo Cantera and M. Á. Zalama Rodríguez (eds), *Carlos V y las artes: Promoción artística y familia imperial*, Valladolid, 2000, pp. 353–74 (citation on p. 373).

¹¹ P3432; dimensions: 150 x 108 cm; in deposit at the Real Academia de la Historia since 1913. See J. L. Díez, A. Gutiérrez Marquez, P. J. Martínez Plaza (eds), *Museo Nacional del Prado: Pintura del Siglo XIX en el Museo del Prado. Catálogo General*, Madrid, 2015, p. 534.

¹² M. Kusche, 'Sofonisba Anguissola en España y retratistas de corte junto a Alonso Sánchez Coello y Jorge de la Rua', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 62, no. 248, 1989, pp. 391–420.

¹³ M. Kusche, 'El retrato de D. Carlos por Sofonisba Anguissola', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 292, 2000, pp. 385–94.

¹⁴ Marqués del Saltillo, 'La herencia de Pompeyo Leoni', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, 42, 1934, pp. 95–121; K. Helmstutler Di Dio, 'The Chief and perhaps only Antiquarian in Spain: Pompeo Leoni and his Collection in Madrid', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 18, no. 2, 2006, pp. 137–67. Inv. of 1609, fol. 1346r: 'Un retrato del Príncipe don Carlos de Sofonisba dama de la Reyna dona Isabel la francesa con su marco negro y dorado en trescientos reales'. Pompeo and Sofonisba must have been close, and it is now known that the magnificent portrait of the sculptor working on a bust of Philip II (*c*.1565), previously attributed to El Greco, was her work. See M. Kusche, *Retratos y retratadores: Alonso Sánchez Coello y sus competidores Sofonisba Anguissola, Jorge de la Rúa y Rolán Moys*, Madrid, 2003, pp. 219–20, fig. 193.

¹⁵ All four are in the Prado. See J. Urrea (ed.), *Los Leoni (1509–1608): escultores del Renacimiento italiano al servicio de la corte española*, exh. cat., Madrid, 1994; R. Coppel, *Museo del Prado: Catálogo de la escultura de Época Moderna. Siglos XVI–XVIII*, Santander and Madrid, 1998, pp. 66–98.

¹⁶ M. Estella, 'Algo más sobre Pompeo Leoni,' *Archivo Español de Arte*, 262, 1993, pp. 132–49; C. Kryza-Gersch, 'Pompeo Leoni's Portrait in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna', in Stephan Schröder (ed.), *Leone and Pompeo Leoni: Proceedings of the International Symposium, Museo Nacional del Prado, October 2011*, Madrid, 2012, pp. 99–107.

¹⁷ Coppel, *Museo del Prado*. This group includes the two large reliefs of Charles V and Empress Isabel, a bust of Charles V and a bust of Queen Mary of Hungary, all in the Prado. The fine study by Beatrice Gilman Proske offers an in-depth analysis of this aspect of Pompeo's work. Each sculpture is accurately described, with a thoroughness that allows full appreciation of every detail. The first work was the full-length marble portrait of Charles V (a masterpiece overshadowed by the grandeur of the bronze group *Charles V Restraining Fury*), followed by the two marble statues of Philip II (in poor condition) and Empress Isabel – not as identical to the bronze statue as might seem at first sight. See B. G. Proske, *Pompeo Leoni: Work in Marble and in Alabaster in Relation to Spanish Sculpture*, New York, 1956.

¹⁸ Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (inv.1006059).

¹⁹ Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (inv. E-272).

²⁰ J. L. Sancho, 'La escultura de los Leoni en los jardines de los Austrias,' in Urrea, *Los Leoni*, pp. 63–76, fig. 6.

²¹ Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (inv. E-275).

²² E. Plon, *Leone Leoni, sculpteur de Charles-Quint, et Pompeo Leoni, sculpteur de Philippe II: Les Maîtres italiens au service de la maison d'Autriche*, Paris, 1887, p. 325.

²³ Proske, *Pompeo Leoni*, p. 56; Coppel, *Museo del Prado*, no. 21.

²⁴ Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (inv. E-279).

²⁵ F. J. Sánchez Cantón, 'Inventarios Reales: Bienes muebles que pertenecieron a Felipe II', *Archivo Documental Español*, 10, no. 2, 1956–9, p. 187.

²⁶ Coppel, *Museo del Prado*, no. 22.

²⁹ Pérez Picón, *Villagarcía de Campos.*

³⁰ R. Coppel, 'La colección de escultura del príncipe don Carlos (1545–1568)', in S. Schröder (ed.), *El coleccionismo de escultura clásica en España: Simposio internacional, Museo Nacional del Prado, 21 y 22 de mayo de 2001*, Madrid, 2001, pp. 61–88; R. Coppel, 'La colección de un joven príncipe del Renacimiento: Don Carlos y las esculturas inspiradas en el mundo antiguo', *Reales Sitios*, 156, 2003, pp. 16–29.

 ³¹ 'Copia del Testamento cerrado original del Príncipe D. Carlos, otorgado ante Domingo Zavala, escribano de Cámara del Consejo Real', 1564. Archivo General de Simancas, Testamentos y codicilos reales, Legacy no. 5, published by the Marquis and Marchioness de Pidal and D. M. Salva, in *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, vol. 24, Madrid, 1854; repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1966, pp. 514–50 (citation on p. 521).
 ³² Coppel, Estella and Helmstutler Di Dio, *Leoni and Pompeo Leoni*; R. Coppel, 'Los retratos de la emperatriz Isabel y de Juana de Austria', in Schröder, *Leone and Pompeo Leoni*, pp. 85–98.

²⁷ Proske, Pompeo Leoni, pp. 12–13, figs 5–6.

²⁸ Plon, *Les Maitres italiens*, pp. 331–4, pl. XLV; El Gonde de Gedillo, 'Martín Muñoz de las Posadas', *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones. Arte-Arqueología-Historia*, 38, cuarto trimestre, 1930; Proske, *Pompeo Leoni*, pp. 14–16, figs 7–10.