

VELÁZQUEZ AND THE MAKING OF QUEEN MARIANA DE AUSTRIA

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ABSTRACT

This essay looks at the portraiture of the royal painter Diego Velázquez in the last decade of his career, paying particularly attention to his portraits of queen Mariana de Austria. It considers the circumstances of the making and the functions of these portraits, based on known documentation. Furthermore, through comparative close analysis of the works themselves it explores the pictorial strategies involved in the creation of the royal image and the role of workshop reproduction in the dissemination of this.

KEY WORDS: Mariana de Austria; Diego Velázquez; Portraiture; Queenship

VELÁZQUEZ Y LA FABRICACIÓN DE LA REINA MARIANA DE AUSTRIA

RESUMEN

Este ensayo examina la retratística del pintor real Diego Velázquez en la última década de su carrera, prestando especial atención a sus retratos de la reina Mariana de Austria. Se examinan las circunstancias de la realización y las funciones de estos retratos, a partir de la documentación conocida. Además, a través del análisis comparativo de las propias obras, explora las estrategias pictóricas implicadas en la creación de la imagen real y el papel de las reproducciones de taller en la difusión de la misma.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Mariana de Austria; Diego Velázquez; Retrato; Reginalidad.

VELÁZQUEZ'S MARIANA DE AUSTRIA*

Velázquez's first portrait of Mariana de Austria (1634-1696) is the full-length image in the Museo Nacional del Prado (fig. 1).¹ Although Mariana had made her royal entrance into Madrid as queen of Spain on 15 November 1649, Velázquez only returned from Italy in mid-1651 and the portrait, therefore, may date from some time after the birth of the *infanta* Margarita (12 July, 1651) and the mother's postpartum quarantine, when she was nearly seventeen years old. Although the sitting to the painter did not occasion a new portrait of the king, in accordance with portrait etiquette the queen faces to her right and this format accommodates a subsequent pairing with a pendant image of her husband, as indeed occurred in Mariana's redecoration of the Escorial. Her portrait is cited in 1667 by Francisco de los Santos in the Quadra de Mediodía of the Escorial paired with that of Philip IV with a lion (Museo Nacional del Prado, P1219) and accompanied by her children the *infantes* Margarita and Carlos (II) on either side of the two doors of the room.² Although it is unknown where the picture hung before this date, a logical place would have been the queen's portrait gallery.³ The location in the Escorial would appear to be the reason why a strip of canvas was added to the top of the original in order to match its dimensions with the portrait of the king and why the same hand extended the curtain in both to form a canopy over the sitters.⁴ The style with which the curtain is painted in both suggests that this an adjustment of Velázquez's son-in-law and royal painter, Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo (on whom, more below).

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¹ Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. P1191. See José López-Rey, *Velázquez. A Catalogue Raisonné of his Oeuvre* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), no. 355; Jonathan Brown, *Velázquez. Pintor y cortesano* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1986), 221-22; Julián Gállego in *Velázquez* (Madrid, Museo del Prado, 1990), no. 71; Leticia Ruiz in *El retrato español del Greco a Picasso*, ed. Javier Portús Pérez (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 2004), cat. 13; Jonathan Brown, "Mariana de Austria" from *Velázquez, Rubens and Van Dyck* (1999) in Jonathan Brown, *Collected Writings on Velázquez* (Madrid; CEEH, 2008), 259-64; José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez. Vida y obra de un pintor cortesano* (Zaragoza: Caja Inmaculada, 2011), 315-16; Javier Portús Pérez in *Velázquez y la familia de Felipe IV (1650-1680)*, ed. Javier Portús Pérez (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 2013), cat. 8. On portraits of Mariana, see Heinrich Zimmermann, "Zur Ikonographie des Hauses Habsburg", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 25, 1905, 181-83, 193-218.

² C. García Frias, "La retratística de la Casa de Austria en el Monasterio de El Escorial" in *La pintura y el Monasterio de El Escorial* (Madrid 2001), 414; B. Bassegoda, *El Escorial como museo. La decoración pictórica mueble en el monasterio de El Escorial desde Diego Velázquez hasta Frédéric Quilliet (1809)* (Barcelona, 2002), 219-20, 224-25; Portús Pérez in *Velázquez y la familia de Felipe IV*, 110; Miguel Morán, "Fue un final asombroso, sí, pero un final" in J. Portús Pérez ed., *Velázquez y la familia de Felipe IV (1650-1680)* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 2013), 89, note 47.

³ For the Galería de la Reina, see María Cruz de Carlos Varona, "Reginalidad y retrato en las cortes de Felipe III y Felipe IV", in *Ánima. Pintar el rostro y el alma* (Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia, Valencia, 2022), 220, 222, 228.

⁴ For the technical data, see Carmen Garrido, *Velázquez. Técnica y Evolución* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 1992), 110-13, 527-37, 545, 547.



Fig. 1. Diego Velázquez, *Queen Mariana de Austria*, 1651-1652. Oil on canvas, 234.2 x 132 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, (P1191).

Velázquez captured the likeness of the queen with his habitual accuracy. Mariana was the daughter of the king's sister, Maria de Austria (1606-1646) and Ferdinand III, Emperador del Sacro Imperio Romano Germánico, and the remarkable family resemblance between the king and his niece which Velázquez was able to describe was a valued asset, as it signified the purity of the dynastic bloodline. In fact, the head was painted over an earlier likeness of the king in an abandoned portrait, a fact probably known only to the artist and his intimates. Despite the king facing in the other direction, the correspondence between the two likenesses is uncanny in the X-radiographs.⁵ Velázquez evidently painted Mariana directly from life, *alla prima*, without drawings and, in this case, it seems without any prior life study. While the head was

⁵ Garrido, *Velázquez. Técnica y Evolución*, 530-31; Jonathan Brown and Carmen Garrido, *Velázquez. The Technique of Genius*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998, 174-176.

painted from life, the costume might have been merely blocked in during the sittings, to be completed in the absence of the sitter. As likely as not, he would have painted the portrait standing up with the stretched canvas on the ground supported by the easel, just as he represents himself doing in *Las Meninas*, and which would have allowed him to work on the head. Judging from the setting in the picture, the queen may well have posed for the artist in a room of the Alcázar. Indeed, the settings of his other royal portraits of these years suggest that he painted in improvised spaces in the palace and recorded real furnishings, such as the elaborate clock in the portrait of Margarita de Austria in blue in the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna (GG-2130) or the carpet and doorway in the portrait of Felipe Próspero in the same collection (GG-319). Once again, *Las Meninas* provides evidence for this kind of practice, since the portrait shows a painting being made in furnished rooms of the palace in the former quarters of prince Baltasar Carlos in the Alcázar which doubled as a workshop.⁶ It shows too that the act of portraiture was more of a collective event than we may think. Despite the isolation of queen Mariana in Velázquez's resulting formal portrait, she could not be alone with the painter and we can imagine others in attendance during the sitting, including the queen's ladies-in-waiting and, perhaps, her husband and invited others, who would have enjoyed seeing the likeness being conjured up on the canvas. The king and the queen evidently took pleasure in watching Velázquez paint and this activity was enshrined in a long historiography of great patrons' familiarity with artists.⁷ Portrait sittings could also provide something of a diversion from the ceremonial life of the court, especially if the painter was given to talking as they worked.⁸

The queen is represented in full length, which was a category of portrait of great prestige, and the setting is conventional in terms of Spanish portrait traditions. The carmine coloured curtain is a pictorial device which conveyed appropriate associations of status and magnificence.⁹ It dignified Mariana in her portrait, as in so many others of Habsburg sitters, by invoking the practice of high-status people appearing in public beneath canopies and the crimson colour (*carmesí*) signified imperial lineage and, in her case, perhaps even the condition of queen and mother.¹⁰ However,

⁶ Ángel Aterido, *El final del Siglo de Oro. La pintura en Madrid en el cambio dinástico, 1685-1726*, Madrid: CSIC / Coll & Cortés, 2015, 322-24 on the royal painters' workshop in the suite of rooms in the Alcázar known as the Cuarto del Príncipe.

⁷ See Adam Eaker, *Van Dyck and the Making of English Portraiture* (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2022), on the performative aspect of Van Dyck's portrait sittings.

⁸ See the article by Andrea Sommer-Mathis and Christian Standhartinger in this volume, citing a letter of 2 June, 1635 in which queen María asks for a small portrait of her husband and suggests that the sitting will provide a diversion for him: "Mucho me guelgo allase V. Mgt [con] tan buena música, que bien será menester divertirse algunos rratos, y el pintor también ayudará a ello". See note 20 below for the queen's visits to Velázquez's workshop as an "agreeable and pleasurable entertainment". See also Aterido, *El final del Siglo de Oro*, 320-321.

⁹ Julián Gállego, *Visión y símbolos en la pintura española del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1984), 226.

¹⁰ See María Cruz de Carlos Varona, *Nacer en Palacio. El ritual del nacimiento en la corte de los Austrias* (Madrid: CEEH, 2018), 206, for this reading of the dominant colour in Velázquez's *Coronation of the Virgin* (Museo Nacional del Prado) for the oratory of queen Isabel de Borbón. On the cochineal dye of the red curtain in *Las Meninas*, see Byron Ellsworth Hamann, "The Mirrors of *Las Meninas*: Cochineal, Silver, and Clay", *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 92, no. 1-2, 2010, 18-19 and Felipe Pereda, "Response: The

these curtains did feature in the richly appointed rooms of the Alcázar, as did the furniture upholstered in red. Her right hand rests on an armchair in a gesture which belongs to a long pictorial tradition for the representation of Habsburg royal women. Its functionality is irrelevant here – the structure and dimensions of the queen’s *guardainfante* would impede her sitting on this chair - and in this context it probably conveys authority and status.¹¹ As an artistic property, it also provided a useful “scale” for judging the size of the sitter.

One detail is iconographically atypical. A German turret clock stands on the table. Could this have been included as an attribute of the queen, due to the associations which overlay such objects in the emblematic culture of the time? If so, it could allude to ideal virtues, such as temperance, duty, order, and a proper use of time.¹² And who chose to include it in this portrait on this occasion - the sitter, the painter, or a third party? It may well have been the sitter herself, since it reappears in her portrait as a widow (Graf Harrach’sche Fammiliensammlung, Schloss Rohrau, Rohrau). Sentimental reasons may be relevant here. Had she brought it with her from Vienna? Perhaps it had been a gift to her in her place of origin. Was it intended to be appreciated by her father, for whom the painting was copied, in honour of her origins?¹³ It has even been claimed that the detail demonstrates Velázquez’s conscious invocation of modes of portraiture at the Viennese court not merely to please the queen and the recipients of his portraits of her and the *infantas*, but as part of a larger pictorial strategy to reinforce a common identity of the House of Habsburg.¹⁴ This reading assumes that decisions were taken by the painter, even though this obviates any agency on the part of the sitter, who in this case may have had her own ideas on how she wanted to be represented and which made her something more than a passive clothes horse.

The young queen is represented as elegant, arresting, and modern in a magnificent *guardainfante* and dressed wig. Surely it was Mariana’s choice to dress in this way, born from a desire to be seen wearing the height of fashion of the court of

Invisible? New World”, *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 92, no. 1/2, 2010, 49 on the colour’s symbolism of prestige and power.

¹¹ Gállego, *Visión y símbolos*, 226-27.

¹² See Gállego, *Visión y símbolos*, 220-23 on the range of meanings of clocks in pictures. See Jan Bedaux, “The Reality of Symbols: The Question of Disguised Symbolism in Jan van Eyck’s ‘Arnolfini Portrait’”, *Simiolus*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1986, 5-28 on problems in the symbolic interpretation of objects in the history of art. See also Portús Pérez, *Velázquez y la familia de Felipe IV*, 110; Guillaume Keintz in *Velázquez*, ed. Guillaume Keintz (Paris, Grand Palais, ed. Guillaume Keintz, 2015), 284 suggests her taste for these collectibles.

¹³ For this point, see Veronique Gérard Powell and Claudie Ressort, *Écoles espagnole et portugaise*, Département des Peintures du Louvre, Paris: Editions Reunion Musées Nationaux, 2002, 256, citing Jesús Hernández Perera, *La pintura española y el reloj*, Madrid 1958, 55.

¹⁴ Gemma Cobo Delgado, “Entre Viena y Madrid: intercambios de retratos en la familia Habsburgo durante el siglo XVII”, *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología*, LXXXII, 2016, 143-66; Friedrich Polleross, “Series, Paraphrases, Copies: Diego Velázquez and Frans Luycx as Portraitists of the House of Austria”, Proceedings of the International Symposium, *Las copias de obras maestras de la pintura en las colecciones de los Austrias y el Museo del Prado*, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 2017, ed. David García Cueto, 2021, 128-37. In the exchange of portraits, those of Frans Luycx sent to Madrid are seen to respond to Spanish portrait formats for the same ends.

Madrid.¹⁵ This was a person who was always on show in the “theatre” of the court and the display factor of this dress would appear to override any of the negative associations of the garment voiced in some quarters in the previous decade.¹⁶ Why, however, she chose to be portrayed in this particular dress remains a mystery. Was it associated with her marriage? New dresses were commissioned for appearances on a range of special occasions, such as feast days and birthdays, although it is unknown whether a portrait sitting warranted this one.¹⁷ The sober theme of black and silver in the dress would have made it a decorous pendant to a portrait of the king wearing black, something which likely always intended.¹⁸

Of course, the material properties of the fabrics, embroidery, and ornaments which made up the dress was one thing and its representation by Velázquez quite another. The queen could not have been used to Velázquez’s “impressionistic” way of representing the light effects on the intricate and rich surfaces of costume and the sparkle of her jewellery, to say nothing of the craftsmanship of the clock. In Vienna, she was accustomed to the portraiture of Frans Luycx (1604-1668), who worked in an internationally accepted “descriptive” style which rendered surface details with relative clarity and which can be seen in his portraits of her and her mother sent to Madrid (Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. P1272, P2871, P2441, P6194).¹⁹ In Mariana’s portrait by Velázquez, things are represented in terms of optical experience, according to how

¹⁵ For this dress, see Amanda Wunder, *La moda española en la época de Velázquez. Un sastrero en la corte de Felipe IV*, Madrid: El Viso, 2023, 146-154. She dressed in the Spanish fashion in Vienna. See Beatrix Bastl and José Luis Colomer, “Two Spanish Infantas at the Imperial Court” in *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, eds. J. L. Colomer and Amalia Descalzo, 2014, 143-47. In the context of Mariana’s proposed marriage to prince Baltasar Carlos, it was reported to the Spanish court in 1646 that she was so familiar with the ways and the language of Castile that she could almost be Spanish. Andrea Sommer-Mathis, “Las relaciones dinásticas y culturales entre los dos linajes de la casa de Austria y su incidencia en la obra de Velázquez”, in Javier Portús Pérez ed., *Velázquez y la familia de Felipe IV* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 2013), 62.

¹⁶ See Amanda Wunder, “Women’s Fashions and Politics in Seventeenth-Century Spain: The Rise and Fall of the *Guardainfante*”, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 68, 1, 2015, 139-141, 143-149, 161-172 on hostility to the garment and its paradoxical popularity. It is difficult to accept the idea (Ibidem, 160, 171, 178) that in wearing the *guardainfante* – and being portrayed in it – queen Mariana and the *infantas* played on its associations with hidden pregnancies in order to state their fertility potential and their ability to bear heirs. Not only is this a fictional practice at the time (as noted by the author, 179), but any such manifestly adverse associations would be at odds with the decorum of the royal image.

¹⁷ See De Carlos Varona, “Reginalidad y retrato en las cortes de Felipe III y Felipe IV”, 248-252 for the case of Isabel de Borbón. Wunder, *La moda española*, 143 for the occasions during 1650 for which new dresses were made for queen Mariana.

¹⁸ It was paired with the portrait of the king in black armour in the Museo Nacional del Prado. See note 2 above. The same can be said of the full-length portrait of Isabel de Borbón in a private collection (López-Rey, *Velázquez*, no. 339) in which the queen wears black with gold embroidery and which was the pendant to the full-length of Philip IV c.1628 now in the Museo Nacional del Prado (inv. P1182).

¹⁹ There may be some expectation for Velázquez’s workshop to make a copy of one of Luycx’s portraits for the Condesa de Paredes. The king in a letter to her of 7 July 1648 mentions that Diego de Martos, who acted as *correo*, had not fulfilled what had been agreed “con la embajada del retrato” and that he will endeavour to have Velázquez provide a copy for her (“procurare que Velázquez disponga una copia para embiarsele”). See Antonio Moreno Garrido and Miguel Ángel Gamonal Torres, “Velázquez y la familia real a través de un epistolario de Felipe IV”, *Cuadernos de Arte de la Fundación Universitaria*, 12, 1988, 5, Cartas II, III.

the artist's eye saw them at a certain distance from the model and in the particular light conditions of the sitting. For example, given the angle of the body of the queen – her right side being deeper in pictorial space – Velázquez employs an “atmospheric perspective” in the depiction of the wig; the relative focus means that there is even less formal definition of the curls, ribbons, and jewels of the side of the wig which is further away and which, in turn, causes the right-hand part to project. And the *guardainfante* of the queen, as with his subsequent portraits of the *infantas*, provided an expansive field for the artist to display his art via the distinctive brushwork which was his signature style.

Art history has mostly concerned itself with the relationship between Velázquez and king Philip IV. While no written sources from the time known to this writer speak of Mariana de Austria's dealings with Velázquez, this does not mean that they did not exist. She must have come to know the artist to some degree through regular interactions with him at court. Judging from the fact that she allowed herself to be painted by Velázquez on further occasions, Mariana evidently appreciated his portraiture. Palomino says that the queen had enjoyed visiting Velázquez on many occasions while he painted *Las Meninas*.²⁰ The queen, moreover, is “present” in this work and its *dramatis personae* comprise members of her household, including her daughter Margarita, her ladies in waiting, her favourite dwarf, Nicolás Pertusato, and her chamberlain José Nieto (who would have been perfectly recognizable to her, despite being depicted in the distance and contre-jour). It is also worth noting that her state portraiture during her widowhood revisits and inflects this private portrait in terms of localized settings and historiated sub-plots (*Queen Mariana de Austria*, London, National Gallery, inv. NG2926). While these artistic decisions are usually attributed to painters – in the latter case Martínez del Mazo –, they may just as well have as much to do with Mariana's own taste and admiration for this masterpiece.

THE REPRODUCTION OF THE QUEEN IN VELÁZQUEZ'S WORKSHOP

Royal painters at courts throughout Europe directed workshops dedicated to the making of reproductions of royal portraits for a range of circumstances and Velázquez was no exception. His first portrait of queen Mariana served as the model for a number of full-length copies and bust-length versions of high quality known today.²¹ One of these might have been the portrait displayed alongside another of the

²⁰ Antonio Palomino, *El Museo pictórico y escala óptica. El Parnaso español pintoresco laureado* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1988), vol. III, 251, “Esta pintura [*Las Meninas*] fue de Su Majestad muy estimada, y en tanto que se hacía asistió frecuentemente a verla pintar; y asimismo la Reina nuestra señora Doña María Ana de Austria bajaba muchas veces, y las señoras infantas y damas, estimándolo por agradable deleite, y entretenimiento.”. Palomino also noted (ibid., p. 255) that the queen and the *infantas* often mounted the scaffolding to watch the progress of the frescoes being painted in the Salón de los Espejos by Angelo Michele Colonna and Agostino Mitelli, Juan Carreño de Miranda and Francisco Rizi. See also F. Marías, “El género de *Las Meninas*: los servicios de la familia” in *Otras Meninas*, ed. F. Marías (Madrid, Siruela, 1995), 276.

²¹ See, for instance, the version trimmed to a half-length in New York, The Metropolitan Museum (inv. 89.15.18. López-Rey, *Velázquez*, no. 360); the version trimmed to three-quarters length in Kansas

king “propíamente imitados” in the celebrations held in Salamanca for the capitulation of Barcelona to the king’s troops in October 1652.²² At least two full-length copies of the picture are known; one is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (fig. 2) and the other in the Louvre, Paris (fig. 3). The copy now in Paris came from the collections of the Buen Retiro, the young queen’s favourite royal residence.²³ It is inventoried there on the death of Carlos II in 1701 as the work of Velázquez himself in a room whose function is unspecified. It would appear to have been made to hang in the Buen Retiro, since it was transferred to the king’s apartments there, along with a full-length portrait of the *infanta* Maria Teresa, in 1654, while restoration work was undertaken after the fire at the Coliseo theatre on 15 March 1653. The copy in Vienna appears to have been made to send to the queen’s relatives.

City, Nelson Atkins Museum of Fine Arts (inv. 45-36. López-Rey, *Velázquez*, no. 359); and the bust-length versions in Lisbon, Museo Nacional de Arte Antiga (Inv. 2012. López-Rey, *Velázquez*, no. 361; Benito Navarrete Prieto in Lisbon, Museo Nacional de Arte Antiga, *Identidades Compartidas. Pintura española en Portugal*, Benito Navarrete Prieto and Joaquim Oliveira Caetano eds., 2023, cat. 61), New York, Historical Society (López-Rey, *Velázquez*, no. 367), and at Birmingham, The Barber Institute (B/1/56).

²² Javier Portús Pérez, “Diego Velázquez, 1650-1660. Retrato y cultura cortesana” in Portús Pérez ed. *Velázquez y la familia de Felipe IV*, 29.

²³ Gérard Powell and Ressort, *Écoles espagnole et portugaise*, 256-58. The portrait was accompanied in the Buen Retiro inventory by others of members of the royal family, past and present (including the trimmed copy in the Louvre of the portrait of the *infanta* María Teresa in Vienna (Ibidem, 252-54; López-Rey, *Velázquez*, no. 389), as well as subject pictures, in a decorative scheme which does not have any obvious programmatic coherence. See also Keintz in Keinz ed., *Velázquez*, cat. 86.



Fig. 2. Workshop of Diego Velázquez, *Queen Mariana of Austria*, 1652. Oil on canvas, 204 x 126.5 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (GG6308).

The dilatory dispatch of the copy of Mariana's portrait to the court of Vienna is documented in the correspondence between her father, emperor Ferdinand III, and Philip IV between July 1650 and October 1654, in which the king speaks for his wife.²⁴ Sentimental motives were obviously a factor in her father's desire to "see" his daughter in her portrait, along with political pride in placing her on the Spanish throne. In the first known letter (12 July, 1650), he asks for a full-length portrait in order that he might see how much she has grown up: "y yo pudiesse tener su retrato en grande me fará grand[iss]imo favor porque me holgará mucho de belle, pues de V[uestra] M[agestad] y de todos entiendo quanto que ha crecido y hechoso mujer ...".²⁵ In a letter of almost a year later (21 de June, 1651), Ferdinand wishes his daughter well in

²⁴ Miguel Morán and Karl Rudolf, "Nuevos documentos en torno a Velázquez y a las colecciones reales", *Archivo Español de Arte*, no. 259, 1992, 289-302.

²⁵ Morán and Rudolf, "Nuevos documentos en torno a Velázquez", 296, 1.

her confinement and says that he will enjoy the portrait of her: “y con el retrato suyo que V[uestra] M[agestad] me dize haze me holgaré much[isi]mo y doy gracias por él a V[uestra] M[agestad] ...”.²⁶ The use of the present tense – “[se] haze” – in the letter is misleading, because the queen was about to give birth (to the *infanta* Margarita on 12 July 1651) and could not be portrayed until after her *post-partum* quarantine. In another letter (27 September, 1652), Ferdinand complains of the distance which “estorba esse gusto” of seeing his family members in Spain.²⁷ In December 1652, an order was given for the Emperor to be sent a portrait immediately. However, it is not until 15 December 1653 that there is news of the shipment of the portrait, in the form of an order to the Marqués de Castel Rodrigo, Ambassador to the Holy Roman Empire, to take charge of “el retrato de la Reyna” that is being sent to Vienna with the Marqués de Caracena “y lo entregueis al emperador mi hermano sin dilación ninguna por saber lo que holgará con el, como yo de que se tenga contento ...”.²⁸ There does not appear to be a letter from Ferdinand which refers to the arrival of the portrait of his daughter, although in October 1654 he thanks the king for one of his grand-daughter Margarita de Austria: “que me he holgado mucho con el retrato de mi nieta, que dios la guarde es lindis[i]ma ...”. If the portrait of his daughter did arrive after a wait of three years, doubtless Ferdinand viewed with some irony the clock on the table in the picture. Notice of another copy of Velázquez’s portrait of the queen dates from 22 February 1653, when it is reported that hers, alongside those of the king and the *infanta* María Teresa, had been sent to Brussels to her uncle, the archduke Leopold Wilhelm, governor of Flanders.²⁹ Leopold Wilhelm returned to Vienna in 1656 and the portrait is cited, without an author’s name, in the inventory of his collection in 1659.³⁰ It remains unclear at present whether the copy at the Kunsthistorisches Museum is that which belonged to Ferdinand III or to Leopold Wilhelm.

The study of the copies themselves can help us to understand the operation of the workshop, in the absence of other kinds of documentation. The copies in Vienna (fig. 2) and Paris (fig. 3) have been traced from Velázquez’s original and prototype in Madrid.³¹ Photographic overlays of the three images (fig. 4) shows the high degree of correspondence between them and suggests the use of large, full-size tracings.³² They

²⁶ Morán and Rudolf, “Nuevos documentos en torno a Velázquez”, 296, 2.

²⁷ Morán and Rudolf, “Nuevos documentos en torno a Velázquez”, 298, 4.

²⁸ Morán and Rudolf, “Nuevos documentos en torno a Velázquez”, 301, 27. As noted by Cruz Valdovinos (*Velázquez*, 314), the urgency expressed here suggests that the emperor had not received a portrait of his daughter before this date.

²⁹ See note 72.

³⁰ Giulietta Beaufort in Vienna, Kunsthistorische Museum, *Velázquez*, Sabine Haag ed., 2014, 318.

³¹ See Beaufort in Vienna, *Velázquez*, no. 35; 216-220, 318-19 for the copy in Vienna and Gérard Powell and Ressort, *Écoles espagnole et portugaise*, 256. The author is grateful to Charlotte Chastel-Rousseau for examining the French picture on his behalf and to Gudrun Swoboda for information on the version in Vienna.

³² The author thanks Aoife Brady for her help in creating these overlays. See Beaufort in Vienna, *Velázquez*, 318, who notes that a cartoon was used. For the practice of tracing in the early works of Velázquez, see Jaime García-Máiquez, “La cuadratura del círculo. Calco y originalidad en la pintura del primer Velázquez” in *El joven Velázquez: a propósito de “La educación de la Virgen” de Yale*, Proceedings of the International Symposium, Espacio Santa Clara de Sevilla 2014, ed. Benito Navarrete Prieto, 2015,

preserve the intentions of the original in that they show the composition before the extension was added to the work now in the Prado (even though the copy in Vienna has been cut on all sides). The red lake in the curtain in the copy in Vienna, moreover, is in a better state of preservation than that in faded condition in the original and the copy in Paris. They were probably made in Velázquez's workshop at the same time and in the presence of the prototype, but appear to have been painted by two different hands. Both paraphrase the original, but in different ways. The copy in Vienna is painted relatively thinly and is more summary in handling than the prototype, with fewer brushstrokes and less impasto, and thin lines of paint are used to define the edges of forms and enhance their legibility. The sitter here wears a softer expression than in Velázquez's original and a pentimento to the left hand has the small finger lying over the handkerchief. Both copies appear to have been painted on a light ground. Ocular examination of the copy in Paris shows this to be a light grey-buff colour, close in type to the light grey ground used by Velázquez in his prototype, and it can be seen particularly well in unpainted areas left in reserve in the bands of embroidery of the dress where the copyist has economized. The work in Paris follows Velázquez's prototype closely, albeit with a more abbreviated facture - the chain motifs in the dress, for instance, lack the degree of definition of the original - and the use of less paint, as would be expected in a copy. Accents of black can be seen at many points and there appears to be a greater degree of scumbling in the flesh tints and the handkerchief. The paint handling, however, is very close indeed to Velázquez's original in its speed, spontaneity, and boldness of execution, and the kinds of marks made by the brush. The picture would repay further technical research in order to establish its degree of parity with master's technique and style.

574-593; Zahira Véliz Bomford, "Velázquez composes: prototypes, replicas, and transformations" (Colnaghi Studies Journal, 2018), 93-111.



Fig. 3. Workshop of Diego Velázquez, *Queen Mariana of Austria*, 1652. Oil on canvas, 209 x 125 cm. Paris Musée du Louvre (RF1941-31).

The authors of catalogues of Velázquez's paintings have sought to distinguish the individual hand of the master from those of his assistants and followers. This enterprise has been enormously fruitful but also limiting, because it distorts the realities of the production, reproduction, and the reception of royal portraits, in which the hand of the artist was not always meant to be discerned. The kind of art-historical connoisseurship which seeks to distinguish originals from copies may not always have been relevant in the past in terms of the experience of the portraits themselves, since copies could be seen in places where Velázquez's painting was little known and the full-length copies of the queen discussed here constitute imposing images in themselves when they are placed on the wall. As for the creation, production, and

reproduction of royal portraits, it might be a more accurate to speak of “the hand” of the artist in an expanded sense, allowing Velázquez to be seen as the author of all of the portraits of the queen, both the prime version and copies. His authority in royal portraiture depended upon a number of related factors. Firstly, Velázquez was royal painter, *pintor de Su Magestad*, and enjoyed the favour of the king. He signed his portrait of Philip IV in the National Gallery, London (inv. NG1129) with this title, as did earlier royal portraitists, to stress this connection. In practical terms, the office guaranteed him access to the royal person for portrait sittings and, therefore, the creation of autograph prototypes painted from the life. And for most of the reign of Philip IV he enjoyed a monopoly of life sittings.³³ This meant that copies of royal portraits from his workshop could be considered in equivalent terms to originals. For instance, a letter of August 1653 from Giacomo Querini, the Venetian ambassador in Madrid (1652-56), concerning the acquisition of a portrait of the *infanta* María Teresa for her aunt Ana de Austria, queen of France, claims that “Il Quadro si farà per mano di Velasco pittore del Rè ...”, although this was most likely to be a copy, as indeed was the picture which was eventually dispatched.³⁴ In January 1657, Camillo Massimi, friend and patron of Velázquez, paid 1200 *reales* for half-length portraits of the king, the queen and the *infantas*, and all of these appear, along with his own portrait by the artist, in his post-mortem inventory of 1677 as “di mano di Diego Velasco”, although these too would be copies.³⁵ In the correspondence of the English ambassador in Madrid Arthur Hopton about the portraits of the Spanish royal family to be sent to Charles I of England and now in the Royal Collection, Velázquez is not mentioned by name, but only by his title, “the king’s painter”.³⁶

³³ Jonathan Brown, “Between Tradition and Function; Velázquez as Court Painter” from *Velázquez, Rubens and Van Dyck* (1999) in Jonathan Brown, *Collected Writings on Velázquez* (Madrid; CEEH, 2008), 241.

³⁴ Luis Ramón Laca Menéndez de Luarda, “Retratos de la infanta María Teresa por Velázquez y Martínez del Mazo”, *Locus Amoenus*, 13, 2015, 46-47. Brown, *Velázquez*, 217; Lisa Beaven, *An Ardent Patron. Cardinal Camillo Massimo and his antiquarian and artistic circle*, London and Madrid: Paul Holberton / CEEH, 2010, 150, interpret the fifty reales cited as the cost of shipping as the price of the painting, as noted by Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez*, 318-21.

³⁵ José Luis Colomer, “1650. Velázquez en la corte pontificia. Galería de retratos de la Roma hispanófila” in Madrid, Palacio Real, *Cortes del Barroco. De Bernini y Velázquez a Luca Giordano*, 2003, 51. They were acquired in Italy by the Marqués del Carpio. See José Manuel Pita Andrade, “Los cuadros de Velázquez y Mazo que poseyó el VII Marqués de Carpio” (*Archivo Español de Arte*, vol. 24, no. 99, 1952), 223-36; Harris, “El Marqués de Carpio y sus cuadros de Velázquez” (1957) in Enriqueta Harris, *Estudios completos sobre Velázquez* (Madrid: CEEH, 2006), 30.

³⁶ Enriqueta Harris, “Velázquez and Charles I. Antique Busts and Modern Paintings from Spain for the Royal Collection”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1967, 30, 1967, 414- 420.

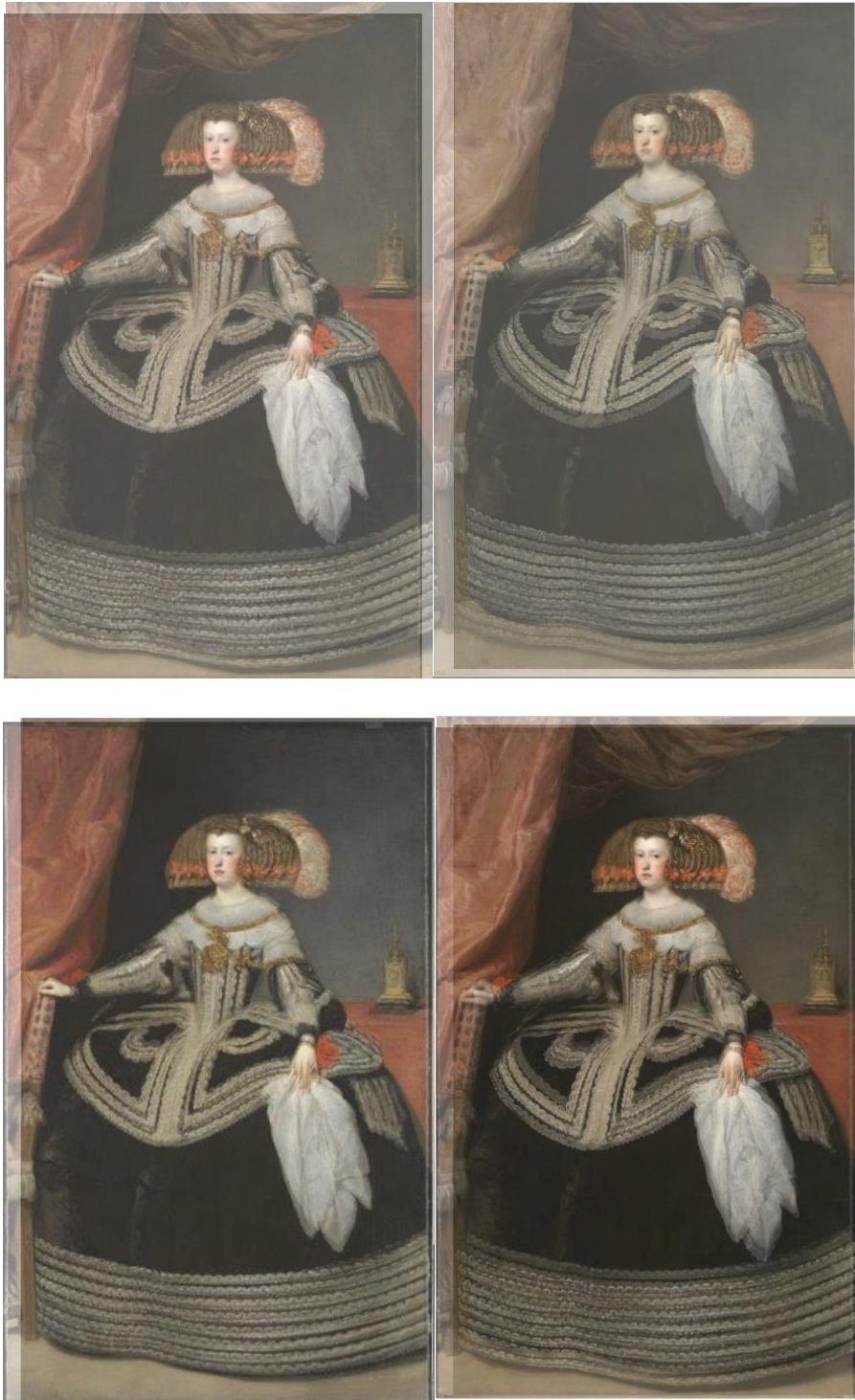


Fig. 4. Photographic overlays of the portraits of *Queen Mariana de Austria* in Madrid, Vienna, and Paris according to the following four combinations: Madrid-Vienna; Madrid-Paris; Vienna-Paris; Madrid-Vienna-Paris.

Velázquez's workshop was evidently organized so that reproductions approximated the prime version relatively closely. The master may even have given assistants some training in his signature style. His supervision or "quality control" did not, in the case of the portrait of the queen in Vienna at least, extend to his own direct intervention and the present writer does not see evidence of his retouching here. A "hands-off" approach to the works of his assistants may be due to a number of factors; sheer practicalities of production, the artist's reputed *flema*, or, alternatively, perhaps even a consciousness of the value of his own hand, which was to be employed sparingly. Given the authority of Velázquez's style, artists in his workshop were expected to imitate his gestural brushwork, even though this made considerable demands on them. A problem which inheres in the reproduction of painterly painting is how to find reasonable equivalents for the weight and colour of the pigment in the original, and the movement and abstract marks of the brush. This is not merely a formal problem, but an act of interpretation, since copyists aimed to reproduce second-hand Velázquez's response to observed things in the particular environmental conditions of the original. The copy of the portrait of queen Mariana de Austria in the Louvre is a picture in which this imitation is achieved particularly well. Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo (c.1611-1667), Velázquez's son-in-law, was a mature painter of over fifty years old at the beginning of Mariana's reign. Apart from producing his own independent paintings, he is assumed to have been Velázquez's chief assistant (although the precise terms of their professional relationship in this regard are far from clear and there is no consensus on his authorship of copies after Velázquez). There were other active members of the workshop too, by whom no paintings have been identified and who might have happily suppressed their artistic individuality (if they had any) in the service of the workshop.³⁷ In his son-in-law, however, Velázquez perhaps had a confidante and an assistant whose value lay in his ability to copy and to emulate his paint handling. His is a superficial imitation of Velázquez's style – he did not always employ the master's optically light grounds in his copies and his painting generally does not demonstrate an analogous interest in scientific naturalism. However despite converting the master's style into a "mannerism", his portraits evidently sufficed as faithful reproductions of those painted by Velázquez.

OTHER IMAGES OF QUEEN MARIANA

An exception to Velázquez's control of portraits of queen Mariana can be found in the royal collections of Vienna (fig. 5).³⁸ When was this painted, why, and for whom? The fact that no copies of it have so far been identified suggests that it was not an "official" likeness.³⁹ It has been suggested that this is the portrait ordered to be sent to Mariana's father, the emperor Ferdinand, without delay in December 1652, although

³⁷ See Brown, "Between tradition and function" 2008, 237-43 for a summary account of the members and operation of the workshop. See Aterido, *El final del Siglo de Oro*, 324 for the painter Diego Sanz in the workshop of Velázquez in the 1650s.

³⁸ Inv. GG2131. López-Rey, *Velázquez*, no. 374; Brown, *Velázquez*, 221; Beaufort in Vienna, *Velázquez*, 218-220, 318-319, cat. 36.

³⁹ Beaufort in Vienna, *Velázquez*, 318.

there is no real evidence to connect the picture to this document.⁴⁰ The idea that the queen is shown pregnant is speculative; the “pregnancy portraits” introduced into the Spanish court by queen Margarita de Austria ended with her death in 1609.⁴¹ Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo has been proposed as its author and the style of the work strongly suggests the hand of this artist. The handling of the crimson curtain behind the queen has much in common with the brown / black curtain behind the queen in Martínez del Mazo’s portrait of her in mourning of 1666 in the National Gallery, London (as well as the addition to Velázquez’s curtain in the first portrait of the queen, fig. 1).⁴² The ground layer of the portrait in Vienna is of a ruddy brown colour, which is consistent with that of the portrait of the queen in London.⁴³ The view onto the garden of the queen at the Alcázar and the inclusion of a pet capuchin monkey are just the kind of anecdotal details associated with his work.⁴⁴ (Velázquez too, it has to be said, was shedding something of his austere stripped-down focus on the sitter in these years with the inclusion of props in his portraits of the *infanta* Margarita.)

⁴⁰ Beaufort in Vienna, *Velázquez*, 318-319.

⁴¹ The possibility is noted by López-Rey, *Velázquez*, 247, no. 374; Beaufort in Vienna, *Velázquez*, 319. For Margarita de Austria’s pregnancy portraits, see De Carlos Varona, *Nacer en palacio*, 47-49; De Carlos Varona, “Reginalidad y retrato”, 238-40.

⁴² Paul Ackroyd, Dawson Carr, and Marika Spring, “Mazo’s *Queen Mariana of Spain in Mourning*”, National Gallery Technical Bulletin, 26, 2005, 43-55; Portús Pérez in *Velázquez y la familia de Felipe IV*, cat. 25. See also the red curtain in the *Infanta Margarita in Rose* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P1192). *Ibid.*, cat. 21.

⁴³ Judging from ocular examination of the portrait and the cross-sections of paint sample in Wilfred Seipel et al, *Restaurierte Gemälde. Die Restaurierwerkstätte der Gemäldegalerie des Kunsthistorisches Museums, 1986-1996*, Milan: Skira, 1996, 191-93, no. 40. The author thanks Karin Hellwig for her help with reading this source. See Ackroyd, Carr, Spring, Mazo’s *Queen Mariana of Spain in Mourning*”, 48-50 on its ground.

⁴⁴ Beaufort in Vienna, *Velázquez*, 318.



5. Attributed to Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, *Queen Mariana de Austria*, c.1655. Oil on canvas, 128.5 x 99 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (GG2131).

The portrait is painted in Velázquez's style.⁴⁵ This can be seen, for instance, in the “impressionistic” handling of the jewellery; the figurative image on the pearl-encircled jewel hanging at her breast is virtually impossible to decipher. It is a summary account of his style, as can be seen, for instance, in the abbreviated handling with relatively few touches of paint in the bows in her wig. The variety of marks with the brush in the ornament of the dress is more limited and uniform than equivalent passages in autograph portraits by Velázquez. However, its status as “velazqueño” in the literature of the history of art has meant that it has not attracted very much attention, which is ironic given its novelty. In this case, Martínez del Mazo exercised autonomy in creating a new image of the queen, just as he was to go on to do in his portraits of her in widowhood. The likeness does not follow a known Velázquez prototype and is evidently the fruit of a sitting to the artist.

The portrait has been related to the biographical notes on Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo written by Lázaro Díaz del Valle before 1657: “Es general en el arte de la pintura; ha hecho retratos de los Reyes N[uestros] S[eñores] con excelencia y en particular hizo uno de la Reina doña Maria Ana de Austria con tan gran acierto que aumentó la buena opinión que tenía, por q[u]e un día de Corpus Christi se vió uno de su mano en la puerta de Guadalajara tan al natural que causó admiración a todos, tanto por ser de los primeros que se vieron de S[u] M[agestad] en esta corte como por ser maravilla del pincel.”⁴⁶ It is worth noting the value placed on the likeness - made “con gran acierto” and “tan al natural” - in the language describing the portrait. Moreover, Díaz del Valle evidently knew this particular portrait of the queen, since this is the one he chooses to include in his genealogical manuscript *Historia y Nobleza del Reinado de León y Principado de Asturias* (fig. 6).⁴⁷ Díaz del Valle drew the portrait of Mariana himself in order to include it alongside printed images of Philip IV and Elizabeth of Bourbon, evidently because he could not find a print of the queen's image which he could use at this point and because he admired it. His enthusiastic comments about the picture he saw at the Puerta de Guadalajara suggest that he spoke of an original work, rather than a copy of Velázquez's prototype of 1651 (although this is far from clear). Corpus Christi celebrations were an occasion for the public display of paintings and tapestries from private collections, and the picture may well have belonged to a merchant or silversmith at the puerta de Guadalajara.⁴⁸ While it can be assumed that this took place early in the reign, unfortunately, the writer does not specify the year. The phrase that it was “one of the first to be seen [in public]” does not necessarily mean that it was the

⁴⁵ See Larry Keith, “Velázquez's Painting Technique” in *Velázquez*, ed. Dawson Carr (London, National Gallery), 87.

⁴⁶ Lázaro Díaz del Valle, *Epílogo y nomenclatura de algunos artífices. Apuntes varios, 1656-1659*, in Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes literarias para el estudio del Arte Español*, vol. II, 1933, 374.

⁴⁷ This is the first part of the second volume in the British Library, Eg. 1878, in which the history of León is narrated across the reigns of successive kings, from Juan II to Carlos II. For the text, see David García López, “Dibujo y divina poesía: Lázaro Díaz del Valle cronista real, genealogista y dibujante al servicio de Felipe IV”, *Goya*, 333, 2010, 308-319.

⁴⁸ Javier Portús Pérez, *La antigua procesión de Corpus Christi en Madrid*, Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1993, 70-72.

first to have been painted, nor that it was made to be sent to her father while Velázquez was in Italy.⁴⁹ When it was sent to Vienna remains unclear.

The bust portrait of queen Mariana by Velázquez in the Meadows Museum (fig. 7) shows her with a different hairstyle, the curls being more horizontal in form and adorned with a black jet jewel, and wearing a collar of muslin.⁵⁰ Doubtless, this portrait was painted from the life, perhaps in two sittings. The size and format of the picture, and its relative lack of finish are significant in this respect. The artist has concentrated his attention almost entirely on the face of the queen, which is lit from above and from the front, the light spread evenly over it and with minimal cast shadows represented by thin, transparent grey glazes. While the upper part and the proper left side of her hair are described in some detail, the ostrich feather, the pearl ornaments against a cascade of gauze decorating the lower edge of her hair, and the collar and dress are merely sketched in. The very lack of finish of this picture – and others of this kind – doubtless afforded a talking point among those interested in painting.

⁴⁹ See note 28.

⁵⁰ López-Rey, *Velázquez*, no. 364; Brown, *Velázquez*, 222; Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez*, 314-15, who notes the evident coexistence in time of wigs with horizontal curls with wigs of more vertical curls.

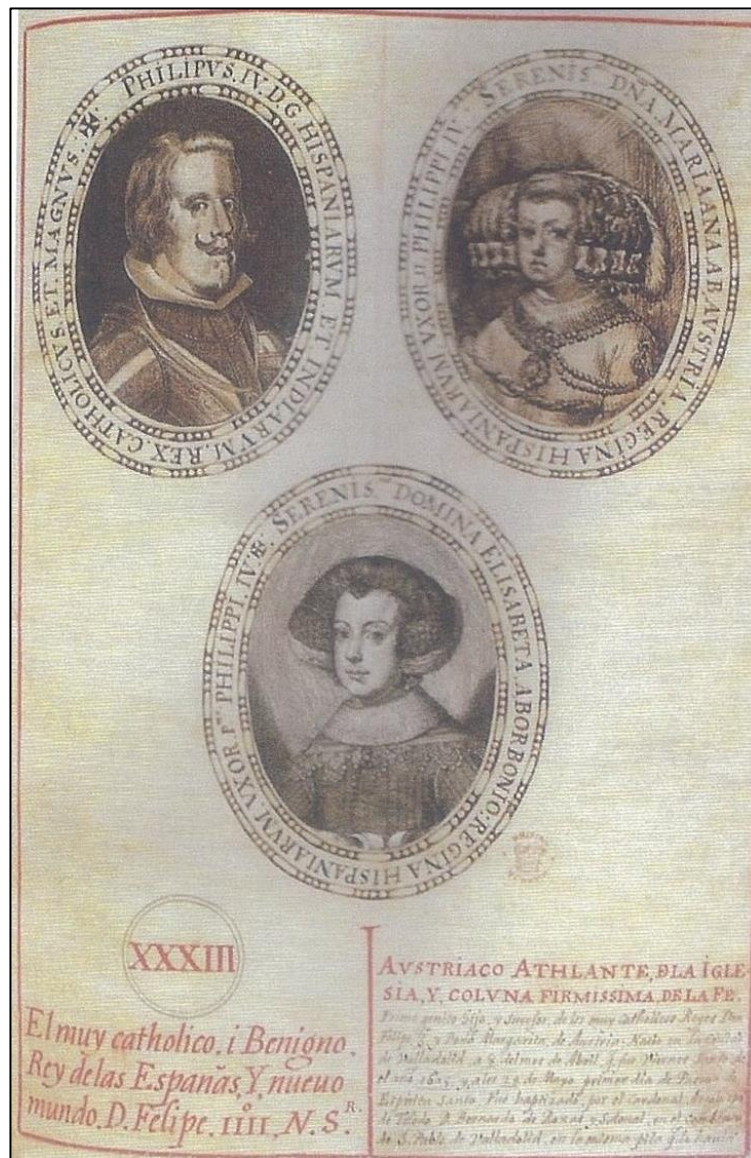


Fig. 6. Lázaro Díaz del Valle, *Queen Mariana de Austria*, pen and ink on paper, dimensions unknown, accompanied by printed images of Philip IV and Isabel de Borbón, in *Historia y Nobleza del Reinado de León y Principado de Asturias*, vol. 2, part I (1657-69). London, British Library, Ms. Eg. 1878.

The portrait may have been made at the same time as Velázquez's bust portrait of Philip IV in the Museo del Prado (P1185), whose *terminus ante quem* is provided by a print version of it by Pedro de Villafranca, dated 1655.⁵¹ Some stylistic details, such as the vertical hatched brushstrokes in the front of the hair are similar in both, although the king's likeness is painted more thickly. This updated image of the queen would

⁵¹ Portús Pérez in *Velázquez y la familia de Felipe IV*, 102. Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez*, 314-15 dates the Meadows Museum portrait to mid-1652 and sees her as younger than in the full-length portrait of the queen in the Museo del Prado.

appear to have been made as a template in order to generate other images. A version was paired with a copy of the bust portrait of Philip IV in the National Gallery, London (NG745), and these are now in the collections of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.⁵² Another copy is in the Thyssen Collection.⁵³ Yet another is in the Musée du Louvre in Paris.⁵⁴ While the modest quality of these would appear to negate Velázquez's direct supervision, they may well have originated in his workshop. This likeness was even employed in a copy of the first full-length portrait of the queen in a high-quality picture made in the workshop which is now in the Ringling Museum.⁵⁵ If the original bust portrait were primarily a functional image in this way, it may have remained with Velázquez as a workshop property, but, equally, it could have hung framed as a portrait in the quarters of the queen, or her husband.



Fig. 7. Velázquez, *Queen Mariana de Austria*, c.1655. Oil on canvas, 46.7 x 43.5 cm. Dallas, Meadows Museum (MM.78.01).

⁵² RASF, inv. nos. 633, 634; López-Rey, *Velázquez*, nos. 368, 278.

⁵³ Thyssen-Bornemisza Museo Nacional, inv. 416 (1935.15); López-Rey, *Velázquez*, no. 365.

⁵⁴ Musée du Louvre, M.I. 1229. Gérard Powell and Ressort, *Écoles espagnole*, 362. For two others in private collections, see López-Rey, *Velázquez*, nos. 369, 370.

⁵⁵ Sarasota, Ringling Museum, inv. 337; López-Rey, *Velázquez*, 371; Brown, *Velázquez*, 222.

VELÁZQUEZ AND THE INFANTA MARÍA TERESA DE AUSTRIA

The *infanta* María Teresa also sat to Velázquez for a portrait from the life whose format mirrors that of the queen (fig. 8).⁵⁶ The artist has concentrated on the head of the sitter, leaving the costume relatively unfinished, and, in a subsequent session, has adjusted the hairline (as can be seen, now, by the obvious *pentimento*). The *infanta* evidently dressed for the occasion of this formal sitting and her hair is elaborately arranged and decorated with ornaments which look like miniature open fans made of gauze (rather than the more often cited butterflies). This portrait would appear to be documented in the correspondence of the *infanta* herself with her former *aya*, Luisa Manrique Enríquez, IX Condesa de Paredes, who had become a discalced Carmelite nun, taking the name of Sor Luisa Magdalena de Jesús, at the convent of San José in Malagón. In a letter of 21 November 1651 María Teresa excused herself for not writing sooner “porque estaba ocupada en retratarme”.⁵⁷ In Philip IV’s correspondence with her, portraits of the *infanta* and of the queen requested by her are also first mentioned in a letter of 21 November, 1651.⁵⁸ The portraits are cited again in a letter of December to the countess, in which the king promises that she will enjoy seeing them together “porque el par de las primas creo que no tiene igual en el Mundo”.⁵⁹ In June 1653 the portraits had still not been sent and the king could not say exactly when they might be dispatched because, as he jokes with his recipient, who evidently knew the artist’s behaviour, Velázquez had deceived him (“engañado”) him a thousand times.⁶⁰ In early July 1653, however, the portraits of the queen and the *infanta* María Teresa had arrived at her convent at Malagón, though they have not been located today.⁶¹ A freshly-painted, if cursory, workshop copy of the bust in the Metropolitan Museum representing the *infanta* in a slightly less than half-length format is now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Johnson Collection, cat. 812) and has an illustrious history.⁶² The fact that the picture bears the sitter’s name and title in French in gold letters suggests that it was the one sent to Anne of Austria, queen mother of France, in 1654 for her portrait gallery of her Spanish family.⁶³ (María Teresa was only

⁵⁶ López-Rey, Velázquez, no. 385; Brown, *Velázquez*, 218; Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez*, 314; Portús Pérez, *Velázquez y la familia de Felipe IV*, cat. 11.

⁵⁷ Moreno Garrido and Gamonal Torres, “Velázquez y la familia real”, carta XVIII; Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez*, 313, 314.

⁵⁸ The king writes that the portraits were not sent “porque no los ay, aunque se están haciendo”. Moreno Garrido and Gamonal Torres, “Velázquez y la familia real”, carta VII.

⁵⁹ Moreno Garrido and Gamonal Torres, “Velázquez y la familia real”, carta VIII, 26 December, 1651. Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez*, 313.

⁶⁰ Moreno Garrido and Gamonal Torres, “Velázquez y la familia real”, carta XI, 3 June, 1653

⁶¹ Moreno Garrido and Gamonal Torres, “Velázquez y la familia real”, carta XII, 8 July, 1653. Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez*, 318. The portrait of the king was not sent on this occasion, since, as he says in a letter of 8 July 1653, he had not had his portrait painted for nine years. Sor María de Ágreda also received copies of Velázquez’s portraits of the king, the queen, and the *infanta* – the latter a copy of the bust portrait in the Metropolitan Museum. See Portús Pérez, *Velázquez y la familia de Felipe IV*, 58, note 79, 116.

⁶² Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez*, 320.

⁶³ Sommer-Mathis, “Las relaciones dinásticas y culturales”, 66. The trimmed copy, originally full-length, of the portrait of the *infanta* in Vienna now in the Louvre, entered the museum from a private

considered a serious candidate for French king Louis XIV after the birth of prince Felipe Próspero in November 1657.⁶⁴ The commission is well documented via the correspondence of Giacomo Querini, Venetian ambassador in Madrid (1652-56), who acted on instructions of Giovanni Sagredo, Venetian ambassador to the French court, and who transmitted the desires of the French queen.⁶⁵ Such indirect negotiations were necessary because France was at war with Spain. In the summer of 1653, Querini secured the assistance of the prime minister Luis de Haro to acquire a portrait of the *infanta*. Querini reported that “si farà per mano di Velasco pittore de Rè”, even though it was expected that a copy would be dispatched. In a letter of 21 January 1654, he says that he has consigned to the correo de Flandes a portrait of the *infanta* in lieu of the original painting (?), which he would have happily sent to France.⁶⁶ When this initial request of the queen had expanded to comprise a series of fifteen pictures of the House of Austria, first mentioned in a letter of March 1654, Querini obtained the permission of Haro to allow him to have four of the portraits copied.⁶⁷ The king asked, in exchange, for a set of portraits of the Casa de Francia and Querini presented him with ten portraits in October 1655.⁶⁸

It was considered marrying María Teresa into the Viennese family as the potential bride of Ferdinand IV (1633-1654) and Leopoldo I (1640-1705), sons of the emperor Ferdinand III, and of the archduke Leopold William (1614-62), his brother.⁶⁹ The autograph full-length portrait in the Kunsthistorisches Museum was probably sent to Vienna in 1653 (fig. 9).⁷⁰ It was evidently painted from a life sitting, rather than any preparatory study, as with Velázquez’s first full-length of the queen, and functioned as a model from which authorized copies and versions could be made and circulated.⁷¹ Before it left Madrid, a high-quality workshop copy of the picture was sent to the Archduke Leopold William in Brussels in the same year, which is now in Boston.⁷² In

collection. See López-Rey, *Velázquez*, no. 389; Gérard Powell and Ressort, *Écoles espagnole et portugaise*, 252-54. It would appear to have accompanied the copy of the portrait of queen Mariana de Austria (fig. 3) in the Buen Retiro and was perhaps painted for this location. See note 23 above.

⁶⁴ Sommer-Mathis, “Las relaciones dinásticas y culturales”, 66.

⁶⁵ See Carl Justi, *Velázquez y su siglo*, ed. Karin Hellwig (Madrid: Istmo, 1999), 606-608; Brown, *Velázquez*, 217; Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez*, 318-21; Laca Menéndez de Lúcarca 2015, 46-47. Brown, *Velázquez*, 217-18; Lisa Beaven, *An Ardent Patron*, 150.

⁶⁶ Laca Menéndez de Lúcarca, “Retratos de la infanta María Teresa”, 47, “il Ritratto della Signora Infanta, in luogo del quale andarebbe di tutta voglia in Francia l’originale ...”.

⁶⁷ Laca Menéndez de Lúcarca, “Retratos de la infanta María Teresa”, 49.

⁶⁸ Laca Menéndez de Lúcarca, “Retratos de la infanta María Teresa”, 49. In the letter, Querini describes the king’s emotional reaction before these family portraits: “Il Rè hà mostrato di gradirli in estremo, diciendome, che s’haveva consolato molto in vedere la sorella, e nipoti, et che se bene passavano questi torbidi, et amarezze di guerre, tuta volta bisognava sapere, ch’erano Fratelli.”

⁶⁹ Sommer-Mathis, “Las relaciones dinásticas y culturales”, 63-64, 65. See the summary account of the designs for her marriage in F. Marías, “La representación del heredero: la imagen del Príncipe de Asturias en la España de los Austrias”, in *Ceremoniales, ritos y representación del poder* (Universitat Jaume I, 2004), 111-113, note 2.

⁷⁰ López-Rey, *Velázquez*, no. 386; Brown, *Velázquez*, 217, 218-21; Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez*, 317.

⁷¹ Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez*, 317, suggests that it is based on an (unknown) life study.

⁷² Giacomo Querini, the Venetian ambassador in Madrid, mentions that portraits (“i Ritratti”) of the *infanta* had been sent to Vienna and Brussels in a report of 17 December, 1653. See Zimmermann, “Zur Ikonographie des Hauses Habsburg”, 186; Brown, *Velázquez*, 217, 218, 299, n. 22; Laca Menéndez

the case of this image, the full-length format allowed viewers to gauge the height of the potential bride, as had been the case with a portrait of the archduchess Mariana sent to Philip IV and subsequent images of the *infanta* Margarita by Velázquez sent to the court of Vienna.⁷³ As noted above, Mariana’s father wanted a full length to see how “ha crecido y hechoso mas mujer” and, as already mentioned, props acted as scale indicators of sorts. In displaying the body of the woman as future daughter-in-law and queen – albeit fashioned by her costume – such images could be – and were – read in terms of her reproductive potential.⁷⁴ The visual description of the painter intersects with the literary portrait of the *infanta* which the French ambassador, the Duque de Gramont, sent to Anne of Austria, Cardinal Mazzarin, and her future husband Louis XIV in 1659.⁷⁵ Among her agreeable physical qualities (“aux qualitez de corps”), he notes the extraordinary whiteness of her skin, her lively and penetrating gaze, and her beautiful mouth. He could not examine her teeth, because the conversation was too short, and he could not judge her height either, because of her *chapines* and the size of her guardainfante, and from only having seen her going in and leaving the *salón de comedias*. She seemed to him very self-assured (“fort libre”), to have an agreeable tone of voice, a nice hair colour, and was the very image of the queen (her mother, Isabel de Borbón). Despite a distrust of painters in some quarters for “flattering” their sitters, some of these features of the *infanta* can be read into Velázquez’s portrait.⁷⁶ Velázquez, moreover, exploits the occasion to include an extra feature to his likeness – the *infanta*’s smiling eyes denote a sunny, amenable disposition and speak of her temperament. This subtle marriage “iconography”, if that is what it is, was evidently deemed unnecessary in the workshop copies of the portrait sent to others, but was a recurring feature of her continued portraiture in Vienna.

de Luarca, “Retratos de la *infanta* María Teresa”, 47. See Justi, *Velázquez y su siglo*, 601, note 69; Zimmermann, “Zur Ikonographie des Hauses Habsburg”, 185 for the report of the Modenese ambassador Count Ottonelli of 22 February 1653 that portraits of the king, queen, and the *infanta* were about to be dispatched to Brussels for the archduke Leopold William, with the Marqués Mattei. See also Brown, *Velázquez*, 217; Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez*, 317, who suggests that the copy now in Boston was in this shipment. He argues that since it would be unlikely to send a copy before an original, this provides a *terminus ante quem* for the portrait by Velázquez in Vienna. The picture now in Boston was recorded in Leopold William’s collection in 1659. See Beaufort in Vienna, *Velázquez*, 316.

⁷³ Sommer-Mathis, “Las relaciones dinásticas y culturales”, 62-63 for the case of Mariana. Ibidem, 71 for the request of Leopold I for a portrait of his bride the *infanta* Margarita and for details of her height and other measurements.

⁷⁴ See De Carlos Varona, *Nacer en Palacio*, 40-55, on the maternal potential of royal women as expressed in their portraiture.

⁷⁵ Abby Zanger, *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV. Nuptial Fictions and the Making of Absolutist Power* (Stanford, 1997), 39; Laca Menéndez de Luarca, “Retratos de la *infanta* María Teresa”, 51-52, citing the *Mémoires du Mareschal de Gramont*, Paris, 1717, vol. 2, p. 214. See also the description of the *infanta* by Madame de Motteville (in Madrid in 1659) in Justi, *Velázquez y su siglo*, 608.

⁷⁶ See De Carlos Varona, *Nacer en palacio*, 41-44 for the report of the Jesuit Eustaquio Pagano in 1646 on the portrait of Mariana de Austria, potential bride of prince Baltasar Carlos, which exaggerated her height. He reflects that portraits should be treated with caution, because “los pinceles dan colores con la lisonja”. See also De Carlos Varona, “Reginalidad y retrato”, 234. For this theme, see also the article by Andrea Sommer-Mathis and Christian Standhartinger in this volume.



Fig. 8. Diego Velázquez, *Infanta María Teresa de Austria*, 1651. 34.3 x 40 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum; The Jules Bache Collection (49.7.43).



Fig. 9. Diego Velázquez, *Infanta María Teresa de Austria*, 1653. Oil on canvas, 127 x 98.5 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (GG353).

QUEEN MARIANA DE AUSTRIA IN MINIATURE

Velázquez painted another image of queen Mariana on a copper plate in a small format (fig. 10).⁷⁷ The likeness is unique in the known repertoire of her images and it may well have been painted from the life. The painter would, therefore, have had the copper plate placed on a small easel and the queen would have sat directly in front of him. Perhaps he took advantage of some form of magnification to work on such a small field. It is likely that the size of the copper plate, bigger than the norm for a

⁷⁷ For this picture, see Peter Cherry, “Velázquez en pequeño”, in *El joven Velázquez: a propósito de “La educación de la Virgen” de Yale*, Proceedings of the International Symposium, Espacio Santa Clara de Sevilla 2014, ed. Benito Navarrete Prieto, 2015, 330-343; Peter Cherry blog entry in AGENART for October 2023. The painting was not discussed in the Prado’s exhibition, *Velázquez y la familia de Felipe IV (1650-1680)* in 2013. For a revision of the documentary evidence for Velázquez’s practice as a portrait miniaturist, see José Luis Colomer, “Uso y función de la miniatura en la corte de Felipe IV: Velázquez miniaturista”, *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, 20, 2002, 65-83.

miniature, and its rectangular form denotes its function as a small portrait – *retrato* – rather than a miniature to be mounted in jewellery. This is corroborated by the inexpert way in which the copper has been cut into an irregular shape, possibly by a painter, who may not have been accustomed to work on such a support, rather than a master who was used to working metals, such as a silversmith. This, of course, would have been masked by the original mount and, perhaps, its cover, both unknown today. Three kinds of framed small portraits representing women – from an oval miniature to a half-length, all without covers, it must be said – can be seen in Antonio de Pereda's *Allegory of Vanitas* c.1634 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. GG771), although it should be remembered that they have particular moralizing associations in the context of this picture.



Fig. 10. Diego Velázquez, *Portrait of Queen Mariana de Austria*, c. 1651-52. Oil on copper, 72.8 x 53.2 mm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (P8043).

Some telling characteristics of the small portrait of the queen point to Velázquez's authorship, at least to the eyes of the present writer. The wide, flat face of the young woman is modelled in clear flesh tints, with warm highlights painted over a colder uniform thin bluish-grey under-painted layer for the shaded parts. The interaction between the thin under-painted layer and the direct and dynamic brushwork applied over this in the transparent muslin collar is very close to this relatively unfinished passage in the portrait of the queen in the Meadows Museum (fig. 7). The highlights are applied with precise optical value. The physiognomic forms are

somewhat blurred and there is an absence of linear definition in the eyes, nose and mouth. The head is projected in perspective, with the right-hand side of the hair, furthest from our eye, somewhat out of focus. The painting of the hair itself shows a telling transparency, in spite of the relative opacity of the medium on the non-absorbent metal support, and allows the pale reddish ground of the metal to show through at key points. It is not surprising that Velázquez would paint very small-scale portraits in oil and in his own style. Velázquez knew of the reputation of Felipe de Liaño (active second half of the sixteenth century), if not his works, who was called the “Ticiano español” for painting miniatures in the style of the Venetian. There was evidently another such work known to Palomino, who praised a miniature portrait (“retrato pequeño”) of queen Mariana painted by Velázquez on a round silver support the size of a *real de ocho* (or some 41 mm. in diameter), which he included among the best of his portraits in his final years.⁷⁸ Here, he admired the artist’s technical *ingenio* in creating such a lifelike image on a small scale, saying, tellingly, that it was the fruit of a lifetime of painting.

This small painting is the only portrait of the queen by the artist in this format known today. Why was it painted? What was this used for? Perhaps it was a present for her father, Fernando III. Perhaps it was an image meant for her husband, Felipe IV. While formal portraiture does not preclude an emotional response on the part of the recipient, particularly in images of family members, the small size of this work connotes a certain degree of intimacy between the sitter and the eventual recipient of the work, whoever they may have been. Of course, Velázquez’s small portrait depicts the queen in accordance with the language of the formal portrait – and there was really no other way to represent her, since the category of “intimate” or “informal” portrait for royal persons did not exist – but its very size necessitated its display in more private spaces and, indeed, afforded the possibility of its being worn by the owner. And this is to say nothing of the necessary proximity of the painter to the queen while making the image in this format.

The exchange of small-scale portraits is a courtly practice that is well documented in the period.⁷⁹ Philip IV had sent Mariana one of himself in a jewel in 1649 in the context of their marriage by proxy.⁸⁰ This *retrato* of Mariana would be just

⁷⁸ Palomino, *El Parnaso español pintoresco laureado*, 263-64. “En este tiempo hizo otro retrato de la Reina nuestra señora en una lámina de plata redonda, del diámetro de un real de a ocho segoviano, en que se mostró, no menos ingenioso, que sutil, por ser muy pequeño, muy acabado, y parecido en extremo, y pintado con gran destreza, fuerza y suavidad; y cierto, que quien en tan pequeño espacio infunde tanto espíritu, como se ve en este retrato, que parece (si pudieran caber celos en la Naturaleza) los tuviera de él”, adding that “una delicada pintura, que parezca tiene alma, la consigue el que tiene profundo ingenio con muy largo estudio, y práctica de muchos años.”

⁷⁹ See, for instance, Colomer, “Uso y función de la miniatura”, 72-78; Mercedes Simal, “Óleo sobre naípe. Dos pequeños retratos de Carlos II (según Van Kessel II) y Mariana de Neoburgo del Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas”, *Además de: revista online de artes decorativas y diseño*, 3 (2017), 34; and Andrea Sommer-Mathis and Christian Standhartinger in this volume.

⁸⁰ Cobo Delgado, “Entre Viena y Madrid”, 158, note 55, cites Jesús Hernández Perera, “Velázquez y las joyas”, *Archivo Español de Arte*, vol. 33, no. 130, 1960, 274-75.

the sort of present that could have been sent to her family in Vienna.⁸¹ A pair of miniatures on enamel in gold oval frames of prince Baltasar Carlos aged around 15 years old and the seven-year old *Infanta* María Teresa in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, were sent to the Austrian branch of the family.⁸² Sentimental reasons apart, these are to be understood in the context of dynastic alliances, with María Teresa being considered as the potential bride of prince Ferdinand (IV) and Baltasar Carlos intended to marry Mariana herself. The image of the *infanta* is an original likeness, rather than deriving from a known prototype. The image of the prince is close to the full-length portrait of him attributed to Martínez del Mazo in the Museo Nacional del Prado (P1221). Given that this artist was in his employ at this time, it might be reasonable to think that the miniature is also by his hand. However, the latter is appreciably more subtle in handling and pictorial effects than the large painting, which might even derive from the small-format work.

VELÁZQUEZ'S LAST WORKS AND THE ART OF PORTRAITURE

Given the routine shipment of copies of Velázquez's portraits to the courts of Europe, it might be worth asking why Philip IV sent to Vienna originals by the artist of the *infantas* María Teresa and Margarita. The *infanta* Margarita, born on 12 July 1651, was the first child of Mariana and Philip and during the last years of Velázquez's career she became the subject of four of his portraits, three of which were sent to Vienna.⁸³ Of course, her parents had the "original" at home and her childhood, judging from the king's private correspondence, was the source of newfound happiness in the family, something which surely explains her presence as the centrepiece of Velázquez's greatest gift to the king in these years, *Las Meninas*.⁸⁴ Philip IV himself makes this distinction between portrait and "originals" in referring to those pictures of María Teresa and the queen sent to the Condesa de Paredes which had so pleased her and her community: "Ayer recibí vuestra carta de 4 y oy la de 5 en que me decis quanto os holgastes vos, y essas Religiosas con los Retratos de mis parientas y lo cierto es que no lo dudo yo, y ellas son tales, que aun pintadas merecen toda alabanza, per no igualan

⁸¹ See AGP, *Cuentas del Tesorero de la Reina*, Caja 10295, año 1654 for the queen's payments to *oficiales de manos* for 12 May 1654, which includes payment to Diego Ortiz 12,650 *reales de plata* for "un rosario de quantas de pasta de anbar con cinco extremos redondos de oro calado Guarnecidos de diamantes y la cruz en la misma conformidad y pendiende della una caja de retrato con nueve diamantes jaquelados grandes en que va un retrato mio". In these accounts, there are also payments for a "regalo" being prepared to send to Vienna.

⁸² For the miniatures, see Priscilla E. Muller, *Jewels in Spain, 1500-1800*, New York, Hispanic Society of America, 1972, 130-31; Colomer, "Uso y función de la miniatura en la corte de Felipe IV", 77-78; Gudrun Swoboda in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, *Velázquez*, Sabine Haag ed., 2014, 180, 306-07.

⁸³ The *Infanta Margarita in Silver and Rose* (GG-321) was sent to the emperor Ferdinand III in 1654. The *Infanta Margarita in White* (GG-3691) was sent to him in 1656 and the *Infanta Margarita in Blue* (GG-2130) was sent to the Viennese court in 1659. Sommer-Mathis, "Las relaciones dinásticas y culturales", 68.

⁸⁴ José Riello, "Las siete vidas de Velázquez (y la penúltima interpretación de *Las Meninas*)" in *Scripta artium in honorem prof José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos*, ed. Alejandro Cañestro Donoso, vol. 2, 2018, 1069-1090.

ni con mucho con los originales, porque estan famosass ...”.⁸⁵ Margarita was promised in matrimony to the Emperor Leopold I in 1660, when she was nine years old, and the letters of the Austrian ambassador in Madrid to Leopold in 1663 also play on the idea that no picture can show “tal perfección” and the “gracia natural” of the original.⁸⁶ She is the subject of Velázquez’s last portrait, the *Margarita de Austria in Silver and Rose* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, P1192), which was completed after the artist’s death by Martínez del Mazo, and it is this “copy” which remained with her mother, Mariana, after the death of the king in September 1665 and when the “original” finally left for the Viennese court in the spring of the following year.

The particular prestige of Velázquez’s own hand in the autograph portraits sent to Vienna may recognize the importance of the recipients in the matrimonial politics of the Habsburg houses. The decision to send originals by the hand of his painter could, therefore, have been a sign of special favour shown by the king to his Viennese cousins. The artist may also have valued this means of internationalizing his work. However, did the last really matter? While the king would have been aware of what he was giving to his cousins, would Velázquez’s hand be known and appreciated in this new context? When in 1654 Ferdinand III at last received the portrait of his three-year old granddaughter Margarita, he wrote to thank the king for this, “Me he holgado muchísimo con el retrato de my nieta, que Dios guarde, es lindísima”, without mentioning the name of the artist, nor entering into any conversation about the art of portraiture.⁸⁷ Moreover, as far as the present author can see, Velázquez’s work had no perceivable impact on the local school of painting in Austria. Leopold I even dispatched the court painter Gérard du Chateau to Madrid in 1665 to paint his betrothed, because, he said, he was not satisfied with portraits sent from Madrid.⁸⁸ The complaint may derive from an inability to understand Velázquez’s optical style and the relative illegibility of his images to the uninitiated eye. Palomino’s verbal description of the ebony clock with gilded bronze figurative ornament and the pictorial allegory of Time in the clock face in Velázquez’s portrait of the *Infanta Margarita in Blue* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, GG2130), for instance, does not correlate with the visual experience of such details in this painting.⁸⁹ It is worth noting in this respect that Du

⁸⁵ Moreno Garrido and Gamonal Torres, “Velázquez y la familia real”, carta XII, 8 July, 1653. The king here inverts a topos of portraiture writing – particularly around women – that paintings improve the appearance of the sitter. See, for instance, Javier Portús Pérez, “Varia fortuna del retrato en España” in Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, *El retrato español del Greco a Picasso*, ed. Javier Portús Pérez, 2004, 24.

⁸⁶ Sommer-Mathis, “Las relaciones dinásticas y culturales”, 71. The portrait is thought to be Martínez del Mazo’s version of Velázquez’s *Infanta Margarita in Silver and Rose* in the Museo Nacional del Prado which is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna (CC-3531), in which the sitter wears a brooch representing the Habsburg double-headed eagle. See Portús Pérez, *Velázquez y la familia de Felipe IV*, cat. 22.

⁸⁷ Cruz Valdovinos, *Velázquez*, 320.

⁸⁸ Sommer-Mathis 2014, p. 73, n. 55; Bastl and Colomer, “Two Spanish *Infantas* at the Imperial Court”, 152-53. See the article by Andrea Sommer-Mathis and Christian Standhartinger in this volume on the practice of painters being sent to foreign courts in order to receive a more objective representation of the betrothed.

⁸⁹ Palomino, *El Parnaso español pintoresco laureado*, 263.

Chateau worked in a traditional style of portraiture and in the portrait of the *infanta* Margarita attributed to him in Vienna, (Kunsthistorisches Museum, GG-3075), the details can be easily read, including her jewellery and the Habsburg heraldry embroidered on the *guardainfante*.

We have seen how workshop copies of Velázquez's royal portraits functioned just as well as originals by his hand. Portraits had an inherent utility which was separate from their aesthetic quality – in other words, they could fulfil their political and diplomatic functions in representing important sitters without being distinguished works of art.⁹⁰ Despite this, Velázquez' late portraits are among the glories of his career. Palomino was in no doubt about this; he praised the portrait of prince Felipe Próspero (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, GG-319) as “uno de los más excelentes retratos que pintó” and the portrait of the *Infanta Margarita in Blue* in the same museum as “muy excelentemente pintado, y con aquella magestad, y hermosura de su original”.⁹¹ Indeed, Palomino goes further and claims that the group of Velázquez's last portraits were his greatest works of art: “Pocas veces tomó los pinceles Diego Velázquez después; y así podemos decir, fueron estos retratos las últimas obras, y último en perfección de su eminente mano, que le elevó a tan superior estimación, y aprecio, habiéndole favorecido tanto la fortuna, la Naturaleza y el ingenio, que sobre ser muy envidiado, se conservó nunca envidioso”.⁹² Of course, Palomino was a partisan admirer of the artist. But the king too would have been in no doubt about this, having been an engaged patron of the artist during the whole of his adult life and doubtless having enjoyed being present when these portraits were made. Palomino was able to see that Velázquez's late portraits, which outnumbered his subject pictures in this period, were the vehicles for some of his most significant artistic innovations. Once again, the greatest proof of this is *Las Meninas*. In acceding, as he had to, to his royal portraits being sent abroad, Velázquez allowed his art to circulate among European collections, in the knowledge that time would decide his place in the history of art, just as it had done with the portrait painters of the past he admired in the collection of the king and queen he served.

⁹⁰ Morán, “Fue un final asombroso, sí, pero un final”, 77.

⁹¹ Palomino, *El Parnaso español pintoresco laureado*, 262-63.

⁹² Palomino, *El Parnaso español pintoresco laureado*, 264. Velázquez's portraiture – except *Las Meninas* – is ignored in the account of his late style by Giles Knox, *The Late Paintings of Velázquez: Theorizing Painterly Performance* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

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