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## THE PUBLIC ENTRANCE OF NUNCIO GIORGIO CORNARO TO LISBON (1693)

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### Introduction

The second series of conferences on Portuguese-Italian relations in the *Middle Ages* and *Modern Era* provided a good opportunity to study the large-scale, late 17<sup>th</sup>-century painting belonging to the Banco Espírito Santo collection that depicts the ceremonial entrance of Nuncio Giorgio Cornaro to Lisbon [Fig. 1].<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The original text “A entrada pública do Nuncio Giorgio Cornaro em Lisboa (1693)” was published in *Le nove son tanto e tante buone, che dir non se pò - Lisboa dos Italianos: História e Arte (sécs. XIV-XVIII)*, ed. Nunziatella Alessandrini, Pedro Flor, Mariagrazia Russo, Gaetano Sabatini, 137 - 158. ISBN: 978-989-96236-3-7. Lisboa: Cátedra de Estudos Sefarditas “Alberto Benveniste”, 2013. However, the English version was published on line in DigiTile Library. The English translation was produced by Hanna Pięta, under the same project DigiTile Library (PTDC/EAT-EAT/117315/2010).

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This article aims at contextualising this work of art from the viewpoint of the political-diplomatic history and artistic tendencies of the time. To do so, it will provide details on the life of Nuncio Cornaro, examine the critical reception of the artwork and consider other representations of Terreiro do Paço by Domingos Vieira Serrão and Dirck Stoop.

## **I –The Return of the Apostolic Nunciature to Portugal: Historical and Diplomatic Background**

In 1669, the mission of Dom Francisco de Sousa (aka the Conde do Prado and, later, the Marquês de Minas) to Rome in his capacity as Ambassador Extraordinary, which mission had the aim of showcasing Portugal's loyalty to Pope Clement X, marked the beginning of a new period of diplomatic relations between Portugal and the Vatican. Ever since the Portuguese restoration, and as a result of the support offered by the Vatican to the Spanish, the political relations between the two states had been tense. Within this tense relationship, the thirty years prior to the visit of Dom Francisco had seen attacks on the ambassadors of the Portuguese Crown, an insistence on the part of the Spanish that the Pope keep his distance in relation to Portuguese national affairs, and a loss of religious rights for the Portuguese church, such as the lack of an apostolic nunciature to Portugal and the failure to nominate bishops to Portuguese dioceses.<sup>2</sup>

The signing of the 1668 Peace Treaty between Portugal and Spain was to lead to a policy of resumption of institutional relations. During his first swearing-in ceremony, King Regent Dom Pedro made it clear that he was concerned that these issues be solved at the earliest convenience, as can be inferred from the following excerpt: *“To Conde do Prado, Ambassador in Rome. Dear Friend, I, the Prince, am sending loving greetings; Alexandre Brandam offered me a petition, the copy of which I am now enclosing, which states that due to the perpetual union signed over time by Summos Pontífices with various Churches, Parishes and Abbeys in the matter of certain Convents and Monasteries, these religious orders became obliged to pay to the College of Cardinals every fifteen years a certain amount (...). On this matter I received a letter from him, the copy of which I am now enclosing, saying that it is impossible to make this payment, considering the state in which the churches were left after the wars, some having been destroyed during the invasions, and all obliged to provide subsidies to cover the costs of soldiers, journeys, carriages; they were deprived of everything, even those situated far from the frontiers, in order to compensate for the damages of war. These and other reasons will suffice for Your Holiness and his Ministers to consider the impossibility of these payments, both those outstanding and those of the future, as it will be many*

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ana Maria Homem Leal de FARIA, *Arquitectos da Paz – A Diplomacia Portuguesa de 1640 a 1815*, Lisboa, Tribuna da História, 2008, pp. 131.

years before ecclesiastic incomes recover from the many, continuous and repeated campaigns, of which you yourself know well and hence I shall refrain from suggesting what your Reverence can make for the Portuguese cause.”<sup>3</sup>

The 1670s witnessed the emergence of other issues, such as the conflict between the New Christians and the Inquisition, which were to divide the mentalities and minds of Portuguese society.<sup>4</sup>

At the time of Giorgio Cornaro’s arrival in Portugal, the position of Inquisitor-in-Chief was held by Dom Veríssimo de Lencastre (1615-1692), considered by the Nuncio to be “an ecclesiastic model” in his handling of highly sensitive issues.<sup>5</sup>

## II - Giorgio Cornaro’s Biography (1658-1722)

In terms of the history of diplomatic 17<sup>th</sup>-century relations between the Vatican and the Portuguese Crown, it is relevant to emphasise that Giorgio Cornaro was the fifth prelate to serve as apostolic nuncio in Portugal. He was born in Venice in 1657 to the Cornaro Family, itself descended from the S. Polo lineage and related to the Cornaro della Regina lineage and considered by virtue of its ancestral political and religious connections to be one of the most powerful families in Venice.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. DGLAB/TT, *Manuscrito da Livraria*, nº 171 (179), fl 476-482, [Lisboa, 26 de Novembro de 1669]. The original reads: “Para o Conde do Prado, Embaixador em Roma, Conde Amigo, Eu o Principe vos envio muito saudar, como aquele, que amo; Alexandre Brandam me offereço a petição de que com esta carta se vos remete copia, em que diz, que pela união perpetua, que os Summos Pontífices fizerão em diversos tempos de muitas Igrejas, Parochias, e Abbadiaz, a favor de alguns Cabidos e Mosteiros, ficarão obrigados a pagar de quinze em quinze annos ao Sacro Colegio dos Cardeaz, certa quantia (...). Sobre esta matéria se me offereço hum papel de que com esta se vos remete copia por elle entendereiz, que he impossivel fazerse este pagamento, pelo Estado em que az Guerraz tam dilatadaz deyxarão as rendas das Igrejas, pois humaz ficarão diztrahidas com as invazoens, e todaz com os subsidioz, com que igualmente concorrerão para o pagamento dos soldados, e com as levaz e carruagenz, que de tudo foy forçado valer sem ser bastante o estarem distanz das fronteiras, para deixarem de experimentar os dannoz da guerra. Estez motivos, e outroz muitos são bastantes para S. Santidade e seos Ministros entrarem na consideração desta impossibilidade, asy de passado como para o futuro, poiz em muitoz annos não tornarão as rendaz ecclesiasticaz a estado de se poderem remir do aperto em que az deixarão tantaz, eram continuaz, e repetidaz campanhaz, e porque voz sabeis, quaez ellaz forão, e também o que póde o Reverendissimo escuzo referido.

<sup>4</sup> See, in this respect, Ana Maria Homem Leal de FARIA, *Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo – Um diplomata moderno (1618-1680)*, Lisboa, Instituto Diplomático/Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (col. Biblioteca Diplomática), 2005, pp. 459-504.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. José de CASTRO, *O Cardial Nacional*, República Portuguesa Ministério das Colónias, Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca Agência Geral das Colónias, Lisboa, 1946, p. 42. For more information on Cornaro’s undertaking see, e.g., Pedro Vilas Boas TAVARES, *Beatas, Inquisidores e Teólogos. Reacção Portuguesa a Miguel de Molinos*, PhD thesis, Universidade do Porto, Porto, 2002.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Biblioteca da Ajuda, Ms 51-X-23, fl. 201-203, *Recueil de Pièces Italiennes et Françaises*, nº 1 (s/d).

From early in his career, Cornaro held highly significant posts, such as those of knight of the Order of Malta (by birthright) and Grand Prior of this Order at Cyprus Island (a position also held by his brother, the doge of Venice, Giovanni Cornaro).

Cornaro undertook his studies in Verona and Padua and received his PhD in Law from the University of Padua in 1677. In the 1680s he focused on cultural education and it was for this reason that he refused the post of ambassador of the Vatican to France and instead chose to travel across Europe. According to a source from the time, this journey “*ere un viaggio per tutto l’Europa, e si trattenne quallche tempo specialmente in Francia in Spagna, et in Portogallo*”. However, there are no other known documentary proofs to corroborate this.<sup>7</sup>

In 1690 Cornaro was in Rome, where he held various posts in service of the Pope, in particular those of legal secretary at the Supreme Tribunal of the Apostolic Signatura (Justice and Grace), president of the Apostolic Chamber, and member of the Sacred Congregation for Rites. During this period he also received the clerical tonsure from the Cardinal Gregorio Barbarigo, the Bishop of Padua.

In 1692 he was ordained friar minor, sub-deacon, deacon, priest, and titular archbishop of Rhodes. On 12 May he was nominated to the position of Apostolic Nuncio representing the Holy See in Lisbon, where he remained until 1697, at his residence at the Rua das Flores.<sup>8</sup>

On 22 July 1697 Cornaro was named Archbishop of Padua Cathedral and was obliged to return to Rome. In April 1698 he was appointed Cardinal-Priest of Santi XII Apostoli and in this capacity participated in the 1700 and 1721 conclaves, at which were elected respectively Popes Clement XI and Innocent XIII. Giorgio Cornaro passed away in 1722 and was buried in the crypt of bishops at Padua Cathedral.<sup>9</sup>

The following excerpt provides details on this important and prestigious figure: “*Il suo naturale é docile, facile, amabile, confacendole,*

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<sup>7</sup> IDEM, *ibidem*, fl.201.

<sup>8</sup> This information comes from a document reporting a dispute with a servant. However, it was impossible to verify whether this was the official residence of the Nunciatura in the 17th century or a leased property. “His Illustriousness complained to His Majesty (may God protect him) about the wounds inflicted on the man that transports his litter... On the night of the twenty-sixth of December, after nine o’clock in the evening, a lackey in the service of Conde da Ilha, a taylor’s helper and a woman were standing and having a conversation; suddenly, at the **end of Rua das Flores, in the vicinity of the houses of His Illustriousness**, a man, named André, who carries the litter of His Illustriousness came out of the tavern with a bare sword on his hand...”. The original reads: *Tanto que VS. Ilustríssima se queixou a Sua Magestade que Deos Guarde do ferimento que se havia feito ao seo liteiro... Sendo a noute de vinte e seis de Dezembro passado pelas nove horas da noute e estando hum mochila do Conde da Ilha e outro mosso alfaiate, e em companhia destes hua molher parados fallando no **fim da Rua das Flores quando se volta para a frente de cima das cazas de VS. Ilustríssima** neste tempo sahira de uma taverna que fica fronteira, hum liteiro de VS. Ilustríssima por nome André e com a espada nua na mão ...” Cf. DGLAB/TT, *Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, Nuncios Embaixadores (1691-1705) Livro 637, fl. 87, [25 de Janeiro de 1697].*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Teresa Leonor VALE, *A Escultura Italiana em Portugal no Século XVII*, Lisboa, Ed. Caleidoscópio, 2004, pp. 66-67.

*et afabile; onde è ancora soggetto a Lasciarsi ingannare da suoi Domestici, et in specie dal suo Nipoten Abbate; che per la dilui soverchia economia lo rende talvostra in mala opinione d'avarato. Per alto é vero Cauagliere, puntuale, discreto, prudente, e movijerato”.*

### **III – The Apostolic Nuncio’s Arrival (1692) and Public Entrance (1693) to Lisbon**

Research by Father José de Castro, undertaken at the Secret Archives of the Vatican, suggests that immediately after his nomination to the position, the Nuncio left Rome for Livorno, where he arrived on 21 May. Subsequently, he travelled incognito to Genoa and stayed at the local Jesuit convent. On 1 June he embarked for Alicante and then on to Cádiz, where he stayed, until 14 June, at the convent of the Order of Friars Minor. From there the Nuncio boarded a ship for Lisbon, where he was greeted with cannon salvos from the Fortaleza de São João on 25 July.<sup>10</sup>

This event was the first of a series included in the protocol for the reception of an ambassador, as stipulated by the Secretary of State. On 26 July the Cavalry Lieutenant – Diogo Luís –boarded the Nuncio’s vessel to welcome him on behalf of His Majesty Dom Pedro II and some hours later Dom Francisco Xavier, the Conde de Ericeira, transported the Nuncio and his party in three carriages to the Palace, thus leaving time for the King to prepare for the visit.

According to the documents analysed in the scope of our research, the official reception of the Nuncio, together with the reception of credentials, took place months later. A letter from the Secretary of State to Dom José de Menezes, the Conde de Viana and Master of the Horse at the court of Dom Pedro II, dated from 13 April 1693, reads as follows: “*On Wednesday, the 22nd day of the current month, from three to four o’clock in the afternoon **Monsignor Cornaro Nuncio** will have an audience with His Majesty and **will make his first entrance to the Court**, being led by the Marques de Alegrette from the house of Visconde de Barbacena, where he resides. His Majesty requires that Your Lordship send to the residence a royal carriage, and two or three more that could accommodate the cavalry, since the carriages owned by the Marques will be used to transport Nuncio’s family. His Majesty also requires that Your Lordship appear in Terreiro do Paço on that same day in order to assist him. The audience will take place in the hall of the fort and proceedings will then move to the Royal Court in order to address the Queen of Portugal and subsequently the Queen of England: on this day the nobles of the court will send a carriage with two gentlemen to accompany the Nuncio and it would give His Majesty pleasure if Your Lordship were to comply. I am writing this note to Your Lordship to*

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<sup>10</sup> P.e J. de CASTRO, *O Cardial Nacional...*, cit., pp. 41-42.

*ensure that Your Lordship is informed. May God save your Lordship for many years. Terreiro do Passo, 13 April 1693 – Mendo de Foyos Pereira.*<sup>11</sup>

The next letter from the Secretary of State, Mendo de Fóios Pereira, to the Master of the Horse, dated 13 July, contains the information that the Nuncio will be accompanied by Dom João de Almeida, the Conde de Assumar to the Casa de Hospedagem: “*His Majesty orders that Your Lordship send on Sunday 19 at 4pm to the residence of Dom João de Almeida one carriage, not a royal carriage but the best carriage of His Majesty, and two or three more that can carry the Nuncio to the Casa de Hospedagem. May God save your Lordship for many years. Terreiro do Passo, 13 July 1693. Mendo de Foyos Pereira.*”<sup>12</sup>

Several years later, in a letter listing his official duties, the Conde de Assumar himself confirms that he accompanied the Nuncio to the royal court: “In my capacity as a servant of the Royal Court I conducted all the public and personal functions during the audiences, visits and journey to Salvaterra of King Pedro II and, following the orders of the King, I was in charge of the lodging of the Ambassadors the Bishop of Avilla, Vidame, Rez. Roville, Count of Valstein, **Nuncio Cornaro** and Conti; I was also in charge of the lodgings of the Queen of England, Dona Catherina”<sup>13</sup>.

The public entrance took place on 22 April, but the Nuncio’s definitive move to Casa de Hospedagem, possibly located at the Rua das Flores, only occurred on 19 July 1693. The three-day timelag between the

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. Academia das Ciências, *Livro dos vários papeis manuscritos*, “Carta do Secretário de Estado para o Conde de Viana estribeiro mor mandar hu coche para D. João de Almeida conduzir o Nuncio à Casa de Hospedagem”, Códice 64, Tomo I, fol. 91-91v. The original reads: *Quarta feira que se hão de contar 22 do corrente das 3 para as 4 horas da tarde tem audiência de Sua Magestade que Deos guarde, e faz entrada primeira nesta corte Monsenhor Cornaro Nuncio ao paço, e o há de ir conduzir o Marques de Alegrette das Cazas do Visconde de Barbacena aonde se lhe faz a hospedagem. He Sua Magestade servido, que Vossa Senhoria mande á porta do Marques’ o coche da Pessoa Real, e dous ou tres mais que se puderem acomodar da cavalheriça, porque com os que o Marquez levar se possa acomodar a família do Nuncio. E he Sua Magestade também servido, que Vossa Senhoria se ache no Passo aquele dia para lhe assistir A audiência, há de ser no Sallão do forte, e depois há de ir a Corte Real fallar á Rainha Nossa Senhora e depois a Sr.ª Rainha de Inglaterra: neste dia he estillo mandarem os Senhores da Corte hum coche com dous gentishomes acompanhar o Nuncio e terá S. Magestade contentamento de que V.S disponha nesta conformidade, de que fasso avizo a VS, para que o tenha entendido. Deos guarde a VS. Muitos anos. Passo a 13 de Abril de 1693 – Mendo de Foyos Pereira.*

<sup>12</sup> IDEM. The original reads: *Sua Magestade que Deos guarde he servido, que VS mande Domingo, que se hão de contar 19 deste mês as 4 horas da tarde á porta do Vedor da Casa D. João de Almeida hu coche, não o da Pessoa Real, mas hu dos de Sua Magestade o melhor, e dous ou três mais para ir conduzir o Nuncio á Casa de Hospedagem. Deos guarde VS muitos annos. Do Passo a 13 de Julho de 1693. Mendo de Foyos Pereira.*

<sup>13</sup> Cf. DGLAB/TT, *Arquivo Casa Fronteira*, “Decreto dos serviços com que requiere o Conde de Assumar D. João de Almeida”, N° 100, 1711. The original reads: “*Nos cargos de valido da Casa Real assistio a todas as funções publicaz e particulares de audiências, acompanhamentos e jornadas a Salvaterra dos Reys D. Pedro II, e por ordem sua foi encarregado das hospedagens dos Embaixadores Bispo de Avilla, Vidame, Rez. Roville, Conde de Valstein, Nuncio Cornaro e Conti, e tão bem foy encarregado das despozições do agazalho da Sr.ª Rainha de Inglaterra D. Catherina...*”.

public audience and Nuncio Cornaro being installed in his accommodation may explain why the caption on the painting under consideration here specifies only the month (July) in which these events took place and not the exact day.

The state of conservation of the artwork, including consideration of the captions, as mentioned above, is analysed in the following section.

#### IV – *Ingresso Alla Prima Udiencia*: review of literature and iconography

Little is known about the provenance of the painting and the existing information is relatively recent. In the 1960s it belonged to an antique shop in Lisbon before it was sold to Venice where, for obvious reasons, there appears to have been a demand for this artwork. It was purchased by an art collector named Jorge de Brito (1927-2006), who lent it to the exhibition “Europalia 91” held in Brussels in 1991.<sup>14</sup> It was also in the 1990s that the painting was purchased by its current owner, the Banco Espírito Santo Foundation.

As regards the literature relating to this artwork: as already mentioned, in 1991 José Monterroso Teixeira included the painting in the exhibition *O Triunfo do Barroco*, pointing out that “the sequence of carriages and litters give a foretaste of the grandeur and pomp with which the kingdom will be celebrating the following day.”<sup>15</sup> In 1994, Manuel Andrade e Sousa included the painting in his book *Dona Catarina*, mistakenly assuming that it represented the return of the Queen of England to Portugal, an event that also took place in 1693.<sup>16</sup> In 2012, Miguel Figueira de Faria chose the painting for the cover of his book *Do Terreiro do Paço à Praça do Comércio*<sup>17</sup>. Finally, in 2013, the painting was featured in the exhibition “A Encomenda Prodígiosa” organised by the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.<sup>18</sup>

As far as the state of the conservation is concerned, the canvas features horizontal marks at the top and at the bottom [Fig. 2] from the fact that it was folded for storing in still unidentified conditions. As a result of this folding, the chromatic layer has been partly destroyed. For instance, a part of the caption on the *cartouche* identifying some of the carriages is no longer legible. To our knowledge, the work was subject to restoration works during which the destroyed fragments were painted over. More recently, in 2002, the painting was restored by a society named “Junqueira 220”. As a result of this restoration, some of the excessive overpainting, which was clearly visible on older photographs especially at the part representing the sky, was eliminated.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. José Monterroso TEIXEIRA, “Vista de Lisboa antes do Terramoto” in *Triunfo do Barroco*, [José Monterroso TEIXEIRA, coord.], Lisboa, Fundação das Descobertas/Centro Cultural de Belém, 1991, pp. 314-315.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. IDEM, *ibidem*, p. 315. The original reads: “a parada de coches e de liteiras prenunciam as grandes cerimónias que o reinado seguinte vai exacerbar em grandiosidade e pompa”.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Manuel Andrade e SOUSA, *Dona Catarina, Infanta de Portugal, Rainha de Inglaterra*, Lisboa, Edições Inapa, 1994, p. 121.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Miguel Figueira de FÁRIA (Coord.), *Do Terreiro do Paço à Praça do Comércio – História de um espaço urbano* -, Lisboa, UAL/INCM, 2012.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Celina BASTOS e Miguel SOROMENHO, “Vista de Lisboa antes do Terramoto de 1755” in *A encomenda prodígiosa: da Patriarcal à Capela Real de S. João Baptista – Roteiro*, Lisboa, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga/Museu de S. Roque/INCM, 2013, pp. 36-37.

<sup>19</sup> The author is grateful to Dr. Carmen Almada for all the explanations regarding the painting and for showing the images from before and during the restoration works.



From a technical point of view, one can note certain marks of hesitation and overlaps in the painting of some motifs, as well as hastiness in the painting process, visible for instance in the portrayal of the musketeers' faces [Fig. 3]. In terms of style, we are dealing with a painting with an open palette, lacking chiaroscuro contrasts and including certain corrections in the design of the buildings, carriages and decorations, as well as miniaturised depictions of huge crowds filling Terreiro do Paço square.

As already mentioned, the painting shows Nuncio Cornaro's first audience with King Dom Pedro II and, in particular, the public element of this event, consisting in the passage of the entourage through Terreiro do Paço, where most of the diplomatic events took place. According to the documents consulted in the scope of this research, these events took place on 22 April 1693. When trying to reconstruct the organisation process leading up to this event it was possible to gather data on the public entrance of the Nuncio during the reign of King Dom Pedro II and compare these with the information presented in the painting itself.

During the first audience, Manuel Teles da Silva, the Conde de Vilar Maior – the First Marquês do Alegrete (1641-1709) – nominated as master of ceremonies, met with Giorgio Cornaro at the Casa de Hospedagem. He was accompanied by three carriages: the King's carriage, which transported the Nuncio to the Paço da Ribeira, and two more carriages transporting the royal family.

Other instructions with regard to this event were given well in advance, as was customary on official occasions: an order to form two military brigades located at two sides of the Terreiro do Paço, starting at the corner of the pillory and ending at the patio of the chapel; an order to the chief gatekeeper to keep all the doors shut for reasons to do with the number of people who attend such solemnities;<sup>20</sup> an order was given to await the Ambassador and to accompany him on his way to and from the Audience Hall; an order was issued to the Master of the Hall to remain at the gate of the Patio of the Chapel with a view to directing the incoming carriages in an orderly manner into the royal court; another order was issued to prepare the passage through the gate of the patio of the chapel and through the wicket gate of the cooperage and, finally, an order was given to the criminal judge of the Ribeira district to remain outside the gate of the patio of the chapel in order to direct the carriages to the Royal Palace (the Princess's Audience, followed by the Queen's Audience).<sup>21</sup>

A close analysis of the painting, supported by the text on the entrance of Nuncio Francesco Nicolini (1686-1690) led by the Marquês do Alegrete,<sup>22</sup> allows us to conclude that the whole of the Terreiro do Paço was prepared for the event. The route started at the Portas da Ribeira, which was decorated with a temporary arch and three relief sculptures (corresponding

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<sup>20</sup> The original reads: "*concurso de gente que a taes solenidades concorria*".

<sup>21</sup> DGLAB/TT, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, *Entradas das hospedagens aos Embaixadores*, Livro 634.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. P<sup>o</sup> José de CASTRO, *O Cardial Nacional ...*, cit., 1946, p. 22.

to three theological virtues) and ended at the Arch of Peace (at the entrance to the Terreiro do Paço). The entire entourage was protected by an infantry regiment. On the left wall there was the *alferez*-in-chief holding the flag of the House of Cornaro during the passage of the royal carriage to the sound of a snare drum played by one of the soldiers [Fig. 4a].<sup>23</sup> On the opposite side, one of the musketeers played another snare drum and a lieutenant with a halberd aligned the troops in a row [Fig. 4b]. There were in total twelve carriages and litters: the first two vehicles, very near to the Pátio da Capela, were the carriages transporting the nobility (A – Carroze di corteggio). These were followed by the carriage of the Marquês do Alegrete (B – Carrozza del Sig. Marchese d’Alegrete conduttore Sig. Marche), which probably corresponded to the carriage of Dom Francisco de Melo Manuel da Câmara (1621-1678), produced in the Netherlands, together with the carriages commissioned by the Marquês de Fronteira e de Távora.<sup>24</sup> The next carriage belonged to the royal family and transported Nuncio Cornaro and the Marquês de Alegrete (C – Carrozza del RE com dentro Monsig. Il Sig. Marchese d’Alegrete). The richly decorated carriage that followed belonged to Queen Dona Maria Sofia de Neuburgo and transported some of the members of the Nuncio’s family (D – Carrozza della Regina entrovi L’Auditore, Maestro di Camera e Gentil uomeni della Famiglia del Monsignore). Following this was a litter carrying a representative of the nobility (E – Lettica della persona di...); an empty carriage belonging to the

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Sobre esta matéria consulte-se o estudo de Jorge Penim de FREITAS, *A cavalaria na Guerra da Restauração – Reconstrução e evolução de uma força militar 1641-1668*, [col. História Militar, nº 5], Lisboa, Edições Prefácio, 2005.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. DGLAB/TT, *Manuscritos da Livraria*, nº 548, “Cartas de D. Francisco de Melo para o Marques de Fronteira”, Haya, 12 de Dezembro de 1669, fl. 89v e 25 de Dezembro de 1670, fl. 100. “The carriage of Marques de Távora is also being produced and I fear it will make you envious due to their beautiful appearance, but not due to their elevated cost; please be so kind as to send me a further three or four hundred florins that are needed for it to be finished, and, and the **Conde de Vilar Maior should do the same**. The upholstery will also be of the best kind although that inside the carriage appears somewhat palid (...) The carriage for the Marques de Távora is also being made, but the one for **Conde de Vilar Mayor is unlikely to be ready on time because I produced yours in the same way I am producing his, and it is necessary to keep it a secret, and it will be produced for the first occasions with the other green one that you have requested, for whomever you wish; for it is you who gives the order and I will have no reason to do except that which you ask**”. The original reads: “A carroça do marques de Távora também esta feita, e cuido que vos há de fazer enveja, mas não do dinheiro fazeime mercê de lhe dizer mande crédito para trezentos ou quatrocentos florins que faltão para ella, e ao **Conde de Vilar Maior que faça o mesmo para a sua quero dizer de todo o custo della**. A estofa também hira e será da melhor e ainda que a da carroça que sahio hum pouco pálida. (...) a do Marques de Távora hira também, mas a do **Conde de Vilar Mayor duvido que se possa acabar para este tempo porque da madeira que estava feita para ella fiz fazer a Vossa, e he necessário ter segredo, hira na primeira ocaziam com a outra verde que pediz, seja para quem for; que eu não busco mais rezões para fazer o que vos me mandais, que serdes o que me manda**.” This document was recently published by Miguel Soromenho. Cf. Miguel SOROMENHO, “Novos dados sobre as encomendas artísticas do 1º Marquês de Fronteira D. João de Mascarenhas. Decorações, colecções e arquitectura nos palácios de Lisboa na segunda metade do século XVII” in *Revista de Arte Decorativas*, nº 5, Porto, UCP/Citar, 2011, pp. 39-56.

Nuncio (F – 1<sup>a</sup> Carroza della persona di Mons. Vuota) and a litter, possibly used to carry the Nuncio (G – Lettica di seguito vuota). The additional carriage belonged to the Nuncio (2<sup>a</sup> Carrozza di Monsignore com il ...), and is followed by another carriage owned by the Nuncio, possibly transporting his family members (I – 3<sup>a</sup> Carroza com gli...). The last two carriages, near the Arco das Portas da Ribeira, are impossible to identify as the captions are incomplete. However, the light blue liveries worn by the grooms suggest that they belonged to the Cornaro Family (K – Carr del .../ L – Carroza d...).

Besides showing the passage of the carriages, the painting also depicts the entire Terreiro do Paço, starting at the Alfândega das Sete Casas (on the east side) and including the view of the Paço da Ribeira and the hill at which were located such portentous buildings as the Mosteiro de São Francisco da Cidade, the Palácio dos Condes da Ribeira Brava, the Palácio dos Viscondes de Barbacena and the Igreja da Boa-Hora, to name but the most conspicuous ones. On the southern side one can observe the Forte de São João, which served as a docking place for ships such as the Nau de Nossa Senhora do Loreto [Fig. 1], which transported the Italian entourage. To the north one can observe the Ala da Rainha, the Arco da Moeda, the Arco dos Pregos and, further on, the Arco do Açougue and the Açougue das Carnes. The latter is covered by temporary art but one can still note the perfectly rounded arches that characterise this building.<sup>25</sup>

The Mercado das Versas e Frutas and the Mercado do Pescado, located on the right from the Portas da Ribeira are also decorated with four paintings (or perhaps tapestries) with golden frames and depicting objects difficult to identify (landscapes?). [Fig. 5]

As to the visual representation of the city, it is relevant to emphasise the similarity between the painting being considered here and the one housed at the Museu da Cidade: the depiction of all the buildings located north from the Terreiro is captured from the same place (Portas da Ribeira), shows identical motifs (the tapestries, the arches near the Açougue), the only difference lying in the addition of the Fountain of Apollo, vessels on the Tagus river and people dressed according to the style of the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. It appears that we are dealing with a copy of the landscape that suffered iconographic and aesthetic updates that are difficult to contextualise, especially considering the scarce information that exists on the provenance and the circumstances of creation of the two works of art.

The painting being considered in the scope of this paper also presents a picture of the wide range of social classes who gathered at the Praça Real to watch this ostentatious and pompous event. Although separated from the regiment of the infantry, various groups of spectators are scattered throughout the square, peeking, commenting and marvelling at the grandeur of the festivity. One can identify nobles on horses, seated women,

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<sup>25</sup> For more information on this subject see Carlos CAETANO, *A Ribeira de Lisboa na época da expansão Portuguesa (séculos XV a XVIII)*, Lisboa, Ed. Pandora, 2004, p. 37.

children running, slaves carrying water from the Fountain of Apollo and even beggars. There are also viewers strategically positioned at the windows of the Palácio da Ribeira and at the arches of the Açougue, where a special terrace was built specifically for this purpose for religious orders, such as the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Jesuits, etc. Special attention should be paid to the detailed depiction of the heraldry of the Cornaro family: not only their coat-of-arms, depicted at bottom of the frame, but also the blue and yellow colour of fabrics hanging from some of the windows of the balcony [Fig 5].

## V – The Commission

Nothing is known about the circumstances in which this work of art was commissioned. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that this genre of *veduta* painting is typical of the Veneto region, in which Nuncio Cornaro was born. Following the tradition of masters Gentile Bellini (1429-1507) and Carpaccio (1465-1526), the religious (*autos* and processions) or political and diplomatic (receptions of embassy officials) festivities taking place in Venice were often depicted in 17<sup>th</sup> century paintings. This tradition was subsequently consecrated by some of the most important European artists of the time, such as Luca Carlevarijs (1663-1730), Giovanni Antonio Canal, aka Canaletto, (1697-1768) and Francesco Guardi (1712-1793).<sup>26</sup> It is therefore plausible that Cornaro wanted his arrival (and reception) in Lisbon to be immortalised in a painting, as attested to by a caption in Italian.

The painting does not feature a signature visible to the naked eye. Furthermore, there seems to be no painting in Portugal that shares the same technical and plastic characteristics that would allow for stylistic comparison. The process of attribution of authorship will therefore be considerably difficult. However, with a view to putting us in a better position to analyse this painting, two facts should be mentioned. First of all, it is known that Nuncio Cornaro was an acquaintance of the Portuguese painter Manuel da Silva Paz (1650-1714), as the former was a witness to the christening of one of the latter's sons: "*On the twenty-sixth of June in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety five Father Cura Manuel de Aguiar christened Jorge, the son of Manoel da Pax e Silva and his wife Mariana de Saá Padrinho; the Godfather was the Illustrious Nuncio Jorge Cornaro and his nephew Abbot Frederico Cornaro acted as his proxy.*"<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> See in this regard Charles BEDDINGTON, – *Canaletto and his Rivals*, London, National Gallery Co. / Yale University Press, 2011.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Susana Varela FLOR, "As relações artísticas entre pintores a óleo e de azulejo perspectivadas a partir da oficina de Marcos da Cruz" in *Artis – Revista do Instituto de História da Arte da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa*, nº 9/10, Lisboa, IHAFLUL, 2010/2011, pp. 292-293. The original reads: «*Em vinte e seis de Junho de mil e seiscentos e noventa e cinco baptizou o Padre Cura Manuel de Aguiar a Jorge filho de Manoel da Pax e Silva e de sua mulher Mariana de Saá Padrinho o Ilustríssimo Senhor Nuncio Jorge Cornaro vindo em seu nome e por seu procurador seu sobrinho o Abade Frederico Cornaro.*»

So far no painting produced by this painter (whom Vítor Serrão considered as a portraitist) has been found.<sup>28</sup> He was baptised at the Santa Catarina parish. His godparents were Dom Francisco de Melo, Chief Huntsman, and de Melo's wife Dona Catarina de Noronha.<sup>29</sup> This, in turn, indicates the importance of the Silva Paz Family, a member of which was later to become the royal painter at the court of King Dom João V.<sup>30</sup> Manuel da Silva Paz's relationship with the Italian community dates back to the 1680s, when the painter was commissioned to gild and upholster all the frames around a painting belonging to the Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Loreto produced by a Genoese painter Giovanni Domenico Ponte, who will also prove to be of relevance in the scope of our research.<sup>31</sup> In 1701 he was still receiving payments from the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Loreto for the commissioned works that he was producing. Manuel da Silva Paz died on 12 March 1714 in Terreirinho da Cruz and was buried at the Convento de Nossa Senhora de Jesus, in the Capela dos Terceiros.<sup>32</sup>

Ponte, the Italian painter referred to earlier, is the second artist worth mentioning. According to Vítor Serrão, Ponte was born around 1654 in the San Donato parish in Genoa. He was the son of Nicolao Ponte and Angela Maria Ponte. His paternal grandparents were Bartolomeu Ponte and Antonia Ponte and his maternal grandparents were Lourenço de Matei and Maria de Matei, born in Genoa. With the help of merchant César Gherzi, he came to Lisbon in 1674-1675 and resided at the Rua do Norte (Bairro Alto) in the parish of Nossa Senhora da Encarnação.

Ponte married Isabel Ponte, christened at the São Paulo parish, “*the woman who breastfed His Highness the Prince*” (King Dom João V).<sup>33</sup> Between 1676-1704 he worked for the Igreja do Loreto – painting ceiling and wall panels in the church as well as portraits and, possibly, the paintings at the arches of the sacristy. He died in 1724, on 11 November, and was buried at the Igreja do Loreto.<sup>34</sup>

Although little is known about Ponte's initial education, detailed information collected during our research into the process of the Holy Office brought to light important information on this matter. Nicolao Ponte, the painter's father, held the important office of chamberlain to the house of the powerful Duke of Doria – Giovanni Andrea III Doria-Landi (1653-1737),

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<sup>28</sup> Cf. Vítor SERRÃO, “Os Silva Paz, uma Família de Pintores sem obra” in *A Cripto-História de Arte – análise de obras de arte inexistentes*, Lisboa, Livros Horizonte, 2001, pp. 101-124.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Susana Varela FLOR, “As relações artísticas...” cit. p. 293.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Maria João Pereira COUTINHO; Sílvia FERREIRA; Susana Varela FLOR; Vítor SERRÃO, “Contributos para o conhecimento dos pintores de Lisboa na época Barroca (164-1720)” in *Boletim Cultural da Assembleia Distrital de Lisboa*, Série IV, nº 96, 1º tomo, Lisboa, 2011, pp. 3-61.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Vítor SERRÃO, “Os Silva Paz, uma família de pintores sem obra” in *A Cripto-História...*, cit., 2001., pp.120-121.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Susana Varela FLOR, “As relações artísticas...” cit. p. 293.

<sup>33</sup> The original reads: “*mulher que dá o leite ao Príncipe Nosso Senhor*”.

<sup>34</sup> Vítor SERRÃO, “O tecto da Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Loreto, comunidade dos italianos de Lisboa” in *A Cripto-História...*, cit., 2001., pp pp. 159-161.

the prince Melfi, the Marquis de Torriglia e de S. Stefano d'Aveto and the Count of Loano, from the Genoese family of Doria Pamphilj.<sup>35</sup> Irrespective of the exact location of the workshop where Giovanni Ponte has first trained as a painter, it is possible that it was in this highly influential and artistically luxuriant environment. For instance, Doria-Pamphilj's villas housed works produced by Ticiano, Caravaggio, Lorrain and Vélazquez, which would have allowed Ponte to improve his aesthetic mastership.<sup>36</sup>

As far as the authorship of the painting depicting the entrance to the town of Nuncio Cornaro goes, the present research did not manage to uncover more information on this topic. It is possible that the Nuncio himself had a personal painter among his entourage. However, it is also possible that the work was a commission to a Portuguese painter: Manuel da Silva Paz and Giovanni Domenico Ponte seem likely candidates as they had both been members of the Holy Office, since 1687 and 1690 respectively.<sup>37</sup> As to the former, it is relevant to emphasise that his strong family connections, the importance of his family in the courts of Kings Dom Pedro II and Dom João V, as well as professional links with the Italian community of the Igreja do Loreto make him a strong candidate. Nevertheless, the lack of knowledge of his work suggests that the issue of his authorship should be approached with prudence.

As regards the latter, Ponte seems to be the most likely candidate, not only due to his Italian origins, links to the Igreja do Loreto, the Gherzi family and the royal family, but also due to the Genoese and Roman training that he received among the members of the powerful Doria family. Nevertheless, what complicates the attribution of authorship to this painter is the fact that his work is well documented. Portraits of two benefactors of the Junta de Nossa Senhora do Loreto, namely Nicolau Micon and Francisco André Carrega depict figures who are “*são correctamente executadas, ainda que em poses convencionais, algo duras, numa atmosfera tenebrista [well-painted, although in conventional, slightly stiff postures, in a shadowy atmosphere]*”<sup>38</sup>. This suggests that the technique used in these portraits is very different from the highly sophisticated technique used in the painting under analysis here. On the other hand, it should be acknowledged that we

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<sup>35</sup> DGLAB/TT, *Habilitações do Santo Ofício*, Maço 25 (João), Diligência 595, fl. 28. The witness Francisco Maria Ambeaço, originally from Genova, claims to have known Nicolau well, as in seen in the statement that “the knowledge that he has comes from the fact that they were both residents of the same city and that he saw *Niculao de Ponte purchase a farm for the House of the Duke or the Father of this witness, who was a businessman.*” The original reads: “*o conhecimento que o dito tem he do mesmo tempo a esta parte por serem moradores na mesma cidade e ver o dito Niculao de Ponte comprar alguma fazenda para a Casa do Duque ao Pay desta testemunha que era homem de negocio*”. The author is grateful to Prof. Luca Lo Basso and Carlo Bitossi for the information on the Duke of Doria's identity.

<sup>36</sup> For more information on the Doria Family see, e.g., L. STAGNO, in *Dizionario Biografico dei Liguri*, vol. VII, Genova, 2008, pp. 681-686.

<sup>37</sup> These documents were recovered by Vítor Serrão. It should be noted that they all lived near each other: Manuel da Paz e Silva at Terreirinho da Cruz, Giovanni Domenico Ponte at Rua do Norte and Nuncio at Rua das Flores.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Vítor SERRÃO, “O tecto da igreja...,” cit., 2001, p. 163.

are dealing with paintings showing very distinct themes. It is hoped that future studies based on a careful scrutiny of the three paintings will be able to put us in a better position to arrive at more definite conclusions. As for now, the issue of the painting's authorships remains unsolved.

## **VI – The views of the Terreiro do Paço**

The remaining part of this article will discuss the tradition of the 17<sup>th</sup> century of producing representations of festivities at the Terreiro do Paço, celebrating either the welcoming receptions of Kings and embassies or wedding ceremonies.

### **1 – Cortège at the Terreiro do Paço**

This already mentioned work [Fig. 6] currently belongs to the Museu da Cidade and has been traditionally related to the historiography of the festivities that celebrated the protocolary ceremonies on the occasion of the wedding of Dona Catarina de Bragança and Charles II in front of the Paço da Ribeira.<sup>39</sup> The similarity arguably lies in the existence of the same festive rituals, such as a parade under arches ornamented with flowers, a regiment doing military honours, the servants accompanying the entourage consisting of carriages and noblemen on horses, as well as ordinary people observing the event.

However, certain characteristics make it impossible to hypothesise that the painting represents the festivities taking place in April 1662. One should also recall the iconography by Dirck Stoop, which differs substantially with regard to a number of issues: the organisation of solemnities, the distribution of temporary art (more abundant in 1662), the position of the infantry, the manner in which people are dressed and the iconography of the place itself. There is therefore no doubt that we are dealing with a solemn ceremony, which may well be linked to the reception of a certain important figure, as was the case with the entrance ceremony of Nuncio Cornaro, since the Açougue is also covered with fabrics (or with a painted canvass imitating the appearance of fabric). One can also observe a line of marquees stretching along the north side of the Terreiro do Paço, giving shelter to the numerous spectators. There are other reasons that make it even more complicated to identify the motivation behind the organisation of this solemn event. Firstly, the painting appears to be incomplete, especially as regards the portrayal of vessels on the Tagus river and the absence of a certain buzz typical of the area surrounding the Forte da Vedoria. Secondly, the material conditions of the painting itself, the chromatic layer of which is rather sparse, make it difficult to decipher

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<sup>39</sup> The painting's reference number at the Museu da Cidade is MC.PIN.0262. See Ana Paula Rebelo CORREIA "Cortejo Real no Terreiro do Paço" in *Arte efêmera em Portugal* (Cat. Exposição), Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2001, p. 48.

important details, such as the cortege that moves under the arcades or the central arch, decorated with a crown and motifs imitating the architectural art of the Frias family.

In our previous research we have hypothesised that the painting is an *a posteriori* representation of the entrance of Filipe I de Portugal (as is also the case of a painting by Cosme Gambarucci dating from 1598 and currently housed at the Galleria degli Uffizi).<sup>40</sup> This was based on an observation of a depiction of a figure in a larger scale that leads the entourage on hoarse and is dressed in black [Fig. 6a]. This depiction is in line with the description provided by Afonso Guerreiro: “*His Majesty was riding a very beautiful dark horse, using a black saddle with two saddle pads, stirrups, bridles and reins and without saddlecloth. He was dressed in black, in a Portuguese fashion, with a hat lined with taffeta, with a woollen headdress and threaded cloak, with no hemlines, no welt, fur coat and black boots, so short that they did not reach his knee.*”<sup>41</sup> This notwithstanding, there remain various doubts as regards the comparison of this description with this iconography. For instance, the location of arches does not correspond to the orientation of the royal route, since the King entered directly through the Portas da Ribeira and headed to the Sé de Lisboa, without passing through the Paço Real, and on his return he did not march through the Terreiro do Paço. What is more, the decoration of Arco dos Alemães, placed in the centre of the Terreiro do Paço, is not as rich as contemporary sources would have us believe that it was.

However, it was possible to establish that this painting presents a view of the Terreiro do Paço in the following timeframe: after 1605, the year in which the Terreiro do Paço was separated from the beach with a parapet; and before 1652, the year in which the Chafariz de Apolo (which is located close to the centre of the square and which does not appear in the painting) was built.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Cf. Fernando BOUZA ÁLVAREZ, *Portugal no Tempo dos Filipes – Política, Cultura, Representações (1580-1668)*, Lisboa, Ed. Cosmos, 2000, p. 63.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Afonso GUERREIRO, *Das festas que se fizerão na cidade de Lisboa na entrada del Rey D. Philippe Primeiro de Portugal*, Lisboa, oficina de Francisco Correia, 1581, cap. III. For more information see Vitor SERRÃO, “A entrada de Filipe I de Portugal em Lisboa em 1581 e o seu programa iconográfico à luz dos conceitos de aurea aetatis e de ubilicus mundi?” in *Lisboa e a Festa: Celebrações Religiosas e Cívicas na Cidade Medieval e Moderna – actas do Colóquio de História e de História da Arte*, (Teresa Leonor VALE, Maria João P. FERREIRA; Sílvia FERREIRA, coord.), Lisboa, CML/FCFA, 2009, pp. 201-221; Susana Varela FLOR, *Aurum Reginae or Queen-Gold: Retratos de D. Catarina de Inglaterra entre Portugal e a Inglaterra de Seiscentos*, Lisboa, PhD thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2010, p. 253. The original reads: “*Hia Sua Magestade em hum cavallo rosilho escuro muyto fermoso à bastarda com a sela, estribos, cabeçadas e rédeas, tudo preto e chão, sem nenhua maneyra de arneiro, nem gualdrapa. Hia vestido de preto à Portuguesa, com chapeo forrado por fora de tafetana, cabeça e ferragoulo de raxa, desfiado por diante, sem baynhas, nem debrum, pelote de filete e botas pretas, tão curtas que lhe não chegavão ao Joelho.*”

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Júlio de CASTILHO, *A Ribeira de Lisboa – Descrição Histórica da Margem do Tejo*, Lisboa, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa (3.<sup>a</sup> Ed.), vol II, 1956, p. 222 e IDEM, Vol. III, 1960, pp. 14-16.



The period in which the painting was created is therefore 1605-1652. It is also worth mentioning that the Terreiro do Paço is presented from east to west, a perspective similar to that presented subsequently by Dirck Stoop and by the anonymous author of the already mentioned painting depicting Cornaro's entrance parade.

## **2 – The Terreiro do Paço during the entrance parade of Filipe II de Portugal**

The *Joyeuse Entrée* of Filipe II de Portugal to Lisbon in 1619 [Fig. 7] resulted in yet another representation of the Terreiro do Paço. This historical episode yielded various iconographic representations: the one authored by the royal painter Domingos Vieira Serrão<sup>43</sup>, who observed and painted these events and whose paintings were subsequently published by Hans Schorkens. The engraving presenting the Terreiro do Paço without the air of festivity, can be observed both in a work called “Viagem” by J. B. Lavanha, and in the painting “Nossa Senhora do Porto Seguro...”, commissioned by Antoine Magnonet for the Capela de São Luís dos Franceses and painted by artists Domingos Vieira Serrão and Simão Rodrigues.

More recently, in Germany, an oil painting with a detailed and rigorous representation of these festivities was discovered.<sup>44</sup> José Manuel Garcia attributed the authorship of this painting to Pedro Teixeira, the painter of a corresponding map and of landscapes of city ports. This attribution was based on the plastic differentiation patented by Vieira Serrão's work and on similarities with the regional map of Lisbon included in the *Descripción de España...*<sup>45</sup>

## **3 – “The entrance of the Ambassador Francisco de Mello e Torres” by Dirck Stoop**

The second painting housed at the Museu da Cidade<sup>46</sup> [Fig. 8] dates from 1662, i.e., the year in which the Dutch painter Dirck Stoop, painted and signed this work in the context of the celebrations of the wedding of

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<sup>43</sup> Cf. George KUBLER, *A Arquitectura Portuguesa Chã – entre as especiarias e os diamantes (1521-1706)*, Lisboa, Ed. Vega, [2ªed.], 2005, p.145; Ana Maria ALVES, *As entradas Régias Portuguesas*, Lisboa, Livros Horizonte, s/d; Vítor SERRÃO, “Entre a maneira moderna e a ideia do Decoro: bravura e conformismo na pintura do Maneirismo Português” in *A Pintura Maneirista em Portugal – Arte no Tempo de Camões*, Lisboa, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1995, p. 57; José Alberto Seabra CARVALHO, “Panorâmica de Lisboa na entrada Régia de 1619”, *ibidem*, p. 447.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Andreas GEHLERT, “Uma esplêndida Vista de Lisboa no Castelo de Weilburg, Alemanha” in *Monumentos*, nº 28, Lisboa, IRHU, 2008, pp. 209-213.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. José Manuel GARCIA, “Lisboa entre os Filipes e o Portugal Restaurado” in *Lisboa do século XVII – “A mais deliciosa terra do mundo”*, [José Manuel GARCIA, coord.] Lisboa, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa/Direcção Municipal de Cultura/GEO, 2008, p. 22.

<sup>46</sup> Museu da Cidade, PIN 261. See, in this regard, e.g. Ernesto SOARES, *Dicionário de Iconografia Portuguesa*, Vol. V, II Suplemento, Lisboa, I.A.C., 1960, p.313.

Dona Catarina de Bragança and King Charles II. During his stay in Portugal Stoop produced a vast array of works commemorating these festivities, including the decoration of Igreja de São Paulo.<sup>47</sup>

In the first instance, the painting from the Museu da Cidade, seems to present a simple representation of an everyday view of 17<sup>th</sup>-century Terreiro do Paço. However, a closer analysis allows us to conclude that we are dealing with a tripartite representation, hardly noticeable due to the busy atmosphere to which contribute the large number of vendors, men carrying water, carriages and children playing. In the foreground one can observe three noblemen on horses, who mark the axis of the entire composition. The nobleman on the right points to the centre of the painting, where one can observe the key figures of this work of art – Dona Catarina de Bragança, Dona Luísa de Gusmão and a nun, possibly Isabel de Jesus, accompanied by guards. On the left one can observe the embarkation of Catarina de Bragança's dowry, with the Englishmen in charge of weighing and packaging the goods. Importantly for the purposes of this paper, on the right, one can observe the entrance of the Ambassador Francisco de Mello e Torres (1611-1667), the diplomat responsible for the signing of the Treaty of Whitehall, which marked the alliance between the Portuguese and English crowns.<sup>48</sup>

Nonetheless, it is relevant to stress that this painting presents a fictional and idealised vision of the place and the events. Firstly, the Terreiro do Paço is depicted as surrounded by a wide beach, while it is known that this was not the case. In other words, the painting does not show the wall that existed along the coast, nor the Forte de São João or the Forte da Vedoria, which, as attested to by relevant documents and iconography, had been present on the scene since 1626.<sup>49</sup>

Secondly, the painting presents a number of disorderly events, i.e., a situation that seems highly unlikely in the context of the ceremonial entrance of an ambassador, which tended to be organised to the smallest detail. Instead of depicting the Infantry as being situated on two sides of the Terreiro do Paço and thus guiding the entourage in a straight line to the Arco das Pazes (as was the case with the entrance of Nuncio Cornaro), the painting shows musketeers and soldiers with pikes in the background. The painting also foregrounds the carriage transporting the Ambassador who,

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<sup>47</sup> Cf. P. António Carvalho da COSTA, *Corografia Portuguesa*, Tomo III, Lisboa, na oficina da Costa Deslandes, 1712, p. 482; Susana Varela FLOR, *Aurum Reginae or Queen Gold – Retratos de D. Catarina de Bragança entre Portugal e a Inglaterra de Seiscentos*, Lisboa, Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 2012, pp. 94-129; Miguel SOROMENHO, "O Paço da Ribeira à medida da Corte: de Filipe I a D. Pedro II", Miguel Figueira de FARIA (Coord.), *Do Terreiro do Paço à Praça do Comércio – História de um espaço urbano* -, Lisboa, UAL/INCM, 2012, pp. 37-571.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Susana Varela FLOR, *Aurum Reginae or Queen Gold: Retratos ... cit.*, 2012, pp. 129-130.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Júlio de CASTILHO, *A Ribeira de Lisboa – Descrição Histórica da Margem do Tejo*, Lisboa, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa (3.<sup>a</sup> Ed.), vol II, 1956, p. 225.

facing forwards, appears indifferent to the trajectory of the guards heading towards the Fonte de Apollo.

As far as the identity of the Ambassador is concerned, it is crucial to underline that although there is no comparable iconography, it seems safe to suggest that we are dealing with Dom Francisco de Mello e Torres. This suggestion is based on the already mentioned historical context and on the fact that he belonged to the Order of Christ, the symbol of which is proudly displaced on his garments. The last detail worth mentioning in this context is that until 1663 Dom Francisco de Mello e Torres had a moustache. This is clear from the following excerpt: “*I passed through France incognito, and for this it was necessary to cut my moustache and wear a wig*”<sup>50</sup> The arguments presented with regard to the interpretation of the iconographic meaning of the painting housed at the Museu da Cidade make us consider the possibility of presenting a narrative synthesis of Conde da Ponte’s accomplishments in the context of European diplomacy, which accomplishments earned him the title of Marquês de Sande in April 1662, the same year in which Stoop dated and signed this painting. The fact that this work was completed in London may suggest that it was commissioned by the Royal Court. However, it was impossible to find any documentary source that would corroborate this hypothesis.

#### **4 - Terreiro do Paço at the Portuguese Embassy in Paris**

The last painting representing the Terreiro do Paço can be found at the Embassy of Portugal in Paris.<sup>51</sup> As was the case with the two above-mentioned paintings housed at the Museu da Cidade, the Parisian painting depicts events relating to the British-Portuguese matrimonial alliance from 1662.<sup>52</sup> We would argue that this is corroborated by the iconographic similarity with Dirck Stoop’s painting from the Museu da Cidade, as well as by the inclusion of the portrait of Dona Catarina de Bragança, this time not in the company of Dona Luísa de Gusmão. These facts have never before been mentioned.

There are, however, certain differences that are worth mentioning: this painting shows fewer people than the other, both at the “beach” during the embarkation of commodities as well as in the entourage that accompanies the carriage. Although one can note certain thematic similarities between the small groups of people that are depicted on both paintings, they differ with respect to the degree of detail and number of

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<sup>50</sup> Edgar PRESTAGE, *D. Francisco de Melo – Esboço Biográfico*, Lisboa, Edições Fenda, 1996, p. 341. The original reads: “*passey a França incognito, para o que foy necessario cortar os bigodes e por cabelleira...*”.

<sup>51</sup> According to Ernesto Soares, the painting belonged to the collection of Conde da Penha Longa, and was subsequently purchased by the Portuguese state. Ernesto SOARES, *Dicionário de Iconografia Portuguesa*, Vol. V, II Suplemento, Lisboa, IAC, 1960, p. 311.

<sup>52</sup> Vítor SERRÃO, “Le cortège royal sur la place du palais lors des festivités du mariage de l’Infante Catarina de Bragança avec Charles II d’Angleterre”, in *Rouge et Or – Trésors du Portugal Baroque*, Exhibition Catalogue, Paris, IPM/GRI, 2002, pp. 166-167.

people, types of decorations or their location (e.g. a seller of fish is replaced by a seller of oranges; a group of three children is depicted with different decorations and changed positions; a dog is crossing on the opposite side of the street, etc.). Finally, certain people are identical to the ones from Stoop's painting but positioned in a different manner: two Cistercians from the Dutch painter's painting appear in the background of the Parisian painting; the figure hidden behind the curtain of the ambassador's carriage is now clearly visible and, finally, the nobleman riding on a white horse (who on Stoop's paintings is depicted near the Arco das Pazes), is foregrounded in the Parisian painting and depicted receiving a letter from a man with his hat doffed (as a signal of respect towards the receiver; a comparative iconographic analysis suggests that the nobleman on horseback is Sir Richard Fanshawe [1608-1666]).<sup>53</sup>

The authorship of this painting has not been established with certainty. A simple observation of the two paintings suggests that they are plastically different.<sup>54</sup> The Parisian painting appears to be of higher quality than the painting from the Museu da Cidade, especially as regards the portrayal of people and the architectural details of buildings. This, in turn, indicates that Stoop's authorship is rather unlikely. Ernesto Soares attributed this artwork to Johannes Lingelbach (1622-1674) and criticised Emilio Lavagnino's decision to attribute the authorship to Gaspar Van Wittel (1653-1736).

The thesis suggesting that the painting was produced by Johannes calls for further documentary clarification, considering that this German painter had contacts with neither England nor Portugal.

To sum up, there are features common to both paintings: the narrative composition of the scene, the distribution of groups of people at the Terreiro do Paço and the depiction of Dona Catarina de Bragança in the centre of the events. These similarities may be related to a larger iconographic series of paintings, of which only two remain. It may also be that we are dealing with a scenic appropriation, as was the case of Canaletto's *Reception of the French Ambassador Jacques-Vincent Languet, Comte de Gergy* (c. 1727), which imitated the background and the angle of representation used by Luca Carlevarijs in *Reception of English Ambassador Charles Montagu 4th Earl of Manchester* (c. 1707-08).<sup>55</sup>

## Conclusion

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<sup>53</sup> The National Portrait Gallery in London houses an engraving (ref. no. NPG D22736) of William Faithorne, dated 1666, in which he looks exactly the same as in the Parisian painting.

<sup>54</sup> For more information on this painting see Ernesto SOARES, *Dicionário de Iconografia Portuguesa*, Vol. V, II Suplemento, Lisboa, IAC, 1960, p. 311 e Vítor SERRÃO, "Le cortège royal sur la place du palais lors des festivités du mariage de l'Infante Catarina de Bragança avec Charles II d'Angleterre", in *Rouge et Or – Trésors du Portugal Baroque*, Catálogo da Exposição, Paris, IPM/GRI, 2002, pp. 166-167.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Charles BEDDINGTON, *Venice Canaletto...* cit., pp. 24-25. These paintings belong to the Hermitage Museum and the Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery respectively.

Far from exhausting all the possibilities of analysis of this painting, the present article is instead an important contribution to the study of one of the testimonies to the official passage of Nuncio Giorgio Cornaro through Lisbon. Furthermore, the article also presents the results of a review of the main *vedute* set in baroque Lisbon, all of which feature the Terreiro do Paço as the place *par excellence* of the political and diplomatic life of the Portuguese royal court. The article also suggests that there are doubts with respect to the authorship of this painting, which may be clarified through a detailed analysis of the painting's invisible spectrum (support, basis, chromatic layer). Future lines of research that emerge from this study will centre on Manuel da Silva Paz and Giovanni Domenico Ponte, i.e., two figures who enjoyed close relationships with the apostolic representative living in Lisbon at the Rua das Flores in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.



Fig.1 – *The public entrance of Nuncio Giorgio Cornaro to Lisbon, c. 1693*, the Banco Espírito Santo Collection



Fig.2 – A detailed view of the caption



Fig. 3 – A detailed view of corrective overpainting





Fig. 4a – A detailed view of the city's regiment



Fig. 4b – A detailed view of a soldier playing the drums



Fig. 5 – A detailed view of the representations of temporal art



Fig. 6 – *Cortège at the Terreiro do Paço*, First half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Museu da Cidade



Fig. 6a – detail



Fig. 7 – *The entrance of Filipe III of Spain to Lisbon* (1619), Weilburg (©AGehlert)





Fig. 8 – Dirck Stoop, *The entrance of Ambassador Francisco de Mello e Torres*, 1662, Museu da Cidade