PERPETUATING THE IMAGE OF THE QUEEN: PORTRAITS OF ISABELLA I OF CASTILE[1]

Carmen GARCÍA-FRÍAS CHECA

The fame of Isabella I of Castile was to last through the centuries, as the Spanish monarchy never ceased to present her as a model not only of a queen dedicated to affairs of state but also of a woman endowed with many virtues and an example of Christian goodness and piety. Descriptions as precise as those which appeared in the "Capítulo de las grandes excelencias de la Reina Doña Isabel" ("Chapter of the great excellencies of Queen Isabella") in Hernando el Pulgar's *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* were decisive for the configuration of the later image of the queen. Indeed, this chronicle was not circulated until after her death, being printed for the first time in Latin in 1545 and in Castilian in 1565. Any approach to the iconography of Isabella I of Castile must therefore make a clear distinction between the portraits made during her lifetime or immediately afterwards and those which had to be reinvented to transmit an idea of her image after her death.[2] The popularity of her effigy reached its height in the nineteenth century, as the political propaganda emanating from the Isabelline court tried to establish the powerful Castilian queen as a paragon for her namesake, the young Isabella II. In this respect, the nineteenth-century artists drew inspiration from the events of the life of Isabella the Catholic to construct their artistic discourses.[3]

The images contemporary with Isabella the Catholic do not always reflect her true physical appearance, since their purpose was to display the dignity and grandeur of the personage. The official repertory of portraits for the image of the queen was gradually configured until an iconography was fixed and established as official, afterwards to be constantly repeated with a fair degree of exactitude, even though the style of painting varied over time. The prime function fulfilled by the copy in the regal context was the dissemination of royal images in the different territories that

1 This essay falls within the framework of the R&D&i research project *Corte y cortes en el tardogótico hispano. Narrativa, memoria y sinergias en el lenguaje visual* (PGC2018-093822-B-100), financed by the FEDER funds, Ministry of Science and Innovation – State Agency for Research.

2 Angulo, 1951a; Bermejo, 1991; Yarza, 1997; Morte, 1996; Silva, 2006a: 271-274; Morte, 2014.

3 On this subject, see Díez, 2006.

https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

made up the kingdoms of the Hispanic monarchy, in whose imagery the iconic effigy of Isabella the Catholic was always particularly highly regarded.

1. THE OFFICIAL IMAGE OF ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC

The Catholic Monarchs embarked on a political project for the unity of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon with the aim of reconstructing the *regnum Hispaniae*.[4] The most representative image of the queen was therefore always accompanied by that of King Ferdinand the Catholic.[5] The descriptions of royal entries or court ceremonies written by the royal chroniclers are essential for a knowledge of the official repertory of images of the monarchs, since they give details of their rich vestments and profuse jewellery, an essential part of the public display of a recently unified monarchy.[6] Unfortunately, other documents like the royal inventories or the artists' accounts are of little help in identifying the portraits or even the figures portrayed.

Ferdinand and Isabella quickly realised how important their representative image might be as a means for achieving their political ends.[7] Also, however, the royal arms, the initials of their names and their personal emblems and mottos (the yoke, the sheaf of arrows and the motto "*tanto monta*"), forming what has come to be called the *Signum regis*, could provide a good substitute for the figures of the monarchs. The best example of this compilation of iconic elements is without doubt the church of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, founded in 1477, where the walls are filled with the royal heraldic motifs beneath the eagle of Saint John the Evangelist, the personal emblem of the queen, with no need to include representation of the royal figures.[8] Nevertheless, the modality of the *imago regis*, the symbol of the highest representativity of the monarchs, was the most widely used formula, especially in the years of the consolidation of the union of the two kingdoms. Isabella and Ferdinand, shown together to indicate their common form of government, are accompanied by a whole apparatus related to the symbology of power in which they are depicted enthroned, richly garmented and decked with crowns, sceptres, swords or orbs.[9] They are represented in this way in very different fields of the plastic arts, as in the two intarsia figures without relief that appear separately on the backs of the choir stalls in Plasencia Cathedral, the work of Rodrigo Alemán (1497), or in the engraving on the frontispiece of Ambrosio de Montesinos's translated edition of the *Vita Christi*

4 Ladero, 1989.

5 Morte, 2014, analyses the whole of the extensive figurative repertory of Ferdinand the Catholic.

6 For further details on the rich garments and the so-called "state" jewels, see their testamentary descriptions in De la Torre and Del Cerro, 1968.

7 Pérez Monzón, Ruiz Mateos and Espino Nuño, 1999; and Villaseñor, 2008.

8 Yarza, 1997: 450; Nogales, 2008: 1198-1199, Vol. 2; and Morte, 2014: 289-290.

9 Yarza, 1993: 75; Fernández de Córdova, 2004: 48-57; Nogales, 2011; and Morte, 2014: 291-297.

 https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

Cartuxano romançado by Ludolph of Saxony (1502-1503), where the royal couple, in a formula often repeated on book covers, is shown receiving the exemplary tome from the hands of the author or an intermediary. The most complete set of this modality of the *imago regis* is that formed by the gold *excelentes* or ducats, since they proved fundamental as propaganda for the union of the kingdoms owing to the ease with which they were circulated. An identical iconography to that of the coins is found in the image of the young royal couple united in an embrace on the initial of a letter of privilege of the College of Santa Cruz in Valladolid (1484), attributed to the miniaturist Nicolás Gómez.[10]

Within the framework of exaltation of the monarchy and its dynastic continuity, there are some curious images of Isabella I as legitimate successor to the Crown of Castile in a group of family trees, represented as trees of Jesse, that come from the queen's collections and are preserved at the Royal Library of the Monastery of El Escorial. In the *Diuina Retribuçion sobre la cayda despaña en tienpo del noble rrey don iohan el primero que fue rrestaurada por manos de los muy exçelentes Reyes don fernando [et] doña ysabel*, written by Alonso de Palma between 1478 and 1497 (ABSLE, Y-III-1), Folio IV presents a tree sprouting from the enthroned John I of Castile, attired in mourning after his defeat in Portugal, and ending with Prince John, who bears the shield of the Catholic Monarchs as their son and the heir to the two crowns of Castile and Aragon. The queen is identified as "Elisabeth Regina" and holds the sceptre while all the other royal figures bear a sword.[11] The other family tree, which goes back to the biblical origins of the royal house, begins with Adam and continues up to the Catholic Monarchs. Appearing on Folio 19r. of the *Chronicon Genealogicum regum ab initio mundi usque ad Reges Catholicos Ferdinandum et Elisabeth Hispaniae,* produced between 1483 and 1485 (ABSLE, 28-I-3), it ends with the illuminated images of Ferdinand and Isabella adorned with rich vestments, sceptres, crowns, and the arms of their respective kingdoms.[12]

Another modality of public representation of the Catholic Monarchs is the *pietas regis*, in which they appear as great defenders of the Christian faith, manifested in their depiction as kneeling figures with their hands joined in prayer before a sacred image.[13] The representation of royalty is still the primary concern, with the use of richly brocaded garments, large crowns and magnificent gold collars, to the detriment of their individualisation. Most of these images were commissions from religious quarters, since as Professor Pérez Monzón has shown, the monarchs consented to the use of their image in religious contexts in order to be seen as present before their subjects.[14]

10 Angulo, 1951a: 44-45.

11 Nogales, 2011; and Morte, 2014: 298-299.

12 Yarza, 2005a: 387-388; Nogales, 2011: 327-329, n. 197 and 198; and Morte, 2014: 303-304.

13 Nieto Soria, 1999.

14 Pérez Monzón, 2006: 571; and Nogales, 2011: 355-357.

https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

The great devotion of the Catholic Monarchs for the relic of the Corporals (Eucharists) of Daroca, which was kept in the chapel of the same name at the collegiate church of Santa María in that town (province of Zaragoza), is clear from the presence of their kneeling figures on two panels of the *Polyptych of the Sacred Corporals*. On one side is Isabella with her eldest daughter of the same name, and on the other is Ferdinand with the crown prince John. The altarpiece was executed between 1483 and 1488 thanks to the initiative of the monarchs, who visited the place in those two years.[15] Its creation clearly had both a political and a religious motivation, since the central theme of the group was the miraculous event that occurred in 1239 during the conquest of the Muslim kingdom of Valencia by King James I of Aragon (1213-1276). The event took place during the Battle of Chío, a fact which it was possible to relate to the conquest of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada, whose military campaign was about to begin.[16]

Our Lady of Mercy with the Family of the Catholic Monarchs, of about 1486, at the monastery of Santa María la Real de las Huelgas in Burgos,[17] whose authorship is currently under revision in this R&D project,[18] was possibly donated to the Cistercian monastery by Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza with the clear intention of showing the rest of the religious community that he unconditionally supported his sister, Leonor de Mendoza, in her position as abbess.[19] Leonor is thus included with her abbatial crozier alongside other nuns from the monastery in the foreground of the group on the right, under the protective mantle of the *Mater Omnium*, while the group on the left shows the Catholic Monarchs, their three eldest children (Isabella, Joanna and John) and Cardinal Mendoza, who wanted to make it clear that he had the favour of the royal family in this matter, as in all those related to the plan for reform then being implemented in the Church.

The kneeling images of the royal couple in their respective prie-dieux – Ferdinand in armour, protected by Saint John the Baptist, and Queen Isabella by Saint Francis of Assisi – are included once more in the unrealised project for the main altarpiece of the church of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo (c. 1485-1490),[20] which we know

15 Morte, 1993: 148-159, notes that the painter may have been Jaime Serrat, appointed by the Catholic Monarchs in 1487 as painter to Prince John.

16 Lacarra, 1991-1992; Yarza, 2005b: 134; and Morte, 2014: 306-307.

17 Patrimonio Nacional, Inv. 00652185. Angulo, 1951a: 47-48; Zalama, 2010: 324-325; and Morte, 2014: 307.

18 Silva Maroto, 1990: 398-402, vol. 2, attributed it to the workshop of Diego de la Cruz, a painter working in the area of Burgos at the end of the fifteenth century. The new technical analyses carried out in the course of this project by the Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España (IPCE) will advance towards a clarification of the problems of its attribution.

19 Pérez Monzón and Miquel Juan, 2018: 311-312.

20 Museo Nacional del Prado, D5526, óleo sobre tabla, 123 x 112 cm, Sánchez Cantón, 1950: 168, records "a drawing of an altarpiece for San Juan de los Reyes" to be delivered in 1499 to the queen's chamberlain, Sancho de Paredes.

 https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

of thanks to a drawing preserved at the Museo del Prado and attributed to Juan Guas and Juan de Colonia of Burgos. In the same way, the idealised portraits of Ferdinand and Isabella reappear kneeling on their prie-dieux before the image of the Virgin and Child in the so-called *Virgin of the Catholic Monarchs*, attributed to the eponymous Master (1490-1493)[21] (Museo Nacional del Prado) [Figure 1]. On this occasion, as in Daroca, they are accompanied by their eldest children, Juan with his father and, almost certainly, Isabella with her mother. However, their rich attire and ostentatious jewels are so extraordinary that they make the image a very singular one, as the anonymous master succeeds with great virtuosity in reproducing the material qualities of the different fabrics and precious metals.[22] The saints who protect them, related to the Order of Saint Dominic or the Holy Office of the Inquisition, reveal that the work was originally sited in the oratory of the Royal Chamber of the Dominican friary of Santo Tomás in Ávila, which holds the remains of Prince John. [23] Unlike the other kneeling effigies of the royal couple, they are shown here in the same format as the sacred figures, which has been seen as a public demonstration of the monarchs' defence of the tribunal of the Inquisition. This dual image of the monarchs at prayer is repeated in *The Fifth Sorrow with Saint John the Baptist, Saint John the Evangelist and the Catholic Monarchs*, originally from the church of San Juan de los Reyes in Granada and now kept in the cathedral of that city.[24] The *Fifth Sorrow* was one of the queen's favourite subjects, and it is here combined with the two Saint Johns, who always inspired royal devotion, and whose hands protect the kneeling monarchs, who are attired with royal mantles, shoulder collars and crowns.[25] Another curious kneeling image of the queen, here richly adorned with a heavy shoulder collar and with a book of hours in her hands, is the one seen adoring a *Virgo Lactans* enthroned in a magnificent seat of honour in a work attributed to the Master of the Carnations (1500-1504) at the church of San Pedro de Gaillos (Segovia).

2. THE *VERAE IMAGINAE* OF ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC

The individualised portrait or "true likeness", which had already undergone considerable development in Flemish art since the times of Jan van Eyck, was still fairly exceptional in the Iberian Peninsula. Dynastic considerations and the desire for prestige led to a change from the 1480s onwards, when the Catholic Monarchs started to see the functional utility of such portraits in channelling a response to

21 Museo Nacional del Prado, P001260. Angulo, 1951a: 46-47; Yarza, 2005b: 46 and 161; Silva Maroto, 2006b; and Morte, 2014: 308-310.

22 Silva Maroto, 2006b.

23 Caballero, 2007: 20-41.

24 Angulo, 1951a: 48; and Yarza, 2005b: 144.

25 This scene of the *Fifth Sorrow* is depicted identically on the tympanum of the façade of the Dominican friary of Santa Cruz in Segovia.

https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

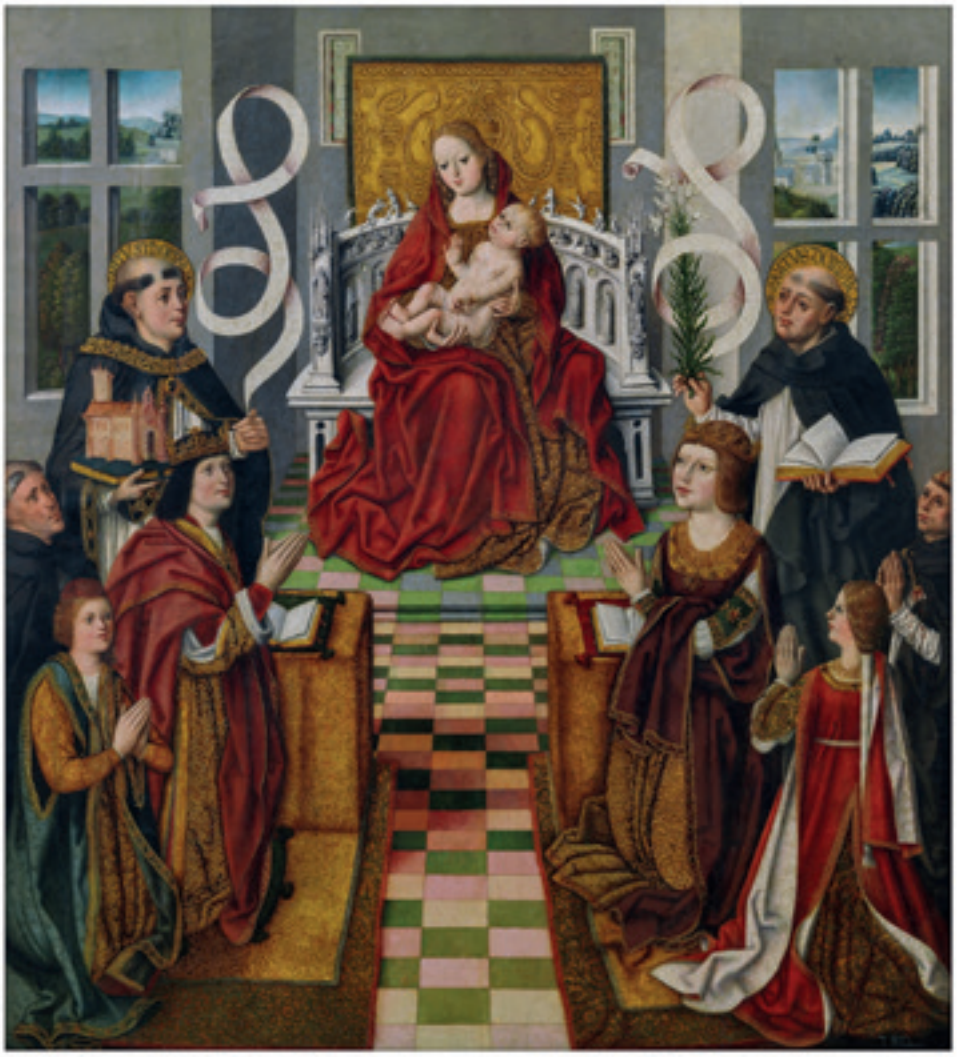

Figure 1. Master of the Virgin of the Catholic Monarchs. *The Virgin of the Catholic Monarchs.* 1491-1493. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid. Inv. P001260.

offers of marriage with their children.[26] However, there were few good portraitists, as Ferdinand the Catholic made clear when he offered a well-known apology on 23 December 1486[27] to his sister, Joanna of Aragon, for not being able to send portraits of Prince John and the Infanta Isabella[28] in return for those he had received from

26 Sánchez Cantón, 1948: 155-156; Checa, 1992; and Silva Maroto, 2004: 124-125.

27 Queen of Naples through her marriage with her first cousin, Ferdinand I of Naples, since 1476.

28 De la Torre y del Cerro, 1951: 353-354, vol. 2: "por no haver fallado aquí tal pintor; pero muy presto las mandaremos pintar y le serán embiadas" ("because there is no such painter to be found

https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

the court of Naples of his nephew and niece, the Neapolitan Infanta Joanna and the Prince of Capua. The first painter to receive a commission was the Master Antonio, or Antonio Inglés, who arrived in Spain with the embassy of Henry VII of England (1485-1509) in March 1489 for the arrangement of the marriage of the crown prince Arthur with Catherine of Aragon, the youngest daughter of the Catholic Monarchs. He remained at the service of the queen until October the following year, producing some "paintings of the Prince and infantas".[29] The expectation of further marriage alliances made it necessary to seek other artists in Flanders, where there were portraitists of renown. One such was Michiel Sittow, originally from Reval (today Tallinn, Estonia), but trained in Bruges, who is also mentioned as Michel or Melchior Alemán, and appears from 1492 as "painter to Her Highness" Queen Isabella with the extremely high annual salary of 50,000 *maravedís*.[30] The double marriage between the children of the Catholic Monarchs, John and Joanna, and those of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy, Margaret and Philip, required the presence of a new portraitist,[31] Juan de Flandes, who must have arrived with the imperial embassy of Maximilian I, received by the Monarchs in Almazán on 12 July 1496.[32] This was indicated by a royal charter issued by the queen's treasurer, Gonzalo de Baeza, to pay him 6,000 *maravedís* "for help towards his costs", meaning to cover the painter's travelling expenses from Flanders.[33] On 27 October 1496, he was appointed court painter to the queen with a salary of 20,000 *maravedís*, which were increased two years later, on 8 March 1498, to 30,000 *maravedís*.[34]

The 1480s also saw the appearance of the first individual painted portraits of the queen, which are fundamental for a knowledge of her true likeness. The descriptions of some of her royal chroniclers were central to their construction, since these emphasise her moral qualities, which henceforth had to form part of her correct iconographic representation. This is demonstrated by Pérez del Pulgar, who describes her as:

here; but very soon we shall have them painted and they will be sent to you"); and Zalama, 2010: 54-55 and 321.

29 De la Torre y del Cerro, 1954-1955: 106; De la Torre y del Cerro, 1955-1956: 271; Zalama, 2010: 321; and Yarza, 2005b: 162-164.

30 Trizna, 1976; and Weniger, 2011: 40-43.

31 Joanna married Philip the Fair on 20 October 1496 in the small town of Lierre. Problems of transportation postponed Margaret's wedding with Prince John until 3 April 1497 at Burgos Cathedral, in a ceremony officiated by Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo.

32 Zalama, 2006: 36, points out the possibility that Philip the Fair might have had something to do with the painter's arrival in Spain.

33 De la Torre and Alsina de la Torre, 1956: 320, vol. 2.

34 Torre, 1956: 329, 444 and 479, vol. 2. Further payments are annotated in these years for service to the queen from 1496 until her death in 1504, with final settlement by order of Ferdinand the Catholic on 15 January 1505 at Toro Castle for the last two thirds of his salary for the year 1504. Silva Maroto, 2006a: 33-45; and Zalama, 2010: 48.

> "of normal stature, well composed in her personal form and in the proportion of her limbs, very white and fair, her eyes between blue and green, her gaze gracious and honest, the facial features well placed, the whole face very beautiful and joyful."[35]

There are not many private portraits of Isabella made during her lifetime, but the entries in some inventories and the accounts of the artists who worked for the Catholic Monarchs show that there were more than those now existing. The reason they were not preserved is a lack of interest in keeping them in the royal collections, as demonstrated by the difficulty in selling a group of portraits of the royal family, including two of the queen, in the sale of her goods after her death on 26 November 1504. This is among the information requested by King Ferdinand from the accountant Juan Velázquez in a royal charter of December 1507.[36] In the late sixteenth century, the only portrait of Isabella that appears to figure in the royal collections is the one mentioned in the *Post-mortem Inventory of Philip II* as "a portrait in oil on panel of the Catholic Queen with gilt and black frame, half a *vara* high and a third wide",[37] which has not subsequently been located in any other royal inventory.

The preserved portraits are all small-format works on panel dated between 1490 and 1504. They follow the pattern of the Flemish-Burgundian portrait of the time, characterised by intimacy combined with severity. She is shown bust-length in a slightly foreshortened position against a neuter background in a work notable for its minute execution and sober illumination, together with the simplicity with which the queen is depicted.[38] With no crown or royal mantle, she appears only with a

35 "De comunal estatura, bien compuesta en su persona e en la proporción de sus miembros, muy blanca y rubia, los ojos entre verdes y azules, el mirar gracioso e honesto, las facciones del rostro bien puestas, la cara toda muy hermosa y alegre." Pérez del Pulgar, 1780: 37, II part, chap. IV7, a chronicle that was to conclude in 1486.

36 AGS, CMC, 1ª época, leg. 190, n.d., in Zalama, 2010: 52: "A panel upon which is painted our lady the queen, which was appraised at 750 *maravedís*" and "Another of our lady the queen at 500 *maravedís*. In Zalama, 2010: 306, there is a record of the portrait of her mother that was kept by Joanna at her Palace of Tordesillas: "a panel upon which was painted the figure of Queen Isabella, now in glory." See also Zalama, 2008: 52-53.

37 Its location is given as among the "Paintings hanging in the *guardajoyas* [strongroom]." "Pieza primera", in Checa, 2018: 479.

38 The only written testimony to the simplicity of the monarchs' attire at an official ceremony was given by Antoine de Lalaing, "Primer viaje de Felipe el Hermoso a España en 1501", published by García Mercadal, 1983: 460 and 462, on the occasion of the reception of the archduke and archduchess on 7 May 1502 in Toledo: "I speak not of the vestments of the king and the queen, as they wear no more than woollen cloths." As pointed out by Zalama, 2010: 49-50 and 143, the reason for such apparel is to be sought in an attempt to differentiate themselves on that occasion from the excessive luxury of the court, or perhaps because of the news of the death of Arthur, the Prince of Wales and husband of Catherine, the youngest daughter of the Catholic Monarchs, which apparently reached the court on 8 May.

 https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

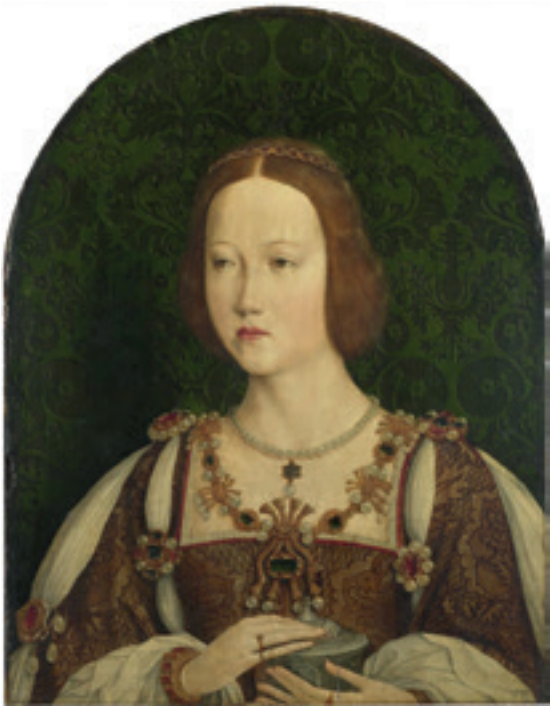

Figure 2. Anonymous Flemish. *Isabella the Catholic.* c. 1520. National Gallery, London. Inv. NG2615.

few elements that can identify her as queen,[39] concentrated in adornments on her garments or small or medium-sized jewels hanging from a chain around the neck.[40]

Michel Sittow almost certainly painted the first individual portrait of Isabella, although it could also have been done by Antonio Inglés, who was there just a year earlier. The only likeness attributed to "Maiestre Michel" in the documents of the period is one mentioned in the 1516 inventory of the goods of Isabella's granddaughter, Margaret of Austria, in her palace of Malines, which is said to show her at the age of thirty. One assumes the artist merely suggested this age, as in 1481 he was not yet working for Isabella.[41] In the next inventory of Margaret's goods in 1523, it is specified what kind of collar the queen wore on her breast: "*ung colier d'emeraudes parles et aultres pierres precieuses*". This collar of emeralds might be recognised in the one worn by a woman richly attired in a gold brocade skirt in the late fifteenth-century style who appears, under the guise of a *Mary Magdalene* with her flask of perfumes, in the National Gallery in London with an anonymous

39 Pérez Monzón, 2006: 577-578; and Nogales, 2011.

40 Yarza, 2005b: 162-164; and Bermejo, 1991.

41 "Ung peti tableaul du chief de la royenne en son eage de XXX ans, fait par maistre Michel", in Michelant, 1870: 68.

https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

attribution and a dating of about 1520[42] [Figure 2]. Pedro Flor very reasonably tried to associate it with the portrait of Isabella in the inventory of Margaret of Austria, not only because the sitter is portrayed at the age of about thirty and because of certain physical coincidences (fair hair, bluish-green eyes) but also because of the collar in question.[43] Although rather more simplified, this ornament can be identified with one of the most important collars in the queen's possession, the famous "collar of the arrows", "all made with gold, pearls and precious stones",[44] which occasionally served as collateral for loans to the Crown owing to its extremely high economic value.[45] The collar can also be recognised in a form similar to the London picture in two medals of 1514 with effigies of the queen in the Jean Jadot Collection (Brussels) and the Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid),[46] and also on the breast of the recumbent statue of her daughter Joanna I of Castile, which Bartolomé Ordóñez sculpted between 1519 and 1520 in Carrara marble for her tomb in the Royal Chapel of Granada.[47] This highly specific Isabelline iconography, with the symbolic collar of the arrows appearing in such different representations, may have a common source in the lost original by Sittow in the collection of Margaret, whose attribution does not appear to be queried given that the painter also worked for the archduchess.[48] The original by Sittow may well have been one of the five portraits of Isabella mentioned in her testamentary inventory,[49] which would afterwards have passed on to Margaret's collection in Malines.[50]

The first individualised portrait of the queen so far recognised as such is the one preserved in the Museo Nacional del Prado[51] [Figure 3], which was purchased in

42 National Gallery, London (NG2615), óleo sobre tabla, 41,3 x 32,4 cm. For a long time, it was identified as a portrait of Queen Mary Tudor.

43 Flor, 2013, recalls that the X-radiogram showed that under the flask was a book of hours, more suited to a high-born lady than a saint.

44 The collar received this name owing to the sixteen sheaves of arrows that were added by order of the queen, as a symbol of the newly unified Crown, by the Barcelona goldsmith Jaume Aymerich to her magnificent "*collar de balajes*", for which she felt great affection as it had formed part of her wedding gift from Ferdinand and had belonged to his mother, Queen Juana Enríquez. The collar is described in detail in Muller, 2012: 16; and Arbeteta, 2004: 172-179.

45 Zalama, 2010: 45 and 75. On the whereabouts of the collar in the times of Charles V, see Prieto Cantera, 1978.

46 Flor, 2013: 4.

47 Angulo, 1951a: 32.

48 This opinion is shared by Weniger, 2018: 492

49 Sánchez Cantón, 1950: 169 and 174.

50 There are several pieces mentioned in the testamentary inventory of Isabella the Catholic that were later recorded in that of Margaret. The best-known of these are the 30 small panels out of the 47 that belonged to the polyptych of Juan de Flandes, of which 15 are preserved today in the royal collections of Patrimonio Nacional, having been acquired in the sale of the goods of the Catholic Queen by her brother Philip the Fair in order to present them to Margaret as a gift. See Zalama, 2006, 36-42.

51 Museo Nacional del Prado, P007656, oil on panel, 21 x 13,3 cm. Angulo, 1950: 443-448; Angulo, 1954; Bermejo, 1991; Silva Maroto, 2005: 550-551, N. 251; Silva Maroto, 2006c: 44,

 https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

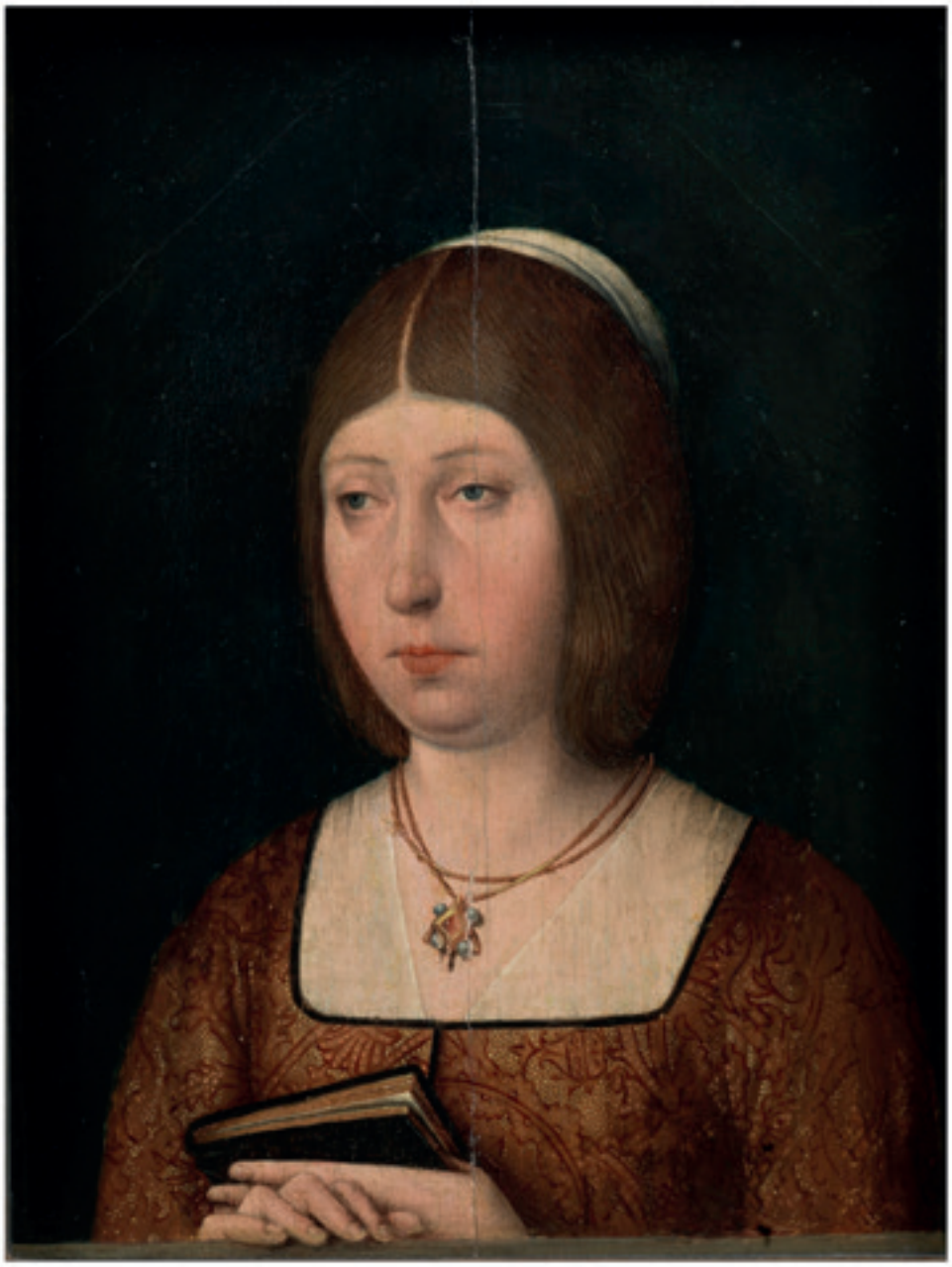

Figure 3. Anonymous Flemish. *Isabella the Catholic*. c. 1490. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, Inv. P007656.

https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

1993 by the Spanish State with funds from the Villaescusa bequest.[52] Previously, it had already been located in 1950 in the Bromley-Davenport Collection in England by Angulo,[53] who noticed that it was similar to the one in Windsor Castle, but inverted and of lesser quality.[54] On the grounds of the sitter's age, Pilar Silva dates the portrait to about 1490, the year when Antonio Inglés was at the queen's service, and suggests him as the possible author on the basis of stylistic parallels with the work in the British Royal Collection at Windsor, which some have attributed to the same English artist.[55] However, since his style is not known with certainty, she thinks it more reasonable to attribute the portrait to an anonymous painter with knowledge of portraiture and Flemish techniques. The painting is constructed in accordance with the northern European tradition, with a three-quarter bust of the queen displayed on a dark background, her right hand resting on a ledge while the left holds a book of hours in order to transmit an image of proven religious devotion. Her apparel is simple, although the gown is of rich brocade, as in the Windsor painting, while the straight hair, drawn back in two halves with a central parting, is covered by a small white coif of the type worn at the back of the head. The jewelled pendant hanging on a chain over the white blouse is a reddish gem surrounded by pearls, and can be related to the one commissioned by the queen in 1484 from her silversmith Pedro Vigil, which appears also to be depicted on other occasions,[56] such as the *Portrait of Daroca* or the woman in the *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* from the polyptych of Isabella the Catholic, generally identified as the queen owing to her similar features and pensive attitude.[57] The appearance of the queen in religious scenes was not a novelty, but what is absolutely innovative here is the simplicity and devotion of the depiction, as she appears as one more witness to a religious mystery among the crowd rather than in the usual official modality of the *pietas regis*.[58]

The most representative and veracious portrait of the queen in the last years of her life is the one in the collection of Patrimonio Nacional, now at the Royal Palace

N. 1; Ruiz Gómez, 2010, pp. 15-16 and 22; Weniger, 2011: 139-140, N. 71; Silva Maroto, 2015: 144-145.

52 It was auctioned at Christie's on 19 May 1992.

53 Angulo, 1950.

54 Angulo, 1951b: 358. The Windsor portrait has its pair of Ferdinand, and both come from the collection of Henry VIII. Torre y del Cerro, 1961, attributes them to Antonio Inglés and dates them before 1490.

55 Silva Maroto, 2006c: 44, n. 1.

56 Arbetera, 2004: 171.

57 García-Frías Checa, 2014: 134-140.

58 It seems as if the painter knew of the comments of the queen's confessor, Hernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, reprimanding the queen for "the expenditure on clothing and new vestments" made on the occasion of the festivities in Perpignan to celebrate the restitution of the counties of Rosellón and La Cerdanya by Charles VIII of France in September 1483, or on that of the marriage of the Infanta Isabella to Prince Alfonso of Portugal in Seville in 1490: Zalama, 2010: 25-26.

 https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

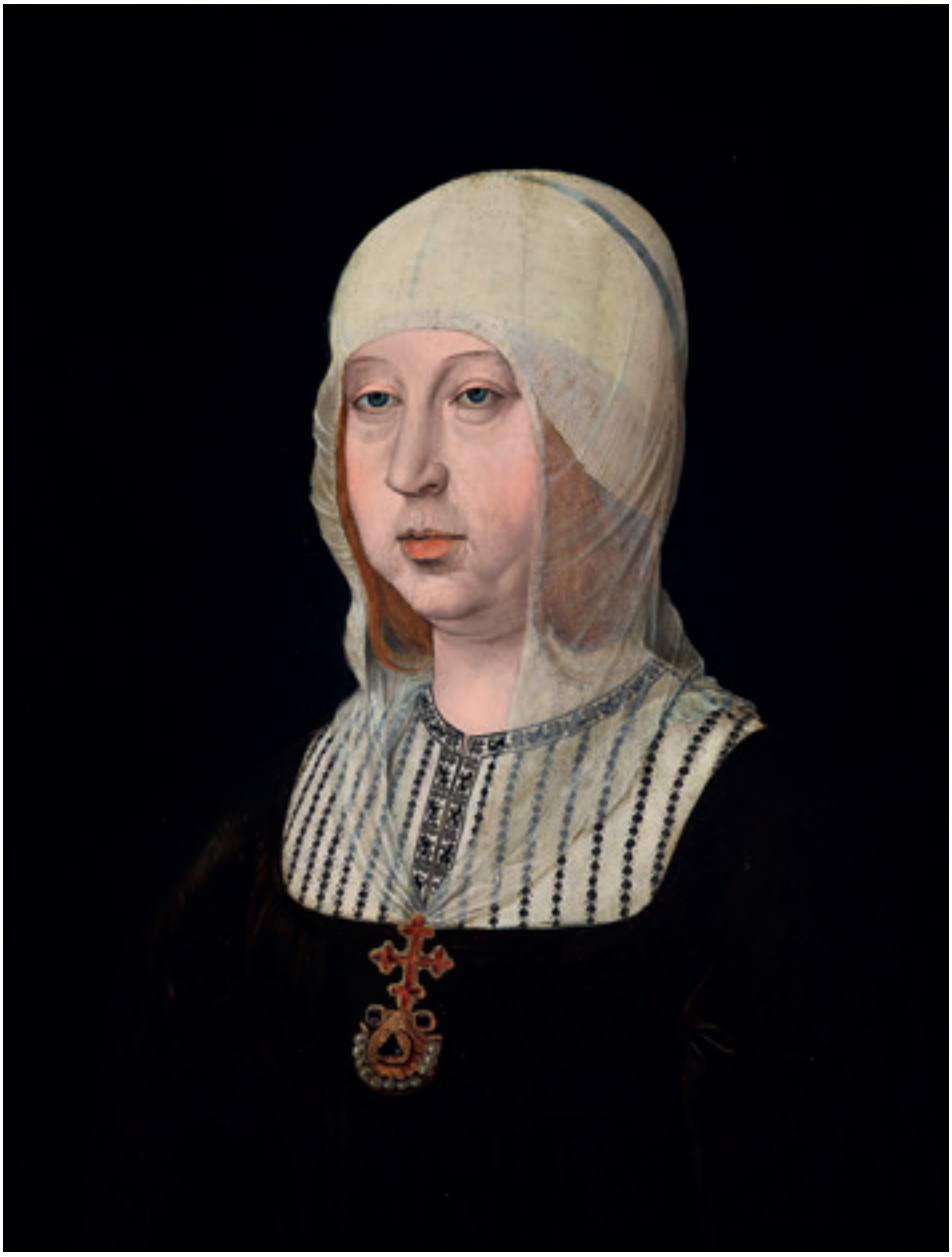

Figure 4. Juan de Flandes. *Isabella the Catholic.* c. 1500. Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de Madrid. Inv. 10072266.

https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

in Madrid, dated between 1500 and 1504[59] [Figure 4]. The queen has a fatigued face that reflects her preoccupations at that moment, which were described by the humanist and chronicler Pedro Martín de Anglería as the "three knives" of the deaths of the crown prince John (†1497), her eldest daughter Isabella, Queen of Portugal (†1498), and the latter's son, Prince Miguel (†1500), not forgetting the emotional instability of her other daughter Joanna.[60] The format is identical, with a three-quarter bust turned to the left against a dark background in accordance with the Flemish-Burgundian portrait tradition. The queen wears a simple greenish-brown dress with an ample square neckline covered by a white blouse striped with black bands and with an embroidered border of the same colour displaying lions rampant and crossed bars representing castles, symbols of the Crown of Castile. Her face is somewhat flaccid, her eyes are of a greyish-blue tone, and her reddish hair is gathered in two parted curves and covered by a thick white headpiece and a transparent coif. All this is enveloped in turn by a thin transparent veil that falls over the shoulders and is attached at the breast to an opulent jewelled pendant, formed by a cross of fleur-de-lys arms of equal length from which there hangs a gold scallop shell with a triangular precious stone in its interior and a row of pearls around it. One of the queen's most emblematic jewels, it has been located in the records of Isabella's accounts: the jewel formed by the cross of Jerusalem and the scallop of Saint James, greatly treasured by the queen owing to the weighty symbolism of both pieces.[61]

Most of the specialised historians have had no doubts in attributing the portrait to Juan de Flandes, as his are the soft shadows, the care in transposing the qualities of the materials, and the painstaking rendition of the folds on the dress or the blouse, or of the separate tufts of hair. The portrait is painted on an oak support that can be seen through the clamps and ochre paint covering the reverse, a type of support habitual in other works by Juan de Flandes at the time he was working for the queen, such as the copy of the *Miraflores Triptych* by Rogier van der Weyden (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), the *Altarpiece of Saint John the Baptist* (dispersed among the Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio; Museum Mayer van der Bergh, Antwerp; Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva; and a private collection in Madrid), or the fifteen small panels of the *Polyptych of the Queen* (Patrimonio Nacional). The original panel, a single piece of wood of 32.8 x 23.5 cm with a thickness of 4 mm, had about 10 cm added to the perimeter to give it its current measurements of 43.4 x 34.2 cm, possibly the

59 Patrimonio Nacional, Inv. 10072266, óleo sobre tabla, 44 x 35,6 cm. Angulo, 1951a: 36-38; Yarza, 2005b: 162-164; Weniger, 2011: 141-142, n. 74; and Silva Maroto, 2014: 130-134.

60 Angulo, 1951a: 39.

61 In 1483, Vegil fashioned a cross for the queen with the emblem of the crusade, for which he was paid 485 *maravedís*: in AGS, Contaduría Mayor, Leg. 6, *Libro de la quenta del cargo y datta del thesorero Gonçalo de Baeça*, years 1477 to 1491, pub. by TORRE and ALSINA, 1955: 19, vol. 1. Four years later, the silversmith Fernando de Vallesteros received the necessary gold to make another cross, which in this case was also to carry a scallop shell. On the symbolic importance of the jewel, see Arbeteta, 2004: 175; and Muller, 2012: 25.

 https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

result of an undocumented intervention in the second half of the nineteenth century, but earlier than 1873, while clamping was also inserted to reinforce the assembly.[62] The basic reason for this intervention may have been that its small size left little room for the jewel, though its measurements were adjusted to those of every true likeness at that time, or more particularly that in keeping with the fashion of the moment, it was to be adapted to an oval frame, whose outline was incised into the paint in the corners. Without a doubt, the portrait of Isabella is recognisable as the one which appears in the 1873 inventory of the Royal Palace in Madrid, not only on account of the measurements, already enlarged, but above all because it is described as "*embarrotado*" (strengthened with bars), which would allow us to date the restoration earlier than 1873.[63] The portrait with the new frame can be seen in a picture taken in the early twentieth century[64] by the photographer of the Royal Household, Antonio Barcia, of the mansion at Calle Quintana, number 7 [Figure 5] that was owned by the daughter of Isabella II, the Infanta Isabel de Borbón, affectionately nicknamed "*La Chata*". As the namesake of the Catholic Queen, she was authorised to use it for the decoration of one of her rooms in the mansion, where she started living independently in 1902.[65] It had the oval frame until 1949, when, after a new restoration by Antonio Bisquert, the firm Hijos de J. Cano was commissioned to make its current frame, much more in keeping with the aesthetics of the portrait. This was when it was transferred to the Royal Palace of El Pardo "as ornamentation for the rooms of H.E. the Head of State".[66] Reflectographic imaging shows the thick black lines that delimit the whole contour and mark its position with considerable exactitude, almost without rectifications. These brushstrokes must have been made to mark the perimeter for transferring the details of the figure, possibly by tracing. The schematic nature of the brushwork leads to very specific features, such as the folds in the coif or the garments. These are given very summary treatment, indicating only the areas where the folds are to go. The painting has good radiographic contrast, and only the difficulties presented by the clamping and the ochre paint prevent us from clearly appreciating the details of a composition that seems rich in nuances.

62 Angulo, 1951a: 37, suggests the enlargement may have been carried out by the painter Nicolás Segundo de Lema, who was assigned an undated restoration during those years.

63 AGP, Administración General, Leg. 40, Exp. 15: n. 4431. In the meantime, "The oval portrait of Isabella the Catholic" appears in a provisional list of "pictures, busts and tapestries to be found at the Palace of the Plaza de Oriente in Madrid, Casa del Labrador in Aranjuez, Casa de Abajo in El Escorial, and at the monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial," requested for exhibiting at the Museo Nacional del Prado on 5 June 1874, a petition that was never finally met: Archivo Museo del Prado, Leg. 11200, Caja 1341, Exp. 5: File on the pictures requested from the Palace. June 1874.

64 Patrimonio Nacional, AGP, Inv. FODI, 10166927.

65 In the testamentary inventory of 'La Chata' in 1931, it was located in the Lady's Office in the mansion and given the number 596: "Oil on panel. Portrait of Isabella the Catholic". From there, it later returned at an unspecified date to the Royal Palace in Madrid.

66 AGP, Administración General, Caja 2306/17.

Figure 5. Library. Mansion of the Infanta Isabel de Borbón in Calle Quintana, Madrid. Patrimonio Nacional, Archivo General de Palacio, Inv. Fodi 10166927.

Patrimonio Nacional holds an anonymous replica of the original portrait by Juan de Flandes [Figure 6],[67] possibly painted in a year close to that of the original by a Castilian artist of the queen's entourage, as is indicated by the pine support and the sizing of the painting with gesso. It is hard to specify an authorship, although various specialists have tried to attribute it to Bartolomé Bermejo (Tormo 1926), a painter of the Toledan school (Diego Angulo), or the early work of Juan de Borgoña (Elisa Bermejo).[68] The compositional variants in the model of the queen are minimal in the two portraits, which has led to a great deal of confusion regarding their authorship and history, even though the differences in style and technique are quite clear.[69] The mistaken attributions began when Barcia decided in 1907 that the copy was the original and the original the copy,[70] controverting the correct assessments of the two versions that had previously been made by Carderera in 1877, when he saw the portrait by Juan de Flandes "in some storeroom at the palace in Madrid"[71] before it was hung in one of the antechambers, and by Martí Monsó in 1904.[72] The restoration of the original portrait by Antonio Bisquert between 1948 and 1949 was fundamental for correcting the error, as the technical report was accompanied by an unsigned scientific study, possibly carried out by Sánchez Cantón under the

67 Patrimonio Nacional, Inv. 10010174, óleo sobre lienzo, 36 x 26 cm. Bosarte, 1804: 273, vol. 1; Martí y Monsó, 1903-1904; Sánchez Cantón, 1948: 94; Silva Maroto, 2006a: 271-274; and Weniger, 2011: 140-141, n. 73.

68 Tormo, 1926; Angulo, 1951a: 36; and Bermejo, 1991: 53-55.

69 The original measurements of the panel are very similar to those of the original by Juan de Flandes, 32.5 x 24.5 cm, although they have also been enlarged with a reinforcement panel of some 2 cm assembled with half-lap joints all around the perimeter, giving a total size of 35.5 x 26.6 cm. The thickness of the panel has been reduced to an average thickness of 8 mm. No underdrawing is detected by infrared reflectography, which indicates that a stencil was used, although no signs of transfer are visible.

70 De Barcia, 1907.

71 Carderera, 1877: 8, N. 4.

72 Martí y Monsó, 1903-1904.

https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

Figure 6. Anonymous Castilian. Copy of the original by Juan de Flandes. *Isabella the Catholic*. c. 1520.? Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de El Pardo, Inv. 10010174.

supervision of Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, then the director of the Art Treasure Service of Patrimonio Nacional.[73] Haverkamp's illuminating article of 1952, which attributed it indisputably to Juan de Flandes,[74] together with the most recent technical analyses

73 AGP, Administración General, Caja 17392, exp. 58.

74 Haverkamp-Begemann, 1952.

carried out in 2004 by Patrimonio Nacional, have clearly established the authenticity of this portrait. In the copy, a simpler technique is appreciable, as the glazing is limited to a final stratum over an opaque base applied in a single layer, whereas the other version is seen to have several thin semi-transparent layers superimposed on one another. From the stylistic point of view, "the features are not well placed, the eyes are treated with less detail and expression, and the character of the face varies, with features rendered more superficially and in a different technique and manner." The coif does not allow the hair to be seen beneath it but is here made opaque, "since the artist is incapable of differentiating the tones." The only compositional difference with regard to the original is one still reiterated by many current art historians. This is the cross of the Order of Santiago that went over the scallop shell on the pendent that adorns the queen's breast, and which was shown to be false [Figure 7] during the 2004 restoration, when it was easily removed. It was probably added during some nineteenth-century intervention in the assumption that it must have featured in the original, since many of the representations of the queen after her death, from the recumbent image of the queen's tomb by Fancelli to the nineteenth-century depictions contemporary with the supposed addition, show her with the cross of Santiago over the scallop shell.

There is also some confusion about how these two panels joined the Spanish Royal Collections. One of the two versions comes from the Charterhouse of Miraflores in Burgos, where it was described in 1526 by the Venetian ambassador, Andrea Navaggiero. In his account of his visit to the monastery, he relates that "*nel Coro vi è un bel retratto della Regina Ysabella, già vecchia.*"[75] It is not strange that there should have been a painted likeness of Isabella the Catholic at the Charterhouse, as after her visit in July 1483, she personally took charge of funding the completion and decoration of the building, which had been founded in 1441 by her father John II (1406-1454) and had been left unfinished upon his death.[76] The queen wanted to make the Charterhouse into a sumptuous mortuary chapel for the tombs of her parents, John II and Isabella of Portugal, and of her brother, the Infante Alfonso, with the aim of strengthening the Trastámara dynasty.[77] This explains her determination that major art works deposited there by John II, such as the *Triptych* of Rogier van der Weyden, should remain, as well as the commissioning of the tombs from Gil de Siloé.[78]

75 "In the Choir there is a fine portrait of Queen Isabella, already old." García Mercadal, 1983: 76-77. Navaggiero travelled through Spain after the imperial wedding of Charles V and Isabella of Portugal. He was in Burgos from 1527 to 1528 to assist in the conclusion of the peace negotiations between Charles V and the League of Cognac.

76 Cañas Gálvez, 2016: 20-29.

77 Yarza, 1988: 267-268, believes that Isabella wanted to "focus attention on the line of succession stemming from the second wife," as she neglected to provide a tomb for her father's first wife, Maria of Aragón.

78 The works donated to Miraflores by John II of Castile are recorded in the *Libro Becerro*, as indicated by Ponz, 1783: 57-58, vol. XII.

 https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

Figure 7. Anonymous Castilian. Detail of the cross of Santiago. Copy of the original by Juan de Flandes. *Isabella the Catholic*. Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de El Pardo, Inv. 10010174.

It has traditionally been thought that the original by Juan de Flandes is the version given to Philip V (1700-1724) and Maria Luisa of Savoy (1701-1714) in exchange for some portraits of the young monarchs as a result of their visit to the Charterhouse between 1704 and 1706.[79] Curiously, however, it does not appear to have been recognised at any of the royal palaces until the second half of the nineteenth century. The copy also belonged to the Charterhouse of Miraflores, and is held to be the painting mentioned in that building by Ponz in 1783 and by Bosarte in 1804, specifically "next to the door of the sacristy, near the tomb of the Infante Don Alfonso."[80] It is considered to be the painting that was given in 1845 by the city of Burgos to Maria Christina of Bourbon (1829-1833) on the occasion of her visit with her daughter Isabella II.[81] Maria Christina took one of the two portraits with her when she was exiled in Paris, and this would probably have been the version she had supposedly been given – that is, the copy. Upon her death in 1878, it appears in her will,[82] whereby it passed to her daughter Isabella II, in whose inventory of goods, made in Paris in 1904, it is recorded in the antechamber of the Palace of Castile.[83] The picture was inherited by her grandson, Alfonso XIII (1886-1913), as it was displayed

79 Tarín y Juaneda, 1896: 233.

80 Ponz, 1783: 57-58, Vol. XII; and Bosarte, 1804: 273: "It is known to have been painted from life, although its size is somewhat smaller, and it is very well executed. It contains only the head and the shoulders, or as one is wont to say, the bust."

81 Martí y Monsó, 1903-1904.

82 Will of María Cristina de Borbón, in AGP, Administración General, Leg. 1161, exp. 1: n. 141: "El cuadro de la reina Isabel la Católica, por su valor 2.000 ptas." ("The picture of Queen Isabella the Catholic, valued at 2,000 pesetas").

83 *Inventaire aprés le déces de sa Majesté la Reine Isabelle de Bourbon,* in AGP, Sección Histórica, Caja 158, exp. 16: "Portrait de la Reine Isabelle la Catholique, Ecole Espagnole".

in some showcases along with other artworks in the Hall of Arms of the Royal Palace in Madrid, as shown by several photographs taken at that time. It was then, in 1907, that Barcia came across it and attributed the copy to Juan de Flandes, leading to all the subsequent confusion.[84] The original was then still in the mansion of 'La Chata', upon whose death in 1931 it was also transferred to the Royal Palace in Madrid. The portrait by Juan de Flandes at the Charterhouse soon won a reputation as the truest likeness of Isabella the Catholic, and many derivations from the prototype he established are observable from the fifteenth century onwards, mainly painted for courtiers avid for images of the virtuous queen. There is no doubt that several more portraits than those preserved today were painted during her lifetime, and there may well have been a similar original that always remained at court, since the painters who worked for the Crown needed authentic models to copy, and the Charterhouse was a long way from the court.

3. ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC IN THE COMMON MEMORY

Isabella remained in the common historical memory, and her image recurs quite frequently throughout the history of Spanish painting until well into the nineteenth century. The iconography of the queen in the projects executed just after her death, in November 1504, still had political ends. In these works, produced when Ferdinand the Catholic (†1516) was still alive or shortly afterwards, she still appears alongside the king thanks to the unconditional support of her grandson, Charles V (1516-1556). A clear example is the effigy of the Catholic Monarchs united by a giant sceptre on a medallion on the west front of the University of Salamanca, a highly representative image of the joint power of their reign, which was a question of great importance to Charles V and his advisors.[85] The reinterpretation of the Royal Chapel in Granada as a dynastic mausoleum was also the work of her grandson Charles V, who arranged for the translation of the remains of the Catholic Monarchs in 1520, and commissioned new statues of the kneeling figures of his grandparents from Diego Siloé in 1526 to replace some earlier sculptures by Felipe Bigarny on the altarpiece of the presbytery.[86] This change was a result of the emperor's interest in endowing the chapel with a courtly significance in accordance with the monarchy's commitments to the defence of the Christian faith, and it was therefore Siloé's images that were taken as a model for the recurrent iconography aimed at recalling the devotional aspect of the monarchs, such as the solemn kneeling statues of Isabella and Ferdinand that were commissioned from the sculptor Pedro de Mena (1675-

84 See note 70.

85 Morte, 2014: 351-353.

86 As pointed out by Angulo: 1951a: 52, the queen wears the striped white blouse of her iconic portraits at the Charterhouse of Miraflores.

 https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

1677) for the jambs of the transversal arch linking the high chapel of the cathedral with the central nave,[87] or the images of the monarchs praying, this time standing, that are now in the Casa de los Tiros, and originally came from some disentailed convent in Granada.[88] Rather different are the seventeenth-century paintings of the kneeling monarchs, which show them beneath a complicated Baroque baldachin. Examples include the image of the royal couple in an anonymous composition that shows them in a late Gothic church similar to San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, where the painting originates,[89] or the separate royal figures painted by Francisco Alonso Argüello in 1649 for the sides of the chapel of La Antigua in Granada Cathedral,[90] which reinforce the presence of Ferdinand and Isabella in the church they founded and to which they donated the sculpture of the Virgin of La Antigua.

The memory of Isabella's image occupied a leading place in nearly all the iconic series patronised by the Royal Household, since every dynastic representation was a crucial document for a hereditary monarchy. As early as 1478, the Catholic Monarchs had ordered their images to be placed in the gallery of kings in the Ambassadors' Hall of the Reales Alcázares (Royal Fortress) in Seville, but the portrait of the queen is not preserved because the iconographic programme was completely renewed in the time of Philip III (1598-1621).[91] Dating from the period of Philip II is the reorganisation of the old Hall of Kings in the Alcázar of Segovia, for which the king ordered the inclusion in 1591 of images of the Catholic Monarchs and Joanna I of Castile.[92] Unfortunately, this series disappeared in the fire of 1862, but the seated sculptural images in gilt and polychrome wood are known to us because the king commissioned the painter and illuminator Hernando de Ávila in 1591 to produce a parallel series with the images of the kings for the *Libro de retratos, letreros e insignias reales de los Reyes de Oviedo, León y Castilla de la Sala Real de los Alcaçares de Segovia ordenados por mandado del Catholico Rey Don Philippe II. Año 1591*, now in the library of the Museo Nacional del Prado.[93] Isabella's iconography seems to respond to some of the descriptions of her public appearances by the chroniclers. She wears a gown of crimson velvet and an ermine mantle, while the striped blouse with the symbols of the lions and castles, the jewelled pendent and the coif are very similar to those appearing in the original portrait by Juan de Flandes at the Royal Palace in Madrid. Like the rest of the statues, here is also crowned and holds the sceptre in

87 Morte, 2014: 370.

88 Angulo, 1951a: 43-44; and Morte, 2014: 371-372.

89 Now at the Museo Nacional del Prado, P005090.

90 Gila Medina, 2007: 405-406.

91 Castillo Oreja, 2002; Morales Martínez, 2002: 47, draws attention to the absence of queens, and especially to the omission of Isabella the Catholic, so closely linked to the history of the Real Alcázar in Seville.

92 Tormo, 1917: 17-28; and Nogales, 2011.

93 Collar de Cáceres, 1983: 7-35.

her left hand, while from the right hangs a rosary as a sign of her personal devotion. Also dating from 1591 is the edition illustrated by Johannes Moretus of the Castilian translation by Hernando de Acuña of *El caballero determinado* (*Le chevalier délibéré*) by Olivier de La Marche, which includes, among other novelties, the heroic battle against death of Charles V's maternal grandparents, Ferdinand and Isabella.[94] In the scene devoted to Isabella's struggle against death, the queen appears as an armed Minerva with a staff of office, seated on a triumphal chariot with the royal arms and the emblem of the Catholic Monarchs, the yoke and the arrows. The very unusual iconography of this interpretation is somewhat reminiscent of the Renaissance repertory of the *Triumphs of Petrarch*.

After the fire at El Pardo in 1604, work began on replacing the gallery of portraits of the House of Austria from the period of Philip II, which had been destroyed. It was then that his son, Philip III, decided that the series would go back to the Catholic Monarchs, the originators of the dynasty, and commissioned it from the court painter Juan Pantoja de la Cruz. The gallery was completed with paintings on the ceiling which were to represent the accomplishments of Charles V, but which also showed some scenes of great significance for the Spanish Crown, *The Taking of Granada* and *Boabdil Surrenders the Keys to the City to the Catholic Monarchs*, painted by Francisco López. The portrait of Isabella the Catholic, painted by Pantoja before his death in 1608, has not survived, but from the description in the "Inventory of 1614 of the 35 pictures painted by Pantoja for the Royal Palace of El Pardo", it evidently depicted her "dressed in crimson velvet with sleeves of yellow cloth embroidered at the edges, curtains of brocade, appearing at a window with a landscape."[95] This apparel is very similar to that chosen by Hernando de Ávila for his *Libro de retratos* (Book of portraits), though without the ermine mantle. Four years later, in 1611, Philip III ordered Francisco de Mora to have copies made of the portraits of the Catholic Monarchs in the friary of Santo Domingo in Granada, which must have been known as *verae effigies*. They were commissioned that year from the Granadine painter Pedro Raxes or Raxis, who painted them full-length, unlike the three-quarter-length portraits of the gallery of El Pardo.[96] Nothing is known of Raxis's originals, but a reference appears shortly afterwards to two full-length portraits of the royal couple in the 1636 inventory of the Alcázar in Madrid, which are currently identified with those in the Museo Nacional del Prado[97] [Figure 8]. Raxis was a reputed Granadine painter of the

94 Santiago, 1993: 45-47.

95 *Inventario realizado por Hernando del Espejo de los treinta y cincos retratos que Juan Pantoja de la Cruz pintó para la Casa Real de El Pardo,* Madrid, 17 May 1614, in Aguirre, 1923: 201; Lapuerta, 2002: 504, doc. 65; and Kusche, 2007: 500, doc. 20.

96 AGP, Administración General, leg. 902, fol. 224, published by Lapuerta, 2002: 415; and Kusche: 2007: 156-157.

97 Museo Nacional del Prado, P006080, óleo sobre lienzo, 248 x 166 cm. Martínez Leiva and Rodríguez Rebollo, 2007: 76, n. 138: "Queen Isabella the Catholic. A portrait from life of Queen Isabella the Catholic with a sign beneath that declares her shining virtues and the works she

 https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

time with some prestige as a portraitist, and is known to have produced such singular portraits as that of *Saint John of God* in the Museo de la Casa de los Pisa in Granada, or those of various archbishops for the episcopology of the ecclesiastical Curia of that city, among them that of *Fray Pedro González de Mendoza*.[98]

The type of portraiture recalls that employed with the monarchs at the Alcázar, with a peculiar way of drawing the figures' features that strongly marks the eye sockets and delineates the eyebrows, as well as an idiosyncratic way of folding the drapery. Even the setting of the room, with its chequerboard floor and crumpled curtain, is fairly close to that of the same painter's *Saint Hyacinth before the Virgin and Child* (Museo de Bellas Artes, Granada). All this leads us to suggest the attribution of the portraits from the Alcázar de Madrid to Raxis, who would have been obliged to copy them from the Granadine models at Santo Domingo. Curiously, the effigy used for the queen is once more the one reproduced in 1591 by Hernando de Ávila, with exactly the same gown of crimson velvet, striped white blouse with lions and castles, and coif with the veil gathered back, although this image differs from those of Hernando de Ávila and Juan de Flandes in that the queen wears a scallop shell with the cross of Santiago, as does the recumbent figure of Isabella on her tomb by Fancelli in the nearby Royal Chapel of Granada.

In the seventeenth century, these portraits at El Pardo by Pantoja (1607-1608) and at the Alcázar in Madrid, here attributed to Raxis (1611), proved to be a clear iconographic referent for the configuration of future representations. All are repetitions of this recurrent image with the common denominator of their moderate artistic quality, even though some are by well-known artists. They were always destined for prestigious portrait galleries, like the one by Antonio Ricci (between 1607 and 1611) for the series of three-quarter-length royal effigies in the library of the College of Corpus Christi in Valencia, still *in situ*, commissioned by Saint John de Ribera, Patriarch of the Indies and Archbishop of Valencia,[99] or the anonymous work in the gallery of portraits of the kings and queens of Spain, also three-quarter-length, at the Royal Palace of El Generalife in Granada, some of which were transferred in 1921 to the Casa de los Tiros in that city, where they are to be seen today, with a portrait of Isabella that presents the variety of showing her in a blue gown.[100] Another such work is the anonymous seventeenth-century portrait, just over half-length, at the Museo Naval in Madrid, which entered that museum by order of Isabella II, and

performed," located in the "fourth room where the fountain is". In 1777, Ponz, *op. cit.*, VI, ed. 1988, p. 286, describes them as located in the "Antechamber of the Queen's Room" at the palace of El Buen Retiro, where they continue in the 1808 inventory, in AGP, Administración General, Leg. 38, as works by Antonio del Rincón with the numbers 489 and 490, which are inscribed in the lower corners.

98 Gila Medina, 2019: 160.

99 Benito Domenech, 1980: 195, n. 266 and 310-311.

100 Tormo, 1917: 280.

came originally from the Real Museo de Pintura y Escultura, and so from the Royal Collection, while a further example is the so far unidentified work by Andrés López Polanco (1634) for the series of fourteen full-length portraits of the House of Austria for the Procurator to His Majesty, Antonio de la Cerda Martel.[101] In the meantime, there are versions of the queen as a pair with Ferdinand, like the one produced by Alonso Cano for the series of Castilian kings in the Golden Hall of the Alcázar in Madrid, which disappeared during the fire in the building in 1734,[102] or the one existing in the Royal Chamber of the Augustinian convent of Santa María de Gracia in Madrigal de las Altas Torres (Ávila), which originally seems to have been full-length. One curiosity is the face of Isabella copied from the prototype at the Alcázar in Madrid in a bust of the Virgin at the monastery of Las Descalzas Reales, a work that fits into the category of the portrait *a lo divino*.[103] This is not to be wondered at, as the virtues of piety, purity and honesty, characteristic of the Virgin, had been steadily attributed by the chroniclers to Isabella as a model for all around her.

4. THE IMPORTANCE OF ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The iconography of Isabella the Catholic acquired enormous importance in the course of the nineteenth century.[104] Not only was there a demand for portraits of Isabella that reproduced earlier models, but the most outstanding events of her reign were also reconstructed within the genre of history painting, which became so prominent during that century. During the period of Ferdinand VII (1808, 1814-1833), the image of Isabella already figured in some of the iconographic programmes of the still incomplete decoration of the Royal Palace in Madrid, such as the cycle of grisailles for the parlour of Queen Maria Isabel of Braganza, which was commissioned in 1816 on the occasion of her marriage to the king.[105] However, it was after the conflict that arose with the birth of Isabella II and the promulgation of the Pragmatic Sanction, which led to the First Carlist War, that an extraordinary political propaganda campaign was launched to underscore the historical legitimacy of the heir to the throne, a woman also called Isabella like the iconic queen who had unified the kingdoms of Spain and performed acts of heroism recalling a glorious past.[106] However, Queen Maria Christina of Bourbon also tried to emulate Isabella I of Castile during the last months of the illness of her husband Ferdinand VII, when she saw that her role as Queen Regent during the minority of her daughter was fast approaching. There are several works of art that

101 Caturla, 1956: 389-405, docs. III-XIV.

102 Aterido, 2002.

103 Patrimonio Nacional, Inv. 00612514. García Sanz and Ruiz Gómez, 2000: 148 and 157, n. 82.

104 Díez: 2006.

105 Díez, 2006: 99.

106 Díez, 2006: 101.

 https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

demonstrate her interest in reinforcing her dynastic legitimacy, one of the most curious being a portrait of Maria Christina disguised as Isabella the Catholic, possibly for one of the masked balls so popular at that time, of which there are two identical versions painted by Valentín Carderera: one at the Royal Palace in Madrid, signed in Paris in 1842[107] [Figure 9], and the second, dated in 1844, which went on sale on the art market in 2001 and 2002.[108] Both pictures are a romantic interpretation of the best-known image of Isabella, in which it is possible to identify the dress with its square neckline and puffed sleeves, the hair gathered back around a parting and covered by a veil, and the jewelled pendent made up of a scallop shell with the cross of Santiago and a hanging cross.

In line with the strategic plans of Isabella II's political advisors to consolidate her legitimacy on the throne is José de Madrazo's initiative to create the *Chronological Series of the Kings of Spain* for the galleries of the Real Museo de Pinturas y Esculturas, of which he was then the director. The enterprise was approved by Isabella II herself through a Royal Order of 1 December 1847, and the task was assigned to the young painters closest to Madrazo, who were to find their iconographic models among the royal palaces and estates.[109] The monarchs who began the cycle of 87 portraits were Isabella and Ferdinand, and it was to end with Isabella II and her consort Francisco de Asís. The portrait of Isabella the Catholic was commissioned from the painter's son, Luis de Madrazo [Figure 10],[110] who was provided with the model of the full-length portrait for the Alcázar in Madrid that has already been mentioned so often. It was by now at the Royal Palace in Madrid, having been transferred there from the palace of El Buen Retiro, which had been badly damaged during the Napoleonic invasion. Some years earlier, in 1817, the court engraver Blas Amatller had obtained permission from the Royal Household to take it to his studio and engrave it.[111] The print came out in 1820, helping to make the three-quarter version of the model better known. Madrazo repeats the successful iconography fairly exactly, including the cross of Santiago over the apostle's scallop shell which featured so prominently in the nineteenth-century restoration of the copy of the original by Juan de Flandes belonging to Patrimonio Nacional. However, the elegant and stylised bearing is completely different, and belongs instead to the portraitists' language of the Madrazos. One great novelty is the addition of the sceptre held in the drawn version by Hernando de Ávila.

107 Patrimonio Nacional, Inv. 10079379, óleo sobre lienzo, 80 x 50,5 cm.

108 Subastas Segre, September 2001, lot 216, and again in March 2002, lot 112, published by Díez, 2006: 102.

109 Díez, 2006: 103-104; and Díez and Gutiérrez, 2015: 375.

110 Museo Nacional del Prado, P006088, óleo sobre lienzo, 225 x 140,8 cm.

111 The permit for Ametller to carry out the engraving is to be found in AGP, Fernando VII, Caja 341/52: "Expediente para realizar un grabado del cuadro de Isabel la Católica que se cree pintó Antonio del Rincón".

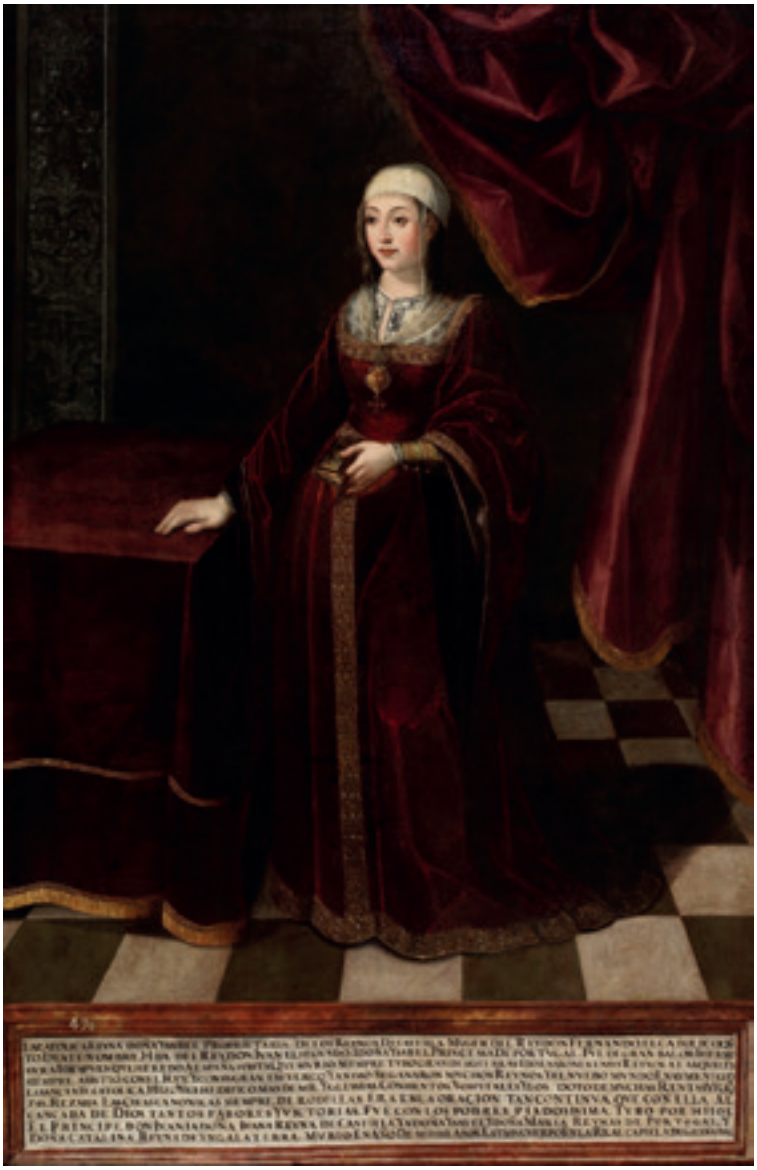

Figure 8. Here attributed to Pedro de Raxis. *Isabella the Catholic*. 1611. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, Inv. P006080.

Another ambitious contemporary scheme for a gallery of portraits was the *Iconografía Española*, a "collection of portraits, statues, mausoleums and other previously unseen monuments of kings, queens, great captains, writers etc. from the 11th to 18th centuries", which was prepared by Valentín Carderera for publication

 https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

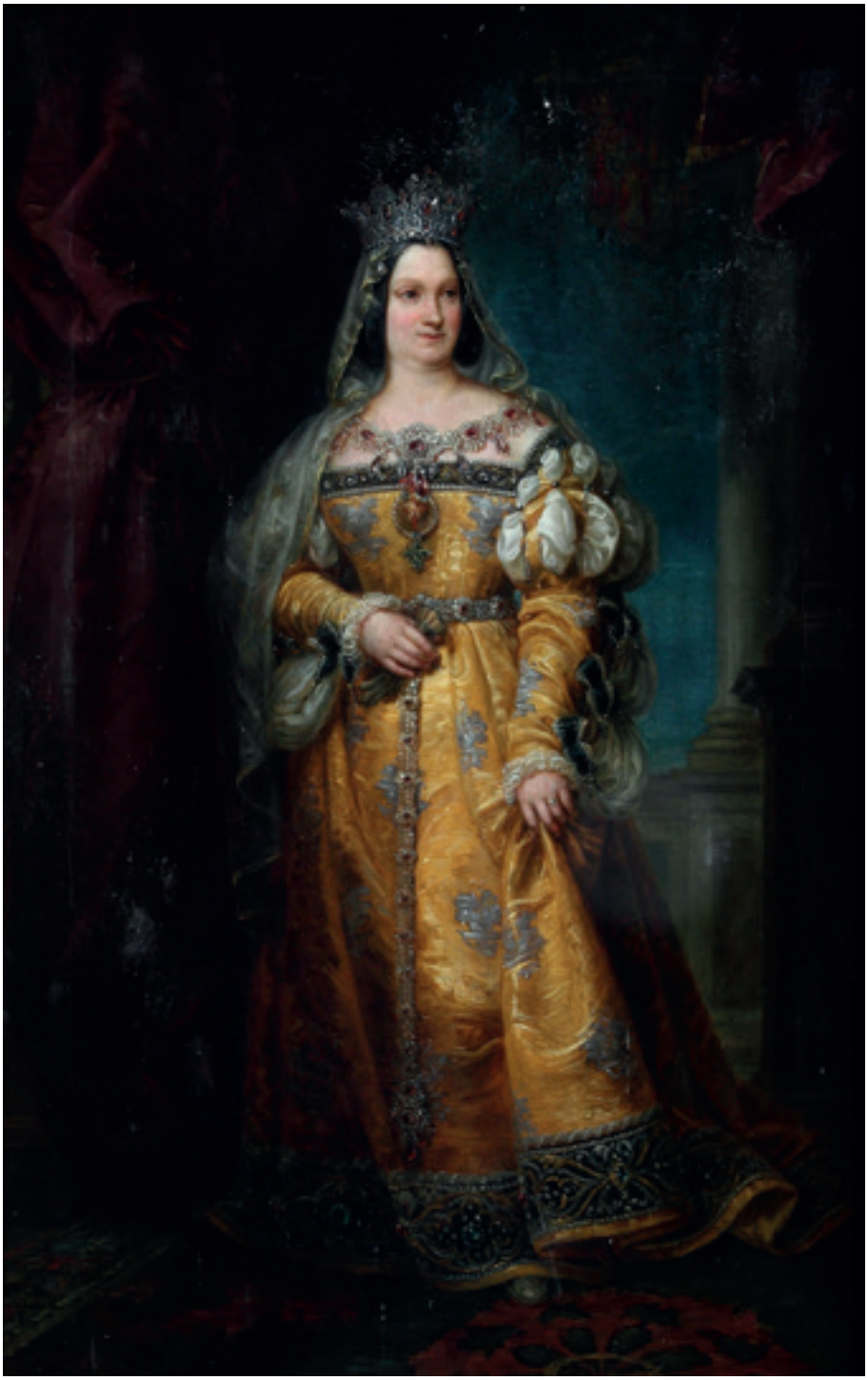

Figure 9. Valentín Carderera, *Maria Christina of Bourbon as Isabella the Catholic*. Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio de la Quinta de El Pardo, Inv. 10079379.

https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

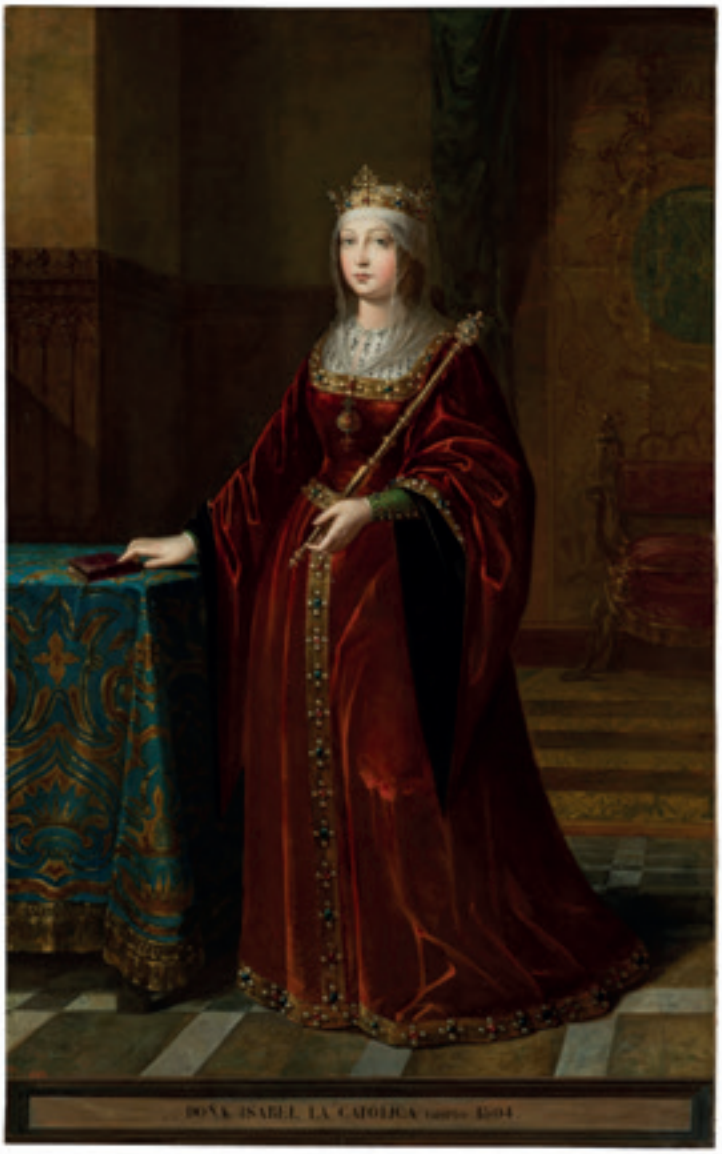

Figure 10. Luis de Madrazo y Kuntz. *Isabella the Catholic*. c. 1848. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, Inv. P006088.

in instalments between 1855 and 1864.[112] The chromolithographs of Isabella, Ferdinand and their two children were taken from the panel of the *Virgin of the Catholic Monarchs*, which came from Santo Tomás in Ávila and was by then in the Museo de la Trinidad.

112 Lanzarote, 2019.

https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

Influenced by this Isabelline craze, both official institutions and private collectors wanted an image of Isabella the Catholic. Several copies of the two portraits (original and copy) in the Spanish Royal Collection were made throughout the nineteenth century, such as the one at the Real Academia de la Historia, which reproduces Juan de Flandes's original quite exactly, although with some rectifications by the copyist, whose attempts at correcting errors include the depiction of actual castles on the edge of the blouse.[113] Another is the one at the Instituto Gómez-Moreno, acquired by the scholar Manuel Gómez-Moreno in 1960 from an antiquarian in Granada,[114] which copies the anonymous Castilian version and is said to be a sixteenth-century replica, although it looks more like a nineteenth-century work.[115]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aguirre, R. (1923): "Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, pintor de cámara", *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, 3, pp. 201-205.

Angulo, D. (1950): "Un nuevo retrato de Isabel la Católica", *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia*, 147, pp. 443-448.

Angulo, D. (1951a): *Isabel la Católica. Sus retratos, sus vestidos y sus joyas,* Santander: Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo.

Angulo, D. (1951b): "El retrato de Isabel la Católica del Palacio de Windsor", *Arbor*, 18: 63, p. 358.

Angulo, D. (1954): "El retrato de Isabel la Católica de la colección Bromfield Davenport", *Archivo Español de Arte*, 27: 107, pp. 260-261.

Arbeteta, L. (2004): "La *corona rica* y otras joyas de estado de la reina Isabel I", en Checa, F. [coord.]: *Isabel la Católica. La magnificencia de un reinado*, Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales – Junta de Castilla y León, pp. 169-186.

Aterido, A. (2002): "Alonso Cano y 'la alcoba de su majestad': la serie regia del Alcázar de Madrid", *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, 20: 38, pp. 9-36.

Barcia, A.M. de (1907): "Retratos de Isabel la Católica procedentes de la Cartuja de Miraflores", *Revista de Archivos, Biblioteca y Museos*, 17, pp. 5-16.

Benito Domenech, F. (1980): *Pinturas y pintores en el Real Colegio de Corpus Christi,* Valencia: Federico Domenech.

113 ANGULO, *op. cit.*, 1951a, p. 40; and H. GONZÁLEZ ZYMLA and L. FRUTOS SASTRE, "Retrato de Isabel la Católica", *Tesoros de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, 2001, n. 200.

114 E. GÓMEZ MORENO, *Catálogo de las pinturas del Instituto Gómez-Moreno,* Granada, 1982, pp. 116-117, n. 9.

115 English translation by Philip Sutton.

Bermejo Martínez, E. (1991): "Retratos de Isabel la Católica", *Reales Sitios: Revista del Patrimonio Nacional*, 110, pp. 45-56.

Bosarte, I. (1978 [1804]): *Viaje artístico a varios pueblos de España con el juicio de las obras de las tres nobles artes que en ellos existen y épocas a qué pertenecen*, Madrid: Turner.

Caballero Escamilla, S. (2007): "La Virgen de los Reyes Católicos": escaparate de un poder personal e institucional", *Reales Sitios: Revista del Patrimonio Nacional,* 173, pp. 20-41.

Cañas Gálvez, F. (2016): "Juan II de Castilla y el Tríptico de Miraflores: marco espiritual, proyección política y propaganda regia en torno a una donación real (1445)", en Campbell L. y Pérez Preciado J.J. [eds.]: *Roger van der Weyden y España, Actas del Congreso Internacional,* Madrid: Brepols, pp. 20-29.

Carderera, V. (1877): *Catálogo y descripción sumaria de retratos antiguos de su colección*, Madrid: Imprenta y Fundición de M. Tello.

Castillo Oreja, M.A. (2002): "Imagen del rey, símbolos de la monarquía y divisas de los reinos: de las series de linajes de la Baja Edad Media a las galerías de retratos del Renacimiento", en VV.AA.: *Galería de Reyes y Damas del Salón de Embajadores. Alcázar de Sevilla*, Madrid: Fundación BBVA, pp. 11-39.

Caturla, M.L. (1956): "Andrés López Polanco", *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos*, 9: 35, pp. 389-405.

Checa, F. (1992): "Poder y piedad: patronos y mecenas en la introducción del Renacimiento en España", en Estella Marcos, M. [coord.]: *Reyes y mecenas: Los Reyes Católicos. Maximiliano I y los inicios de la Casa de Austria en España,* Madrid: Electa, pp. 21-54.

Checa, F. (2018): *Inventarios de Felipe II: inventario post mortem, almoneda y libro de remates, inventario de tapices,* Madrid: Fernando Villaverde.

Collar de Cáceres, F. (1983): "En torno al "Libro de Retratos de los Reyes" de Hernando de Avila", *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, Vol. 4, 10, pp. 7-35.

Díez, J.L. (2006): "Isabel la Católica en la pintura del siglo XIX", en Álvarez de Castrillón, G.A. y Manso Porto, C. [coords.]: *Isabel la Católica y el arte*, Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, pp. 97-126.

Díez, J.L. y Gutiérrez, A. (2015): *Pintura del siglo XIX en el Museo del Prado. Catálogo general*, Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado.

Fernández de Córdova, A. (2004): "Los símbolos del poder real", en Bartolomé, A. y Hernando, C.J. [coords.]: *Los Reyes Católicos y Granada*, Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, pp. 37-58.

 https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

Flor, P. (2013): "Un retrato desconocido de Isabel la Católica", *Archivo Español de Arte*, 86: 341 pp. 1-14.

García Mercadal, J. (1983): *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, 6 vol., Madrid: Junta de Castilla y León.

García Sanz, A. y Ruiz Gómez, L. (2000): "Linaje regio y monacal: la galería de retratos de las Descalzas Reales", en Portús, J. [dir.]: *El linaje del emperador,* Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, pp. 135-157.

García-Frías Checa, C. (2014): "Multiplicación de los panes y los peces de Juan de Flandes", en García-Frías Checa, C. y Jordán de Urríes y de la Colina, J. [coords.]: *El retrato en las colecciones reales de Patrimonio Nacional. De Juan de Flandes a Antonio López,* Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, pp. 134-140.

Gila Medina, L. (2007): "La capilla de la Virgen de la Antigua de la catedral de Granada. Aproximación a una fecunda realidad histórico-artística", en VV.AA.: *In Sapientia Libertas. Escritos en homenaje al profesor Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez,* Madrid. Museo Nacional del Prado, pp. 402-410.

Gila Medina, L. (2019): "Pedro Raxis, singular miembro de la familia Raxis Sardo: Vida, obra y descendencia artística", en García Cueto, D. [ed.]: *La pintura italiana en Granada: Artistas y coleccionistas, originales y copias*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, pp. 139-168.

Gómez Moreno, E. (1982): *Catálogo de las pinturas del Instituto Gómez-Moreno,* Granada: Fundación Rodríguez-Acosta.

González Zymla H. y Frutos Sastre, L. (2001): "Retrato de Isabel la Católica", en VV.AA.: *Tesoros de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, p. 200.

Haverkamp-Begemann, E. (1952): "Juan de Flandes y los Reyes Católicos", *Archivo Español de Arte*, 25: 99, pp. 237-247.

Kusche Zettelmeyer, M. (2007): *Juan Pantoja de la Cruz y sus seguidores B. González, R. de Villandrando y A. López Polanco*, Madrid: Fundación para el Apoyo del Arte Hispánico.

Lacarra, M.C., (1991-1992): "Conjunto de tablas de los sagrados Corporales", en Agudo Romeo, M. del M. [coord.]: *El espejo de nuestra historia: La diócesis de Zaragoza a través de los siglos*, Zaragoza: Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, pp. 449-451.

Ladero Quesada, M.A. (1989): *Los Reyes Católicos. La Corona y la unidad de España*, Madrid: Asociación Francisco López de Gomara.

Lanzarote, J.M. (2019): *Valentín Carderera. Dibujante, coleccionista y viajero romántico (1796-1880)*, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica.

Lapuerta Montoya, M. (2002): *Los pintores de la Corte de Felipe III. La Casa Real de El Pardo,* Madrid: Conserjería de Cultura, CAM.

Martí y Monsó, J. (1903-1904): "Retratos de Isabel la Católica", *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellana de Excursiones*, 1, pp. 496-506.

Martínez Leiva, G. y Rodríguez Rebollo, A. (2007): *Quadros y otras cosas tiene Su Magestad Felipe IV en este Alcázar de Madrid. Año de 1636*, Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española.

Michelant, H.V. (1870): *Inventaire des vaiselles, joyaux, tapisseries, peintures, libres et manuscrits de Marguerite d'Autriche Regente et Gouvernante des Pays-Bas (1523),* Bruselas: Hayez.

Morales Martínez, A. (2002): "Memoria de la monarquía hispana. Galería de Reyes del Alcázar de Sevilla", en VV.AA.: *Galería de Reyes y Damas del Salón de Embajadores. Alcázar de Sevilla*, Madrid: Fundación BBVA, pp. 41-69.

Morte García, C. (1993): "Fernando el Católico y las Artes", en VV.AA.: *Las artes en Aragón durante el reinado de Fernando el Católico (1479-1516),* Zaragoza: Instituto Fernando el Católico, pp. 155-198.

Morte García, C. (1996): "La iconografía Real", en Sarasa Sánchez, E. [dir.]: *Fernando II de Aragón, el Rey Católico*, Zaragoza: Diputación de Zaragoza – Institución Fernando el Católico, pp. 143-182.

Morte García, C. (2014): "La imagen de Fernando el Católico en el Arte: El tiempo vivido y el tiempo recreado (1452-1700)", en Egido, A. y Laplana Gil, J.E. [eds.]: *La imagen de Fernando el Católico en la historia, la literatura y el arte,* Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, pp. 279-373.

Muller, P.E. (2012): *Joyas en España. 1500-1800*, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica.

Nieto Soria, J.M. (1999): *Orígenes de la monarquía hispánica: propaganda y legitimación política (ca. 1400-1520)*, Madrid: Dykinson.

Nogales Rincón, D. (2008): "La significación política de la emblemática real en los albores de la Edad Moderna. Emblemas reales y nueva Historia política", en García Mahiques, R., y Zuriaga Senent, V.F. [coord.], *Imagen y cultura. La interpretación de las imágenes como historia cultural*, 2 vol., Valencia: Biblioteca Valenciana, pp. 1189-1206, vol. 2.

Nogales Rincón, D. (2011): "Cultura visual y genealogía en la corte regia de Castilla durante la segunda mitad del siglo XV", *e-Spania: Revue Électronique d"Études Hispaniques Médiévales*, 11, URL: http://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/20362

 https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

Pérez del Pulgar, H. (1780): *Crónica de los Señores Reyes Católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel de Castilla y de Aragón,* Valencia: Imprenta de Benito Monfort.

Pérez Monzón, O. (2006): "La dimensión artística de las relaciones de conflicto", *La monarquía como conflicto en la Corona castellano-leonesa (c. 1230-1504)*, en Nieto Soria, J.M. [dir.]: Madrid: Sílex, pp. 547-620.

Pérez Monzón, O. y Miquel Juan, M. (2018): "'Los quales maestros gastaron todos su juyzio en cavar las imágenes e componer las ystorias'. Memoria Luna, memoria Mendoza: miradas entrecruzadas", en Pérez Monzón, O., Miquel Juan, M. y Martín Gil, M. [eds.]: *Retórica artística en el tardogótico castellano*, Madrid: Sílex, pp. 280-334.

Pérez Monzón, O., Ruiz Mateos, A. y Espino Nuño, J. (1999): "Las manifestaciones artísticas", en Nieto Soria, J.M., [coord.]: *Orígenes de la Monarquía Hispánica: propaganda y legitimación (ca. 1400-1520),* Madrid: Dykinson, pp. 341-370.

Ponz, A. (1783): *Viaje de España*, Madrid: Joachim Ibarra, 18 vol.

Prieto Cantera, V.A. (1978): "¿Dónde están el collar de balajes y la corona rica de la reina Católica?", en VV.AA. *Estudios genealógicos, heráldicos, y nobiliarios en honor de Vicente de Cadenas y Vicent*, 2 vol., Madrid: Hidalguía, pp. 197-222, vol. 2.

Ruiz Gómez, L. (2010), "El retrato español en el Museo del Prado (1490-1800)", en Ruiz Gómez, L. [ed.]: *El retrato español en el Prado. Del Greco a Sorolla,* Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, pp. 15-36.

Sánchez Cantón, F.J. (1948): *Los retratos de los Reyes de España,* Barcelona: Omega.

Sánchez Cantón, F.J. (1950): *Libros, tapices y cuadros que coleccionó Isabel la Católica,* Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

Paéz, E. (1993): "El caballero determinado de Oliver de La Marche", en VV.AA.: *Los Austrias. Grabados de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, pp. 45-47.

Silva Maroto, P. (1990): *Pintura hipanoflamenca castellana: Burgos y Palencia. Obras en tabla y sarga*, 3 vol., Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León.

Silva Maroto, P. (2004): "La colección de pinturas de Isabel la Católica", en VV.AA.: *Isabel la Católica. La magnificencia de un reinado,* Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, pp. 115-126.

Silva Maroto, P. (2005): "Anónimo flamenco", en Gómez Nebreda, M.L. [ed.]: *Ysabel, la reina católica. Una mirada desde la Catedral primada,* Toledo: Instituto Teológico de San Ildefonso, pp. 550-551.

Silva Maroto, P. (2006a): *Juan de Flandes,* Salamanca: Caja Duero.

Silva Maroto, P., (2006b): "La Virgen de los Reyes Católicos (c. 1491-1493)", en Garrido Pérez, M.C. y Alba Carcelén, L. [eds.]: *El trazo oculto. Dibujos subyacentes en las tablas del Museo del Prado,* Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, pp. 194-207.

Silva Maroto, P. (2006c) "Isabel la Católica (h. 1490)", en Ruiz Gómez, L. [ed.]: *El retrato español en el Prado. Del Greco a Sorolla,* Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, p. 44.

Silva Maroto, P. (2014): "Isabel la Católica de Juan de Flandes", en García-Frías Checa, C. y Jordán de Urríes y de la Colina, J. [coords.]: *El retrato en las colecciones reales de Patrimonio Nacional. De Juan de Flandes a Antonio López,* Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, pp. 130-134.

Silva Maroto, P. (2015): "¿Antonio Inglés?, Isabel la Católica", en Morte, C. y Sesma, J.A. [coords]: *Fernando II de Aragón, el rey que imaginó España y la abrió a Europa*, Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, pp. 144-145.

Tarín y Juaneda, F. (1896): *La Real Cartuja de Miraflores (Burgos). Su historia y descripción,* Burgos: Imprenta y librería hijos de Santiago Rodríguez.

Tormo, E. (1917): *Las viejas series icónicas de los reyes de España*, Madrid: Blas y Cía.

Tormo, E. (1926) "Bartolomé Bermejo, el más recio de los primitivos españoles", *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, 2: 4, pp. 11-96.

Torre y del Cerro, A. de la (1951), *Documentos sobre relaciones internacionales de los Reyes Católicos,* 2 vol., Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

Torre y del Cerro, A. de la (1954-1955): "Maestre Antonio Inglés y Melchor Alemán, pintores de los Reyes Católicos", *Arte Español*, 20, pp. 105-111.

Torre y del Cerro, A. de la (1961): "Maestre Antonio, yngles, pintor, Fernando el Católico y la cultura de su tiempo", V Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón, Zaragoza, pp. 165-172.

Torre y del Cerro, A. de la (1968): *Testamentaría de Isabel la Católica,* Valladolid: Instituto Isabel la Católica de Historia Eclesiástica.

Torre, A. y Alsina De La Torre, E. [eds.] (1956): *Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza, tesorero de Isabel la Católica,* 2 vol., Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

Trizna, J. (1976): *Michel Sittow, peintre revalais de l'école brugeoise (1468-1525/1526)*, Bruselas: Brepols.

Villaseñor Sebastián, F. (2008): "La legitimación del poder real: imágenes iluminadas de los monarcas en la Castilla Trastámara", en Cabañas Bravo, M., López-Yarto, E. y Rincón García, W. [coords.]: *Arte, poder y sociedad en la España de los siglos XV a XX,* Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, pp. 139-152.

 https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55

Weniger, M. (2011): *Sittow, Morros, Juan de Flandes: Drei Maler aus dem Norden am Hof Isabellas der Katholischen*, Kiel: Ludwig.

Weniger, M. (2018): "Michel Sittow, a la luz del retablo de los Luna", Pérez Monzón, O., Miquel Juan, M. y Martín Gil, M. (eds.), *Retórica artística en el tardogótico castellano*, Madrid: Sílex, pp. 480-500.

Yarza Luaces, J. (1988): "La imagen del rey y la imagen del noble en el siglo XV castellano", *Realidad e imágenes del poder. España a fines de la Edad Media,* en Rucquoi, A. [coord.]: Valladolid: Ámbito, pp. 267-292.

Yarza Luaces, J. (1993): *Los Reyes Católicos. Paisaje artístico de una monarquía,* Madrid: Nerea.

Yarza Luaces, J. (1997): "Imágenes reales hispanas en el fin de la Edad Media", en VV.AA.: *Poderes públicos en la Europa Medieval: Principados, reinos y coronas*, Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, pp. 441-500.

Yarza Luaces, J. (2005a): "Los manuscritos iluminados de la reina", en Checa, F. y García, B. [coords.]: *El arte en la corte de los Reyes Católicos. Rutas artísticas a principios de la Edad Moderna,* Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, pp. 373-402.

Yarza Luaces, J. (2005b): *Isabel la Católica, promotora artística,* León: Ediciones leonesas.

Zalama, M.A. (2006): "Felipe I el Hermoso y las artes", Zalama, M.A. y Vandenbroeck, P. [eds.]: *Felipe I el Hermoso. La belleza y la locura*, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, pp. 17-48.

Zalama, M.A. (2008): "La infructuosa venta en almoneda de las pinturas de Isabel la Católica", *BSAA Arte*, 74, pp. 45-66.

Zalama, M.A. (2010): *Juana I. Arte, poder y cultura en torno a una reina que no gobernó,* Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica.

https://doi.org/10.63114/abxtae55