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# The Dukes of Medina Sidonia and Netherlandish Art: On the Artistic Patronage of a Sixteenth-Century Iberian Court

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The Duchy of Medina Sidonia was the richest and most powerful noble state in Castile, and probably all over Spain and Portugal during most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> The ducal Household was created in 1445, when John II of Castile conceded the dukedom of Medina Sidonia to Juan de Guzmán, Third Count of Niebla. In this paper, we will particularly focus on the artistic patronage of the Sixth Duke Juan Alonso de Guzmán (1518–1558) and of the Seventh Duke Alonso de Guzmán (1558–1612).

Seigneurs of Sanlúcar, counts of Niebla, the dukes of Medina Sidonia ruled since the late Middle Ages a large territory in Lower Andalusia which was one of the most densely populated in Castile.<sup>2</sup> Their states, bordering on the Atlantic Ocean, had a strategic location on the trade route between Seville and the Americas, and its ports had intensive exchanges with Northern Europe, and particularly with the Low Countries.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the commercial cities of Jerez, Cadiz and Seville were also under the influence of this noble dynasty. In Seville, where the dukes exerted a particularly powerful influence, they owned an important urban residence with many other possessions, and they

were the patrons of the monastery of San Isidoro del Campo, which church was the ducal pantheon during the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.<sup>4</sup> In 1526, as one of the most important aristocrats of Seville, the Sixth Duke of Medina Sidonia accompanied the future empress Isabella of Portugal to the city on her trip from the Portuguese border, as well as on her magnificent entrance in Seville, where she celebrated her wedding with Charles V.<sup>5</sup> On that occasion, the Duke impressed the attendees by the luxury of his suit and the adornment of his mount.<sup>6</sup>

But the jewel of the ducal crown was the port city of Sanlúcar de Barrameda, which was one of the busiest commercial centres of the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>7</sup> As an anteport to Seville, it was there where the fleets first anchored on their return from the Indies. The dukes spent most of the year in this city.<sup>8</sup>

In 1612, the Dominican friar Pedro Beltrán (1570–1663) aptly captured its role: the opulent port of Sanlúcar was ‘the neck of Spain through which enters all substance [...] to the stomach, which is spacious Seville.’<sup>9</sup> The wealth of the city was mainly based on the production of salt, wine

1. Their incomes were the more important between the European nobility: estimated between 40.000 and 60.000 ducats a year by Ruiz Jiménez 2009, p. 406, or on 170.000 ducats a year by Fernández Álvarez 1998, pp. 181, 189.
2. About the dukes of Medina Sidonia and their territory during this period, see Salas Almela 2008 and Ladero Quesada 2015.
3. Fagel 1996, pp. 263–65.
4. Lleó Cañal 2012, p. 40. For the ducal palace in Seville,

see: Cruz Isidoro 2006a; Ladero Quesada 2015, pp. 448–52. About this monastery, see Respaldiza Lama 2002.

5. Morejón Ramos 2009, p. 66.
6. Morales 2000, p. 42.
7. O’Flanagan 2008, pp. 110–11.
8. Barrantes Maldonado 1998, p. 537.
9. Beltrán 1612, fol. 22<sup>v</sup>. The translation to English is from O’Flanagan 2008, p. 110.

and other farm products, but also on trade, which was directly encouraged by the dukes, who also participated in it.<sup>10</sup> In 1507, the Third Duke Juan Alonso de Guzmán (1492–1507) owned three ships and two hulks.<sup>11</sup> Between 1515 and 1535, his successors owned three galleons and four caravels. But the dukes also owned twenty-nine shops in Sanlúcar, as well as docks where was stored wine, tuna, oil and leather for the exportation, to the Netherlands and to Brittany, but also to Italy and North Africa, in a commerce mainly dominated by Flemish and Genoese merchants. On their way back to Sanlúcar, these merchants imported textiles, wood from the Baltics and all kind of manufactured products from the Netherlands. In Seville, the Dukes owned a dock of olive oil and a factory of ceramic tiles overseen by Muslim technicians who were captured as slaves in the conquest of Malaga.<sup>12</sup>

The population of Sanlúcar, the capital of the Dukes, increased from around 5.000 people at the beginning of the sixteenth century, to almost 15.000 after 1580.<sup>13</sup> As many other ports of the Southern Peninsula, it included an important community of foreigners. Among them, the three main groups were English, Bretons, and Flemish, although natives of Hamburg and other Hanseatic cities were also identified. The Flemings had their own *Consulado*, with a consul that was designed by the Dukes.<sup>14</sup>

The Flemish population in Sanlúcar was composed mainly by merchants, but there were also many artisans, such as carpenters, barrel makers, shoemakers, tailors or sailors. The merchants were mainly shop owners or renter, selling imported manufactured products such as textiles, mirrors,

arms, buttons, and other mercery products. For the Dukes, they were often suppliers of powder, wood and metal objects, particularly ironmongery. In 1560 and in 1561, the Flemish Juan de Bestove (or Vestuve) sold to the Seventh Duke 7.750 nails and 5.400 pins for the works in the new kitchens in the ducal palace, and iron elements and chains for the glass windows in the *estudio* of the Duke.<sup>15</sup> In July 1561, the same merchant was paid for the nails and glue that he had supplied for the construction of an ephemeral altarpiece for the celebration of the Holy Week in the main church, and for other ephemeral altarpieces built for the feast of Corpus Christi.<sup>16</sup> In 1559, the Flemish merchant Cornelis Quinderi, based in Sanlúcar, provided the same kind of materials for the catafalque for the funeral of the Marquis of Gibrleón, who resided at the ducal court.<sup>17</sup> In the case of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, this economical and commercial background is of particular interest in relation to their role as patrons of Netherlandish art in the Iberian Peninsula.

As in Brussels, the city of Sanlúcar was divided into two parts, on the basis of a difference in altitude. The downtown, with the main square and the custom house, reached down to the water's edge, and was occupied by the merchants. The Flemings were mainly settled around the 'calle de los Flamencos', the Flemings' street, not far from the English and the Breton areas. The upper town contained Sanlúcar's principal landmarks: the castle of Santiago, the parish church Nuestra Señora de la O, as well as the ducal palace and the residences of the courtiers.<sup>18</sup>

The ducal palace had been rebuilt by the Second Duke don Enrique (1468–1492), who resided

10. Pike 1972, p. 27; O'Flanagan 2008, p. 111; Ladero Quesada 2015, pp. 346–53. About the participation of local aristocracy on trade see also: Lleó Cañal 2012, pp. 19, 25.

11. Galán Parra 1988, p. 74; Ruiz Jiménez 2009, p. 402.

12. Galán Parra 1988, p. 78; Ladero Quesada 2015, p. 449.

13. Kagan 1989, p. 323; Ladero Quesada 2015, p. 344.

14. Fagel 1996, pp. 267, 444.

15. AFCMS, leg. 2554, fol. 32<sup>v</sup>.

16. Ibidem, fols 236<sup>v</sup>–237.

17. Cruz Isidoro 2015, p. 93.

18. O'Flanagan 2008, p. 110.

there from 1478 until his death in 1498. This was the beginning of a tradition of the Medina Sidonia's for living in Sanlúcar, retiring from the royal court and from Seville. His successors continued to transform and adapt the building to new aristocratic tastes. The building as it stands today suffered from neglect and many alterations, but it still conserves some elements from this period, such as the *mirador* to the river and particularly the room known as the *salón de columnas* or *salón de mármoles*.<sup>19</sup> Yet the archives reveal numerous references to unconserved interventions on the construction and decoration of the palace during the sixteenth century. In 1554, the Sixth Duke also started some transformations in the gardens, ordering 200 wooden poles from the Netherlands through Flemish merchants established in Sanlúcar, Bartolomé Francisco Flamenco and 'Jos Losfruarte [name hardly legible]'.<sup>20</sup>

The same year, the Duke was busy creating a new space in his palace, composed of different rooms, which was called the 'estudio del Duque'.<sup>21</sup> In the archive, there are payments that may help us recreate what this room looked like. It had a wooden floor and both ceilings and walls were decorated with painted mouldings. The windows had glasses and golden grills. On one section of the *estudio*, called the *recámara*, there was a fire place (*chimenea*) decorated with paintings.<sup>22</sup> The space was also composed by a corridor, decorated with a golden banister, which was built with wood brought from Flanders by the Flemish merchant Antoon De Schepper ('ant<sup>o</sup> de scheppeur').<sup>23</sup> The *estudio* should perhaps be identified with the room called *cámara alta* on the post-mortem

inventory of the Sixth Duke in 1558.<sup>24</sup> This room of the palace seems to have been the office or cabinet of the Duke as it was furnished with desks, coffers with state papers, globes, clocks, and the library. On the walls hanged paintings representing maps, city views, portraits of servicemen, and battle views, such as one representing 'una ciudad marítima de Flandes que tiene un cerco sobre ella', but also many others with allegories of humanist concepts, such as Fame and Justice, and mythological scenes, also from the Ancient Testament, among many others. Some paintings representing figures defined by the authors of the inventory as *flamenquillos* or *flamenquillas* may be Netherlandish works, probably the kind of genre scenes painted by artists such as the Master of the Female Half-Lengths or the Master of the Parrot, who were so popular among Spanish patrons. Urquizar proposed to identify one of these paintings, a 'retrato que tiene una doncella tañendo un laúd y un viejo detrás con un espejo y la muerte en la mano', as a painting of the same subject in the Museum in Wrocław.<sup>25</sup>

The ancient sea route connecting Sanlúcar with the Netherlandish ports enabled the development of a persistent taste for Netherlandish works of art and other luxury goods. But the link with Flanders was sometimes motivated by political reasons, too. For example, in 1505, the Third Duke, don Juan, sent his messengers to Flanders to demonstrate his political and military allegiance to the new kings of Castile, Philip the Handsome and Joanna the Mad.<sup>26</sup> The Duke took advantage of this occasion to commission some illuminated praying books. These books are known through the inventory of

19. Álvarez de Toledo 1983.

20. AFCMS, leg. 2528.

21. Ibidem.

22. AFCMS, leg. 2570, fol. 126<sup>v</sup>.

23. AFCMS, leg. 2528.

24. Urquizar Herrera 2007, pp. 136–38.

25. Ibidem, p. 137, note 49. The painting does not appear in the last catalogue of the Museum: Steinborn 2006. In a communication to the authors, Ana Diéguez-Rodríguez proposes to relate the painting discussed by Urquizar to the Master of the Models of Peter Coecke van Aelst. About this Master, see Padrón Mérida 1997.

26. Galán Parra 1988, p. 57.

the Duke's library, written after his death in 1507.<sup>27</sup> Between the 230 books he owned, the praying books were kept in a coffer, and we know that one of them presented a leaf in parchment decorated with a scene of the Nativity.

The collection of works of art of the dukes of Medina Sidonia was indeed one of the most important in Castile at that time.<sup>28</sup> Of course, the ducal palace had a large collection of tapestries, most of them of probably Netherlandish provenance, but this is not always specified in the inventories. Nevertheless, it is the case for eight tapestries from Flanders with the coat of arms of Medina Sidonia recorded in the inventory of the Sixth Duke, which are followed by others 80 old tapestries made in Spain, also with the ducal arms.<sup>29</sup> In 1568, the holdings of the palace of Sanlúcar register seven tapestries and one *dessus-de-porte* representing tigers and other animals, which were brought from Flanders by someone named in the archives as Licenciado Tebar, as well as twenty verdure tapestries bought in Seville from a merchant called Pedro Pablo Flamenco.<sup>30</sup>

Although many types of luxury objects from the Netherlands are omnipresent in the sources, we will here focus on paintings of Flemish origin. On 21 May 1554, the Sixth Duke bought several paintings from a Flemish merchant – called Cornelis Dirickx (Diriquy or Diriqs) in the Spanish documents, and who signed himself as 'Cornelis der Imberen'.<sup>31</sup> From this merchant, who might as well have been an artist, the Duke bought paintings

on panel of three provinces ('de tres provincias') and a painting representing birds.<sup>32</sup> The latter should be identified as a painting on paper, marouflaged on a canvas, representing birds recorded in the inventory made after the Duke's death in 1558.<sup>33</sup> In the same list, three other paintings followed, which are described as a representation of Germany, another of Sicily and a third one of an undefined territory. We propose then to identify these three paintings as those representing three provinces bought together from the Flemish merchant Cornelis Diriqs.

On 27 November 1554, the Sixth Duke bought five paintings on canvas for the ducal chamber from another Flemish merchant temporarily residing in Sanlúcar, called Juan de Malines (Jan van Mechelen).<sup>34</sup> Later, this merchant opened a shop in the city, where the Seventh Duke bought 'seis cabezas de muerte' (six heads of death), probably paintings.<sup>35</sup> Cruz Isidoro and Ruiz Jiménez assume that Juan de Malines was the artist who painted them; however, nothing in the documents let us to conclude this.<sup>36</sup>

Between the different types of artists in the service of the Dukes during the sixteenth century, the ducal archives often refer to now unknown artists for whom a Netherlandish origin is specified. The most important one was appointed court painter in 1555, named as a *Flamenco* and called Guillermo de San Forte in the documents. We do not know much about this painter, except from a manuscript offering an overview of servants at

27. Ladero Quesada, Quintanilla Raso 1981, p. 51.

28. Morán Turina, Checa Cremades 1985, p. 153; Álvarez de Toledo 1994, vol. 1, pp. 17–21; Urquizar Herrera 2007, pp. 130–43, 175–207.

29. Urquizar Herrera 2007, pp. 194–95.

30. Seven 'paños y un antepuerta de boscaje que tienen unos tigres y otros animales, tienen cayda de tres varas', and twenty 'paños de boscaje y verduras con unas figuras pequeñas por las azefas y en medio en algunos dellos carros de Mercurio y en otros la boca del bolcan, los siete sellos de quatro varas y media de cayda e los

treze de quatro varas': AFCMS, leg. 2596, fol. 45<sup>r</sup>.

31. Cruz Isidoro 2006b, pp. 154, 159 doc. 2. Cruz proposes to read the signature as 'Cornelis der Emberen'.

32. Cruz Isidoro assumes he is the painter.

33. Urquizar Herrera 2007, p. 200.

34. Álvarez de Toledo 1994, vol. 1, p. 17; Cruz Isidoro 2006b, pp. 155, 160, doc. 3.

35. Álvarez de Toledo 1994, vol. 1, p. 17; Cruz Isidoro 2006b, p. 155; Ruiz Jiménez 2009, p. 406.

36. Not to be confused with the sculptor Juan de Malinas (before 1467–after 1476).

the Duke's household, made by the historian Velázquez-Gaztelu (1710–1791).<sup>37</sup> The same author refers to the Flemish painter in a catalogue of residents of Sanlúcar that he extracted from the archives of the city.<sup>38</sup>

However, a document from 1559 in the ducal archive in Sanlúcar provides some more information on San Forte, and particularly that he was employed as painter, portraitist, and sculptor.<sup>39</sup> The document also refers to the remuneration of the artist for his appointment to the Sixth Duke's household: an annual salary of 100 ducats, and four white breads, one pound of lamb meat, half a pound of beef and wine from the duke's pantry per day. In exchange, the painter had to reside permanently at the palace in the service of the duke and accompany him whenever he had to leave home, without asking for a higher salary for such services.

Morejón has recently proposed that San Forte might have also been active at the court of the Fourth Duke of Villahermosa in Aragon, Martín de Gurrea (1526–1581).<sup>40</sup> This duke had an unknown Flemish painter at his service whose paintings were sent to Cardinal Granvelle to ask him for his judgement about their quality.<sup>41</sup> This painter also made a portrait of Prince Philip around 1547, which was sent to the imperial court where it was praised by the Cardinal.

Granvelle and Villahermosa were in close contact. When Anthonis Mor travelled to the courts of Lisbon and Valladolid, the Cardinal, who had

been the protector of the portraitist in Brussels, tried to make him go to Pedrola, to the court town of Villahermosa, to portray the duke and his wife.<sup>42</sup> As this was not possible, it seems that this unknown Flemish artist was recruited as a substitute for Mor. Morejón argues that San Forte could have been this unknown painter, due to the close ties that existed between the Duke of Villahermosa and the Sixth Duke of Medina Sidonia.<sup>43</sup> For example, Villahermosa's wife, Doña Luisa de Borja, was the niece of Medina Sidonia, and she was educated in Sanlúcar, where their wedding took place on 12 January 1540.<sup>44</sup>

However, Morejón also points to the possibility of identifying this unknown painter with another artist active at the court of the Sixth Duke of Medina Sidonia in the years 1530s known as Cristóbal de Morales.<sup>45</sup> This painter was appointed to the Sixth Duke's chamber in 1533, where he was also working as a singer.<sup>46</sup> A singer of the same name, probably his father, was already at the service of the Third Duke in Seville in 1503.<sup>47</sup>

As Cristóbal de Morales was not Flemish, Morejón further suggests that he might be identified with an artist trained in Antwerp called Chrystoffele Moraly's.<sup>48</sup> However, this painter, for whom an Iberian origin had already been proposed, was recorded as a master in the Guild of Saint Luke in 1538, that is to say, five years after he was appointed to the ducal court.<sup>49</sup> Although not impossible, this identification is therefore rather unlikely.

37. Velázquez-Gaztelu 1758, fol. 50; Bouza 1998, p. 182; Bouza 2003, p. 118, note 54; Morejón Ramos 2009, p. 310.

38. Velázquez-Gaztelu 1996, p. 193.

39. AFCMS, leg. 2548, fol. 314. Cited in Álvarez de Toledo 1994, vol. 1, p. 17; Morejón Ramos 2009, p. 311; Ruiz Jiménez 2009, p. 406.

40. Morejón Ramos 2009, p. 310.

41. *Ibidem*, p. 309.

42. Bustamante García 2000, p. 161; Pérez de Tudela 2005, p. 118; Morejón Ramos 2009, p. 309.

43. Morejón Ramos 2009, p. 309.

44. *Ibidem*, p. 61.

45. *Ibidem*, p. 310.

46. Velázquez-Gaztelu 1758, fol. 50. Cited in Bouza 1998, p. 182; Bouza 2003, p. 118, note 54.

47. Rosa y López 1904, p. 76; Reif 2009, p. 232; Ruiz Jiménez 2009, p. 405.

48. Morejón Ramos 2009, p. 310.

49. On Moraly's, see Rombouts, Van Lerijs 1961, p. 132 and Figueiredo 1941, p. 177.

Morejón also proposes a possible identification between Cristóbal de Morales and the portraitist Cristóvão de Morais, who worked at the Portuguese court in Lisbon.<sup>50</sup> Of probable Spanish origin, Morais is also called Cristóbal de Morales in Spanish historiography.<sup>51</sup> Also identified as Chrystoffele Moralys, he could indeed have developed a part of his career in Spain before joining Lisbon previously to January 1553.

These hypotheses may well be very suggestive, but still little more than speculations. In any case, if the Cristóbal de Morales working in Sanlúcar could be identified as the painter trained in Antwerp or as the painter working in Lisbon in a style close to Anthonis Mor, this would be a new element confirming the particular predilection of the court of Medina Sidonia for Netherlandish art.

Without refuting Morejón's suggestions, we will consider one more proposal of identification here. As suggested by Ruiz Jiménez, it seems indeed plausible to identify our Cristóbal de Morales with a fourth homonym painter, this time active in Seville between 1509 and 1536.<sup>52</sup> However, we must specify that Morales was a family name very common in Seville in that time, where at least three other contemporaneous homonyms have been found.<sup>53</sup>

This other Cristóbal de Morales participated in the decoration of the triumphal arcs of the joyous entry of Charles V in Seville in 1526, an event in which the Sixth Duke was particularly interested, as we have seen.<sup>54</sup> Today, only one signed work is known from him: a *Lamentation of Christ*

in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Sevilla, an altarpiece showing significant Netherlandish influence (fig. 1).<sup>55</sup> This painter left Seville in 1536 (possibly for Sanlúcar), abandoning his family, and was still alive in 1542.<sup>56</sup> It is, then, very doubtful that he can be identified with Chrystoffele Moralys. Indeed, Morales was already an experienced artist, and it is therefore improbable that he would have reached Antwerp before 1538 to complete his training.

In the end, no preserved work can today be connected to the activities of both Cristóbal de Morales and Guillermo de San Forte as artists at the ducal household. However, both painters must have worked as portraitists. In that case, they could be related to some of the anonymous portraits of members of the family described in the inventories of the dukes' collection but not extant.

However, some of these portraits were certainly painted by peripatetic painters who visited the ducal court only exceptionally in June 1554, a year before the appointment of San Forte, when the Sixth Duke commissioned a portrait of himself and another one of his daughter, Doña Leonor, from two Flemish painters, named as Xaques and Bernal, in Sanlúcar. An invoice, which states that they received eight ducats for their duties, shows that both painters signed as Jacques and Bernaert Fairoy.<sup>57</sup> The two portraits were painted on panel and they were allocated to the ducal chamber.

Between 1556 and 1559, another peripatetic portraitist called Frabuyat worked at the ducal court.<sup>58</sup> Probably also Flemish, he executed a

50. On Cristóvão de Morais, see Flor 2010, pp. 317–138.

51. García López 2006.

52. Ruiz Jiménez 2009, p. 406. On this Cristóbal de Morales, see Santos Márquez 2006.

53. Stevenson 1961, pp. 7–8; one of them was the Sevillian composer also called Cristóbal de Morales (1500–53), for whom a parental link with our painter has been suggested by Reif 2009, p. 232.

54. Santos Márquez 2006, p. 97. About the Duke's participation at the joyous entry, see Morales 2000, p. 42.

55. Valdivieso 1986, p. 66; A painting of the Doncellas altarpiece in the cathedral of Seville is attributed to him in Post 1950, pp. 176–79.

56. Spanish Artists 1993–96, vol. 3, pp. 210–11; Santos Márquez 2006, p. 99.

57. 'by my baernaer Fairoy / by my Fairoy wa defoirisit': AFCMS, leg. 2528.

58. Álvarez de Toledo 1994, vol. 1, p. 21.



Fig. 1. Cristóbal de Morales, *Lamentation of Christ*, oil on panel, 177 × 124 cm, Seville, Museo de Bellas Artes  
© Junta de Andalucía

portrait of the Seventh Duke's mother, the widow countess of Niebla, and two other portraits of his sister, María Andrea Pérez de Guzmán, and uncle, the Marquis of Gibraleón (d. 1559), as well as other unknown family portraits.<sup>59</sup> Frabuyat also painted an *Ecce Homo* on the same occasion.

In 1540, the Sixth Duke commissioned another Netherlandish peripatetic painter, cited in the documents as 'Anton Denya flamenco'.<sup>60</sup> The artist received 562 *maravedis* for painting an altarpiece representing the *Lamentation of Christ* for the ducal chapel. Cruz has proposed to assume his family name as a Spanish adaptation of the name of the town of Denain in the county of Hainaut, nowadays in the North of France, which, as he argues, would be the birth-place of this artist.<sup>61</sup> Further, this author suggested to identify the altarpiece painted by Anton Denya in 1540 as a copy of a painting by Rogier Van der Weyden, preserved in the parish church of Nuestra Señora de la O in Sanlúcar, but there is no foundation for this attribution.<sup>62</sup>

In 1567, the ducal court in Sanlúcar enjoyed the presence of the painter Antoon van den Wyn-gaerde (c. 1525–1571), known in Spain as Antonio de las Viñas, who also worked as a court painter of king Philip II.<sup>63</sup> The King commissioned Wyn-gaerde to prepare a series of views illustrating the principal cities and towns of Spain. For this reason, the painter travelled to Andalusia in 1567, after have visited other parts of Spain since 1561. The Ashmolean Museum in Oxford conserves the

view of Sanlúcar that Wyngaerde drew during his stay in the city.<sup>64</sup>

Since parts of this royal commission were paid by the Sixth Duke, it is not impossible that, as suggested by Cruz, he took the occasion to ask the Fleming to draw the towns of Tarifa and Zahara de los Atunes as well. Both town views may indeed not have been included in the original program planned by the king.<sup>65</sup> The previous Duke already owned a collection of 31 drawings of cities, and similar works on canvas are known to have been commissioned in later times.<sup>66</sup> In May 1556, these now-lost canvases were located in the room of the Marquis of Gibraleón at the ducal palace in Sanlúcar: 'siete pinturas [...] en lienço q.<sup>e</sup> son de los siete planetas [...] y dos mapa mundis y una descripcion de affrica y otra de España vista de Germania'.<sup>67</sup>

Among the Netherlandish artists who worked for the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, we must also refer to a Flemish sculptor based in Jerez, known as Hernando Lamberto (?–before 1619), who arrived in Spain in 1578, and to the Flemish carver Albert Van Vesel (c. 1576), as well as to Christiano Flamenco, who worked as a silversmith, carver, and artilleryman for the Sixth and the Seventh Dukes, at least between 1559 and 1568.<sup>68</sup> In 1561, he appears as an artilleryman appointed to the household.<sup>69</sup>

But probably the most important of all Netherlandish artists working for the household of

59. The archive document mentions portraits 'del Marqués de Gibraleón y la pequeña María Andrea'.

60. Cruz Isidoro 2006b, p. 158.

61. *Ibidem*, p. 146.

62. *Ibidem*, pp. 148–52. In a communication to the author, Ana Diéguez-Rodríguez, who has observed the work in situ, considered this painting as likely an imported piece. For the copy from Van der Weyden, see Bermejo 1980, p. 127.

63. For a complete bibliography of Antoon van den Wyn-gaerde in Spain, see Kagan 2008.

64. Anton van den Wyn-gaerde, View of Sanlúcar de Bar-rameda, 1567, pen, brown ink and wash on paper,

206 × 800 mm, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (inv. nr. CIII.259). About this drawing: Kagan 1989, p. 323.

65. Cruz Isidoro 2014.

66. Urquizar Herrera 2007, p. 136.

67. AFCMS, leg. 2535, fol. 76<sup>v</sup>. Gibraleón was the Seventh Duke's uncle.

68. On Lamberto, see Jacome González, Antón Portillo 2003 and Cruz Isidoro 2006c, pp. 126–27; on Van Vesel, see Cruz Isidoro 2010, p. 145; on Christiano Flamenco, see AFCMS, leg. 2548, fols 344 and fol. 381; AFCMS, leg. 2570, fols 51<sup>r</sup>, 100<sup>v</sup> and 196<sup>r</sup>.

69. AFCMS, leg. 2554, fol. 104<sup>v</sup>.





Fig. 2. Hernando de Esturmio, *Altarpiece of the Holy Family*, oil on panel, 125 × 50 cm (central panel) and 60 × 40 cm (four secondary panels), Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Iglesia parroquial de Santa María de la O © KIK-IRPA, Brussels

Medina Sidonia were two painters based in Seville, Pieter de Kempeneer (1503–1586) and Ferdinand Sturm (c. 1515–1556), two of the main Renaissance painters of Southern Spain, locally known as Pedro de Campaña and Hernando or Fernando de Esturmio.<sup>70</sup> Both artists arrived at Seville in 1537

and established successful careers. Campaña, born in Brussels, arrived from Italy.<sup>71</sup> The first mention of the painter in Spain dates from August of that year. For his part, Esturmio arrived in Seville during the first months of that same year, probably directly from the Netherlands.<sup>72</sup> He was born in

70. For a bibliography about Pedro de Campaña in Spain, see Valdivieso 2008. See also Plazaola 1993; Baceiredo Rodríguez, López Madroñero 1997; Pérez del Campo 2010; Madrid 2014, p. 52; García León 2016; on Esturmio, see Granja et al. 2005; Gómez Sánchez 2015.

71. Valdivieso 2008, p. 28.

72. Dacos suggested he was trained in the atelier of Adriaen Ysenbrant in Bruges, while Gómez Sánchez considers a training with Lambert Lombard: Dacos 2005, p. 212; Gómez Sánchez, 2015, p. 17.

Zierikzee, in Zeeland, and the first mention of the artist in Spain dates from 19 July 1537.<sup>73</sup>

On 12 April 1547, a lady from Sanlúcar commissioned Esturmio to paint an altarpiece for the convent of Madre de Dios, a convent of Dominican Sisters that the dukes of Medina Sidonia had founded.<sup>74</sup> The main panel represented the *Annunciation*, while the lateral ones presented figures of the saints Nicholas of Tolentino, Anthony of Padua, Sebastian and Christopher, along with portraits of the ten donors on the predela. The painter engaged himself to make the altarpiece with the carver Francisco de Ortega II, and to finish it in a period of four months. This work has been lost, but the parish church of Nuestra Señora de la O conserves a second altarpiece of Esturmio (fig. 2).<sup>75</sup>

Moreover, on 31 January 1549, Esturmio had been commissioned by Alonso de Castro, one of the duke's courtiers, to paint an altarpiece of the *Holy Family* for the chapel of the confraternity of Santa Ana in the parish church.<sup>76</sup> This chapel was situated in the current chapel of San Roque, on the right side of the high altar.<sup>77</sup> The paintings by Esturmio were still seen there by Velázquez-Gaztelu around 1758 and by the count of Maule just before 1813.<sup>78</sup> At some point, the altarpiece was dismantled and its paintings re-assembled in the way we can see them now, forming a sort of triptych, and were then transferred to the chapel of Ánimas. From the archives, we know that the altarpiece has lost at least an upper panel where God the Father was represented.<sup>79</sup> The typology of this element was probably similar to a painting of the

same subject on the upper part of the altarpiece attributed to Esturmio in Alcalá del Río.<sup>80</sup>

Alonso de Castro, courtier of the duke of Medina Sidonia and *regidor* of Sanlúcar, probably commissioned the altarpiece acting as the agent of the confraternity of Santa Ana, to which chapel it was allocated. Under eighteenth-century mural decoration, some earlier fragments of mural paintings have recently been discovered which surrounded the wall to which the altar was placed.<sup>81</sup> These underlying murals represent *putti* carrying a garland and two female figures that we attribute to Esturmio as their features correspond quite precisely with his style and the way he conceived them (fig. 3). The uncovering and restoration of these mural paintings will have to confirm this attribution and re-evaluate the importance of this dismantled ensemble.

On 8 July 1549, this altarpiece of the *Holy Family* was examined by Pedro de Campaña and the painter Juan de Zamora (before 1527–c. 1575/85) in the Esturmio's workshop in Seville.<sup>82</sup> Perhaps it was on this occasion that Campaña came into contact with the court of the dukes of Medina Sidonia, for whom he would work on several occasions from that point onwards. In 1599, in his biography of Campaña, Pacheco already made a reference to the portraits he made for members of the ducal family.<sup>83</sup> It has indeed been shown that the Sixth Duke commissioned him to paint the portraits of two of his daughters: Doña Leonor and Doña Ana.<sup>84</sup> These were two separate panels for which Campaña was paid 50 ducats in June 1551.

One ducal commission to Campaña has

73. Serrera 1983, p. 21.

74. Gómez Sánchez 2015, pp. 37–39. About this convent, see Lobato, García 1995.

75. Hernando de Esturmio, Altarpiece of the Holy Family, oil on panel, 125 × 50 (central panel); 60 × 40 cm (four secondary panels), Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Iglesia parroquial de Santa María de la O.

76. Gómez Sánchez 2015, p. 41.

77. Romero Dorado 2012, p. 62.

78. Velázquez-Gaztelu 1995, p. 91; Cruz y Bahamonde 1813, pp. 112–13.

79. Gestoso y Pérez 1900, p. 20.

80. Gómez Sánchez 2015, p. 37.

81. Romero Dorado 2012, p. 62.

82. Gómez Sánchez 2015, p. 41.

83. Pacheco 1985, p. 292.

84. Serrera 1989, pp. 5–6.



Fig. 3. Hernando de Esturmio, *Mural paintings*, Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Iglesia parroquial de Santa María de la O

remained unknown until now. In 1554, the artist was paid six ducats for painting a small silver altarpiece that the countess of Niebla had commissioned for the rooms of her husband, heir of the dukedom, in the ducal palace.<sup>85</sup> This fact was already published by Cruz Isidoro, but he did not identify the ‘maestre Pedro, pintor’ as Campaña.<sup>86</sup> ‘Master Pedro’ was in fact the name that he generally received in archival documents as well as in Pacheco’s biography.

But the most prestigious commissions by the ducal court to Netherlandish artists during the sixteenth century were probably the altarpieces

for the new church of Santo Domingo, a monastery of Dominican friars at the time situated just outside the city of Sanlúcar.<sup>87</sup> This new monastery was built by the Sixth Duke between 1535 and 1548.<sup>88</sup> Soon after its completion, the building served as the resting place for the Count of Niebla, heir of the Sixth Duke, and his mother, the duchess Doña Ana, who both died from a plague epidemic in Sanlúcar in 1556.<sup>89</sup> Even though the pantheon of the dynasty was in San Isidoro del Campo, the Count’s widow, Doña Leonor Manrique, decided to transform the high chapel of the church into a mausoleum for her husband. The

85. AFCMS, leg. 2528, s.f.

86. Cruz Isidoro 2006b, p. 161.

87. Gómez Sánchez 2015, p. 52; about the monastery, see Cruz Isidoro 2011.

88. Serrera 1996a, p. 144; Cruz Isidoro 2011, pp. 81–83.

89. Cruz Isidoro 2015, p. 94.

Countess commissioned Pedro de Campaña in 1556 to paint the high altarpiece, while Esturmio was asked to paint the two wings.<sup>90</sup>

Both painters travelled from Seville to Sanlúcar to sign the contract, to see the church and to take the measurements.<sup>91</sup> The agreement probably took place on 30 March 1556. Esturmio's death, estimated between 11 November 1556 and 2 December 1556, prevented him from completing his part of the commission. As stipulated in the contracts, Campaña had to take care to get it finished and engaged the painter Luis Fernández (or Hernández) the Younger (before 1542–after 1582) to settle the commission.<sup>92</sup>

Very little is known about the latter artist.<sup>93</sup> In 1564, Luis Fernández collaborated again with Campaña on the altarpiece of the church of Santa Ana in Seville.<sup>94</sup> He was the son-in-law of the painter Antón Sánchez (d. 1564) and possibly the son of the painter Luis Fernández the Elder (before 1485–after 1527), as well as the master of the painter Francisco Pacheco (1564–1644).<sup>95</sup>

The Countess of Niebla finished paying the altarpieces of Santo Domingo on 26 January 1557, when they were already installed in the chapel.<sup>96</sup> Campaña was charged himself of travelling with the altarpieces from his workshop in Seville to Sanlúcar by boat through the Guadalquivir river. Serrera has already indicated that the intervention of a third Netherlandish artist in the execution of the three altarpieces in Santo Domingo should also be taken into consideration. In this context, we should refer to Roque Balduque (or Rochus van Den Bosch) (before 1534–c. 1561), a Netherlandish sculptor and carver active in Seville and its surroundings, who was probably the maker

of the altarpieces' architecture and ornaments.<sup>97</sup> Overlooked by all previous and subsequent scholars, his intervention in the commission can now be confirmed on the basis of unpublished archival documentation.<sup>98</sup> The fact is, the accountants of the Countess of Niebla paid to Roque Balduque for three crates and a 'sagrario' (tabernacle) that he made on wood for the altarpiece made by Campaña, as well as for a little panel with the words of the consecration during the mass. The 'sagrario' was gilded and painted by Campaña, and embellished with doors and a 'custodia', which was surrounded by two alcoves or niches ('tabernáculos').<sup>99</sup>

The three crates were probably those made for transporting the altarpieces from Seville to Sanlúcar. Another passage of the same document refers to a fourth big crate, specifying that it was used for the transport of some extra pieces from the altarpieces.<sup>100</sup> Roque Balduque, who enjoyed a prestigious reputation in Seville, had worked for the Medina Sidonias on at least two other occasions. His most important contribution was probably that for the high altarpiece of the church of Santa María La Coronada in the town of Medina Sidonia.<sup>101</sup> Moreover, a marble carved cross coming from the monastery of San Isidoro del Campo has been attributed to him in the Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla.<sup>102</sup>

Unfortunately, the altarpieces in Santo Domingo disappeared very soon as the funerary/memorial character of the church expanded and its dynastic-memorial importance for the ducal household increased. Two years after their installation, on December 1558, the funeral of the Sixth Duke was celebrated in the church.<sup>103</sup> The Countess of Niebla, who ruled the seigneurial states

90. Serrera 1996a, pp. 145–46.

91. *Ibidem*, pp. 145 and 153, doc. 1.

92. *Ibidem*, p. 147; Gómez Sánchez 2015, p. 53.

93. Spanish Artists 1993–96, vol. 1, p. 320.

94. Pérez del Campo 2010, pp. 4, 47.

95. Cacho Casal 2011, pp. 64, 211–12.

96. Serrera 1996a, p. 146; Gómez Sánchez 2015, p. 53.

97. Serrera 1996a, p. 146.

98. AFCMS, leg. 2535, fol. 164.

99. Serrera 1996a, p. 156, doc. 6.

100. *Ibidem*, pp. 146 and 156, doc. 6.

101. Palomero Páramo 1983, pp. 141–42.

102. Albardonedo Freire 2006.

103. Cruz Isidoro 2015, p. 91.



Fig. 4. Pedro de Campaña, *Lamentation of Christ*, oil on panel, 270 × 169 cm, Cádiz, Museo (inv. nr. CE20100) © Junta de Andalucía



Fig. 5. *Altarpiece*, after 1570, Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Iglesia parroquial del Carmen

during the minority of her son (the Seventh Duke) decided to rebuild the church in a more ambitious project in honour of her deceased husband.<sup>104</sup> In 1564, the architect Hernán Ruiz II made the plans for the new building, and the same year she transferred the remains of the Sixth Duke and his wife to the monastery of San Isidoro del Campo – the traditional pantheon of the family – while the Church of Santo Domingo was dedicated exclusively to her husband and to herself.<sup>105</sup> It was in this context that the three altarpieces had to be moved and were to be replaced by an entirely new iconographical programme. The new church can be seen under construction in a drawing by Wyn-gaerde dated in 1568 and was finished in 1570.<sup>106</sup> More than twenty years later, the Seventh Duke ordered a new sculpted altarpiece from Miguel Adán (1532–c. 1610), who created it between 1592 and 1594, in order to replace the one made by Campaña.<sup>107</sup>

Valdivieso has wrongly assumed that the altarpieces by Campaña and Esturmio were placed in a crypt.<sup>108</sup> He probably confused both churches – old and new – and did not understand that the altarpiece by Adán was commissioned to replace that by Campaña, thereby deducing the existence of a second chapel in the crypt.<sup>109</sup>

The only remaining element of the ensemble of Campaña, Esturmio and Balduque in Santo Domingo is the *Lamentation of Christ* by the former in the Museo de Cádiz (fig. 4).<sup>110</sup> This painting on panel is indeed thought to have been placed on

the high altarpiece made by Campaña.<sup>111</sup> After the closing of the monastery by governmental order in 1836, the painting was deposited in 1837 in Cádiz in the old monastery of San Agustín, together with other works of art seized by the government from other monasteries in the province.<sup>112</sup> In 1853, the panel by Campaña was transferred to the Museo de Cádiz, where it is preserved to this day.<sup>113</sup>

When the new high altarpiece was finished, the altarpiece by Campaña must have been dismantled, and the paintings distributed to other chapels or dependences of the monastery.<sup>114</sup> The lateral altarpieces made by Esturmio might have remained *in situ* longer. Later, around 1738, their places were occupied by the current lateral altarpieces in the church, maybe replacing them.<sup>115</sup>

There exists yet another sixteenth-century altarpiece in Sanlúcar that can be related to the ensemble of Santo Domingo, and particularly the lateral ones made by Esturmio (fig. 5).<sup>116</sup> Recently polychromed with acrylic painting, it presents a central niche now taken up by a twentieth-century industrial in-the-round sculpture, surrounded on each side by three Renaissance paintings on panel, each one with a full-blown figure representing female saints (figs. 6–8). On the top, over a broken pediment, there is a painting hidden by a modern coat of arms, replacing the original elements of the altarpiece (fig. 9). On the predella, a painting of the *Presentation of Mary* may be observed. Since the style of the paintings corresponds to that of Esturmio, and the figures carry all the

104. Serrera 1998; Cruz Isidoro 2011, pp. 84–96.

105. Serrera 1996a, p. 147; Cruz Isidoro 2015, p. 94.

106. Kagan 1989, p. 323.

107. Serrera 1998, p. 171; Cruz Isidoro 2011, p. 97.

108. Valdivieso 2008, p. 136; on the vault, see Serrera 1996a, p. 144 and Gómez Sánchez 2015, p. 50.

109. Valdivieso must have considered the funeral chapel of the count of Ureña at the crypt of the collegiate church in Osuna, where Roque Balduque and Hernando de Esturmio made an altarpiece in 1555. About this altarpiece, see: Serrera 1983, p. 97; Palomero Páramo 1987–88–89, p. 82.

110. Pedro de Campaña, *Lamentation of Christ*, oil on panel, 270 × 169 cm, Cádiz, Museo (inv. nr. CE20100). See Claver Cabrero 1993–94; Serrera 1996b.

111. Valdivieso 2008, p. 136.

112. Serrera 1998, p. 149.

113. Serrera 1998, p. 150.

114. Serrera 1996a, p. 148.

115. Velázquez-Gaztelu 1995, p. 213.

116. The only reference to this altarpiece is in Romero de Torres 1934, vol. 1, p. 520; Cruz Isidoro 2007, p. 352.



Fig. 6. Hernando de Esturmio and Luis Fernández II (?), *St Mary Magdalena*, 1556 (?), oil on panel, Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Iglesia parroquial del Carmen



Fig. 7. Hernando de Esturmio and Luis Fernández II (?), *St Martha* (?), 1556 (?), oil on panel, Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Iglesia parroquial del Carmen



Fig. 8. Hernando de Esturmio and Luis Fernández II (?), *St Agnes*, 1556 (?), oil on panel, Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Iglesia parroquial del Carmen

typical features of many of his works, we can attribute them to him. They can be compared to the figures of the altarpieces in the church of Santa Ana in Seville, or those in the Nuestra Señora la O in Sanlúcar. Moreover, the sculpted *putti* over the pediment can be related to the style of Roque Balduque, to whom is attributed the architecture and sculpture of all three altarpieces.

Now in the church of El Carmen Descalzo, the altarpiece clearly comes from another, older building, as this one was built between 1677 and 1690.<sup>117</sup> Could then this altarpiece come from the church of Santo Domingo? It is very possible. If it is one of the side altarpieces of Santo Domingo, replaced around 1738, it could well have been given

to one of the annexes of the monastery. In 1835, the monastery of Santo Domingo was closed by the government and its artistic goods were seized, apart from those belonging to the church itself, as it was transformed into a parish. It was perhaps then when the altarpiece was assigned to El Carmen, a monastery which was also closed down but whose church also remained open – transformed into a parish.<sup>118</sup>

The iconography of the altarpiece now in El Carmen allows us to suggest a possible link to one of the lateral altarpieces in Santo Domingo made for the second church after 1570, replaced by new ones around 1738.<sup>119</sup> While the lateral altar on the left was dedicated to the Holy Infant, the

117. Velázquez-Gaztelu 1995, pp. 471, 475.

118. Serrera 1996a, p. 149; Cruz Isidoro 2007, p. 349.

119. Velázquez-Gaztelu 1995, p. 213.





Fig. 9. *Altarpiece* (upper part), after 1570, Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Iglesia parroquial del Carmen

one on the right side was dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosario, a dedication that could possibly be related to the iconography of the *Presentation of Mary* represented on the predella, as well as to the female saints. An element even more striking is that the altarpiece of El Carmen enclosed a sculpture of Our Lady of the Rosario that is traditionally attributed to Roque Balduque. This figure is now housed in the current rococo altarpiece made around 1738.

Roque Balduque (or Rochus van Den Bosch) and the sculpture of the Virgin might possibly be identified with a Brabant sculptor called Roch who also carved a wooden image of the Virgin in Sanlúcar, following the account of the memoirs of Francisco de Enzinas (1518–1552).<sup>120</sup> However,

this artist, who would have owned a shop in Sanlúcar, was condemned to death by the Inquisition and then executed. An inquisitor has been particularly interested in his sculpture of the Virgin, exposed in his shop, and had proposed to buy it for the half the price. The sculptor refused and preferred instead to destroy the face of the Virgin, which provoked his arrest and condemnation. The story is said to have been told to Enzinas, who lived in Brussels, by persons close to the artist in Antwerp. However, as this account itself comes from a victim of the inquisitorial tribunals, we should consider the polemicist elements that his text undoubtedly contains, and then reserve some doubts about the truthfulness of this account. It might have been based on some real facts related

120. Enzinas 1863, vol. 2, p. 219; Fagel 1996, p. 264.

to an actual sculptor named Roch and creator of an image of the Virgin, but for the time being, his relationship to Roque Balduque and the sculpture of the Virgin of the Rosary is speculative.

These attributions uncover new elements in the study of the activity of these three important Netherlandish artists in Spain during the sixteenth century. The former altarpiece of Santo Domingo and the painting by Campaña in Cádiz, as well as the altarpiece and the mural paintings by Esturmio in Nuestra Señora de la O in Sanlúcar, are still significant remnants of the intensive patronage of Netherlandish art exerted by the Dukes. A better knowledge of the patronage of noble courts, such as those of Medina Sidonia, will open new perspectives on our understanding of the links

between Netherlandish art and the Iberian Peninsula. Indeed, the patronage exerted by the Dukes of Medina Sidonia in the field of Netherlandish art was by no means exceptional. Noble courts such as those of the Dukes of Alcalá, the Dukes of Arcos or the Dukes of Villahermosa, among many others, sponsored and commissioned artists and artworks from Netherlandish origin as well. As many other Iberian aristocrats, they acted in imitation of the Kings of Spain. Moreover, this study also highlighted a less common circumstance in the Castilian context: the importance of the role of Medina Sidonia as aristocratic traders, ruling a rich state open to the sea, which certainly reinforced the focus of their patronage on Flemish visual culture.