

Velázquez in Fraga: a new hypothesis about the portraits of El Primo and Philip IV

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A RECENT TECHNICAL study of Velázquez's *Portrait of Philip IV* in the Frick Collection, New York (Fig.9), has provided new data that leads to a better understanding of Velázquez's work in the mid-1640s when he painted some of his most accomplished portraits. Here this new data will be considered in relationship to other works painted around the same time in an attempt to illuminate Velázquez's portrait of the dwarf known as 'El Primo'.

Velázquez's *Portrait of Philip IV* is one of the best-documented Spanish paintings of the seventeenth century. In 1644 Philip IV, accompanied by some of his courtiers, travelled to Aragon to supervise the military campaign to subdue the Catalan rebellion, which had broken out in 1640. In early May 1644 the King and his entourage set up base at Fraga to observe the siege of Lérida, then under French control. Several documents, listed as '*cuentas de la furreria*' (Archivo de Palacio, Madrid), record expenses relating to Velázquez's painting activities at Fraga. In early June he was commissioned to paint a portrait of the King, which made it necessary for a small room in the house in which the artist lodged to be prepared for use as an improvised studio. In the same month a wooden box was ordered in which to ship the portrait of a dwarf known as 'El Primo' that Velázquez had painted. Another identical box, '*con dos anjeos*' (coarse canvas used for wrapping), was constructed in July to hold the King's portrait for transport to Madrid; each box cost 16 reales.¹ These two bills are also the last documentary connection between the two paintings; their whereabouts after that are difficult to trace. In fact, as is explained below, there are several contradictory theories about Velázquez's portraits of dwarfs, none of which provides conclusive evidence as to the fate of the portrait sent from Fraga to Madrid.

The Frick's *Philip IV* was cleaned in 2009 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art by Michael Gallagher. This provided an opportunity to undertake a detailed technical study of the painting, which was X-rayed and examined under infra-red reflectography.² The X-radiograph surprisingly revealed the density of the canvas to be between 10 and 11 threads per square centimetre. Velázquez's choice of supports changed in the course of his career; the open-weave canvases of his early years were superseded by increasingly finer ones.³ The Frick portrait can be firmly dated to 1644, by which time the painter had for many years been using canvases of around 18 to 20 threads per square centimetre on the warp and 14 to 17 threads on the weft. However, the Prado's portrait of a dwarf known as *Sebastián de Morra* (Fig.10) shares the same unusual thread count, with a density of 10 to 11 threads per square centimetre on both warp and weft.

The present study is the result of Pérez d'Ors's research carried out for the monographic exhibition *The King at War: The Portrait of Philip IV of Spain by Velázquez* (Frick Collection, New York; 26th October 2010 to 23rd January 2011), organised during his term as Andrew W. Mellon Curatorial Fellow at the Frick between 2008 and 2010. He is indebted to Colin B. Bailey, Jonathan Brown, Gabriele Finaldi, Susan G. Galassi, Michael Gallagher, Jaime García-Máiquez, Carmen Garrido and Javier Portús for their help and advice at different stages of this research.

¹ The documents were first published in G. Cruzada Villaamil: *Anales de la vida y de*



9. *Philip IV*, by Diego Velázquez. 1644. Canvas, 133.3 by 101.6 cm. (Frick Collection, New York).

The inconsistency of this support with works of the mid-1640s by Velázquez had already been pointed out, together with the fact that the preparation of the canvas seems to indicate a later date, around the mid- to late 1640s.⁴ A technical and documentary study of the two paintings throws new light on this problem.

The possible connection between the Frick's *Philip IV* and the Prado's *Sebastián de Morra* was brought to the attention of the Thread Count Automation Project (TCAP),⁵ whose team has developed computer-based image processing algorithms that analyse and compare the physical structure of different canvases more comprehensively and accurately than has previously been

las obras de Diego de Silva Velázquez: Escritos con ayuda de nuevos documentos, Madrid 1885, pp.143–46; when the painting appeared on the market they were repeated with some changes in A. de Beruete: *El Velázquez de Parma: Retrato de Felipe IV pintado en Fraga*, Madrid 1911, pp.14–15. See A. Aterido Fernández, ed.: *Corpus Velazqueño*, Madrid 2000, I, pp.162–63, no.177.

² On the technical study and other aspects of the painting, see P. Pérez d'Ors and M. Gallagher: 'New information on Velázquez's Portrait of Philip IV at Fraga in the Frick Collection, New York', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE* 152 (2010), pp.652–59.



10. Portrait of a dwarf, here proposed to be *El Primo* (rather than *Sebastián de Morra*), by Diego Velázquez. Here dated 1644. Canvas, 106 by 81 cm. (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid).

³ C. Garrido: *Velázquez: Técnica y evolución*, Madrid 1992, p.63. Other mentions of canvas densities are taken from the same source.

⁴ Garrido, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.57, 63 and 514.

⁵ On the Thread Count Automation Project, see the annual reports for 2009 and 2010 available at <http://people.ece.cornell.edu/johnson/TCAPAnnRepo9.pdf> and <http://people.ece.cornell.edu/johnson/annrepo10.pdf> (retrieved April 2011). A collection of articles about thread counting and weave matching are available at the same website <http://people.ece.cornell.edu/johnson>, including C. Richard Johnson,

Jr., D.H. Johnson, N. Hamashima, H. Sung Yang and E. Hendriks: 'On the Utility of Spectral-Maximum-Based Automated Thread Counting from X-Rays of Paintings on Canvas' (June 2010), available at <http://people.ece.cornell.edu/johnson/utility-fin.pdf> (retrieved April 2011), a revised version of which is to appear in *Studies in Conservation*. For an earlier article in this Magazine making use of the same technology, see L. van Tilborgh *et al.*: 'Weave matching and dating of Van Gogh's paintings: an interdisciplinary approach', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE* 154 (2012), pp.112–22.



11. Authors' drawing based on the X-radiograph of Fig. 10, showing the area of original canvas.

possible. The necessary data comes from radiographic images, and the programme calculates the average density of the canvas on both warp and weft within small (e.g. 1 by 1 cm.) evaluation squares covering the painting. The pattern of the weave density is considered unique to a bolt of canvas because the structure of canvases, especially those made with pre-industrial technology, is never perfectly regular. Variations exist in the separation between the threads of the warp, which are fixed to the loom, and even more so in the case of the weft, which was drawn through the warp by hand. The programme highlights the areas in which the threads are closer or further apart than average. This data is presented in colour-coded weave maps, in which red and blue indicate greater and lesser densities. The striped pattern of each weave map depends on the bolt from which the canvas has been cut and can be considered the bolt's fingerprint. The occurrence of the same colour sequence on the density maps of two different paintings suggests that the two canvases were taken from the same bolt of cloth.

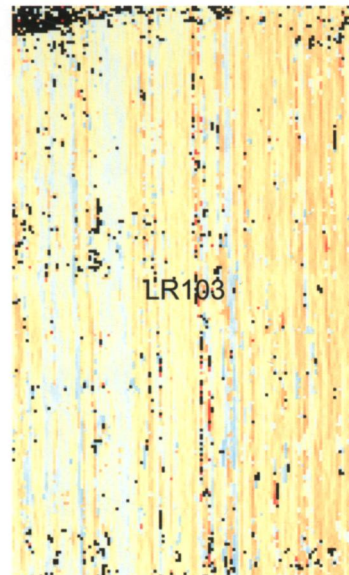
Although both paintings under consideration have been relined, this does not interfere with the process because the structure of the original canvases is visible thanks to the radiopacity of their preparation, which has a high lead-white content

⁶ Pérez d'Ors and Gallagher, *op. cit.* (note 2), pp.658–59.

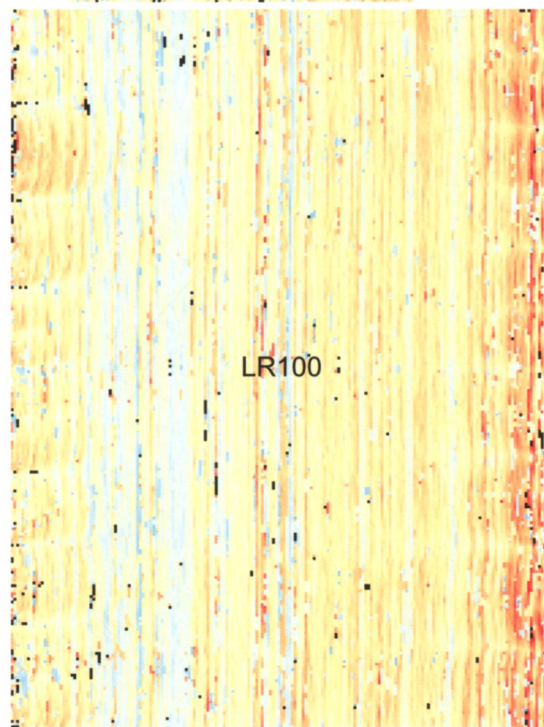
⁷ Garrido, *op. cit.* (note 3), p.514.

⁸ See J. Martínez: *Discursos practicables . . . (1675)*, ed. V. Carderera, Madrid 1886, pp.115–17 and 132.

⁹ Pérez d'Ors and Gallagher, *op. cit.* (note 2), p.654 and *passim*.



12. Weave density maps by Thread Count Automation Project of vertically oriented threads of Figs.9 (below) and 10 (above).



in both cases. Despite the fact that the Frick painting went through several modifications affecting the format of the canvas, its current state does not present any difficulties for analysis.⁶ The case of the Prado painting, on the other hand, is more complex because it has been more aggressively modified. The canvas was adapted to fit an oval stretcher, perhaps in the early eighteenth century, which caused losses in the corners. Later on the canvas was roughly and irregularly cut; it has been suggested that this may have happened during a desperate attempt to rescue the canvas from the fire that destroyed the Real Alcázar in Madrid in 1734.⁷ Only the irregular fragment of the original canvas (Fig. 11) has been taken into account for this study, and a few areas around the corners, indicated in black on the histogram, are illegible.

¹⁰ J.A. Gaya Nuño: *Velázquez: Biografía ilustrada*, Barcelona 1970.

¹¹ M. Bandrés Oto: *La moda en la pintura: Velázquez. Usos y costumbres del siglo XVII*, Pamplona 2002, pp.291–98.

¹² *Noticia de los cuadros que se hallan colocados en la Galería del Museo del Rey*, Madrid 1828.

The Frick and Prado canvases display a common sequence in the warp, which in both cases was laid out as the vertical dimension of the painting. There is thus a high probability that the two canvases came from the same bolt of cloth (Fig. 12). The illustration shows the location of the common sequence in the warp of the two canvases without attempting to reconstruct their relative position in the original cloth.

This information allows us to advance a hypothesis about Velázquez's artistic production in 1644. First, the portrait said to be of Sebastián de Morra was painted at Fraga, perhaps at the same time as the Frick's *Philip IV* or slightly earlier. This would explain the use of two similarly anomalous canvases, as it is probable that Velázquez accompanied the King to Fraga serving in his capacity of 'ayuda de cámara', without taking any painting materials with him. When the need arose to paint the King's portrait far from the court during a military campaign, Velázquez used the materials that were available, perhaps bought in nearby Zaragoza, where in 1642 he had visited the studio of the painter and theoretician Jusepe Martínez.⁸ (It would be interesting to compare the supports of the two works under discussion with those of contemporary works by local artists in the same area.)

Although it is well known that Velázquez painted Frick's *Philip IV* in precarious conditions and hastily (to ensure that it could be displayed at a planned thanksgiving ceremony in Madrid),⁹ it is less easy to understand why he should have painted the dwarf's portrait in the same circumstances. It might have been undertaken as a preparatory exercise, in order to 'loosen the hand' before starting a more important work, as some experts have suggested that *Juan de Pareja* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) or *The Pope's barber* (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid) were painted in preparation for work on the portrait of *Innocent X* (Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome), which were all painted c.1650 in Rome.¹⁰ But *Sebastián de Morra* would also easily fit into the pre-existing series of portraits of dwarfs and other 'hombres de placer' that Velázquez had painted in earlier decades. In addition, it is tempting to compare visually the Frick portrait of Philip IV with *Sebastián de Morra*. The approach to the sitters is different, as is to be expected, and the Frick portrait is more thinly painted than the dwarf, but the red garment worn by the dwarf resembles a miniature replica of Philip IV's military *sobreveste*, while the treatment of the transparent cambric *valona* collars of both sitters is also similar.¹¹

However, this calls into question the traditional identification of the dwarf. The canvas is a portrait of a dwarf known as Sebastián de Morra, whereas the bill in the Archivo de Palacio unambiguously identifies the sitter portrayed at Fraga as 'El Primo'. This 'El Primo' has long been interpreted as a nickname of a different dwarf: Diego de Acedo. In order to solve this problem, it is necessary to study the genesis of the current theories about these portraits before exploring the possible repercussions of the new information presented here.

Experts have disagreed, and to some extent still disagree, about the dating, provenance and identity of Velázquez's portraits of dwarfs. *Don Diego de Acedo*, 'El Primo' (Fig. 13) is one of the most problematic. The earliest catalogue of the Prado, of 1828, lists the portrait under no. 193 as '[retrato] de un enano registrando un libro',



13. *Diego de Acedo*, by Diego Velázquez. c.1644. Canvas, 107 by 82 cm. (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid).

without mention of a name or nickname.¹² The same portrait appears as '*retrato de cuerpo entero de un enano. Está sentado leyendo un libro*' in the 1843 catalogue under no. 246 (which was then recorded in the lower left edge of the painting).¹³ The catalogue written by Pedro de Madrazo in 1872 is the earliest to give a name to the sitter.¹⁴ Madrazo knew of the invoice mentioned above, which discusses a portrait of 'El Primo' painted at Fraga, and he found references to a portrait of a man with that name in royal inventories. He also found an entry in an account book for the years 1643–45, which records that 'el enano El Primo' received for the King's birthday a black suit made of curly pile cloth. The colour and fabric could match those worn by the sitter in Fig. 13, and, considering the date of the receipt, it is possible that the sitter would have worn it in 1644. Madrazo concluded that the sitter is 'El Primo' and that Fig. 13 is the portrait painted in Fraga in 1644. This theory has been accepted by the Prado until relatively recently.

In the decades following the publication of Madrazo's catalogue more information about the sitter was discovered. Cruzada Villamil suggested that his real name was Luis (not Diego) de Aedo or Hacedo, and that he had an accident in Molina de Aragón in 1635, when he was in the service of the Count-Duke of Olivares.¹⁵ As the statesman's carriage passed, a company of

¹³ P. de Madrazo: *Catálogo de los cuadros del Real Museo de Pintura y Escultura de S.M.*, Madrid 1843, p. 53, no. 246; see M. López-Fanjul Díez del Corral and J.J. Pérez Preciado: 'Los números y marcas de colección en los cuadros del Prado', *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 23/41 (2005), pp. 87–110, esp. p. 96 (on the numbers painted on pictures) and note 53 (on the 1857 catalogue).

¹⁴ P. de Madrazo: *Catálogo descriptivo e histórico de los cuadros del Museo del Prado de Madrid*, Madrid 1872, I, pp. 629–30, no. 1095.

¹⁵ G. Cruzada Villamil: *Anales de la vida y de las obras de Diego de Silva Velázquez*, Madrid 1885, pp. 105–06.

soldiers fired a round of salvos in salutation. One of them shot a real bullet, either by accident or perhaps in an attempt to assassinate the King's favourite, injuring the face of the dwarf who was travelling in the carriage fanning his master. Juan Allende-Salazar noted that the nickname 'Primo' may reflect the dwarf's snobbishness or his obsession with genealogy, since Grandees ('Grandes de España') had the custom to address each other and the King colloquially as 'primo' (cousin).¹⁶ Grandees also enjoyed the privilege of keeping their heads covered in the King's presence, which some have connected to the black hat worn by the dwarf. Finally, José Moreno Villa provided more biographical data. Since 1635 and until his death in 1660, Don Diego de Acedo worked at the *secretaría de cámara*, a post that is suggested in the painting by his attributes. His task consisted of stamping a facsimile of the King's signature on official documents.¹⁷ Moreno Villa also found references to an affair with the wife of a palace employee, whose jealous husband killed her in 1643.

Others tried to find references to the portrait in inventories of other royal residences. A portrait of 'El Primo' appears in inventories of the Alcázar made in 1666, 1686 and 1700. That of 1700, as well as later inventories, mentions a painting in the Torre de la Parada which is undoubtedly the portrait of a dwarf with a book on his lap now at the Prado, but in these inventories the name of the sitter is never given (neither as 'El Primo' nor as 'Diego de Acedo').¹⁸ Some maintain that the painting in the Alcázar must have been taken to the Torre de la Parada in 1700 and therefore appears twice in the same inventory.¹⁹ Others have argued that there must have been two portraits of the same dwarf, one at the Torre de la Parada and the other in the Alcázar. The Alcázar was burned down on Christmas Eve 1734, and it is presumed that the portrait of 'El Primo' there did not survive. Some think that the painting now at the Prado is the one painted by Velázquez at Fraga in 1644,²⁰ while others believe that, from a stylistic and technical point of view, the dwarf sitting with a book has more in common with earlier portraits than it has with those dating from the 1640s.²¹ José López-Rey, who initially thought that the only portrait of 'El Primo', painted at Fraga, is the one now at the Prado, later changed his mind and even came to question the traditional identification of this sitter as 'El Primo', something Martín González had already suggested some years earlier.²²

The problem is further complicated by the existence of another document, published by José Manuel Pita Andrade in 1952.²³ The *post-mortem* inventory of the residence of the collector the

Marquess of Carpio in Madrid made in 1689 records 'a portrait of Primo sitting on the floor, with a falling *valona* collar, dressed in black and a red coat with gold embroidery, and only the soles of the shoes can be seen, with a water jug to the side, original by Diego Velázquez'.²⁴ On 4th March 1690 this painting was given to the Count of Monterrey in settlement of Carpio's debts; the document describes it in similar terms and identifies it as 'un retrato del Primo . . .'.²⁵ Another inventory of the same collection, dated 10th October 1692, again identifies the sitter as 'El Primo'.²⁶ This painting (Fig.14) was known only through documents, but when it appeared on the market in 2012 it turned out to be a version of the dwarf portrait traditionally identified as *Sebastián de Morra* at the Prado.²⁷ Some have questioned the importance of the relevant document, suggesting that the identification of the sitter could be mistaken.²⁸ However, the fact that the earliest inventory of the Carpio collection was drawn up by the King's painter Claudio Coello (1642–93) and José Jiménez Donoso (1632–90), another painter, who may well have known 'El Primo' in person (the dwarf died in 1660), lends credibility to this document. This inventory names the sitter in only one portrait of a dwarf, whereas several names appear in the royal inventories and there is almost no way of matching their identities. One of the Prado dwarf paintings (Fig.10) was rescued from the fire of the Alcázar; according to the inventory, several similar portraits were displayed in the same room, among them one named 'Sebastián de Morra'. It is impossible to determine which is which, although it was assumed, by elimination, that if Fig.13 is *El Primo*, Fig.10 must be *Sebastián de Morra*. However, if the painting in the Carpio collection is more likely to be 'El Primo' than any of the Prado portraits, this identification should be given more weight than any other discussed so far. This is the main reason behind López-Rey's conclusion that the traditional titles of *El Primo* and *Sebastián de Morra* were inconclusive.²⁹

Part of the problem arises from the fact that it has been assumed that 'El Primo' and 'Don Diego de Acedo' are the same person. The earliest evidence suggests that 'El Primo' was a buffoon employed by the Count-Duke whom he was fanning in his carriage on the day of the accident. According to another contemporary document, a wig and a crown were made for 'El Primo', probably as toys or comical props.³⁰ In contrast, the documents mentioning Diego de Acedo suggest that he worked at the *secretaría de cámara*, and therefore was not a buffoon but someone who might today be classified as a civil servant.³¹ It is

¹⁶ J. Allende-Salazar: *Retratos del Museo del Prado: identificación y rectificaciones*, Madrid 1919, p.221, no.1201.

¹⁷ J. Moreno Villa: *Locos, enanos, negros, y niños palaciegos: Gente de placer que tuvieron los Austrias en la corte española desde 1563 a 1700*, Mexico City 1939, pp.48, 55–56 and 58.

¹⁸ For a complete list of the inventories, see J. López-Rey: *Velázquez: The Artist as Maker: With a Catalogue Raisonné of his Extant Works*, Lausanne and Paris 1979, pp.436–37.

¹⁹ A. de Beruete: *Velázquez*, London 1906, p.92; *idem*, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.14; Madrazo, *op. cit.* (note 14), I, pp.629–30, no.1095; Allende-Salazar, *op. cit.* (note 16), p.221, no.1201; F.J. Sánchez Cantón: *Catálogo de los cuadros del Museo del Prado*, Madrid 1949, no.1201; J. López-Rey: *Velázquez: A Catalogue Raisonné of his oeuvre*, London 1963, p.82; J. Batlle: *Velázquez: el pintor hidalgo*, Madrid 1990, p.90; and J. Gállego, A. Pérez Sánchez and A. Domínguez Ortiz: *exh. cat. Velázquez*, Madrid (Museo del Prado) 1990, pp.330–34, no.55.

²⁰ E. Harris: *Velázquez*, Oxford 1982, pp.108–13, pl.103; D. Davies: 'El Primo', in S. Alpers *et al.*: *Velázquez*, Barcelona 1999, pp.169–96; and, not as strongly, F. Checa: *Museo del Prado: Catálogo de pinturas*, Madrid 1996, no.1201; *idem*: *Velázquez: The Complete Paintings*, New York 2008, p.167, no.591; and the Prado online paintings catalogue available at http://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/galeria-on-line/galeria-on-line/obra/el-bufon-don-diego-de-acedo-el-primo/?no_cache=1 (retrieved April 2011).

²¹ J. Camón Aznar: *Velázquez*, Madrid 1964, II, p.653; J. Brown: *Velázquez: Painter and Courtier*, New Haven and London 1986, pp.148 and 274–77; and Garrido, *op. cit.* (note 3), pp.485–93.

²² López-Rey, *op. cit.* (note 18), pp.88–89 and 436–39, no.102; J.J. Martín González: 'Algunas sugerencias acerca de los "bufones" de Velázquez', in A. Gallego y Burín, ed.: *Varia Velazqueña*, Madrid 1960, I, pp.250–56.

²³ J.M. Pita Andrade: 'Los cuadros de Velázquez y Mazo que poseyó el séptimo marqués del Carpio', *Archivo Español de Arte* 25 (1952), pp.223–36, esp. p.233.

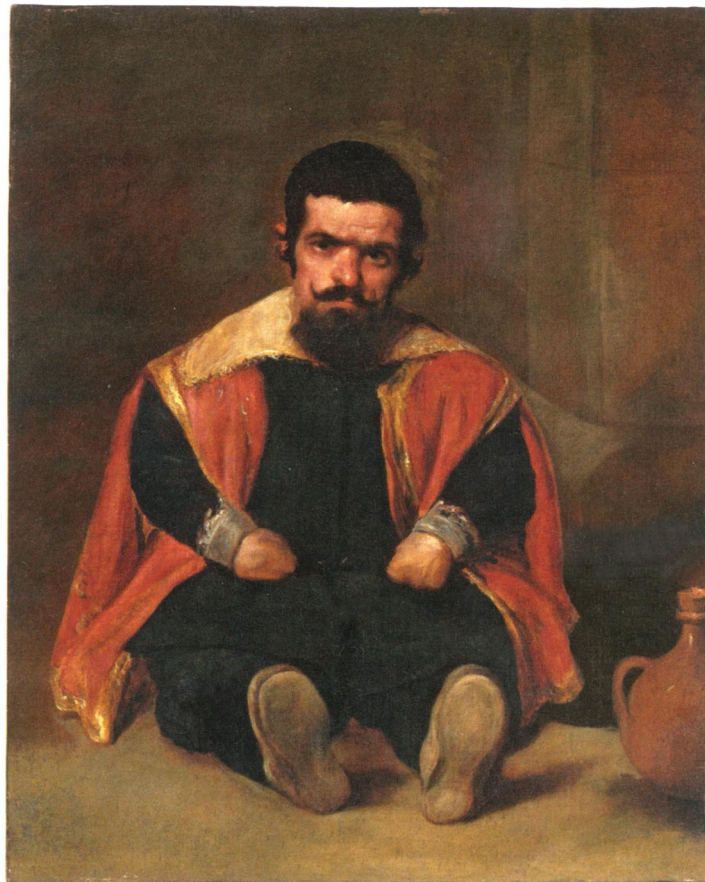
²⁴ '... un Retratto de Primo Senttado En El Suelo Con una balona Caída Vestido de negro Con Una gabardina Colorada Guarnezida de passamanos de oro y solo se ben las Suelas de Los zapattos Con un Jaro a Un lado original de Diego Velazquez . . .'; Madrid, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Protocolo 9.819, fol.1024, no.252; see M.B. Burke and P. Cherry: *Spanish Inventories: Collections of paintings in Madrid, 1601–1755*, Los Angeles 1997, I, p.843, no.240. Burke and Cherry hesitated in their transcription of the word 'Primo', thinking that it may read 'Plinio'. The document is difficult to read, but the second letter of that word clearly contains a small loop to the left, making it more likely to be an 'r' than an 'l'. The name 'Primo' appears in other documents related

established that 'El Primo' belonged to the Count-Duke's entourage, and that Acedo kept his job in the *secretaría de cámara* after the statesman's downfall in 1643, which would have been extraordinary had his links to Olivares been close. It is probable that 'El Primo' and Diego de Acedo were not the same person, which would help to clarify the interpretation of the documents.

Arguing against this hypothesis is the fact that one contemporary document seems to link the name Diego de Acedo to the nickname 'El Primo'. A receipt of 1680 reads: '*Dese a Bernardo Pedrero sobrino de Don Diego de Azedo el enano que llamaron El Primo, un vestido . . .*'.³² The reliability of this document is questionable, since it was written some twenty years after the death of Diego de Acedo (the same objection could be made regarding the Carpio inventory, although in that case the authorship lends it greater credibility). Gallego y Burín seems convinced that Diego de Acedo and 'El Primo' are the same person, following Moreno Villa;³³ however, this detail is dealt with only as an afterthought. The receipt mentioned above is the only concrete evidence adduced to support his argument.³⁴ Another document quoted by the same author, a memorandum on '*reforma de la merced de vestidos*', mentioned '*D. Diego de Acedo (El Primo)*'; however, study of the document in the Archivo de Palacio has confirmed that the parentheses in Gallego y Burín's transcription are an editorial addition that is missing in the original.³⁵ The fact that the archivist Cruzada mentioned a 'Luis de Hacedo' (not Diego) is also problematic.³⁶

The difficulties regarding the identification of Sebastián de Morra, Diego de Acedo and 'El Primo' cannot be resolved conclusively. The entries in the Carpio inventories could be mistaken, as could be the 1680 memorandum on dress. However, the weave match of the two portraits sheds new light on the question.

Taking as a point of departure the fact that the dwarf portrayed at Fraga was 'El Primo', the scientific evidence of the weave match analysis seems to indicate that it can be identified as the Prado painting traditionally known as *Sebastián de Morra* (Fig. 10). The simplest explanation is that 'El Primo' was the name given to the dwarf dressed in red. There is no reason to doubt the veracity of the receipt on which this identification is based, since it was written by someone who knew the sitter and was in Fraga at the time the painting was sent to Madrid. The inventories of the Carpio collection would support this hypothesis, which in return raises other questions: who are Sebastián de Morra and Diego de Acedo, and what was El Primo's real name? In



14. Portrait of a dwarf, here proposed to be *El Primo* (rather than *Sebastián de Morra*), by the workshop of Diego Velázquez. c.1644. Canvas, 103 by 82 cm. (Private collection; courtesy of Christie's).

addition, because the findings presented here establish a strong connection between the time and place in which the Frick's *Philip IV* and the portrait hitherto known as *Morra* were painted, the latter can be accurately dated to 1644. This resolves many of the quandaries that puzzled researchers regarding certain technical and stylistic aspects of that painting.

Although the matter is still far from being resolved, the technical study of the canvases may serve as an invitation to reassess theories that have not been properly verified, while it also suggests that a comparative study of the supports of other works by the artist could potentially yield fascinating results.

to the same painting; see the following note.

²⁵ Madrid, Archivo de la Casa de Alba, Caja 221, no.2: 'n^o 252: *Un retrato del Primo sentado en el suelo con una balona caída vestido de negro con gabardina colorada guarnecida de pasamanos de oro original de Belazquez tassado 1000 reales*'. See Aterido Fernández, *op. cit.* (note 1), II, p.553, no.518; see also Pita Andrade, *op. cit.* (note 23), pp.223–36; and *idem*: 'Noticias en torno a Velázquez en el archivo de la Casa de Alba', in Gallego y Burín, *op. cit.* (note 22), I, pp.400–13, p.410.

²⁶ See Pita Andrade, *op. cit.* (note 23).

²⁷ Sale, Christie's, New York, 25th January 2012, lot 41, as 'Portrait of Don Diego de Acedo, el Primo', by the studio of Velázquez. C.B. Curtis: *Velázquez and Murillo*, London 1883, p.31; López-Rey, *op. cit.* (note 19), p.267, no.431; López-Rey, *op. cit.* (note 18), p.445, no.104; L. Frutos: *El Templo de la Fama. Alegoría del Marqués del Carpio*, Madrid 2009, 'apéndice documental', p.77. The painting was in the collection of the Marqués de Salamanca; see *Catalogue des tableaux anciens* [...] *composant la galerie de M. le M^s. de Salamanca*, Paris 1867, no.39.

²⁸ Martín González, *op. cit.* (note 22), pp.250–56; López-Rey, *op. cit.* (note 18), pp.88–89 and 436–39, no.102; and Brown, *op. cit.* (note 21), pp.148 and 274–77.

²⁹ López-Rey, *op. cit.* (note 18), p.437.

³⁰ Moreno Villa, *op. cit.* (note 17), pp.57, 119 and *passim*.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp.55–56.

³² Gallego y Burín, *op. cit.* (note 22), II, p.241, note 2; the author transcribed 'llaman' instead of 'llamaron'. The reference system used by Gallego y Burín is obscure and makes the retrieval of documents in the Archivo de Palacio, Madrid (hereafter cited as AP), difficult, even for the staff of the archive; the document quoted here appeared in *ibid.* only as '*Vestuario, legajo 4*', but is to be found at AP, Sección Administración General, Legajo 975, folder 'Libranza de vestido', sub-folder 'Diferentes libranças', 1680.

³³ Moreno Villa, *op. cit.* (note 17), pp.57–58.

³⁴ Gallego y Burín affirms, rather vaguely, that other documents can be found under '*cuentas particulares*' and '*vestuario, leg. 4*' in which the name 'Diego de Acedo' appears juxtaposed to the nickname 'El Primo'. This reference refers to more than twenty boxes of documents in the Archivo de Palacio, Madrid, in which it has been impossible to find a single such occurrence.

³⁵ See Gallego y Burín, *op. cit.* (note 22), II, p.244, no.68; Aterido Fernández, *op. cit.* (note 1), I, p.119, no.127. Quoted by Gallego y Burín as '*Felipe IV. Casa. Leg. 2 de Vestuario – antes Leg. 3*'; retrieved in AP, Sección Administración General, Leg. 973, Vestuario y uniformes, folder '1630 a 1639', 1637.

³⁶ Cruzada Villamil, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp.105–06.