

*Portrait of Antonio Porlier y Sopranis,
1st Marquis of Bajamar*
by Francisco de Goya y Lucientes



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FRANCISCO DE GOYA Y LUCIENTES

(Fuendetodos, Spain, 1746 - Bordeaux, France, 1828)

Portrait of Antonio Porlier y Sopranis, 1st Marquis of Bajamar

1790 and 1794

Oil on canvas

103,3 x 81,3 cm

INSCRIPTIONS

Front: "Exmo S. D^{na} . Antonio / Aniceto de Porlier 1^{er} / Marqués de Bajamar / Ministro de G. y J y
Conse/gero de Estado de Carlos 3^o", on a label at the top left of the work; back: "Goya / Retrato /
E^{xmo} Sr. D^{na} Antonio Porlier 1^{er} / Marques de Bajamar, nació / en la Laguna de Tenerife en / 17 de abril
de 1722: ministro / de Gracia y Justicia de Carlos 3^o", in the upper right corner; label "Colección
Marqués de Bajamar", at the top left; on the crossbar of the frame, label with the coat of arms of the
Marquis of Bajamar; "B241", chalk on the crossbar; "MB", in black ink in the lower left corner

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Beruete 1916, pp. 29 and 51 (as Goya); Beruete 1922, pp. 35 and 206, n° 91, (as Goya); Mayer 1923,
pp. 187 and 269 (as Goya); Mayer 1925, pp. 184 and 295 (as Goya); Soria 1957, p. 90, cat. 14 (as Goya);
AA.VV. 2012, pp. 29-31 (as Goya); Urbina 2012 (as Goya); Illán and Romero 2012 (as Goya); Zanotti
et al. 2021, pp. 614-616 (as Goya); Mangiante 2024, p. 64 (as Goya); Romero and Illán 2024, pp. 29-30,
figs. 26 and 27 (as Goya).



The Marquis of Bajamar: a prominent figure of the Enlightenment portrayed by Goya

Gloria Martínez Leiva

Don Antonio Porlier y Sopranis was a prominent Enlightenment figure in the mid-18th century, known for his reformist spirit. He was born in La Laguna (Tenerife) on April 16, 1722, to Don Esteban Porlier y Du-Ruth, Consul General of France in the Canary Islands, and Doña Rita Juana Sopranis y Dutari, of Navarrese descent and native to La Laguna.¹

He completed his early studies in Seville, at the Colegio de San Hermenegildo, and in La Laguna, at the convent of San Agustín before furthering his education in France, in 1737. By 1744, he was in Madrid and later transferred to Alcalá de Henares, where he stayed until 1746, when he moved to Salamanca to study law. In 1748, he earned a Bachelor of Laws degree in Salamanca, and in 1752, he joined the Royal Councils in Madrid as a legal advisor. A year later, he became an honorary member of the Royal Academy of History, where he conducted various studies on the Canary Islands. Among his notable works are *Historical dissertation on the time of the first discovery, expedition, and conquest of the Canary Islands* (1753) and *Historical dissertation on who were the first settlers of the Fortunate Islands, commonly called the Canary Islands, and what country this originally was* (1755).²

On September 9, 1756, he was appointed an honorary member of the Royal Spanish Academy.³ Under the patronage of the Duke of Alba, who presided over the institution, Porlier advanced his career in the Americas. On February 3, 1757, he was appointed Public Prosecutor for the Protection of Indigenous Peoples in Charcas (Sucre), in the Viceroyalty of Peru, serving as a jurist in the Indies for nearly twenty years.

During his time in the Americas, he met his first wife, the noble Creole María Josefa de Asteguieta e Iribarren, whom he married on July 30, 1765. That same year, he was appointed judge (*oidor*) of the Charcas Audiencia,⁴ and shortly after, in 1766, his first son, José, was born, though he passed away in childhood. During this period, in addition to his legal work in Charcas, he established a library that, by 1768, contained 1,146 volumes.

¹ A large part of the biographical information presented in this section was provided by Don Antonio Porlier himself, who wrote an autobiography that was published in 1947 by the *Revista de Historia Canaria* of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of La Laguna. PORLIER 1947.

² In the original: *Disertación histórica sobre la época del primer descubrimiento, expedición y conquista de las islas Canarias y Disertación histórica sobre quiénes fueron los primeros pobladores de las Islas Afortunadas, comúnmente llamadas Canarias, y qué país fuera éste en lo primitivo*.

³ His speech, dated in Madrid, 9th of September 1756, is found in the Archivo Marqués de Bajamar (AMB), Legajo 1, doc. 7. BAILLO 2011, p. 322.

⁴ BAILLO 2011, p. 324.

However, on December 7, 1766, he was appointed Civil Prosecutor of the Audiencia de Lima, and he was forced to change destination. After having had to sell his possessions and his valuable library in order to take up a new post, Porlier assumed office in 1769 as civil prosecutor of the Audiencia de Lima.⁵ He worked there exhaustively between 1769 and 1774, handling numerous and highly complex cases, which seriously undermined his health. During those years, he and María Josefa de Astegiata had three children: his second son, Esteban Antonio, who would later become the 2nd Marquis of Bajamar, was born on September 2, 1768; on March 1, 1771, his third son, Rosendo José, was born; on May 4, 1772, his fourth son, Antonio Domingo, who would later become the 3rd Marquis of Bajamar; and, finally, in 1774, his only daughter, Juana María, was born, but she passed away the following year aboard the ship *Buen Consejo*.⁸

Thanks to the support of the Duke of Alba and Julián de Arriaga, he was appointed as prosecutor of the Council of the Indies for New Spain in 1775,⁶ and returned to Spain after a harsh journey during which he lost his daughter and suffered a permanent hearing impairment. From that point on, under the influence of key figures such as José de Gálvez and Floridablanca, his career became firmly established, culminating in his admission to the Order of Charles III in 1777,⁷ which placed him in the immediate circle of power.

After returning to Spain, he was widowed when his wife passed away on March 26, 1779, at just thirty-two years of age. The minister took refuge in his work and in the education of his three sons, Esteban, Rosendo, and Antonio Domingo, who were enrolled at the Piarist School of Lavapiés. Finally, by Royal Decree on June 8, 1780, King Charles III appointed him *Camarista de Indias* (Judge of the Chamber of the Indies) (fig. 1), leaving even less free time for a man who was always occupied.⁸

Three years later, in 1782, he remarried María Jerónima Daoíz y Guendica, with whom he had no children. At the time of their marriage, celebrated in Madrid on July 6, 1782, Porlier was sixty years old, while his wife was thirty-two. María Jerónima, of noble Navarrese descent, was the daughter of Don Fernando Daoíz y Castañiza, *Oidor* (judge) of the Chamber of Comptos of Navarre, and Doña María Josefa Guendica y Aldunate. In April 1794, she was awarded with the white and purple sash of the Order of María Luisa.

In June 1787, Don José Gálvez, the Universal Minister of the Indies, passed away. As a result, the then Secretary of State under Charles III, the Count of Floridablanca, decided to divide the department into two ministries or Secretariats of the Indies: Treasury and War on one side, and Grace



Fig. 1 Joaquín Inza, *Portrait of Antonio Porlier and Sopranis, 1st Marquis of Bajamar*, 1780. Oil on canvas, 105 x 83,5 cm. Private collection

and Justice on the other. Antonio Valdés y Bazán was appointed to the first, while Porlier was named Minister of the Universal Office of Grace and Justice of the Indies on July 10, 1787, a position he held for five years.⁹ After the death of Charles III in 1788, his son and successor, Charles IV, appointed Porlier as a member of the Council of State on the very day of his proclamation, January 13, 1789. Later, as previously mentioned, by Royal Decree on April 25, 1790, the monarch named him Minister of Grace and Justice of Spain and the Indies, merging both departments into a single institution.

⁹ AMB, Legajo 1, doc. 99. BAILLO 2011, p. 330.

⁵ BAILLO 2011, p. 326.

⁶ This is stated in the title issued in Madrid on 17 July 1775, which includes at the end the certification issued on 9 September of that year by Don Manuel de la Vega, chamber clerk to His Majesty in the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies. AMB, Legajo 11, doc. 39.1. BAILLO 2011, p. 326.

⁷ The title of Porlier as a *pensioned knight* of the aforementioned Order, referring to his appointment on the 17th of January 1777, was not issued until November 7, 1783, by a royal decree signed by His Majesty at San Lorenzo el Real. AMB, Legajo 1, doc. 93. Regarding Porlier's initial appointment and the issuance of the corresponding title in the aforementioned year of 1783, there is also a certificate signed by Don Miguel de Otamendi in Aranjuez on March 30, 1788. AMB, Legajo 1, doc. 95. BAILLO 2011, p. 327.

⁸ Title issued in Aranjuez on June 12, 1780, in AMB, Legajo 11, doc. 46/1. See *Gaceta de Madrid*, June 16, 1780.

“...which His Majesty was pleased justly to unite with the one in the Indies that I held, and from that time I duly discharged the duties of both; in the meantime, the King was pleased to honour me with the grant of a Title of Castile, under the designation of Marquis of Bajamar, exempt from *lanzas* and *media anata*, in perpetuity for myself and my children and successors therein.”¹⁰

His appointment as Minister and his title as Marquis of Bajamar marked the pinnacle of his political career. It was in relation to this occasion that Don Antonio must have commissioned his portrait and that of his wife from Francisco de Goya, as we shall analyse later.

Nonetheless, successes and recognition continued in the years that followed. On November 18, 1790, he was appointed a Full Member (*Académico de Número*) of the Royal Spanish Academy, occupying Seat K,¹¹ and shortly after, on December 10, he became a Full Member of the Royal Academy of History.¹² Finally, in early 1792, he was awarded the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Charles III.¹³

After the fall of Floridablanca, one of his strongest supporters, he was granted an “honorable retirement” and was appointed Governor of the Supreme Council of the Indies on July 10, 1792. Starting in January 1793, he opened the Council’s sessions with exhortatory speeches, delivering one per year until 1806, when he gave his final address.¹⁴

On September 14, 1807, Porlier summarized his administration in the document *Precise Account of the Main Matters and Affairs That Occurred and Were Handled During the Five Years He Was in Charge of the Ministry of Grace and Justice of the Indies, to Which Was Later Added That of Grace and Justice of Spain*. In it, he highlighted significant achievements, including:

“the commission given to Don Juan Bautista Muñoz to write the *General History of the Indies* and to create the *American Atlas, Geographic and Topographic of the Indies*; the publication of Don Francisco Hernández’s *Natural History*; urging the *Junta de Leyes* to continuously develop and organize the laws of the Indies; the reorganization of the Council’s secret archive; the establishment of a college in Granada for the education of young men from the Indies; the publication of the *Flora Peruviana*; the support and promotion of the commission led in the Kingdom of Santa Fe by Don Josef Mutis; the

¹⁰ “que tuvo a bien S.M. unir justamente al que yo servía de Indias, y desde ese tiempo despaché puntualmente uno y otro, en cuyo intermedio tuvo a bien el Rey condecorarme con la merced del Título de Castilla con denominación de Marqués de Bajamar, libre de lanzas y medias annatas, perpetuamente para mí y mis hijos y sucesores en él”. PORLIER 1947, pp. 173-174. See also *Gaceta de Madrid*, March 15, 1791. The Archivo General de Palacio (AGP) preserves the document, dated at the Palace on March 18, 1791, by which Porlier informed the Marquis of Villena that he had chosen the designation “Marquis of Bajamar.” AGP, Secc. Personal, C^a 12.999, exp. 7. Don Antonio takes its name from a locality on the northern coast of Tenerife, where the Sopranis family owned an estate and a chapel dedicated to Saint Stephen, now known as *Finca Porlier*. The Royal Charter was issued on May 12, 1791, and months later Don Antonio would finance the Spanish edition of James Harris’s work *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, translated from French, in which his portrait painted by Goya appears.

¹¹ AMB, Legajo 1, doc. 5-A. Real Academia Española (RAE), Personal files.

¹² Real Academia de la Historia (RAH), Legajo 100, file 21, sec. 11 F. BAILLO 2011, p. 332.

¹³ PORLIER 1947, p. 174.

¹⁴ Most of the speeches delivered by the Marquis of Bajamarr can be read in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE).

cultivation of *quina* in Loxa and cinnamon in the Philippines; the drafting of regulations for the governance of Black populations across all American territories, resulting in a Royal Decree of May 31, 1789, ‘which has been obstructed by certain appeals from landowners in Caracas and Havana’; and the reorganization of the six *Colegios Mayores* established in the universities of Salamanca, Alcalá, and Valladolid [...].”¹⁵

Don Antonio Porlier belonged to both the school of Charles III and that of Floridablanca. His long public service, spanning nearly fifty years, was due to two factors: on the one hand, the loyalty he consistently showed in his service to the Spanish monarchs, and on the other, his great longevity. His administrative career, from his beginnings as an *Indiano* magistrate to his rise to the summit of power, represents a judicious combination of the fulfilment of his duties with an ability to ask, to wait, and to receive.

Likewise, Porlier was a man of very high culture. An indefatigable reader throughout his life, his education encompassed theology, philosophy, literature, and history, in addition to his long-standing fondness for art and for nature in general. It is also evident that he possessed extensive legal knowledge. Don Antonio was therefore an Enlightened figure in the truest and broadest sense of the word.

He passed away in Madrid on February 8, 1813, at his home on Calle de la Libertad, just short of his ninety-first birthday.¹⁶

The portrait of an Enlightened man

As we had previously mentioned, the portrait of the Marquis of Bajamar was painted around 1790 when Don Antonio was appointed minister of the Crown. The typology of the Marquis’s portrait corresponds in technique and style to the series of effigies that Goya created for the Banco de España, particularly those of Miguel Fernández Durán, Marquis of Tolosa (fig. 2), and Francisco Javier de Larumbe y Rodríguez (fig. 3). At that time, Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1746-1828) had established direct contact with the circle of Spanish intellectuals and reformers linked to the European Enlightenment and had become the most sought-after portraitist of the period.

¹⁵ “el encargo hecho a don Juan Bautista Muñoz de escribir la *Historia General de las Indias* y formar el *Atlas Americano, Geográfico y Topográfico de Indias*; la publicación de la *Historia Natural* de don Francisco Hernández; urgir a la Junta de Leyes a la continua formación y arreglo de las de Indias; el arreglo del Archivo secreto del Consejo; el establecimiento en Granada de un Colegio para la educación de la juventud indiana; la publicación de la flora peruana; la protección y fomento de la Comisión que desempeñaba en el Reino de Santa Fe don Josef Mutis; el cultivo de la quina de Loxa y de la canela en Filipinas; el expediente para el arreglo y gobierno de los negros de todos los dominios de América con una Real Cédula de 31 de mayo de 1789, «la cual han entorpecido algunos recursos promovidos por los hacendados de Caracas y La Habana»; el arreglo de los seis Colegios Mayores establecidos en las Universidades de Salamanca, Alcalá y Valladolid...”. GUIMERÁ 1981, p. 152.

¹⁶ After the death of the Marquis, his will—drawn up before the notary Félix Rodríguez in May 1810—was read. Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid (AHPM), Félix Rodríguez, Protocol 20,229, fols. 48-61. The copy of the inventory of his assets after his death in AMB, Legajo 9, doc. 1. For most details of the biography of the Marquis of Bajamar see: GUIMERÁ 1981; GUIMERÁ 2001 and HERNÁNDEZ MORÁN 2008.



Fig. 2 Francisco de Goya, *Miguel Fernández Durán y López de Tejada, II Marquis of Tolosa*, c. 1786. Oil on canvas, 113 x 77 cm. Madrid, Banco de España, cat. P_133



Fig. 3 Francisco de Goya, *Francisco Javier de Larumbe y Rodríguez*, 1787. Oil on canvas, 113 x 77 cm. Madrid, Banco de España, cat. P_137

It is a direct and simple portrait, employing a neutral background against which the figure is set, much like the two aforementioned portraits that were made for the Banco de España. The only spatial elements present are the edge of the chair's backrest and the subtly suggested desk where the silver inkwell is placed.

The portrait depicts Don Antonio in a three-quarter view, seated in a carved and gilded wooden chair, resting his right arm on a desk that holds a silver inkwell and a quill. The Marquis wears a short white wig with two curls on either side of his head and dressed in his uniform of Minister of Grace and Justice, consisting of a red waistcoat and a dark blue coat, both adorned with gold-thread trimmings forming decorative patterns of palms and tassels. This suggests that depicted attire is the gala (full-dress) uniform of the King's Secretary.¹⁷ The same dress can also be seen in the portrait of Pedro López de Lerena, painted by Mariano Salvador Maella (1739-1819), in which he is represented as Secretary of the Universal Treasury Department, a position he held from 1785 to 1792 (fig. 4).

¹⁷ In the General Archive of the Royal Palace, a plate is preserved within the book entitled *Collection of Designs of Embroidered Uniforms Granted by His Majesty to the Classes Listed Below*, thanks to which we can know in detail the uniform worn by the Marquis of Bajamar. AGP, Registros, 857, ff. 166-167.



Fig. 4 Mariano Salvador Maella, *Portrait of Pedro López de Lerena, 1st Count of Lerena*, c. 1791. Oil on canvas, 142 x 109 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, cat. P007052

On his chest, the Marquis wears the Grand Cross of the Order of Charles III, which was granted to him in 1792 by King Charles IV, along with the Order's sash, adorned with a bow and decoration, crossing his attire. The background surrounding the figure has a greenish tone, subtly graded by the play of light and shadow on the body. In the upper left corner, there is a cartouche that precisely identifies the sitter. This type of inscription-bearing cartouche appears in other family portraits of the Marquis of Bajamar and was possibly added in the mid-19th century.¹⁸



Fig. 5 Francisco de Goya, *Carlos IV*, 1789. Oil on canvas, 171,5 x 129,5 cm. Madrid, Real Academia de Historia

In its compositional simplicity and direct way of presenting the subject, the painting bears great similarities to the effigy that Goya created for *King Charles IV* around 1789 (fig. 5). The popularity of which led to numerous variations and copies. Likewise, the greenish background, the watery rendering of the face, and the hand partially covered by the lace cuff of the shirt show a striking resemblance to the work under study. This demonstrates that the portraits Goya produced in the late 1780s and early 1790s belonged to the same typology, to which the portrait under study corresponds perfectly.

The bust of the Marquis of Bajamar, as depicted in this portrait, was engraved on the frontispiece of the *Literary History of the Middle Ages*,¹⁹ written in French by James Harris and translated by Manuel Antonio del Campo y Rivas. The book was dedicated to Don Antonio Porlier and his portrait was based on Goya's painting, as indicated by the inscription "F. Goya pinx.^t" on the edge of the engraving plate.²⁰ The engraver José Asensio created this portrait, serving as irrefutable proof of Goya's authorship of the painting under study (fig. 6).

Upon close examination, the facial features in both the engraving and the painting are identical (fig. 7), though the engraving presents a sharper definition of the features due to the outlining process. This engraving had not been associated with the painting examined here until recent years, due to



Fig. 6 Francisco de Goya, painter, and José Asensio, engraver, *Portrait of the Marquis of Bajamar*, 1791. Madrid, DLM collection



Fig. 7 Detail of the face of the portrait of the Marquis of Bajamar, the subject of this study

the absence of the sash and medal of the Order of Charles III in the engraving,²¹ which has a very simple explanation. Goya's portrait was engraved in 1791 and the canvas was modified in 1794 to incorporate the insignia of the Grand Order of Charles III, which he had received in 1792.

The Order of Charles III was established by Royal Decree on September 19, 1771, with the purpose of honouring individuals who had distinguished themselves through actions benefiting Spain and the Crown. This honour was granted only to high-ranking officials, such as secretaries of state, ministers—like Don Antonio—or senior ecclesiastical figures. It is therefore understandable that, after receiving such an award, the Marquis would want to include this prestigious distinction in his portrait.

In the intervention, not only was the Cross added to the chest along with the blue and white sash from which the Order hangs, but the Pensioned Cross that he originally wore on the lapel of his coat was also covered. This cross appears in Goya's engraving (fig. 6) and can also be clearly seen in the radiographic study of the painting (fig. 8).

¹⁸ VV.AA. 2012, p. 32.

¹⁹ In the original: *Historia Literaria de la Edad Media*.

²⁰ SANTIAGO AND WILSON-BAREAU 1996, p. 188, no. 178.

²¹ VV. AA. 2012, p. 10.

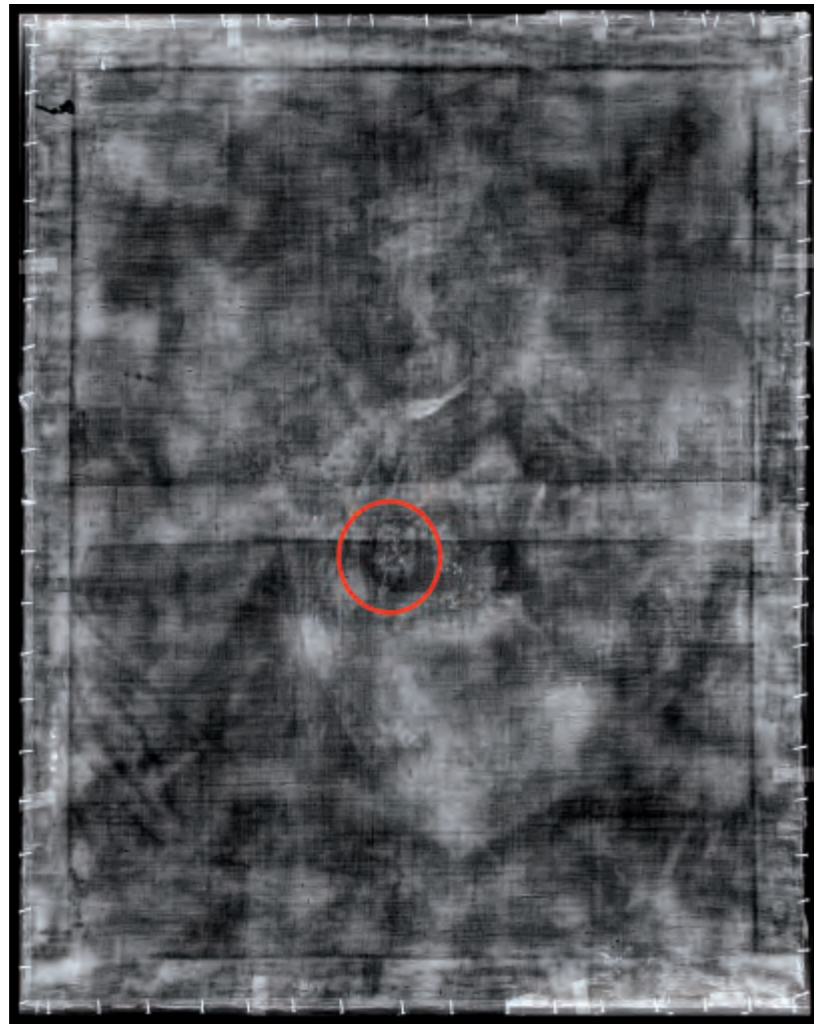


Fig. 8 X-ray of the painting where the presence of the Pensioned Cross is indicated in a red circle



Fig. 9 The interventions in the portrait of the Marquis of Bajamar carried out in 1794 are shown in yellow (image to the left). The original appearance of the work as painted by Goya is depicted in the image to the right

Likewise, during the 1794 intervention, a letter that he showed in his left hand was concealed, possibly referring to the position he held at the time Goya painted him and which he no longer held in 1794, since he retired from his post as royal minister in 1792. The removal of this element left Don Antonio's hand in a somewhat unnatural position, as it was no longer holding anything.

The modifications to the portrait were very specific, as shown in the diagram published after the study of the work (fig. 9),²² and did not affect the most significant areas of the portrait or the essence of what Goya originally painted. Thus, the changes made to the portrait in no way distort the work executed by Francisco de Goya and serve as an example of the fundamental role of portraiture in the representation of individuals during the 18th century.

²² URBINA 2012, p. 99.

During the 1794 intervention, the Marchioness' portrait was also modified. Her portrait, originally painted by Goya in 1790, was significantly altered after she was granted the Royal Order of María Luisa in 1794. Not only was the purple and white sash of the Royal Order of Noble Ladies of the Queen added, but the opportunity was also taken to update her hairstyle and clothing to a more fashionable style (fig. 10). During the early years of the Order, its members were required to wear the sash and insignia daily, which is why the portrait was promptly modified to reflect the Marchioness' new status.

Regarding the authorship of the interventions in both portraits, there has been speculation that these might have been carried out by the royal painter Mariano Salvador Maella.²³ Moreover, it was precisely these additions that led Professor Martín Soria to consider that both paintings were the work of Agustín Esteve. Professor Soria even identifies the inscription on the cartouche of the marquis's portrait, since the one on the marchioness's portrait was erased after its acquisition in 1913, as "Esteve's own handwriting."²⁴ However, as previously mentioned, the cartouche is a later addition, possibly from the mid-19th century, and can be found in several portraits in the Bajamar household.

²³ URBINA 2012, pp. 98 and 102.

²⁴ SORIA 1943, p. 246.

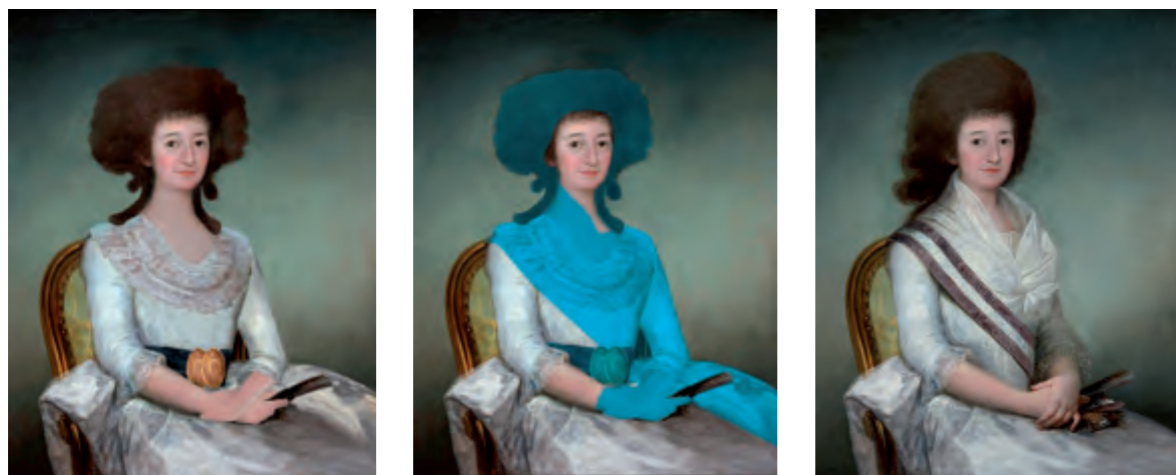


Fig. 10 From left to right: original appearance of the portrait painted by Goya, schematic of modifications made during the 1794 intervention, and current appearance of the portrait of the Marchioness of Bajamar. Images courtesy of José Antonio de Urbina

Professor Soria's opinion regarding the painting changed in the 1957 edition of his study on Esteve and Goya. There, he stated in relation to the portrait of the marquis that "once again I am filled with doubt as to whether it was painted by Goya. See also the engraving by J. Asensio [...]. If this engraving reproduces the painting catalogued here as no. 14, then that painting is by Goya."²⁵ As we have already seen, Asensio's engraving depicts the present painting; therefore, there is no doubt about Goya's authorship surrounding this portrait.

What seems evident is that Goya could not have retouched his own works, as the complicated political situation after the storming of the Bastille caused him to seek refuge in Cádiz at the home of his friend Sebastián Martínez in the winter of 1792 and 1793. There, he fell seriously ill, and when he returned to Madrid, he did so completely deaf, not resuming his activity as a portraitist until 1795.²⁶ Goya's illness would have prevented him from retouching the portraits of the marquises, but it remains highly speculative to determine the artist who worked on their retouching.

The portrait has been published on several occasions as a work by Goya, as indicated by the black ink inscription on the back of the painting. In the past, scholars such as Beruete and Mayer included the portrait in their catalogue of the artist's works.²⁷ More recently, after a joint study of this piece alongside the portrait of his wife, technical analysis confirmed that the painting was originally executed by Goya and later modified in small details to reflect the sitter's new status.²⁸

²⁵ "nuevamente me asalta la duda de que fuera pintado por Goya. Véase también el grabado por J. Asensio [...]. Si este grabado reproduce el cuadro aquí catalogado con el núm. 14, entonces dicho cuadro es de Goya". SORIA 1957, p. 90, cat. 14.

²⁶ GLENDINNING N.D.

²⁷ BERUETE 1922, p. 35 and MAYER 1923, no. 207.

²⁸ VV.AA. 2012; ILLÁN AND ROMERO 2012, and URBINA 2012.



From its creation near 1790 until the death of the 8th Marquis of Bajamar, Don Antonio Francisco de Paula de Porlier y Jaraba, on March 10, 2024, the work remained in the possession of the successive Marquises of Bajamar. However, the portrait of the Marchioness, which was created as a pendant in 1790, was sold by the 6th Marquis of Bajamar, Don Antonio Porlier y Lasquetty, in 1913 to a London-based art dealer.²⁹

After the death of the 8th Marquis of Bajamar, the portrait of the 1st Marquis of Bajamar was inherited by the current owners.

²⁹ VV.AA. 2012, p. 26.



The portrait of the 1st Marquis of Bajamar

Francisco de Goya and the Elites of Power [1789–1791]

José Manuel de la Mano

The final years of Charles III's reign and the early years of his son's, Charles IV, constitute a genuine turning point in the then still incipient courtly career of Francisco de Goya y Lucientes. In the period preceding his appointment as court painter for Charles III in 1786, Goya enjoyed a notably close relationship with several of the most influential ministers within the court, such as Miguel de Múzquiz y Goyeneche, 1st Count of Gausa,³⁰ at that time Secretary of Defence and of the Treasury; Pedro López de Lerena, 1st Count of Lerena, Secretary of State and likewise of the Treasury (see fig. 4);³¹ and above all José Moñino, 1st Count of Floridablanca, First Secretary of State, whom Goya portrayed in 1783 (fig. 11), as he proudly recounted to his friend Martín Zapater that same year, in a letter dated on the 22nd of January,³² which loosely translated reads: “[...] Although the Count of Floridablanca has asked me not to say anything, my wife knows it and I want you alone to know it as well, and that is that I am to paint his portrait, something that may be of great value to me; I owe so much to this gentleman that this afternoon I spent two hours with His Excellency after he had eaten.”³³



Fig. 11 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *José Moñino y Redondo, count of Floridablanca*, 1783. Oil on canvas, 196 x 116,5 cm. Madrid, Banco de España, cat. P-542

³⁰ Francisco de Goya painted this minister's portrait in 1783, which is currently in the collections of the Banco de España, in Madrid (cat. P-542).

³¹ On the 28th of May 1785, Goya wrote to his friend Martín Zapater, saying that he might visit him during the summer, as he was to portray the Count of Lerena. In the original: “[...] Estaba por hir a verte este Berano en acabar un retrato que voy a hacer para Lerena” (GOYA AND ZAPATER 2003, p. 208).

³² GOYA AND ZAPATER 2003, p. 139.

³³ “[...] Aunque me a encargado el Conde Florida Blanca q^e. no diga nada, lo sabe mi muger y quiero que tu lo sepas solo, y es q^e. le he de hacer su retrato cosa que me puede baler mucho, a este Sr. le debo tanto, que esta tarde me e estado con su S.^a dos oras despues q.^e a comido”.



Fig. 12 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Charles III, in Hunting Dress*, c. 1786. Oil on canvas, 207,7 x 125,8 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, cat. P000737

It may also have been the aforementioned Count of Floridablanca who commissioned the Aragonese painter to devise an innovative representation of Charles III in hunting dress (fig. 12), a masterful synthesis of the lineage of Anton Raphael Mengs and Diego Velázquez. Detached from all public courtly etiquette, the primary purpose of this group of royal portraits was to serve as gifts to various figures within the sovereign's most intimate circle. During this period, up until the King's death in December 1788, the Aragonese artist enjoyed a very close relationship with the King's brother, the Infante Don Luis, whom he immortalized during his exile in Arenas de San Pedro in the monumental family portrait (fig. 13). Furthermore, through the mediation of his close friend Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, Goya also received the commission to conceive a portrait gallery depicting the governors of the recently created Banco Nacional de San Carlos.

Charles IV's accession to the throne would bring about Goya's long-awaited appointment as Chamber Painter in April 1789. Among his courtly duties as a portraitist, the first commission of public significance he received from the monarch was the creation of a modern representation of the



Fig. 13 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *The Family of the Infante Don Luis*, c. 1783-1784. Oil on canvas, 248 x 328 cm. Parma, Italy, Fondazione Magnani Rocca

newly proclaimed Charles and María Luisa shaped by the turbulent political context of the French Revolution. In addition to the multiple pairs of royal portraits produced directly for the Crown, and within the almost contractual obligations associated with his newly acquired courtly status, between 1789 and 1790, the Aragonese painter also received requests to replicate some of these new courtly representations for other destinations of a noble or institutional nature.

During Charles III's reign, Goya had already earned a great reputation at court as a portraitist, but his appointment as Chamber Painter for Charles IV undoubtedly served to disseminate his name throughout all courtly circles. However, and still somewhat inexplicably, the period between 1789 and 1791 is rather sparse in terms of portraiture commissions from private individuals.

It is known that between 1789 and 1790 the painter completed a full-length portrait of Tadea Arias de Enríquez (fig. 14), carried out on the occasion of her marriage to Tomás de León and most likely commissioned through one of his principal patrons, the Duke of Osuna. Between the months of October and November 1790, Francisco de Goya travelled to Saragossa, during which time he also produced several portraits of his friends, such as Ramón Pignatelli (Saragossa, Palace of the Dukes of Villahermosa), Juan Martín de Goicoechea y Galarza (fig. 15), or that of the celebrated Martín Zapater (fig. 16). Upon his return to Madrid, the painter was required to observe quarantine in his home until early 1790, being unable to interact with anyone at court. In March 1791 he



Fig. 14 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Tadea Arias de Enríquez*, c. 1789. Oil on canvas, 191 x 106 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, cat. P000740



Fig. 15 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Juan Martín de Goicoechea y Galarza*, 1790. Oil on canvas, 84 x 65 cm. Saragossa, Museo de Zaragoza, inv. 54359



Fig. 16 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Martín Zapater y Clavería*, c. 1790. Oil on canvas, 83 x 65 cm. Puerto Rico, Museo de Arte de Ponce



Fig. 17 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Portrait of Luis María de Cistué y Martínez*, 1791. Oil on canvas, 118 x 86,5 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. RF 2009 5

portrayed the two-year-old infant, Luis María de Cistué y Martínez (fig. 17), now preserved in the Louvre Museum. Between 1790 and 1791, Francisco de Goya received the commission—perhaps through the intermediation of the Count of Floridablanca—to execute a pair of portraits for Antonio Porlier y Sopranis and his wife María Jerónima Daoíz y Guendica (figs. 18 and 19). Almost concurrently, in March 1791, Charles IV would bestow the title of 1st Marquis of Bajamar upon Porlier.

In any painting of this nature, one of the most crucial aspects was undoubtedly the physical likeness between the portrait and the sitter, especially when the works were intended to preside over the reception rooms in the patron's own residence. Therefore, it can be stated with certainty that the Marquises of Bajamar posed directly before Francisco de Goya's easel, either in the Porlier household or in the painter's own studio. Such sittings before dignitaries with a high level of official commitments did not usually take much time, and their thoughts on the work reached the painter immediately, as Goya himself wrote in April 1783 when describing the case of the portrait of the Count of Floridablanca:³⁴ “[...] and it has turned out very lifelike and he is very pleased”.³⁵ Undoubtedly, these audiences before the sitter also served Goya as an astute means of continuing to weave his networks among some of the most powerful and influential

figures of the Bourbon court. The immediate success of Goya's commission is confirmed by the engraving that José Asensio executed in 1791, almost certainly only a few weeks after the completion of the painting.

In this type of formal representation, in addition to immortalizing the subject's features, another important aspect was the meticulous reproduction of the honouree's attire. In the 1813 inventory, drawn up after the death of the 1st Marquis of Bajamar,³⁶ this portrait by Francisco de Goya is described as: “[...] Another representing His Excellency in ministerial uniform, one *bara*³⁷ and a half high and one wide, in a gilt frame on canvas valued at forty *reales de vellón*³⁸.”³⁹ In this same inventory, under the heading “clothing,” items that received some of the highest valuations are listed: “[...] Another, similar to the previous, valued at one thousand *reales de vellón*. A coat, waistcoat, and breeches of the small ministerial uniform, embroidered in gold, valued at six hundred *reales de vellón*”,⁴⁰ and “[...] Another large ministerial uniform composed of coat, waistcoat, and breeches,

³⁶ AMB, Legajo 9, doc. 1.

³⁷ “*Bara*” refers to the measuring unit used at the time, which corresponds to approximately 84 cm.

³⁸ “*Reales de vellón*”, refers to the coin used in Spain from the 16th century up until the 19th.

³⁹ “[...] Otro q^e. representa à S.E. con uniforme de Ministro, de bara y m^a de largo, y una de ancho, marco dorado en lienzo, en Quar^{ta}. r^s vⁿ.”.

⁴⁰ “[...] Otro, igual al anterior, en un mil r^s. de vⁿ. Casaca, chupa, y calzon de uniforme pequeño de Ministro, bordado de oro, en seiscientos r^s vⁿ”.

³⁴ GOYA AND ZAPATER 2003, p. 154.

³⁵ “[...] y me ha salido muy parecido y está muy contento”.



Fig. 18 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Portrait of Doña Jerónima Daoíz, Marchioness of Bajamar*, c. 1790. Oil on canvas, 103,3 x 81,3 cm. Madrid, private collection



Fig. 19 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Portrait of Antonio Porlier y Sopranis, 1st Marquis of Bajamar*, 1790-1791. Oil on canvas, 103,3 x 81,3 cm. Madrid, private collection

valued at one thousand one hundred *reales de vellón*.⁴¹ The General Archive of the Royal Palace preserves a volume entitled *Collection of Designs of Embroidered Uniforms Granted by His Majesty to the Classes Expressed Below*,⁴² in which there is a section devoted to “councillors and secretaries”, where two plates illustrate the designs for the embroidery of the “half-dress uniform of His Majesty’s Secretary” and the “full uniform of the King’s Secretary”⁴³ (figs. 20 and 21). Thanks to these drawings, it can be established that on this occasion Francisco de Goya depicted Antonio Porlier—undoubtedly at the explicit wish of the patron himself—wearing the gala uniform of his rank as Secretary of State and of the Universal Office of Grace and Justice of Spain and the Indies (fig. 22). This is the same uniform with which, concurrently, the painter Mariano Salvador Maella portrayed Pedro López de Lerena, 1st Count of Lerena, in his post as Secretary of the Universal Office of the Treasury, a position he held from 1785 to 1792⁴⁴ (figs. 4 and 23). After his dismissal as a minister under Charles IV in 1792, Antonio Porlier retained the honorary position of Councillor of State, which likewise had its corresponding uniform;⁴⁵ nevertheless, the Marquis of Bajamar

⁴¹ “[...] Otro uniforme grande de Ministro que se compone de casaca, chupa, y calzon, en un mil y cien r^s. vⁿ”.

⁴² *Colección de diseños de uniforme bordado concedido por S.M. á las Clases que a continuación se expresan*.

⁴³ AGP, Registros, 857, ff. 166-167.

⁴⁴ ALBARRÁN, 2021, pp. 417-424.

⁴⁵ Also found in the 1813 inventory, described as a Councillor of State uniform, of a blue tone with gold embroidery. “[...] un uniforme de Consejero de Estado, de paño azul bordado de oro, con chupa de Grana en Trescientos r^s. vⁿ.” (AMB, Legajo 9, doc. 1).



Fig. 20 Plate illustrating the design for the half-dress uniform of His Majesty’s Secretary, AGP

Fig. 21 Plate illustrating the design for the full uniform of the King’s Secretary, AGP



Fig. 22 Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *Antonio Porlier y Sopranis, 1st Marquis of Bajamar*. Detail of the embroidery on the Marquis’ uniform, following the pattern of the full uniform of the King’s Secretary

Fig. 23 Mariano Salvador Maella, *Portrait of Pedro López de Lerena, 1st Count of Lerena*. Detail of the embroidery on the Count’s uniform, following the pattern of the full uniform of the King’s Secretary



Fig. 24 Spanish School, late 18th century, *Portrait of Don Antonio Porlier Sopranis, 1st Marquis of Bajamar*, with the Great Cross and sash of Charles III’s Order, miniature, 7 cm (diameter). Private collection

appears to have wished to continue representing himself wearing the uniform embroidered with ministerial insignia, as is evidenced by an ivory miniature that has recently appeared in the art market (fig. 24).⁴⁶

The discovery of an unpublished inventory, which was drawn up during the War of Independence on the occasion of the probate proceedings that began on the 25th of February 1813 following the death of the first Marquis of Bajamar, helps understand the function of this pair of portraits by Francisco de Goya within the Marquis’ Madrid residence on Calle de la Libertad.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Madrid, Subastas Alcalá, 9th and 10th of October 2024, lot 749.

⁴⁷ “Copia del Imbentario judicial practicado de todos los bienes, caudales y efectos quedados por el fallecimien^{to}. del Ex.^{mo}. Sor. dⁿ. Antonio Porlier, Marques de Bajamar, acaecido el 8 de Febrero de 1813” (AMB, Legajo 9, doc. 1). We would like to thank Andrés J. Sanz Fernández for the assistance he provided us in accessing the documentation held in the archive of the Marquesses of Bajamar.

Within this document, in addition to an extensive list of religious paintings with fairly traditional iconographies—such as the Crucifixion of Jesus, the Holy Family, the Assumption of the Virgin, or the Immaculate Conception—there are also references to other devotions reflecting a much more personal religiosity on the part of the Marquis, such as several canvases of his patron saint, Saint Anthony, or a representation of the Virgin of Guadalupe, which undoubtedly accompanied him during his lengthy American sojourn. Nevertheless, in this case, the most revealing aspect of this list of paintings is the detailed description of the portrait gallery in which the aforementioned canvases by Goya were displayed:⁴⁸

“[...] A portrait on canvas, one *bara* and a quarter high and a *bara* wide, gilt frame, depicting Charles III, valued at thirty *reales de vellón*.

Another two *baras* high and *bara* and a half wide, gilt frame on canvas, depicting Charles IV, valued at sixty *reales de vellón*.

Another two *baras* high and *bara* and a half wide; gilt frame on canvas, depicting Queen María Luisa, valued at sixty *reales de vellón*.

Another *bara* and a quarter high, by a *bara* wide, gilt frame on canvas, that depicts His Excellency's Father, valued at forty *reales de vellón*.

Another, the same as the former, gilt frame on canvas, depicting His Excellency's Brother, valued at sixty *reales de vellón*.

Another, the same as the former, depicting His Excellency in *Golilla*,⁴⁹ valued at forty *reales de vellón*.

Another, same as the former, depicting His Excellency's first wife, valued at forty *reales de vellón*.

Another that depicts His Excellency in ministerial uniform, *bara* and a half high and *bara* wide, gilt frame on canvas, valued at forty *reales de vellón*.

Another, same as the former, depicting His Excellency's second wife, valued at forty *reales de vellón*.

Another two, *bara* and a quarter long by one wide, gilt frame on canvas, depicting His Excellency's children, Don Esteban and Don Rosendo, valued at eighty *reales de vellón*.

Another, one *bara* and square, gilt frame on canvas, depicting the same Don Rosendo, valued at forty *reales de vellón*.

Another, *bara* and a quarter high by one wide, gilt frame on canvas, depicting His Excellency's first wife, in attire from the Indies, valued at forty *reales de vellón*.

Another, two thirds and square, gilt frame on canvas, depicting the same Don Esteban, and wasn't valued at all.”

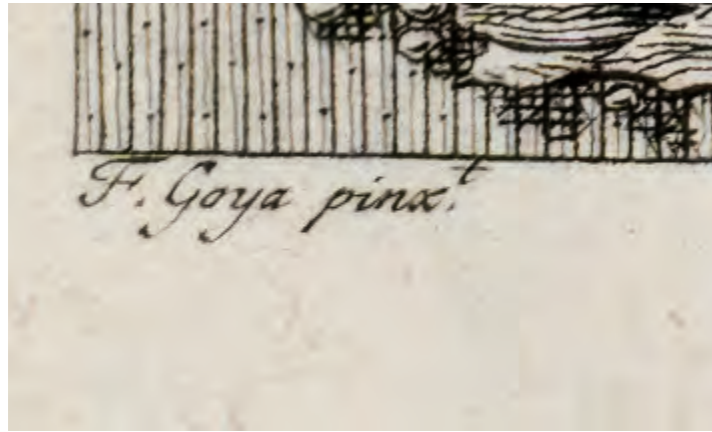
Unlike other portrait galleries that presided over the rooms of many houses and noble palaces in Madrid at the time—such as that of the dukes of Osuna, which also included works painted by Goya—the Porlier portraits here coexist with those of several monarchs, creating a curious juxtaposition of family lineages. On this occasion, the Marquis of Bajamar's numerous effigies—of himself, his father, his elder brother, his two wives, and his children—share wall space with a half-length depiction of Charles III and with a pair of portraits, in all likelihood full-length, of Charles IV and María Luisa of Parma. In the society of the *Ancien Régime*, painted representations of monarchs replaced the physical presence of kings throughout the realm at countless public events; however, in more domestic settings such as this one, they would instead have served a role of social and courtly validation, particularly in the case of the newly created Marquisate of Bajamar.

In this family picture gallery, the oldest painting of the Marquis—depicted “*in golilla*” by Joaquín Inza (see fig. 1)—appears to coexist in the same rooms with a more recent one “*in ministerial uniform*” by Francisco de Goya, as well as with those of the Marquis's successive wives, painted during his inaugural posting in the Viceroyalty of Peru and later in Spain. Likewise, the portraits of his sons Esteban and Rosendo seem to have been commissioned in different formats and periods, and should in no case be understood as the result of a single, unified commission. The portrait gallery was in a constant state of flux that, over time, appears to evolve in an almost organic manner, aligning with the natural course of family life but also—as we will see below—with the rising court career of Antonio Porlier y Sopranis.

There is no doubt that these portraits of the Marquises of Bajamar were painted by Francisco de Goya in response to a commission of an entirely private nature, completely detached from any public ministerial protocol. Yet within this context of changing family domesticity, it is revealing to observe that the patrons did not hesitate to commission an update of the insignia and fashion worn by the couple in the composition, even though these canvases were intended to be seen only by members of their closest circle. This pair of portraits was commissioned around 1790 but was almost certainly completed in the first half of 1791. Immediately thereafter, the portrait of the Marquis was engraved by José Asensio Torres for a print that would serve as the frontispiece to the book *Literary History*

⁴⁸ “[...] Un Retrato en lienzo, de bara y quarta de largo, y bara de ancho, marco dorado, que representa Carlos Tercero, en Treinta r^s vⁿ. / Otro de dos baras de largo, por bara y media de ancho, marco dorado en lienzo, que representa Carlos Cuarto, en Sesenta r^s vⁿ. / Otro de dos baras de largo, por bara y media de ancho; marco dorado en lienzo, q^c. representa a la Reyna María Luisa, en sesenta r^s vⁿ. / Otro de bara y quarta de largo, por una de ancho, marco dorado, en lienzo q^c. representa á el Padre de S.E. en Quarenta r^s vⁿ. / Otro igual á el anterior, con marco dorado en lienzo q^c. representa el Herm^o. mayor de S.E. en Sesenta r^s vⁿ. / Otro igual a los anteriores, q^c. representa á S.E. de Golilla, en Quarenta r^s vⁿ. / Otro igual, q^c. representa a la primera muger de S.E., en Quarenta r^s vⁿ. / Otro q^c. representa à S.E. con uniforme de Ministro, de bara y m^a de largo, y una de ancho, marco dorado en lienzo, en Quar^{ta}. r^s vⁿ. / Otro igual, q^c. representa la segunda muger de S.E. en Quarenta r^s vⁿ. / Otros dos iguales de bara y quarta de largo por una de ancho, marco dorado en lienzo q^c. representan a los dos hijos de S.E. d^o. Estevan, y d^o. Rosendo, en Ochenta r^s vⁿ. / Otro de bara y en quadro, marco dorado en lienzo q^c. representa al mismo d^o. Rosendo en Quarenta r^s vⁿ. / Otro de bara y quarta de largo, por una de ancho, marco dorado en lienzo, q^c. representa la prim^a. muger de S.E. bestida à estilo de Indias, en Quarenta r^s vⁿ. / Otro de dos tercias en quadro, marco dorado en lienzo q^c. representa à dho. S^{or}. d^o. Estevan, y no se le diò valor alg^o.”

⁴⁹ “*Golilla*” refers to a specific kind of attire, that symbolised status.



Figs. 25 and 26 Francisco de Goya, painter and José Asensio, engraver, Portrait of the Marquis of Bajamar, detail, 1791. Madrid, DLM collection

of *The Middle Ages* (see fig. 6),⁵⁰ translated from French by Manuel Antonio del Campo y Rivas. On the 31st of August 1791, the *Diario de Madrid*⁵¹ had already announced the publication of this work, dedicated “[...] to the Most Excellent Marquis of Bajamar, Secretary of State and of the Universal Office of Grace and Justice, with the portrait of His Excellency, one extended octavo volume”.⁵² The caption of the print refers to the original model as “F. Goya pinx.” (fig. 25), meaning that the painting must have been completed some months before that date, in order to allow sufficient time for Asensio to translate it onto the copper plate.

In José Asensio’s print, the only insignia worn by Charles IV’s minister, is that of a “pensioned knight of the Royal and Distinguished Spanish Order of Charles III” (fig. 26). However, today Antonio Porlier’s portrait displays the sash and medal of the Grand Cross of the same order, which the King granted him shortly thereafter, in 1792. As will be shown later in the technical study, radiographic analysis has provided the definitive explanation for this situation: around 1794, another artist—most likely Mariano Salvador Maella—intervened in the original compositions by Francisco de Goya. In the case of the Marquis, this was done in order to update his new status within the Order of Charles III, and in that of the Marchioness to include the sash and insignia of the Royal Order of Noble Ladies of Queen María Luisa, which she had received in April 1794, as well as to modernize her hairstyle and the fashion of her dress. At this point, a letter that the Marquis had been holding in his left hand was also concealed; this element most likely referred to his post as a minister of Charles IV, a dignity that he no longer held since July 1792, following the fall of his principal mentor at court, the Count of Floridablanca. In this way, the often ephemeral formal and conceptual validity of portraits—even in private settings of the noble estate—is confirmed. It mirrored other interventions that occurred in the official effigies of monarchs who appeared beneath canopies before their subjects in official bodies at the Bourbon court.

⁵⁰ *Historia Literaria de la Edad Media*, trans. Manuel Antonio del Campo y Rivas, Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1791.

⁵¹ *Diario de Madrid*, no. 243 (August 31, 1791), p. 977.

⁵² “[...] al Excelentísimo Marqués de Baxamar, Secretario de Estado y del Despacho Universal de Gracia y Justicia, con el retrato de S.E. un tomo en octavo prolongado”.





Francisco de Goya's Portrait of the Marquis of Bajamar: technical aspects and pictorial procedures

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An interesting epitome of the general stylistic characteristics of the portraits painted by Francisco de Goya (1746–1828) in the 1790s was presented in 1916 by Aureliano de Beruete y Moret in his seminal work *Goya as Portrait Painter*:

*“and the creations of these years, the last of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth, show him with new powers, always in search of a personal art inspired by reality, attaining even higher results than in the preceding works, and gaining above all in richness and truth of colour. These years are those which can and should be called the great years of Goya, the years of his triumphs and of his splendour, of his life as a courtier and his great attainment as an artist.”*⁵³

This stylistic development, so clearly evident in the portraits painted during the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, has an obvious correlation with Goya's technical evolution toward a level of virtuosity unmatched in his time. It is at this moment, in 1790, that he painted the magnificent portraits of Don Antonio Aniceto de Porlier y Sopraris (1722–1813), later first Marquis of Bajamar, and of his second wife, Doña María Jerónima Daoíz y Guendica (c. 1750–1805).

Technical publications on Goya's works, approached from a general and chronological perspective, have recently been enriched by new editorial contributions which, when combined with specific studies on individual works that have been published in recent decades, provide us with a more comprehensive view of this brilliant artist's creative cosmos.⁵⁴

The creation and chronological development of the portraits of the Marquises of Bajamar were addressed in 2012, with a brief technical contribution that outlined the modifications made to the works shortly after their completion, especially in her effigy, as a result of the sitter having been awarded the Royal Order of Charles III (1792).⁵⁵ Furthermore, we published some technical data on these paintings in 2024.⁵⁶ However, in the present study, and with a focus on the portrait of the Marquis, we aim to introduce more exhaustive research by incorporating new procedures, such as multispectral imaging (MSI).⁵⁷ This technique provides high-definition images across the ultraviolet–visible–infrared range of the electromagnetic spectrum, in addition to producing indicative maps of the distribution of different pigments and of any alterations that may have been carried out within the work.

⁵³ BERUETE 1922, vol. 1, p. 97

⁵⁴ V.V.A.A. 2022; ROMERO AND ILLÁN 2024.

⁵⁵ URBINA 2012; ILLÁN AND ROMERO 2012.

⁵⁶ ROMERO AND ILLÁN 2024, pp. 28–32.

⁵⁷ XpeCam® multispectral imaging (MSI) analysis combined with two vis–UV–IR Lampa® light sources and controlled by XpecEye software.



Fig. 27 *Portrait of Antonio Porlier y Sopranis, 1st Marquis of Bajamar, 1790-1791, recto and verso.* Oil on canvas, 103,3 x 81,3 cm. Madrid, private collection

The portrait of the Marquis of Bajamar is one of those rare examples of canvas painting that has been preserved on its original stretcher and without relining. At some point, wedges were added to the corners in order to tighten the canvas (fig. 27). The support consists of a medium-density plain-weave (tafetán) canvas.⁵⁸ A pinkish, earthy ground layer was applied after the preliminary sizing, composed of red earth, minium, lead white, silica, calcite, and traces of umber and carbon black.⁵⁹ This type of ground is characteristic of Goya's painting practice, which he employed with certain tonal variations depending on the specific work and which is found throughout all periods of his activity, although it is more common after the artist's arrival in Madrid in 1775. The addition of minium to this ground is due in larger part to the drying effect of this pigment in oil media rather than to the pursuit of a specific chromatic result. In fact, the frequent incorporation of lead white into red-earth grounds results in a more pinkish hue, whereas through the use of minium the intensity of the toasted red is maintained. We know, moreover, that Goya requested significant quantities of minium from his materials supplier, the Madrid colourist Manuel Ezquerro y Trápaga, and it is very likely that most of it was destined for the grounds or preparations of canvases and panels.⁶⁰ In this layer the binder is a drying oil, most likely linseed oil.⁶¹

⁵⁸ The support fibers were microscopically identified as linen (*Linum usitatissimum*) in a plain-weave fabric of approximately 14 x 16 threads per cm². The threads exhibit Z-twist.

⁵⁹ The ground layer was analysed through X-ray fluorescence (EDXRF), as the original tacking margins show stains of the toasted pink ground. Its thickness, depending on the "topography" of the canvas, ranges between 60 and 100 µm. Traces of copper were also detected, indicating the possible presence of a verdigris-type drier, a feature commonly found in eighteenth-century Spanish painting.

⁶⁰ BRUQUETAS 2012.

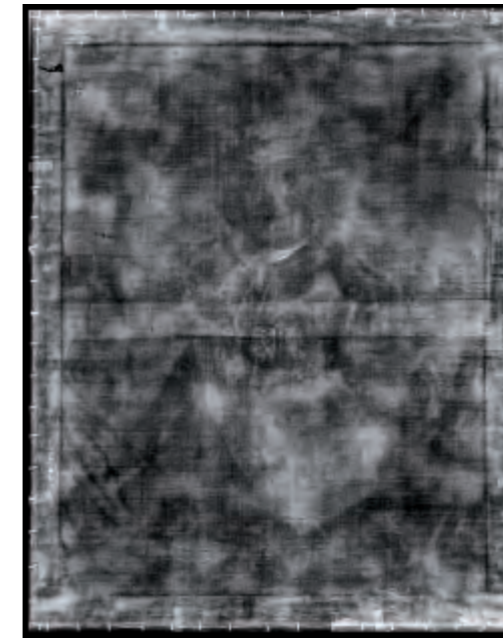


Fig. 28 *The Marquis of Bajamar, general X-ray*



Fig. 29 *The Marquis of Bajamar, detail of the traces left by the application of a second layer of ochre ground with a priming knife*

In fact, Goya must not have considered this toasted pink ground appropriate for the portraits of the Marquises of Bajamar, since he covered it by applying a yellowish priming layer, composed mainly of lead white, yellow earth, and traces of umber and minium. It also contains large quantities of silica (quartz), which increases its density and translucency.⁶² As revealed by radiography, this layer was applied with a priming knife, traces of which can be seen in certain areas; for example, in the curved lines left by accumulations of material to the right of the Marquis's head. Other diagonal marks appear to be the result of excessive removal from this layer, as seen in the lower left corner of the painting. The areas corresponding to the inner edges of the stretcher also show a thinner priming layer, since the knife removed a greater amount of filler when passing over these harder areas (figs. 28 and 29). Therefore, this provides clear evidence that the stretcher is original.

The same priming layer has frequently been detected in other paintings by the master; however, when used, its chromatic character may vary significantly, which was undoubtedly a conscious choice rather than a random one. We may thus observe how, from the very conception of his works, the artist demonstrates a notable technical sophistication.

On this light priming layer there are indications that the artist executed a summary underdrawing, detected in only a few areas in the form of fine lines made with a dry material, probably graphite or

⁶¹ The orientative identification of the binder used for sizing and priming was achieved through staining tests with 2,7-dichlorofluorescein and Amido Black 10B.

⁶² The thickness of this layer is highly variable, depending on how it was applied with the ground knife, but it ranges between 10 µm and 65 µm.

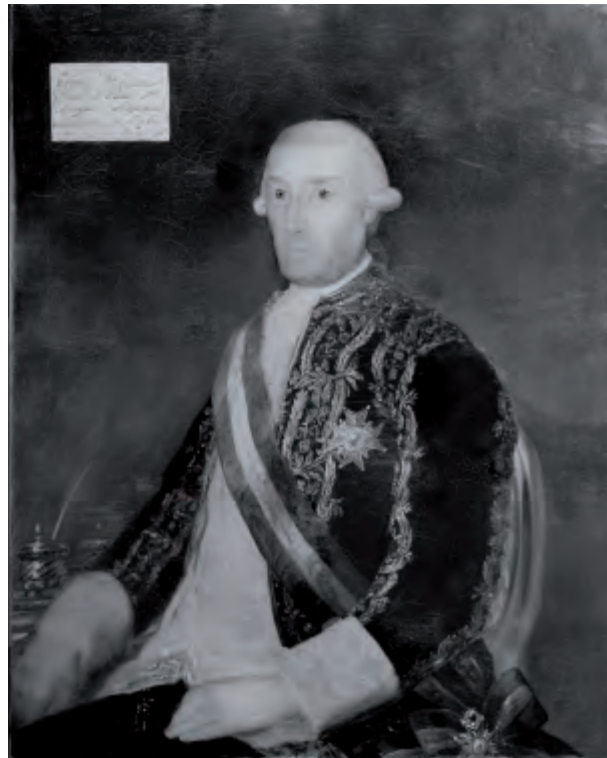
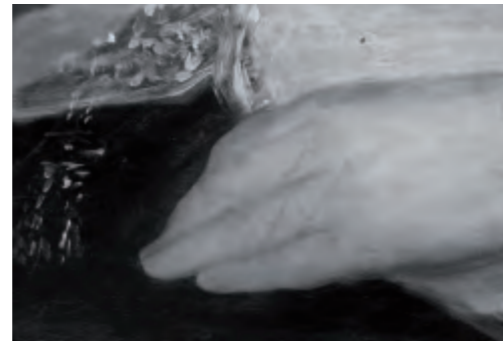


Fig. 30 Digital infrared photograph of the *The Marquis of Bajamar*



Figs. 31 and 32 *The Marquis of Bajamar* details of infrared reflectography obtained through multispectral imaging techniques (MSI) at 950 nm. It is possible to observe that the underdrawing was carried out with a fine and dry medium, most likely graphite or charcoal

charcoal. In particular, a few strokes have been recorded on the left hand, indicating that the fingers initially fell in a more vertical position; other traces also delineate the left cuff, which is slightly longer than what is visible to the naked eye. It is also possible to observe that the outlines of the blue coat in this area extend downward, beneath the red sleeve. In this examination we employed a multispectral imaging (MSI) system, capturing infrared images between 700 and 1500 nm (figs. 30, 31 and 32).

The pictorial execution of the work is masterful: the delicacy of the Marquis' aged and pale face, rendered with fine, fluid brushstrokes and with oil glazes that intersect in order to create anatomical volumes, contrasts with the solid, opaque colour of the coat and with the confident freedom with which the decorations and embroideries of his costume are executed.

An interesting device, which would become a habitual practice in Goya's painting, is the use of the light ochre tone from the priming as an additional colour in the execution of the work, leaving it especially exposed in the flesh tones, where it can be perceived in the mid-tones (fig. 33). In a micro-sample taken from the little finger of the left hand, it can be seen that the flesh-tone brushstroke consists of an extremely thin drag of paint, with a thickness of less than 10 μm ⁶³ (fig. 34).

⁶³ The flesh tones combine lead white, small quantities of vermilion and traces of red lake and carbon black.



Fig. 33 *The Marquis of Bajamar*, macro photograph showing Goya's use of the colour of the ground in flesh tones

The same fineness is observed in the semi-transparent layers that construct the background, composed mainly of Prussian blue mixed with yellow and red earths and traces of vermilion, red lake, and Naples yellow.⁶⁴ The colour varies in a gradation from the almost black dark green of the upper area to the greenish ochre of the lower zone, except in the shadow cast by the chair on the right-hand side.

The blue of the coat and the intense red of the waistcoat appear as fairly flat colours, with only some folds and a few red-earth shadows suggested in the latter, against which the exuberance of the golden brocades and buttons stands out. These were executed with extraordinary freedom, using a

⁶⁴ We have identified this same composition in the portrait of *Francisco García de Echaburu*, dated around 1785 (private collection) although with a more greyish and bluish tone. The translucency of these backgrounds was achieved by combining covering and opaque pigments such as earth pigments, lead white, and Prussian blue with others that are decidedly more translucent, such as yellow lake and red lake, together with certain amounts of calcite and gypsum.

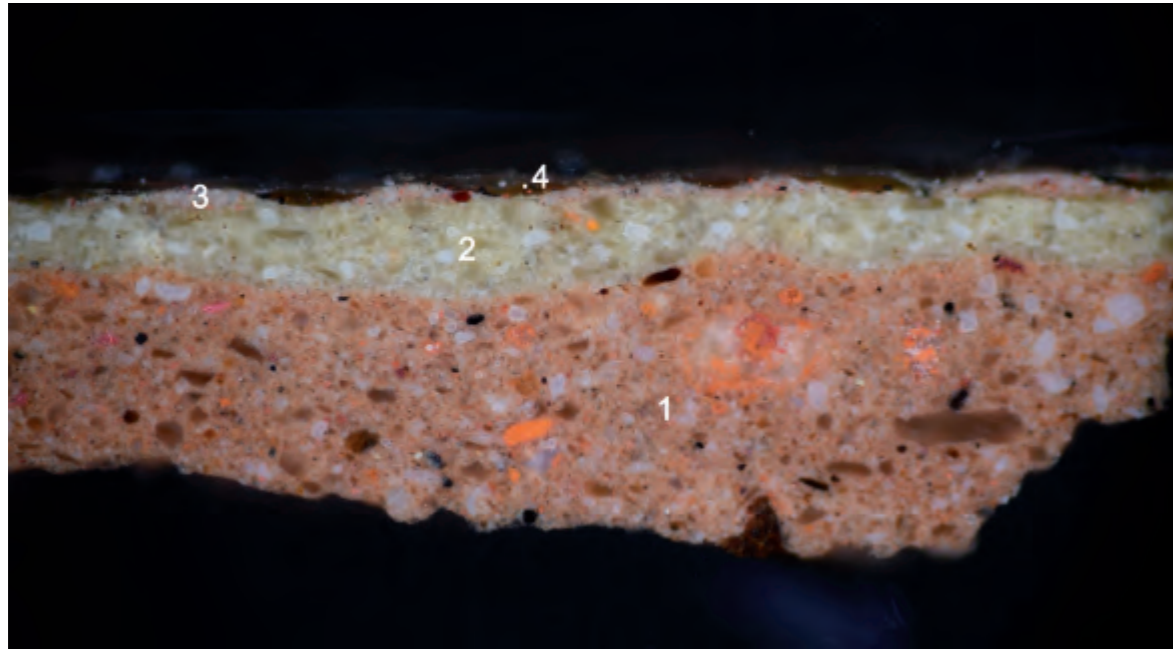


Fig. 34 Stratigraphic study (200X) of a microsample taken from one of the Marquis' left-hand fingers. The third paint layer (3) is the flesh tone. It is also possible to see the two ground layers: the ground layer, of a toasted pink colour (1), and the light ochre priming layer (2)

varied oil impasto⁶⁵ (fig. 35). The main colour of the waistcoat and cuffs is based on a mixture of vermilion and red lake, while in the almost black blue of the coat the painter mixed Prussian blue with bone black, a small amount of lead white, and traces of vermilion.

All the colours contain variable amounts of calcite and occasionally silica (quartz), a technical resource typically employed by the master, which allowed him to play with the effects of translucency and, above all, texture, imparting a textural richness to the brushwork in certain elements, as exemplified by the golden embroideries of the garments, the buttons, and the decorations in this work.⁶⁶

Due to the high radiopacity of the image, radiography does not allow the detection of corrections or *pentimenti* made during the painting process; however, close examination of the surface carried out at Icono I&R during the restoration of the painting revealed no variations in contours or compositional details.

⁶⁵ The yellow used in the embroidery and buttons consists mainly of ochre earths combined with traces of red earths and vermilion, along with a lead yellow, most probably Naples yellow (the analytical technique employed, EDXRF, does not allow for the identification of antimony, a key component of this type of yellow).

⁶⁶ This use of calcite and silica, or both, to increase the translucency and thickness of oil paint is a characteristic feature of Goya's technique and has been identified in numerous studied and published works; see ROMERO AND ILLÁN 2024, p. 11.

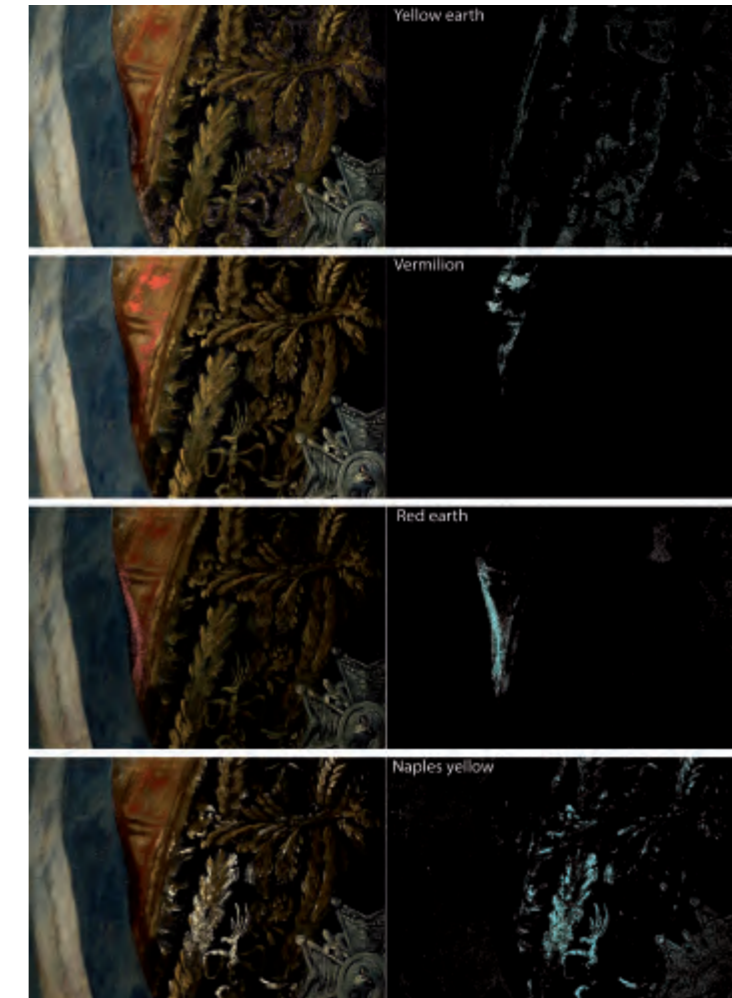
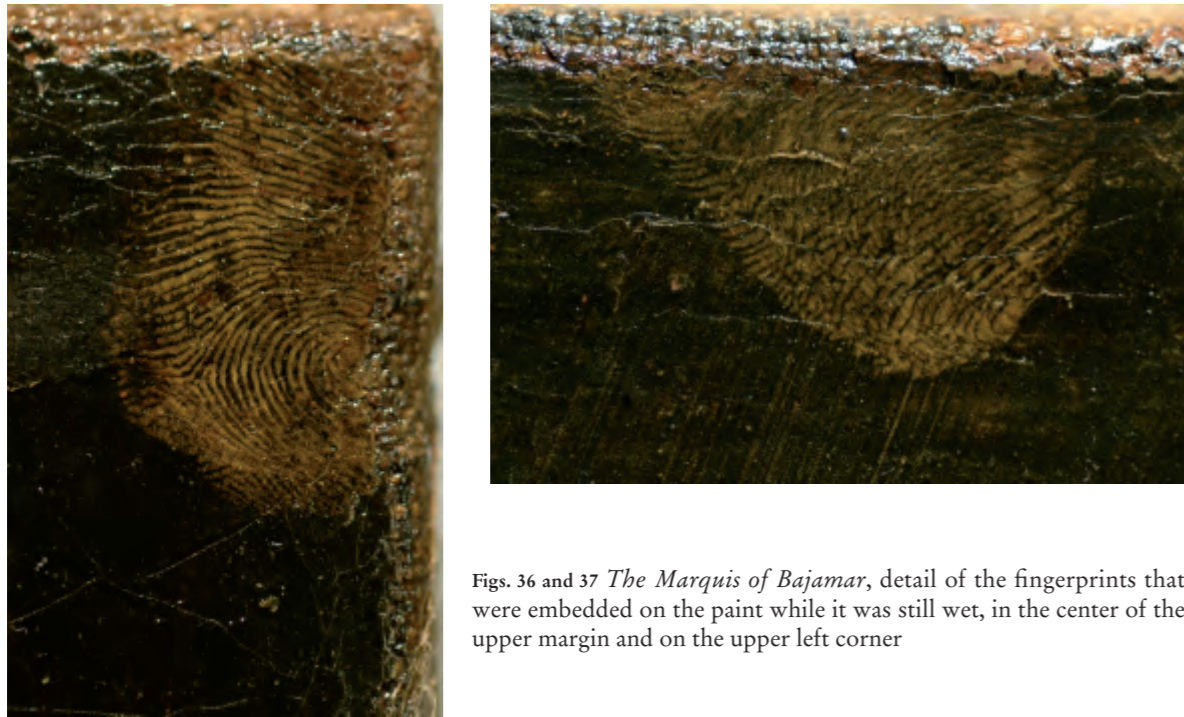


Fig. 35 Indicative pigment location map using a XpeCam@ multispectral imaging analysis (MSI) system: yellow ochre, vermilion, red ochre, Naples

The palette identified in this study includes the following range of pigments and colourants:

Whites:	lead white
Reds:	vermilion, red lake, red earth
Yellows:	yellow earth, lead yellow (Naples?), yellow lake (?)
Blacks:	bone black, carbon black
Blues:	Prussian blue
Browns:	brown earths, umber, organic brown



Figs. 36 and 37 *The Marquis of Bajamar*, detail of the fingerprints that were embedded on the paint while it was still wet, in the center of the upper margin and on the upper left corner

One detail that, although anecdotal, is nonetheless striking and suggests certain possibilities for future research is the detection of two fingerprints on the work, very probably left by Goya himself when pressing his fingers into the fresh paint. One is located at the center of the upper edge and the other in the upper right corner. These fingerprints have also been identified in another work by the artist that was analysed at Icono I&R, more specifically, in the sketch for the *Allegory of Spring* (private collection, Madrid). The detection of Goya's fingerprints has been previously mentioned in literature and produces a compelling sense of immediacy and closeness to the artist⁶⁷ (figs. 36 and 37).

Shortly after the completion of these portraits, in early 1792, the Marquis was awarded the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Charles III. Therefore, in 1794 he decided to have Goya's painting modified in order to add the attributes of the Royal Order to his effigy. He also had his wife's portrait altered. It was very probably Mariano Salvador Maella (1739–1819) who was chosen to carry out this transformation. In this case, it consisted in covering the Pensioned Cross of the Order on the chest—which is clearly visible in the radiograph and in the engraving by José Francisco Asensio Torres (1759–1820), published in 1791 after Goya's painting⁶⁸— and, above all, in adding the large sash and the insignia of the Grand Cross (fig. 38). In addition, a paper held by the Marquis in his left hand, which would have borne his name and office and was probably very similar to the one now visible in the upper left corner of the painting, was covered over with the black of the trousers. This paper or letter can also be discerned in this area in the radiographic

⁶⁷ The presence of fingerprints on engraving plates, probably belonging to Goya himself, has been documented during the restoration of his engraved plates at the Calcografía Nacional, Madrid.

⁶⁸ «EL EXCMO SEÑOR MARQUÉS DE BAXA-MAR / F. Goya pinxt. / J. Asensio sculpt.», in *Historia Literaria de la Edad Media*, 1791. BNE, sig. IH/7408.

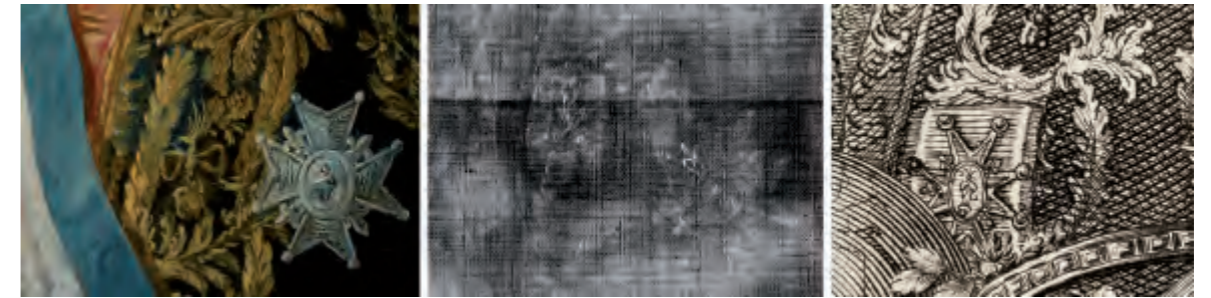


Fig. 38 Detail of the Marquis' chest on the painting, after the modification; in the X-ray, clearly revealing the Pensioned Cross, and in José Francisco Asensio Torres' engraving

image by its high-density whitish tonality and is faintly perceptible to the naked eye (figs. 39 and 40). It is evident that the brushwork in these interventions is different—confident and free, but clearly more careless in execution, especially in the bluish-white sash.

Fig. 39 *The Marquis of Bajamar*, detail of the left hand, where it is possible to detect the subjacent presence of the paper underneath the black of the trousers

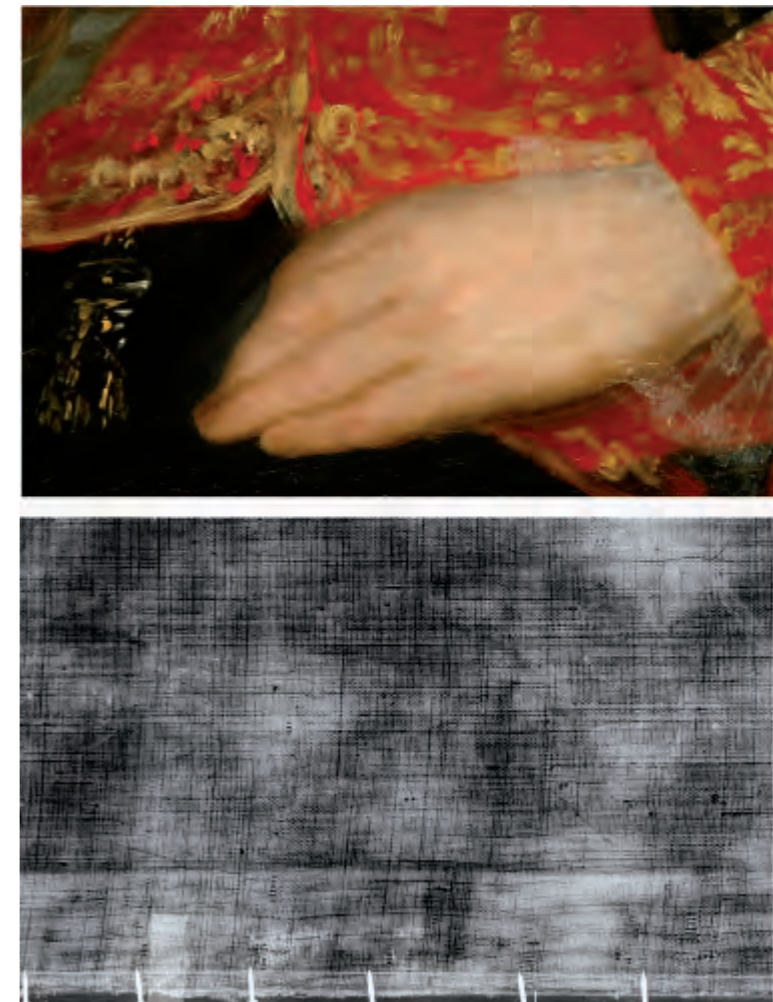




Fig. 40 *The Marquis of Bajamar* location of the modified areas

These added elements demonstrate that a work of art is a living object, which evolves and undergoes transformations throughout its history, but which also speaks to us of existence and everyday life. In this case, that of two enlightened aristocrats: he, already advanced in age and holding important positions in the government of the country, whose standing in the hierarchy of power was significantly enhanced by the granting of the Grand Cross of the Order of Charles III; and she, a woman still young and in the full possession of her faculties. Cesare Brandi clearly defined this condition:

*“It has been said that a work of art enjoys a dual historical nature. The first aspect of this coincides with the act that formed it, an act of creation by an artist in a certain time and place. The second derives from its existence in the individual consciousness, which at a given moment gives it, when and where it is, historicity in relation to that time and place. [...] The interval between when the work was created and the historical present (which keeps moving forward), is composed of the many historical ‘presents’ that have become the past.”*⁶⁹

⁶⁹ BRANDI 2005, p. 29.

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 Marques de Bajamar
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 greso de Estado de Carlos 3.^o

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