

"LARGE COLLECTIONS OF EXCELLENT PAINTINGS": THE PRIVATE ART GALLERIES OF THE 18TH CENTURY IN LISBON

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ABSTRACT

This essay aims to examine the evolution of Portuguese collecting practices in the eighteenth century. Through an analysis of the artworks that made up the royal picture galleries, as well as those belonging to some noble and bourgeois elites — of which some contained European art masterpieces — it becomes possible to identify the artists represented in these collections. Their reconstruction, undertaken in light of previously unpublished documentation, offers a renewed perspective on the fluctuations of the eighteenth-century art market in Lisbon, shaped by diverse circumstances: from the extravagant acquisitions promoted by King John V (1689-1750), to the purchase of paintings by renowned artists, carried out by noble and bourgeois elites, driven both by prevailing tastes and by the status and power these works conferred. In this essay, alongside an understanding of the dynamics of the eighteenth-century art market, its aesthetic preferences and the social groups responsible for its development, attention will also be given to the factors that led to the dispersal and disappearance of these collections.

KEYWORDS

Art Galleries | Art | Collecting | Lisbon | 18th Century

INTRODUCTION

The Portuguese *Settecento* (18th century) was prodigal in terms of painting collections in Lisbon[1]. These collections are usually associated with the Royal House and noble families of illustrious lineage that primarily inherited the art galleries from their ancestors. However, in the final quarter of the eighteenth century, with the rise of substantial fortunes among the bourgeois elites, a shift occurred in the pattern of collecting practices in Lisbon. In this context, and in order to understand the shifting dynamics of Lisbon's eighteenth-century collecting culture and the aesthetic orientations of the period, several of the most representative picture galleries of the time are examined through the reconstruction of the artists represented in the royal collections and in those of the noble and bourgeois elites. As far as possible, an assessment is also made of the factors that led to their disappearance and dispersal – an issue common to all these collections.

Drawing on previously unpublished manuscript and printed sources, the first section addresses King John V's patronage in acquiring renowned artists — mostly Flemish — for the formation of his picture gallery in the first half of the eighteenth century. With regard to the collections of the Greats, examined in a subsequent section, particular emphasis is placed on the picture galleries of the Marquises of Penalva, the Dukes of Lafões, the Marquises of Angeja and the Marquises of Belas. These collections display distinctive features, shaped by the personal choices of their patrons and by the contextual circumstances surrounding their formation, as will be demonstrated.

The decision to include these private collections, rather than others belonging to the Greats, is linked to the discovery of evidence confirming that they were among the most eminent in Lisbon, due to the quality of the first-rate masters represented in them. It should also be noted that the selection of the picture galleries of the Marquises of Angeja and of the Marquises of Belas — composed of artists of considerable significance within the European panorama — was intended to highlight a specific contextual circumstance, namely their fate during the French military invasion of Portuguese territory.

Finally, any analysis of the evolution of the eighteenth-century Lisbon art market would be incomplete without an examination of the collections of the bourgeois elites, particularly those of the Baron of Porto Covo and the Baron of Quintela. Although contemporaneous with the picture galleries of the Greats, they offer an overarching view of collecting practices in the final quarter of the eighteenth century, shaped by social and cultural conditions distinct from those that influenced the early decades of the century.

1. This essay is partially based on the author's doctoral thesis, entitled «*Eis o eximio Pintor, Douto Cyrillo; Tão grande na Lição, como no Estillo*». *Dinâmicas artísticas na obra de Cyrillo Volkmar Machado (1748-1823)*, submitted to the University of Lisbon in 2021 and funded by FCT – Foundation for Science and Technology (SFRH/BD/13228/2017). In: http://hdl.handle.net/10451/49268.

ROYAL PATRONAGE AND THE FORMATION OF THE JOANINE ART GALLERY

The most notable art collection in the city of Lisbon, dating from the first half of the 18th century and probably located in Ribeira Palace[2], belonged to King John V. It was lost in the terrible devastation of the 1755 earthquake. This art gallery can be considered, par excellence, as representative of the phenomenon of large-scale collecting that occurred during his reign. His patronage stimulated the main European artistic centres, not only through the acquisition of paintings from the best Roman studios active during the Joanine period[3] but also through the purchase in France of various artistic pieces that had been collected by artist and engraver Jean Mariette (1660-1742), in the service of King John V in Paris[4] (Juromenha, 1857: 6).

According to handwritten documentation left by Jean Mariette, — found by João António de Lemos Pereira de Lacerda (1807-1887), 2.º Viscount of Juromenha — between 1725 and 1727, he sent 106 folio volumes containing various engravings by the most distinguished engravers, as well as seventy original paintings to the court of John V (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 6). This shipment was accompanied by descriptions of the lives of the engravers and painters (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 6).

Among these seventy paintings were works by renowned artists, with Jean Mariette's descriptions of the themes depicted in some of the paintings. In this sense, and based on Jean Mariette's accounts, it is possible to reconstruct what was perhaps the most magnificent art gallery in the Portuguese kingdom in the first half of the 18th century.

King John V's art gallery featured works by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), such as: *St. Francis of Assisi in prayer before Christ crucified with his hand on a skull*, a portrait of Rubens' first wife, Isabella Brandt, looking at herself in a mirror held by Cupid, and *Our Lady with the Child Jesus among many Saints* (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 3-7). The brilliant portraitist Antoon Van Dyck (1591-1641) was also represented with two sacred themes — *Our Lady with the Child Jesus in her arms, accompanied by St. Joseph, and Our Lady with the Child Jesus on her lap* (Mariette, as cit. in Juromenha, 1857: 7-8), and a mythological one, "Second and admirable panel by Van Dyck, depicting Venus sleeping, and a satyr trying to discover her, without waking her up" (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 8). It appears that paintings from the Dutch artistic circle were also on display in the gallery, notably Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669), with a painting depicting the artist's son (Titus) leaning against a counter (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 7), the artist "Gerarid Dow [Gerrit Dou], a native of the city of Leiden, depicting himself playing a lute to rest from the work of having portrayed himself" (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 7), and Godfried Schalcken (1643-1706) with a theme featuring a woman illuminated by the reflection of a light (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 6). Gerrit Dou's disciple, Jan Kraech (1540-1607), was also equally exposed with the work of "a religious man reading a book" (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857, p. 6).

2. It is possible that King John V's picture gallery was located in Paço da Ribeira, although no documentary evidence exists to confirm this. However, it is plausible to assume that the masterpieces were displayed in a large gallery. Father António Carvalho da Costa notes, in his *Corografia Portugueza, e Descripçam Topografica do Famoso Reyno de Portugal*, that the collection of the Counts of Ericeira —contemporaries of John V — was housed in a gallery, as confirmed by the following account: "the celebrated seventeenth-century private collection belonging to the Counts of Ericeira, in the Palace of Portas de Santo Antão, in Anunciada. This palace had 120 rooms, 10 courtyards, and a gallery containing 200 paintings by celebrated Spanish, French, Italian, Flemish, and Dutch masters, among whom were Titian, Correggio, Le Brun, and Rubens" (Costa, 1712, as cited in Brigola, 2003: 66).
3. About painting in the time of King John V, see SALDANHA, Nuno — "A pintura em Portugal ao tempo de D. João V (1706-1750)". SALDANHA, Nuno (ed.) — *Joanni V Magnifico. A Pintura em Portugal no tempo de D. João V, 1706-1750*. Lisboa: Instituto Português do Património Arquitetónico, 1994, pp. 21-63.
4. About Jean Mariette and his service to King John V, see MANDROUX-FRANÇA, Marie-Thérèse e PRÉAUD, Maxime — *Catalogues de la collection d' estampes de Jean V, Roi de Portugal par Pierre-Jean Mariette*. Vol. II. Lisboa-Paris: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation —Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1996; MANDROUX-FRANÇA, Marie-Thérèse — *Les Mariette et le Portugal*: Paris: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1983.

Also in the realm of Dutch artists, Jean Mariette sent a self-portrait by Frans van Mieris, *the Elder* (1635-1681), in which he is holding a pipe and laughing at a man who wants to kiss a woman, "thinking that he cannot see him" (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 4), and two paintings by Frans van Mieris, *the Younger* (1689-1763): one showing a man with a glass and a pipe in his hands, and a tavern keeper writing the bill, and another depicting "a girl who is surprised by the proposition made to her by an old woman" (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 4). The artist Cornelis van Poelenburch (1590-1667) was also included in the royal art gallery, with a "capital" painting: *Our Lady seated at the foot of a ruin, assisted by St. Joseph and guided by three angels* (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 5); a second painting, smaller in size, depicting "a landscape with two figures" (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 5), and a third painting, larger in size, illustrating "Andromeda waiting to be devoured by the sea monster Perseus frees her" (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 5). Following the mythological themes, there was a painting by Nicolaes de Kemp (1574-1647) depicting "a landscape with nymphs who have just finished bathing" (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 5). The preeminent Paul Bril (1554-1626) was also featured in the art gallery with a landscape painting dominated by a "river with boats and figures, and a tower built on a cliff" (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 5). Jean Mariette also sent two paintings by Hans Rottenhammer (1564-1625): the first

> depicts Christ Crucified, with Mary Magdalene at the foot of the cross; but the landscape and the small figures are by the famous John Bruegel. The second is much larger, depicting Our Lady ascending to heaven among many angels. (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 5).

There was a significant collection of Flemish paintings as well, notably Hendrick van Balen, *the Elder* (c.1573-1631), with *The Judgement of Midas*, but "the country is by the distinguished Brugel, which gives it even greater value" (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 5). Lucas Van Uden (1595-1672) contributed "Four hanging or equal panels (...), representing four countries of different ordinances" (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 5). The royal art gallery also included six paintings by David Teniers, *the Elder* (1582-1649) depicting the following themes: peasants drinking and gambling at the door of a tavern, located by a river; a house with a woman at the door; a peasant feeding chickens and another tending pigs; a grotesque half-length peasant with a glass in his hand; the *Adoration of the Kings*; and a biblical episode from the Book of Genesis referring to Lot and his daughters – "Alothe with her daughters when they rub him with rubber to mock him" (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 14). Added to this list is a Calvary by Jan Brueghel, *the Elder* (1568-1625) (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 15), whose works were already highly valued in the art market at the time, as attested to by Jean Mariette:

> I saw in Antwerp, at the home of a certain canon who wanted to sell his panels, one by this artist depicting Calvary, which, being slightly larger than the present one, contains such a multitude of figures that the eye is lost among them, all of them well finished and well distributed. The canon assured me that he would not sell it for less than four hundred doubloons, which did not surprise me because all of this author's works, whether for taste or reason, are bought at an excessive price. (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 15)

Apparently, and according to the documentation uncovered by the 2nd Viscount of Juromenha, Jean Mariette also sent

> more than two hundred paintings by the first authors that were offered to the king, and which formed the gallery of Mr. Fraula [?], state councillor and president of the court of auditors of His Imperial and Catholic Majesty; a gallery organised over a period of forty years. (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 6)

The art gallery of "Mr. Fraula" was offered "to the king mainly to complete the Flemish collection" (Mariette, as cited in Juromenha, 1857: 6); works by the following artists who were "sent" to Lisbon (the Viscount of Juromenha does not mention the titles of the works): Aert van der Neer (1603-1677)[5], Johannes Vermeer (1632-1675),

5. The dates of birth and death of the painters were added by the author.

Adriaen van der Werff (1659-1722), Johannes Gottlieb Glauber (1656-1703), Adriaen van der Cabel (1631-1705), Nicolaes Berchem (1620-1683), Anthonie Blocklandt van Montfoort (1533-1583), Caspar Netscher (1639-1684), Adriaen Brouwer (1605-1638), Jan de Herdt (1620-1680), Adriaen van Ostade (1610-1685), Pieter Leermans (c.1635-1706), Marten Ryckaert (1587-1631), Pieter Bout (1658-1719), Cornelis van Huynen (†1703), Thomas van Apshoven (1622-1664), Joos van Craesbeeck (1605-1660), Gillis van Tilborgh (1625-1678), Hendrik de Clerck (c.1560-1630), Victor Boucquet (1619-1677), Bertholet Flemalle (1614-1675) (Mariette, como cit. em Juromenha, 1857: 6).

Therefore, seems that the paintings by these Flemish artists were sent to Portugal with the aim of enhancing the Portuguese monarch's art collection, and the works of some of these artists are now featured in international museums. This shipment also validates, in international terms, Paris' status as an important market for the sale of works of art in the first half of the 18th century, in this case by painters from the golden age of Flemish art.

It is likely that, in addition to Flemish artists, the Joanine art gallery housed works by Italian artists, since it was possible to ascertain that the gallery of João Manuel de Noronha (1679-1761), 6th Count of Atalaia (evaluated by Pietro Guarienti in 1740) — who was a member of the war council of D. John V (Guarienti, as cited in Viterbo, 1903: 90) — included paintings by Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519)[6], Antonio Correggio (1489-1534), the Venetian Paris Bordon (1500-1571), Jacopo Bassano (1510-1592), and Francesco Salviati (1510-1563) (Guarienti, as cited in Viterbo, 1903: 92-94).

In *Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, D. António Caetano de Sousa (1674-1759) comments that King John V possessed "the paintings of the most famous masters" (Sousa, 1741, as cited in Brigola, 2003: 48). Perhaps the works of the most prominent artists of the Roman Baroque can also be included among the "most famous masters", in addition to the Flemish masters. This statement is based on an analysis of the collection of paintings on canvas at the National Palace of Mafra, consisting of a set of works by Italian artists active in Rome in the first half of the 18th century, commissioned precisely by King John V, among which the paintings by Francesco Trevisani (1656-1746), Sebastiano Conca (1680-1764) and Agostino Masucci (1691-1758). In fact, "between 1728 and 1734/1735, the monumental set of fifty-eight statues that adorn the Royal Basilica [of Mafra] was created, as well as the paintings for the altars, mor and side altars (...)" (Vale, 2025: 153), commissioned from the best sculpture and painting studios in Rome.

Religious themes are particularly prominent, linked to the personal tastes of King John V and the artistic climate of the time, in which these subjects took centre stage. It is interesting to note the existence of content linked to genre painting, mythology, portraiture and landscape. In the landscape category, the presence of the naturalism of Lucas Van Uden and Paul Brill, for example, also demonstrates a taste "rooted in traditional values (...), which contrast with the markedly classicist style of official court painting" (Saldanha, 1994: 22). In fact, although the official taste of the early 18th century was marked by classicism, it should be noted that Joanine collecting is not limited to this analysis, containing aesthetic variations of a taste not overly attached to specific themes (or categories) but influenced by the monarch's personal preferences and the availability on the European market of artists considered "famous". Judging by the number of Flemish paintings that were sent to Lisbon, it can be assumed that King John V had a predilection for these artists, particularly David Teniers, *the Elder*. The Joanine painting collection also reveals the influence of King John V in shaping the taste for Flemish art in the first half of the 18th century, which can be considered a departure from the classicism assumed during his reign. It is also possible to verify the existence of a wide European network of consultants working for King John V and the monarch's vigorous patronage, which not only stimulated the European art market of the time, but also triggered the production of large-format "images" in the main artistic centres, particularly in Rome.

6. The dates of birth and death of the painters were added by the author.

NOBLES' COLLECTIONS IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LISBON

In the context of collecting the Greats of Portugal, mostly linked to positions in the Portuguese Royal Household, the testimony of Cyrillo Volkmar Machado (1748-1823) — a writer and painter active in the last quarter of the 18th century and early 19th century — leads us to what he considered to be the best art collections in Lisbon: "the Marquises of Penalva and Alornas have large collections of excellent paintings and know how to appreciate them. The Dukes of Lafões, Cadaval and the Earl of Redondo, the patriarch and other great lords"[7].

This knowledge of the "large collections of excellent paintings"[8], certainly stemmed from his frequent visits to the private spaces of the elite, as was the case with José de Vasconcelos e Sousa (1740-1812), 6th Count of Pombeiro, and João Carlos de Bragança (1719-1806), 2nd Duke of Lafões, for whom he worked in 1788 and 1791, respectively. Cyrillo considers the collections of the Marquises of Penalva[9], the Marquises of Alorna, the Dukes of Lafões[10], the Dukes of Cadaval, the Counts of Redondo and the patriarch José Francisco de Mendonça (1725-1808) to be particularly noteworthy. Cyrillo also highlights in his writings the gallery of the Counts of Pombeiro[11], which, although not as remarkable as the art galleries of the Houses of Penalva and Lafões, nevertheless had some noteworthy artists.

In addition to Cyrillo's reference to the collection of the Marquises of Penalva, the English traveller William Beckford (1760-1844) also mentions it in his account of his visit in 1787 to the salons of the house of Eugénia Mariana Josefa de Meneses da Silva (1731-1788), 2nd Marquess of Penalva, and Manuel Teles da Silva (1727-1789), 6th Count of Vilar Maior and 2nd Marquis of Penalva, highlighting the *Holy Family* by Raphael Sanzio (1483-1520), as attested:

> I had lunch at the home of the Marquis of Penalva (...). His residence is full of paintings by the greatest masters, many of which, had they not been retouched, would deserve a place among the best collections (...). A *Holy Family*, in the best style of Raphael, seems to have been very recently enamelled.
> (Beckford, 1983: 52)

But it is not only Cyrillo and William Beckford who confirm this status; an unknown author, who described some of the most important painting collections in Lisbon in the first half of the 19th century, mentions that the art gallery of the Marquis of Penalva, "now d'Alegrete, has a very rich and copious collection of paintings"[12].

It appears that Eugénia de Meneses da Silva and Manuel Teles da Silva inherited a collection that seems to have been partially assembled in the first half of the 18th century by Estevão José de Meneses (1695-1758), 5th Count of Tarouca and 1st Marquis of Penalva. This assertion stems from the fact that in 1743 he purchased Raphael's *Holy Family*,

7. National Academy of Fine Arts (ANBA), Collection Cyrillo Volkmar Machado, *Rezumidos da Historia da Arte de todos os Autores que tem falado della em todos os hidiomas por C.V.M.*, Folder 16, [fl. 22v.]. This manuscript is dated around 1802.
8. ANBA, Collection Cyrillo Volkmar Machado, *Rezumidos da Historia da Arte de todos os Autores que tem falado della em todos os hidiomas por C.V.M.*, Folder 16, [fl. 22v.].
9. The painting collection of Marquises of Penalva would probably be located in his family`s palace in Mouraria. On this subject, see CÂMARA, Maria Alexandra Trindade da — "O Palácio dos Marqueses de Alegrete à Mouraria: do palácio ausente à memória do sítio". *Cadernos do Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa*, V (2016), 81-126.
10. The painting gallery of the Dukes of Lafões was located in the Palace of Dukes of Lafões, at Calçada do Duque de Lafões, n.º 1.
11. ANBA, Collection Cyrillo Volkmar Machado, *Rezumidos da Historia da Arte de todos os Autores que tem falado della em todos os hidiomas por C.V.M.*, Folder 16, [fl. 22]. The painting gallery of the Counts of Pombeiro was located in the Palace Pombeiro, at Calçada do Conde de Pombeiro, n.º 24.
12. Gulbenkian Art Library (BAG), Archive Reis Santos, box 173 A: *Igrejas, Convento, Cazas, Quintas de Lisboa, que conservão pinturas, e outros objectos dignos de atenção*, [fls. 17-18]. (Manuscrip written after 1822).

along with other paintings that were in the old library of the Convent of Graça, from the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine[13]. The artist Vieira Lusitano (1699-1783) confirms that the "priceless jewel of the divine talent of the great Raphael of Urbino" (Lusitano, 1945: 5), executed on "large reed" (Lusitano, 1945: 5), was acquired by Estevão José de Meneses, as attested: "It was happily acquired by His Excellency (...) the Marquis of Penalva" (Lusitano, 1945: 5).

According to Vieira Lusitano, who catalogued, evaluated[14] and restored the Penalva art gallery, it consisted of 249 pieces, offering a chronological journey through the history of Portuguese and European art, including a gallery of 21 portraits of the Tarouca/Penalva family, most of which were painted by European artists (the names provided by Vieira Lusitano do not allow for clarification of authorship).

In addition to the greatest representative of Roman Renaissance classicism (Raphael Sanzio), the Penalva art collection included artists linked to various artistic movements, notably Parmigianino (1503-1540) with *Venus and Cupid and Diana coming out of the bath*, Paolo Veronese (1528-1588) with *Penthesilea: Queen of the Amazons*, Giacomo Palma (1548/50-1628) with *Soledad and Saint Jerome*, and Giuseppe Cesari (c.1568- 1640) with *Mary Magdalene with a Skull* (Lusitano, 1945: 6-12). In addition to exponents of 16th-century Europe, Roman Baroque also had its place in the halls of Casa Penalva, with Pietro Lucatelli (c.1630-1690) standing out with *Seascape with Figures*, Francesco Trevisani (1656-1746) with *Martyrdom of Saint Andrew*, and Girolamo Pesci (1679- 1759) with *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*. This art gallery also included works by the Flemish artist David Teniers, *the Elder* (Lusitano, 1945: 6-12). The artist Vieira Lusitano also recognised paintings by some Portuguese artists as well — notably, the school of Grão Vasco (15th-16th centuries), with the paintings *Saint Apollonia and Saint Agnes*, and *Saint Catherine and Saint Eugenia*; the painter Fernão Gomes (1548-1612) with *Foot Washing*, and Diogo Pereira (†1658) with the paintings *The Fire of Sodom, The Universal Flood, Hell, Fruit Bowl*, and *The Destruction of Troy* (Lusitano, 1945: 6-12).

Unfortunately, it has not been possible to ascertain what led to the dispersal of the "very copious" painting collection at Casa Penalva, but it likely began in 1844. In that year, an appraiser connected to Count Athanasius Raczynski (1788-1874) purchased the paintings attributed to the school of Grão Vasco, which featured *Saints Apollonia and Agnes*, and *Saints Catherine and Eugenia* (Castro, 1945: 2) [fig.01,02].

In 1937, these paintings were discovered by César de Sousa Mendes do Amaral e Abranches (1885-1955), Portugal's minister plenipotentiary in Poland, at the Narodowe Museum in Poznań[15], José de Figueiredo (1872-1937) having been informed of his discovery[16].

It is plausible that some paintings were purchased by Portuguese collectors. In 1851, the Duke of Palmela's gallery consisted of a "Painting representing the Holy Family — Original design by Raphael; but the colouring also belongs to Julio Romano" ("Dos Quadros antigos e modernos...", 1851: 142). Could this *Holy Family* have belonged to the Marquises of Penalva?

13. National Library of Portugal (BNP), Archive Tarouca, A.T. 51 A: "The Count of Tarouca says that, knowing that in the Convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça in this city there had been for some time some panels available for purchase, almost all of them in very poor condition, he bought them, not only for the price that the priests had set for them, but he paid even more for the said panels, which were sold with the power and solemnity that is customary in such sales at the said convent, and for which he requires a certificate (...). The same bundle of handwritten documents contains the following information: "Papers concerning the panels that Mr. Marquez de Penalva bought on credit, including the one by Raphael".
14. The inventory took place in 1758 upon the death of Estevão José de Meneses, 1st Marquis of Penalva, whose heir was Eugénia Mariana Meneses da Silva: "Inventory of the assets left by the Honourable and Illustrious Marquis of Penalva, continuing with the Honourable and Illustrious Marquise of the same title, as she remains in possession and head of the estate to distribute it to her daughter, the Honourable and Excellency Countess of Villar Mayor" (Lusitano, 1945: 5).
15. Knowing this information, the Narodowe Museum in Poznań was contacted to verify the existence of this collection, but no response was received.
16. "Seeking to find out how the works had ended up in Poland, he approached the Director of the Museum of Posen, who provided him with the following information: The painting depicting Saint Catherine and Saint Barbara measures 34x87 cm; the one depicting Saint Apollonia and Saint Agnes measures 33x87 cm. Both are oil on wood and belonged to the gallery of the Marquis of Penalva, appearing in old catalogues as masterpieces by Grão Vasco. They were purchased by an expert of Count Raczynski in Lisbon in 1844 for the price of 42 talers [sic]" (Castro, 1945: 2).



Fig. 01· *Saint Apollonia and Saint Agnes*, attributed to the school of Grão Vasco (15th-16th centuries). Inventário das pinturas que em 1758 possuia a Casa dos Marqueses de Penalva. Feito por Francisco Vieyra Lusitano. Lisboa: Instituto para a Alta Cultura, 1945.



Fig. 02· *Saint Catherine and Saint Eugenia*, attributed to the school of Grão Vasco (15th-16th centuries). Inventário das pinturas que em 1758 possuia a Casa dos Marqueses de Penalva. Feito por Francisco Vieyra Lusitano. Lisboa: Instituto para a Alta Cultura, 1945.

One of the finest art collections in Lisbon, perhaps rivalling that of the Marquises of Penalva, may have belonged to João Carlos de Bragança (1719-1806), 2nd Duke of Lafões. The "precious painting gallery" of João Carlos de Bragança — which still existed in 1843-1844 — reportedly consisted of "a copious library, rich in editions and rare manuscripts; and during his travels, he collected a large number of panels, with which he formed a precious painting gallery, which still exists in his palace in Grilo" (Barbosa, 1843-44: 332).

The catalogue that was prepared for the auction of the artworks belonging to the Dukes of Lafões, held in 1865, the Duke of Lafões' office consisted of "228 paintings, 4 engravings and one speciality"[17]. It is known that among these two hundred and twenty-eight paintings were some by famous painters: "a beautiful original painting by Domenichino depicting a Sybil accompanying herself on a lute, with a boy on her left writing her prophecies in Greek characters, and a lyre beside her"[18]; a *St. Roch* by Francesco Trevisani; an allegory depicting "Fame immortalising the artist", the *Chaste Susanna in the bath*, and *Lot with his daughters*, all originals by Luca Giordano (1634-1705)[19]; a penitent saint in the desert, and *Parable of the Gospel*, by the Spanish artist Jusepe de Ribera (1591-1652); a *St. Sebastian* by Guido Reni (1575-1642); a *St. John the Evangelist* by Carlo Maratti (1625-1713).

17. National Archive of the Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Lafões/Marialva, box 50. "Leilão de Quadros a Oleo Antigos. Pertencentes à galeria do Il.mo e Ex.mo Sr. Duque de Lafões, existentes no seu palácio ao Grilo (próximo do Beato) em Lisboa", 1865: 13.
18. ANTT, Lafões/Marialva, box 50. "Leilão de Quadros a Oleo Antigos. Pertencentes à galeria do Il.mo e Ex.mo Sr. Duque de Lafões, existentes no seu palácio ao Grilo (próximo do Beato) em Lisboa, 1865: 13.
19. ANTT, Lafões/Marialva, box 50. "Leilão de Quadros a Oleo Antigos. Pertencentes à galeria do Il.mo e Ex.mo Sr. Duque de Lafões, existentes no seu palácio ao Grilo (próximo do Beato) em Lisboa", 1865: 14.

There was also an original painting by Jacopo Bassano (1510-1592): "Noah' s family bringing the different races of animals into the ark"[20]; and fires of Troy, without specifying the name of the author.

Furthermore, it included numerous portraits of royal figures (eighty-one portraits), including King Joseph I (1714-1777), King John V, and Queen Mary I of Portugal (1734-1816); Maria Anna of Austria (1683-1754); Charles XII of Sweden (1682-1718); four portraits of the Austrian imperial family; and some portraits of the Arronches family. The collection also contained "sixty paintings of landscapes, seascapes, still lifes, flowers, and fruits"[21], which included Flemish artists, whose names were not mentioned by the appraisers. However, the names of three Flemish artists who belonged to the Duke of Lafões' cabinet were identified: Philips Wouwermann[22], David de Heem[23], and Livio Mehus[24] [fig.03]. The author of the aforementioned catalogue also refers to original paintings by Giacomo Brandi and Antonio Amori, but it has not been possible to ascertain who these artists were.

A large part of his art collection was dispersed at auction in April 1865, with the agent Casimiro C. da Cunha responsible for its sale. The reasons for the sale of this important artistic collection, which took place a few months before the death of Maria Carlota de Bragança e Ligne de Sousa Tavares Mascarenhas da Silva, 6th Marquise of Arronches (1820-1865) and granddaughter of João Carlos de Bragança, have not been ascertained. However, it is very likely that after the abolition of entailed estates and chapels — then "considered an obstacle to economic development, to the point that in May 1863 a law was published abolishing all entailed estates and chapels currently existing in the kingdom"[25] — the Lafões family suffered a substantial financial blow.

Alongside the painting collections of the Marquises of Penalva and the Dukes of Lafões, we now present the art gallery of Pedro José de Noronha Albuquerque Moniz e Sousa (1716-1788), 3rd Marquis of Angeja. Although not much information has been found about the artists represented, there is no doubt that it would have included important masters of European painting. This assertion stems from the fact that manuscript sources reveal that Quinta do Lumiar (Angeja-Palmela Palace, now the Costume Museum) — formerly owned by Pedro José de Noronha — housed an art collection consisting of "thirty-one panels from the best school"[26]. This probably included the "Jocadeira panel"[27], by Julio Romano (1499-1546) and the *Garden of Love*, by Peter Paul Rubens[28].

20. ANTT, Lafões/Marialva, box 50. "Leilão de Quadros a Oleo Antigos. Pertencentes à galeria do Il.mo e Ex.mo Sr. Duque de Lafões, existentes no seu palácio ao Grilo (próximo do Beato) em Lisboa", 1865: 22.
21. ANTT, Lafões/Marialva, box 50. "Leilão de Quadros a Oleo Antigos. Pertencentes à galeria do Il.mo e Ex.mo Sr. Duque de Lafões, existentes no seu palácio ao Grilo (próximo do Beato) em Lisboa", 1865: 22.
22. According to the piece's history, "this drawing belonged to the collection of the Duke of Lafões". *Raiz – Museus e Monumentos de Portugal* In: http://raiz.museusemonumentos.pt/DetalhesObra?id=258066&tipo=OBJ (accessed: 01 Junho 2025).
23. Library of the National Museum of Ancient Art (BMNAA), *Inventário dos quadros que compõem a galeria da Academia Real das Bellas Artes de Lisboa*, Book 44: "Painting of fruit, shells and vases. Flemish school. David de Heem. Canvas: 1.16×1.66. Entered the gallery on 22 March 1867, purchased on 20 March at the Lafões gallery auction for 144$000. It is signed with the painter's distinctive mark and dated 1646".
24. *Catálogo provisório da Galeria Nacional de Pintura existente na Academia Real das Bellas Artes de Lisboa*. Lisbon: Royal Academy of Fine Arts, 1868, p. 49: "Artist Lyvio Mevio. Landscape with figures. A. 0.98 ×1.32. Purchased at the Lafões gallery auction in 1866". According to the introductory note in the same catalogue, written by Marquis of Sousa Holstein, this painting was acquired with "the sums that His Majesty King Ferdinand granted for this purpose from his endowment".
25. ANTT. In antt.dglab.gov.pt/exposicoes-virtuais-2/extincao-dos-morgados-e-capelas (Accessed: 09.01.2025).
26. Lisbon Academy of Sciences (ACL), Série Azul, "Memórias coligidas e relatadas por Joaquim José Ferreira Gordo, Prelado da Santa Igreja de Lisboa", Tomo 1, n.º 142, fl. 66v (document dated January 1808).
27. BAG, Arquivo Reis Santos, cx. 173 A. *Igrejas, Convento, Cazas, Quintas de Lisboa, que conservão pinturas, e outros objectos dignos de atenção*, [fls. 17-18] (manuscrito escrito depois de 1822). This perhaps refers to the series of tapestries related to children's games, based on drawings by Giulio Romano, which are located in various international museums. In Portugal, there are two pieces located in the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum.
28. BAG, Archive Reis Santos, cx. 173 A. *Igrejas, Convento, Cazas, Quintas de Lisboa, que conservão pinturas, e outros objectos dignos de atenção*, [fls. 17-18]: "Marquis of Angeja (...). The panel of Jocadeira [?] by Julio Romano is certainly a masterpiece and well worth seeing. There is also a beautiful painting of The Garden of Love by Peter Paul Rubens. Many of these paintings have had different fates". Regarding Peter Paul Rubens' *The Garden of Love*, there is a painting that belongs to the collections of the Prado National Museum in Madrid. The painting collection of the Vienna Museum of Art History includes a painting by Peter Paul Rubens dedicated to the theme *The Feast of Venus* (c. 1630-1640). It is likely that Peter Paul Rubens painted several themes dedicated to Love.



Fig. 03· *Rest stop during a hunt*, 1640-1750, Philips Wouwermann (1619-1668); multi-colour tempera drawing on paper; 17.5×22.7cm; National Museum of Ancient Art, Lisbon, Inv. 2391 Des. (photograph by Luísa Oliveira, 2022). Museus e Monumentos de Portugal, E.P.E. / Photographic Documentation Archive.

What is known about the fate of this collection? Well, a large part of the painting collection of the 3rd Marquis of Angeja was plundered by the invading French army. It is known that the thirty-one paintings that were part of the Quinta do Lumiar collection were probably taken to the Imperial Museum in Paris, as witnessed by Joaquim José Ferreira Gordo:

> Today, the Marquise of Angeja told me that two or three days after the French army arrived, a general or other officer went to her farm in Lumiar and took thirty-one panels of the best school that were there, all chosen by the famous Pelegrini [Domenico Pelligrini], whom he would take with him to make the selection. I still do not know what became of them, perhaps they were sent to Paris to adorn the Imperial Museum[29].

It is interesting to note the mention of the "famous Peligrini" who painted several portraits of the noble and bourgeois elites. Apparently, this Italian artist first came to Portugal with the intention of trading works of art, something emphasised by the Swedish pastor Carl Ruders (1761-1837): "He brought with him many precious paintings from the Italian school. He hopes to sell them here (...)" (Ruders, 2002: 269); but due to the contextual turnaround, he ended up joining a business opportunity linked to the plundering of heritage assets by the French invaders.

Finally, some comments are made on the painting collection of José de Vasconcelos e Sousa and Maria Rita de Castelo Branco Correia e Cunha (1769-1832), both of whom were awarded the title of Marquises of Belas in 1801. Although not as prominent as those of the Marquises of Penalva and the Dukes of Lafões, it is nonetheless noteworthy.

29. Lisbon Academy of Sciences (ACL), "Memórias coligidas e relatadas por Joaquim José Ferreira Gordo, Prelado da Santa Igreja de Lisboa", Série Azul, Tomo 1, N.º 142, fl. 66v.

Apparently, the various rooms of the Pombeiro Palace were to be decorated with paintings by various renowned artists, as Cyrillo comments that one of the palace walls featured an original painting by Parmigianino, as confirmed: "The walls (...) are superbly decorated with precious paintings, among which one can admire the famous original panel by Parmesão"[30]. According to Luiz Duarte Villela da Silva, the "panel by Parmesão" represented the Holy Virgin (Silva, 1828: 109). Regarding the other "precious paintings", Villela da Silva (who appears to have been familiar with the collection) mentions the existence of other artists, namely David Teniers, Peter Paul Rubens, and Spanish artists such as Luis de Morales (1509-1586) and Jusepe de Ribera (Silva, 1828: 109).

The painting gallery was also found to contained works by Portuguese artists, including Joaquim Manuel da Rocha (1727-1786): "he painted fires very well, among which those of the Lisbon Customs House and the Cábrea vessel, owned by the Marquis of Belas, were always excellent"[31]. This perspective confirms the patronage of José de Vasconcelos e Sousa and his wife as well as this family's contemporary taste for various aesthetic expressions, including those of Portuguese artists. In fact, the gallery also contained a painting by Domenico Pelligrini (1759-1840), who was in London at the time and portrayed the Marquises of Belas: "He returned to London a second time [Pelligrini] where he made several compositions, engraved by the Schiaveneti (Venetians) and others; on that occasion, he portrayed the family of the Marquis of Bellas" (Machado, 1922: 109).

During the French invasions, the collection of the Marquises of Belas, particularly the painting by Parmigianino, was coveted by the invading armies, as witnessed by Villela da Silva: "More than once, Junot's satellites, driven by their most fervent desires, will search the home of the most excellent Marquis of Bellas to discover the unique painting of the Holy Virgin by the majestic Parmigianino" (Silva, 1828: 109). However, unlike Pedro José de Noronha's collection, this one was "saved" from French usurpation, having been part of the "baggage" that accompanied José Vasconcelos e Sousa and Maria Rita de Castelo Branco to Brazil, due to the royal family's strategic retreat to that country, as confirmed by: "This precious original [Parmigianino], as well as some by Teniery, Spanholeto, Rubens, Morales, would have fallen into the clutches of the usurpers if they had not been taken to Rio de Janeiro" (Silva, 1828: 109).

However, upon the death of José de Vasconcelos e Sousa, his wife Maria Rita de Castelo Branco returned to Lisbon and must have brought some of these works with her, as it is known that Domenico Pelligrini's painting of the Marquises of Belas' family is now in a private collection in northern Portugal[32] (but it could also be the case that this particular painting never made it onto the ship bound for Brazil).

Finally, it should be briefly noted that the art collections of the noble elites are almost always inherited, as witnessed in the cases of the Marquises of Alegrete, the Dukes of Lafões and the Marquises of Angeja. However, although some families inherited works of aesthetic importance from their ancestors (as is the case of the Marquises of Penalva), it seems that they did not cease to enhance them, notably João Carlos de Bragança, who certainly acquired some pieces in Rome during his *Grand Tour*. It is also interesting to note the importance of the conventual "market" — repositories of great masters of European painting — in the dynamics of national collecting at a time dominated by the patronage of King John V.

From the collection as a whole — which included Flemish artists, Italian Mannerists and Roman Baroque artists — it is clear that the work of these artists was popular among the elites, although with some deviations towards the tenebrist universe of Jusepe de Ribera, as seen in the collections of the Dukes of Lafões and the Marquises of Belas. The presence of Jusepe de Ribera can perhaps be explained by the "circumference of taste", which is key to understanding why some works circulate more than others.

30. ANBA, Collection Cyrillo Volkmar Machado, *Rezumidos da Historia da Arte de todos os Autores que tem falado della em todos os hidiomas por C.V.M.*, Pasta 16, [fl. 22].
31. BAG, Reis Santos Archive, box 173C. Cyrillo Volkmar Machado — *Collecção de Memorias relativas às vidas dos Pintores, Esculptores e Architectos Portuguezes; e às dos Estrangeiros que estiverão em Portugal, dedicada ao Illm.º e Exm.º Senhor José de Vasconcelos e Souza. Conde de Pombeiro, Marquez de Bellas, Regedor das Justiças, Conselheiro de Estado, Grão-Cruz da Ordem de S. Thiago. por hum artista lisbonense no anno de 1803.*
32. Thanks to Prof. Gonçalo Vasconcelos e Sousa for sharing this information.

Despite the classicist tendency, with representatives of the Roman Baroque, which seems to be a reflection of the Joanine era, the truth is that the noble elites did not confine themselves to the classical system, attempting to impose a more generalist style. In this context, the existence of "Portuguese primitives" in the art gallery of the Marquises of Penalva leads us to conclude that, long before Athanasius Raczynski (1788-1874) admired Portuguese Renaissance art, it was already appreciated by the elites of the 18th century. We can also add the "primitives" in the collection of Diogo José Noronha Coutinho (1739-1803), 5th Marquis of Marialva, attested by William Beckford: "the marquis showed me the ruins of what was once his sumptuous palace, where there were many important paintings by Rubens and the primitives (...)'" (Beckford, 1983: 163). This reveals that the elites had eclectic tastes, not focusing solely on specific artists and themes, which demonstrates an updating of taste among this social class.

One cannot fail to mention the painting collection of José Vasconcelos e Sousa and Maria Rita de Castelo Branco. This collection already shows a taste aligned with the prescriptions of neoclassicism, and the appearance of picturesque works by Portuguese artists highlights the contemporary and patronising nature of both.

BOURGEOIS COLLECTORS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ART MARKET

Following this foray into the artistic universe of the lords, it is also important to mention two art collections that belonged to the wealthy and ennobled bourgeoisie of Lisbon: the art galleries of Jacinto Fernandes Bandeira (1745-1806), 1st Baron of Porto Covo, and Joaquim Pedro Quintela (1748-1817), 1st Baron of Quintela.

The art collection of Jacinto Fernandes Bandeira, which was located in the former Squire's Room (*Sala dos Escudeiros*) of the Porto Covo Palace[33], was said to have been composed of "well-known and celebrated artists" (Menezes, 1796: 42). Inácio de Sousa Menezes, who visited the Porto Covo Palace in 1796, shared the following information about the Squire's Room and its decorative contents, stating the following: "it is adorned with seventy-five precious panels, both large and small; however, all by well-known and celebrated authors; placed symmetrically, and capable of entertaining any skilled mind for a long time" (Menezes, 1796: 42). During the course of the current research, descriptions of numerous pieces that may correspond to those described by Inácio Menezes were found in the *Catálogo dos Quadros, objectos de Arte, Pratas, Mobiliário e Porcelanas que guarneciam o Palácio Porto Covo*... (1941). It would be an arduous task to establish this relationship, but a connection can be attested to with the paintings of some famous artists that once adorned this room: four Flemish works by Jan van Kessel, *the Younger* (1626-1679); several landscape paintings, including two canvases by the French artist Jean Pillement (dated 1785); biblical themes (about six canvases); rural scenes; hunting scenes; a maritime scene with a view of a port by the Dutch artist Johannes Sturckenburg (c.1630-1673), which is quite rare; paintings with views of Venice; a history painting (*The Death of Lucretia*); paintings by Domenico Pellegrini, including two portraits and a canvas depicting mythology, *Venus, Adonis and Cupid* (1803); an anonymous portrait by the Spaniard António Carnicero (1748-1814); and a hunting scene by the Austrian artist August Querfurt (1696-1761). In addition to foreign artists, the gallery housed works by the Portuguese artists Joaquim Manuel da Rocha and Vieira Lusitano (*Narcissus in love with himself*).

The dominant themes of the Porto Covo Palace painting gallery were classical mythology and still life, most likely in line with Jacinto Bandeira's personal taste. The catalogue does not specify the authorship of most of the works mentioned, but this room undoubtedly contained a very valuable collection of works of art.

33. The Porto Covo Palace is located on São Domingos Street, n.ºs 35-39, Lisbon.

An analysis of the collection also reveals Jacinto Fernandes Bandeira's eclectic taste and his keen interest in seeking out foreign and national works of art on the art market of the time to expand his art gallery. Most of the works were likely acquired through direct purchase from artists, dealers, and agents in Portugal and elsewhere in Europe (Delaforce, 2002: 317), but also at private auctions held after the collector's deaths, as can be seen in the *Collecção de Memórias...*, referring to Maria Leonor Roulks, an "illustrious Lisboner" who painted many canvases: "in [Commander] Geraldes' collection there were 14 or 15 of her panels, some of which will pass on her death to the house of [Jacinto Fernandes] Bandeira" (Machado, 1922: 105).

Jacinto was, therefore, very attentive to the artistic movements of his time, striving to keep up with "the fashions". Only in this way can we understand why he acquired a painting by the Italian Domenico Pellegrini (*Venus, Adonis and Cupid*) in 1803, coinciding with the arrival of this painter in Lisbon.

Concerning the works of art that may have constituted the art gallery of Joaquim Pedro Quintela[34], 1st Baron of Quintela, references were found in the catalogue of the sale of art objects belonging to João Maria Correia Aires de Campos (1847-1920), 1st Count of Ameal. According to Clara Moura Soares (2014: 92), this collector acquired some pieces at the auction of the Counts of Farrobo, probably from 1869 onwards — the year corresponding to the death of Joaquim Pedro Quintela (1801-1869), 2nd Baron of Quintela, whose fortune was dismantled: "the impoverishment of the Count of Farrobo (...), led to the auctioning of his assets" (Araújo, 1946: 51).

Thus, based on the information provided in the descriptive catalogue *Vente d'Objects d`art. Coleccions Comte de Ameal* (1921), some paintings believed to have belonged to Joaquim Pedro Quintela may have been transcribed, as the catalogue does not mention the provenance of most of them: Jean Pillement (1728-1808) with *Aqueduct of Águas Livres in Lisbon*; Vieira Lusitano with a sanguine drawing of an allegory and an oil painting of Christ Crucified; Joaquim Manoel da Rocha with a canvas depicting a seascape and other characters; Pedro Alexandrino (1729-1810) with *Holy Family*; Cyrillo Volkmar Machado with a watercolour drawing and an allegorical canvas executed in chiaroscuro; and Joaquim Marques with two rural scenes (*Vent d`Objects d´art...*, 1921: 24-64). The two paintings by Domingos Sequeira (1768-1837), titled *The Genius of the Portuguese Nation* (1812)[35] and *Lisbon Defends its Inhabitants during the French Invasions* (1812)[36] (*Vent d' Objects d'art...*, 1921: 40), undoubtedly belonged to the collection of Joaquim Pedro Quintela [fig.04,05].

Finally, Joaquim Pedro Quintela's collection included a portrait of himself with his wife and children, painted by Domenico Pelligrini (dated 1807 and signed by him), which is still in the possession of a branch of the Quintela family, meaning that it was not sold on the Lisbon art market.

If future research supports that some of the aforementioned paintings may have been part of Joaquim Pedro Quintela's art collection, it will be possible to ascertain his artistic personality and his connection to a taste for the works of national artists. It should be noted that, although only works by national artists have been found, Joaquim Pedro Quintela likely also owned works by European artists. However, it is also noteworthy that the Palace of the Baron of Quintela (Lisbon) was occupied by General Jean-Andoche Junot (1771-1813) during the French invasions, and it cannot be ruled out that some of these works may have been looted and transported to France, as was the case with the painting collection of the Marquises of Angeja.

34. Joaquim Pedro Quintela's art gallery was probably located in the Palace of the Baron of Quintela and Count of Farrobo, at Rua do Alecrim, n.º 56, Lisbon.
35. *Vente d'Objects d`art. Coleccions Comte de Ameal: Catalogue descriptif*, 1921: 44-45. On the reverse side of the canvas is the following inscription: "Commissioned by His Excellency the Baron of Quintela in memory of the genius of the Portuguese nation in defence of the religion of the prince and the homeland since 1808. Designed and painted by Domingos Antonio de Sequeira..., First Painter to the Chamber and Court of His Royal Highness, master of his August Sons, Director of the Royal Academy of the City of Porto, and of St. Luke's in Rome and all those in Italy in 1812".
36. *Vente d'Objects d`art. Coleccions Comte de Ameal: Catalogue descriptif*, 1921: 44-45. On the reverse side of the canvas is the following inscription: "Commissioned by His Excellency the Baron of Quintela in memory of the heroism of the city of Lisbon when it took in afflicted humanity, weighing the "Hippopotamus" and the inscription in the year 1810. Designed and painted by Domingos Antonio de Sequeira, First Painter to the Chamber and Court of His Royal Highness, master of his August Sons, Director of the Royal Academy of the City of Porto, and of St. Luke's in Rome and all those in Italy, in 1812". The two paintings by Domingos Sequeira were published by: XAVIER, Hugo. *Domingos Sequeira. Pintores Portugueses*. Lisboa: Quidnovi, 2010, p. 40.



Fig. 04· *The Genius of the Nation*, 1812, Domingos António de Sequeira (1768-1837); oil painting on canvas; 225.00 cm × 138.00 cm; Lisbon Museum, MC.PIN.0700; Lisbon Museum Collection / EGEAC/ Lisbon City Council.



Fig. 05· *Lisbon defends its inhabitants during the French invasions*, 1812, Domingos António de Sequeira (1768-1837); oil painting on canvas; 225.00 cm × 138.00 cm; Lisbon Museum, MC.PIN.0701; Lisbon Museum Collection / EGEAC/ Lisbon City Council.

Analyses of these private art galleries must account for the fact that they could only have been formed on the basis of a taste for art and economic power. As Joaquim Pedro Quintela was the richest man in Portugal at the time, his personal fortune allowed him to commission works from the best contemporary artists, as he did when he commissioned portraits of his family from the painter Domenico Pellegrini, and Domingos António de Sequeira.

It is plausible that Joaquim Pedro Quintela acquired some of his works from the most well-known Lisbon artists of the time. In this sense, when we evaluate the art collection of Jacinto Fernandes Bandeira (a close friend of Joaquim Pedro Quintela), we may envision an art market in the city of Lisbon based on the patronage of these wealthy bourgeois figures, who motivated the artists themselves through commissions. Cyrillo Volkmar Machado hinted at this issue in *Collecção de Memórias...*, by mentioning that after completing the cycle of paintings for the Ajuda Palace (1817), Joaquim Pedro Quintela "visited" him to request "four large canvases at an unlimited price" (Machado, 1922: 254). This question of "visiting" the artist's studio has other implications: in addition to going to the space to commission works, it was here in his studio that the "visitor" could purchase the artist's works directly. Thus, the existence of an allegorical painting and a watercolour drawing by Cyrillo Volkmar Machado in the Ameal collection may indicate that they belonged to Joaquim Pedro Quintela. This situation also occurred with Francisco Vieira Lusitano, who in 1762 was "visited" by Count Schaumburg-Lippe, who acquired a painting depicting Saint Anthony (Machado, 1922: 81).

The pattern of collecting changed significantly from the second half of the 18th century onwards, with the emergence of the great fortunes of Lisbon capitalists, as illustrated by the cases of Jacinto Fernandes Bandeira and Joaquim Pedro Quintela. This wealthy class rivalled the great nobility in the acquisition of works of art in an attempt to gain social standing. Their dedication to building their art galleries reveals that these became substantially important to these businessmen, who sought to stand out in the context in which they operated. However, part of the value of this group to the study of 18th-century Portuguese collecting — without wishing to dismiss the lords, or specifically the case of José de Vasconcelos e Sousa — is the input they gave to the national art market through the acquisition or commissioning of artworks from national artists who were still alive at a time in Portuguese history marked by the absence of salons – spaces where artists exhibited their works to be admired and purchased.

EPILOGUE

The painting collections analysed allowed us to draw some conclusions about the evolution of the 18th-century art market in Lisbon. Collecting in the first half of the 18th century was undoubtedly dominated by the figure of King John V, whose financial power placed Portugal at the forefront of collecting, especially with regard to the large-scale acquisition of the greatest exponents of European painting. His economic influence allowed him to access the great masters, something unparalleled in the history of Portuguese collecting.

The art galleries of the Greats, bearers of the distinguished gene of ancestry, established an equally distinctive social standard, since only elite families were able to access the artistic standard analysed. Their collections also reveal the economic power of their owners, while demonstrating their cultural capital. Furthermore, owning an art gallery with masterpieces of European art was highly prestigious. It is difficult to say that the noble elite failed to keep up with the new trends that began to emerge with the advent of Neoclassicism, especially considering that Domenico Pelligrini painted several portraits of the noble elite, notably José Vasconcelos e Sousa, who may have started the fashion for family portraits painted in the style of Pelligrini.

However, when compared to the collecting practices of the wealthy bourgeoisie, which greatly boosted the national art market in the last quarter of the 18th century, the collecting of the noble elites seems to have stagnated. The leading role of the Greats was replaced by a wealthy bourgeois elite, whose art galleries reveal new patterns of taste, shaped by economic prosperity, cosmopolitan aspirations and ambitious personal trajectories.

As regards the causes that led to the disappearance of the painting collections, these were diverse, as we have had the opportunity to analyse. In addition to the voraciousness of unpredictable nature, responsible for the destruction of various painting galleries, namely that of King John V, the French Invasions, between 1807 and 1810, were equally disastrous for the "large collections of excellent paintings".

The invasion of Portuguese territory by French armies led to the strategic withdrawal of the Royal Family to Brazil in 1808, substantially altering the "spirit" of Lisbon's painting collections. On the one hand, the works that went to Brazil were saved from human greed, but ended up not returning to Portuguese territory, either because of the death of their owners or because they chose to remain in Brazil; on the other hand, some of those that remained in Portugal were plundered by the invading army. Added to this was the downfall of the noble and bourgeois families, marked by the changing times.

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