JOSEPH CONNORS

Borromini and the Marchese di Castel Rodrigo*

The manuscript of Borromini’s *Opus Architeconicum*, drafted in 1647, begins with a handsome dedication to the ‘Marchese di Castel Rodriguez’, whom the architect had had occasion to know ‘nel tempo che fui honotario di servirlo in questa Città nel disegno della regia fabrica cominciata da suoi antenati, e dei sepolcri de suoi heroi’. Yet no trace is left in Rome of any such chapel or ancestral seat. Who was this man, who looms so large in Borromini’s life and whose attentions moved the usually silent architect to say, ‘che mi ama più da figlio, che da servo’?

Borromini’s Castel Rodrigo was the second of a line of three marquises of that name. Although it rose to glory in the service of the King of Spain, the family was Portuguese, and its roots were in Lisbon, not Madrid. The family liked to trace its origin to the reconquest of Moura in 1165, but its real fortune was established only in the late sixteenth century, when Cristóbal de Moura (c.1528-1613), the first Marquis of Castel Rodrigo and later Conde de Lumiáres and Comendador Mayor de Alcantara, backed the claims of the Spanish King, Philip II, to the throne of Portugal. As agents of the Spanish crown in the annexation of their native land the family came into sudden wealth and prominence. The first marquis married Margarita Corte Real, who brought with her the titles of Sire de Terranova and perpetual governor of some islands in the Azores. He built the vast Palace of Corte Real next to the new wing of the Royal palace. It was the most celebrated private palace in Lisbon, fifty metres square, with four corner towers and two wings with terraces extending down to the River Tagus and enclosing an Italianate garden. Inside there were 185 rooms and 18 royal salons.

The first marquis consolidated his family’s position just before his death in 1613, when he married his son into the royal house of Portugal. It was this son, Manuel de Moura y Corte Real (?-1651), second Marquis of Castel Rodrigo, who eventually became Borromini’s patron. In turn his eldest surviving son and heir, Francisco de Moura, destined to become the third Marquis of Castel Rodrigo and eventually Spanish ambassador to the Netherlands, was born in 1621.

Castel Rodrigo (as we shall henceforth call the second marquis) entered the service of Spain in 1615 as Gentleman of the Chamber of the future Philip IV. When the prince succeeded to the throne in 1621, Castel Rodrigo was kept on the sidelines by his jealous rival Olivares, who was still insecure in his position as favourite. He suffered innumerable vexations. For example, in 1623 Olivares forced him to exchange a lucrative sinecure as Comendador Mayor de Alcantara, worth 12,000 ducats a year, for the position of Comendador Mayor de la Orden de Christo, worth only 4000 ducats. Castel Rodrigo was transferred back to Lisbon to arm a fleet in 1627, and recalled to court temporarily in 1630, when Olivares decided to put the titles and talents of his rival to use in the service of Spain’s diplomacy. Ordered to Rome in late 1630, he drew up his Will (see the Appendix below) and borrowed 20,000 ducats for the mission. This was the beginning of the embassy ‘nella qual’entrarvi, e cosi figliol, e ne uscir poi vero, e senz’esiti, o quasi senza essi’. At great personal cost he entered the Roman diplomatic and artistic scene.

Castel Rodrigo arrived in Rome in 1631 or 1632, just after his predecessor, Cardinal Borja, had blackened the image of the Spanish ambassador by his furious protest over Urban VIII’s partiality toward France. It was a long time before Castel Rodrigo was admitted to full ambassadorial privileges in the papal court. He also followed in the footsteps of a man much closer to the centre of power, the Count of Monterrey, Olivares’s brother-in-law, who served along with Borja as ambassador in Rome in 1628-31 and then moved to Naples where he was viceroys from 1631 to 1637. Monterrey, in a strange move of 1634, summoned Castel Rodrigo to Naples and imprisoned him on a charge of attempted assassination, though the matter was soon dropped and Castel Rodrigo reinstated in his functions in Rome. Near the end of Castel Rodrigo’s embassy he had a turn of playing the villain himself. In November 1639 he

---

*The Guggenheim Foundation and Columbia University provided the time for the research undertaken here. Much of the work was done at the American Academy in Rome and the Rockefeller Foundation’s Villa Serbelloni at Bellagio, and I am particularly grateful to James Melchert and to Roberto and Gianna Celli. I owe a large debt of gratitude to the following: John Elliott; in Rome, Pader Juan Pujada of the Archivo dei Trinitari Scalzi at S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, and Paola Ferraris of the Instituto per il Catalogo e la Documentazione; in Lisbon, Richard Verdun and Evonne Cunha of the American Embassy, José Faria of the National Assembly, Maria de Trindade Mexia Alves of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, and Aurra Nobre De Gusmão of the Gulbenkian Foundation. I also offer my warmest thanks to Susan Klaiber for much help and encouragement; to Jonathan Brown for the photography of Fig. 7; and to Henry Millon for asking ‘Who was Castel Rodrigo?’.


2. See A. Weil: MS of genealogical and biographical notices on the Moura family in Vol.203 (v.3.301) of the Pio di Savoia archives, Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milano. This archive is now indexed; see U. Forma: Inventario dell’architetto Palio di Savoia (Fonti Ambrosianae, 64), Vienna [1990]; but for the vicissitudes before it passed to the Ambrosiana see C.H. Cloake: ‘The Pio di Savoia Archives’, Studi sull’architettura di Roberto Ridolfi (Biblioteca di Bibliografia Italiana, 71), Florence [1973], pp.207-222.

3. See J. Franca: Une ville des lumieres: La Lisbonne de Pombal, Paris [1965], p.296; G. Kuhler: Portuguese Plain Architecture, Middletown, Ct. [1972], p.160 and pls.17 and 179. The print of the palace shown in Kuhler but not identified is an engraving by Joan Schorquen and comes from Joan Baptista Lavaia: Visite de la Cathedrale Real Magistral Del Rei D. Filipe III X.S. al Reino de Portugal... (Madrid [1622] reference courtesy of Dr Maria de Trindade Mexia Alves).

4. Weil, MS cited at note 2 above, discovered this explanation for the exchange in a letter of Andrés de Mendoca of 31st October 1623 in Collection de livres rares et curieux, XVII, p.221.


434
sheltered the notorious bandit Giulio Pezzola and his armed crew in the Spanish embassy, and then used them to abduct the rebellious Prince of Sanza on Christmas night 1639. The prince was kidnapped in S. Andrea delle Fratte and spirited off in the ambassador's coach; he was conveyed to Naples, convicted of conspiring with the French, and executed.\(^7\)

Castel Rodrigo's embassy came to an end with the revolt of Portugal in December 1640. He remained unwaveringly loyal to the Spanish crown, even suffering extensive losses of family lands in Portugal; nevertheless it was considered impolitic to have a Portuguese serving as Spanish ambassador during the revolt, and Olivares was not entirely sure of his former rival's loyalty. Castel Rodrigo was ordered on short notice to the Diet of Regensburg, and thence to Vienna. He took the transfer as a slur on his reputation, and in 1643 demanded compensation.\(^8\) His place in Rome was taken by the much more aggressive Marqués de los Vélez, an arrogant soldier who put it about in a sinister way that he would leave a permanent memory of himself in Rome; this he achieved by organising bloody skirmishes with the Portuguese envoy.\(^9\) Castel Rodrigo never returned to Rome. He was in Vienna from 1642 until May 1644, and then from June 1644 he served in Brussels as adjunct governor of the Netherlands. He worked for the cause of peace between the United Provinces and Spain, and was instrumental in the preliminary negotiations which led to the peace conference of Münster, where he served as Philip IV's trusted minister until his recall in 1647. He arrived in Madrid on 14th January 1648, where he is recorded in 1649 in the position of mayordomo in the royal palace. A portrait formerly ascribed to Velázquez shows him bearing his age with dignity (Fig.7).\(^10\) He died in Madrid on 28th January 1651.\(^11\)

Castel Rodrigo was first and foremost the representative of the Spanish crown in Rome, and his art patronage was primarily a reflection of this public rôle. He had to overcome the widespread image of the typical Spanish ambassador as an artistic illiterate.\(^12\) Along with Monterrey in Naples he commissioned and collected works for the Buen Retiro palace in Madrid, for which one of his major enterprises was a series of over fifty landscapes by Claude Lorrain, Poussin, and various northern artists showing pastoral scenes and anchorite saints in landscape settings.\(^13\) Thanks to his and Monterrey's efforts, by the time of his departure from Rome in 1641 the Buen Retiro contained nine or ten large landscapes by Claude, four Poussins, six Lanfrancos, and important works by Sacchi, Domenichino


Retiro palace in Madrid, for which one of his major enterprises was a series of over fifty landscapes by Claude Lorrain, Poussin, and various northern artists showing pastoral scenes and anchorite saints in landscape settings.\(^13\) Thanks to his and Monterrey’s efforts, by the time of his departure from Rome in 1641 the Buen Retiro contained nine or ten large landscapes by Claude, four Poussins, six Lanfrancos, and important works by Sacchi, Domenichino.
and other central Italian painters—the best selection of such works outside Italy.

Castel Rodrigo also contacted Pietro da Cortona and invited him to go to Spain to work for the king. Because he was more fluent in Spanish than Italian, Cortona misunderstood him and agreed to work for the king, but in Rome. Letters had already been sent to Spain by the time the mistake was discovered, and Cardinal Sacchetti had to step in to smooth the affair over. Then Cortona ‘served him in Rome doing many oil paintings which went to Spain and were highly appreciated’.14

Art and propaganda overlapped in the fireworks staged in the first week of February 1637 to celebrate the election of the future emperor Ferdinand III as King of the Romans. A number of pro-imperial princes sponsored elaborate displays, including Cardinal Maurizio di Savoia in the Piazza di Monte Giordano, the German ambassador in Piazza Navona, the imperial resident Msgr. Motman in Piazza Madama, and Castel Rodrigo in Piazza di Spagna. Castel Rodrigo’s fireworks were held over five days and included giant figures of Neptune, an Atlas 72 palmi high supporting the globe and finally a vast tower (with allusions to the arms of Castile and the castles of Castel Rodrigo’s own shield) that exploded to reveal another tower inside, which in turn exploded to reveal an equestrian statue of the new king, which was maneuvered into the embassy to the sound of fireworks and trumpets. Spanish comedians were called from Naples to give public performances, and crowds were treated to silver showers. The pyrotechnic displays were recorded in booklets in Spanish and Italian and in a series of etchings by Claude Lorrain, then just beginning to come into his full fame (Figs. 8, 9 and 10).15

On a more private level, Castel Rodrigo shared an interest in Exotica with Italian arianus. He introduced new species of oranges and limes from Lisbon to Rome, giving them as presents to Cardinal Francesco Barberini and


Cardinal Pio. He gave a curious ring – ‘onello d’avorio grande di tre intrecciaturo, ed uno non toccò l’altro’ – to Manfredo Settala’s great museum in Milan.17 He was an ardent collector of books and manuscripts, particularly in the field of heraldry, and seems to have assembled two libraries of repute, one near Seville (mentioned in 1633), and one in a gallery of his Lisbon palace (mentioned in 1644).18

Perhaps the least known aspect of Castel Rodrigo’s patronage is his interest in architecture. Even before he left Lisbon he had been devoted to the reformed, or scalzi, branches of orders such as the Carmelites, Trinitarians, Augustinians, Mercedarians and Franciscans. Soon after his arrival in Rome his attention was drawn to the Franciscan church of S. Isidoro on the Pincian Hill. This was a convent founded in 1620 by a scalzi offshoot of the Franciscans of the Araceli. Their attempt to secede from the mother order had failed, and the convent had been turned over to refugee Irish Franciscans under Luke Wadding. By 1633 Castel Rodrigo had built part of the new cloister designed to serve as a college, and in gratitude Wadding dedicated to him the fourth volume of his Annales Montanorum. But the Irish monks were not ambitious enough for the Spanish ambassador, and after one reminder too many of the order’s humility, Castel Rodrigo began to look elsewhere.19 In late 1634 or early 1635 he discovered S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, where Borromini had just begun the convent wing for the Spanish Discalced Trinitarians. The project seemed perfect for a man who was ‘amicoissimo a fabrice’, and who was also shrewd enough to notice that the Spanish prior was Francesco Barberini’s confessor.20 Castel Rodrigo climbed up on the vaults of the first floor and offered to pay the costs of the dormitory wing from that point on up; in September 1637 he was duly presented with a bill for 2,362.27 scudi.21 Piety prevented him from allowing his arms to appear anywhere on the building. The chapter of the Trinitarians voted him special privileges in May 1638, just as foundations were being laid for the church, but apparently Castel Rodrigo made no immediate move to help.22 Then around 1640 he made an impetuous offer of 25,000 scudi for the façade, more than Borromini thought so small a church could use. ‘Let the façade be marble’ was the ambassador’s reply. But the Portuguese rebellion and Castel Rodrigo’s sudden departure swept away all these plans.

The discovery of Castel Rodrigo’s testament in the Pio di Savoia archives in Milan (see the Appendix, below) casts light on his most important and most personal act of patronage, his family chapel in Lisbon. In December 1630, on the eve of his departure for Rome, he drew up a Will that gives elaborate guidelines for the completion of the high altar chapel in the Benedictine church of São Bento in Lisbon,23 the rights of which he had purchased in 1619 for 30,000 ducats, payable in annual installments of 2,000 ducats. By 1630 19,000 ducats had been paid. But it seems that payments stopped in that year, when Castel Rodrigo began to gather all available resources and even to take out loans in order to prepare for his embassay. Eight years later, in 1638, a document mentions the 11,000 cruzados (ducats) still owed, and seems to say that the marquis’s agent was again making payments on the debt.24

21Rome, Archivio di S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, Vol.77b, doc.12: Gastos hechos desde el nuclo de las primeras celdas hasta el legado de la libreria.
22BONAVENUTA, MS cited at note 20 above, p.35, a paragraph not transcribed by Pollak.
23On São Bento see a. HAUPT: Lisabon und Cádiz, Leipzig [1913], p.67, Fig.43, and pp.74f. A drawing of the façade is illustrated in Kahler, op.cit. at note 3 above, pp.85, 131, and pl.71. The booklet available at the modern National Assembly shows a water-colour of São Bento and its environs by J. Lewicki, done in 1853-59 (The Assembly of the Republic: Short View on the Portuguese Parliament and the S. Bento Palace, Lisbon [1896], p.3), w. GRUM WATSON (Portuguese Architecture, London [1908], p.253) attributes the three great monasteries dedicated to São Bento (in Lisbon, Coimbra and Oporto) to Balthasar Álvares.
24JOSE MATTOS (‘Documentos Beneditinos da Torre do Tombo’, Lisboa, S. Bento, VIII [1967-69], pp.241-45) mentions the volume in the Benedictine archives preserved in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo: Vol.205, libro 22, 1.a parte: ‘Donhos que receberam do Marquês de Castel Rodrigo’. On 2nd January 1643 an accounting was submitted to the ‘padres visitadores generales’ of the Castel Rodrigo donation. It relates that as of 26th June 1638 the Benedicites had received 7,600,000 Portuguese reis (ducats) from Castel Rodrigo’s agent, of which about half – 5,471,210 reis – had been paid to the fathers who had supervised work on the chapel over the past ten years, i.e., 1629-38. The rest had been invested in an agricultural estate at Arnaya and in various loans, or had been used to pay some of the congregation’s debts. On fol.2 there is mention of payments on the 11,000 cruzados still owed by Castel Rodrigo out of the 30,000 cruzados pledged. (My thanks to Dr Artur Nobre De Gusmão who procured a microfilm of the first 10 folios of this volume, and to Paolo Ferrari for deciphering and translating them).
castle Rodrigo envisaged the chapel as an act of filial piety, and planned tombs for his parents and paternal grandparents as well as himself, his wife, the infant children who had predeceased him, and eventual descendants. Providing for the possibility of his death abroad, he also made elaborate plans for temporary burial in the local Jesuit or Franciscan church, but he bound his heirs to finish the chapel and to convey his remains there. In 1630 the design had already been established (‘e tutto ciò desidero si faccia terminare per il disegno che gia è fatto’). Pieces of coloured marble were stockpiled in the Lisbon palace; bronze castles and crowns for the shields were stored in the library; a medal commemorating the conferral of a Jubilee indulgence had already been cast.

Then Italy broadened Castel Rodrigo’s artistic horizons. His rival and colleague Monterrey had ordered a complete chapel from Cosimo Fanzago’s workshop in Naples in 1633, which was at first destined for the church of S. Ursula in Salamanca, and then for Monterrey’s own foundation, the church of the Augustinas Descalzas in the same town. Fanzago, Finelli, and Ribera collaborated in 1634-36 on what was to be the most elaborate ensemble of Italian baroque art in Spain, including the retable, bronze tabernacle, paintings, effigies, pulpit, and even the portal in the church façade. On 26th February 1636 Monterrey wrote to Castel Rodrigo about shipping this huge project by sea to Lisbon (where he wanted advice on agents and help in getting exemption from customs duties), and then up the Tagus and overland to Salamanca. Was it in 1636 that Castel Rodrigo began to look for Roman talent to redesign his own chapel and to compete with the bravura of Fanzago’s workshop? At any rate at some point before 1640 he turned to the architect he had met through the Spanish Discalced Trinitarians, Francesco Borromini. Perhaps there was talk of Borromini sending drawings to Lisbon for alterations to the palace, the ‘regia fabbrica cominciata da suoi antenati’. But what Borromini actually settled down to work on was the chapel, the ‘sepolcri di suoi heroi’.

In addition to Borromini, Castel Rodrigo turned to the sculptor François Duquesnoy, a Fleming and therefore technically a subject of the Spanish king. According to Bellori:

Duquesnoy designed eight tombs of identical format for the Marchese di Castel Rodrigo, along with memorials of his ancestors. The marbles were carved in Rome and sent to the Church of São Bento in Lisbon, but were not installed in the tomb under the high altar due to the upheavals that followed. They remained incomplete in the sacristy. 27

Borromini’s architectural framework would have had to incorporate not only Duquesnoy’s eight tombs, but presumably also pieces already cut by local artists before Castel Rodrigo’s departure from Portugal in 1630. The task of integrating native work with the Roman imports was probably far more complex than the collaboration between Borromini, Duquesnoy and other Roman artists in that other great export piece, the altar built by Borromini in Rome for Asciano Filomarino and shipped to the church of SS. Apostoli in Naples in 1638-42 (Fig.11). 28 Unlike the Filomarino altar, which is all white, the altar in São Bento would have been colourful, incorporating not only bronze decorative elements cast in Lisbon but also

Loreto, the Italian church in Lisbon, but she also notes (p.330 note 5) that the tomb sculptures are no longer in place. A. KAZNEVSKI (Les arts en Portugal, Paris [1846]) attributes the group of putti supporting a coat of arms on the façade of S. Maria di Loreto variously to Borromini (p.287) and to Bernini (p.440); at most they can be said to be in the style of Bernini. (My thanks to Susan Klaber for this reference.)


49. BREY L. DE S. TOMÁS: Benedictione Latiniana, 2 vols., Lisbon [1631], II, p.129: ‘As paredes da Igreja estão adornadas nas artes frescos, & caberetas por interesse para poder circuir. A capela inteira estava dada ao Mosteiro de Castel Rodrigo Dom Manuel de Aragão, que com a obra da corrida com grande curiosidade, adiou a estabelecendo em Roma por Embaixador do Reyn do Castella, mandando de lá muitas pedras, & jaspe de varios cores. Mas como se resolvendo em faze fumar mais ao Reyno, ficou esta obra nas ars, & empastada. E nos termos com a perda de muitas peças rochas, & Reliquias que tinha tontas para o ornato da capela’. See also A. CARVALHO DA COSTA: Carologia Portugueza, Lisbon [1706-12], I, p.513. (My thanks to Susan Klaber for the references in this note and in note 31 below).


When Castel Rodrigo wrote a codicil to his Will in Madrid a few days before his death in 1651 (see Appendix II below) Portugal had been in rebellion for over a decade and work on the project had been suspended. Tired and disillusioned, he desperately wanted his heirs to finish the chapel if Portugal should ever return to obedience to the Spanish crown. There they should transport not only his own body, but that of his wife buried in Naples, and those of his six sons and three daughters buried in various places in Lisbon and Madrid. Some tombs had been finished, but there were others which had been worked in Rome, and others in Livorno waiting to be shipped. As Borromini wrote the dedication of the Opus to Castel Rodrigo in 1647 some of these sepulchi de suoi eroi were probably sitting on the docks, waiting for the political situation to change. Others seem already to have arrived. When the Grand Duke of Florence, Cosimo III, visited São Bento in January 1669, he and his diarist Magalotti saw the high altar begun by Castel Rodrigo, but noted that it was still unfinished. The family tombs were destined for a crypt under the altar, and some reliefs designed for these monuments were provisionally stored in the sacristy. Since Paolo Falconieri was a member of the Florentine party, he and his friends could not have failed to note that the arrangement of the funeral crypt underneath the high altar resembled Borromini’s Falconieri chapel in S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, which was then nearing completion.

The convent and church of São Bento survived the earthquake of 1755 with little damage. A view taken from Lisbon harbour shortly after the disaster shows a panorama of this part of the city with Castel Rodrigo’s two buildings at either end. On the left is São Bento, with the fragments of Borromini’s ‘sepelichi de suoi eroi’ hidden inside it (Fig.12); and on the right is the palace of the Corte Real family, the ‘regia fabbrica cominciatà da suoi antenati’ which Borromini may have dreamt of rebuilding, now heavily damaged and about to be demolished (Fig.13). In 1834 the convent of São Bento was secularised and turned into the Palácio das Cortes. The church was rebuilt as the meeting place of the National Assembly in 1895, and no traces of it or of Borromini’s altar survive in the present building.

The Marchese di Castel Rodrigo suffered the fate of a loyalist displaced for ever from his homeland by a successful revolution. The events of 1640 are writ large in the monuments of the Praça dos Restauradores in Lisbon, while Castel Rodrigo’s name and arms are nowhere to be seen in his native city. The great example of the Roman baroque in Lisbon is not Castel Rodrigo’s chapel but the Capela de S. João Baptista in S. Roque, imported in 1747. In Madrid, the Italian paintings collected by Castel Rodrigo proclaim not his glory but that of his royal master. In Rome, the Portuguese national church, S. Antonio dei Portoghesi, was begun before the rebellion but nevertheless bears the proud arms of the House of Braganza, installed sufficiente al mantenimento di 48 Monasteri, che tanti una visione in esso. Vi è una Cappella imperfetta di Marchesi di Castel Rodrigo destinata per sepolcro gentilizio della Casa.” For the Falconieri Chapel see A. BLUNT: Borromini, London [1979], pp.200-04.

[12] Lisbon, Museu de Arte Antiga, drawing no. 86. See A. VIEIRA DA SILVA: ‘Uma vista inédita de Lisboa do 3o. quartel do século XVIII’, Boletim dos Museus Nacionais de Arte Antiga, II, no. 7 [1912], pp.111-17. São Bento is indicated as caption no. 3, and the palace as caption nos. 32 and 33. The palace dependencies survived the earthquake and were incorporated in the Sala do Risco wing of the new Arsenal; their window design then served as the model for the new wings of the Arsenal stretching as far as the Praça do Comércio. My thanks to Maria de Trindade Mexia Alves for informing me of this drawing and article.

after 1640.³⁴ Castel Rodrigo’s favourite church, S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, remained without a façade for a full generation after his departure from Rome, and no sign of his patronage appears anywhere in the building. Borromini’s Ospit Architectonicum remained unpublished until 1725, by which time the dedication had become meaningless. At the hour of his death Castel Rodrigo’s hopes for marble immortality, at least as far as that could be provided by two great masters of the Roman baroque, rested on fragments stacked in the sacristy in Lisbon or on the docks of Livorno. One wonders if in his last days he might have leaped through Claude Lorrain’s book of etchings and reflected on the melancholy fact that a few days of fireworks were to be his most lasting monument.

Columbia University, New York American Academy in Rome

³⁴ J. Variano: The Roman Ecclesiastical Architecture of Martino Longhi the Younger, dissertation, University of Michigan [1930], pp. 23ff. The façade by Martino Longhi the Younger is mentioned in guidebooks of 1630 and 1638, but the arms of Braganza beneath the pediment could only have been added after the revolt.

Appendix

I. Last Will and testament of Don Manuel de Moura, second Marchese of Castel Rodrigo. An Italian translation of the Portuguese original, which is also preserved in the same lacus, (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana: Archivio Fio di Savião, Vol. n 201 (205), fasc. 73, 6th December 1630).

Ordino, e comando, che essendo finita del tutta la cappella maggiore del convento di S. Benedetto, chiamato il Nobile di Lisbona quale a’ compito per la sepoltura dei Marchesi di Castel Rodrigo miei Sig. ri padre, madr, e coniug, e sepoltura nella forma, che lasciò delineata, morire io in Lisbona, il mio corpo vi sia sepellito nella prima sepoltura della mano sinistra, ch’ti il luogo che tengo scelto per il corpo mio, et essendo il caso, che Dio sia servito di levarme da questa vita nella detta cappella, et essendo interamente soddisfatto i Padri di gli trenta mille ducati, qui li promesso per essa; il mio volere è, che il mio corpo sia depositato nel convento di S. Francesco della medesima citta nella cappella dell’orti Reali, della quale ne sono patrono, accioè che di li sia riportato assieme con i corpi degli marchesi miei Sig. ri, e degli miei due noni paterni (quali vi sono) alla detta cappella maggiore di S. Benedetto, et per deposito del mio corpo si porra una cassa di pietra bruttemente lavorata nel cimitero, nella quale si metta il feretro, e resi luogo per quello della marchesa mia moglie nella forma di quello, nel quale furono posti quelli degli detti Sig. ri marchesi miei padre, e madre, e nella cappella si porra un’epitaffio, quale dichiarar che vi sono in essa con i noni de miei padri, et il giorno nel quale morirà per memoria di quello, che sarà necessario per l’avvenire. Però menando in Giustizia, e in altra qualvolta parte, fuori di Lisbona, il mio corpo sia depositato nella chiesa della Compagnia di Gesù, se vi sarà nella terra, o tanta vicino, ch’il mio corpo possa essere portato, senza esser aperto, e non vi essendo casa della Compagnia, nella quale si faccia il deposito, si farà in qualunque convento dell’ordine di S. Francesco, che nella terra sarà, e non essendovi, nella parte, che i miei testamentarii giuridicarono più convenevole, dalle lemome, che loro parerà. E trascorso bastante tempo, che il mio corpo sia disfatto, le mie ossa saranno trasferiti alla cappella maggiore di S. Benedetto, à o quella degli orti Reali, et positi nella cassa di pietra nella forma, che di sopra bi dichiarato, et riportato. E tali testamento i testamentarii, e i miei figlii, che per esso assunto serviranno, e in detto luogo da essa detta città, poiché, essendo toglie un evento lascinio di trasportare le mie ossa alla detta città.

Commando, che l’accompiamento del mio corpo alla sepoltura sia fatto con molta moderazione, e Christianità, senza dimostrare alcuna di vanità.

[It continues: There is to be no funerary sermon, but the revery is to be said by 24 poor people outfitted in new gowns. There is to be a novena of masses immediately and anniversary masses, in addition to 10,000 low masses divided up between various churches of the city. In fulfillment of a vow of 1626, when he had promised 10,000 pounds in thanksgiving for the English fleet at Cadiz, of which 1000 had been said immediately, he wishes the remaining 1000 divided up among the convents of the Carmelites, the Trinitaries, the Augustinians, the Mercedarians, and the Convent of S. Francesco, ‘the ones in his convents at which he paid pontificals and offalies. The price of the patronage of the chapel in S. Beaufort, in total 30,000 ducats, payable in annual installments of 2000 ducats; in date 19,000 ducats had been paid on the account (with gaps in 1628 and 1630). Purchase gave burial rights for Castel Rodrigo’s father and mother and paternal grandparents, as well as for himself and his wife and descendants. The text of the will was delivered to the Lisbon notaries on 16 October 1639 and confirmed by a papal brief issued 31 January 1640 and recorded by the Lisbon notary Antonio Correia on 2nd May 1640.]