

TABORDA, PRUNETTI, VASARI AND ART HISTORY BETWEEN ROME AND LISBON IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY*

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Per Foteini Vlachou – *Ad memoriam*

I. From Lisbon to Rome

The Portuguese painter José da Cunha Taborda (1766-1836; fig. 1)¹, born in Fundão on April 28, 1766², in the rural province of Guarda, occupies an important role in the history of Portuguese art criticism, on which an organic and coherent reflection is still lacking, since this is a historiographical operation still *in fieri*³. Indeed, with the publication of *Memoria dos mais famosos pintores portugueses e dos melhores quadros seus*, attached to his translation of Michelangelo Prunetti’s (ca. 1757-ca. 1851) *Saggio Pittorico* (1786), printed in Lisbon in 1815⁴, Taborda anticipates – among Nineteenth-century memoirists – by seven years the publication of *Collecção de Memórias* (Lisbon,

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1 MNAA, cat. no. 847 DES, lapis, 220 × 173 mm. (J.J. Ferreira Trigueiros Leitão, *O Pintor Régio José da Cunha Taborda*, Lisbon 1995 (typewritten text), p. 93; J.J. Ferreira Trigueiros Leitão, *O Pintor Régio José da Cunha Taborda (Fundão, 1766-Lisboa, 1836), Exposição temporária (investigação, guião e catálogo)*, M.A. thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, FCSH, Lisbon 2002, cat. 53, p. 310).

2 J. Jesus, *Joaquim Manuel da Rocha e Joaquim Leonardo da Rocha, pintores dos séculos XVIII e XIX. Subsídios para as suas biografias e alguns elementos para o estudo das suas obras*, Lisbon 1932, p. 87.

3 On early Nineteenth-century art historiography in Portugal: F. Vlachou, *The discourse on utility: art theory in Eighteenth-century Portugal*, “Journal of Art Historiography”, 16, 2017 (online resource). For an overview of the birth and progress of Portuguese art historiography between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: V.M. Guimarães Serrão, F.A. Batista Pereira, M.J. Batista Neto, H. Pérez Gallardo, S. d’Inzillo Carranza de Cavi (eds.), *História da História da Arte e da Arquitetura em Portugal nos séculos XIX e XX*, Lisbon-Rome 2025 (in press).

4 J. da Cunha Taborda, *Regras da Arte da Pintura com breves reflexões críticas sobre os caracteres distinctivos de suas escolas, vidas, e quadros de seus mais célebres professores, escritas na lingua italiana por Michael Angelo Prunetti. Acresce memoria dos mais famosos pintores portugueses, e dos melhores quadros seus que escrevia o traductor, José da Cunha Taborda Pintor ao serviço de S.A.R. o Principe Regente Nosso Senhor*, Coimbra [1815] 1922; M. Gonçalves, *José da Cunha Taborda: vida e obra de um fundanense dentro do panorama artístico nacional*, “UbiMuseum. Revista online do Museu de Lanifícios da Universidade da Beira Interior”, 2021, pp. 136-152; M. Calado, *Cirilo, Taborda e Garret*, “Convocarte”, 3, September 2016, pp. 260-274.

1823) of Cyrillo Volkmar Machado (1748-1823), a better known painter and critic who surpassed him in ambition, wealth of sources, and topographical accuracy⁵ (fig. 2).

Indeed, a reading of his *memoir of portuguese painters* shows that this discreet draughtsman and mediocre painter, who died in utter misery in 1836, was the first to think of Portuguese painting in the terms of an autonomous national school and to promote a Vasarian-style biographical reading of artistic practice in Portugal⁶. Although Taborda never taught in Rome, he practiced teaching in Lisbon at the Escola do Castelo in the late Eighteenth century and participated in the drafting of the first Statutes of the Academy of Fine Arts of Lisbon (signed on June 12, 1835) as a member of a commission of artists chaired by João José Ferreira de Sousa (1782-1855)⁷. This essay therefore aims to succinctly report on Taborda's activity as a translator of international art criticism, as well as cultural intermediary between Italy and Portugal in ca. 1800.

Trained in architecture and figure drawing in the *Aula Régia de Desenho e Figura* in Lisbon⁸, where he graduated in the drawing room as *discípulo ordinário* on March

5 C. Volkmar Machado, *Collecção de Memorias relativas as vidas dos pintores, e escultores, architetos, e gravadores portuguezes, e dos estrangeiros, que estiverão em Portugal, recolhidas, e ordenadas por Cyrillo Volkmar Machado, Pintor no Serviço de S. Magestade o Senhor D. João VI*, Lisbon 1823 (Taborda's life is at pp. 146-148). On Cyrillo as a theorist: L. d'Orey Capucho, *Cirillo Wolkmar Machado. Cultura artística. A Academia. A obra gráfica, Projeto de investigação prova complementar pela obtenção do grau de Doutora em Desenho*, Lisbon 1999 (typewritten text); S. Ferreira Braga, *Pintura mural neoclássica em Lisboa: Cyrillo Volkmar Machado no Palácio do duque de Lafões e Pombeiro-Belas*, Lisbon 2012; S. Ferreira Braga, *Cyrillo Volkmar Machado (1748-1823), Um percurso artístico singular*, Lisbon 2023, pp. 26-32, 268-270 (Cyrillo was also in Rome, shortly, between 1776 and 1777).

6 F. Vlachou, *The absence of Vasari: the Reception of the "Vite" in Portugal, c. 1568-1823*, in A. Nova, F. Jonietz (eds.), *The paradigm of Vasari: reception, criticism, perspectives*, Venice 2016, pp. 275-284.

7 J. Silvestre Ribeiro, *Historia dos estabelecimentos scientificos literarios e artisticos de Portugal nos successivos reinados da Monarquia*, Lisbon 1872, p. 86: "Quase no fim do seculo XVIII estabeleceu o intendente no castello uma nova escola de pintura, e escolheu para professor d'ella a José da Cunha Taborda, com uma gratificação annual de 200,000 réis". For the statutes: Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP), *Papeis que pertenceram ao Dr. Antonio Nunes de Carvalho (1786-1867)*, inv. res. COD. 6963/147. The first statutes (in 144 articles) are signed by Joaquim Rafael, José da Cunha Taborda, Francisco Vasques Martins, João Vicente Prior, Benjamim Comte, José António do Vale, João Maria Feijó, João Pires da Fonte, José da Costa Sequeira, André Monteiro da Cruz, and Francisco de Assis Rodrigues. On academic teaching in Lisbon between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: L. Xavier da Costa, *O ensino das belas-artes nas obras do Real Palácio da Ajuda, 1892-1833, Memória apresentada à Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes*, Lisbon 1936; M. de Faria, *O Ensino das Belas Artes em Portugal nas vésperas da fundação da Academia*, Lisbon 2000; N. Saldanha, *O Ensino das Belas Artes no Século 18*, "Arte Ibérica", 4, 38, 2000, pp. 12-14; R. Afonso Santos, *O Ensino das Belas-Artes no Portugal de Oitocentos*, "Arte Ibérica", 4, 38, 2000, pp. 17-20; L. Arruda (ed.), *Desenho antigo na colecção da Faculdade de Belas-Artes da Universidade de Lisboa*, M.A. thesis, Faculdade de Belas Artes da Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon 2010.

8 For Taborda's studies as "pintor, architecto e escritor" in the *Aula de Desenho e Figura* with Manuel da Rocha (1727-1786) and then in the *Aula de Architectura* with José da Costa e Silva (1747-1819): Gonçalves, *José da Cunha Taborda*, cit. (see note 4), which specifies how Taborda had obtained, before leaving for Rome some prizes in architecture in the Lisbon's academy: the II prize in 1784 and the III prize in 1786 and 1787 (Jesus, *Joaquim Manuel da Rocha*, cit. [see note 2], p. 88). In Rome he participated in the competitions of the Accademia del Nudo on the Capitol reserved for painters and sculptors, on which: L. Barroero, *I primi anni della scuola del Nudo in Campidoglio*, in D. Biagi Maino (ed.), *Benedetto XIV e le arti del disegno*, Rome 1998, pp. 367-384.

11, 1783, Taborda arrived in Rome on (22?) January 1788⁹, staying there until May 1796, when he returned to Lisbon presenting the impending occupation of the French (February 10, 1798) that would lead to the establishment of the short-lived Jacobin Roman Republic (1798-1799)¹⁰.

Cyrillo, who was his first biographer, specifies that Taborda was born on April 28, 1766, and that he had come to Rome as a protégé of the intendant general of the Lisbon police, D. Diogo Inácio Pina Manique (1733-1805), director of the *Casa Pia do Castelo* and financial promoter of the Roman academy of the Portuguese¹¹. It also says that Taborda had initially studied with Tommaso-Pietro Labruzzi (1739-1805), but that with the arrival of the new ambassador, D. João de Almeida Melo e Castro (1756-1814, fifth count of Galveias and ambassador to Rome in 1788-1790)¹², he was allowed to study with whomever he wanted, thus choosing Antonio Cavallucci (1759-1795; fig. 3), the *Raphael of his time*, who, a native of Sermoneta, protected by the Caetani family and dear to the ambassador, taught painting to Portuguese artists from 1790 onward.

Cyrillo also recalls that the later ambassador D. Alexandre de Sousa e Holstein, conde de Sanfré (1751-1803, in office 1790-1803), who died in Rome and is buried in the national church of S. Antonio dei Portoghesi, had reformulated the academy by creating, "...huma sorte de Academia com gêços, nú, livros, e paineis, sendo Director della o Poeta João Gerales de Rossi! Cousa singular...", giving as understood that Taborda had participated in it.

The re-founded academy of the Portuguese, also known as the *Colégio Português de Belas Artes*, which brought together a considerable group of artists including Taborda¹³ under the brilliant artistic-cultural direction of the writer, connoisseur,

9 Jesus, *Joaquim Manuel da Rocha*, cit. (see note 2), p. 88; Trigueiros Leitão, *O Pintor Régio* 1995, cit. (see note 1), pp. 23-32; Trigueiros Leitão, *O Pintor Régio* 2002, cit. (see note 1), pp. 20-25.

10 Volkmar Machado, *Collecção de Memórias*, cit. (see note 5), p. 147 (between 1796 and 1797); F.d.A. de Oliveira Martins, *A Academia Portuguesa de Belas Artes em Roma*, "Occidente", 18, 1942, p. 393; Gonçalves, *José da Cunha Taborda*, cit. (see note 4), p. 143.

11 Diogo Ignacio de Pina Manique, *do Conselho de S. Magestade, Intendente Geral da Polícia da Corte*, Lisbon 1781; F.d.A. de Oliveira Martins, *Pina Manique; o político; o amigo de Lisboa*, Lisbon 1948; M.M. Correia Biléu, *Diogo Inácio de Pina Manique, Intendente Geral da Polícia, inovações e persistências*, M.A. thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisbon 1995. For his portrait of Sequeira: M.A. Mourisca de Beaumont, *Domingos António de Sequeira. Desenhos*, Cacém 1972-1975, p. 82, cat. 69, fig. on p. 133 (and p. 81, cat. 63-68, figs. at pp. 131-132 for the *Allegoria à instituição da Casa Pia* (dated 1794).

12 On him: M. Schedel, *Em defesa do Império ameaçado: a ação política e diplomática de D. João de Almeida e Castro, 5º Conde de Galveias (1792-1814)*, Parede 2016.

13 The artists of the Portuguese Academy in Rome at the time of Taborda were: the painters José da Cunha Taborda, José Alvares, Arcangelo Foschini (1771-1834), Bartholomeu António Calisto (1768-1821), Manoel Dias, Domingos António de Siqueira (1768-1837), and Francisco Vieira, or Portuense (1765-1805); the miniaturist João Castagnola; the architects Sebastião José Vicente Nogar (Nogar, Nogar); the engravers (*abridor de camarfeus e cunhos*) José António do Vale, António Sisenando Pinto and João Caetano Rivara (not. 1788-1808); the sculptors José Teixeira Barreto and João José de Aguiar. See F. Almeida Dias, *D. Alexandre de Sousa e Holstein e a cultura lusitana numa Roma em ebulição (1790-1803)*, "Antíteses", 10, 20, 2017 (<https://doi.org/10.5433/1984-3356.2017v10n20p700>); Gonçalves, *José da Cunha Taborda*, cit. (see note 4); M. Desgortes, *Aquisição de móveis e ornamentação para a residência de um diplomata: o gosto de Alexandre*

antiquarian and critic Giovan Gherardo De Rossi (1754-1827)¹⁴, was based in Palazzo Cimarra, the residence of the new ambassador, in Rione Monti (a district where De Rossi also lived), rather than in the old Palazzo Magnani. De Rossi was a prominent figure at the time, and in addition to directing the studies of young Portuguese he founded and directed a fashionable periodical called *Memorie per le Belle Arti*, published in Rome by Pagliarini in 4 volumes from 1785 to 1788, where he published an eulogy of his friend, painter Angelika Kauffmann (1741-1807)¹⁵. In the new director's studio, the academy gathered many young Portuguese around the figure of Cavallucci, with the impromptu presence of sculptor Antonio Canova (1757-1822)¹⁶.

Although Taborda does not appear in the records of the Academy of St. Luke, nor in those of the Academy of the Virtuosi al Pantheon, we know that he enjoyed some success in 1788 with a now lost painting representing *Oath of Viriato*, of which a preparatory drawing has survived¹⁷ (fig. 4).

In Rome, Taborda's career was inevitably overshadowed by the success of his compatriots Francisco Viera, *or Portuense* (1765-1805) and Domingos António de

de Sousa Holstein, in G. de Vasconcelos e Sousa, A. Pessoa (eds.), *Actas do III Colóquio Internacional A Casa Senhorial: Anatomia de Interiores*, Porto 2018, pp. 311-328; M. Desgortes, *Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi (1754-1827) na direção da Academia Portuguesa de Belas Artes em Roma: ensino e mercado da arte*, Ph.D. thesis, Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon 2021; M. Desgortes, *Qualche novità su Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi (1754-1827), direttore dell'Accademia di Portogallo, e sulla cerchia dei portoghesi a Roma tra Settecento e Ottocento*, in P. Diez del Corral Corredora (ed.), *Dalle spiagge latine alla Real Lisbona*, Évora 2022 (<https://books.openedition.org/cidehus/20149>); Taborda, *Regras da Arte da Pintura*, cit. (see note 4), p. 252.

14 For a literary profile of De Rossi: R. Andreina, *Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 39, 1991 online resource. De Rossi, "erudito" and "attual Ministro delle Finanze" of the Roman Republic, was proposed honorary academician of the Academy of San Luca in Rome on October 7, and approved on November 4, 1798: ASASL, Congregazioni, vol. 55 (1793-1803), fol. 60v, 61v.

15 On the journal: S. Rolfi Özvald, *Nel cantiere del giornalismo artistico illustrato: 1784-1811*, "Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte", 42, 2018, pp. 179-187, 202.

16 On the Portuguese academy in Rome (1720-1728) during the reign of D. João V: A. Delaforce, *Art and Patronage in Eighteenth Century Portugal*, London 2002; L. De Moura Sobral, *Non mai abbastanza: Desenho, Pintura e Prática Académica na época do Magnânimo*, in N. Saldanha (ed.), *Joanni V Magnifico*, Lisbon 1994, pp. 109-115; P. Diez Del Corral Corredora, *The Accademia del Portogallo: emulation and strategy in the papal city*, in P. Diez Del Corral Corredora (ed.), *Politics and the arts in Lisbon and Rome: the dream of John V of Portugal*, Padstow 2019, pp. 93-124; T.L.M. Vale, *A Academia de Portugal em Roma no tempo de D. João V*, Lisbon 2021. On the late 18th century academy, founded in the summer of 1791 by Ambassador Alexandre de Sousa Holstein, dissolved in 1799 and 1802-1804, cited in L. Lanzi, *Storia pittorica della Italia dal Risorgimento delle belle arti fin presso al fine del XVIII secolo*, Bassano 1809, II, p. 25; Dias, *D. Alexandre de Sousa*, cit. (see note 13); Desgortes, *Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi*, cit. (see note 13).

17 O *Pintor Régio* 1995, cit. (see note 1), cat. 17, p. 98; Trigueiros Leitão, *O Pintor Régio* 2002, cit. (see note 1), cat. 42, p. 304, signed lower left in brown tint C. *Taborda inv. Viriatus (Viriathus)* was the undisputed hero of the Lusitanian war against the Romans (155-139 BC). The clearly nationalist-inspired historical subject set a precedent for the painting by Francisco Vieira *Portuense* painted for the chapel of the Portuguese ambassador in London (c. 1798-99), later given to Regent D. João for the Galeria Real of the Ajuda Palace. A preparatory oil sketch is preserved in the collection of Ricardo di Espírito Santo Silva in Lisbon (FRESS, inv. 1357): F. Vlachou, *A pintura da história na Península Ibérica durante as guerras revolucionárias e napoleónicas: patriotismo e propaganda*, in *Olhão, o Algarve e Portugal no tempo das Invasões Francesas*, conf. papers, 14-16 November 2008, Olhão 2011, pp. 171-184: 175, fig. 1 (oil on canvas, 35 × 29,2 cm) but also Volkmar Machado, *Collecção de Memórias*, cit. (see note 5), pp. 139-144: 140 (the painting was later engraved by Bartolozzi and offered to D. João VI).

Sequeira (1768-1737), his contemporaries, decidedly more gifted painters, with whom he coincided during his stay in Italy¹⁸. Nevertheless, precisely on Sequeira's recommendation, once he returned home, in April 1803 Taborda was appointed assistant to the decorative campaign for the royal apartments of the Bragança's new residence – the Ajuda Palace – along with his friends Arcangelo Foschini and Bartholomeu António Calisto¹⁹. Indeed, under the inspiration of Sequeira's creativity, many well-known and lesser-known artists contributed to the construction of nationalist and anti-French visual propaganda for Prince Regent D. João (1767-1826, King D. João VI: 1816-1825) during the convulsive times of the anti-Napoleonic reaction in Portugal²⁰.

II. Identities: Taborda, Foschini and Prunetti

The friendship established between Taborda and Foschini across Rome and Lisbon has caused some confusion in the catalog of the so-called “Ajuda painters”, which we hope to address and resolve soon. As an aside, it should be noted that Taborda's presumed self-portrait in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga²¹ (fig. 5) may instead be a youthful portrait of his friend Arcangelo Foschini, represented seated in the Roman countryside.

In fact, portrayed with palette, brushes and the cross of the Order of Christ²², this young man with a receding forehead and a slightly upturned nose cannot be identified with Taborda, who was always endowed with a prominent aquiline nose,

18 Taborda stayed in Rome in 1788-1796 and Sequeira in 1788-1795. Sequeira landed in Genoa on June 6; along with him came two apprentice engravers (*abridores de cunho*): João Caetano Rivara and António Sisenando Pinto: V. Correia, *Sequeira em Roma. Duas épocas (1788-1795 – 1826-1837)*, Coimbra 1923, pp. 3-4.

19 Volkmar Machado, *Collecção de Memórias*, cit. (see note 5), p. 150. All three were appointed *pintores* by Casa Real and Obra do Palácio da Ajuda, with excellent salaries. Cyrillo mentions them in the lives of Calisto (pp. 144-145, who left Rome in 1797), Foschini (pp. 145-146, who left in 1791) and Taborda (pp. 146-148, who left in 1796 or 1797).

20 See J. Barreto de Morais Vaz, *A pintura mural do Real Paço de Ajuda 1796-1833. Imagens do Poder*, Lisbon 2015; A. Cardoso, A. Gomes Reis Markl (eds.), *Domingos Sequeira: pintor de história*, catalogue of the exhibition, Lisbon 2016; Vlachou, *A Pintura de história*, cit. (see note 17); F. Vlachou, “The most atrocious [acts] one may imagine”: the so-called *Series of the French Invasions and Anti-French Propaganda during the Peninsular War*, in S. Padivar, P. Shaw, P. Simpson (eds.), *Visual culture and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, London-New York 2017, pp. 137-151; F. Vlachou, *The Empire in Transition and History Painting in Portugal*, in M. de Lemos Pinto dos Santos (ed.), *The Disappointed Writer. Selected Essays*, Lisbon 2019, pp. 97-125; M. De Faria, *Political and aesthetic ideas in the correspondence related to Domingos Sequeira and Vieira Portuense*, in S. Rolfi Özvald, C. Mazzarelli (eds.), *Il Carteggio d'artista: fonti, questioni, ricerche tra XVII e XIX secolo*, Cinisello Balsamo 2019, pp. 144-157.

21 José da Cunha Taborda, *Portrait of Arcangelo Foschini*, c. 1788-1796, oil on canvas, 31 × 37 cm (MNAA, inv. 2119 Pint.): *O Jogo do Retrato*, catalogue of the exhibition, Lisbon 2002; *Obras em reserva: O museu que não se vê*, catalogue of the exhibition, Lisbon 2016.

22 Volkmar Machado, *Collecção de Memórias*, cit. (see note 5), pp. 145-146: 146 “professo na Ordem de Christo”.

documented in all of his certain portraits: an autograph self-portrait drawn in lapis²³ (fig. 6), a lithograph dated 1829-1836²⁴, a gouache recently sold at auction specifying that Taborda died in Sintra on June 4, 1836²⁵, and a lapis portrait by Joaquim Rafael (1783-1764) on which the author annotated that Taborda had died in his arms²⁶.

In addition to Foschini, the other key person for Taborda in his Roman years was the fine arts critic, journalist, librettist and music lover Michelangelo Prunetti (1770-1823), a prominent personality in Roman social life between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, whose appearance we ignore.

Author of numerous librettos for sacred, secular and worldly operas, he was the author of the *Saggio Pittorico* (1786, John Zempel, for sale at Bouchard and Gravier on the Corso)²⁷ printed two years before Taborda's arrival in Rome. Dedicated to Stanislao Sanseverino (1764-1826, future cardinal of Pope Pius VII Chiaramonti, 1742-1823) and divided into four parts: I. *I canoni della pittura*; II. *Riflessioni sull'arte critico-pittorica*; III. *Caratteri distintivi delle diverse scuole di pittura, e ristretto critico delle vite dei più valentuomini, e loro opere che nelle chiese di Roma esistono*; IV. *Esame analitico dei più celebri quadri delle chiese, e delle più rinomate pitture de' Palagj di Roma*), this text is focused on teaching and praising *connoisseurship*²⁸.

Through the translation of Prunetti's *Saggio Pittorico*, which he published as *Regras da Arte* (in 1815; reprinted in 1822 and 1922), Taborda gradually learned Italian and distinguished himself as a theorist and a scholar within the group of Portuguese expatriate painters. Unlike Cyrillo, who had never traveled to the Eternal City, and without being an academic, Taborda absorbed from Prunetti a broad and diverse education on art theory. He studied the sources of art criticism, learned a method for

23 Lisbon, MNAA inv. 1850 DES, lapis, 239 × 175 mm, signed: *Retrato de Taborda feito por ele mesmo*: E. Soares, *Dicionário de Iconografia Portuguesa*, Lisbon 1950, p. 39; Trigueiros Leitão, *O Pintor Régio* 1995, cit. (see note 1), cat. 1, p. 97 and frontispiece; Trigueiros Leitão, *O Pintor Régio* 2002, cit. (see note 1), p. 111, cat. 14 and frontispiece. In contrast, the author considers another profile portrait in the same collection (MNAA, inv. 720 DES, pencil and charcoal, 241 × 176 mm) to be a portrait of João (not José!) Taborda, his nephew and paleographer (Trigueiros Leitão, *O Pintor Régio* 1995, cit. [see note 1], cat. 2, p. 97, fig. 126; Trigueiros Leitão, *O Pintor Régio* 2002, cit. [see note 1]). I think that this profile drawing is similar in technique and quality to portraits by German painters in Rome such as Raphael Mengs, Johann Adan Klein etc.

24 Lithograph, 24,5 × 18,5 cm, ca. 1829-1836, printed by Litografia de Santos, Lisbon (Lisbon, BNP, Iconography E306V: <https://purl.pt/4485>).

25 Máximo Paulino dos Reis, *Portrait of José Sá Cunha Taborda pintor histórico ao serviço de sua Mag.de fidelissima no real palacio da ajuda*, 1833, India ink tint and watercolor, 150 × 90,5 mm (private collection); Trigueiros Leitão, *O Pintor Régio* 1995, cit. (see note 1), p. 100; Trigueiros Leitão, *O Pintor Régio* 2002, cit. (see note 1), p. 314, inv. 62, auctioned (<https://www.bestnetleiloes.com/pt/leiloes/varios-89/jose-sa-cunha-taborda>, lot 666).

26 Trigueiros Leitão, *O Pintor Régio* 1995, cit. [see note 1], p. 111 (MNAA, inv. 847 DES): “Nasceo a 28 d'Abril 1766 / faleceo em 1835 entre os meus braços”.

27 The text was reprinted in 1818, in the Salvioni Printworks including an essay on the Bonaparte Gallery with a dedication to Manuel Godoy (1767-1851).

28 M. Prunetti, *Saggio pittorico. I*, Roma 1786, p. 9.

recognizing originals from copies, understood the importance of periegetic writing (i.e. the description of artistic works in their original locations), and accepted the principle of art-historical division by national schools.

Although a biography of his mentor is still lacking, the social sphere in which Prunetti operated (theater, music and Roman socialites) can be partially reconstructed.

In fact, in his notice to readers²⁹ Prunetti admits that, as a scholar and art critic, he had a predilection for the English: Jonathan Richardson (1665-1745)³⁰, Daniel Webb (1719-1798)³¹, and Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792)³². He recounts consulting encyclopedic dictionaries and in particular that of Jacques Lacombe (1724-1811)³³ as well as the writings of Jean-Baptiste du Bos (1770-1742)³⁴, the Marquis Jean-Baptiste Boyer d'Argens (1704-1771)³⁵, Roger de Piles (1635-1709)³⁶. He also knew and cited, of course, Italian canonical texts such as: Vasari, Bellori, Malvasia, Baldinucci, Borghini, Ridolfi, De Dominici, Lomazzo, Scannelli, Armenini, Baglione, Dolce, Zanetti, as well as the German Raphael Mengs (whom he mentions among the Italians). Prunetti was a versatile, educated, international reader and had a large library, although it is possible that he also frequented other Roman libraries, including that of Gherardi.

Equally surprising is his range of publications – all in Italian – as an erudite scholar and connoisseur of Fine Arts³⁷, variety writer and dramaturge for plays often staged in

²⁹ Ivi, pp. 8-9.

³⁰ J. Richardson, *Two Discourses. I. An Essay on the whole Art of Criticism as it relates to Painting. Shewing how to judge I. Of the Goodness of a Picture; II. Of the Hand of the Master; and III. Whether 'tis an Original, or a Copy. II. An Argument on behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur; Wherein is shewn the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure, and Advantage of it. Both by Mr. Richardson*, London 1719; J. Richardson, *The Works of Jonathan Richardson: Containing: I. The Theory of Painting, II. Essay on The Art of Criticism, III. The Science of a Connoisseur. A New edition, corrected, with the Additions of an Essay on the Knowledge of Prints, and Cautions to Collectors. Ornamented with Portraits by Woolridge, &c. of the most eminent Painters mentioned. Dedicated by Permission, to Sir Joshua Reynolds. The Whole intended as a Supplement to the Anecdotes of Painters and Engravers*, [London] 1792.

³¹ D. Webb, *An Inquiry Into the Beauties of Painting; And Into the Merits of the Most Celebrated Painters, Ancient and Moderns*, Dublin 1760 (3rd ed. 1764; 4th ed. 1777), translated into French in 1765, German in 1766, and Italian in 1791, and again in 1804 by Francesco Pizzetti.

³² J. Reynolds, *Delle arti del disegno: discorsi del Cavalier Giosuè Reynolds Presidente della Real Accademia di Londra ecc. trasportati dall'inglese nel toscano idioma*, Florence 1778.

³³ J. Lacombe, *Dictionnaire portatif des beaux-arts, ou Abrégé de ce qui concerne l'architecture, la sculpture, la peinture, la gravure, la poésie & la musique: avec la définition de ces arts, l'explication des termes & des choses qui leur appartiennent*, Paris 1759.

³⁴ J.-B. du Bos, *Réflexions Critiques sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture. Ut Pictura Poesis. Hor. de Art. Première Partie*, Paris 1719.

³⁵ J.-B. Boyer d'Argens, *Réflexions Critiques sur les différentes écoles de peinture*, Paris 1752 (translated into Italian in 1755).

³⁶ R. de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes avec un balance de peintre*, Paris 1708.

³⁷ M. Prunetti, *L'Osservatore delle Belle Arti in Roma. Ossia esame analitico de' monumenti antichi e moderni spettanti alla pittura, scultura, e architettura. Tuttora esistenti nelle Chiese, Gallerie, Ville, ed altri luoghi dell'Alma Città di Roma...*, Rome 1808-1811; da Cunha Taborda, *Regras da Arte da Pintura*, cit. (see note 4); M. Prunetti, *La descrizione storico-critico-mitologica delle celebri pitture esistenti nei reali palazzi Farnese e Farnesina in Roma*, Rome 1816 (reprinted 1825); M. Prunetti, *Avvertimenti per distinguere i quadri originali dalle copie*, Florence 1820.

the Teatro Argentina, San Carlo, La Scala etc.³⁸. We close by mentioning that Prunetti's daughter Margherita (1790-1874), known for her beauty, married Berlin painter Franz Ludwig Catel (1778-1856), an established German artist in Rome, close to the Nazarenes and a member of the Caffé Greco Group³⁹. Catel is known for his travel notebooks: to Pompeii (1812) and Sicily (1818) drawn shortly before the publication of Prunetti's *Viaggio pittorico-antiquario d'Italia e Sicilia* (1820)⁴⁰.

III. From Rome to Lisbon

Five years after his return from Rome, Taborda obtained with Foschini the position of royal painter in the Palácio da Ajuda where he proved himself a painter of mythology and national history⁴¹. To this cycle should be referred some drawings that reveal his good skills as a draftsman and a decisive turn from Neoclassicism to Neorenaissance⁴². I refer to some preparatory drawings for the upper doors of the *Sala do Reposteiro* (also called *Sala do Porteiro da Cana*; figs. 7-8)⁴³; a study for a *Chariot of Apollo and the Muses* for the ceiling of the *Sala dos Jantares Grandes*⁴⁴ (fig. 9) and a decorative

38 M. Prunetti, *La vergine vestale, dramma serio del Sig. Michelangelo Prunetti accademico Quirino; da rappresentarsi nel nobilissimo Teatro d'Alibert detto delle dame di Roma il carnevale dell'anno 1803...*, Rome [1803]; M. Prunetti, *La Fedra, o sia, Il ritorno di Teseo, dramma serio per musica da rappresentarsi nel nobil Teatro di Torre Argentina il carnevale dell'anno 1804 dedicato a sua eccellenza la Signora Principessa D. Paolina Borghese, nata Bonaparte*, Rome [1804]; M. Prunetti, *I Falsi Galantuomini, melodramma giocoso... da Michelangelo Prunetti... da rappresentarsi nel Regio teatro alla Scala l'autunno dell'anno 1809*, Milan 1809; M. Prunetti, *Quintus Fabius: dramma serio per musica in due Atti; Da Rappresentarsi nel Teatro Reale di corte presso la residenza*, Munich 1819.

39 A. Stolzenburg, *Der Landschafts-und Genremaler Franz Ludwig Catel (1778-1856)*, catalogue of the exhibition, Rome 2007; A. Stolzenburg, H. Gassner, *Franz Ludwig Catel Italienbilder der Romantik*, catalogue of the exhibition, Hamburg 2015; A. Castellani, *La Fondazione Catel e la sua collezione d'arte*, Rome 2023, p. 19; G. Maurer, *Viaggiatori e pittori tedeschi in Italia nell'Ottocento: la "scoperta" della Campagna Romana*, in I. Salvagni, M. Fratarcangeli (eds.), *Oltre Roma: nei Colli Albani e Prenestini al tempo del Grand Tour*, Rome 2012, pp. 223-231.

40 M. Prunetti, *Viaggio pittorico-antiquario d'Italia e Sicilia... Dedicato a Sua Altezza Serenissima D. Emanuele Godoi Principe della Pace...*, Rome 1820.

41 A. de Carvalho (ed.), *Tectos do Palácio de Ajuda e seus Pintores, Ceilings of Ajuda Palace and its Painters*, [Lisbon] 1987; Barreto de Morais Vaz, *A pintura mural*, cit. (see note 20); J.A. Ribeiro (dir.), *Palácio Nacional da Ajuda*, Lisbon 2017.

42 J.-A. França, *La fin du goût baroque au Portugal*, *Actas do Congresso "A Arte em Portugal no séc. XVIII, "Belas Artes"*, 2, 1, 1973, pp. 370-376; A. de Carvalho, *Os três arquitectos da Ajuda: do Rocaille ao Neoclássico: Manuel Caetano de Sousa (1742-1802) José da Costa e Silva (1747-1819) Francisco Xavier Fabri (1761-1817)*, Lisbon 1979.

43 Trigueiros Leitão, *O Pintor Régio* 2002, cit. (see note 1), cat. 44, p. 305 (fig. 7). Lisbon, MNAA, 722 DES (which corresponds to an oil sketch in MNAA, inv. MNAA, inv. 1415 Pint, and an identical oil composition in the Palácio da Ajuda, inv. 57920 DIG); *Ibid.* inv. 2505 DES (corresponding to the identical oil painting in the Palácio da Ajuda, inv. 57922 DIG, but the sketch is missing) and 1858 DES (for an unrealized scene for which no sketch exists).

44 *Ibid.* inv. 2288 DIS (preparatory sketch very different from the final fresco) noted on verso: *Um dos teitos do Palacio de Ajuda por Jose da Cunha Taborda*. The fresco (Palácio da Ajuda, inv. 86693 DIG.)

design for the ceiling of a large *sala*, 42 palms long, designed in collaboration with Norberto José Ribeiro (1774-1844), who added the decorative filling⁴⁵ (fig. 10).

Lastly, the decoration of the *Sala de D. João IV* with scenes of Lusitanian history⁴⁶, including the gigantic *Oath of D. João IV on December 15, 1640*, which, painted in mixed media on wall rather than fresco, demonstrates his inability to move to large format, constituting the clearest evidence of his failure as a history painter.

Parallel to this undertaking, accomplished between 1803 and 1825-30, Taborda wrote and published his *Memoria dos mais famosos pintores portugueses e dos melhores quadros seus* (1815), giving literary expression to his nationalist patriotism.

In the dedication (March 28, 1815), the author offers his text to D. Fernando Maria de Sousa Coutinho de Castelo-Branco e Menezes (II Marquis of Borba, 1777-1834), a lover of the sciences and the arts, a collector and a famous liberal of his time⁴⁷. A few pages later, Taborda mentions D. João Diogo de Barros Leitão e Carvalhosa (I Viscount of Santarém, 1757-1818) as the author of Ajuda's decorative program⁴⁸. Both were portrayed by the more gifted Sequeira and were prominent figures in liberal Portuguese circles⁴⁹.

In the prologue⁵⁰ Taborda explains that the translation of Prunetti's *Saggio pittorico* and the study of the different painting schools in Rome had inspired and prepared him to collect the memories of Portuguese painters, redeeming them from oblivion⁵¹. Conscious of being their first biographer and proud to write in “patrio idioma”, Taborda places the Portuguese school among the “diferentes escolas de Sena, Florentina, Flammenga, Venesiana, Lombarda, Romana, Franceza, and Bolonha”⁵²

depicts *The Chariot of Apollo and the Muses with the Four Seasons and the Horoscope of D. João VI with the signs of Cancer and Gemini*. Trigueiros Leitão, *O Pintor Régio* 2002, cit. (see note 1), cat. 36, p. 302.

45 *Ibid* inv. 2250 DES, ca 1830-40, annotated on *verso* in pen and brown ink: *Foi ajudado por Norberto, excepto/no quadro do centro*. The project for this hall was never executed. Trigueiros Leitão, *O Pintor Régio* 2002, cit. (see note 1), cat. 32, p. 300 which should be considered with cat. 33, p. 300 (MNAA, inv. 2252).

46 Two drawings are preserved for this room: a preparatory sketch for an unrealized scene and a male study of a standing figure (Lisbon, MNAA, inv. 1849 DES and inv. 1866 DES). On the image of D. João IV, first king of the Braganza dynasty and *leader* of the Portuguese Revolt and Restoration War (1640-1668) that resolved dependence on Spain and established the renewed independence of the Kingdom of Portugal: J. Fraga, *Representing the king: the images of João IV of Portugal (1640-1652)*, in M. Griesse (ed.), *Revolts and political violence in early modern imagery*, Leiden-Boston 2022, pp. 198-218.

47 da Cunha Taborda, *Regras da Arte da Pintura*, cit. (see note 4), p. VIII.

48 *Ivi*, p. XXI. On Santarém: N. de Palhares Marinho Falcão, *El Conde de Santarém e a sua obra histórica: estudo*, s.l. 1950.

49 Mourisca Beaumont, *Domingos António de Sequeira*, cit. (see note 11), respectively cat. 300-301 and cat. 293-299 on p. 94; figs. on p. 187 and pp. 185-186. On Ajuda's program: Barreto de Moraes Vaz, *A pintura mural*, cit. (see note 20).

50 da Cunha Taborda, *Regras da Arte da Pintura*, cit. (see note 4), pp. XIII-XXII.

51 *Ivi*, pp. XIII and XV-XVI.

52 *Ivi*, p. X. Taborda follows Prunetti in his comparative study of national and regional schools. The translation of Prunetti's *Ensaio pictorico* is at pp. 1-39, while pp. 39-107 are devoted to the translation of Prunetti's *Artigo terceiro caracteres distinctivos das diversas escolas da pintura com um epitome critico das vidas dos mais famosos professores* and pp. 151-154 offer a comparative chronology of the most renowned

in a proto-romantic spirit, declaring that he was acting not for the sake of glory but for “bem de patria”, “amor nacional”, and “desejo de ser útil á Patria”⁵³. Taborda was convinced that his best contribution to the national cause consisted precisely in writing the lives of Portuguese artists. On January 7, 1816, he even wrote to the prime minister of the new Brazilian court, the I Conde da Barca (Antônio de Araújo e Azevedo, 1754-1817) that he had written his *Memoria*: “...vendo que aos nossos Escretores tem devido tão pouco cuidado as Bellas Artes, sendo bem pouco o que dellas se acha escrito, me animei a dar principio com este livro para vêr se assim despertava maiores talentos, e este o honesto fim que me propus...”⁵⁴.

Like Prunetti, Taborda cites his sources, recalling some Portuguese theorists: Filipe Nunes (*Arte da Pintura Symmetria e Perspectiva*, 1615, consulted in the 1761 reprint), Luis da Costa (*Livros de Symmetria*, probably through a manuscript copy), José Lopes Baptista de Almada (*Prendas da Adolescencia, o Adolescencia prendada*, 1749), whose lack of method he criticizes, and José Gomes da Cruz (*Carta apologetica e analytica pela ingenuidade da Pintura*, 1752), written at the request of painter André Gonçalves (1685-1754)⁵⁵. Immediately afterwards, he reports on Antonio de Souza de Macedo (*Flores de Hespanha*, 1631)⁵⁶ and Franciscan scholar D. Fray Manuel do Cenáculo Villas-Boas T.O.R. (1724-1814) as the first authors who had compiled lists of Portuguese painters⁵⁷. He also mentions the theoretical work of painter Francisco de Hollanda (1517-1585), special in that he was close to the “divino” Michelangelo⁵⁸.

It is evident that the reference text for Taborda’s *Memoria* was the *Lives of painters* of Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574), which he probably knew through the edition of Giovanni Gaetano Bottari (1689-1775) printed in 1754⁵⁹. In fact, Michelangelo is

artists of the Sienese, Florentine, Lombard, Venetian, Roman, Bolognese, French and Flemish schools. Finally, adding to Prunetti’s work his own *Memoria dos mais famosos pintores portugueses e dos melhores quadros seus* (pp. 155-276) Taborda positioned the first biographies of Portuguese artists in such an international arena, where Spanish painters are missing.

53 Ivi, pp. XX (offering his work to the *nação ilustrata*), XIII, XX, XXII.

54 Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (ANTT), *Nuno Dauplãs de Alcochete*, cx 8, mc 1. I thank Eduardo Alves Marques for the reference.

55 da Cunha Taborda, *Regras da Arte da Pintura*, cit. (see note 4), pp. XVI-XVII. On all: A. Duarte Rodrigues, R. Moreira, *Tratados de Arte em Portugal = Art Treatises in Portugal*, Lisbon 2011.

56 Ivi, pp. XVII-XVIII. On whose anti-Spanish parochialism: M. Glöel, *Las “Flores de España”, Excelencias de Portugal de António de Sousa de Maceco: una reinterpretación de la obra*, “História Unisinos”, 24, 1, 2020, pp. 34-44 (<https://doi.org/10.4013/hist.2020.241.04>).

57 On him: T.L.M. Vale, *Fra José Maria da Fonseca Évora (1690-1752): francescano, ambasciatore, vescovo e committente di opere d’arte*, Florence 2017. The works of Félix da Costa and Francisco de Hollanda remained manuscripts: Duarte Rodrigues, Moreira, *Tratados de Arte*, cit. (see note 55) as explained in A. Jordan Gschwend, F.A. Baptista Pereira (eds.), Francisco de Hollanda, *A Pintura Antiga*, english translation by J. Bury and P. Holberton, London 2025, *Introduction*.

58 da Cunha Taborda, *Regras da Arte da Pintura*, cit. (see note 4).

59 G. Vasari, *Le Vite de’ Più Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori e Architetti*, Rome 1759-1760.

cited as the reference model for many Portuguese Mannerist painters and the ultimate term of early modern art⁶⁰.

Starting with a few sources and researching in archives⁶¹, Taborda compiles a list of 55 artists (including *addenda*) from Alvaro di Piero (de Pedro, 1411-1450) to his contemporary, Francisco Vieira *Portuense* (1765-1805). He organizes the biographies chronologically by reign, like a royal chronicler. He divides the painters into “ancient” and “modern”, reaching back to his contemporaries and including his own name in the onomastic index. Like Vasari, and following the rules of periegetic, Taborda describes their works *in situ* by pointing out the best paintings for each painter and its current location, yet without following an artistic or biographical teleology. Nevertheless, his cross-references and descriptions are precise and trustworthy, to the point of forming the basis for the most recent museology inquiries on Portugal’s movable heritage, endangered since the suppressions of the monastic orders beginning on May 30, 1834.

However, the differences from Vasari are also obvious: the catalog begins late, only in the mid-15th century, and architects and sculptors are missing (Taborda occasionally mentions works and training in these arts, but always while discussing painters)⁶². Also missing are portraits or references to galleries of artists’ portraits, as well as their dates of birth and death. Still, the text is valuable for the philological and archival precision with which the author tracks down and cites the archival documents on which his reconstructions rest.

The modernity of his *Memoria* emerges, however, in two fundamental aspects, with which I shall conclude this short comparison of Taborda’s pictorial and literary work. First, the proto-Romantic patriotism, which leads him to claim the value of the “nação portuguesa”, the artistic identity of Portuguese “school” and its independence and alterity with respect to Spain. For this reason, Taborda insists on the nationality of many Portuguese artists who moved to Spain, or who were born in Spain from Portuguese parents (we may recall that Velázquez himself was the son of a Portuguese woman). In some cases, he even entangled with and corrected biographical data cited by Antonio Palomino (1655-1726) in his *El museo pictórico o escala óptica* (1715-1724)⁶³, thus actively contributing to the construction of Portuguese art history.

60 Cristovão Lopes, Diogo Reinoso, Manuel Campelo (study with), Amaro do Valle (paints in the style of): see at least V. Serrão, *A pintura maneirista em Portugal*, Lisbon 1982, and Id., *O Maneirismo e o Estatuto Social dos Pintores Portugueses*, Lisbon 1983.

61 He thanks the archivists and laments the fragmentary nature of the information: da Cunha Taborda, *Regras da Arte da Pintura*, cit. (see note 4), pp. XX, XVI, XVIII-XIX (of some he knows only the name).

62 To remedy the mistake, in 1824 Taborda planned to write “algumas Memórias sobre os Arquitectos Portugueses que se propoe publicar”, thus asked the royal court to help his nephew João da Cunha Taborda (see note 23) in his archival research with “alguns subsidios, noticias, ou documentos, que existão no Real Archivo da Torre do Tombo” (ANTT, Arquivo do Arquivo, Avisos e Ordens, mc. 11, no. 162 and no. 168). I thank Eduardo Alves Marques for the reference.

63 A. Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *El Museo Pictórico y escala óptica*, Madrid 1715. The subject of Portuguese artists confused with the Spanish School has been recently raised by B. Navarrete Prieto (ed.),

Second, I shall single out the extraordinary attention he devotes to women painters (sometimes also musicians, mathematicians and architects). Overall, Taborda writes 14 biographies of female artists – adding further information in the onomastic index – whose contribution to the *nação portuguesa* he reports and celebrates⁶⁴. Giving that these figures are to date unknown and still all to be studied, Taborda's text provides a solid basis for expanding genre studies on female artists of the Iberian world, a field is currently attracting much scholarly attention.

While it is possible that this positive perspective on the female world was due to his Roman training with Giovan Gherardo De' Rossi, a great friend and the first biographer of Angelika Kauffmann (1741-1807)⁶⁵, of whom he wrote a eulogy in 1785 and the first biography in 1810⁶⁶, we cannot rule out the possibility that Taborda was a broad-minded artist who sincerely appreciated female creativity and sensibility himself⁶⁷. Indeed, Cyrillo recalls in Taborda's biography that he taught his art to several women: the sisters D. Leonor Pilar and D. Susana Margarida Pilar Perpignan, daughters of a prominent diplomat, and his own daughter: D. Maria Arriaga Taborda⁶⁸.

Identidades compartidas: pintura española en Portugal, catalogue of the exhibition, Lisbon 2023. Taborda reclaims the Portuguese blood of Manoel Diniz, Vasco Pereira, Alfonso Sánchez Coello, Manoel De Castro, Frei Domingos Rodrigues, Claudio Coello, Domingos da Cunha, Felix Machado da Silva Castro e Vasconcelos, Bento Coelho de Silveira, Josefa de Óbidos, and Diogo Sobrinho (born in Seville and Valladolid but from Portuguese emigrants). He also reports that Manoel Alvares emigrated to India.

64 Apart from Josefa de Ayala (Josefa de Óbidos, 1634-1684, who has been receiving attention since at least 1950 and on whom Carmen Ripollés is currently working), Taborda mentions: Margarida de Noronha, Maria da Cruz, Thomazia Nunes, Maria Magdalena de Castro, Maria Guadalupe Lancastre e Cardenas, Cecilia do Espirito Santo, Maria dos Anjos, Theodora Maria, Rita Joanna de Souza, Isabel Maria Rite, Isabel Broune, Luiza Maria Roza, Ana Catharina Henriqueta de Lorena. In the index he adds references to Cecilia do Espirito Santo, Joanna Ignacia R., Izabal Sánchez Coello and Michaela Archangela Romaneti. For guiding essays along these lines but on Italian female artists: Y. Primarosa (ed.), *Una rivoluzione silenziosa: Plautilla Bricci pittrice e architette*, Rome 2021; S. Macioce, *Nel silenzio del chiostro: appunti sulle suore pittrici*, in S. Macioce (ed.), *Scritti di donne*, Foligno 2022, pp. 255-267.

65 On scholarly and international women painters in the Eighteenth century: R.P. Blakesley, *Women artists in the reign of Catherine the Great*, London 2023.

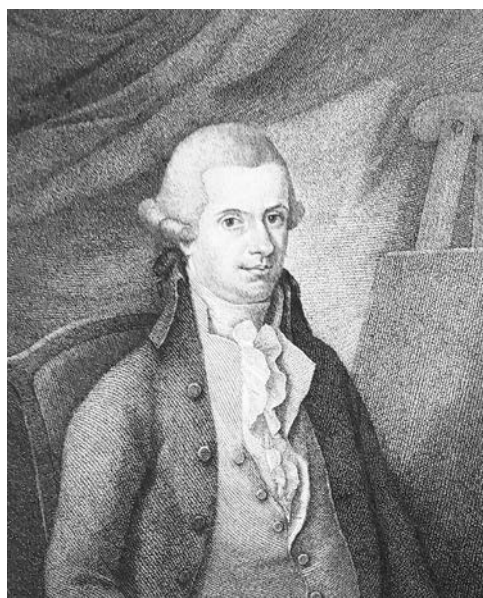
66 G.G. De Rossi, *Pittura*, "Memorie per le Belle Arti", 1, 1785, pp. LI-LIV (in which he defines Kauffmann as the "Painter of the Graces" in a small group of women painters: the ancient Timarete and Lala, Sofonisba Anguissola, Lavinia Fontana and Elisabetta Sirani), and G.G. De Rossi, *Vita di Angelica Kauffmann Pittrice*, Florence 1810.

67 On female Italian artists in the Roman Baroque: C. Lollobrigida, *Baroque women's artistic position in the age of the Barberini*, in P. di Loreto (ed.), *L'archivio di Caravaggio. Scritti in onore di don Sandro Corradini*, [Rome] [2021], pp. 175-190; C. Lollobrigida (ed.), *Women in arts, architecture and literature: heritage, legacy and digital perspectives: proceedings of the First Annual International Woemn in the Arts Conference* (Rome, 20-22 October 2021), Turnhout 2023, for an overview of Italian women artists.

68 Volkmar Machado, *Collecção de Memórias*, cit. (see note 5), pp. 146-148: 148.



1. Joaquim Rafael, *Portrait of José da Cunha Taborda*, lapis, 220 × 173 mm, Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. 847 DES



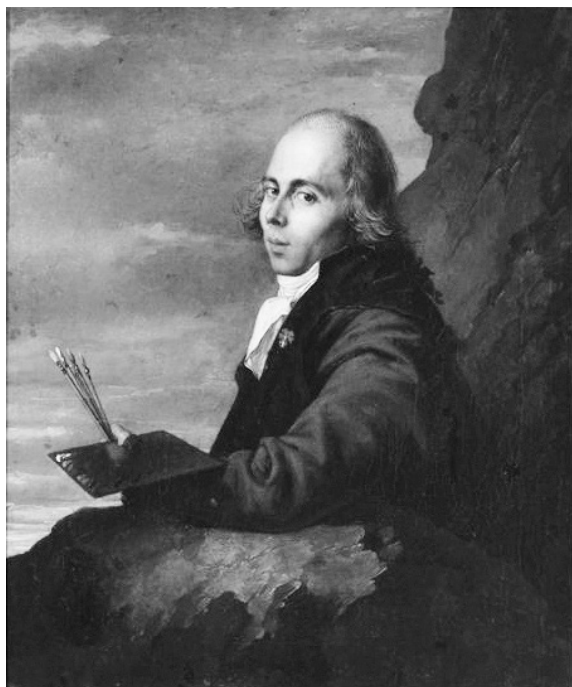
2. Anonymous, *Portrait of Cyrillo Volkmar Machado*, *Collecção de Memórias*, 1823, antiporta



3. João Caetano (Giovann Gaetano) Rivara (dis.) and Pietro Bettelini (inc.), *Portrait of Antonio Cavallucci da Sermoneta Pittore*, etching, 228 × 169 mm, Rome, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, inv. S-Fn29884



4. José da Cunha Taborda, *Preparatory drawing for the Oath of Viriato*, c. 1788, lapis, 182 × 258 mm, Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. DES 1859



5. José da Cunha Taborda (attr.), *Portrait of Arcangelo Fuschini*, c. 1788-1796, oil on canvas, 31 × 37 cm, Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. 2119 Pint.



6. José da Cunha Taborda, *Self-Portrait*, c. 1788-1796, lapis and charcoal, 220 × 163 mm, Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. 1850 DES

7. José da Cunha Taborda, *Historical-allegorical scene*, lapis and brown ink, 432 × 462 mm, Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. 722 DES



8. José da Cunha Taborda, *Historical-allegorical scene*, lapis and brown ink, 260 × 343 mm, Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. 2505 DES



9. José da Cunha Taborda, *Chariot of Apollo and the Muses*, lapis and brown ink, 807 × 592 mm, Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. 2288 DES



10. José da Cunha Taborda, with Norberto José Ribeiro, *Historical-allegorical scene*, lapis, brown ink and watercolors, 708 × 495 mm, Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. 2250 DES

