The Secrets of Christina's Equestrian Portrait

FRANS GODFROY

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The equestrian portrait of Queen Christina of Sweden by Sébastien Bourdon in the Museo del Prado in Madrid played a key role in the history of her spectacular conversion to the Roman Catholic faith (1654). In 1989 the Swedish art historian Arne Danielsson revealed some remarkable hidden signs on the canvas, but ever since several issues remain unsolved. Various important clues seem to have been overlooked.

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Small mistake: instead of 3.38 m it read 3.83 m. The typist of the Museo del Prado in Madrid who was preparing the copy for the 1920 painting catalog had not noticed. Perhaps the number reversal wasn't even caused by her, but by the typesetter at the printing house. Anyway, the proofreader missed it, and no one noticed that the equestrian portrait of Queen Christina of Sweden (image 2), already quite large in size, had grown almost half a meter on paper. If you saw the canvas hanging, you would have immediately noticed that a height of almost four meters could not be right, but whoever stood in front of the artwork itself, of course, did not look in the catalog for the dimensions. It was mainly consulted by persons outside the museum, such as art historians and academy students.

From time to time, the house catalog also served as the basis for the next edition, but then the curator just looked at the new information that needed to be added. The width and height of the works of art, which had been there to everyone's satisfaction for years, were not checked again and the successive typists took over the 3.83 m. Again and again. Until the last edition in 1996. Then the digital age had arrived and the catalog was published online. Somewhere in that conversion process, someone must have taken a good look at that 3.83 m., because the mistake was finally fixed.[1]

It is somewhat bizarre that such a miss had been copied over and over for almost a century. Of course it is not a big drama, although some

Image 1 and 2. Left: Archduke Cardinal Ferdinand of Austria on the battlefield of Nördlingen by Peter Paul Rubens(1634-1635). Collection: Museo del Prado Madrid. Right: Equestrian portrait of Queen Christina of Sweden by Sébastien Bourdon (1653). Collection: Museo del Prado Madrid. The two canvases hung side by side in the dining room of the royal palace in Madrid, the Alcázar.

publications about this well-known painting by Sébastien Bourdon have become infected with it. That has some significance, because the dimensions play a special role in the history of the canvas.

Karl Erik Steneberg discussed it in his thesis *Kristinatidens måleri* in 1955. 'The monumental canvas (383 x 291 cm.), which belonged to the royal Spanish collection, shows the characteristics of Christina from Bourdon's second version', writes Steneberg, by which he means that the painter copied the portrait with curly hair that he had made of her shortly before.[2] In a much-discussed article, published by Arne Danielsson in 1989, we read about the 1653 transport from Stockholm to Madrid: 'The transport of the enormous portrait, measuring 12.5 by 9.5 feet (3.83 by 2.91 m.) was not without complications.'[3] Diane Bodart opened her contribution to a colloquium in 2001, in which she elaborated on Danielsson, with the words: 'The equestrian portrait of Christina of Sweden, due to its dimensions (383 x 291 cm.) and its typology, is the

most impressive representation of the Queen and without a doubt also the most ambitious.'[4] Admittedly, the actual height not being 3.83 m. but 'only' 3.40 m., does not detract much from these quotes.

In another respect, however, the deviation from the actual height does matter. We know from the inventories of the estates of the Spanish kings Philip IV and Carlos II[5] that the equestrian portrait of Christina in the royal dining room of the Alcázar hung side by side with another life-size equestrian portrait. On that canvas Peter Paul Rubens had depicted Archduke Cardinal Ferdinand, brother of Philip IV, on the battlefield of Nördlingen (1633) where his troops had just defeated the Swedes. As in Christina's painting, the horse was in a levade. (See image 1). Together, the two canvases showed a beautiful image rhyme to which an extra historical charge was given by the Swedish-Habsburg enmity in the Thirty Years' War. In the spatial setting of the royal dining room, it only worked so well because both paintings were exactly the same height. If Christina's painting had been 3.83 m. high, it probably wouldn't even have hung there.

More astonishing than the erroneous measure of height, which was maintained for years, is Georgina Masson's slip in her biography *Queen Christina* (1968). Masson tells us that 'pathetically (…) Bourdon's equestrian portrait of the Queen with her dogs' is listed as one of Christina's favorite possessions on the inventory list of Palazzo Riario in Rome that was made after her death in 1689.[6] Since Masson's book contains no source references, it is difficult to see how she arrived at this misconception. It is clear that she was not aware of the history of the canvas, that was sent by Christina from Stockholm to King Philip IV in Madrid in 1653 and never left Spain until the beginning of the 21st century.

It might also be noted that Masson thinks that the dogs in the equestrian portrait belong to Christina, but from the inscription on the collar of the front one, we can see that at least that one belongs to the Spanish ambassador Pimentel. The Danish ambassador in Stockholm Jens Juel knew this as well. He wrote to his colleague in The Hague in June 1653, while the paint was still wet, that the Spanish ambassador Pimentel had his dog depicted by the French artist Bourdon in an equestrian portrait of Queen Christina that was intended for the Spanish King Philip IV.[7]

Thanks to Arne Danielsson's 1989 article, we have begun to look more closely at the details on the canvas. Everyone now sees the inscrip-

Image 3. On the collar to the left of the medal the L of Legatus, to the right DA of Dominus Antonius. On the medal itself the initials CRS of Queen Christina.

tion on the collar, which used to be barely noticeable and is still difficult to decipher. If it had caught the eye of the unsuspecting Georgina Masson, she might have cracked its code twenty years before Danielsson. The letters L DA on either side of the dog tag mean *Legatus Dominus Antonius* (Envoy Don Antonio) and the abbreviation CRS on the medallion stands for *Christina Regina Sueciae* (Christina Queen of Sweden). (See image 3.) Now that we know Ambassador Don Antonio Pimentel is the owner of at least one of the dogs, we see him mentally following the animals. Thus, without being depicted, he is still present in the scene and underlines the significance of the equestrian painting that his boss Philip IV receives as a gift from Christina at his wish: the queen wants to strengthen ties with the former enemy Spain and in particular with King Philip.

Danielsson's article also focuses primarily on the horse that Christina rides, just as Steneberg did in his 1950's thesis *Kristinatidens måleri*. The prancing pose refers to Alexander the Great's legendary horse, Bucephalus, usually depicted in levade. In the seventeenth century it was a popular pose in equestrian portraits that were supposed to radiate heroism. The setting was often a battlefield where the armoured portrayed had just triumphed. However, this reference to a battle was missing from the equestrian portrait of Christina, which is more of a hunting scene, although she is not really dressed for that either. Christina is wearing a simple brown dress with a matching short cloak and she is bareheaded. This can be interpreted as a gesture to King Philip IV who had presented her with an equestrian portrait of him, in which he also had himself depicted unarmed and without a head covering (image 4). On Christina's canvas it can be seen from the light and the cloudy sky that she is dri-

Image 4. Equestrian portrait of King Philip IV of Spain. Anonymous Flemish master. Collection: National Museum Stockholm.

Image 5. The falconer in the equestrian painting is Christina's envoy Mathias Palbitzki, according to Danielsson.
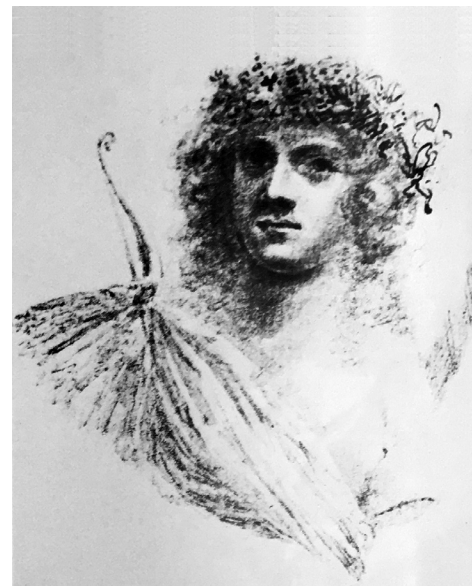

Image 6. Palbitzki dressed as the mythical hero Meleager. Self-portrait (1655). Collection: Löfstad Castle.

Image 7. Mathias Palbitzki. Copy (fragment) after Ehrenstrahl (1665). Collection: Nordiska Museet Stockholm.

ving south[8] and that she is leaving dark Sweden behind. It indicates her intended abdication and subsequent conversion journey to the south. Philip IV and Pimentel were among the few who knew about it.

Uninitiated in these plans was the second figure on the canvas, a colorfully attired page who follows Christina and acts as a falconer. According to Danielsson, we should see in him the envoy Mathias Palbitzki, who was sent by Christina to King Philip IV with the task of discussing the restoration of diplomatic relations between Sweden and Spain. Danielsson cannot provide direct evidence for this identification, but he does see several clues to support this assumption. The striped pattern of the livery, unlike the liveries worn at the Swedish court, closely matches the blue-silver-red coat of arms of Sweden. Furthermore, Palbitzki's role as a falconer is reflected in the coat of arms he carried: its central motif is a falcon clutching a ring in its beak. Danielsson finds the most important clues, however, in the page's physiognomy. It is expressive, not of a neutral dummy and resembles a self-portrait

from 1655 in one of Palbitzki's sketchbooks (image 6) and a portrait painting of him made ten years later by David Ehrenstrahl (image 7). The similarities with the self-portrait are unmistakable, especially in the round eyebrows, the straight nose and the pronounced chin with a dent. The comparison with Ehrenstrahl's canvas is less convincing: the chin seems to recede slightly, although this may have been caused by Palbitzki's chubby cheeks at the time. In this respect Ehrenstrahl's canvas differs just as much from the self-portrait, while it is almost certain that Palbitzki is depicted on both.

Nevertheless the identification of the falconer as Mathias Palbitzki is questionable. One problem was named by art historian Görel Cavalli-Björkman. She argued in an article in 1997 that the page looks far too young to represent Palbitzki, who was 29 years old at the time the painting was made.[9] It must be recognized that the falconer looks a lot more youthful. Who plays the role of falconer if it is not Palbitzki remains unclear. This compellingly leads to the conclusion that, despite the striking facial expression, it is nevertheless an arbitrary model, since in the-

se early years of the rapprochement with Spain no other young Swedish envoy then Palbitzki traveled to Madrid.

Another, more practical problem Danielsson himself faced in 1989. While Bourdon was working on the equestrian portrait in Stockholm, Palbitzki was absent. According to a letter from the Danish ambassador Jens Juel to his colleague in The Hague, the painting was finished on 11 June 1653.[10] Palbitzki was at that time, after several years in Spain and France, still in Paris to offer mediation between the parties in the Fronde uprising on behalf of Christina, hence he couldn't have posed for the painting. Danielsson came up with a solution for this. The canvas was finished on June 11, as we can read in the correspondence of Jens Juel, although probably not completely: Palbitzki's head would still have to be painted. When Palbitzki was finally back in Stockholm[11] in mid-July, his missing head could still be added. Danielsson points out an interesting detail in this regard. The page's face is lit from a different angle than the rest of the painting, which can be seen in the shadow of his nose and the different reflection of light in his pupils. That would have been caused by the fact that the lighting conditions had changed during Palbitzki's pose.[12]

The assumptions Danielsson needs for this theory don't come across as very strong. Why would the Danish ambassador have written on June 11 that the canvas was completed, if Palbitzki's head was yet to be portrayed? And why would Bourdon have been satisfied with 'changed lighting conditions', when it must certainly have been no great effort for him to adjust the angle at which the light fell on the posing Palbitzki? In addition, the reasonable objection of Cavalli-Björkman has still not been resolved by Danielsson's version: the page's much too youthful appearance.

Danielsson's assumption that Palbitzki is the falconer on the canvas seems all in all to be in doubt, unless we consider another possibility, which has not been discussed so far. To explore that option, we need to dive into some special painting techniques that portraitists had at their disposal.

By the mid-seventeenth century, portraiture had grown into an extensive industry. Those who could afford it let immortalize themselves on the canvas, and notable persons repeatedly did so. An artist who mastered this specialism could never complain about patronage, and the faster such a craftsman worked, the more he earned from it. The painting techniques that came in usefull had been perfected since the sixteenth century. Copying techniques were especially helpful.

Anyone looking at portrait galleries from the seventeenth century will soon notice that certain poses keep recurring. Painters did not invent new poses every time, but reused them with the help of templates. In doing so, they did not limit themselves to citing their own work, but also drew on the production of others. They often worked with sheets in which the contours had been perforated, so they could be applied to the canvas with charcoal for the underlying drawing. The same method was used to make copies of portraits or to compose double portraits or group portraits from existing individual portraits. To properly fill in the faces, the copyist needed the original as an example, or at least a detailed sketch or chalk drawing on paper.[13]

Image 8. Ebba Sparre. Sebastien Bourdon (1653). Collection: National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Image 9. Crown Prince Karl X Gustav. Sebastien Bourdon (1653). Collection: National Museum Stockholm.

Bourdon (1616-1671) was not primarily known as a portrait painter. He made his name especially with works that dealt with stories from the Bible and classical antiquity. Nevertheless, given the impressive series of portraits he made in 1652-1653 during his stay of barely a year at the Swedish court, he must have been familiar with the techniques of portrait painting. In that short period, he painted numerous portraits at a rapid pace, including of Christina's beloved lady-in-waiting Ebba Sparre (image 8) and her cousin Crown Prince Karl X Gustav (image 9). Most important, however, were the portraits of the queen herself. Steneberg points out that Bourdon made two portraits that formed the basis for all the others: the first depicting Christina with straight hair down (image 11) and the second showing the hairstyle curled and from which most copies and variants are derived (image 12).

The two portraits intended for the Spanish King Philip IV, a half-high seated portrait

(image 10) and the equestrian portrait, were derived from the second basic portrait. When looking at this one and the two canvases for the Spanish king, it is immediately clear that Christina's head is depicted almost identically in these paintings. (See image 13.) Looking at the original paintings, it is also clear that the person portrayed is always depicted at natural size. The tradition of portraiture had spawned this aesthetic standard, which brought with it an important additional advantage that stencils were always the right size. It also meant that painted portraits usualy had more or less standard heights. A chest portrait of an adult was about 80 cm. in height, a half-high portrait about 105 cm., a portrait up to the knees 150 cm. and a full-length portrait of 200 cm. That Bourdon's equestrian portrait of Christina and Rubens's equestrian portrait of Archduke Cardinal Ferdinand, as we saw before, both were about 340 cm. high was no coincidence either.

There is no testimony to the way Bourdon transferred his basic portrait to the derived canvases, but it couldn't have been complicated: making a template from the basic portrait, applying contours to the new canvas and accurately repainting the face with the original portrait next to it. Of course, the painter had to make sure the copy fits in exactly the right place of the total composition, such that it would not twist.

We have already seen that the portrayal of the second figure in the equestrian portrait, the falconer whom Danielsson identifies with Mathias Palbitzki, raises many more questions. The simple solution to the riddle would be that this is not about Palbitzki or any other specific person, but about a random servant and therefore any suitable model could have posed. Dozens of pages were around the court, so Bourdon had their pick. Several arguments plead against this view. The most important ones have to do with the way in which the falconer is portrayed. In the first place, he does not look like a dummy: his gaze is far too expressive for that. Moreover, it is impossible to explain why the painter has let the light fall on his face from a different direction compared to the rest

Image 10. Queen Christina in an armchair. Sebastien Bourdon (1653). Collection: Museo del Prado Madrid.

Image 11 (left). Basic portrait 1: Queen Christina with loose hair. Bourdon (1652). Private collection.
Image 12 (right). Basic portrait 2: Queen Christina with curly hair. Bourdon (1653). Collection National Museum Stockholm.
Image 13 (below) Basic portrait 2 copied in the canvases for Philip IV: the armchair portrait and the equestrian portrait.
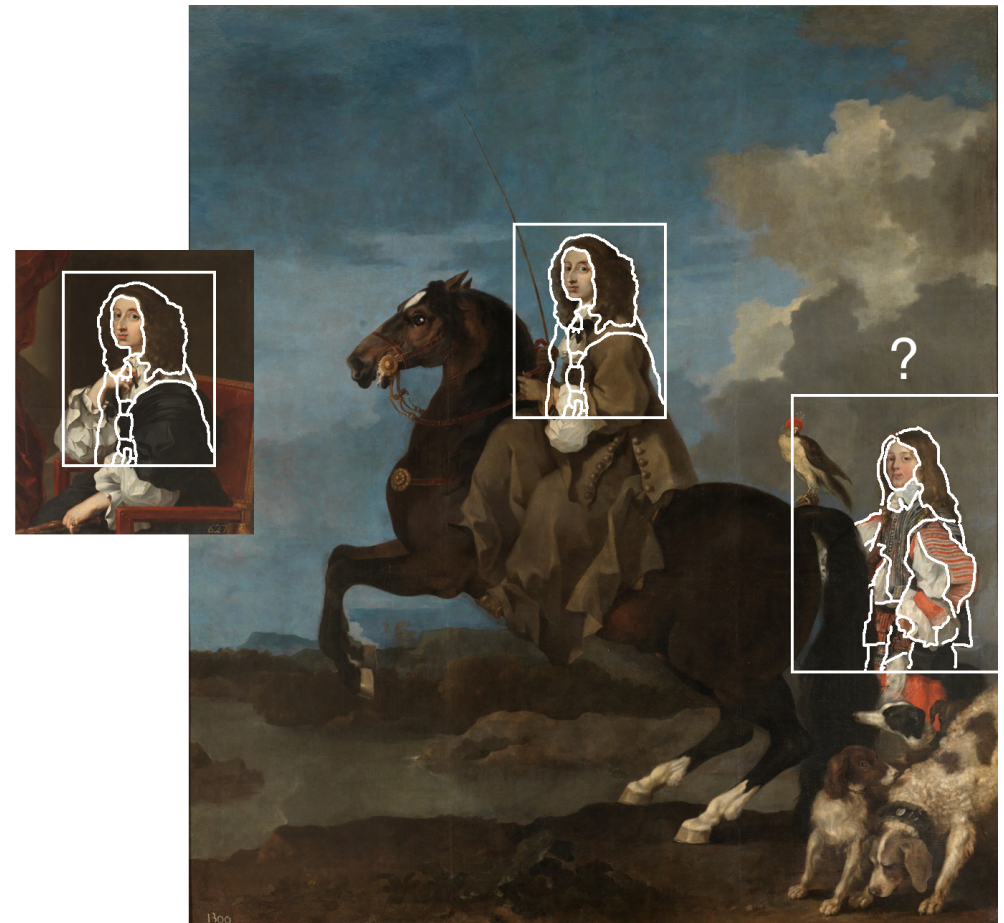
of the scene. If Bourdon had had any random page as a model, he would certainly have made him look neutral and positioned him so that the light was coming from the front left, slightly from above, as is the case in the rest of the painting.

However, even if Palbitzki, as Danielsson believes, had posed himself to have Bourdon add his face in the last space left open, the painter would not have let the light shine from the wrong angle. It is rather remarkable that Danielsson, who himself drew attention to the deviant lighting, neglects to draw the almost inescapable conclusion, namely that no one has posed for this part of the equestrian portrait either. The falconer's face must also be copied from an existing portrait. Only: the light on that example unfortunately came from the wrong angle. That Bourdon got over that last problem is still remarkable, but it's a lot more plausible than supposing that he'd put his poseur the wrong side opposite to the light source. Copying an existing portrait and at the same time reversing the incidence of light is undoubtedly a lot more difficult than turning someone a quarter when posing. If we imagine Bourdon looking at that existing mis-exposed portrait as an example, we also understand that he was faced with the choice of doing that tricky light reversal or just letting it go with the expectation that no one would care. We know he chose the latter and even history has proved him right, because no one outside of Danielsson has ever noticed.

The question of who represents the falconer has not yet been answered. An underlying question has already been clarified with the foregoing. If we can assume that the face has been copied from an existing portrait, it is not likely that we are dealing with a random model and we must assume that a specific person was portrayed. Was that Palbitzki?

To clarify this point, we must first go back to the objection raised by Cavalli-Björkman: the falconer looks far too young to be Palbitzki, who was 29 when the painting was made. And indeed: if Palbitzki had posed, the falconer would certainly not have taken on such an adolescent appearance. We assume, however, that no posing was done and that is why we should reconsider this argument. After all, it is possible that Bourdon copied a childhood portrait of Palbitzki.

We don't know why he would have done so, but there are several possible reasons. Perhaps Palbitzki was presented more youthful because pages were simply young boys. Perhaps also Christina, who hadn't seen

him for a few years – he was on a mission in Spain and France – had an idealized image of him from the time she had become charmed by him twelve years earlier and had engaged him as a page.[14] If she had a portrait of him from that time at her disposal, she may have handed it to Bourdon as an example. Pimentel, who had suggested the plan for the equestrian portrait and played a part in it himself through the dogs, had never met Palbitzki and therefore probably had no clear opinion about his pictorial rejuvenation treatment. Bourdon also did not know Palbitzki.

These are, of course, speculations and we can therefore draw no other conclusion than that this scenario cannot be ruled out, which is already more than the incompatibility of age of portrait and portrayed stated by Cavalli-Björkman, if Palbitzki had posed.

All in all, as to whether we should see the person of Palbitzki in the falconer, we cannot make a firm statement based on what we know. However, he remains a very prominent candidate, firstly because of the resemblance to his self-portrait, secondly because the obvious copying technique including incorrect lighting indicates that a specific person had to be depicted and thirdly because Palbitzki is the most suitable candidate to be this person in view of his active role in the story about which the painting deals: the rapprochement of Queen Christina with the Spanish King Philip IV.

The position defended here that for the image of the falconer – probably Palbitzki – no model has posed, but that it is based on an existing portrait, raises several new questions. Which portrait could that have been? Does it still exist? Was only the head of that portrait copied, and if so, was the rest of the falconer's figure perhaps copied from another source?

To start with the second question, unless a hidden treasure ever turns up somewhere, we can assume that there is no portrait of Palbitzki before 1653. That doesn't mean that childhood portraits of him were never made, but they were probably lost, possibly in the fire that destroyed Tre Kronor Castle in 1697. In the inventory made by Christina's curator Trichet Du Fresne of the Queen's collection in 1652, we find no indication that it contained a portrait of Palbitzki. Although most descriptions of the items are very vague, the origin is always indicated and that does not result in probable hits.[15] The portrait that served as an example may of course also have been borrowed from someone else's collection or from Palbitzki himself. It doesn't have to be a painting, it could also have been

a self-portrait drawn from one of his sketchbooks or a miniature Christina had of him that wasn't in the inventory.

It is not clear in advance whether the falconer's face was copied as a separate element from an existing portrait or together with the body. Danielsson, who believed that the face was painted separately afterwards, when Palbitzki was still able to pose in Stockholm, argues that the light on the falconer's clothing – unlike the light on the face – matches the rest of the equestrian portrait. Even if it was not posed but copied, this could indicate that the body and head were applied separately on the canvas, although this is not certain, because it was easier to adjust the light on the clothing than on the face. If the face has indeed been copied separately, there are nevertheless strong indications that the body has also been copied from an example.

When we consider the figure of the falconer as a whole, we see a very common pose. Danielsson draws a comparison with a well-known canvas by Anthony Van Dyck, the hunting portrait of the English King Charles I (image 14), but some paintings depicting Charles' children show even more similarities. We found three. One is by Van Dyck, the other two are by his successful epigones Peter Lely and Adriaen Hanneman. Van Dyck's canvas is his well-known double portrait of the young bridal couple William II of Orange and Mary Stuart, which he painted shortly before his death in 1641; William II was then 15 years old. Mary's brother James II of England, as a fourteen-year-old, appears in a 1647 double portrait with his father Charles I by Peter Lely, Van Dyck's successor at the English court. The third canvas is the portrait of another brother of Mary Stuart, Henry; it was painted about 1653 by Adriaen

Image 14. Charles I on the hunt. Anthony van Dyck (c. 1635). Collection: Louvre Paris.

Image 15. From right to left:
• Willem II (fragment of double portrait with Mary Stuart). Anthony van Dyck (1641). Collection: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.
• James II (fragment of double portrait with Charles I). Peter Lely (1647). Private collection.
• Henry Stuart , Adriaen Hanneman (c. 1653). Collection: National Gallery of Art Washington.
• Falconer (fragment equestrian portrait Christina) by Sébastien Bourdon (1653). Collection: Museo del Prado Madrid.

Hanneman, a student of Van Dyck, when Henry was 13 years old. As in Christina's equestrian portrait, the figures on the three canvases are depicted at natural size (image 15). The young princes are the same size as the falconer and, like him, stand with their left hand on their side, turned obliquely to the left when viewed from the spectator. The similarity of the pose can hardly be a coincidence. Since the portrait of Willem II is the oldest, one might suspect that the other three are derived from it. That assumption seems to be supported by the link Lely and Hanneman have with Van Dyck and the fact that all three worked for the Stuart family. It is, of course, possible that an earlier painting is involved inside or outside Anthony van Dyck's stable.

We see the closest resemblance to the image of the falconer in Bourdon's equestrian portrait in the portrait of Henry. The light from the right on the face is almost identical and the shapes in the collar and the left sleeve also show similarities. You would almost think Bourdon had Henry's portrait before him when painting his falconer. Nevertheless, the chance that this canvas by Hanneman served as a model is small, because it was created almost simultaneously with the equestrian portrait of Bourdon, but then far from Stockholm, namely (very probably) in The Hague. In addition, nothing is known about a direct connection

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between Bourdon and Hanneman. Could there be an earlier example in the game that happened to be a handy helper in the creation of new canvases at two locations at the same time? And if so, how got Bourdon that example? Perhaps by means of a sketch or a chalk drawing? Who knows may say.

The comparison of the three princely portraits with the portrait of the falconer in Christina's equestrian painting draws attention to something else. Compared to the other youngsters, there seems to be something wrong with the falconer's anatomy. The princes hold their arms convincingly to the side in a logical line from the shoulder, James slightly more back than the other two. The falconer's shoulder, however, appears to be too far forward and too low on the torso relative to the head. Did Bourdon maybe tinker with the underlying drawing and what could have been the reason? Was it something to do with perspective? The falconer stands in the background about a meter further away from the viewer than the queen. The example used may have been somewhat too large at that distance.

Moreover something else looks curious at the falconer. The lower legs and feet are hidden from view by the dogs and the horse's tail (image 2). Only above the snout of the dog on the left you would expect to see something of the ankles and feet, but then there is a brown-grey area that seems to be part of some kind of earthen wall. It could be true, but why did Bourdon make such a puzzle out of it?

In any case, the way in which Bourdon has fitted the falconer – presumably Palbitzki – into the overall composition is questionable. If we could see the underlying drawing and the layers of paint, we might learn more. It could be a reason for the Museo del Prado to subject the canvas to an infrared examination.

Notes

[1.] The original measurements from the catalogs of 1910 and earlier were 3.38 m. x 2.91 m. That was not very precise. When the measurements were taken again almost a century later, it turned out to be 3.405 m. x 3.03 m. In height there is a difference of 2.5 cm, which could be explained by a different way of measuring (such as inside frame at the front versus outside canvas at the back).

However, the difference of 12 cm in width can hardly be caused by this: there is probably a measurement error of one decimetre.

[2.] Steneberg, Karl Erik, *Kristinatidens Måleri*. Malmö 1955, p. 181.

[3.] Danielsson, Arne, 'Sébastien Bourdon's Equestrian Portrait of Queen Christina of Sweden – Adressed to "His Catholic Majesty" Philip IV', in: *Konsthistorisk tidskrift*, Volume 58, Stockholm 1989, p. 105.

[4.] Bodart, Diane H., 'Le portrait équestre de Christine de Suède par Sébastien Bourdon', in: Bonfait, Olivier en Brigitte Marin, *Les portraits du pouvoir : actes du colloque*, Rome 2003, p. 77. The colloquium was held from 24 to 26 April 2001 at the Villa Médicis in Rome.

[5.] Bottineau, Yves, 'L'Alcázar de Madrid et l'inventaire de 1686. Aspects de la cour d'Espagne au XVIIe siècle', part. 4, in: *Bulletin Hispanique*, Vol. 60 1958 nr. 3. Bordeaux 1958, p. 292. Bayton, Gloria Fernández (ed.), *Inventarios reales. Testamentaria del rey Carlos II. 1701-1703,* Vol. I. Madrid 1975, p. 40-41. The inventories from 1686 and 1701-1703 make it clear that the equestrian portrait of Christina has remained in the royal dining room, even after she turned against the Spaniards in 1656.

[6.] Masson, Georgina, *Queen Christina*, Londen 1968, p. 313.

[7.] Steneberg, p. 181-182.

[8.] Given the light, there seems to be only one answer to the question in which wind direction Christina moves in the painting: the south. There is a caveat to the attention Danielsson draws to this. The suggestion that artists have always dealt with this consistently is incorrect: there are numerous images from the seventeenth century in which the sunlight seems to come from the north.

[9.] Cavalli-Björkman, Görel, 'Christina Portraits', in: Rodén, Maie-Louise (ed.), *Politics and Culture in the Age of Christina*. Stockholm 1997, p. 100. Cavalli erroneously writes that Palbitzki was 23 years old at the time, but from his autobiography we know that he was already 29 years old in the summer of 1653 (Palbitzki, Mathias, 'Mathias Palbitskys Journal 1623-1667' in: Nisser, Wilhelm, Mathias Palbitzki som connoisseur och tecknare. Uppsala 1934, p. 121). Cavalli's argument that the page looks much too young is therefore stronger than she herself indicates.

[10.] Steneberg, p. 181-182.

[11.] Olofsson, Sven Ingemar, *Efter Westfaliska Freden : sveriges yttre politik 1650-1654*. Stockholm 1957, p. 505.

[12.] Danielsson, p. 102-104.

[13.] See: Ho, Angela, 'Marketing Workshop Versions in the 17th-century Dutch Art Market', in: Bellavitis, Maddalena (ed.), *Making Copies in European Art 1400-1600. Shifting Tastes, Modes of Transmission, and Changing Contexts,* Leiden 2018, p. 449-472.

[14.] Palbitzki, p. 121.

[15.] Granberg, Olof, *Drottning Kristinas tafvelgalleri på Stockholms slott och i Rom*. Stockholm 1896, p. 85-112.

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