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Artistic Circulation between Early Modern Spain and Italy

EDITED BY

Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio and Tommaso Mozzati

Artistic Circulation between Early Modern Spain and Italy

This collection of essays by major scholars in the field explores how the rich intersections between Italy and Spain during the early modern period resulted in a confluence of cultural ideals. Various means of exchange and convergence are explored through two main catalysts: humans—their trips or resettlements—and objects—such as books, paintings, sculptures, and prints. The visual and textual evidence of the transmission of ideas, iconographies and styles are examined, such as triumphal ephemera, treatises on painting, the social status of the artist, collections and their display, church decoration, and funerary monuments, providing a more nuanced understanding of the exchanges of styles, forms and ideals across southern Europe.

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Introduction

Spanish Italy/Italian Spain

Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio and Tommaso Mozzati

The rich intersections between Italy and Spain during the early modern period resulted in a confluence of cultural ideals. Italy's artistic ideals, and identity as a well-established artistic and cultural force since the very beginning of the sixteenth century, appealed to the Spanish crown.[1] In particular, Italy's roots in Roman antiquity and the humanistic revival, which had been nurtured through the Quattrocento from north to south, from Milan to Naples (cities, consequently, under Spanish rule, and through which, along with others, cultural and artistic exchanges were conducted) aligned with the stylistic and iconographic preferences of the Spanish courts. But Italian art and ideas did not displace those of the Iberian Peninsula, nor were they merely tacked on like fancy ornaments. Instead, the forms and styles of Italian cities, when merged with those of Spain, produced a *koiné* that well suited the Spanish court's political ambitions and piety. Spanish artists and art forms likewise informed new perspectives in Italian visual culture. Cities under Habsburg rule, like Milan and Naples, perhaps saw the influx of these objects and ideals first, but the impact they had outside of Habsburg territory was nevertheless significant.

In this volume, various means of exchange and convergence are explored through two main catalysts: humans—their trips or court visits, or resettlements—and objects—such as books, paintings, sculptures and prints. The visual and textual evidence of the transmission of ideas, iconographies and styles are examined, such as triumphal ephemera, treatises on painting, the social status of the artist, collections and their display, church decoration and funerary monuments. As is brought to light here, Italian artists working in Spain or for Spain, many of whom came from Spanish Italian cities or the cities otherwise tied to Spain, like Florence, created a new, international language where elements from their native cultures cohabited with the exigencies and traditions of Spanish court and some formed communities of foreign artists, like the Tuscan artists did in Madrid.

The interest in art forms current in Italy began in the time of Isabel la Católica of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragón. Their marriage forged together their kingdoms and together they began wide-scale building and decorative programs, which included the involvement of "maestranze" from Italy or Flanders (or local artists aware of the artistic ideas coming from those countries). Concurrently, some areas of Spain sought to renew its ancient heritage, and the Crown proclaimed itself heir to the Roman Empire.[2] This political program made the Spanish monarchy turn increasingly towards Italy and its humanistic 'revolution', renewing its own politics of images on the model of this modern adaptation of ancient motifs. Not only did the sovereigns collect work and commission projects that conveyed their taste, they also commissioned a major

architectural project in Rome, Bramante's *Tempietto* and the monastery of San Pietro in Montorio, which marked the spot of St. Peter's martyrdom, a project undertaken by them as a means of fulfilling a vow for the birth of their first son in 1478.[3] With that enterprise, they continued the preferential relationship that the Iberian world had already initiated with the pontifical court during the reign of Alexander VI Borgia, who died in 1503, granting an eminent position to the Valencian region and its representatives on the European playing field. Indeed, they were compelled to fight for dominance in Europe against France, and Italy was the battleground of this war. Spain's efficacy in the protracted conflict, which ended in 1559, resulted in its primacy in the peninsula, with strongholds in Milan, Sardinia, Sicily and Naples. Indeed, in the places that came under Spanish rule in Italy —Naples, in particular—major building projects and other artistic commissions had been initiated by Ferdinand's uncle Alfonso the Magnanimous, who had transformed the city into a leading center in Quattrocento visual culture (though most surveys of the period rarely acknowledge this fact). Concurrent with this political situation, by the end of the fifteenth century and first decade of the sixteenth century, Spanish artists were coming to Italy and contributing significantly to the cultural life in the cities they visited, as is the case of the 'Maestro de Bolea' (who worked for the Atri Cathedral).[4] At the same time, an opposite wave of migration led 'maestranze' from the peninsula to the other side of the Mediterranean Sea, from East to West. This was the case—still during the Quattrocento—of Paolo da San Leocadio, who worked with Francesco Pagano in the Cathedral Anunciación Cathedral of Valencia between 1472 and 1481 with the support of Cardinal Rodrigo de Borgia.[5] But soon after this exploit, around the very beginning of the sixteenth century, two Iberian artists, Fernando Yañez de la Almedina and Fernando Llanos, traveled to Italy, where they were in contact with Leonardo da Vinci and then came back to Spain, again to Valencia, creating the imposing altarpiece for the cathedral with the stories of the Virgin Mary.[6] Just after their return—when, for the first time in the Spanish monarchy's history, the Catholic Kings had sent a representative of their power in Rome, the influential ambassador Jerónimo Vich y Valterra (Ferdinand's emissary there since 1507)—this traffic of artistic exchanges grew in intensity.[7] Alonso Berruguete, the son of the painter Pedro (who probably worked in Urbino during the 1470s), was already documented in Rome by 1508, and he is perhaps the most well studied of these presences, but Bartolomé Ordóñez and Diego de Siloé also worked on major artistic projects in Italy, particularly in the South, where they are attested around 1515 in Naples.

The Italian oeuvre of Alonso, which has been contested since its first proposed reconstruction in 1953 by Roberto Longhi, surprisingly exemplifies, in a broader way, the apprenticeship of a painter, denouncing a visual culture anchored in contemporary Florentine figurative trends between Michelangelo, Raphael and the crowded atelier of Andrea del Sarto. To this very updated *koiné*, close to contemporary experiments by Rosso and Pontormo, Berruguete adds the free handling of the brush, devoted to ghostly effects (like in the autograph parts of the San Girolamo and San Francesco alla Costa altarpiece and San Francesco alla Costa, made for Florence and now in Paris, Musée du Louvre, dated around 1517; Figure 0.1), together with an even freer compositional inspiration (as is the case of the Borghese *Madonna and Child with Saint John*)—original formal values that could have had a certain echo in the context of Tuscan artistic society, if we think that Alonso's fame during his stay between Florence and Rome assured him a place in 1510 with Jacopo Sansovino, Domenico Aimo and Zaccaria Zacchi

Figure 0.1 Alonso Berruguete, *The Coronation of the Virgin with Angels*, c. 1517, Musée du Louvre, Paris (photo: Louvre).

amidst the sculptors summoned to the Vatican Belvedere to realize a copy of the *Laocoön*, under the supervision of Bramante.[8]

Ordóñez and Siloé, for their part, divided their sojourn between Campania and, probably, Carrara. Their virtuosic expertise in working marble demonstrates a certain acquaintance with the stoneworkers gathered around the Apuan quarries (where, later on in the century, Ordóñez held his own *fondaco*, until his death in 1520). It is even more significant that the extraordinary quality of their works was passed on to sculptors such as Girolamo Santacroce, who collaborated with them around 1516 for the Caracciolo altar in San Giovanni in Carbonara. The Caracciolo altar was immediately recognized as an undisputed masterpiece, and was celebrated in 1524 in a letter to Marcantonio Michiel from Pietro Summonte, in which the most important Neapolitan works of art of the time are described. However, the presence of Ordóñez and Siloé in the southern metropolis, once the capital of the Aragonese vice-realm and at that time one of the most important cities under the dominion of the Catholic Kings, followed other extended stays of Iberian artists.[9] Limiting the analysis to the very beginning of the sixteenth century, Pedro Fernández is a notable exemplar. He was in Lombardy and Rome, where he arrived during the very first years of the decade. He worked in Naples around 1508, and his last paintings for the city date back to 1512–1513. He proposed to the municipal religious patronage (*in primis* the church San Domenico Maggiore) a very peculiar declination of a leonardesque lexicon, which pre-dated even the lesson imported to southern Italy by more direct followers of the master, like Cesare da Sesto. In doing so, Fernández contributed to a new *vogue* in the pictorial tendencies of the realm, testified by the simultaneous updating of painters as Andrea da Salerno in the language of Leonardo and Raphael.[10]

During these same years, Domenico Fancelli traveled to Andalusia to build the sepulcher of the Cardinal Diego Hurtado de Mendoza in the Cathedral of Santa María de la Sede of Seville around 1509, and then received prestigious commissions from the sovereigns' entourage, starting from the tomb of Prince Juan in Santo Tomás of Ávila.[11] These projects initiated a particular new trend in Spain, updating the tastes of the Crown and of its associates with the new European interest in Carrara marble and its use as a preferential medium for kingly patronage.[12] Concurrently, they were part of an original search for a language 'a la romana,' as it is often specified in the contracts (including that of Mendoza's tomb), which became characteristic of the modern exigencies of the antiquarian allure sought out by continental monarchies.

This peculiar trade of men and works—involving, in particular, Florence, Rome, and Genoa (as the most important harbor for the market of stones extracted from the Apuan quarries)—intensified the artistic circulation between Italy and Spain at the very beginning of the century. For example, marble columns and architectural decorations were brought from Liguria to the Iberian Peninsula for the construction of fortified palatial buildings all over Spain, such as La Calahorra, a commission of the Mendoza family in Andalusia, or the castle of Coca, a possession of the Fonseca near Segovia. During one of his Italian stays, between the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of sixteenth century, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar y Mendoza bought for his personal library the *Codex Escurialensis*, an extraordinary antiquarian notebook full of drawings after the Antique compiled in Rome at the end of Quattrocento.[13] This one source encouraged a renovation of the Spanish ornamental language in a classicizing way more than any other archeological acquisition of the time. (A direct reflection of this same celebrated catalogue of graphic sources can be seen also in the

decorated *patio* of the castle of Vélez Blanco, whose construction started at the behest of Pedro Fajardo y Chacón during the first decade of the XVI century).[14] Another example of these exchanges was the practice of hiring Italian 'maestranze' for these same enterprises and for other important commissions, financed by the Crown and by the courtiers around Ferdinand and Isabel. Such was the case for Michele Carlone, a Lombard sculptor who worked in La Calahorra as one of the principle figures involved in that extraordinary building near Granada, a beautiful early example of the dialogue between two different architectural traditions (the Spanish and the Lombard-Genoese one) and the juxtaposition of forms and elements.[15]

In these exchanges, it is also important to keep in mind the relevance of ceramics production, which provided a rather easy way of spreading motifs and compositional ideas through the flourishing international market it enjoyed in this period. The import of Spanish majolica, influenced by Arabian techniques of manufacture, had had a great impact on central Italian production since the Quattrocento. During the following century, in return, important figures such as the members of Della Robbia family (through the European success of their works, testified in Spain by the works of Andrea in the Cathedral of Seville) or Francesco Niculoso Pisano (also employed in Seville, for example for the convents of Santa Ana and Santa Paula, from 1503 on) introduced new patterns and themes to Iberian ceramics production. In particular, the imposing interventions of Pisano, whose career abroad was rooted in the Andalusian *milieu*, are good examples of a compromise between an 'all'antica' decoration and traditional modes of glazing or employing ceramics tiles as a complement to architecture. His creations were often sent back to Italy (to Florence or Rome), and the pavements probably executed by him around 1515 for the chapel installed by Leo X in Castel Sant'Angelo adopted an *arista* technique common in Seville and in its surroundings, and importantly added to the Pontiff's commission with its precious effects of luster and translucence.[16]

During the sixteenth century, the territories under Spain's control through birthright, and those added through exploration and territorial warfare, made its dominion one of the most eminent presences in Europe, more so than even neighboring France. In Italy, the Duchy of Milan would be added to the Spanish possessions, and in doing so, pose a significant threat to the hegemony of the Papal States; the duchies of Savoy, Parma, Mantua, Modena, Florence, Ferrara; the Principate of Massa; the Republics of Venice, Lucca, San Marino and Genoa; and the marquisates of Saluzzo and Montferrat. The surging power of the Habsburgs was incorporated into the Spanish crown in the form of Charles I, Isabel and Ferdinand's grandson, who was also the grandson of Maximillian I and Mary of Burgundy. Charles was officially nominated King of Castile and Aragon in 1518 and elected Roman Emperor—under the name of Charles V—one year later, in 1519, further strengthening his claim to power and his role as defender of the faith.[17]

Charles was naturally drawn to both Netherlandish and Italian artistic languages, but he accelerated the adaptation of a classicizing style with his patronage, especially in sculpture and architecture. In the years between 1516 and 1519, he exponentially increased his Spanish commissions, choosing to follow the path already indicated by his predecessors, so as to emphasize the legitimacy of his dynastic privilege. At the beginning he focused his attention on the Capilla Real (Figure 0.2), the royal burial chapel founded by Isabel and Ferdinand, where he ordered a decoration fully inspired by updated 'Italianate' taste in the paintings for the *retablos* as well as in the sculptural furnishings of the sacred space (here Domenico Fancelli had already built the

sepulcher for the Catholic Kings, between 1513 and 1517; see Plate 1). Thanks to these munificent interventions, the small building, originally conceived by Enrique Egas (who started to project it in 1504), became a symbol of the coexistence of traditional architectural vocabulary and allogenous choices in terms of decoration and artistic preferences. The vertical Gothic structure of the chapel is in fact tempered by the more sober, regular, ornamental patterns followed, by the Catholic Kings' patronage in buildings like the Monasterio de San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo or the later Hospital Real in Granada. At the same time the building, which is filled with symbolism and heraldry, creates through its luxurious treasures (from the imposing *reja* to the classicizing altarpieces, from the tombs to the sculptural group of the *Annunciation*) a more intense dialogue with the 'all'antica' prototypes modeled on Italian examples.

Significantly, it was to receive the contributions of Spanish artists such as Berruguete and Ordóñez, whose recent training had taken place in Italy, along with others who came from Florence and Tuscany in search of a generous, foreign maecenas. The Capilla Real can be read as the best example of the profitable interchanges between these diverse 'maestranze', which were stimulated by royal artistic patronage during the second and third decades of Cinquecento.[18] The path followed by Francesco Fiorentino and Jacopo Torni, called 'Indaco,' is in this light, extraordinarily significant. Both were involved in the sculptural furnishing of the royal mausoleum in Granada around 1518–19 Then, later on, they took part in another important enterprise: the bell tower of the Murcia cathedral of Santa María. Started in 1519 by Francesco, the construction was undertaken by Indaco—whose qualities as an architect appear undocumented before this task—at least until 1526, when Jacopo died. The tower was then completed by Jerónimo Quijano, but its first two *cuerpos*, constructed under the subsequent direction of the two Tuscans, evidence a syncretism, updated to a Romanizing taste thanks to the recourse of a more conscientious use of the orders and a complex relationship with a Vitruvian orthodoxy. (Not by chance, the first Spanish translations of the classical treatise about architectural rules was completed in 1564 by Lázaro de Velasco, the son of Jacopo Torni).[19]

In the following years, in his travels along the Italian Peninsula, Charles admired the palaces and churches of the country, and his experiences there informed his subsequent patronage in Spain. Concurrently, local princes who were in Charles V's favor, or wanted to be, built and decorated their residences with objects that would appeal to Charles' interests in iconography and preferences in artistic style. Some of these artistic projects were carried out on the occasion of Charles's tour through Italy nine years after the Sack of Rome. Indeed, in preparation for his triumphant return to Rome, the pope enacted a series of urban renewal projects that involved clearing some of the old neighborhoods, expanding the streets, and artistic projects, like the new plan for the Capitoline Hill. When Charles retired to Spain, he brought with him a taste for the antique and ambitions for celebratory memorials to his ancestors, and for building and garden design for his residences in Granada and elsewhere.

Meanwhile, in Rome, the Spanish community thrived and did not exist there in a passive role; instead, as a unified whole, it inserted itself into the shaping of every aspect of Roman life, whether political, religious or social.[20] As in Naples and Milan, court representatives enjoyed high status during their time in the city, and, naturally, this was true as well for the members of the clergy who came to Rome. Many actively participated in the artistic life there. To take one example of many, the aforementioned Jerónimo Vich y Valterra was a significant patron of artists in Rome; he commissioned a triptych from Sebastiano del Piombo

Figure 0.2 Enrique Egas, Capilla Real, Granada, 1504–1517 (photo by Olivier Bruchez).

(which included the *Pietà*, now in the Hermitage, and the *Descent into Limbo*, now in the Prado), and he brought back to Spain the architectural vocabulary he absorbed in the eternal city and employed it for the buildings he commissioned in Valencia.[21]

The viceroys in Naples that served during the reign of Charles V, beginning with Pedro de Toledo (1532–53), initiated important artistic commissions, including the construction of a new hospital, a new vice-regal residence, a new fortification and urban planning projects that included the expansion of the boundaries of the city.[22] Naples flourished as a center for the production of all sorts of luxury products, particularly textiles. Likewise, the viceroys in Sicily executed innovative projects, like the series of public sculptures in Messina and urban renewal projects in Palermo. Genoa played a critical role in naval defense and trade under the able hand of Andrea Doria. In no small part, the city remained the locus of sculpture production and shipments

of marble for building and decorative projects to Spain. Important pieces of furniture from its port were shipped for the most relevant buildings whose construction was promoted by Charles, such as the imposing chimneypieces for the kingly, modern palace in the Alhambra in Granada, whose erection started after 1526. The project has been attributed to Pedro Machuca, another artist educated in Italy in the 1510s and believed to be one of the affiliates of the Roman atelier of Raphael, while the master was working for the challenging decoration of the Vatican Logge around 1518–1519. Machuca formulated a very personal declination of Raphael's style, as seen in the *Madonna del Soccorso* (now at the Prado). His documented management of the construction campaign of the royal residence built for Charles V in the old Nazarí fortress in Granada seems to prove such a prestigious apprenticeship, whether this appointment was based on an autograph project for the palace, or on a plan by another Italian artist.

In Milan, Spanish governors were put in place to oversee the Emperor's interests there.[23] They, too, were major players in the cultural and intellectual lives of the city. Indeed, Leone Leoni, who became the chief sculptor of Charles V, settled in Milan after working as a sort of itinerant medalist and coin maker.[24] Through initial commissions for medals and a promised commission of a major monument to one of the governors, Alonso d'Avalos, Leoni came to the Emperor's attention. Leoni was rewarded for artistic projects for the Emperor and members of the court in Brussels, Besançon, Madrid, Toledo and in Milan in a way no modern artist had been—with a house, noble titles, a hefty stipend and other benefices. His sculptural style suited the Habsburgs perfectly, as it combined just the right ratio of realism, classicism and idealism, as, for example, in the bronze bust of Charles V, now in the Prado.

Leoni's son, Pompeo, eventually traveled with some of his father's sculptures to the court in Spain and in the end, remained there for the rest of his career working for Charles V's son, Philip II, who initiated building on a grand scale with palaces, immense gardens and, in particular, a complex of buildings at El Escorial.[25] The architectural projects were commissioned from artists well versed in Italian architecture who had the capacity to infuse it with Philip's predilection for less ornament and a greater interest in line and geometry. The decorations of the palaces and other edifices he sponsored were predominantly Italian in style, if not in origin. Philip enriched his artistic projects and his collections by having Italian artists come to work at the court. Pompeo Leoni and his team were tasked with creating the largest bronze sculpture ensemble of the sixteenth century, the *retablo* and *entierros* for the Escorial (Figure 0.3). The *retablo* was further decorated with paintings by Italian artists. Philip II was also sent many gifts of art objects from Italian princes seeking to solidify their favor with the King. They especially sent ancient sculptures and modern Venetian paintings, which continued the taste set at the court by Philip's father.

The King's taste was mimicked by both the members of his court or those who aspired to be among those elites, following tendencies that were clear already under the reign of the Catholic Kings and of Charles V. For example, during the first quarter of the century, the patronage of the Fajardo, Mendoza and Tendilla families followed the Crown's lead, and Cardinal Cisneros and the executors of his estate ordered his tomb in Alcalá de Henares to be a perfect replica of Ferdinand and Isabel's own sepulcher. Several of the viceroys of Naples who served during Philip's reign were avid collectors and patrons. Per Afan de Ribera, Juan Alonso Pimentel y Herrera and Pedro Téllez-Girón commissioned art for local institutions, but also bought it in large quantities and had it shipped back to Spain at the end of their terms.[26] Their collections, like that of the Crown, juxtaposed modern masterworks from Italy, Spain and Flanders with

Figure 0.3 Escorial high altar chapel, Basilica of San Lorenzo, El Escorial, 1579–1588 (photo by Kelley Di Dio).

antiquities. Philip continued his great-grandparents' investments in the building fabric of Rome, shouldering both the financial and material needs for the rebuilding of St. Peter's.

Philip III was generally a less ambitious patron than his father or grandfather, but his favorite, the Duke of Lerma, and other high-ranking members of the court dramatically increased the breadth and depth of the artistic collections in Spain and took up a wide-scale program of building and decorating churches, convents and residences throughout Spain. Artistic communities of foreigners developed in Madrid, Toledo and Seville, among others, as patrons, including the Crown, continued to favor Italian and Flemish artistic styles. Some native artists cultivated traditional forms, like polychrome sculptures, and employed a hyper-realistic style so as to evoke the greatest emotive response from their viewers.[27] Such sculptures were often placed in churches alongside the elaborate altarpieces that were also a long-standing tradition in Spain,

like those by Juan de Juni in Valladolid. These retablos were a mix of Italian, Flemish and native styles and iconographical traditions, and were a continued, major focus of artistic patronage. Art collecting was a considerable occupation of the élites of Spain during this period and this interest was quickly noticed by Italian princes seeking favors. Gifts of artistic and luxury objects were sent from all over Italy.[28] Artists sometimes took the opportunity to send an unsolicited work of art in hopes of receiving payment and future commissions, like Pietro Tacca, when he sent a crucifix to the King along with the equestrian monument he had made on orders of the Grand Duke.[29] The Duke of Lerma was a particularly avid patron and collector, especially at the sites he owned in Valladolid and Lerma.[30] Because of his position at court, he was sent gifts of exceptional artistic and intrinsic worth, such as Giambologna's *Samson and the Philistine*. As shipments of works of art became more and more common, Italian sculptors began fashioning their products to withstand the difficult trip and to appeal to Spanish collectors' taste in terms of iconography, object type and style. Religious works were a safe bet, but also those of revered objects in Italy—like the Florentine image of the Annunciation in SS. Annunziata—were emulated by Italian artists and made especially to be sent to Spanish recipients. Paintings by Venetian Renaissance artists remained the most sought-after among Italian paintings in Spain, as they had been during the reign of Philip II. Contemporary sculptures from Genoa and Florence, especially those made by Giambologna or members of his studio, were very popular, and antiquities or copies of antiquities were sent from Rome.

During the time of Philip IV (r. 1621–1665), new palaces were constructed and lavishly decorated on par with the great building programs happening at most of the great European courts at this time, such as Whitehall Palace in London, the Louvre in Paris, and the vast renovation and building projects in Rome, including St. Peter's. Philip and the other members of the Spanish élite continued the now long-standing preference for Italian and Flemish art, but also cultivated the deep wealth of Spanish artists. Philip, in particular, had one of the greatest painters of all time, Diego Velázquez, a native of Seville, at his service. Velázquez was a quick study and easily adopted and adapted the artistic approaches of Philip's favorite painters—those of the Venetian Renaissance and the Flemish artist they inspired, Rubens—and forged a new style that had an impact on the Iberian milieu for several generations. Moreover, his two trips to Italy were critical both for his oeuvre and for the importation of sculptures from Rome, which he oversaw.[31] Spanish aristocracy eagerly expanded their collections with objects from the various trade networks active and flourishing at this time, bringing objects from the New World, newly explored areas of Asia and Africa, and from all over Europe.

The center of Madrid was the site of major urban planning and architectural projects as were other major cosmopolitan cities in different areas, like Seville. The surge of wealth at the private level, as opposed to the increasing financial crises of the state, translated into the building and decoration of palaces and gardens throughout the country.[32] Italian merchants, taking advantage of the sustained, vibrant trade routes between Genoa, Livorno and the ports of Spain, sent sculptures in large quantities, and some merchants, like Ludovico Turchi, specialized in this import/export business.[33] As a result, public sites throughout Madrid were increasingly decorated with Italian sculptures, like the so-called *Mariblanca* (Figure 0.4), placed in the Puerta del Sol.

The end of the Spanish Habsburg line came with the end of the reign of Charles II. Financial challenges paired with crises in leadership and an infertile King were a

truly unfortunate combination. On the other hand, though the King was not particularly interested in artistic patronage, the élite of Spain charged full ahead in their ambitious collecting and patronage programs. Again, those who served as viceroys in Naples took the opportunity to obtain and commission Italian art and bring it back to decorate their residences in Spain. Indeed, one of the most impressive collections in all of Europe at this time belonged to one of them—the Marques del Carpio. Several important visitors recorded their trips and remarked on their favorable impressions of the beauty of the country and its built environment. Gardens were a particular focal point for the placement of enormous sculpture collections. Church decoration became increasingly elaborate in scale and style and traditional native forms, like polychrome sculptures, found new proponents, like the great Luisa Roldán, but they were also imported with increasing frequency from Naples and Terra d'Otranto (and other sites in southern Italy), particularly during the later seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century. These were, of course, locales under Spanish rule, and artists there made work that would appeal to the great number of Spaniards who lived there, particularly the viceroys who would often buy works of art to take back with them to Spain at the end of their term of service.[34] Meanwhile, Italian artists continued to flock to Spain and work alongside Spanish practitioners on grand decorative programs for residences and religious institutions, and Italian works of art, from antiquities to contemporary works, continued to be shipped in large numbers.

Inextricably tied to the history of Spain and Spanish Italy in this period is the role of diplomacy. Viceroys from Spain stationed in Italy usually traveled with an entourage, became involved in the cultural lives of the cities where they lived, traveled to interact and see other parts of Italy, reported back to friends, family and the court about what they learned and saw in Italy and, upon their return to their native lands, took back with them all sorts of objects—furniture, books, paintings, sculptures, relics, textiles, jewelry, arms and armor, and so on. At the court in Spain, agents and ambassadors were sent with full retinues to settle at court, learn the protocols, make deals, assess activity and the mindset of the court and report back with frequency.[35] They determined to whom and when a gift of art should be given and what type of object was most suitable. When gifts were sent, the ambassador or agent would be charged with presenting it to the recipient. However, before the gift arrived at court, a complex network was required to handle the making of the object (not to mention acquiring the materials and identifying the proper artist or artisan to make it), packing it up, securing its transport by land or sea (identifying and employing men, oxen, carts, ships, well-equipped docks, machinery necessary to move heavy objects, etc.), paying customs taxes, obtaining passports, men sent along with the object to do repairs as needed or install the object, and so on. Transportation companies situated at the major ports especially flourished during this time, and communities of Italians involved in the trade settled in Spain, just as the Spanish did at Italian ports.

There were other types of human exchanges as well—intermarriage, for example, like the famous marriage of Cosimo I de' Medici to Eleonora de Toledo. And, as the Italian princes sought to stabilize or improve their relations with Spain, some sought out Spanish mates for their children. Italian élites also sought out high-ranking Spaniards to be the godparents for their children as another means to tie families together. Another important means of exchange was religion. The concern for the strength of the Catholic Church was a cause fiercely taken up by the Spanish Habsburgs, who saw themselves as the defenders of the faith. As the ideals of the

Figure 0.4 Copy of the *Mariblanca*, Puerta del Sol. Original purchased in 1619; copy from 1985 (photo by Magerit-Luis Montes).

Counter-Reformation spread and were adapted in Italy and Spain, certain aspects, like the teachings of renowned Spanish religious figures, like Ignatius of Loyola and Teresa of Avila, or Carlo Borromeo was from Spanish Milan, found enormous followings and eventually resulted in their canonization. In Italy, the Spanish constructed national churches dedicated to Santiago from Rome to Palermo; in Spain, the Italians similarly formed religious communities and institutions, like the Italian church hospital in Madrid, the Hospital de los Italianos, founded by Philip II in 1579. Yet another religious ideal brought Spain and Italy together—the belief in the Immaculate Conception. While it did not become an official church doctrine until the nineteenth century, both countries saw altarpieces and religious institutions dedicated to the Virgin's immaculacy. As a result, objects bearing the iconography associated with it were sent in both directions.[36]

Spanish Rome, Spanish Milan, Spanish Naples—these are not the way we may think of these cities during the early modern era, but it is historically accurate.[37] The bias in Anglophone scholarship, particularly before the twenty-first century, continued to harbor the disdain for Spain that began with the *leyenda negra*. Progress has certainly been made in the last couple of decades with groundbreaking scholarship that reexamined early modern Spain and its artistic monuments. Scholars have begun to examine Spain in terms of its diplomatic and artistic exchanges with the courts of Europe; art historians of Renaissance and Baroque Italy have begun moving beyond the Florentine-centered studies of their field, and concurrently re-examining the role Vasari had in constructing this bias in the field, and focused increasingly on Milan, Naples, Rome and Genoa, and their role in the global circulation of visual culture.[38] Their scholarship has elucidated the primacy of Spain for those cities during this period, especially in regards to artistic projects, governmental and diplomatic structures, and social practices. Of course, the Medicis of Florence were very dependent on Spain as well for their financial and political stability, and used the artistic products of their city to send as state gifts to win the favor of the king or of the members of his court. Genoa's position was one of strength in its alliance with the Emperor, but Spanish influence was felt here as well, as it was in other major cities in Italy, through trade of luxury goods, exchange of ideas about religious and secular practices and in the types of art objects collected and given as gifts.

Some scholars have examined the lives and careers of Italian artists working in Spain or for Spain, many of whom came from Spanish Italian cities or the cities otherwise tied to Spain, like Florence or Milan, such as the previously mentioned Leone and Pompeo Leoni, but also Giulio Sormano, Milan Vimercato, the Carducho brothers, Eugenio and Patrizio Cascesi, Federico Zuccari, etc.[39] These studies illustrate how these artists created a new, international language where elements from their native cultures cohabited with the exigencies and traditions of Spanish court and some formed communities of foreign artists, like the Tuscan artists did in Madrid. Fewer have examined the presence of Spanish artists (beyond Ribera and Velázquez) who came to Italy to study and/or work.[40]

Broadly speaking, scholarship has focused on Italy's influence on Spain, but the exchange was bilateral. Scholars have begun exploring this more closely by recognizing more fully Italy's dependency on Spanish rule, and the impact of artistic exchange and circulation of goods in creating style and facilitating diplomatic relations.

In this volume, various means of exchange will be explored: humans—their trips, court visits, or resettlements; and objects—such as books, paintings, sculptures and prints. The evidence of the transmission of ideas, iconographies and styles will also be explored, such as triumphal ephemera, treatises on painting, the social status of the artist, collections and their display, church decoration and funerary monuments. The essays are arranged in chronological order so that changes, developments and consistencies over time can be more easily traced.

In the first chapter, Michaela Zurla examines the patronage of Isabel and Ferdinand, particularly for the Capilla Real in Granada, the construction of which began around 1504–1505. Domenico Fancelli was chosen for the tomb project, in part because he had also been commissioned with the tomb of their son, Prince Juan, mentioned earlier. Ferdinand's choice of an Italian sculptor, Zurla argues, who would employ Italian artistic vocabulary and marble in the tombs, was part of his desire to signal his status as a modern patron and, in part, to compete with the French King

Louis XII. She traces some of the formal and stylistic qualities of the tomb monuments Ferdinand commissioned to similar projects in Italy, like the bronze tomb of Sixtus IV by Antonio del Pollaiuoulo (1484–93) for its form, and decorative elements seen in north-central Italy, such as the *Soffitto dei Semidei* by Pintoricchio in Rome (c. 1490) or the *Sala dei Gigli* in Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, among others, as well as other elements that seem related to Lombard sculptors working in Genoa.

Like Zurla, Johannes Röll also examines tomb monuments in Spain; however, Röll focuses on one made in Spain by a Spanish sculptor—the tomb of Bishop Alfonso de Madrigal in the Cathedral of Ávila by Vasco del Zarza—that, in its broader history, documents image exchange going both to and from Italy and Spain. Röll provides important information about the understudied artist who made the tomb; he also reveals the Italian sources for it and suggests how del Zarza could have been familiar with those examples. In the sepulchral monument, the Bishop is shown seated and writing, a type, the *Autorbild*, seen in some tombs in Italy and one, Röll argues, that forms part of a programme in the construction of Alfonso de Madrigal's identity as a scholar and theologian, a project undertaken by Cardinal Cisneros. Röll traces the patronage of Cardinal Cisneros in publishing of Alfonso de Madrigal's writings in Venice and Salamanca and how it relates to the motivations Cisneros had in commissioning the tomb project, which was carried out 70 years after the death of the bishop.

Carlos Plaza offers an important reconsideration of *retablos* as architectural forms, as opposed to discussing their individual elements as previous scholarship has done. Plaza sees the *retablos* as important areas for experimentation with classicizing forms, but also ones that had to conform in some ways to prevailing Spanish taste. By looking at a trio of artists —Alonso Berruguete, Diego de Siloé, and Jacopo L'Indaco—who knew each other, trained in Italy and worked on projects in Italy and Spain, Plaza discerns that their experiences in Italy, where they saw or worked on triumphal *apparati*, tabernacles and altarpieces, would have informed their philological approach to their work in Spain, cultivated via ancient sources and modern examples. Some of their patrons specified their desire to have *retablos* 'al romano', while others demanded other modes. That these three artists were asked to carry out architectural projects, along with paintings and sculptures, has been rather neglected in scholarship thus far, while the multiple responsibilities tasked of Italian artists to work in all media is well known. Moreover, Plaza's study illuminates aspects of the successful careers of these three artists, and demonstrates clearly that the geographic and cultural borders were more porous than traditionally believed.

Another important aspect of artistic exchange across borders is brought to light in María José Redondo Cantera's essay, which, like Zurla's contribution, offers an in-depth consideration of a work whose materials were shipped from Italy and then manufactured in Spain. In this case, it is the *Fuente del Águila*, which, she persuasively suggests, is the fountain sent with the aid of Andrea Doria of Genoa to Charles V in 1540. Redondo Cantera considers the impressive shipment in the context of the plans to redesign the royal residences and gardens, and, in particular, the Alcázar of Madrid, where the fountain was intended to be placed. She argues that the remodeling plans were influenced by the Emperor's travels in Italy and especially by what he saw in Genoa, and the fountain was part of a larger plan that was likely meant to evoke, albeit in a Spanish context, Doria's residence at Fassolo. Her essay illustrates well the difficulties faced in moving objects like this between the two countries, but that these