



ROUTLEDGE RESEARCH IN ARCHITECTURE

# ARCHITECTURAL TEMPERANCE

*Spain and Rome, 1700–1759*

VICTOR DEUPI

ROUTLEDGE

# Architectural Temperance

Spain and Rome, 1700–1759

*Architectural Temperance* examines relations between Bourbon Spain and papal Rome (1700–1759) through the lens of cultural politics. With a focus on key Spanish architects sent to study in Rome by the Bourbon Kings, the book also discusses the establishment of a program of architectural education at the newly-founded Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid.

Victor Deupi explores why a powerful nation like Spain would temper its own building traditions with the more cosmopolitan trends associated with Rome; often at the expense of its own national and regional traditions.

Through the inclusion of previously unpublished documents and images that shed light on the theoretical debates which shaped eighteenth-century architecture in Rome and Madrid, *Architectural Temperance* provides an insight into readers with new insights into the cultural history of early modern Spain.

**Victor Deupi** teaches the history of art and architecture at the School of Architecture and Design at the New York Institute of Technology and in the Department of Visual and Performing Arts at Fairfield University. His research focuses on cultural politics in the early modern Ibero-American world.

## **Routledge Research in Architecture**

The *Routledge Research in Architecture* series provides the reader with the latest scholarship in the field of architecture. The series publishes research from across the globe and covers areas as diverse as architectural history and theory, technology, digital architecture, structures, materials, details, design, monographs of architects, interior design and much more. By making these studies available to the worldwide academic community, the series aims to promote quality architectural research.

### **An Architecture of Parts**

Architects, Building Workers and Industrialisation in Britain 1940–1970

*Christine Wall*

### **Towards an Articulated Phenomenological Interpretation of Architecture**

Phenomenal phenomenology

*M. Reza Shirazi*

### **Architectural System Structures**

Integrating Design Complexity in Industrialised Construction

*Kasper Sánchez Vibæk*

### **Space Unveiled**

Invisible Cultures in the Design Studio

*Carla Jackson Bell*

### **Architectural Temperance**

Spain and Rome, 1700–1759

*Victor Deupi*

# Architectural Temperance

Spain and Rome, 1700–1759

Victor Deupi

First published 2015  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge  
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

© 2015 Victor Deupi

The right of Victor Deupi to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by him in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*Trademark notice:* Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data  
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*  
Deupi, Victor.

Architectural temperance: Spain and Rome, 1700–1759 / Victor Deupi.

pages cm.—(Routledge research in architecture)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Architecture and society—Spain—History—18th century.
2. Architecture—Spain—History—18th century.
3. Architecture—Spain—Italian influences.
4. Real Academia de Nobles Artes de San Fernando.
5. Architecture—Study and teaching—Spain—Madrid.
6. Architecture—Study and teaching—Italy—Rome. I. Title.

NA2543.S6D475 2014

720.9456'320946—dc23

2014006114

ISBN: 978-0-415-72439-5 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-76054-4 (ebk)

Typeset in Sabon  
by Book Now Ltd, London

**To Jill**

*ieri, oggi, domani...*

*This page intentionally left blank*

# Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	ix
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xvii
<b>Introduction – Architectural temperance</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1 Spain and Rome in the early eighteenth century</b>	<b>4</b>
<i>Bourbon Spain and the War of Succession</i>	4
<i>Celebrations of Spanish Succession</i>	8
<b>2 Italian grandeur</b>	<b>23</b>
<i>Spanish Rome</i>	23
<i>Spanish Italy</i>	45
<b>3 <i>Metropoli dell’universo</i></b>	<b>62</b>
<i>The Spanish Grand Tour</i>	63
<i>Roman and Spanish academies</i>	71
<b>4 Iberian architects in Rome</b>	<b>77</b>
<i>Emanuel Rodriguez Dos Santos</i>	78
<i>Francisco Preciado de la Vega</i>	85
<i>Ventura Rodríguez</i>	92
<i>Miguel Fernández</i>	94
<i>José de Hermosilla</i>	97
<b>5 Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli in Via Condotti</b>	<b>105</b>
<i>Trititarian Rome</i>	105

viii *Contents*

	<i>The case against Rodriguez Dos Santos</i>	120
	<i>Hermosilla's contribution</i>	123
<b>6</b>	<b>Bourbon patronage and Italian influence</b>	<b>135</b>
	<i>Reales sitios</i>	135
	<i>Solomonic imagery</i>	147
<b>7</b>	<b>The written word and the artifact</b>	<b>160</b>
	<i>Vitruvian authority</i>	160
	<i>The Madrid Academy and the course of architecture</i>	168
	<i>Notes</i>	175
	<i>Bibliography</i>	184
	<i>Index</i>	208

# Figures

1.1	Carlo Fontana, elevation of a <i>meta</i> , with bier and medallion, for the memorial service for Leopold I in Santa Maria dell'Anima, Rome (1705)	14
1.2	Carlo Fontana, façade decoration for the memorial service to King Pedro II of Portugal, Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi, Rome (1707)	16
1.3	Carlo Fontana, perspective view of the Catafalque and Baldacchino in the crossing for the memorial service to King Pedro II of Portugal, Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi, Rome (1707)	17
1.4	Carlo Fontana, plan and elevation of the portico of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (1709–11)	18
1.5	Filippo Juvarra, monumental throne, from <i>Le simpatie della città di Messina...</i> (1720)	21
2.1	Giuseppe Vasi, "Piazza di Spagna," from <i>Le porte e mura di Roma...</i> Rome (1747)	24
2.2	San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, Rome	25
2.3	Giuseppe Vasi, "San Giacomo degli Spagnoli," from <i>I collegj, spedali e luoghi pii...</i> Rome (1759)	26
2.4	Max Hutzel, Santa Maria in Monserrato, Rome	27
2.5	Sant'Antonio dei Portoghese, Rome	28
2.6	Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome	29
2.7	San Pasquale Baylon, Rome	29
2.8	Max Hutzel, San Bartolomeo all'Isola, Rome	30
2.9	Giambattista Nolli, plan of the Piazza di Spagna, from <i>La nuova topografia di Roma</i> (1748)	31
2.10	Via Condotti, Rome	32
2.11	Giuseppe Vasi, "Palazzo (Caetani) Ruspoli," from <i>Le basiliche e chiese antiche di Roma...</i> Rome (1753)	33
2.12	Spanish Steps ( <i>Scalinata della Trinità dei Monti</i> ), Rome	34
2.13	Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi, "Palazzo Nunez," from <i>Il nuovo teatro delle fabbriche, et edificii, in prospettiva di Roma moderna...</i> , Rome (1665–99)	34

2.14	Palazzo di Spagna, Rome	35
2.15	Ferdinando Fuga and José de Herosilla, <i>Pianta del Piano Terreno del Teggio Palazzo di Spagna esistente in Roma</i> (1747)	36
2.16	Ferdinando Fuga and José de Herosilla, <i>Prospetto della Facciata Principale del Reggio Palazzo di Spagna esistente en Roma</i> (1747)	37
2.17	Nicola Salvi, <i>Apparato efimero per i regi sponsali</i> (1728)	40
2.18	Santa Cecilia, Rome	41
2.19	Girolamo Ticciati, elevation, from the <i>Esequie di Luigi il Cattolico Re di Spagna... Santa Maria Novella</i> , Florence (1724), etching by Ferdinando Ruggieri	47
2.20	Girolamo Ticciati, interior section, from the <i>Esequie di Luigi il Cattolico Re di Spagna... Santa Maria Novella</i> , Florence (1724), etching by Ferdinando Ruggieri	48
2.21	Girolamo Ticciati, catafalque, from the <i>Esequie di Luigi il Cattolico Re di Spagna... Santa Maria Novella</i> , Florence (1724), etching by Ferdinando Ruggieri	49
2.22	Ferdinando Ruggieri, <i>Ornato delle tre porte... Santa Maria Novella</i> , Florence (1725)	51
2.23	Ferdinando Ruggieri, triumphal arch for Carlo di Borbone, from the <i>Descrizione dell' arco inalzato dalla nazione Britannica...</i> (1732)	52
2.24	Marcus Tuscher, <i>Cuccagna monument in front of the royal palace...</i> , Livorno (1732)	54
2.25	Aerial view of the Rocca Sanvitale, Sala Baganza	55
2.26	Palazzo Reale, Colorno	56
2.27	Ferdinando Sanfelice, façade, San Lorenzo Maggiore, from the <i>Relazione della solennità...</i> , Naples (1734)	58
2.28	Ferdinando Sanfelice, altar, San Lorenzo Maggiore, from the <i>Relazione della solennità...</i> , Naples (1734)	59
4.1	Emanuel Rodriguez Dos Santos, façade, S. Maria Maddalena, Rome (1735)	82
4.2	Francisco Preciado de la Vega, <i>Aeneas and the Cuaean Sibyl</i> , Rome (1744)	86
4.3	Louis-Joseph Le Lorrain, <i>Chinea</i> , Rome (1746)	88
4.4	Francisco Preciado de la Vega, <i>Chinea</i> , Rome (1746)	89
4.5	José de Herosilla, façade, Nuestra Señora de la Granada, Llerena (1746–47)	99
4.6	José de Herosilla, interior, Nuestra Señora de la Granada, Llerena (1746–47)	100
4.7	José de Herosilla, detail, Nuestra Señora de la Granada, Llerena (1746–47)	100
5.1	Giuseppe Vasi, “Chiesa della SS. Trinità,” from <i>Magnificenze di Roma 1747–1761</i> , Rome (1756)	107

5.2	Transfer of Morcillo's remains to the Chapel of the Purissima Concepción in the Cathedral of Lima from the <i>Magnifica parentacion...</i> (1744)	109
5.3	Max Hutzel, sacristy with Gaspare Sibilla's <i>Bust of Morcillo</i> , Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome	109
5.4	Emanuel Rodriguez Dos Santos, ground floor plan, Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome (c. 1733)	111
5.5	<i>Casa per Secolari</i> , Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome	111
5.6	Emanuel Rodriguez Dos Santos, cross section, Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome (c. 1733)	112
5.7	Emanuel Rodriguez Dos Santos, elevation, Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome (c. 1733)	113
5.8	Max Hutzel, chancel, Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome	114
5.9	Façade, Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome	115
5.10	Baldassare Mattei, <i>Spanish Coat of Arms</i> , Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome (c. 1750)	116
5.11	Pietro Pacilli, <i>Angel Releasing two Christian Prisoners</i> , Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome (c. 1750)	116
5.12	Max Hutzel, interior, Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome	117
5.13	Dome, Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome	118
5.14	Emanuel Rodriguez Dos Santos, longitudinal section, Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome (c. 1733)	118
5.15	Emanuel Rodriguez Dos Santos, longitudinal section, Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome (c. 1733)	119
5.16	Gregorio Guglielmi, <i>Allegory of the Trinitarian Order</i> , Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli	125
5.17	Gregorio Guglielmi, <i>St. Ambrose with the Founders of the Trinitarian Order</i> , Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome	126
5.18	Emanuel Rodriguez Dos Santos, detail, Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome (c. 1733)	126
5.19	Side chapel with Gaetano Lapis' <i>St. John of Matha</i> , Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome	127
5.20	Max Hutzel, side chapel, Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome	128
5.21	Max Hutzel, high altar with Corrado Giaquinto's <i>The Holy Trinity Liberating a Christian Slave</i> , Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome	128
5.22	Antonio González Velázquez, <i>Abraham and the Three Angels and Moses and Three Other Prophets</i> , Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome	129
5.23	Juan Bautista Villalpando, the "Order of Orders" from Roland Fréart, <i>A Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern</i> (1733)	130

5.24	José de Hermosilla, interior, Nuestra Señora de la Granada, Llerena	130
5.25	Max Hutzel, choir balcony, Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome	131
5.26	Max Hutzel, side chapel with Francisco Preciado de la Vega's <i>Immaculate Conception</i> , Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli, Rome	132
6.1	Santiago Bonavía, church of San Antonio, Aranjuez	138
6.2	Façade, Royal Palace, Madrid	139
6.3	Andrea Procaccini, Patio de la Herradura, Palace of San Ildefonso, La Granja	145
6.4	Andrea Procaccini, Colegiata, Palace of San Ildefonso, La Granja	145
6.5	Filippo Juvarra <i>et al.</i> , garden façade, Palace of San Ildefonso, La Granja	146
6.6	Virgilio Rabaglio, Palacio Real de Riofrío (1752–1759)	147
6.7	Tomás Vicente Tosca, “Solomonic Order,” from the <i>Tratado de Arquitectura Civil, Montea y Canteria, y Reloxes</i> (1727)	151
6.8	Filippo Juvarra, Chambre du lit, Palace of San Ildefonso, La Granja (1736–37)	152
6.9	Atanasio Genaro Brizguz y Bru (Agustín Bruno Zaragoza y Ebri), “Spanish Order,” from the <i>Escuela de arquitectura civil</i> (1738)	153
6.10	Sempronio Subisati <i>et al.</i> , tomb of Philip V and Elizabeth Farnese, Palace of San Ildefonso, La Granja (1748, 1756–58)	157
6.11	Francesco Sabbatini <i>et al.</i> , tomb of Ferdinand VI, Las Salesas Reales, Madrid (1759)	158
7.1	Claude Perrault, frontispiece, from the <i>Compendio de loz diez libros de arquitectura de Vitruvio</i> (1761)	165
7.2	Christian Rieger, frontispiece, from <i>Elementos de toda la arquitectura civil</i> (1763)	167
7.3	Christian Rieger, view of the Royal Palace at Caserta, from <i>Elementos de toda la arquitectura civil</i> (1763)	168

# Preface

In the middle decades of the twentieth century, George Kubler and Fernando Chueca Goitia introduced the study of eighteenth-century Spanish architecture and culture to a broad academic audience, bringing to light Spain's masters of building and the countless churches, plazas, and palaces that defined the major cities and towns of the Iberian Peninsula. A quarter of a century later, Carlos Sambricio, Thomas Ford Reese, and Delfín Rodríguez Ruiz shed new light on the topic through their vigorous publication efforts, further illuminating the richness of early modern Spanish architecture and urban planning. Much work has followed, though a great deal remains to be done as very little of this material is available in English. New points of departure and varied interpretations need to be considered, and historians need to reach beyond the confines of Spain, situating Spanish architecture and culture in a broader context by examining its interaction with other centers of Enlightenment culture.

These considerations form the basis of *Architectural Temperance*, in which I have attempted to approach pivotal moments in the architecture and culture of early eighteenth-century Spain through an examination of the latter's engagement with Rome. The inquiry focuses primarily on architects and their work, though painters, sculptors, patrons, and diplomats are also considered. As it is not, however, a history of Spanish architecture during this period, no attempt has been made to provide a thorough account of the cities, buildings, and landscapes of the Iberian Peninsula, or a complete survey of Spanish monuments in Italy. The emphasis is on Madrid and Rome, though occasionally other centers such as Florence and Seville are considered. Naples is mentioned briefly as well, as it had significant artistic relations with Papal Rome. (Readers wishing to explore further are invited to consult the Bibliography, which lists many works in addition to those cited in the text.) Nevertheless, a complete study of Neapolitan relations with Rome in the eighteenth century is a book by itself; a work presently under consideration by another scholar of the same surname, Dr. Jill Deupi. The reigns of Philip V (1700–46) and Ferdinand VI (1746–59) are given attention over those of Charles III (1759–88) and Charles IV (1788–1808), as the latter two monarchs have received significantly greater study already.

Moreover, as one of the principal aims of engaging with Rome was the establishment of an academy of art in Madrid (along the lines of Rome's Accademia di San Luca), the relations of the first half of the century shed far more light on Spain's cultural intentions than do the study of academic projects in the latter half of the century, when the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (officially opened in 1752) and exchanges with Rome were more established. It is also during this time that the church of Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli was designed and built in Rome (c. 1730–50), providing Iberian architects and artists with a rare opportunity to work first hand on a major monument in the city. The completion of the church and convent represents what is perhaps the most important Spanish contribution to the face of Rome.

More than anything, this book aims to provide the missing link between the rich body of extant work on Spanish Rome before 1700, and parallel studies of Bourbon Naples and Spain in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The years 1700–1759 set the framework for an examination of the architectural diplomacy between Spain and Rome at a time when Europe was in turmoil over the Spanish Succession, and the papacy was ambiguously neutral in its allegiances to the Bourbon and Hapsburg causes. To that end, *Architectural Temperance* explores why a nation such as Spain would temper her own building traditions with the larger, global trends of Roman art – both ancient and modern – rather than cultivate her own national and regional architectural traditions.

\* \* \*

The present text represents the culmination of a long and arduous journey. Along the way there were a number of important individuals and institutions that enabled the process to take shape. First, I would like to thank Fran Ford, Jennifer Schmidt, Alex Hollingsworth and Sadé Lee of the Taylor & Francis Group for making the publication of this work so smooth and easy. Their faith and support in my project was extraordinarily humbling. My copy editor, Gary Birch also deserves mention for clarifying a number of points throughout, and making the work that much more readable. I would also like to thank the faculty and staff of the School of Architecture and Design at the New York Institute of Technology (NYIT), and the Department of Visual and Performing Arts (VPA) at Fairfield University for making my time at both institutions so enjoyable and rewarding. In particular, Judith DiMaio (Dean at NYIT) and Dr. Marice Rose (Chair of VPA at Fairfield) deserve special mention for their generous support and encouragement.

I would also like to thank the staff at the many libraries and archives that welcomed me and facilitated my research over the past several years. The list is far too great to include here, but in particular the American Academy in Rome, the Archivio Storico dell'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, the

Archivo di Stato di Roma, the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, and the DiMenna Nyselius Library at Fairfield University deserve special mention. I would like to thank Father Felipe Trigueros Buena of Santissima Trinità dei Domenicani Spagnoli in Rome for his generous assistance in documenting the interiors of the church and in researching its archives. I am deeply grateful to him and the entire community at Santissima Trinità for welcoming me to their wonderful church and monastery.

I am extremely grateful to several architects and writers on architecture that have assisted me over the past several years. In particular, Thomas Ford Reese first pointed me towards Spanish activities in Rome, and Delfin Rodríguez Ruiz introduced me to the fascinating figure of José de Herosilla. Joseph Rykwert, Thomas Dandele, John Varriano, and Carlos Sambricio provided me with helpful insights on Rome, Spain, and early modern Europe that I would have otherwise missed. A number of personal friends deserve mention too. Dr. Pablo Vázquez Gestal and Dr. Richard John of the University of Miami both read the manuscript and provided invaluable commentary. Without their critical insight and sincere generosity, this project would have never fulfilled my initial ambitions. The architect Pier Carlo Bontempi of Parma deserves mention as well, for without him I would have never understood the remarkable role that his city played in the culture and politics of early eighteenth-century Spain and Italy.

My greatest debt undoubtedly goes out to my wife Jill, who has been with me throughout every phase of this book, visiting nearly every monument included in the text. Despite her own remarkably busy schedule as the Founding Director and Chief Curator of the Bellarmine Museum of Art at Fairfield University, Jill has been continuously supportive and active in my project. Not only did she read the manuscript and provide necessary commentary, she helped clarify several arguments. Her faithful assurance and encouragement throughout the process has not only made my work that much more enjoyable and fulfilling, but has also made me realize how truly precious life is. This book is as much hers as it is mine.

*Newtown CT, 2014*

*This page intentionally left blank*

# Abbreviations

AGA	Archivo General de la Administración, Alcalá de Henares (Madrid)
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas (Valladolid)
ASF	Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid
ASR	Archivo di Stato di Roma
ATSR	Archivio dei Trinitari Spagnoli, Rome
BHR	Bibliotheca Hertziana, Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid
COAM	Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid
CSIC	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas
DBI	Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani
DIA	Detroit Institute of Arts
GCS	Gabinetto Comunale delle Stampe (Museo di Roma)
GRI	Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, CA
ING	Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome
MA	Museo de América, Madrid
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MR	Museo di Roma
NGA	National Gallery of Art, Washington DC
UAM	Universidad Autónoma de Madrid
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London

*This page intentionally left blank*

# Introduction – Architectural temperance

*Broadly speaking, it seems to me that the customs of the Spaniards are more suited to the Italians than those of the French, because the calm dignity characteristic of the Spaniards seems to me more appropriate to us than the ready vivacity we see in almost everything the French people do.*

*(Baldassare Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier)<sup>1</sup>*

The cultural relations between Spain and Rome in the early eighteenth century are a study of delicate diplomacy and artistic nuance. At the beginning of the century, Spain was a nation in search of reform, and the new Bourbon monarch, Philip V (r. 1700–46) made it his goal to reaffirm the strength and grandeur that Spaniards once enjoyed in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as one of the most powerful nations in Europe and colonizers of the Americas. Philip’s policies of widespread political and cultural regeneration were continued under his successors Ferdinand VI (r. 1746–59), Charles III (r. 1759–88), and Charles IV (r. 1788–1808). Under Bourbon rule, the literature and visual arts of Spain witnessed fundamental changes that were unprecedented in her history. Though the Bourbon succession primarily occurred on the Iberian Peninsula, relations between the Spanish crown and the Hapsburg court that it succeeded were played out largely by foreign diplomats in Rome, with the papacy maintaining an unpredictable role. Engaging directly with Roman artistic – and more specifically architectural – culture was also one of the principal ways that Spain achieved its re-emergence in European politics and culture, as Rome remained the paradigm for all of Europe.

The general perception was that Spain was far removed from the mainstream currents of Italian and European art. The common view or “myth” of Spanish culture at the turn of the century was one of decline, insularity, and crudeness (Kamen 2004: 40–56; Morán Turina 2002: 23–40). But, at the start of the eighteenth century, can it truly be said that Spanish art and architecture were in desperate need of radical reform? Was the problem a matter of sincerity, perception, or simply adjustment? However one interprets the question, in terms of what really happened, artistic relations

## 2 Introduction

between Spain and Rome in the early eighteenth century proved to be extremely beneficial to both. Spain was forced to engage directly with Papal Rome in order to reclaim its possessions lost during the War of Spanish Succession, and to remain one of the leading Catholic powers in Europe. Yet at the same time Spain needed to embrace the dominant strains of European Enlightenment thought in order to restore a sense of creative energy at home. Rome on the other hand received some of the most cogent examples of Spanish artistic patronage in its history, changing the face of the city with a distinctly Ibero-American character.

The art of building is of course a difficult discipline within which to examine such complex cultural relations, as cities, monuments, and landscapes take time to be conceived and built. The long, slow process of building is a collective effort that challenges any regional perspective or individual from emerging as a single dominant force at any given moment. This is certainly true of eighteenth-century Spain, where French, Italian, and Spanish architectural traditions vied with one another for preeminence. Buildings do not travel particularly well either, except in descriptions and images, and therefore the transmission of architectural thought is always one of adaptation and reinterpretation. As ideas travel across nations or continents, they gain momentum and shed unnecessary weight. Like a sirocco that covers the sky with a thick orange glow, architectural ideas can be both exhilarating and unsettling. Architectural thought in eighteenth-century Spain was especially complex as ideas were not only imported from Italy and France, but also adapted to Spanish building types, constructional practices, and decorative traditions. Finally, architecture is an art whose forms are shaped by those who build them and in turn whose influence is extended to those who use them. There is a kind of reciprocity in architectural thought and practice that is analogous to an individual's capacity to grow and mature in character and conduct. In this sense one can say that buildings, like people, have temperaments, and the architectural relations between Spain and Rome in the eighteenth century certainly mirrored such relations.

Architecture can also be a very effective political tool, its imagery and content serving as powerful symbols of ambition and intent. The Bourbons had been aware of this since at least the 1660s when Louis XIV failed in his efforts to build the great staircase (*scalinata*) at the foot of the French church of the Trinità dei Monti overlooking Bernini's famous *barcaccia* fountain in the Piazza di Spagna. A great equestrian statue of the French monarch by Bernini would have culminated the iconography of the space by providing a visible contrast to the *barcaccia* and its associated imagery with the papacy of Urban VIII Barberini (1623–44).<sup>2</sup> But Bernini's equestrian statue of Louis would have resulted in a conspicuously French version of the Campidoglio that Alexander VII Chigi (1655–67), under whose papacy the monument would have been erected, simply could not tolerate. Philip V must have known that these kinds of architectural interventions in Rome resonated profoundly, even if they never materialized. To that end, a

significant number of built structures and ephemeral monuments would serve the new Spanish monarch in his claims of legitimacy, and Rome provided the perfect arena for such displays of architectural diplomacy.

Yet relations between Spain and Rome were more than political, as the two had been intimately related since antiquity. In fact it could be said that Spain was a creation of Rome, and hence it comes as no surprise that Spain and the Spanish world witnessed a particularly resonant version of Roman architecture and space in the early modern period under the Hapsburg dynasty. Rome too was also influenced by the presence and patronage of Spaniards in the Eternal City. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Spanish nation built several churches, convents, and hospices throughout Rome and Italy, and patronized many churches where Spanish interests were particularly evident, bringing Spaniards into ever closer contact with the Papal States. As noted by Thomas Dandeleit (2001: 34–35):

[a]s an important part of the Roman Empire and the birthplace of two of Rome's greatest emperors, Trajan and Hadrian, Spain was dotted with visible reminders of its ancient relationship with the city in the form of aqueducts, amphitheaters, and various other ruins. This past, combined with the experience of empire under Charles [Charles I of Spain and Charles V of Germany], was a potent inspiration for playwrights, political theorists, historians and poets, who made Rome the subject of their work and a major point of comparison and contrast with Spain. Over time, they created a distinctly Spanish myth of Rome that was shaped by, and reflected, the deepening political and social relations between Spain and Rome.

But how would Spanish relations with Rome fare in the early eighteenth century under the Bourbon kings? Would a new monarchy signal a major shift in politico-cultural relations? Would a French-born ruler align the nation with dramatically new ideals and transform it overnight into a different political entity? Would the architecture of eighteenth-century Spain abandon its traditions of Roman influence and character for a new French version of contemporary fashion and taste? These questions and many others related to the cultural relations between Spain and Rome peaked at the start of the eighteenth century, when Philippe, Duc d'Anjou (1683–1746), the first Bourbon king of the dynasty that still rules Spain today, succeeded the Hapsburg Charles II in a heavily disputed final testament.

# 1 Spain and Rome in the early eighteenth century

*Si vidde in questa mattina terminato il teatro per la serenata in honore del nome di Filippo V, re di Spagna ... Occupava questo teatro con la larghezza l'imbotto della piazza de' Mignanelli, avanti alla quale era situato. Sorgeva nel mezzo del prospetto sopra il primo ripiano una base, sopra la quale era altra simile con cartella di finto lapis lazuli e vi si leggeva la seguente iscrizione: "FILIPPO V HISPANORUM REGI".*

(Diario di Roma, April 30, 1701)<sup>1</sup>

## Bourbon Spain and the War of Succession

On October 2, 1700, the young Hapsburg king Charles II, terminally ill and heirless, declared that the throne of Spain should pass to the French duke of Anjou, Philip, grandson of Louis XIV, whose wife Maria Teresa was the eldest daughter of the Spanish Hapsburg Philip IV (r. 1621–65), who preceded Charles (Kamen 2001). Charles had been torn between two candidates, the Austrian Emperor Leopold I's younger son, the Archduke Charles, and Louis XIV's grandson, Philip, so he turned to the Neapolitan pope Innocent XII Pignatelli for advice on his succession (Martin Marcos 2007). After consulting privately with various cardinals, the Pope conveyed his endorsement of the French candidate to the recently appointed Spanish ambassador in Rome, Don Juan Francisco Pacheco de Mendoza y Toledo, Duke of Uceda. Charles though was not alone in facing his mortality, as Innocent XII fell ill on August 1, 1700, and died before the month of September was over. His death threw the Vatican into an unexpected conclave of tremendous political importance, as the balance of power in Europe hung on two turbulent successions. Though the terms of Louis XIV's marriage to Maria Teresa had precluded any claims to the Spanish throne by either monarch, or indeed her descendants, the final will of Charles II made any such renunciations seem irrelevant. And so on November 1, 1700, the last of the Spanish Hapsburg kings died and the succession of the French duke of Anjou as Philip V began, much to the concern of western Europeans who feared that a union between France and Spain would thrust the Continent into turmoil, with England, the United Provinces and Austria ready to pounce. The new Pope, Clement XI

Albani, from Urbino, had no political allegiance to Spain, France, or Austria, and therefore remained ambiguously neutral.

Quite naturally, France assumed that the political and cultural organization of Spain would be modeled upon that of her own court. Louis' often quoted advice to his grandson reveals his determination to diffuse French influence not only in Spain but also throughout Europe: “[b]e a good Spaniard; that is now your first duty; but remember you were born a Frenchman to uphold the union of the two nations. That is the means to make them happy and preserve the peace of Europe” (Saint-Simon 1899: 212). Such counsel was not entirely rooted in the King's self-interest. France had secured a dominant position in Europe by the close of the seventeenth century, and she was the principal vehicle from which Enlightenment culture spread across the Pyrenees and into the Iberian Peninsula. Yet, was Bourbon Spain really any different from Hapsburg Spain? As John Lynch has noted (1989: 1):

[t]he new dynasty did not suddenly transform the lives of the Spaniards, improve the quality of their government, or increase the power of their country. The year 1700 was not a parting of ways, a transition from weak to strong monarchy, from old to new empire, from depressed to buoyant economy. The decades before and after 1700 were a continuation of the unbroken course of Spanish history, merging into a middle ground of proximate solutions to permanent problems.

Certainly the Bourbons enhanced the welfare of Spain, introducing widespread political reforms and social programs that transformed the country from an imperial dynasty into a nation-state more in line with other European countries, but this was a slow process that required a clear sense of monarchical imagery and a careful balance between tradition and modernization (Herr 1958; Vázquez Gestal 2013).

From a cultural perspective, Spain was not a *tabula rasa* upon which the new Bourbon monarchs could simply paint their artistic visions. For nearly two centuries, the Hapsburgs had sustained a remarkably creative momentum, a “Golden Age,” contributing immeasurably to European and American civilization (Elliott 1977; Kamen 2005). These were the Hapsburgs of the Escorial, Madrid's Plaza Mayor, El Greco, Velázquez, and Zurbarán, as well as the colonizers of the New World and all of the art and architecture that came with building a global empire. There is little disagreement about the remarkable success of Spain 1469–1700 under the Catholic monarchs and Hapsburg kings, and despite the so-called economic decline that occurred largely under Charles II, Spanish imports (particularly precious metals from America), population, and culture remained surprisingly robust at the end of the seventeenth century (Kamen 2004: 40–56).

At first, Philip's introduction of French taste in matters of food, fashion, and furnishings was shocking to a society that valued its traditions (Kamen