4 An Italian Fountain for the Emperor

The *Fuente del Águila* (1539)

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The widespread notion that Charles V (1500–1558) had scant interest in architecture, and consequently in the layout of his palaces, which could be deduced based on his numerous and often continuous travels, does not strictly coincide with reality. In 1532, Francisco de Villalpando (ca. 1510–1561), who at that time was working on the staircase of the *Alcázar* of Toledo, had already recognized the momentum that the Emperor had granted to certain architectural undertakings when he referred, in an undoubtedly hyperbolic tone, to “the many and very sumptuous building projects begun by his majesty.” The ancient fortress of Toledo was the third and final link of the plan conceived by the sovereign to remodel the royal *alcázares* located in three of the principal cities of the Corona de Castilla, which were Madrid, Seville, and Toledo.

The first to be remodeled and to which he paid great attention was the now lost *Alcázar* of Madrid, whose expansion and renovation was continued by Spanish monarchs until the middle of the 17th century. In this way, the ancient medieval castle of Madrid was converted into a palace par excellence of the Spanish Habsburgs, who amassed artistic collections there that were among the greatest of their time.

During the 16th century, there is no news of any sculptures placed in the middle of the courtyards of the *Alcázar*, much less any fountains, because it was very difficult to provide them with an adequate water supply. But, as we shall see in this essay, the marble elements of an Italian fountain came to the Palace of Madrid in 1535.

The Beginning of the Remodeling and Expansion of the *Alcázar* of Madrid in 1535

At the end of May 1535, just before departing for Barcelona to launch the military expedition that would lead to the conquest of Tunisia, Charles V gave a series of instructions that can be considered the beginning of a “plan of *alcázares*,” which was then carried out in the subsequent years and decades. The monarch knew that even though the military campaign he was preparing to undertake would be successful, it would take time to return, given that he planned to visit—in the sense of presenting himself to his subjects and exercising his authority—the Italian states belonging to the Crown of Aragon (Sicily and Naples).

Thus, before departing, the Emperor thought it necessary to solve or, at the very least, provide the means for accomplishing the updating required for his three urban fortresses in Madrid, Seville, and Toledo. Since his arrival in Spain in 1517, the monarch’s itinerant journey throughout his Spanish kingdoms—or outside of them—had
caused him to change lodgings on numerous occasions and frequently take up residence in the houses or palaces of certain nobles and royal servants. Following his marriage and the birth of his children—of which he already had three by 1533—the alcázares provisional occupancy, their dysfunctional organization, and their lack of space began to feel in a more noticeable way. It was hoped that the works planned for the three selected royal alcázares would transform them into spaces suitable to the imperial dignity of the sovereign, not just in regards to their scale of representation (with some ceremonial spaces, where the decoration of the Castilian tradition was combined with the new “al romano” style), but also in their size and capacity to withstand diverse functions in the interior of the palace. The growth of the royal family would require the spatial distinction of the “quarters” or distinguished groups of rooms, set aside for the Emperor, the Empress, the Prince, and the Infantas, from those that would connect to the accommodations of the closest servants. The functions of governing and other services had to be added to the ceremonial and residential needs of the palace, with their own spaces differentiated within the palace.

The works that must have been started in 1535 had already been inspected and discussed prior to Charles V leaving the Court. From the first moment, he gave clear preference to supervising the Alcázar of Madrid, which needed to conform to the “design” or plan that the Emperor had approved. The remodeling of the Alcázar of Madrid presented itself as an urgent need, as it had ceased being the royal residence in 1529 during the Court’s sojourn in the city of Manzanares. Before his departure, the joint management of the building project was allocated to the architects Alonso de Covarrubias (1488–1570) and Luis de Vega (+ 1562), and the Emperor provided the expected funds required as well as the structure for the administration of the project, which many years later, during the reign of Philip II, became the Sistias Reales.

The most important change in the reconstruction of the Alcázar of Madrid was its eastward expansion, with the creation of a second nucleus around a wide, empty space, which was arranged as a courtyard surrounded by corridors known as the “Patio de la Reina,” as it was the area designated for the rooms of the spouses of the subsequent Spanish kings until 1534, when the building caught on fire. The plan for the doubling of the palace also already had its graphic expression in a floor plan at that time that, if not exactly the one we are familiar with attributed to Alonso de Covarrubias, would be very similar to it.6

Charles V’s Knowledge of Italian Palaces as a Precedent for the Renovations in the Royal Alcázares (1529–1538)

Charles V’s own knowledge of the new designs being employed in contemporary Italian palatial architecture, based on his trips throughout the Italian peninsula, undoubtedly influenced his resolve to renovate the three ancient Castilian royal residences.

The Trip of the Imperial Coronation and the Return from Vienna (1529–1533)

On the occasion of his trip to Bologna to be crowned Emperor by Pope Clement VII (1478–1534), Charles V undertook his first tour of the northern Italian peninsula from 1529 to 1530, after which he traveled to Austria. Two and a half years later, between the autumn of 1532 and the beginning of 1533, after his return from Vienna
to Spain, he again traversed northern Italy with his itinerary inverted and to a large extent different from that of the previous trip.

In the most important stages of his route, the Emperor was the object of magnificent ceremonial receptions and was lodged in buildings that were most representative of the cities, such as the Palazzo Grande della Signoria in Genoa, the Comunale in Bologna, and the Castello Sforzesco in Milan, as well as in others owned by powerful people seeking to maintain their alliance with the Emperor. Among those were great collectors and artistic patrons, such as Alfonso I d’Este the Duke of Ferrara (1476–1534), and Federico II Gonzaga (1500–1540), upon whom the sovereign bestowed the title of Duke of Mantua. The latter housed Charles V for more than three weeks (March–April 1530) in his private quarters in Mantua, and threw parties in his honor in the new and suburban Palazzo del Te, where Giulio Romano (ca. 1499–1546) had been overseeing artistic projects since 1524, as well as in Marmirolo. Upon his return from Austria, the Emperor also stopped for nearly a month (November–December 1532) in Mantua and became acquainted with the new residence, the Palazzina created for Margarita Paleologa.

Finally, before setting out to return to Spain, Charles V stayed for more than a week in Genoa (March–April 1533). During this second stay in the city, the Emperor was lodged by Andrea Doria (1466–1560) in his new palace of Fassolo, to whose construction Charles V appears to have contributed 25,000 escudos, which he had delivered to Doria during his first stay in the Ligurian capital in 1529, in addition to awarding him entry into the Order of the Golden Fleece and appointing him the Prince of Melfi. The previous year, Charles V and Doria had established an alliance, highly beneficial for both parties and with extraordinary repercussions for the imperial interests in the Italian peninsula, given that the Ligurian capital came to be, as Ambassador Lope de Soria said, “the key and gateway to Italy.”

Contrary to the majority of the lodgings that the Emperor had occupied up to this time during his trips to Italy, consisting of buildings located in the center of cramped urban nuclei or in fortresses, with the exception of Palazzo del Te in Mantua, the so-called Palazzo del Principe was a suburban villa removed from the narrowness and noise of the city. It was situated outside of the city walls, on the slope of a hillside of Granallo, facing the sea. Its southern front, where windows of the principal halls opened onto porticos, offered privileged views of the city and the bay, where ships belonging to Doria’s squadron were anchored.

In 1533, an initial phase of the construction on the palace was considered finished, during which time Perino del Vaga (Pietro Bonacorsi, 1501–1547), who in 1529 had already designed ephemeral structures for Charles V’s entryway, had taken charge of the splendid pictorial decoration of the main halls and of the Portico degli Eroi, along with the design for other parts of the palace. The sculptor Silvio Cosini, active during the second quarter of the 16th century, collaborated with the Florentine painter on the creation of various sculptural works, such as some figures on the northern façade, as well as the fireplace of the Salone dei Giganti and perhaps the Fontana dei Delfini, which will be discussed below.

From that point on, Doria’s palace was converted into the imperial residence during future royal visits (1536, 1538, 1541, and 1543) not only for the Emperor, but also later for his son, Prince Philip, and for other members of the imperial family. According to Capelloni, a chronicler of Doria, Charles V knew how to appreciate the excellence of the Genoese abode: “praising the room, being claimed to find better and
more comfortable lodging there than in any other location." Its very configuration, the decorative programs with their themes of triumph displayed on the walls and ceilings, and the lavishness of the multiple sumptuous pieces that decorated it (tapestries, works of silver, antiquities, etc.) were those belonging to a great prince, exactly as the powerful Andrea Doria proclaimed himself to be.

The Tour of Charles V through Italy in 1535–1536

Familiarization with the residential ways of the Italian elite and the triumphal manifestation of power were strengthened by the Emperor's experiences while touring Italy, following the victorious military campaign on Tunisia that he had organized with the goal of evicting Khair-ed-Din, known more widely as "Barbarossa" († 1546), and the replacement of its monarch Muley Hassan († 1549), for which he had relied upon collaboration with Andrea Doria, Pope Paul III (1468–1569), and King John III of Portugal (1502–1557). The Emperor appeared before the residences of the Italian cities through which he passed as the great defender of Christianity, in the style of a new Scipio or of a "Caesar Africanus," which he had obtained by vanquishing the Turkish-Berber alliance which threatened both navigation throughout the Mediterranean and the populations on its coasts, especially of southern Italy. Along his long route, which began in Sicily, Charles V passed through such significant urban nuclei as Palermo, Messina, Naples, Rome, Siena, Florence, and Lucca. He was received in extraordinary splendor with ephemeral architecture, sculpture, and painting which included machines and other artificia.24

The cosmographer Santa Cruz, who was part of Charles V's entourage, identified some palaces which hosted the monarch. The Palazzo Apostolico lodged him in Rome, where he occupied the chambers of the Borgias. In Siena, he stayed in the Palazzo del Magnifico, the house of Antonio Maria Petrucci, which had been constructed by his ancestor, the powerful Pandolfo Petrucci, at the beginning of the 15th century. In Florence, he stayed in the Palazzo Medici, the family with which he had already established a close alliance due to the arranged marriage of Alessandro (1510–1537) with the illegitimate daughter of the Emperor, Margarita (1522–1586); and in Lucca, he stayed in the Palazzo Episcopale.25

In the autumn of 1536, which saw the end of this important tour and the fruitless attack on Provence to drive back the invasion of Savoy by Francis I, Charles V remained in Genoa for a month and a half before returning to Spain, and once again stayed in the Palazzo Doria, whose architecture and décor continued to be completed.

Charles V's Stop in Genoa in 1538

In the days leading up to the celebration of the meeting of French King Francis I in Aigues-Mortes (France), after having agreed upon the Trace of Nice at the beginning of the summer (June–July) of 1538, the Emperor returned to stay at Fassolo. Work upon the palace finished in that same year, according to the commemorative inscription which also made reference to the "honest leisure" that could be enjoyed there.26

The subjugation of Nature in the garden could not be left out of such a framework of delight. According to Vasari, Doria put Fra Giovan Angelo da Montorsoli (1507–1563) in charge of certain expansions of the buildings and the organization of some gardens during the 1540s. But certain landscaped areas had probably
already began to be cultivated before this, perhaps designed by Perino del Vaga and adorned with sculptures and fountains, such as the aforementioned Fontana dei Delfini (Figure 4.1), which is currently located in the western courtyard and whose attribution to Silvio Cosini has generally been accepted.24 Its dating and the author of its design are more controversial. Its creation around 1531–153325 would make it compatible with a design by Bonacorsi. But the existing relationship between this work and the Fontana d'Oriente in Messina (1547–1553), completed by the Servite friar, based on the use of figures of mermaids in the lower area of the shafts, recalls a concept of Montorsoli's, brought about by Cosini, as Laschke proposes.26 Even so, it would not be necessary to push back the existence of the work to the following decade, given that the Florentine began to receive commissions from Genoa in 1538 to sculpt busts of Charles V, Andrea Doria, and Alfonso V of Naples.27

![Figure 4.1 Silvio Cosini (attr.), Fontana dei Delfini, ca. 1530s–1540s, Palazzo Doria, Genoa (photo by the author).](image-url)
During his various stays in Genoa, the Emperor had observed how the palace of Fassolo was expanded and enriched. It was perhaps in 1538 when he became interested in the gardens and the fountains that were being made or were planned to be made. We know that Charles V was curious about certain aspects of the locations he visited, in particular about certain fortresses, as certain commentaries recorded by historians report. But he was also attentive to other issues, as seen in the account telling of the impression made upon him by the Alhambra of Granada in 1526 where "the ingenious design of the waters" captured his attention. In effect, one of the greatest attractions of the ancient Nasrid fortress and its gardens, as at the Palacio del Generalife, was the integration of water in various forms, including pools, canals, basins, fountains, and fountains. Since the end of the Middle Ages, the availability of an immediate garden at the palace was an aspiration to the designs of elite residences. That sensibility was felt in the Emperor's closest surroundings, given that just a few years before, in 1536, his own wife had made his desire a reality by creating a locus amoenus by means of the establishment of a "huerta," or villa with a garden, on the outskirts of Toledo.

The Fountain Sent by Andrea Doria to Charles V in 1540

The documentation published hereafter allows us to formulate the hypothesis that, because of his residential experience in Fassolo, Charles V decided to commission, or accepted as a gift, a fountain hailing from Genoa and destined for the Alcázar of Madrid in 1538. Such an ornamental piece was extraordinarily novel in Spanish palaces for its dimensions and its development of the figure. Andrea Doria was in charge of its production; it was finally completed by the end of 1539. At the beginning of 1540, the imperial ambassador in Genoa, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, informed the sovereign, among other things, that: "The fountain that the prince made for Y[our] M[ajesty] has been completed and packed. I shall have it transported with the first ship to Cartagena so that it may be brought from there to Madrid as Y[our] M[ajesty] commanded." From the text, it can be deduced that Charles V knew about the completion of the fountain, Andrea Doria was the one who had ordered it from the sculptors, and that the monarch was awaiting its arrival, given that he had commanded that it be unloaded in Cartagena, the port at which elements of his parents' tomb had arrived the previous year. The brief text referring to the fountain does not specify if it was meant as a gift from the Admiral or if he had followed instructions left by the Emperor and its payment would come from the account of the Real Hacienda. The fact that the 62 boxes that contained the pieces of the fountain were not stowed in a galley belonging to Andrea Doria, but rather in what seems to be a Basque ship which left Genoa the February 17, 1540, could indicate that this was a shipment created at the cost of the monarch. He was not to be found in Spain at that time, given that he had left for Flanders by land routes across France at the end of 1539 following the death of his wife in May of that same year. It was Cardinal Tavera, who had remained in charge of the regency of Castile and of the responsibility of the works of the Alcázar of Madrid, and Enrique Persens, "quartermaster of the palace of his Majesty and inspector of the works of the Alcázar of Madrid," who, once they received notice of the disembarkation of the boxes in the port of Murcia, were charged with organizing its transfer from Cartagena, where it was being kept in the custody of Tomás Garri, Jurado de la Ciudad, to Madrid.
The transport expenses of the heavy "pieces of the marble fountain" to the Alcázar of Madrid were documented in detail. The shipment was in fact slow-moving, and was composed of 32 ordinary wagons (drawn by a pair of mules) and a double (drawn by three pairs of mules), which had to undergo the trek again, given that it had to return to Cartagena once more in order to transport "another piece of large marble," which could not be included in the first shipment. The various elements of the fountain were always kept packed up in their closed boxes, their maintenance throughout the journey left assigned to a carpenter, who repaired the imperfections sustained during the journey. The receipt dated May 28, 1540 recorded their arrival in Madrid and that the cases were those "in which they say comes a marble fountain." After that, we lack further information about what happened to the fountain.

A Missing Fountain?
The marble pieces that arrived from Italy were undoubtedly destined to be part of an ornamental fountain at the Alcázar of Madrid. The anticipated location for its installation remains unknown. The two most usual sites for a work of this type were the courtyard of a palace or the gardens surrounding it. The absence of the monarch, our lack of knowledge as to whether he had left directions for it, and the state in which the works of the Alcázar of Madrid found themselves in 1540, would all complicate the placement of the fountain. At that time, the center of the main courtyard, known as the King's, was still undergoing repairs, and it lacked the water supply necessary for a pump to function. In 1541, work was being undertaken to secure water storage in the subsoil of the courtyard by means of two drainage wells which would collect rainwater and lead it to a cistern through two underground pipes or "minas." Even at that time, the existing garden to the north of the Alcázar could not be considered an adequate location for the installation of a fountain since the pieces were not found at a suitable level, thus no use was made of the aquifer which would have allowed it to operate. A means of conducting water originating from the exterior which would provide for the uses of the Alcázar did not even begin to be planned until the 1560s in the age of Philip II, but even at the time it would still not have the necessary pressure for the fountain's pumps to operate.

Thus, in the same manner as the pieces of the tomb of Felipe el Hermoso and Juana la Loca, which were kept for decades in Granada before being assembled, and lacking orders on how to proceed, the fountain's pieces from Genoa must have been stored in a place and during a period of time about which we have no information.

Proposal for the Identification of the Genoese Fountain Arriving from Italy in 1540 as the Fuente del Águila
It can be supposed that the Genoese fountain would follow the type that dominated Italy during the 1530s, the so-called "candelabrum," which was comprised of a basin and a central shaft upon which one or more smaller tiers would be overlain, which would progressively reduce in size as the height increased, and which were generally held up by decorative supports, all to culminate at the fountain's peak with a figure. By their marked ornamental character, the quality of their sculptures, and their decorative carved work, these pieces were reserved for the private space of certain courtyards and gardens of palaces and villas belonging to the most powerful members of
the elite, where they acted as reference points which contributed to the organization of the surrounding space.

This fountain type is found in diverse examples from the Middle Ages to the 15th century. One of the most ancient and most ambitious in its vertical approach, given that its components were composed of three tiers, would be the drawing included in the scene of the Martyrdom of St. John the Baptist, in the Louvre; attributed to Jacopo Bellini (ca. 1396-ca. 1470) and datable from 1430-1460. A fountain with a more horizontal composition was included in the fresco of Susanna and the Elders (1492-1494), by Filippino Lippi (Bernardino di Betto, ca. 1452-1518), in the Hall of the Saints, Borgo Palace, Vatican Palace, where Charles V stayed in 1533, as previously mentioned. Evidence of the spread of this type from Italy to Germany is found in the AQUILA DIVVS IMPERIALIS, by Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1472-1531) around 1507, made for Maximilian I, which contains a FONS MVSARUM where nine young, nude muses bathe.

From at least the beginning of the 16th century, Genoese workshops were sculpting fountains in the form of candelabra. Among them was the one Wiles considered the most ancient to be known of those completed, erected in the center of the courtyard of the Château de Gaillon (France). It was the product of a workshop of Genoese marble workers overseen by Agostino Solario in 1506 and known thanks to Du Cerceau. Even more considered is the one found at the arch of the tower of the castle of Juana the Mad, where Juana was lacking and stored in

Maritime monsters are depicted on the lower level of the shaft of both fountains, as if rising up from the water with which they are in contact, an almost mandatory motive in the decoration of ponds and water features. On Doria’s fountain and the Emperor’s fountain, this imagery could also serve to allude to power and to the maritime triumphs of their owners. On the Spanish fountain (Figure 4.3), it is only that the mermaid’s legs end in long fish-tails that impede them from being fully human. Their heads, covered with hair animated by bulky curls, present less brutal features than those on the Genoese fountain, and their anatomy is more athletic.
Figure 4.2. Copy of the Fuente del Águila, 2000, Universidad María Cristina, El Escorial (photo by the author).
Figure 4.3 Tritons, copy of the Fuente del Águila (photo by the author).
Figure 4.4 Copy of the Fuente del Águila, nudes on the middle level (photo by the author).
The faces of two mermen, one with a certain echo of Michelangelo’s David, conform to the classic model which presents them as youths with serene expressions. The third is different, given that he appears more advanced in age, and his features are animated by an accentuated expressivity obtained by means of a greater plasticiy in the modeling. There is a certain resemblance of this figure to Laocoön, emphasized by the elevation of his right arm, to highlight his nature as a maritime monster; small trails of water springing from his nose fall below his open mouth, just as in another of his companions.

A trio of nude males is located on the middle level (Figure 4.6). Sculpted at a smaller scale than the mermen, their anatomy is equally a conception less monumental and more stylized. They all lift one of their arms, more in order to raise it to their heads than to hold onto the tier, and cross their legs, which provides their figures with angular profiles that imposes a certain dramatic energy, further emphasized by their expressive faces with open mouths and furrowed brows. One of them appears older, has a beard, and is wearing a turban, possibly alluding to the victory of Charles V in the campaign of Tunis. Some of the defeated figures in the fresco The Fall of the Giants (1530–1532) in Doris’s palace are similarly portrayed in such postures, which, in addition to suggesting an influence from or design by Perino del Vaga, can also share a similar meaning, which in this case would be of the peoples submitting to imperial authority.

The final group of three child-like figures, typical in this location on fountains, is presented once again on a greater scale. Their chubby bodies seem to call attention to the highest part of the shaft. This is another feature shared with the Doris fountain, as in the case of the shell niches with hibiscus masks situated on top of them. Though the intermediary receptacle on the imperial fountain presents a smooth surface (with the exception of the hibiscus masks which frame the water pumps) in the paintings from the 17th century, it appears with its talons, which would point to the substitution of a lost piece. On the lower tier, bas-reliefs of sinuous, forked dolphins are superimposed on the talons, which are separated by shells in a pattern around the circular perimeter. Pipes were placed in their open mouths which pour water into the basin.

Above the upper tier, a spherical form was erected, on top of which rose a heraldic, two-headed eagle wearing a crown. This image of imperial dignity, already widespread with Maximilian I, was used in theatrical devices in Italy to celebrate Charles V, and are particularly well documented in Genoa. In 1529, for example, “a grandiose ball made in the shape of the World with all its seas and lands with a large eagle above signifying His Majesty, King of the world” was constructed in the city, and was opened when the Emperor arrived and, after hurling perfumed water onto him and his companions, it was opened in order to allow a boy to exit from its interior who offered the monarch the key to the city. A similar trick was organized in 1548 during the visit of Prince Philip to Genoa, in which “the shape and roundness of the world were positioned in the manner of a globe in front of the palace with an imperial crown above, from which whenever a prince or dignitary entered the palace, many fireworks were set off and with such uproar that it seemed the artillery had discharged.”

The lower tier, measuring two meters in diameter, was perhaps one of the two large pieces that was necessary to transport by land in the double wagon previously mentioned. The other could be the group of mermen, if they were sculpted from a single block. For its part, the imperial eagle was the most delicate piece, owing to its
Figure 4.5 View of the Casa de Campo, Museo de Historia de Madrid, c.1634 (photo: trust of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid).

protruding pieces constituting the heads and spread wings. Perhaps that fragility or its major deterioration—being the part most exposed to the atmospheric elements—influenced its disappearance, the circumstances of which are unknown.

The **Fuente del Águila** in the Casa de Campo in Madrid

Following his return to Spain as King in 1559, Philip II exhorted the continuation of the works in the Alcázar of Madrid, overseen by Juan Bautista de Toledo (1515–1567). The new monarch must have been aware of the existence of the fountain in storage, but he could not install it in his palace in Madrid for various reasons. First, its presence was not appropriate because the Emperor had already died, and the new monarch who resided in the Alcázar lacked the imperial dignity that the fountain symbolized. Furthermore, the palace was unable to provide a sufficient amount of water for the fountain to function at that time.

The **Fuente del Águila** was located in the Casa de Campo at least since 1584. In this year the piping was made to supply it with water.6 The artificial paradise that
Philip II achieved in that extensive recreational villa located opposite the western side of the Alcázar of Madrid, on the other side of the Manzanares river, would not have been possible without the creation of a series of ponds, located at higher levels, to the west, which were fed by the waters of the Vadillo River and which were created by the Dutchman Peeter Janson or Janssen. Due to this and to the corresponding piping, the gardens could be watered and the fountains and other water features could operate. Had it not relied upon that engineering infrastructure, it would have been very difficult for the Fuente del Águila to be able to draw water through its pumps.

For technical reasons, for its natural surroundings, and for the close spatial and visual relationship with the Alcázar of Madrid, the Casa de Campo thus became the appropriate site to place the Fuente del Águila. Given its height, the fountain was visible from the western sector of the palace, where the King's chambers were located, as the painting Vista de la Casa de Campo (Figure 4.5), belonging to the Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid, roughly replicates, which shows the grouping of the Royal Palace. With a height and figurative development superior to the other similar pieces installed at the Casa de Campo, it was the most prominent work of all, which reaffirmed the greater hierarchy of its symbolism. Perceived with a sensibility more fitting of later ages, it might be said that the fountain was transformed into a monument evocative of the Emperor as in the center of Nature.

The first written reference in literature confirming the presence of the Fuente del Águila in the Casa de Campo is found in the account written by Cassiano del Pozzo (1588–1657) regarding the stay of Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679) in Madrid in 1626. This timeframe ante quem could be expanded to include 1617, based on the verses with which Lope de Vega celebrated the Royal Palace, in the beginning of the second act of the comedy Lo que pasa en una tarde, where what seems to be a reference to the Fuente del Águila is followed by another related to the equestrian sculpture of Philip III (1578–1621), cast in bronze by Pietro Tacca (1577–1640), based on the plans of Giambologna (1529–1608).

The association of these two ambitious works of Italian provenance was visually fixed in the Vista de los jardines de la Casa de Campo con la estatua de Felipe III (Plate 3), which belongs to the Museo Nacional del Prado. This and the aforementioned paintings, both of unknown date and author, could be related to the positioning of the equestrian monument. In any case, the two images provide valuable visual information about the location and configuration of the Fuente del Águila, as well as other aspects of the group.

According to what these paintings communicate, the Fuente del Águila was ultimately raised from the calle del caballo, the “street of the horse,” so called due to its sculpture of Philip III. There, it occupied the center of an octagonal, open plaza, limited by fences, behind which tall trees rose which comprised the most “forested” area of the little palace’s surroundings. The painting in the Prado clarifies how the fountain functioned, that water streamed from all the pipes, from what seems to be a globular gallinado jug—and not an orb—located below the imperial eagle, passing through the successive tiers, down to the open orifices in the basin, beneath the Golden Fleece, in such a way that its edge appears covered with water. In the other image, tiered ponds are seen at the bottom, which supply water.

We do not know the exact moment in which the Fuente del Águila was installed at the Casa de Campo but, as previously noted, it seems undeniable that the decision to
incorporate it in his gardens is attributed to Philip II, while it was his successor, Philip III, who wanted to be connected to it by means of positioning it in a way to display the majestic symbolism on its shaft, thereby connecting it to the villa. With the equestrian statue erected in 1617, its placement in the design of the gardens would leave it protected at its back by the triumphant imperial monument, Charles V's fountain, which inevitably fostered a new meaning, not just dynastic, but also of prestige, by presenting King Philip, with his necklace of the Golden Fleece on his chest, as a dignitary and direct descendant of the powerful Emperor.

In this sense, the fact that the size of the sculpture of the monarch is clearly exaggerated on the canvas of the Museo del Prado attracts attention, not just with respect to the fountain, which would be explicable by finding this more at a distance, but also—in a more evident way—-with respect to the flowerbeds between which the monument is located. Such magnification of the equestrian portrait indicates the intention to flatter, because of which it could be thought that it was the first Duke of Lerma, Francisco de Sandoval y Rojas (1553–1625), who was Philip III's favorite and had been appointed the warden of the Casa de Campo, who ordered the painting and offered it to the monarch.

In any case, whether it was Philip II or Philip III who was responsible for providing a definitive way for the placement of the Fuente del Águila in the Casa de Campo, the result quite eloquently points to dynastic intervention in the recovery of such a piece from storage, as well as its installation and contribution not just as an ornament of one of the most ambitious landscape areas of the Spanish Crown, but also to the survival of the evocation of imperial glory throughout the centuries.

Its state of conservation, however, did not take long to suffer from changes in the weather and carelessness in its upkeep. In the report that Count Magalotti compiled about the trip that Cosimo de' Medici took throughout the Iberian peninsula in 1668 and 1669, during the youth of Charles II (1661–1700), the last of the Spanish Habsburgs, he confirmed that the fountain did not operate. It could be said that this predicted the decline and eventual conclusion of the dynasty at the close of the 17th century. Fortunately, the renovations carried out by the Bourbons in the Casa de Campo in the following century allowed the fountain to operate once again, and it was found to be in a good state when Antonio Ponz (1725–1792) included it in his description of Madrid.

The Historiography of the Dating and Authorship of the Fuente del Águila

With his typical good sense, when Ponz made reference to the crowning element of the fountain in the form of a two-headed eagle, he stated, “this indicates that the fountain was made in the time of Emperor Charles V,” and added, “perhaps it would not have been assembled then, or it would have been placed in a different location, from which Philip II brought it to this Palace.” Esquerro probably was following Ponz by dating the fountain to the reign of Charles V, but Agustín Almech believed that the abbot was mistaken and attributed it to the age of Philip II, though he confessed that he had disregarded the origin of the fountain and the reason for it being installed there.

In turn, Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez (1749–1829), after having consulted the documentation of the Junta de Obras y Bosques, in which the Italian Juan Antonio
sorano (c. 1575), specialized in marble sculpting, was listed as having performed various tasks for the fountains of the Casa de Campo, stated that he "worked on the fountain of the Casa de Campo," which was identified as the Fuente del Águila by being the most emblematic of the Royal Palace. Initially, it would not be totally baseless that Sormano, or Juan Baptista Bonome, who is also documented in sculptural jobs related to fountains at the Casa de Campo, or even other marble workers or Italian sculptors, would have participated in the installation or repair of certain pieces of the imperial fountain. In the case of Sormano, it should be kept in mind that he would have had to do it before 1575, which seems too early a date, and does not coincide with the creation of the piping. Subsequent investigations, which brought to light new documentary data about the works in the Casa de Campo, such as the arrival of pieces of Italian marble destined for the decoration of this recreational villa, contributed to the diffusion of the attribution to Sormano.

Nevertheless, other scholars frame the fountain with greater precision, either because they thought it was created in Italy, or they considered that, by its evident reference to Charles V, it corresponded to the years of his reign.

Estrella revived the affirmation of Cassiano del Pozzo about the Italian craftsmanship of the lower tier—and, by extension, of the men who support it—and observed the similarity of the description of the basin that Pozzo had made (polygonal and with lion heads in the corners) with the fountain of I Defini of the Doria Palace, with which he also compared the tiers of the Fuente del Águila. Additionally, she discerned a different style between the sculptures of the distinct levels of the shaft, and considered the lower ones the result of Genoese workshops, opposite the more Florentine style of the upper bodies, in addition to signaling the similarity of the imperial group with the Fontana d'Oriente in Messina (Sicily), completed by Montorsoli in 1547–1553. Laschke proposed that the Servite was the author of the design of the Genoese Fontana dei Defini, though she later dated it to 1540. Montorsoli's time in Genoa in 1539 and the contracted commissions would perhaps also pave the way for the imperial fountain, but there is no evidence of that.

Tejero questioned the attribution to Sormano for stylistic reasons and for the fact that Sormano died nine years before the piping of the fountain was complete. In her research into the Italian provenance of the imperial fountain, she located the documents of the delivery of two pieces of this type, created in marble and hauling from Genoa, destined for the Spanish Court, which arrived in 38 boxes in 1571. Despite interest in this piece of information, in our opinion it must reference another fountain, as the type to which the Fuente del Águila conforms was no longer fashionable, given that beginning in the 1540s, Italian fountains were conceived in a more varied way, and they acquired a different monumental character, with a much wider basin and figurative representations of a much larger size, a good example of which is the very work of Montorsoli in Messina, such as the aforementioned Fontana d'Oriente and the Nettuno (1553–1557), and in the Doria Palace, the Fontana del Tritone (between 1540 and 1543) and another Nettuno (1543–1547).

Conclusion

The new dating and the context in which the commission was made and the arrival of the Fuente del Águila that have been presented here cast light on a piece around which unresolved questions still linger, such as the identification of its authorship, the
circumstances in which it was completed, and the dating of its transfer to the Casa de Campo, among others.

The Fuente del Águila was not the first piece of this type of Italian provenance in civil Spanish architecture, but it would have been the most monumental of its time and, having been installed upon its arrival, would have been the first Italian fountain to adorn a Spanish royal palace. With its placement in the Casa de Campo, the dynastic significance was unified with the triumph of its original conception, while its location in Nature bestowed upon it a more atemporal sense and probably greater survival than if it had been in the Alcázar of Madrid, where other kings subsequently would have expressed their power with a different language.

Distinct hands probably contributed to various elements of the Fuente del Águila, but this did not hinder the work from becoming a beautiful, harmonious composition that deserves reconstruction. Currently in fragments preserved in storage at the Palacio Real of Madrid, reconstructing the complete structure would offer visual proof of its extraordinarily innovative language and place as one of the most significant Italian sculptures in the Spanish royal collections.

Notes

6 This work has been undertaken as part of Proyecto I + D “La materialización del proyecto: Aportación al conocimiento del proceso constructivo desde las Fuentes documentales (siglos XVI-XIX)” HAR2013-44403, financed by the Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad and within the framework of GHR “DINTAR” (Identidad e intercambios artísticos. De la Edad Media al Mundo Contemporáneo) of the University of Valladolid. I want to thank Doctor Dª Margarita Estella Marcos y Dª Almudena Pérez de Tudela for help given on the development of this study. The essay was translated by Matthew Greene.

1 In the speech he gave during his solemn act of dedication (Brussels, October 25, 1555), Charles V noted that he had traveled 40 times through kingdoms or countries; each trip would have demanded considerable organization. The speech was recorded by Prudencio de Sanchoval, Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V, maximo, fortissimo, Rey Católico de España y de las Indias, Islas y tierra firme del mar Océano (Madrid: Biblioteca de autores españoles, 1956), 479.

2 Fernando Martí, La Arquitectura del Renacimiento en Toledo (1541-1631) (Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledoanos, 1983), x, 1, 315.

3 Dedication of the author to the Prince, the future Philip II, in the edition of his translation into Spanish, Francisco de Villalpando, Terzo y Quarto Libro de Arquitectura de Sebastian Serlio Boletos (Toledo, 1552), II (ed. facs. Barcelona: Alta Fulla, 1990).

4 Unconnected and independent of that plan, though prior to the beginning of his works, in 1531, was the so-called Alcázar de Carlos V, in the Alhambra of Granada, built ex novo. Earl E. Rosenthal’s book El Palacio de Carlos V en Granada (Madrid: Alianza, 1998) and the catalogue of the exhibition, Pedro Galera Andrade, ed. Carlos V en la Alhambra (Granada: Junta de Andalucía, 2000) stand out among the large amount of information about this building. The role of redrew, architect in this enterprise by the warden of the Alhambra, don Luis Hurtado de Mendoza (1499-1566), and III Marqués de Mondéjar and II Conde of Tenilla, has been highlighted on various occasions by Fernando Martí; the most recent in “Don Luis Hurtado de Mendoza y la Arquitectura de la Alhambra,” in Los Tenibles, Señores de la Alhambra (Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 2016), 83-91.

6 Published by María José Redondo Carretera, "La arquitectura de Carlos V y la intervención de Isabel de Portugal: Palacios y fortalezas," in Carlos V y las Artes. Promoción artística y familia imperial, ed. María José Redondo Carretera and Miguel Ángel Zalama (Valadolid: Junta de Castilla y León y Universidad de Valladolid, 2000), 104-5. The Emperor trusted his wife, Isabel of Portugal (1503–1539), who would act as governor or regent in his absence, to put this construction program into motion, with the help of Cardinal of Toledo Juan Pardo de Tavera (1472–1545), who would also undertake the duties of governing, and Enrique Persoons, who would be tasked with the administration of expenses.

7 Already during the first long absence of her husband, when he marched to Italy to be crowned Emperor by the Pope, the Empress denied staying there, considering it unhealthy. Isabel could not forget that in 1528, while the imperial family was residing in the fortress of Madrid, Prince Philip, who was just a year old, became gravely ill, and she feared for his life. The following year, the archbishop of Toledo, Alonso de Fonseca, wrote to Charles V about the Alcázar: "siente fama de no ser bien sano, esta do mes no quiso Se M, un poco que no bien se viose muy en su casa real," Manuel Fernández Alarcón, Corpus documental de Carlos V, t. 1 (1516–1539) (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1975), 165. Regarding the decisions that Isabel of Portugal adopted in regards to the places and buildings that she selected as a residence when she acted as regent, see María José Redondo Carretera, "Palacios y casas al margen de la Casa Real, 1526–1539," in Matrimonio y Arquitectura: De la antigüedad a la edad moderna, ed. Cándida Martínez López and Felipe Serrano Estrella (Granada: Editorial de la Universidad de Granada, 2016), 249–59.

8 Published by Francisco Júarez Almech, Casas Reales y jardines de Felipe II (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1952), 110, and published and analyzed by Genard, De Castello a palacio, 20–5. The authorship of Covarrubias and the dating have been disputed by Juan Herranz, "Los 'nuevos' dibujos del museo real Gaspar de Vaga el primer plano del Alcázar de Madrid, atribuido a Alonso de Covarrubias, y el plano de la casa de servicios del Palacio del Pardo." Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte 9–10 (1997–1998), 117–32.

9 Anonymous, Cronaca del soggiorno di Carlo V in Italia (dal 26 Luglio 1529 al 25 aprile 1530) (Milan, 1892), 84, 113 Alonso de Santa Cruz, Crónica del Emperador Carlos, vol. 3 (Madrid, 1922), 72, 80.

10 In 1533, Santa Cruz, Crónica, vol. 3, 176.

11 In the city of Reggio, Cronaca: 110; also Santa Cruz, Crónica, vol. 3, 666; the Duke brought His Majesty to the fortress, which he had very richly decorated, especially a hall which had very rich, embroidered cloths of gold and of silk that they said were worth more than 100,000 ducats, and because they had seemed very good to the Emperor, the Duke Implored him very affectionately to help himself to them, but the Emperor did not want to do that.


13 Santa Cruz, Crónica, vol. 3, 176; Vicente de Cadenas and Vicent, El Projectado de Carlos V en Génova. La "castelita" de Andrea Doria (Madrid: Instituto Salazar y Castro, 1977), 171. When Doria bought the land in 1521 there was a palace there, but it was destroyed during the assault of French troops on Genoa which took place the year before.

14 Cadenas and Vicent, El Projectado, 156.

15 About the importance of Genoa in Carolingian politics, Amore Pacini, La Genovesa di Andrea Doria nell'Impero di Carlo V (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1999) and "Perché gli stari non sono parenti...? geopolitica o strategia nei rapporti tra Genova e Spagna nel Cinquecento," in Genova e la monarchia spagnola (1538–1713), Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, vol. 11 (CXXV), fasc. 1, ed. Manuel Hierro Sánchez et al. (Genoa, 2014), 413–7.

16 For the different phases of construction, see Clara Altavista, "Intorno a un folio dell’album di disegni di Giovanni Canale della Biblioteca Nazionale di Spagna. Il palazzo di Andrea Doria a Fassolo-Genova: così si è vi pare," Annali dell’architettura 24 (2012), 93–108, along with the previous entry.
19 At the end of 1548, de Cadamurs and Vicent, El Protectorado, 243; Juan Cidroval Calletse de Estrella, El felicissimo viaje del Mar Alto y May Poderoso Principe Don Philippo (Antwerp, 1552), ed. Paloma Cuenca (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la conmemoración de los centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001), 45-6.
23 Santa Cruz, Crónica, 329, 335, 337, and 365.
24 Transcribed by Stagno, Palazzo del Principe, 12 (n. 2). A similar expression was also used in Palazzo Te in Mantua: "HONESTO OCIO POST I ABORTIS," an inscription painted on the baseboard of the Hall of Amor and Psyche.
26 This has been proposed by Leon Manzoni, Il Tempio di Venere, Giardino e Villa nella Cultura Genovese (Genoa: Sagep Editrice, 1987), 39-40. He more recently suggested that the fountain occupied a location of supremacy in the southern, pre-Montorsoli garden, Stagno, Palazzo del Principe, 108.
29 Luschke, Fra Giovan Angelo, 52-61, and 160.
32 Letter from Gómez Suárez de Figueroa to Charles V, dated in Genoa, January 21, 1540. Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS), Estado, leg. 1375, f. 2v. "La fuente que el prince hizo para Vuesal M[ajestad] esta acabada y encañada. La qual embiere con la primera nave a cartrega para que de alla la venen a madrid como Vuesal Majestad lo mismo a mandar."
33 Adolf Poschmann, "Algunos datos nuevos y curiosos sobre el monumenro de don Felipe el Hermoso y doña Juana la Loca en la Real Capilla de Granada," Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, XXXVIII no. 1 (1918), 44-6.
jew in casa

34. "A XVIII de habebro partio de aqui la nave de la Renteria, en la qual se cargaron las tres casas de maestros de una fontana que el clérigo príncipe para su]ajes]uia[a la qual fue remitida para que se entregase a tomar parte jurado de aquella ciudad al qual se escribió que hizo de los dichos maestros lo que [vuestra] señoría le enseñase a mandar," Letter from Cémez Suarez de Figuera to Francisco de los Cobos, Secretary of the Emperor, Madrid, April 9, 1540. AGS, Zaragoza, leg. 1373, f. 9v.

35. AGS, Compañía Mayor de Cuentas, Primera Epoca (hereafter AGS, CMC, I), leg. 592, 9 (1540). Six ducats were paid to the shippers of the boxes; five ducats to Pedro Negro, "corso de pie" for carrying the message to Madrid; 200 maravedís daily to Hernando Delcon, who was responsible for the transport to Madrid and had to cover eight leagues per day; 3,300 maravedís were paid for each pair of mules; one real was paid daily to the six men who carried the boxes in their wagons, other expenses such as ropes, nails, repairs, etc., are related.

36. Two days were needed for six men to load all the boxes onto the wagons. AGS, CMC, D, leg. 592, 9 (1540).

37. AGS, CMC, I, leg. 522, f. XIX.


42. Harris Wiles, The Fountains, 23.


44. Currently, it is preserved in the Almudena de Mármoles of the Royal Palace of Madrid, inv. N° 10033666. It is composed of marble from Carrara. The basin measures 3.40m in diameter, the shaft reaches a height of 5m, and the highest tier has a diameter 2m wide, according to Mónica Lleoño Áñón, Felipe II. El Rey Intimo. Jardín y Naturaleza en el Siglo XVI (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1994), 102. During the reign of Isabel II (1833–1868), it was brought to the gardens of the Campo del Moro, in the Royal Palace of Madrid; this transfer should coincide with that of the equestrian statue of Philip III to the Plaza Mayor of Madrid, around 1840. Joaquín Esquerra del Bajo, "Fountain," in Exposición del antiguo Madrid. Catálogo general ilustrado (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Amigos de Arte, 1926), 145. It should have since been again removed and stored in pieces, Marquesa de Casa Valdes, Jardines de España (Madrid: Aguilar, 1973), 104. In 1893, the shaft of the fountain, with its sculptures and tiers, was installed, by desire of the reigning queen, María Cristina de Habsburgo-Lorena (1858–1929), in the center of the courtyard of the ancient building of La Casa de Campo, converted into the Universidad Mayor Cristina, in El Escorial (Madrid): it was then endowed with a new basin, wider and lower, with a circular base and limited height, and the shaft was lifted from the tiers with a padded, cylindrical base. Due to the exhibition Felipe II. El Rey Intimo, a reconstruction with the original base was undertaken, of which the photographs of Pedro Navascués, María del Carmen Ariza, and Beatriz Tejero Villarreal were published in "La Casa de Campo," in Jardín y Naturaleza en el reinado de Felipe II, ed. Carmen Áñón and José Luis Sancho (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1994), 432. In 2011, it was transported to the warehouses of the Royal Palace of Madrid, and a copy was left in its place, with a basin that was a reproduction of the original, which was identified by José Luis Sancho,
María José Redondo Cantera


Given the difficulty of gaining direct access to the original and of the scarcity of photgraphic material, the analysis that follows has been completed based on the copy that is found installed in the Univeridad María Cristina in el Escorial (Madrid). This will be the life-sized replica created in 1991, made "for the repair of the piece bound together with polymer resin," Juan Armado Díez de Rivera et al. "El jardín de Felipe II en la Casa de Campo. La herencia de un proyecto de restauración," in Gregorio de los Ríos. A propósito de la Agricultura de jardines de Gregorio de los Ríos, ed. Joaquín Fernández Pérez e Ignacio González Tascón (Madrid: Tapaspress, 1994), 187.


46 In the description of the Fountain sent by Antonio Doria, the nephew of Andrea Doria, the following year to Francisco de los Cobos (ca. 1577-1547), the Secretary of Carlos V, he affirmed that it had three figures of monsters and many others of female supporting figures on the first tier. The existence of such a fountain was published by Marta Gómez Ubierna, "A l'Italia e Spagna, le sculture per Francesco de los Cobos/Entre Italia y España, esculturas para Francisco de los Cobos," in Il San Giovanni di Ubeda restituito/El San Juanito de Ubeda restituido, ed. Marta Cristina Impedovo (Florence: Edif., 2014), 170-1. The descriptive report of the fountain is found in AOS, Estado, exp. 1574, 89. Sergio Ramiro Ramírez, "La fuente regalada por Antonio Doria a Francisco de los Cobos en 1541: Una posible obra de Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli y un error de Vasari," in El legado hispánico: manifestaciones culturales y sus protagonistas, ed. Abel Lebato Fernández et al. (León: Universidad de León, 2016), 279-85.

47 "Una grandísimas balsas finlas en foggia dìl Mundo con tutti i mari e terre con sopra un acquila grande significand seu Maltesa. Re dìl Mundo." Cademana y Vicente, El Protectorado, 161.

48 Calvère de Escudry, El felicísimo, 46: "estaba puesta la figura y redondez del mundo a la manera de un globo delante de palacio con una imperial corona cucumel, del qual siempre que algún Príncipe o Grande entrava en palacio salían tantos caballos y con tanto estruendo que parecía dispararse arriétula."

49 Téjero Villarreal, "Las Fuentes genovesas," 408-9. The reference is Archivo General de Palacio, Administraciones Patrimoniales, caja 7, esp. 13. The text of the payment (30 August, 1584), which attests that it was installed there: "A Sebastián Matheo, alcáiler, vecino de dicha villa, mil y setimientos reales ... por myll y doctijos caños de barro gruesos que dio para el encenado de la fuente del Aguila que esta en la Casa del Campo, a real y quiteso cada uno."

50 The study done by Pedro Navascués, Marfa del Carmen Ariza, and Beatriz Téjero, "La Casa de Campo," 137-39, especially stands out among the literature available on the group.

51 Inventory number 3130, oil on canvas, 136 x 168 cm. Both are found in the Museo de Historia de Madrid. Traditionally attributed to Sébastien Castello, doubts are currently held about its authorship. They are dated to the 20th or 30s of the 17th century.

52 The fragment relating to the fountain was compiled by José Simón Díez, "La estancia del cardenal legado Francesco Barberini en Madrid el año 1626." Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madridinos 17 (1990), 198. The complete Spanish translation of the text is in El diario del viaje a España del Cardenal Francesco Barberini, ed. Alejandro Anezcri (Madrid: Fundación Carolina-Docu-Calle, 2014). Despite Diago Pérez de Mesa's detailed description of the Casa de Campo, Primera y segunda parte de las Grandezas y cosas notables de España compuestas principalmente por el maestro Pedro de Medina ... (Alcalá de Henares: Juan Gavín, 1595), 205-206, there is no mention of the fountain.

53 "Trujeconde de Italia aquella fuente cuya escultura a Praxitela diera enviada justa en esta edad presente [...]. Hablo añadiendo, entre bellezas tanas, este terccao, en bronco de Filipo, de cuya vista con racón se español."

54 Catalogue number P01288, oil on canvas, 149 x 81 cm. For more information, see the fact sheet and bibliography of the Museo del Prado: www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obras-de-arte/vista-de-los-jardines-de-la-casa-de-campo-y-la-casa-del-buen-retiro-7036-99-a3665a6b6a5f38e-455e7f85b65b071 (consulted: November 11, 2016).

55 To these it is necessary to add another painting of a smaller size held in the Museo de Burgos, inventory number 308, 105 x 136 cm, of unknown author and dated to the 17th century, reproduced in Felipe II. El Rey intimo, 149.

56 Lorenzo Magalotti, Viage de Crimia de Mejico por España y Portugal (1668-1669), ed. Ángel Sánchez Rivero and Ángela Maríutti de Sánchez Rivero (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1933), 89.


59 Francisco de Almech, Casas Reales, 137.

60 Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, Diccionario histórico de los mas ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España, t. IV (Madrid: Real Academia de San Fernando, 1800), 389.

61 Javier Rivero, Juan Bautista de Toledo y Felipe II (La implantación del Clasicismo en España) (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1984), 249.

62 See note 49.


66 Pous, Viaje, 143.


68 Ibid.

69 The essential pieces of information about this work and its bibliography in Laschke, Fra Giovan Angelo, 161-2.


72 About them, Laschke, Fra Giovan Angelo, 161, 162, and 167.
Plate 4  View of the gardens of the Casa de Campo with the statue of Philip III, 1634, Museo de Historia de Madrid, Madrid (photo: Museo Nacional del Prado).
Artistic Circulation between Early Modern Spain and Italy

Edited by Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio and Tommaso Mozzati
Contents

List of Illustrations vii
Acknowledgments xii

Introduction: Spanish Italy/Italian Spain
KELLEY HEMMUTTIER DI DIO AND TOMMASO MOZZATI 1

1 Domenico Fancelli and the Tomb of the Catholic Kings:
Carrara, Italian Wars and the Spanish Renaissance
MICHELA ZURLA 21

2 The Tomb of Bishop Alonso de Madrigal ("El Tostado") in the
Cathedral of Ávila—The Monumentalization of the "Autorbild"
JOHANNES ROLL 38

3 Architecture of the Retablo between Spain and Italy: On the Work of
Jacopo L'Indaco, Alonso Berruguete and Diego de Siloé (1520–1530)
CARLOS PLAZA 56

4 An Italian Fountain for the Emperor: The Fuente del Águila (1539)
MARÍA JOSÉ REDONDO CANTERA 78

5 Michelangelo Re-read: A Note on the Reception of
His Pictorial Language in Spanish Sculpture of the Second Half
of the Sixteenth Century
MANUEL ARIAS MARTÍNEZ 100

6 Circulation of Sculpture Across the Spanish Empire:
The Case of Martino Regio's Genoese Workshop and
the Multiple Variations of His Name
FERNANDO LOFFREDO 109

7 Ribera's Northern Italian Nexus
UISANDRA ESTEVEZ 131