

**Milanese Bronze, Spanish Stone, and Imperial Materials: Sculptural Interchange and
the Leoni Workshops (1549-1608)**

by

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DEDICATION

In memory of Eleonora Luciano and for my parents, Carl and Dora Sepponen.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates how one Italian workshop grew and adapted to working in and for an expanding empire as it negotiated the continuation of dynastic traditions with the influx of new territories, industries, and resources. Leone and Pompeo Leoni were the primary sculptors for the Hapsburg court during Charles V and Philip II's rule over their extensive and heterogeneous empire, then at the height of its power. The Leoni's sixty years of collaboration were marked by three distinctive phases in their professional and personal acculturation. The pair began work for the Hapsburgs from Leone's workshop in Milan and continued to use this site for their bronze casting for forty years. While they cast their sculptures exclusively in their northern Italian location, Pompeo eventually expanded their operations to a new workshop in Madrid, where he balanced finishing the Milanese bronzes with new Spanish commissions. This required collaborations with his father in Milan, employing local and foreign sculptors, and utilizing a new range of sculptural materials available in Spain and imported from imperial territories, often at the behest of his Hapsburg patrons. Finally, this decades-long negotiation between divisions of labor, centers of power, and evolving sculptural practices culminated in Pompeo's establishment of a bronze foundry in Madrid, thereby marking the successful consolidation of the Leoni's multi-regional practice firmly on Spanish soil.

What follows is a sustained study of the Leoni's output for Spanish royalty that mines archival documents and focuses on the sculptures in their settings and the materials out of which they were made. Particular attention is paid to how the materials conveyed meanings related to their geographic origins and their sites of manufacture: Milanese bronzes and Spanish stones. I

situate Leone's casting, not simply in opposition to Spanish sculptural practices, but within a network of metallurgical techniques and sculptural industries, complicating art historical conceptions about "Italian" and "Spanish" art in the period. I return to the primary sources in order to provide new chronologies and analyses of the collaborative manufacture of the Hapsburg commissions undertaken by the Leoni. The Leoni's treatment of sculptural materials and the ends to which their patrons mobilized and activated these materials are keys to understanding the ambitions of these projects.

I present chronologically the Leoni's three most extensive commissions for the Hapsburgs, two of which formed a central part of El Escorial's monumental dynastic and religious program. In Chapter 2, I examine a series of eleven portraits, including the *Charles V and Furor*, that are now in Madrid's Prado Museum, commissioned in Brussels, cast in Milan, returned to Brussels still unfinished for royal approval, and finally brought to Madrid to be finished in Pompeo's newly established workshop. Twenty-three years later, Pompeo received the commission for the El Escorial altarpiece whose contract is the centerpiece of Chapter 3. Pompeo worked in collaboration with his father on this project, returning to Milan to work on the sculptures prior to Leone's death. Lastly, the tomb monuments that flank El Escorial's high altarpiece, treated in Chapter 4, feature ten gilded bronze and multi-media kneeling sculptures of Charles V, Philip II, and their family members. These works were made exclusively in Madrid by collaborative workshops on which the Hapsburg court continued to rely, even after Philip II's death in 1598, and which stayed active until Pompeo's death in 1608.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

On April 1, 1559, Charles V's imperial sculptor Leone Leoni wrote from Milan to the emperor's statesman Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle on the topic of future imperial sculptural commissions. Three years earlier the sculptor's son and collaborator Pompeo had relocated to Spain where he established his own workshop, and in his letter Leone articulated what would become the guiding principles that dictated the division of labor between the two shops for the following thirty-one years:

If you wish me to serve His Highness the King [Philip II], if you wanted some large work such as a tomb or various statues, send word and details so that I may be able to do so. As long as I am here [in Milan] I can supply marbles from Carrara, bronzes, or men accordingly since such things cannot be found there; and because it has been done this way for such a long time, Pompeo would suffice for most things.¹

While he exaggerates the lack of materials and expertise that could be found in Spain, Leone raises key concerns and issues that would define the sculptural production of both father and son. He establishes the need for long-distance coordination of the workshops' output, laying claim himself to the large-scale and bronze projects; identifies the commemorative nature of Hapsburg sculptural commissions; and characterizes Italian and Spanish artistic exchange, albeit biased in

¹ “[S]i uuol seruire de me la M^{ta} del Re che se uolesse qualche opera grande come sepolcro o statue diverse che me dia auiso e forma ch’io possa fin che sono qui prouedere a Carrara de marmi o de bronzi o de huomini perciò che colà non ui si troueran queste cose; che quando fusse per quel tanto che è la già fatto, e bastaria Pompeo et a maggior cose.” Real Biblioteca—*Cartas al obispo de Arrás*, II/2257, f. 175. Also in Eugène Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens au Service de la Maison d’Autriche: Leone Leoni, Sculpteur de Charles-Quint, et Pompeo Leoni, Sculpteur de Philippe II* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, 1887), 382 (Letter 68).

favor of his local resources. Leone's remarks also raise interesting questions about how his trans-regional collaborations with Pompeo affected both the materials that were selected for sculptural projects and Leone and Pompeo's facture. Leone's letter of 1559 is among the immense quantity of documents related to the sculptors's work for Charles V and Philip II brimming with factual information and offering insights into the concerns, motivations, and aspirations of patron and artists alike. These documents reveal logistical, material, and dynastic preoccupations and, as such, guide the frameworks and trajectory of the current study.

This dissertation investigates how one Italian workshop grew and adapted to working in and for an expanding empire that was negotiating a continuation of dynastic traditions with the addition of new territories, industries, and resources. Leone and Pompeo Leoni were the primary court sculptors in an extensive, heterogeneous, and changing empire for over sixty years, with three distinctive phases in their professional and personal acculturation. The pair began work for the Hapsburgs from Leone's workshop in Milan and continued to use this site for their bronze casting for forty years. While they cast the figures exclusively in their northern Italian location, Pompeo eventually expanded their operations to a new workshop in Madrid, where he balanced finishing the Milanese bronzes with working on new Spanish commissions. This required collaborations with his father in Milan, the employment of local and foreign sculptors, and the utilization of a new range of sculptural materials available in Spain and imported from Spanish imperial territories, often at the behest of his Hapsburg patrons. Finally, this decades-long negotiation between divisions of labor, centers of power, and evolving sculptural practices culminated in Pompeo's establishment of a bronze foundry in Madrid, marking the successful consolidation of the Leoni's multi-regional practice firmly on Spanish soil.

It is a timely and productive moment to reexamine the transregional and collaborative dimensions of the Leoni Hapsburg sculptural commissions, with the recent “global” and “material” turns in art history. I depart from the standard monographic treatment of the Leoni, where the individual works are considered in isolation. I give emphasis, instead, to the larger projects and spaces of which the sculptures were a part, examining how the bronzes, in particular, interacted with other constructive materials, and were elements within devotional ensembles, imperial networks, and symbolic systems.

The Leoni

Born in Arezzo, Leone Leoni (1509-1590) trained as goldsmith and worked in northern Italian mints before settling in Rome.² There he stoked a fierce rivalry with Benvenuto Cellini, and he was eventually sentenced to serve on a papal galley for having attacked the Pope’s jeweler. Admiral Andrea Doria rescued the sculptor, who established himself in Milan. Leone worked out of his Milanese workshop, located in his house, the Palazzo degli Omenoni, while his son Pompeo, who had initially collaborated with his father in Milan, established his own workshop in Madrid. Pompeo and Leoni produced joint work for the Hapsburgs, the focus of this study, but also took on autonomous commissions, with Leone making high-profile tomb monuments and public sculptures, and Pompeo adapting to carving in local Spanish sculptural materials, such as alabaster and wood. For the major undertaking of decorating El Escorial’s basilica, Leone and Pompeo worked together closely, with Pompeo returning to Milan to cast the

² For a more comprehensive biography of Leone Leoni, see chapter 1 in Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio, *Leone Leoni and the Status of the Artist at the End of the Renaissance* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 1-43; and Walter Cupperi’s entries on both sculptors: Walter Cupperi, “Leoni, Leone,” in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 64 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2005), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/leone-leoni_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/; and Walter Cupperi, “Leoni, Pompeo,” in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 64 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2005), <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pompeo-leoni/>.

high altarpiece sculptures in Leone's foundry. Leone died shortly after Pompeo traveled back to Madrid with the finished sculptures, where the latter stayed until his death 1608.

Kelley Di Dio's book-length study on Leone Leoni has been the most significant recent contribution to our understanding of the sculptor's biography.³ Instead of focusing exclusively on his sculptural output, she introduces other avenues through which Leone performed his artistic identity, such as the Casa degli Omenoni in Milan, a palace that functioned as both his home and workshop. She also reconstructed the art collection he amassed through careful attention to previously unanalyzed documents. Given this enriched sense of Leone's deliberate strategies to cultivate and project a specific artistic status, I reassess the works produced by both Leone and Pompeo Leoni as objects that signify their direct and informed engagement with the other imperial industries with which they competed and the political networks in which they were active.

Critical to my reconsideration of the Leoni has been an evaluation of the documents associated with the Leoni's Hapsburg commissions for evidence of the many, diverse, and interconnected geographies that the Leoni, their sculptures, and the sculptural materials traversed. The financial, epistolary, and legal documents generated by the mobility of Leone and Pompeo and through the circulation of their sculptures offer an unparalleled opportunity to understand the mechanics of how sculptors worked in the sixteenth century, particularly beyond the borders of a single city to include not only other European centers, but the expanding territories in New Spain as well. In my investigation of the Leoni's work for Hapsburg patrons, I reinvigorate the role of archival materials in Leoni scholarship. I examine key documents that have not been considered outside of the Spanish secondary literature and reinterpret others that

³ Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio, *Leone Leoni and the Status of the Artist at the End of the Renaissance* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011).

have long been a part of Leoni scholarship. These documents and other primary sources support the thematic analysis of the sculptures commissioned for the Hapsburgs. They are also crucial, methodologically, for understanding the stakes of the Leoni's praxis in contemporary terms—stakes related to their processes and techniques, the cultural milieus in which they worked, and the industries with which they were in dialogue and competition.

While sixteenth-century authors wrote about the Leoni—Vasari in the second edition of his *Le vite de' piú eccellenti pittori, scultori, ed architettori* (1568), Lomazzo in his *Idea del Tempio della Pittura* (1590), and Fray José de Sigüenza in his *Historia de la Orden de San Gerónimo* (1605)—modern scholarship on both Leone and Pompeo Leoni only emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁴ These foundational publications contained transcriptions of relevant documents from Italian and Spanish archival holdings. Amadio Ronchini published a series of letters in 1865, which, following the re-organization of state archives after Italian unification in 1871, are now in the Archivio di Stato di Parma.⁵ In 1884, Carlo Cestai published correspondence found in other northern Italian archival holdings between Leone Leoni and his friend Pietro Aretino⁶, while José Martí y Monsó consulted archives in Valladolid and published several documents pertaining to Pompeo Leoni's Spanish output.⁷

The most significant and comprehensive publication on the Leoni at this time, however, was Eugène Plon's seminal *Les maîtres italiens au service de la maison d'Autriche. Leone Leoni, sculpteur de Charles Quint et Pompeo Leoni, sculpteur de Philippe II* (1887). Plon frames the

⁴ Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite* (Florence: Apresso i Giunti, 1568); Giovan Paolo Lomazzo, *Idea* (Milan: Paolo Gottardo Ponto, 1590); José de Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1605).

⁵ Amadio Ronchini, "Leone Leoni," *Atti e Memorie della Regia Deputazione de Storia Patria per le Provincie Modenesi e Parmensi* III (1865): 9-41.

⁶ Carlo Casati, *Leone Leoni d'Arezzo scultore e Giov. Paolo Lomazzo pittore Milanese* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1884).

⁷ José Martí y Monsó, *Estudios histórico-artísticos relativos principalmente a Valladolid: basados en la investigación de diversos archivos* (Valladolid: Leonardo Miñón, 1898-1901).

sculptors in terms of their imperial and royal commissions, carefully stitching together sources from multiple archives to introduce their sculptural biographies cohesively for the first time. While certain attributions have changed and new documents have come to light since then, Plon's history and, above all, his appendices of archival transcriptions, remain the foundation on which later Leoni scholars have built. His archival citations however are outdated, incomplete, or vague, making it difficult to locate the documents in their current locations. In a gesture towards making the documents more accessible, I cite Plon's appendices (widely available, digitized, and in the public domain), but I also include the modern archival locations and call numbers for the documents when I was able to find them.

Scholars in the twentieth century turned their attention to reassessing the body of works that can be ascribed to the Leoni on the basis of documentation and attribution. Leo Planiscig (1927) and Ulrich Middeldorf (1956) both established corpuses of autograph Leone Leoni works in bronze, as well as other related sculptures, while, Beatrice Gilman Proske (1956) considered Pompeo's autonomous works in alabaster that he carved during his time in Spain.⁸ Following these more specific investigations into the Leoni's works, a handful of major book-length studies and edited volumes emerged, starting with Michael Mezzatesta's 1980 dissertation, that traced the imperial significance of the formal motifs iconography employed by Leone in his Hapsburg commissions.⁹ In the mid-1990s, there were major conferences, exhibitions, and publications featuring the Leoni, which ascribed both the father and son a more central position within Renaissance art history. Critical to this reassessment was the cross-cultural consideration in the

⁸ Leo Planiscig, "Bronzi minori di Leone Leoni," *Dedalo* 7 (1927): 544-67. Ulrich Middeldorf, "On some portrait busts attributed to Leone Leoni," *The Burlington Magazine* 117 (1975): 84-91. And Beatrice Gilman Proske, *Pompeo Leoni: Work in Marble and Alabaster in Relation to Spanish Sculpture* (New York: Hispanic Society of New York, 1956).

⁹ Michael P. Mezzatesta, "Imperial Themes in the Sculpture of Leone Leoni" (PhD diss., New York University, 1980).

study of early modern European art, allowing for a fuller integration of the artists' careers in Italy and in Spain. A volume of conference proceedings, *Leone Leoni tra Lombardia e Spagna* (1995), considered the transcultural implications of Leone's sculptural production in Spanish Milan.¹⁰ The comprehensive catalogue for the 1994 exhibition on both Leoni at the Museo del Prado has effectively become one of the authoritative modern monographs on the sculptors, with entries on all of the sculptures and medals, and essays that correspond to the show's major thematic frameworks: the taste for sculpture, medals, garden sculptures, and conservation.¹¹

Another historiographical development in the study of the Leoni that has been critical for this dissertation is the move, in the 1990s, toward more contextual socio-cultural analysis of the sculptors' patronage and the intellectual culture in Spanish Milan and Hapsburg Spain.

Rosemarie Mulcahy's *The Decoration of the Royal Basilica of El Escorial* (first published as a Spanish translation of her dissertation in 1992¹²) considers the Leoni's contributions to El Escorial's basilica. Mulcahy highlights original passages from relevant documents and updates and contextualizes Plon's transcriptions of El Escorial documents from over a century earlier.¹³ Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio and Walter Cupperi have greatly and richly added to our appreciation for the status of the Leone and their preeminent art collections¹⁴ and to our understanding of how

¹⁰ Maria Luisa Gatti Perer, ed., *Leone Leoni tra Lombardia e Spagna. Atti del convegno internazionale, Menaggio, 25-26 settembre 1993* (Milan: Istituto dell'Arte Lombarda, 1995).

¹¹ Jesús Urrea, ed., *Los Leoni (1509-90). Escultores del Renacimiento italiano al servicio de la corte de España* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1994).

¹² Rosemarie Mulcahy, "*A la mayor gloria de Dios y el Rey*": *La decoración de la real Basílica del Monasterio de El Escorial*, trans. Consuelo Luca de Tena (Madrid: Editorial Patrimonio Nacional, 1992), 143-212 on the Leoni.

¹³ Rosemarie Mulcahy, *The Decoration of the Royal Basilica of El Escorial* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 137-211 on the Leoni.

¹⁴ On Leone's social status, see Di Dio, *Leone Leoni and the Status of the Artist*. For the Leoni's collections, see particularly Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio, "The Chief and Perhaps only Antiquarian in Spain: Pompeo Leoni's Collection in Madrid," *Journal of the History of Collections* 18 (2006): 137-167, with extensive appendices of transcriptions digitally available at <www.jhc.oxford.org>.

the Leoni engaged with Renaissance theoretical concepts such as replication, seriality, and originality.¹⁵

These various approaches to the Leoni—documentary, monographic, and contextual—are all in evidence in the important recent conference organized by the Prado, with the papers published in 2012.¹⁶ The conference, some twenty years after the ground-breaking Prado exhibition, gathered the major academic, curatorial, and conservation scholars on the Leoni to assemble archive-driven, commission-focused essays in English, Italian, and Spanish.

Even with this rich historiography, art historians have yet to perform a sustained investigation into the evolution of the Leoni workshops and their practices that is object-based, and that interprets their specific projects in light of the concerns and priorities evident in the primary documents and in relation to other imperial and royal commissions. In undertaking such a study, I do so not through the iconographic or stylistic study so well employed by Mezzatesta in his 1980 dissertation, but rather through a lens of materials and technique, a key aspect to which I will return to shortly. Furthermore, by considering the objects and archival contents in tandem, I move beyond one of the fundamental art historical approaches to their work— attribution and authorship. Led by the contracts that give primacy to specific materials and records that identify specific collaborators, sculptors, and craftsmen, I attempt, where possible, to reconstruct a more inclusive and comprehensive production history for three of the largest sculptural commissions of the sixteenth century. I bring to light collaborators and intermediaries,

¹⁵ For example, see Walter Cupperi, “Replication, Iconographic Seriality, and Cross-Cultural Issues: New Perspectives on the Portrait Cameos of Philip II,” *Hispanic Research Journal* 16 (2015): 403-422; and Walter Cupperi, “‘You Could Have Cast Two Hundred of Them’: Multiple Portrait Busts and Reliefs at the Court of Charles V of Habsburg,” in *Multiples in Pre-Modern Art*, ed. Walter Cupperi (Zürich: Diaphanes, 2014), 173-199.

¹⁶ Stephan Schröder, ed., *Leone & Pompeo Leoni. Actas del congreso internacional* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2012).

and draw connections to other sculptural traditions, Leoni commissions, and their impact on the works in question.

Hapsburg Patronage

Like other publications that focus on the Leoni, this project considers three stages of the Leoni's work centered on their Hapsburg clientele, specifically Emperor Charles V and King Philip II. As part of vast imperial networks, these commissions involved extensive negotiations, leaving considerable documentary records that make it possible to situate Leone and Pompeo's sculptures in relation to the rulers' larger political, devotional, and artistic priorities and practices. Leone began working in the imperial mint in Milan in 1542 under Charles V and eventually secured large-scale sculpture commissions from Charles V and María of Hungary in 1549, which were designed by Leone, though cast and finished collaboratively with Pompeo. After the emperor's abdication in 1556, the Leoni transitioned to working for Philip until the elder sculptor's death in 1590 and the king's death in 1598. Pompeo then pivoted to working for a Spanish clientele of courtly agents under Philip III until he died in 1608. Through an analysis of the production, display, and reception of imperial portraiture, liturgical structures, and tomb monuments, I consider how the works made by the Leoni and their collaborators participated in and came to define recognizable dynastic strategies. Their sculptures functioned as central instruments through which generational bonds, military authority, and Catholic devotion were affirmed and reaffirmed over time, space, and across reigns.

Extensive scholarly study has been devoted to the reigns of Charles V and Philip II. Within art history, scholars have approached Hapsburg patronage largely through the individual rulers and monographic studies of individual artists, with a tendency to privilege Hapsburg taste

for painting. The practice of commemorating major dynastic anniversaries with exhibitions or publications has reinforced focused studies on either Charles V or Philip II. 1998 was a particularly eventful year, as it marked 400 years since Philip's death and 450 after that of Charles.¹⁷ Major Spanish cultural institutions mounted exhibitions in their honor, including three coordinated by the Prado¹⁸, El Escorial¹⁹, and Museo Nacional de Escultura in Valladolid²⁰, in conjunction with the Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, as well as at the Biblioteca Nacional²¹, Palacio Real de Aranjuez²², and another at the Museo Nacional de Escultura (Palacio de Villena).²³ In each case, the corresponding catalogue highlights the aspects of the collecting practices of the Hapsburg ruler that intersect with the holdings of the individual institution, with one major exception. At the Museo Nacional de Escultura, the exhibition featured paintings exclusively, in spite of the sculptural content of their collection, while taking a longer temporal view by considering the climate for the patronage of painting under both rulers. This emphasis on the Hapsburg rulers' patronage of painting is found in other publications as well, and is also supported to some extent by period documentation, as will be noted below. Titian has been by far the most steadily considered in the literature, from

¹⁷ This tradition continues. To commemorate the 500th anniversary of Charles's entry into Spain, the monastery of Santa Clara de Tordesillas has just mounted the exhibition *Carlos. Memento Regis. V centenario de la llegada de Carlos I a España*.

¹⁸ Fernando Checa Cremades, ed., *Felipe II, un monarca y su época: un príncipe del Renacimiento* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1998).

¹⁹ Carmen Iglesias, ed., *Felipe II, un monarca y su época: la monarquía hispánica* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1998).

²⁰ Luis Ribot, ed., *Felipe II, un monarca y su época: las tierras y los hombres del rey* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1998).

²¹ Mercedes Dexeus, ed., *Felipe II en la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Cultura, Biblioteca Nacional, 1998).

²² The publication contains papers presented at a conference in conjunction with the exhibition. Carmen Añón Feliú, ed., *Felipe II: el rey íntimo: jardín y naturaleza en el siglo XVI: Palacio del Real Sitio de Aranjuez, 23 de septiembre-23 de noviembre, 1998* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1998).

²³ Carlos Reyero, ed., *La época de Carlos V y Felipe II en la pintura de historia del siglo XIX: Museo Nacional de Escultura, Palacio de la Virreina, Valladolid: 7 de septiembre-21 de noviembre de 1999* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1998).

the plethora of painted portraits of Charles V in armor to the set of classical allegories commissioned by Philip.²⁴

There have been notable contributions to our understanding of Hapsburg patronage that consider the broader imperial geographies and the temporal dynastic extension, on which the present study seeks to build. Two 2013 volumes, in particular, were effective in framing the Hapsburgs as courtly collectors who commissioned and collected works not only in Spain, but across their territories.²⁵ Both *Museo Imperial* and *Sculpture Collections of Early Modern Spain* challenge the dominant assumption in previous scholarship that Italian goods were in the greatest demand in European domains outside the peninsula. Through case studies and inventories, respectively, the volumes reconstruct the breadth of and the savvy behind imperial and Spanish collecting practices, considerations to which English and Italian scholarship has only recently been attentive.

In regard to the dynastic strategies of individual Hapsburg rulers, Larry Silver's *Marketing Maximilian* (2008) has been particularly informative for my investigation of the visual strategies employed by Charles and then by Philip, since both rulers were indebted to the model established by the earlier Hapsburg ruler.²⁶ Encompassing Maximilian I's support of books, prints, armor, and sculpture, Silver's book elucidates the multiple artistic fronts on which the emperor asserted dynastic connections, his legitimate and Christian rule, and his courtly

²⁴ Titan's "armored" portraits of Charles V have been examined widely. For recent examples see Braden K. Frieder, *Chivalry & the Perfect Prince: Tournaments, Art, and Armor at the Spanish Habsburg Court* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2008); and Álvaro Soler del Campo, ed., *El Arte del Poder: La Real Armería y el retrato de corte* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2010). For a recent example on Titian's work for Philip, see Miguel Falomir Faus, ed., *Dánae y Venus y Adonis: las primeras "poesías" de Tiziano para Felipe II* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2014).

²⁵ Fernando Checa Cremades, ed., *Museo Imperial: el coleccionismo artístico de los Austrias en el siglo XVI* (Madrid: Fernando Villaverde Ediciones, 2013); and Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio and Rosario Coppel, *Sculpture Collections in Early Modern Spain* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).

²⁶ Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

standards. A consideration of Charles V's patronage of visual art had been undertaken earlier by William Eisler in his 1983 dissertation, grounding his project not on a single artist or site. Rather it is the massive imperial footprint of Hapsburg territories that informs the study's structure and wide geographic scope.²⁷ Acknowledging the profound effect that Maximilian I had on Charles as his grandfather and immediate predecessor as Holy Roman Emperor, Eisler then integrates various chapters of Charles's itinerant life, exploring his visual cultural surrounds from the Low Countries to northern Italy.

Although this dissertation focuses on two sculptors and their workshops, their practices naturally lend themselves to interpretive approaches that consider Hapsburg patronage in transregional and transgenerational terms. The Leoni's works and collaborations for the Hapsburgs demonstrate that the political agenda identified by Silver in his study of Maximilian—related to dynasty, military, and religion—is in evidence in Hapsburg commissions through the seventeenth-century, across the three generations of rulers. Furthermore, I place sculpture at the center of Charles V's and Philip II's patronage practices, which varied from taste in their personal collecting to the requirements for constructing an imperial image through artistic display. The preeminent statesman of the two rulers, Cardinal Granvelle, once reminded Leone, "you can remember that I have always told you that my patron is a greater friend to painting than to sculpture."²⁸ While Charles's personal taste for painting may have shaped our modern perception of his artistic patronage, it was not, however, the primary consideration when commissioning works of art for display within Hapsburg domains, as I will demonstrate.

Through exploring in depth the Leoni's three most ambitious and high-profile commissions, it

²⁷ William Lawrence Eisler, "The Impact of the Emperor Charles V upon the Visual Arts" (PhD diss. Pennsylvania State University, 1983).

²⁸ Dated October 6, 1560. "vi potete ricordare che vi ho sempre detto che'l mio patrone et pui amico dela pittura che dela sculptura." Real Biblioteca—*Correspondencia del cardenal Granvela II/2210*, f. 7.

becomes clear that the sculpture was a more effective medium than painting for communicating critical conceptions about power and authority, imperial domain, and dynasty continuity across generation, and for aligning these political interests with Catholic religious reform. With each case study blurring distinctions between secular and devotional art, I will examine the efficacy of the sculptures and their materials in mediating the rulers' identities as Catholic Kings.

Italy and Spain, Materiality and Facture

The vision Leone Leone expressed in his 1559 letter—that his Milanese workshop would cast the bronzes—did ultimately come to pass. Bronze sculptures for the Hapsburgs were cast exclusively in the father's foundry for the next thirty years in spite of Pompeo's residence in Madrid. Scholars have explained this operational procedure by referring to the demand for Italian bronzes or the relative absence of bronze casting traditions in Spain.²⁹ In so doing, they define Spanish sculptural traditions by Italian standards, ignoring the rich goldsmithing tradition in Spain, on which the Leoni came to rely so heavily. The praxis that dominated their collaborations from 1550 to 1590—casting in Milan, transporting the works to Madrid, relying on workshops in Spain that were populated by both Italian sculptors and Spanish gold- and silver-smiths to finish the sculptures—provokes a profound recalibration of our understanding about what was technically possible in sculpture production in Spain at this time. Bronze casting was a complex process that required various stages, dozens of workers, and unique amenities that few Renaissance workshops possessed. This collaborative process challenges the tendency by art historians to identify a single, authorial hand in attributing sculpture. Furthermore, because these

²⁹ For example, see Manuel Rincón Álvarez, *Bronce Dorado en El Escorial: Los Leoni y Jacome da Trezzo* (Madrid: Sociedad de Fomento y Reconstrucción del Real Coliseo Carlos III, 2014); and Mulcahy, *The Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 167. She writes, "All the indications are that bronze casting was rare in Spain, and where it did exist, it was on a very small scale."

sculptures circulated between Milan and Madrid, protracting the production process, the archival records preserve an unparalleled view into sixteenth-century bronze production. There has not yet been a sustained study of the Leoni's output for Spanish royalty that mines both the documents and extant works to illuminate how the sculptures conveyed meaning in relation to the origins of the materials and the locus of their manufacturing and finishing. I will examine the valence of Milanese bronzes in combination with the Spanish stone that was used to frame and ornament the Leoni sculptures. I will contextualize the importance of Leone's casting, not in opposition to Spanish sculptural practices, but rather, by situating it within a larger network of metallurgical techniques and industries whose interchange complicate definitions of "Italian" and "Spanish" art.

Crucial to my study of the Leoni and the Hapsburgs is the relationship between sculptor, patron, sculpture, and "materiality." Anthropologists, archeologists, and art historians frequently employ the term "materiality," with cultural studies and humanities disciplines, more broadly, recently taking a noted "material" turn. My project considers "materiality" at three levels, in terms of: the physical matter and substances used in the Leoni's Hapsburg commissions; the treatment of those materials within the workshop by the artists; and finally, the possible resonances and meanings at the social level that the materials could carry for different audiences and visual cultures. My emphasis will therefore be less on the theoretical questions related to materiality than on the actual materials out of which the Leoni sculptures were made, and the cultural understandings about those materials in early modern Europe. A study of the Leoni's treatment of materials will illuminate their physical properties and qualities, and demonstrate how they were defined and operated as metaphors within contemporary natural philosophy, religious discourse, martial practices, and court culture.

Fundamental to my approach is the understanding that where and how a work of art was made affects the possible meanings that the work can carry, and all the more so when its facture relies on political networks and maps onto imperial territories. The recent publication *The Matter of Art* (2016), edited by Christie Anderson, Anne Dunlop, and Pamela H. Smith, contains specific early modern case studies about the meanings imbued in materials, as well as methodological reflections that insist on the relevance and usefulness of “the material turn.”³⁰ In his thoughtful though skeptical consideration of “materiality” as a framework, James Elkins characterizes one its “problems”: “it is relatively easy to build theories about materiality, but relatively difficult to talk about materiality in front of individual objects.”³¹ Speaking to the implicit binary between theory and object that informs critique, Ann-Sophie Lehmann has noted, “art works were and still are most often understood as material manifestations of an immaterial idea.” She identifies a spectrum that sets the material and craft on one end, in opposition to the idea and representation on the other.³² The contracts and records generated by the Leoni and their collaborators hint at no such dualistic approach. They suggest, instead, that quite the opposite was the case: that the Hapsburgs relied on materials such as bronze, gold, and jasper to implicitly refer to other dynastic commissions, devotional objects, and imperial claims to the land that yielded the precious metal and stone. For example in the case of the high altarpiece at El Escorial (discussed in Chapter 3), in which the use of locally quarried jasper is purely architectural and non-figural, the role of the stone was so important that the tabernacle proclaimed it was made from “Spanish materials” (HISPANICA MATER).

³⁰ Christy Anderson, Anne Dunlop, and Pamela H. Smith, eds., *The Matter of Art: Materials, practices, cultural logics, c.1250-1750* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).

³¹ James Elkins, “On Some Limits of Materiality in Art History,” *31: Das Magazin des Instituts für Theorie* 12 (2008): 25–30.

³² Ann-Sophie Lehmann, “The matter of the medium: some tools for an art-theoretical interpretation of materials,” in *The Matter of Art: Materials, practices, cultural logics, c.1250-1750*, eds. Christy Anderson, Anne Dunlop, and Pamela H. Smith (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 22.

One contribution of this dissertation will be to demonstrate how studying the materiality and facture of one of the two largest bronze commissions of the sixteenth century, the Leoni sculptures for El Escorial's chancel space, was approached and executed. In art historical scholarship, Benvenuto Cellini's writings have become the benchmark primary text for descriptions of Renaissance casting practices. Cellini's penchant for self-aggrandizement, however, can sometimes obfuscate his procedures, and technical studies, such as those by Francesca Bewer and Molly McNamara have clarified the distinctions between Cellini's rhetoric and his practice.³³ While Leoni's epistolary exchanges are not so granular as to contain recipes or ratios, there are illuminating glimpses into the operations of his Milanese foundry. Governors of Milan, royal bankers, and other agents of state regularly visited the workshop in order to update the court on the sculptors' progress, and shipment records detail the weights, sizes, and appearances of a number of bronze elements that were to be transported to Madrid. The Leoni's works facilitate both macro and micro views onto the production of large-scale bronze casting and its subdivision into distinct phases of design, preparation of waxes, casting, chasing and finishing, gilding (in some cases), and installation.

Ultimately, the boundaries between "Italy" and "Spain" in the early modern period prove to have been porous and of limited significance to an empire characterized by so many other territories and titles. I do not define the Leoni as either Italian or Spanish, but rather as imperial artists. In this role they were required to be well-informed and in constant dialogue with courtly practices, not only in their immediate Milanese milieu, but also in the Low Countries and in their patrons' Austro-Hungarian holdings. They calibrated their technique to various sites of making

³³ Francesca G. Bewer and Molly McNamara, "The Portrait Busto of Cosimo I & Bindo Altoviti from the Inside Out," in *Marks of Identity: New Perspectives on Sixteenth-Century Italian Sculpture*, ed. Dimitrios Zikos (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2012), 62-81, 193-196.

and display and their sculptures were juxtaposed with work in other materials to generate political, martial, and devotional messages that were greater than the sum of their parts.

Overview

In order to map the changing strategies and stages of the Leoni's long history as Hapsburg court sculptors, I focus on three commissions presented chronologically. First, in Chapter 2, I turn to a series of eleven sculptures [Figs. 2.1-2.11], including the *Charles V and Furor* [Fig. 2.1], commissioned in Brussels, cast in Milan, returned to Brussels still unfinished for royal approval, and finally brought to Madrid for finishing in Pompeo's newly established workshop. I argue that the sculptures embodied the empire's geographic scope, positioned the Hapsburgs at the intersection of military might and artistic savvy, and visualized the dynastic continuity of the family's past, present, and future. Twenty-three years later, Pompeo received the commission for the El Escorial altarpiece [Fig. 3.1], discussed in Chapter 3, for which Pompeo returned to Milan for his last collaboration with Leone before his father's death. He signed the contract in 1579 with two collaborators, and the chapter, engaging closely with the contract, will consider the materials and metallurgical processes—namely bronze, jasper, and fire-gilding—as manifestations of imperial collecting, the altarpiece's liturgical significance, and a medicinal cure for King Philip II's ailing body. I then treat the *entierros*, or tomb monuments, in Chapter 4. These monuments flank El Escorial's high altarpiece [Figs. 4.1-2] and feature ten gilded bronze and multi-media kneeling sculptures representing Charles V, Philip II and their family members. These works were made exclusively in Madrid and established a local network of collaborative workshops on which the Hapsburg court continued to rely even after Philip II's death in 1598, and that stayed active until Pompeo's death in 1608. This chapter will consider how the figures,

through their materials and makers, capitalized on the sculptural media's perceived permanence and the spiritual connotations of precious metalwork, the visual and spatial resonances with objects of saintly devotion in the basilica, and their connections to Hapsburg and Burgundian precedents. Their local Iberian facture augmented their effectiveness as figural proxies visualizing the Hapsburgs' perpetual devotion of the Eucharist, while simultaneously establishing Charles V and Philip II as spiritual and dynastic models for their heirs.

CHAPTER II

Material and Imperial Presence: Leone and Pompeo Leoni's Early Hapsburg Portraits

In an undated letter addressed to Ferrante Gonzaga, Leone Leoni writes to the Milanese governor with a proposal for an equestrian monument to Charles V.³⁴ Having already fulfilled commissions for small imperial portrait medals, the artist argues that, in order to serve the emperor,

in Italy, namely here in Milan, there would remain some eternal remembrance so that present and future people can see the effigy and part of the victories of His Majesty. You have reviewed with steady concern how much less eternal painting is, however beautiful it may be, for not being sculpture, since the one is circumscribed in its art by means of light and shadow on a flat surface, which represents Nature only on one side. Conversely, sculpture can be seen from all sides, and one can touch the surfaces and planes and curves, and said sculpture does not lessen with age, and this is even more the case with sculptures made in metal.³⁵

³⁴ Though the letter is undated and located towards the end of the *cartela* near a letter dated April 15, 1585, I agree with Amadio Ronchini's dating of the letter between late 1546 and early 1549, most likely during 1548. At this point in time, Leone Leoni had already worked for the Emperor, was the head of the imperial mint in Milan, and was on the verge of being invited to the court by cultural minister Granvelle, in part due to the sculptor's proposal in this letter for the large-scale and ambitious monument.

³⁵ "Poi che desideraresti che Sua Mestà restasse servita che in Italia, cioè qui a Milano, si rimanesse alcuna eterna memoria per la quale i presenti e i futuri huomini potessino vedere l' effigie, et parte delle vittorie, della Maestà Sua. Havete con saldo giudicio riguardato quanto sia meno eternal la pittura, per bella che essa sia, che non è scoltura. Conciossiachè l' una è una circoscrizione dell' arte per forza di lumi et ombre in piana superficie la quale rappresenta la Natura in un sol lato. Come per lo contrario la scoltura da tutte le bande si bede et si tocca le superficie e piane e tonde et detta scoltura non può venir meno per molte età, et tanto maggiormente, essendo le sculture fatte in metallo." Archivio di Stato di Parma—*Epistolario Scelto* 23, 18 (Leone Aretino) f. 32. Undated. The letter was first transcribed in Amadio Ronchini, "Leone Leoni," *Atti e Memorie delle R. R. deputazioni di Storia Patria, per le provincie Modenesi e Parmensi* III (1865): 24-5 (letter IV). This transcription was later translated into French by Eugène Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens au Service de la Maison d'Autriche: Leone Leoni, Sculpteur de Charles-Quint, et Pompeo Leoni, Sculpteur de Philippe II* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, 1887), 37-8.

In order to convince the governor to advocate for such a prestigious commission, Leone stressed the efficacy of sculpture, and bronze in particular, to function as a lasting and indelible reminder of the emperor's presence and military successes within Milan's visual landscape. That the medium is so much more effective in its eternal, material, and three-dimensional qualities compared to painting strengthens his argument while also demonstrating his knowledge of the burgeoning *paragone* debates.³⁶ Leone then, in attempting to convince his patrons of the worthwhile investment, goes on to extol the recognizable parallels such a figure would establish between Charles V and the emperors of antiquity:

And I say first that the antique Emperors had great advice in that their statues were cast during their lifetimes and with great attention to adornment... I will not mention now where the good antique statues are in Rome and other places, nor do I want to mention the statue of Genoa, nor that of Padua, or the other from Venice, with infinite others of various lords, with the desire to match what great colossus would befit a Caesar.³⁷

Leone's cleverness here lies not only in his insinuation that other north Italian artistic and political competitors could make comparatively unjustified claims through the associations of these monuments with Roman imperial legitimacy. His arguments capitalize on the antique and, by extension, imperial currency of equestrian statues, in addition to his established familiarity with Hapsburg visual strategy. By the late 1540s, when he most likely drafted this letter, he had acted as the head of the emperor's mint in Milan and had produced a number of small bronze

³⁶ The *paragone* debates, which encouraged artists and theorists to discuss the relative virtues and vices of painting and sculpture, illuminate the contemporary rhetoric and terminology for the two art forms, though they shared a common goal in elevating these crafts to the level of the other liberal arts. For a compendium of primary documents on the *paragone*, see Paola Barocchi, *Scritti d'Arte del Cinquecento* (Milano: R. Ricciardi, 1971), I: 475-707.

³⁷ "Et prima dico che gli antique Imperadori hebbero grandissima avvertenza che le loro statue fussero fatte mentre che essi vivevano et con grande osservatione di decoro... Non starò a rammentare hora dove si stiano le statue di i buoni antiqui in Roma et altri luoghi, non volendo nè anche nominare la statua di Genova, nè quella di Padova, o l' altra di Vinegia, con le infinite altre de' diversi Signore, con voler raguagliare quanto gran colosso si converrebbe a Cesare." Archivio di Stato di Parma—*Epistolario Scelto* 23, 18 (Leone Aretino) f. 32. Undated.

portrait medals of the Hapsburg family, opportunities that exposed Leone to the production and control of imperial visages.

Throughout the letter he tailors his arguments about certain sculptural effects to appeal to the Hapsburgs—permanence, presence, military strength, and a sense of continued imperial legitimacy offered by the classicizing form popularized by high-profile equestrian monuments from antiquity, notably that of Marcus Aurelius on Rome’s Campidoglio.³⁸ These qualities dovetailed with imperial visual strategies established by Charles V that adapted the priorities of earlier Hapsburg generations to highlight military acumen and dynastic lineage.

While the equestrian commission so fervently pursued by Leone never came to fruition, Leone’s sculptural ambitions and vision were redirected toward another prominent Hapsburg commission. In 1549, Leone and his son Pompeo were engaged to carve and cast portraits of Hapsburg royalty. These portraits [Figs. 2.1-11], currently in the Museo del Prado, included the emperor [Figs. 2.1, 5, 6, 9, 10], his heir and future king Philip II [Fig. 2.3], the former’s deceased wife and the latter’s mother Isabel [Figs. 2.4, 8, 11], and the emperor’s sister who was at the time standing governor of the Low Countries María of Hungary [Figs. 2.2, 7]. These eleven portraits are the extant objects from a larger courtly commission for both Charles V and María of Hungary. Though intended for two patrons, these objects were cast and carved in the same workshop overseen by Leone Leoni in Milan over the same period of time (between 1550 and 1556), and due to circumstances that will be discussed, never reached their destinations.

³⁸ For the sculpture’s intellectual and philosophical importance to Leone Leoni and Charles V, see Michael P. Mezzatesta, “The Façade of Leone Leoni’s House in Milan, the Casa degli Omenoni: The Artist and the Public,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 44, no. 3 (Oct. 1985): 233-249, and Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio, “The Casa degli Omenoni and the Construction of Identity,” in *Leone Leoni and the Status of the Artist at the End of the Renaissance* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 107-132.

By examining Leone's rhetoric and his advocacy for sculptural efficacy, this chapter examines his early Hapsburg portraits within their historial and material contexts, demonstrating how the Hapsburgs and Leoni exploited the overlap between Milanese material culture and the latent martial connotations of bronze. Through this commission, the Leoni were able to negotiate complex imperial and artistic networks. These networks facilitated a production process that transpired across European geographies and made available sculptural materials from across Hapsburg imperial domains. The statues themselves had an astounding itinerary, traveling from Milan, still unfinished, to Brussels and then south. Pompeo accompanied the sculptures on the last leg of their journey to Madrid, where he established his own workshop and finished the sculptures (of which eleven survive) over the next several years. Adhering to the Hapsburg precedent and the sculptural qualities promised in his earlier letter, the portraits made by both Leone and Pompeo communicated the diverse dominions and riches of their empire, the familial dynasty that led to its imperial breadth, and the military campaigns that maintained and expanded those borders.

After considering the relationships between imperial sites and materials, and the logistics of transporting and re-transporting heavy bronze statues over long distances, this chapter will focus on ways in the early sculpted portraits furthered Hapsburg identities and ambitions throughout sixteenth-century Europe. Starting with an investigation of the eleven surviving portraits in the Prado with a particular emphasis on the bronze bust of Charles V, I will then offer an extended analysis of the *Charles V and Furor*.³⁹ Armor plays a central role in these works, as it did to the emperor himself, and the militaristic charge of armor's representation in bronze

³⁹ I opt to use the title *Charles V and Furor* for the sculpture given the subtle and complicated literary, linguistic, and etymological differences between the types of "fury" in sixteenth-century dictionaries and iconography that the English translation of "Fury" only serves to muddle. I will discuss this issue at length later in the chapter.

elaborated on the resources available to Charles as well as the facility and status of the sculptor. Through the sculptures' varied sites of production, circulation, and forms, these early portraits, particularly the *Charles V and Furor*, functioned as material instantiations of the family's imperial presence. The sculptures embodied the empire's geographic scope, positioned the Hapsburgs at the intersection of military might and artistic savvy, and visualized the dynastic continuity of the family's past, present, and future.

The Portraits—A Complex History

Developing a profile of the commission and display of these sculptures proves difficult due to a number of historical circumstances and lacunae in the available archival documentation. The commissioning and Leone's production of the Hapsburg portraits can be reconstructed, in part, through the epistolary exchange between Leone and Hapsburg agents, as well as that between those agents and the emperor himself. The correspondence, in addition to providing insights into the casting processes and dating of the sculptures, ultimately attests to the pan-European coordination and collaboration of this imperial (in both subject and nature) commission.

The letter quoted and discussed in the opening of this chapter is possibly the earliest evidence of Leone's aggressive pursuit of larger-scale, higher-profile, and more ambitious sculptural commissions. His eventual invitation to the Hapsburg court, and indeed his preceding imperial commissions, were aided by his friendship with, and the influence of, imperial cultural minister Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle. Leone had met Granvelle in Padua while the artist stayed with the noted scholar and intellectual Pietro Bembo when the future politician was

attended the university.⁴⁰ In an undated letter, most likely sent in early Fall 1548, Granvelle wrote to invite Leone to court, alluding to proposed statues: “His Majesty resolved that in order to have clearer information and to determine more decidedly what he will want in the statues as in other works for which perhaps he will employ you, that you should prepare yourself to come here, as His Excellency will tell you.”⁴¹ Leone responded in the affirmative on November 1,⁴² and he wrote to Ferrante Gonzaga on March 30, 1549 with the update that he had arrived in the court in Brussels on the 21st of that month.⁴³ This letter also provides the first indications of what specific works the imperial family wished to commission from the sculptor. Leone describes Charles V’s desire for gold portrait medals and then notes “he wants me to make two statues from nature, half-length, of his effigy and one likewise of the Empress from nature.”⁴⁴ This first reference to specific portraits also marks the first instance where the extant sculptures do not match the works described by Leone in his letters from his time at court. While there are two portrait busts of Charles V in bronze and marble [Figs. 2.5-6] and there are marble portrait reliefs of the Emperor and Empress [Figs. 2.10-11], there no longer exists a bust of Isabel, although

⁴⁰ Di Dio, *Leone Leoni and the Status of the Artist*, 46.

⁴¹ “Sua Maestà ha definito que per haverne più chiara informazione et risolversi più certamente in quello uorrà così in quello delle statue come in altri lauori che forse ui adoperera que habbate a metterui in camino per uenir qua come Sua Ec^a ue lo dirà.” Real Biblioteca- Correspondencia de Granvela s. XVI II/2214 f. 10-12. Also transcribed in Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 353 (Letter 1).

⁴² It is certain that this letter is a direct response to Granvelle, as the sculptor quotes phrases as written in the previous letter. Unfortunately the response is not in the same *legajo* as the invitation, and I was not able to locate the letter amongst Granvelle’s correspondence in the Real Biblioteca. The letter is transcribed by Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 353-4 (Letter 2). He writes that the letter is located in “Cartas italianas al Obispo de Arras, 1548-49,” though I was not able to locate it in the volumes with that title.

⁴³ Archivio di Stato di Parma—*Epistolario Scelto* 23, 18, f. 7. March 30, 1549; Ronchini, “Leone Leoni,” 25 (Letter 5).

⁴⁴ “...oltre a questo uuole ch’io faccia due statue del naturale dal mezzo in su de la sua efigie et una parimente de la imperatrice dal naturale...” Archivio di Stato di Parma—*Epistolario Scelto* 23, 18, f. 7v. March 30, 1549. Ronchini, “Leone Leoni,” 26 (Letter 5).

such a portrait is referred to in a list alongside other works to be transported to the court from Leone's workshop in Milan in 1556.⁴⁵

Tracking the commission from Charles V is further complicated by that fact that Leone was also asked to produce Hapsburg portraits for the emperor's sister, Queen María of Hungary, around this same time. The group of portraits in the Prado would appear to include sculptures commissioned by both Charles and María, and these imperial portrait commissions seem to have been treated together in the correspondence between the Hapsburg agents and Leone. Later in the summer of 1549, on August 15, Leone wrote that Queen María had invited him to her palace in Binche, which had been given to her as a gift from the emperor in 1545, and which she reportedly intended to decorate elaborately.⁴⁶ The visit resulted in the commission of sculpture from Leone, who reported: "But because she pays attention to every detail, I tell you that it is in the Queen's mind that I make them in metal and, in so doing, it is necessary that I do it in Milan."⁴⁷ Less than a month after returning to Milan, Leone elaborated on the commission: "I give you the news that the Queen of Hungary has made every effort so that I may stay here and work on ten standing statues in metal."⁴⁸ Leone wrote to Gonzaga again at the end of September to ask for an update on a house in Milan promised to him by the emperor, "wanting it in order to

⁴⁵ See footnote 54.

⁴⁶ "la M^{ta} della Regina la qual è molto ben già informata ch' io per quell che ode V. S. Ill^{ma} gli ho da fare qualche cosa bella per la sua Casa." Archivio di Stato di Parma—*Epistolario Scelto* 23, 18, f. 8. August 15, 1549. Ronchini, "Leone Leoni," 27 (Letter VI).

⁴⁷ "Ma perchè quella intenda ogni particolare, li dico che la mente della Reina è ch' io le faccia di metallo et questo facendo è mestiero che si faccia a Milano." Ibid.

⁴⁸ "li do auiso come la Ill^{ma} Reina d'Ongeria ha fatto ogni sforzo per cioche io de ue si restare qua ad' operare dieci statue pedestre in metalo." Archivio di Stato di Parma—*Epistolario Scelto* 23, 18, f. 9v. September 8, 1549. Ronchini, "Leone Leoni," 27-8 (Letter VII).

undertake the project for His Majesty,”⁴⁹ though he does not mention the specific works he was then engaged to produce for Charles V.

The changing information provided in Leone’s correspondence thwarts scholarly attempts to reconstruct the history of these objects. At the same time, the fluid conditions attending his Hapsburg engagement reveal the vigilant diplomacy and the nuanced relations that an early modern court artist had to maintain. There existed the constant need to negotiate between, advocate for, and advance varied interests related to the artists’ ambitions, the patrons’ desires, practical limitations, and modes of compensation (like annual pension, gift-giving, favors, titles, etc.). Leone, as the head of the workshop, had to maintain the delicate balance of compromise and cooperation over the six years that he continued and supervised the work on the imperial portraits. During these years, Granvelle and Gonzaga acted as the primary intermediaries between Leone’s workshop and the Hapsburgs, with these imperial agents communicating requests for more money, for greater productivity, and for the latest information on payments and progress.

Ferrante Gonzaga and his favored secretary Giuliano Gosellini supervised the workshop’s headway, and there are a handful of letters that detail the progress on and even the casting of a number of the sculptures. In a December 28, 1553 letter, Gonzaga directly informed Charles V of progress.⁵⁰ He mentions seven of the eleven works now in the Prado: *Charles V and Furor* [Fig.

⁴⁹ “hauendo ne io bisogno per fare l’ opera per Sua M^{ta}.” Archivio di Stato di Parma—*Epistolario Scelto* 23, 18, f. 10. September 27, 1549. Ronchini, “Leone Leoni,” 28-9 (Letter VIII).

⁵⁰ “Ho più uoluto scriuere a la M. V. de l’ opera di scoltura fatte da Leone Aretino, ma per le sue occupationi de la guerra più graui mi son ritenuto infin ad hora; et non è stato se non bene il retardare questo officio insin a qui percioche egli ha fatto in questo più di tempo più opera; o io stesso ho uoluto uederle et riuederle tutte, et come testimonio di ueduta ne darò a V. M. qui di sotto una brieue notitia. Se mal non mi ricorda sono Quattro anni che egli cominciò a lauorare. In questo tempo ha fatte et fondute Quattro statue di metallo, et le tre di esse di altezza naturale, l’ una è di V. M. la quale et per le attitudini, et per lo artificio grande che ui è, è tenuta per cosa singolare. A piedi di questa giace l’ altra statua fatta per lo Furore la quale è di più grandezza che la natural in una attitudine molto contorta et horribile, piena

2.1], the bronze standing *María of Hungary* [Fig. 2.2] and *Philip* [Fig. 2.3], the bronze and marble busts of Charles V [Figs. 2.5-6], the marble standing *Charles V* [Fig. 2.9], and the marble *Relief of Empress Isabel*.⁵¹ A number of letters refer to the casting of the figures of *Charles V* and *Furor* (eventually to be conjoined),⁵² and to the sculpture of Philip.⁵³ It is apparent from the letters that the *Furor*, in particular, was the subject of praise and boasts by various visitors to the workshops and by the artist himself.⁵⁴

In spite of the productivity of the Leone workshop, there is a tension evident in the letters between the workshop's pace and pressure from patrons for speedier progress. Ultimately the parties settled on a compromise: the father and son would transport the works from Milan to

di gran uiuacità, la quale si mostra in ogni parte di essa statua ma specialmente nel uolto, percioche pare che egli frema, et in questo atto mostra non solamente i denti et la lingua, ma gli si uede il palate et la higola, cosa per quell ch' io intendo non ordinaria, et suda et le gocchie del sudore sono delicatamente impresse. Siede poi sopra belli ornamenti di spoglie et de arme sottilmente lauorati et con gran pacienza, onde tante cose insieme fondute, in un pezzo solo fanno il getto marauiglioso et la uista bellissima. La terza statua é del Principe mio S^{te} gia riuettata; sopra essa sono molti uaghi abbigliamenti; et con molto giudicio accomodati; et è cosa rara. La quarta è de la Ser^{ma} Reina Maria fatta insieme con la precedente a sua richiesta et questa non mi pare punto inferior a le alter. Appresso ho ueduto una altra statua di marmo, che gia esce fuori del sasso con bellissima attitudine et semiglianza del uiso la M. V. Un' altra meza statua pur di marmo da carrara et fatta parimente per V. M. è del tutto fornita. Un cuadro de l' Imperatrice mia Sra di felice memoria, et una altra meza statua di V. M tosto si fonderano, et amendue mostrano di douer essere de la finezza de l' altre." Archivo General de Simancas—*Secretaria de Estado*, leg. 1205, f. 108.

⁵¹ Presumably those final four works were finished between 1554 and 1556, as they are included by Leone in the works listed for shipment to Brussels in 1556. See footnote 54.

⁵² Leone wrote to Granvelle about the casting of the statue of the emperor on July 19, 1551, Real Biblioteca—*Cartas italianas al Obispo de Arràs* II/2254-56, f. 71. Also in Plon, 365, (Letter 30). Luca Contile, secretary of governor, in a letter to Ferrante Gonzaga on July 18, 1551 excerpted in Ronchini, "Leone Leoni," 16, no. 1, and Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 82.

⁵³ In a letter to Ferrante Gonzaga dated November 3, 1551, Leone wrote about the completed casting of the bronze Philip. Archivo di Stato di Parma—*Epistolario Scelto* 23, 18, f. 16. Also in Ronchini, "Leone Leoni," 32 (Letter XIII).

⁵⁴ The casting of the *Furor* received particular attention. Leone first wrote to Ferrante about the triumph of the casting on November 10, 1553, Archivo di Stato, Parma—*Epistolario Scelto* 23, 18, f. 19, also in Ronchini, "Leone Leoni," 33 (Letter XVI). Ferrante then reported his visit to see the sculpture to Charles V on December 28, 1553 (Archivo General de Simancas—*Estado*, leg. 1250, f. 108, also in Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 368-9, Letter 37). Antonio Patanella wrote to Granvelle a few months later describing the work as unique. Real Biblioteca—*Cartas italianas al Obispo de Arràs (1553-1554)* II/2270, f. 244. March 3, 1554. Also in Istituto Italiano di Cultura, *Lettere di Artisti ad Antonio Perrenot di Granvelle* (Madrid: Gráficas Cándor, 1977), 83-4.

Brussels, providing the workshop with a deadline to strive for and the patrons with an opportunity to evaluate the still unfinished sculptures. In preparation for the logistical feat, Leone notified Granvelle on August 14, 1555 of his travel plans and reported on the state of each sculpture.⁵⁵ He described the *Charles V and Furor* [Fig. 2.1], the bronze and marble Isabel portraits [Figs. 2.4, 8], the bronze bust of the emperor [Fig. 2.5], and the two sculptures of María of Hungary [Figs. 2.2, 7] as “almost finished” and noted of “the rest, some [are] sketched out, some near finished.”⁵⁶ Once in Brussels, the works met with the Hapsburg’s approval, likely that of Charles V and María of Hungary. Then, when the Hapsburg court moved south to Spain and Leone fell ill, Pompeo accompanied the sculptures on the last leg of their journey to Madrid.⁵⁷ There Pompeo established his own workshop.

Progress on the portraits in Madrid, however, stalled. The disruption was so noticeable that Charles, from his retirement at the secluded monastery at Yuste, wrote in 1558, just a few months before his death, to royal agent Juan Vazquez de Molina enquiring about the status of the artist and, by extension, the portraits.⁵⁸ The agent responded that Pompeo had been imprisoned

⁵⁵ “Prima si chiede parere a V. S. R^{ma} se e sarebbe bene far caricare sopra de i carri parte dele opere mie nel termine che esse si truouano come sarebbe la statua de Sua M^{ta}, el Furore et l’armadura, quasi al fine. Poi la statua di metalo del Imperatrice quella di marmol, e di metalo mezze di Sua Cesarea M^{ta}. Oltre acciò l’ uno de i quadri de metalo, i quali sarebono sei pezzi, senza le due statue de la S^{ma} Reina che intenderei parimente di portare. . . . Il remanente parte abbozzato e parte al fine, imbarcare a Genoua sopra quela barca che ha caricati i tanti marmi per la M^{ta} de la Reina che intenderei parimente di portare. Sarebbe il remanente due grandi e bei quadri, quasi ala fine, de marmol; et la statua del natruale, pur de marmol, de l’Imperatrice; et uno pezzo di marmol, pur atto e bozzato per fare una mezza statua dela detta Imperatrice; i quali sarebono cinque pezzi, come ho comisione per scritti da Sua Cesarea M^{ta}.” Real Biblioteca—*Cartas italianas al Obispo de Arrás (1555)* II/2271 f. 98-99. Also in Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 370 (Letter 39).

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ “Io ho aspettato di rispondere fin che uedessi quale saria la resolutione di questi Principi, la quale è tale che l’ Imperatore et le due Regine se ne uanno in Spagna anchora questo inuerno.” Granvelle to Leone. Real Biblioteca—*Cartas italianas al Obispo de Arrás (1555)* II/2271 f. 373-374. Also in Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 372 (Letter 44).

⁵⁸ “Informaroseys del particularmente pues deue estar hay, de lo que en esto y en lo demas touiere entendido, para lo que se deue proueer y auisarmeis dello, y la causa porque los del consejo do la Inquisicion han prendido a Pompeo hijo de Leon sculptor que hizo mi vulto y el del Ray, y vino con ellos

for a year by the Inquisition for saying “certain Lutheran things,” and that the sculptures had been taken from the shop, though the manner of their removal and the new location to which they were transported are unspecified.⁵⁹ There is evidence that at least one of the portraits, the life-size bronze of Isabel, was nearly completed in 1563 when Pompeo contracted out the finishing of the empress’s dress, which features interwoven vegetal, figural, and fantastical detail. Pompeo had earlier employed two Spanish silversmiths, Felipe Jusarte and Micael Méndez, who were responsible for details of the figure’s dress in his workshop, including the brocade on the exposed underskirt and the masks, foliage, horses, and dragon hybrids that fill the empress’s wide-bordered hem that runs along the edge of the overskirt [Fig. 2.12].⁶⁰ The chronology for the completion of the other portraits in Pompeo’s workshop is unclear, though the documentation of how nearly complete the figure of Isabel was and the inscriptions on some of the bases, including that of the *Charles V and Furor* which dates the work to 1564, make it likely that many of the portraits were finished in the mid-1560s.

Curiously, the works were definitively completed but still in Pompeo’s workshop at the time of a 1582 inventory made on the eve of Pompeo’s temporary relocation to his father’s workshop in Milan in order to cast the sculptures for the high altar at El Escorial (discussed in Chapter 3).⁶¹ In addition to the eleven works at the Prado, the document also lists two other works by the sculpting team—a round bronze relief of Isabel (likely the relief mentioned in several of Leone’s letters written after arriving in Brussels and later during his preparations to

aca en la Armada que yo passé ultimamente.” Archivo General de Simancas—*Secretaria de Estado*, leg. 128, f. 368. July 9, 1558. Also in Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 386-7 (Letter 74).

⁵⁹ “La prision de Pompeo el escultor fue por que le acusaron que hauia dicho ciertas cosas luteranas y por ello le prendio la Inquisicion y le sacaron en el ultimo auto que se hizo y le penitenciaron en un año que estuuiesse en un monesterio y como ha tanto que passo yo tuue por cierto que V. Ma lo sabia. Y los bultos estan a recabdo.” Archivo General de Simancas—*Secretaria de Estado*, leg. 128, f. 294. July 14, 1558. Juan Vazquez de Molina to Charles V. Also in Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 388 (Letter 75).

⁶⁰ Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid 384, CCXLIIr. May 19, 1563.

⁶¹ Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 404-5 (Letter 94).

transport the sculptures to court), and a life-size marble portrait of Philip II, perhaps the now extremely damaged sculpture in the Palace of Aranjuez.⁶²

There are a number of factors that make it difficult to work out the precise patronage circumstances and the chronology for the production of these Hapsburg portraits, and to ascribe definitive authorship within the Leoni workshops and track the individual commissions. These factors include gaps in the documentation, the difficulty in the documents in distinguishing between the many statues under production at the same time, the complex collaborative nature of their production by members of the two workshops in Milan and Madrid, and the long-distance transport of the statues in various stages of completion. There were also additional unusual complications that arose during the period of the sculptures' production, which have not received attention in the scholarly assessment of these works. A mere nine years after María of Hungary received Binche palace as a gift, the building was demolished by the troops of Henry II of France in 1554. Granvelle acknowledged on October 12, 1555 the need to reassess the purpose of the sculptures that had been intended for display in the palace, in light of its destruction. Writing to Leone in Milan, he observed: "she has directed that her marbles be kept at Cadiz until Spain resolves what it would like to do. And she said to me she wanted you to keep her works in Milan until Spain tells you otherwise."⁶³ Another changing circumstance that had an impact on the

⁶² This marble is included in a set of marble portraits attributed to the Leoni in Walter Cupperi, "'Leo faciebat', 'Leo et Pompeius feverunt': autorialità multipla e transculturalità nei ritratti leoniani del Prado," in *Leone & Pompeo Leoni: actas del congreso internacional*, ed. Stephan F. Schröder (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2012), 70-72.

⁶³ The full passage regarding Leone and the effects of the palace destruction reads, "Et ho parlato con la Ser^{ma} Regina, dandoli opinione di quanto l'opere uostre sono auanzate ma ella, come se ne ua [in Spagna], mi disse che allontanandosi di qua faceua sospendere le sue fabbriche, et che solo hauea accomodato un poco le ruine del fuoco di Bins, fuor d'ogni pensiero di per adesso fabricarui altro. Et cosi ha mandato che li suoi marmi si intratregnano in Cadix, fin che di Spagna risolua quello che ne uorra fare; et mi disse che uoleua che V. S. li conseruasse le sue opera in Milano finche di Spagna ui commandasse altra cosa." Real Biblioteca—*Cartas italianas al Obispo de Arrás (1555)* II/2271 f. 373-374. Also in Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 372 (Letter 44).

production and display of the portraits was the decline in Charles V's health, leading to his unexpected abdication in 1556.

Scholars have nonetheless attempted to identify the patrons of the individual Hapsburg portraits and ascribe dates for their production. The 1994 Prado exhibition catalog on the Leoni works states that Charles V himself commissioned the life-size marble statue [Fig. 2.9] and the bronze bust of the emperor [Fig. 2.5], the bronze life-size Isabel [Fig. 2.4], the two marble reliefs of the couple [Figs. 2.10-11], and the *Charles V and Furor* [Fig. 2.1]. It attributes to María of Hungary her bronze portrait [Fig. 2.2] and the bronze portrait of her nephew, then Prince Philip [Fig. 2.3].⁶⁴ Given their absence from primary documents, the Prado catalogue leaves the patrons undetermined for the remaining works, the marble life-size Isabel [Fig. 2.8], and the marble busts of María [Fig. 2.7] and Charles [Fig. 2.6].

More recently, Leoni scholar Walter Cupperi has tried to be sensitive to the difficulties in ascribing fixed dates and definitive attributions to the various Prado portraits due to the complex and collaborative work entailed. In a push to incorporate more in-depth archival research into Leoni scholarship, Cupperi dates the Prado portraits over the period from 1549, the year Leone received the commission while in the Low Countries, to 1567, the year when a letter documents that nine of the portraits were completed in Pompeo's studio.⁶⁵ This window seems to be the most archivally accurate and accommodating of the process during which the objects were commissioned, designed, cast and carved, transported, polished, chased, finished, and patinated. Furthermore, the dated inscriptions on some of the works prove unreliable. The statue of *Philip*,

⁶⁴ Jesús Urrea, ed., *Los Leoni (1509-1608): Escultores del Renacimiento italiano al servicio de la corte de España* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1994).

⁶⁵ He cites an ordinance from October 9, 1567 that lists nine sculptures, of which the following are mentioned in greater detail: the life-size marble statue of the Charles, the two marble reliefs of Charles and Isabel, the marble statue of Isabel, and the marble bust of María of Hungary. Cupperi, "'Leo faciebat,'" 67-68 and 81-82, n. 33 and 35.

for example, bears two inscriptions: one of the sculptors' names and the date 1564 that appears on the flat surface of the base on which the figure stands, and another along the edge of the base that identifies the then prince as "PHI . REX . ANGL . ETC" or "Philip, King of England, etc." He held this title only briefly during his marriage to Mary Tudor between 1554 and 1558, a timeframe that does not align with the authorial inscription added by Pompeo roughly a decade later.

In spite of the shifting conditions and the lack of clear evidence at the micro-level of the commissions, meaningful study of these Hapsburg portraits can be pursued through close attention to the objects themselves, situating them within discernable imperial visual strategies, artistic and material cultural trends, and the multi-regional collaboration between workshops. The bronze *María of Hungary* [Fig. 2.2] and *Philip* [Fig. 2.3] were likely to have formed a pair based on the formal parallels between the figures and related political context. Before ascending the throne as King of Spain, Philip was in line to succeed María as governor of the Low Countries. Prior Hapsburg rulers had established the tendency, particularly in sculptural imagery, to emphasize political and dynastic lineage and continuity between family members through the visual juxtaposition of current, past, and future rulers.⁶⁶ Formally this pair of sculptures is unique amongst the group of Hapsburg portraits under consideration here in the placement of the figures atop oval bases that force the bodies into a dynamic series of diagonals and contrapposto positions. Compared to the bronze and marble versions of Isabel's portrait, which stand erect and unmoving and where the visual interest is created by the density and finesse of surface detail, the animation of the bronze *María* and *Philip* derives from the varied three-dimensional diagonals created by the figures' forms, as dictated by the oval bases to which the bodies are restricted. The

⁶⁶ This is an aspect of Hapsburg imperial strategy to which I will return in the following section of this chapter.

contrasting diagonal thrusts of the shoulders and hips as well as the cross-bodied placement of the arms that extend forward as well as across encourage the constant movement of a viewer's body and eye. The Leoni continued to work through surface detail in these works as well, though in a more minimal manner than in the portrait of Isabella where the dress is rendered with considerable complexity. In the statue of María of Hungary, the Queen is dressed in the simple vestments of a widow that she had worn for the duration of her life after the death of her husband in 1526, with the supple drapery clinging around the figure's right knee. This emphasis on the figure's kinetic potential is most evident when viewed from the side. The fabric's pull also forms deep folds whose shadows contrast with the bronze surface that catches the light. The left foot of the figure of Philip juts out from the confines of the base into the viewer's space, and the finely worked details of the armor draw the viewer's eye from the elaborate *all' antica* sandals, to the fictive embossed leather fringe at the bottom of the cuirass up to the concentration of medals, and drapery around the chest [Fig. 2.13]. Both statues activate a play of light around the figures' heads, with the deep pocket formed by María's headdress and the mop of deeply cast curls of Philip's beard and hair. Whether commissioned by María for her palace in Binche before the fire or by Charles for placement elsewhere in the Low Countries or Spain, no other Leoni portraits from this period establish such a strong visual and political link, and the forms can attest to what archival documents do not mention, which is that the *María* and *Philip* were likely commissioned to be displayed together.

The portraits were an ambitious undertaking for the Leoni and the Hapsburgs alike, given the financial and logistical burden of their transport, and the artistic challenge of providing a diverse body of work within relatively unvaried sculptural formats (standing figures, half-length busts, relief portraits in profile). Leone, as the head of the workshop for the initial contracts and

the conceptual phases of work, and Pompeo, who was responsible for the completion of these works in addition to establishing his own workshop abroad, were anxious to prove themselves in their first large-scale commission. A commission that involved such a diverse range of portraits executed in two of the most exclusive sculptural materials, bronze and marble, was closely connected to the Leoni's sculptural ambitions, Hapsburg imperial and visual strategies, and the cross-pollination between material cultures and industries within imperial domains.

Courtly, Imperial, and Sculpted Presence

Maximilian I, Charles's grandfather and predecessor as Holy Roman Emperor, died in 1519. Before his death, he began overseeing the production of his elaborate tomb monument that would feature forty life-size bronze ancestral portraits, thirty-four bronze busts of past emperors, and one hundred bronze statuettes of his Hapsburg ancestors. However, due to the deaths of the primary sculptor and caster, the project stalled and was resumed in 1547 by Charles's brother Ferdinand, less than two years before Leoni received his commission in Brussels. At this period in which imperial sculptural projects boomed, the eleven surviving portraits cast and carved in Leone's Milanese workshop continued an established practice within Hapsburg visual culture of asserting a highly militarized, unified, and continuous dynastic identity. A greater understanding of the Prado sculptures can be gained by considering their place within the tradition of Hapsburg large-scale portrait statues and in relationship to the iconography established within their broader artistic patronage.⁶⁷ The eleven sculptures, in genre, format, and materials, served as visual

⁶⁷ Hapsburg relationships with painters have received much more scholarly attention than their sculptural patronage. Book-length case studies on such patronage practices include, for Maximilian's reliance on print makers and Dürer in particular, Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008). For Charles' patronage of painters, see the following: Matteo Mancini, "La elaboración de nuevos modelos en la retratística carolina: la relación privilegiada entre el Emperador y Tiziano," in *Carlos V y las Artes: Promoción artística y familia*

indicators of the continuity between generations, and Charles, with his various court artists, adapted visual precedents instituted by the previous Hapsburg generation.

Maximilian I was an active and famous patron of literature, art, and armor, and throughout his reign his patronage established a visual tradition to highlight his military achievements and Hapsburg lineage. The massive print series for Maximilian's *Triumphal Arch* [Fig. 2.14], designed by Albrecht Dürer in 1515, depicts the emperor's intricate family tree over the central archway, flanked by twenty-four prominent scenes from Maximilian's biography, with an overwhelming emphasis on marital unions and martial victories.⁶⁸ Due to complications involving the inheritances of titles and lands, the legitimacy of Maximilian's rule was frequently contested. The Emperor needed support from the members of the Imperial Diet, and therefore he had to assert the legitimacy of his claims to his territories, particularly those acquired through his marriage. Mary of Burgundy, at the time of her marriage to Maximilian in 1477, was the last of the Burgundian line, and, as a woman, her inheritance was questioned. Her children would be born into the house of Hapsburgs instead of Valois, potentially distancing future generations even further from their claims to the Low Countries. This left Maximilian's title as regent and his claim to Burgundian territory on uncertain grounds. This uncertainty, however, could be effectively countered through Hapsburg visual imagery, such as the family tree

imperial, ed. M. J. Redondo Cantera and M. A. Zalama (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2000), 221-34; Isabel Mateo Gómez, "La pintura toledana en tiempos de Carlos V," in *Carlos V y las Artes*, 235-54; and Maria Kusche, "Los bienes artísticos de do Juan de Austria—pinturas, tapices y dibujos—con especial referencia a los retratos de Sánchez Coello," in *Carlos V y las Artes*, 353-74. For Maximilian II and Rudolf II's support of the Milanese painter Arcimboldo, see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Arcimboldo: Visual Jokes, Natural History, and Still-Life Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). Other popular court painters in the sixteenth century included Sofonisba Anguisola, Antonius Mor, Pellegrino Tibaldi, and El Greco. Besides the Leoni, other court sculptors such as Jacopo da Trezzo have been relatively understudied.

⁶⁸ See Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 8-13 (for commission and production history), 24-32 (for its relationship to other contemporary imperial prints), 51-61 (for an analysis of the hereditary claims imaged in the *Triumphal Arch*, which Silver refers to as the *Arch of Honor*).

represented on Mary of Burgundy's tomb that traced her patrilineal and matrilineal connections back five generations.⁶⁹

Such tensions related to legitimacy persisted throughout Maximilian's reign, particularly after his wife died in 1482. The representations on the *Triumphal Arch* were able to achieve a fictive impression of consolidated power that was impossible in political reality, with the emperor's visualized genealogy reaffirming his legitimate rule in the present via the lands and kingdoms passed on to him by his ancestors. Dürer's design for the *Triumphal Arch* brought together the past, present, and future by layering both portraits and the heraldry of preceding rulers and ancestors and, in so doing, tethering the current ruler to those who had passed on their domains to him, while also prominently featuring future generations of rulers as well. Just below an enthroned Maximilian [Fig. 2.15] stands his son and Charles' father, Philip the Fair [Fig. 2.16], framed by the branches of the family tree and flanked by his children—his two sons Charles and Ferdinand to his right, and his four daughters, including María of Hungary, to the left. The genealogical emphasis of the colossal print brings attention to the imperial domains associated with ancestral portraits and heraldry, while implying a seamless linkage and connection between earlier rulers, the present emperor, and the heirs who would take his place. The assertion of such hereditary claims was crucial, due to the nature of imperial dynasty. Unlike royal lineage, where legitimacy was assured due to blood lines, the Holy Roman Empire relied on the Imperial Diet, a consortium of princes and rulers from the various imperial states, for bureaucratic approval and support.⁷⁰ For the Hapsburgs, then, their constant and repetitive

⁶⁹ See Ann M. Roberts, "The Chronology and Political Significance of the Tomb of Mary of Burgundy," *The Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3 (Sep. 1989): 389-391.

⁷⁰ My thanks to Serena Ferrante for discussing with me the crucial and nuanced differences between types of dynastic lineage.

insistence on the close connections and support between generations and rulers was necessary to their political assertions and the family's control over the empire.

Hapsburg visual programs relied heavily on articulating the union between rulers and the implied message of continuous support between rulers. Before Charles inherited the title of Holy Roman Emperor in 1519, the Hapsburgs commissioned a number of sculpted portraits of him, anticipating his role as the leader of the next generation.⁷¹ Charles's sculpted images date back to his youth in the Low Countries, when a number of surviving polychrome terracotta and limestone portrait busts were made [Fig. 2.17].⁷² The particular materials of such sculptures would have made them exceptionally easy to produce in a number of workshops and locations, since, unlike marble and bronze, the raw materials for terracotta and limestone were widely accessible and relatively easy to work. Also in the Netherlands, the council chamber in the Vrije in Bruges [Fig. 2.18] features an ornate oak chimneypiece with a large central portrait of Charles V.⁷³ To the left of the emperor are reliefs of his maternal grandparents Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, whose marriage unified the lands that became Charles' Spanish kingdom. To his right are life-size representations of his paternal grandparents Maximilian I and Mary, Duchess of Burgundy, the rulers who passed down the Holy Roman Empire and the Low Countries to the young Charles. The portraits attest to a careful insistence on the legitimacy and succession of Hapsburg rule. Charles and his cultural consultants stayed on message; familial

⁷¹ According to Larry Silver, "Charles's initial court artworks were supplied for him and thus essentially the product of the wishes of his guardian aunt [Margaret of Austria] or grandfather." Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 217.

⁷² My thanks to Ethan Matt Kavaler for introducing me to these objects. Ethan Matt Kavaler, "Netherlandish Terracotta Sculpture at the Beginning of the Early Modern Era" (paper presented at the symposium *Material Bernini*, the University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, November 30-December 1, 2012). See also Yvonne Hackenbroch, "Some Portraits of Charles V," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 27, no. 6 (1969): 323-332.

⁷³ Gert von der Osten and Horst Vey, *Painting and Sculpture in Germany and the Netherlands: 1500 to 1600* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1969), 240-1.

lineage, support, and effective leadership were highlighted repeatedly through artistic commissions.

In addition to pictorial commissions like Maximilian's *Triumphal Arch*, the family invested in sculptural projects that encapsulated such messages, and never more so than in the decades-long project for Maximilian's tomb monument in Innsbruck, Austria [Figs. 2.19-20].⁷⁴ Initially conceived as a sculpture group of forty life-size bronze sculptures, thirty-four classical Roman imperial busts, and one hundred small-scale statuettes of family saints, the commission was never completed to Maximilian's specifications due to difficulties encountered by his chosen bronze casters and, ultimately, by the emperor's death.⁷⁵ During the first decade following the commission, Maximilian himself supervised the project, and after his death his second son and Charles' younger brother, Ferdinand, assumed the responsibility for bringing the tomb to a conclusion. In its final form, twenty-four life-size bronze portraits of his Hapsburg predecessors attend the effigy of Maximilian. The statues underscore the communicative power of imperial monuments to blur fact and fiction, in their display of the Hapsburg family's unbroken lineage and, by extension, their political legitimacy. Furthermore the sculptures embodied this imperial message in the bronze figures themselves, which stand perpetually in attendance, supporting of the memory of the emperor and his rule.

The medium of bronze used for the freestanding life-size Hapsburg portraits in the tomb, in addition to its valued durability as a material for sculptural commemoration, had the ability to index the emperor's access to military industries. Throughout Maximilian's reign, artists stressed his involvement with and knowledge of his empire's metallurgical resources and the close relationship between these metals and artillery and armor. In the *Triumphal Arch*, for example,

⁷⁴ For the long history of the commission as well as its genealogical importance, see Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 63-76; and Osten and Vey, *Painting and Sculpture*, 43-46, 253-54.

⁷⁵ Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 14.

there are depictions of the emperor amongst field artillery [Fig. 2.21], conversing with his armored troops [Fig. 2.22], and as a master of war and jousts [Fig. 2.23]. He stands gallantly armored in a field amidst armor, weaponry, and machinery used in military confrontations, with some of these resembling equipment used in actual battle, and others more ceremonial and fanciful.⁷⁶ This emphasis on Maximilian's first-hand education in and experience with the mechanics of war became a key factor in the production of the bronze sculptures at Innsbruck. When it came time to begin work on the monument, the emperor turned to the painter Gilg Sesselschreiber, who was appointed the supervisor of the bronze casting in Innsbruck. Sesselschreiber, presumably out of his depths due to his lack of familiarity with metallurgical processes, reached out to the local artillery caster Peter Löffler to begin casting the first figure, and it was Löffler and his workshop that cast the only three figures to be made during the emperor's lifetime.⁷⁷ Maximilian had long patronized armor and artillery specialists throughout the empire, where there were important centers in Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Innsbruck. His tomb sculptures set the standard for future Hapsburg sculptural commissions, which would similarly capitalize on the fluid relationship between metallurgical production and industries—particularly of armour and weaponry—and bronze sculptural production. Both armor forges and bronze foundries that produced figures, bells, and cannons relied equally on artisans with knowledge of metallurgy to manage the complex processes of tempering and etching steel or smelting and engraving bronze. Charles V, utilizing the Leoni's expertise and mastery of the technology of bronze casting, adapted these strategies throughout his own reign, beginning with the impressive bronzes from the 1549 Brussels commission.

⁷⁶ Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 165-168.

⁷⁷ Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 14.

Imperial Site and Citation in Multi-regional Production

While Charles, María of Hungary, and Ferdinand emulated and sustained the patronage modeled by their grandfather, Leone and Pompeo designed, cast, and finished a commission that evoked the dynastic and militaristic priorities evident in Maximilian's tomb while simultaneously adapting each object to suit the specific rule of Charles V. As objects that carried traces of their collaborative production, the eleven Prado portraits manufactured by the Leoni reflect the changing political and artistic relationships between the various regions and industries of the Hapsburg empire. The Hapsburgs strengthened their European domains throughout the sixteenth century, engaging in battles against France for Italian territories in the south and against Protestant forces in the name of spiritual righteousness farther north. The portrait sculptures traversed the better part of the Hapsburg western European holdings between Milan, Brussels, and Madrid. Since the works arrived in Spain in 1556 still largely unfinished, their production relied on partnerships between Italian and Spanish workshops and artists. Pompeo's transplanted Italian workshop had to expand to employ craftspeople from both Italy and Spain, and he sub-contracted some of the finishing to local Spanish craftsmen.⁷⁸ Produced in such a manner, the Prado portraits are evidence of the Hapsburg court's power to attract artists from increasingly diverse regions of their imperial holdings as well as what might be termed the resulting "intertextuality" or "intervisuality" elicited by travel through and between imperial centers. The formation of a new workshop in Madrid, populated with local and foreign workers, indicated not just the imperial family's ability to identify and engage the services of highly skilled practitioners throughout their empire. It also pointed to certain ambitions behind their artistic patronage to invest in, and draw attention to, the diverse artistic industries operating

⁷⁸ See footnote 59.

within their domain. They had the wealth, power, and cultural sophistication to patronize experts in the most contemporary visual languages, such as modernizing classical forms. They also had the shrewdness to deploy these visual idioms pointedly and effectively, embodied in the Prado dynastic sculptural portraits, as will be seen in the analysis of the individual portraits that follows. In turn, the Leoni, as artists employed by the Hapsburgs, were careful to imbue the portraits with references to Charles's military successes and his favored sites of artistic production, while demonstrating their participation within contemporary metallurgical and sculptural practices, but also competing with these very industries within Hapsburg domains.

The bronze bust of Charles V (c. 1554) from the Prado group of Hapsburg portraits [Fig. 2.5], upon careful examination, can be seen to cite various key imperial sites through the reinterpretation of the emperor's armor worn at the battle of Mühlberg, with its recognizable motif of pointed scallops along its edges and borders [Fig. 2.24]. The battle of Mühlberg had taken place on April 24, 1547, shortly before the portraits were commissioned, when imperial forces defeated the army of Johann Friedrich I. The event held particular significance for Charles; the victory was won over German princes whose expanding Protestantism Charles had long resisted.⁷⁹ Charles considered himself a defender of the Catholic faith, and as such, this battle justified the violent military means used to literally and figuratively wage war against the spread of Protestantism through his empire. To commemorate the significant victory, Charles commissioned Titan to travel north to Augsburg in the following year to paint a portrait of him on horseback wearing the same armor worn at Mühlberg [Fig. 2.25].⁸⁰ It is possible that Leone designed his bronze bust of the emperor from the painting, as he had traveled to Venice

⁷⁹ Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714: A Society in Conflict* (London: Logman, 1983), 72.

⁸⁰ See Peter Humfrey, *Titian* (London: Phaidon, 2007), 148, 150, 160. Similar to the situation with Leoni's sculptures, Humfrey notes the ambiguity of whether the portrait was commissioned by Charles V or María of Hungary, underscoring the imbrication of courtly and dynastic patronage.

previously to make a portrait medal of Isabel after a Titian portrait.⁸¹ Both feature the lance rest, recognizable pointed-scallop motif, textured sash (denoted in paint with flecks of gold and in bronze with added punching into the cold metal), a twisted braided finish to the edges of the armor, and a prominent central medallion. Leone, though, has substituted the ribbon that holds the Golden Fleece in favor of the metallic flints that link together to form the collar. He has also added medallic images to each pauldron and greater detail and texture to the surface with punching, the elaborate floral scrolls in the bands that are gilded in Titian's paintings, and surprising inventions such as masks and rams' heads. It is perhaps more plausible that Leone, rather than using Titian's painting to guide his rendering, saw the armor first-hand during his 1549-50 stay at the court in Brussels. The armor stayed with the emperor in Brussels and, upon his retirement, it traveled south with him to the monastery at Yuste, where it remained until 1557 when it was added to the collection at the Real América then in Valladolid.⁸²

This suit of armor worn by Charles in Mühlberg had been forged by the renowned armorer Desiderius Helmschmid in 1544 in Augsburg, one of Europe's preeminent centers for armor production.⁸³ The city competed with other major production sites, notably Milan, for commissions from the elite across Europe who hoped to acquire unique, elaborate, and refined ceremonial armor.⁸⁴ Leone Leoni, who worked in Milan amongst the city's booming armor industry, also visited Augsburg on a separate trip in 1551 in the midst of conceptualizing and

⁸¹ Di Dio, *Leone Leoni and the Status of the Artist*, 6.

⁸² Álvaro Soler del Campo, ed., *El Arte del Poder: La Real Armería y el retrato de corte* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2010), 138.

⁸³ Soler del Campo, *El Arte del Poder*, 138.

⁸⁴ Alan R. Williams, "Italian Armour and Cosimo dei Medici," *Journal of the Arms & Armour Society* XIII (Sept. 1991), 293.

beginning production on the imperial portraits.⁸⁵ Interactions between the artists and craftspeople from imperial centers existed at multiple levels, where goods competed in a trans-European marketplace, and where interactions between individuals who moved along imperial avenues of exchange were manifest in commissioned objects like the bronze bust of Charles V. This bust, modelled after armor from Augsburg, cast in Milan, and finished in Spain, speaks to connected and competitive industries and the agents that aided in that material and cultural interchange.

The attention paid to the Mühlberg armor in the bronze bust of Charles V exemplified a trend in early modern visual culture for armored portraiture, where paintings and sculpture served as portraits of specific armor as much as representations of an individual sitter.⁸⁶ But upon closer visual examination, it is interesting to see that even though Leone at one point had direct access to the the actual suit of armor, a number of formal details depart from the visual effects of Helmschmid's etched, embossed, and gilded steel design, while highlighting the characteristics of bronze in the translation of the armor design to another metal. Both the armorer and sculptors draw attention to the decorative motifs on the breastplate that run in vertical bands bracketed by repeated serrated shapes [Fig. 2.26], with Helmschmid giving emphasis to the gilding and the Leoni to the bas-relief that creates a play between light and shadow. Leone added a medallion of Victory on the right shoulder plate. He also substituted the central image of the Virgin Mary with an image of the resurrected Christ, reminiscent of the Michelangelo marble sculpture placed in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in 1521 [Figs. 2.27-28], that he could have seen in Rome or known

⁸⁵ Leone wrote two letters to Ferrante Gonzaga from Augsburg one on January 30, the other on February 7, 1551. Archivio di Stato di Parma—*Epistolario Scelto* 23, 18, f. 13 (Jan. 30, 1551) and f. 14 (Feb. 7, 1551). Also in Ronichini, "Leone Leoni," 29-31 (Letters X-XI).

⁸⁶ Such representational strategies endured throughout multiple generations of Spanish Hapsburg rulers, as examined in the exhibition catalog Del Campo, ed., *El Arte del Poder*.

through printed copies.⁸⁷ The Leoni's careful consideration of materiality and sculptural effect, references to the specific armor, and the adaptation of steel designs into bronze reveal a sophisticated level of interchange at work in the portrait of Charles V between distinct cultural geographies and artistic practices.

The distinctions between the represented armor in the bronze bust and the original steel armor upon which it was modelled are not as apparent as the medial translation required in generating painted portraits of armored rulers. However, there were significant differences between the metals bronze and steel which would have been noted by contemporary viewers. While Michael Cole notes a blurring during the early modern period between the distinct categories of "armor" and "sculpture" he also observes that "Contemporaries must have realized...that something different happened when the increasing availability of metals began to allow sculptors to test the boundaries between actual protective costumes (whether in bronze or steel, for parade or for war), and metal representations of the same."⁸⁸

The visual differences between steel and bronze register first at the immediate level of the color and general appearance. The deep copper-brown of bronze contrasts with steel's brightness, although patinas could be added to both metals to darken their appearance, and both could be gilded to stunning decorative effect.⁸⁹ Bas-relief, the primary means of modelling armor

⁸⁷ The formal similarities between Leone's armor medallion and the *Risen Christ* by his friend Michelangelo has been noted most recently in Soler del Campo, *El Arte del Poder*, 148; Carolyn Springer, *Armour and Masculinity in the Italian Renaissance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 122; and Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio, "Leone Leoni's Portrait Busts of the Habsburgs and the Taste for Sculpture in Spain," in *Leone & Pompeo Leoni: actas del congreso internacional*, ed. Stephan F. Schröder (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2012), 48. The earliest known print of the sculpture was by Nicolas Beatrizet. While undated, he was active in Rome in the 1540-50s. See Adam von Bartsch and Walter L. Strauss, *The Illustrated Bartsch* (New York, Abaris Books, 1978-1982), XV.250.23.

⁸⁸ Michael Cole, "Under the Sign of Vulcan," in *Bronze: The Power of Life and Death*, ed. Martina Droth (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 2005), 43-44.

⁸⁹ Fire-gilding emerged in the early sixteenth century as an increasingly popular way to decorate steel armor, though the heating process required in fire-gilding would have weakened the metal. Armor scholar

in bronze sculptures, was not possible in steel, where details that rise from the surface had to be embossed and hammered into the surface. This form of ornamentation in steel had the adverse effect of weakening the metal and rendering it less effective as protection during battle.⁹⁰ This contrast in the characteristics of steel and bronze gave rise to discernable differences between the actual Mühlberg armor and the Leoni's rendering of it in the bronze bust of Charles V. Leoni was free to add medallions and reliefs whereas Helmschmid's primary objective would have been to provide the emperor with sound protective armor, and any etched or gilded decoration was intended to enhance the value and effect of the cladding without compromising its primary function in battle.

The two metals, bronze and steel, when associated with armor, also conveyed different conceptions about weight, hardness, and the experience of wearing the two metals. Cole refers to both bronze and steel armor and their potential practical and ceremonial functions, though bronze armor was not commonly used in the sixteenth century for either purpose. Bronze had two distinct disadvantages as a material for armor: it was both much heavier and much weaker than steel. Technological investigation of medieval and early modern armor has concluded that steel could, in fact, reach hardness levels two-and-a-half times that of bronze.⁹¹

Alan Williams notes of the Milanese armorers: "Their South German rivals seem to have been more successful at combining the two operations...because they followed a different order of procedure, gilding their steels after quenching, but before tempering." Alan Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace: A History of the Metallurgy or Armour in the Middle Ages & the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 203-4. Certain armors were made from blackened steel, whose surface was not polished and remained quite dark, so it was possible to produce armor that was not the more typically lustrous steel. However, in this case, the foil for the Leoni's bust was the highly polished Mühlberg armor.

⁹⁰ Williams notes that the increased use of non-hardened steels in sixteenth-century Italy allowed a greater ease in embossing and hammering the steel: "This indicated a complete shift in armourers' priorities. Protection was not to be abandoned, but it was no longer their sole priority. It had to be combined with decoration, and in the long run, that would be at the expense of wearability." Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, 204.

⁹¹ The scientific experiments conducted on a range of extant armor concluded: "if steels are quenched (plunged into cold water while still red-hot) their hardness increases enormously..." with bronzes

The exercise of simulating steel armor in bronze also afforded the Leoni an opportunity to demonstrate his sculptural expertise and to compete with metallurgical centers by displaying his particular mastery in bronze. The extant works in the Prado from the 1549 Brussels commission marked Leone's first foray into prestigious large-scale sculptures, a significant step from his training as a goldsmith. Typically associated with close and intricate attention to detail in small-scale medals, coins, and plaquettes, Leone's expertise in goldsmithing design and technique is on display in the ubiquity of sumptuous decorative elements on the bronzes. The elaborate surface treatment, such as the intricately patterned dress represented in Isabel's bronze portrait [Fig. 2.12] and the richly conceived and immaculately executed armor decoration in the portraits of Charles and Philip [Figs. 2.13 and 27], enliven the figures and reward close visual inspection.

The effectiveness of the bronze bust of *Charles V* in asserting its metallurgical fluency becomes particularly evident when the portrait is compared to another very similar portrait in the Prado group. This is the bust of *Charles V* in marble [Fig. 2.6], wearing the same Mühlberg armor, which is another version of the portrait translated into stone.⁹² Though the marble has most likely experienced some degree of wear over time, more than that of the marble bust of María of Hungary for instance [Fig. 2.7], its surface decoration remains in some ways more loyal to the original Mühlberg armor. Like the original, the marble retains a central medallion

reaching a maximum of 270 VPH (Vickers Pyramid Hardness) and quenched steels easily reaching 700VPH. Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, 6.

⁹² The Prado's on-line gallery also notes the technical discrepancies between the handling of marble and bronze in these busts, going so far as to suggest the possibility that the marble bust could have been carved in Carrara where the marble was quarried. "Estas diferencias llevaron a pensar en atribuciones ajenas a [unconnected with] estos artistas milaneses, en beneficio de otros escultores de Carrara." Accessed July 9, 2013. <https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/galeria-on-line/galeria-on-line/obra/el-emperador-carlos-v-1/?no_cache=1>. However, in the marble's entry in the published catalog *Los Leoni*, the marble bust was one in the group of sculptures that traveled to Brussels then on to Madrid. Urrea, ed., *Los Leoni*, 114.

featuring the Virgin Mary instead of the *Risen Christ*, and the same serrated border decoration on the shoulder guard and cuirass is rendered in shallow relief in the marble [Fig. 2.29]. However, while the armor's formal elements appear in the marble portrait, the visual effect falls quite flat; without the advantage of the juxtaposition of steel with gold seen in the original armor, or the intricate bas-relief used in representing the armor in the bronze bust, the marble bust's monochromatic and low-relief embellishment lead to a far less legible and dynamic appearance. The bust's base, carved from the same block of marble, is treated in a fairly cumbersome manner. The drill marks in the base remain legible as such, without filing or further carving to soften the transition from the surface and illuminated areas to the abrupt pockets of shadow [Fig. 2.30]. The base of the bronze bust, in contrast, displays a variety of surface textures. The Leoni have taken advantage of the juxtaposition between hard polished metal in the bodies of the Michelangesque figures and the evidence of the soft malleability of the wax stage of casting bronze seen in the deep rivets and individualized feathers around the eagle's neck [Fig. 2.31].⁹³ The marble bust demonstrates the Leoni shop's versatility in working with a variety of materials and exploiting their unique visual properties and effects, and in translating a sculptural design from one medium to another. In turn, the bronze bust reveals the Leoni's developing expertise in manufacturing large-scale works in bronze and manifests their creativity, finesse, and technical virtuosity in this medium.

The Leoni's competitive impulse to demonstrate their mastery in bronze was so effective that the workshop popularized what became a common bust-type that was first disseminated through the administrative ranks of the Hapsburg's imperial hierarchy and eventually gained

⁹³ Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio has considered the symbolic meaning and invention of the bronze's base in Di Dio, "Leone Leoni's Portrait Busts of the Habsburgs and the Taste for Sculpture in Spain," 49-52.

traction more locally in Milan among aristocratic patrons.⁹⁴ The Leoni's association with the Hapsburgs and their reputation for technical prowess was no doubt aided by Leone's status as Charles's official imperial sculptor. Commissioning a portrait from Leone's workshop carried an implicit connection to the Hapsburg court. A number of imperial agents took advantage of this subtle link between sculptor, sculptural object, and empire. The Duke of Alba, one of Charles V's most relied upon and effective military leaders, commissioned a group of three half-length bronze busts representing Charles V, Philip, and himself [Figs. 2.32-3].⁹⁵ They bear a formal resemblance to the bronze bust of *Charles V* cast for the emperor as part of the Brussels commission in their half-length size, termination points that precisely follow the armor's breastplate and shoulder guard, and armor that is intricately fashioned with mythological figures on the shoulders, and the distinctive feature of the Golden Fleece. The central medallions display a range of related Christological imagery [Figs. 2.35-37], emphasizing the men's shared mission to defend the Catholic faith in increasingly fraught European religious landscapes. The Duke of Alba figure wears a medallion adorned with an image of the crucified Christ, the bust of Philip displays the *arma Christi*, and the portrait of Charles, closely adhering to the Prado prototype, shows an image of the Risen Christ.

There are also a number of formal distinctions between the three busts, which preserve the imperial prioritization of dynasty, family, and lineage. Leone grants the bust of Philip certain

⁹⁴ Di Dio has noted that with the bronze bust of the emperor, "Leoni transformed the *all'antica* bust type into something entirely original and meaningful that would more fully convey the intended associations between Charles V and the great ancient Roman Emperors." Di Dio "Leone Leoni's Portrait Busts of the Hapsburgs and the Taste for Sculpture in Spain," 48-9. She goes on to explore the subsequent interpretations of Leoni's bust format, particularly the base, and its evocation of antique imperial precedents.

⁹⁵ Granvelle also commissioned portraits of the imperial family for display in his home, such as the bronze relief by Leone at the Louvre. See Walter Cupperi, "'You Could Have Cast Two Hundred of Them': Multiple Portrait Busts and Reliefs at the Court of Charles V of Hapsburg," in *Multiples in Premodern Art*, ed. Walter Cupperi (Zurich: Diaphanese, 2014), 173-200.

unique features, highlighting Philip as Charles's heir. The men from the older generation each have an apotropaic mask placed above the Golden Fleece, perhaps pointing to their shared first-hand experience in battle. The bases that support the Duke and Charles are relatively simple squared-off shapes, with their main feature a cartouche with an identifying inscription. The base supporting the figure of Philip, in contrast, is far more elaborate in both shape and decoration. The rounded, oval-shaped base features classical embellishment, from the mask and overlapping scrolls, to the beaded band at the bottom reminiscent of classical architectural molding. Given the formal parallels between the statues of the Duke and Charles, the intended display arrangement would have placed Philip in the center, presented as the Hapsburg dynastic heir, visually flanked by the emperor and arguably the most effective and violent military enforcer in the imperial ranks.

Eventually sculptors in other corners of the empire adopted the connection that the Leoni established between sculptural type, sitter, and politics. The Leoni's position as imperial sculptors and their consistent formal treatment of imperial agents established an easily adaptable sculptural mode that became closely imbricated with political messages of loyalty to the court, dynasty, and continuity of Hapsburg lineage and domain through space and time. The portrait form instituted by the Leoni grew in efficacy as an imperial symbol, as evident in a bust in the National Gallery in Washington DC [Fig. 2.38], in which an anonymous caster, likely from the Innsbruck region, took aspects from a variety of the Leoni's bronze busts to produce a portrait of the emperor not by the official court sculptor, but nevertheless with the imperial associations intact.⁹⁶ These political connections are crystallized in elements adapted from the Duke of Alba

⁹⁶ This bust is currently attributed to an anonymous Flemish caster. However current research by Dylan Smith and myself indicates it was likely cast in Tyrol. See forthcoming article, Dylan T. Smith and Wendy Sepponen, "'Comparable to the very tips of their spades': Technical and political connections among serial busts of Charles V," *Fracture 4* (submitted for review).

commission—the squared base and the apotropaic face from the armor of the portraits of the *Duke* and *Charles V*, the mask and classicizing scrolls from the base of the portrait of *Philip*, and the vertical bands and serrated borders from the emperor’s Mühlberg armor and the Leoni’s portraits. Much as Titian’s portraits of Charles V led to similar formal choices in subsequent portraits executed by other artists, so too the formal and material type introduced by the Leoni gained traction throughout the empire, benefitting the Leoni and the imperial family, whose visages could be produced, circulated, and interpreted with increasing facility.

This type also resonated beyond the immediate Hapsburg rulers of the sixteenth century. In 1553, a sculptor identified as a follower of Leone Leoni carved a bust of Milanese senator Giacomo Maria Stampa [Fig. 2.39] now at the Walters Museum of Art in Baltimore. Dressed in the toga of ancient Roman senators and truncated much higher than the half-length busts produced by the Leoni, the bust evokes the latter’s works through the two Michelangelesque figures and a base with a classicized mask and inscription. This sculptural form had gained such a wide level of currency throughout the imperial hierarchy that future Hapsburg rulers adopted it as well. After Charles abdicated in 1556 and his brother Ferdinand I (HRE 1558-1564)⁹⁷ inherited the Holy Roman Empire, Charles’s grandson Rudolf II (HRE 1576-1612) established himself as a preeminent supporter of the arts from his court in Vienna. Within his court, which nurtured talent from throughout Europe, such as Milanese painter Giuseppe Arcimboldo, renowned bronze caster Adriaen de Vries produced a portrait of Rudolf II in 1603 [Fig. 2.40] that communicated the interrelationship between imperial bodies, sculptural form, and dynastic

⁹⁷ Though Charles abdicated in 1556, it took approximately two years for the Imperial Diet to accept and thereby validate the decision, at which point the official title of Holy Roman Emperor went to Ferdinand.

lineage found in the works by the Leoni.⁹⁸ The Emperor had commissioned his portrait as a companion to an earlier Leoni bust of Charles in his collection [Fig. 2.41]⁹⁹ that retained many of the identifiable features of the emperor's Mühlberg armor, such as the vertical bands across the breastplate and the serrated decorations along those bands and the shoulder guards.¹⁰⁰ In the bronze material of the sculpture, the classicizing armor, truncation that matches the emperor's armor, and the base that reinterprets the Leoni's combination of Hapsburg eagle and supportive nude figures, de Vries consciously adopted many of the parameters set by the Leoni for imperial portrait busts. In this way the sculptor established an extended dynastic lineage across several generations of Hapsburg rulers.¹⁰¹ Desired and favored by other imperial agents and reinterpreted by other artists in other imperial sites and moments, the Leoni model referenced imperial bodies and sites, citations of other imperial markets and materials, and classical visual vocabularies within a sculptural format that carried key contemporary political, militaristic, and imperial weight.

Casting and Recasting the *Charles V and Furor*

⁹⁸ The formal connections between the Leoni's portrait bust format and the later sculpture of Rudolf II are touched upon in Cole, "Under the Sign of Vulcan," 42; and Lars Olaf Larsson, *Adriaen de Vries* (Vienna: Schroll, 1967), 36-38.

⁹⁹ This bust, an exact copy of the bronze bust in the Prado, was commissioned for Granvelle and eventually came to the collection of Rudolf II. Di Dio, "Leone Leoni's Portrait Busts of the Habsburgs and the Taste for Sculpture in Spain," 52.

¹⁰⁰ Sabine Haag and Franz Kirchweiger, eds., *Treasures of the Hapsburgs: The Kunstkammer at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2013), 195.

¹⁰¹ It should be noted here that de Vries worked in Leone's Milanese workshop for a period of time in the 1580s when he and Pompeo, who had returned from his workshop in Spain, were at work on the sculptures for the high altar and tabernacle at the basilica at El Escorial. For more on their working relationship, see in particular, see Rosemarie Mulcahy, "Adriaen de Vries in the Workshop of Pompeo Leoni," in *Adriaen de Vries, 1556-1626*, ed. Frits Scholten (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1998), 46-51; and Rosemarie Mulcahy, "Adriaen de Vries and Pompeo Leoni: the High Altarpiece of El Escorial," *Apollo* 139 no. 384 (1994): 35-8.

The Leoni cast the bronze bust of *Charles* around the same time that they fashioned another image of the emperor that articulated in even more spectacular terms Hapsburg military strength and their own ambitions as bronze casters: *Charles V and Furor* [Figs. 2.1, 42-43]. Since the equestrian monument proposed by Leone in around 1548, discussed at the beginning of the chapter, had never come to pass, it is likely that the ambitious life-size multi-figure group of *Charles and Furor* served as an alternative to the original proposal. The sculpture is comprised of two main figures. Charles stands over a contorted and nude male allegorical figure of Furor, which is chained to and sits atop a pile of arms and armor, injecting a pointed emphasis on the militaristic dimension of Charles's position as Holy Roman Emperor.

Thanks to a number of letters exchanged between Leone, Granvelle, Ferrante Gonzaga, and the emperor himself, the production of this sculpture is relatively well documented. The statues are likely referred to in a letter sent from Leone in Milan in December, 1550,¹⁰² in which he reported to Granvelle that he had completed the forms of three unspecified bronze sculptures and their bases, along with the bronze standing portrait of the empress.¹⁰³ On July 19, 1551, Leone wrote to Granvelle about casting the figure of the emperor.

Yesterday, which was the 18th of July, between the hours of five and nine at night
I cast the statue of His Majesty, and with such happiness, such ease and finesse...

¹⁰² Plon and subsequent scholars list this letter as undated, though the document clearly bears the date December 20, 1550. In this letter Leone explicated the general concept of the sculpture—the emperor standing over Furor atop a pile of arms—and some scholars have interpreted the decision to cast the armor separately to indicate that the original model and concept featured a nude Charles V, though it is just as likely that the original portrait would have represented the emperor in armor that was not removable at that stage of development. Real Biblioteca—*Cartas italianas al obispo de Arrás* II/2268 f. 336-7. Also transcribed in Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 362-63 (Letter 21). For an example of the assertion that the portrait at one point was intended to be nude, see Michael Mezzatesta, “Imperial Themes in the Sculpture of Leone Leoni” (PhD diss., New York University, 1980), 5-6.

¹⁰³ “Oltre a questo [the statue of the Empress] o scuperto di nuouo tre statue, le quali non ho mai uoluto chel S. ne altro huomo l’ habbia uedute fino ch’ io non le ho mese sopra le base, come hano da esser le proprie di metal, le quali ho gia fatte le forme, et uado metendo al ordine.” Real Biblioteca—*Cartas italianas al obispo de Arrás* II/2268 f. 336-7. Also transcribed in Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 362 (Letter 21).

I am happy I have silenced the detractors of my poor virtue and I have given an example or taste [of my abilities] to my patrons who have been waiting for it.¹⁰⁴

Leone does not speak much on the actual casting of the figure beyond stating the time in which it was completed and his satisfaction with the result. He employs rhetoric to give a greater impression of his skill, to combat a common charge leveled against the act of sculpting, and to enhance the triumph over his own blemished reputation. He states that he cast the sculpture with great happiness and ease (“con tanta felicità et tanta facilità”) and in so doing he does not lessen the task of the casting but rather amplifies his talent. Since he was so attuned to perceptions of himself as an artist and had great intellectual ambitions,¹⁰⁵ the quick mention of the casting, done tidily or with finesse (“con...pulitezza”) addresses and refutes the perception in the *paragone* debate that a sculptor’s profession was an inherently messy one. Leonardo da Vinci had written, “Between painting and sculpture I find no difference other than that the sculptor conducts his works with greater fatigue of the body than the painter, and the painter conducts his works with greater fatigue of the mind.”¹⁰⁶ Leone’s final comment, that with the casting of this figure he had silenced his detractors—or, as literally stated, “cut the tongues from the mouths of his detractors” (“ho tagliato la lingua a i detratori dela mia pouera virtù”), may refer to current criticisms of the sculptor or to his reputation based on earlier incidents in his professional career. Leone had been accused first of counterfeiting while working at the Ferrara mint and then of another unlisted charge in Urbino, and in 1540 he served as a galley slave on the Pope’s fleet after attacking the

¹⁰⁴ “Hieri che fu il 18 de luglio da le dicesette hore fino ale uinti una fondei la statua di S M^{ta} et con tanta felicità et tanta facilità et pulitezza... Sono alegro ho tagliato la lingua a i detratori dela mia pouera virtù et hauerò dato quel sagio a i miei patroni di me ch’ eglino s’aspetauano.” Real Biblioteca—*Cartas italianas al obispo de Arrás* II/2254-56 f. 71. Also transcribed in Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 365 (Letter 30).

¹⁰⁵ For a sustained examination of Leone’s intellectual and philosophical pretensions, see Di Dio, *Leone Leoni and the Status of the Artist*, chapters 2, 4, and 5 in particular.

¹⁰⁶ “Tra la pittura e la scultura non trovo altra differenza, se non che lo scultore conduce le sue opere con maggior fatica di corpo ch’el pittore, ed il pittore conduce l’opere sue con maggior fatica di mente.” Transcribed in Barocchi, *Scritti d’Arte del Cinquecento*, I:475. Originally in Codex Urbinas Latinus 1270, ff. 20sg. Dated to 1492.

papal jeweler.¹⁰⁷ He framed his artistic achievements as the means through which he could re-establish a more positive, productive reputation to the advantage of both himself and his patrons.

Over two years later, in 1553, Leone cast the figure of Furor, which proved to be quite an event.¹⁰⁸ Imperial agents, including Milan's Captain of Justice, witnessed the casting and Leone wrote to Ferrante about the success.¹⁰⁹ In a report sent by the Milanese governor to Charles V, Ferrante Gonzaga provides a vivid and admiring account of the appearance of *Furor*:¹¹⁰

At the feet of that statue [of the emperor] lies the other statue representing Furor, which is larger-than-life size [and] in a very contorted and horrible pose, full of great vivacity, which is demonstrated in every part of this statue but especially in the face. It seems that he shudders and in that action, he shows not just his teeth and tongue, but you can see the roof of its mouth and uvula, something that I understand to be out of the ordinary. And he sweats, and the beads of sweat are delicately cast. He then sits on beautiful ornaments of spolia and of arms finely worked and with great patience, so that many things were cast together, in one piece only making the casting marvelous and the appearance beautiful.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Di Dio, *Leone Leoni and the Status of the Artist*, 24.

¹⁰⁸ A letter from 1551, written to Ferrante Gonzaga, indicates that the casting of the *Charles* was also witnessed by others, though there is not much documentation of the event. The letter's author, Luca Contile, mentions that he and President Grasso were in attendance. The letter is excerpted in Amadio Ronchini, "Leone Leoni," 16, no. 1: "Luca Contile, in una delle sue lettere inedite serbate nell' Archivio Governativo di Parma [which no longer exists], scriveva da Milano il 18 luglio 1551 a Don Ferrante: 'Parmi di uon tacere il buon esito dalla statua di S. M. Cesarea, pur ora, che sono le 19, infusa da messer Leone con molto felice riuscita: ch' in verità è di gran pericolo questo atto. Siamo stati presenti il Presidente Grasso, e io. Talchè messer Leone ha promesso poco, e ha servato molto; e più si rallegra de la soddisfazione di V. Ecc., che di qualsivoglia altra buona fortuna sua.'" Ronchini's quotation is also translated into French by Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 82.

¹⁰⁹ "Il favore e la mercede del metallo che mi fece V. Ecc.^a poco fa a Milano, mi obligorono a star in continove fatiche fin tanto ch' io habbia fonduta la statua del Furore, riuscita più che bella contra il parere di tutti gl' intelligenti. M' è paruto scriuerlo a V. S. Ill.^{ma} acciò la sia testimonio del mio continovo operare, facendoli saper che più pronto son hora che mai, e meno superbo, riconoscendo ogni cosa da Dio et da V. S. Ill.^{ma}. Ci furono molte persone a la fantastica fusione, dove il Capitan di Giustizia dice non haver da veder quasi mai il più bell' ordine, havendo io dato quattro entrate al metallo, et dieci sospiri." Archivio di Stato di Parma—*Epistolario Scelto* 23, 18, f. 19. November 10, 1553. Also in Ronchini "Leone Leoni," 33 (Letter XVI).

¹¹⁰ There was another report sent to Granvelle a few months later by Antonio Patanella, a Milanese financial broker who worked on behalf of the minister to pay local imperial agents and artists. He quickly compliments, "Di M. Leone dopo che gittò el Furore, statua certamente maravegliosa e bella, non ho visto altro." Real Biblioteca—*Cartas italianas al obispo de Arrás (1553-1554) II/2270*, f. 244. March 3, 1554. Also transcribed in Istituto Italiano di Cultura, *Lettere di Artisti Italiani*, 83-4.

¹¹¹ "A piedi di questa giace l' altra statua fatta per lo Furore la quale è di più grandezza che la natural in una attitudine molto contorta et horribile, piena di gran uiuacità, la quale si mostra in ogni parte di essa statua ma specialmente nel uolto, percioche pare che egli frema, et in questo atto mostra non solamente i

Ferrante's letter provides the most extensive contemporary description of the sculpture. The level of detail present at the end of 1553 also raises questions as to what state the sculpture was in when it left Milan in 1556. Its base bears the inscription: "1564. Leone, father, Pompeo, son, made it,"¹¹² further complicating the dating of the work to a fixed window of time and to only one sculptor or workshop.

In addition to the formal detail provided by Ferrante, his mention that the lower part of the sculpture—*Furor* and the trophies of war on which he sits—were cast as a single pour is a significant communication about Leone's ambitions and technique, largely because soldering was technically impossible at that time. Casting a sculpture of this size at one time connoted both the high risk involved in the casting and the use of foundries large enough to have the space and workers for an extremely large furnace. Encased in a thick plaster shell, the sculpture would have been lowered into a pit with many channels from which the wax and then the molten metal could run. A temporary kiln could be constructed around the mold, which would have been elevated slightly from the ground, which could heat sufficiently to melt out the wax.¹¹³ The furnace to melt the alloy was positioned above at ground level and utilized gravity to direct the molten metal down the channel and into the mold. Furthermore, the success of casting such a large portion of the sculpture could have been compromised by any number of technical challenges,

denti et la lingua, ma gli si uede il palate et la higola, cosa per quell ch' io intendo non ordinaria. Et suda et le gocchie del sudore sono delicatamente impresse. Siede poi sopra belli ornamenti di spoglie et de arme sottilmente lauorati et con gran pacienza, onde tante cose insieme fondute, in un pezzo solo fanno il getto marauiglioso et la uista bellissima." Archivio General de Simancas—*Estado* leg. 1250, f. 108. December 28, 1553. Also transcribed in Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 368-9 (Letter 37).

¹¹² "1564 / LEO. P. POMP. F. ARET. F."

¹¹³ This arrangement was commonly used in casting other large bronze objects, such as bells and cannons, and was illustrated in Theophilus, *On Divers Arts*, trans. John G. Hawthorne and Cyril Stanley Smith (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1979), 171.

including whether the furnace was hot enough, the application of wax adequately thick and even, the metal sufficiently pure, or whether any inopportune humidity remained in the clay shell.¹¹⁴

As indicated in Ferrante's letter, the risk paid off for Leone, and the sculpture group has come to be the Leoni's best-known and most celebrated sculpture. Most investigations into the work have focused on how the sculpture engaged with classical tropes and the symbolic message of the triumph of peace over war.¹¹⁵ The classical interpretations have firm foundation in the emperor's own pretensions to align himself with Roman Emperors of yore and embody their virtues. This association is presented in the sculpture's inscription, "*CAESARIS VIR/TUTE DOMITUS FUROR*," which refers to the figure of Charles V as "Caesar."¹¹⁶ The artists adapted formal elements from antique portraits of Caesar Augustus [Fig. 2.44], such as Charles' stance. The figure of Charles appears to stride forward, as though prepared to address his troops as he grasps a lance in his right hand and a sword in his left. The "*all'antica*" armor is embellished with lion-headed pauldrons and small figures that emerge from the surface and support other parts of the armor, as can be seen in the emperor's elaborate sandals.

A key to a deeper understanding of how the classical imagery in the sculpture operated is provided in a letter written by Leone to Granvelle of 20 December 1550. Leone, in a playful

¹¹⁴ For a detailed investigation of the casting processes used by the Leoni on their large-scale bronze sculptures, the various perils that could befall such a complex process, and a number of elucidating images and graphics of the casting process on such a scale, see Elena Arias, "Esculturas de Leone y Pompeo Leoni: técnicas escultóricas sobre metal," in *Leone & Pompeo Leoni: actas del congreso internacional*, ed. Stephan F. Schröder (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2012), 162-167.

¹¹⁵ Discussions of the *Charles V and Furor* tend to focus on the sculpture's duality, analyzing the group as representing Peace and War, or the emperor as embodying either Christian knight or classical hero. See most recently Jennifer Liston, "The Performance of Empire: Leone Leoni's *Charles V Subduing Fury*," *Visual Resources* 28 n. 1 (Mar., 2012): 24-42. Earlier work includes Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Princes and Artists: patronage and ideology at four Habsburg courts 1517-1633* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 30-32; Mezzatesta, "Imperial Themes," 1-69; the catalog entry "Carlos V y el Furor" in Urrea, ed., *Los Leoni*, 102-9; and Carolyn Springer, *Armour and Masculinity*, 116-120.

¹¹⁶ Though the inscription at the base of the *Charles V and Furor* does not explicitly include the "Augustus" nomenclature with the ruler's name, the inclusion of "*AUG*" appears frequently in the Leoni's portraits of Charles V, including medals and the bronze portrait busts produced for the emperor and the Duke of Alba.

manner, quotes Virgil's *Aeneid* in Latin when describing his plans for the weaponry under Furor, confirming the work's poetic source: "Below the aforementioned statue there are weapons, which that inelegant Virgil mentions when he says 'Saeva sedens super arma,' and had I not bound [Furor] with knots and chains, it would not pass muster."¹¹⁷ Leone was not the first early modern sculptor to utilize this passage from the *Aeneid* to allude to contemporary victory in war, and this Virgilian content of *Charles V and Furor* has been addressed in the Leoni scholarship.¹¹⁸ My interest here will be to demonstrate how the reference to Virgil functioned to articulate a privileged relationship between the Leoni and their patron, Charles V. I will also examine linguistic evidence and iconographic examples in order to demonstrate how Leone adapted, substituted, and expanded on earlier representations of Virgil's Furor in order to position himself and his patron at the center of contemporary intellectual, militaristic, and artistic trends.

This link made by Leone to the *Aeneid*, coupled with the overt iconographic and formal allusions in the statue to Roman emperors, particularly to Augustus, establish direct parallels between contemporary and classical patron-artist relationships.¹¹⁹ As Charles was the emperor

¹¹⁷ "Sotto le dette statue c' è l' armi che dice quel goffo di Vergilio quando dice 'Saeva sedens super arma' et se io non l' o legato con nodi et catene, non uaglia." Real Biblioteca—*Cartas italianas al obispo de Arrás* II/2268 f. 336-7. The letter is dated December 20, 1550, though Plon lists the letter as undated. Also transcribed in Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 362 (Letter 21).

¹¹⁸ For more detailed arguments for and research into the sculpture's specific source material, see in particular Liston, "Performance of Empire," 34-37; Mezzatesta, "Imperial Themes," 34-60.

¹¹⁹ Leone's attention to the importance of antiquity goes beyond the specific instances within the *Charles and Furor*. It was a key instrument in Leone's initial proposal for an equestrian monument. After describing the virtues of sculpture, he closed the letter with a long passage on the relationship between classical forms and modern adulation. "Et prima dico che gli antique Imperadori hebbero grandissima avvertenza che le loro statue fussero fatte mentre che essi vivevano. Et con grande osservatione di decoro et non come e' nostri moderni che più tosto si sono lasciati incorrere ne l' adulatione che ne l' osservanza de i gradi loro. Non starò a rammentare hora dove si stiano le statue di i buoni antiqui in Roma et altri luoghi, non volendo nè anche nominare la statua di Genova nè quella di Padova o l' altra di Vinegia con le infinite altre de' diversi Signore con voler raguagliare quanto gran colosso si converrebbe a Cesare. Se ciascuna di queste statue sono a cavallo et armate et con il laticlavo sopra grandi piedistalli con molti adornamenti. Ma, per venire a quanto mi parrebbe che si dovessi in ciò lasciando da canto l' adulatione, et

and patron of the Leoni, so was Augustus to Virgil. The passage from the *Aeneid* that Leone alluded to in his letter, in fact, comes early in the epic, when Virgil allegorizes his patron's military victories as a triumph over over a raging, chained "godless" Furor: "Tight locks of iron / Will close War's grim gates. Inside, godless Furor, / Drooling blood on a heap of brutal weapons, / Will roar against the chains that pinion him."¹²⁰ Leoni, in appropriating this allegorical imagery for his sculptural group *Charles V and Furor*, rhetorically performs a similar kind of encomia to his imperial patron, while asserting the legitimacy of the Hapsburg ruling regime.

The sculpture's subject matter, though specified in Leone's letter to Granvelle, has a complex etymological history that must be parsed for the sake of iconographic clarity. In translations of the sculpture's inscription by art historians and curators, and in modern translations of the *Aeneid* as well, the Latin term "Furor" appears in English as "Fury."¹²¹ As a consequence, the standard title given to the sculptural group, *Charles V and Fury* or *Charles V Subduing Fury*, can lead to confusion over the antique precedents that Leone drew from and referred to when conceptualizing this work. In the sixteenth century, there were, in fact, two

appigliandomi alla mera verità, io farei un cavallo di metallo di bellissima statura et molto del naturale, cioè nella grandezza et sopra vi porrei la statua ritratta da l' Imperadore, della medesima grandezza, in attitudine che comandasse e inanimasse gli eserciti. Cioè con la mano destra dimostrando. Et vorrei che detta statua fusse posta sopra di un piedistallo Dorico, il quale avesse Quattro faccie, nelle quali vi fossero scolpite alcune delle vittorie haute dalla Sua M^{ta}, con molti ornamenti di trofei, et alcune iscrizioni a dichiarare le grandi et vittoriose imprese. Ma, per non andare in infinito, nè volendo andare a gran pezzo al merito che si converrebbe sopra a tanta meteria, riserberò a bocca quando V.S. Ill^{ma} mi farà gracia di domandarmi più minutamente." Archivio di Stato di Parma—*Epistolario Scelto* 23, 18, f. 32. Also in Ronchini, "Leone Leoni," 24-5 (Letter IV).

¹²⁰ Virgil, *Aeneid*, I, 293-96. "dirae ferro et compagibus artis / claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus / saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aënis / post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento." Translated in Sarah Ruden, trans., *The Aeneid of Virgil* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 9.

¹²¹ Leone's mastery of Latin is unclear. He possessed enough proficiency to inscribe his works with commonly used Latin phrases and abbreviations, and more promisingly he participated in the highest intellectual circles in Milan and Italy more generally where poets and scholars wrote poetry and prose in both Italian and Latin about his sculptures as well as his general abilities and virtues. For a discussion of Leone's intellectual pursuits and activities, see Di Dio, *Leone Leoni and the Status of the Artist*, 48-52.

quite different terms with a common entymological root, in Latin, Spanish, and Italian: “furia” and “furor” (“furore” in Spanish and Italian).¹²² These terms had profoundly variant definitions and connotations. Linguist Richard Perceval, in his 1591 *Bibliothecae hispanicae pars altera: containing a dictionarie in Spanish, English, and Latine*, differentiated between the Latin *furia* and *furor*, translating the terms as follows (with the Spanish term appearing first, followed by the English, then Latin).

Furia/fury/furia
 Furor/rage, madness/Furor.¹²³

In an earlier 1560 dictionary that provided Spanish definitions for Latin words, Antonio de Nebrija clarified the differences between “furies.”

Furia æ. Por la furia del infierno o de hombre furioso.¹²⁴
Furor, ris. Por la yra con furia o amor furioso.¹²⁵
Furor, aris, atus. Por hurtar de escondidas.¹²⁶
Furiosus, a, um. Furioso, loco. *Plin. lib. 12. cap. 25.*¹²⁷

At the end of the century, Italian-English and Spanish-English dictionaries expanded on the terms, which maintained their Latin-derived distinctions between *furia* and *furor*. In *A*

Dictionarie in Spanish and English, Richard Perceval defined the differences as:

Furía, or *Rabía*, f. fury, raging, madness.
Furías, the three furies, Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megera.
Furór, m. furiousness, rage, madness, woodnesse.¹²⁸

¹²² My use of the term “Spanish” might, in today’s terms, be more accurately identified as “Castilian” in order to clarify the Spain-based use of the Spanish language (“castellano”) as opposed to the forms of Spanish used in Latin America (“español”). Due to contemporary dictionaries that referred to the language as “Spanish,” I use that term instead of “Castilian” or “castellano.”

¹²³ Richard Percyvall, *Bibliothecae hispanicae pars altera: containing a dictionarie in Spanish, English, and Latine* (London, 1591), not paginated.

¹²⁴ “Of the fury of hell or a furious man.” Antonio de Nebrija *Dictionarium Latinohispanicum* (Antwerp, 1560), not paginated.

¹²⁵ “Of rage/wrath with fury or furious love.” Ibid.

¹²⁶ “To pilfer/steal and hide.” Ibid.

¹²⁷ “A furious one, crazy. Pliny book 12 chapter 25.” Ibid.

¹²⁸ Richard Perceval, *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (London, 1599), 130.

John A. Florio's *A Worlde of Wordes* provides nearly identical English definitions of the Italian terms, which also preserve the Latin distinctions between the two "furies."

Fúria, a furie, rage, madness, furiousnes.

Furie, furies, the furies of hell.

Furore, *Furrore*, furie, rage, madness, outrage, bedlam madness.¹²⁹

According to these late sixteenth-century accounts, *furia* and *furor/furore* overlapped as references to a general emotional state, though the former was unique in its allusions to specific mythological characters, the three Furies of hell.¹³⁰ These female figures appeared in multiple passages in the *Aeneid* and again in Dante's *Inferno* as emotionally tormented, vengeful beings with snakes for hair.¹³¹ Within the larger context of his text, Virgil did not refer to these individuals with the word *furia*. He maintained the etymologically Greek terms for them, *Eumenide* or *Erinnys*, and reserved the use of both *furor* and *furia* for the emotional state of madness and rage, and the capitalized *Furor* as the name for the allegorical figure in the early passage quoted by Leone.

Early modern sources maintained both *furie* and *eumenides* as terms to refer to the female mythological figures. Dante used both *furie* and *Erine* interchangeably in the Italian

¹²⁹ John A. Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes* (London, 1598), 141.

¹³⁰ A recent exhibition at the Museo Nacional del Prado, "Las Furias: De Tiziano a Ribera," engaged with the complexities of translating the term "furias." Titian painted four fallen giants from classical mythology for Maria of Hungary's palace at Binche, namely Tityus, Sisyphus, Ixion and Tantalus, who suffered eternal torment in hell. In the exhibition's catalog Miguel Falomir noted that to call these paintings, and the subsequent popularity of the subjects, "Furias" is at one level a "misnomer.... From the late sixteenth century onwards, however, the chamber where Titian's paintings were hung at the old Alcázar in Madrid was commonly referred to as the 'Sala de las "Furias".' This metonymy proved so effective that, in Spain, the paintings themselves became known by that name, which has therefore been used in this catalogue. Anglo-Saxon historiography, though mythologically more precise, has failed to reach any consensus on the title for Titian's cycle." His explanation underscores the need to clarify and ground the use and translation of the term "Furias," as I argue by extension is the case for "Furor," based on the context of specific objects or projects. Miguel Falomir, *Las Furias: alegoría política y desafío artístico* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2014), 158, Spanish text on p. 22.

¹³¹ See Appendix A for passages on the Furies in Virgil's *Aeneid* and Appendix B for Dante's description of the Furies in the *Inferno*.

vernacular,¹³² and sixteenth-century dictionaries also included the alternative, with a Spanish-Latin dictionary defining “*Eumenides*, dictæ sunt Furiaë per antiphrasim, quia immites”¹³³ and Florio’s Italian-English volume “*Eumenide*, the furies of hell.”¹³⁴ While modern English authors accurately translate the Latin, Spanish, and Italian words *furia*, *furor/furore*, and *eumenide* into the blanket term “fury,” such a generalized term runs the risk of conflating distinct definitions, literary allusions, and visual precedents. The mythological Furies and a furious and vengeful state of being share with the tormented and chained Furor in the Leoni sculpture the attributes of rage and torment. I will demonstrate, however, that a closer inspection of the linguistic, cultural, and artistic resonances of *furor/furore* can illuminate new layers of meaning in the Leoni’s *Charles V and Furor* that touch upon philosophical, artistic, and autobiographical themes.

As noted above, other early modern sculptors had represented Virgil’s passage on Furor and Leone would have been familiar with these precedents. There were earlier works, too, that conjoined the allegorical imagery of Furor in relation to peace and war, with the representation of a contemporary individual, thereby commemorating that person’s role in instituting a period of peace. In the case of Benvenuto Cellini’s 1534 portrait medal for Clement VII [Figs. 2.45-47], the allegory on the reverse side follows the passage in *The Aeneid*.¹³⁵ To the left, a female personification of Peace stands beside a building to which Furor is chained. Furor sits, nude and splayed, on a pile of arms, with Peace holding a lit torch down toward the arms, seemingly igniting them. Scholars have connected the medal to the 1529 treaty of Cambrai between the French king Francis I and Charles V, which ended a period of conflict during which Pope

¹³² See Appendix B.

¹³³ “Eumenides, ironically called Furies, because they are savage beasts.” Antonio de Nebrija *Dictionarium Latinohispanicum* (Antwerp, 1560), not paginated.

¹³⁴ Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes*, 123.

¹³⁵ For a discussion of the competitive context behind the production of Cellini’s medal, see Beth L. Holman, “For ‘Honor and Profit’: Benvenuto Cellini’s *Medal of Clement VII* and His Competition with Giovanni Bernardi,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 58, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 512-75.

Clement VII and the Papal States supported both sides in their quest to claim territories in Italy.¹³⁶ Virgil's *Furor* from the *Aeneid* is the source, too, for a political allegory painted by Francesco Salviati for the Medici in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence [Fig. 2.48].¹³⁷ The grisaille fresco, above a central doorway in the Sala delle Udienze, represents a centrally seated female figure representing Peace, holding an inverted torch in her right hand and a palm frond in her left, with two bound and contorted figures crouching below her, surrounded by various military wares.¹³⁸ Positioned immediately below the fresco, in the lunette above the door, is an earlier fifteenth-century sculpted allegorical figure of Justice, which Salviati included in his preparatory drawing for the fresco [Fig. 2.49], clearly linking the visualized imagery of peace and justice.

The figure of *Furor* was also utilized in two previous instances associated with the Hapsburgs in ephemeral festival decorations. During Charles V's entry in 1530 into Bologna, where Pope Clement VII crowned him Holy Roman Emperor, a painting was displayed along the processional route representing a giant figure of *Furor* chained.¹³⁹ Closer in time to the

¹³⁶ Graham Pollard, *Medaglie Italiane del Rinascimento nel Museo Nazionale del Bargello* (Florence: Associazione Amici del Bargello, 1984-1985), II: 973.

¹³⁷ See Catherine Monbeig Goguel, ed., *Francesco Salviati (1510-1563) o la Bella Maniera* (Milan: Electa, 1998), 180-1; Luisa Mortari, *Francesco Salviati* (Florence: Casa di Risparmio di Firenze, 1992), 26-33, 110-112; and Iris Hofmeister Cheney, "Francesco Salviati (1510-1563)" (PhD diss., New York University, 1963), 162-89.

¹³⁸ There is another visual example of the Virgilian tale that falls outside the scope of the current investigation because it was painted after the *Charles V and Furor* was already conceived and cast, though perhaps not yet finished, in Madrid. It is nevertheless worth mentioning for the sake of explicating the cultural currency of the imagery. Salviati reused the composition roughly fifteen years later when, in 1558, he modified the Florentine fresco in the Palazzo Farnese's Sala dei Fasti Farnesiani for Paul III. In this instance, the imagery also included a female allegory of Peace and is associated with a specific ruler through the close visual approximation of the allegory with Paul III's portrait. See Janet Cox-Rearick, "Francesco Salviati e la Bella Maniera," in *Francesco Salviati (1510-1563) o la Bella Maniera*, ed. Catherine Monbeig Goguel (Milan: Electa, 1998), 25-30; Mortari, *Francesco Salviati*, 122-23; and Hofmeister Cheney, "Francesco Salviati," 252-264.

¹³⁹ "Après avoir contemplé la façade Charles pouvait encore voir, en s'engageant sous la voûte de l'entrée, des peintures qui représentaient, d'un côté, la Fureur sous les traits d'un géant enchaîné assis sur un monceau d'armes, et de l'autre (421) Janus devant la porte fermée de son temple, dont il tenait la clef, ainsi qu'une massue tournée vers le sol en signe de paix." Jean Jacquot, "Panorama des Fêtes et Cérémonies du Règne:

commission of the *Charles V and Furor* was Philip's 1549 entry into Mantua, where Furor appeared to the left of the columns surrounding the palace's entrance gates.¹⁴⁰ Given Leone's own engagement with designing such temporary *apparati* for imperial processions, he may very well have been familiar with the iconography used in prior entries.¹⁴¹ Between these temporary uses in Hapsburg processions of 1530 and 1549, Leoni cast a silver medal of Charles V with imagery on the reverse side that bears a striking resemblance to Cellini's earlier medal for Pope Clement VII.¹⁴² [Fig. 2.50] In Leone's medal, the female personification of Peace approaches a contorted figure of Furor that echoes and Cellini's earlier version, while intensifying the dramatic interaction between the two figures. The artist compressed the space and modified the architectural elements to recede diagonally into the background. He also altered the scale of the two figures. In Cellini's iteration, Peace dwarves both the building and Furor, whereas Leone

Évolution des thèmes et des styles,” in *Fêtes et ceremonies au temps de Charles Quint* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960), 420.

¹⁴⁰ “En la puerta de palacio, que era el Castillo, el qual es una hermosísima Fortaleza y aposento muy principal, avía dos columnas a cada lado de relieve, de veynte y tres pies de alto, y assí era el architrabe, freso y cornija con el frontispicio de relieve, y en dos triángulos que se hazían sobre la puerta avia dos Victorias que tenían entre sí una corona, y encima del freso, en derecho de las columnas, estava de cada parte el Furor encadenado, con esta letra entre el uno y el otro puesta: SECVRITATI AVGVSTAE. *A la seguridad imperial.*” Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, *Felicísimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso príncipe don Felipe* (Atwerp: Martin Nucio, 1552), 2:56.

¹⁴¹ For Leone Leoni's role as designer of imperial ephemera, see Amalia Barigozzi Brini, “Apparati effimeri di Leone Leoni,” in *Studi di Storia dell'arte in onore di Maria Luisa Gatti Perer*, ed. Marco Rossi and Alessandro Rovetta (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1999), 259-69.

¹⁴² Susanna Zanuso views Leone's medal as a response to Cellini's version, setting the two on equal footing due to earlier conceptions that Leone's medal was actually a coin. Susanna Zanuso, “Appunti sulla formazione artistica del giovane Leone Leoni,” in *Leone & Pompeo Leoni: actas del congreso internacional*, ed. Stephan Schröder (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2012), 12. In the same volume, Silvio Leydi fleshes out Leone's decades-long involvement in the Milanese mint, and for the time contemporaneous with his production of this medal, see Silvio Leydi, “Leone Leoni ‘scultore delle stampe della Cecca di Milano’ (1549-90),” in *Leone & Pompeo Leoni: actas del congreso internacional*, ed. Stephan Schröder (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2012), 19-20. Jeremy Warren explores Leone's tendency to cite formal precedents from his small-scale works in his large-scale projects, particularly in the medallion-type embellishments in his armored portraits of the Hapsburgs. See Jeremy Warren, “Medals and Plaquettes by Leone Leoni in the Context of His Larger Hapsburg Statues,” in *Leone & Pompeo Leoni: actas del congreso internacional*, ed. Stephan Schröder (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2012), 33-43.

reversed the relationship to give the impression of a Furor so large that if left unrestricted, not even the boundaries of the coin's fictive space could contain him. In comparison to Cellini's papal medal, where Peace's domination over the scene is secured, based on the hierarchical scale of the figures, Leone's interpretation of the scene implies a more tense and immediate standoff. The threat of Peace's flame draws so near that Furor recoils from the torch, and Leone's decision to bring the two personifications into a more immediate spatial and narrative confrontation amplifies the suspense. Leone, in his conception of Furor in the medal of circa 1544, established a strained and more balanced relationship between Peace and War that he would revisit, reinterpret, and redefine some five years later in the monumental sculptural group now in the Prado.

In these allegories configuring Furor described above, it is the idealized personification of Peace who neutralizes war, its weaponry, and Furor itself, with an implied association between Peace and the patrons commissioning the various works. In the *Charles V and Furor*, Leone, instead, re-casts the female personification of Peace as a full figure portrait of the emperor himself. The sculpture asserts that Charles' military victories were neither symbolic nor mediated through secular allegory, but, rather, were directly embodied by the ruler himself. This depiction preserves the Hapsburg tradition of placing the emperor at the center of military exploits (see for example, fig. 2.25), allowing him to take responsibility for the strategic acumen responsible for the kind of victory intimated in Virgil's passage from the Aeneid.

The figure of *Furor* also carried artistic self-reflexive possibilities for the sculptor Leone Leoni through contemporary concepts about divine and poetic furor. In fact it was Leone's idea to enhance the emperor's portrait with the figure. Leone wrote to Granvelle in an undated letter:

Furthermore, a new whim struck me to want to augment the statue of His Majesty. Not wanting below it either a province or any other conquest due to His Majesty's

great modesty, I decided to commemorate all of these without any flattery. And wanting to refer to his modesty, manners, religion, and piety, I put underneath him the statue of the Furor. Compared to the statue of the Emperor, which proves to be benevolent, serious, and magnanimous in countenance, [the *Furor* is] rabid and crouching with a horrifying, quivering, and menacing face, and nearly strikes fear into whoever looks upon it. In addition, the manner of the muscles is in accordance with its harshness, and the artifice/skill was great for I have fit the two figures on a small base, and neither impedes the view of the other and each of the four vantage points that a statue should have are nothing other than the best and most beautiful.¹⁴³

Leone anticipates and tends to his patron's sensitivities while trumpeting his own virtuosity and praising his own designs. He lauds the emperor's qualities and virtues and sets his example in direct contrast with that of *Furor*, the object that inspires the sculptor's self-adulation. Leone does not point to the *Charles* as the expression of his skill; he instead aligns his artistry with the *Furor*.

Quattrocento scholar and philosopher Marsilio Ficino wrote extensively about the concepts of four types of divine furor, connecting *furor* as the way through which the artist experiences divine inspiration. In his Latin letter written to Peregrino Agli, translated into Italian early in the sixteenth century, Ficino wrote that he ascribes the younger man's achievements "not just to your study and technique, but much more to divine frenzy [*divino illi furori*]. ...and this power, which is manifested in external movements, the ancient philosophers maintained was the

¹⁴³ "Dico adunque che mi tocco un capriccio di uolere ampliare la statua di Sua Mtà ala quale non gli uolendo por soto ne una prouincia ne una altra uitoria, per la modestia grande di Sua Mtà mi deliberai uolerli dar tutte queste lodi senza niuna adulatione, et uolendo aludere ala modestia, a i costume, ala religione, ala pietà, li feci sotto di se consulcata la statua del Furore, la quale statua, secondo che quela del Imperadore si dimostra benigna et graue, et in aspetto magnanimo, quela, furibonda et ranichiata, con una faccia orida, fremendo et minaciando, che quasi mete paura a chi la mira; oltre che la maniera de muscoli è secondo ala forma del'asprezza et l'artificio è stato grande, che' io ho accommodate le due figure in poca base, et l' una non toglie il uedere al' altra et da tutte le quatro uedute che debbe hauer la statua non occupa niente ma la men bella è la migliore." Real Biblioteca—*Cartas italianas al obispo de Arrás* II/2268 f. 336-7. Also transcribed in Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 362-3 (Letter 21).

most potent proof that the divine force dwelt in our souls.”¹⁴⁴ However, the concept of *furor* could carry negative connotations as well. Michael Cole hinted at the potential demonic potential of such emotional frenzy,¹⁴⁵ and scholars have connected inebriation, sleep and melancholia as states in which the artistic temperament was most susceptible to *furor*.¹⁴⁶ Ficino, in his *Book of Love*, clarified the positive associations carried by the label “divine furor.” He explicates: “Our Plato in the *Phaedo* defines ‘furor’ to be madness of the mind, and he teaches two categories of madness, considering that one comes from human frailty, the other from divine inspiration: the former is called folly, the other divine furor.”¹⁴⁷ With this Neo-Platonic concept of divine furor in mind, as well as the dual linguistic connotations of the term in sixteenth century Europe discussed earlier, the figure of *Furor* in the Leoni sculpture could be conceived of as both a personification of war, waiting to be tamed by Peace, and as a figuration of an inspired and divine state of artistic creativity.

In interpreting both visual and intellectual precedents for *furor*, Leone made key formal decisions that inflect the figure with certain autobiographical resonances. At one level, Leone edited out possible signifiers that would have allowed a viewer to identify the vanquished foe with a specific region or imperial enemy. There was a conventional practice in the period in sculptural groups representing a pair of victor and vanquished to have the defeated figure stand

¹⁴⁴ *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, trans. members of the Language Department of the School of Economic Science, London (London: Shephard-Walwyn, 1975), 1:42.

¹⁴⁵ Michael Cole, “The Demonic Arts and the Origin of the Medium,” *Art Bulletin* 84, no. 4 (Dec. 2002): 622.

¹⁴⁶ For *furor*’s relationship to sleep and melancholia, see Maria Ruvoldt, *The Italian Renaissance Imagery of Inspiration: Metaphors of Sex, Sleep, and Dreams* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 13, 21, 24, 43, 54, 155-56; and for the bacchic implications of furor, see Phyllis Pray Bober, “Appropriation Contexts: *Décor, Furor Bacchius, Convivium*,” in *Antiquity and its Interpreters*, ed. Alina Payne, Ann Kuttner, Rebekah Smick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 229-243.

¹⁴⁷ “El nostro Platone diffinisce nel *Phedro* el furore essere alienatione di mente, e insegna due generationi d’alienatione, delle quale stima che l’una venga da infermità humana, l’altra da spiratione divina: la prima chiama stoltitia, la seconda furore divino.” Marsilio Ficino, *El Libro dell’Amore*, ed. Sandra Niccoli (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1987), 187.

for a specific and identifiable community or region. In the now heavily damaged 1540 sculpture of Andrea Doria for the main portal of Genoa's Palazzo Duale [Fig. 2.51],¹⁴⁸ for instance, Doria stands on a figure associated with the empire's fight against the Ottoman empire's Muslim forces.¹⁴⁹ *Charles V and Furor* would have been ripe with possibility for such political specificity. During the sixteenth century, the concept of the *furor Teutonicus* had been perpetuated with reference to the ancient Roman wars, including Lucan's *Pharsalia*, which describe the violent and ruthless militaristic escapades of the Teutonic tribes.¹⁵⁰ In spite of the emperor's well-known struggles with the German Protestant princes around the time of the Leoni's commission, the artist wrote to Granvelle in 1550 explicitly stating that he would avoid such citations in deference to the modesty Charles needed to present: "Not wanting below it either a province or any other conquest due to His Majesty's great modesty."¹⁵¹ In order to achieve this end, Leone, in fashioning the figure of Furor, effectively avoided imagery or ornament that could have been interpreted as a reference to a single battle or enemy.

At the same time, Leone appears to have introduced features that were self-reflexive and allowed *Furor* to function as a signifier of Leone's own autobiography and sculptural processes—the chains that bind the figure and the lit torch that has been repositioned now in the

¹⁴⁸ For more on the statues of Andrea Doria as Neptune and conquering hero, see Elena Parma Armani, "Il Palazzo di Principe Andrea Doria a Fassolo in Genoa," *L'Arte* III, no. 10 (1970): 38; and Herbert Keutner, "Über die Entstehung und die Formen des Standbildes im Cinquecento," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 7 (1956): 143-48.

¹⁴⁹ The *Charles V and Furor* can also be viewed as one example in a long tradition of bronze sculpture groups and figures standing over conquered enemies, like that of Doria. In relation to this sculpture, that iconographic study has been done in Liston, "Performance of Empire," 34-37; and Mezzatesta, "Imperial Themes," 34-60.

¹⁵⁰ "nos primi Senonum motus Cimbrum que ruentem / vidimus et Martem Libyes cursum que furoris / Teutonicis: quotiens Romam fortuna lacescit, / hac iter est bellis." Lucan, *Pharsalia*, 1.254-57. Lucan's writings on the battles faced by Romans against the German tribe were translated into Castilian in 1585. See Martín Lasso de Oropesa, trans., *Lucano Poeta y Historiador Antiguo: En que se tartan las guerras Pharsalicas, que tuuieron Iulio Cesar y Pompeyo* (Antwerp: Juan Cordier, 1585), 11-12.

¹⁵¹ See footnote 142.

hand of Furor. Through the important leitmotif of chains, Leone effectively commented on his own experience of captivity as well as his abilities as a metallurgist. The difficulties Leone faced due to his volatile temper have been briefly mentioned, though it is worth reiterating that it was the sculptor's attack on the papal jeweler that led to his sentence to serve as a galley slave in the papal fleet.¹⁵² It was Andrea Doria, the naval commander under Charles V from Genoa, who used his influence to have Leone released after just one year of service. As a gift and expression of gratitude to his powerful advocate, Leone cast a portrait medal of Doria [Fig. 2.52], including details that pointed towards the naval and maritime sources of Doria's wealth and prestige—Neptune's trident and a dolphin. The identifying inscription reads "Andreas Doria. P[ater]. P[atria]." On the reverse [Fig. 2.53] Leone cast a self-portrait with his personal attributes, which is presented as a pendant to the image of Andrea Doria, with both men represented bearded in profile facing toward the right, encircled by a beaded border. In Leone's self-representation, a ship from the papal fleet appears in the background. He substituted the inscription found on the obverse side for a ring of interlocking chains and restraints that thematize his year of punishment as a galley rower. Leone laid bare the instruments of his punishment, embracing them as visual short-hand for his troubled personal past and newly humbled self-identification. In light of this highly personal meaning of chains for Leone, and the tradition for *furor* to refer to creative states and artistic processes within the neo-Platonic paradigm, Leone's use of the chain motif in the sculpture group *Charles V and Furor* supports the reading of the *Furor* figure as an expression of Leone's own sculptural production. The chains were cast separately, in a form evocative of functional restraints, and they were then affixed to clamps cast as parts of the actual body of Furor, literally chaining the en fleshed body to the pile of weaponry. While *Furor* operates as a

¹⁵² See footnote 106.

personification, the chain restraints are real. In fashioning them in this way, Leone uses the chains, previously adopted as an attribute of self-expression, to call attention to the nature of the sculpture and its materials as simultaneously fictive and real.

Leone further thematizes the artifice and process of making bronze sculptures through the modification of the established iconography. In the earlier examples discussed above, it was the figure of Peace which held the inverted burning torch. In Leone's sculptural group, where Charles V occupies the position of Peace, the torch has been strategically repositioned and is held, rather, by *Furor* itself. Within the *Aeneid* and the early modern Italian visual tradition based on the passage, the torch is the tool through which the instruments of war will be enveloped in flames and rendered void and futile. Instead, in Leone's sculpture group, it is *Furor*, the embodiment and product of Leone's own creative *furore*, who holds the torch and controls the heating and melting of the trophies of war and the bronze from which their representation itself is cast. When considered through this artistic and autobiographical lens, the action of the bronze *Furor* fictively and playfully enacts a key stage of the bronze casting process—the melting of metal—while Leone also highlights the tension between the sculpture's literal and represented materialities. *Furor*, as a stand-in and proxy for Leone's creative capacities and a personification of defeated war, threatens to melt the metal trophies, whether those trophies are understood as made of bronze or as mimetic imitations of iron, steel and brass. By re-casting *Furor* as more than a representation of war, as an assertion of Leone's own artistry, Leone made the making and material of the sculpture a key aspect of the work's ingenuity and complexity. By clearly labeling the figure as "Furor," the sculptor interwove classical and contemporary iconography to convey a political allegory about the military prowess of his

Hapsburg patron, philosophical and Humanist conceptions about artistic inspiration, and a presentation of his own personal history and sculptural skills.

Masculinity, Milan, and the Fire Arts

The adaptations of *Furor's* formal precedents also connected the body of the emperor to performances of idealized, militarized, and intellectualized masculinity and leadership. Whereas the preceding iconographic section studies ways in which Leone tapped into philosophical ideas about *furor* to assert his sculptural abilities, Leone re-conceptualized *Furor's* iconography in still another way to unite Charles' masculine identity and military strength with Milanese material culture and its metallurgical industry. The gender reversal that I described above—where Leone cast the emperor himself in the role of the feminized allegory of Peace—is but one way in which sixteenth-century identity politics were enacted in the *Charles V and Furor*. The thematization of heat via *Furor's* torch also conveys certain conceptions about masculinity on display in Leone's sculpture group.

Heat was a central biological necessity in sixteenth-century medical conceptions of male anatomical functions. As Patricia Simons has observed, “it was fundamental to the overall ideology that masculinity was about initiative, radiation, and projection,” and it was the catalyst behind ejaculation.¹⁵³ In addition to the literal heat emanating from the fire of the torch held by *Furor*, additional evidence of “hotness” can be seen in the prominent beads of sweat that were so admired by Ferrante Gonzaga in his letter to Charles V [Fig. 2.54]. This heat associated with *Furor*, however, is presented as a form of a masculinity that must be subdued and restrained by a privileged form of masculinity associated with the emperor. The necessity for the thematic

¹⁵³ Patricia Simons, *The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 129.

juxtaposition of the two figures was highlighted by Leone in the letter to Granvelle, quoted above, in which the sculptor positions *Charles's* solemnity and composure with *Furor's* rabidity. Leone first suggested adding the figure of Furor to the Emperor's portrait.¹⁵⁴ While Leone's description of the two figures does not explicitly cite masculine heat, he articulates the conflict between the two male forms and the dynamic contrast, with the emperor stoic, poised and in control, *Furor* tormented, violent, and needing to be subdued.

The emphasis in *Charles V and Fury* on different varieties of masculinity, one that is unhinged and the other a paragon of virtue, is further asserted in the inscription on the base of the sculpture. Scholars have transcribed this inscription as “CAESARIS VIRTUTE DOMITUS FUROR.”¹⁵⁵ However, there is a break, a disruption, in the text at a crucial point, where the arms spill over the edge [Fig. 2.55] and cut through the word “virtute”. The inscription is effectively split into two segments, “CAESARIS VIR” followed by “TUTE DOMITUS FUROR.” The meaning in its entirety, that the emperor's virtue has dominated Furor, remains intact, but another message emerges. The close textual association of *vir*, the Latin for “man” or “hero,” with “Caesar” couples with the close visual association between those words and *Charles*. When approaching the sculpture from the front, “CAESARIS VIR” remains the only legible portion of the inscription, thereby priming the viewer to consider the gender roles performed by the sculpted bodies. It is only upon circumambulating the group that the meaning expands from the emperor as ideal man to the emperor as triumphant through virtue.

A key visual component to the emperor's victory, masculinity, and implied virtue is the pile of spolia atop which the figure of the emperor strides and to which *Furor* is chained. Such

¹⁵⁴ See footnote 142.

¹⁵⁵ The inscription is quoted thus as early as Vasari's second edition: Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, ed. Rosanna Bettarini (Firenze: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1966), VI: 201; and more recently in Springer, *Armour and Masculinity*, 116; Liston, “Performance of Empire,” 25-6.

trophies of war were a common motif used to decorate a variety of objects in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A number of ornamental prints, for example, display similar military wares [Figs. 2.56-57], and the famous bronze caster Antico included the imagery around the top of what is now known as the Gonzaga Urn [Fig. 2.58]. The motif had been used in conjunction with Charles V before as well. Armor designer Filippo Orso decorated a saddle with the double-headed Hapsburg eagle in the center of military spoils [Fig. 2.59]. The *Apotheosis of Charles V* designed by Giulio Romano and subsequently utilized for a parade shield for the emperor [Fig. 2.60] features an allegorical figure in the lower right surrounded by a shield and trophies. The popularity of the motif derived in large part from its classical roots.¹⁵⁶

In the *Charles V and Furor*, the arms denote the militaristic means by which Charles maintained a tenuous balance between peace and war. The placement of the arms, however, and their relationship to the figure of *Furor* play a key role in articulating the precarity of this balance. The arms lie beneath the two figures, effectively forming the surface of the base of the statue, with some—a helmet, a quiver of arrows, and hatchet—extending well beyond the base below bearing the inscription. As noted above, *Furor* holds a lit torch, whose fire playfully licks at the pile of metallic and wooden weapons to which he is chained, suggesting the prospect of melting them down [Fig. 2.61].¹⁵⁷ His left leg juts out and the bronze chains fall over the edge of the base, while his right leg is planted upon a helmet whose placement extending over the edge is made even more precarious by the force of *Furor*'s foot.

¹⁵⁶ Leone acknowledged the connection between war trophies and antiquity in his original proposal to cast an equestrian monument for Charles V. “Et vorrei che detta statua fusse posta sopra di un piedistallo Dorico, il quale avesse Quattro faccie, nelle quali vi fossero scolpite alcune delle vittorie haute dalla Sua M^a, con molti ornamenti di trofei, et alcune inscriptioni a dichiarare le grandi et vittoriose imprese.” Archivio di Stato di Parma—*Epistolario Scelto* 23, 18 (Leone Aretino) f. 32.

¹⁵⁷ Cole, “Under the Sign of Vulcan,” 44-47.

But just as the weapons that helped secure victory are not yet melting or melted down, the figure of *Charles* remains liminally poised between peace and battle. The Augustan contrapposto stance of the figure of *Charles V*, with his right foot, seemingly planted upon the genitals of *Furor*, connotes military triumph. At the same time, *Charles V* stands ready to take up arms again—some of which feature the Hapsburg symbol of an eagle’s head—should the need arise. The sculpture group thus foregrounds the paradoxical strategy of maintaining an illusion of peace through the threat of easily mobilized violent suppression.

Another key feature in elaborating the theme of masculinity in relation to the person of the emperor and Hapsburg military prowess is the armor worn by the emperor in *Charles V and Furor*. It is, in fact, ingeniously removable [Figs. 2.62-63], with the body beneath the armor rendered nude. In 1551, Leone wrote to Granvelle, while still working on the commission in Milan, requesting that the minister obtain Charles’ permission for him to cast the armor separately. “I wish that you entreat, where I could not when I was with His Majesty, who did not know of my new whim (*capriccio*), whether His Majesty would be happy with a statue that can be armed and unarmed. And because I wish it very, very much, I ask that if he deems this worthy, let me know.”¹⁵⁸

The armor was cast as two pieces, a front and a back half, with seams between the armor halves that run along each side (as seen in Fig. 2.73). These heavy plates of bronze are secured mechanically to the figure by large screws, with a particularly prominent hole visible on the

¹⁵⁸ “Desidero che V.S. Ill^{ma} suplicca doue mancai quando era costà con sua Maestà ala quale non seppi di il mio nuouo capriccio, se Sua Maestà si contentava de la statua che si armava et disarmava. Et percio ch’ io lo desidero assai assai pregho quella si degni di darmene aviso.” Real Biblioteca—*Cartas italianas al obispo de Arrás*, II/2254-6 f. 84. The fifteenth of an unnamed month, 1551. Also in Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 367 (Letter 33). Michael Mezzatesta reconstructs the timeline of Leone’s travels in 1551 and speculates that it is likely Leone conceived the idea of the removable armor while in Augsburg in the Winter of 1551, in which case Leone’s artistic practice, the sculpture group, and other imperial armor industries were crucially intertwined. See Mezzatesta, “Imperial Themes,” 6.

statue's left thigh [Fig. 2.62]. Sadly there is no surviving archival evidence as to when or on what occasion the statue was planned to be dressed or undressed. Nor is it clear where the *Charles V and Furor* was meant to be installed or displayed, a question further complicated by the aforementioned loss of María of Hungary's palace in Binche.

When the removable fictive armor was affixed to the figure of Charles V, this armor that Leone designed blends together cotemporary and classical revival elements with fanciful sculptural passages. The cuirass is relatively plain, without any relief except for the figure that seems to burst from the base of the lance rest. Instead of screws to attach the removable piece to the breastplate, Leone modeled the hybrid creature in wax with its arm raised as if in a charge. Such an imaginative conceit balances the otherwise expected and recognizable features: the Golden Fleece, sash, chain mail below the statue's arms and at the groin, sword belt, and hints of the garments worn underneath. The pauldrons fuse sculptural design and classicized details, including the medallion on the face of the right shoulder guard, similar to those in the bronze Prado bust discussed above, and the expressive lions' faces that curve around the shoulders. [Fig. 2.73.]

With the fictive armor removed, the bearded face of the mature Charles seems at odds with the statue's flexed and hyper-muscular physique, coding the identifiable portrait as a classically idealized example of male statuary. Additionally, the figure's nudity has been protected by the armor over the centuries, better preserving the golden tones of the chocolately patina that has darkened elsewhere on the surface. In contrast to the highly worked armor whose many textures and levels of relief absorb and interrupt the light, light seems to skim over the gently curving planes of the undressed body underneath. This both enhances the visual resonance between the two muscular and nude figures while distinguishing their attitudes, poses, and

comportment, a distinction of character that Leone himself underscored in his own descriptions.¹⁵⁹

Leone Leoni's insistence on his *capriccio* for removable armor indicates awareness of the importance of armor to his patron as well as to the cultural capital of the city in which he worked. I will first link the *Charles V's* armor to Milan's reputation as a metallurgical center, including its active armor industry as well as its being the site of the imperial mint; then I will address the dressing and undressing—*arma* and *disarmava*, as Leone described it—in relation to the conventions of portraiture in princely courts at the time, returning to the significance of the nude representation of the emperor.

The artistic *ingegno* or inventiveness of removable armor revealed Leone's desire to compete with the cultural capital of his immediate northern Italian surroundings. Milan's reputation for its experts in armor and metal work had been cultivated for decades, starting most famously in 1482 with Leonardo da Vinci's ambitious but unrealized plan to cast a colossal bronze equestrian monument to Milan's duke, Francesco Sforza [Fig. 2.64].¹⁶⁰ That Leone first proposed to memorialize the emperor in a similar manner to that undertaken by the celebrated earlier Milanese court artist—a large-scale bronze equestrian monument to be publically

¹⁵⁹ See footnote 142.

¹⁶⁰ On the history and lasting importance to Milan of the attempted monument, see Luke Syson, "The Rewards of Service: Leonardo da Vinci and the Duke of Milan," in *Leonardo da Vinci: Painter at the Court of Milan*, ed. Luke Syson and Larry Keith (London: National Gallery Company, 2011), 30, 32-33; Andrea Bernardoni, "Leonardo and the Equestrian Monument for Francesco Sforza: The Story of an Unrealized Monumental Sculpture," in *Leonardo da Vinci and the Art of Sculpture*, ed. Gary Radke (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 2009), 95-135; Martin Kemp, *Leonardo da Vinci: The Marvellous Works of Nature and Man* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 189-97; and Virginia L. Bush, "Leonardo's Sforza Monument and Cinquecento Sculpture," in *An Overview of Leonardo's Career and Projects until c. 1500*, ed. Claire Farago (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999), 407-428.

displayed in Milan—reveals both the sculptor’s ambition and his knowledge of and interest in a visual tradition specific to the city.¹⁶¹

Into the sixteenth century, when Charles’s military forces finally consolidated their hold over Lombardy in 1535¹⁶² and Leone began his work at the imperial mint in 1542, Milan’s armor industry was on the rise, and at the center was the Negroli family.¹⁶³ Known for their refined, intricate, and technically complex ceremonial armor, the workshop was led by Filippo Negroli as it crafted fantastical armor for the political elite throughout Europe. Negroli armor, particularly their helmets, could elevate and distinguish the body of a ruler by sheathing it in fanciful hybrid imagery, with different parts of the armor representing different creatures and appendages. Duke of Urbino Guidobaldo II della Rovere, for example, had a suit of armor made by the Negroli in 1532-35, with a helmet shaped in the form of a fantastical monster’s head, while eyed wings adorned the breastplate that enveloped his body [Figs. 2.65-66]. When Charles V wore a piece of Negroli armor like the burgonet (visored helmet) made for him in 1553 [Figs. 2.67-68], the emperor could take on attributes of gilded antique statuary, with the laurel wreath associated

¹⁶¹ It was more than just Leonardo’s sculptural ideas that lasted well into the sixteenth century. The metal allocated for the incompleting project was eventually melted down into artillery, marking still another instance in which Milan’s material culture history encouraged fluidity between statues and weaponry. See Carlo Pedretti, “The Sforza Horse in Context,” in *Leonardo da Vinci’s Sforza Monument Horse: the art and the engineering*, ed. Diane Cole Ahl (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 1995), 32.

¹⁶² Though the area remained contested with skirmishes breaking out between Spanish and French forces after 1535, this year marked the beginning of otherwise uninterrupted control over the territory that lasted until the early eighteenth century. See Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño, “The State of Milan and Spanish Monarchy,” in *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Religion 1500-1700*, ed. Thomas Dandeleit and John Marino (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 106; and Cesare Mozzaelli, “Introduzione storica,” in Claudio Nasso and Serena Parini, *Grandezza e splendori della Lombardia spagnola, 1535- 1701* (Milan: Skira, 2002), 25-7, and in the same volume Gianvittorio Signorotto, “Milano e la monarchia cattolica Spagnoli e lombardi al governo dello Stato,” 37-45.

¹⁶³ For recent literature on the Negroli, see Álvaro Soler del Campo, “Armors as Works of Art and the Image of Power,” in *The Art of Power: Royal Armor and Portraits from Imperial Spain* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, 2009), 75-93; Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, 210-11; and Silvio Leydi, “Milan and the Arms Industry in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance: Filippo Negroli and his Contemporaries* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 25-33.

with victors. Negroli armor, effectively, transformed the body of the wearer into a kind of metal sculpture that could be creatively fashioned for public display. The feature of the removable face piece attached to the helmet, for example, gave the emperor the possibility of experimenting with the visual effects of juxtaposing fictive sculpture-like armor with a selectively revealed part of his enflashed body. He could expose his own beard while the helmet itself indicated the appearance of an idealized classical youth, or he could obscure his own facial features to enhance his sculptural imitation.

In the Negroli's pursuit of imaginative designs, they did not sacrifice practicality. Armor historian Alan Williams has noted that in spite of appearances that announce the performative and ceremonial function of the armor, the "metallurgy remained that of a functional defence." Of the extant armor attributed to the Negroli, "more than half were found to be made of steel, rather than the softer iron which might have been expected, and the hardest steel predominates in the best armours."¹⁶⁴

The Negroli set the standard for armor that possessed inventive design and metallurgical integrity, and armories elsewhere in Italy strove to meet and exceed those standards. Federico II Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, established his own armory with the aid of Caremolo Modrone who, in addition to serving as Federico's court armorer, also provided parade armor for Charles V and practical armor for Gonzaga's own military forces.¹⁶⁵ While Cosimo de Medici, Duke of Florence, attempted to draw talent from Milan to his court, the Milanese Governors restricted the mobility of the city's accomplished armorers by not allowing them to take up residence in

¹⁶⁴ Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, 210.

¹⁶⁵ See Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, 211-12, and the catalogue entries on Caremolo Modrone's work in Stuart W. Pyhrr and José-A. Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance: Filippo Negroli and his Contemporaries* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 249-270.

Florence.¹⁶⁶ Charles V relied on Milan's armorers, including the Negroli, to export pieces that ranged from elaborate to plain, dynastic to common. A number of documents at the Archivo General de Simancas confirm that Milan continued for decades to be a source of armor for imperial soldiers, as there are receipts for shipping large quantities of armor from Milan to Spain.¹⁶⁷

From the Hapsburg's perspective, then, Milan occupied an important place in their wider network of imperial industries based on the city's metallurgical mastery in the production of luxury goods and practical protective wear alike. Leone Leone, even before he was engaged to make the *Charles V and Fury* in 1549, had played a role in supporting Hapsburg interests in Milan. Within his capacity as sculptor, medalist, and overseer of the imperial mint in Milan, Leone regularly designed medals and coins representing the emperor, including coinage depicting Charles V in armor. Leone had exposure to, and control over, the dissemination of Charles's image. The Milanese production and wide circulation of imperial coinage established a clear iconography of the Hapsburgs as military leaders, while also affirming the status of Milan as a center of metalurgy. There are two examples of coins designed by Leone that demonstrate the striking similarities between Leone's strategies in portraying the Hapsburgs for the mint and his large-scale bronze portraits produced in his Milan workshop. The *Scudo dei giganti* (1551, 2.s. 69-70) is a finely detailed profile portrait features Charles with classical accoutrements, including a laurel wreath and an expressive lion-headed pauldron like that worn in the *Charles V and Furor* [Fig. 2.73].¹⁶⁸ The slightly later *Mezzo scudo del morione* (1562, Figs. 2.71-72) made for Philip, preserves Leone's interest in quoting contemporary and local metallurgical production

¹⁶⁶ Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, 212. It was not until 1568 that Duke Cosimo was able to tempt the Piatti family of armorers to establish themselves in Florence.

¹⁶⁷ See Archivo General de Simancas—*Consejo de Estado*, leg. 520 (f. 75); leg. 1330 (f. 117, 131, 132).

¹⁶⁸ See Leydi, "Leone Leoni 'scultore delle stampe della Cecca di Milano'," 20-22.

by recreating the types of fantastical armor forged by the Negroli family. King Philip, shown in profile, wears an elaborate helmet whose visor takes a hybrid form with a grimacing face and sharpened teeth.¹⁶⁹ As argued by Jeremy Warren, the Leoni's early large-scale sculptures for the Hapsburg relied greatly on imagery from and aspects of Leone's work in medals and coins,¹⁷⁰ and this visual dialogue between art forms (small-scale objects and large-scale sculpture and armor) also substantiates claims regarding Leone's proficiency in and competition with locally produced material culture and more widely circulated imperial imagery.

It was within this Milanese metallurgical milieu that the Leoni designed and cast the *Charles V and Furor* with its removable armor. Just as much as the Leoni capitalized on Milan's material cultural prestige, their sculpture also evokes the similarities and differences between bronze mimetic armor and functional steel armor, based on their related modes and methods of production. While artists had been writing about their crafts throughout the fifteenth century,¹⁷¹ it was during the sixteenth century that sculptural production received particular attention. The boundaries between sculpture as a general category and metalworking as a specific craft started to blur as sculptural treatises explicated the relationships between the production of bronze sculptures and instruments of war.¹⁷² While there were fundamental differences between the casting of bronze and the forging of iron, such methods were related through their joint status as "fire arts." In the ninth book of Vanoccio Biringuccio's *De la Pirotechnia* (1540), "On the

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 22-24.

¹⁷⁰ Warren, "Medals and Plaquettes by Leone Leoni in the Context of His Larger Habsburg Statues," 33-43.

¹⁷¹ Most notable are Cennino Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte della pittura: il manoscritto della Biblioteca nazionale central di Firenze, con integrazioni dal Codice riccardiano*, ed. Antonio P. Torresi (Ferrara: Liberty House, 2004) and Leon Battista Alberti, *De Pictura* (1436).

¹⁷² Starting with the first published sculptural treatise in 1504, Pomponius Gauricus, *De sculptura*, the genre of mining and metallurgical treatises emerged, including Vanoccio Biringuccio, *De la Pirotechnia* (Venice, 1540); Georgius Agricola, *De re metallica* (Basel, 1556). More recently, Michael Cole has drawn connections between sculpture, metallurgy, and industries of war through the figure of Vulcan in Cole, "Under the Sign of Vulcan," 40-47.

practice of further exercises in fire;”¹⁷³ he proceeds to treat topics as varied as alchemy, blacksmithing, goldsmithing, and work in copper under the shared umbrella of the “operations and power of fire.”¹⁷⁴ The metalworking processes used in forges and foundries were perceived as related at the theoretical and practical levels vis-à-vis the crucial role fire played in both methods.

Milan was noteworthy not only for the types of objects produced there but also for the technical and metallurgical acumen of its practitioners. Biringuccio praised the city for the “great quantity” of brass that was “worked and colored” there and described the large furnace needed and the procedure to make the metal alloy.¹⁷⁵ He also complimented the nearby town of Brescia for its production of high-quality steel, from which most swords and armor were made.¹⁷⁶ While those metals are not entirely the same as bronze, many of the required skills and component materials were related in the period under the rubric of the Fire Arts. Steel, brass, and bronze are metal alloys, meaning that raw metal ore would be smelted—heated and melted down—and then mixed with another metal to produce the alloy. Iron and carbon combine to form steel, and brass and bronze are both copper alloys (the former with zinc, the latter with tin). Whether under the direction of a bronze caster or steel armorer, foundries needed the resources and expertise of such specialists to acquire, smelt, and alloy metal ores. Milan had to compete with other

¹⁷³ Vanoccio Biringuccio, “Della practica di piu esercitii di fuocho,” in *De la Pirotechnia* (Venice, 1540), 122v.

¹⁷⁴ “Hora vi voglio passare in dirvi d’alcuni altri pure spettanti alle operationi & potere de fuochi ancho a certa qualita di fusione quali non convengano al tutto col arte del gitto.” Biringuccio, *De la Pirotechnia*, 122v.

¹⁷⁵ Vinnoccio Biringuccio, *De la Pirotechnia* (Venice: 1540): 19v-20r. Also discussed in Cole, “Under the Sign of Vulcan,” 42.

¹⁷⁶ Biringuccio, *De la Pirotechnia*, 19v-20r. Alan Williams says of the use of steel: “The Negroli family employed steel for their fantastic embossed armours, and in general, there was a revival in the use of steel in the 1530s, which lasted until the end of the century. Even the cheapest armour was generally made of a low-carbon steel, which is more than can be said for the cheapest German armour.” Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, 204.

metallurgical centers, such as Brescia, for those resources before they could even produce objects for the market. *Charles V and Furor*, with the remarkable removable armor, placed the Leoni workshop squarely at the center of intersections between local material culture, the shop's own mastery of the Fire Arts, and imperial military industries.

Charles V and Furor also manifests a sophisticated awareness of current cultural trends in court portraiture. When the figure of the emperor was displayed unarmored and ideally nude, the sculpture participated in the popular convention for court portraits to be fashioned in the guise of classical and mythological figures. Agnolo Bronzino painted the Medici duke Cosimo I as Orpheus [Fig. 2.74] as well as Andrea Doria as Neptune [Fig. 2.75]. A drawing in the British Museum [Fig. 2.76] indicates that sculptor Baccio Bandinelli, in the mid-1530s, conceptualized a possible sculpture of Doria still in the guise of Neptune, but fully nude with the signature trident. Not only was Doria, Charles V's naval commander, well within the imperial sphere, he was also Leone Leoni's benefactor just a few years after the drawing's date. Bandinelli's design presaged Leone's later sculptural "capriccio," marrying the portrait and their idealized nude bodies with distinctly classical and mythological elements. While, as discussed earlier, wearing armor could elevate the wearer to the status of classical heroes, paradoxically, in the Leoni *Charles V and Furor*, it is the removal of the armor, as in the case of Bronzino and Bandinelli's nudes, that mythologizes the body of the emperor. Furthermore, Leone alludes to the *paragone* debate activated in Bronzino's nude portraits of *Cosimo de' Medici as Orpheus* and *Andrea Doria as Neptune*. In the paintings, the en fleshed bodies of the portrait subjects, with their mythological identities, are visualized in terms of classical statuary—most recognizably so with the quotation from the Belvedere Torso in the portrait of Cosimo de' Medici. Leone, in the nude bronze Charles V, translates the classicizing trend by re-fashioning the sitter from two dimensions into

three. In so doing, the sculpture's materiality allows the work to carry added significance beyond a courtly custom. Its very "bronzeness" indexes Charles' financial resources, and the effort and investment of transporting and re-transporting the work between Milan, Brussels, and Madrid.

The dynamic display of the sculpture—"armored and unarmored," to use Leone's own terms—also tapped into a long-standing practice throughout Europe of dressing and undressing statues in religious, secular, professional, public, and private spheres.¹⁷⁷ From dressing small figures of Christ,¹⁷⁸ draping life-size sculptures of Christ and the Virgin Mary,¹⁷⁹ or clothing *statue parlante*,¹⁸⁰ to votives in churches,¹⁸¹ the use of textiles in literally dressing and draping sculpted bodies was ubiquitous throughout Spanish and Italian visual cultures in particular. The "armored and unarmored" dynamic states of the statue can also be related to contemporary display culture involving the public appearances of the emperor himself in armor. As Charles V and then Prince Philip traveled throughout their domains in Spain, Italy, Germany, the Low Countries, and England (as Philip was married to Mary Tudor for a few years before her death),

¹⁷⁷ For specific discussions of the *Charles V and Furor* in relation to this practice, see Liston, "The Performance of Empire," 35-37; and Mezzatesta, "Imperial Themes," 17-21.

¹⁷⁸ For an example of how the practice went beyond public and masculine interaction, see Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "Holy Dolls: Play and Piety in Florence in the Quattrocento," in *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 310-329.

¹⁷⁹ For a discussion of the confraternal participation in larger urban processional practices, see Susan Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

¹⁸⁰ Cellini reported an instance when, in 1530, *Il Pasquino* was dressed as Perseus and paraded through the streets of Rome. This anecdote is described in relation to other *statue parlante* in John Shearman, *Only Connect...: Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 47.

¹⁸¹ In 1630, the Florentine church Santissima Annunziata had at least six hundred life-size votive figures. Maud Cruttwell, *Verrocchio* (London: Duckworth and Co., 1904), 101. Farther north is a collection of votive effigies at the Santuario di Santa Maria delle Grazie, just outside of Mantua. The individual statues embody diverse social roles and types as a way to reflect the people for whom they stand, including Franciscan monks, soldiers, condemned criminals, and gentlewomen. The objects underwent extensive cleaning and conservation in the late 1990s. Maria Grazia Vaccari, *Mira il tuo Popolo: Statue votive del Santuario di Santa Maria delle Grazie* (Milano: Lubiam-Rizzoli, 1999), 64-72.

they sponsored and attended tournaments, processions, and festivals throughout the sixteenth century, in which they appeared with their bodies armored. While Philip, from the late 1550s onward, was not as visible to the Castilian populace due to his more reclusive nature,¹⁸² the courts of Charles and Philip nevertheless upheld the long tradition of tournaments and festivals that had been supported by Castilian kings and Holy Roman Emperors alike.¹⁸³ Between 1500 and 1560, imperial historians recorded fifty-two tournaments, in seventeen of which either Charles or Philip was an active participant.¹⁸⁴ There are three instances, too, where these tournaments involved masquerade, with the Hapsburg rulers appearing dressed in disguise. Twice in Valladolid, January 1517 and February 1518, the young Charles, King of Spain, entered the jousts in masked disguise.¹⁸⁵ In August 1549 at María of Hungary's palace in Binche, Prince Philip participated in disguise.¹⁸⁶ The specifics of the chosen costumes remain unknown, and it is likely that in spite of their attempts to obscure the identities of these most important bodies in the empire, attendees and fellow participants would have been alerted and sensitive to their presence. The emperor and prince, then, would have been more widely visible to their courts in a variety of appearances and roles—incognito, as armed participants in jousts, *mêlées*, and *juegos de cañas*, and as overseers of such proceedings. In this way it can be seen how the bronze *Charles V's* removable armor engaged with contemporary imperial spectacles as they related to knightly and

¹⁸² Teofilo F. Ruiz, *Spanish Society, 1400-1600* (Harlow, England: Longman, 2001), 130.

¹⁸³ For knightly traditions at their courts, see Braden Frieder, *Chivalry and the Perfect Prince: tournaments, art, and armor at the Spanish Hapsburg Court* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2008), 3-31. For a discussion of ways in which Maximilian I nurtured and cultivated chivalric past times and Germany's armor industries, see Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, in particular chapters 5 and 6.

¹⁸⁴ Braden Frieder has compiled records from a number of contemporary published imperial accounts. See Frieder, *Chivalry and the Perfect Prince*, 179-185.

¹⁸⁵ Manuel de Foronda y Aguilera, *Estancias y viajes del Emperador Carlos V, desde el día de su nacimiento hasta el día de su muerte, comprobados y corroborados con documentos originales, relaciones auténticas, manuscritos de su época y otras obras existentes en los archivos y bibliotecas públicos y particulares de España y del extranjero* (1914), 117-18.

¹⁸⁶ Calvete de Estrella, *Felicísimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso príncipe don Felipe*, 2:1-69; and Foronda y Aguilera, *Estancias y viajes de Carles V*, 611.

armored activities. These activities gave the rulers an opportunity to perform their skills in simulated battle for the court, while the processions that led to such tournaments would allow a wider cross-section of local populations to view the armored bodies of their princes and male imperial family members.

The Leoni were clever and playful in how they recast and layered the iconography and meanings in the *Charles V and Furor*. They carefully composed the relationship between image and text and activated a marginal ornament into a latent threat of imperial violence. In so doing, the sculpture group functions at many levels, as religious victory, masculine commentary, military celebration, and sculptural reconceptualization. The Leoni updated and reinterpreted these heavily classicized forms by situating them within a modern framework of competing imperial arms markets. In order to serve as embodiments of Hapsburg imperial rule and the regional and cultural connections it cultivated, the *Charles V and Furor* established connections between the sculpture, its material, the artists, the patrons, and the city in which the work was cast. The sculpture signals Charles's actual, and not just represented, access to military industries through the conflation of bronze sculpture, armor, and their shared production processes and sites.

Conclusion

The decision to preserve and extend a tradition of life-size Hapsburg portraiture in bronze and marble by means of the 1549 Brussels commission goes far beyond the aping of Emperor Maximilian. While the evocation of Charles' political predecessor Maximilian is a key framework for understanding the Prado portraits—in the themes conveyed through the sculptures (military and dynastic continuity), in the material used (particularly bronze), and in the artistic

formats (life-size standing portraits and portrait busts)—the Leoni nevertheless managed to enhance this association with imperial connections particular and unique to Charles. It was through Charles that Lombardy and its formidable militaristic and metallurgical industries came under the Holy Roman Empire's dominion, and it was Charles who persistently waged wars in defense of the Catholic faith. The sculptures were cast and carved in arguably the two most enduring artistic materials as well as the most expensive and exclusive, and their travels exposed the ambitious project to diverse court audiences in major western European imperial centers. By memorializing the members of the Hapsburg family in portraits of similar sizes and materials, the Prado present a unified series of figural embodiments that are both present and enduring. At the same time, the portraits mobilize attributes that distinguish contemporary generations from their predecessors. The Leoni's work for the Hapsburgs made the most of the cultural contingency of materials, capitalizing on Milan's material cultural reputation, while also involving workshops and craftspeople from throughout the empire. For decades, large-scale sculpture, particularly in bronze, married the subjects of the portraits to geographically distant imperial sites and temporally removed imperial ancestors, thereby rendering the immaterially remote materially present.

CHAPTER III

Material Efficacy in the *Retablo Mayor* (1579-1590) at El Escorial

When Charles V abdicated in October 1555, the ruler carved his empire in two. The eastern European territories, ruled by his brother Ferdinand, continued as the Holy Roman Empire, while Philip II, Charles's eldest son, inherited the western and southern European territories, as well as their expanding overseas colonies. Ruling with a reconfigured imperial footprint, Philip prioritized continuity with and connection to the preceding Hapsburg generations. While he preserved the aggressively Catholic hold over his territories modeled by his father, the king's titles, obligations, and approach to governance afforded him opportunities to distinguish himself from previous Hapsburg rulers. Philip's imperial concerns coalesced in a number of building projects and artistic commissions during his forty-year reign. Principal among these was El Escorial, referred to in the founding charter of 1563 as "San Lorenzo el Real," where Philip strove to cement his dynastic position and assert his role within the post-Tridentine Catholic Church.

At its core, the complex at El Escorial fulfilled Philip's father's final wish to establish a family mausoleum that would unify in perpetuity various generations and branches of his Hapsburg family.¹⁸⁷ The king greatly expanded on Charles's directives, conceptualizing a

¹⁸⁷ Charles added a codicil to his will stipulating that his son will arrange a burial place for the emperor, his wife, and sisters. The original will and its addenda were published in their entirety in the early seventeenth century. For the codicil's directions for burial and tomb monuments, see Prudencio de Sandoval, *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V* (Pamplona: Casa de Bartolomé Paris, 1614), 881-883.

complex that would also function as a royal palace, Hieronymite monastery, seminary, library, gardens, hospital, and, most importantly, church. While other palaces built for Philip during his lifetime, such as Aranjuez, were cherished seclusions and repositories for diplomatic gifts, El Escorial stood out as unique in its functional plurality and significance to the king. Through his close involvement with every stage of its design and construction, Philip ensured that his most important religious, intellectual, and dynastic ambitions informed this highly personal royal site. Attesting to its prime devotional role in the king's life, Philip chose to celebrate the holiest days of the liturgical calendar at El Escorial, journeying up into the mountains from Madrid for *semana santa* while even in the most pitiable health.¹⁸⁸ Before the basilica and its mausoleum were constructed and operational, Philip had the bodies of his father, mother, aunt, wives, and son exhumed and solemnly processed to El Escorial, an early accomplishment towards his father's wish for a dynastic sanctuary.¹⁸⁹ To enrich his goal of making the library a hub of courtly knowledge and learning, he collected books in diverse languages on the latest topics of interest to European princes, including alchemy and botany. To preserve the integrity of the collection, the librarian, with Philip's backing, negotiated with the Spanish Inquisition merely to redact passages deemed too controversial, protecting a number of books from outright destruction.¹⁹⁰ El

¹⁸⁸ Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 202 and 273.

¹⁸⁹ Starting in 1573, the bodies of his family members were transported to the temporary monastic church at El Escorial. His third wife Elizabeth Valois and his son Don Carlos arrived first from Madrid, followed in 1574 by Charles V from Yuste, and from the Royal Chapel in Granada arrived his mother Empress Isabel, his first wife María of Portugal, and Don Fernando and Don Juan, his brothers. His aunt María of Hungary was brought that same year from Valladolid. The construction of the basilica did not begin until 1575, and Philip ordered the funerary chapel to be built under the *capilla mayor* in 1583. The church's structure was not completed until 1584. Philip had the basilica consecrated in 1586, before the altarpiece and its decoration were completed. See Rosemarie Mulcahy, *The Decoration of the Royal Basilica at El Escorial* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 192; and Henry Kamen, *The Escorial: Art and Power in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 65-67.

¹⁹⁰ Claims to Philip's intellectual openness shouldn't be overstated. While he did strive to protect El Escorial's library, he also instituted a ban in 1559 prohibiting Spaniards from attending university abroad, with few exceptions (e.g. the *Colegio de España* in Bologna). For the relationship between the Inquisition and the content of El Escorial's library, see Agustín Fernández Merino, *Códices y Libros de Alquimia*,

Escorial, in short, was the site and the means through which Philip constructed, performed, and displayed his polyvalent identities as Catholic King, courtly prince, and loyal heir to generations of Hapsburg rulers.

The undisputed center of this ambitious project was—and is—the high altarpiece (*retablo mayor*) located in the chancel (*capilla mayor*) of the church of San Lorenzo [Fig. 3.1]. The chancel was both the site under which the remains of Philip’s family were buried as well as the focus of royal and liturgical rituals. Integrated into a cohesive whole within the space were a stepped podium, an altar, two lateral altar spaces, ten kneeling portrait sculptures of Hapsburg family members in gilded bronze, and the high altarpiece. The *retablo mayor* covers the chancel’s entire eastern end and features eight paintings, fifteen gilded bronze figures, and a tabernacle that housed a smaller monstrance or *custodia* inside. As the locus for religious and dynastic meaning, the *capilla mayor* operated as a microcosm of the diverse functions and messages of the broader El Escorial complex. While there is no single person to whom its design and concept can be attributed, documentary evidence indicates that its disparate elements were handled as largely independent projects.¹⁹¹ The paintings by Pellegrino Tibaldi and Federico

Chimia, Metalurgia...y Botica en las Librerías de San Lorenzo de Real del Escorial (Madrid: Círculo Científico, 2008), 44. For a summary of the effects and legacy of Philip’s ban on studying abroad, see Francisco Guerra, “Medical Education in Iberoamerica,” in *The History of Medical Education*, ed. Charles Donald O’Malley, 419-462 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 452.

¹⁹¹ To the question of authorship, art and architectural historians have ascribed the program design to a range of people. Possible candidates have been Philip II, whose strong opinions and involvement as a patron is well documented; Antonio de Villacastín (c. 1512-1603) who, as the “*obrero mayor*,” represented the interests and needs of the monks at El Escorial; Juan Bautista de Toledo (1515-1567), under whom the complex’s construction began and who left drawings and models that could be consulted after his death; and Juan de Herrera (1530-1597), who filled Juan Bautista’s place after his death, serving as administrator, modifier, and executor for the remaining construction process. For brief biographies and their roles at El Escorial, see Matilde López Serrano, Justa Moreno Garbayo, and Consuelo Iglesias de la Vega. “Artistas y Artífices de El Escorial,” in *El Escorial, 1563-1963: Arquitectura—Artes. Centenario de la Fundación del Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real* (Madrid: Ediciones Patrimonio Nacional, 1963), 2:741 (Antonio de Villacastín), 2:740 (Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera). For more on the issue of authorship, ranging from efficient remarks to more substantial analysis, see (from most recent): María Jesús Herrero Sanz, “Los apóstoles y los padres de la Iglesia en el retablo del Escorial: príncipes y

Zuccaro were an isolated undertaking, as were the two groups of funerary portraits in the lateral wings, each with its own contract, which will be the subject of the next chapter.¹⁹² A separate contract, signed on January 10, 1579, accounts for the production of the altarpiece's architectonic and sculptural elements, and Philip entrusted its manufacture to his imperial sculptors Pompeo Leoni (c. 1530-1608) and Jacopo da Trezzo (Giovan Giacomo Nizzola, c. 1515-1589), in addition to the quarry master Juan Bautista Comane (d. July 10, 1582).¹⁹³ These artists divided the *retablo mayor* project along material lines. Pompeo oversaw the gilded bronzes, including the architectural details, thirteen statuettes for the tabernacle, and fifteen figures for the altarpieces itself. Jacopo was responsible for the precious stone and jasper work, and Juan Bautista Comane was the quarry master who managed the removal and preparation of the stone.

Pompeo and Jacopo were natural choices for the challenging task, each having gained official court status as the king's sculptors after demonstrating their abilities through numerous commissions over decades of service. Their selection nevertheless warrants critical consideration, since their roles were married to the materials ordered in the contract, which were, in turn, crucial vehicles for the altarpiece's efficacy. Through Pompeo, Philip ensured the involvement of the Leoni's Milanese foundry, relying on the same sculptors chosen directly by

defensores de la doctrina," in *Leone & Pompeo Leoni: actas del congreso internacional*, ed. Stephan F. Schröder, 108-120 (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 2012), 108; see Rosemarie Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica of El Escorial*, 5, 140, and 141-43; Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner, *Juan de Herrera: architect to Philip II of Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 84-107; J. B. Bury, "Las contribuciones de Juan de Herrera al proyecto de El Escorial," *Goya* 192 (Aug. 1986): 330-335; and J. B. Bury, "Juan de Herrera and the Escorial," *Art History* 9 (Dec. 1986): 428-449.

¹⁹² The *retablo mayor*'s paintings had separate contracts and production histories that run parallel to its architectural and sculptural production, but were logistically distinct. While conceptually unified to serve the demands of Philip II, the same could be argued for the entirety of the El Escorial complex. As the paintings fall outside the purview of the 1579 contract, they will not be considered in this analysis. For the paintings, see Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 143-162.

¹⁹³ Eugenio Llaguno y Amirola, *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España desde su restauración*, ed. Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1829), 3: 34, n. 1.

his father Charles V. Adding to the generational consistency offered by the Leoni, Philip included the Milanese artist Jacopo da Trezzo, a goldsmith, medallist, and precious stone carver who had been at Philip's side since 1554 when the latter was still a young prince touring Europe. Following the death of Juan Bautista Comane in 1582, Jacopo went on to assume the primary responsibility for orchestrating the complex logistics demanded by the altarpiece's multiregional production.

The *retablo mayor* contract stipulates that the various artists, materials, and workshops were to work in concert in order to produce a seamless, integrated ensemble, a work that was to function and be read in its entirety. The scholarship on the *retablo*, however, influenced by the tendency within the Renaissance field to specialize within specific media, has focused on the disparate parts rather than the whole. Questions of authorship have driven investigations of the *retablo mayor*'s sculptures, with art historians scrutinizing the works for discernable traces of Leone Leoni, Pompeo Leoni, or Adriaen de Vries' hands.¹⁹⁴ However, as laid bare by the 1579 contract, the gilded bronze figures and jasper architecture were conceived, overseen, and executed in tandem but have not yet been assessed jointly. This chapter will consider the sculpture in relation to the other features of the *retablo mayor*. A central focus of the chapter, like the contract, will be the materials and metallurgical processes—namely bronze, jasper, and fire-gilding—considered as manifestations of imperial collecting, the altarpiece's liturgical significance, and a medicinal cure for King Philip II's ailing body. I begin by arguing that the altarpiece acted as a display for materials and artistry that was purposefully derived from and promoted the vast holdings of the Hapsburg kingdoms. I will then consider how the altarpiece's

¹⁹⁴ Adriaen de Vries worked in the Leoni's Milanese foundry on the project between 1586-1588. See Rosemarie Mulcahy, "Adriaen de Vries in the Workshop of Pompeo Leoni," in *Adriaen de Vries, 1556-1626*, ed. Frits Scholten (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1998), 46-51; Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 175-176; and Mulcahy, "Adriaen de Vries and Pompeo Leoni: The High Altarpiece of El Escorial," *Apollo* 139 no. 384 (Feb. 1994): 35-38.

liturgical emphasis on redemption through the Eucharist activated Christological and hematological metaphors associated with the materials out of which it was made. In the final section, the spiritual potency of the altarpiece, together with the pharmaceutical functions of the carefully selected materials, will be shown to have made *the retablo mayor* an effective instrument against the various ills suffered by the king.

The Altarpiece and its Contract

The *retablo mayor* dominates the eastern wall of the gray, granite basilica in a flood of color and light glinting off of highly polished surfaces. While El Escorial's Hieronymite monks and the Hapsburgs were the only communities granted access to worship and to perform liturgical rituals in the nave, side aisles, and chancel, the altarpiece nevertheless remained the focal point of public devotion in the space, with onlookers allowed to participate in the Mass from the area below the choir.¹⁹⁵ [Figs. 3.2-3.3] From this vantage point, separated only by a bronze grill, the public congregation had largely unrestricted visual access to the *capilla mayor*. This area within the chancel of the church was defined by the twelve-step-high red jasper platform, the high altar, also in red jasper and elevated a further five steps, and the altarpiece that spans the height of the building, extending roughly ninety feet. Notably, the gilded bronze kneeling figural groups [Figs. 4.1-4.2] located on the lateral walls flanking the *retablo*, representing Charles V and Philip II each accompanied by four family members, would have remained largely imperceptible to those in the *sotocoro* and to the monks singing from the elevated choir. The variable visibility from different vantage points of these Hapsburg effigies and the large multimedia heraldic shields above is a key factor in distinguishing the vastly different audiences and purposes of the high

¹⁹⁵ Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner, "Body and Soul in the Basilica of the Escorial," in *The Word Made Image: Religion, Art, and Architecture in Spain and Spanish America, 1500-1600*, ed. Anne Hawley and Jonathan Brown (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1998), 68.

altarpiece and these lateral features in the chancel. This distinction will be explored in greater detail in the subsequent chapter.

The *retablo mayor* was the object to which the public had the most frequent visual access, and it was also a key instrument in constructing an image of El Escorial in the public imagination. Key to the activation and dissemination of the altarpiece's embedded meanings was a short volume entitled *El Sumario y breve declaracion de los diseños y estampas de la Fabrica de san Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial*, or "A summary and brief description of the designs and prints for the *fabrica* of San Lorenzo el Real of El Escorial." Conceived in 1583 by the *obrero mayor* Juan de Herrera while the complex and the church were still under construction and published in 1589, the pamphlet contained a series of designs for El Escorial annotated with letters that corresponded to accompanying explanatory texts. Out of the twelve images printed by the Flemish engraver Pedro Perret (most of which are floor plans and cross sections), four depict an early stage of the *retablo mayor*. One engraving represents the high altarpiece in its entirety [Fig. 3.4], and three others feature the tabernacle, referred to as the *sagrario*, housed on the altarpiece's first register, directly above the altar [Fig. 3.5a], and the monstrance, or *custodia*, which was placed inside the tabernacle and which held a gold box with the consecrated Eucharist. [Fig. 3.6] The publication's intense focus on the physical setting for the Mass and accommodations for the Eucharist put on display Philip's strict adherence to the Council of Trent's reaffirmation of the Real Presence of Christ in the Host, the belief in transubstantiation, and the belief that the Mass was a true sacrifice that drew direct parallels between liturgical rituals in the present and the historical moment of Christ's crucifixion.¹⁹⁶ In addition to honoring

¹⁹⁶ Seven canons on the Eucharist were discussed during the May 9, 1547 session. John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013), 130-131.

the holiest sites of El Escorial, *El Sumario* further underscored the efforts to make and promote the high altarpiece to a broader public.

The Counter-Reformation emphasis on the celebration of the Eucharist was demonstrated in the iconography of the altarpiece as well, which was carefully drawn out in the 1579 contract. This contract, consisting of twenty-five clauses, stipulated in the sixth clause, “They will make fifteen gilded metal figures that the altarpiece is to have. They are to be four Evangelists, four Doctors of the Church, Saints James and Andrew, Saints Peter and Paul, a Crucifixion, Our Lady, and Saint John, the faces and hands in flesh tone, and of the height and size that they are given.”¹⁹⁷ The sculptures, tabernacle, and paintings were arranged in the following way. The round tabernacle sat directly above the altar in the center of the lower Doric register of the *retablo mayor* [Fig. 3.7a-b]. The *custodia* within, square-shaped according to the plan but now lost, consisted of an agate container, richly embellished with precious and semi-precious stones. It was decorated with thirteen gilded bronze statuettes of the apostles and topped by a *Salvator Mundi*.¹⁹⁸ Flanking the tabernacle are two paintings by Pellegrino Tibaldi, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and *Adoration of the Magi*. At the ends of the register stand pairs of life-size gilded bronze figures of the Doctors of the Church (*St. Jerome* [Fig. 3.8] and Augustine [Fig. 3.10] on the left, and *St. Gregory* [Fig. 3.9] and *St. Ambrose* [Fig. 3.11] on the right).

The Council of Trent’s encouragement of the veneration of saints, according to which saints were perceived as potent intercessors and models for devotional practice, informs the sculptural iconography of the next two registers of the altarpiece.¹⁹⁹ The second and Ionic level

¹⁹⁷ See Appendix C.1 for the original Spanish transcription and C.2 for the full English translation of the contract from which these quotes draw.

¹⁹⁸ Napoleon’s forces stole the inner *custodia* in 1808 in addition to the precious stones, jewels, gold, silver, and medals that decorated the larger tabernacle. Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 140.

¹⁹⁹ A decree from Session 25 of the Council of Trent jointly discussed the veneration of saints, relics, and sacred images. O’Malley, *Trent*, 243-244.

features sculptures of the four Evangelists (*St. John the Evangelist* [Fig. 3.12] and *St. Luke* [Fig. 3.14] on the left and *St. Matthew* [Fig. 3.13] and *St. Mark* [Fig. 3.15] on the right), in addition to three paintings. The larger, central painting, by Tibaldi of *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, sits between two narrower paintings of the *Flagellation* and *Road to Calvary* by Federico Zuccaro. The third and Corinthian register has only two sculptures—*St. James* [Fig. 3.16] and *St. Andrew* [Fig. 3.17], between which Zuccaro’s the *Resurrection* and *Pentecost* flank the centrally located *Assumption of the Virgin*.

This carefully selected group reifies “the Word” with the saintly embodiments of the New Testament gospels, while incorporating specific saints that had special significance to Philip. The size and position of Tibaldi’s *Saint Lawrence*, situated along the central axis along with the tabernacle and Crucifixion, gives El Escorial’s dedicatory saint pride of place, while *Saint James*, the patron saint of Spain, and *Saint Andrew*, the patron saint of the Order of the Golden Fleece, speak simultaneously to Philip’s lineage amongst generations of Catholic knights and rulers as well as his particular reign and domains.²⁰⁰ The Order of the Golden Fleece was a knighthood founded to defend the Catholic faith in 1430 by the Philip the Good.²⁰¹ A direct descendent of the Burgundian Duke, Philip II served as the Order’s grandmaster, following the tradition set by his great-grandfather Maximilian I and his father Charles V.²⁰² The dynastic and deeply Catholic meaning inherent in the choice of *Saint James* complements the very local and personal resonance of the *Saint Andrew*. While Charles V was the first Hapsburg to have the title

²⁰⁰ Henry Kamen explores the rationale behind the selection of Saint Lawrence as El Escorial’s dedicatory saint in relation to Philip’s victory at the battle of St. Quintin in Kamen, *The Escorial*, 29-45, esp. 43-45.

²⁰¹ Michel Pastoureau, “Un nouvel ordre de chevalerie,” in *L’ordre de la Toison d’or, de Philippe le Bon à Philippe le Beau (1430-1505): idéal ou reflet d’une société?*, ed. Pierre Cockshaw and Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 65-66.

²⁰² Joaquín Martínez-Correcher y Gil, “La Orden del Toisón de Oro y la Corona de España. Quinientos años de historia,” in *La Orden del Toisón de Oro y sus soberanos (1440-2011)*, Fundación Carlos de Amberes, Madrid (December 1, 2011-February 26, 2012), (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2011), 51-52.

“king of Spain” upon marrying Juana “La Loca,” he was raised a Burgundian prince and resided in Granada only briefly, with military campaigns frequently disrupting his residency. Philip, on the other hand, was born in Valladolid, instructed by Spanish tutors, and, once king, he declared Madrid the seat of his court. His relationship to the Spanish kingdoms, then, was at once more individual and immediate than any of his predecessors could claim, a personal affiliation reinforced by the statue’s placement. The space to the right of the altarpiece had been designed for Philip’s particular use, with Philip’s kneeling effigy located in the right lateral wing [Fig. 3.25]. The *Saint Andrew* also aligned with the king’s private apartments, as the rooms adjoining the *capilla mayor* to the right were Philip’s exclusive oratory, bedchamber, and study. The altarpiece’s use of spatial proximity and iconography efficiently and effectively communicated the tripartite message of Tridentine compliance: saintly worship, local loyalty, and dynastic continuity.

Sculptures alone surmount the *retablo mayor*’s fourth and Composite register [Fig. 3.18]. *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* face inward and stride forward, looking onto the central and crowning *Crucifixion* group. The depiction of Christ’s earthly death is juxtaposed with Christological imagery along the altarpiece’s central axis that affirms his transcendent presence, one representational and one actual. The gilded bronze *Salvator Mundi* atop the tabernacle evokes a Christ triumphant while the Eucharist held within the *custodia*’s gold box container is Christ’s physical being miraculously made present through transubstantiation, a theological doctrine recently confirmed and reinvigorated at the Council of Trent’s thirteenth session.²⁰³ Gold provides a visual cue connecting the altarpiece’s three evocations of Christ. In the *Crucifixion*, the chromatic difference between the gilded surface of the figures and the jasper backdrop, as

²⁰³ The decree is dated October 11, 1551. See O’Malley, *Trent*, 130 and Norman Tanner, ed. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 2:693-698.

well as the figural scale, further highlight the prominence of the scene in the church interior. In the central niche, red jasper molding attached to the green jasper facing defines a rectangular space that was originally meant to frame, contain, and draw attention to the central figure of Christ. This original design can be seen in the engraving by Pedro Perret in *El Sumario*. [Fig. 3.4] However, in 1585 Philip ordered Pompeo to increase the scale of the Calvary group to compensate for the foreshortened effect from the nave. Upon receiving the command, Pompeo wrote to royal secretary Juan de Ybarra,

I have considered what His Majesty orders, which is to enlarge the Crucifixion, and he has very good reason. As the highest figures, it is correct to magnify them more, and I will do just that though it will be laborious, having progressed so far on it already. But in these things—where the being (*ser*) of the work resides—for the work’s perfection and considering for whom they are made, it will not do to avoid labor or expense.²⁰⁴

This change necessitated a modification to the architecture, as this “magnification” made the bronze body of Christ and wooden cross too large for their already-constructed jasper setting. Craftsmen needed to break the pediment to accommodate the sculpture’s increased width, but as Pompeo had so eloquently stated, no measure was too extreme for the figures where “the being” of the altarpiece was to be found.

The 1579 contract established the priorities that would guide the artists and overseers throughout the turbulent process. To date, the contract has yet to be analyzed in conjunction with the altarpiece’s various parts and the implicit value it assumes for the materials to be used. The

²⁰⁴ “Yo he considerado lo que Su Magestad manda que se haga en hazer mayor el crocifixo y tiene muy gran razon que siendo la mas alta figura es justo se manifique mas y asi lo hare aunque sera de trabajo haviendolo muy adelante pero en estas cosas adonde va el ser de la obra no se ha de guardar a trabajo ni a costa, mas a la perfeccion della y por quien se hazen.” Pompeo Leoni to Ybarra (March 1, 1585): Archivo General de Simancas—*Casa y Sitios Reales*, leg. 261: 8, f. 675, Aut. 34. Rosemarie Mulcahy, “*A la mayor gloria de Dios y el Rey*”: *La decoración de la Real Basílica del Monasterio de El Escorial*, trans. Consuelo Luca de Tena (Madrid: Editorial Patrimonio Nacional, 1992), 180, 233 n. 74. Also referred to in Agustín Bustamante García, “Las estatuas de bronce de El Escorial. Datos para su Historia (III).” *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte VII-VIII* (1995-1996): 74; and Jean Babelon, *Jacopo da Trezzo et la construction de l’escorial* (Bordeaux: Feret & fils, 1922), 176.

document stands as a rare and precious record of the primary logistical, financial, and overwhelmingly material concerns and plans for one of the largest commissions of sixteenth-century Europe. In spite of the document's importance to understanding early modern sculptural commissions, it has been transcribed in its original Spanish and published only once in a footnote to an article published in 1993 by the prolific scholar of El Escorial Agustín Bustamante García.²⁰⁵ A number of art historical sources include summaries or excerpts of its contents, though they tend to extract general points in the service of monographic studies of individual artists or as they relate to specific media.²⁰⁶ On account of the importance of the contract for appreciating the material components of the altarpiece, the full document is presented in the appendix to this chapter, both in Spanish (Appendix 3.1a) and, for the first time in its entirety, in English (Appendix 3.1b).

The contract bears the date January 10, 1579 and was drafted and signed on site at El Escorial by a number of courtly representatives. García de Brizuela, the overseer of the monastery's *fábrica* was present, as well as Francisco Escudero, who identifies himself as the King's scribe and notary. The opening summarizes that Jacopo da Trezzo and Pompeo Leoni, "His Majesty's sculptors and servants," and Juan Bautista Comane, "master of the quarry," agree to hire and pay for *oficiales* (technically craftspeople and sculptors who have completed their apprenticeship) to make the sculptures, architecture, steps, and paving for the altarpiece as well

²⁰⁵ The original document is in the Archivo de la Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial—VI/40, ff. 2v-9. The only full transcription of the contract appears in Agustín Bustamante García, "Las estatuas de bronce de El Escorial. Datos para su Historia (I)," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* V (1993): 50-52 n. 39.

²⁰⁶ Extractions and summaries can also be found in the following sources and languages. Spanish: Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los mas ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España* (Madrid: Real Academia de S. Fernando, 1800), III: 25-26, and V: 77-78; Llaguno y Amirola, *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura*, II: 127-130, and III: 33-35; Mulcahy, "A la mayor gloria," 171-174. French: Babelon, *Jacopo da Trezzo*, 140. English: Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 162-164.

as the burial sites for Hapsburg family members.²⁰⁷ In doing so, they were expected to stay on budget, on time, and to follow the twenty-five specific clauses. The contract covers the project's materials and facture, and its administrative and financial logistics. Roughly the first half concerns where the materials were to be extracted, the process to ensure their quality, as well as where and how the materials were to be worked. The second half focuses on the budget, timeframe, sub-contracted work, and the distribution of financial responsibilities.

Clauses 1 through 3 specified that the columns, architraves, friezes, cornices, pedestals, and steps of the *capilla mayor* were to be made from jasper that would be quarried, carved, and polished at La Espeja (now Espejón, roughly two hundred kilometers from El Escorial) to specific dimensions and measurements as provided. The jasper elements from La Espeja would be integrated with jasper quarried elsewhere as well as with the bronze elements that, together, would form the triglyphs, dentals, and parts of the cornices. The elements to be cast in bronze were to include the pilasters behind the columns (as specified in clause 4, which did not come to pass, as they were ultimately carved from jasper), the bases and capitals for the jasper columns (clause 5), and fifteen figures in gilded bronze. Clause 6, in addition to specifying the sculptures that would adorn the altarpiece, also required that the faces and hands of the bronze figures be *encarnado*, or rendered in flesh tone, a surface treatment that was modified in the subsequent years when the decision was made to fashion fully gilded forms.²⁰⁸ Clauses 7 through 11

²⁰⁷ This is only a glancing reference to “burial sites;” the plans, expectations, and details go unmentioned and unspecified in this document.

²⁰⁸ The term “*encarnación*” can have two meanings. One, more metaphorical, translation is “incarnation,” or making flesh, the other is a technical definition of the sculptural process by which a wood sculpture is polychromed to appear flesh-like. Xavier Bray makes much out of this potential conflation of the sculptural and theological by in his introduction to the exhibition catalogue *The Sacred Made Real*. In it, he states, “the technique of painting in flesh tones was in fact known as *encarnación* (incarnation)—literally, made flesh.” It’s unlikely that viewers would conflate a polychrome sculpture with the real and actual flesh of a saint or Christ, largely because the Council of Trent had clarified this very issue in its last meeting. See Xavier Bray, “The Sacred Made Real: Spanish Painting and Sculpture 1600-1700,” in *The*

returned to the issue of jasper, indicating the other elements of the *capilla mayor* space to be made from this stone. These included the lateral altars and heraldic arms (where the *entierros* were eventually placed), flooring, *custodia*, and tabernacle. Any jasper sourced beyond La Espeja was to match the rest of the stonework, and the jasper for these elements was to adhere to the parameters established in the first clause. Clause 11 underscored that all jasper work executed at La Espeja was to be so finished that nothing more would be required other than to transport and install the stone. The eighteenth clause was the final item to explicitly define the expectations regarding the altarpiece's materials and making, focusing specifically on bronze casting. It stipulated that, in the event that adequate access to the raw materials or technical expertise was lacking, the artists could be allowed to make the figures and other metal elements "outside these kingdoms," provided His Majesty saw small-scale models that could be adjusted to his satisfaction. Furthermore, given the project's time constraints, His Majesty could write to viceroys and governors in Italy who might be able to assist with the casting.

The remainder of the contract parsed out the administrative and financial expectations for Jacopo da Trezzo, Pompeo Leoni, and Juan Bautista Comane, carefully explicating their responsibilities and the logistics of the commission. The sculptors would be given a sum of 20,000 ducats to be shared between the three of them, as stated in ordinances 20 and 25, in order to maintain steady progress (clause 21) and to complete the work in four years (clause 22). If not finished to Philip's satisfaction by February 1583, the remaining work to be done (or re-done) would be undertaken at the masters' expense (clause 23). They would be given a bonus of 3,000 ducats if they finished on time, and, should they fail to do so, they would pay the king a penalty of 2,000 ducats (clause 24). While the financial stakes for the three men were quite high, there

Sacred Made Real: Spanish Painting and Sculpture 1600-1700, ed. Xavier Bray (London: National Gallery Company, 2009), 19.

were certain expenses that fell to the monarch. He covered the transportation costs of the various materials and parts to El Escorial (clause 12), provided the scaffolding for the installation of those elements (clause 16), and also paid for a mill to be built at La Espeja in order to power newly designed saws used to cut the incredibly dense jasper (clause 13).²⁰⁹ He also paid a man named Juan de Guzmán six *reales* a day to seek out and find other jasper quarries, besides La Espeja (clauses 14 and 15), and similarly paid the salaries for a foreman to oversee the work and ensure the laborers had all necessary equipment and supplies at each quarry providing stone for the altarpiece (clause 19). Finally, in clause 17, Philip agreed to supply Jacopo, Pompeo, and Juan Bautista with official documents—*cédulas* and *comisiones*—for timber and other resources as the needs arose for work at sites within his territories.

Taking the contract as a whole, the document corrects and clarifies scholarly assessments of the altarpiece undertaken in the past. It was common for Renaissance contracts to specify the materials and costs of a commission in great detail, although the scholarship focuses largely on Italian projects.²¹⁰ The 1579 contract emphasizes the Spanish jasper to a surprising degree and therefore prompts art historians to recalibrate the attention paid to the Leoni and their bronzes at the expense of Jacopo da Trezzo and Juan Bautista Comane's efforts in stone. The contract insisted on cohesion between the various types of jasper that were sourced from quarries throughout Spain as well as between the discreet spaces that made up the *capilla mayor*. In regards to the expected seamlessness between the high altarpiece and the lateral wings, the

²⁰⁹ Historian José de Sigüenza offers perspective on the mill's use at the quarry, claiming about the various work sites, "one saw ingenious wheels moved by water, with which they cut, sawed, and polished jaspers and incredibly hard marbles with the strength of emery and innovative saws." "[S]e veían ingeniosas ruedas traídas del agua, con que se cortaban, aserraban, pulían, jaspes y mármoles durísimos con la fuerza de los esmeriles y sierras artificiosas." José de Sigüenza, *La fundación del Monasterio de El Escorial* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1988), 129.

²¹⁰ See Michelle O'Malley, *The Business of Art: Contracts and the Commissioning Process in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), especially 23-96.

rhetoric reiterated that no matter where the stone was sourced from, the “various jaspers [are to be] worked in a way that upon being unveiled must match the rest of the altarpiece’s work” (clause 7). Furthermore, clauses 14 and 15, which specified that Juan de Guzmán was to search for other local quarries, indicate the pains taken to ensure the quality of the jasper used. Upon finding promising leads, “he will send samples of what he has found to Jacopo da Trezzo to see if they are suitable for the stated work and, if so being, he can bring what seems to be necessary for the work at the expense of said masters” (clause 14). Clause 15 continues, “He does not need to send any cargo, carriages of stones or of anything else he finds, nor spend money on it at His Majesty’s expense, and that he should only send samples of what he has discovered.” Beyond the frugality expected on the king’s behalf, this inclusion builds into the process a series of opportunities to vet and evaluate the raw materials for their cohesion and quality. Only when samples are deemed “suitable,” will Guzmán “order for [the king] that which is most in the interest of serving His Majesty.” The jasper’s consistency and fineness were essential requirements for the *retablo*’s construction, and the contract ensured that high standards would be met and upheld throughout its complex production phases.

The contract also alludes to several design aspects of work already in place by the time Pompeo, Jacopo and Juan Bautista signed the document on January 10, 1579. It explicitly mentions plans, designs, and even molds that Pompeo, Jacopo, and Juan Bautista were expected to use while producing their segments of the *retablo mayor*. The references to such materials employ an archaic, passive verb form, using phrases such as “*que les dieren*” (“that they give them”) and “*se les dieren*” (“they are given”). While the text does not specify who, precisely, was responsible for making these drawings, plans, and three-dimensional molds, a close reading of the contract indicates that it was neither Pompeo nor Jacopo in their roles as imperial sculptors

who designed or conceptualized the following: columns (clause 1); architraves, friezes, cornices, pedestals (clause 2); triglyphs, dentals, medallions (clause 3); pilasters and molding (clause 4); bases and capitals (clause 5); the high altar and lateral wings (clause 7); the flooring of the *capilla mayor* (clause 8); the tabernacle and *custodia* (clause 9); and the heraldic shields above the lateral wings (clause 10). The closing summation reiterates the elements that were to be given to them. The stones from La Espeja were to be cut “to the lengths, depths, widths, measurements, and molds...according to the designs that are made and that are given to them for everything relating to said work.”

These lines raise questions as to the degree of design responsibilities and agency of the artists. Elsewhere, the contract left room for Pompeo to develop the sculptures listed in clause 6. The dimensions of the sculptures were already established for Pompeo—they were to be “of the height and size that they are given” (clause 6)—though, as noted above, clause 18 stipulated that the works could be cast outside Spain on the condition that they “first [show] here the models of the figures’ poses in smaller form to His Majesty or to an arranged person so that on these smaller models it will be possible to remove or add anything necessary so that all of them are to the taste and contentment of His Majesty and appointed advisors.” This passage exemplifies the dynamic established by the agreement, one of a carefully managed autonomy. It proves Pompeo and Jacopo did not design every aspect of the altarpiece and tabernacle, but nevertheless they were allowed authorship of their contributions, but in consultation with their royal patron. The tabernacle’s inscription identifies Jacopo as its maker, and the sculptures bear Pompeo’s name on their bases.

By setting the contract within a larger context of extant archival materials, it becomes possible to situate the *retablo mayor* in a broader pattern of patronage as practiced by Philip in

the years around El Escorial's founding. Clauses 14 and 15 order Juan de Guzmán to do reconnaissance throughout Spain for more sources of jasper and communicate with Jacopo as to the suitability of any newly discovered types. Rather than their first collaboration, Juan and Jacopo had long worked together as agents to whom Philip turned in his attempts to cultivate a market for local Spanish semi-precious stonework. In 1567, Philip ordered Jacopo to identify new jasper veins regionally available in the Spanish kingdoms, and in 1569, a full decade before the *retabo mayor* contract was drafted and signed, Jacopo referred to Juan de Guzmán in a letter, confirming that the latter had found jasper that could be used for El Escorial.²¹¹ Thus the contract, to a certain extent, marked not the inception of a new project, but rather a new phase of a project already in progress.

Preparations for the altarpiece had been underway for well over a decade, and the following decade saw many changes, some small, some large, from the plans laid out in 1579. The pilasters behind the *retablo*'s columns, originally conceived in bronze per clause 4, were eventually carved in jasper, perhaps due to the delays experienced in Leone's Milanese foundry while working on the capitals and bases discussed in clause 5. One of the most drastic modifications happened to the sculptures' finish. The contract asks that "the faces and hands [be] in flesh tone." Philip, however, eventually requested that the statues be entirely gilded, a switch that frustrated Pompeo due to the extra work and care required to prepare all of the surfaces of the cast bronze for fire-gilding.²¹² After being cast and chased in Milan, the sculptures were

²¹¹ Almudena Pérez de Tudela, "Marmi e pietre dure nella decorazione della basilica dell'Escorial sotto Filippo II," in *Splendor Marmoris: I colori del marmo, tra Roma e l'Europa, da Paolo III a Napoleone III*, ed. Grégoire Extermann and Ariane Varela Braga (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2016), 139.

²¹² The circumstances and implications of this particular change are addressed later in this chapter.

transported by cart to Genoa, and from Genoa by ship to Alicante, and again by cart to El Escorial. There, the silversmiths Rodrigo de Hinojal and Juan Ruíz de Babia fire-gilded them.²¹³

The contract did anticipate the multiregional production that the sculptures required. Clause 12 explicitly acknowledges that the work for the *retablo mayor* would expand beyond the Spanish kingdoms: “The transport of all the aforementioned stone, figures, all other materials and things pertaining to the altarpiece, altars, and pavements for said chapels, from whichever parts of the kingdoms and abroad, is to be at His Majesty’s expense.” In addition to underwriting the transport costs, Philip also offered, in clause 17, to intervene politically and administratively in the event of any difficulties abroad. “Edicts and commissions are to be given to them as necessary...in the cities, towns, and places in His Majesty’s kingdoms and dominions where they remove and carve the stones and do anything related to the altarpiece.” The contract revealed the degree to which the *retablo mayor* was characterized as an imperial project, not only in terms of the geographic origins of the elements from which it was made, but also in regards to how it relied on the political infrastructure and connections cultivated by Philip throughout his reign.

The desire for a multiregional product and the recognition of the artistic traditions and industries throughout his territories are also manifested in the contract. Clause 18, which details the conditions by which the bronze figures were to be made, recognizes the differences in the naturally available raw materials and technical expertise as factors that would justify their production elsewhere, namely Milan. The clause elaborates on the conditions facing the sculptors “in wanting to make the figures and other metal things outside these kingdoms due to the apparent difference of what can be offered in regards to the figures and other metal things...and in not finding related metal nor suitable *oficiales*, they may.” Milan had to have been already

²¹³ Agustín Bustamante García, “Las estatuas de bronce de El Escorial. Datos para su Historia (II),” *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* VI (1994): 171.

selected as a second site of production, as clause 20 identified it in the payment scheme: “another 4,000 ducados are to be given and delivered to them in the city of Milan at the end of the month of May of this present year, put and paid there at His Majesty’s expense.” By parsing the contract’s rhetoric, details, and context, certain priorities, shifts in production, and goals come into focus. Jasper, its quality and localness, emerges as a core concern, keeping in line with Philip’s exhibited interest in creating a market for Spanish precious stones. As a document that cemented an agreement at a specific time and place, one can evaluate the work already undertaken that informed its content, while also surveying the modifications the artists had to adapt to in ensuing years. Finally, the inherent imperial scope of the project was a consistent and underlying characteristic of the *retablo mayor*, and this multiregional reputation, as we shall see, extended far beyond the 1579 contract.

The Altarpiece as Imperial Collection

The contract foregrounds the *retablo mayor*’s makers and their materials, and contemporaneous textual references promoted El Escorial and its altarpiece as embodiments of the high-quality and diverse expertise and raw materials to be found in Philip’s vast kingdoms. These claims were far from empty rhetoric; they were earned and earnest, as further consideration of the selection of makers and materials will show. The socles of both the tabernacle and the now lost *custodia* inside bore a matching inscription. The structures proclaimed, “King Philip II dedicated this work by Jacopo da Trezzo of Milan, entirely of Spanish stone, to Jesus Christ, priest and victim.”²¹⁴ In addition to naming the patron, maker, and dedicatee, the inscription specifically refers to and proclaims the localness of the material while

²¹⁴ Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 140. “*Jesuchristo Sacerdoti ac Victimae Philippus II Rex. D. Opus, Jacopi Trezi Mediolanens. Totum Hispano. E. Lapide.*” My thanks to Jamie Gabbarelli for his help in translating the inscription.

gesturing towards the international makeup of the artists, craftsmen, and engineers behind its production. The decision to layer these sites, material assets, and technical expertise yielded a message specific to Philip, as he was the only ruler who could make the imperial claims implicit in the unification of such disparate elements. Spanish and Italian resources merged and combined so that the whole—an imperial assertion of Philip’s wealth and royal reach—was greater than the sum of its parts. The jasper framed the Milanese-cast and locally-gilded sculptures, together embodying the global resources and dynastic claims uniquely available to Philip.

José de Sigüenza, the monastery’s prior, librarian, and historian, reiterated the sentiment of the tabernacle’s inscription—visible only to few—for a much broader audience in his *La Fundación del monasterio de El Escorial*, published in 1600. He chronicled and praised the geographic scope required to build so large a complex. “No small part of this building,” he wrote, “came from all over Spain, Italy and Flanders, and although it was possible to estimate the men who worked on the temple of Solomon it is no easy task to estimate the material for this one, since it came from an infinite number of places.”²¹⁵ Singling out the *capilla mayor*, he went on to state “the principal parts that decorate the church are the altarpiece, *custodia*, and royal *entierros*; all this was made in Madrid and elsewhere. Italians and Spaniards worked on it.”²¹⁶ Just as the materials were sourced from a list of places too numerous to mention, Sigüenza asserts that the same could be said for the artists and craftsmen who undertook the responsibility of bringing the altarpiece to fruition.

²¹⁵ “De suerte que por toda España, Italia y Flandes estaba esparcida no pequeña parte de esta fábrica, y aunque se pudo contar la gente que andaba en el templo de Salomón, la que anduvo en este no se puede averiguar fácilmente, por estar allende, de la mucha que aquí se veía, en infinitos lugares repartida...” Sigüenza, *La fundación*, 131. Translated in Kamen, *The Escorial*, 79.

²¹⁶ “...las principales partes del adorno de la iglesia son el retablo, la custodia, los entierros reales; ésto todo se hacía en Madrid y otras partes. Entendía en ello maestros italianos y españoles.” Quoted in Bustamante García, “Las estatuas de bronce (II),” 164, from *Fundación del Monasterio de El Escorial*, 1963, p. 102.

As discussed earlier in the chapter, Juan de Herrera lavished attention on the altarpiece, tabernacle, and *custodia* by dedicating one-fourth of the images to these structures in his *El Sumario y breve declaracion de los diseños y estampas de la Fabrica de san Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial* (1589). In the text that accompanies those designs, he specified the materials and detailed the colors and effects not captured in the prints. In reference to the eighth design [Fig. 3.4], a frontal view of the altarpiece, he describes:

A pedestal that bears and on which is laid the entire altarpiece, *custodia*, and large tabernacle. The entirety of this pedestal is jasper with some compartments of different colored jaspers. On to this great edifice of the altarpiece is placed its free-standing columns with their pilasters behind them of green and colored jasper, and the columns are all of colorful jaspers with tawny bands. The capitals and bases are of fire-gilded metal, the triglyphs, dentals, and medallions that are in said altarpiece are also gilded metal, the metopes are of different, very fine jaspers.²¹⁷

However objective Herrera strove to be in his description, his concentration on the preponderance of jasper betrayed his adherence to contemporaneous emphasis on the materials and makers that were unified and on display in the *retablo mayor*. As propagated by Herrera and Sigüenza, and as carved into the tabernacle and *custodia*, the multiregional makeup of the materials and artists warranted commentary, putting the reasons for selecting those specific agents and resources in the spotlight. By utilizing Leoni bronzes and jasper fashioned by Jacopo

²¹⁷ In full, the description reads: “Podio sobre que carga y esta assentado todo el retablo y custodia, o tabernaculo grande. Todo este Podio es de jaspe con algunos compartimetos [sic] de diuersos colores de jaspes, sobre el carga esta machina del retablo cuyas columnas son todas en isla con sus pilastras detras dellas de jaspe verde y colorado, y las columnas todas son de jaspes colorados que tiran a leonado, los capiteles y vasas son de metal dorado al fuego, los triglifos y denticulos y modillones que ay eneste dicho retablo, son otro si de metal dorado, las metopas son d diuersos jaspes finissimos: los quadra mentos delos pedestales son por el consiguiente de finissimos jaspes de varios colores. De suerte que todo este retablo es compuesto de solo diuersidades de jaspes, y de metal labrado y dorado. Los quadros que ay enel de pintura y las figuras que lleua d escultura por mostrar lo ellas mesmas no se explicara aqui. Los .8. nichios que ay en este retablo son todos de jaspe verde.” Juan de Herrera, *El Sumario y breve declaracion de los diseños y estampas de la Fabrica de san Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial* (Madrid: Gomez, 1589), ff. 28-29r. Transcribed in part in Wilkinson-Zerner, *Juan de Herrera*, 190, n. 68; and in full in David Winton Bell Gallery (Brown University), *Philip II and the Escorial: Technology and the Representation of Architecture* (Providence: Brown University, 1990), 30.

da Trezzo, Philip showed an interest in preserving aspects of his father's patronage practices while integrating elements distinctive to his Spanish-centered court and rule. By juxtaposing these luxury arts derived from throughout Europe in a liturgical centerpiece, Philip applied his imperial power to translate courtly collection practices into Catholic devotional practice.

Philip's choice to involve Pompeo Leoni so prominently ensured the continued involvement of Charles V's chosen imperial sculptor, Leone Leoni. Despite the time that had passed—twenty-one years since the emperor's death and thirty years since Leone Leoni's first large-scale sculptural commission for the Hapsburgs—Pompeo's familial associations and technical expertise had explicit connections to the preceding generations of Philip's lineage. The king's request for a series of life-size, standing, bronze figures referenced the commission his father gave to Leone in Brussels in 1549 and the bronze portraits made for his great-grandfather Maximilian I's tomb in Innsbruck.²¹⁸ In addition to executing the *retablo* figures in the same workshop as Leone's earlier commission, Pompeo's workshop in Madrid still housed those sculptures at the time he signed the contract in 1579. In spite of the desire for continuity between dynastic and artistic generations via bronze casting, correspondence reveals that the degree of involvement on the part of the Milanese foundry was far from a forgone conclusion. Casting the figures in Milan was a deliberate and debated decision, one that bears further assessment in light of the emphasis given to makers, materials, and sites of production.

On November 17, 1580, roughly one year after signing the contract and with Pompeo still in Spain, Jacopo da Trezzo petitioned on Pompeo's behalf for permission for the latter to return to Milan to work alongside his father. He explains that it would be easier to obtain the necessary

²¹⁸ See previous chapter for further discussion of dynastic continuity through bronze.

materials and labor there, given the enormous amount of work to be done.²¹⁹ However, less than three months later, Jacopo wrote again reversing his earlier argument. He reasoned instead that the bronze objects should be cast in Spain for the sake of cost and speed, implying that the metallurgical industries in Spain could accommodate such an ambitious commission.²²⁰ These implications run counter to what many art historians have claimed about the metallurgical industries at the time. Scholars have remarked on the relative absence of a figural bronze tradition in sixteenth-century Spain, one art historian going so far as to assert, “In Spain they didn’t possess the necessary knowledge for bronze casting.”²²¹ Such an assessment not only omits ubiquitous traditions of casting cannons, bells, and mortars, it also neglects the *Giraldillo*, [Figs. 3.19a-b] a colossal bronze weathervane that sits atop the Seville Cathedral. (The sphere alone measures four feet in diameter.)

Bartolomé Morel cast the *Giraldillo* in Seville between 1565 and 1568, a decade before the *retablo mayor*’s contract was signed. Morel was a second-generation caster, and father and son were two of only three official bell casters in the Kingdom of Seville. He subcontracted certain parts of the commission to other local metallurgists—blacksmiths Cosme de Sorribas and Juan del Pozo made the iron pin that runs the length of the weather vane, and the latter was also commissioned with the construction of the sphere.²²² The contract for the figure stipulated that

²¹⁹ “Es necesario que Ponpeo col primer pasagio se vaya a Milan porque la obra que alla se aze es mucha y al nasciar/uasciar falible como V. M. saue las cosas de bronze [damaged] asi me por luno como por lo tio/tuo es menester dineros y mas dineros dotra manera su yda no servira de nada que la cantidad de metal que sea de comprar ue andera/ne andera(?) gran suma de dineros.” Archivo General de Simancas—*Casa y Sitios Reales*, leg. 261, f. 138bis.

²²⁰ Archivo General de Simancas—*Casa y Sitios Reales*, leg. 261, f. 233 (Jan. 28, 1581).

²²¹ “En España no se poseían los conocimientos necesarios para la fundición del bronce...” Manuel Rincón Álvarez, *Bronce Dorado en El Escorial: Los Leoni y Jacome da Trezzo* (Madrid: Sociedad de Fomento y Reconstrucción del Real Coliseo Carlos III, 2014), 73.

²²² Lorenzo Pérez del Campo and Calle Pérez Cano, “El Coloso: historia abierta,” in *El Giraldillo: La veleta del tiempo: proyecto de investigación e intervención*, ed. Rosario Villegas Sánchez (Sevilla: Consejería de Cultura y Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico, 2009), 40.

Morel was to finish the figure itself in only one year; it took him two.²²³ Modern technical studies have revealed the enormous feat behind casing the *Giraldillo*. The figure was cast in just one pour from only one crucible, an extraordinary technical achievement for a life-size bronze figure, let alone a colossus.²²⁴ (One need only consider Benvenuto Cellini's description of making his *Perseus and Medusa* to see the inflamed, heroic rhetoric that successful bronze casting could inspire.) Bartolomé Morel engineered and cast the weather vane locally with no evidence yet uncovered to indicate the need for Italian intervention, and still more notably, he did so from a bronze whose metals were mined in the immediate region at El Pedroso.²²⁵ The chemical makeup of the *Giraldillo*'s copper alloy is unusual for traditional bronze figural sculptures, perhaps a consequence of using immediately accessible metals from the mines to which Morel had exclusive rights. In spite of being atypical for sixteenth century figural bronzes—with its low tin, high lead content, and traces of bismuth—the local metal ores proved to be easily obtained and suitable for casting.²²⁶

In light of the raw materials and expertise that were, in fact, available in Spain, Jacopo da Trezzo's proposition to cast the altarpiece's bronze elements nearby was efficient, responsible, and, most importantly, plausible. To explain the initial decision to cast the figures in Milan as a perceived inability to do so in Spain proves insufficiently limited in scope. Clause 18 of the 1579 contract does provide that the figures could be cast abroad should sufficiently trained sculptors not be available to work in Spain in adequate numbers. However, even when Pompeo took advantage of that possibility when he returned to Milan in 1582, he nevertheless struggled

²²³ The contract, dated August 27, 1566, is preserved in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla's section on notarial protocols in legajo 3429. See also Pérez del Campo and Pérez Cano, "El Coloso," 42.

²²⁴ Pérez del Campo and Pérez Cano, "El Coloso," 42-43.

²²⁵ Pérez del Campo and Pérez Cano, "El Coloso," 48.

²²⁶ My thanks to conservator Dylan Smith at the National Gallery of Art for providing insight into the qualities of the *Giraldillo*'s alloy.

throughout his seven years in Italy to populate his father's foundry with enough hands and talent for such an extensive and ambitious commission.²²⁷ In regard to a project with such geographic and material diversity, the decision ultimately to import the bronzes and to display them alongside the labeled Spanish jasper evoked consistency with prior Hapsburg patronage practices whilst alluding to Philip's extensive imperial reach and resources.

The contract, the tabernacle's inscription, and Juan de Herrera's *El Sumario* each reiterate the importance of the "Spanishness" of the jasper and of Jacopo da Trezzo's role as the artist behind that material. By entrusting the *retablo mayor* to Jacopo (and Juan Bautista Comane before his death), Philip brought to the project artists who worked exclusively for him on a material native to the Spanish kingdoms, further defining the project as an analog to his centralized rule from his court in Madrid. Unlike Philip's relationship with Pompeo, which was an extension of the patronage established through each of their fathers, Jacopo had been loyal to Philip since he was still a prince. After training as a goldsmith in Milan, Jacopo entered Philip's service in 1554. The sculptor accompanied the then prince over the next few years on his travels through Hapsburg domains to England, Belgium, and eventually to Madrid in 1562, where he lived and worked until his death in 1589.²²⁸ By the time the tabernacle was completed in 1585 and declared it to be the "work by Jacopo da Trezzo of Milan," Jacopo had been working for the King for thirty years without compromising or losing the association to his northern Italian roots. His extra-regional professional experiences were, in fact, an added benefit, signaling Philip's far-reaching access to the industries, artists, and craftspeople from throughout his kingdoms.

²²⁷ They eventually employed Adriaen de Vries who worked in the foundry for two years, spurring the workshop's productivity during that time. See footnote 193.

²²⁸ Walter Cupperi, "Nizola, Giovan Giacomo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 78 (2013): http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovan-giacomo-nizola_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ [Accessed May 1, 2016.]

While Jacopo embodied the peripatetic court artist, coming from one kingdom before traversing and adopting others, his foreignness serves as a rhetorical counterpoint to the unequivocal localness of the materials. As inscribed on the tabernacle, the Milanese artist made the work “entirely of Spanish stone.” Quarried largely from the mountains at La Espeja with supplements brought north from Granada,²²⁹ the jaspers are a type of quartz, sharing more in common with infamously delicate and difficult clear rock crystal than traditional sculptural or architectural marbles and stones. The colors present at La Espeja, a deep red and forest green, come from chemical impurities in the quartz; iron oxides lead to red, mineral chlorite to green.²³⁰ On the Mohs scale, which gauges the relative hardness of minerals and stones from 1 to 10, wherein the softness of talc ranks at a 1 and diamonds are a 10, jaspers are just shy of a 7, making them harder than even porphyry.²³¹

There proved to be many jasper-rich veins in Iberian mountains, and the *retablo mayor* capitalized on Philip’s access to craftsmen from his Kingdom of Milan and locally available materials. Between its sumptuous visual properties, the talent and resources needed to carve such a challenging stone, and its embodiment of the richness of the land, jasper and other semi-precious stones had come to denote luxury and exclusivity in pan-European courtly and princely circles. By the mid-sixteenth century, Milan, alongside Rome, was the most active and renowned site for *pietre dure* carving. The city, then under Hapsburg rule, could lay claim to generations of workshops specializing in clear rock crystal, with the regional source in the Alpine St. Gotthard,

²²⁹ Agustín Bustamante García, “Las estatuas de bronce del Escorial. Datos para su historia (I),” in *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* V (1993): 54, 56.

²³⁰ Lucy Trench, ed. *Materials & Techniques in the Decorative Arts* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 252. For more on the chemical properties of quartz and jasper, see Martin Prinz, George Harlow and Joseph Peters, eds. *Simon & Schuster’s Guide to Rocks & Minerals* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1977-8), entries 336, 244; Robert Webster, *Gems: Their Sources, Descriptions and Identification* (Hamdon, CT: Archon Books, 1975), 197-98; and Max Bauer, *Precious Stones*, trans. L.J. Spencer (New York: Dover Publications, Inc, 1968) 2:499, 500.

²³¹ For the full Mohs scale with examples, see Appendix D.

now in Switzerland.²³² The Florentine ducal *pietre dure* workshop has received much more scholarly attention, largely because it gave rise to the Opificio delle Pietre Dure, a hallmark of Florentine material cultural history. However, when Duke Francesco de' Medici initiated a hardstone carving workshop at his court, he did not rely on local Florentine artists; he instead brought in Milanese carvers who had been providing European princes with cut gems, inlaid furniture, and carved rock crystal for decades.²³³ In constructing the high altarpiece at El Escorial, Philip required such expertise, although with far more imperial implications. Archival documents cite that the jasper carving proved so difficult to carve and polish that diamonds and special machinery were required, and it was likely that Juan de Herrera offered designs, plans, and solutions to this engineering problem.²³⁴ Under quarry master Juan Bautista Comane's supervision, a decision was made to have Pompeo coordinate from Milan, in his role as itinerant court sculptor and cultural agent, a team of hard stone specialists to travel from Italy to Spain to assist in the preparation, carving, and finishing of the altarpiece's stonework.²³⁵ The Italian team joined forces with Spanish carvers, including Juan de Minjares who carved jasper from both La Espeja and Granada, and used machinery that was both locally designed and made.²³⁶ Instead of viewing the imported labor as a signal of Spain's relatively underdeveloped artistic industries,

²³² Anna Maria Massinelli, *Hardstones* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2000), 9. For more on carving rock crystal, see Letizia Arbeteta Mira, *Arte transparente: La talla del cristal en el Renacimiento milanés* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2015).

²³³ Massinelli, *Hardstones*, 73.

²³⁴ Bustamante García, "Las estatuas de bronce del Escorial (II)," 161. Also in letter in Babelon, *Jacopo da Trezzo*, 307-310. While Juan de Herrera's stamp on El Escorial has been debated in the architectural sense, it is agreed that he was able to contribute plans and designs for equipment that drastically accelerated the construction rate. See footnote 190 for sources on his contributions to El Escorial.

²³⁵ Domenico Paterno, Francisco Dandi Florentino, Antonio Lavaña, and Aurelio Solario left Genoa November 21, 1581 and arrived at El Escorial January 9, 1582. See Bustamante García, "Las estatuas de bronce (II)," 162.

²³⁶ Bustamante García, "Las estatuas de bronce del Escorial (II)," 161.

Philip's ability to call the most qualified and in-demand craftspeople from throughout his kingdoms to serve in his court only reaffirmed his status and the prestige of such a commission.

The *retablo mayor*, with its diverse material qualities and virtuoso artistry, was effectively part of the Hapsburg princely collections. The quality and range of the collections Philip inherited from his father and aunt María of Hungary, as well as the collections he amassed himself, enjoyed such renown that Giovan Paolo Lomazzo used it as an exemplar of princely practice. In the chapter of his *Idea del Tempio della Pittura* on the “definition of painting and the honors granted to its masters by the king and princes,” the art critic declared “the greatest [prince] in our age for grandness, territories, religion, and heroic virtue is, I say, the Catholic King Philip” and immediately framed his geographic holdings and piety as the next link in the Hapsburg dynastic chain.²³⁷ Philip was “son of the great Charles V, and the heir not only to his kingdoms but also to his virtue.”²³⁸ Lomazzo quickly summarized Philip's “museum,” with its paintings, sculpture, jewels, books, and arms, before devoting considerable attention to the church—“*il grandissimo tempio*”—at El Escorial.²³⁹ Confirming the reputation of the altarpiece as the most visible and central of the collections amassed at the site, he focused first on the tabernacle:

He also selected Jacopo da Trezzo to make the great and marvelous tabernacle, installed on the Doric register. It measures approximately fifty and a half *braccia* high, on which the jewels are resplendent and to see the other figural ormanetation is to be amazed.²⁴⁰

²³⁷ It is the final and thirty-eighth chapter: “Della definition della pittura, e degli honori hauute di professori di quella da Rè, & Principi.” Giovan Paolo Lomazzo, *Idea del Tempio della Pittura* (Milan: Paolo Gottardo Ponto., 1590), 150. He refers to Philip as “del maggior che sia a questa età nostra per grandezza e di stati e di religione, e di virtù heroiche io dico il Catolico Rè Filippo.” Lomazzo, *Idea*, 151.

²³⁸ “[F]igliuolo del gran Carlo Quinto, & heredè non solo de I suoi regni mà anco delle virtù.” Lomazzo, *Idea*, 151.

²³⁹ Lomazzo, *Idea*, 151.

²⁴⁰ “V hà ancora eletto Iacomo da Trezzo, per fare il grandissimo, & marauiglioso tabernacolo collocato nell'ordine Dorico sopra l'ancona alta cinquanta brazza e mezzo in circa, in cui risplendono le gioe, & gli altri ornamenti di figure di grandissimo stupore à mirarle.” Lomazzo, *Idea*, 151.

The project's ambitious scale, artistic expertise, and material luxury were once again in the fore, and Lomazzo then described the Leoni's work.

Next to them is Pompeo Leoni, incredible sculptor, who follows in his father's worth, having already represented in statues the king Charles and all the Austrian princes, making the name of 'Cavalier Leone Leoni Aretino' ring forth through the world. To ornament this miraculous work, he has made many other figures: a Christ on the Cross of astounding size placed at the altarpiece's apex, at whose base is the Virgin Mary, St. John, St. Peter, and St. Paul. All of the statues were made with inestimable sensitivity and mastery, and with such excellence in anatomy, gestures, poses, and drapery that—truly—they seem alive, and all larger than life-size.²⁴¹

For a volume dedicated to the nature of painting, Lomazzo's concentration on the sculptural and architectural features of this devotional work may seem out of place. The author's careful descriptions and laudatory rhetoric reveal, however, the extent to which the *retablo mayor's* makers and materials were understood in terms of El Escorial's reputation as a paragon of princely piety and artistic assemblage.

The altarpiece was characteristic of all aspects of El Escorial's collections, with Philip relying on his imperial agents throughout Europe and New Spain to identify, purchase, and consolidate the finest paintings, books, relics, and flora his territories had to offer. At El Escorial, the halls, living quarters, chapels, and oratories are now home to 1,600 oil paintings and 540 frescoes, all either portraits or sacred images, though contemporary late-sixteenth century statistics have yet to be compiled.²⁴² For Philip, the library was another key collection. He

²⁴¹ "Apresso questi ui è Pompeo Leoni statouaro mirabile, il quale seguitando il valor paterno, che già rapresentò in statoua il Rè Carlo & tutti Principi d'Austria, facendo risplendere per il mondo il nome del Caualliero Leone Leoni Aretino, hà fatto per ornament di questa miracolosa fabrica oltre molte altre figure vn Christo in Croce di marauigliosa grandezza, posto alla cima dell'ancona, & al basso la Vergine Maria S. Giouanni S. Pietro S. Paulo tutte statue laurate con inestimabile cura, & maestria, e con tanta eccellenza di anatomia, di gesti, d'atti, & di panni, che veramente paiono viue, & tutte maggiori del naturale." Lomazzo, *Idea*, 151.

²⁴² Kamen, *The Escorial*, 79. For more on El Escorial as a repository for sacred art, see Kamen, *The Escorial*, 79-85.

carefully selected works from his own library to become part of El Escorial's library, and he concentrated on including volumes representative of every branch of the liberal arts.²⁴³ In 1567, the king made explicit his wishes for the collection of books, saying of the library, "this is one of the principal memorials that can be bequeathed here, both for the monks as well as for the public benefit of all men of letters who may wish to come and read them."²⁴⁴ To gather a collection large enough for its religious as well as public functions, Philip undertook a widespread search in the libraries of nobles and prelates, sending agents to purchase them in their entirety or firmly request a donation of items for the king's project. The same tack was also taken for the impressive relic collection housed at El Escorial. Historian Henry Kamen quoted the inventories made by the monks at the time of the king's death: "10 whole bodies, 144 heads, 306 arms and legs, thousands of bones of various parts of holy bodies, as well as hairs of Christ and the Virgin, and fragments of the True Cross and the crown of thorns."²⁴⁵ One imperial agent in particular bore the responsibility to seek out books, relics, and the bodies of distant royal family members. Ambrosio de Morales embodied the interconnected and inseparable impulses that drove Philip's collecting; every aspect of El Escorial had to address and fulfill the king's dynastic, princely, and religious responsibilities. It was in this context of summoning, amassing, and collecting that Jacopo and Pompeo made the *retablo mayor*. As the most devotionally potent and visually accessible example of El Escorial's "museum," to quote Lomazzo yet again, the altarpiece juxtaposed the luxury arts of bronze casting and precious stone work from throughout Europe. In so doing, Philip applied his imperial power to translate courtly collection practices into a Catholic liturgical centerpiece intended to activate and impress the sixteenth century visual and devotional imagination.

²⁴³ Kamen, *The Escorial*, 103-110, esp. 105.

²⁴⁴ From Philip to Francis de Ávila, written from El Escorial May 28, 1567. Kamen, *The Escorial*, 109.

²⁴⁵ Kamen, *The Escorial*, 217-225, esp. 217.

Christological Associations

Art historians have assessed the *retablo mayor*'s iconographic emphasis on redemption and salvation through Christ's sacrifice. María Jesús Herrero Sanz situates the sculptures' message within expectations for images to be clear, identifying the Doctors of the Church and the Evangelists as subjects that consolidate and distill post-Tridentine theological priorities.²⁴⁶ Rosemarie Mulcahy expands on this iconographic reading of these sculpture groups through the concept of "the word made flesh." The inclusion of these authoritative authors and commentators on the mystery of the Eucharist highlighted the role of Mass and the moment of transubstantiation that was celebrated in front of the *retablo mayor*.²⁴⁷ The iconographic, theological, and ritual performances reinforce the centrality of the moment of consecration when Christ's blood and body are literally made present in the Host, thereby priming devotees and monks for a Eucharistic interpretation of the jasper, bronze, and gilding so prominent in the space. The careful selection, unification, and application of these materials in the locus of El Escorial's liturgical activities activated the perceived Christological origins of all metals, including the copper, gold, and mercury that were central to the sculptures' bronze casting and fire-gilding, as well as the metaphorical potential for the red jasper to connote simultaneously Eucharistic blood and purity.

At the *retablo*'s apex stands the bronze *Crucifixion* [Fig. 3.18], with Christ's veins sensitively and expertly defined, cast, and gilded, with the drops of blood emanating from his wounds carefully painted red. The altarpiece accentuates the Crucifixion as a nodal point between cosmic, planetary events and the quotidian materials of earth. A German mining

²⁴⁶ Herrero Sanz, "Los apóstoles y los padres de la Iglesia," 108.

²⁴⁷ Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Basilica*, 138.

manuscript from 1575, *Speculum metallorum*, visualizes this relationship twice. On folio 20r, [Fig. 3.20a] the illuminator positioned the crucified Christ in front of seven bars, each labeled with both a planetary symbol and a metal, explicitly connecting celestial motions with metallurgical matter. Folio 70v [Fig. 3.20b] makes explicit that it is Christ's sacrifice that dictates those cosmic events, which then influence the qualities of earthly metals. His blood, salvific fluid *par excellence*, attaches to the planetary circle that surrounds and incubates the same schematic representation of metals from the earlier folio. While these images bear no direct relationship to El Escorial or the Leoni's casting of the bronze figures, they do stem from and exemplify earlier and ubiquitous conceptions about the connection between the heavens, the earth, and human beings. As indicated by the *Speculum metallorum*'s schema, the qualities of individual metals were linked to a corresponding planet: Saturn related to lead; Jupiter, tin; Mars, iron; the Sun, gold; Venus, copper; Mercury, quicksilver; and the Moon, silver.²⁴⁸ The fire-gilded bronzes that frame the *retablo mayor* double down on the relationships between metallurgical components. As discussed, the bronze itself carried resonances of past dynastic practice and imperial continuity, but it also marked a notable divergence from traditional Spanish altarpieces. As seen throughout the various Spanish kingdoms from the late fifteenth and into the sixteenth centuries, artists such as Alonso Berruguete produced grand wooden altarpieces adorned with polychromed and partially gilded wooden figures.²⁴⁹ Unlike the figures from Berruguete's *San Benito* altarpiece [Fig. 3.21], with their painted fleshtones, the Leoni's sculptures appear more metallic in their glistening surfaces, with folds and modeling that accentuate the fluidity of the liquid alloy poured into the mold during casting. By gilding fully metallic bodies, the Leoni and

²⁴⁸ Listed to correspond with *Speculum metallorum* folio 20r (left-to-right) and 70v (top-to-bottom) [Figs. 3.18a-b]. Pearl Kibre, *Studies in Medieval Science: Alchemy, Astrology, Mathematics and Medicine* (London: The Hambleton Press, 1984), 269-70.

²⁴⁹ See Manuel Arias Martínez, "Las claves iconográficas del retablo de San Benito el Real, de Alonso Berruguete," *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Escultura* 9 (2005): 12-27.

their goldsmithing collaborators in Spain more effectively made present in their sculptures the material's metallurgical and alchemical associations.

This interconnected mode of relating to the elemental world applied to human bodies as well and was found in treatises and more widely in European court culture in the form of the cosmic or zodiacal man. The most famous instance of the cosmic man is in the Limbourg Brothers' *Très Riches Heures*, made for the Duke of Berry c. 1416 [Fig. 3.22].²⁵⁰ Folio 14v features a nude male youth with zodiac signs hovering over and around him, with each body part corresponding to a specific time and celestial position. These cosmic echoes could affect medical treatments, with some people choosing to delay bleedings related to a particular injured site if it was considered an unfavorable time in the zodiac calendar.²⁵¹ Whether corporeal or metallurgical, the macro and micro were deeply entwined, and this relationship is in evidence in El Escorial's *retablo*. The religious rituals to which the altarpiece was central conveyed the metaphorical and implicit presence of Christ, with the moment of consecration and transubstantiation understood literally as the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

The materials that dominate the basilica's chancel also evoke specific references to gold and jasper in the Old and New Testament, associating El Escorial with Moses' tabernacle, the throne of God, and John's visions of the New Jerusalem. Philip had contributed greatly to one of the most ambitious biblical translation projects of the sixteenth century, the *Biblia Regia*, or the Antwerp Polyglot Bible. Featuring at times up to six parallel transcriptions and translations of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, the first six hundred editions of the eight-volume text were published in 1572 by Christophe Plantin in Antwerp. Benito Arias Montano, the man who composed the

²⁵⁰ For a deeper study on the iconography of the "zodiac man," see Harry Bober, "The Zodiacal Miniature of the *Très Riches Heures* of the Duke of Berry: Its Sources and Meanings," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 11 (1948): 1-34.

²⁵¹ Bjørn Okholm Skaarup, *Anatomy and Anatomists in Early Modern Spain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 84.

inscriptions for El Escorial's tabernacle and *custodia*, edited and oversaw the project on behalf of the King.²⁵² Copies were reserved for the El Escorial library in exchange for the six thousand *escudos* Philip contributed to the enterprise.²⁵³

In Exodus, God instructs Aaron to make a vestment to be worn as he ministers, and it was to have four rows of precious stones. Exodus 28:18 and 39:11 specify the second register is to be comprised of “garnet, sapphire, and jasper.”²⁵⁴ Because Napoleon's forces ransacked El Escorial's tabernacle and *custodia* in 1808, it is impossible to determine how directly the original jewels and embellishments correlated to the description of Aaron's priestly garments. Exodus, however, is not the only Old Testament instance when jasper connotes sanctity. When God comes to Ezekiel in a vision, the prophet is instructed to tell the King of Tyre that while he was in the paradise of God, he was surrounded by precious stones: topaz, garnet, emerald, and onyx, in addition to jasper and gold.²⁵⁵ In the New Testament, references to materials take on a more structural and architectonic dimension in the Book of Revelation and the apocalyptic visions of St. John the Apostle. John enters a door to Heaven, where he sees God seated on a throne made from jasper and sardonyx.²⁵⁶ Later in chapter 21, the material connections between worldly

²⁵² Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 140. For a biography on Benito Arias Montano, see María Fuencisla García Casar, “Arias Montano, Benito,” in *Diccionario Biográfico Español* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2009), 5:320-326.

²⁵³ Ángel Sánchez-Badillo, “La Biblia Regia,” in *Felipe II en la Biblioteca Nacional*, ed. Mercedes Dexeus (Madrid: Electa, 1998), 32.

²⁵⁴ The subsequent Biblical quotations are transcribed from the Latin Vulgate passages from the edition of the Antwerp Polyglot held at Georgetown University's Woodstock Theological Library. My thanks to Father Leon Hooper and his staff for making the volumes available for consultation: LAU Woodstock Special Collections 220.44 AN89. Exodus 28:18 (Antwerp Polyglot I:280): “In secúdo, carbúculus, & saphirus, & iaspis.” Exodus 39:11 (Antwerp Polyglot I:324): “In secundo, carbunculus, saphirus, iaspis.”

²⁵⁵ Ezekiel 28:13 (Antwerp Polyglot IV:580): “In delitiis paradisi Dei fuisti. Omnis lapis pretiosus operimentum tuum; Sardius, topazius, & iaspis, chrysolithus, & onyx, & beryllus, saphirus & carbunculus & smaragdus : aurum opus decoris tui, & foramina tua in die qua conditus es præparata sunt.”

²⁵⁶ Revelations 4:3 (Antwerp Polyglot V:546): “Et qui sedebat, similis erat aspectu lapidis iaspidis, & sardii : & iris erat in circuitu sedis, similis visioni smaragdinae.” My thanks to Pamela Stewart for directing me to this reference to jasper and the throne of God.

matter, liturgical structure (the tabernacle), and the promise of a New Jerusalem are manifest. John sees the Holy City coming down from Heaven, and an enthroned God orders him to witness His tabernacle where He and men will reside together.²⁵⁷ Verse 11 rhetorically compares the light of God's glory to the reflective visual effects of polished jasper and crystal, and sets up an architectural and material description of this New Jerusalem.²⁵⁸ The city was made of pure gold, and its walls from jasper.²⁵⁹ The walls were decorated with twelve rows of precious stones, starting at the base with still more jasper.²⁶⁰ While the design of El Escorial and its *retablo mayor* does not adhere to the specific dimensions given by St. John, there is a material consistency that renders the *capilla mayor* a fulcrum between the past and future of the Church. One of Philip's titles was "King of Jerusalem," a title affiliated with his rulership over Naples, and he supported intellectual efforts to reconstruct and draft descriptions of the New Jerusalem in both Ezekiel and Revelations.²⁶¹ These interests may indicate an aspirational desire to position his reign, family, and El Escorial as preservers and perpetuators of the faith, with the materials making the biblical associations literal and physical. From Aaron's priestly garb to visions of the New Jerusalem, jasper was regularly associated with sites and structures wherein God's presence would connect with the earthly realm and human condition, be it through visions, tabernacles, or

²⁵⁷ Revelations 21:2-3 (Antwerp Polyglot V:563): [2] Et ego Joannes vidi sanctam civitatem Jerusalem novam descendentem de caelo a Deo, paratam sicut sponsam ornatam viro suo. [3] Et audivi vocem magnam de throno dicentem: Ecce tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus, et habitabit cum eis. Et ipsi populus ejus erunt, et ipse Deus cum eis erit eorum Deus."

²⁵⁸ Revelations 21:11 (Antwerp Polyglot V:564): "Habentem claritatem Dei : & lumen eius simile lapidi pretioso tanquam lapidi iaspidis, sicut crystallum."

²⁵⁹ Revelations 21:18 (Antwerp Polyglot V:564): "Et erat structura muri eius ex lapide Iaspide : ipsa verò ciuita aurum mundum, simile vitro mundo."

²⁶⁰ Revelations 21:19 (Antwerp Polyglot V:564): "Et fundamenta muri ciuitatis, omni lapide pretioso ornate. Fundamentum primum iaspis : secundum, sapphirus: tertium, chalcedonius: quartum, smaragdus."

²⁶¹ René Taylor, "Architecture and Magic: Considerations on the *Idea* of the Escorial," in *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, eds. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard, and Milton J. Lewine (London: Phaidon Press, 1967), 90.

in a future paradise, and the holiness of jasper, in particular, was not lost on sixteenth natural historians.

The symmetry between what is found on earth and what exists in the heavens also applied to precious stones, including jaspers. In his *De la Pirotechnia*, Vannoccio Birunguccio expounds,

I only believe that Nature has created such things on the earth in envy of the heavens, in order to emulate its things. Just as we see that in the sea she has imitated every kind of land animal, so also has she produced these stones in the likeness of the stars, as we see in their great variety of colors and in many effects of their virtues. ... Surely you will see that they surpass gold and every other mineral. Therefore one should search for them in order to possess them as precious and divine things.²⁶²

Not only did Philip's team of designers, architects, and artists search for jaspers, possess them, and highlight their preciousness and divinity, they selected a type of jasper with prominent hematological properties. The red jasper, which modern mineralogy understands as a quartz with high iron oxide content, was seen as a type of stone that, due to its resemblance to dried blood, Georgius Agricola referred to as "haematite," or blood stone, in his *De natura fossilium*.²⁶³ This red jasper from La Espeja has creamy white "eyes" suspended in the iron oxide matrix,²⁶⁴ and sixteenth century artisans and mineralogists described the chromatic differences as substances

²⁶² Cyril Stanley Smith and Martha Teach Gnudi, trans., *The Pirotechnia of Vannoccio Biringuccio: The Classic Sixteenth-Century Treatise on Metals and Metallurgy* (New York: Dover Publications, 1990), 121-122. "solo credo che la natura ne la terra tali cose create l'habbi come inuidiosa del cielo per farle emule alle cose sue come si vede che nel acqua ha fatto presci emulation da la terra d'ogni sorte animale, cosi ancho queste a simiglianza di stele le habbia perdotte, vedendo tanta lor varieta di colori & tanti lor virtuosi effetti. ... Certo vedrette che loro & ogni altra minerale sopra auanzano, & pero come cose preziose & diuine per hauerne, cercar si debbano." Vannoccio Biringuccio, *De la Pirotechnia* (Venice, 1540), 39v.

²⁶³ Georg Agricola, *De Natura Fossilium: (Textbook of Mineralogy)*, trans. Mark Chance Bandy and Jean A. Bandy (New York: Geological Society of America, 1955), 87. "uterque uero lapis uariat colore. nam aut sanguinis concreti sunt similes, atq; inde haematites nomen reperit : aut ferri imitantur colorem, & tum interdii aliquae partes extimae croci." Georg Agricola, *De ortu & causis subterraneorum lib. v., De natura eroum quae effluunt ex terra lib. iii, De natura fossilium lib. x., De ueteribus & novis metallis lib. ii.* (Basil, [1546]), 253.

²⁶⁴ Webster, *Gems*, 198.

with different elemental mixtures comingling.²⁶⁵ In other words, different ratios of earth, water, air, and fire were thought to be closely suspended alongside one another. Biringuccio, again in his *De la Pirotechnia*, explains “every whiteness that is found in stones is caused by white and pure materials...[and] is a substance of air or water congealed in the thing by a certain inclination and power of very pure materials which are joined with that earthy material as closely as lines.”²⁶⁶

Air or water closely fused with earth yields whiteness and its associated purity in stones, and this formula proved to translate to the recipe for ideal Eucharistic wafers as well. The importance of the whiteness of the Eucharist had been paramount for centuries. A description of the ideal host from as early as the thirteenth century stated, “The host/sacrifice of Christ should be white, wheaten, thin, not large, round, free from leaven and unmixed [. . .] it should be inscribed, not cooked with water, but roasted by fire, so that it impresses/signifies ardor of mind and the fear of the Lord.”²⁶⁷ The Benedictine monastery at Cluny instead recommended sprinkling the flour with cold water while making the wafers, “for thence are made whiter hosts.”²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ Smith and Gnudi, trans., *The Pirotechnia of Vannoccio Biringuccio*, 121. “De le quali cose gli scrittori sene passano in generale con dire che tutte le pietre cosi come tutte l’altre cose son da la natura produtte di sustantia acque e terrestri con le necessarie agiuntion de gli elementi secondo le spetie de le cose.” Biringuccio, *De la Pirotechnia*, 39r.

²⁶⁶ Smith and Gnudi, trans., *The Pirotechnia of Vannoccio Biringuccio*, 121. “Ma prima che piu oltre passi vi dico che ogni bianchezza che ne le pietre si troua e causata da cause bianche & pure. Et le prespicuoe da molte bianchissime, terrestri & acquee congiunte insieme, & la molta lucidita fulgente vien da molta durezza in material terrestre lucida. Ogni bianchezza e sustantia d’aere o d’acqua congelata ne la cosa con certa inclination & forza di materie purgatissime, le quali come line.” Biringuccio, *De la Pirotechnia*, 39v.

²⁶⁷ “Candida, triticea, tenuis, non magna, rotunda, / Expers fermenti, non mixta sit hostia Christi [. . .] / Inscribatur aqua non cocta, set igne sit assa / Mentis ut ardorem signet Dominique timorem.” Aden Kumler, “The multiplication of the species: Eucharistic morphology in the Middle Ages,” in *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 59/60 (2011): 186. Richard of Wetheringsett, *Qui bene presunt, distinctio* 6: Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 3471, ff. 144r–148v. Cited from a preliminary draft of an edition in preparation by Greti Dinkova-Bruun and Joseph Goering.

²⁶⁸ Kumler, “The multiplication of the species,” 186.

These rich resonances and metaphors associated with jasper were activated in the basilica at El Escorial, which served a congregation comprised of the royal family, courtiers, and monks. While the diverse members of the congregation would have viewed the jasper with variable knowledge, the meanings associated with the stone were available in general understandings about the Eucharist in the period as well as in the more specific theological, natural philosophical, alchemical, and metallurgical texts and treatises accessible in El Escorial's library. While not all early modern viewers of the *retablo mayor* would have reflected upon the Christological origins of metals and appreciated the parallels between the speckled red jasper and concepts of blood and purity, they certainly would have registered its function during Mass as the back drop for the critical moment when mundane matter transformed to the blood and body of Christ.

Physical Remedies

In Juan de Herrera's *El Sumario* (1589), which disseminated prints of El Escorial, the ninth design presents a frontal view of the tabernacle of the *retablo mayor* with the *custodia* placed inside. [Figs. 3.5a-b] This image points to another key function of the *retablo mayor* and its constituent materials. Designed and engraved before any of the work on the tabernacle was completed, the widely circulated image of the tabernacle includes an inscription that was calibrated to have a slightly different emphasis than the inscription on the physical structure, discussed earlier in the chapter. Below the image of the tabernacle, the caption reads, "For public salvation (*SALVTIS*), King Philip II dedicates Trezzo's work and Juan de Herrera's art in Spanish materials to the only pontiff Jesus Christ."²⁶⁹ The use of the word *salutis* here raises the

²⁶⁹ "SALVTIS PVB . PONTIF . VNICO IES . CHRISTO PHILIPPVS . II . REX IOAN . FERRERAE ARTE TREZZII OPERA HISPANICA MATER . DIC ."

possibility of a medicinal application, as it could mean both salvation and health. Just as Christ was the ideal means to spiritual salvation, a perfect balance between the body's complexions, or the qualities of the elements thought to compose the human body, was the ideal path to health.²⁷⁰ [Fig. 3.23] While the physical components of the *retablo mayor* were crucial instruments in the king's devotional practice, the materials' medical applications cannot be disentangled from the altarpiece's larger salvific functions, particularly given Philip II's chronic illnesses.

Philip fought a variety of sicknesses throughout his life, and at one point towards the end of his life, he became too ill to take communion. His confessor advised him "to receive communion by way of observing what was in the *custodia*, so full was he and so desirous to be one with God."²⁷¹ Philip's chronic illnesses included salmonella, a sore throat, gout, arthritis, dysentery, malaria, random swelling, and dropsy²⁷² nearly all of which resulted in regular bleedings by his doctors.²⁷³ The bleedings were employed to alleviate the excess of heat and moisture that were thought to have caused the fevers and sicknesses. Other remedies could also help reconstitute the king's complexions, including the ingestion or topical application of mercury, which was used in fire-gilding the bronzes and the Spanish jasper.

Biringuccio characterizes mercury as an "overflowing abundance of moistness and coldness together."²⁷⁴ Conrad Gessner enumerates its pharmaceutical benefits. "Quicksilver can serve as a remedy against sicknesses that have their origin in the rotting of the humors." He also

²⁷⁰ Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 102.

²⁷¹ "[I]mportunole le comulgase con una forma de las que se guardan en la custodia, tan entero estaba y tan deseoso de juntarse con Dios." Sigüenza, *La Fundación del Monasterio de El Escorial*, 272-73.

²⁷² A condition in which fluid collects in the body's tissues producing inordinate swelling.

²⁷³ Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, 172, 190.

²⁷⁴ Smith and Gnudi, trans., *The Pirotechnia of Vannoccio Biringuccio*, 79. "...con molta sopra abundantia d' humidita, & frigidita insieme, il qual composito secondo l'opinione de filosofi alchimici è cosa molta disposta a metallificare, anzi dicano esser originale seme di tutti metallici..." Biringuccio, *De la Pirotechnia*, 22v.

describes its use as an antidote to poison as well as helpful for those, like Philip, who suffered from dropsy.²⁷⁵ He continues, “In the place of mercury, you can also use an amalgam of six parts mercury to one of gold. With that, you will obtain much greater wonders.” Gessner acknowledges that the gold/mercury amalgam “is also good for the art of goldsmithing and for those that work in gold.”²⁷⁶ And, in fact, this was the same combination used to fire-gild metal objects. In the case of the *retablo mayor*, the fire-gilding was undertaken by two Spanish silversmiths, Rodrigo de Hinojal and Juan Ruíz de Babia.²⁷⁷ First, they would have melted gold, combined it with mercury, and applied that to the surface of the finished figure. They would then fire the object so the mercury evaporated, leaving the gold chemically bonded to the surface of the copper alloy before finally quenching the gilded bronze, as recommended, in urine.²⁷⁸

José de Acosta dedicates book four, chapter ten of his 1590 volume *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* to “the marvelous properties of mercury,” where he elaborates on the ability for mercury also to reconstitute the purity of gold.²⁷⁹ After repeating the assertion from Agricola that mercury is a metal in spite of its natural liquid form, he observes,

mercury naturally surrounds gold, and it hides inside it. This is the most important property it has: that with marvelous effect it bonds to gold, seeks it out, and goes to it where it can sniff it out. And not only that, [mercury] becomes one flesh (*encarna*) with [gold], it joins it, so that it strips and unsticks it from any other metals or bodies with which it is mixed. Therefore those that want to protect against the damage of mercury take gold.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁵ Conrad Gessner, *Tesoro de los Remedios Secretos de Evónimo Filiatro*, trans. Andrés Manrique and Agustín Fernández (Madrid: Estudios Superiores del Escorial, 1996), 537.

²⁷⁶ Gessner, *Tesoro de los Remedios*, 538.

²⁷⁷ See footnote 212.

²⁷⁸ Smith and Gnudi, trans., *The Pirotechnia of Vannoccio Biringuccio*, 367. “l’altro facendo d’oro fino malgamma con mercurio & con vno stile di rame distendendolo sopra alla cosa, & cosi l’una & l’altra via sopra a lauori vsata con el fuocho si fa euaporare el mercurio & l’oro resta, & se e oro nella orina si spegne & se e argento messo sopra ottone o rame si gitra in olio & si scalda con fiamme di sembola.” Biringuccio, *De la Pirotechnia*, 135v.

²⁷⁹ “De las propiedades marauillosas de el Azogue.” José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Seville: Casa de Juan de Leon, 1590), 219-222.

²⁸⁰ “...el azogue naturalmente rodea luego el oro, y lo esconde en si. Es esta la mas importante propiedad que tiene, que con marauilloso affecto se pega al oro, y le busca, y se va a el do quiera que le huele. Y no

Acosta sets up a complementary relationship between the two metals, wherein mercury can “save” gold and gold can neutralize mercury’s harmful effects. He evokes this relationship in corporeal terms by stating that together they *encarna*, or become flesh. This term has specific sculptural implications, as the technique of “encarnación” means to polychrome a sculpture so as to evoke the appearance of flesh, as opposed “estofado” where patterns are scratched into a painted surface to reveal gold leaf underneath.²⁸¹ Most striking is that this word choice conflates the term for one technique with the recipe for another. Acosta slips between painting flesh tones and fire-gilding by capitalizing on the rhetorical flourish of the “body-ness” shared by both metals.

This slippage directly relates to the sculptures at El Escorial. Clause 6 of the contract lays out that the fifteen gilded bronze figures are to have their “faces and hands in flesh tone,” or *de encarnado*. However, in mid- to late-1582, Pompeo received news that, instead of being partially *doradas* and partially *encarnadas*, he would need to prepare the figures to be entirely gilded, as they now appear. The new directive is mentioned first in a letter from September 21, 1582 from Pompeo in Milan to royal secretary Juan de Ybarra in Madrid.

I am glad that you remember what I said regarding the gilding and that His Majesty has added it. We await his royal response, because we understand...the labor, time, and cost that undertaking the resolution he has proposed will require. ... Here we await making that which needs to be gilded, understanding that they are not to be gilded all at once, rather one-by-one. And I say that when I see one gilded, the person who will gild it, the gold that will penetrate and the color that it will have, I, and those that share my opinion, will fall silent.²⁸²

solo esto, mas assi se encarna con el, y lo junta a si, que le desnuda y despega de qualesquier otros metals o cuerpos, en que està mezclado, por lo qual toman oro los que se quieren preservar del daño del azogue.” Acosta, *Historia natural*, 220.

²⁸¹ See footnote 207.

²⁸² “He olghado que VM tenga presente y a memoria lo que le dixte acerca del dorado y que Su Mag^d lo aya sañido [?] y sespere su Real Respuesta, porque entiendo...el trauajo tiempo y costa que se ghistara tomara la resolucion que se le ha propuesto ... aca esperamos al fatto, el que lo ha de dorar, entendiendo que no los ha de dorar todos en un golpe mas de uno a uno, y digho que quando yo uea dorado uno, y la

Still digesting the new commands, Pompeo referred again to the change thirteen days later.²⁸³

While Pompeo's letters, at once ingratiating and peevish, do not explicate what motivated Philip's change, Acosta's rather poetic description of fire-gilding in corporeal terms offers an avenue through which the fully golden religious figures can be understood. As he described, the chemical reaction between gold and mercury mobilized their natural capacities to both improve and be improved by other matter and processes. Mercury could poison or save a person, it could re-purify gold, gold could ward against the dangers of mercury, and the sculptors and metallurgists could use the *encarnados* metals to elevate their bronze to gold. In addition to carrying over the metaphors of corporeal balance and purification, the decision to move away from the chromatic illusion of flesh emphasizes a liveliness of the metal surface and the reflective light and parallels the dynamism of Acosta's descriptions of the materials' agency. While monochromatic, the gilding enhances the particular qualities of the bronze forms: their subtle modelling, expert casting, and meticulous chasing.

In the *St. Matthew* [Fig. 3.13], the gold easily reflects light, highlighting the depth and darkness of the recesses under the hood and cloak. The golden surface also accentuates the detailed and varied textures in the sculpture's hands and face. Light glints off of the areas of highest relief, offset by the light and shadow of the finely observed curls that frame the saint's face. Light reflects off the hands, which extend out of the niche to reach for and gesture towards the holy book propped up against the angel, and one can imagine the optical illusion of movement or animation when illuminated by flickering candlelight. If the faces and hands had

persona que le dorare y el oro que entrara y color que tendra que entonces yo y los que son de mi opinion callara." Pompeo Leoni to Juan de Ybarra (September 21, 1852): Archivo General de Simancas—*Casa y Sitios Reales*, leg. 261, f. 273.

²⁸³ Pompeo Leoni to Juan de Ybarra (October 3, 1852): Archivo General de Simancas—*Casa y Sitios Reales*, leg. 261, f. 274.

been *encarnados* as stipulated in the contract, it is likely the sculptures would have approximated a portrait of Philip II that Pompeo executed in polychromed silver. [Fig. 3.24] The head—the only reliably contemporary part of the bust as it exists now in the *kunstkammer* of Vienna’s Kunsthistorisches Museum—has been painted to give the king a rosy complexion, full pink lips, and a brown tint to his hair.²⁸⁴ While the effect is altogether more veristic than the fully gilded sculptures, the face is comparatively matte, as the paint absorbs rather than reflects light. If the *retablo mayor* had been executed as originally conceived, in the same mode as Philip’s silver head, the faces and hands that appear in the dark green niches of the *retablo mayor* would have been nearly illegible, especially when one considers the distance between the *capilla mayor* and the public area of the church. [Figs. 3.2-3.3] The 1582 decision to abandon the *encarnación* of sculptural technique for the *encarnado* of sculptural metaphor aided in the sculptures’ visibility and, consequently, in their devotional efficacy, and allowed the figures to achieve the metaphorical potential of fire-gilding as a union and purification of matter in active, dynamic, and bodily terms.

Furthermore, the gilded figures more fully display and embody both the pharmaceutical and metallurgical applications of gold and mercury. The medical and artistic operations associated with these two metals were understood to transmute the materials and in so doing, to alter and control the balance between their elemental complexions. Individual metal ores could be cool and dry in their natural states, and subjecting them to heat, in the case of fire-gilding bronzes, for example, would bring out the hot and dry qualities of the metals.²⁸⁵ With fire-gilding

²⁸⁴ See Claudia Kryza-Gersch, “Pompeo Leoni’s Portrait of Philip II in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna,” in *Leone & Pompeo Leoni: Actas del Congreso Internacional*, ed. Stephan F. Schröder (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2012): 99-107.

²⁸⁵ “A metal is a natural mineral body which is either liquid or solid and will melt in a fire. The molten metal, on cooling, again becomes hard and returns to its original form.” Agricola, *De Natura Fossilium*, 18-19. “At metallum est corpus fossile natura uel liquid, uel durum quidem, sed quod ignis liquescit

providing complexions that are both wet/cold and hot/dry, in the *retablo mayor* these metals could operate in tandem with the jasper's perceived properties of coldness and dryness as another instrument to bring the natural and ideal balance to the elemental qualities in the king's body. Medical treatises dating back to the fifteenth century recommended jasper to stop nosebleeds,²⁸⁶ to staunch bleeding wounds,²⁸⁷ and to aid women after miscarrying.²⁸⁸ While it was an effective general remedy against a range of woes, it could also address the specific ills that plagued Philip throughout his life. Juan de Arfe, who would go on to collaborate with Pompeo Leoni on the gilded bronze *entierros* that flank the *retablo mayor*, espouses the virtue of green jaspers in particular. "[O]ut of [all jaspers], the best are the green that have colorful veins because they say it has virtues against *calenturas* [which can be translated to fever/arousal/caprice], and against dropsy...."²⁸⁹ The jasper could aid against the heat implicit in the *calenturas* and the fevers that

calore.uerum id ipsum refrigerato & extincto calore, rursus ad duriciam reuocatur, propria'qs formam." Agricola, ...*De natura fossilium lib. x...*, 186.

²⁸⁶ "Iten: toma piedras guijas o jaspes o marmol aprietalos sobre los pulsos & venas de la frente rrestannara la sangre de las narizes mas guarda que non aprietes mucho." Folio 14r. Gilberto, *El Libro de Recetas*, 1471. Francisco Gago Jover, ed. 2011. "*El Libro de Recetas*". *Spanish Medical Texts. Digital Library of Old Spanish Texts*. Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies. On line at <http://www.hispanicseminary/t&c/med/docs/text-gil.htm>. [March 9, 2016]

²⁸⁷ "Iten: diz'e lapidarius que la piedra jaspe trayda en la mano & llegada a las nariz'es o allaga rrestranna la sangre" Folio 14r. Gilberto, *El Libro de Recetas*, 1471. Gago Jover, "*El Libro de Recetas*."

²⁸⁸ "Para la mujer que tiene la criatura muerta en el cuerpo/ & no la puede echar/ es muy prouechosa cosa tomar las fojas del junipero/ & cozer las con agua/ & con miel: & beuer aquella agua & no solamente echara sin empacho la criatura muerta: mas avn la cama de sangre em pos della. Hali. Esso mismo haze la leche de otra mujer/ si la beuiere con azeyte. E la misma virtud tiene la piedra jaspis: & la leche de la perra/ mezclada con vino. O la mirra bien picada/ embuelta con vino." Folio 18r. Johannes de Ketham, *Compendium da la humana salud*, Zaragoza: Pablo Hurus, 1494. Francisco Gago Jover, ed. 2011. "*Compendium da la humana salud*". *Spanish Medical Texts. Digital Library of Old Spanish Texts*. Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies. On line at <http://www.hispanicseminary/t&c/med/docs/text-gil.htm>. [March 9, 2016]

²⁸⁹ "El jaspe es una piedra verde con cierta espesura y venas coloradas. Ay de ellos muchas especies, porque unos son verdes con alguna transparencia, otros son verdes con gotas grandes coloradas, otros son colorados a manera de teja. Pero [entre?] todos son los mejores los verdes que tienen venas coloradas, por que dizen tener virtud contra las calenturas, y contra la idropesia, y que reprime el fluxo de la sangre, y engastado en plata ayuda a su virtud como dixen en la plata." Juan de Arfe y Villafañe, *Quilatador, de la plata, oro, y piedras, conforme a las leyes Reales, y para declaracion de ellas* (Madrid: Guillermo Drotty, 1598), 243v.

regularly resulted from the king's illnesses.²⁹⁰ The historian and chronicler José de Sigüenza provides numerous anecdotes of Philip's medical woes and treatments, such as one instance when Philip had fought a fever for seven days. He refers to the king's fevers ("fiebres") and describes him as "burning up and consumed by a malignant fire ("asado y consumido del fuego maligno"), alluding as well to the regular presence of El Escorial's doctors.²⁹¹

While there is no documentary evidence that jasper was used medically to treat the king's over abundant heat and moisture during periods of illness, its medicinal application had been widely practiced for centuries within European princely courts, with jasper jugs, ewers, and goblets a common fixture in collections, as jasper was believed to sweat in the presence of poisons.²⁹² More particular to Philip's interests, botanical, medical, and chemical knowledge was readily available and cultivated at El Escorial. In addition to the on-site hospital, books on chemistry, alchemy, botany, and pharmaceutical recipes formed a key part of the complex's library. The site was home to one of the most inventive and active pharmaceutical distilleries in Europe, and Philip ensured that the garden had flora from New Spain with proven medicinal applications.²⁹³ The use of jasper at El Escorial as a remedy need not have been the primary or explicit intention. Its ubiquitous presence in the flooring, altar, tabernacle, and altarpiece gave

²⁹⁰ Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, 6.

²⁹¹ Sigüenza, *La Fundación*, 252.

²⁹² Martina Bagnoli, ed., *A Feast for the Senses: Art and Experience in Medieval Europe* (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2016), 217.

²⁹³ Kamen, *The Escorial*, 112-15; and Mar Rey Bueno, "'If they are not pages that cure, they are pages that teach how to cure.' The Diffusion of Chemical Remedies in Early Modern Spain," in *Bridging Traditions: Alchemy, Chemistry, and Paracelsian Practices in the Early Modern Era*, eds. Karen Hunger Parshall, Michael T. Walton, and Bruce T. Moran (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2015), 134. For general discussions of these themes, see Eugenio Portela Marco, "La química en la botica de El Escorial," in *La ciencia en el Monasterio del Escorial: actas del Simposium, 1/4-IX-1993*, ed. Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla (San Lorenzo de El Escorial: Ediciones Escorialenses, 1993), 1:207-242; Francisco Javier Puerto Sarmiento, "La farmacia renacentista española y la botica de El Escorial," in *La ciencia en el Monasterio del Escorial: actas del Simposium, 1/4-IX-1993*, ed. Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla (San Lorenzo de El Escorial: Ediciones Escorialenses, 1993), 73-132; and Agustín Fernández Merino, *Códices y Libros de Alquimia, Química, Metalurgia...y Botica en las Librerías de San Lorenzo de Real del Escorial* (Madrid: Circulo Científico, 2008).

the king regular visual and tactile proximity to the jasper, and offered him the spiritual salvation associated with the stone. In 1573, Pope Gregory XIII granted Philip II a special dispensation to consecrate the oratories between the *capilla mayor* and the king and queen's private bedchambers as extensions of the basilica. [Figs. 3.3, 3.25-3.28] This devotional space was a favorite of Philip's, with reports from the resident monks that "in the oratory, we would see him and hear him at extraordinary hours, in the morning, in the evening, in the most secret times of night."²⁹⁴ Between 1583 and 1585, Philip had the same Spanish jaspers from La Espeja and Granada used in the oratory's flooring, walls, and altars, drawing the salvific power of the altarpiece and its materials closer to the body of the king.²⁹⁵

After the last sculpture of the *retablo* was installed in 1590, the king enjoyed seven years before his health fell into sharp decline. Plagued by a final bout of dropsy and covered in sores and boils, he was bed-ridden at El Escorial for fifty-three days.²⁹⁶ Here, adjacent to consecrated fire-gilded and jasper-lined spaces, he was administered his last rites, with a direct view of the altar, below which rested his father, mother, and aunts. According to Sigüenza, Philip asked that the burial position of Charles V be verified so that he could take on the posture of his father.²⁹⁷ The historian also elaborates on Philip's requests for his coffin, established years before his death.²⁹⁸ The wood was to be repurposed from the keel of a Portuguese ship that had sat in the Lisbon port for nearly twenty years without rotting. This ship had been made in the East Indies from large trees call "Trees of Paradise," and the lumber assumed a reputation for

²⁹⁴ Sigüenza, *La Fundación*, 263.

²⁹⁵ Agustín Bustamante García, "Las estatuas de bronce de El Escorial. Datos para su Historia (III)," in *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte VII-VIII* (1995-1996): 71.

²⁹⁶ Geoffrey Parker, *Philip II* (Third Edition) (Chicago: Open Court, 1995), 197.

²⁹⁷ Sigüenza, *La Fundación*, 269.

²⁹⁸ Sigüenza does not give a date for when Philip ordered the wood to be shipped to El Escorial. Rather, in describing the last few days of the king's life, he speaks of the events in the remote and abstract past, indicating that a significant amount of time had passed. See footnotes 298 and 299 for transcriptions.

imperishability and timelessness.²⁹⁹ Philip had the wood from the ship transported from the port in Lisbon to El Escorial and ordered that in addition to its use for his coffin, the wood was to be used for the cross onto which the gilded bronze *Crucifixion* figure of the *retablo* was to be affixed.³⁰⁰ [Fig. 3.29] The wood represents yet another instance where materials conveyed meaning and established connections between spaces and functions. The cross and coffin complemented the *retablo*'s other efficacious materials and processes in embodying and articulating the dynastic, devotional, and pharmaceutical ambitions of El Escorial's patron.

Conclusion

Conceived to be completed in just four years, the *retablo mayor* took more than twice as long to be finished and installed. It was only after the church was consecrated and all the sculptures were installed in 1590 that Philip turned to the tomb monuments for the lateral niches in the *capilla mayor*. Before the royal effigies could be made and displayed, the devotional centerpiece had to be in place and fully functional for use by the monastic and courtly communities alike. The altarpiece served the public as the backdrop for the moment of consecration as well as a potent symbol of the dynastic, devotional, and physical preoccupations of the king. As argued here, an analysis of the structure that focuses exclusively on its adherence to Tridentine values does so at the expense of understanding other levels of meaning, many of which were realized through its materials. The imperial, Christological, and medicinal connotations of bronze, jasper, gold, and mercury were used to express the priorities and

²⁹⁹ “La madera de este ataúd, porque lo digamos aquí de paso, es de uno árboles grandes que se crían en la India Oriental (podemos llamarlos árboles del Paraíso); allá se llaman angeli. Había servido la viga de que se hicieron las tablas de quilla o fundamento de un galleon de los de Portugal, que se llamó ‘Cinco Chagas,’ porque su divisa o impresa eran las cinco llagas de nuestra salud.” Sigüenza, *La Fundación*, 270.

³⁰⁰ “Mandó se hiciese de él la cruz que es el remate del altar mayor, y, digámoslo así, de toda la fábrica, y sostiene un crucifijo de bronce dorado, que creo es el mayor y mejor que jamás se ha fundido, porque tiene nueve pies y más de largo.” Sigüenza, *La Fundación*, 271.

concerns central to Philip's reign. The materials commemorated and honored the central mystery and miracle of Tridentine faith, the real presence of Christ through transubstantiation. The three principle artists responsible for the *retablo mayor*—Pompeo Leoni, Jacopo da Trezzo, and Juan Bautista Comane—tethered the salvific potential of the monumental altarpiece to both Philip's personal needs and to his wider religious and imperial agenda as a Catholic prince. In this way, the *retablo* symbolically encapsulated a microcosm of El Escorial, one of the most ambitious and complex building projects of the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER IV

“Estar para siempre”: Sculptural Permanence, Perpetual Prayer, and Dynastic Continuity in the *Entierros* at El Escorial

The years 1589 and 1590 marked a time of decisive change in both the progress on El Escorial’s *capilla mayor* and the Leoni’s workshop practices. Pompeo Leoni left his father’s Milanese workshop in August 1589 with the last of the bronze sculptures to be installed on the basilica’s *retablo mayor*.³⁰¹ Just weeks after he embarked, his long-time collaborator Jacopo da Trezzo died in Madrid on September 23. The final sculptures were finished and installed on the high altarpiece by March 1590, and just four months later Leone Leoni died in Milan on July 22.³⁰² Over the course of just eleven months, one major project concluded and in quick succession Philip’s artistic team suffered losses that rendered the workshops’ infrastructures unrecognizable. This precipitated a reexamination of courtly sculptural practice and complicated the path forward to completing the remaining element of the *capilla mayor*, the *entierros* or tomb monuments of the families of Charles V and Philip II [Figs. 4.1-2].

The loss of the Hapsburg’s primary bronze sculptor in Milan and the vacancy left at the head of Jacopo’s workshop in Madrid allowed for a hitherto impossible opportunity for Pompeo. Without his father’s monopoly over prestigious commissions, including large bronzes and tomb

³⁰¹ Agustín Bustamante García, “Las Estatuas de Bronce del Escorial. Datos para su historia (IV),” *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte IX-X* (1997-1998): 155.

³⁰² Royal secretary Benavides refers to the finished high altar sculptures and notes that Pompeo was paid 50 ducats for overseeing the work after his return in August 1589. Rosemarie Mulcahy, *The Decoration of the Royal Basilica of El Escorial* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 202. Eugène Plon, *Les Maîtres Italiens au Service de la Maison d’Autriche: Leone Leoni, Sculpteur de Charles-Quint, et Pompeo Leoni, Sculpteur de Philippe II* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, 1887), 418, letters 112, 113.

monuments³⁰³, and with Philip II's gift of Jacopo's studio to Pompeo³⁰⁴, the younger Leoni was finally able to transplant his father's foundry practices onto Spanish soil. After nearly forty years of balancing multi-regional production and circulation, he could finally execute—from start to finish—a large-scale and technically complex bronze commission locally in Madrid. There was no better time for this consolidation, as the *entierros*, comprised of two five-figure groups in gilded bronze with precious-stone embellishments, required an even greater degree of collaboration between workshops than the Leoni's previous projects.

These funerary groups are a multi-media tour de force, featuring ten life-size figures kneeling at prie-dieux, made from fire-gilded bronze, with the most visible figures draped in capes embellished with precious-stone inlay and silvered surfaces. In the elevated niche to the north, or to the altarpiece's right, kneel five members from the family of Charles V. With the emperor (b. 1500-d. 1558) [Fig. 4.3] are his wife Empress Isabel of Portugal (b. 1503-d. 1539) [Fig. 4.4], their daughter Empress María (b. 1528-d. 1603) [Fig. 4.5], and the emperor's two sisters, Leonora the Queen of France (b. 1498-d. 1558) and María the Queen of Hungary (b. 1505-d. 1558) [Fig. 4.6]. Philip II, represented in the southern niche to the altarpiece's left, is similarly accompanied [Fig. 4.7]. Kneeling beside him are three of his four wives—his first wife and cousin María Manuela of Portugal (b. 1527-d. 1545), third wife Elisabeth of Valois (b. 1545-

³⁰³ With Pompeo in Madrid, Leone Leoni wrote to Granvelle in April 1, 1559 reinforcing the division of labor between the two workshops in terms of materials and types of commission. He wrote, "If you wish me to serve His Highness the King [referring here to Philip II], if you wanted some large work such as a tomb or various statues, send word and details so that I may be able to do so. As long as I am here [in Milan] I can supply marbles from Carrara, bronzes, or men accordingly because such things cannot be found there; and when it has been done this was for such a long time, Pompeo would be sufficient for most things." "[S]i uol seruire de me la M^{ta} del Re che se uolesse qualche opera grande come sepolcro o statue diverse che me dia auiso e forma ch'io possa fin che sono qui prouedere a Carrara de marmi o de bronzi o de huomini perciò che colà non ui si troueran queste cose; che quando fusse per quel tanto che è la già fatto, e bastaria Pompeo et a maggior cose." Real Biblioteca—*Cartas al obispo de Arrás*, II/2257, f. 175.

³⁰⁴ Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 207.

d. 1568), and fourth wife and niece Anna of Austria (b. 1549-d. 1580)—and his eldest son from his first marriage, Don Carlos (b. 1545-d. 1568).³⁰⁵

There are qualities that the *entierros* share with the sculptures of the high altarpiece—a life-size scale, bronze materials, and fire-gilded surface treatment. They diverge, however, in their function, visibility, the complexity of how the figures sit and interact with the chancel space, and the diversity of materials integrated into the individual sculptures. While the high altarpiece sculptures were a prominent visual focus for Mass, the cenotaphs would have been nearly invisible to public parishioners from their area below the choir; the sculptures instead participate in the act of devotion by kneeling in perpetual prayer, angled toward the tabernacle and the Host it would have contained. Their appearance and materials nevertheless integrate them into the presbytery. The shift to working exclusively in Spain proved not only logistically necessary, it augmented the significance of the *entierros* by rooting their Iberian identity within a pan-European network of rhetorical, religious, and dynastic associations. The sculptures embody a timelessness that enacted the patrons' desire to be always in active devotion of the Eucharist. Pompeo Leoni and his collaborators worked with materials and processes that evoked temporal transcendence and holiness in such a way as to represent the family members as fully participating in the promise of salvation offered by their deep Catholic and Counter-Reform beliefs. This chapter will consider how the figures, through their materials and makers, capitalized on the sculptural media's perceived permanence and the spiritual connotations of precious metalwork, the visual and spatial resonances with objects of saintly devotion in the basilica, and their connections to Hapsburg and Burgundian precedents. I argue that their facture augmented their effectiveness as proxies for the Hapsburg's perpetual devotion of the Eucharist

³⁰⁵ His second wife Mary Tudor (1516-1558), to whom Philip was married from 1554-1558, is the only unrepresented spouse.

while simultaneously establishing Charles V and Philip II as spiritual and dynastic models for their heirs.

Beyond the *Retablo Mayor*: The *Capilla Mayor*'s Lateral Niches

Archival documentation has allowed scholars over the past century and a half to shed light on the production history of the lateral niches and sculptures. However, the specific phases and elements have yet to be reconstructed chronologically in a way that allows a deeper understanding of how such a monumental sculptural and multimedia collaborative commission would have been approached logistically or understood holistically. The section that follows is an introduction to the site, placement, and production of the sculptures and the lateral niches in which they are installed. This account is based on a careful reading and reconsideration of the relevant archival documents that have been cited in the literature on El Escorial. I will re-frame the *entierros* as part of a larger project for the chapel that, when considered together with this program, raises questions about the functions of the lateral niches and sets the stage for the analysis that follows.

The *entierros* occupy the two lateral niches that flank the chancel space in El Escorial's basilica [Figs. 4.8-9]. Like the *retablo mayor* sculptures, they are intricately detailed, cast fully in the round, and gilded. Each group features five figures with their hands raised and pressed together in prayer, kneeling on pillows at a *prie-dieu* draped in a rich figured textile. Set at a diagonal and staggered [Fig. 4.10], the sculptures each are positioned as if having an unobstructed view of the tabernacle, with the figures set farthest away from the high altarpiece elevated on a podium [Fig. 4.11]. The artists also designed and cast the sculptures in tandem with the architectural elements of their own niche, suspending the figures between the instantaneous

and the timeless. An effect is created as though the figures had walked in and set themselves within the space, with the capes and fabrics cast bunched up, curving around and reacting to the architecture. The integration of the figures within the architectural space gives the impression that the colossal columns have displaced the fabric at the moment of entry. Juxtaposed with the otherworldly effect of the gilding and precious stone work, the materials fossilize the supple, responsive bodies and garments in cold, hard metal. Form and substance simultaneously root the figures in space while elevating them above the effects of time.

United in pose, appearance, and devotional praxis, the sculptures also function as finely observed and individualized portraits of each family member. Specified through the depictions of age, ceremonial dress, and hairstyles, the groups assert a collective Catholic and dynastic identity emphasized by the luxurious application of precious stone work in the most visible of the figures. The sculptures of Charles V and Empress María are placed along the southern edge closest to the chancel space, and their capes are decorated by the Hapsburg emblem of the double-headed eagle in a black precious stone that Pompeo likely brought with him from Italy in August 1589 [Fig. 4.12].³⁰⁶ The stonework follows the folds and creases of the bronze cape, undulating perfectly with the fictive cloth. Along the northern edge, Philip and María Manuela occupy the places closest to the chancel and bear capes even more elaborately decorated than their counterparts across the *capilla mayor*. [Fig. 4.13] Their *mantos*, as the archival documents refer to them, are decorated with royal titles and heraldry, resulting in a dazzling patchwork effect of red, green, blue, and black semi-precious stones, and details in silvered- and gilded-bronze relief. To further render the bonds between family members in material terms, each of the three men

³⁰⁶ In a letter Pompeo wrote from Milan on January 2, 1588 to Juan de Ybarra in Madrid, the artist mentions black jasper (“jaspes negros”) from Italy that are particularly easy to work. Archivo General de Simancas—*Casa y Sitios Reales*, leg. 261, f. 585. Also partially quoted and translated in Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 200-201.

represented, Charles V, Philip II, and Don Carlos, wear the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Interlocking fire steels (pieces of metal that one strikes on flint stones to produce sparks) form the chain between which are flints represented by carved jasper embedded within the gilded bronze collar, with one type of stone imitating another.

While embedded in the consecrated chancel space, their oblique placement allowed the *entierros* to communicate a more transparent dynastic message than the altarpiece, binding together the figures' devotional act and their political function. As an indication that the *capilla mayor* was conceived as an integrated space made of related though distinct elements, the 1579 contract for the *retablo mayor* refers to the funerary elements three times and only in very general terms. It opens by summarizing the work to be done. “[Pompeo Leoni, Juan Bautista Comane, and Jacopo da Trezzo] have agreed and are committed to securing *oficiales* and such people at their expense, and to make the sculpture, as with the architecture, steps, and paving for the altarpiece, and the burial sites of the royal bodies.”³⁰⁷ The closing states that in addition to the altarpiece, high altar, niches, stairs, and pavements, they also agree to make “the sculptures (*bultos*) for the royal bodies' resting places,”³⁰⁸ indicating that Philip intended to keep to his father's wishes for sculptures to decorate their burial site. While one of the contract clauses refers obliquely to “the places for the royal sculptures” that were to be decorated “as is shown in the designs,” the contract does not specify which Hapsburgs the *bultos* would represent.³⁰⁹ But given the advanced state of plans for the lateral niches, it is likely that the planners had always meant for the sculptures to flank the high altarpiece even at that early date.

³⁰⁷ “[S]e obligauan y obligaron de hazer y que haran labaran y asentaran a su costa de oficiales y gente asi la escultura como la arquitetura y gradas y solado del retablo y depositos de los cuerpos reales.” Archivo y Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial— VI-40, f. 3r.

³⁰⁸ “[Y] bultos de los possytos de los cuerpos reales.” Archivo y Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial— VI-40, f. 8r.

³⁰⁹ Archivo y Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial— VI-40, f. 4r.

Before the artistic team concentrated on the sculptures themselves, they prepared the heraldic shields, or *escudos*, of Charles V and Philip II that fill the pediments [Figs. 4.14-15]. The *escudos* were conceived and made in the 1580s while the *retablo mayor* was under construction, and they used many of the same materials and precious stones found in the altarpiece. In 1585, it appears the *escudos* were still in the planning stages, as Jacopo da Trezzo wrote to the king in November to confirm they would be made out of precious stones.³¹⁰ Throughout 1586 and into 1587, Jacopo entrusted the work on the two arms to a large team comprised of artists that included many who had long worked alongside him and those new to his workshop structure. Amongst the former were Julio and Jerónimo Miseroni, Jacopo da Trezzo “El Mozo” (the elder Jacopo da Trezzo’s nephew), Clemente Virago, and Giovanni Paolo Cambiagio.³¹¹ The newly employed assistants included Bernadino Vecino, Antonio Bermejo, Hernando de Ávila, and Juan de Guevara, who arrived to El Escorial on May 27.³¹² Progress towards production came during 1587, when Antonio Fasol was compensated for having obtained some of the jaspers and stones for Jacopo da Trezzo. It appears the design was not yet solidified as of October when Philip’s daughter reported that the king discussed the *escudos* with the court’s heraldic expert Nicolas de Campis.³¹³ Production on their bronze elements began in earnest in 1587 when Jacopo da Trezzo modeled the decorative leaves in wax before Juan Pérez

³¹⁰ Archivo General de Simancas—*Casas y Sitios Reales*, legajo 261, f. 395. See also Jean Babelon, *Jacopo da Trezzo et la construction de l’escorial* (Bordeaux: Feret & fils, 1922), 282-83, n. 11; and Almudena Pérez de Tudela, “Marmi e pietre dure nella decorazione della basilica dell’Escorial sotto Filippo II,” in *Splendor Marmoris: I colori del marmo, tra Roma e l’Europa, da Paolo III a Napoleone III*, ed. Grégoire Extermann and Ariane Varela Braga (Rome: De Luca Editori d’Arte, 2016), 145.

³¹¹ The document also refers to another *oficial* that he had in his workshop for many years. “[Y] a oficial que tengo en casa muchos años.” Bustamante García, “Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV),” 153. Babelon, *Jacopo da Trezzo*, 285-286.

³¹² Bustamante García, “Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV),” 154.

³¹³ Stones included lapis lazuli. Bustamante García, “Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV),” 153. On letter from Philip’s daughter Isabella Clara Eugenia, see Pérez de Tudela, “Marmi e pietre dure,” 144.

de Córdoba, Antonio Pablo, Blas de Urbina, and Jacome Pila cast them in 1588.³¹⁴ Other gilded bronze elements for the shields included the dragons and the collar of the Golden Fleece that were contracted to Francisco del Gasto and Bernadino Vecino, respectively.³¹⁵

Art historians have marginalized the heraldry's importance to the basilica's *capilla mayor*, privileging instead the sculptures as an independent field of inquiry.³¹⁶ Not only are the *escudos* tour-de-force displays of hard stone carving, but the monetary investment in them in materials and labor denotes their significance within the larger project. Jacopo da Trezzo entrusted the carving of the imperial double-headed eagle on Charles V's shield [Fig. 4.14] to two of his employees in particular, Jacopo da Trezzo "El Mozo" and Julio Miseroni. They signed the short contract for this part of the work on February 1, 1588. It states:

We, Jacopo da Trezzo [El Mozo] and Julio Miseroni, have agreed with Jacopo da Trezzo, sculptor of the King, to make and carve the imperial eagle for the arms of the Emperor in fine and hard stone, of black jasper from Mérida, for the price of 1,000 gold escudos. The stated eagle is to be five feet and thirteen *dedos* high as can be seen in the model shield. We are obliged to finish it within one year starting from February 1, 1588 and to install it within the stated shield by February 1, 1589. They will pay us 700 *reales* each month. ... Madrid, February 1, 1588.³¹⁷

Revealing not only that a to-scale model of the shields existed, this contract specifies the exact source of the black stone (a jasper from roughly 210 miles west-southwest from Madrid near the

³¹⁴ Bustamante García, "Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV)," 154 and Pérez de Tudela, "Marmi e pietre dure," 146.

³¹⁵ Bustamante García, "Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV)," 154; and Pérez de Tudela, "Marmi e pietre dure," 146.

³¹⁶ The exceptions are the indispensable archival contributions offered in particular by Jean Babelon, Rosemarie Mulcahy, Agustín Bustamante García, and Almudena Pérez de Tudela.

³¹⁷ "Nos Jacobo de Trenzoy Julio Miseron nos abemos concertado con Jacobo da Trezo escultor del Rey nuestro señor de azer y labrar la aguila emperial que ba en las armas del Emperador de piedro fina y dura del jaspe de Merida de color negro por precio de mil escudos de oro y la dicha aguila es de la alteza de cinco pies y trece dedos como se be en el escudoque esta hecho por modelo y nos obligamos de darla acabada dentro de un año empezando desde el primero de febrero de mil y quinientos y ochenta y ocho y sera acabada y asentada a primero de febrero del año de mil y quinientos y ochenta y nueve dentro del dicho escudo y que se nos pague setecientos reales en cada mes a quenta de la dicha obra.... Madrid a primero de febrero de mil y quinientos y ochenta y ocho. Firman los otorgantes." Excerpted in Bustamante García, "Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV)," 163, n. 15.

border of Portugal) as well as the immense cost for the work. The contract set the cost for the roughly six feet-tall relief of an eagle at 1,000 gold *escudos*, an amount made all the more impressive when compared to the 20,000 *escudos* that Philip was willing to pay for the entirety of the more than ninety-feet tall *retablo mayor*, with its fifteen sculptures, niches, columns, tabernacle with thirteen statuettes, stairs, flooring, and the facing for the lateral niches.

As evidenced by the fact that “El Mozo” and Miseroni did not complete the eagle until February 1590, work on the imperial and royal arms continued past Jacopo da Trezzo’s death in Madrid on September 23, 1589. The two sculptors, along with Giovanni Paolo Cambiagio, oversaw the remaining work on the heraldic shields while Pompeo, recently returned from casting the *retablo mayor* sculptures in Milan, took over the physical space of Jacopo’s workshop in the neighborhood of San Martín.³¹⁸ In March 1590 Pompeo supervised the final touches and installations on the high altarpiece sculptures, and he also agreed to make the lion that tops Philip II’s arms [Fig. 4.16].³¹⁹

After dedicating his first year back in Madrid to assisting with the completion of the *escudos*, Pompeo turned his attention fully to the sculpted *entierros* by February 1591, starting with the Charles V group. While no contract has been located, the earliest mention of Pompeo having secured this commission appears in a letter that Pompeo wrote from Madrid on February 2, 1591 to Ferrante Gonzaga II, the son of the then Duke of Guastalla. He begins,

I believe that you will have heard of how I managed with the remaining work in bronze for the altarpiece of San Lorenzo in Spain where His Majesty, in addition to looking kindly on me, gives me great honor perhaps finding himself well served by me. I thank God as well for having so well finished such a noteworthy endeavor and to the satisfaction of the King. I believe he wants from me a new commission for the sepulcher of the Emperor and his family that is no less an

³¹⁸ Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 207.

³¹⁹ Bustamante García, “Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV),” 163.

undertaking, and we will make it here at court if possible, as His Majesty, with the prince, wishes to see it made.³²⁰

Besides the self-promotion one comes to expect from the sculptor's letters, Pompeo indicates how close in time the high altarpiece and tomb monuments were to one another while also referring to them as distinct commissions. The sculptor celebrates having secured his next illustrious royal project. However his letter to Ferrante belies the great deal of progress that there had been on the *entierros* by 1591.

A wooden model for the *entierros* had been made back in 1585, when Philip II compensated carpenter Juan Serrano, though there is no mention of their scale or form.³²¹ Two letters from Pompeo written some years earlier reveal the degree to which the sculptor anticipated the commission for the *entierros* while he was still in Milan casting the final sculptures for the high altarpiece. On January 2, 1588, the sculptor wrote to royal secretary Juan de Ibarra revealing formal details about the sculptures as well as intimating which materials were to be used. He first argues for permission to bring with him to Spain a number of his assistants because, "I understand that [to do so] will be very necessary as they will help me make the royal and imperial sculptures from marble and jaspers." He continues,

And it would also be necessary to advise His Majesty, if he wishes, to be provided with the stated marble and some black jaspers to make the work as I negotiated with His Majesty because, being here, I will choose them very carefully in order to make the pillows, lecterns, and a thousand things that I imagine will need to be made since the stated sculptures are to be kneeling and with their elbows supported by the lecterns that are to be covered with black velvet that is to be of

³²⁰ "Credo che V'ra Ecc^a haura saputo come mi condussi con il rimanente dell'opera di bronzo del Rettablo de S^{to} Lorenzo il Reale in Ispagna doue SM^{ta} oltre che mi ha ben uisto mi fa molta mercede forsi trouandosi ben seruito da me diche ne ringratio Iddio come anco di essere uscito di cosi grand opera cosi bene et a gusto del pr'one, che credo mi uoglia di nouo incaricare dello sepulture dell Imp^{or} e sue che non è meno opera, e la faremo qui in corte se sera possibile, uolendo SM^{ta} gustare di uederla fabricare insieme con il principe n'ro Sig^{re}." Archivio di Stato di Parma—*Epistolario Scelto* 23, n.p.

³²¹ Serrano was paid for three wooden models for the El Escorial project, one of which was for the *entierros* more specifically. Rosemarie Mulcahy speculates that designer Juan de Herrera used them to refine the sculptures' positions within the space. Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 205.

the stated black marble. And on them will go books and crowns of other types of jasper that I know will be required. That although they are not lacking in Spain, some [stones] from here will nevertheless be very necessary, especially the black that can be found here is very good for carving and resembles velvet. And likewise the marble for the heads, hands, and other parts must be made from Carrara marble chosen so carefully that there will be nothing else like it.³²²

He reiterated to Ibarra a few weeks later, perhaps in the absence of a response, the importance of workers and specific Italian materials, in a letter dated January 29. “In the other letter, I wrote that in order to make the lateral niches or tombs it was necessary to bring from here people who helped me because I was and am terribly exhausted by the continual work.”³²³ He went on, “likewise I wrote that black jaspers, Carrara marble, and *brocatel* were necessary in order to make the monarchs and surrounding decoration.”³²⁴ He reiterated the plans for the figures’ poses and setting: they were to kneel on pillows at lecterns on which their elbows rested with their hands presumably raised in prayer. The prie-dieux would also support books and crowns and be covered by a stone that would mimic black velvet. Significantly, there is no explicit mention of

³²² “[E]ntiendo que seran mucho menester porque los mismos me habran de ayudar a hacer los Vultos Reales y emperiales de marmol y jaspes y tambien seria menester avisar a Su Magestad si manda que se provea del dicho marmol y algunos jaspes negros para hacer la dicha obra como se trato con Su Magestad porque estando aqui yo los escojere muy a proposito para hacer las almuadas, atriles, y mil cosas que imagino que se habran de hacer estrando los dichos vultos en Rodillados, y apoyados con los codos algun tanto a los atriles que habran de ser cubiertos de terciopelo negro que estos seran del dicho marmol negro y encima habran de hir libros y coronas de otras suertes de jaspes que yo se que seran menester, que aun en españa no faltan todavia seran mucho menester algunos de los de aca y particularmente el negro que lo hay aqui muy buono de labrar que parece un terciopelo, y asi el marmol para hacer las caveças, y manos y otras partes que ha de ser de marmol de carara escojido y muy a proposito que ay no lo ay tal.” Archivo General de Simancas—*Casa y Sitios Reales*, leg. 261, f. 585. This was also translated into French by Babelon, *Jacopo da Trezzo*, 180-81, English in Mulcahy, *Decoration*, 200-01, and Italian in Pérez de Tudela, “Marmi e pietre dure,” 148. Also referred to in Bustamante García, “Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV),” 155.

³²³ “Con el otro correo escrivi que para hazer los colaterales o depositos era menester que llevasse de aqui jente que me ayudasen, que yo fuera que soy muy molido en la continuacion del travajo...” Archivo General de Simancas—*Casa y Sitios Reales*, leg. 261, f. 586. Also excerpted in Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 246, n. 25.

³²⁴ “[Y] asimismo escrivi que eran menester jaspes negro e marmol de Carara y brocatelo para hazer los Reyes y adorno que va alderedor v.m. me mande avisar que lo que me fuere mandado hare y no otra cosa, pero mettase en consideracion que despues no se hara como yo lo hare esta provision estando aqui y bien lo puede creer v.m.” Pérez de Tudela, “Marmi e pietre dure,” 148.

bronze. However the bronze elements can be deduced from Pompeo's assertion that to make the *entierros*, assistants from the Milanese foundry would be required. Perhaps, in line with the original stipulation in the 1579 contract, the bodies were to be bronze with the heads and hands in a stone approximating flesh. Of the three stones Pompeo names, the black jasper was to be used as the lectern covering, the Carrara marble for flesh, and the *brocatel*, also known as Sienese marble or *giallo senese* for its distinctive yellow color, might have been planned for the pillows. There is no mention at this stage of the capes, so it is possible the *brocatel* was intended for their elaborate heraldry. It is more likely, however, that Pompeo refers to materials specifically for use in making the items he lists.

It appears that Pompeo's request to return to Spain with select assistants was met with approval, and by 1592 the following people had traveled from Italy to join his foundry in Madrid: his son Miguel Ángel Leoni, his son-in-law and sculptor Milán Vimercado, the sculptor Giusepe di Luciano, the caster Pietro Bosso, and the engravers and chasers Baltasar Mariano and Francisco de la Iglesia.³²⁵ The casting of the *entierros* did not begin until after the *retablo mayor* was completed in March 1590, and the next mention of Pompeo's involvement with the lateral niche project was the February 1591 letter quoted above.³²⁶ For the next decade, the tomb sculptures underwent various iterations and transformations, with the gilded bronzes making up only a part.

In the Madrid workshop, Pompeo and his sculptors produced plaster versions of the *entierros* before the waxes for the bronzes were prepared. These plasters were delivered to El Escorial by July 8, 1593 when royal secretary Juan de Ibarra wrote to the prior,

³²⁵ Bustamante García, "Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV)," 157-58; and Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 207.

³²⁶ Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 202.

my sculptor Pompeo Leoni makes certain bronze figures for the entierros of said monastery. They have made a number of figures in plaster in the city of Madrid and they have brought them here in order to gauge the most suitable arrangement for the stated bronze figures and because some *oficiales* who have worked on them have come for that purpose, they are to be paid their salaries that they have earned working on the project in Madrid.³²⁷

The plasters seem to have satisfied two purposes. Firstly, as stated, they were to ensure an ideal fit within the lateral niche space before work on the final bronzes took place. This would have allowed sculptors within Pompeo's studio to adjust any ill-fitting details before casting the composition and figures in unforgiving bronze. They were only briefly installed before they were removed to fulfill their second function, namely to be painted, gilded, and reinstalled in the niches while Pompeo and his workshop labored on the bronze groups. Between July and November 1593, Nicolás Granello, Fabrizio Castello, and Juan Gómez painted and gilded the plaster figures, which were installed in 1594.³²⁸ The time and energy invested to produce plaster versions of the bronze sculptures indicates how meaningful it was to Philip to have devotional proxies present to participate in the salvation promised by the *capilla mayor*.

Before the workshop progressed to the point of sculpting the plaster figures in 1593, however, the process of determining the composition and materials that Pompeo and his team were to utilize was already underway, as a number of documents indicate. As early as February 2, 1591, Pompeo was already touting the commission for the *entierros*, as previously discussed. Just a few months later, on April 21, 1591, secretary Mateo Vázquez compiled for Philip the final wishes of a number of his now deceased family members, requesting to be buried together

³²⁷ “Ponpeo Leoni mi escultor haga ciertas figuras de bronze para los entierros del dicho monasterio se han hecho algunas de yesso en la villa de Madrid y traydo se aqui para ver en la forma que conviene se pongan las dichas figuras de bronze y porque para ello vinieron algunos officiales y personas que han trauxado en ellas y es justo que el dho que se entre tuieron a que se les paguen los salarios y jornadas que han ganado en Madrid traaujando en la dicha obra.” Archivo del Palacio Real—*El Escorial Patronato*, leg. 1823, libro 3 (1588-1620), leg. 1823, f. 125v-126r.

³²⁸ Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 199; Bustamante García, “Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV),” 157.

or as Charles V saw fit. He then recommends to the King which family members should be represented alongside Charles V in the north lateral niche:

Order how they are to place the sculptures in the three bays that are in *evangelio* side of the *capilla mayor* of the church of San Lorenzo: the Emperor and Empress, His Majesty's parents, and then behind them the most serene Empress María, his sister who today is still living, and then the sculptures of the most serene Leonora and María, queens of France and Hungary, his aunts. And behind them, those of the most serene *infantes* Don Fernando and Don Juan, His Majesty's brothers.³²⁹

Due to the symmetry between the two niches and groups, it is reasonable to extrapolate that the *entierros* were to number a total of fourteen figures. However between Spring 1591 and when the plasters were nearly finished in Spring 1593, the planners finalized the decision to scale back the project to a more modest, though still ambitious, ten figures, editing out King Philip's brothers entirely.

Due to the number of changes to the commission in terms of materials and figures, and in the absence of a dated contract, it is difficult to locate a specific time when the plans for the lateral niches could have been considered complete. Rosemarie Mulcahy has claimed that April 1, 1592 is the best possible hypothesis for when Pompeo signed the contract for the Charles V group. As evidence, she cites a royal ordinance, now in the Archivo del Palacio Real in Madrid, stating, "A royal ordinance of June 1, 1593, refers to the *entierros* having been ordered and already begun and commands that the monthly payments of fifty ducats to Pompeo should be continued and made retrospective to April 1, 1592. It can reasonably be assumed that this is the

³²⁹ "Declara su Mgd. como se han de poner en los tres arcos que estan en la capilla mayor de la yglesia de Sant Lorenzo a la parte del euangelio, los bultos del Emperador y Emperatriz padres de Su Magd., y luego tras ellos el de la Serenisima Emperatriz doña Maria su hermana, que oy viue, y luego los bultos de las serenissimas doña Leonor, y doña Maria reynas de Francia y Ungria sus tias, y detras de ellos los de los serenissimos ynfantes don Fernando y don Joan hermanos de Su Mgd." Instituto Valenciano de Don Juan—*Envío* 61 (I), f. 396-403. Also in Bustamante García, "Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV)," 155.

date of the contract.”³³⁰ Her underlying conclusion about the date of the lost contract is based on the evidence, as explained in a footnote, that “[t]he *cédula* refers to a contract made in Madrid with the royal notary, Gaspar Testa; it also mentions bronze.”³³¹ The actual text of the ordinance, however, prompts a reinterpretation and clarification of some of the details Mulcahy offers.³³² It never mentions a contract, and it seems as though the meeting with Gaspar Testa was to agree to a new annual salary as a result of all of the work Pompeo had done for El Escorial. It states,

Pompeo Leoni, our sculptor, has served us for thirty-four years to this end and particularly in the making of the figures and other ornaments in bronze that are placed on the altarpiece, *custodia*, and *entierros* of the monastery of St. Lorenzo el Real, which has occupied him for the past twelve years. In remuneration and compensation, payment will be released and set aside by public deed for all of it and for whichever other salaries relate to all of the above. It has been awarded in the presence of our notary Gaspar Testa in the city of Madrid. We have valued it, at present amongst other things, as the stated five hundred *ducados*, which he will have from me annually.³³³

In addition to misstating the amount of his salary as 50 instead of 500 *ducados* a year, Mulcahy also dates the ordinance to June 1593, which is off by a year. The document was signed in Burgos on behalf of Philip II on September 7, 1592 and requests that payments will be issued “...to the stated Pompeo Leoni and to his heirs and successors and to whomever else according to him, from this present year of 1592, the fifth of April...going forward every year.”³³⁴ The backdating of payments to April 5, not April 1, is mentioned again: “from the fifth of the month

³³⁰ Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 202.

³³¹ Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 246 n. 29.

³³² Archivo del Palacio Real, El Escorial Patronato, leg. 1823, libro 3, fols. 112v-113v.

³³³ “Pompeo Leonio nro scultro nos ha seruido de treynta y quatro años a esta parte y particularmente en hazer las figuras y los demas ornamentos de bronze que estan puestos en el retablo custodia y entierros del monasterio de Sant Lorenço el real en que se ha ocupado por tiempo de doze años y en renumeracio recompense y paga de todo ello y por otras quales quier pertensiones que tenia/tema de todas las quales sea exonerado y apartado por scriptura publica ha otorgado ante Gaspar Testa nro scriuano y del numero de la villa de ma^d le hauemos hecho mrd como por la presente le hazemos entre otras cosas de los dichos quinientos ducados para [que] los haya y tenga de mi en cada un año.” Archivo del Palacio Real—*El Escorial Patronato*, leg. 1823, libro 3, ff. 112v.

³³⁴ “al dicho Pompeo Leoni y a los dichos sus herederos y subçesores o a quien por el a ellos lo houieren de hauer este presente año de quinientos y nouenta y dos desde el dicho dia cinco de abril” Archivo del Palacio Real—*El Escorial Patronato*, leg. 1823, libro 3, f. 113r.

of April of this present year of 1592.”³³⁵ The most that one can conclude from this document is that Pompeo had secured the commission for the *entierros* by the dating of the ordinance for it to have been included in the list of work that he had been performing for the monastery. It is possible that Pompeo’s annual salary changed on April 5, 1592 due to the official signing of the *entierros* contract, but the circumstances remain. These corrections to the inherited timeline are important in that they shed new light on the changes that the project underwent. Instead of direct and clear amendments to a fixed concept, the artistic processes proceeded, much like the *retablo mayor*, in a series of compromises and negotiations that are pertinent to understating the *entierros*.

There are so few comparative bronze projects of this scale and scope in the sixteenth century that details about the preparation, casting, and finishing processes have remained vague to modern scholars, with art historians relying heavily on the work of conservators and technical studies to understand how bronzes were made. In the case of the two sculpture groups, extant archival materials allow for a reconstruction of the distinct phases of designing, modeling, casting, chasing/finishing, and gilding that constituted the making of the *entierros*, as well as the participation of the artists to whom the work was entrusted.

In the case of the Charles V group, Pompeo and his workshop tackled the design between 1591 and 1593. In 1592, the sculptures themselves were at an undeterminable state, but enough decisions had been made to begin obtaining the necessary resources. From Valladolid on August 5, 1592, Philip commanded that Pedro de Padilla, the castellan of Milan’s Castello Sforzesco, “give to the person named by Pompeo Leoni, my sculptor, up to twenty thousand pounds of rosette copper and five thousand of tin from the castle’s stores that are necessary for certain work

³³⁵ “desde cinco dias del mes de abril pasado deste presente año de quinientos y nouenta y dos.” Archivo del Palacio Real—*El Escorial Patronato*, leg. 1823, libro 3, f. 112v.

on my behalf that I have ordered him to do.”³³⁶ Rosette copper is copper that has been smelted and refined into highly pure cakes, as can be seen in a woodcut from Georgius Agricola’s 1556 mining treatise *De Re Metallica*. [Fig. 4.17] More compositional details had been worked out by May 3, 1593, when Nicolás de Campis, who also worked on the designs for the heraldic shields above the lateral niches, received payment for performing similar work for the heraldry on the capes for four of the figures.³³⁷ Just over a year later, on July 16, 1594, Jacopo da Trezzo “El Mozo” and Giovanni Pablo Cambiago began carving black jasper for the capes of Charles V and Empress María, and their accounts for that project were closed out on January 16, 1597.³³⁸ While the artists responsible for carving the imperial eagles were consistent between the capes and shield above, it’s possible that they used a different black stone for the capes, since Pompeo’s letter from 1588 makes apparent that attempts were made to secure black jasper from Italy as well as the black jasper from Mérida used for the shield.³³⁹ cursory visual analysis shows that they secured each eagle to a sheet of metal that was then screwed on to the main “body” of the capes. [Fig. 4.5]

With the plaster sculptures successfully assessed for fit, Milán Vimercado, Antón de Morales, and Miguel Ángel Leoni began work on the waxes for three of the figures on October 1, 1594. The monthly payment records extend until January 13, 1596 for their work on Empress Isabel (valued at 110 *ducados*), María of Hungary (also 110 *ducados*), and Leonora of France (100 *ducados*).³⁴⁰ The Madrid workshop seems to have progressed slowly but steadily on the five

³³⁶ “[Q]ue de la municion desse castillo se den a la persona que Pompeo Leoni mi escultor nombrare hasta veynte mill libras de cobre de roseta y cinco mill destaño que ha menester para cierta obra de mi seruicio que le he mandado hazer.” Bustamante García, “Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV),” 156.

³³⁷ Bustamante García, “Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV),” 157.

³³⁸ Bustamante García, “Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV),” 159.

³³⁹ See footnotes 321-323 for archival mentions of black jasper from Spain and Italy, respectively.

³⁴⁰ “A Miguel Angel Leoni y Milan de Vimercado y Antonio de Morales escultores 107712 mrs. a buena quenta de lo que montase el reparar y acauar en toda perficion las tres figuras de cera de la Reyna de

figures for the northern niche, likely having completed the casting of the group and the prie-dieu by Spring 1596. At that point, silver and goldsmiths dominated the work on the figures, indicating that the figures were ready for finishing, chasing, and repairing. On April 2, 1596, silversmith Antonio Rabanal assumed responsibility for the Charles V group.³⁴¹ A few months later, on October 14, 1596, another silversmith, Felipe Tudesco, was hired for work on the group's prie-dieu, likely attending to the elaborate punching and surface treatment required by the decorative brocade design on the lectern's cover.³⁴²

The most notable addition to the project was silversmith Juan de Arfe y Villafañe who, by the time he was hired in 1596, had established himself as an exceptional artist and influential theoretician.³⁴³ Known primarily for his large and ornate monstrances for major cathedrals throughout Spain, he also studied anatomy at the university in Salamanca and wrote the first sculptural and metallurgical treatises in Spanish.³⁴⁴ On November 30, 1596, Juan de Arfe was brought in to tend to the most intricate and difficult features on the sculptures of Charles V and Empress Isabel. According to a later memo directed to Philip's successor, his son Philip III, the silversmith's original role was to finish the statues, focusing specifically on the apostles along

Francia hermana del Emperador nuestro Señor y de la Emperatriz nuestra Señora y de la reyna Maria ansimismo hermana del hdo Emperador." Bustamante García, "Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV)," 159.

³⁴¹ Bustamante García, "Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV)," 159.

³⁴² Bustamante García, "Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV)," 159.

³⁴³ A third generation silversmith whose father moved to Spain from Leon, Juan de Arfe was born in Valladolid in 1535. For a comprehensive biography, see María Jesús Sanz Serrano, "Arfe y Villafañe, Juan de," in *Diccionario Biográfico Español*, vol. V (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2009), 183-88.

³⁴⁴ His treatises were *Quliatador de oro, plata y piedras* (Valladolid, 1572, 1598, and 1678) and *De Varia Commensuración para esulptura y la arquitectura* (Seville, 1587). He also published a text in 1587 to accompany his recently completed commission for the silver *custodia* for the cathedral of Seville entitled *Descripción de la traça y ornato de la custodia de plata de la Sancta Iglesia de Sevilla*. A major figure of the Spanish Renaissance, Juan de Arfe and his texts have been the subject of analyses too numerous to encapsulate here. For a recent study in English on the artistic and medical implications of *Varia commensuración*, see Bjørn Okholm Skaarup, *Anatomy and Anatomists in Early Modern Spain* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), 246-256.

the edge of Charles's cape—reliefs of incredible detail and modeling [Figs. 4.18-20]—and the Empress Isabel's head, skirt, ruff, and jewels [Figs. 4.4 and 4.21].³⁴⁵

Since the figural groups were cast in separate parts, the fire-gilding could occur in stages, as the individual pieces were brought to suitable degrees of finish. Payments to the silversmith Martín Pardo, who also gilded the sculptures for the high altarpiece, began on June 10, 1594 and ended on November 10, 1598.³⁴⁶ While payment records do not line up perfectly with the timeframe for the completion of the work, it is likely that Pardo began fire gilding in late 1594. With enough casting completed in 1595 and finishing and chasing taking place throughout 1596, as just discussed, he likely worked steadily on gilding segments of the Charles V ensemble until they were ready to be installed as a group. Scholars are not in agreement about when these sculptures were completed, with Bustamante García and Mulcahy citing early 1597 as a likely date due to the fact that Pompeo signed the extant contract for the Philip II in April of that year.³⁴⁷ However, when examining the text of that contract, which I will return to shortly and in greater detail, it states the group was not yet completed: “Five of the figures with the one prie-dieu that are to be put on the *evangelio* side are already cast and are being cleaned.”³⁴⁸ More recently Almudena Pérez de Tudela has suggested the group was not in place before October 1598, and this later date is more likely.³⁴⁹ Firstly, there is a payment for November 1598 that lists

³⁴⁵ “[E]n reparar los apóstoles de la capa de la figura de bronce del Emperador, y la cabeza, saya, gorguera y joyas de la señora Emperatriz.” Bustamante García, “Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV),” 159, n. 49.

³⁴⁶ Bustamante García, “Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV),” 159 and 166, n. 51.

³⁴⁷ Bustamante García, “Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV),” 159; and Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 207.

³⁴⁸ “[L]as cinco de ellas con el vn sitial que se han de poner a la parte del euangelio estan ya fundidas y reparandose.” AGS: CSR, leg. 304, fol. 233. The verb “reparar” does not mean “to repair,” but rather is a more technical term that refers to removing the defects on the surface after the bronze is removed from its investment. Real Academia Española: “Reparar: Dar la última mano a su obra para quitarle los defectos que saca del molde.”

³⁴⁹ Pérez de Tudela, “Marmi e pietre dure,” 151.

the artists responsible for overseeing their eleven-day installation.³⁵⁰ Secondly, the plaster versions were still in place throughout 1597, as they were removed and sent back to Pompeo's Madrid workshop on January 30, 1598.³⁵¹ The final date for Pardo's compensation for fire-gilding the group, then, aligns with the extended timeline for when the Charles V group was designed (1591-1593), modeled in wax and cast (likely 1593 through 1596), chased and finished (particularly 1596-1597), and gilded (1594-1598). Even though the *evangelio* niche was only completed at the end of 1598, Pompeo and his core team had already turned their attention to Philip's group by April 1597.

With the general forms and composition of the Philip II group already established by the 1593 plasters, the process for the southern lateral niche went quickly compared to its northern counterpart. Unlike the Charles V group, there is an extant contract for the figures of the king and his family that Pompeo and royal secretary Juan de Ibarra, on behalf of the King, signed on April 24, 1597 in Madrid, in the presence of Baltasar Perez, Juan Bautista del Corete and Pasqual Trujillano, residents of the court.³⁵² Pompeo and his *oficiales* had eighteen months to make the figures, a window that had begun January 1, 1597 and was to expire at the end of June 1598. In compensation for the five figures and the remaining prie-dieu, Pompeo was to be paid 7,000 *ducados* in two installments, with the king's treasury bearing the cost of materials: 1,000 *ducados* up front, which he had already received, and the remaining 6,000 "after said figures are

³⁵⁰ "Milán Vimercado, sculptor, and Pedro Castello, Italian marble workers, and Andres Florenti and Andres de Baldobiba, laborers, were paid for 'the eleven days that they spent in placing and fixing the bronze figures of the Emperor in the *entierros* of the church and for the cost of hiring the carts in which they came from Madrid.'" Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 207.

³⁵¹ Bustamante García, "Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV)," 159.

³⁵² The contract has three dates. It mentions that the page was signed in Madrid on April 24 and then confirmed and authenticated by Juan de Ibarra in two addenda dated April 25 and May 3, 1597. Archivo General de Simancas—*Casa y Sitios Reales*, leg. 304, fol. 233.

installed as they are to remain.”³⁵³ As with the contract for the *retablo mayor*, the contract also put certain incentives and penalties in place should the workshop finish either early or late. For each month before the June 1598 deadline, Pompeo would be paid an extra 200 *ducados* while the same amount would be deducted from the remaining 6,000 *ducados* for each month should his work be late.

The 1597 contract focuses on just five figures and one lectern and addresses Pompeo alone, thereby providing specifics as to the casting that, in the case of the Charles V group, can only be deduced by archival reconstruction. The contract for the Philip II group articulates the often overlooked, or rather unstated, stages and expertise required to cast and finish a bronze object. Frequently collapsed under the auspices of a single author, this commission lays bare the required labor and exchange of objects at a local level between multiple teams and workshop spaces.

The group had been designed between 1591 and 1593 when the plaster versions were approved and installed. As the contract states, the casting of the figures did not begin until 1597 and Pompeo was to “give them cast in bronze to utter perfection and His Majesty’s satisfaction but not cleaned, conforming to the order that he has eighteen months starting on the first of January of this present year 1597 onward and will finish by the end of June in the coming year, 1598.”³⁵⁴ The command to cast the figures but leave them to be cleaned and finished by someone else follows the pattern indicated by the archival materials around the Charles V group, in which the cleaning, finishing, and fire-gilding were entrusted to silver and goldsmiths. Pompeo finished

³⁵³ “[L]uego que esten asentadas las dichas figuras como han de quedar.” Archivo General de Simancas—*Casa y Sitios Reales*, leg. 304, fol. 233.

³⁵⁴ “[L]as dara fundidas de bronce en toda perfeccion a satisfaccion de Su Magd., conforme a la orden que tiene, dentro de diez y ocho meses que corran y se quenten desde primero de enero deste presente año de quinientos y nouenta y siete en adelante y se cumpliran en fin de junio del venidero de quinientos y nouenta y ocho, mas no reparadas.” Archivo General de Simancas—*Casa y Sitios Reales*, leg. 304, fol. 233.

the figures in September 1597, only three months behind schedule, and it is impossible to know whether he completed the task before Philip II died on the 13th of that month.³⁵⁵

The contract required that the cape for the Philip II figure be cast separately with its own individual deadline. “Additionally Pompeo commits himself to [make] the cape for the figure of the King, which is one of the five [figures] that are yet to be made. He will give it cast entirely in bronze in the upcoming month of May of this year so that they can carve and fit the stones that are to be put on it.”³⁵⁶ The cape was ready by August 1597 when Juan Pablo Cambiago, Jacome Trezzo “El Mozo” and Francisco del Gasto began the work in a variety of jaspers and lapis lazuli.³⁵⁷ For this commission, the carvers, the same employed for a majority of the lateral niche’s precious stone work, finished their section of the project in 1598 when Francisco del Gasto was paid 650 *ducados* and a new suit of clothing, and a further 320 *ducados* for his work specifically on the cape for the figure of Queen Isabel.³⁵⁸ The contract and archival documents do not illuminate to whom the cleaning and finishing were entrusted nor the timeframe in which such work was completed. With the figures and prie-dieu cast by September 1598 and the gilding finished in 1600 with the help of Juan de Borja, we can only deduce that finishing occurred largely in 1599.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁵ Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 204.

³⁵⁶ “[Y] assimismo se obliga el dicho Pompeo que el manto de la figura del Rey nuestro señor, que es vna de las cinco que faltan por hazer, le dara fundido de bronce en todo el mes de mayo que viene deste año para que se puedan yr labrando y ajustando las piedras que se han de poner en el.” Archivo General de Simancas—*Casa y Sitios Reales*, leg. 304, fol. 233.

³⁵⁷ Bustamante García, “Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV),” 159.

³⁵⁸ Archivo General de Simancas—*Casa y Sitios Reales*, leg. 302, f. 141. See also Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 207 and 247, n. 41.

³⁵⁹ Bustamante García, “Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV),” 159.

After a nearly decade-long process, the final sculpture group had been successfully installed by October 22, 1600.³⁶⁰ The contract had instructed that “after being gilded and in the required form, Pompeo Leoni will put and install all ten figures and two prie-dieux in the area and location in the monastery of San Lorenzo el Real where they are to remain forever.”³⁶¹ This phrasing—that the praying proxies will occupy that specific site permanently—punctuates how imbricated durability, medium, and materials were to Philip II’s expectations for the project.

Eternal Devotion and Salvation through Sculptural Rhetoric of Permanence

As markers of the Hapsburg’s adherence to Tridentine policies about the adoration of the Eucharist, the *entierros* portraits are at once part of the devotional space yet separated, aspiring to a permanence that the physical bodies of the family members could not achieve. Philip II opted for sculpture as the medium to best manifest this ambition, in spite of a reported personal predilection for painting. For example, in 1560, Leone Leoni wrote to royal advisor Cardinal Granvelle to encourage commissioning a design for Charles V’s tomb monument, to which Granvelle responded, “you can remember that I have always told you that my patron is a greater friend to painting than to sculpture.”³⁶² If not determined by royal taste, Philip’s eventual choice of sculpture for the Escorial *entierros* was guided instead by the spiritual and political goals driving the sculptural commission. By installing sculptures consistent with the materials and visual effects of the *retablo mayor*, the artists established concrete connections between the

³⁶⁰ Bustamante García, “Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV),” 161. See also Mulcahy, *Decoration of the Royal Basilica*, 207.

³⁶¹ “[T]odas la diez figuras y dos sitiales, despues que esten doradas y en la forma que huieren de estar, las ha de poner y asentar el dicho Pompeo Leoni en la parte y lugar que huieren de estar para siempre en el dicho monasterio de St. Lorenzo el Real.” Archivo General de Simancas—*Casa y Sitios Reales*, leg. 304, f. 233.

³⁶² Dated October 6, 1560. “vi potete ricordare che vi ho sempre detto che’l mio patrone et pui amico dela pittura che dela sculptura.” Real Biblioteca—*Correspondencia del cardenal Granvela II/2210*, f. 7.

complex's liturgical epicenter and the Hapsburg figural proxies. The contract stated explicit expectations that these sculptures perform their prayers "para siempre," capitalizing on the rhetorical permanence of the sculptural medium that was achieved through their materials, thereby enriching the commemorative and devotional function of the tomb monuments.

Sculpture had been praised in particular for its longevity as far back as Theophilus in his *De diversis artibus*, written in the twelfth century, and well into the sixteenth century. Artists and humanists articulated such perspectives, and Benedetto Varchi's solicitations for opinions from contemporary practitioners as to which art—painting or sculpture—was the more noble (the *paragone*), generated responses that articulated the traits and merits of both media. The durability of an object was a consistent thread in Medieval and Renaissance thinking about art, and sculpture, on the whole, was considered the more permanent. Cellini summarized this perception when he wrote, "one can see that a painting lives for very few years, and a sculpture is nearly immortal."³⁶³ (The sculptor was so taken with this concept that he wrote a sonnet extolling the virtue.³⁶⁴)

³⁶³ "Ancora si vede che una pittura vive molti pochi anni, e quella di scultura è quasi eterna." Published for the first time in the appendix of *Oratione o vero Discorso di M. Giovan Maria Tarsia, fatto nell'essequie del divino Michelagnolo Buonarroti*. Florence, Sermartelli, 1564. Benvenuto Cellini, "Disputa infra la Scultura e la Pittura, avendo il nostro luogotenente, datoci da cusa eccellenza illustrissima, preso la parte dei pittori e nel mirabile essequio del gran Michelangelo di propria potenza posta la Pittura a mano destra e la Scultura a sinistra," in *Scritti d'Arte del Cinquecento III: Pittura e Scultura*, ed. Paola Barocchi (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1978), III: 596.

³⁶⁴ Sonnet XII:

Lustrante, eterna e gloriosa e bella,
felicie se' più d'ogni altra immortale;
non ci è arte o scienza a te rivale; se' come 'l sol è 'n ciel più d'ogni stella.
Son crudel l'arme in questa parte e 'n quella; son polve al vento le parole equale;
la cierasia è a te sorella tale;
pur, rappezzando altrui, resta tua ancella.
Socrate ti lasciò quand'io ti presi, cagion che me' d'ogni altro al mondo disse, da terra
acviese alla maggiore altura.
Lieve senti 'l parlar, non quei gran pesi
dove la mente, l'alma, il corpo fisse:
più val nostra immortal sacra scultura.

There was no better evidence for this argument than the wealth of antique statues that survived into the sixteenth century. As part of a long list of sculpture's advantages, Raffaele Borghini, author of *Il Riposo* (1564), explained, "sculpture is more enduring and nearly eternal, therefore it keeps for many centuries, as one can see in so many antique statues, so it more closely approaches perfection; and painting, as it is more vulnerable to time, is more related to imperfect and corruptible things."³⁶⁵ The counter-argument to these claims to excellence was that the cause of this perceived incorruptibility lay not in the skill of the artist, but rather in the nature of the materials themselves. In his letter to Varchi, the painter Bronzino attributed to painting's detractors the stance, "they say, responding to the first reason where it states that sculpture is more durable for being in a more solid state, that this should not be attributed to art, because it has not been within the power of art but of nature to make marble, porphyry, or other stones so. Nor does this art suit somewhat excessive praise, any more if its substance was perhaps clay, wax, stucco, or wood, or another less durable material, exercising, as everyone knows, the art only on the surface."³⁶⁶ By underscoring the sculptor's limitations—in an art that ultimately involves the fashioning of surfaces—the choice of material became all the more crucial to ensure endurance.

Benvenuto Cellini, "Sonetti, intorno alla disputa di precedenza fra la Scultura e la Pittura," in *Scritti d'Arte del Cinquecento III: Pittura e Scultura*, ed. Paola Barocchi (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1978), III: 608.

³⁶⁵ "La nona è che la scultura è più durevole e quasi eterna, perciocchè si mantiene molti secoli, come in tante statue antiche si può vedere, perciò si avvicina più alla perfezione; e la pittura, come più sottoposta al tempo, è più simile alle cose corruttibili et imperfette." Raffaele Borghini, "*Il Riposo*" in *Scritti d'Arte del Cinquecento III: Pittura e Scultura*, ed. Paola Barocchi (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1978), III: 675-76.

³⁶⁶ "...[D]icono, rispondendo quanto alla prima ragione, dove si dice la scultura essere più durevole per essere in più saldo subbietto, che questo non si debbe attribuire all'arte, perché non è stato in poter dell'arte il fare il marmo o 'l porfido o l'altre pietre, ma della natura, né in questo si conviene a l'arte lode alcuna di più, se non come se il suo subbietto fosse terra o cera o stucco o legname, o altra material manco durabile, esercitandosi, come ognuno sa, solo l'arte nella superficie." Bronzino, "Lettere di Artisti a Benedetto Varchi," in *Scritti d'Arte del Cinquecento III: Pittura e Scultura*, ed. Paola Barocchi (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1978), III: 502.

The ability for a sculpture to last, in other words, was inherent to the substances used, while these materials, in turn, imbued sculpture with the quality of endurance. This capacity extended beyond sculptures as well, as Vasari indicated in his chapter on “Oil Painting on Stone.” After referring to Genoese flagstones, *breccia* marble, serpentine, and porphyry as possible supports for paintings, he stated, “[t]hese, provided they are worked with diligence and care, endure forever. They may or may not be varnished, just as you like, because the stone does not suck up, that is, absorb as much as the panel or canvas, and it is impervious to worms, which cannot be said for wooden panels.”³⁶⁷ It is the materials that render objects invulnerable, and Leonardo da Vinci wrote specifically about sculpture’s ability to withstand the elements. “The sculptor says that his art is more virtuous than painting, aware that it is more eternal because it does not fear humidity, fire, heat, or cold as much as painting does.” He again insists that this only undermines a sculptor’s craft, claiming “such permanence is born from the material, not the artistry.”³⁶⁸ Benedetto Varchi, who like Leonardo eventually argued for painting’s superiority, could not undermine the natural qualities and value that materials brought to statues. Referring to supporters of sculpture, he writes, “They also argue for the longevity through time, saying that sculpture is nearly eternal, being a great deal more impervious even to rain, fire, and other accidents than painting.”³⁶⁹ Here, Varchi’s rhetorical arguments open a window onto practical

³⁶⁷ “le quali si rendono durabili in infinito, pur che con diligenza siano lauorate & possonsi, & non si possono vernicare, come altrui piace, perche la pietra non prosciuga, cioè’, non sorbisce, quanto fa la tauola, & la tela.” Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de Piu Eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, et Scultori Italiani* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino impressor ducale, 1550), 88. Translated in Giorgio Vasari, *Vasari on Technique*, trans. Louisa S. Maclehorse (New York: Dover Publications, 1960), 239.

³⁶⁸ “Dice lo scultore la sua arte essere più degna che lla pittura, conciosa che quella è più eterna per temer meno l’umido, el foco, el caldo, el freddo, che la pittura. A costui si risponde che questa tal [478] cosa non fa più dignità nello scultore, perché tal permanenza nasce dalla materiale, e non dall’artefice...” Leonardo da Vinci, “Il Pittore e Scultore,” in *Scritti d’Arte del Cinquecento III: Pittura e Scultura*, ed. Paola Barocchi (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1978), III: 477-78. Originally from 1492’s Codex Urbinas Latinus 1270, ff. 21v.

³⁶⁹ Varchi also cites classical sculptures as evidence for this perception. “Argomentano ancora dalla lunchezza del tempo, dicendo che la scultura è quasi perpetua, non essendo sottoposta né a piogge, né a

concerns shared by artists and patrons. If certain media were seen as longer lasting, which materials were the best vehicles for achieving such longevity? Stone and bronze, far more than wax, terracotta, alabaster, or wood, were considered particularly successful in staving off the effects of time and environment, as Leonardo and Varchi described.

The Leoni and Jacopo da Trezzo demonstrated an awareness of differences in the durability of various sculptural media, at a very early stage in the planning of the heraldic shields that topped the lateral niches. Jacopo da Trezzo wrote to Philip II to apprise the king of the decision, made in concert with architect Juan de Herrera, to construct them out of precious stones: “In regard to the arms, stone seems a good choice in place of the silver, and it is from necessity that we do so, because silver, as Your Majesty knows, oxidizes with time and no longer looks like silver.”³⁷⁰ Even though the sculptures in the *capilla mayor* were displayed indoors, there was enough unease as to the eventual discoloration of silver, the initial choice, that the experienced artists modified the plans in favor of less mutable materials.

The hardstones of the *escudos* also came with the added political connotations of the acquisition of marbles and colored stones from abroad. In his defense of sculpture to Varchi, Francesco Sangallo described the difficulty experienced by sculptors in obtaining the requisite materials for a project: “I say that [sculpture’s] first problem is that the sculptor needs to supply the materials, that is to say the marble and tools to work it, because, speaking of sculpture, it is essential to speak of marble and not bronze or other materials that are all inferior to marble,

fuoco et altri accidenti a gran pezzo quanto la pittura; il che apparisce nelle statue antiche, delle quali se ne truovano infinite.” Benedetto Varchi, “Qual sia più nobile, o la Scultura o la Pittura,” in *Scritti d’Arte del Cinquecento III: Pittura e Scultura*, ed. Paola Barocchi (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1978), III: 532.

³⁷⁰ “[Y] en lo que toca a las armas en lugar de la plata, que sea de piedra le parece bien, y es de necessita que se aga, porque la plata como V.M. save luego se toma y no parecera mas plata.” Babelon, *Jacopo da Trezzo*, 282-83. Also cited in Pérez de Tudela, “Marmi e pietre dure,” 145.

which costs so much, and is impossible to obtain without the help of a republic or prince.”³⁷¹

Sangallo singles out the need for the mediating influence of patrons and the diplomacy necessary to acquire marble as a particular challenge. Collecting stone, then, can imply that a patron or artist has the legal recourse, interpersonal connections, finances, and craftspeople to acquire and work the material. As evidenced throughout the construction of El Escorial’s *capilla mayor*, the Hapsburgs regularly relied on their imperial networks to obtain the stones best suited and most desired for the project. Pompeo, while still in Italy, offered in January 1588 to obtain and provide black jasper, Carrara marble, and *brocatel*. While Pompeo does not specify the source of the black jasper, the other stones would have required his coordination with, respectively, quarries along the Tuscan coast and the Montagnola Senese region near Siena.³⁷²

Pompeo’s letter from 1588 indicates that initially he intended even the *entierros* to be largely in stone. The decision to abandon the plans for stone portraits in favor of bronze embraced the latter material’s reputation for being the most enduring, more so than even marble.³⁷³ Leonardo, who had proposed making a bronze equestrian monument for the Duke of Milan, recognized that “the sculptor, if he works in clay or wax, can subtract and fix, and when it is done, it can easily be cast in bronze; and this is the final procedure and the most permanent that sculpture has. In as much as that which is only marble is susceptible to ruin, it is not the

³⁷¹ “...dico che la prima sua difficultà che ha lo scultore si è il provvedere la material, cioè il marmo e gli strumenti per lavorar quello, perché, parlando della scultura, bisogna parlare del marmo e non bronzo o altre materie, che sonno tutte inferior al marmo, e perciò dico che bisogna provvedere il marmo, quale costa assai danari, e non può ciò conseguire senza l’aiuto o di una republica o di un principe...”
Francesco Sangallo, “Lettere di Artisti a Benedetto Varchi,” in *Scritti d’Arte del Cinquecento III: Pittura e Scultura*, ed. Paola Barocchi (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1978), III: 512.

³⁷² See footnotes 321-323 for letters written on Jan. 2 and 29, 1588. For the source of *brocatel*, see Timothy B. Smith, “Politics and Antiquity in the Baptist’s Chapel Façade,” in *Art as Politics in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena*, ed. Timothy B. Smith and Judith B. Steinhoff (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 155.

³⁷³ To my knowledge, there is no extant documentation that describes when or why the sculptures were made in bronze, although the decision was reached as early as 1593, when the plaster versions were made and painted to mimic the effects of fully gilded figures.

same for bronze.”³⁷⁴ The larger artistic team behind the *capilla mayor* intentionally moved away from carving the tomb monuments in stone, opting instead for bronze, a material that, within the contemporary hierarchy, was the most enduring, the most indestructible, and the summit of the medium’s potential.³⁷⁵ Pompeo applied these artistic virtues and resonances to the Hapsburg portraits, ensuring that the figures, cast in bronze, could perform ideal post-Tridentine devotion in perpetuity.

As artists and humanists regularly cited, the excavations of antique statuary shaped the early modern belief that a statue could more easily survive the ill effects of climate and time. Their rediscovery also reinscribed bronze as the classical sculptural material *par excellence* for both durability and therefore commemoration. From the point of view of the interlocutor “Sculptor,” Florentine scholar and writer Anton Francesco Doni lauded statues made “in the hardest materials, bronzes and other metals,”³⁷⁶ underscoring the inherent quality of bronze and metals—namely, their durability—that made the medium so suitable for public remembrance. Writers and artists regularly theorized the link between medium, time, materials, and effective memorialization, and Leone Leoni made this connection in a letter written in 1548 when the sculptor was still desperate for his first large-scale sculptural commission. He advocated the idea that “in Italy, namely here in Milan, there would remain some eternal remembrance so that present and future people can see the effigy and part of the victories of His Majesty.

³⁷⁴ “Ancora lo soltore, se fa di terro o ciera, può levare e porre, e quando è termnata con facilità si gitta di bronzo; e questa è l’ultima operazione e la più permanente ch’abbi la scultura. Imperocché quella ch’è sola di marmo è sottoposta alle rovine, e non lo bronzo.” Leonardo da Vinci, “Come la Scultura è di minore ingegno che la Pittura, e mancano in lei molte parti naturali,” in *Scritti d’Arte del Cinquecento III: Pittura e Scultura*, ed. Paola Barocchi (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1978), III: 481. Originally in Ms. Ashburnham 2038, ff. 25, 24v and 1492’s Codex Urbinas Latinus 1270, f. 23v.

³⁷⁵ This is a purely rhetorical characterization of the material, as bronze objects—cannons, bells, and statues in particular—were susceptible to being melted down and reused.

³⁷⁶ “nelle durissime materie, bronzi & altri metalli...” Anton Francesco Doni, *Disegno* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito di Ferrarii, 1549), 20r.

...[S]culpture does not lessen with age, and this is even more the case with sculptures made in metal.”³⁷⁷ Here, Leone draws on a rich tradition of bronze memorials, popularized by extant examples such as the equestrian monument to Marcus Aurelius in Rome and codified in writings such as Pomponio Gaurico’s 1504 sculptural treatise. In the opening dedication to Hercules Ferrante, Duke of Ferrara, he emphasized, “No other art seems to me more noble or suitable to your immortality than this.”³⁷⁸ This belief was widespread within sixteenth-century court culture and warranted comment by Castiglione in the first book of his *Cortegiano*. Although he asserts a preference for painting, much like Granvelle’s characterization of Philip II’s taste, he acknowledges “Since statues are more durable, perhaps they might claim that they were more dignified; because, being made for remembrance, they are more satisfying than painting to that effect for which they are made. But other than remembrance, painting and sculpture are still made to ornament, and in this painting is far superior.”³⁷⁹ Even while painting serves as the better ornament, to Castiglione at least, it cannot exceed sculpture, nor the longevity imparted by its materials, as the most effective commemorative medium.

In Bronzino’s letter to Varchi, the painter concedes that in regards to the increased difficulty and effort required by carving and casting a sculpture, it,

lasts longer so that one can enjoy it longer, and it refreshes the memory of those times in which or for which it was made.... Sculpture is very magnificent and

³⁷⁷ For full quote and translation, see Chapter II, footnote 34. “[C]he in Italia, cioè qui a Milano, si rimanesse alcuna eterna memoria per la quale i presenti e i futuri huomini potessino vedere l’ effigie, et parte delle vittorie, della Maestà Sua. ...[S]coltura non può venir meno per molte età, et tanto maggiormente, essendo le sculture fatte in metallo.” Archivio di Stato di Parma, Epistolario Scelto 23, 18 (Leone Aretino) f. 32. Undated. The letter was first transcribed in Amadio Ronchini, “Leone Leoni,” *Atti e Memorie delle R. R. deputazioni di Storia Patria, per le provincie Modenesi e Parmensi* III (1865): 24-5 (letter IV). This transcription was later translated into French by Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 37-38.

³⁷⁸ “ningún arte me pareció más noble y adecuado a tu inmortalidad que éste [escultura].” Pomponio Gaurico, *Sobre la Escultura (1504)*, trans. María Elena Azofra (Madrid: AKAL, 1989), 51.

³⁷⁹ “Per esser le statue più durabili, si potria forse dir che fussero di piu dignità: perché essendo fatte per memoria satisfanno più a quello effetto, perche son fatte, che la pittura: ma oltre alla memoria, sono ancora, & la pittura, & la statuaria fatte per ornare: & in questo la pittura è molto superiore.” Baldessar Castiglione, *Il Libro del Cortegiano* (Vinegia: Gabriel Giolito de’ Ferrari, 1556), 84.

amongst the grandest ornament in cities, because with it can be made colossi and statues in bronze and marble and others, which honor illustrious men and adorn the land and inspire those who see them to follow the virtuous works so that they might have similar honors, followed by great fame and effect.³⁸⁰

For the *entierros* at El Escorial, the commemorative potential of the medium—to endure through use of the hardest materials, to celebrate the merits of those portrayed, and to remind viewers to emulate those traits—perfectly enacted the goals of the project. The portraits were perpetual in their active prayer and visually seamless with the saints on the high altarpiece while glorifying the past, present, and future of the dynasty. With three generations represented amongst the ten figures and heraldic shields that emblemize the territories amassed and inherited over decades of Hapsburg rule, the sculptures participate in a space that insists on the legitimacy of the family’s reign and its continuity into the future.

The sculptural medium also enhanced the *entierros*’ more explicitly spiritual function, as the roots of the art form had been closely tethered to the interpretation of God as the first sculptor. Giovan Paolo Lomazzo addressed this in his *Trattato dell’arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura* (1585), explaining “Because everyone knows that at the beginning of the world, before humans were created, the first sculptor was God, who with his own hands, plucking from that elemental virgin earth that he had created, made the form of the first man, and afterwards he

³⁸⁰ “[Q]uando dopo lunga fatica si conduce a somma perfezzione qualche opera, durando lungo tempo tanto più si viene a godere, e così viene più lungamente a rinfrescare la memoria di quelli tempi ne’ quali o per quali ella fu fatta; adunque è più utile che la pittura....la scoltura esser molto magnifica e di grandissimo ornamento nelle cittadi, perché con quella si fanno colossi e statue, sì di bronzo e sì di marmo e d’altro, che fanno onore agli uomini illustri et adornano le terre e pongon voglia, negli uomini che le veggano, di seguitar l’opere virtuose per avere simili onori, onde ne segue grandissima fama e giovamento.” Bronzino, “Lettere di Artisti a Benedetto Varchi,” 500-01. This idea was also asserted by Raffaele Borghini in his *Il Riposo*: “Per la quinta ragione mostrano che la scoltura e la pittura si fanno per adornamento, ma che per la scoltura si drizzano statue e colossi publici in perpetuo onore de’ famosi eroi e con grandissimo adornamento delle città, il che per la pittura apertamente si vede non poter farsi.” Borghini, “*Il Riposo*,” 674-75.

miraculously breathed and introduced the soul.”³⁸¹ Early modern descriptions of the origins of the medium introduced the idea that a body sculpted by divine hands was a repository for the soul, and in this sense, sculpture was ideally suited to tomb monuments. Statues could punctuate the achievements of a given individual whilst immortalizing both body and soul, as encapsulated in Pomponio Gaurico’s praise of the medium:

I would never consider as men those that do not enjoy the art of sculpture. As we are all comprised of soul and body, if some hope of immortality exists, and we do not wish that one part of us lives and the other dies, is there anything more suitable than this art to perpetuate the remembrance of both parts? Is there something nobler in the life of men—since all of us have been born to achieve a mission—than to exercise the spirit through study, and the body through these illustrious arts...³⁸²

Gaurico here relates sculpture’s longevity both to its effectiveness as a memorial to a life well-lived and as a manifestation of aspirations for eternal spiritual salvation.

Just as certain materials were considered more durable than others, certain sculptural techniques bore more intense religious associations. As described by Theophilus in his *De diversis artibus*, metalwork’s sanctity had roots in the Old Testament in practices linking Moses to David and his son Solomon. David entrusted the embellishment of the church to Solomon, giving him “almost all the materials—gold, silver, brass, and iron—for the Lord’s house.”³⁸³

Theophilus explains the justification for such luxury, citing that “the Lord had given instructions

³⁸¹ “Percio che ognuno sà che ne l’istesso principio del mondo, auanti che fosse generato l’huomo, il primo plasticatore fu l’istesso Iddio, il quale con le sue mani proprie pigliando di quella terra vergine elementata ch’egli havea creato, fece la plastica del primo huomo, et doppo miracolosamente gl’inspirò & introdusse l’anima.” Giovan Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell’arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura* (Milan: Paolo Gottardo Pontio, 1585), 10.

³⁸² “Yo no consideraría nunca como hombres a aquellos que no disfrutaran con el arte de la escultura. Pues ya que todos estamos compuestos de alma y cuerpo, si existe alguna esperanza de inmortalidad y no deseamos que una parte de nosotros viva y la otra muera, ¿hay algo más apropiado que este arte para perpetuar el recuerdo de ambas partes?, ¿hay algo más noble en la vida de los hombres—pues todos hemos nacido para cumplir una misión—, que ejercitar el espíritu en el estudio, y el cuerpo en estas ilustres artes, ahora que la toga y el laurel ya hace tiempo nos han abandonado?” Gaurico, *Sobre la Escultura*, 56.

³⁸³ Theophilus, *On Divers Arts*, trans. John G. Hawthorne and Cyril Stanley Smith (New York: Dover Publications, 1979), 77.

to Moses to build a tabernacle, had chosen by name the masters for the various kinds of work, and had filled them with the spirits of wisdom, of understanding, and of knowledge in order that they might devise and execute work in gold and in silver and in brass, in precious stones, in wood, and in universal craftsmanship.”³⁸⁴ While Theophilus goes on to explicate the techniques for more functional liturgical objects such as chalices, the *entierros* traffic in similar goldsmithing techniques, surface treatments, and visual effects that draw together the Hapsburg portraits and the *retablo mayor*’s saintly sculptures and repository for the Eucharist. The cenotaph’s devotional associations, established through their action (prayer), focus (tabernacle), and materials (gilded bronze with semi-precious stones), extended to yet another site in the basilica, Philip’s expansive collection of relics amassed at El Escorial in the sixteenth century and the reliquaries that housed them.

Sculptural Materials and Heavenly Matter: Royal and Holy Bodies

The Council of Trent’s twenty-fifth session held on December 3-4, 1563, which included the “Decree on Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, and on Sacred Images” propagated that the bodies of saints acted as “living members of Christ and temples of the Holy Spirit and due to be raised by him to eternal and glorious life.”³⁸⁵ Such a position justified the cult of saints that Philip II so actively nurtured in the *retablo mayor*’s iconographic program, as discussed in chapter three, as well as his amassing at El Escorial arguably the largest collection of relics in sixteenth-century Europe.³⁸⁶ Some estimates put Philip’s collection at roughly 7,500 individual

³⁸⁴ Theophilus, *On Divers Arts*, 77-78.

³⁸⁵ See John W. O’Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 243-44, 281.

³⁸⁶ Henry Kamen discusses the lengths to which Philip went to acquire relics from all over Europe and the Lavant and the political and religious implications of such actions in Henry Kamen, *The Escorial: Art and Power in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 217-222.

relics.³⁸⁷ The so-called *libros de entregas*, or Delivery Books, recorded the shipments of art works, raw materials, books, and more that arrived at El Escorial, and they are replete with mentions of relics and reliquaries that came in the form of gifts and purchases.³⁸⁸ The *entregas* list major deliveries of relics throughout the construction and decoration of El Escorial during Philip II's lifetime: 1571, a gift of bones from St. Lorenzo from the Duke of Savoy; 1572, a reliquary with pieces of Saints Ursula, Scholastica, Maruice and John of Bohemia; 1574, relics from the ambassador in Venice sourced from local churches; 1576, from the bishop of Münster; 1577, 1584, and 1586, various relics including more of St. Lorenzo from Pope Gregory XII; 1593, and 1597-98, including reliquaries from Anne of Austria and Empress María.³⁸⁹ A number of these relics were displayed in the church of San Lorenzo, close to the *entierros*, as will be described below. By associating the gilded *entierros* with objects so aligned with the veneration of saints, the Hapsburg portraits stand out as the only instances of non-religious figurative sculptures in precious metals in the entire complex. Their material similarities and functional parallels, in that they are sculptures that commemorate the eternal resting place of highly revered bones, elevate the represented Hapsburgs to the level of paragons of Catholic virtue. By eschewing polychromy or verism in the figures themselves, the *entierros* figures share similar visual effects, makers, and materials with the gilded saintly figures on the *retablo mayor* and El

³⁸⁷ See Benito Mediavilla and José Rodríguez Díez, *Las Reliquias del Monasterio del Escorial: Documentación Hagiográfica* (Madrid: Ediciones Escorialenses, 2004), 27; Guy Lazure, "Possessing the Sacred: Monarchy and Identity in Philip II's Relic Collection at the Escorial," *Renaissance Quarterly* 60 (2007): 61; and Kamen, *The Escorial*, 217.

³⁸⁸ For a summary, see Mediavilla and Rodríguez Díez, *Las Reliquias del Monasterio del Escorial*, 26.

³⁸⁹ This list only includes the deliveries during Philip II's lifetime. The final *entrega* that included a major delivery of relics covered the years 1605-11. Fernando Checa Cremades, "The *Delivery Books* Recording the Items Sent by Philip II to the Escorial and the Ornamentation of the Building: The Monastery as an Archive of the Counter-Reformation and a Christian Parnassus," in *Los Libros de entregas de Felipe II a El Escorial / The Escorial Delivery Books of Philip II*, ed. Fernando Checa Cremades (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2013), 33-35 (first delivery), 38 (second and third deliveries), 39 (fourth delivery), 40 (fifth delivery); 41 (seventh delivery).

Escorial's reliquaries, highlighting the Hapsburg portraits' spiritual associations and elevating them to the level of devotional exemplars, the mortal counterparts to the saintly intercessors that surround them.

The relative absence of figural precious metal work elsewhere in El Escorial unified the reliquaries, tomb monuments, and high altarpiece by capitalizing on the religious connotations of sculpture and metalwork as Gaurico and Theophilus had argued.³⁹⁰ Upon approaching the basilica for worship, a late sixteenth-century parishioner would see only stone figures until the chromatic and gilded impact of the *capilla mayor*. Starting from the main courtyard outside El Escorial, the *St. Lorenzo*, sculpted by Juan Bautista Monegro during his stay at El Escorial between 1580 and 1583 [Fig. 4.22], sits in a niche and is carved from the same cool, grey granite used for the rest of the building.³⁹¹ Its saintly attribute, the grill, is distinguished by having been cast in bronze or wrought in iron. After entering through the main façade below El Escorial's patron saint, the parishioner would enter the courtyard directly in front of the basilica, and on the cornice of its façade stand six *Kings of the House of Judah and the Family of David*, also carved

³⁹⁰ Over the next century, El Escorial would come to house other gilded bronzes, such as Pietro Tacca's *Crucifix* now in the crypt. However these all postdate the original decorative process as conceived under Philip II. The one exception is a small bronze *Crucifixion* by Rafael de León (a. 1553-94) that was placed in the choir, an elevated space used by the monastic community and not integrated into the larger devotional life of the complex and its royal inhabitants or public parishioners. For a summary of the sculptures, see Francisco José Portela Sandoval, "Varia sculptorica escurialensia," in *La escultura en el Monasterio del Escorial: actas del Simposium (1/4-IX-1994)*, ed. Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla (San Lorenzo El Escorial: Real Centro Universitario Escorial-María Cristina, 1994), 215-254; and Pedro Martín Gómez, ed. *Esculturas y Escultores en El Escorial* (Madrid: Colección Coliseo Real, 1996), 6-20.

³⁹¹ The predominant type of granite used at El Escorial was medium grained and quarried locally at Zarzalejo near Fresneda, just over five kilometers from the building site. See Alfonso Serret Medina, *Materiales Pétreos que se Utilizaron en la Construcción del Monasterio del Escorial* (Madrid: Chi Dos, 1998), 11, 14, 15. For more information on Monegro's biography and works, see Asunción de Vicente y García, "Juan Bautista Monegro y la escultura escurialense," in *La escultura en el Monasterio del Escorial: actas del Simposium (1/4-IX-1994)*, ed. Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla (San Lorenzo El Escorial: Real Centro Universitario Escorial-María Cristina, 1994), 189-213.

by Monegro from the same large block stone.³⁹² [Fig. 4.23] The viewer is primed, though, for their increasing proximity to sacred space by the gilded bronze crowns, scepters, and other attributes that embellish each figure. The figures of David and Solomon turn inward towards the central axis that connects the façades and leads directly to the altarpiece inside. The central window below the cornice and directly above the archway was regularly opened before Mass, revealing to visitors still another carved stone figure, Cellini's *Crucifix*.³⁹³ [Fig. 4.24] Duke Francesco I de' Medici gifted the original to Philip in 1576 where it hung on a wall inset just a few feet from the window.³⁹⁴ The daylight would have gleamed off the surface of its stark white Carrara marble, distinguishing it from the porous grey granite used for the Kings above.³⁹⁵ Only upon entering the comparatively dimly lit church interior would a visitor see the dazzling gilded sculptures in the chancel that materially and visually attested to the sanctity of the space.

Concentrated in and near the *capilla mayor* are the *retablo mayor*, *entierros*, and two reliquary altars at the ends of each of the basilica's side aisles. [Fig. 4.25] Their placement near the complex's most central liturgical site underscores their grouping as like-objects whose appearance associates their spiritual functions with one another. To the left of the *capilla mayor*, the *Annunciation* reliquary altar [Fig. 4.26] houses relics of female saints, corresponding to the side of the complex with the queen's apartments and oratory. To the right is the *St. Jerome*

³⁹² Each of the six kings was carved from same block (in addition to the *St. Lorenzo*) except for their heads, hands, and feet, which were carved from a white stone likely quarried near Genoa. Serret Medina, *Materiales Pétreos*, 15.

³⁹³ For a history of its production, see Juan López Gajate, "El Christo Blanco de Cellini," in *La escultura en el Monasterio del Escorial: actas del Simposium (1/4-IX-1994)*, ed. Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla (San Lorenzo El Escorial: Real Centro Universitario Escorial-María Cristina, 1994), 153-88. And for the artistic implications of its making, see Irving Lavin, "Ex Uno Lapide: The Renaissance Sculptor's Tour de Force," in *Il Cortile delle Statue*, ed. Bernard Andreae and Carlo Pietrangeli (Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, 1998), 191-210.

³⁹⁴ The sculpture has since been moved to a smaller chapel inside the basilica and has since been replaced by a plaster copy in its originally setting.

³⁹⁵ The importance of the material's whiteness to Cellini, in the *Crucifix* and other carved works, has been addressed in Michael Cole, *Cellini and the Principles of Sculpture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 106-111.

reliquary altar [Fig. 4.27] that houses male saints corresponding to Philip's chambers. The altars frame the chancel and are the largest in the basilica besides the high altarpiece. Inserted into the "V" created by the positions of the twin altars relative to the *retablo mayor* are the *entierros*, whose placing between these sites of post-Tridentine praxis charges them with the devotional meaning of the saintly exemplars.

The altars hold reliquaries that contain the bones of saints and contact relics, such as clothing. The reliquaries fall into three general categories: architectural reliquaries that, for example, resemble obelisks and temples [Fig. 4.28]; body part reliquaries that resemble obelisks topped with hands, giving them the appearance of forearms with the saint's bone displayed to approximate the ulna and radius [Fig. 4.29]; and reliquary busts that have been fashioned as individualized portraits of the saints whose relics they hold [Figs. 4.30-32]. These reliquary busts were fashioned largely from silver and copper, two metals that are soft enough to be hammered into their forms, before they were partially gilded and polychromed, blending details that reference martyrdom and sanctity, such as bleeding neck wounds with the otherworldly effects of the figures' literal golden hair and garments. Silver and goldsmiths utilized similar precious materials for the other reliquary types, making them out of gilded silver, bronze, and semi-precious stones such as lapis lazuli and engraved rock crystal [Fig. 4.33].³⁹⁶ The value—both financial and symbolic—of such high-quality materials only increases when considering the quantity of objects that were commissioned or acquired during Philip II's lifetime. By 1599,

³⁹⁶ Fernando A. Martín, "Relicarios y piezas de altar en la Basílica del Monasterio de El Escorial," *Reales Sitios* 21, n. 82 (1984): 29, 34; and Mediavilla and Rodríguez Díez, *Las Reliquias del Monasterio del Escorial*, 31.

there were 831 reliquaries in El Escorial; 147 of them placed in the *Annunciation* altar and 162 in the *St. Jerome* altar.³⁹⁷

While both altars are accessible from the back to allow for upkeep of the sacred objects, there is a marked difference between the two: only the *St. Jerome* altar was and is accessible from the private royal apartments.³⁹⁸ Much like the oratory that provided Philip with an extension of the consecrated space of the *capilla mayor* closer to his living quarters, the architecture includes a doorway onto an unobstructed hallway that links his rooms to the rear of the *St. Jerome* altar. [Fig. 4.25] The importance of the relics themselves to Philip II has been a subject of some renown since Padre Sigüenza published his history of the foundation of El Escorial in 1605. In addition to writing a chronicle of the site as the monastery's prior, he also served as the librarian and keeper of relics, giving his first-hand accounts of Philip's devotional use of the relics greater immediacy. He recounts how Philip would visit the relics that had grown in numbers that had far exceeded the space of the *Annunciation* and *St. Jerome* altars. He would hold and kiss them, an expression of piety that only increased with his various infirmities. Sigüenza tells of how the king, when profoundly ill, would have the bones of saints laid upon the corresponding ailing part of his body.³⁹⁹

Beyond the king's personal investment in the relics, historian Guy Lazure expanded upon the inherently religious function of the relics by arguing that Philip used them as a dynastic tool.

³⁹⁷ Martín, "Relicarios y piezas de altar," 29; and Mediavilla and Rodríguez Díez, *Las Reliquias del Monasterio del Escorial*, 31.

³⁹⁸ On the function of the access from the back of the altars, see Mediavilla and Rodríguez Díez, *Las Reliquias del Monasterio del Escorial*, 28; and Benito Mediavilla, "El Escorial, A Repository of Relics," in *De El Bosco a Tiziano: Arte y Maravilla en El Escorial*, ed. Fernando Checa (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2013), 293.

³⁹⁹ The stories are too numerous to list here, and they are so abundant that secondary literature regularly quotes selections from his writing. For summaries of Philip's devotional practice relative to relics, see Mediavilla and Rodríguez Díez, *Las Reliquias del Monasterio del Escorial*, 28-29; Mediavilla, "El Escorial, A Repository of Relics," 292-93; and Lazure, "Possessing the Sacred," 58-60, 63.

By centralizing a wide range of relics, he could consolidate locally in Spain a longer and larger Christian history, thereby formulating a distinctly Catholic and collective Spanish identity to which he and his family could lay claim.⁴⁰⁰ Citing El Escorial's function as a Hapsburg mausoleum, Lazure argues that Philip "treat[ed] the bodies of his father and family as holy relics to be transferred to the pantheon...and placed directly under the basilica's main altar—a space usually reserved for saints."⁴⁰¹ Lazure elaborated, speaking of the symbolic potential of El Escorial and the political consolidation via relics to which Philip aspired: "As one of Spain's first sedentary kings since the beginning of the Reconquista and the heir to a recently established dynasty, the young monarch sought to materialize his authority by carving it in stone."⁴⁰² Lazure ably and convincingly argues for the centrality of the relics to Philip's larger dynastic claims, although the resonances between the saintly and royal bodies has yet to inform scholarly understandings of the *entierros*. Going far beyond carving his legitimacy in stone, Philip also cast it in bronze, gilded it in precious metal, and encrusted it in semi-precious stones. The spatial proximity of the relics and the *entierros* imperial portraits, and their visual similarities, are a crucial bridge between sites of saintly veneration, coding those portrayed in the *entierros* as worthy of emulation. The gilded proxies of the saints and Hapsburg rulers are visually connected, and those connections were forged in terms of materials, artists, and facture.

The gold and metal work manifest in the reliquaries, *entierros* and high altarpiece sculptures was the product of materials whose visual and spiritual effects were carefully calibrated. In his chronicle of El Escorial's foundation, Sigüenza describes the impression when the reliquaries, normally stowed safely in the *Annunciation* and *St. Jerome* altars, were displayed. [Figs. 4.34-35]

⁴⁰⁰ Lazure, "Possessing the Sacred," 58-93.

⁴⁰¹ Lazure, "Possessing the Sacred," 63.

⁴⁰² Lazure, "Possessing the Sacred," 64.

On opening the doors and drawing back the veils of silk they have before them, heaven is revealed. Behold them in their rows and tiers, some further back, others further forward; very beautiful vessels in craftsmanship and price, some of gold, others of silver, unique stones, crystals, crystalline glass, and other gilded metals which all together shimmer and dazzle the eye, ignite the soul, filling it with love and reverence and compelling one, whether naturally or supernaturally, and this is indeed true, to bend the knee, to bow the body to the ground.⁴⁰³

The monk links together the unveiling of the reliquaries, their materials, their visual effects, and the spiritual inspiration induced by such glittering objects. Upon seeing them, a devotee falls to their knees, an action that the *entierros* themselves perform when confronted by the glory of the altarpiece, although commemorated in a perpetually upright position. The figures' poses mark them as objects of such movements of the soul, while they simultaneously possess the same material qualities that could, in turn, incite that reaction in others.

The visual similarities and resulting religious stimuli were effected by utilizing the same materials and makers. Because it was common practice for court artists to be employed to work on multiple projects at that site, it would be easy to over-analyze the intention behind employing the same artists to craft the reliquaries and figural sculptures in El Escorial. Partially a product of economic and logistical efficiency, their shared materials and makers nevertheless ensured a level of consistency, quality, and cohesion between the objects within the basilica. While records on El Escorial's production and decoration abound, one archival document maps a process by which materials came into Philip's court for use by various artists.⁴⁰⁴ It illuminates not only the centralized practice of obtaining and allocating precious metals to different projects. It also

⁴⁰³ “En abriéndose las puertas y corridos los velos de seda que tienen delante, se descubre el cielo. Vense por sus hileras y gradas, unas más adentro, otras más afuera, vasos muy hermosos de artificio y de precio; parte de oro, otros de plata, piedras singulares, cristales, vidrios cristalinos, y otros metales dorados, que todo junto reverbera y deslumbra los ojos, enardece el alma y pone en ella juntamente amor y reverencia, que hace luego como naturalmente o sobrenatural, que el lo más cierto, inclinar la rodilla, derrivar el cuerpo hasta la tierra.” José de Sigüenza, *La fundación del Monasterio de El Escorial* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1988), 510. Translated in Mediavilla, “El Escorial, A Repository of Relics,” 293.

⁴⁰⁴ Archivo del Palacio Real—*El Escorial Patronato*, leg. 1823, libro 3 (1588-1620), ff. 230r-232v.

speaks to the concrete overlap between the gilded figures in the basilica by confirming that the same resources and craftsmanship were applied to the sculptures on the *retablo mayor*, the lateral niches' heraldic arms, and reliquaries.

These folios, compiled by Sebastian Hurtado, the chief administrator of royal works at the Alcázar in Madrid (*veedor y contador de las obras Reales del Alcazar*), record the gold (*oro cimentado*), hammered silver (*plata batida*), and mercury (*azoque*) that had been distributed to silversmith Martín Pardo “for the gilding of the altarpiece and *custodia* of San Lorenzo el Real and other things in the service of the King.”⁴⁰⁵ Signed and dated August 25, 1597, its contents track the materials that had been used since 1590 and account for the specific amounts given and used, and to which crafted objects they were applied.⁴⁰⁶ Dating back to June 9, 1590 and covering a seven-year period, the record indicates that Martín Pardo was expected to gild a choir lectern, 80 frames and their screws, 16 bars for stained glass windows, and a small figure of St. Bartholomew in addition to the high altarpiece sculptures and select reliquaries among other works. The document records the doors to the *custodia*, the four doctors of the church [Figs. 3.8-11], four Evangelists [Figs. 3.12-15], four apostles [Figs. 3.16-17], the corpus of the Crucifixion along with the figures of Mary and St. John the Evangelist [Fig 3.18], the heraldry of Philip II, and two reliquaries including one of St. Lawrence [perhaps Fig. 4.36].⁴⁰⁷ He used a total of 12,872.5 *castellanos* or approximately 1,299 pounds of gold for the listed objects.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁵ “El oro cimentado y plata batida y azoque que se le hago cargo a Martin Pardo platero lo qual rescuiuo para el dorado del retablo y custodia de S. Lorenzo el Real y otras cosas del servicio de Su Majestad.” Archivo del Palacio Real—*El Escorial Patronato*, leg. 1823, libro 3 (1588-1620), ff. 230r.

⁴⁰⁶ “[E]l dicho Martin Pardo en el dicho dorado en su pres^a y con su asistencia gasto el dicho oro azogue y plata que da en data y descargo y lo firmaron en Madrid a veynte y cinco dias del mes de agosto deste año de mill y quinientos y nouenta y siete, Phelippe de Venauides Martin Pard Sebastian Hurtado.” Archivo del Palacio Real—*El Escorial Patronato*, leg. 1823, libro 3 (1588-1620), ff. 232r-232v.

⁴⁰⁷ “Datta: Primeramente doro un facistol para el coro; Ochenta quadros con sus tornillos; Deciseis barrillas para unas vidrieras; Una figura pequena de St. Bartolome; Las puertas de la custodia y beriles della; Los quatro doctors de la iglesia; Quatro apostoles; Quatro evangelistas; La figura de Christo

Because a majority of Pardo's commissions required fire-gilding to bond the gold to the surface of another metal, the document also records a total of ten *quintales* of mercury, or 1,000 pounds, distributed to the silversmith through Phelippe de Venavides, the *tapicero mayor*.⁴⁰⁹ Venavides could claim 20 pounds of the mercury for himself, while the rest was to go towards the aforementioned gilding.⁴¹⁰ A similar centralized mode of distribution was used for hammered silver, wherein a designated court official, in this case Venavides, was issued the shipment of materials and was then delegated the task of parceling out the specified amounts to the designated artist. Pardo received from Venavides 96 ounces of hammered silver for the foliage of Charles V's and Philip II's heraldry, 14 large candlesticks for the basilica, 6 other candlesticks for the treasury, and two heads of saints.⁴¹¹ Because the reliquary busts had a combination of silvered, gilded, and polychromed surfaces, it is likely the two saints mentioned in reference to the silver are the same listed for gilding. As compensation, Venavides held on to an extra 36

crucificado; La figura de nra Sra; La figura de Sto Joan evangelista; Las armas del emperador y Rey nrs; Quatro bolas para el facistol; Un pedestal grande para la custodia; Tres emprentas; Tres pearias para tres figuras; Un relicario para Sto Lro y otro para el [illegible]; Una pililla y dos pedestals; Dos guarniciones para dos pilillas; Una muestra de metal; Un tapador para una pililla." Archivo del Palacio Real—*El Escorial Patronato*, leg. 1823, libro 3 (1588-1620), ff. 230v-231r.

⁴⁰⁸ "En las quales dichas piezas en dorarlas entraron doze mill ocho cientos y setenta y dos castellanos y medio lo qual da el dicho Martin Pardo por del cargo." Archivo del Palacio Real—*El Escorial Patronato*, leg. 1823, libro 3 (1588-1620), f. 231r. According to the *Real Academia Española* definition, "*castellano*" is a volumetric measurement for gold weighing roughly 46 grams.

⁴⁰⁹ "Cargan se le al dicho Martin Pardo diez quintales de azoque que en diferentes vezes reciuio de Phelippe de Venduiedes tapicero mayor de Su Md." Archivo del Palacio Real—*El Escorial Patronato*, leg. 1823, libro 3 (1588-1620), f. 231r. One *quintal* is approximately 100 pounds or 46 kilograms.

⁴¹⁰ "Parecio quedar en poder/empoder del dicho Phelippe de Venauides veynte libras de Azoque y las demas se consumieron y gastaron en el dicho dorado." Archivo del Palacio Real—*El Escorial Patronato*, leg. 1823, libro 3 (1588-1620), f. 231r.

⁴¹¹ "Cargo de la plata: Hazese le cargo al dicho Martin Pardo de noventa y seys onzas de plata batida que rescuio del dicho Phelippe de Benauides. Datta: Pareze que plateo los reuerssos del follage de las armas del emperador y las armas del Rey nro. Mas se plateraron catorze blandones altos que estan en la yglesia de Sto Loro el real des Escorial. Mas seys blandones para la guarda joyas. Mas dos cabezas de santos." Archivo del Palacio Real—*El Escorial Patronato*, leg. 1823, libro 3 (1588-1620), ff. 231r-231v.

ounces of silver for having acted as the middleman.⁴¹² In contrast to the 1579 contract for the *retablo mayor* in which the artists were responsible for acquiring and paying for the materials directly, this document speaks to a consolidated court practice of acquiring and dispersing materials across projects to artists who resided and worked in the regional court sites.

While focused on Martín Pardo's work on the high altarpiece, heraldry, and reliquaries, the distribution record also points to how the makers of these liturgical and devotional objects and the *entierros* were inextricably linked. Regularly, artists that had worked on the *entierros* and/or high altarpiece were selected to work on the reliquaries. Of the over 1,000 pounds of gold that Pardo received, nine *castellanos*, or just under one pound, went towards the gilding of two reliquary busts that had been made by fellow silversmith Juan de Arfe.⁴¹³ Scholars estimate that between 1597 and 1599 Arfe made or supervised the making of 64 of the 80 reliquary busts that have survived at the monastery. This is based on connoisseurship and archival documents. He signed three reliquaries, allowing art historians to extrapolate based on stylistic comparisons, since he wrote in 1597 about having been asked to make 64 reliquaries and later that he was expected to make 80 by 1599.⁴¹⁴ The busts by Juan de Arfe do, in fact, possess a continuity of color, modeling, and quality when compared to other examples that were imported from Germany and Italy [Figs. 4.37-38]. Arfe designed the saints to have smaller eyes and lips, long, thin noses, red cheeks, more subtle painting of the bleeding neck wounds, and bright yellow gold. [Figs. 4.30-32] There is also a greater variation in modeling and type with a wide range of

⁴¹² “Por manera que con treynta y seis onzas de plata que quedaron en poder del dicho Phelippe de Beneuides pareze auer entregado el dicho Martin Pardo todas las nouenta y seis onzas de plata que estauan a su cargo.” Archivo del Palacio Real—*El Escorial Patronato*, leg. 1823, libro 3 (1588-1620), f. 231v.

⁴¹³ “[N]ueue castellanos que entrego a Martin Pardo para dorar dos cavecas de dos sanctos que hiz Joan de Arfe.” Archivo del Palacio Real—*El Escorial Patronato*, leg. 1823, libro 3 (1588-1620), f. 232r.

⁴¹⁴ The remaining 16 were likely made in 1582 by another silversmith. Martín, “Relicarios y piezas de altar,” 36.

ages, facial hair, costume, and eye color when compared to, for example three female saints from Milanese and Italian workshops. [Figs. 4.38-40]

In addition to preserving consistency between the reliquaries themselves, using the same artists between the *entierros* and the busts further extended that cohesion into the *capilla mayor*. Before receiving this large commission, Arfe had successfully refined and finished the *entierros* sculptures of Charles V and Empress Isabel in 1596.⁴¹⁵ After sculpting the forms, the reliquary busts had to be gilded and polychromed in subsequent stages, a division of labor that mirrored the facture of the *entierros*. For their gilding, El Escorial's planners selected silver- and goldsmiths who had previously demonstrated their abilities on the *retablo mayor* figures. In addition to Martín Pardo, the distribution record discussed above also mentioned silversmith Rodrigo de Hinojal, who had collaborated with Pardo on the objects listed.⁴¹⁶ Still another silversmith, Juan Rodríguez de Babia, had worked on fire-gilding both the *retablo mayor* figures and Arfe's reliquaries as well.⁴¹⁷ The *encarnación* of the saintly busts by Juan de Arfe was entrusted to Fabrizio Castello and Juan Gómez, the same painters who had brought the plaster *entierros* to vivid color in 1593-94.⁴¹⁸

The importance of gold- and silversmiths for the finish of Pompeo Leoni's kneeling groups and Juan de Arfe's busts, and consequently for their facture and meaning, has been under-analyzed to date. There is ample evidence that Philip and his planners entertained different approaches to making the *entierros* and also changed their ideas as the project evolved. There was an initial plan for a closer resemblance to the reliquaries' *encarnación*, but the workshop

⁴¹⁵ See footnote 344.

⁴¹⁶ "Mas de mill y quatro cientos y treynta castellanos de oro que el mrso confesso auer sacado de la Escorial la que quedo del dorado que hizieron Martin Pardo y Rodrigo de Hinojal." Archivo del Palacio Real—*El Escorial Patronato*, leg. 1823, libro 3 (1588-1620), f. 231v.

⁴¹⁷ On Hinojal and Babia, see Chapter III, footnote 212.

⁴¹⁸ See footnote 327.

ultimately moved away from verism to embrace the dazzling effect and religious resonance of comprehensive gilding. As early as 1588, Pompeo wrote two letters to Juan de Ibarra in January to discuss which stones the sculptor should obtain in Italy before returning to Spain, explicitly stating the plan to “make the royal and imperial sculptures from marble and jaspers.”⁴¹⁹ He then proposes stones based on their mimetic potential: different colored jaspers for the books and crowns, a black marble that “is very good for carving and resembles velvet” for the velvet-covered prie-dieux, yellow *brocatel* for the upholstered pillows, and Carrara marble “for the heads, hands, and other parts.”⁴²⁰ In each case, Pompeo suggested what Roberta Panzanelli described as “natural polychromy” which “makes use of the chromatic qualities of the material” as opposed to “artificial polychromy,” which “includes pigments applied to stone, ivory, wood, clay, plaster, and even metal.”⁴²¹

Claudia Kryza-Gersch has recognized the importance of polychromy for the basilica’s sculptures and asserts that the painted silver head of Philip II by Pompeo Leoni in Vienna’s Kunsthistorisches Museum [Fig. 3.24] “was a trial piece which should show the king what he could expect.”⁴²² She dates the sculpture to c. 1580, citing the earlier idea to paint the *retablo mayor* figures in flesh tones as stated in the 1579 contract, and the likelihood that the planning for *entierros* would have been underway at that time. As demonstrated by the analysis of the 1579 contract, there was consideration of the lateral niches as architectural spaces contiguous with the *retablo mayor*, describing them in clause 10 as “the places for the royal sculptures,”

⁴¹⁹ “[A] hacer los Vultos Reales y imperiales de marmol y jaspes.” See footnote 321.

⁴²⁰ See footnote 321 for full text of letter.

⁴²¹ Roberta Panzanelli, “Beyond the Pale: Polychromy and Western Art,” in *The Color of Life Polychromy in Sculpture from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Roberta Panzanelli, Eike D. Schmidt, Kenneth D. S. Lapatin (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008), 13.

⁴²² Claudia Kryza-Gersch, “Pompeo Leoni’s Portrait of Philip II in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna,” in *Leone & Pompeo Leoni: Actas del Congreso Internacional*, ed. Stephan F. Schröder (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2012), 105.

with only the oblique and unspecific reference to the *entierros* themselves.⁴²³ Rather than being made before the *retablo mayor*, the head was more likely to have been cast by Pompeo shortly after his return to Madrid, after he took over Jacopo da Trezzo's workshop in 1590.⁴²⁴ Kryza-Gersch recognizes the possibility that the silver *Philip II* could relate more closely to the *entierros*, noting "the gaze of Philip II in the Vienna head is turned to the upper right, exactly as in the effigy in the Escorial, where the king looks towards the Sacrament Tabernacle on the high altar."⁴²⁵ There are other formal details that speak to the relationship between polychromed and gilded versions of the king's portrait. The moustaches each have longer pieces at the corner of his mouth that curl up, a detail distinctive to portraits of Philip II in his older age. This can be seen in an alabaster representation at the Prado, in which the portrait's receding hairline contrasts with the more youthful representation cast by the Leoni in the 1550 [Fig. 4.41, cf Fig. 2.3] Additionally, the beards in both the tomb sculpture and silver head have a sharp, almost pointed edge that catches the light as well as heavier eyelids. They are not, however, perfect facsimiles; Philip's effigy has been aged, with shorter hair, a higher hairline, and wrinkles under the eyes. These details do not obviate the connections between the two portraits, but perhaps indicate their different functions. The silver head could still give an impression of the visual effects that could be expected from a polychromed metallic representation while ultimately existing as an independent object to be used in other contexts. As reconstructed in a 1989 exhibition catalogue, it could have been inserted into a display of armor, for example, thereby satisfying two purposes

⁴²³ See footnote 308.

⁴²⁴ Kryza-Gersch confirms that the head was cast from a high-silver alloy as opposed to hammered silver. Kryza-Gersch, "Pompeo Leoni's Portrait of Philip II," 101.

⁴²⁵ Kryza-Gersch, "Pompeo Leoni's Portrait of Philip II," 106.

at once.⁴²⁶ [Fig. 4.42] Pompeo ultimately matched the rendering of Philip in the *entierros* to the representation of his father, who bears similar marks of age.

Initially conceived with a juxtaposition of chromatic variations between stones, it is possible that the silver head indicated a point at which the planners and makers intended the same surface treatments between reliquaries and tomb sculptures. This conscious turn away from a more mimetic approach embraced the art forms of silver and goldsmithing. There was still another shift in approach, with the decision, ultimately, to gild the bronzes in their entirety. The effect of this decision rendered the *entierros*' relationship to the reliquary altars in implicit terms, shielding the tomb monuments from too direct a resemblance to the venerated saints, while nevertheless trafficking in the same visual language of precious metal work, without needing the diverse components to look exactly the same. And, indeed, it is impossible to confuse the angular faces hammered by Juan de Arfe and the subtle, rounded modeling of the portraits cast by Pompeo. Furthermore, the reliquaries, manifest actual saintly presence, in the bones contained within, through the technique of *encarnación*, underscoring the metaphorical weight of the technique to enliven and en flesh the representational busts.

The gilded bronzes effigies in the *entierros*, however, were not only aligned with the sacred statues and reliquaries in the basilica of San Lorenzo. They also participated in a tradition of tomb monuments related to Philip's Burgundian and Hapsburg roots. In addition to asserting that Charles V and Philip II were paragons of Catholic devotion, the *entierros* demonstrated their relationship to ancestral precedents that firmly bonded the legacy of their families to Counter-Reform ideals.

⁴²⁶ For the original proposition, see Friderike Klauner, "Spanische Porträts des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 57 (1961): 129-30.

Legitimacy and Continuity: The Political Resonance of Form and Facture

As El Escorial expanded in scope to include a monastery, library, and hospital, its core function remained a family mausoleum, as Charles V had expressed in his will. Taking advantage of the latitude allowed by his father—the text states that “in case my burial is not to be in this stated monastery, it is my wish that in place of the *custodia* and *retablo* described, a painted altarpiece be made in a manner judged by son the king and by the executors, and I pray and order thus.”⁴²⁷ Philip II’s ambition far exceeded the Emperor’s conception. He founded El Escorial in 1563 just five years after Charles’s death and committed to a decades-long building project to match his ambitions. As Philip and his collaborators planned the *entierros*, there was a network of closely related sixteenth-century Burgundian and Hapsburg tomb projects that provided a formal and sculptural vocabulary from which the king could draw as he adapted his father’s wishes to his own ideals. The pose for the *entierros* was one of the first aspects of the project to be determined, and the kneeling form spoke not only to the overt devotion on display, but also to key preceding Hapsburg sites and monuments with which Philip was directly aware and involved. These models were translated into the *capilla mayor* space to draw connections to preceding generations and a wider imperial landscape, marrying a continuous dynastic chain to a distinctly post-Tridentine and Counter-Reform ethos of Eucharistic and saintly devotion.

In addition to articulating the expectation for a family burial site, Charles’s will had specific formal requests and quotations that linked the project to the Royal Chapel in Granada. While still at his court in Brussels, Charles signed the original draft of his will on June 6, 1554, stating, “that my body be interred in the city of Granada, in the Royal Chapel in which the

⁴²⁷ “Y que en caso que mi enterramiento no aya de ser ni sea en este dicho Monasterio, es mi voluntad, que en lugar de la dicha custodia y retablo se haga vn retablo de pinzel de la manera que pareciere al Rey mi hijo, y a mis testamentarios, y assi lo ruego y encargo.” Prudencio de Sandoval, *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V* (Pamplona: Casa de Bartholomé Paris, 1614), 883.

Catholic Monarchs—in glorious memory, my grandparents and King Philip my father in whom are holy glory—are buried. And that close to my body will be put the Empress, my most dear and beloved wife.”⁴²⁸ Granada was a key site in originating Charles’s identity as a “Catholic King,” as it was the final city under Islamic rule conquered by his grandparents Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492. Charles had invested a great deal of meaning in preserving the Royal Chapel that Ferdinand and Isabella ordered to be built adjacent to the city’s cathedral in 1504, providing for daily masses to be said in honor of its founders.⁴²⁹ The tomb sculptures of his grandparents and parents are located in front of the altarpiece in the form of recumbent figures in white marble by Domenico Fancelli and Bartolomé Ordóñez, respectively. [Figs. 4.43-44]

In spite of the importance of those sculptures, Charles modified his burial requests in his 1558 codicil, ordering tomb sculptures that quote instead the sculptures that flank the altarpiece in Granada’s Royal Chapel.⁴³⁰ [Figs. 4.45-46] Designed by Felipe Bigarny circa 1521, the “Catholic Monarchs” Ferdinand and Isabella are represented in two kneeling polychrome votive objects in a sculptural language traditional to the peninsula. They function autonomously from the tomb sculptures, underscoring the fierce Catholic devotion that Charles aspired to maintain and propagate.

From his chosen retirement site at the Hieronymite monastery in Yuste, Spain, the former Holy Roman Emperor amended his will yet again on September 9, 1558, with his new wishes underscoring both familial relationships and favored artistic precedents. He ordered:

⁴²⁸ “Que mi cuerpo se sepultase en la ciudad de Granada, en la capilla real, en que los Reyes Católicos, de gloriosa memoria, mis abuelos, y el rey don Felipe, mi señor y padre, que santa gloria hayan, están sepultados, y que cerca de mi cuerpo se pusiese el de la Emperatriz.” Prudencio de Sandoval, *Historia de la vida y hechos*, 882.

⁴²⁹ Sergio Fernández Larrain, “Carlos V y la Capilla Real de Granada,” *Chronica Nova* 11 (1980): 93.

⁴³⁰ This codicil has been published recently only in part, see Chapter III, footnote 186. It was published in full as early as 1614 by Sandoval, *Historia de la vida y hechos*, 881-886.

that... a high altarpiece be made... of alabaster in half-relief at a scale that seems best to the King and to my executors, and according to... the *Last Judgment* by Titian [Fig. 4.49] that is in the possession of Juan Martín Esteur who serves in the office of my treasury, adding or erasing from it what seems to them most advisable. Likewise a *custodia* will be made of alabaster or marble... to the right of the altar, so that to reach it one must climb four steps to where the Holy Sacrament will be, and that sculptures of the Empress and I will be placed to either side of it.⁴³¹

The alabaster altarpiece, the alabaster or marble *custodia*, and sculptures of Charles and Isabel kneeling in prayer were to complete this potent site where Catholic devotion, Hapsburg bodies, and sculptural commemoration converged, and central to this union was representing the emperor and empress on their knees, in active and perpetual veneration of the Eucharist, formal though not material echoes of his grandparents' votive sculptures in Granada.

As a type, the kneeling funerary statue was far from exclusive to the Catholic Monarchs and Hapsburg rulers; one need only consider the tomb of Francis I in St. Denis, which similarly features the French king and his wife as kneeling bronze effigies. [Fig. 4.48] However, this example incorporates a large architectural canopy with *transi* tombs below, complicating and obfuscating the message of Eucharistic veneration that dictated the Hapsburg use of this tomb design and imagery. And well into the second half of the sixteenth century, Hapsburg tomb projects in Austria and Spain tapped into the devotional and dynastic connotations of such sculptures. After Philip's sister, Juana of Austria, became a widow after only two years of marriage to the Portuguese king, she supported the construction of a convent in Madrid, the

⁴³¹ "Ordeno y es mi voluntad, que... se haga en el altar mayor de la iglesia del vn retablo de alabastro y medio relieue del tamaño que pareciere al Rey y a mis testamentarios, y conforme a las pinturas de vna figura que esta mia, que es del juyzio final de Ticiano, que está en poder de Iuan Martin Esteur, que sirue en el oficio de mi guardajoyas, añadiendo o quitando de aquello lo que vieren mas conuenir. E assi mismo se haga vna Custodia de alabastro o marmol conforme a lo que fuere el dicho retablo a la mano derecha del altar, que para subir en ella aya hasta quatro gradas para adonde este el Santissimo Sacramento, y que a los dos lados della se ponga el bulto de la Emperatriz, y el mio, que estemos de rodilla con las cabeças descubiertas, y los pies descalços, cubiertos los cuerpos como con sendas sabanas del mismo relieue, con las manos juntas." Sandoval, *Historia de la vida y hechos*, 882-83.

Descalzas Reales.⁴³² She resided there from 1559 until her death in 1573, and her will set aside 7,000 *ducados* for her funerary monument, which was erected in the adjoining church.⁴³³ [Fig. 4.49] In the red jasper lined space, the finely observed portrait of Juana, completed in 1574, kneels at a prie-dieu on which a book and crown rest, calling to mind Pompeo's description of the early plans for *entierros* at El Escorial.⁴³⁴ The figure is boldly carved, with drill work delicately employed to great effect in the undercarving of the sleeves, and effective details in the stitching of her cape, and the folds of silky fabric that pool around her on the ground. [Fig. 4.50] The effigy of Juana and the architectural setting share artistic features with the concurrent *capilla mayor* at El Escorial, as the architect Juan de Herrera planned and Jacopo da Trezzo and Juan Baustista Comane executed the niche for her tomb sculpture, with the effigy sculpted from Carrara marble by Pompeo Leoni.

Philip's inclination towards kneeling sculptures falls in line with other sixteenth-century familial precedents not only regionally in Spain, but also with the concurrent project of Maximilian's tomb in Innsbruck, Austria. [Figs. 4.51-52] This project had its origins in the early 1500s under the management of the emperor himself, who selected the artists to design, model, and cast the large series of bronze portraits that were to accompany his tomb effigy. After he died in 1519, his grandson and Charles's brother Ferdinand took over supervision of the project, which progressed until its main sculptor, Leonhard Magt, and caster, Stephan Godl, died in 1532

⁴³² Rosario Coppel, "Los retratos de la emperatriz Isabel y de Juana de Austria," in *Leone & Pompeo Leoni: Actas del Congreso Internacional*, ed. Stephan F. Schröder (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2012), 92. On the funerary monument to Juana of Austria, see also Annemarie Jordan, "Los retratos de Juana de Austria posteriores a 1554: la imagen de una princesa de Portugal, una regente de España y una jesuita," *Reales Sitios* 151 (2002): 42-65.

⁴³³ Coppel, "Los retratos de la emperatriz Isabel y de Juana de Austria," 93.

⁴³⁴ See letters written from January 1588, footnotes 321-323.

and 1534, respectively.⁴³⁵ When the project resumed in 1547 and in 1553, Ferdinand reconceived it, building an entirely new church to house his grandfather's cenotaph, the Hofkirche.⁴³⁶ While the attending figures, which have been discussed in chapter two, were largely a part of the first phase of production, it is the kneeling representation of Maximilian I to which El Escorial's *entierros* bear the closest resemblance. The bronze effigy sits atop a large *tumba* embellished with scenes of the emperor's military victories in alabaster relief, and its design in 1556 by Ferdinand's court artist Francesco Tertio and Heinrich Vogtherr the Elder deviated from the recumbent portrait of Maximilian's father, Frederick III. Forging a distinctive typology from that of his patrilineal model, the figure and the reconceived ensemble in Innsbruck was not completely until 1585, its facture overlapping with both the funerary monument of Juana of Austria in Madrid as well as the founding, planning, and production of the basilica and *retablo mayor* at El Escorial.⁴³⁷ It is worth noting that just before Ferdinand decided to erect an entirely new site in Innsbruck for his father's tomb monument, Pompeo Leoni himself was in that city, in early 1552, delivering two cases of coins and medals to Charles's cultural minister Granvelle.⁴³⁸ While the primary documentation does not allow us to reconstruct the full scope of Pompeo's time there or his involvement with Maximilian's tomb, its enormity and repute would have been impossible to ignore. It is likely he was at the very least familiar with the ongoing project and the casting of the attending figures, which Ferdinand had spurred on in 1547.

⁴³⁵ Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 217, 226.

⁴³⁶ The emperor had intended to be buried in the Tyrol region, though he was originally interred in Wiener Neustadt near Vienna. See Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 226 and Felix F. Strauss, "The Two Tombs of Maximilian I," *The Historian* 9, no. 2 (Mar., 1947): 191-95.

⁴³⁷ Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 225.

⁴³⁸ From Milan on March 30, 1552, Leone Leoni wrote a letter to Granvelle in Innsbruck about the two cases he had sent with Pompeo. The letter opens, "Non sapeua come mi far capitare questi due bossoli a Pompeo senza il mezzo di V. S. R^{ma}..." Granvelle confirms the receipt of the two cases in an undated letter. See Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 367-68, letters 35, 36. These two letters are among those transcribed in Plon that I was not able to locate in the archives.

The utilization of this tomb form allowed the king to characterize his own reign and that of his father in relation to a distinctively pan-European and fervently Catholic sculptural practice and language, while the choice to layer gilded bronzes with dynastic imagery and text proved to be a more localized quotation of two Burgundian precedents, namely the gilded tomb monuments of Mary of Burgundy, Maximilian's wife, and Charles the Bold, her father. Located in the Church of Our Lady in Bruges, the gilded effigies of the duke and duchess lie with their hands tilted upward, facing the altarpiece, and atop black *tumbas* encased in heraldic family trees and inscriptions. [Figs. 4.53-55] Although Charles the Bold (b. 1433- d. 1477) died before Mary of Burgundy (b. 1457- d. 1482), it was the daughter's tomb project that was undertaken first. The project was supervised by her son Philip the Fair (b. 1478- d. 1506) and her husband Maximilian (HRE 1493-1519). The sculptor Renier van Thienen began planning the tomb in 1488 and production started in 1491.⁴³⁹ Because of guild restrictions, stonemasons, bronze casters, and goldsmiths divided the work for the tomb, and it was installed in late 1501.⁴⁴⁰

The history of the tomb of Charles the Bold in Bruges began roughly fifty years later, in 1550, when Charles V ordered the body of his great-grandfather to be relocated in order to be interred alongside that of Mary.⁴⁴¹ Sculptor Jacques Jonghelinck accepted the commission for the tomb and effigy in 1558 upon his return to Brussels after a stint in Leone Leoni's workshop in Milan.⁴⁴² He was there while Leone and Pompeo were casting and carving the group of

⁴³⁹ Ann M. Roberts, "Chronology and Political Significance of the Tomb of Mary of Burgundy," *The Art Bulletin* 71, n. 3 (Sep., 1989): 380.

⁴⁴⁰ Roberts, "The Tomb of Mary of Burgundy," 389.

⁴⁴¹ Roberts, "The Tomb of Mary of Burgundy," 395.

⁴⁴² The length or period of his time in Leoni's workshop is unknown, however there is a plausible reference to Jonghelinck in Leoni's workshop dated May 23, 1552. He was then commissioned to make the epitaph of Reinhard of Hanau (now lost) in 1554. See Luc Smolderen, "Jonghelinck en Italie," *Revue belge de Numismatique et de Sigillographie* 130 (1984): 124-25, and Arie Pappot and Lisa Wiersma, "Jacques Jonghelinck, bronze sculptor of the Low Countries in the sixteenth century," *Sculpture Journal* 26.1 (2017): 72.

sculptures discussed in chapter two (those now at the Museo del Prado) and was therefore familiar with imperial portraiture patronized by Charles V. However it was not Charles V who commissioned the tomb monument from Jonghelinck; Philip II signed the official order to construct a tomb for the former Duke of Burgundy on August 3, 1558. He carefully specified that the new monument was to match the duchess's earlier tomb in size, style, and materials, thereby attesting to the king's careful consideration of that monument's features and details.⁴⁴³ Ann Roberts comments on the coordination between these two tombs: "Interring Charles the Bold next to Mary of Bugundy physically dramatized the continuity of descendance from father to daughter; building Charles's tomb to imitate Mary's visually dramatized the links between father and daughter and, through Mary, the links between Charles the Bold and his Hapsburg descendants."⁴⁴⁴

As the descendant who both commissioned the Charles the Bold tomb and carefully oversaw tombs for himself and his father, it should come as no surprise that Philip II selected specific elements from these examples to adapt in the lateral niches at El Escorial. The effigies take their substance, copper alloy, and their surface treatment, consisting of extensive and detailed chasing, finishing, and gilding by goldsmiths, from *Mary of Burgundy* and *Charles the Bold*. While the *Mary of Burgundy* was cast in brass (a copper alloy with higher zinc content) in accordance with the predominant casting tradition in the late-fifteenth-century Low Countries, the *Charles the Bold* and *entierros* are more conventional bronzes (a copper alloy with a greater quantity of tin) with added brass.⁴⁴⁵ A recent technical examination of the *Charles the Bold* revealed that Jonghelinck used a copper alloy that is 5.5-12% tin, 1-4% lead, and 1.5-5.5% zinc,

⁴⁴³ Luc Smolderen, "Le tombeau de Charles le Téméraire," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 49/50 (1980/81): 27-28.

⁴⁴⁴ Roberts, "The Tomb of Mary of Burgundy," 395.

⁴⁴⁵ While *Mary of Burgundy* has been considered bronze in past scholarship (including by Ann Roberts), Arie Pappot and Lisa Wiersma confirm it is brass. Pappot and Wiersma, "Jacques Jonghelinck," 69.

indicating that the sculptor added brass to the alloy while accounting for the relatively higher percentage of zinc that remains too low to be considered a proper brass.⁴⁴⁶ Although the El Escorial bronzes have yet to undergo an extensive technical study, Pompeo Leoni similarly added brass to the copper alloys used for the *retablo mayor* project. In an undated letter written to the king in 1580, Pompeo and two collaborators explain the need for more money due to the considerable cost of the raw materials.⁴⁴⁷ The letter outlines the quantity of such resources required for the bronze alloy, specifying the ingredients as “copper, fine brass, and tin for the figures, capitals, bases, and adornment.”⁴⁴⁸ It is possible that such a list of materials has yet to be found amongst the copious archival documentation of the *entierros*, and in the absence of published technical data, it is nevertheless plausible if not likely that the effigies were cast with a similar ternary alloy since they were executed by the same sculptor.

The chasing, finishing, and gilding so sumptuously on display in the *Mary of Burgundy* and *Charles the Bold* sculptures testify to the courtly valorization of goldsmithing that would be manifest in the *entierros* decades later. The portraits in Bruges and El Escorial all have highly refined and detailed surfaces to better imitate diverse textures and fabrics, especially evident in the trim and borders of the figures’ garments. *Mary*’s cape is embellished with golden threads that twist together and wind between gothic-script initials and a beaded border [Fig. 4.56].

⁴⁴⁶ Pappot and Wiersma, “Jacques Jonghelinck,” 76.

⁴⁴⁷ Pappot and Wiersma, “Jacques Jonghelinck,” 77; translated into French in Plon, *Les Maitres Italiens*, 202-03; transcribed in original Spanish in “Memorial: De Jacome de Trezzo, Pompeo Leoni y Bautista Comane al Rey, sobre la necesidad de dinero para continuar la obra del retablo, custodia y colaterales de San Lorenzo el Real,” *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* V, n. 4 (February 28, 1875): 66-68.

⁴⁴⁸ The full paragraph reads: “Ansimismo es necesario que vaya Pompeo Leoni a Milan a vaziar lo que su padre tiene empeçado, que son XV figuras de bronze mayores que el natural dos uezes y ciento y y ueynte basas y capitales, grande y todo el adorno del dicho rettablo y colaterales del dicho bronze, el qual es de mucha costa, porque entra en el mucho cobre, laton fino y estaño, y para formar las dichas figuras, capiteles, basas y adorno, es necesario muchos materiales costosos, como cera, hierro, azero, madera, leña, carbon y muchos herramienta y oficiales y maestros, porque es poco el tiempo que les queda y mucha la dicha obra, y para esto han menester diez mill ducados.” “Memorial,” 67.

Charles the Bold's tunic, worn over chainmail, features a design of detailed military trophies in low relief: shields with apotropaic faces, cuirasses with leather fringe, swirling banners, quivers of arrows, axes, and torches [Fig. 4.57]. While this motif was common in marginalia in print and sculpture [see for example Figs. 2.56-58], the most direct reference was likely the base of Leoni's *Charles V and Furor*, which Jonghelinck would have seen during his time at the Milanese workshop in the early 1550s. As discussed, the surface treatment of the *entierros* comprised its own phase of production under the express control of a team of silver and goldsmiths led by Juan de Arfe, Spain's most renowned goldsmith at the time. In the *Charles V*, de Arfe refined the individualized and superbly modeled apostles that stand in individual niches that run along the edge of his extravagant cape [Figs. 4.18-20].⁴⁴⁹ The surface embellishment on the *entierros* figures, completed prior to the ultimate step of gilding each effigy in their entirety, call attention to the work of the goldsmith, with an emphasis on and attention to sculptural surfaces, perfecting the exceptional detail that complemented the modeling and casting of the more general forms. By integrating the gilding and precious metal work that featured so centrally in those examples from Bruges, Philip adapted formal models and sculptural facture that evoked his Spanish, Holy Roman Imperial, and Spanish Netherlandish precursors.

The lateral niches featured still another allusion to the Burgundian models, the elaborate family trees and heraldic program that carried a more overt political message. One of the key elements that distinguishes Mary's tomb from those of her Burgundian relatives is the emphasis on heraldry and her family trees. Instead of the series of shrouded, processing mourners found in other contemporary tombs, heraldic shields dominate the surface.⁴⁵⁰ Shields of her territories and titles appear along the beveled edge of the *tumba's* lid, surrounding the effigy; and on the longer

⁴⁴⁹ See footnote 344.

⁴⁵⁰ Roberts, "The Tomb of Mary of Burgundy," 376, 390.

sides of the *tumba* appear the family trees on both her paternal and maternal sides that reach back five generations. In her comprehensive study of Mary of Burgundy's tomb, art historian Ann Roberts demonstrates the political and dynastic messages that guided the design of the sepulcher, calling attention to her legitimate inheritance to the lands that constituted Burgundy. Mary was born in 1457 to the house of Valois, which, as the Dukes of Burgundy, had consolidated territories throughout the Low Countries during the fifteenth century.⁴⁵¹ With her wedding to Maximilian in 1477, Mary married into the house of Hapsburg and thereby, as the sole heir to Charles the Bold, diluted the claims her Hapsburg heirs could make on the historically Valois region. Her sudden death in a hunting accident at the age of 25 jeopardized her husband's rule over Burgundy, leaving it vulnerable to French attack. In spite of the eventual loss of the duchy to Louis XI, the tomb nevertheless insists on the entitlement of Mary's heirs to the region, by visualizing Mary's—and therefore her heirs'—legitimate generational claims to the land and its titles.⁴⁵²

The lateral niches at El Escorial also adapt the Burgundian tombs' promotion of the titles and territories held by the individual rulers. In the *Mary of Burgundy* and *Charles the Bold* tombs, the shields of their holdings surround their portraits, lining the tops of their respective *tumbas*. Given the change in effigy format and the scaling up of El Escorial's funerary monuments, the commensurate interest in promoting the scope of individual leadership receives significant attention, though it manifests differently. Instead of smaller shields and titles framing the emperor and king, the heraldry is, firstly, relocated and enhanced by the colossal shields above the niches, visually branding the entire space and those represented below under the

⁴⁵¹ For a primer on the Burgundian court in the fifteenth century, see the introduction to *Staging the Court of Burgundy: Proceedings of the Conference "The Splendour of Burgundy,"* ed. Wim Blockmans, Till-Holger Borchert, Nele Gabriëls, Johan Oosterman, and Anne van Oosterwijk (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2013), 9-13.

⁴⁵² Roberts, "The Tomb of Mary of Burgundy," 390.

legitimacy of Charles V and Philip II. Secondly, some of the figures preserve the more personal and immediate associations to their titles and territories through the inlaid capes draped over the most visible figures.

Closely connected to the focus on territories is the emphasis on the Bruges tombs on generational continuity, tracing their rulership into the past. Maternal and paternal family trees decorate the *tumbas*' broad sides in Bruges, and while no such genealogies in lateral niches have survived, there are three contemporary sources—a manuscript, a set of six paintings, and a textual description—that record plans for elaborate family trees that were to snake along the black stone-clad walls. This related corpus of images and texts allows for the *entierros* to be analyzed in more explicitly dynastic terms, linking past rulers to those presented in the niche, while also gesturing to the future generations of Hapsburgs. The relationship between and implications of these ancillary sources have never been considered together, and by carefully reading them in conjunction with the production timeline laid out earlier in this chapter, I argue that there was a stage from 1593-1600 when the lateral niches appeared in a fully realized, though ephemeral, state, layering the sculptures against the genealogical program influenced by the precedents in Bruges.

Jehan Lhermite, originally from Antwerp, had spent his career in the courts of Philip II, carefully recording the various royal sites and territories in Spain in a two-volume manuscript entitled *Le Passetemps*.⁴⁵³ In his entries dated 1597, he describes the *capilla mayor* space, and after discussing the royal oratories, he writes,

⁴⁵³ Jehan Lhermite, *Le Passetemps: Publié d'après le Manuscrit original par E. Ouverleaux et J. Petit, Tome II*, eds. Emile Ouverleaux and Jules-Jean Petit (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1971), n.p. The drawing falls between pages 32 and 33. For the first volume, see Jehan Lhermite, *Le Passetemps: Publié d'après le Manuscrit original par Ch. Ruelens, Tome I*, ed. Charles Louis Ruelens (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1971). For a short biography of Lhermite, see José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, "Lhermite, Jehan," in *Diccionario Biográfico Español*, vol. XXIX (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2009), 607-08.

Above the stated oratory, between strong and rich columns of fine jasper whose arches make very beautiful and magnificent structures, are the places where the figures and statues of the emperor, accompanied by his wife, daughter, and sisters, as well as His Majesty with his wives and children are all displayed and placed in very fine order. [They are] all cast in bronze and very richly gilded with the arms of their ancestors, whose heraldry or colors are none other than the same color of the live and natural stone, and the metals are gold and silver, the colors so well applied according to the coat of arms, that they really seem to be painted in the ordinary colors that the painters use.⁴⁵⁴

The mention of heraldry could pertain to the colorful capes worn by *Charles V, Empress María, Philip II, and Elisabeth of Valois* if not for the clear articulation that he refers to the “arms of their ancestors.” Lhermite also provided a drawing of the *evangelio* and *epistola* sides, which clarifies his text by illustrating the full heraldic program [Fig. 4.58]. He depicts each niche frontally with the still extant elements: the heraldic shields above, the effigies, and at the bottom the doors to the queen and king’s private oratories. The extensive, scrolling family trees that culminate in the coats of arms of Charles V and Philip II respectively no longer survive, but Lhermite asserts the veracity of his representation with the label that appears between each niche: “The true form of the cenotaphs of the Emperor Charles V and the King Philip II as observed on the site of the tremendous altar.”⁴⁵⁵ Before discussing the text and drawings in greater detail, it is necessary first to clarify what was in place in that year and what, in fact, Lhermite had in front of him to observe. In 1597, the precious stone heraldic shields were completed, the inscriptions were likely in place, but both bronze groups were still in

⁴⁵⁴ “En hault des dictz oratoires se voyent les lieux qui sont entre des fort belles et riches colonnes de jaspe fine, avecq leur arcures qui y font une fort belle et magnifique structure, où les figures et statues de l’empereur, d’un costé, en compaignie de sa femme, fille et soeurs, et Sa Majesté d’autre, en celle de ses femmes et enfans, sont mises et colloquées en fort bel ordre, fondues toutes de bronze et dorées fort richement avecq le armoyries de leur descente, dont le blasons ou couleurs ne sont aultre que de la mesme couleur de la pierre vive et naturelle et les metaulx sont de l’or et argent, icelles couleurs si bien appliquées selon le blason des armes, que ce semblent vraiment estre paintcz des couleurs ordinaires qu’usent les painctres.” Lhermite, *Le Passetemps: Tome II*, 32.

⁴⁵⁵ “Vraye forme des enterremens de l’empereur Charles le quint, et le Roy don Phelippe le deuxiesme en la mesme façon qu’ilse voyentau mesme lieu, dont cest en tredeux est le lieu du grand autel.” Lhermite, *Le Passetemps: Tome II*, n.p.

production.⁴⁵⁶ Lhermite chronicles, then, the polychromed plasters that had been installed in 1594 and not the finished gilded bronze *entierros*, as his text states.⁴⁵⁷ It is possible that the imitation bronzes convinced Lhermite, with their elevation roughly ten to fifteen feet high and the low levels of natural light in the chancel. It is more likely that the commission's reputation likely preceded the actual sculptures, with his textual description anticipating the eventual and permanent bronzes.

Further testifying to the provisional state of the niches at the time, the drawing preserves the elaborate family trees for each ruler, comprised of vines and blank heraldic shields topped with crowns and surrounded by the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, when appropriate to the person indicated by the arms. In an echo of the *Mary of Burgundy* and *Charles the Bold* tombs in Bruges, these plans similarly trace the Charles V and Philip II's ancestry back to the five preceding generations. The vines culminate in the central panels where the heraldry for Charles V and Philip II hang above the familial portraits, mirroring the hardstone versions above. The arms for each ancestor have been left largely blank (with the exceptions found in the Philip II niche of Charles V, Empress Isabel, and her father Manuel I of Portugal and the Algraves). Lhermite has either accurately depicted the temporarily incomplete state of the niches, or he has forgone the laborious process of replicating the minute detail for all sixty-four shields.

A second source for the early dynastic visual program is a set of six paintings. These images provide the chromatic and heraldic details missing in Lhermite's rendering and offer a more complete picture of the plans for the family trees. Two paintings signed by court portraitist Juan Pantoja de la Cruz and dated 1599 represent each of the golden sculpture groups framed by

⁴⁵⁶ Don Juan de Idiáquez submitted a draft of the text for the ten inscriptions—one for each of the five wall segments in each of the two niches—in 1594 to the historian Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa. Bustamante García, “Las Estatuas de Bronce (IV),” 157.

⁴⁵⁷ See footnotes 326 and 327.

the fluted red jasper columns and crowned by the floral vines, heraldic shield, and inscription in the central bays [Figs. 4.59-60]. Four other undated paintings attributed to Fabrizio Castello, who also polychromed the plaster *entierros* in 1593, depict the completed inscriptions as well as the planned the genealogies that were meant to cover the remaining four wall segments [Figs. 4.61-64].⁴⁵⁸ These paintings raise similar questions as to what Lhermite's drawing records. The final bronze Charles V group was installed between February and November 1598, making it plausible that Pantoja recorded Pompeo's bronzes; however the plaster versions of the Philip II group were in place in 1599 as the final bronzes were not installed until October 1600.⁴⁵⁹ Pantoja rendered the colors of the figures' capes differently, with the imitative fur linings of the Charles group in more muted greyish white, and the Philip group marked by vivid reds and whites. In each instance, though, the court painter has chromatically enhanced areas that are unmistakably gilded in the completed bronzes—the gilded fictive furs appear as white details in each of the ten figures, and in the case of the Philip group, four of the effigies have capes with colorful heraldic decoration that only exists in two of the final sculptures. Given his status in the court, Pantoja may have seen the unfinished bronzes and invented the chromatic design present in his paintings. It is likely that instead of artistic license, Pantoja was approximating the plaster versions, which, by virtue of having been painted as well, would have possessed a more saturated and bright appearance than the natural color of the various stones and silvered surfaces. Lhermite reiterates this more “painterly” appearance in his text when he claims, “that they really seem to be painted in the ordinary colors that the painters use.”⁴⁶⁰

The four other paintings of the genealogies are even more difficult to assess, as no date is known for their execution. They mirror the general composition and layout of Lhermite's 1597

⁴⁵⁸ See footnote 327.

⁴⁵⁹ See footnotes 346-350 for the Charles V group installation and 59-60 for the Philip II group.

⁴⁶⁰ See footnote 453.

drawing while also providing more detail. The inscriptions match between paintings and drawing though the painter faithfully included the details, titles, and names of all 124 ancestral arms, a feat of both visual minutiae as well as dynastic research.

These renderings of the plans reveal still another level on which the tomb monuments at El Escorial quote the Mary and Charles tombs by visualizing generational connections, inheritance of titles and territories, and, therefore, dynastic legitimacy and continuity between Hapsburg rulers. Like the genealogies in Bruges, the planned family trees for El Escorial feature individual shields topped with a crown corresponding to the individual's highest rank with an inscription below identifying the person by name and title [Fig. 4.65]. The versions for the lateral niches as preserved in Lhermite's drawing and the set of paintings had adapted some of the specifics to suit the site and time period, editing out the companion angles that punctuate the branches in Bruges while also clarifying the inscriptions. Instead of Gothic script on curling scrolls, the paintings feature rectangular plaques below the shields in abbreviated Latin that match the inscriptions above. The family trees radiate from the central bays, and like their counterparts on Mary and Charles's *tumbas*, the matrilineal and patrilineal ancestors are divided spatially, with, for example, Mary's mother's lineage on one side of the *tumba* and her father's on the other. In El Escorial, the paternal lines unfold to the front of each niche and the maternal to the back. Each wall panel has five rows of shields, one for each generation it traces, terminating with Charles V's and Philip's great- great- great-grandparents.

Even with the family trees omitted from the niches, the extant inscriptions still hint at the maternal/paternal split and the plans for heraldic shields for the walls below. For Charles, the inscriptions read:

Front:

CAROLI.V.ROMAN.IMPERATORIS
STEMMATA GENTILITIA PATERNA.
QVOT LOCVS CEPIT ANGVSTIOR.
SVIS GRADIBVS DISTINCTA ET
SERIE

Back:

CAROLI.V.ROMAN.IMPERATORIS
STEMMATA GENTILITIA MATERNA.
QVOT LOCVS CEPIT ANGVSTIOR.
SVIS GRADIBVS DISTINCTA ET
SERIE

Similarly, Philip's niche reads:

Front:

PHILIPPI.II.REGIS CATHOLICI
STEMMATA GENTILITIA PATERNA.
QVOT LOVUS CEPIT ANGVSTIOR.
SVIS GRADIBVS DISTINCTA ET
SERIE

Back:

PHILIPPI.II.REGIS CATHOLICI
STEMMATA GENTILITIA MATERNA.
QVOT LOCVS CEPIT ANGVSTIOR.
SVIS GRADIBVS DISTINCTA ET
SERIE

In each instance, the text calls attention to no longer extant *stemmata*, the Latin plural of *stemma*, or a family tree, and identifies the now phantom genealogies as either maternal or paternal ancestors.

As further proof of the lateral niches having been fully realized, though, in provisional state, chronicler José de Sigüenza translated the Latin inscriptions into Spanish, specifying the states of the lineages. Of the Charles niche, he says:

‘Those are the blazons and coats of arms of the lineage and descendants of the paternal side of Charles V, Roman Emperor.’ ... It says the same behind the figures as in the front that is adjacent to the altarpiece, because it is expected that they will put on each side the coats of arms and blazons of his parents and ancestors, made of the same jaspers and stones, and adorned with flowers and bouquets in gilded bronze, which will make it more illustrious even though at the moment the paternal side and the maternal side at the back are not there.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁶¹ “Quiere decir: «Estos son los blasones y armas del linaje y descendencia de parte del padre de Carlos V, Emperador romano.» ... En el tester de las espaldas dice lo mismo que en el de enfrente de junto al retablo, porque se pretende poner en el uno y en el otro las armas y blasones de sus padres y antepasados, hechos de los mismos jaspes y piedras, y guarnecidos de florones y ramos de bronce dorado, que harán

Sigüenza then describes the inscriptions of the southern niche:

On the two walls, on the one to the front and on the one to the back, there are the coats of arms and blazons of the parents and maternal and paternal grandparents, as on the other side, and the text says the following:

FILIPPI REGIS CATHOLICI STEMMATA
GENTILITIA PATERNA. QUOT LOCUS CÆPIT
ANGUSTIOR SUIS GRADIBUS DISTINCTA
& SERIE

It says the same on the other wall, on the side of his mother, where the coats of arms and blazons of the King are placed, both of which are already declared on the Emperor's side.⁴⁶²

In conjunction with the translations Sigüenza offers, he also makes available greater details about the materials and state of completion than either the drawing or paintings. Writing just before the year 1600, Sigüenza noted that although the heraldry for the Charles V niche had not yet been realized, the plans had developed far enough that materials—jaspers and stones—had been earmarked for their use. Of the Philip II niche, Sigüenza states that both the maternal and paternal genealogies are in place, though without specifying whether in stone or a more ephemeral material.

The six paintings, Lhermite's drawing, and Sigüenza's descriptions prove that plans for heraldic family trees existed in the last decade of the sixteenth-century and clarify their functions. Alone, it would be possible that they memorialize highly developed designs that never moved past the planning stages; however the combination of multiple visual and textual records confirm the likelihood that ephemeral genealogies were made and mounted in the niches along with the provisional plaster sculptures. The accuracy and labor of the heraldic paintings

aquello más ilustre, aunque ahora no están los de parte del padre, y en el de las espaldas los de parte de la madre." Sigüenza, *La fundación del Monasterio de El Escorial*, 488-89.

⁴⁶² "En los dos testeros, en el de enfrente y en el de las espaldas, están las armas y blasones de los padres y abuelos paternos y maternos, como en la otra parte, y la inscripción dice así: ... El otro dice lo mismo, donde se ponen las armas y los blasones del Rey, de parte de su madre, que el uno y el otro están ya declarados en el del Emperador." Sigüenza, *La fundación del Monasterio de El Escorial*, 491.

attributed to Fabrizio Castello indicate they could have served as the refined and late-stage guides for the manufacture of either temporary and/or final genealogies, and were likely painted in early 1590s when plans for both niches were well under way and when the provisional elements, such as the plasters, were put in place. The Pantoja paintings, finished in 1599, represent either the ultimate vision planners had for the niches (including the plasters stand-ins while the bronzes groups were still in the workshops), or they record the actual niches as they appeared before 1599 including the heraldry. The label that Lhermite gives his drawing, that it is “as [he] observed on the site of the tremendous altar,” attests more convincingly to the latter.⁴⁶³ With Sigüenza writing at roughly the same time as the date on Pantoja’s paintings and reporting the display of the genealogies on the Philip II side, it appears that the versions that had existed for Pantoja and Lhermite to depict were removable, with Charles V’s having been taken down by the time of writing circa 1599-1600. In which case, between the installation of the polychromed plaster sculptures in 1594 and the installation of the last bronze effigies in 1600, the lateral niches appeared to full effect, though in a provisional state and in ephemeral materials, with all of its intended elements—heraldic shields, portraits, inscriptions, and family trees—in place and on display. Since the court moved north to Valladolid shortly after in 1601, it is possible the artistic priorities shifted to other sites, leaving the lateral niches partially unfinished.

There is no evidence, to my knowledge, that such plans were ever executed after Philip II’s death in 1598. It is possible that they were made but later dismantled by Napoleon’s forces, which also looted parts of the nearby tabernacle and *custodia*. However the black stone cladding remains unblemished and bears no marks or holes for the installation of such heavy stone and bronze decoration. The provisional genealogies were likely made from significantly lighter plaster or stucco that could have been painted much like the temporary sculptures.

⁴⁶³ See footnote 454.

In parallel with Philip's impulse to look to past precedents for the design and facture of the *entierros*, he also recognized future generations as the next link in carrying forward the mission of the Catholic Monarchs and fulfilling his father's wish for a dynastic mausoleum. The inscriptions that line the empty bays in front of and behind each effigy group anticipate the audience of future generations, directly addressing heirs whose presence in the Hapsburg genealogies remain otherwise abstract and implied. The inscriptions closest to the altarpiece on both sides rhetorically challenge the descendants of Charles V and Philip to aspire to their level of uprightness: "If one of Charles V's descendants outdoes the glories of his great deeds, take up this space first; all others abstain with reverence;"⁴⁶⁴ and "This space, here left empty, kept so by his rank for those of [Philip II's] descendants who surpass him in virtue; otherwise, no one shall occupy it."⁴⁶⁵ These statements mark the empty bays immediately next to the sculpture groups, and their proximity to the *retablo mayor* renders this space still more devotionally potent and honored than the bays where the effigies kneel. The text sets an impossible standard for the spiritual leadership expected from future Hapsburg rulers. In a gesture to the memorial function of El Escorial, the inscriptions in the bay immediately next to and behind the *entierros* have a distinctly more epitaphic tone. Behind the Charles V group, the text reads, "The rule and care of the descendants leave this space empty for the children and grandchildren, after living long lives

⁴⁶⁴ HVNC LOCVMSIQVIS POSTEROR.CAR. / V.AVITAM GLOR.RER.GESTAR.SPLEN /

DORE SVPER AVERIS IPSE SOLVS / OCCVPATO COETERI REVERENTER / ABSTINETE. Sigüenza translated this as, "Quiere decir: «Si alguno de los descendientes de Carlos V sobrepusiere las glorias de sus hazañas, ocupe este lugar primero; los demás absténganse con reverencia.»" Sigüenza, *La fundación del Monasterio de El Escorial*, 488.

⁴⁶⁵ HIC LOCVS DIGNIORI INTER / POSTEROS ILLO QVI VLTRO AB / EO ABSTINVIT VIRTVTIS ERGO / ASSERVATVR ALITER IMMVNIS / ESTO. Sigüenza translated this as, "Que, a mi parecer (proque es menester adivinar), quiere decir: Este lugar que aquí queda vacío lo guardó, quien lo dejó de su grado, para el que de sus descendientes fuere mejor en virtud; de otra suerte, ninguno lo ocupe." Sigüenza, *La fundación del Monasterio de El Escorial*, 491.

and after they pay the natural debt of death.”⁴⁶⁶ Similarly, behind the bronze Philip II and his family, the inscription translates, “This space remains here destined, with particular and intentional care, for the children, so that it is with their clear memories that they are enlightened when, after a long life, they die.”⁴⁶⁷ With balanced proclamations anticipating the lives and deaths of those who were to follow Charles and Philip, the texts complete the dynastic narratives in the lateral niches. There had been plans to manifest more permanently their collective Hapsburg and Burgundian past in an echo of the Bruges tombs. The *entierros* themselves account for the immediate past—those recently deceased—and the present and everlasting act of devotion demonstrated by their posture and placement relative to the tabernacle. Finally, the inscriptions also presume the continuity of the lineage of the emperor and king by directly addressing their heirs and future rulers, casting the praying proxies as spiritual and political models in perpetuity.

Afterlives: The Output and Qualities of a Courtly Workshop

Philip II died on September 13, 1598, leaving his lands and titles in the hands of his seventh child Philip III, who was born to his fourth wife and niece Anna of Austria in 1578. Only twenty years old at the time, the young Philip relied heavily on and gave great administrative power to his chief minister, the Duke of Lerma (b. 1552/53 – d. 1625). Roughly one year into his

⁴⁶⁶ PROVIDA POSTERITATIS CVRA / IN LIBERVM NEPOTVMQ. GRATIAM / ATQ. VSVM RELICTUS LOCVS POST / LONGAM ANNORVM SERIEM CVM / DEBITVM NATVRAE PERSOLVERINT / OCCVPANDVS. “En castellano suena así: «La providencia y cuidado de los descendientes deja este lugar vacío a los hijos y nietos, después que, vividos muchos años, paguen la deuda natural de la muerte.»” Sigüenza, *La fundación del Monasterio de El Escorial*, 489.

⁴⁶⁷ SOLERTI LIBERORVM STVDIO / POSTERIS POST DIVTINA SPATIA / AD VSVM DESIGNATVS LOCVS. / CLARIS. QVVM NATVRAE CON / CESSERINT. MONVMENTIS / DECORANDVS. “Quiere decir «Este lugar queda aquí destinado, con particular y pensado cuidado de los hijos, para que sea con sus claras memorias ilustrado cuando, después de largo espacio de vida, murieren.»” Sigüenza, *La fundación del Monasterio de El Escorial*, 491.

reign on January 1, 1600, rumors circulated that the king would soon move the capital, and thus the court, from Madrid to Valladolid.⁴⁶⁸ Lerma identified an opportunity to prepare Valladolid for its new courtly role through a series of artistic projects which overlapped with the gilding and installations of the final *entierros*, thus concluding the decoration of the *capilla mayor* as it has survived and marking a moment of transition from one ruler to the next, and from one court to another.⁴⁶⁹

In one of the commissions undertaken by Lerma, the duke engaged Pompeo Leoni to sculpt tombs for himself and his wife in Valladolid, and this project will be addressed in the final section of this chapter. Lerma consolidated his own position within the court and city, repraising the very devotional and dynastic artistic precedents Philip II had established at El Escorial. In spite of these significant changes to the face of Spanish monarchy, the cenotaphs of the Duke of Lerma and his wife Catalina de la Cerda [Figs. 4.66-67] demonstrate the consistency and stability provided by Pompeo Leoni and Juan de Arfe's courtly sculptural practices. Art Historian Lisa A. Banner has argued that El Escorial provided "the spiritual blueprints" that Lerma emulated in certain aspects of his patronage in Valladolid at that time, even including an initiative to procure relics for the church and monastery of San Pablo.⁴⁷⁰ By contextualizing Lerma's cenotaphs alongside the understanding provided here of the *entierros*, Philip II's cherished complex offered more than a devotional guide for Lerma to follow. The *entierros* in particular, beyond even a formal model, had established a practical infrastructure of sites, networks, and makers that made it possible to produce large-scale gilded bronzes for Spanish patrons. To conclude this study of the Leoni's collaborations and output for their Hapsburg

⁴⁶⁸ Lisa A. Banner, *The Religious Patronage of the Duke of Lerma, 1598-1621* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 47.

⁴⁶⁹ The last of the Philip II group was in place by October 22, 1600. See footnote 359.

⁴⁷⁰ Banner, *The Religious Patronage*, 59 and 67.

patrons, I will consider the parallels between the *entierros* at El Escorial and those commissioned by the Duke of Lerma in terms of their production and satisfaction of devotional and political aspirations, attesting to Pompeo's success in marrying local production, post-Tridentine devotion, and courtly strategies.

Much like El Escorial was to Philip II, San Pablo was the most personal and political of all of Lerma's patronage sites in Valladolid.⁴⁷¹ Located next to the building in which Philip II was born [Fig 4.68], Lerma selected San Pablo for the burial chapel for himself and his wife. The two figures, made of fire-gilded bronze, kneel on pillows. They are dressed, respectively, in armor and an elaborately decorated dress, with their hands pressed together and elevated in prayer, and are draped in fur-lined capes that cascade in rich folds behind them. [Figs. 4.69-70] Gone are the prie-dieux at which the effigies of the kings and their families kneel (although archival documents refer to "*dos sitaliaes*" that were perhaps lost when the sculptures were removed from San Pablo), as are the inlaid stone decoration on their capes.⁴⁷² To the left of the *Duke of Lerma* is an armet (closed-helmet), positioned in such a way that it appears as if the Duke only recently set it down before assuming his devotional pose. Now displayed in the adjoining Museo Nacional de Escultura, the original setting for the sculptures at San Pablo consisted of elevated jasper- and marble-lined niches to either side of the altar, approximating both El Escorial's materials and the spatial relationships enumerated in Charles V's original will, with husband and wife turned towards the altar.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷¹ For a study on Lerma's larger renovation of San Pablo, see Banner, *The Religious Patronage*, 62-82.

⁴⁷² They were mentioned in a record dated June 25, 1602 of the commission compiled by Juan de Obregon. See D. José Martí y Monsó, *Estudios Históricos-Artísticos Relativos Principalmente á Valladolid* (Valladolid: Leonardo Miñon, 1898-1901), 258.

⁴⁷³ For 3,300 *ducados*, Pedro Castelo and Antonio de Arta, who are named as residents in El Escorial ("*residentes en San Lorenzo el real*"), agreed to follow a drawing provided by court architect Francisco de Mora and to carve, clean, and install jaspers and marbles in the two niches. The relevant section of the contract was excerpted in Martí y Monsó, *Estudios Históricos-Artísticos*, 258-259, n. 1.

By the end of 1600, the Duke of Lerma had only vague plans for the cenotaphs, but 1601 was an eventful year, as the court arrived in Valladolid on June 15, 1601 and the effigies began to take literal shape. Payment records from 1601 confirm the beginning of a project that greatly resembled the production of the *entierros* at El Escorial. Before casting the figures, plaster versions were made in Pompeo's workshop by Milan Vimercado and Baltasar Mariano. Both Vimercado and Mariano had been members of Pompeo's foundry in Madrid since 1592 when they both joined from Milan, and Vimercado had worked on three of the wax figures for the Charles V group.⁴⁷⁴ The sculptors executed the plasters over the course of five months, in Valladolid, it seems, and were compensated "for the models (*modelos*) of the sepulchral figures and *entierros* of His Excellency on which they have worked and are working."⁴⁷⁵ The terminology changes elsewhere in the expense books, raising currently unanswerable questions as to the specific casting techniques the foundry used.⁴⁷⁶ While the use of models was standard workshop practice, a reference to "two sculptures and molds of plaster" introduces two possibilities: either the Spanish terms *molde* and *modelo* were used interchangeably, or it refers to the use of molds for indirect casting, in which molds are used to preserve the original model and to produce the wax for casting.⁴⁷⁷ In November 1601, the plasters were sent in several boxes back down to Madrid to "the houses of Jacopo da Trezzo," referring to the workshops that Pompeo had taken over to cast the tomb monuments for El Escorial.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁴ See footnotes 323 and 339.

⁴⁷⁵ "...de lo que an trabajado y ban trabajando en los modelos de las figuras de los sepulcros y entierros de su ex^a." Martí y Monsó, *Estudios Históricos-Artísticos*, 250.

⁴⁷⁶ To my knowledge, the Museo Nacional de Escultura has not conducted technical analysis of these sculptures.

⁴⁷⁷ "[E]l dicho Baltasar Mariano se a ocupado cinco meses en hacer dos bultos y moldes de yeso..." Martí y Monsó, *Estudios Históricos-Artísticos*, 250.

⁴⁷⁸ Martí y Monsó, *Estudios Históricos-Artísticos*, 250-51.

As in the earlier *entierros*, Juan de Arfe and his workshop also collaborated with Pompeo when casting the figures in bronze. The archival evidence paints a complicated and at times contradictory picture because both sculptors submitted proposals and signed contracts for this stage of work.⁴⁷⁹ Additionally, the Duke commissioned two other gilded bronze effigies of his uncles. Only one was made, that of Cristóbal de Rojas y Sandoval who was the Archbishop of Seville.⁴⁸⁰ [Fig. 4.71] At this point, the division of labor and production of the Lerma effigies deviates from the precise example set by Pompeo and his collaborators in the preceding decade, while still relying on the workshops, collaborations, and materials forged under Philip II. Instead of assuming the responsibility to cast the figures before sending them to different workshops to be cleaned and gilded, Pompeo and his team produced the designs in plaster before Juan de Arfe's workshops cast the three figures.⁴⁸¹ Juan de Arfe had almost finished the *Cristóbal de Rojas y Sandoval*, a figure that Pompeo does not seem to have modeled, before his unexpected death in 1603.⁴⁸² Ultimately Pompeo served in a largely supervisory capacity, a role he assumed after the silversmith's son-in-law and longtime collaborator Lesmes Fernández del Moral took over Juan's workshop. Fernández also gilded the figures.

The *Duke of Lerma* and *Catalina de la Cerda* were installed in San Pablo by September 22, 1608, with Lesmes receiving the final payment.⁴⁸³ Eight years after completing his work for

⁴⁷⁹ Martí y Monsó, *Estudios Históricos-Artísticos*, 251-258. The work was summarized in Banner, *The Religious Patronage*, 80.

⁴⁸⁰ See Banner, *The Religious Patronage*, 80; Margarita Estella, "Los Leoni, escultores entre Italia y España," in *Los Leoni (1509-1608: Escultores del Renacimiento italiano al servicio de la corte de España* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1994), 40-41, 52; and Martí y Monsó, *Estudios Históricos-Artísticos*, 251-258

⁴⁸¹ Due to the aforementioned ambiguity in the archival documents and pending technical analysis to determine whether they were directly or indirectly cast, it is impossible to know whether these plasters served as casting models from which molds could be taken or models in a more general artistic sense, leaving Juan de Arfe's workshop to produce the cores and waxes for casting.

⁴⁸² See Estella, "Los Leoni," 52.

⁴⁸³ Banner, *The Religious Patronage*, 80.

El Escorial, seven years after designing the plasters for the Duke of Lerma, and just seventeen days after their installation, Pompeo Leoni died in Madrid on October 9, 1608. While Juan de Arfe's workshop, as noted above, continued under the silversmith's son-in-law; however, Pompeo's death proved to be more conclusive for his workshop in Madrid. There has been little scholarship on the sculptors and craftsmen who populated Pompeo's Madrid workshop after 1591, when Pompeo left his native Milan for the last time. Lisa Banner mentions the possibility that the sculptor's son Miguel Ángel Leoni produced autonomous works for the Duke of Lerma in his native town of Lerma [Fig. 4.72], though he returned to Milan after his father's death.⁴⁸⁴ I am unaware of any evidence suggesting to whom Jacopo da Trezzo's workshop space was bequeathed.

While there is a scarcity of knowledge about what became of Pompeo's many Spanish collaborators, the apparent rapid termination of workshop activities following the sculptor's death is characteristic of the provisional, flexible, and impermanent character of a certain sector of courtly artistic output in the sixteenth century. More so than his father, whose artistic practice as imperial sculptor remained rooted to one city, Pompeo circulated between sites and adapted to the ever-changing environments and circumstances in which he found himself. Throughout their careers, father and son provided their Hapsburg patrons with the technical skills and artistic savvy necessary to fully manifest and communicate in the substance and form of their work Charles and Philip's ever entwined military, religious, and dynastic aspirations.

⁴⁸⁴ Banner, *The Religious Patronage*, 128.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

Through the case studies offered by Leone and Pompeo Leoni's multiregional production for Charles V and Philip II and the subsequent widespread circulation of their work, this dissertation has examined how the materials of sculpture served Hapsburg dynastic, religious, and courtly ambitions. The Leoni were crucial actors within Hapsburg visual culture over the long sixteenth century, conversant with earlier precedents as well as contemporary industries within the interconnected Hapsburg territories. The abundant archival materials relating to their largest commissions—the Brussels portraits and the projects for El Escorial's *capilla mayor*—in conjunction with a knowledge of the intensive processes of hard-stone carving, bronze casting, and fire-gilding, illuminates our understanding of critical aspects of early modern artistic production. Furthermore, the scale of these projects was exceptional and achieved only by and through the power and resources of the Hapsburg rulers.

For the projects in which father and son collaborated, the Leoni's bifurcated production clarifies the stages constituted by the complex and protracted process of bronze casting and finishing. The transregional production was characterized by distinct phases, with preparation and casting restricted to Milan and finishing and gilding entrusted to Pompeo's management in Madrid. Extant documents from the artists, patrons, and other imperial agents accompany each stage and reveal the concerns, difficulties, and issues particular to each step. The Leoni, in their collaborative work, coordinated and managed factors such as sourcing the materials, acquiring the requisite space and qualified assistance, and the range of skills and techniques needed for

finishing. After Leone Leoni died in 1590 and Pompeo consolidated their bronze casting outfit in Jacopo da Trezzo's former workshop in Madrid, the breakdown and delegation of responsibilities continued, though without the geographic dilation of the sculptor's previous collaboration with his father. With production now generated firmly within the court structure in Spain established during Philip II's reign, the documents for the *entierros* name specific sculptors and their corresponding expertise within Pompeo's workshop, and identify other workshops that finished, gilded, and decorated the figures and their settings with hard stones, while revealing how materials were distributed within the government's sprawling infrastructure.

In addition to illuminating specific aspects of the casting process, this study complements oft-used sixteenth-century treatises and recent invaluable technical studies that have greatly amplified our understanding of the complexities and varieties of bronze casting in Renaissance Europe. Texts such as Vannoccio Biringuccio's *De La Pirotechnia* (1540), Georgius Agricola's *De Re Metallica* (1556), and Benvenuto Cellini's *Trattati* (1568) have been the primary contemporary sources that have formed our understanding of sixteenth-century casting and metallurgy. The assiduous analyses conducted by scientists and conservators in our modern museum context have corrected and refined the inaccuracies in the earlier publications while illuminating either individual objects or a cluster of objects by specific sculptors. This dissertation sits in between the formulaic and synthetic nature of the treatises and the highly focused technical research by considering the expansive production of the Leoni of large quantities of bronze sculptures, under a variety of conditions, and over many decades. The archival content also contextualizes these objects within broader political interests and artistic spheres.

The perspective on imperial patronage and artistic production that emerges in this study, which involves both the mobility of artists between European centers and the amassing of art and natural-historical collections within the Hapsburg courts, was hardly particular to the Leoni's relationship to Charles V and Philip II. Many artists travelled and established themselves at a court for a period of time, such as Cellini when he worked for Francis I in Paris and Sofonisba Anguissola when she spent time in Madrid. Other artists, while travelling to negotiate individual commissions or to meet with their princely patrons, remained rooted in one site, such as Titian in Venice. The Leoni's joint production reflect both of these customs, simultaneously offering the Hapsburg monarchs the doubled cultural cachet of drawing artists and works of art from within the extensive territories they ruled.

To maintain their workshops, Leone and Pompeo sought talented sculptors and craftspeople from their respective regions, with Pompeo relying on Spanish workers of precious metals. For early modern artists, there was a significant overlap between goldsmithing and large-scale sculpture, with artists such as Cellini and Leone Leoni having received their earliest training as goldsmiths before turning to bronze casting when they received sufficient backing for such undertakings. Goldsmiths working on Hapsburg monumental commissions contributed their technical expertise in executing the refined surface treatments and the gilding of large-scale bronze sculptures. There was also a tradition of larger dynastic and courtly cultivation of goldsmiths into which the collaborations on Leoni's sculptures fit. The Burgundian court of Charles the Bold and Mary of Burgundy's tomb project exemplify the high status held by goldsmiths and the precious metal objects they wrought. Through the careful examination of a small, kneeling votive portrait of Charles the Bold by court artist Gerard Loyet, Hugo van der Velden has reasserted and reconstructed Loyet's importance in the court in spite of the loss of

much of his oeuvre.⁴⁸⁵ The dynastic precedent that valorized goldsmithing and its application to luxury devotional objects established a model for subsequent rulers like Philip II, in his projects initiated over a century later in El Escorial.

The high altarpiece and *entierros*, in their form and content, as well as in their scale and number, demonstrate a complex interrelationship between courtly practice, devotional objects, and material, found in the artistic projects of early Hapsburg rulers. They also function as a direct and undeniable assertion of the unique resources that the patrons had at their disposal. The archival document discussed in chapter four, which quantifies the amount of gold distributed for the gilding of the *retablo mayor* figures and a number of reliquaries at an astounding 1,200 pounds, signals the excess of gold from New Spain that was being channeled exclusively through Philip II's court. Other major rulers in sixteenth-century Europe commissioned large-scale sculptural and bronze projects—Philip's uncle and Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I completed the tomb to Maximilian I; the Florentine Duke Cosimo de' Medici stoked competition between his courtly sculptors, and French king Francis I supported Cellini. No one besides Philip II, however, could claim the ownership he did to such a precious raw material nor exert the same level of control over its distribution and dissemination. Both gold and silver were extracted from land to which Philip laid claim in New Spain and entered Europe through Seville, with wider distribution centralized at the Royal Palace, or *Alcázar* in Madrid. Gold and silver were thus characterized as distinctly "Spanish." This "Spanish" gold was lavishly applied on the sculptures of sacred and royal figures situated in the *capilla mayor* of El Escorial, with this key religious site operating as a kind of stage on which the Leoni and their collaborators worked and Philip II made reference, through the materials, to imperial Hapsburg domains.

⁴⁸⁵ See Hugo van der Velden, *The Donor's Image: Gerard Loyet and the Votive Portraits of Charles the Bold* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

The consumption of raw materials, the support of artists from various centers, the consolidation of preeminent artists at court, and the collection and juxtaposition of objects transpired over extensive imperial networks. Within this dynamic and expanding system, the Leoni proved to be reliable managers. In spite of the occasional tension between the Leoni and their patrons over the timely completion of the works, the sculptors produced large-scale sculptures for the Hapsburgs for nearly sixty years, a testament to their effectiveness as artists and as logistical directors of massive projects over vast distances. There is an interesting shift in emphasis found in the archival materials, with the early Brussels commission eliciting comments about their artistic qualities and novelty and the later El Escorial projects indicating a greater focus on the coordination between workshops and production in Milan and Madrid. This shift attests to how the practices of the Leoni developed and morphed as the artists refined their managerial expertise through experience and with the aid of artistic and administrative collaborators, such as Jacopo da Trezzo and the silversmith Juan de Arfe, and the royal secretary Juan de Ibarra. The preceding study has situated the Leoni's major projects for the Hapsburgs within the broad imperial, dynastic, and sculptural landscape of the latter half of sixteenth century. An object- and material-based approach to these commissions adds nuance to our understanding of bronze casting, goldsmithing, and hard stone carving in early modern Europe. It also attests to the ways in which artists, material resources, and the technologies associated with artistic industries circulated within and across geography and within political domains.

FIGURES



Left:

2.1 Leone and Pompeo Leoni, *Charles V and Furor*, 1549-1567. Bronze (251cm x 143cm x 130cm—825kg). Museo del Prado, Madrid



Right:

2.2 Leone and Pompeo Leoni, *Maria of Hungary*, 1549-1567. Bronze (175cm x 60cm x 70cm). Museo del Prado, Madrid

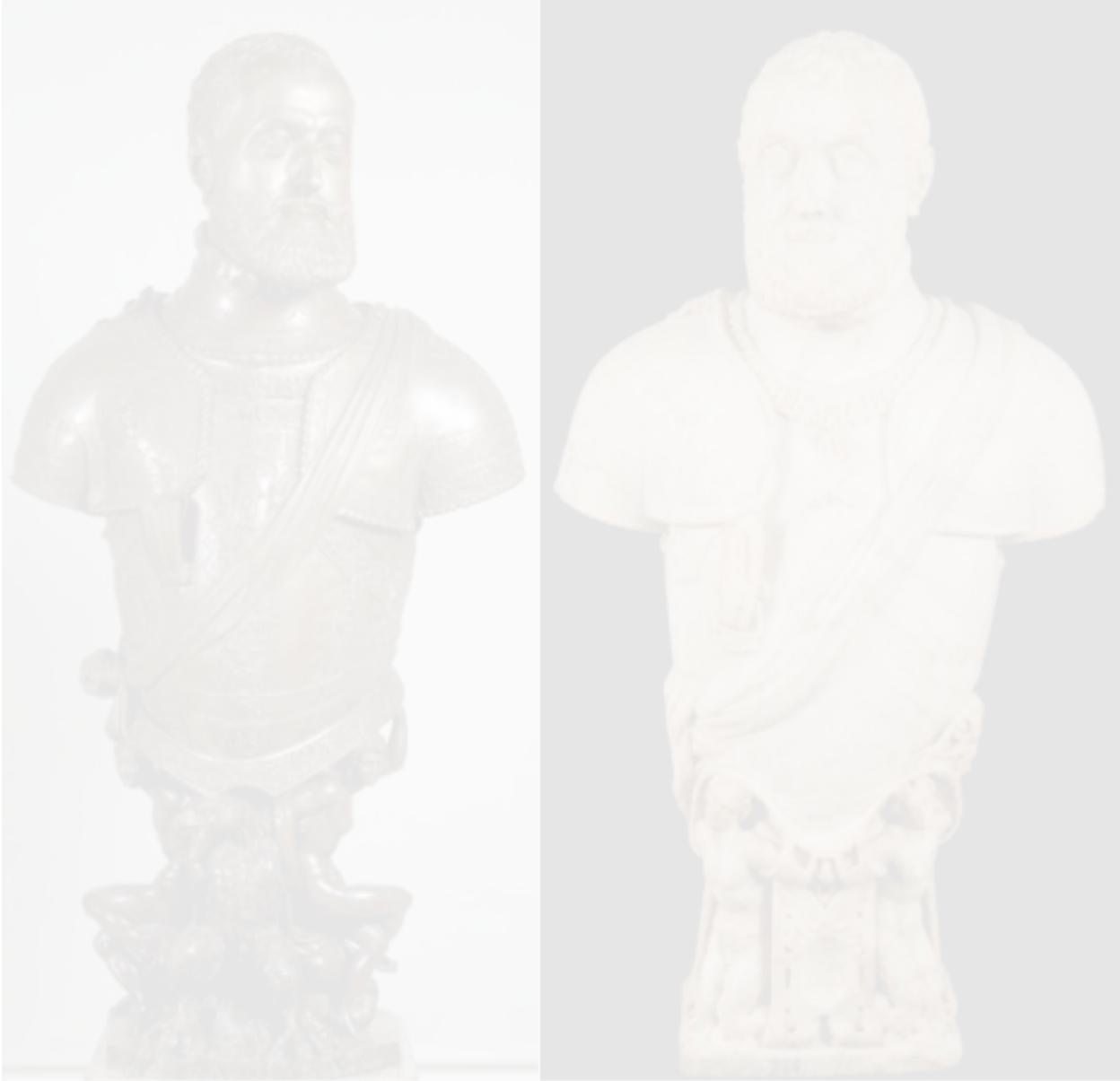


Left:

2.3 Leone and Pompeo Leoni, *Philip*, 1549-1567. Bronze (175cm x 60cm x 70cm). Museo del Prado, Madrid

Right:

2.4 Leone and Pompeo Leoni, *Empress Isabel*, 1549-1567. Bronze (177cm x 84cm x 93cm—388kg). Museo del Prado, Madrid



Left:

2.5 Leone and Pompeo Leoni, *Bust of Charles V*, 1549-1567. Bronze (112cm x 58cm x 40cm—85.8 kg). Museo del Prado, Madrid

Right:

2.6 Leone and Pompeo Leoni, *Bust of Charles V*, 1549-1567. Marble (102cm x 53cm x 32cm—119.4kg). Museo del Prado, Madrid



Left:
2.7 Leone and Pompeo Leoni, *Bust of Maria of Hungary*, 1549-1567. Marble (94cm x 53cm x 37cm—112kg). Museo del Prado



Right:
2.8 Leone and Pompeo Leoni, *Empress Isabel*, 1549-1567. Marble (182 cm x 81 cm x 114 cm—980 kg). Museo del Prado, Madrid



Above: 2.9 Leone and Pompeo Leoni, *Charles V*, 1549-1567. Marble (197cm x 79cm x 44cm—617 kg). Museo del Prado, Madrid



Upper right: 2.10 Leone and Pompeo Leoni, *Relief of Charles V*, 1549-1567. Marble (152cm x 133cm x 10cm—708 kg). Museo del Prado, Madrid



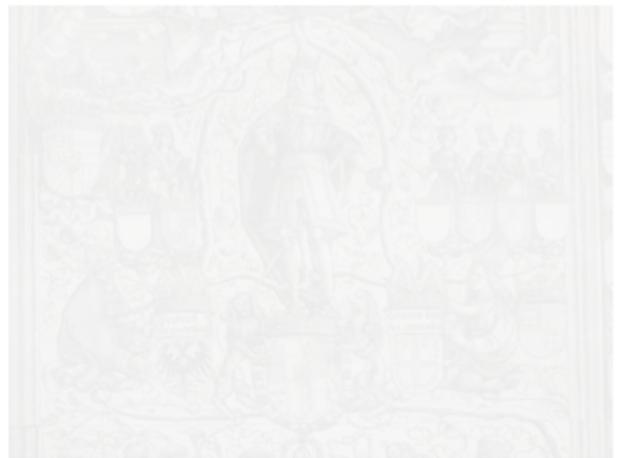
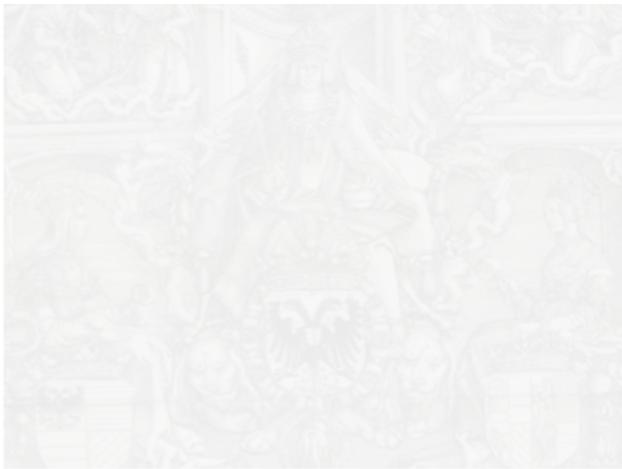
Lower right: 2.11 Leone and Pompeo Leoni, *Relief of Empress Isabel*, 1549-1567. Marble (152cm x 136cm x 16cm—841kg). Museo del Prado, Madrid



Left:
2.12 Detail of *Empress Isabel*. Bronze.



Right:
2.13 Detail of *Philip*. Bronze.



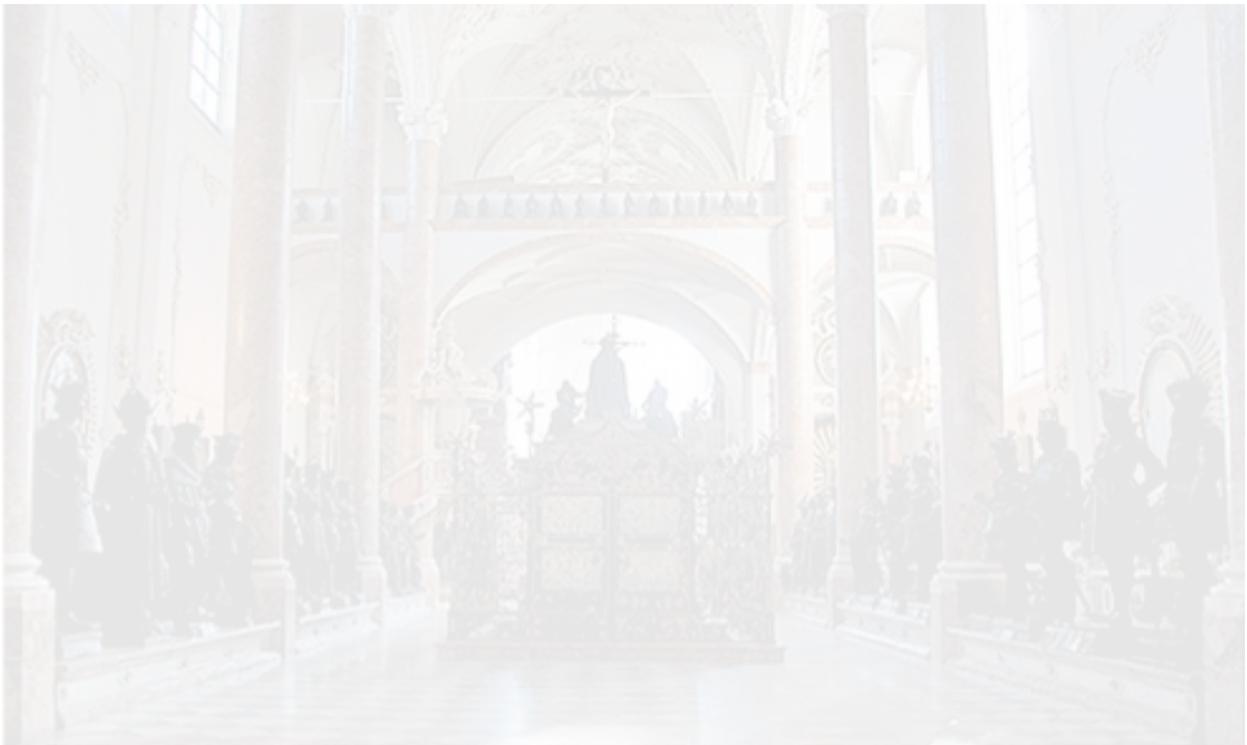
2.14-2.16 Albrecht Dürer and workshop, *The Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I*, 1515. Woodcut from 192 individual blocks (3570mm x 2950mm). British Museum, London



2.17 Anonymous (Flemish), *Bust of Charles V*. c. 1520. Limestone. Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid



2.18 Guyot de Beugrant (sculptor), Lancelot Blondeel (design), *Chimneypiece with statuettes of Hapsburg rulers*, 1528-31. Oak. Palace of Liberty, Bruges



2.19-2.20 Gilg Sesselschreiber, Stefan Godl, Leonard Magt. *Monument to Maximilian I*, 1502-1584. Hofkirche, Innsbruck, Austria



2.21 Detail of *The Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I (Maximilian Amongst Field Artillery)*



2.22 Detail of *The Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I (Maximilian Amidst his Troops)*



2.23 Detail of *The Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I (Master of War and Jousts)*



Left:
2.24 Desiderius Helmschmid, *Charles V Armor (Mühlberg Armor)*, 1544. Embossed, engraved and gilt steel. Real Armería, Madrid



Upper right:
2.25 Titian, *Charles V at the Battle of Muhlberg*, 1548. Oil on canvas (335cm x 283cm). Museo del Prado, Madrid



Lower right:
2.26 Detail of *Bust of Charles V*. Bronze.



2.27 Detail of *Bust of Charles V*. Bronze.



Lower left:

2.28 Michelangelo, *Risen Christ*, 1521. Marble. Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, Rome



Lower right:

2.29 Detail of *Bust of Charles V*. Marble.



2.30 Detail of *Bust of Charles V*. Marble.



2.31 Detail of *Bust of Charles V*. Bronze.



Left: 2.32 Leone Leoni, *Bust of the Duke of Alba*, 1554. Bronze. Royal Collection

Center: 2.33 Leone Leoni, *Bust of Philip II*, 1554. Bronze. Royal Collection

Right: 2.34 Leone Leoni, *Bust of Charles V*, 1554. Bronze. Royal Collection



Left: 2.35 Detail of *Duke of Alba*

Center: 2.36 Detail of *Philip II*

Right: 2.37 Detail of *Charles V*



Left:

2.38 Probably Flemish, after a medal by Leone Leoni, *Charles V*, 1550/1568. Bronze. National Gallery of Art, DC

Right:

2.39 Follower of Leone Leoni, *Bust of Giacomo Maria Stampa*, 1553. Marble (h.38 13/16"). Walters Museum of Art, Baltimore

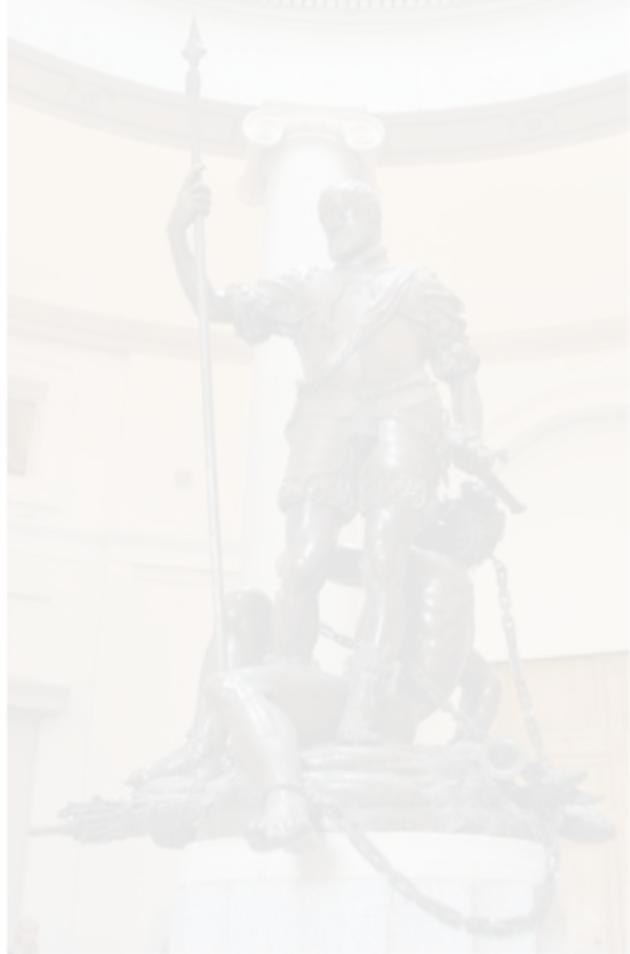


Left:

2.40 Adriaen de Vries, *Bust of Rudolf II*, 1603. Bronze. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Right:

2.41 Leone Leoni, *Bust of Charles V*, c. 1550. Bronze (113 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



2.42-2.43 Leone and Pompeo Leoni, *Charles V and Furor*, 1549-1567. Bronze (251cm x 143cm x 130cm—825kg). Museo del Prado, Madrid



2.44 *Cuirass Statue of Emperor Augustus*, c. 69-96 CE. Marble (height 202 cm). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin--Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Upper right:

2.45 Benvenuto Cellini, *Medal of Clement VII* (obverse), 1534. Gilded silver. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence



Center right:

2.46 Benvenuto Cellini, *Medal of Clement VII* (reverse), 1534. Gilded silver. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence



Lower right:

2.47 Benvenuto Cellini, *Medal of Clement VII* (detail of reverse), 1534. Gilded silver. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence





Left:
2.48 Francesco Salviati, *Allegory of Peace Burning Arms*, 1543-1545. Fresco. Sala delle Udienze, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence

Right:
2.49 Francesco Salviati, *Allegory of Peace*, c. 1544. Drawing (190 mm x 140 mm). British Museum, London



2.50 Leone Leoni, *Medal of Charles V* (reverse), c. 1544. Silver (30mm diameter). Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome



Right:
2.51 Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, *Andrea Doria*, 1539-40. Marble. Palazzo Ducale, Genoa



Left: 2.52 Leone Leoni, *Andrea Doria* (obverse), 1541. Silver (diam. 41mm, weight 26.76 g). British Museum, London



Right: 2.53 Leone Leoni, *Self-Portrait* (reverse), 1541. Silver (diam. 41mm, weight 26.76 g). British Museum, London



2.54 Detail of *Charles V and Furor*



2.55 Detail of *Charles V and Furor*



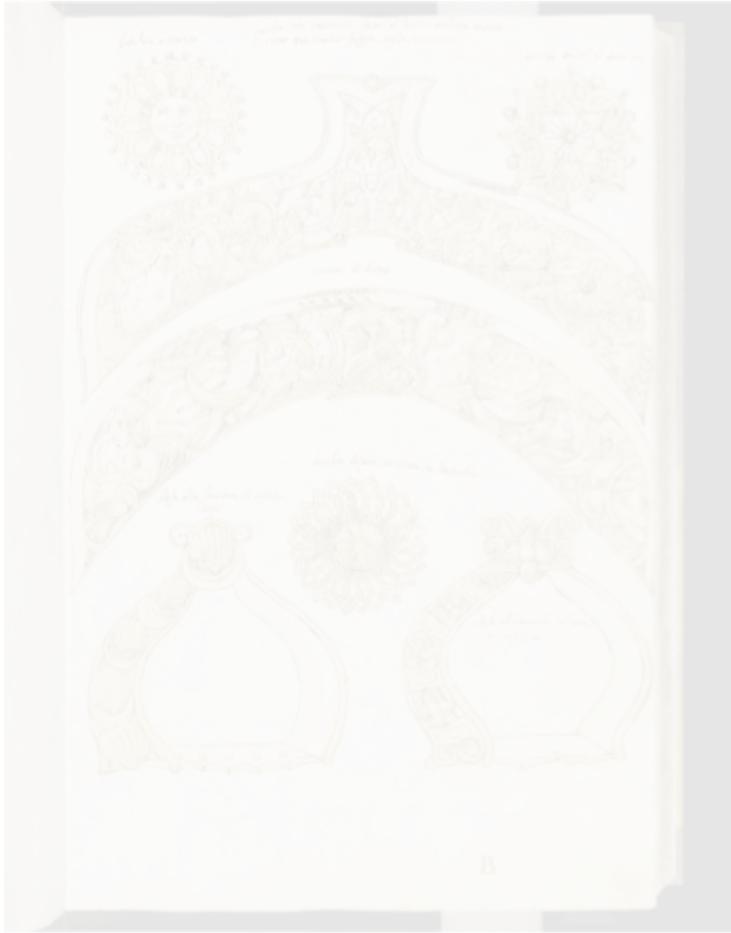
Left:
2.56 Enea Vico,
Military Trophies
(series; Plate
2), 1553. Engraving
(h: 245 mm, w: 171
mm). British
Museum, London



Right:
2.57 Giovanni Antonio
da Brescia, *Ornamental
panel with classical
trophies*, 1510-20.
Engraving (h: 365 mm,
w: 72 mm). British
Museum, London



Left:
2.58 Antico, *Gonzaga Urn*, c. 1487. Bronze (31
cm). Galleria Estense, Modena



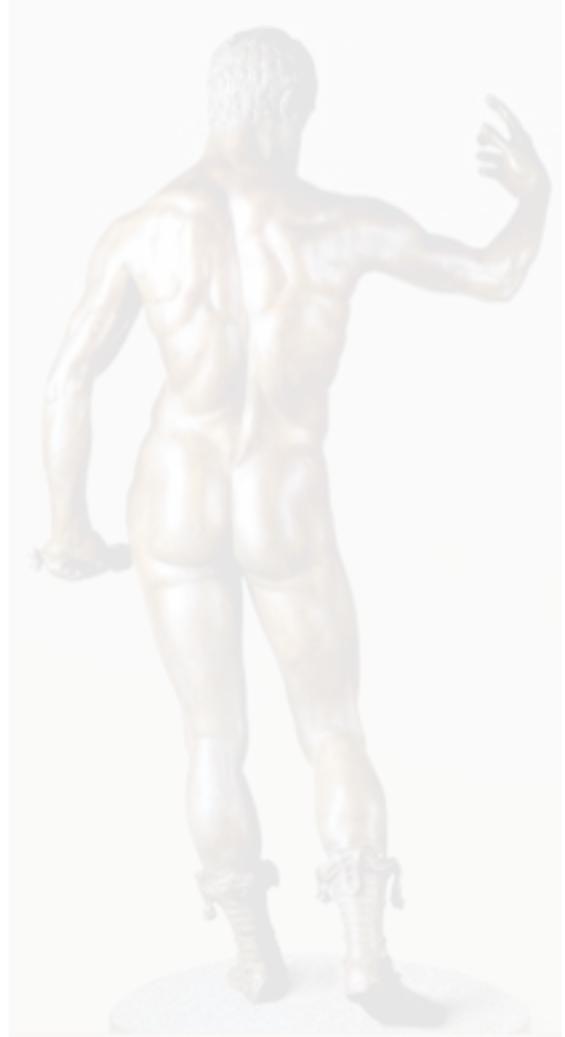
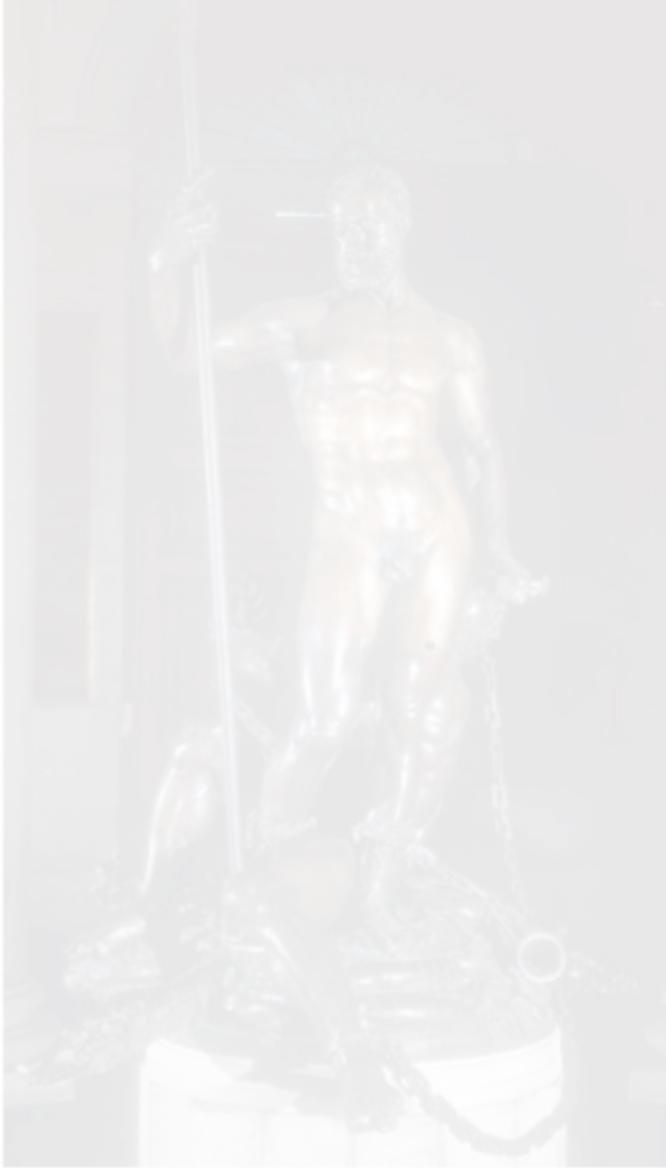
2.59 Filippo Orso, *Design Book for Armour*, 1554. Pen and ink. Victoria & Albert Museum, London



2.60 Italian (designed by Giulio Romano), *Parade Shield with the Apotheosis of Charles V*, c. 1535-40. Etched and embossed steel; gold and silver. Real Armería, Madrid



2.61 Detail of *Charles V and Furor*



2.62-2.63 Leone and Pompeo Leoni, *Charles V and Furor*, 1549-1567. Bronze (251cm x 143cm x 130cm—825kg). Museo del Prado, Madrid



2.64 Leonardo da Vinci, *Sforza monument*, c. 1485. Drawing. Royal Library, Windsor



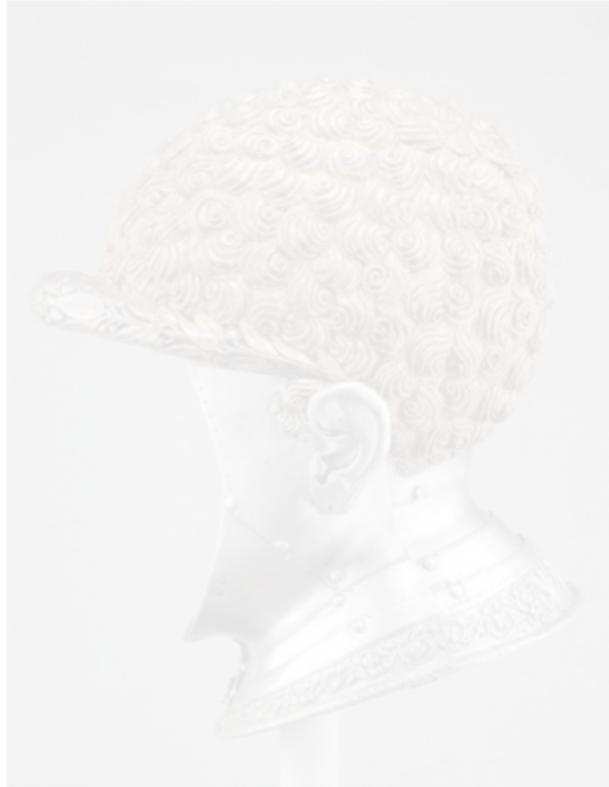
Left: 2.65 Filippo Negroli, *Armor of Guidobaldo II della Rovere, Duke of Urbino* (Burgonet), c. 1532-35. Steel, gold, textile (2lb. 14 oz.). Hermitage, Saint Petersburg



Right: 2.66 Filippo Negroli, *Armor of Guidobaldo II della Rovere, Duke of Urbino* (Breastplate), c. 1532-35. Steel and gold (10lb. 11oz.). Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence



Left: 2.67 Filippo Negroli, *Helmet of Charles V*, 1533. Steel and gold (5lb. 3oz.; buffe [face piece] 1lb 11oz.). Real Armería, Madrid



Right: 2.68 Filippo Negroli, *Helmet of Charles V*, 1533. Steel and gold. Real Armería, Madrid



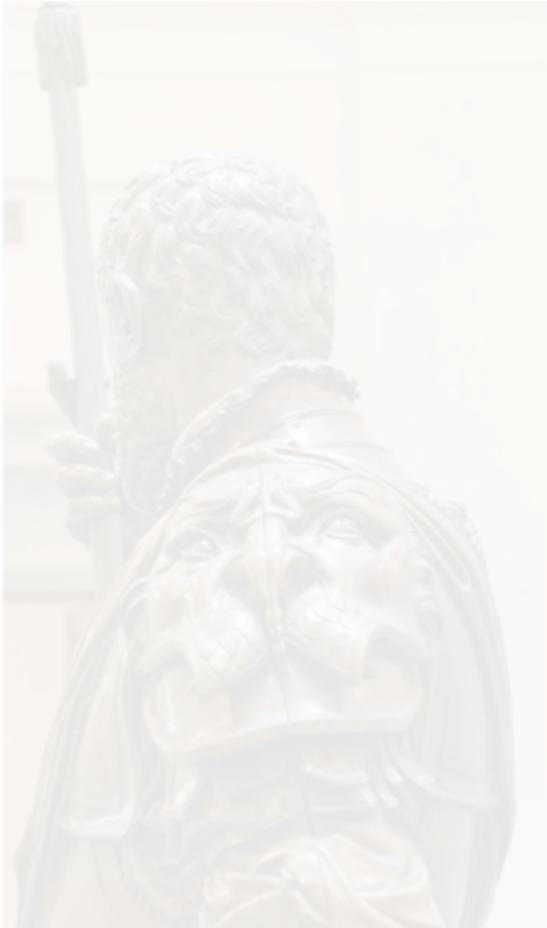
Left: 2.69 Leone Leoni, *Scudo dei giganti* (obverse), 1551. Silver (44.5 mm diameter). Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche, Milan

Right: 2.70 Leone Leoni, *Scudo dei giganti* (reverse), 1551. Silver (44.5 mm diameter). Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche, Milan



Left: 2.71 Leone Leoni, *Mezzo scudo del morione* (obverse), 1562. Silver (34 mm diameter). Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche, Milan

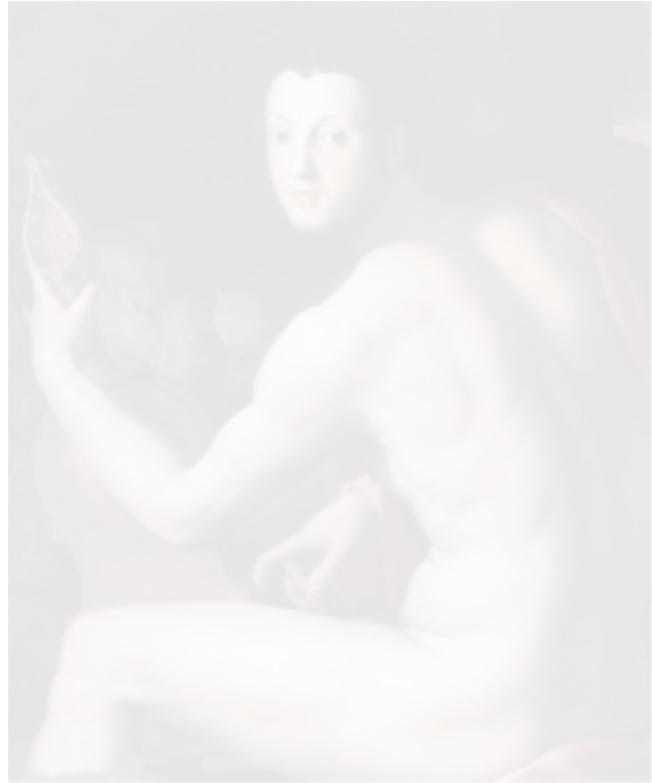
Right: 2.72 Leone Leoni, *Mezzo scudo del morione* (reverse), 1562. Silver (34 mm diameter). Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche, Milan



2.73 Detail of *Charles V and Furor*

Right:

2.74 Agnolo Bronzino, *Cosimo I de' Medici as Orpheus*, c. 1537-39. Oil on panel (36 7/8 x 30 1/16"). Philadelphia Museum of Art



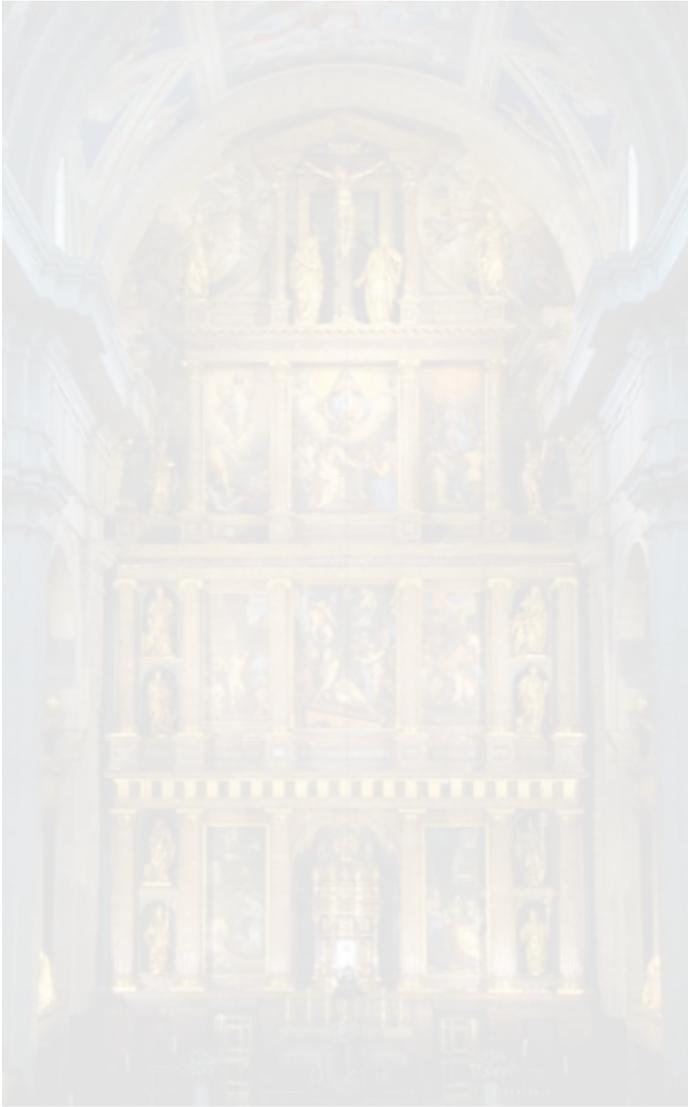
Lower left:

2.75 Agnolo Bronzino, *Andrea Doria as Neptune*, c. 1540. Oil on canvas (115 x 53 cm). Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan

Lower right:

2.76 Baccio Bandinelli, *Andrea Doria as Neptune*, c. 1535. Pen and ink over underdrawing in black chalk and stylus (425 x 275 mm). British Museum, London





3.1-3.2 Jacopo da Trezzo, Pompeo Leoni, and Juan Bautista Comane, *Retablo Mayor*, 1579-1590. Gilded bronze, jasper. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



Left:

3.3 Pedro Perret after designs by Juan de Herrera, *Primer Diseño, Planta Primera y general de todo el edificio* (detail), 1583 (Published 1589). Engraving (510 x 620 mm). Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid

Right:

3.4 Pedro Perret after designs by Juan de Herrera, *Octavo Diseño, Alzada del retablo de la capilla mayor*, 1583 (Published 1589). Engraving (780 x 380 mm). Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid



3.5a Pedro Perret after designs by Juan de Herrera, *Noveno Diseño. Alzado del Sagrario del altar mayor*, 1583 (Published 1589). Engraving (477 x 341 mm). Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid

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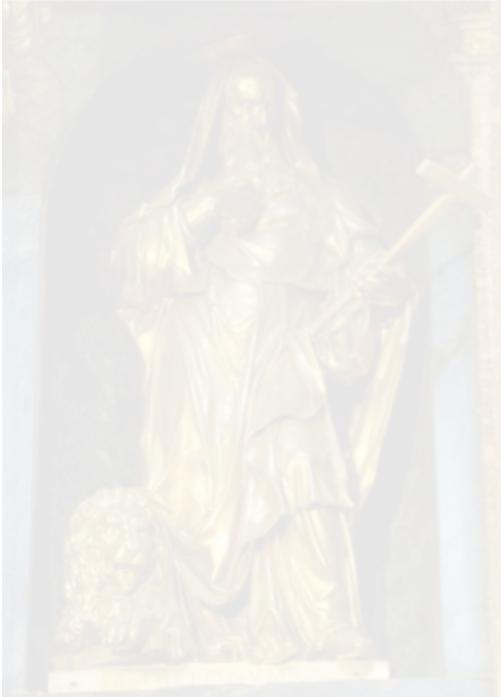
3.5b Inscription from *Noveno Diseño. Alzado del Sagrario del altar mayor*



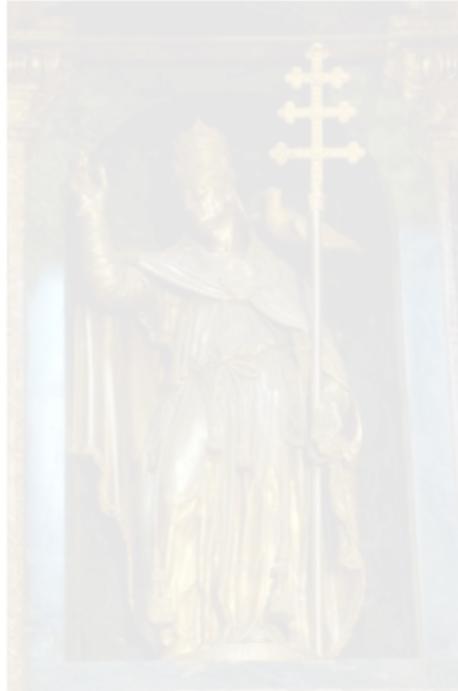
3.6 Pedro Perret after designs by Juan de Herrera, *Undécimo Diseño, Planta del sagrario y la custodia*, 1583 (Published 1589). Engraving (300 x 225 mm). Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid



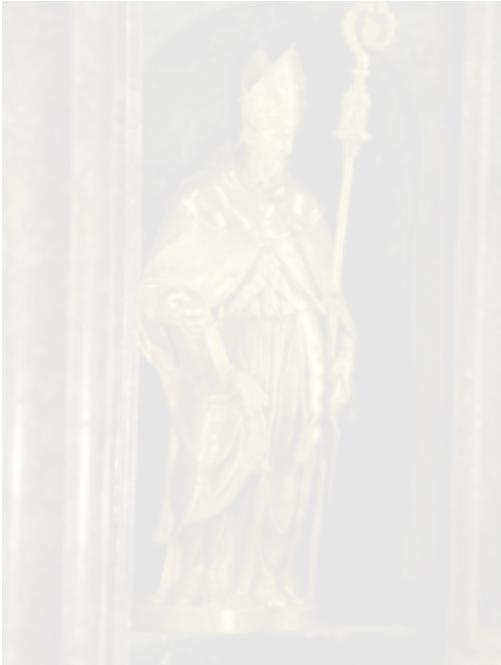
3.7a-3.7b Jacopo da Trezzo and the Leoni workshops, *Tabernacle*, 1582-1585. Jasper, gilded bronze statuettes. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



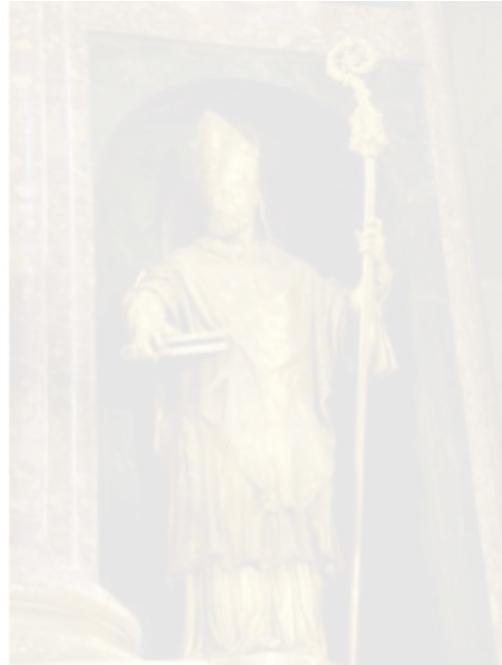
Left: 3.8 Leoni Workshops, *St. Jerome*, 1579-1590. Gilded bronze. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



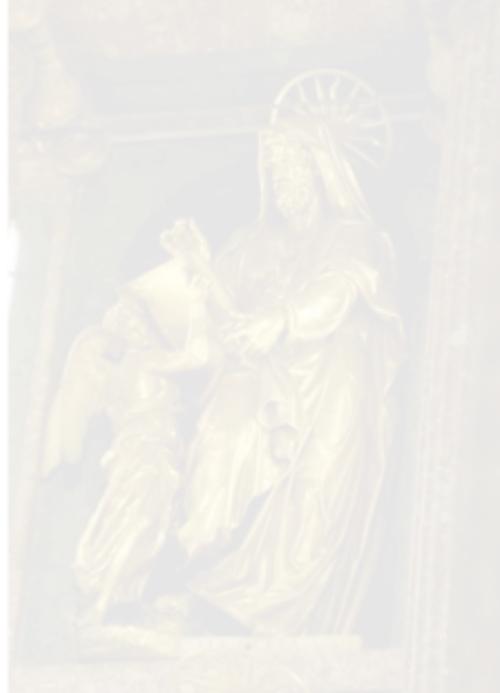
Right: 3.9 Leoni Workshops, *St. Gregory*, 1579-1590. Gilded bronze. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



Left: 3.10 Leoni Workshops, *St. Augustine*, 1579-1590. Gilded bronze. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



Right: 3.11 Leoni Workshops, *St. Ambrose*, 1579-1590. Gilded bronze. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



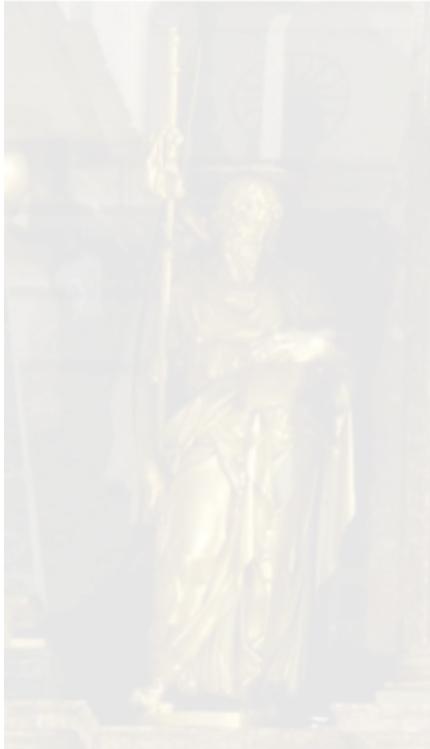
Left: 3.12 Leoni Workshops, *St. John the Evangelist*, 1579-1590. Gilded bronze. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial

Right: 3.13 Leoni Workshops, *St. Matthew*, 1579-1590. Gilded bronze. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



Left: 3.14 Leoni Workshops, *St. Luke*, 1579-1590. Gilded bronze. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial

Right: 3.15 Leoni Workshops, *St. Mark*, 1579-1590. Gilded bronze. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



Left: 3.16 Leoni Workshops, *St. James*, 1579-1590. Gilded bronze. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



Right: 3.17 Leoni Workshops, *St. Andrew*, 1579-1590. Gilded bronze. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



3.18 Leoni Workshops, *St. Peter, Mary, Crucifixion, St. John, St. Paul*, 1579-1590. Gilded bronze and wood. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial

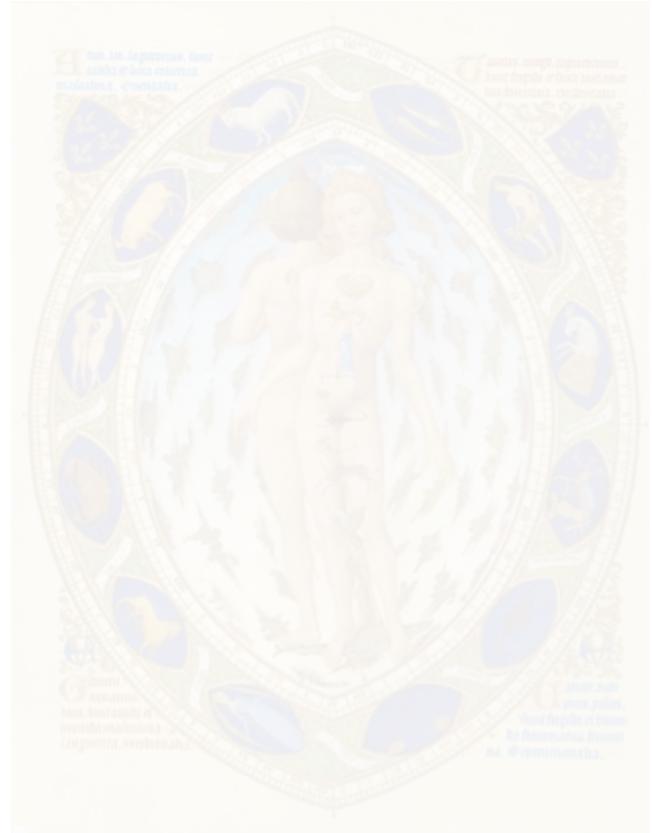


3.19a-3.19b Barolomé Morel, *El Giraldillo*, 1565-1568. Copper alloy. Seville Cathedral



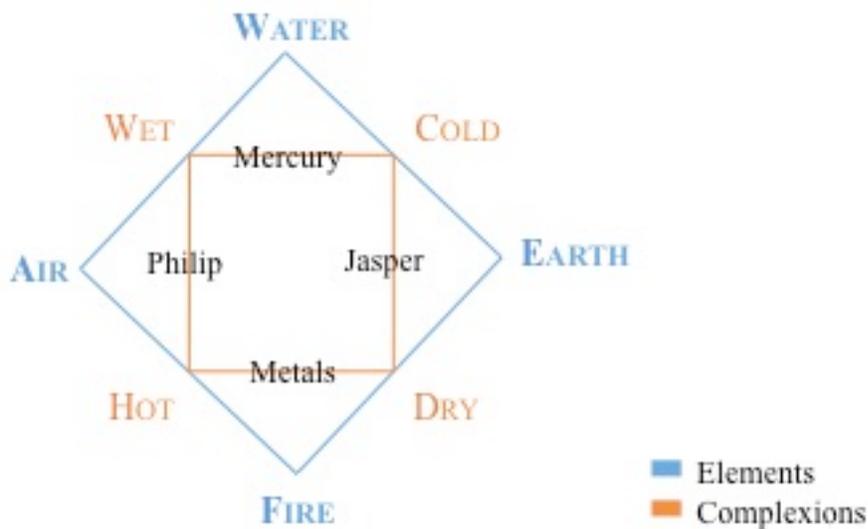
Left: 3.20a Martin Stürz, *Speculum metallorum* (folio 20r), 1575. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

Right: 3.20b Martin Stürz, *Speculum metallorum* (folio 70v), 1575. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna



Left:
 3.21 Alonso Berruguete. *St. Sebastian* from the San Benito Altarpiece, 1527-32. Polychrome wood. Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid

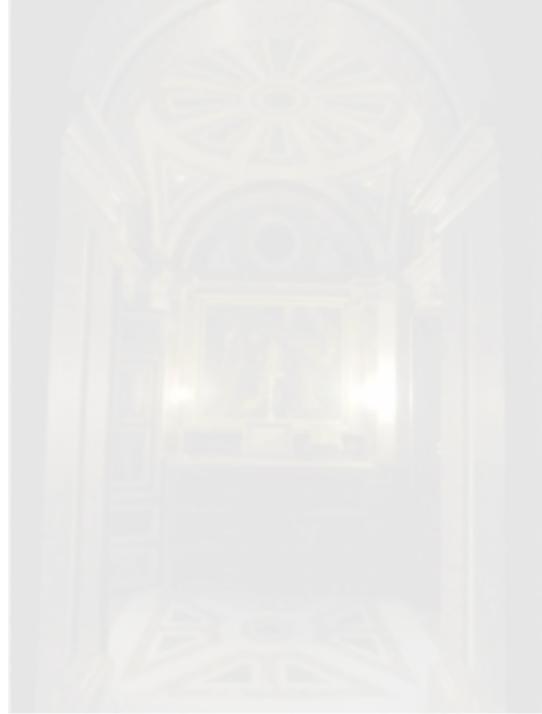
Right:
 3.22 Limbourg Brothers, *Zodiac Man* (folio 14v) from *Très Riches Heures*, c. 1416. Illuminated Manuscript. Musée Condé, Chantilly



3.23 Diagram of elements, complexions, and the materials of the *retablo mayor*

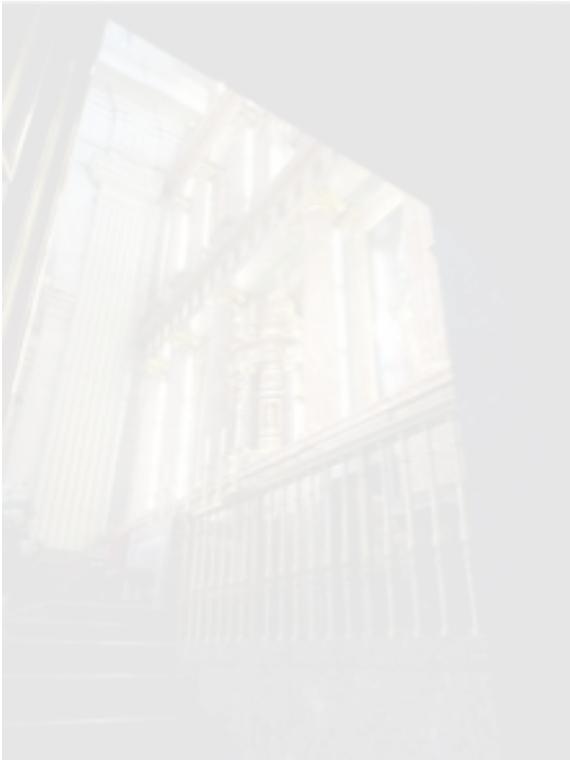


3.24 Pompeo Leoni, *Head of Philip II*, c. 1564-72. Polychrome silver (h. 26 cm; terracotta bust not original). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



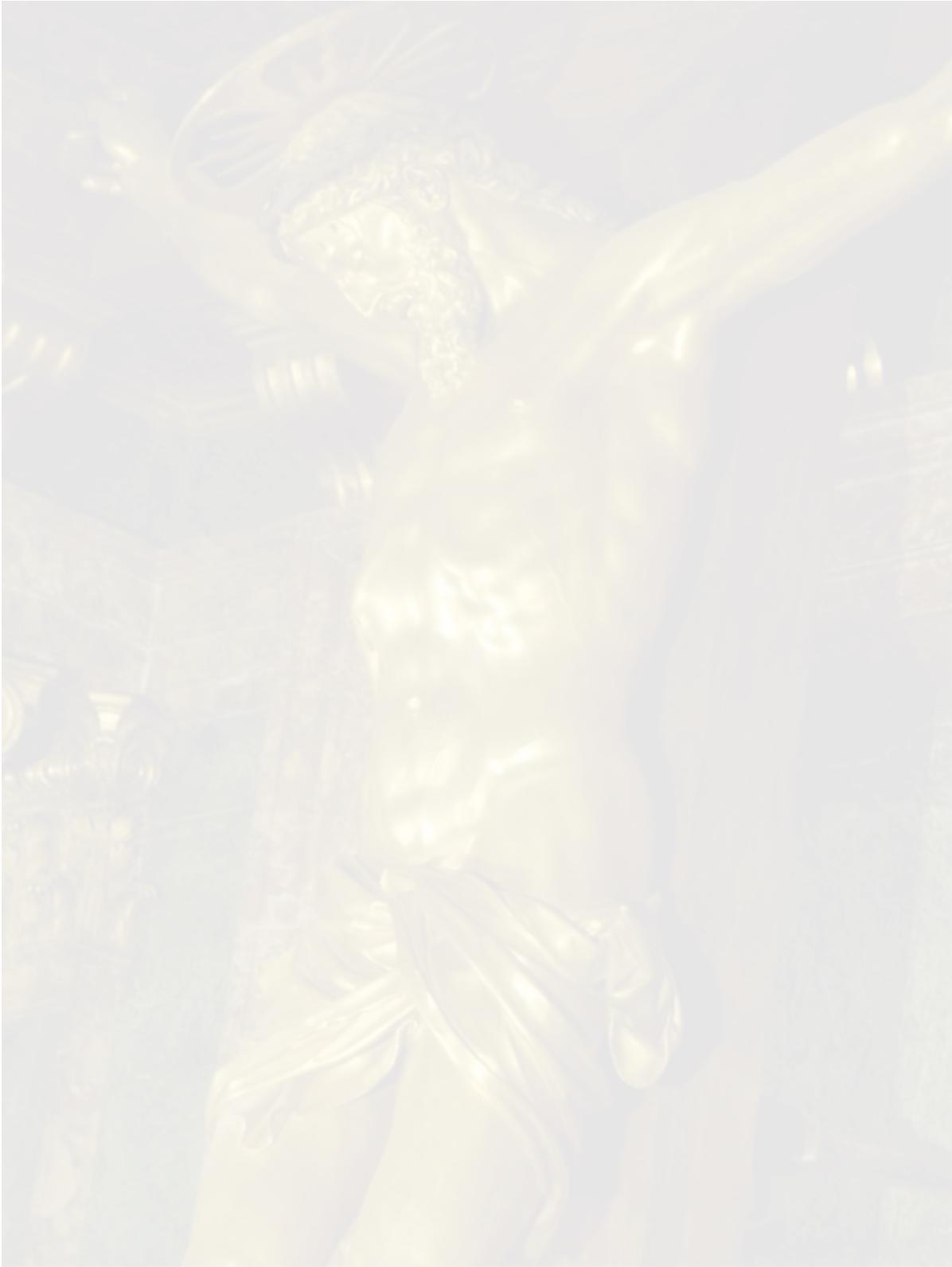
Left: 3.25 Doors to Philip II's oratory

Right: 3.26 Oratory of Philip II with *capilla mayor* through the door to the left and Philip II's bedroom to the right



Left: 3.27 View of tabernacle from oratory

Right: 3.28 View from Philip II's bed, looking through to the oratory and the *capilla mayor*



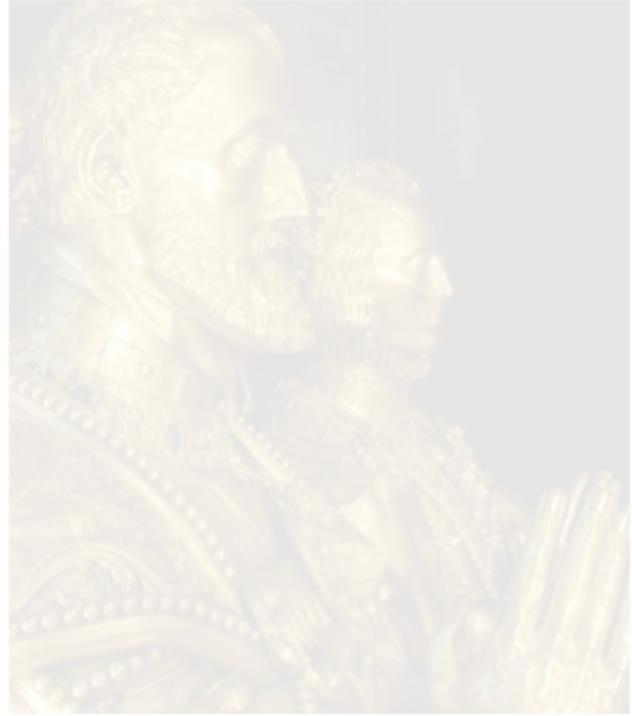
3.29 Jacopo da Trezzo, Pompeo Leoni, and Juan Bautista Comane, Detail of *Crucifixion* niche, 1579-1590. Gilded bronze, jasper, wood. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



4.1 Pompeo Leoni and Juan de Arfe, *Charles V Entierros*, 1593-1597. Gilded bronze, semi-precious stones. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial

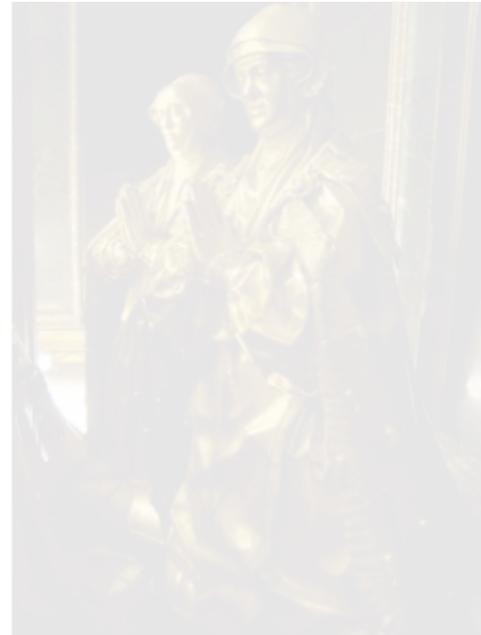
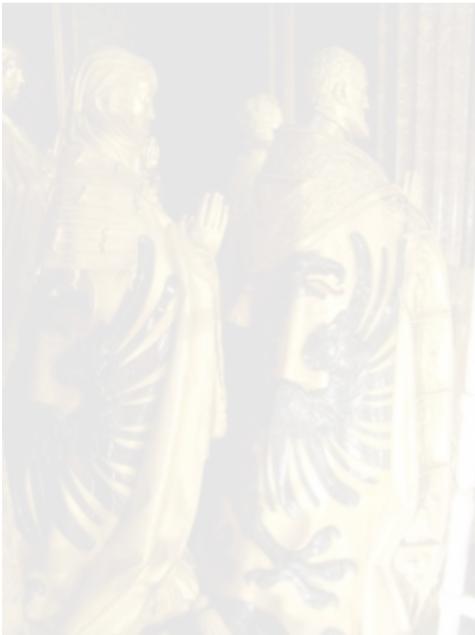


4.2 Pompeo Leoni, *Philip II Entierros*, 1597-1600. Gilded bronze, semi-precious stones, silvered surfaces. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



Left: 4.3 Pompeo Leoni and Juan de Arfe, Detail of *Charles V*, 1593-1597. Gilded bronze, jasper. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial

Right: 4.4 Pompeo Leoni and Juan de Arfe, Detail of *Charles V* and *Isabel*, 1593-1597. Gilded bronze, jasper. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



Left: 4.5 Pompeo Leoni and Juan de Arfe, *Empress Maria* and *Charles V*, 1593-1597. Gilded bronze, jasper. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial

Right: 4.6 Pompeo Leoni, *Maria of Hungary* and *Leonora of France*, 1593-1597. Gilded bronze, jasper. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



4.7 Pompeo Leoni, *Isabel de Valois, Ana of Austria, Don Carlos, Philip II, Princess María Manuela of Portugal*, 1597-1600. Gilded bronze, semi-precious stones, silvered surfaces. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



Left: 4.8 Pompeo Leoni and Juan de Arfe, *Charles V Entierros* (northern niche), 1593-1597. Gilded bronze, semi-precious stones. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial

Right: 4.9 Pompeo Leoni, *Philip II Entierros* (southern niche), 1597-1600. Gilded bronze, semi-precious stones, silvered surfaces. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



4.10 Southern niche viewed from above



4.11 Pompeo Leoni, Detail of *Philip II Entierros* (view of María Manuela and Don Carlos from behind), 1597-1600. Gilded bronze, semi-precious stones, silvered surfaces. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



4.12 Pompeo Leoni and Juan de Arfe, Detail of *Charles V Entierros* (view of Empress María and Charles V capes), 1593-1597. Gilded bronze, semi-precious stones. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



4.13 Pompeo Leoni, Detail of *Philip II Entierros* (view of Philip II and María Manuela capes), 1597-1600. Gilded bronze, semi-precious stones, silvered surfaces. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



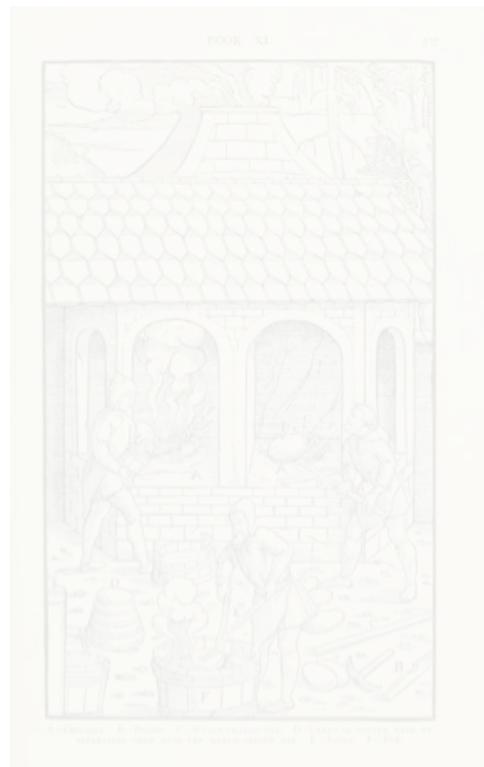
4.14 Workshop of Jacopo da Trezzo, *Escudo of Charles V*, 1585-1590. Gilded bronze, semi-precious stones, silvered surfaces. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



4.15
Workshop of
Jacopo da
Trezzo, and
Pompeo
Leoni, *Escudo
of Philip II*,
1585-1590.
Gilded
bronze, semi-
precious
stones,
silvered
surfaces.
Basilica of
San Lorenzo
El Real, El
Escorial



Left: 4.16 Pompeo Leoni, Detail of lion on *escudo* of Philip II, 1591. Gilded bronze. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



Right: 4.17 Georgius Agricola, *Rosette Copper Making*, in *De Re Metallica*

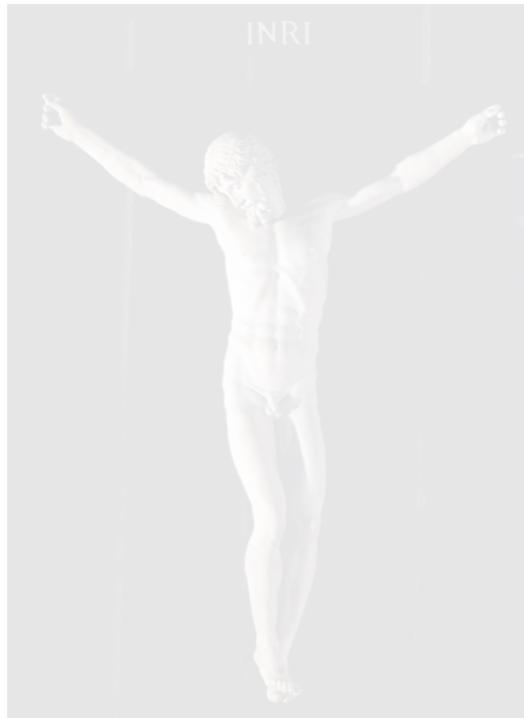


4.18-4.20 Pompeo Leoni and Juan de Arfe, Detail of *Charles V* cape, 1593-1597. Gilded bronze. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial



Left: 4.21 Pompeo Leoni and Juan de Arfe, *Detail of Isabel*, 1593-1597. Gilded bronze. Basilica of San Lorenzo El Real, El Escorial

Right: 4.22 Juan Bautista Monegro, *St. Lawrence*, 1580-83. Granite and metal grill. Façade, El Escorial



Left: 4.23 Juan Bautista Monegro, *Kings of the House of Judah and the Family of David*, 1580-83. Granite and gilded metal crowns and scepters. Façade, Basilica of El Escorial

Right: 4.24 Benvenuto Cellini, *Crucifix*, completed 1562. Carrara marble. Basilica of El Escorial



Top center:

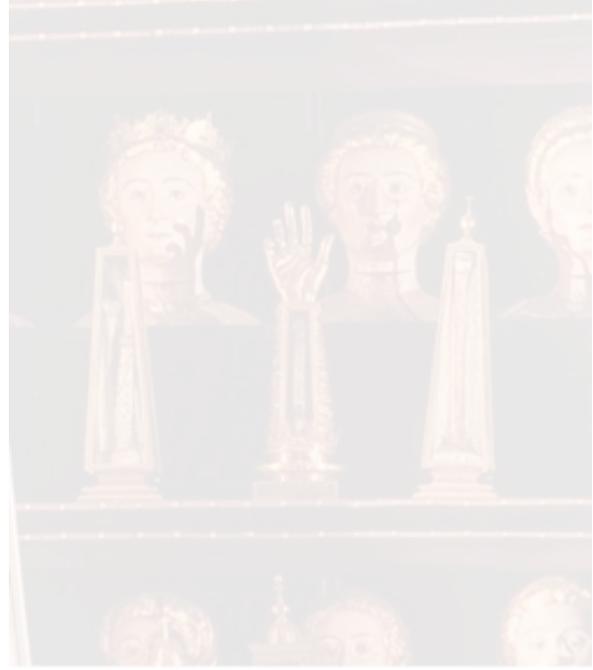
4.25 Pedro Perret after designs by Juan de Herrera, *Primer Diseño, Planta Primera y general de todo el edificio* (detail), 1583 (Published 1589). Engraving (510 x 620 mm). Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid

Lower left:

4.26 Federico Zuccaro, retouched by Juan Gómez, *Annunciation Reliquary Altar*, c. 1586. Basilica of El Escorial

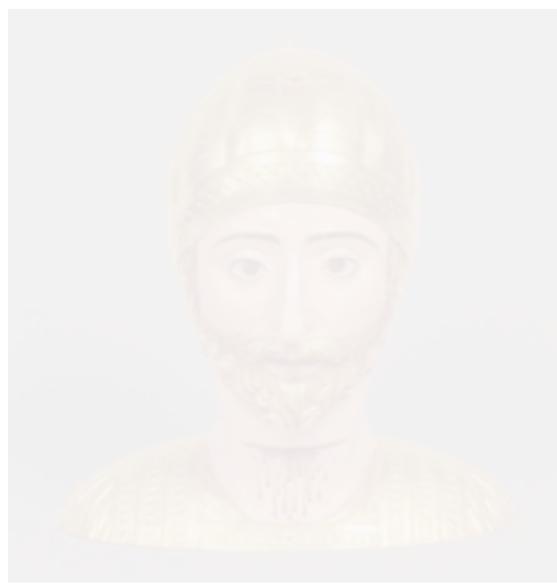
Lower right:

4.27 Federico Zuccaro, retouched by Juan Gómez, *St. Jerome Reliquary Altar*, c. 1586. Basilica of El Escorial



Left: 4.28 Milanese Workshop, *Reproduction of the Old Duomo of Milan*, last half of the 16th c. Iron and gold. Patrimonio Nacional de España

Right: 4.29 Unknown Workshop, *Reliquary in the Shape of a Forearm*, c. 1580-1600. Patrimonio Nacional de España



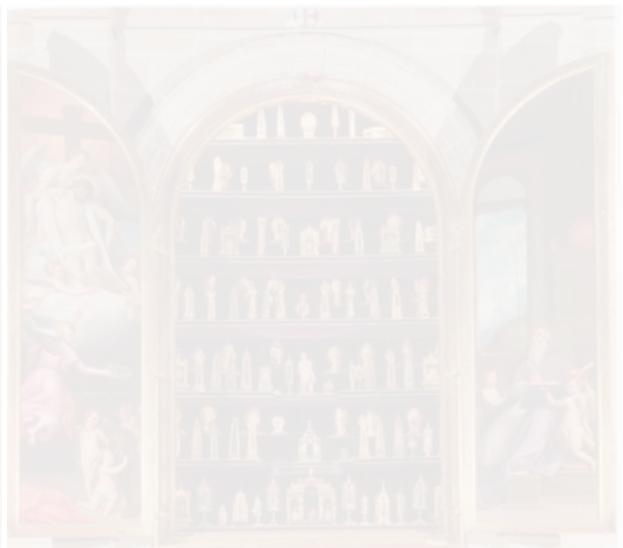
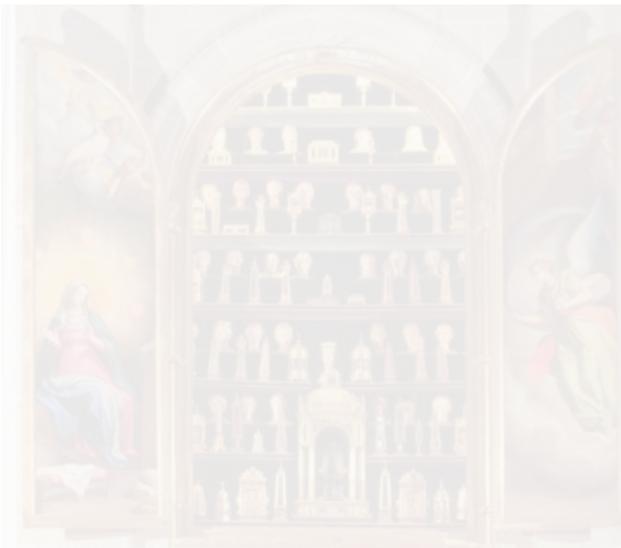
Left: 4.30 Juan de Arfe (sculptor); Fabrizio Castello (painter), Martín Pardo (gilder), *Reliquary Bust of One of the 11,000 Virgins*, last third of the 16th c. Gilded and polychromed copper. Patrimonio Nacional de España

Right: 4.31 Juan de Arfe (sculptor); Fabrizio Castello (painter); Martín Pardo (gilder), *Reliquary Bust of one of the companions of St. Maurice*, c. 1585-1600. Gilded and polychromed copper. Patrimonio Nacional de España



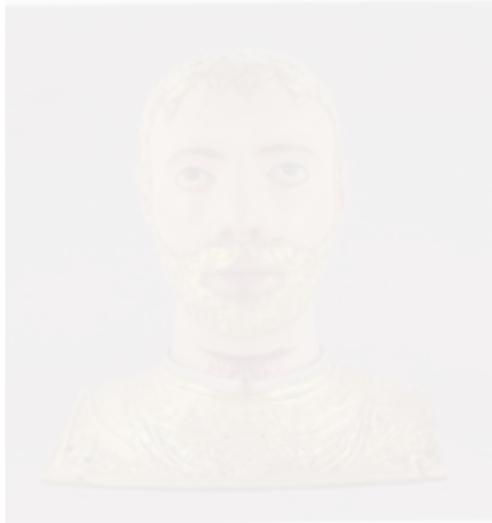
Left: 4.32 Juan de Arfe (sculptor); Fabrizio Castello (painter); Martín Pardo (gilder), *Reliquary Bust of St. Fabian*, c. 1585-1600. Gilded and polychromed copper. Patrimonio Nacional de España

Right: 4.33 Milanese Workshops, *Reliquary Chest of Isabel Clara Eugenia*, last third of 16th c. Gilded silver, gold, precious stones, hard stones, carved rock crystal. Patrimonio Nacional de España



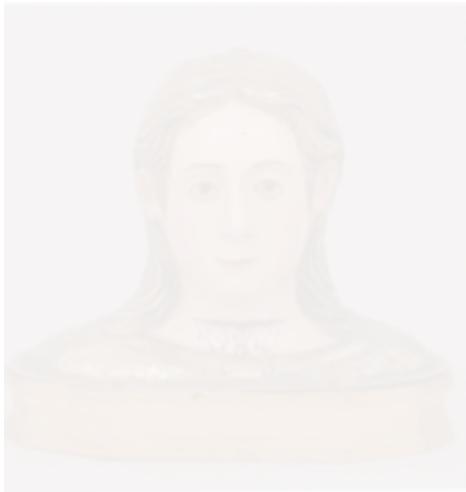
Left: 4.34 *Annunciation Reliquary Altar* (opened). Basilica of El Escorial

Right: 4.35 *St. Jerome Reliquary Altar* (opened). Basilica of El Escorial



Left: 4.36 Italian Workshop (att.), *St. Lawrence Reliquary*, last fourth of the 16th c. Silver with polychromy. Patrimonio Nacional de España

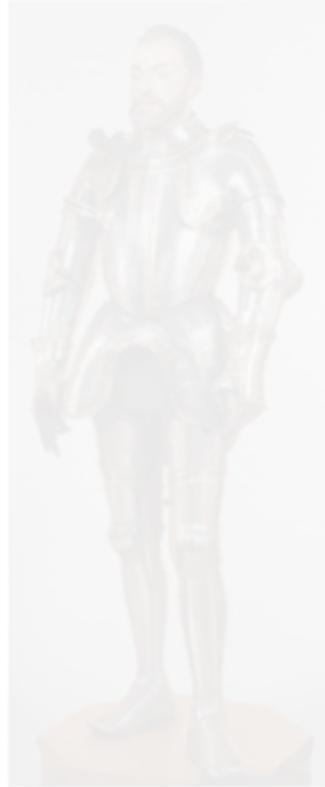
Right: 4.37 German Workshop, *Reliquary Bust of a Companion to St. Calixto*, c. 1575-1600. Gilded and polychromed silver. Patrimonio Nacional de España



4.38 Italian Workshop, *Reliquary Bust of One of the 11,000 Virgins*, last fourth of the 16th c. Gilded and polychromed silver. Patrimonio Nacional de España



4.39-4.40 Milanese Workshop, *Reliquary Busts of One of the 11,000 Virgins*, last fourth of the 16th c. Polychromed silver. Patrimonio Nacional de España



Left: 4.41 Pompeo Leoni (att.), *Philip II*, second half of the 16th c. Alabaster. Museo del Prado, Madrid

Right: 4.42 Reconstruction of Pompeo Leoni's Silver *Head of Philip II*



Left: 4.43 Domenico Fancelli, *Tomb Monument of Ferdinand and Isabel*, completed 1517. Capilla Real, Granada

Right: 4.44 Bartolomé Ordóñez, *Tomb Monument of Philip the Fair and Juana of Castile*, c. 1519. Capilla Real, Granada



Left: 4.45 Felipe Bigarny (designer), *Votive Sculpture of Ferdinand*, c. 1521. Capilla Real, Granada



Right: 4.46 Felipe Bigarny (designer), *Votive Sculpture of Isabel*, c. 1521. Capilla Real, Granada



4.47 Titian, *La Gloria (Last Judgment)*, 1551-54. Oil on canvas. Museo del Prado, Madrid



4.48 Germain Pilon, *Tomb of Henri II and Catherine de' Medici*, 1563-1572. Basilica of Saint-Denis, France



4.49-4.50 Pompeo Leoni and Jacopo da Trezzo, *Juana de Austria*, completed 1574. Alabaster, jasper, gilded bronze. Convento de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid





4.51-4.52 Francesco Tertio and Heinrich Vogtherr the Elder, *Tomb of Maximilian I*, 1556-1585.
Hofkirche, Innsbruck, Austria



4.53 *Tombs of Mary of Burgundy and Charles the Bold*, Church of Our Lady, Bruges



4.54 Renier van Thienen, *Tomb of Mary of Burgundy*, 1488-1501. Church of Our Lady, Bruges



4.55 Jacques Jonghelinck, *Tomb of Charles the Bold*, c. 1558. Church of Our Lady, Bruges



4.56 Detail
of *Mary of
Burgundy
Tomb*



4.57 Detail
of *Charles
the Bold
Tomb*



4.58 Jehan Lhermite, *Cenotaphs of Charles V and Philip II*, in *Le Passetemps*, 1597



Left:

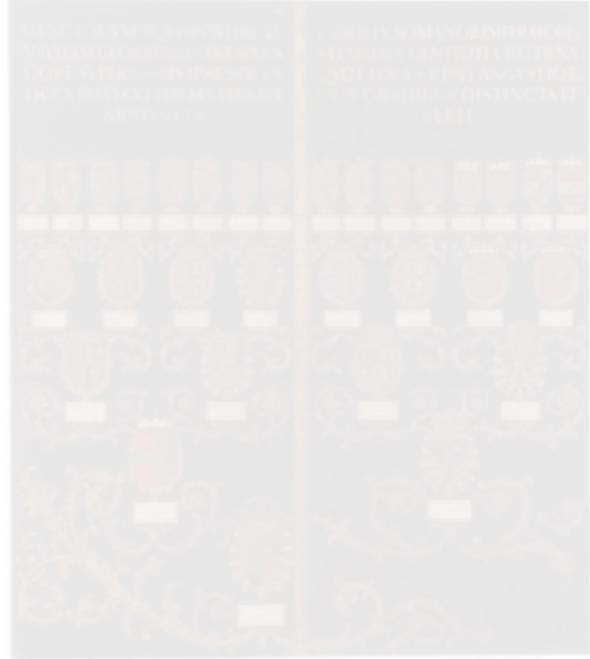
4.59 Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, *Oratory Group of Charles V and Family*, 1599. Oil on canvas (180.2 x 164.5 cm). Patrimonio Nacional de España

Right:

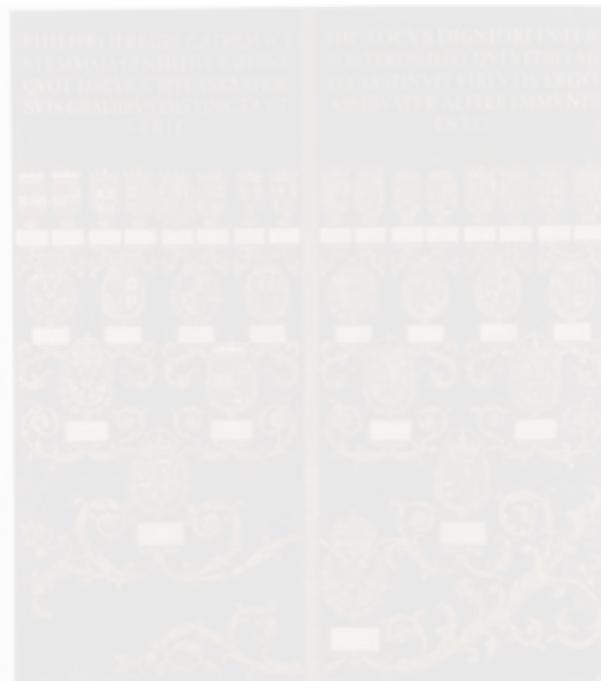
4.60 Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, *Oratory Group of Philip II and Family*, 1599. Oil on canvas (180.2 x 164.5 cm). Patrimonio Nacional de España



Left: 4.61 Fabrizio Castello (att.), *Matrilineal Genealogy of Charles V*, c. 1593. Patrimonio Nacional de España



Right: 4.62 Fabrizio Castello (att.), *Patrilineal Genealogy of Charles V*, c. 1593. Patrimonio Nacional de España



Left: 4.63 Fabrizio Castello (att.), *Patrilineal Genealogy of Philip II*, c. 1593. Patrimonio Nacional de España



Right: 4.64 Fabrizio Castello (att.), *Matrilineal Genealogy of Philip I*, c. 1593. Patrimonio Nacional de España



Left:
4.65 Detail from shield (with crown lost) on *Mary of Burgundy Tomb*

Lower left:
4.66 Pompeo Leoni, Juan de Arfe, and Lesmes Fernández del Moral, *Francisco de Sandoval, Duke of Lerma*, 1601-1608. Fire-gilded bronze. Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid

Lower right:
4.67 Pompeo Leoni, Juan de Arfe, and Lesmes Fernández del Moral, *Catalina de la Cerda, Duchess of Lerma*, 1601-1608. Fire-gilded bronze. Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid





4.68 Church and monastery of San Pablo (left) and the window from which a newborn Philip II was shown to the public (right)



Left: 4.69 Detail of *Francisco de Sandoval, Duke of Lerma*



Right: 4.70 Detail of *Catalina de la Cerda, Duchess of Lerma*



Above:
4.71 Juan de Arfe (and Pompeo Leoni?), *Tomb of Cristóbal de Rojas y Sandoval*, c. 1603. Gilded bronze. Colegiata de San Pedro, Lerma (Burgos)



Left:
4.72 Miguel Ángel Leoni (att.), *Annunciation Relief*. Monasterio de la Madre de Dios, Lerma

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Furies in Virgil's *Aeneid*

Translations from Sarah Ruden. *The Aeneid of Virgil*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008. (The uses of pertinent terms are in bold to facilitate comparisons between the word-choices in both languages.)

II, 336-338: “Talibus dictis Otriadae et numine Divum, feror in/ flammas et in arma, quò tristis **Erinnys**, quo fremitus/ et clamor sublatus ad aethera vocat.”

“The priest’s words and the god’s power, which I felt./Drove me to burning battle. The grim **Furies**./ The roars and shouts that rose to heaven called me.” (34)

IV, 469-74 “...veluti demens Pentheus videt agmina **Eumenidum**, et geminum solem, et Thebas/ostendere se duplices; aut Orestes Agamemnonius agitated/scenis, cum fugit matrem armatum facibus et atris/serpentibus, que ultrices Dirae sedent in limine. Ergo/ ubi evicta dolore concepit **Furias**, que decrevit mori...”

“It was like Pentheus seeing bands of **Furies**./ And a pair of Thebes, and a sun split in two;/As in a play the son of Agamemnon/ Runs from his mother’s torches and black snakes/ (84) While vengeful demons lurk outside the door. **Madness** and grief filled her defeated heart./ And she chose death.” (84)

VI, 250-252. “Aeneas ipse ense ferit agnam atri velleris/ matri **Eumenidum**, que magnae sorori que sterilem...”

“Aeneas slaughtered with his sword/ A black-fleeced lamb for Night, the **Furies**’ mother./ And Earth, their sister.” (124)

VII, 324-329. “Ubi dedit haec dicta, horrenda petivit terras. Ciet/luctificam Allecto **ab sede dirarum sororum [from the seat of her dreadful sisters]**, que infernis/tenebris; cui cordi tristia bella, que irae, que insidiae./et noxia criminal. Et pater Pluton ipse odit. Tartarae/sorores odere monstrum; vertit sese in tot ora/tam saevas facies, atra pullulate tot colubris.”

“Terrible now, she [Juno] sped to earth, to summon/Allecto the grief-bringer **from her dark home**/In hell, **among the Furies**. In her heart/Are treachery, rage, grim war, atrocities./ Her father, Pluto, and her hellish sisters/Loathe her themselves, the monster: all her dire forms/And faces, all the black snakes sprouting from her.” (153)

VII 443-461. “Allecto exarsit in iras talibus/ dictis. At subitus tremor occupant artus juveni oranti,/oculi diriguere: **Erinnys** sibilat tot hydrys, que/ tanta facies aperit se: tum torquens flammae lumina et repulit cunctantem, et quaerentem dicere plura./ et erexit geminos angues crinibus, que insonuit/ verbera, que addidit haec rabido ore: En ego victa situ, quam senectus effaeta very ludet falsa/ formidine inter arma regum. Respice ad haec: adsum/ ab sede dirarum

sororum; gero bella que lethum manu. Effata sic, coniecit facem juveni et fixit tædas fumantes atro lumine sub pectore. Ingens pavor rupit olli somum que sudor proruptus toto corpore, perfudit ossa et artus. Amens fremit arma, requirit arma toro que tectis. Amor ferri, et scelerata insania belli, super ira sævit.”

“The speech inflamed Allecto. While still speaking,/The young man felt a sudden terror seize him/And gaped: so many snakes hissed on **the Fury**,/So monstrous was the sight. He stopped and stammered./She shoved him back, her flaming eyes assailed him./Two snakes reared from her head. She made the sound/Of whips, and with her frothing mouth she spoke:/ ‘Just look at how oblivious I am,/With these false fears about the clash of kings./See! From the deadly sisters’ home I come,/With death and war in hand.’ She spoke, and threw a smoking torch at him,/To lodge its black light in his youthful breast./Terror crashed through his sleep, and sweat broke out/To cover him and soak him to the bones. He roared for arms and searched his bed and rooms/In savage lust for iron, depraved war madness,/And, most of all, rage...” (157)

Appendix B

Furies in Dante's *Inferno*

Text from Anthony Cristiano, trans. *Dante Alighieri's Inferno Metaphor: The Revised Interlinear Edition*. Toronto: Polypus Publishing, 2010.

(The uses of pertinent terms are in bold to facilitate comparisons between the word-choices in both languages.)

133-34; Canto IX.34-51

34. E altro disse, ma non l'ho a mente; 35. però che l'occhio m'avea tutto tratto 36. ver' l'alta torre a la cima rovente, 37. dove in un punto furon dritte ratto 38. tre **furie** infernal di sangue tinte, 39. che membra feminine avieno e atto, 40. e con idre verdissime eran cinte; 41. serpentelli e ceraste avien per crine, 42. onde le fiere tempie eran' avviente. 43. E quei, che ben conobbe le meschine 44. de la regina de l'eterno pianto, 45. «Guarda», mi disse, «le feroci **Erine**. 46. Quest'è **Megera** dal sinistro canto; 47. quella che piange dal destroy è **Allecto**; 48. **Tesifón** è nel mezzo»; e tacque a tanto. 49. Con l'unghie si fendea ciascuna il petto; 50. battiensi a palme, e gridavan sì alto, 51. ch'i' mi strinsi al poeta per sospetto.

34. And more he said, but I have it not in mind; 35. because my eye had all drawn me 36. towards the high tower with the summit ablaze, 37. Where at one point instantly had risen 38. three infernal **Furies** stained with blood, 39. who had feminine limbs and bearings, 40. and were girt with hydras of an intense green; 41. small serpents and cerastes they had as hair, 42. by which the savage temples were entwined. 43. And he, who knew well the handmaids 44. of the queen of endless lamentation, 45. «Look», said to me, «the fierce **Erinyes**. 46. This is **Megaera** on the left side; 47. the one who wails on the right is **Alecto**; 48. **Tisiphone** is in the middle»; and with that he was silent. 49. With her nails, each was rending her breast; 50. beating themselves with palms, and shouting so loudly, 51. (134) that I pressed close to the poet, with dread.

Appendix C
1579 Contract

Archivo y Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial— VI-40 f. 2v-9r.

In the table below, I have numbered each clause to facilitate discussion in the text and cross referencing between the transcription of the original Spanish (C.1) and the English translation (C.2).ⁱ

ⁱ My endless thanks to Dr. Enrique García Santo-Tomás and Erin Woycik for their guidance in untangling the more difficult passages and turns of phrase.

C.1	C.2
<p>[2v] El sytio del monesterio de Sant Lorencio el Real que su magd. del Rey don Phelipe nuestro señor segundo [3r] deste nombre funda docta y edifica cerca de la villa del Scurial a diez dias del mes de henero de myll y quinientos y setenta y nuebe años estando presente el muy magnifico señor Garcia de Brizuela beedor de su magd. en la fabrica del dho monasterio y por ante mi Francisco Escudero scriuano de su magd. y publico en la fabrica del dho monasterio y testigos yuso scriptos parecieron Jacome de Trezzo y Pompeyo Leon escultores y criados de su magd. y Juan Baptista Comane maestro de canteria y residente en la corte de su magd. estantes al presente en el sitio del dho monesterio todos tres juntamente de mancomun y a boz de uno. . . . se obligauan y obligaron de hazer y que haran labaran y asentarán a su costa de oficialesⁱⁱ y gente asi la escultura como la arquitetura y gradas y solado del retablo y depositos de los cuerpos reales que por mandado y orden de su magd. han de hazer para la yglesia principal del dho monesterio a tassacion durante el tiempo segund y conforme a los capitulos declaraciones y condiciones que sobrello se an hecho que son del tenor siguiente</p> <p>—(1) Primeramente han de sacar desbastar y labrar todas las columnas de jaspe de las canteras que estan [3v] cerca del monesterio de Espeja y en otras partes que fueren nescessarias de les señalar para el dho retablo segund y de las medidas que les dierenⁱⁱⁱ y las de los bultos y el labrar cada una dellas y asentarlas en sus lugares.</p> <p>—(2) Yten asymysmo an de sacar los arquitrabes frisos y cornixas del dho retablo // y los pedestales y todas las demas pieças de los largos hanchos y gruesos para todas las peanas del dho retablo y bultos del y de las gradas del</p>	<p>His Majesty, King Philip, second of his name, illustriously founds and builds [on] the site of the monastery of San Lorenzo el Real close to the town of El Escorial on the tenth of January, 1579, being present the distinguished Sir García de Brizuela, overseer of His Majesty’s works for the aforementioned monastery, before myself, Francisco Escudero, His Majesty’s scribe and notary in the <i>fabrica</i>^{vii} of the said monastery. The following witnesses and their scribes also appeared: Jacopo da Trezzo and Pompeo Leoni, His Majesty’s sculptors and servants, and Juan Bautista Comane, master of the quarry and resident in His Majesty’s court. The three together are present here in the site of the said monastery, joined in one voice. They have agreed and are committed to securing <i>oficiales</i> and such people at their expense, and to make the sculpture, as with the architecture, steps, and paving for the altarpiece, and the burial sites of the royal bodies. By His Majesty’s command and order they must do the work for the basilica of the said monastery for the stated price and during the allotted time, according to and abiding by the matters, statements, and terms to which they have signed, as follows:</p> <p>—(1) Firstly they have to remove, smooth down, and carve all of the jasper columns from the quarries that are close to the monastery in Espeja and from other locations, as deemed necessary for the aforementioned altarpiece, according to the measurments that are given to them as well as those of the sculptures, and the carving of each of the columns, and install them in their places.</p> <p>—(2) Item: Likewise they are to extract the architraves, friezes, and cornices of the altarpiece in the stated jasper from the quarries of Espeja, as well as the pedestals and the rest of the pieces, according to the given lengths,</p>

<p>altar y piana del y capilla mayor de las dhas canteras del dho jaspe despeja segund y conforme a las dhas medidas plantas y monteas que se les diere.</p> <p>—(3) Yten es declaracion que en las dhas pieças del dho jaspe despeja y de otras partes han de embutir y encajar todas las demas dibersidades de pieças de jaspe y cosas de metal que paresciere y se les ordenare como es triglifos y dentellones y modillones y algunos miembros de las cornyxas del dho retablo ansi como se muestra por las traças^{iv} y disignos del y segund y conforme a los moldes que se les dieren de cada una cossa dellas.</p> <p>—(4) Yten que haran las pilastras detras de las columnas han de ser de metal y con las molduras que se les dieren en sus disegnos.</p> <p>—(5) Yten ansimismo haran las bassas y capiteles de todas las columnas de metal segund y como estan en los dhos designos y les dieren los moldes de las dhas bassas y capiteles.</p> <p>—(6) Yten haran quinze figuras que a de tener el dho retablo de metal dorado que han de ser quatro ebange-[4r]-listas y quatro doctors de la yglesia, y Santiago y Sant Andres y sant Pedro y sant Pablo y un Xpo. y nra. señora y sant Juan y los rostros y manos de encarnado del altor y tamaño que se les diere.</p> <p>—(7) Yten el altar mayor y los dos altares colaterales han de ser de dibersidades de jaspes y con alguna labor de manera que estando ellos descubiertos tengan correspondencia con la demas obra del dho retablo lo qual ansimismo haran conforme al disigno que se les diere.</p> <p>—(8) Yten haran el solado de la capilla mayor del dho monasterio de las dibersidades de jaspes y segun y conforme al disigno que para</p>	<p>widths, and depths for all of the plinths for the altarpiece and its sculptures, the steps of the altar, its base, and the <i>capilla mayor</i> according to and conforming to the said measurements and plans that they are given.</p> <p>—(3) Item: It is declared that all the other varieties of jasper pieces and metal^{viii} elements that there will be are to be inserted and put in place in the jasper pieces from Espeja and other sites. The triglyphs, dentals, medallions, and some parts of the cornices are commissioned as is shown in the drawn plans and designs^{ix} of the altarpiece and according to the molds^x of each of those things that they will give to them.</p> <p>—(4) Item: That they will make the pilasters behind the columns from metal and with the moulding that they are given in their designs.^{xi}</p> <p>—(5) Item: Likewise they will make the bases and capitals of all the columns out of metal in accordance with how they appear in the aforementioned designs, and they will give them the molds of said bases and capitals.</p> <p>—(6) Item: They will make fifteen gilded metal figures that the altarpiece is to have. They are to be four Evangelists, four Doctors of the Church, Saints James and Andrew, Saints Peter and Paul, a Crucifixion, Our Lady, and Saint John, the faces and hands in flesh tone, and of the height and size that they are given.</p> <p>—(7) Item: The high altar and the two lateral altars are to be of various jaspers and worked in a way that upon being unveiled must match the rest of the altarpiece's work, and that they will likewise conform to the design that will be given to them.</p> <p>—(8) Item: They will make the flooring for the monastery's <i>capilla mayor</i> from the varieties of jasper and in accordance with and</p>
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<p>ello se les diere.</p> <p>—(9) Yten ansimismo haran la custodia / o tabernaculo del dho retablo de dibersidades de jaspes y segun y como demuestra en el disigno y conforme al tamaño de cada cosa de las que en ella estan.</p> <p>—(10) Yten los lugares de los bultos se haran de dibersidades de jaspes y de la misma labor que la primera ordenança del retablo y la segunda es para ornamento de las armas que se an de poner alli como se demuestra en los disygnos.</p> <p>—(11) Yten que porque han de sacar y labrar en las dhas canteras del dho monesterio despeja o en otras canteras que les fueren señaladas todas las pieças de piedra del jaspe que alli obiere segun [4v] dho es de manera que no le falte quando de alli lo saquen cossa alguna de hazer en ello mas de traerlo y asentarlo para la parte que fuere nescesario en lo que a de estar que por razon dello el dho monasterio ni persona particular ni concejo alguno no les contradiga la saca y labor dello ni ellos sean obligados a pagarles cossa alguna del balor dello.</p> <p>—(12) Yten a de ser a costa de su magd. el acarreto de toda la dha piedra y de todas las dhas figuras y todos los demas materiales y cossas al dho retablo altares y enlossados de las dhas capillas de qualesquier partes destos reynos y de fuera dellos que se obieren de traer // y todo lo demas del labrar y asentar y poner toda la dha obra en perficion a de ser por quenta y costa de los dhos maestros.</p> <p>—(13) Yten que porque es cosa nescessaria para parte de la labor de las dhas pieças de jaspe un molino^v que este su magd. mande que se haga luego en la presa del molino nuevo que se a hecho para el dho monasterio por quenta de su magd.</p>	<p>conforming to the design given to them for it.</p> <p>—(9) Item: Likewise they will make the <i>custodia</i> or tabernacle of the altarpiece from various jaspers, according to and as is shown in the design and conforming to the size of each of its parts therein.</p> <p>—(10) Item: The places for the sculptures will be made of various jaspers and of the same work as the altarpiece's first order and the second order is to be used for the ornament of the arms they are to place there as is shown in the designs.</p> <p>—(11) Item: Because they need to remove and carve all the jasper pieces obtained in the quarries of Espeja or elsewhere in the stated way, there must be nothing more to do when they are taken away than to bring them and to install them in order to fit in the needed space in said monestary. And no counsel may impede its removal and carving, and no one can force them to pay anything.</p> <p>—(12) Item: The transport of all the aforementioned stone, figures, all other materials and things pertaining to the altarpiece, altars, and pavements for said chapels from whichever parts of the kingdoms and abroad is to be at His Majesty's expense. All other carving, installing, and situating to make said work perfect is to be at the expense of, and billed to, the aforementioned masters.</p> <p>—(13) Item: That because a mill is required for some of the jasper work, His Majesty orders that it be built soon at the dam for the new mill that has been made for the monastery at His Majesty's expense.^{xii}</p>
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—(14) Yten que porque como dho es el dho retablo altares y solado de la dha capilla mayor a de yr haziendo / obra de diferentes pieças y suertes de la dha piedra de jaspes y otras diferencias de piedras y metales y para este proposito es hombre combiniente Juan de Guzman que su magd. mande y tenga por bien [5r] que el suso dho se ocupe el tiempo que fuere su boluntad en yr a descubrir algunas dibersidades de jaspes que ymbie a Jacome de Trezzo las muestras de lo que hallare para ber si son aproposito para esta dha obra y siendo se podra traer lo que paresciere ser menester para ella por quenta de los dhos maestros.

—(15) Yten es declaracion que se le a de dar de jornal al dho Juan de Guzman seys reales cada dia de trabajo y domingos y fiestas de guardar como su magd. parece lo tiene ordenado y que el sea obligado a benir a la villa de Madrid a dar quenta de lo que hubiere fho. al dho Jacome o a la persona que su magd. ordenare o a la congregacion de la dha fabrica de tres a tres meses / o de quatro a quatro y quando asi biniere se le a de pagar el dho salario en esta dha fabrica // El qual no a de ymbiar ninguna carga ni carro de piedras ni de otra cossa que hallare ni hazer gasto en ello por quenta de su magd. y que solo ymbie / otra para las muestras de lo que descubriere y siendo aproposito se le ordenara lo que mas combenga al servicio de su magd. y no biniendo en el dho tiempo no se le pague el dho salario.

—(16) Yten se les daran quando binieren a asentar la dha obra madera y clabazon para hazer los andamios que tubieren nescesidad, y quiriendo su magd. hazer los andamios a su costa se an de hazer como los pidieren y fueren menester para el asiento del dho retablo y demas obra de suso contenida.

—(17) Yten se les a de dar cedula y comision para que en las [5v] cibdades villas y lugares de los reynos y señorios de su magd. donde

—(14) Item: Because the altarpiece, altars, and flooring of the *capilla mayor* are to be made of different pieces and types of jasper, stones, and metals, it is recommended that Juan de Guzmán, who His Majesty orders to and has on good authority will spend time at his discretion by going to discover some varieties of jaspers. He will send samples of what he has found to Jacopo da Trezzo to see if they are suitable for the stated work and, if so being, he can bring what seems to be necessary for the work at the expense of said masters.

—(15) Item: It is declared that six *reales*^{xiii} be paid to said Juan de Guzmán each workday, Sunday, and holiday on call at His Majesty's discretion, and that he be obligated to come to Madrid every three months or every four months to report on what he has done to said Jacopo, a person ordered by His Majesty, or to the Building Committee. When he arrives he will be paid his stated salary in the said *fábrica*. He does not need to send any cargo, carriages of stones, or of anything else he finds, nor spend money on it at His Majesty's expense, and that he should only send samples of what he has discovered. And being suitable, he will order for him that which is most in the interest of serving His Majesty. And by not arriving at the designated time, he will not be paid his stated salary.

—(16) Item: When they come for installation, they will be given wood and nails to make the required sacaffolding, and His Majesty desires the scaffolding be made at his expense. They are to make it as they are asked and as it is necessary for the installation of the altarpiece and the other work included therein.

—(17) Item: Edicts and commissions are to be given to them as necessary for the fair cost of everything and supplies for the workers so that

sacaren las dhas piedras y labraren y hizieren qualquier cossa tocante al dho retablo se les a de dar la madera y otras cossas que obieren menester para el pagando lo que fuere justo por cada una cossa dellas y lo mismo los bastimentos para sus personas y oficiales.^{vi}

—(18) Yten que porque a parecido que por la diferencia que se podria ofrescer en lo tocante a las figuras y otras cossas de metal que se an de hazer en la obra del dho retablo, y no hallar metal a proposito ni oficiales quales combengan que quiriendo los suso dhos hazer las dhas figuras y las otras cossas de metal fuera destos reynos lo puedan hazer, auiendo mostrado aqui primero a su magd. / o a quien ordenare los modelos de las actitudes de las dhas figuras en forma pequena para que en ellos se pueda quitar o añadir en lo que tocara a las actitudes todo lo que pareciere combenir de manera que todas ellas esten a gusto y contento de su magd. y personas a quien nombrare para ello, y para que lo uno y lo otro se haga con la presteça que combiene si fuere nescessario que su magd. scriba a algunos de los bierreyes / o gobernadores de Ytalia y a otras partes que faborezcan y ayuden en esto se a de hazer por parte de su magd.

—(19) Yten a de estar en las canteras de Espeja por cuenta de su magd. y en las demas partes donde se sacare la dha piedra una persona que sirba de sobrestante el qual a de tener cuenta de [6r] los oficiales que alli handibieren el qual a de tener comision y traer bara de justicia para poder hazer dar recado de los bastimentos materiales y las cossas nescessarias a la gente que alli andubiere segund y conforme a la orden que le fuere dada por la dha congregacion de la fabrica, del dho monesterio.

—(20) Yten se les han de dar de socorro a buena cuenta de lo que montare la dha obra veynte myll ducados que valen syete quentos y quinientos myll mrs. para comprar metal

wood and other things are to be given to them as required in the cities, towns, and places in His Majesty's kingdoms and dominions where they remove and carve the stones and do anything related to the altarpiece.

—(18) Item: That in wanting to make the figures and other metal things outside these kingdoms due to the apparent difference of what can be offered in regards to the figures and other metal things that are to be done for said altarpiece, and in not finding related metal nor suitable *oficiales*, they may do so, having first shown here the models of the figures' poses^{xiv} in smaller form to His Majesty or to an arranged person so that on these smaller models it will be possible to remove or add anything necessary so that all of them are to the taste and contentment of His Majesty and appointed advisors, and so that in either case they will do so with the agreed upon quickness. If it becomes necessary that His Majesty writes to some of the viceroys or governors of Italy and other places who will support and help with this, this can be done on His Majesty's behalf.^{xv}

—(19) Item: At His Majesty's expense, there is to be a person who serves as foreman in the quarries of Espeja and wherever else they remove said stone. He is to keep an account of the *oficiales* that are to be there. He is to have the duty and is to bring the baton of justice in order to be able to give word of the supplies, materials, and necessary things to the people who are to be there according to and conforming to the order that will be given by the stated Building Committee of said monestary.

—(20) Item: They are to give them assistance for accurate accounts of that which they assemble for said work. 20,000 *ducados*, worth 700,500 *maravedís*, to buy metal, materials,

metateriales herramientas y otras cossas nescessarias para principio y continuacion de la dha obra y se los han de pagar en esta manera los quatro myll ducados fin deste presente mes de henero deste dho año de quinientos y setenta y nueve y en fin del mes de hebrero del dho año / otros quatro myll ducados y otros quatro myll ducados se les han de dar y entregar en la cibdad de Milan en fin del mes de mayo deste presente año puestos y pagados alli por cuenta de su magd. y los ocho myll ducados restantes se les han de entregar en esta manera los dos myll ducados para en fin del mes de março deste dho año y otros dos myll ducados para en fin del mes de abril y los otros dos myll ducados para en fin del dho mes de mayo luego siguiente y los otros dos myll ducados restantes para en fin del mes de Junio deste dho año de quinientos y setenta y nueve y de alli adelante se les han de yr dando dineros como fueren haziendo la dha obra en este reyno y en Milan [6v] y en otras partes tiniendo consideracion a la obra que tubieren fha = dando ante todas cossas fianças legas llanas y abonadas en la dha cantidad de los dhos veynte myll ducados con ynformacion de abono hasta en la dha cantidad y a contento y satisfacion de la parte de su magd. que se obligaran que los dhos Jacome de Trezzo y Pompeyo Leon y Juan Baptista Comane pagaran y satisfaran a la parte de su magd. los dhos veynte myll ducados y los descontaran del prescio en que se fuere moderando y tassare la dha obra durante el dho tiempo = y es declaracion que los dhos veynte myll ducados se les yran descontando como fueren haziendo la dha obra para prosecucion de la qual se les yran dando dineros de parte de su magd. como biesen que tienen necesidad la dha obra hasta ser acabada y las dhas fianças que dieren de los dhos veynte myll ducados han de quedar en su fuerça y bigor hasta que los suso dhos hayan acabado la dha obra como dho es y se haya hecho cuenta y remate de toda ella y pague el que fuere alcançado.

tools, and other necessary items for the beginning and continuation of the work.^{xvi} They are to be paid in the following way: 4,000 *ducados* at the end of the present month of January of this year of 1579 and at the end of the month of February of the stated year; another 4,000 *ducados* are to be given and delivered to them in the city of Milan at the end of the month of May of this present year, put and paid there at His Majesty's expense. And the remaining 8,000 *ducados* are to be delivered in this way: the 2,000 *ducados* for the end of the month of March of this stated year and another 2,000 *ducados* for the end of the month of April, and the other 2,000 *ducados* for the end of the aforementioned month of May, and the other remaining 2,000 *ducados* for the end of the month of June of this year 1579. From then onward they are to continue giving them money as they make said work in Milan and in other locations taking into account the work that they will have done. They will provide even and credited deposits in the said amount of 20,000 *ducados* with information about the payment up to said amount. And to His Majesty's contentment and satisfaction the aforementioned Jacopo da Trezzo, Pompeo Leoni, and Juan Bautista Comane will commit themselves to be paid and satisfied by the said 20,000 *ducados* on the part of His Majesty, and they will deduct from the price that which should be reduced, and will assess the value of the aforementioned work during the stated time. And it is stated they will deduct from the 20,000 *ducados* as they continue to undertake the work. They will continue to give them money on His Majesty's behalf as is needed and necessary for the stated work until it is completed. And the stated deposits that will be given from those 20,000 *ducados* are to remain secured until those stated are done with the aforementioned work and the account is closed. At the conclusion of all of the work, the remaining debts will be paid.

—(21) Yten que dende luego principio del mes de março como dho es començaran a hazer la dha obra y a comprar los materiales herramientas y meteran la gente que fuere nescessario y no alçaran mano della hasta la aber acabado y pareciendo a la parte de su magd. y señores de la dha congregacion en su nombre aber en los suso dhos o en qualquiera dellos alguna negligencia en la prosecucion y perficion de la dha obra los puedan constreñir y apremiar por todo rigor a la prisa y continuacion della y meter en qualquier parte della los demas oficiales y gente que a la dha congregacion en nombre de su magd. paresciere combenyr a costa de los dhos maestros por los prescios que los pudieren aber sin que para ello sea nescessario hazer de parte de la dha congregacion diligencia alguna // supuesto que de parte de su magd. se cumplira todo lo en esta escriptura y condiciones contenido y la aprobara conforme a ellas y dara su cedula real para que sea balido syn embargo de otra orden que tenga dada en contrario.

[7r]

—(22) Yten que los dhos maestros han de hazer la dha obra a tassacion la qual se a de hazer al fin de los dhos quatro años por personas que para ello fueren nombradas por parte de su magd. y de la dha congregacion en su nombre y por parte de los dhos maestros que sean de cada parte las mismas y en caso de discordia la justicia nombre un tercero.

—(23) Yten que la dha obra la acabaran dentro de los dhos quatro años que como dho es han de començar a correr dende principio del mes de março deste presente año y se cumplira fin del mes de hebrero del año de myll y quinientos y ochenta y tres todo ello muy bien acabado y en toda perphicion y a contento de su magd. y señores de la dha congregacion en su nombre sopena que lo que no estubiere tal se buelva a deshazer y a hazer a su costa de los dhos maestros de nuevo y por lo que en ello se

—(21) Item: From the beginning of the month of March, as said, they will start the to make the work, to buy the materials and tools, and to put the necessary people in place. They will not lift a hand from it until it has been completed and appears to the taste of His Majesty and gentlemen from the said committee in his name. If there is some collective or individual negligence in the continuation and perfection of the work, they can compel them to continue it with the greatest effort and haste. And the stated committee, in His Majesty's name, can place anywhere other *oficiales* and people deemed necessary at the expense of the stated masters at whatever price they will be without the need to make on the part of the stated committee any diligence whatsoever. It is assumed on His Majesty's behalf that everything in this contract and the requirements therein will be completed, and it will be approved according to those requirements, and he will give his royal decree so that it will be valid, regardless of another contrary command that could be given.

—(22) Item: That the stated masters have to make the work on budget, which is to be done within the aforementioned four years by those that were named for it by His Majesty, by the said committee in his name, and on the part of the stated masters who will be regarded as equals. In the case of contention, the authorities will designate a third party.

—(23) Item: They are to complete the work within four years that, as stated, are to begin starting the first of the month of March of this present year, and the work will be executed by the end of the month of February of the year 1583, all of which will be done, in complete perfection, and to the satisfaction of His Majesty and the gentlemen of the said committee on his behalf, under penalty of that which is not so will be returned to and redone at the expense of the stated masters. That

gastare con mas por qualquier cantidad de dinero que se les obiere dado y diere a cuenta de la dha obra durante el dho tiempo de los dhos quatro años / o despues y por qualquier alcance y fenescimiento de cuenta / o por yerro della puedan ser y sean axecutados ellos / o sus fiadores como por maravedis y aber de su magd. con solo certificacion del señor contador de la dha fabrica sin que sea nescesario / otra probança tassacion ni aberiguacion alguna en que lo difirieron.

—(24) Yten que por quanto como dho es han de hazer la dha obra dentro de los dhos quatro años y por la yndustria y cuydado que los dhos Jacome y Pompeyo y Juan Baptista han de poner para que con mas animo hagan toda la dha obra dentro del dho tiempo dandola [7v] acabada y asentada en toda perficion se les daran por cuenta de su magd. luego como sea tassada la dha obra tres myll ducados que valen un quento y ciento y veynte y cinco mill mrs. de mes del prescio en que fuere tassada toda ella descontado lo que para en cuenta della paresciere aber rescebido = y si no la acabaren dentro de los dhos quatro años que los dhos Jacome y Pompeyo y Juan Baptista se obligan a pagar a su magd. dos myll ducados que valen setecientos y cinquenta myll mrs. los quales se les descuenten del prescio en que fuere tassada la dha obra // y todavia la parte de su magd. y los dhos señores de la dha congregacion en su nombre puedan buscar y busquen los materiales que faltaren y los oficiales y gente que les paresciere por los prescios mas subidos que los hallaren a costa de los dhos maestros para que lo prosigan y acaben en toda perficion y a contento de la parte de su magd. y señores de la congregacion en su nombre segun dho es.

—(25) Yten que los dhos veynte myll ducados y todo el demas dinero que se les fuere dando a buena cuenta durante el dho tiempo y el que alcançare en el fin y remate de la cuenta final de la dha obra se a de dar y entregar a todos tres compañeros como a personas que toman a

which will be spent on it in excess by whatever amount of money will be given to them and given to them on the said work's account during those four years or afterward and for whatever balance and closing of accounts. Or for errors with it, they can and will be fixed by them or their guarantors, for *maravedís* and for His Majesty only with the attestation of the bookkeeper of the stated *fábrica*, without requiring any other evidence, appraisal, nor inquiry that differ in it.

—(24) Item: They are to make the stated work within four years due to the labor and care that the stated Jacopo, Pompeo, and Juan Bautista are to use in order to make all of said work diligently within the stated period of time. Upon producing it, finished and installed in total perfection, they will be given then on His Majesty's account, as the work is budgeted, 3,000 *ducados*, worth one *quento*^{xvii} and 125,000 *maravedís* a month for the price at which it will be valued, the total of which will be subtracted from what remains in the account.^{xviii} And if the work is not finished within the stated four years, the stated Jacopo, Pompeo, and Juan Bautista are obligated to pay 2,000 *ducados*, worth 700,500 *maravedís* to His Majesty, which are to be deducted from the price that was budgeted for the stated work. And still on behalf of His Majesty and in the name of gentlemen of the stated committee, they can at the cost of the stated masters look for the remaining materials and for the *oficiales* and people they deem suitable for whatever price they find, in order to continue and finish to utter perfection and contentment of His Majesty and the gentlemen of the committee in his name as stated.

—(25) Item: That the stated 20,000 *ducados*, and all other money that will be given to them, will be well accounted during said time, and that the final sum for said work that covers its completion will be given and delivered to either: all three partners, as those who jointly

su riesgo y en compañía de mancomun y cada uno in solidum la dha obra o a quien el poder de todos tres juntamente lo dieren / o a qualquier dellos tiniendo poder bastante de los dos dellos y todos tres a otra persona quales paresciere y cada uno dellos pueda dar poder a los otros dos.

[8r]

Con las quales dhas condiciones y capitulaciones y declaraciones de suso contenidas los dhos Jacome de Trezzo y Pompeyo y Juan Baptista Comane debaxo de la dha mancomunidad se obligaban y obligaron de hazer y que haran durante el dho tiempo de los dhos quatro años toda la dha obra del dho retablo y altar mayor y los laterals y gradas dellos y solado de la dha capilla mayor del dho monesterio y bultos de los possytos de los cuerpos reales y lugares que se an de hazer en la dha capilla mayor donde han de estar asi la escultura como la arquitetura y sacaran y labraran en las dhas canteras del monasterio de Santa Maria de Espeja y en las demas a ellas comarcanas y en las demas partes que se les señalaren todas las pieças de piedra de las suertes de jaspes que se les pidieren de los largos gruesos hanchos y medidas moldes y segund y conforme a los disygnos que estan hechos y se les diere para todo lo tocante a la dha obra lo qual todo haran a tassacion segun dho es muy bien fecho y acabado en toda perficion y a contento de su magd. y congregacion segun y conforme a las dhas condiciones penas y posturas de suso en la dha capitulacion declaradas las quales pagadas / o no / o graciosamente remitidas que todavia y en todo tiempo guardaran pagaran y satisfaran a la parte de su magd. y descontaran en la dha obra todo el dinero que se les diere a cuenta della y cumpliran todo lo en esta scriptura y capitulaciones y so las penas en las dhas condiciones declaradas // y daran las dhas fianças en la forma suso dha y que demas de aquellas pagaran a la parte de su magd. y de la dha congregacion en su nombre las costas y

and individually assume the stated work at their own risk; to whom the authority of all three together state; to whichever of them is endowed with the authority of the other two; or to another person judged by all three, and each of them can give authority to the other two.

With those stated terms, matters, and statements of its contents, Jacopo da Trezzo, Pompeo Leoni, and Juan Bautista Comane, under the stated municipalities, have agreed to, are commissioned to make, and are committed to doing all of the work for the aforementioned altarpiece, high altar, lateral areas, stairs, and pavement for said monastery's *capilla mayor* during the stated period of four years, as well as the sculptures for the royal bodies' resting places, and places in the *capilla mayor* where there are to be sculptures and architecture. They will remove and carve all of the pieces of stone in the varieties of jasper that they are asked for from the aforementioned quarries of the monestary of Santa María de Espeja and in the other sites, to the lengths, depths, widths, measurements, and molds, and according to the designs that are made and that are given to them for everything relating to said work. All of which they will do on budget as stated above. It is to be very well made and finished to total perfection and to the satisfaction of His Majesty and the committee, following and conforming to the stated requirements, penalties, and positions declared in the above summation, which paid or not, or graciously abided by, that they still and at all times will save, pay, and fulfill on His Majesty's behalf. And in the stated work, they will subtract all the money that they are given on its account and they will fulfill everything in this deed, and the conditions, and penalties in the stated and declared clauses. And they will give the stated payments in the aforementioned way, and they will pay the remaining costs and damages on behalf of His Majesty and the

daños [8v] que por no lo cumplir a su magd. y a la dha fabrica se le siguieren y recrescieren = y a ello y para ello obligaron sus personas y bienes.....y el dho señor Garcia de Brizuela beedor y probeedor de su magd. en la dha fabrica que a todo lo que dho es presente fue en nombre de su magd. y por si y los demas señores de la congregacion de la dha fabrica dixo que acetaba y aceto esta dha scriptura y condiciones y en el dho nombre ofrescia y ofrescio a los dhos maestros la paga y cumplimiento della y lo firmo de su nombre y asi mismo lo fir-[9r]-maron los dhos maestros a todos los quales yo el dho scriuano doy fee que conozco y que a todo lo que dho es fueron presentes por testigos los de yuso contenidos y assi mismo se hallaron presentes al otorgamiento de la dha scriptura el reverendismo señor fray Julian de Tricio prior del dho monesterio que ansimismo aceto la dha scriptura y ofrescio en nombre de su magd. a los dhos maestros la paga y cumplimiento della y asi mismo estubo a ello presente el padre fray Antonio de Villacastin y el señor Juan de Herrera criado de su magd. por su parte y Juan Guzman y Pedro Ramos estantes en el dho sitio del dho monasterio / es declaracion que el salario del dho Juan de Guzman a de començar a goçar y corre dende principio deste dho mes.

Fray Julian de Tricio. Garcia de Brizuela.
Jacouo da Trezo. Pompeo Leoni. Juan Battista Comane.

Paso ante mi

Francisco Escudero scriuano.

stated committee. By not completing it for His Majesty and the said *fábrica*, they will continue and redo it, and to commit their workers to and for it. And the stated gentleman García de Brizuela, His Majesty's overseer and purveyor in said *fábrica*, who is present before all the aforementioned, has said that he accepted and agreed to this deed and its terms, on behalf of His Majesty and the other gentlemen of the Building Committee, and in their name offered to the aforementioned masters compliance to [the deed] and the price, and he signed his name to it. And likewise the stated masters signed it, all of whom I, the stated scribe and notary, affirm that I know. And for all that has been stated [the following] were present as witnesses of its contents and likewise found present for the consent of the stated deed: the Most Reverend Brother Julián de Tricio, prior of the stated monastery, who likewise agreed to the stated deed, and he promised, on His Majesty's behalf, payment and compliance to the contract to the stated masters. And likewise were present the Father Antonio Villacastín, and the gentleman Juan de Herrera, servant of His Majesty on his behalf, and Juan Guzmán and Pedro Ramos, residents at the the aforementioned monastery. It is declared that the salary of the aforementioned Juan de Guzmán is to take effect on the first of this stated month.

Brother Julián de Tricio. García de Brizuela.
Jacopo da Trezzo. Pompeo Leoni. Juan Bautista Comane.

Witnessed by

Francisco Escudero, scribe and notary.

ⁱⁱ Within the professional workshop hierarchy, “*oficiales*” refers to those who have completed apprenticeships. I will preserve the Spanish terms in italics for the remainder of the translation, as there is no ready equivalent in English.

ⁱⁱⁱ The phrases “*que les dieran*” and “*se les dieran*” appear regularly throughout the contract. The passive, archaic conjugation indicates that those involved in the construction’s planning and coordination supplied the artists with a number of designs, measurements, and models. These overseers were most likely a combination of representatives from the Hieronymite monastery, the Building Committee (including Juan de Herrera and his craftsmen), the royal court (as selected by Philip), and Philip himself. This contract, an inherently administrative document, emphasizes the managerial aspects of their roles within the hierarchy required for such an extensive undertaking, responsibilities underscored by the passive phrases in the contract and translation.

^{iv} The distinction I offer in this translation between “design” and “drawn plan” is rooted in the basic difference at the time between a “*dibujo*,” or drawing, and “*traza*” or “*traça*.” Covarrubias defines “*dibujar*” as “*solo la delineacion de la figura, sin colores, y assi està obscura y asombrada la cosa que se dibuxa, y representada como en sombra, y ensayo de lo que ha de ser*” (317r). While the latter part of that definition underscores the preparatory nature of drawings, the overall meaning is reserved for figural and representational studies. “*Trazar*,” on the other hand, specifies the act of articulating floorplans and plans for assembly: “*delineare, prescribere, e quando se delinea alguna obra la qual se demuestra por planta y monte, y porque para llegar a su perfeccion se va traçando y cortando se dixo traça*” (50v). Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid: por Luí Sánchez, 1611).

^v The term “*molino*” can translate as a place—a mill—and also as a tool—millstone. “*MOLINO*, lugar, e instrumento, donde se muele la cibera.” Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, 553r. See endnote 12 for discussion of the use of mills in stone carving.

^{vi} Here, “*personas*” likely refers to the other workers in the workshop hierarchy who, unlike the “*oficiales*,” are either still apprentices and/or work in less skilled labor.

^{vii} Rosemarie Mulcahy translates the *congregación de la fabrica* as “the Building Committee,” a phrase I will borrow and adapt to “committee” where “*congregación*” appears, while leaving *fábrica* in the absence of a succinct comparable word in English. See Rosemarie Mulcahy, *The Decoration of the Royal Basilica of El Escorial* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 146.

^{viii} While modern scholarship refers to the sculptures as bronze, and I use the term within the text, here I have directly translated the term “metal.” Without scientific examination and alloy analysis, I am unable to more accurately define what type of metal they are, namely bronze or brass. Both are copper alloys, however bronze, as defined by Nicholas Penny, contains “more than one or two per cent. . . of tin and sometimes also significant quantities of other metals, most notably lead.” Brass, on the other hand, “contains zinc in place of, or in addition to, tin used to make bronze.” It has become common practice for scholars to use the term “bronze” when the metal is technically “brass” due to modern judgments of brass as cheaper or of lesser quality than bronze. Nicholas Penny, *The Materials of Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 296, 297.

^{ix} To my knowledge, the drawn plans referred to throughout the contract for the architectural elements in both jasper and bronze have not survived but for two possible exceptions. See endnote 15 for extant drawings of two of the retablo’s sculptures.

^x The term “*moldes*” can refer to either specific molds or a general form. In either case, it would have been sufficient material from which the Leoni’s foundry could indirectly cast the bronze to produce a series of identical architectural elements to the exact specifications and measurements to fit with the jasper designs.

^{xi} The specific plan for the engaged pilasters to be cast metal changed at an unknown point, and were instead carved in jasper with bases and capitals in gilded bronze.

^{xii} Because nearly all of the jasper work was to be completed at the quarries at La Espeja, as clarified in clause 11, it is likely they would have erected the mill there. Historian José de Sigüenza offers perspective

on the mill's use at the quarry, claiming about the various work sites, "one saw ingenious wheels moved by water, with which they cut, sawed, and polished jaspers and incredibly hard marbles with the strength of emery and innovative saws." "[S]e veían ingeniosas ruedas traídas del agua, con que se cortaban, aserraban, pulían jaspes y mármoles durísimos con la fuerza de los esmeriles y sierras artificiosas." José de Sigüenza, *La fundación del Monasterio de El Escorial* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1988), 129.

^{xiii} A *real* was the "standard silver coin; equaled 34 *maravedís*." John Lynch, *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change, 1598-1700* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 422 (Appendix I: Currency, Weights and Measures).

^{xiv} Beyond the mere body position the term "pose" may imply, the Spanish "*actitudes*" embodies a greater sense of composition, posture, and comportment of the figures.

^{xv} A 1609 inventory of Pompeo's house in Madrid after the artist's death lists several figures in various preparatory materials, including wax ("cera"), clay ("barro"), and plaster ("pasta"). Kelley Di Dio has proposed the likelihood that they are the models Pompeo made before his departure from Spain to work from his father's foundry in Milan. They are: "Iten un apostol de pasta de media vara en seis reales;" "Iten un apostol de cera de un pie poco mas de cera en ocho reales;" "Otro apostol de pasta de cassi dos pies en seis reales;" "Otro apostol de cera quebrado en quarto reales;" "Otra figura de cera quebrada en dos reales;" "Otro apostol de pasta en quarto reales;" "Un San Juan de barro al pie de la cruz en quarto reales;" "Un apostol de cera en ocho reales;" "Una figura de cera que tiene una cana en tres reales;" "Una figurilla de pasta dada de colore en quarto reales." "Otro apostol de cera en seis reales;" "Iten frayle de cera en quarto reales;" "Iten quarto ebangelistas de pasta que estan en aposento mas adentro en ocho reales cada uno que montan todos reinta e dos reales." Archivo Histórico de Protocolos (Madrid): Protocolo n. 2.662, f. 1350r. See Appendix II in Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio, "The Chief and Perhaps Only Antiquarian in Spain," *Journal of the History of Collections* 8 no. 2 (2006): n.p. There are also two drawings attributed to the Leoni workshop in the Uffizi of figures from the Cavalry group, specifically Mary and St. John. See Rosemarie Mulcahy, *The Decoration of the Royal Basilica of El Escorial* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 168.

^{xvi} "*Ducado*. Ducat. Originally a gold coin but by the seventeenth century a unit of account; equaled 375 *maravedís*." "*Maravedí*. The basic unit of account." Lynch, *The Hispanic World*, 422. Regardless of the conversion rates put forth by economic historians, the rate stated in this clause is one *ducado* equaled roughly 35 *maravedís*.

^{xvii} The "*quento*" from the contract could be one of two possible amounts. The first is a *quintal*, which equaled 100 *libras*, where a *libra* was a weight of approximately one pound. See Lynch, *The Hispanic World*, 422. It could also refer to a *quinto*, which was the royal tax on silver mined in New Spain, an amount that fluctuated as the percentage taxed on the silver changed. See Lynch, *The Hispanic World*, 307.

^{xviii} The conversion rate of their bonus differs from that stated in clause 20 and endnote 16. Instead of one *ducado* equaling roughly 35 *maravedís*, this amount has one *ducado* equaling roughly 42 *maravedís*. Anthony Griffiths summarized the possibility for such differences, and the necessity of clarifying amounts in different denominations, in his investigation of European prints. He explained, "Most countries used a currency for accounting purposes (a unit of account) [in this case, the *maravedí*], the units of which did not necessarily correspond to actual denominations in production [in this case, the *ducado*], although there would be a link at some level. This made all transactions complicated." Anthony Griffiths, *The Print Before Photography: An Introduction to European Printmaking 1550-1820* (London: The British Museum, 2016), 548.

Appendix D

Mohs Hardness Scale

Adapted from Anna Maria Massinelli, *Hardstones* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2000), 215.

	<i>Material</i>	<i>Example</i>
1	Talc	
2	Gypsum	Alabaster
3	Calcites	Marbles
4	Fluorite, Calcium Fluoride	Lapis lazuli
5	Apatite, Calcium Fluorophosphate	Porphyry
6	Feldspar, Trisilicate of Aluminum, Potassium or Sodium	
7	Quartz, Anhydrous Bioxide of Silicium	Jasper
8	Topaz, Aluminum, Silicate with Fluoride	
9	Corundum, Aluminus Sesquioxide	
10	Pure Crystallized Carbon	Diamond

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