ROMA QUANTA FUIT: HOW THE IBERIAN PRESENCE TRANSFORMED THE PHYSICAL FABRIC OF THE ETERNAL CITY

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The author has written elsewhere recently about the steady growth and assimilation of an Iberian community at Rome through the course of the sixteenth century, not only of artists, but also more generally.[1] As an example, just one important member of that Iberian community, was Francisco de Reinoso, an ecclesiastic from Palencia, who accompanied Cardinal Ghislieri into the Conclave of 1565 and, when the Cardinal was elected Pope Pius V, became the new pope's Major Domo. It is appropriate to start with Reinoso here as in December 1571 the agent sent by the cathedral chapter of Palencia with an introduction to the papal Major Domo, whose role would be to watch over the chapters interests at Rome, talked with awe in a letter to his colleagues of «la grandeza de Roma».[2] Which leads to what neither this author, nor other scholars, have yet discussed in any great detail, that is not only the impression that Rome made upon Iberian immigrants, but also how with the increasing influx of an Iberian population they made their own impression on both the urban fabric and the geographical planning of the Eternal City, during the years between 1527 and 1665.

The article begins in 1527 as, during the Sack of the City by the troops of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, in May of that year much of the urban fabric Rome was damaged or destroyed, and the death toll was severe.[3] By the death of Charles' great grandson, Philip IV of Spain, in September 1665, however, the various Iberian communities had contributed largely to reconstructing what their predecessors had destroyed in the first instance. That said, this was an urban embellishment that was as much to their own advantage, and intended as a reflection of their new status at Rome, as an improvement and beautification of the urban fabric *per se*. It nonetheless represented a significant aspect of what was a much larger and ongoing transformation of the city during these years. There has been considerable recent scholarship both on the urban transformation of these years, and on the topographies and geographies of Early Modern Rome that resulted more generally.[4] More research has been

[1] P. Baker-Bates, "*Tierra Tan Extraña": Spanish Artists in Rome: 1516-1621*, in A. Varela Braga and T. L. True (ed. by), *Roma e gli artisti stranieri. Integrazione, reti e identità (XVI-XX s.)*, Roma, Artemide, 2018, pp. 160-175; Id., *Tierra Tan Extraña: Performing Spanish Cultural Identities at Rome (1516-1598)*, «Hispanic Research Journal, Visual Arts Issue», 2018, 19, 5, pp. 461-480.

[2] The letter remains in the cathedral archive and was published in A. Cabeza Rodríguez, *Palencia en la Roma Española*, «Publicaciones de la Institución Tello Telléz de Meneses», 2009, 80, pp. 45-106 (49).

[3] L. Guicciardini, *The Sack of Rome*, J. H. McGregor (ed.), New York, Italica Press, 1993; A. Chastel, *The Sack of Rome 1527*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1983; J. Hook, *The Sack of Rome 1527*, 2nd ed., Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

[4] For example: R. Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1985; J. Connors, *Alliance and Enmity in Roman Baroque Urbanism*, «Romisches Jahrbuch der Biblioteca Hertziana», 1989, 25, pp. 207-294; D. Metzger Habel, *The Urban Development of Rome in the age of Alexander VII*,

done on the seventeenth century, however, and none has yet looked at this Iberian dimension; in recent studies of the complete facelift that Rome received, the Iberian contribution has yet to be fully acknowledged.

One author who did so, and with encyclopedic breadth, although many years ago, was the seminal Elias Tormo, in his weighty, two volume, *Monumentos de los Españoles en Roma y de Portugueses e Hispano-Americanos*.[5] Tormo was though writing at a highly charged time politically, from 1940 onwards, that is just after the end of the Spanish Civil War, and was driven by a specific ideological agenda – as he makes very clear in his *Introduction*.[6] There is therefore a need to re-address the questions that Tormo posed anew. More recently, in an article of 2008, which later became a monographic study, Thomas Dandelet has built on his own thesis of a Spanish Rome that existed between 1500 and 1700, and the idea of Rome as a «Spanish Avignon», in making further bold claims for the Iberian role in the city.[7] In this article, in particular, he proposed the «Spanish monarchy», as playing the essential role of a «new Constantine» in these sixteenth and seventeenth transformations of Rome.

Dandelet, arguably, may be overstating the case but, more importantly, he has failed to examine closely the on-the-ground realities for that claim. Twenty years ago he first propounded his original and striking theory of a Spanish Rome that existed between 1500 and 1700.[8] His original idea has certainly not found universal acceptance since and has faced significant push-back; especially any idea of deliberate and successful colonisation and conquest by the Spanish; particularly so in Italian and Spanish scholarship, which Dandelet has paid insufficient attention to anyway.[9] Indeed, I have co-edited a volume of essays myself in which various authors took issue with a wide range of Dandelet's conclusions.[10] These are fallible in particular as sixteenth-century Rome was no longer, as scholarship is gradually realising, *sui generis* but rather a «world city», with all that term implies.[11]

The Iberian world had become an «Empire of Towns» and Rome was therefore now but one important cog within that larger world; albeit it, and the Italian peninsula more broadly, remained a contested zone.[12] Individuals, from ambassadors to artists, were able to move easily within this much larger Iberian world; for example, there is a sketch that survives in the

Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002; C. Keyvanian, *Papal Urban Planning and Renewal: Real and Ideal, c.1471-1667*, in P. M. Jones, B. Wisch and S. Ditchfield (ed. by), *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492-1692*, Leiden, Brill, 2019, pp. 169-183.

[5] E. Tormo, *Monumentos de los Españoles en Roma y de Portugueses e Hispano-Americanos*, II, Madrid, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1942; the importance of Tormo's work is discussed in A. Anselmi, *Le chiese spagnole nella Roma del Seicento e del Settecento*, Roma, Gangemi, 2012, pp. 18-21.

[6] Tormo, *Monumentos*, I, pp. VII-XV.

[7] T. J. Dandelet, *Searching for the new Constantine: Early Modern Rome as a Spanish Imperial City*, in G. B. Cohen and F. A. J. Szabo (ed. by), *Embodiments of Power Building Baroque Cities in Europe*, New York and Oxford, Berghahn, 2008, pp. 191-202; T. J. Dandelet, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

[8] T. J. Dandelet, *Spanish Conquest and Colonization at the Centre of the Old World: The Spanish Nation in Rome, 1555-1625*, «The Journal of Modern History», 1997, 69, 3, pp. 479-511; T. J. Dandelet, *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2001.

[9] M. A. Visceglia, *Vi è stata una "Roma spagnola"?*, «Roma moderna e contemporanea», 2003, XI, 1-2, pp. 313-325.

[10] P. Baker-Bates, M. Pattenden (ed. by), *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Images of Iberia*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2015.

[11] S. J. Campbell, *Artistic Geographies*, in M. Wyatt (ed. by), *The Cambridge Companion to the Italian Renaissance*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2014, pp. 17-39 (23-28); Id., *The Endless Periphery Towards a Geopolitics of Art in Lorenzo Lotto's Italy*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 2019, pp. 14-19.

[12] R. L. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World 1493-1793*, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 2000.

Pierpoint Morgan of the Italian artist, Matteo Perez d'Aleccio, that was drawn, according to the inscription by the Venetian, Palma il Giovane, in Rome in 1569. Here a young man making a career, Matteo's artistic trajectory eventually moved far beyond Rome, encompassing Malta, Seville and eventually, Lima.

1. *Why Rome and where?*

Nonetheless, and building on this earlier work, the title here has been chosen to reflect the reality that in so many ways the Spanish were indeed the first incomers for many years who had attempted to make Rome into a *de facto* imperial capital. What had led to this situation? Above all, there was Rome's symbolic and historical significance as the seat first of the Roman Empire, and now of the Catholic church; documents – in particular wills – related to Spaniards at Rome often refer to the city as the «alma ciudad», that is not the Eternal City, but the Holy City. As has been convincingly demonstrated elsewhere, such ideas had a powerful hold on the imagination of sixteenth-century Iberians, were indeed a fundamental part of their mental baggage, and especially so after the discovery of their own New World possessions.[13] While, contemporary Rome had a natural attraction anyway as the worldwide centre of a Catholic faith that their Monarch was sworn to uphold and defend.

There has been recent research on the physical impositions on the urban space made by an increasing foreign presence at Rome, not only of Spaniards, but of certain specific aspects to these developments.[14] In particular here, there is a need to move beyond a continuing concentration on the various National Churches, of which the Iberians came to have no less than three, San Giacomo degli Spagnoli for the Castilians, Santa Maria in Monserrato for the Aragonese, and Sant'Antonio for the Portuguese.[15] There is a further requirement to move beyond a recent concern with ephemeral, festival, decoration (although these played an important role in legitimising the Spanish presence in the city) to more solid structures. What will be considered in what follows are the wide variety and locations of Iberian interventions in Rome's urban geography taken holistically, as Tormo did, and of the physical fabric, permanent and impermanent, that can be related to the Spanish community as a whole, of whatever social rank. The argument will also, however, discuss the physical topographies of the city – exactly where it was that these Iberian communities lived and what they built there. Then there are the geopolitical spaces that resulted – that is how these incomers demarcated their chosen territory at Rome as being a specifically Iberian area.

None of this was a new development for the city. The Popes, and in opposition to them the Roman baronial families, such as the Colonna and Orsini, had already for many centuries – and with renewed vigour since the return of the papacy to the city in 1421 – been engaged in political manoeuvres that had resulted in them carving out areas of the city for their own territories. In particular, these areas of influence became grouped around vast fortified palace complexes, such as can still be imagined in the modern city for the Orsini at Monte Giordano,

[13] J. H. Elliott, *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1989, pp.7-9; T. J. Dandelet, *The Renaissance of Empire*, pp. 50-71.

[14] I. Fosi, *The Plural City Urban Spaces and Foreign Communities*, in P. M. Jones, B. Wisch and S. Ditchfield (ed. by), *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492-1692*, Leiden, Brill, 2019, pp. 169-183.

[15] For example: P. Baker-Bates, *A means for the projection of Soft Power: 'Spanish' Churches at Rome 1469-1527*, «Foundation, Dedication and Consecration rituals in the Early Modern World, Intersections, Yearbook of Early Modern Studies», 2012, 22, pp. 155-181; A. Koller, S. Kubersky-Piredda, T. Daniels (a cura di), *Identità e rappresentazione. Le chiese nazionali a Roma, 1450-1650*, Roma, Campisano, 2015.

or the Savelli in the Theatre of Marcellus.[16] Much of the remainder of the city continued to lie in ruins and was left as an open area for factional conflict. A large part of the story of fifteenth-century urbanism at Rome had been attempts by the papacy to reassert their authority over the noble families, and into these contested spaces.[17] Into the sixteenth century, however, the international dimension took this demarcation of contested space to another level – especially as the rivalry between Spain and France increased, along with the numbers of their subjects who were resident at Rome. Now, even the simplest acts of movement between one location and another could spark off conflict; John M. Hunt has recently written an article on the role of the carriage as a means of possessing space in the seventeenth century city.[18] A French print documents this infamous assault of the Spanish ambassador on the carriage of his Portuguese opposite number in August 1642.

The jumping off point for the approach in what follows will be Laurie Nussdorfer's work which some twenty years ago first signalled the importance of this demarcation of urban space for the development of seventeenth-century Rome.[19] According to Nussdorfer in the conclusion to her article, «Urban space, displayed, concealed, dominated, excluded, enclosed, separated, trapped and protected»: and what will be examined in what follows is how that played out in a specifically Iberian context at Rome, and for the sixteenth century as well.[20] Despite a body of more recent work on the city space, Nussdorfer's insights have not yet been projected back in time, or particularised around individual communities.[21] Her approach to space in Rome has, however, since been developed in other directions, in recent work on the Early Modern mapping of the city, that started with Leonardo Bufalini's first printed map of the city of 1551.[22] Although such printed maps continued to concentrate for preference on the ancient city rather than the modern, they also serve as a further means to chart the continuing encroachment of Iberian space within and upon the Roman urban fabric.

2. *A Spanish population*

Before discussing this argument in detail, there are two fundamental points to bear in mind first of all, beginning with the sheer numbers of Iberians involved and the consequences of that preponderance. A brief sketch of the few known population figures for the sixteenth century reveals starkly an increasing Iberian domination in Rome throughout the course of the century; especially when compared with that of the other, extensive, foreign communities based there. Already by April 1521, the Venetian Ambassador, Alvise Gradenigo, reported that 10'000 Spaniards were present in the city, from a total population that is estimated at

[16] K. A. Triff, *The Orsini Palace at Monte Giordano Patronage and Public Image in Renaissance Rome*, Turnhout, Harvey Miller, 2020.
[17] C. Shaw, *The Political role of the Orsini Family from Sixtus IV to Clement VII Barons and Factions in the Papal States,* Roma, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2007, p. 113 ss; V. Cafà, *The Via Papalis in early cinquecento Rome: a contested space between Roman families and curials*, «Urban History», 2010, 3, 37, pp. 434-451.
[18] J. M. Hunt, *The Ceremonial Possession of a City: Ambassadors and their Carriages in Early Modern Rome*, «Royal Studies Journal», 2016, 3, pp. 69-89.
[19] L. Nussdorfer, *The Politics of Space in Early Modern Rome*, «Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome», 42, 1997, pp. 161-186.
[20] *Ivi*, pp. 183-184.
[21] F. Nervola, *Street Life in Renaissance Italy*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2020.
[22] J. Maier, *Rome measured and imagined Early Modern Maps of the Eternal City*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 2015; J. Maier, *Mapping Rome's Rebirth*, in P. M. Jones, B. Wisch and S. Ditchfield (ed. by), *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492-1692*, Leiden, Brill, 2019, pp. 285-304.

around 50'000 souls.[23] This could be dismissed as an exaggeration, and hostile commentary, but some sixty years later, in 1582, a papal *avviso* estimated that no less than thirty percent of a Roman population, that had now doubled to roughly 100'000 souls, were of Spanish origin – whoever exactly was covered by that term.[24] This 1582 figure was part of a more general population boom anyway; according to some estimates the population of Rome had in fact grown no less than 400 percent during the years under discussion.[25] Of this increase these Spanish would have formed a large proportion – not that this was a stable figure, however, many were based at Rome for a period and then returned home, or else they travelled back and forth throughout their careers.

Nor that relations were always untroubled, as many Spaniards, despite their reverence for an ideal of the *alma ciudad*, continued to find the realities of contemporary Rome challenging. The awe of the agent of the chapter of Palencia quoted at the beginning may in fact have been an exception. A revealing quotation, perhaps to be taken with a pinch of salt, comes from the Franciscan moralist, Antonio de Guevara, then Bishop of Guadix, writing in a letter of July 1525: «No es ya en Roma, en poder de los cristianos, la que era en tiempo de gentiles, porque, siendo madre de todas las virtudes, la hemos tornando escuela de todos los vicios».[26] As a corollary to that, pace Dandelet, how this ambivalent Iberian presence translated into actual power over the machinery of the papal court and government remains hotly disputed. This is not the subject of the argument here, but it should just be re-stated that how exactly Early Modern Rome fitted within a far larger Iberian Italian *Imperium* and was in fact an 'imperial city' is still not resolved; Dandelet's pan-Spanish position is constantly being challenged still.

Whatever the actual day to day reality of an Iberian life in the city, what would now be called community relations at Rome, were often tense. Indeed, the Spanish community found itself frequently embattled – the Sack of 1527 was but one manifestation of a much larger, ongoing narrative. Violence, as has also often been ignored until recently, was a fact of life in Early Modern Rome, even at the highest levels of society, the assault on the Portuguese ambassador of 1642 has already been mentioned. While, as early as October 1513, the Venetian ambassador at Rome, Pietro Lando, had had to apologise in a letter to the *Signoria*, for being bullied by the Spanish ambassador into celebrating publicly the Venetian military defeat at Agnadello, for fear of being thought French![27] Especially though, there was an often, barely latent, hostility at all social levels between the native Romans themselves and the Iberian incomers.

The former tended to see the latter as an over-weaning, occupying power, although that was very far from the reality. Nonetheless, there was very nearly a second Sack of the city in the late 1550's during the tense stand-off between Philip II and Paul IV, and Philip ordered

[23] M. Sanudo, *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, CXXXIX, R. Fulin (a cura di), Venezia, Stab. Visentini, XXX, 1891, p. 91; E. Lee (ed. by), *Habitatores in Urbe. The Population of Renaissance Rome*, Roma, Università La Sapienza, 2006.

[24] M. Vaquero Piñeiro, *Cenni storici sulla componente spagnola della popolazione romana alla fine del '500 secondo i registri parrochiali*, in E. Sonnino (a cura di), *Popolazione e società a Roma*, Roma, Il Calamo, 1998, pp. 141-149 (141).

[25] For example: D. I. Kertzer and M. Barbagli (ed. by), *Family Life in Early Modern Times*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2001, p. XXI.

[26] Don E. de Ochoa (ed.), *Epistolario Español. Colección de cartas de españoles ilustres antiguos y modernos recogida y ordinada con notas históricas, críticas y biográficas*, Madrid, Rivadeneyra, 1856, pp. 102-104.

[27] Biblioteca Correr, *Codice Cicogna*, 2517, f. 5.

his subjects to withdraw from the Eternal City.[28] These were major events, but there were plenty of everyday incidents too; a considerable part of the drive by Iberians to create their own territories and to construct a physical fabric around themselves would have been for basic reasons of security. In his letter to the Senate of 27 April 1521, the recently arrived Venetian ambassador, Alvise Gradenigo, discussed the outcome of a run in between a member of Cardinal Colonna's household and a Spaniard – nominal allies![29] This had rapidly escalated into a factional brawl with greater numbers involved, which the Spanish were losing, and they were forced to take refuge in their Ambassadors' palace. Here, they were able to obtain arms and from there the Ambassador, then Don Juan Manuel, had no hesitation in encouraging the running fight that had developed from an upstairs window.

Secondly, leading on from all this, the argument does not get into the equally vexed question of Iberian identities at Rome, and in particular the exact meaning of the phrase that is used in the *avviso* of 1582, which is «nazione Spagnola». What then was the Spanish nation? For example, in 1940 Tormo controversially included both Portugal and Latin America in his survey of *Monumentos Españoles*. Much has been written by others about the possible meanings of this term, *nazione*, in relation to the Iberian communities at Rome; in particular, Irene Fosi has eloquently discussed the use of it by scholars very recently.[30] Here, to explain a preference for the blanket term Iberian throughout what follows, suffice it to say that the author is well aware of the nuanced complexities involved in the use of that term, but will be adopting it simply for reasons of convenience to refer to all the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula who were resident at Rome in the years under consideration. From 1580 of course, until 1640, the Portuguese too were encompassed within a wider Iberian *imperium* anyway, after Philip II had assumed their throne in the wake of the succession crisis.[31] While, renewing age-old factional conflicts, many native Romans themselves indeed would have felt greater loyalty to this composite Iberian monarchy than to their own nominal overlord, the Pope.[32] There is also the basic question of language, and many communities remained sealed off willingly behind linguistic barriers.

Finally, what will also not be discussed here is the other side of the coin, how the experience of Rome transformed the physical landscape of Iberia itself – a subject which will be the subject of future research. Whatever the precise political role of Rome within a wider Iberian *Imperium*, what cannot be in doubt is that the Iberian experience of the Eternal City had a transformative effect upon their home countries. Both experience of Rome for themselves by Iberians, and the travels of Roman trained artists, architects and other artisans had an enormous impact on the Iberian landscape that is only now beginning to be fully understood. There is for example, an area which is only beginning to be explored, the

[28] M. Pattenden, *Pius IV and the Fall of the Carafa Nepotism and Papal Authority in Counter Reformation Rome*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013.
[29] Sanudo, *I Diarii*, XXX, pp. 90-91.
[30] Dandelet, *Spanish Conquest*, pp. 484-487; A. Serio, *"Nationes" hispanas y facción española en Roma durante la primera Edad Moderna*, in Carlos José Hernando Sánchez (ed.), *Roma y España. Un Crisol de la Cultura Europea en la Edad Moderna (Actas del Congreso Internacional celebrado en la Real Academia de España en Roma del 8 al 12 de mayo de 2007)*, II, Madrid, Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, 2007, pp. 241-248; I. Fosi, *A proposito di* nationes *a Roma in età moderna: provenienza, appartenenza culturale, integrazione sociale*, «Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken», 2017, 97, pp. 383-393.
[31] F. Labrador Arroyo, *The Situation of the Portuguese Court and Household under the first monarch of the House of Austria (1581-1598)*, «The Court Historian», 2016, 21, 1, pp. 1-21.
[32] M. Gentile, *Factions and parties: problems and perspectives*, in A. Gamberini and I. Lazzarini (ed. by), *The Italian Renaissance State*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 304-322 (316 ss.).

collection of antiquities in sixteenth-century Spain, one means by which the Spanish came to visualise themselves as the new Rome.[33]

3. *Churches and festivals*

The urban interventions of the Milanese architect, Donato Bramante, after his arrival at Rome in 1499, have always led him to be interpreted as one of the very founding fathers of the Roman High Renaissance. As has been recently teased out, however, even before the watershed moment of the Sack of 1527, Bramante's patronage was far more tied to the Spanish community at Rome than has previously been acknowledged – an inbuilt Vasarian bias having mitigated against acknowledgment of the Iberian contribution beforehand.[34] In fact, it turns out that, aside from Bramante's papal commissions – and at first these were for a Spanish Pope, Alexander VI – his work at Rome was most often carried out for an Iberian clientele. Such major urban interventions as the Cloister of Santa Maria della Pace, or the *Tempietto* of San Pietro in Montorio, were associated with the highest levels of Spanish ecclesiastical patronage. Indeed, there is evidence, according ironically to Vasari at least, although he is the only source, that Bramante had even worked on the rebuilding of the Castilian church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli.[35]

It was Bramante's *Tempietto* in the cloister of San Pietro in Montorio in particular though, as has been discussed *ad nauseam*, that was symbolic of a newly assertive Spanish presence in the Eternal City, Dandelet even chose it for the cover of his controversial book of 2000.[36] The *Tempietto* is also a watershed moment, however, as it is the first time the Spanish monarchy itself had poured resources into Rome's urban fabric specifically. Thus, they began a tradition of royal largesse towards and interest in the Eternal City that would continue until well into the twentieth century. The exiled King, Alfonso XIII, died in the Grand Hotel there on the 28 February 1941, and was buried in Santa Maria in Monserrato, immediately below the tombs of the two Borgia popes.[37] Furthermore, San Pietro in Montorio remained from the end of the fifteenth century on as an additional Iberian centre in the city (as it still remains today as the seat of the *Academia de España en Roma*), as well as a site that was particularly associated with the Spanish crown, despite being remote from the centre of urban life. These various urban interventions by Bramante, however, were in no way systematic and had represented no coherent plan of campaign; this reflected the still *ad hoc* nature of the Iberian monarchy itself under the rule of the Catholic monarchs.

[33] M. Trunk, *Batalla y Triunfo: Los relieves históricos de la colección del primer Duque de Alcalá*, in J. M. Abascal, R. Cebrián (eds.), *Escultura Romana en Hispania VI Homenaje a Eva Koppel*, Murcia, Tabularium, 2010, pp. 27-44; A. Monteroso, J. García Sánchez (eds.), *El Palacio de España en Roma: collecionismo y antigüedades clásicas*, Roma, Embajada de España Escuela Española, 2010.

[34] X. Company i Climent, *Bramante mito y realidad La importancia del mecenazgo español en la promoción romana de Bramante*, Lleida, Centre d'Art d'Època Moderna de la Universitat de Lleida, 2012; J. Freiberg, *Bramante's Tempietto, the Roman Renaissance, and the Spanish Crown*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

[35] G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, R. Bettarini and P. Barocchi (eds.), IX, Firenze, Sansoni, 1967-87, IV, 1976, p. 77; Stefania Albiero, *La iglesia de Santiago de los Españoles en Piazza Navona: un historia a través del dibujo*, in X. Company, B. Franco, I. Rega Castro (eds.), *Bramante en Roma, Roma en España. Un juego de espejos a la temprana Edad Moderna*, Lleida, Centre d'Art d'Època Moderna de la Universitat de Lleida, 2014, pp. 92-111 (103-104).

[36] Cfr. T. J. Dandelet, *Spanish Rome*; Freiberg, *Bramante's Tempietto*; F. Cantatore (a cura di), *Il Tempietto di Bramante nel monastero di san Pietro in Montorio*, Roma, Quasar, 2017.

[37] C. Petrie, *King Alfonso XIII and his Age*, London, Chapman and Hall, 1963; C. Seco Serrano, *Alfonso XIII*, Madrid, Arlanza, 2001.

Nonetheless, at the same time, a stable and more central Iberian focus at Rome was gradually developing in particular around the Castilian church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, at the bottom of what is now the Piazza Navona. That name for the area, however, is relatively modern. Until recently, this space had been the evocatively named, from as far back as 999, *Campus* or *Platea Agonis*, the Square of the Games, or alternatively the Square of the Martyrdom, reflecting its origins as the site of the Stadium of Domitian.[38] In this area a new church specifically for the Castilian community had been begun for the Holy Year of 1450.[39] As with other national churches, this was not only to be a church for the community as a whole to worship in, but also the base for a form of social club and to provide assistance for co-nationals. The very dedication of the church to Saint James proclaimed the Castilian identity of the site; in the fifteenth century Saint James was still the pre-eminent saint of the Castilian nation.[40] Furthermore, at the time of the foundation of the church this area was already beginning to be defined as a newly dynamic, rapidly developing, urban space, one in which a new weekly city market was established in 1477.[41]

Before the subsequent interventions of both Pope Innocent X, and Mussolini, both the Piazza, and the adjacent church, would have looked very different. Especially now, when after the urban interventions of the nineteen thirties, and the opening up of Corso Risorgimento, the church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, is a husk of the communal centre that it was once was, which tourists now hurry past, and have done so for many years.[42] Restoration work is finally being undertaken. Vice versa, Piazza Navona itself would have been far scruffier and much less regular in appearance. Nonetheless, this area had rapidly become thanks to these developments, as also has been much discussed recently, the cockpit of Spanish factionalism in Rome as the preferred site for the celebration of significant national festivities.[43] These manifestations could be both universal and particular, and they especially celebrated royal births, marriages and funerals, with appropriate pomp, as conspicuous display played an important role in great power politics on the Roman stage.

As already mentioned, it is necessary, however, to move beyond these spaces and these events; nonetheless, such *apparati*, as they were called, remain significant for our argument here. Firstly, as they reflected the overarching role of their monarchy in the Iberian presence at Rome, and their financial input and secondly as they were celebrated in the same way throughout the Iberian *imperium*, from Lima through Spain itself to Italy. Thus, they were tying these Iberian spaces at Rome into a much wider geographical concept of Iberia. For example, the ritual use of the body of the king became widespread throughout the Habsburg

[38] I. Ait, *Da Campus a Platea: Piazza Navona una storia di lungo periodo*, «Roma nel Rinascimento», 2014, pp. 81-88.

[39] J. Fernández Alonso, *Las iglesias nacionales de España en Roma. Sus orígenes*, «Anthologica Annua», 1956, 4, pp. 9-96; Baker-Bates, *A Means*; Anselmi, *Le chiese spagnole*, pp. 161-168; D. Carrió-Invernizzi, *Santiago de los Españoles en plaza Navona (siglos XVI-XVII)*, in J-F. Bernard (dir. par), *"Piazza Navona, ou Place Navone, la plus belle & la plus grande": du stade de Domitien à la place moderne, histoire d'une evolution urbaine*, Rome, École française de Rome, 2014, pp. 635-657.

[40] E. K. Rowe, *Saint and Nation. Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and plural identities in Early Modern Spain*, Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011, p. 31 ss.

[41] A Modigliani, *L'area di Piazza Navona tra Medioevo e Rinascimento: usi sociali, mercantili, ceremoniali*, pp. 481-504 (481-482), and S. di Nepi, *Un mercato per la città: piazza Navona e i suoi banchi in età moderna*, pp. 543-556, both in J-F. Bernard (dir. par), *"Piazza Navona, ou Place Navone, la plus belle & la plus grande"*.

[42] B. W. Painter, Jr., *Mussolini's Rome Rebuilding the Eternal City*, New York and Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 70-71.

[43] P. González Tornel, *Roma Hispánica: cultura festiva española en la capital del Barroco*, Madrid, CEEH, 2015.

dominions as one means of asserting the active presence of an absent ruler.[44] One early instance was the funeral ceremonies of the Emperor Charles V in 1559 that were ordained by his son, Philip II, a double-edged sword at Rome as they also celebrated Spanish predominance at a time of heightened tension.

Moving beyond these, and in terms of a more particularly Iberian ceremonial now, it is just worth mentioning descriptions of events in a handful of unpublished ambassadorial documents. First on 14 February 1531, Charles V's Ambassador at Rome, Miguel Mai, writing to the Imperial minister, Francisco de los Cobos, describes a bull running held in the square in front of the palace of the Cardinal of Osma (the Castilian Dominican, Juan García de Loaysa) – a more precise location is unfortunately not given:

> Hayer corrieron toros delante de la casa de nuestro señor reverendísimo de Osma y jugaron […] unos criados y allegados de su casa muchos y bien adrezados y stava la plaça tan llena y con tanto bollicio como si fuera en Valencia.[45]

Or a further document which describes in detail how in the chancel of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli on 15 August 1567, the son of the then Ambassador, Don Luis de Requesens, was solemnly dubbed a Knight of Santiago (the most important Iberian military order) with appropriate ceremonial before a crowd consisting of the most important members of the Spanish faction at Rome.[46]

Furthermore, the Aragonese Church of Santa Maria in Monserrato, and the Portuguese Church of Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi had come into existence not too far distant from the Piazza Navona, although these always remained less significant and wealthier institutions than San Giacomo. Nonetheless, all of these three churches owned properties that were not only now concentrated in the streets nearby, but increasingly also scattered throughout the city. Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro has detailed this process in his exhaustive financial analysis of San Giacomo, drawn from the surviving documentation.[47] The churches role as landlords only further encouraged the coalescence of an Iberian national entity in this particular area. San Giacomo's sixteenth-century predominance over the other Iberian churches was reinforced, and a seal placed upon the important place occupied by the Iberian community at Rome, when in 1579 the Confraternity of the Most Holy Resurrection was founded in the church.[48] This rapidly became among the largest Confraternities at Rome; joining it a further distinguishing badge of Iberian identity, the first *confratelli* listed were none other than Philip II and his

[44] M. Vaquero Piñeiro, *I funerali romani del principe Giovanni e della regina Isabella di Castiglia I rituali politico al servizio della monarchia spagnola*, in M. Chiabò, S. Maddalo, M. Miglio, A. M. Oliva (a cura di), *Roma di fronte all'Europa al tempo di Alessandro VI. Atti del Convegno (Città del Vaticano-Roma, 1-4 dicembre 1999)*, III, Roma, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, 2001, II, pp. 641-655; M. Schraven, *Festive Funerals in Early Modern Italy. The Art and Culture of Conspicuous Commemoration*, Farnham, Ashgate 2014; A. B. Osorio, *The ceremonial king: kingly rituals and imperial power in 17th century New World cities*, in F. Checa Cremades, L. Fernández González (ed. by), *Festival Culture in the World of the Spanish Habsburgs*, London and New York, Routledge, 2015, pp. 177-194.

[45] Archivo General de Simancas, *Roma*, 852, f. 59.

[46] Archivio Capitolino, *Sezione Urbana*, I, 586, ff. 242-244; L. P. Wright, *The Military Orders in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Spanish Society. The Institutional Embodiment of a Historical Tradition*, «Past and Present», 1969, 43, pp. 34-70.

[47] M. Vaquero Piñeiro, *La renta y las casas: el patrimonio inmobiliario de Santiago de los Españoles de Roma entre los siglos XV y XVII*, Roma, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1999.

[48] A. d'Amelio, *Le origini della festa della Resurrezione in piazza Navona: da ceremonia religiosa a manifesto di potere della comunità spagnola a Roma*, in *Centros de poder italianos en la Monarquía Hispánica (siglos XV-XVIII)*, Madrid, Polifemo 2010, III, pp. 1471-1485.

Ambassador. The celebrations of the Feast of the Resurrection by the Confraternity at dawn on Easter morning became especially elaborate.[49]

As the number of surviving documents demonstrate, the Confraternity, and these Iberian churches more generally, further encouraged the participation of their co-nationals through offering them employment in various capacities. Much of the internal decoration in San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, for example, was the work of Iberian craftsmen who had based themselves at Rome; Gaspar Becerra from Baeza, for example, in the 1550's painted the frescoes for the now destroyed chapel of Constantino del Castillo, Dean of Cuenca.[50] While the musical accompaniment to their liturgy was the work of some of the most eminent Spanish composers of the period who often made careers for themselves at Rome – individuals who are still as famous as Tomas Luís de Victoria.[51] Spaniards were not, however, altogether communally exclusive in terms of the Confraternities that they joined; Spanish artists at Rome, for example, joined both the *Accademia di San Luca* and the *Virtuosi al Pantheon*, as there was no entity particular to them.[52]

4. *Living in Rome: the wider picture*

Around these ecclesiastical centres clustered the residences of eminent Iberians who were based at Rome, or else those who were allied to them. Such men were principally ecclesiastics themselves, or diplomats, or indeed fulfilled both roles together, and also brought in their train extensive households, which in their turn were usually made up predominantly of co-nationals. For example, such powerful mid sixteenth-century Iberian clerics as Cardinal Juan Álvarez de Toledo, and the Archbishop of Salerno, Luis de Torres, built or rented their Palaces on or near the Piazza Navona. There they constructed, or adapted pre-existing, monumental structures, that then both reflected their own power, and that of the Spanish crown in this pre-eminent space for Iberian representation. As with a number of others, the exact location of Cardinal de Toledo's palace regrettably remains unclear, unfortunately for us today contemporaries seem to have remained unconcerned about specifying exact locations. During the disturbances of 1520, according to Ambassador Gradenigo, Don Juan Manuel was housed «dove sta li Cardinali Aginensi», while the palace of the Cardinal of Osma referred in 1531 by Miguel Mai is a similarly free-floating location.[53]

The Palazzo De Torres-Lancellotti, however, still survives today in modified form, facing on to the Piazza Navona, almost next to the church of San Giacomo. This palace was built originally from 1542 onwards and after that date it was the Roman base for several

[49] G. Accolti, *La festa et ordine bellissimo che tiene la natione di Spagna nel far la processione del santissimo sacramento, la Domenica di resurretione, nel aurora in Roma, intorno a Piazza Navona*, Roma, Domenico Gigliotti, 1596; N. O'Regan, *Tomas Luis de Victoria Francisco de Soto and the Spanish Archconfraternity of the Resurrection in Rome*, «Early Music», 1994, 22, 2, pp. 279-295; T. J. Dandelet, *Spanish Conquest*, pp. 496-499; A. d'Amelio, *Le origini della festa della Resurrezione*.

[50] G. Redin Michaus, *Sobre Gaspar Becerra en Roma. La capilla de Constantino del Castillo en la Iglesia de Santiago de los Españoles*, «Archivo Español de Arte», 75, 298, 2002, pp. 129-144; P. Baker-Bates, *Tierra Tan Extraña*, pp. 165-170.

[51] N. O'Regan, *Tomas Luis de Victoria*, 1994; N. O'Regan, *Tomas Luis de Victoria's Roman churches revisited*, «Early Music», 2000, 28, 3; A. Recasens Barberà, *De Cristobal de Morales a Tomás Luis de Victoria: la música española en la Roma del Renacimiento*, in Carlos José Hernando Sánchez (ed.), *Roma y España*, vol. I, pp. 421-432; N. O'Regan, *Music in the Service of Spanish Hegemony in Early Modern Rome*, in F. Checa Cremades, L. Fernández González (ed. by), *Festival Culture in the World of the Spanish Habsburgs*, pp. 245-262.

[52] I. Salvagni, *Da Universitas ad Academia. La corporazione dei pittori nella chiesa di San Luca a Roma, 1478-1588*, Roma, Campisano, 2012.

[53] Sanudo, *I Diarii*, XXX, p. 91.

generations of this powerful ecclesiastic lineage, originally from Malaga. What is most interesting for our argument here is that the original construction, by an unknown architect – although the name of Pirro Ligorio has been suggested since the seventeenth century – utilised many of the same methods used in the De Torres native city, such as the windcatcher tower.[54] What is also fascinating in this context is Anna d'Amelio's seductive, but unevidenced theory, about a Madonna and Child, now in Apsley House, but with a Spanish provenance.[55] This, D'Amelio believes is probably the work of Marcello Venusti, and, according to here at least, through an open window it shows the view from the Palazzo de Torres onto the facade of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli.

This communal clustering around the Piazza Navona became increasingly the case as the sixteenth century progressed. It is reflected in the role played by San Giacomo which gradually became the church for the Spanish community as a whole, and not just the Castilians, especially after the establishment of the Confraternity in 1579. Furthermore, at first the Spanish Ambassadors too rented properties in this area. Already by the late fifteenth century, the Palazzo Mellini opposite San Giacomo – which is now absorbed into the Palazzo Pamphili – was first rented by Juan Ruíz de Medina, and then by Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal.[56] With the increasing centralisation of the Iberian realms under Philip II, so the Iberian communities at Rome too had come to lead a more ordered existence.

Otherwise, the members of the Iberian community remained scattered throughout the city, as their surviving wills, or other documentary evidence testify. Their burials too were not confined solely to the various National Churches, the De Torres were in fact buried not in the nearby San Giacomo, but in a chapel at Santa Caterina dei Funari that reflected their long association with the associated Confraternity.[57] Later on, by the early seventeenth century other leading Iberians at Rome, such as the important diplomat, agent and art collector from Zaragoza, Pedro Cosida, began to build palaces elsewhere in the city.[58] Cussida's palace occupied a prominent corner site on the Via del Corso, which had become Rome's main thoroughfare and the most important site for public display, thus reflecting his own increasing status and that of his community.[59]

The poorer classes in turn remained confined in the main to the poorer districts of the city; it should not be forgotten that by the beginning of the seventeenth century, Iberians occupied every sector of Roman society, from high-ranking ecclesiastics to the urban poor. There is, as always, the problem of relative surviving evidence for the everyday day lives lived by the latter. That can be both in the form of the physical remains themselves, and also the documentation concerning them. Our picture of the topographies of Spanish Rome therefore

[54] L. Salerno, *Palazzo de Torres Lancellotti*, in *Piazza Navona Isola dei Pamphili*, Roma, F. Spinosi, 1970, pp. 271-276; V. Abbate, *'Torres adest': I segni di un arcivescovo tra Roma e Monreale*, «Storia dell'Arte», 2007, pp. 19-66.

[55] A. d'Amelio, *La Famiglia De Torres e Marcello Venusti*, in M. G. Aurigemma (a cura di), *Dal Razionalismo al Rinascimento per i quaranta anni di studi di Silvia Danesi Squarsina*, Roma, Campisano 2011, pp. 101-106.

[56] B. Schirg, *Cortese's Ideal Cardinal? Praising Art, Splendour and Magnificence in Bernardino de Carvajal's Roman Residence*, «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», 2017, LXXX, pp. 61-82.

[57] B. J. Sabatine, *The Church of Santa Caterina dei Funari and the Vergini Miserabili of Rome*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1992, pp.140-148; C. Rosolino, A. Filopovic (a cura di), *Chiesa di S. Caterina della Rosa dei Funari. Restauro delle cappelle*, Roma, Palombi 2011.

[58] C. Grilli, *Il collezionismo di Pietro Cussida a Roma e una seconda cappella della Pietà in San Pietro in Montorio*, in *Caravaggio e l'Europa. Il movimento caravaggesco internazionale da Caravaggio a Mattia Preti*, Milano, 2005, pp. 56-63; G. Papi, *Ribera en Roma. La revelación del genio*, in J. Milicua, J. Portús (eds.), *El jóven Ribera*, Madrid, Museo del Prado, 2011, pp. 31-59 (51-54).

[59] L. Gigli, *Via del Corso: la strada bimillenaria*, in C. d'Onofrio (a cura di), *Via del Corso una strada lunga 2000 anni*, Roma, De Luca 1999, pp. 9-47.

remains inevitably biased towards the elite sectors; an unusual amount is, however, known about the residences and activities of Spanish artists at Rome.[60]. Several scholars too have done much to excavate the everyday lives of the membership of varying social levels who made up particular sectors of Iberian society at Rome that were under constant threat, those of the Portuguese new Christians, or of the *Moriscos*.[61] The *Moriscos*, for example, almost universally employed in humbler occupations, clustered within the parish of Santa Maria del Popolo.

Recent archival research has also shed much light on the daily activities and places of business of Iberian merchants, of all types, resident at Rome.[62] Some of these men not only interacted financially within their own community, but became major figures in the economic life of the city and their doings are recorded, such as the important banker, Juan Enríquez de Herrera.[63] Not only the major banker for his fellow countrymen, such as Cosida, Enríquez de Herrera was also inserted into the complex finances of the papacy, in a flourishing business and personal partnership with the Genoese, Ottavio Costa. Despite this apparent assimilation, as well as becoming a member of the Confraternity of the Resurrection, Herrera specifically describes himself in several documents as being, «nazione spagnola», and on 29 January 1605 declares solemnly, in due legal form, his origins in and loyalty to that crown.[64]

As a community centre, the Piazza Navona gradually diminished in importance for the Iberians at Rome from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards – which reflected a wider change in the status of foreign communities in the city as assimilation gradually became both easier and more natural.[65] This diminution in status of the Piazza Navona was only confirmed when, right at the end of the period under discussion, on 27 January 1647, the then Spanish ambassador, the Count of Oñate, bought the first permanent Iberian embassy in the city. This was established in the palace his predecessors had been renting for the past twenty years in what has now become the Piazza di Spagna, a building that was then called the Palazzo Monaldeschi.[66] From that date on this area increasingly assumed the role which had been taken in the sixteenth century by the Piazza Navona, which was itself now subsumed into the control of the papal Pamphili family. Exemplary of the change, there is, for example, Giovanni Paolo Panini's, *A Festival in the Piazza di Spagna*, of 1727, now at Apsley House. This records the celebrations organised by the Spanish embassy (whose building occupies the centre of the canvas) on the 23rd of September of that year for the birth of the Infante, Luis, the youngest son of Philip V.[67] While it was in the same Piazza di Spagna, immediately opposite the Embassy, on 8 December 1857, that Pius IX dedicated the column of the Immaculate Conception. This was to honour his proclamation, *ex cathedra*, three years earlier

[60] Baker-Bates, *Tierra Tan Extraña*.
[61] J. Nelson Novoa, *Being the Nação in the Eternal City New Christian Lives in sixteenth-century Rome*, Peterborough Ontario, Baywolf Press, 2014; B. Pomara Saverino, *Rifugiati I moriscos e l'Italia*, Firenze, Firenze University Press, 2017, pp. 166-172.
[62] M. Vaquero Piñeiro, *La presencia de los españoles en la economía romana (1500-1527). Primeros datos de archivo*, «En la España Medieval», 1993, 16, pp. 287-305; M. Vaquero Piñeiro, *Forme della presenza mercantile Spagnola a Roma all'inizio dell'età moderna spunti per un confronto europeo*, «Storia Urbana», 2009, 32, 123, pp. 83-100.
[63] M. C. Terzaghi, *Caravaggio, Annibale Carracci, Guido Reni tra le Ricevute del Banco Herrera & Costa*, Roma, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2007.
[64] Terzaghi, *Caravaggio*, pp. 354-356.
[65] I. Fosi, *Roma patria comune? Foreigners in Early Modern Rome*, in M. Bury, J. Burke (ed. by), *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, Aldershot and Burlington, Ashgate, 2008, pp. 27-43 (41-42).
[66] A. Anselmi, *Il Palazzo dell'Ambasciata di Spagna presso la Santa Sede*, Roma, De Luca, 2001, pp. 51-76.
[67] F. Arisi, *Gian Paolo Panini e i fasti della Roma del '700*, Roma, Ugo Bozzi, 1986, pp. 204 and 324-325.

as dogma of that doctrine of which the Spanish crown had long been the most tenacious defender.[68]

This diminution in importance of the Piazza Navona was also because, into the seventeenth century, there was a continuing implantation of Spanish churches and chapels throughout the wider urban area of Rome. This dissemination was helped by the successful increase in Spanish saints after Trent, driven by the specific political agenda of the crown, especially with the famous and much discussed canonisation of four Spanish saints in 1622.[69] These all needed appropriate sites for their cults; for example, there is the convent of San Isidoro a Capo le Case, that was founded for the discalced Franciscans in 1622 the very year after the saint's canonisation. This was in what was then one of the remoter districts of the city, hard by the city walls on the Pincian Hill. Furthermore, while the other three Saints canonised, Francis Xavier, Ignatius of Loyola and Teresa of Avila were all saints of the global, Counter-Reformed church, Isidore's had been a cult particular to Madrid; nonetheless he was the first to get a church at Rome. Indeed, it was a visit to this very church that Tormo says gave him his inspiration for his two volumes.[70] Although, ironically, San Isidoro has been almost ever since its foundation, for financial reasons, an Irish Franciscan house.[71]

While, from the very end of the period under discussion, there are the three altarpieces from the small church of Santa Bibbiena that were commissioned for his chapel by a Spanish Canon of Santa Maria Maggiore, Francisco de San Juan y Bernedo, at some time before 1702. Two of these show small medallions of the Emperor, Leopold I and Charles II of Spain in adoration of various Spanish and Counter Reformation saints, in a profound exaltation of Habsburg dynasticism at a time of strife, the war of the Spanish succession.[72] It was not just a matter of building new ecclesiastical structures, however, but also of appropriating older monuments to become centres of the Spanish nation at Rome, take, for example, this same Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. In the seventeenth century Alexander VI, is already reported in the Jubilee year of 1500 to have gilded the ceiling of the Basilica with the first gold sent back from the New World.[73]

The most discussed instance of this, however, is the ongoing patronage by Philip IV of the Basilica from 1643. In return for which generosity the Canons in April 1659 decreed that a statue to the King should be erected in the *Loggia* of the Basilica, a project involving no less a figure than Gian-Lorenzo Bernini.[74] The Basilica was far from the inhabited centre, but as one

[68] M. de Gioia, *Il dogma dell'Immacolata Concezione e il beato Pio IX: devozione mariana e azione pastorale*, in G. Morello, V. Francia, R. Fusco (a cura di), *Una donna vestita di sole: l'Immacolata Concezione nelle opere dei grandi maestri*, Milano, Motta, 2005, pp. 26-31; A. Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño, *"Quieren los españoles definir": La Inmaculada Concepción y la Monarquía de España durante el siglo XVII*, in P. González Tornel (ed.), *Intacta María. Política y religiosidad en la España Barroca*, Valencia, Generalitat Valenciana, 2017, 55-73.

[69] M. Gotor, *Le canonizzazioni dei santi spagnoli nella Roma barocca*, in C. J. Hernando Sánchez (ed.), *Roma y España*, vol. II, pp. 621-639; C. Copeland, *Spanish Saints in Counter Reformation Italy*, in P. Baker-Bates, M. Pattenden (ed. by), *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Images of Iberia*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2015, pp. 102-123 (109-112).

[70] Tormo, *Monumentos*, I, p. IX.

[71] G. Spoltore, *Luke Wadding and Scholars for the Arts in Seventeenth-Century*, London and New York, Routledge, 2020.

[72] A. Pascual Chenel, *Un controvertido retrato de Carlos II en Roma*, «Archivo Español de Arte», 2009, 82, 327, pp. 308-315.

[73] According to P. de Angelis, *Basilicae S. Mariae Majoris de Urbe a Libero Papa usque ad Paulum V P. M. description et delineation,* Roma, Bartholomaei Zanetti, 1621; P. J. Jacks, *Alexander VI's ceiling for Santa Maria Maggiore*, «Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte», 1985, XXII, pp. 63-82.

[74] S. F. Ostrow, *Gianlorenzo Bernini, Girolamo Lucenti and the Statue of Philip IV in S. Maria Maggiore: Patronage and Politics in Seicento Rome*, «The Art Bulletin», 1991, LXXIII, 1, pp. 89-118.

of the seven major Basilicas of the city remained a prestigious site of representation. In 1665 the King's enormous funerary catafalque, designed by Carlo Rainaldi, was to be erected in the nave.[75] Exploitation of Santa Maria Maggiore also offered a possible counterpoint to a developing French presence at the neighbouring Basilica of Saint John Lateran. As did that of another nearby Basilica, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, which had had a Spanish association for far longer, having been a titular for Spanish cardinals from 1478 until the seventeenth century.[76]

Starting from the works at Santa Croce by the three Spanish cardinals who followed one another in succession between 1478 and 1540, other Spanish titulars also had a major impact on the fabric of Roman ecclesiastical structures throughout the city. Into the seventeenth century, the two generations of De Torres Cardinals conducted major works on their derelict titular church, the Basilica of San Pancrazio.[77] It is worth therefore concluding the argument at this point with Juan Álvarez de Toledo who was made Cardinal in 1538 and died in 1557. For all his contemporary importance – he was the last Spaniard to be nearly elected Pope in the Conclave of 1549-1550, running second for much of the voting process – and that of his wider family, remains a remarkably little studied figure.[78] Besides his influential position in Spain, his tentacles in the Eternal City meant he also had a tremendous impact on the contemporary transformation of Rome, in particular in diffusing a Spanish presence beyond its new centre. It is ironic then that it was his nephew, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba, who was leading the Spanish troops that so nearly sacked the Eternal City in 1556 and 1557.[79]

Cardinal Juan Álvarez de Toledo, like several ecclesiastical contemporaries, commissioned work throughout his Spanish dioceses, but his Roman interests have attracted little research. Nonetheless, as well as building or reconstructing his palace, whose location is uncertain from Bufalini's map, he also had work done on a number of churches. Already in 1543, he re-built the first church of San Lorenzo in Fonte, on the site where the saint had supposedly been imprisoned; Saint Lawrence had been born in Huesca and was one of the patrons of Spain. A document drawn up after the Cardinals death, dated 6 February 1557, states that he had ordered the re-foundation: «ob maximam devotionem quam ad sanctum Laurentium etiam tunc gerebat».[80] The Cardinal had also been the patron of a number of publishing enterprises, including his own doctor's, Juan de Valverde's, *Historia de la composición del cuerpo humano*, which was published in Rome in 1556.[81] The text was accompanied by illustrations

[75] C. Tosi, *Relatione delle sontuose esequie fatte dell'Illustriss. e Reverendiss. Capitolo e Canonici della Sacrosancta Basilica di S. Maria Maggiore in Roma alla gloriosa memoria di Filippo Quarto Re delle Spagne*, Roma, Giacomo Dragondelli, 1666.

[76] M. Gill, *Antoniazzo Romano and the Recovery of Jerusalem in late Fifteenth-Century Rome*, «Storia dell'Arte», 1995, 83, pp. 28-47; C. Gardner von Teuffel, *New Light on the Cross: Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza and Antoniazzo Romano in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme*, in L. R. Jones and L. C. Matthew (ed. by), *Coming About Festschrift for John Shearman*, Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Art Museums, 2001, pp. 49-55; F. Pereda, *Pedro González de Mendoza, de Toledo a Roma. El Patronazgo de Santa Croce in Gerusalemme: entre la Arquelogia y la Filología*, in *Les Cardinaux de la Renaissance et la Modernité Artistique*, Lille, IRHiS Institut de recherches historiques du Septentrion: CEGES Centre de gestion de l'édition scientifique Université Charles-de-Gaulle-Lille 3, 2009, pp. 217-238.

[77] V. Abbate, *Torres Adest*.

[78] E. Bonora, *Aspettando l'imperatore. Principi italiani tra il papa e Carlo V*, Torino, Einaudi, 2014, p. 268.

[79] C. J. Hernando Sánchez, *Castilla y Nápoles en el siglo XVI. El virrey Pedro de Toledo Linaje, estado y cultura (1532-1553)*, Valladolid, Junto de Castilla y León, 1994; Pattenden, *Pius IV*, pp. 20-22.

[80] Archivio Capitolino, *Sezione Urbana*, Sez. I, 270, f. 221*r-v*.

[81] G. Redin Michaus, *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles en Roma, 1527-1600*, Madrid, CSIC, 2007, pp. 208-217.

commissioned from a further Spaniard already mentioned, Gaspar Becerra (whom the Cardinal had probably brought to Rome), and who also painted a chapel in his Palace, in conjunction with his fellow Spaniard, Lorenzo de Salcedo.[82]

* * * * *

In conclusion, what has shone throughout in this narrative is how Spanish intervention at Rome has not only been much greater than previously thought but has also been an ongoing story. Let me bring the story full circle then and conclude on a personal note with perhaps the most recent Spanish intervention in the urban fabric, and one that would have been close to where this paper would have been delivered in its original form. I have so far been talking about a period four hundred years ago. When, however, the author was a Scholar at the British School twenty years ago, in 2002, the ceremony of San José Maria Escriva's canonisation was held in the church of Santa Maria della Pace ai Parioli, just at the base of the hill, accompanied by a ceremonial that appeared to have little changed since the seventeenth century. The new Saint's childhood parish church even donated the font in which he had been baptised.

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[82] *Ivi*, pp. 203 and 338-339.