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L'arte del dono

Scambi artistici e diplomazia tra Italia e Spagna, 1550-1650

a cura di Marieke von Bernstorff e Susanne Kubersky-Piredda



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David García López

A Royal Gift which “ha fatto gran rumore per la corte”: *The Apotheosis of Claudius* as Philip IV of Spain’s Glory

Several weeks after his arrival in Madrid, cardinal Girolamo Colonna wrote to his nephew, connestabile Lorenzo Onofrio, describing his successful interview with Philip IV and how favourably his gift had been accepted by the Spanish monarch and his court: “Sua maestà dio guardi ha gradito in estremo la statua dell’Aquila e l’ha collocata nella stanza del dispaccio vedendola ogni giorno con gusto et ha fatto gran rumore per la corte”.¹ The gift chosen by cardinal Colonna was a singular one: it was an extraordinary piece, certainly among the most beautiful of all ancient sculptures that came to light in Italy during the 17th century (fig. 1). Due to its magnificence and symbolic polysemy, it attained a significant political meaning at the Madrilenian court.

In one of his first works, the *Nota delli Musei* written between 1663 and 1664, the great 17th-century Italian theorist Giovan Pietro Bellori reveals his intention of acting as a *cicerone* of taste, strolling among the most beautiful pieces in the major collections of the aristocracy in Rome, perusing their treasures in order to choose exemplary fragments of that almost forgotten language of the art of the ancients which, when rescued from the past would serve as an artistic canon for the present. Whereas in *Idea* he states that the sculpture of his time lacked a master capable of reproducing

the excellence of the ancient sculptors, in *Nota delli Musei* the sculptures of antiquity are hailed as the supreme canon of artistic inspiration.² It was during his sojourn at the Colonna palace when, among the sculptures he had chosen as his guides and standards, Bellori had the chance to admire the *Apotheosis of Claudius*:

“Fra gli ornamenti delle statue che risplendono nel palazzo di questo principe [...] la Deificazione di Claudio con la sua testa radiata sopra l’Aquila e trofeo de’ Britanni, hoggi questa maravigliosa scultura destinata in dono alla Maestà Cattolica.”³

The sculpture was unearthed in a Colonna property located adjacent to the ‘Re Pavolo’, a hamlet in the duchy of Marino not far from the Appian Way. We are not well informed about the precise date of its discovery, nor do we know exactly when it was added to the Colonna collection. At any rate the finding could not have taken place before the mid-1620s, nor after the late 1640s, the most likely date, according to the account of Pietro Santi Bartoli, being 1626.⁴ The duchy of Marino would become a rich archaeological quarry for the Colonna palace. Since the Renaissance, collecting ancient sculpture had become one of the fondest pursuits of the discerning art connoisseurs of the

I devoted a study to this topic by reason of an exhibition celebrated at the Museo Nacional del Prado, in 2002; see DAVID GARCÍA LÓPEZ, “La fortuna de un regalo regio. *La Apotheosis de Claudio* de Roma a Madrid”, in *La Apotheosis de Claudio* (exhibition catalogue, Madrid 2002-2003), ed. by Stephan F. Schröder, Madrid 2002, pp. 29-61. I now intend to add some further remarks to this study.

¹ Subiaco, Biblioteca di Santa Scolastica, Archivio Colonna, *Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna*, 1665, n. 22 (25-3-1665); see SALVADOR SALORT PONS, *Velázquez en Italia*, Madrid 2002, p. 113f.

² MARIA GIULIA BARBERINI, “Giovan Pietro Bellori e la scultura contemporanea”, in *L’Idea del Bello. Viaggio per la Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori* (exhibition catalogue), Rome 2000, pp. 121-129.

³ GIOVAN PIETRO BELLORI, *Nota delli Musei, Librerie, gallerie e ornamenti di statue, e pitture, ne’ palazzi, nelle case, e ne’ giardini di Roma*, Rome 1664, p. 19.

⁴ Bartoli explained that it was found “ne’ tempi, che il card. Francesco Barberini si trasferì in Francia”, cf. PIETRO SANTO BARTOLI, “Memorie di varie escavazioni fatte in Roma, e nei luoghi suburbanì”, ed. in CARLO FEA, *Miscellanea filologica critica e antiquaria*, Rome 1790, tom. I, p. CCLXIV, seemingly alluding to the well-known and precipitous escape to France of cardinal Francesco Barberini in 1646 brought about by the manifest hostility of the new pope Innocence X towards the Barberini. Cardinal Barberini

moved to France only on two occasions. He was first appointed legate a latere by pope Urban VIII on 17 March 1625, and he didn’t return to Rome till 17 December. His subsequent trip to France resulted from the aforementioned enmity of Innocence X. It began with his escape on the night of 16 January 1646, under the aegis of cardinal Mazarin, and lasted until the papal truce that made it for possible for Francesco to return to Rome on 24 February 1648. It is therefore during one of these two periods, according to Bartoli’s words, that we should date the unearthing of the sculpture. However, an important fact overlooked by Lavin is that Bartoli added that it was “fatta cavare [...] dal contestabile Colonna”, which could refer to the gran connestabile Filippo Colonna (1578-1639), whose interest and direct involvement in excavations carried out at Marino in the 1620s is well documented. It is highly unlikely that Bartoli could refer to the connestabile Colonna in 1646-48, Lorenzo Onofrio, since in those times Lorenzo was still a child (he was born in 1637) living under the tutelage of his uncle cardinal Girolamo Colonna. The uncertainties concerning the dates are not cleared by FILIPPO CARINCI, “Il XVII secolo. Formazione di una raccolta”, in *Catalogo della Galleria Colonna in Roma. Scultura*, ed. by Filippo Carinci et al., Busto Arsizio 1990, pp. 18-26; as well: IRVING LAVIN, “Bernini’s Death”, *Art Bulletin*, 54 (1972), pp. 159-186.



1 *The Apotheosis of Claudius*, antique fragments, reconstruction attributed to Orfeo Boselli, ca. 1660. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (Inv. E00225)

period, and owning such works furthermore afforded the great Roman families an extraordinary prestige. The pope and the cardinals of the Curia were keen to come by new pieces to enrich their collections, and the discovery of a new excavation site where ancient sculptures were likely to be found was welcomed with special enthusiasm. This in turn called for sculptors to restore the pieces that were unearthed and make exact copies of the most magnificent and greatly admired sculptures, which were appreciated and, above all, exhibited in a decidedly innovative manner.

As early as the 1620s the Colonna collection had several sculptors devoted to restoring statues. The grand contestable Filippo Colonna (1578-1639) demonstrated his refined taste in sculpture by taking an interest in artists as important as François Duquesnoy, whom he ‘discovered’ shortly after the young artist arrived in Rome. Later, in the 1640s, Orfeo Boselli, a follower of the Flemish-born sculptor, regularly worked for Filippo Colonna’s son cardinal Girolamo (1604-1666). This Roman sculptor became one of the artists most frequently engaged in the undertakings sponsored by the prelate – whom he portrayed in a beautiful bust⁵ – and was one of the people who played a key role in the future of the *Apotheosis of Claudius*, as he himself restored it at the Colonna Palace in Rome.

Boselli was a middling sort of sculptor whose known works span a period of over forty years and were mainly produced in Rome. But Boselli furthermore made an interesting contribution to theory in his *Osservazioni della scultura antica* (fig. 2),⁶ which is packed with biographic references that provide an essential insight into his activity both as a sculptor and conservator. Indeed, this work, together with various documentary records, reveals much about his prolific oeuvre as a sculptor in the service of various noble families: the Chigi, Giustiniani, Ludovisi, Barberini and Colonna. The *Osservazioni* constitute an intermediate stage in the consolidation of the theory of the ideal during the 17th century. But in addition to expounding theory, the writings of Boselli show a sustained interest in analyzing in depth the practice of sculpture and restoration, seeking to dignify the

task of restoration, which is not contrasted with sculpture, but rather portrayed as one of the noblest functions of the sculptor.⁷ Indeed, ancient sculpture was still regarded as paradigmatic by contemporary Baroque sculptors, and therefore the restoration of ancient sculptures and the production of new works remained constantly linked throughout the age.⁸ Methodical knowledge of the canons of ancient sculpture, according to Boselli, qualifies the sculptor to restore pieces damaged by the passage of time. And it is as an example of how restoration should be carried out that he mentions the work he himself performed on the *Claudius*, which he considers one of his most fundamental accomplishments:

“Et ultimamente, col parere de più dotti, essendo io eletto a ristaurare la statua dell’Imperatore Claudio deificato, sopra una Aquila et Trofei de Signori Colonnese, quale l’eminent[issim]o Colonna ha portata in dono al Re di Spagna vi ho faticato in guisa che ne ho riportato premio e lode; sopra la quale feci anco un discorso, esplicando il di lei significato per l’istessa eminenza”.⁹

Unfortunately, Orfeo’s aforementioned academic discourse explaining the restoration carried out on the *Claudius* and dedicated to cardinal Colonna has not been found. To appreciate his work, we must make do with the traces of his workmanship that are still visible on the monument and which were evaluated during the recent restoration: mainly part of the eagle’s wings and different elements from the pile of arms.¹⁰ More controversial is Boselli’s work on the bust of Claudius, the strange iconography of which has aroused suspicions as to its antiquity.¹¹ Perhaps, as Winckelmann believed, the 17th-century *dotti* mistakenly believed that the villa where the piece was found had belonged to the emperor Claudius, and therefore attributed the representation of the eagle to him, in accordance with their idea of imperial *consacratio* ceremonies. Knowledge of the writing of Dion Casio and particularly Herodian’s *History* describing at great length the ceremonies of imperial apotheosis in which an eagle was released from the funerary pyre, representing the ascension of the emperor together with Jupiter, could have

⁵ *Catalogo Della Galleria Colonna* 1990 (note 4), p. 262f.

⁶ MICHELANGELO PIACENTINI, “Le ‘osservazioni della scultura antica’ di Orfeo Boselli. Un inedito trattato del Seicento e la teoria della scultura dal Rinascimento al Barocco”, *Bollettino del Real Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte*, 9 (1939), pp. 5-35; PHOEBE DENT WEIL, “Contributions Toward a History of Sculpture Technique. Orfeo Boselli on the Restoration of Antique Sculpture”, *Studies in Conservation*, 12 (1967), pp. 81-101. So far four manuscript versions of the treatise are known. The most complete version is the one in the Corsini Library, which, together with the one in the Doria-Pamphili, has been published as facsimile by ORFEO BOSELLI, *Osservazioni della scultura antica, dai manoscritti Corsini e Doria e altri scritti*, ed. by Phoebe Dent Weil, Florence 1978; the Florence and Ferrara versions have been published as ORFEO BOSELLI, *Osservazioni sulla scultura antica. I manoscritti di Firenze e di Ferrara*, ed. by Antonio P. Torresi, with an introduction by Maurizio Fagiolo, Ferrara 1994; MARIA CRISTINA FORTUNATI, “Il trattato *Osservazioni della Scultura Antica* di Orfeo Boselli (1657-1661). Per una rilettura”, *Storia dell’Arte*, 100 (2000), pp. 69-101.

⁷ ORIETTA ROSSI PINELLI, “Chirurgia della memoria: scultura antica e restauri storici”, in *Memoria dell’Antico nell’arte italiana, Vol. 3: Dalla tradizione alla archeologia*, ed. by Salvatore Settis, Turin 1986, pp. 227-229; JENNIFER MONTAGU, *Roman Baroque sculpture. The industry of art*, New Haven et al. 1989, p. 151f.

⁸ JENNIFER MONTAGU, “The influence of the Baroque on classical antiquity”, in *Antikenrezeption im Hochbarock*, ed. by Herbert Beck and Sabine Schulze, Berlin 1989, pp. 85-108.

⁹ ORFEO BOSELLI 1978 (note 6), fol. 172.

¹⁰ SILVANO BERTOLIN and CARMEN GÓMEZ GARCÍA, “La restauración de la Apoteosis de Claudio”, in *La Apoteosis de Claudio* (exhibition catalogue, Madrid 2002-2003), ed. by Stephan F. Schröder, Madrid 2002, pp. 63-79.

¹¹ EUGENIO POLITO, *Fulgentibus armis. Introduzione allo Studio dei fregi d’armi antichi*, Rome 1998, pp. 207-209; STEPHAN SCHRÖDER, “La llamada Apoteosis de Claudio. Monumento funerario del general augusteo M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus”, in *La Apoteosis de Claudio* 2002 (note 10), pp. 11-27.

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Osservazioni della Scultura Antica.
di Orfeo Boselli scultore Romano
Materia da nessuno Scrittore più trattata
divisa in Cinque Libri.

Nel i. Libro si contiene La definizione della Scultura, dell'Arte, del disegno, del contorno, della maniera grande, del Modellare, del lavorare il Marmo, del far le Teste; con modi infallibili da riportarle di picolo in grande; e farle bene assieme co' Ritratti.

Nel ii. si tratta delle Statue intiere, che sia storia; che si deve pensare prima di farla; dell'Atione, dell'Atto susseguente, del presupposto, del Giudizio, dell'Espressione, della uariatione degli Atti, con modi certi da fare di picolo in grande, Statue, Historie, et Bassi rilievi.

Nel iii. si tratta del Panneggiare, dell'Intentione, che habbero gli Antichi nel vestire le figure, degli Habiti, della Bellezza di essi, che sia accomodamento, Ordine, Arrefitto, et della uariatione secondo gli Soggetti et altre molte osservazioni.

Nel iiii. si tratta della Simetria del perfetto corpo humano con modi facili; et delle Riombature necessarie all'Arte, senza le quali non si può operar bene, non più insegnate con le sue Dimostrazioni.

Nel v. si consiglia, et si finiscono uarie cose spettanti all'Arte, et a regger se stesso, con discorsi per Epilogo del tutto.

Opera necessaria

A' Scultori, Pittori, Architetti, et a tutte L'Arti dal disegno dipendente,
e di profitto, a' Principi, e Signori, che si dilettano di tal
Virtù.

led to confusion, namely the attribution of a 3rd-century custom to bygone times.¹²

In any case, what we do know is that the type of restoration work carried out on ancient pieces during the 17th century tended to be very aggressive, and could deeply modify the meaning of a sculpture. Accordingly, the works of sculptors such as Algardi and Boselli himself were regarded as frauds or pastiches by the following century.¹³ Nor does Boselli's work on the staircase of the Cardelli Palace in Rome, where the accumulation of ancient fragments of varying provenance creates an ostensibly anachronistic whole, do much to improve modern scholars' opinion of him.¹⁴ In order to judge a 17th-century restoration, however, we must bear in mind the particularities of the culture of that period, in which greater importance was attached to the quality of the end product than to reconciling restoration with archaeology.¹⁵ Boselli included the head of Claudius among the examples of classical sculpture to be followed when attempting sculpture portraits, however, and pointed out, as mentioned earlier, that he had sought the "parere de più dotti" in order to go about his task.¹⁶

Another controversial question arising in connection with Boselli's writings is the date when the piece was brought to Spain. Orfeo is considered to have written his treatise in the 1650s,¹⁷ and the statement that the cardinal "ha portata in dono al Re di Spagna" the sculpture of Colonna's trip to Madrid, thought to date to 1665. Indeed, the piece must have been restored around 1657, when Giovanni Galestruzzi signed the engravings that provide the first picture we have of the sculpture (fig. 3).¹⁸ It should not be forgotten, however, that Bellori claimed to have seen

the monument in 1664 among the sculptures in the Colonna's collection in their palace in Rome, where it may still have served as an example for the artists and fine art aficionados of that city, or that he added, evidently with firsthand information: "[...] hoggi questa meravigliosa scoltura destinata in dono alla Maestà Cattolica".¹⁹ This indicates either that Boselli was speaking in the past about an intention for the piece that had been known for years, or that his treatise was constantly updated with new information for longer than previously thought, possibly until shortly before his death in 1667.

It is a fact that Bartoli expressly connects cardinal Girolamo Colonna and his trip at the end of 1664 to the transfer to Spain of the *Apotheosis of Claudius*, and that he states its purpose as that of serving as a gift for Philip IV: "[...] la famosa deificazione di Claudio, la quale in occasione, che il signor Cardinale si trasferì alla corte di Spagna, gliela portò a presentare".²⁰ And, together with Bellori: "Translatum vero in Hispaniam Hieronymus Card. Columna Philippo IV acceptum obtulit" (fig. 4),²¹ underlining in this case the presence of the sculpture in Spain and reusing, with slight modifications, Galestruzzi's design, which clarifies some of the doubts that subsequently arose.²² An illustration, together with information were later published in Montfaucon's *L'antiquité expliquée*.²³ The reproduction of the sculpture in these publications, among the most important handbooks of the age on the subject, underlines the importance that was attached to the *Apotheosis of Claudius* in the aftermath of its discovery. Furthermore, like other sculptures, and despite its singularity, the *Claudius* also became a source of inspiration and an example for contem-

¹² JESUS ARCE, *Funus Imperatorum. Los funerales de los emperadores romanos*, Madrid 1988, p. 131.

¹³ PIERLUIGI PANZA, *Antichità e restauro nell'Italia del settecento*, Milan 1990, p. 90; MASSIMO FERRETTI, "Falsi e tradizione artistica", in *Storia dell'arte italiana. Conservazione, falso, restauro*, 12 vols, ed. by Giulio Bollati and Paolo Fossati, vol. 3.3, Turin 1981, pp. 113-195, p. 151.

¹⁴ MICHELANGELO CAGIANO DI AZEVEDO, *Il gusto nel restauro delle opere d'arte antiche*, Rome 1948, p. 28f.; ITALO FALDI, "Il mito della classicità e il restauro delle sculture antiche nel XVII secolo a Roma", in *La collezione Boncompagni Ludovisi. Algardi, Bernini e la fortuna dell'antico* (exhibition catalogue, Rome 1992-1993), Venice 1992, pp. 207-225; SYBILLE EBERT-SCHIFFERER, "Romanitas als Pasticcio. Bauschmuck in einem römischen Treppenhaus des Barock", in *Der Unbestechliche Blick. Festschrift zu Ehren von Wolfgang Volters*, ed. by Martin Gaier, Bernd Nicolai and Tristan Weddigen, Trier 2005, pp. 303-311.

¹⁵ ORIETTA ROSSI PINELLI 1986 (note 7), pp. 221-226.

¹⁶ ORFEO BOSELLI 1978 (note 6) fol. 172.

¹⁷ PHOEBE DENT WEIL, "Introduzione" in ORFEO BOSELLI 1978 (note 6), p. XIXf.

¹⁸ *The Illustrated Bartsch. Italian Masters of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by Paolo Bellini, vol. 46 (formerly volume 21, Part 1), New York 1985, pp. 158-160, n. 10.

¹⁹ Cf. note 3.

²⁰ BARTOLI 1790 (note 4), p. CCLXV.

²¹ PIETRO SANTO BARTOLI and GIAN PIETRO BELLORI, *Admiranda*

Romanorum antiquitatum ac veteris sculpturae vestigia, 2nd ed., Rome 1693, p. 80.

²² Lanciani's error (cf. his "La Villa castrimenesiense di Q. Voconio Pollione", *Bulletino della commissione archeologica comunale di Roma*, 12 [1884], pp. 141-217, p. 196), who dated the sculpture's discovery to 1654 and added that it was cardinal Ascanio Colonna who presented the gift in Spain appears to have influenced subsequent studies. Ascanio (1559-1608), Girolamo's great uncle, was in fact also principal of the church, appointed a cardinal by Sixtus V in 1586 thanks to the support of Philip II. This confusion led Emil Hübner (as well as E. Eduardo Barron, and later Antonio Blanco and Manuel Llorente) to raise doubts as to which of the two, Ascanio or Girolamo, had been the bearer of the gift (EMIL HÜBNER, *Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid*, Berlin 1862, p. 119f., no. 201; E. EDUARDO BARRON, *Museo Nacional de Pintura y Escultura. Catálogo de la escultura*, Madrid 1908, p. 163f., no. 225; ANTONIO BLANCO, *Museo del Prado. Catálogo de la escultura*, Madrid 1957, p. 115f. and ANTONIO BLANCO and MANUEL LLORENTE, *Catálogo de la escultura. Museo del Prado*, [revised ed. 1967] Madrid 1981, p. 110f.) and erroneously decided it had been Ascanio alone, which has led to the same confusion in recent studies, for example JUAN JOSÉ MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ, *El escultor en Palacio*, Madrid 1991, p. 261 and PILAR SILVA MAROTO, "La escultura clásica en las colecciones reales: de Felipe II a Felipe V", in *El coleccionismo de escultura clásica en España* (actas del Simposium), ed. by Fernando Checa Cremades, Madrid 2001, pp. 11-41, p. 20.

²³ BERNARD DE MONTFAUCON, *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée*

porary works: Bernini, for instance, did not hesitate to use it as a reference for royal portrait sculpture, such as his celebrated bust of Louis XIV.²⁴

Answering Philip IV's summons, cardinal Colonna travelled to Madrid by the second half of 1664. Initially, the cardinal intended to accompany the king's daughter, Margarita of Austria, on her trip to Vienna, where she had been appointed to marry the emperor Leopold I. Although the marriage had been announced already in 1663, the monarch's frail health would delay the trip, which would not take place before Philip IV's decease in 1665. In July 1664, cardinal Colonna's travel was the talk of the city of Rome,²⁵ although he only arrived in Madrid by the end of February of the following year.²⁶ The court still remembered his earlier stay of nearly forty years before.²⁷

Girolamo Colonna had always been closely linked to Spain, and particularly to Philip IV. The Colonna family traditionally supported Spain, and Girolamo was no exception. Born in Orsogna (Chieti) in 1604, the future cardinal studied both canon and Roman law in Alcalá de Henares. The young Philip IV appointed him royal chaplain, and subsequently requested that he be raised to the purple, a request that was officially granted by Urban VIII in February 1628. In 1632 he was appointed archbishop of Bologna and in 1639, upon the death of his father Filippo, he inherited all the family titles at the express wish of Filippo, ignoring the primogeniture of his brother Federico, who died without issue in 1641 while in service to the king of Spain as viceroy of Aragon. In 1645, Girolamo resigned from the archbishopric of Bologna and moved to Rome, where he continued to defend the interests of the Habsburgs as Protectors of Aragon, Sardinia, Germany and the Holy Roman Empire, receiving financial support from Philip IV. During his stay in Madrid from 1664 to 1666, he attended to the monarch on his deathbed, and conducted the Vesper Mass and the Requiem at his funeral service in the church of the

La Encarnación convent on the 30-31st of October, 1665. Charles II's Regency Council appointed him Councillor of State and of War, and he was entrusted with the task of officiating at the imperial wedding of Margarita and Leopold held by proxy in Madrid, and subsequently of accompanying Philip IV's daughter to Vienna. All of this would take place in the year following the king's death in 1666, after a long journey during which the cardinal himself died shortly upon his return to Italy.²⁸

Girolamo Colonna was also a keen patron of the arts. He continued his father's project for the renovation of the family palace in Rome, and acquired a large number of paintings that prove him to have been a discerning collector. It was from his magnificent sculpture collection that he chose the *Claudius* as a splendid gift for Philip IV.²⁹ This choice could not have been more fortunate, or more eloquent from a political standpoint. Girolamo, like his most learned contemporaries, had interpreted the *Claudio deificatio* as the representation of an imperial apotheosis. The emperor's soul borne to the heavens by the bird of Jupiter had been portrayed by artists since antiquity, adding to the variety of meanings and symbolisms with which the eagle was endowed: attribute of the emperor as in the *Dream of Poliphilus* and, by extension, the representation of any reigning prince or of the monarchy, as in Ripa.³⁰

The eagle had also been regarded as the bird that accompanied the souls of the deceased to the Other World; it had even become Christianized as a symbol of the resurrection, taking the words of the Psalms to attribute to the eagle the possibility of rejuvenation once it reached old age. The imperial exequies had greatly influenced Renaissance funeral rites. In the case of the Habsburgs, this influence was augmented by the use of the eagle as a family emblem, making for an impressive variety of meanings. The same is true of the aforementioned description of the exequies of Philip IV, in which Rodríguez de Monforte expressly mentions

en figures, Tome cinquieme, qui comprend les funerailles, les tombeaux & les mausolées..., 2nd ed., enlarged and revised, Paris 1722 (1st ed. 1719), image CXXIX, p. 121f.: "Ce beau bas relief appartenoit aux Princes Colannes; la Cardinal Jérôme Colonne le fit transporter a Madrid pour en faire present à Philippe IV".

²⁴ LAVIN 1972 (note 4); the author has subsequently returned to this theme on several occasions, such as IRVIN LAVIN, "Bernini's image of the Sun King", in *Past-Present. Essays on Historicism in Art from Donatello to Picasso*, Univ. of California Press 1993, pp. 139-202, p. 166; and IRVING LAVIN, *Bernini e il Salvatore. La "buona morte" nella Roma del Seicento*, Rome 1998, p. 48f.

²⁵ Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, "Sucesos de 1664", Mss. 2391, fol. 103v [July 1664]: "Preparandosi il Sig. Card. Colonna di andar à Madrid à levare l'Imperatrice, ha inviato gia all'Imbarco di Livorno molti Cavalli, e persone di sua famiglia, e fa far molte belle livree".

²⁶ Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, "Sucesos de 1665", Mss. 2392, fol. 300 [21/2/1665]: "Che l'Emin. Colonna sendo pervenuto poche leghe lontano da Madrid, era stato d'ordine Regio complimentato, ed inviati le lettighe, e carrozze di Corte, per condurlo privatamente nella Città, ove si tratterà incognito fino che faccia la sua solenne entrata".

²⁷ DAVID GARCÍA LÓPEZ, *Lázaro Díaz del Valle y las vidas de pintores en España*, Madrid 2008, p. 77: "Jueves 12 de marzo del mismo año à las tres de la Tarde habiendo venido (nombrado por el Rey N. Sr) El cardenal d. Geron[im]o Colona, desde Roma à esta corte para lleuar la serenissima Infanta de España D[on]a Margarita de Austria, al señor Emperador Leopoldo Ignacio de Austria, su esposo. Entrò en publico en esta corta acompañado del Almirante de Castilla y fue à besar las manos à sus Magestades catholicas Rey y Reyna Principe y Emperatriz: [...] yo conoci à este eminentissimo señor siendo sumiller de cortina del Rey N. Sr. y camarero del Serenissimo S[er] cardinal Infante D. Fernando de Austria hermano de su Mag[esta]d".

²⁸ GAETANO MORONI ROMANO, "Girolamo Colonna", in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 21, Rome 1982, p. 346f.

²⁹ EDUARD A. SAFARIK, *Collezione dei dipinti Colonna. Inventari 1611-1795*, Munich 1996, p. 68; BARBARA DI MEOLA, "La collezione del Cardinale Girolamo I Colonna", in *Decorazione e collezionismo a Roma nel Seicento*, ed. by Francesca Cappelletti, Rome 2003, pp. 113-127.

³⁰ CESARE RIPA, *Iconologia ovvero descrizione di diverse imagini cauate dall'antichità & di propria inuentione*, Rome 1603, p. 305 (Maestà Regia).



3. Giovanni Galestruzzi, *The Apotheosis of Claudius*, 1657, etching. London, British Museum (Inv. 1874,0808.781)



4. Pietro Santi Bartoli, *The Apotheosis of Claudius*, ca. 1693, etching. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (Inv. G03072)

“exequies of the ancients” and the commentaries of Valerius Maximus’s book II.³¹

The idea of a reciprocal relationship between bust and support revived around the mid-16th century, can be clearly seen in the portraits of Charles V, as well as in one of the representations in bronze by Leone Leoni: the bust of the emperor is supported by an eagle, once again linking Charles V to the ancient world and to the Roman emperors, apart from the dynastic significance of the bird (fig. 5). A possible precedent in connection with the creation of representations of this kind is that of the images on ancient coins in which Jupiter’s eagle bears a representation of the god on its head, such as those used as a basis for illustrations in the *Discours de la religion des anciens Romains* (fig. 6) by the famous Lyon scholar Guillaume Du Choul (c. 1496-1560),³² whose work served as an iconographic repertory for many artists. The

³¹ PEDRO RODRÍGUEZ MONFORTE, *Descripcion de las honras que se hicieron a la católica Magestad de D. Phelippe quarto Rey de las Españas y del nuevo Mundo en el Real Convento de la Encarnación...*, Madrid 1666, fol. 51.

emperor Charles V continued to be considered the initiator of a new royal lineage in Spain. Philip IV naturally remained loyal to this idea of a hereditary lineage that could be traced back to Charles V and ended with Philip himself. This is illustrated, for example, by Juan de Courbes’ etching for the cover of *Capilla real* by Vicente Tortoreti, which shows Charles V and Philip IV united as a direct allusion to the past and present of the Habsburg monarchy as defenders of the Catholic faith.³³

Cardinal Colonna’s gift may be fully understood only if these preceding events are taken into account, since the imperial meaning of the *Apotheosis of Claudius* and the relationship linking the Italian noble family with the Habsburg were already well established before the sculpture arrived in Spain. They were revealed, for example, when Leopold I was proclaimed emperor in 1658: among the festivities held in

³² GUILLAUME DU CHOUL, *Los discursos de la religión romana* (1st French Edition 1556) Lyon 1579, p. 47.

³³ VICENTE TORTORETI, *Capilla Real con observaciones propias de la del Rei Catholico*, Madrid 1630.



5. Leone Leoni, *Bust of Charles V*, ca. 1553. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (Inv. E00271)



6. Illustration from *Discours de la religion des anciens Romains*, by Guillaume Du Choul, Lyon, 1567, p. 47. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (Inv ER/1968)

7. Frontispiece of *Relazione de' fuochi artificiaty, e feste fatte in Roma Per la Coronazione del nouello Cesare Leopoldo Primo*, by Giuseppe Elmi, Roma 1658

Rome to celebrate the new emperor, at the one taking place in front of the Colonna Palace the *Apotheosis of Claudius* played a fundamental role (fig. 7):

“Indi è che Sabbatho mattina 21 del corrente Settembre (giorno di San Matteo Apostolo) sù la Piazza de' Signori Colonnesi à Santi Apostoli v de bellissima machina de' fuochi artificiaty. Era ella vn' altissima base ottangolare a trè ordini; Nel primo si vedeuano ben compartiti nelle otto prospettiuue Globo con Corone Imperiali, Palme intrecciate, e l'accennata Impresa di Sua Maestà cesarea col motto Consiglio, & Industria; Su'l Cornicione del secondo, che era adornato con medaglie de gli Imperatori Austriaci, erano Nelly otto Angoli altrettante figure, denotanti diuerse Virtù, come la Religione, la liberalità, la Giustizia, la Benignità, ed altre. E nel terzo sopra vn cumulo di Tamburri, Bandiere, ed Arme Turchesche si eleuaua vn'Aguila volante alla quale soprastaua vna statua raffigurante Sua Maestà Cesarea, coronata di alloro, con lo Scetro alla destra. La Machina in tutto era alta otto, e più canne, bianca, compartita di verde, & oro; E questo Artificio fù vn Esemplare di vn bello, ed antichissimo rilieuo di marmo rappresentante la fauolosa Deificazione di Claudio, che si conserva nell'Insigne Galeria dell'Eccellentissimo Signor Gran Contestabile Colonna”.³⁴

³⁴ *Relazione de' fuochi artificiaty e feste fatte in Roma Per la Coronazione del nouello Cesare Leopoldo Primo Dall'Eminentissimo, e Reuerendissimo Sig. Cardinal Colonna Protettore del S.Romano Imperio, & c. Colla descrizione delle Cirimonie, e Solennità fatte in Francfort nella Coronazione di sua Maestà CESAREA il primo di Agosto MDCLVIII. All'Illustrissimo Sig. e Padron mio Colendissimo il Sig. DON ANTONIO COLONNA ROMANO de'Duchi di Montalba-*



Therefore, with this gift cardinal Colonna was doubly paying tribute to his protector, Philip IV. In addition to purely aesthetic considerations and the prestige that owning a unique ancient sculpture afforded, historical and family circumstances made the *Apotheosis of Claudius* an ideal gift for the king of Spain. Charles V's great grandson thus possessed a work that highlighted his own family's links with the emperors of antiquity, a circumstance repeatedly recalled during the Modern Age. The cardinal was paying homage to Philip IV, towards the end of his life, as the most powerful monarch in Christendom, and firmly pledging his loyalty to the king who had granted him so many favours, once again linking the destiny of the Colonna family with the Spanish monarchy. But remembering the past did not satisfy Girolamo Colonna while he was staying in Madrid. Instead, he also tried to reach agreements that would be beneficial for his family's future. Although he had to quarrel with some of the aristocrats at the Spanish court, he obtained significant favours from the Spanish monarch “per i buoni e fedeli seruizi prestati alla Casa d'Austria nella Corte di Roma”.³⁵

no in Sicilia, In Roma, Appresso Francesco Caualli, 1658; MARCELLO FAGIOLO, *La festa a Roma: dal rinascimento al 1870* (catalogo della mostra, Roma), 2 vols, Turin 1997, p. 251.

³⁵ Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, “Sucesos de 1665”, Mss. 2392, fol. 328 [9/5/1665]: “Che all'Eminentissimo Colonna nella sua Audienza di congedo auesse il Re conferito tre segnalati fauori, primieramente, che la Carica di Condestabile resti in per-



8. *The Apotheosis of Claudius*, pedestal. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (Inv. E00225)

The pedestal chosen as a base for the *Claudius* is intended to imitate ancient funerary urns (fig. 8).³⁶ Contemporary repertoires of antiquities show abundant examples, which on occasion were drawn by the artists and then transferred to paintings that combined a learned quotation with the funerary motif. At each corner of the quadrangular urn is a bird with outstretched wings holding a young bird in its talons; they are generally identified as eagles, though also as eagles and phoenixes.³⁷ However, although the meanings of the phoenix and eagle are complementary in many ways, the birds sculpted on the corners of the urn should be regarded as eagles, as they are described in the successive inventories. It is obvious that the intention is twofold: to endow the animals with an apotropaic meaning, as they appear on ancient urns, and also with a special significance, which in this case is related to the symbolic message conveyed by the pedestal as a whole, as we shall see.

There can be no doubt instead about the species of the other bird that stands out against the cityscapes adorning the sides of the cube, since it is the emblem of the Italian nobleman Alberico Cybo, and as such appears in Ruscelli's *Imprese illustri*. The text of the emblem provides us with the key to understanding the images sculpted in marble (fig. 9). A bird standing on a cube gazes at the sun and the signs of the zodiac. It is not a phoenix, but rather a stork according to Ruscelli, who also states that the geometric figure on which its feet rest refers to the family name "Cybos, che in

petuo nella Casa Colonna, nel secondo luogo la nomina al cardinalato del Sig. Abbate Colonna suo nipote; e terzo, il Governo dello Stato di Milano in persona dell'Emin. Sua, il tutto per i buoni e fedeli seruizi prestati alla Casa d'Austria nella Corte di Roma"; the royal singer Lázaro Díaz del Valle added: "[...] el sr. cardenal parece muy bien a todos en esta corte porq yua en ella con mucha y muy lucida ostentacion de Grandeza, lleuando tres coches de quatro cauallos muy hermosos y bien adereçados: y su Magd atiendo al mucho merito fineza y Gran costa q tiene el cardenal le ha dado 60.000 ducados de Pensiones, en el Reyno de Sicilia, haze de



9. *The Apotheosis of Claudius*, particular of the pedestal with the stork. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (Inv. E00225)

Latino si dice Cubus, & vuol denotar vna cosa quadra, come sono dadi da giocare"³⁸ and illustrates the strength of mind of Alberico himself (fig. 10). Alberico is symbolised by the stork, which gazes at the Sun – represented by the sign Aries – or in other words, God and, without distinction, his master Philip II, as a sign of devotion and loyalty to him. It is worth quoting Ruscelli in full:

"Et con la pietra quadra si vien' à denotar la fermezza, come nella precedente del padre s'è pur'esposto. L'ucello, che tiene il piede sopra tal pietra, è quello, che comunemente in Italiano si dice Cicogna. La quale da gli antichi è stata sempre posta per simbolo, ò denotation della gratitudine. Onde chiaramente si può comprendere, che l'Autore dell'Impresa, rappresentando per tal'augello se stesso, voglia dimostrare, guardando nel Sole, di ringratiar' Iddio della promessa fatta al padre, che la virtù della lealtà, & sincerità vera sarebbe in esso, & ne' suoi descendentì in infinito. Et l'Autore perciò col Motto dice starsi fermissimo in sù la pietra quadra con questa buona gratia di lealtà, & in vn medesimo tempo mostra di voler nutrir' il padre, & suoi passati vecchi (sì come fa la Cicogna) [...]. Et da sì bella Impresa si conosce, che essendo la più parte de' maggiori di questo Autore stati di continuo nella diuotion della Casa d'AUSTRIA, egli ora in particolar nuouamente si sia stabilito al seruitio del Re FILIPPO, da i veri effetti chiamato Catolico. Onde nella natura dell'ucello, gratissima, & pietosissima uerso il padre & la madre, comprendendo l'Autore se stesso, venga à mostrar la conoscenza del debito suo in amare, riuerrire, & serui-

su Persona mucha estimacion"; cf. DAVID GARCÍA LÓPEZ 2008 (note 27) p. 77.

³⁶ DAVID GARCÍA LÓPEZ, "La Apoteosis de Claudio y su pedestal moderno: la celebración imperial de los Habsburgo hispanos", *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, 28, 46 (2010), pp. 60-73.

³⁷ *Museo del Prado. Catálogo de la Escultura de Época Moderna. Siglos XVI-XVIII* (exhibition catalogue), ed. by Rosario Coppel Aréizaga, Madrid 1998, p. 445, cat. 253.

³⁸ GIROLAMO RUSCELLI, *Le imprese illustri*, 2nd edition, Venice 1566, Libro secondo, p. 41.

re il detto Re suo, alquale non meno si conosca tenuto, che al padre stesso. Nè maggior'osseruanza potria mostrargli, che lo star di continuo col pensiero, & con gli occhi intentissimo à contemplar lo splendor suo, la sua gloria, e 'l suo valore".³⁹

The stork had been admired since Antiquity because of the way it treated its progenitors, caring and attending to them in their old age; during the Renaissance, it thus became a symbol of filial duty and also of due recognition for services rendered. Horapolo has it represent the "man who loves his father", whereas Alciato attributes to it the motto *GRATIAM REFERENDAM*, "Favours must be returned", and Covarrubias describes it as the "symbol of the grateful son".⁴⁰ Reference to its chastity also led to its use as a symbol of faithfulness, while Ripa identified it both with gratitude, and the prevention of betrayal.⁴¹ Such were the intentions of Alberico Cybo in creating his emblem: to pay tribute to his lord, Philip II, pledge loyalty to him and show his readiness to render services to him.

Alberico Cybo Malaspina (1532/1534-1623), first prince of Massa and marquis of Carrara, descended from a Genoese family that had acquired considerable prominence in Italian politics during the 15th century. When his mother died in 1553, Alberico became marquis of Massa and count of Carrara. His political alliance with the Habsburgs – he had served Spain since 1558, and the following year moved to Brussels and accompanied Philip II to Valladolid – earned him the esteem of the emperor and a string of distinctions: in 1568 the emperor Maximilian II raised Massa's status to principality and bestowed him with the title of marquis of Carrara. Alberico made a sustained effort to glorify his family. He was very fond of heraldry and had several scholars conduct historical-genealogical studies with a very specific aim in mind: to secure a more ancient and noble past for his ancestors, in keeping with his lofty aspirations.⁴²

One of the questions that Alberico sought to underline in particular was the possible Greek origin of his family, for which he not only liked to spell his surname with a 'Y' as opposed to an 'I', but also to write the motto of his coat of arms in Greek, as can be seen on the marble of the pedestal of the *Claudius*. Images and words once again are linked to the joint message conveyed by the pedestal: the loyalty and commitment of the Cybo family towards its own members.

The towns depicted in relief behind the storks are also related to Alberico and his possessions, Massa, Carrara, Moneta and Avenza. One of them shows a fortress by the sea, Avenza, where a flag with the coat of arms of the Cybo



10. Girolamo Ruscelli, *Le imprese illustri*, Venice 1566, Libro secondo, p. 34. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (Inv. R/34520)

family flies. In Alberico's days, the Cybo family possessions included the "Principato di Massa & di Carrara nella Lunigiana, del Contado di Riorentillo nell'Umbria, & del Marchesato d'Aiello nella Calabria".⁴³ These territories no doubt included the towns sculpted in marble, and their representations are undoubtedly based on the designs for the *Corpus dei possedimenti*, which Alberico commissioned. These have been widely attributed to his court artist, Domenico di Justus Utens il Fiammingo of Carrara. They comprise a set of *vedute* of the family possessions, executed around 1620, which are the oldest existing representations of these towns.⁴⁴ The pedestal should therefore be dated around this year or shortly thereafter; perhaps it was linked to Alberico's death in 1623, fashioned as a tribute to him in the form of an imitation of an ancient memorial altar (figs. 11, 12).

Hence, as discussed in the previous paragraphs, the pedestal of the *Claudius* is a discourse glorifying Alberico Cybo, but also contains the elements of his emblem that conveys a categorical message of the family's readiness to serve the king of Spain in particular and the Habsburgs in general, stressing the filial devotion of all his territories, as represented on the marble.

It is not known whether the pedestal and the sculpture arrived in Spain together. If the pedestal had been on Spanish soil prior to this, such a voluminous and impressive piece as it would surely have appeared in earlier royal inven-

³⁹ Cf. note 38.

⁴⁰ SEBASTIÁN DE COVARRUBIAS HOROZCO, *Emblemas morales*, Madrid 1610, Century II, fol. 189.

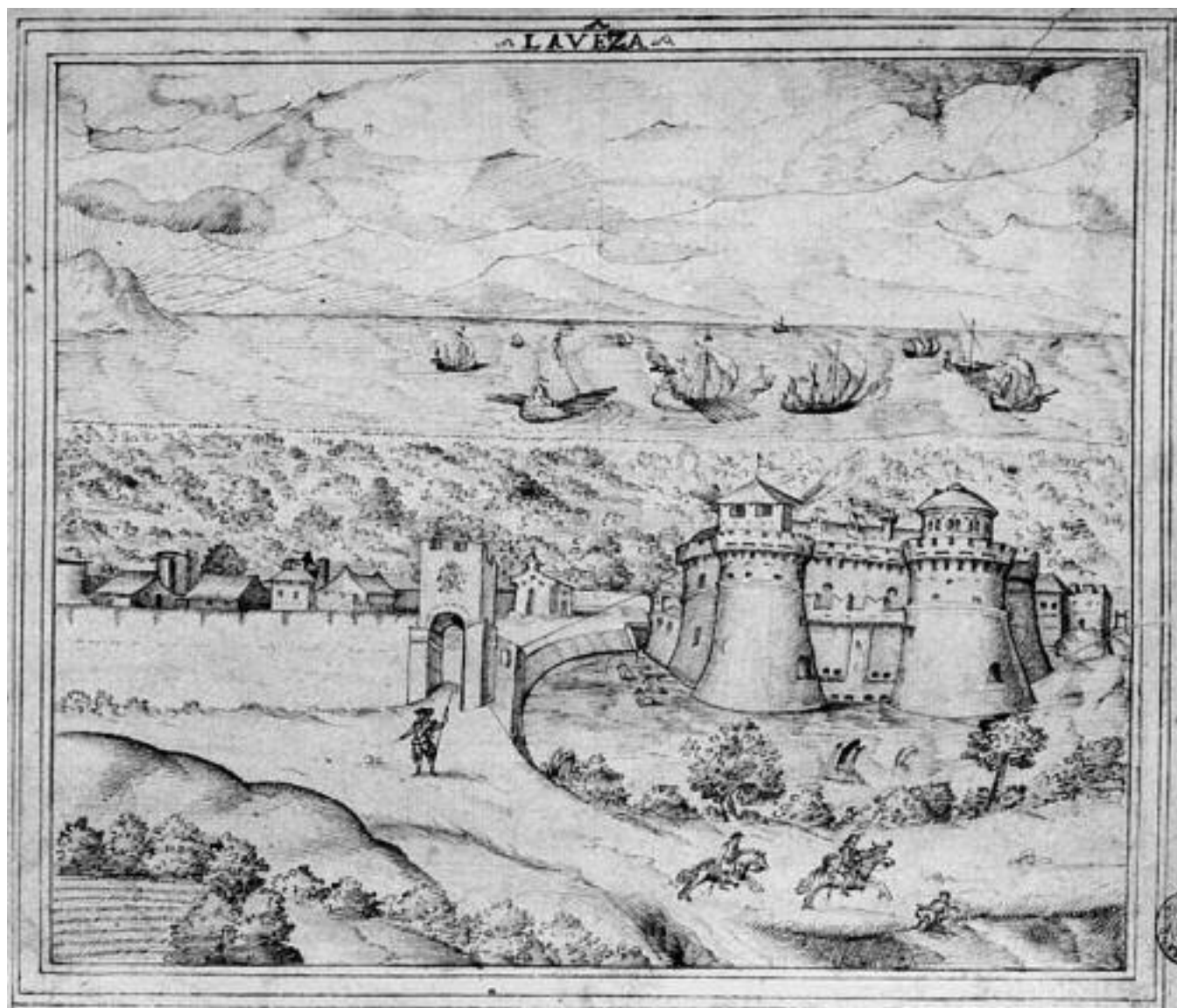
⁴¹ CESARE RIPA 1603 (note 30), p. 196.

⁴² GIORGIO VIANI, *Memorie della famiglia Cybo e delle monete di Massa di Lunigiana*, Massa 1808 (new edition 1971), p. 32f.; FEDERICO PETRUCCI, "Alberico Cibo Malaspina", in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 25, Rome 1981, pp. 261-265; CLAUDIO GIUMELLI and OLGA RAFFO MAGGINI, *Il tempo di Alberico*

1553-1623, Massa 1991; *Alberico I Cybo Malaspina. Il Principe, la Casa, lo Stato* (atti del convegno), Modena 1995.

⁴³ FRANCESCO SANSOVINO, *Della origine et de' fatti delle famiglie illustri d'Italia*, Venice 1582, vol. 1, fol. 94v.

⁴⁴ The series of forty-five *vedute* are found in the Archivio di Stato di Massa; LUISA PASSEGGIA and PIETRO RAMPOLINI, "Un corpus di vedute Cybo-Maspiniene seicentesche. L'immagine e la storia", in *Alberico I Cybo Malaspina* 1995 (nota 42), pp. 307-346.



11. Domenico di Justus Utens (attributed to), *View of Laveza, Corpus dei possedimenti*, ca. 1620. Massa, Archivio Storico

tories. The inventory completed in 1666, after Philip V's decease, only itemises the sculpture, however, while ignoring the pedestal. Nevertheless, in 1668 both items appear listed, as they would also be in the inventories that followed. Everything indicates that the overall compilation of 1666 included both pieces under the description "una medalla del emperador Claudio"⁴⁵, as this item's value coincides with that assigned to both pieces listed separately in later inventories. We may therefore infer that, given their aesthetic affinity, cardinal Colonna could have brought to Spain these two matching pieces. Besides, given his political aims, he could very well have brought them together as a tribute rendered to Philip IV by two clearly philo-Spanish families.

A contemporary personage, and one who was a direct descendant of Alberico Cybo, played a definite role in

favouring the Habsburg's interests in Roman politics during these years: cardinal Alderano Cybo (1613-1700). Created cardinal in 1645, and counting on Spanish support, as cardinal Colonna he promoted the interests of the philo-Spanish curial party until at least the 1670s, at which time he began to gravitate within the French orbit.⁴⁶ Especially during the 1650s and the period when Alexander VII was elected pope, it was commonly understood that Philip IV favoured both cardinal Colonna and cardinal Cybo.

Alderano Cybo was also a refined art collector and one particularly interested in sculpture. Many artists from Massa, and even more from Carrara, became involved in his projects, receiving models created by the cardinal to be sculpted in marble. It cannot be determined whether the cardinal commissioned the pedestal or if it had already been

⁴⁵ Madrid, Archivo General del Palacio Real de Madrid, *Inventario de pinturas del Alcazar* 1666 (Ag. Leg. 38 Exp. 2).

⁴⁶ LUIGI MUSSI, *Il Cardinale Alderano dei Principi Cibo-Malaspina dai documenti del R. Archivio di Stato di Massa*, Massa 1913.



12. View of *Laveza*, particular of pedestal of *The Apotheosis of Claudius*. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (Inv. E00225)

in the Cybo family's collection for some time. Both the cardinals and their families' relationships with the Spanish court, together with the stylistic coincidences between the *Claudius* and the pedestal and the latter's idealisation as an ancient urn with the above described eagles, however, translate the union of both pieces, a clear homage to the Habsburg family, as the suggestion of a possible joint trip to Spain.

As cardinal Colonna described, the *Claudius* was placed in the Golden Tower's office, at the Madrilenian Alcázar, in 1665. It was located there when Philip IV died, and remained there for several years, according to a source that has not hitherto been taken into consideration in connection with the sculpture in question, that is, the travel account by Cosimo de' Medici, who visited Madrid in the fall of 1668. In his account Corsini gives a detailed description of the ancient sculpture and its pedestal:

“[...] e un'alcova dove il Re Filippo IV per godere d'una bellissima vista del Rio, del giardino e della piazza teneva il dispaccio [...] sopra una base di marmo l'apoteosi di Traiano [sic] il di cui volto inghirlandato di raggi stà sul dorso d'un aquila che posa con un artiglio sopra un fulmine e con l'altra sopra una palla figurata per il mondo, il tutto sopra una catasta di trofei. Questo marmo che è antico e d'una maniera delle più belle che fin ora si sia veduto tra le cose antiche fu dal Cardinal Colonna donata al Re Filippo Quarto pochi anni sono”.⁴⁷

At some point thereafter the sculpture was moved to a different environment, the so-called “bovedas del Tiziano”, its location in 1686 according to an inventory of that date.⁴⁸ There, its symbolic meaning would have been lost, and its aesthetic and purely sensual qualities would have come to the fore, being now surrounded by the collection of great nude paintings formed by the Habsburg monarchs, togeth-

⁴⁷ ÁNGEL SÁNCHEZ RIVERO and ANGELA MARIUTTI, *Viaje de Cosme de Médicis por España y Portugal (1668-1669)*, Madrid 1933, p. 123.

⁴⁸ YVES BOTTINEAU, “L'Alcazar de Madrid et l'inventaire de 1686. Aspects de la cour d'Espagne au XVIIe siècle”, *Bulletin Hispani-*

que, 60 (1958), pp. 289-326, p. 325: “Bovedas del Tiziano [...] Una medalla del Emperador Claudio sobre vna Aguila con su Pedrestal grande y trofeos de Armas y diferentes figuras de medio Relieve todo de mármol blanco”.



13. Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo (attributed to), *Charles II of Spain*, ca. 1667. Madrid, Museo Lázaro Galdiano (Inv. 8473)

er with replicas of ancient sculpture now accompanied by some of the pieces brought by Velázquez, such as the plaster cast of the *Nile*, which it stood next to in 1700.⁴⁹

Years earlier, however, definite proof of the political symbolism achieved by the *Apotheosis of Claudius* at the Spanish court appears in a painting dated 1667 and attributed to Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo, where Philip IV's son, the young king Charles II, is shown surrounded by several of his ancestors in what seems to be an explicit representation of the Habsburg dynasty (fig. 13).⁵⁰ As was already usual in sixteenth-century renderings of similar topics, Charles V appears in a place of honour. His figure, however, seems a pastiche composed of elements taken from the bust by Leone Leoni and from the *Apotheosis of Claudius*, where the Roman emperor's head has been

replaced by that of the founder of the new Spanish dynasty. It seems obvious that an imperial meaning was attributed at the Spanish court to the gift coming from Rome, which was taken as a symbol of the magnificence of the Habsburg house. Cardinal Colonna could therefore be satisfied with the “gran rumore” his extraordinary gift had caused in Madrid.

Illustration credits

London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings: 3; MAURIZIO FAGIOLO DELL'ARCO, *La Festa barocca* (Corpus delle Feste a Roma, 1), Roma 1997, p. 393: 7; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (Ministerio de Cultura): 6, 10; Madrid, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano: 13; Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado: 1, 4-5, 8-9, 12; Massa, Archivio Storico: 11; Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Palazzo Corsini: 2.

⁴⁹ *Museo del Prado. Inventarios Reales. Testamentaria del rey Carlos II. 1701-1703*, ed. by Gloria Fernández Bayton, Madrid 1975, p. 153: “Transito donde esta el Nilo [...] (nº 139) Una Aguila de mármol con Vna Caeza de Vn emperador enzima Y a los pies muchos trofeos de Guerra Y Un pedestal grande Con quatro Agui-

las a las esquinas todo de Marmol de lo antiguo tasado por el dicho Pedro Alonso escultor en ocho mill doblones”.

⁵⁰ ALFONSO EMILIO PÉREZ SÁNCHEZ, *Pintura española de los siglos XVII y XVIII en la Fundación Lázaro Galdiano*, Madrid 2005, p. 74f.