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Enlightenment Erasure: The Lost Seventeenth Century in Spanish Architectural History

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ABSTRACT

This article addresses the curious absence of seventeenth-century buildings in traditional histories of Spanish architecture. Beginning with the *Noticias de los arquitectos y la arquitectura en España*, a foundational work published in 1829, the article traces the legacy of a Spanish Enlightenment myth about the seventeenth century as a time of a weak monarchy whose overly ornamental architecture can be understood as a reflection of political decadence. The article surveys nineteenth and twentieth-century responses to the *Noticias* by Spanish, German, and English-language scholars, proposing that the existing scholarship's overriding concern with style be replaced with a renewed focus on the institutions and individuals who shaped architectural undertakings in the transatlantic realm of the Spanish Habsburgs.

RESUMEN

Este estudio se enfoque en la curiosa ausencia de edificios del siglo XVII en las historias tradicionales de la arquitectura española. Empezando con las *Noticias de los arquitectos y la arquitectura en España*, obra fundadora publicado en 1829, el artículo rastrea el legado de un mito de la Ilustración que trata del siglo XVII como una época definida por una monarquía débil cuya arquitectura ornamental se puede intepretar como reflexión de la decadencia política. El artículo repasa las respuestas de estudiosos españoles, alemanes, y anglohablantes a las *Noticias* y propone que la principal preocupación existente sobre el estilo se reemplace por un enfoque renovado en las instituciones e individuos que emprendieron proyectos arquitectónicos en el dominio transatlántico de los Habsburgo españoles.

KEYWORDS

Architecture; baroque; Enlightenment; Habsburg; historiography; neoclassicism; Spain; style

PALABRAS CLAVE

arquitectura; barroco; España; estilo; la Ilustración; Habsburgo; historiografía; neoclasicismo

In the early 1770s, Spain's Royal Academy of Fine Arts hired masons to transform the façade of its new home, the Goyeneche Palace ([Figure 1](#)). Erected nearly fifty years earlier, the building located along Madrid's fashionable Calle de Alcalá had been purchased to serve as the seat of what was still a relatively new institution. The Academy had been granted a royal charter in 1744 and was formalized by royal edict



Figure 1. Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, formerly Palacio de Goyeneche, Madrid, 1722–32, view of façade as modified c.1773–74 and subsequently renovated in 1973–83. Photo: Paul Hermans, Creative Commons license CC BY-SA 3.0.

eight years later.¹ From its early days, academicians carried out their work in cramped quarters located in Madrid's Plaza Mayor. The sizeable Goyeneche Palace was intended to facilitate the organization's ever-expanding societal mission by providing professors and students with studios, lecture halls, and galleries for painting, sculpture, and

¹For the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando's history, see Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1800), vol. 3, 251; Carlos Sambricio, *La arquitectura española de la Ilustración* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de los Colegios de Arquitectos de España, 1986).

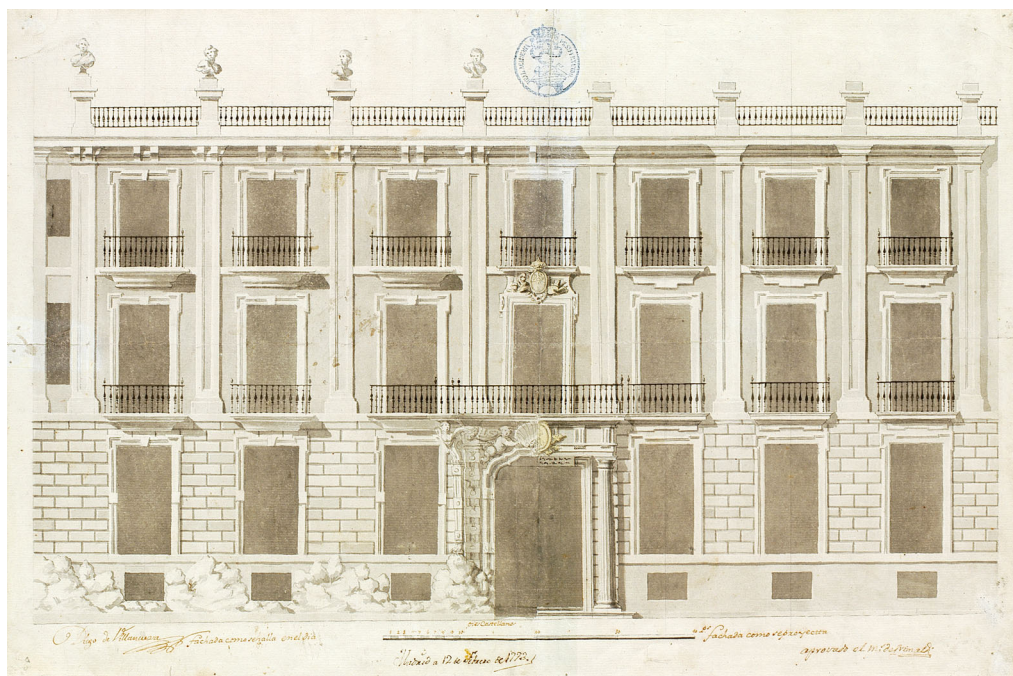


Figure 2. Diego de Villanueva, Drawing of the façades of the Palacio de Goyeneche and Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Madrid, c. 1773–74, black ink with gray and yellow washes on paper, 14.1 × 21.2 in. (359 × 538 mm). Biblioteca de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid, INV-2216. Photo: © Biblioteca de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.

architecture, as well as an entire floor dedicated to the display of an important natural history collection.

At street level, scars from the effacement of Goyeneche Palace in the 1770s remain evident to the passerby. They are easier to see by examining a period drawing made by Diego de Villanueva (1715–74) (Figure 2).² Villanueva was one of two Directors of Architecture at the Royal Academy and older brother of Juan de Villanueva, the Spanish architect most closely associated with eighteenth-century classicism. In his drawing, Diego depicts the Goyeneche Palace façade as seven bays wide and four stories tall with an ornamental portal marking the building’s center. Keeping with local practice, the windows of the upper stories are fronted by balconies and the whole composition is crowned with a balustrade. On the left half of the sheet, Villanueva records the façade “as it appears today” (“*como se halla en el dia*”), a notation that appears next to his signature at lower left. Noteworthy features include a rusticated ground story, colossal pilasters, and sculpted busts along the roofline. To the right, Villanueva portrays the palace façade “*como se proyectta*”, or as planned.

²On the drawing, see Joaquín Ezquerro del Bayo, “La Casa de la Real Academia de San Fernando,” *Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo* 8, no. 29 (1931), 36–40; Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, “José de Churriguera, Juan de Goyeneche y la sede de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando,” *Academia* 112–13 (2011), 57–86; Beatriz Blasco Esquivias, *Nuevo Baztán: La utopía Colbertista de Juan de Goyeneche* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2019), 317–27. For Villanueva, see Sambricio, *La arquitectura*.

Villanueva's rendering of the main portal capsulizes the proposed transformation. To the left, a thick, banded *estípite*, or tapered pilaster, appears to rise from a stone mountain. A griffin crowns the *estípite* and a winged *putto* supports a shell at the apex of a poly-lobed arch over the doorway. For an architect like Villanueva—a man whose theoretical writings reflected Enlightenment philosophy and an awareness of recent archaeological discoveries at Herculaneum and Pompeii in the Spanish Kingdom of Naples—the portal's ornament was excessive and embarrassing. His proposed correction is emphatically architectonic. A load-bearing Doric column marks the portal's right edge supporting an architrave and balcony above. With his watercolour brush, Villanueva makes the column cast a shadow onto the façade wall. It is one of the only standout features of an otherwise pedantic image. Villanueva's erasure of the palace's ornament, however, was nothing short of polemical. His proposed reform aimed to make manifest in stone a late-eighteenth-century aversion to what has come to be called baroque architecture.

Juan de Goyeneche, the original patron of the palace on the Calle de Alcalá, was born in 1656. A successful entrepreneur, he served as a financial minister to the last Spanish Habsburg king, Carlos II (1661–1700; reg. 1675–1700). With the arrival of Bourbon monarchs to the Spanish throne in 1700—a position not guaranteed until after a fourteen-year war with Austrian Habsburg rivals—Goyeneche played a pivotal role in maintaining the realm's financial stability. As a publisher and proto industrialist, he also became a leading figure in the cultural life of Madrid until his death in 1735, as Beatriz Blasco demonstrates in an important recent study.³ When, in 1722, he purchased six properties to build a palace, Goyeneche opted for a design by José Benito Churriguera (1666–1725). Churriguera headed a family of prolific builders whose expertise included multi-tiered, multi-media *retablos*, a term that can be roughly translated as altarpieces. In the early modern period, *retablos* were considered works of architecture although, in recent times, they have been categorized as sculpture. The designation is technical, yet it hints at a critique in Villanueva's academic circles that labeled Churriguera an “artist-architect” prone to employing excessive ornament. Already in the 1770s, José Benito's family name gave rise to the disparaging label, *churrigueresco*, a term that is still in use and even has an English-language variant.⁴

Moreover, the period in which Churriguera worked—the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries—came to be called a time of “plague” in the foundational work of Spanish architectural history, *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España* (Notices on the architects and architecture of Spain, hereafter *Noticias*). Written by Eugenio Llaguno y Amirola (1724–99) and edited by Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez (1749–1829), two Enlightenment officials who shared Villanueva's convictions, the *Noticias* was published in four volumes in 1829. It established a model for vilifying the kind of architectural ornament that gained popularity in the seventeenth century in Spain. These ornamental tendencies were redeemed slightly in the middle of the nineteenth century before being cursed anew at the century's end as Spanish historians condemned the seventeenth-century reign of Habsburg rulers as a period of political

³For Goyeneche's biography, see Blasco Esquivias, *Nuevo Baztán*, 27–131.

⁴On the *churrigueresco* label, see Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, *Los Churriguera* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1971), 9–11.

decline. In the twentieth century, under the dictatorship of Francisco Franco from 1939 to 1975, the Fascist appropriation of Spanish Habsburg architectural forms—most notably, Philip II's (1527–1598; reg. 1556–98) monastery-palace of San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial—complicates the story even further. The result is that seventeenth-century architecture in Spain is poorly understood on its own merits.

A 1972 Spanish-language translation of Christian Norberg-Schulz's *Architettura barocca*, first published in Milan in 1971 and concerned with the baroque as an international style, berates Spanish seventeenth-century architecture, asserting that “the buildings in and of themselves contribute nothing of importance to the history of architecture.”⁵ It is a strong statement, yet one that saw the light of day in Spain because of the persistence of the Enlightenment critique established in the ambit of the Royal Academy and codified by Llaguno and Ceán's *Noticias*. The present essay reassesses the historiography of Spanish seventeenth-century architecture. It begins with a consideration of Llaguno and Ceán's Ur text which, although published in 1829, was begun in the 1760s during a period of social and cultural reforms. Next, I highlight the work of Spanish and German scholars who, in their research published between 1848 and 1908, responded to the critique in the *Noticias* of what came to be called the baroque over the course of the nineteenth century. As Norberg-Schulz's words attest, the application of the term baroque in Spain was almost exclusively limited to eighteenth-century buildings such as the Goyeneche Palace, resulting in what I call a lost seventeenth century in Spanish architectural history.

As a means out of this conundrum, a deeper consideration of politics and institutional governance in the Spanish Habsburg domain offers a useful model for thinking about seventeenth-century architecture. Taking up the cases of two architects overlooked in the historiography, I suggest that the institutions and individuals for whom they worked can help us examine early modern architecture in a new light, allowing even the possibility of linking building enterprises on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Careful attention to cultural production in seventeenth-century Spain matters as historians seek to write a global history of architecture in the twenty-first century, doing away with a nearly two-hundred-year-old model whose utility has run its course.

An Enlightenment History of Spanish Architecture

The term baroque as a category of style emerged in the nineteenth century. In Spain, its characteristics are multi-faceted, owing to geographical factors such as regional building materials and local construction techniques. Churriguera's classicism, for instance, echoes the tradition in Castile of symmetrical compositions often framed by twin towers, faced with brick or stone, and topped by fanciful slate roofs that betray Flemish

⁵Norberg-Schulz, *Arquitectura barroca*, trans. Luis Escolar Bareño (Madrid: Aguilar, 1972), 327. The statement is embedded in a passage that includes a sweeping dismissal of Indigenous Americans: “En general, la arquitectura española del siglo XVII fue tendiendo hacia el decorativismo, que representa una variante del tema barroco de la persuasión. Es natural que alcanzara su cima en los edificios misionales de América. Aun los analfabetos de una civilización ajena pueden ‘entender’ el lenguaje de la ornamentación exuberante, los colores y las imágenes. Se halla, por tanto, una actitud típicamente ‘barroca,’ pero los edificios por sí mismos no representan ninguna contribución importante a la historia de la arquitectura.”



Figure 3. Obradoiro façade, Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Torre del Reloj (at right) by José Peña de Toro and Domingo de Andrade, 1665–71; frontispiece and matching tower by Fernando de Casas Novoa, 1738–49. Photo by author.

influences. Similar concerns with symmetry can be found in a monument such as the Obradoiro façade of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, one of the most famous of Spanish baroque monuments (Figure 3). Realized over seven decades beginning in the 1660s and completed with a 1738–49 project designed by Fernando de Casas Novoa (1670–1749), the façade fronts a Romanesque building whose height is accentuated by a late seventeenth-century tower at the top of a large staircase. That tower was matched by another and the space between filled in with a spectacular stone frontispiece with

great quantities of glass.⁶ The resulting design displays a mastery of geometry in its design and yet discussions of this façade tend to ignore the underlying mathematical order, focusing instead on ornamental features which have been characterized as “small and charming things.”⁷ With the restoration of the façade, completed in 2019, a viewer today can appreciate an aesthetic of fine cut stone adorned at key junctures with bronze ornament and thereby eschew romantic interpretations inspired in part by the lichen and moss that once covered, and will again cover, the building. The Obradoiro façade of carved stone contrasts with the layered textures of tiles and brick that often front buildings labeled baroque in Seville, Granada, and throughout the southern region of Andalucía. Rich tilework and relief ornament also feature in some seventeenth-century Mediterranean regions, in places such as Valencia and Barcelona.

There is no single Spanish baroque style, an actuality that renders style a limiting concept when approaching Spanish architecture of the seventeenth century. Yet, there was a singular movement in the late eighteenth century to deride ornamented works of architecture of the previous century on stylistic as well as ideological grounds. The decline of Spanish power over the course of the seventeenth century is a leitmotif in Eugenio Llaguno y Amirola’s manuscript for the *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España*. An Enlightenment-era scholar and politician, Llaguno began drafting his ideas in the late 1760s and completed the manuscript of the *Noticias* by 1790.⁸ He died nine years later and Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez took up the task of editing Llaguno’s text some years after that, giving rise to complications about the work’s authorship.⁹

Llaguno and Ceán both traveled in intellectual circles and both shared affinities with the Enlightenment writer, statesman, and occasional architecture critic, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744–1811), who served as a mentor for the young Ceán.¹⁰ Jovellanos found much to celebrate in Spain’s Gothic heritage, as well as in the neoclassical *restauración* brought about in the last decades of the eighteenth century. This ideologically-charged restoration was the built evidence of the arrival of the Enlightenment in Spain and symbolized for Jovellanos the rejection of the baroque or what was then called the *churrigueresco* or *estilo borrominesco*—disparaging labels that took aim at Churriguera and the Italian architect, Francesco Borromini (1599–1667).

⁶Alfredo Vigo Trasancos, *La fachada del Obradoiro de la Catedral de Santiago, 1738–1750: Arquitectura, triunfo y apoteosis* (Madrid: Electa, 1996).

⁷Sacheverell Sitwell, *Spanish Baroque Art with Buildings in Portugal, Mexico, and Other Colonies* (London: Duckworth, 1931), 9.

⁸Eugenio Llaguno y Amirola, *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España*, ed. Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, 4 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1829). A facsimile edition (Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1977) includes brief biographies of Llaguno and Ceán as well as an index by Luis Cervera Vera. On Llaguno, see Miriam Cera Brea, *Arquitectura e identidad nacional en la España de las Luces* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios del Siglo XVIII, 2019).

⁹For Ceán, see Elena María Santiago Péaz, ed. *Ceán Bermúdez: Historiador del arte y coleccionista ilustrado* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica and Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2016). Cera Brea, *Arquitectura e identidad*, 36–66, offers an overview of Ceán’s contribution to the *Noticias*. See also Daniel Crespo Delgado and Miriam Cera Brea, “Ceán y la arquitectura,” in Santiago Péaz, ed., *Ceán Bermúdez*, 247–53.

¹⁰For Jovellanos and architecture, see the introductory study to Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, *Memorias histórico-artísticas de arquitectura*, eds. Daniel Crespo Delgado and Joan Domenge i Mesquida (Madrid: Akal, 2013), 13–55. Kelly Donahue-Wallace, *Jerónimo Antonio Gil and the Idea of the Spanish Enlightenment* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2017), and Janis Tomlinson, *Goya: A Portrait of the Artist* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020), offer important recent contributions to the study of the Spanish Enlightenment.

Volume 1 of the *Noticias* opens with an informative prologue written by Ceán. In the opening lines, Ceán records that Llaguno's intended publication of the *Noticias* was first announced by Jovellanos at a public event in January 1788. Ten years later, Ceán was in the process of publishing his *Diccionario histórico de los profesores de las bellas artes en España*, an encyclopedia of biographies of Spanish artists that appeared in 1800 and helped establish the modern discipline of art history in Spain.¹¹ In the midst of this project, in 1798, Llaguno approached Ceán asking him to include the biographies of architects that he had written—namely, the draft *Noticias*—as part of the *Diccionario* project. Although Ceán declined, he inherited Llaguno's manuscript, a copy of which survives in New York, upon the elder author's death in 1799.¹² Llaguno's original text spanned a millennium, beginning in the year 720 and ending in 1734, a decade prior to the establishment of the Royal Academy in Madrid. When Ceán turned to the manuscript following the publication of his *Diccionario*, he sought to fill the lacunae he found in Llaguno's research and to bring the manuscript's narrative up to date through extensive new scholarship carried out by a team of archivists. In this way, Ceán was the editor of the *Noticias* as well as *de facto* co-author.

For the prologue, Ceán presents a sweeping history of Spanish architecture divided into ten eras, a structure that reflects Llaguno's original manuscript. From the rudimentary contributions of the Phoenicians, Ceán discusses Roman and early medieval buildings with a surprising admiration for the contribution of Muslim architects, providing an index of Arabic words still used in construction practice.¹³ Following a consideration of the early Renaissance era, Ceán declared the reign of Philip II during the second half of the sixteenth century to have marked the arrival of "purity and perfection" in Spanish architecture brought about by the initiation of construction at the Escorial in 1563.¹⁴

This sentiment, too, reflected Llaguno's narrative. In the first volume of the *Noticias*, Llaguno labeled the sixteenth century as the "happiest" era for Spanish architecture.¹⁵ His lengthy discussion of Philip II's Escorial—along with Ceán's formidable, complementary research—appears in volume 2, where it is celebrated as the century's representative building. Significantly, the chronological parameters of volume 2 correspond to the lifetime of Juan de Herrera (ca. 1530–97), the Escorial's chief designer who emerges as the hero of the *Noticias*.¹⁶ The impact of the Escorial on contemporary

¹¹Ceán, *Diccionario histórico*; David García López, "El Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España," in Santiago Péaz, ed., *Ceán Bermúdez*, 225–45.

¹²Hispanic Society of America Library, New York HC 380/666 Llaguno. Cera Brea, *Arquitectura e identidad*, 35, suggests the New York manuscript is a copy of Llaguno's original.

¹³The celebration of Spain's Muslim past has been demonstrated by Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 155–60, to be part of a patriotic campaign by Spanish Enlightenment intellectuals.

¹⁴*Noticias*, vol. 1, xxxvi: "Sin embargo de los grandes progresos que hizo entonces en España la arquitectura greco-romana no llegó á su pureza y perfeccion hasta el año de 1563, en que el gran Juan Bautista de Toledo trazó el suntuoso monasterio de S. Lorenzo del Escorial, y por mejor decir hasta que le aumentó y concluyó su discípulo Juan de Herrera."

¹⁵*Noticias*, vol. 1, 138: "el siglo XVI, el mas feliz para la arquitectura en España."

¹⁶For Herrera: Agustín Ruiz de Arcaute, *Juan de Herrera: Arquitecto de Felipe II* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1936 [reissue edition with introduction by Javier Ortega Vidal, Madrid: Instituto Juan de Herrera, 1997]); and Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner, *Juan de Herrera: Architect to Philip II of Spain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993). On Herrera's significance in the *Noticias*, see Cera Brea, *Arquitectura e identidad*, 285–306.

architectural practice is explored in most of volume 3 by whose end Llaguno denotes the emergence of “bad taste” (*mal gusto*) in the 1630s.¹⁷ In the opening pages of volume 4, Llaguno singles out Alonso Cano (1601–67), more famous as a painter today, as the first true offender of architectural practice. The biographical entry offers little information about Cano. Instead, it critiques the abilities of painters who turned to architecture, pursuing novelty at the expense of rules established by the Greco-Roman architect Vitruvius. Revealing an affinity with the Italian critic Francesco Milizia (1725–98), Llaguno lays the blame for excessive invention on Borromini.¹⁸ From Alonso Cano’s errors, he regrets, “the delirious Borromini sect [was born. It] immediately diffused itself in Spain and came to have a greater following than in its country of origin, principally among painters and carvers.”¹⁹

The architects who received Llaguno’s wrath were precisely those who were active in the late decades of the seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth. Llaguno labeled them *heresiarcas*, or heretics, and Ceán embraced the term which both authors aimed at designers who broke with their vision of what classical architecture should look like. José Benito de Churriguera was an obvious target of Llaguno’s. Churriguera also merited a long footnote by Ceán, who criticized the Goyeneche Palace and its “horrendous” portal that had been reformed for the Royal Academy. Other so-called heretics included Francisco Hurtado Izquierdo (1669–1725), Narciso Tomé (1690–1742), and Pedro de Ribera (1681–1742), three builders whose biographies appear in a single, brief entry.²⁰ Llaguno excoriated these architects for the “extravagances and absurdities” he claimed were most readily visible on building portals, church retablos, and what he calls *adornos*.²¹ The last term is vague, but it implies a disdain for ornament that informed academic debates in many European and Latin American cities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²²

Llaguno viewed the promise of salvation from architectural heresy in the restoration of classical architecture in Spain. Yet, as noted already, he ended his narrative in the year 1734. Thus, neoclassical reforms became the topic of a 120-page appendix that Ceán authored for the fourth volume of the *Noticias*. At the outset of this addendum, Ceán writes that he was encouraged to continue Llaguno’s work to his present day by various academicians and “lovers of the fine arts.” These latter individuals would have included readers of Ceán’s *Diccionario* who were already familiar with the author’s admiration of pedagogic reforms instituted by the Royal Academy. Ceán’s appendix opens with the arrival of the Italian architects Filippo Juvarra (1678–1736) and Francesco Sabatini (1721–97) and continues with the successes of their Spanish pupils Ventura Rodríguez and the brothers Juan and Diego de Villanueva most importantly.

¹⁷*Noticias*, vol. 3, 157. The phrase appears in the biography of architect Juan Gómez de Mora whose design for the Jesuit College of Salamanca is cited as “introduciendo el mal gusto en la arquitectura.”

¹⁸Francesco Milizia, *Memorie degli architetti antichi e moderni* (Parma: Stamperia Reale, 1781). On the reception of Milizia’s book in Spain, see Cera Brea, *Arquitectura e identidad*, 30–36.

¹⁹*Noticias*, vol. 4, 40: “De aquí nació la delirante secta borrominesca, que difundida inmediatamente en España logró aun mayor séquito que en el país donde tuvo su origen, principalmente entre pintores y tallistas.”

²⁰*Noticias*, vol. 4, 102–07.

²¹*Noticias*, vol. 4, 106.

²²For the case of Spain, see Sambricio, *La arquitectura española*. For Latin America, the essays in Paul B. Niell and Stacie G. Widdifield, eds., *Buen Gusto and Classicism in the Visual Culture of Latin America, 1780–1910* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2013), offer excellent comparative material.

Ceán's attention to Spanish-born heroes furthermore reveals the context in which he wrote, namely the years following the Napoleonic occupation of Spain from 1808 to 1813. That event lies behind the author's last words in the *Noticias*: "At the age of eighty, I am satisfied to have achieved, amidst so much work and so many persecutions, completion of this appendix and these Notices on the Architecture of Spain, which I offer so that [Spanish design] might prosper in its advancement and recover the good name and fame that it once had in the reign of Philip II."²³

Thus, the political project to shape a new national identity found an outlet in the history of Spanish architecture. For both Llaguno and Ceán, the architectural style that emerged in the seventeenth century could be equated with what they judged the political failures of late Spanish Habsburg monarchs. In this curious case of myth making, early Habsburg rulers such as Charles V and Philip II could be presented as forward-looking, whereas those who ruled from 1598 to 1700 were blamed for Spain's downfall.²⁴ Oddly, both author and editor overlooked the early Bourbon monarchs who ruled during the height of the careers of Churriguera, Ribera, and other maligned architects. Instead, they praise the Bourbon rulers of their own era—beginning with Ferdinand VI, founder of the Royal Academy—liberally at the expense of the Habsburgs. The myth of Bourbon reforms is one that historians of the early modern Spanish world are now actively dismantling, and that is another story.²⁵ With regard to the history of architecture, Llaguno and Ceán's official history, sanctioned by the Spanish royal press under Bourbon rule, reinforced a narrative of Habsburg decadence that has resulted in an oversight of the seventeenth century still in need of correction.

The Formation of the Baroque in Spain

Llaguno and Ceán's *Noticias* remains to this day the basis for Spanish architectural history. Although much of its content—especially Ceán's documentary research—remains invaluable, its continued authority rests on its promotion as the definitive text on the subject in the twentieth century. George Kubler employed its schema for his contribution to the Pelican History of Art series published in 1959—the only existing English-language survey of early modern architecture in Spain and its empire²⁶—and the Spanish Royal Academy of Fine Arts published a facsimile edition of the *Noticias* in

²³*Noticias*, vol. 4, 339–40: "No estoy menos satisfecho de haberlas servido en medio de muchos trabajos y persecuciones con haber podido llegar a cabo de ochenta años de edad, dando fin á este Apéndice y á estas Noticias de la Arquitectura en España, que les consagro para que prosperen en sus adelantamientos, y recuperen el buen nombre y fama que tuvieron en el reinado de Felipe II."

²⁴On myths of the failed Habsburg monarchy, see Ruth MacKay, "Lazy Improvident People": *Myth and Reality in the Writing of Spanish History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006); Henry Kamen, *Imagining Spain: Historical Myth & National Identity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008). See also Richard L. Kagan, *Clio and the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009) on debates surrounding history-writing in the Habsburg era itself.

²⁵The effort in this regard is widespread, from a reinvigorated exploration of science to new examinations of political history. On the latter topic, see Gabriel Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and Its Empire, 1759–1808* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Kenneth Andrien and Allan Kuethe, *The Spanish Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century: War and the Bourbon Reforms, 1713–1796* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

²⁶George Kubler, "Part One: Architecture," in George Kubler and Martín Soría, *Art and Architecture in Spain, Portugal and Their American Dominions, 1500–1800*, (Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1959), 1–104.

1977. Nineteenth-century reactions to Llaguno and Ceán's version of history, however, were not uniformly positive.

A different view of early modern architecture was advanced in José Caveda's *Ensayo histórico sobre los diversos géneros de Arquitectura empleados en España* (Historical essay on the diverse genres of Architecture employed in Spain) of 1848.²⁷ Caveda organized his book chronologically, with what he called the *estilo borrominesco* serving as the topic of the twenty-ninth of thirty chapters in total. Although he reveals a neoclassical bias, Caveda considered Juan de Herrera's architecture dry by what he called "modern" standards. The Borromini style, defined by "ostentation and playfulness in its ornament, delirium in its conceptions, refinement in its ingenuity, [and] caprice and dangerous novelty in its forms," was for Caveda complex and worthy of admiration.²⁸ Evoking a Hegelian spirit to explain seventeenth-century trends, Caveda equated architectural invention with the metaphor and hyperbole that could be found in Spanish poetry of the age. Caveda astutely observed that earlier critics focused almost exclusively on façade portals and church *retablos*, completely ignoring, for instance, structural innovations. With this mention of structure and the implied mathematical underpinnings of building in the seventeenth century, Caveda highlighted a persistent gap in our knowledge of Spanish architecture. In the chapter's conclusion, Caveda wrote that historians ought to be able to appreciate admirable characteristics of a building that coexist with ornamental forms that might be deemed "deformities."²⁹

Caveda's *Ensayo histórico* was translated into German and published in Stuttgart in 1858. It was edited by Franz Kugler, who was simultaneously overseeing the publication of an encyclopedic history of European art.³⁰ Although Spaniards would build much of their research in art history upon the foundations of German scholarship, the case of early modern architecture in Spain suggests that Caveda's writing led the way. Moreover, the German edition of the *Ensayo histórico* coincided with an especially fruitful moment for the study of seventeenth-century European art. Kugler was the mentor of Cornelius Gurlitt, who in the 1880s would write some of the first serious studies of what came to be called the Baroque, a term that supplanted the existing rubric of "Jesuit style."³¹ Gurlitt was a practising architect. So too was his pupil, Otto Schubert, who published *Geschichte des Barock in Spanien* (History of the Baroque in Spain) in 1908. Schubert's was the first book devoted to Spanish architecture of the newly coined era and the eighth volume in a series devoted to the history of modern architecture.³² The intellectual context for Schubert's book can be widened to include Heinrich Wölfflin's influential study of Italian art and style, *Renaissance und Barock* and

²⁷José Caveda, *Ensayo histórico sobre los diversos géneros de arquitectura empleados en España desde la dominación romana hasta nuestros días* (Madrid: Santiago Saunaque, 1848).

²⁸Caveda, *Ensayo histórico*, 21: "Osadía y travesura en el ornato, delirio en las concepciones, refinamiento en el ingenio, capricho y peligrosa novedad en las formas."

²⁹Caveda, *Ensayo histórico*, 498: "y que vituperando en el Churriguerismo cuanto repugna al buen gusto, respetarán también aquellos rasgos, que revelan el genio de sus numerosos secuaces, sin condenarle absolutamente como una monstruosidad, en que solo se encuentran deformidades."

³⁰José Caveda, *Geschichte der Baukunst in Spanien*, ed. Franz Kugler; trans. Paul Heyse (Stuttgart: Verlag van Ebner & Seubert, 1858).

³¹On Gurlitt, see Evonne Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 36–41.

³²Otto Schubert, *Geschichte des Barock in Spanien*, Volume 8 of *Geschichte der Neueren Baukunst* (Esslingen: Paul Neff, 1908).

Karl Justi's pioneering work on Diego Velázquez, both published in 1888.³³ Jonathan Brown has argued that Justi's book revived interest in the art of Spain and especially for the promotion of a golden age.³⁴ Schubert's book sought to do something similar for Spanish architecture.

Like Caveda, Schubert adopted a measured outlook regarding ornament, although his Wölfflin-inspired focus on style resulted in convoluted chapter titles and analyses. The book's 292 illustrations include photographs, plans, and section drawings, many of which were based on measurements taken by the architect. An example is Schubert's plan of the south portal of Valencia Cathedral, which signals an effort to place the creations of Spanish designers—or of foreigners working in Spain, as was the case with the Valencia monument—within larger European traditions (Figure 4). The innovative quality of the cathedral façade by Austrian architect Konrad Rudolf (d. 1732) speaks for itself in a photograph, but its plan, isolated from the remainder of the building by Schubert, allows a scholar to consider it in the tradition of Borromini and, thereby, perhaps better understand the early nineteenth-century *borrominesco* label.³⁵

Nothing like Schubert's book had appeared in Spain since Caveda's work sixty years earlier. The volume was translated into Spanish in 1924 and has remained a point of reference in Spain ever since.³⁶ In a prologue to the 1924 edition, Manuel Hernández—the translator about whom little is known—notes that Schubert's primary achievement was to gather data to help elucidate a little-known period. The book did not, according to the translator, elaborate a systematic theory of aesthetic principles. That project of defining the characteristics of baroque art and architecture was getting underway in Spain in the 1920s, a time when art history was still a fledgling discipline. But, like everything else in the country, it was disrupted by the Spanish Civil War from 1936 to 1939.

Following the devastation of war, reconstruction was the order of the day. Of great consequence to the future history of the baroque, Franco's government chose the age of Philip II—the very era that Llaguno deemed Spain's "happiest"—as a model for ministry buildings, housing blocks, and cultural institutions sponsored by the modern state. Juan de Herrera's classical style had already been in vogue for large-scale public building projects in Madrid in the 1920s.³⁷ Following Franco's victory in 1939, however, even Herrera's work for Philip II to shape Madrid into a capital came to be equated with the efforts of the twentieth-century dictator's architects to modernize the city.³⁸

It was in this environment that George Kubler wrote a survey of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Spanish architecture, which appeared in 1957 as part of the *Ars*

³³Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock: Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstils in Italien* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1888); Karl Justi, *Diego Velázquez und sein Jahrhundert* (Bonn: Friedrich Cohen, 1888).

³⁴Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), 3–18.

³⁵Joaquín Bérchez, *Arquitectura barroca valenciana* (Valencia: Bancaixa, 1993), 78–87, offers a model interpretation of Rudolf's design within an expanded geographical framework.

³⁶Otto Schubert, *Historia del Barroco en España*, trans. Manuel Hernández Alcalde (Madrid: Saturnino Calleja, 1924).

³⁷Francisco José Portela Sandoval, "El eco del Escorial en la arquitectura española de los siglos XIX y XX," in *El Monasterio del Escorial y la arquitectura* (San Lorenzo del Escorial, 2002), 333–69.

³⁸This is the message promoted by Francisco Íñiguez Almech, who served as general commissioner for the conservation of monuments following the Civil War and directed reconstruction efforts in Madrid; see Íñiguez Almech, "Juan de Herrera y las reformas en el Madrid de Felipe II," *Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo* 19, nos. 59–60 (1950): 3–108.

giebelbekröntem Mittelbau mit seitlich vorgestellten korinthischen Säulen legen sich seitlich konvexe zweigeschossige Flügel an, die in abgetrept vorgestellten, von Figuren bekrönten Säulen enden. Eine geschwungene, ein Gitter tragende Steinfriedigung nimmt die Kurve des Portalbaues auf und bildet somit einen ovalen Vorplatz vor dieser im höchsten Sinne dekorativen, außerordentlich ab-

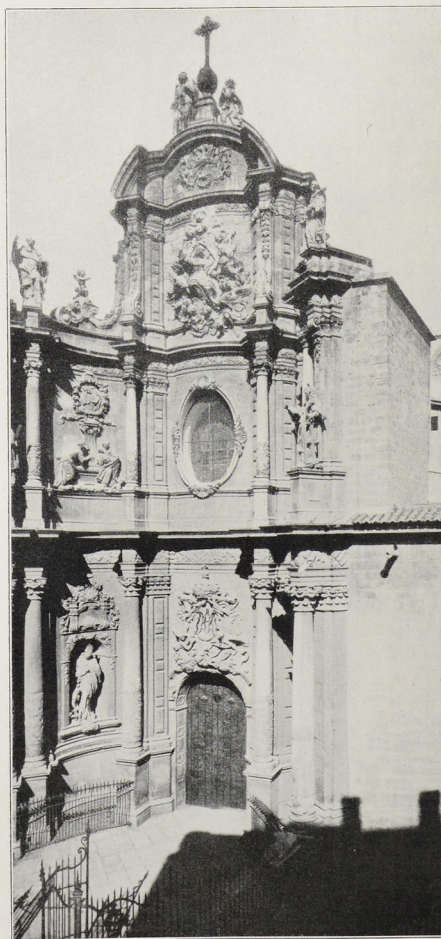


Abb. 173 Kathedrale in Valencia Ansicht des Hauptportals (Phot. Angel)

gekürzten Schöpfung (vgl. Grundriß) (Abb. 174). Da sind Figuren in reich umrahmten Rundbogennischen und als Beendigung der Vertikalteilung oder als kräftiges Hochrelief eingefügt. Eine zarte, die Friese und unteren Teile der Säulenschäfte belebende Ornamentik erhöht gemeinschaftlich mit den stark geschwungenen und verkörpften Gesimsen die Wirkung des prächtigen Schaustückes. Die Anmut und Feinheit des ganzen Aufbaues verrät den italienischen Einfluß. Die Zartheit des Details entspricht dem hierbei zur Verwendung gekommenen weißen Marmor. Am 6. März 1703 wurden die Arbeiten an den Deutschen Konrad Rudolf oder Corrado bzw. Rudolfo vergeben. Sohn eines ziemlich unbekanntem deutschen Bildhauers, war er seinem Vater aus der Lehre ent-

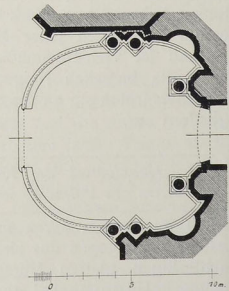


Abb. 174 Kathedrale in Valencia Grundriß des Hauptportals (Aufnahme des Verfassers)

Figure 4. Otto Schubert, photograph and plan of the south portal of Valencia Cathedral by Konrad Rudolf, from *Geschichte des Barock in Spanien* (Esslingen: Paul Neff, 1908). Heidelberg University Library, C6455-30, 252. Photo: Heidelberg University Library.

Hispaniae series—the first modern encyclopaedic survey of Spanish art and architecture—published by the Francoist press, Plus Ultra.³⁹ Kubler's book came to light in the context of the Spanish state's effort to shape an official art history for Spain and its former empire. That a scholar from the United States was invited to contribute to the effort reveals an objective on the part of Spanish art historians to broaden the

³⁹George Kubler, *Arquitectura de los siglos XVII y XVIII*, trans. Juan-Eduardo Cirlot (Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1957).

field of inquiry, something that Enrique Lafuente Ferrari and other Spanish scholars would later admit had been greatly desired at the time.⁴⁰ In 1959, Kubler reworked this text and expanded it to include the sixteenth century for his contribution to the English-language Pelican History of Art series edited by Nikolaus Pevsner.⁴¹ As with his earlier Spanish-language survey, Kubler relied on Llaguno and Ceán's narrative arc for this essay, even borrowing disparaging terms such as "heretical" to promulgate orthodox classical prejudices. For English-language scholars, Kubler's earlier research on architecture in colonial Latin America helped open a field of study. His work on Spain, however, would have a very different effect owing to its reliance on biased, Enlightenment-era scholarship.

From the 1960s to the 1980s, architectural history of the baroque in Spain remained focused on regional studies with notable contributions on Andalucía, Castile, and Galicia, a region whose seventeenth and eighteenth-century history was ignored by Llaguno and Ceán.⁴² In scholarship published since the death of Franco in 1975, a regionally focused approach to the baroque began to give way to an investigation of Spanish design within a European context. Virginia Tovar Martín's substantial writing on the Madrid architect Juan Gómez de Mora (1586–1648), which sought to fill a void created by Llaguno and Ceán's cursory treatment of the architect, is noteworthy although her local focus and overly determined effort to elevate Gómez de Mora into a European architectural canon has softened the potential impact of her scholarship.⁴³ General surveys of baroque art and architecture from this period, including a six-volume encyclopaedia on the history of Spanish architecture published in the mid-1980s, often reveal scholarly limitations that existed in much of Spain owing to decades of an isolated academic environment restrained by contemporary politics.⁴⁴

Since Spain's entry into the European Union in 1986, Spanish scholars have further integrated early modern Spanish art and architecture into international contexts. A pivotal book in this regard has been Fernando Checa's *Felipe II: Mecenas de las artes*, which appeared in 1991 and restored the place of Philip II as a player on the European Renaissance stage.⁴⁵ Checa went on to serve as director of the Museo Nacional del

⁴⁰See the introductory note in Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, "Bibliografía del profesor Enrique Lafuente Ferrari," *Academia* no. 59 (1984): 29–35.

⁴¹Kubler, "Part One: Architecture." For Pevsner's scholarship, see Mathew Aitchison, "Pevsner's *Kunstgeographie*: From Leipzig's Baroque to the Englishness of Modern English Architecture," in Andrew Leach, John Macarthur, and Maarten Delbeke, eds., *The Baroque in Architectural Culture, 1880–1980* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 109–18.

⁴²For Galicia and Andalucía, see Antonio Bonet Correa, *La arquitectura en Galicia durante el siglo XVII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1966 [reprint, Madrid, 1984]); idem, *Art baroque en Andalousie*, trans. Joëlle Guyot and Robert Marrast (Paris: Société Française du Livre, 1978). For Castile, see Virginia Tovar Martín, *Arquitectos madrileños de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1975); idem, *Arquitectura madrileña del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1983); Agustín Bustamante García, *La arquitectura clasicista del foco vallisoletano (1561–1640)* (Valladolid: Institución Cultural Simancas, 1983); Fernando Marías, *La arquitectura del Renacimiento en Toledo (1541–1631)*, 4 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1983–85).

⁴³Virginia Tovar Martín, *Arquitectura madrileña*, op. cit.; Juan Gómez de Mora (1586–1648): *Arquitecto y trazador del rey y maestro mayor de obras de la Villa de Madrid* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1986).

⁴⁴The 1986 volume dedicated to the baroque is José Manuel Cruz Valdovinos *Arquitectura barroca de los siglos XVII y XVIII. Arquitectura de los Borbones. Arquitectura neoclásica*, Volume 4 of *Historia de la arquitectura española*, 6 vols. (Barcelona: Planeta, 1986). Cruz's bibliography includes the work of few foreign scholars beyond the Spanish-language translations of Kubler and Schubert.

⁴⁵Checa, *Felipe II: Mecenas de las artes* (Madrid: Nerea, 1991).

Prado from 1996 to 2001, hiring curators who continue to promote an international approach to the art of early modern Spain. An important example of Checa's contribution to an expanded view of baroque culture in Spain was the 1994 exhibition and catalogue reconstructing the cultural milieu—although with only slight attention to the architecture—of Madrid's Royal Palace, a building lost to fire in 1734.⁴⁶ The effort aimed to produce a “total history” of the palace, along the lines of Jonathan Brown and John Elliott's 1980 study of another lost Madrid monument, the Buen Retiro Palace.⁴⁷ Brown and Elliott's admirable study persuasively situates the Spanish palace and its collections within a European context yet remains limited on the topic of seventeenth-century architectural history.

For over two decades, Fernando Marías, a contemporary of Checa's and Spain's preeminent architectural historian, has called for a rethinking of the neoclassical prejudice against Spanish baroque architecture.⁴⁸ One such appeal appeared in 1999 as part of a volume produced alongside an exhibition of the work of Alonso Cano, the artist identified by Llaguno as the corruptor of seventeenth-century architecture. Building on analogies with literature that he employs in his study of the Spanish Renaissance, Marías explored what he labeled the “eloquence” of the baroque style vis-à-vis its critics. Moreover, he questioned the validity of relying on eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century sources given their “Italo-centric conception” of what architecture in Spain ought to look like. Although no blood was shed in writing this official history, Marías concluded that “it has produced clear victors and losers in the [...] wars of historiography.”⁴⁹

Spanish Habsburg Architects and Institutions

In a recent publication, I have suggested the term “Spanish Habsburg architecture” might help recuperate a place for Spain in early modern architectural history.⁵⁰ For the purposes of this essay, I maintain my focus on the seventeenth century and its oversight given the extensive attention scholars have shown to eighteenth-century monuments as representative of baroque architecture in Spain. Norberg-Schulz's dismissal of Spanish seventeenth-century buildings, for instance, was based on what he perceived to be a lack of affinity in style with contemporary developments in Italy. The Italian bias was more forceful in Anthony Blunt's 1978 investigation of baroque architecture, which includes only one substantial analysis of a seventeenth-century Spanish monument, Alonso

⁴⁶Fernando Checa, ed., *El Real Alcázar de Madrid: Dos siglos de arquitectura y coleccionismo en la Corte de los Reyes de España* (Madrid: Nerea, 1994).

⁴⁷Jonathan Brown and John H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV*, revised and expanded edition (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003).

⁴⁸See especially Fernando Marías, “Elocuencia y laconismo: La arquitectura barroca española y sus historias,” in *Figuras e imágenes del Barroco: Estudios sobre el barroco español y sobre la obra de Alonso Cano* (Madrid: Fundación Argentaria, 1999), 87–112. Some of the ideas presented in this essay are reiterated in Fernando Marías, “From Madrid to Cádiz: The Last Baroque Cathedral for the New Economic Capital of Spain,” in Henry Millon, ed., *Circa 1700: Architecture in Europe, 1700–1800* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2006), 139–59.

⁴⁹Marías, “Elocuencia y laconismo,” 94: “Es posible, por tanto, que la visión de una arquitectura española predominantemente ornamentalista esté en deuda con una concepción italianocéntrica y dieciochesca de la historia de arquitectura moderna [...] habría producido claros vencedores y vencidos en el teatro de la guerra historiográfica.”

⁵⁰Jesús Escobar, “Architecture in the Age of the Spanish Habsburgs,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 75, no. 3 (2016): 258–62.

Cano's façade for Granada Cathedral. Blunt's consideration of Spain is otherwise focused on the eighteenth century. Even the Granada Cathedral façade did not meet Blunt's criteria regarding style fully, as it reflected what he termed the "severity of Herrera's school" exemplified by the sixteenth-century Escorial.⁵¹ With this statement, Blunt ignored a long-held understanding in Spain about the impact of Philip II's monastery-palace on Spanish design. As an example, during a lecture honoring the 400th anniversary of the Escorial's construction in 1963, the art historian José Camón Aznar declared that the Escorial was "the foundation on which the baroque theatrical machine would be built."⁵² Without the building, Camón continued, "Spanish baroque architecture in and of itself does not make sense. [...] We can say that it varied from architect to architect, but the Escorial—the most anti-Baroque monument par excellence—always remained the essential schema."⁵³ Camón's words indicate a willingness by Spanish scholars to embrace aesthetic contradictions, something dismissed by Blunt, Norberg-Schulz, and Kubler who insisted that baroque design arrived in Spain only in the eighteenth century.

The label Spanish Habsburg permits us to move the discussion of Spanish architecture beyond debates over style and, among other things, take on Caveda's critique leveled in 1848 that too much attention is given to façades. Likewise, the term allows us to focus on politics or, better, on the politics of architecture in early modern Spain and its empire. Governance of the composite realm known as the *Monarquía Hispánica*, or Spanish Monarchy, was a collective affair. This idiosyncratic grouping of kingdoms and domains spread across the globe and was unified in the person of the king—or, from 1665 to 1675, the queen regent—of Spain.⁵⁴ For the history of architecture, the expansiveness of the realm demands thinking about seventeenth-century monuments in cities as diverse as Brussels, Lima, Mexico City, or Naples comparatively. Because architecture is a temporal art, historians must also tend to the afterlives of Spanish Habsburg monuments. In this way, we must acknowledge the destruction wrought upon seventeenth-century monuments owing to reforms led by the Royal Academy as much as by natural disaster or warfare. Architectural projects were also expensive undertakings in terms of monetary and human capital. Widening the geographic scope and range of building types we study improves our vantage of the seventeenth century. A consideration of fortifications and defensive structures that rose along miles and miles of coastline, for instance, requires that we pay attention to labor—free, indentured, and enslaved—that made this built empire possible.

Scholarship today is starting to do this important work, although, for the most part, innovative research tends to focus on places far beyond the Iberian Peninsula. In what follows, I illustrate two cases of seventeenth-century practitioners who were left out of Llaguno and Ceán's official history but whose careers demonstrate that there remains a good deal to learn about architecture in Spain itself. The first is Cristóbal de Aguilera (d. 1648), a builder usually considered a minor figure even though he worked in Madrid for

⁵¹Anthony Blunt, *Baroque & Rococo: Architecture & Decoration* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 300.

⁵²Camón Aznar, *La arquitectura barroca madrileña* (Madrid: Artes Gráficas Municipales, 1963), 4.

⁵³Camón Aznar, *La arquitectura*, 4.

⁵⁴John H. Elliott, "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," in *Spain, Europe and the Wider World, 1500–1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 3–24.



Figure 5. Cristóbal de Aguilera, Palacio de Santa Cruz, formerly Cárcel de Corte, 1629–40, view of the main façade with eighteenth-century reforms. Photo: Pablo Linés.

powerful institutions. Domingo Andrade (1639–1712), by contrast, was a major player in the much smaller city of Santiago de Compostela. Although situated in the northwestern periphery of the Iberian Peninsula, Andrade’s designs were affected by cosmopolitan ideas and trends via his engagement with well-traveled patrons.

Most likely born in Madrid, Cristóbal de Aguilera was an expert builder and waterworks engineer. In Madrid, the royal court, religious orders, and the municipality alike erected buildings that promoted monarchical ideals. Aguilera worked for each of these institutions.⁵⁵ Aguilera’s most consequential project was a building that survives relatively intact: the Palacio de Santa Cruz, built originally as a courthouse and prison under the jurisdiction of the Spanish court’s premier legislative body, the Council of Castile (Figure 5). Begun in 1629 and completed eleven years later, the building was known popularly as the Cárcel de Corte, or Court Prison.⁵⁶ Exemplifying trends in seventeenth-century civic architecture in Castile, the building is framed by twin towers and centered by a monumental portal adorned with classical ornament and royal heraldry. The façade design has been said to recall the Escorial, leading to an assessment of the building as derivative.⁵⁷

An examination of the building beyond its façade disposition suggests that it is little like the Escorial. Its combination of building materials—brick, stone, iron, and slate—reveals that Aguilera’s model was the south façade of Madrid’s Royal Palace, the most

⁵⁵ Aguilera’s biography is little studied. See Miguel Lasso de la Vega, “Arquitectos y alarifes madrileños del siglo XVII,” *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* 52 (1948), 161–221; Jesús Escobar, *Habsburg Madrid: Architecture and the Spanish Monarchy* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2022), 104–05.

⁵⁶ For the building, see Conde de Altea, *Historia del Palacio de Santa Cruz, 1629–1950* (Madrid: n.p., 1949); Tovar Martín, *Juan Gómez de Mora* 130–34; Escobar, *Habsburg Madrid*, 93–133.

⁵⁷ Virginia Tovar Martín, “Lo escorialense en la arquitectura madrileña del siglo XVII,” in *El Monasterio del Escorial y la arquitectura*, eds. Francisco Javier Campos and Fernández de Sevilla (San Lorenzo de El Escorial: Estudios Superiores del Escorial, 2002), 285–311.

important built symbol of Spanish Habsburg power in the capital city. Beyond correspondences with the façade, Aguilera's plan for the Court Prison idealizes that of the Royal Palace, creating a model for government architecture that would even inspire design competitions for town halls and jails taught at the eighteenth-century Royal Academy.

Because it was lost to fire in 1734, the Spanish Habsburg Royal Palace has been forgotten by all but a few scholars who have pondered its architectural design.⁵⁸ From 1611 to 1630, in response to the Escorial but also in dialogue with a new Palazzo Reale in the Viceroyalty of Naples, the main façade of Madrid's Royal Palace was reworked primarily in stone although a tower dating to the 1560s built of brick and stone and adorned with iron balconies and a slate-covered steeple was retained.⁵⁹ That tower was associated with the era of Philip II, something Aguilera's conciliar patrons also desired for their new seat to judge by the Court Prison's exterior appearance. For previous scholars, the royal association has led to debates about authorship of the Court Prison, with some seeking to assign credit to Juan Gómez de Mora, a prolific royal architect, and others such as Schubert pointing to a Roman nobleman and master of the Royal Works, Giovanni Battista Crescenzi (1577–1635), as designer. The documentary record proves Aguilera's authorship beyond a doubt. His absence from the foundational book of Spanish architectural history has been enough, nonetheless, for scholars to speculate otherwise.

The judges officiating at the new Court Prison previously worked in tribunals located in the Royal Palace whose plan, as noted, inspired their new building. Otto Schubert included a plan of the Court Prison in his 1908 book which appeared also in the 1924 Spanish edition. The plan was not his own, but rather one made by a Spanish government agency that reflected the building's use in the 1890s as a foreign ministry. In every subsequent study of the Court Prison, scholars have reproduced the same plan without apparently visiting the building thereby limiting our understanding of its original design. My recent book on seventeenth-century architecture in Madrid includes a plan of the building in the year 1640 with which I reconstruct the uses of interior spaces based on archival and site research, in addition to wide-ranging comparisons informed by my interest in Spanish Habsburg governance (Figure 6).⁶⁰ Archival documents allow me to hypothesize the location of a principal tribunal labeled B5 along the building's west flank, as well as an adjacent holding cell (B6) for which material and archival evidence survives although it had gone unnoticed. Written descriptions and rare drawings of tribunals and jails from Toledo to Mexico City help secure other data that allow us to imagine people moving in and around this building as well as others with similar institutional functions.

Aguilera toiled in the competitive artistic environment of the court yet that was not enough for him to be remembered by Llaguno or Ceán. Another disregarded figure was Domingo de Andrade, a prolific designer who served as master builder at the Cathedral

⁵⁸Jose Manuel Barbeito, *El Alcázar de Madrid* (Madrid: Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, 1992); Barbeito, "Velázquez y las obras reales," in Checa, ed., *El Real Alcázar*, 80–95; Escobar, *Habsburg Madrid*, 47–91. Llaguno and Ceán include one sentence about the building in their biography of Gómez de Mora; *Noticias*, vol. 3, 156.

⁵⁹On the Naples connection: Sabina De Cavi, *Architecture and Royal Presence: Domenico and Giulio Cesare Fontana in Spanish Naples (1592–1627)* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 193–212.

⁶⁰Escobar, *Habsburg Madrid*, 110.

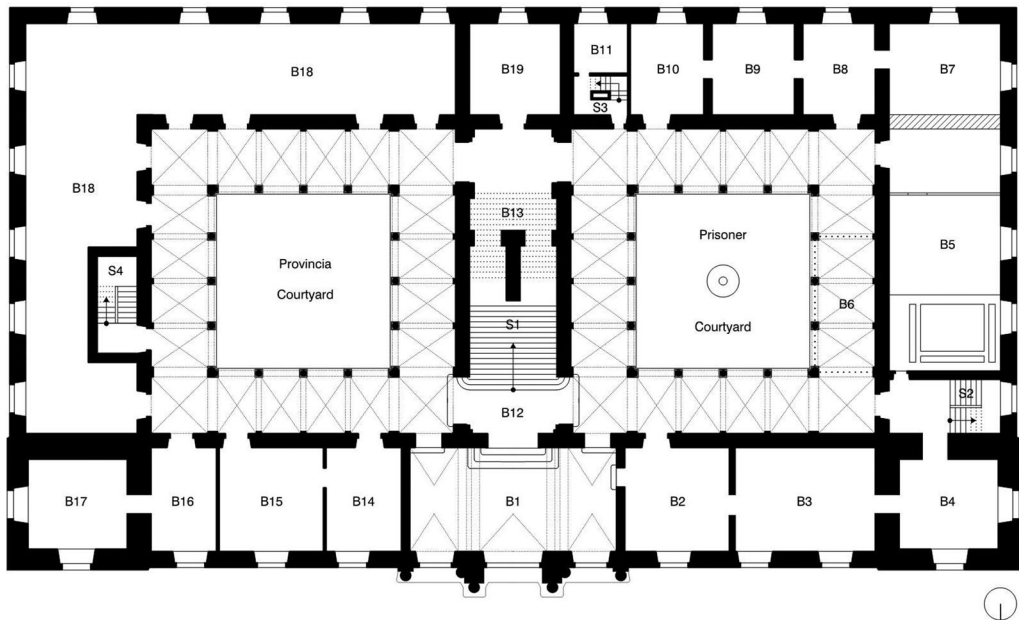


Figure 6. Plan of the Cárcel de Corte in 1640. Drawing by Chris Phillips.

of Santiago de Compostela from 1676 until 1700, the final quarter century of Spanish Habsburg rule.⁶¹ Despite his illustrious career and evidence of intellectual pursuits—in 1695, he authored a brief treatise on *The Excellence, Antiquity, and Nobility of Architecture*⁶²—Andrade, too, does not make an appearance in the *Noticias*. In his practice, Andrade adhered to principles of classical architecture learned from treatises and he applied these tenets to local Romanesque and Gothic buildings that he often adapted. Andrade also gained an awareness of trends far from his base in Santiago by working for patrons who had first-hand experience of distant places and buildings.

Famous as a destination for medieval pilgrimage, Santiago de Compostela underwent a period of architectural renovation in the late seventeenth century with Andrade designing some of its most significant monuments. These include the Royal Portal located at the cathedral's southeast corner and fronting the Plaza de la Quintana (Figure 7). The portal fronts a series of improvements to the cathedral's interior including a new sacristy and a sequence of hallways Andrade designed for circulation as well as ceremony. Andrade's portal composition takes its cue from contemporary palace design in Italy and Spain, as well as the Spanish American vicerealties, with a three-story frontispiece serving as its anchor. Four colossal half columns in the Doric Order rest atop plinths and mark the three central bays. In the centermost bay, wooden doors open to the cathedral interior with the Spanish Habsburg arms carved in high relief in a blind aedicule directly above. A

⁶¹The ground-breaking study is the dissertation by Miguel Taín Guzmán, *Domingo de Andrade, maestro de obras de la Catedral de Santiago (1639–1712)*, 2 vols. (La Coruña: Edicions Do Castro, 1998). See also Bonet Correa, *La arquitectura en Galicia*.

⁶²Domingo de Andrade, *Excelencias, antigüedad, y nobleza de la arquitectura* (Santiago de Compostela: Antonio Frayz, 1695). For a facsimile, see Taín Guzmán, *Domingo de Andrade*, vol. 2, 815–64.



Figure 7. Domingo de Andrade, Pórtico Real de la Quintana, Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, 1696–1700. Photo by author.

statue of the cathedral's patron saint once crowned the portal's third level. Completed in 1700, the Royal Portal was one of the last monuments built during the reign of the Spanish Habsburgs. It was first given notable consideration by Antonio Bonet Correa in a 1960 study dedicated to baroque architecture in Galicia, yet Andrade remained a provincial figure in the historiography of Spanish architecture until the publication of Miguel Taín Guzmán's dissertation on the builder in 1998.

Patronage of the Royal Portal, too, has gone largely unremarked until recently. Yet, this aspect of the building offers a compelling reason to reexamine this monument within the context of the Spanish Habsburg global, transnational realm. The façade was commissioned and funded by the Mexican-born archbishop of Santiago, Antonio de Monroy (1634–1715) whose arms appear to the immediate left of the main entrance.⁶³ Prior to arriving in Santiago in 1678 to take up his post, Monroy had been a prominent cleric and intellectual in Mexico. Among his accomplishments, he officiated at funerary ceremonies for King Philip IV of Spain in Mexico City in 1666, the same year he was named rector of the Dominican College of Porta Coeli. In 1674, Monroy was sent to Rome where two years later he was named Master General, or worldwide leader, of the Dominican Order, a post he held for nine years before being called to Spain. As archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, Monroy became a major patron of

⁶³For Monroy, see Taín Guzmán, *Domingo de Andrade*, vol. 1, 24; Jesús Escobar, "Baroque Spain: Architecture and Urbanism for a Universal Monarchy," in *Renaissance and Baroque Architecture*, ed. Alina Payne (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), 669–72.

architecture and helped fund projects in town and at the cathedral, including Andrade's Royal Portal. Thus, one of the last monuments of the Spanish Habsburg era was sponsored by an American-born imperial subject and designed by an architect missing from the first history of Spanish architecture. In the 1730s, Andrade's Royal Portal would inspire Fernando de Casas's design for the second tier of the spectacular Obradoiro façade of the Cathedral of Santiago mentioned already. Just as that eighteenth-century façade disguised the building's original Romanesque front, one could argue that Llaguno and Ceán's history of Spanish architecture—which ignored post-medieval interventions at the building altogether⁶⁴—helped conceal a fuller understanding of its seventeenth-century origins.

Conclusion

These brief words about projects designed by Cristóbal de Aguilera and Domingo de Andrade illustrate the significance of institutions and individuals in giving shape to architecture and monuments in the early modern Spanish Monarchy. For example, Aguilera's seventeenth-century Court Prison employed materials and design principles that linked it visually to the Royal Palace and, thus, to the authority of the Habsburg monarchy, but at the same time, would appeal to Bourbon-era proponents of neoclassicism at the Royal Academy. In the case of Andrade's Royal Portal, the patronage of an archbishop whose ideas about monumental architecture were formulated in Mexico City and Rome illustrates the dynamic transfer of aesthetic principles across the Atlantic Ocean. Both cases demonstrate one of the most promising outcomes in rethinking our conception of Spanish baroque architecture: the recuperation of buildings and builders left behind in the historiography. The Enlightenment view of seventeenth-century Spain as a place in which nothing of importance was built by a monarchy in political decline can no longer stand. The Spanish Empire was a powerful force in the early modern global world. Its architecture provides a wealth of primary source material for the study of the institutions and individuals that animated it.

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⁶⁴*Noticias*, vol. 1, 31–32, offers a brief entry about the Romanesque building mentioning a sixteenth-century cloister and other "sumptuous" additions in passing. In the few words about Fernando de Casas that appear in the *Noticias* (vol. 4, 115), Llaguno and Ceán ignore his work at Santiago de Compostela.

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Notes on Contributor

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