1 Bartolomé Ordóñez and workshop,
tomb of Joanna of Castile and
Philip of Burgundy, 1519–1533.
Granada, Capilla Real

CHARLES V, BARTOLOMÉ ORDÓÑEZ, AND THE TOMB OF JOANNA OF CASTILE AND PHILIP OF BURGUNDY IN GRANADA

AN ICONOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVE OF A MAJOR ROYAL MONUMENT OF RENAISSANCE EUROPE

Tommaso Mozzati

Princesa enamorada sin ser correspondida
Clavel rojo en un valle profundo y desolado.
La tumba que te guarda rezuma tu tristeza
A través de los ojos que han abierto sobre el mármol.
(Federico García Lorca, Elegía a Doña Juana*, 1918)*

Any monument intended to resist the future speaks to the present: inevitably, it reflects the ambitions, accidents, and circumstances of the time in which it was conceived. As a result, its language and symbols risk becoming mute with the passage of time.

The tomb of Joanna of Castile (known as 'the Mad') and Philip of Burgundy (known as 'the Handsome') in the Capilla Real in Granada (Fig. 1)[1] has long been on this path. Not only has the tomb's imagery become obscure to us, it is also difficult to establish what events the tomb echoes.

Commissioned between 20 November and 21 December 1518 and carved in Carrara, the monument was only transported to Spain in 1533 after a series of circumstances had hindered its execution. The pieces still remained at the port of Cartagena until 1539,

[1] Among the contributions largely dedicated to the tomb of Joanna and Philip subsequent to the reprint of the seminal study by Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Las águilas del Renacimiento español*, Madrid 1983 (first ed. Madrid 1941), the following titles can be mentioned: María José Redondo Cantera, "Nuevos datos sobre la realización del sepulcro de Felipe el Hermoso y Juana la Loca", in: *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología de la Universidad de Valladolid*, XLIX (1983), pp. 325–330; Luciano Migliaccio, "Carrara e la Spagna nella scultura di primo Cinquecento", in: *Le vie del marmo: aspetti della produzione e della diffusione dei manufatti marmorei tra '400 e '500*, exh. cat. Pietrasanta 1992, ed. by Amedeo Mercurio, Florence 1994, pp. 101–136: 112–118, 134f.; Patrick Lenaghan, "The Arrival of the Italian Renaissance in Spain: The Tombs of Domenico Fancelli and Bartolomé Ordóñez", Ph.D. diss., New York University 1993, pp. 389–396; Miguel Ángel León Coloma, "Los mausoleos reales y la cripta", in: *El libro de la Capilla Real*, ed. by José Manuel Pita Andrade, Granada 1994, pp. 69–95: 82–93 and 95, notes 16–21; *idem*, "Lenguajes plásticos y propaganda dinástica en la Capilla Real de Granada", in: *Jesucristo y el emperador cristiano*, exh. cat. Granada 2000, ed. by Francisco Javier Martínez Medina, Córdoba 2000,

2 Bartolomé Ordóñez and workshop, tomb of Joanna of Castile and Philip of Burgundy, back side with Saint John the Baptist (left) and Saint Andrew (right). Granada, Capilla Real

pp. 376–393: 379–382; Luciano Migliaccio, "Precisiones sobre la actividad de Bartolomé Ordóñez en Italia y la recepción del Renacimiento italiano en la Península Ibérica", in: *El modelo italiano en las artes plásticas de la península ibérica durante el Renacimiento*, ed. by María José Redondo Cantera, Valladolid 2004, pp. 377–392; Gisela Noehles-Doerk, "Die Realisation der Grabmalplanungen der Katholischen Könige", in: *Grabkunst und Sepulkralkultur in Spanien und Portugal*, ed. by Barbara Borngässer/Henrik Karge/Bruno Klein, Frankfurt on the Main 2006, pp. 379–402: 395–402; María José Redondo Cantera, "La Capilla Real de Granada como Panteón dinástico durante los reinados de Carlos V y Felipe II: problemas e indecisiones. Nuevos datos sobre el sepulcro de Felipe el Hermoso y Juana la Loca", in: *Grabkunst und Sepulkralkultur in Spanien und Portugal*, pp. 403–418; Luciano Migliaccio, "Uno spagnuolo: Bartolomé Ordóñez sulle rotte mediterranee del marmo", in: *La scultura meridionale in età moderna nei suoi rapporti con la circolazione mediterranea*, ed. by Letizia Gaeta, Galatina 2007, I, pp. 125–146: 125–132; Patrick Lenaghan, "'It Shall All Be Roman': Early Patrons of Italian Renaissance Tombs in Spain", in: *Art in Spain and the Hispanic World*, ed. by Sarah Schroth, London 2010, pp. 213–234: 225–227; María José Redondo Cantera, "Los sepulcros de la Capilla Real de Granada", in: *Juana I en Tordesillas: su mundo, su entorno*, ed. by Miguel Ángel Zalama, Valladolid 2010, pp. 185–214: 203–214; Miguel Ángel Zalama, *Juana I: arte, poder y cultura en torno a una reina que no gobernó*, Madrid 2010, pp. 346–349; María José Redondo Cantera, "Luci e ombre al ritorno in Spagna di Diego de Siloé e Bartolomé Ordóñez (1517–1527)", in: *Norma e capriccio: spagnoli in Italia agli esordi della "maniera moderna"*, exh. cat., ed. by Antonio Natali/Tommaso Mozzati, Florence 2013, pp. 181–191: 182f.; Michela Zurla, "Domenico Fancelli, i re di Spagna e la congiuntura carrarese", *ibidem*, pp. 132–145: 137; Francesco Pastore, "L'arte di Bartolomé Ordóñez tra Spagna e Italia", in: *Arte y cultura en la Granada*

when they were transferred to the Hospital Real in Granada. There, several decades later, in 1603, the tomb was finally erected at its intended destination alongside the sepulchre dedicated to the Catholic Kings: this operation was executed by the architect Francisco de Mora upon the orders of King Philip III.[2] The monument is an articulated structure, organized on two levels: the sarcophagus (on which the two *gisants* lie) and a historiated basement below.[3] The figures of the dead monarchs are associated with a pair of heraldic animals coiled at their feet – a lion and a lioness – which are linked to the royal title of the bride and groom.[4] On the contrary, the saints at the four corners of the high socle should be read according to a bipartite scheme, as references to the two different dynasties of the king and queen: Saint Andrew and Saint Michael are the patrons of Burgundy, Saint John the Evangelist and Saint John the Baptist the protectors of Castile (Fig. 2). The widespread use of the imprese of the two countries follows the same genealogical duality: in fact, they are rigidly distributed around the *gisant* of Joanna and the effigy of Philip, with the arrows and yoke for the former (Fig. 3) and the Golden Fleece and Saint Andrew's cross for the latter. Predictably, even the three heraldic shields placed around the basement follow an analogous scheme: only the one under the heads of the statues of the two monarchs is a quartered shield, referring to the conjugal union of Joanna and Philip (Fig. 4). Significantly, this last is oriented toward the central nave of the Capilla Real, thus emphasizing the dynastic alliance between Burgundy and Spain.[5] The imposing socle of the tomb shows a tondo on each side representing one episode of the life of Christ (Fig. 5), and twelve niches with allegorical figures are distributed around its perimeter (two on the short sides, four on the long ones; Fig. 6).

This paper examines some well-known archival evidence in order to establish a more coherent outline of the tomb's conception, overall design, drawn-out production, and political aims. In so doing, it advances a new iconographic reading of the imagery of the monument in relation to its political context, especially of the four figurative corners that complete the structure on the edges of the pedestal, at the same time reflecting on the reliefs incorporated on the sides of the tomb. Moreover, it explains the sepulchre's tortuous genesis in light of the difficult succession experienced by the Spanish crown after the death of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, when, during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the Iberian monarchy began

renacentista y barroca: relaciones e influencias, ed. by José Policarpo Cruz Cabrera, Granada 2014, I, pp. 323–345: 338–340.

[2] Redondo Cantera 1983 (note 1); León Coloma 1994 (note 1), pp. 82f. and 95, note 17; Redondo Cantera 2010 (note 1), pp. 203–207. A plan of the building found in the archive of the Capilla Real documents the position of the sepulchre of the Catholic Kings and the provisional tombs of Joanna and Philip before the erection of their monument; cf. Manuel Reyes Ruiz, "Quinientos años de historia", in: *El libro de la Capilla Real* (note 1), pp. 34–47: 36. In 1608 Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza recorded this placement of the burial tombs in the Capilla Real: "por colaterales ay otros dos tumulos cubiertos de panos de oro, y sobre cada unos dellos una almohada de brocado, y corona de oro, por los Reyes don Felipe Primero y doña Juana su muger. Estos tres tumulos estan cercados con una armadura dorada, como de cama de campo, con sus cortinas y goteras de brocado de tres altos, dentro de la bobeda ay cinco caxas de plomo, ribeteadas con barras de hierro, las dos de los Reyes Catolicos, don Fernando y doña Isabel, la del Rey don Felipe Primero su yerno y doña Juana su hija, y una pequeña de la princesa doña Maria" (Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Antigüedad y excelencias de Granada*, Madrid 1608, c. 83v). The erection of the marble tomb of Joanna and Philip is documented by later seventeenth-century sources: Justino Antolínez de Burgos, *Historia eclesiástica de Granada*, Granada 1996 ([1]1623), p. 144; Francisco Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, Granada 1987 ([1]1646), I, p. 70.

[3] An exhaustive description of the monument and its elements is contained in Redondo Cantera 2010 (note 1), pp. 203–214.

[4] Philip the Handsome was crowned king of Castile in 1506 by the Cortes de Valladolid after the Concordia de Villafáfila.

[5] For the epitaph placed on the short side of the tomb in front of the *retablo mayor* see Manuel Ramírez Sánchez, "La tradición de la epigrafía antigua en las inscripciones hispanas de los siglos XV y XVI", in: *Veleia*, XXIX (2012), pp. 255–277: 264f. Analyzing the form of the inscription the author dates it to the early seventeenth century, at the time of the erection of the sepulchre in the Capilla Real. However, the fact that the *Anales de Granada* by Francisco Henríquez de Jorquera (note 2), p. 70, published in 1646, specifies that the tomb of Joanna and Philip was still "sin inscripción alguna" suggests that the inscription was created a few decades after 1603.

3 Bartolomé Ordóñez and workshop,
tomb of Joanna of Castile and Philip of Burgundy,
left side of the sarcophagus with Joanna's imprese.
Granada, Capilla Real

4 Bartolomé Ordóñez and workshop,
tomb of Joanna of Castile and Philip of Burgundy,
detail of the heraldic shield on the back side.
Granada, Capilla Real

5 Bartolomé Ordóñez and workshop,
tomb of Joanna of Castile and Philip of Burgundy,
detail of the *Adoration of the Magi*.
Granada, Capilla Real

to take on an increasingly expanding European dimension. Following this critical perspective, it shows how the tomb emerged through a series of choices made in response to a complicated, shifting political situation.

Charles of Habsburg singled out the monument as a priority among his artistic patronage when he became Charles I, king of Spain.[6] The young monarch played an unambiguously exclusive role in deciding the commission, but to the detriment of his mother Joanna, who was not only still alive when the sepulchre was ordered but also still held the title of queen of Spain.

The second child of Ferdinand and Isabella, Joanna, who was born in 1479, inherited the throne of Castile after Isabella's death;[7] she obtained the kingdom of Aragon upon Ferdinand's death on 23 January 1516. While her father was alive, though, he had sought to exclude her from power on the supposed grounds of her unstable mental condition; her son Charles confirmed the internment imposed on her by his grandfather and kept Joanna hidden away in Tordesillas. Although her mental state seemed to compromise her ruling abilities, she remained formally involved in the government for many years, albeit in the background, until her death in 1555.[8]

The need to grant a respectable memorial to her husband Philip the Handsome, who had passed away on 25 September 1506, was asserted without listening to the wishes of the queen. While Joanna initially made her resolute will to lead Philip's body to Granada (following his own testament) known through practical actions,[9] over the course of a decade her pretensions changed considerably. By that time the queen, then forcibly imprisoned, had her husband's remains kept in the church of Santa Clara in Tordesillas near

[6] Joseph Pérez, *La revolución de las Comunidades de Castilla (1520–1521)*, Madrid 1977, pp. 112–117.

[7] On the life of Joanna, see Manuel Fernández Álvarez, *Juana la Loca: la cautiva de Tordesillas*, Barcelona 2010, esp. pp. 119f.

[8] Zalama (note 1), pp. 199f., 263–278.

[9] *Ibidem*, pp. 217–233.

6 Bartolomé Ordóñez and workshop, tomb of Joanna of Castile and Philip of Burgundy, detail of an allegorical figure. Granada, Capilla Real

her home-prison, where she demanded that obsequies be continued over the years with a senseless waste of wax and orations. When Charles had the corpse of Philip moved to the Capilla Real in September 1525, he was obliged to organize a secret night-time ceremony in order to avoid the violent reactions of his mother.[10] While he seemed to fulfil Joanna's original will in doing so, he also was effectively continuing to remove the queen from the political theatre.

The circumstances of the tomb's commission, together with its actual form, seem to indicate that the queen was excluded from its planning. Upon Ferdinand's death, Charles was unilaterally assigned the title of king of Spain at the court of Brussels on 14 March 1516:[11] this bestowal was communicated by letter on 21 March to Cardinal Cisneros, the temporary regent of Castile and Aragon, with the proposal to associate the Habsburg with his mother in the heading of documents and in official deeds.[12] This decision contravened Spanish dynastical customs, as well as the last will of Ferdinand the Catholic, who had designated Charles his successor, but only if acting as *gobernador*.

Although Cisneros was obliged to accept the pretensions of Charles, other Spanish reactions would not be so easily tamed. The Cortes de Valladolid of 1518 (the first celebrated after the arrival of Charles in September 1517) stated that he had to confirm Joanna as the "reyna y señora destos reynos" ("the queen and lady of these kingdoms").[13] On 19 July 1517 Pedro Mártir de Angleria wrote in a letter how, upon Charles' arrival in Castile and during his triumphant entry to Zaragoza, the royal title had been avoided "hasta que [...] en publica votación se decida si se le puede llamar

[10] León Coloma 2000 (note 1), p. 380; María Dolores Parra-Arcas/Luis Moreno Garzón, "Granada: Panteón Real de Los Reyes Católicos y de la Casa de Austria', in: *Jesucristo y el emperador* (note 1), pp. 395–407: 396–399.

[11] This decision also aimed to neutralize the possible candidacy of the younger brother of Charles, Ferdinand, to the throne of Spain (José García Oro, *El cardenal Cisneros: vida y empresas*, Madrid 1992/93, I, pp. 324f.; Zalama [note 1], pp. 274f.). Interestingly, even during Charles of Austria's triumphal entrance in Bruges in 1515, the Spanish *comunidades* celebrated him as "prince des espaignes", recognizing his royal attributes (*La tryumphante Entrée de Charles Prince des Espagnes: Bruges, 1515*, ed. by Sydney Anglo, Amsterdam/New York 1976, pp. 13–15).

[12] Zalama (note 1), pp. 271–278; Fernández Álvarez (note 7), pp. 179–182. See also Pérez (note 6), pp. 101–111.

[13] *Ibidem*, pp. 118–121.

rey en vida de su madre" ("until the decision to call him the king while his mother is still alive is made by public vote").[14]

In the context of these dynastical disputes, Charles' intention to become an important patron for the Capilla Real *in primis* assumes particular value. On 13 October 1518, he increased the number of chaplaincies of the Capilla from Zaragoza; on 20 October he requested the completion of the *gran reja* of the chapel;[15] the following year, in Zaragoza on 7 January, Alonso Berruguete and Felipe Bigarny subscribed a commitment for paintings and sculptures destined for the same setting.[16]

More significant is the attention Charles devoted to the tomb of his parents: on 20 November 1518, he contacted Domenico Fancelli, the sculptor of the tomb of Isabella and Ferdinand (Fig. 7), regarding the execution of the new sepulchre. The agreement was formalized on the following 21 December.[17] This extremely detailed contract asserted that the work ought to be completed in two years. Such urgency points to the exquisitely complicated political situation.

A first obstacle to the execution of the tomb occurred with the death of Fancelli in April 1519, that is, before the sculptor could even begin the work. Once again, the alacrity in dealing with the project demonstrates its importance; its realization was conferred on 1 May to Bartolomé Ordóñez, who at that time was working on the choir of Barcelona Cathedral.[18]

The contract specifies that the tomb should have the same dimensions as the sepulchre of Isabella and Ferdinand,[19] and the fact that this monument was considered the most important model for the later tomb is certified by another circumstance: in June, Ordóñez was given twenty ecus to travel to study the tomb of the Catholic Kings in order to prepare the new sepulchre.[20]

The deed subscribed by the Spanish sculptor states his commitment to adopt solutions already introduced in the first monument: for example, the overall construction of the tomb, a high base with "quatro ystorias" ("four stories") and "encasamientos" ("reliefs"), raised on "los dos bultos de sus altesas" ("the two *gisants* of their highnesses"), with "quatro grifos a las quatro squinas" ("four gryphons in the four corners"),[21] which were already present in the mausoleum of Prince John, the unlucky eldest son of Ferdinand and Isabella (Figs. 8, 9).[22]

Even the choice of Ordoñez as the successor of Fancelli was very significant: indeed, while the idea of the Spaniard receiving an education in the workshop of his older Italian colleague is no longer embraced (as has been recently reaffirmed[23]), it is conceivable that Charles chose an artist able to reproduce the formal language of Fancelli's tomb for the Catholic Kings

[14] Pedro Mártir de Angleria, *Epistolario*, ed. by José López de Toro, Madrid 1953–1957, III, p. 268, letter 590 (see also p. 315, letter 617: "Todavía no le dan el nombre de Rey. Dudan aún y seguirán dudando si debe llamarse Rey viviendo la madre, hasta tanto así lo acuerden los comicios de todo el reino"). On Charles' first triumphal entries in Spain, see C. A. Marsden, "Entrées et fêtes espagnoles au XVI[e] siècle", in: *Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint*, conference proceedings Brussels *et al.* 1957, ed. by Jean Jacquot, Paris 1960, pp. 389–411: 390–392, 402.

[15] León Coloma 2000 (note 1), p. 379.

[16] Carmen Morte García, "Carlos I y los artistas de Corte en Zaragoza: Fancelli, Berruguete y Bigarny", in: *Archivo español de arte*, LXIV (1991), pp. 317–335.

[17] José María de Azcárate, *Colección de documentos para la historia del arte en España*, II: *Datos histórico-artísticos del siglo XV y principios del siglo XVI*, Zaragoza 1982, pp. 130f., doc. 170; on the contract see José Maria Madurell Marimón, "Bartolomé Ordóñez (contribución al estudio de su vida artística y familiar)", in: *Anales del Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, VI (1948), 1/2, pp. 345–373: 365–367.

[18] *Ibidem*, pp. 365–369, doc. 7. The deed was signed in the Catalan capital with Antonio de Fonseca acting as mediator.

[19] *Ibidem*, p. 365, doc. 7: "ha da esser la dixa sepultura de anxor e largor que es la de los cathólicos reyes don Fernando y donyha Isabel, nuestros senyores que stá en la capilla real de Granada".

[20] Redondo Cantera 1983 (note 1), p. 330.

[21] Madurell Marimón (note 17), pp. 365f., doc. 7. In regard to these corner elements the document is very accurate: "Item, han de lavar quatro grifos a las quatro squinas de la dixa sepultura. Y entre los unos encasamientos y los otros han de lavar sus en las dichas sepulturas de los ditchos otros reyes, eccepto que séya la obra differenciada de la otra, porque seya tan buena o meior que ella".

[22] *Ibidem*.

[23] Zurla (note 1), pp. 138 and 142, note 26.

7 Domenico Fancelli and workshop, tomb of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, 1513–1517. Granada, Capilla Real

thanks to his long stay in Naples and probably in other cities of the Peninsula. In doing so, the new king of Spain was also following a general trend, around Europe, for the patronage of imposing royal sepulchres: prior to 1519, the French monarchs had already chosen Italian stonemasons and sculptors for the tombs of Charles VIII Valois and Louis XII Orléans, proposing a sort of updated Italianate *koiné* for this kind of achievement.

Far from being an example of 'court-induced patronage' – as seems to be the case with the execution of Cardinal Cisneros' tomb (Fig. 10), which was similarly first granted to Fancelli and then, on 27 September 1519, to Ordóñez[24] – the tomb of Joanna and Philip, modelled on the tomb of the Catholic Kings, had a clear underlying political motivation. In paying homage to his parents, Charles cancelled their living presence by incorporating them into the past of his own dynastical line. He thereby aligned their memory with that of his grandfathers and ascribed the political weight of his mother Joanna – still eminent at court – to an irrevocably passed epoch.

[24] García Rey, "El sepulcro del cardenal Cisneros y los documentos de los artífices", in: *Arte Español*, X (1929), pp. 483–486. On Cisneros' tomb, see Antonio Marchamalo Sánchez/Miguel Marchamalo Main, *El sepulcro del Cardenal Cisneros*, Alcalá de Henares 1985.

8 Domenico Fancelli and workshop, tomb of Prince John, 1511–1513, detail of one of the gryphons. Ávila, San Tomás

9 Domenico Fancelli and workshop, tomb of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, detail of one of the gryphons. Granada, Capilla Real

10 Bartolomé Ordóñez and workshop, tomb of Cardinal Cisneros, 1519–1524. Alcalá de Henares, Colegio Mayor de San Ildefonso

However, during the execution of the tomb new decisions were taken, which altered the original iconography of the monument as it was ratified by the above-mentioned documents: some major discrepancies between the contract signed by the sculptor at the very beginning of the process and the final appearance of the sepulchre show how the whole program was subject to changes. It is therefore very important to reread the tomb's history in order to understand when these modifications were introduced.

Although Ordóñez initially evidently intended to fulfil the commission in his own Catalan workshop, he soon decided to move to Carrara for easier access to the supply of marble: Bartolomé worked there on the sepulchre for roughly a year, from November 1519 to November 1520; he died at the beginning of the following month. His will is dated 5 December of that year, while a post-mortem inventory of his workshop bears the date 10 December.[25] The first document contains very clear instructions about the completion of the tomb for Joanna and Philip;[26] at the same time the inventory shows that, on the artist's death, work on the sepulchre was already in a rather advanced state: the *gisants* were built in, as well as "tres angulos seu cantonos principales" ("three principal corner elements"),[27] while work on the "capsam marmoream dicte sepulture" ("marble coffin of the tomb") had been started.[28]

We can draw some conclusions from this index: by December 1520 a few essential modifications had already been introduced to the tomb. The first contract had not mentioned a sepulchral 'coffin'. The fact that at the end of 1520 three of the principal corners were completed also allows us to speculate that the replacement of the gryphons with the masculine and feminine figures now present on the tomb had been agreed upon before the sculptor's death.

Another circumstance can help in dating these changes according to a narrower chronology. After the death of the Spanish artist, on 26 August 1524 the executor of his will, Pedro Serra,[29] presented the original contract for the tomb signed by Ordóñez to the public notary Andrés Miguel Mir in order to manage the final stages of the commission and its economic payoff in behalf of the artist's son and heir, Jorge Benito, who continued to live in Barcelona.[30] If the new elements of Joanna's mausoleum had been defined before Bartolomé's departure from Spain, his executor – who was still living in the Catalan capital – would most likely have been informed of them, and in this case,

[25] The inventory was published in Migliaccio 1994 (note 1), pp. 134–136. The document was already known to Giuseppe Campori, *Memorie biografiche degli scultori, architetti, pittori ecc., nativi di Carrara e di altri luoghi della provincia di Massa, con cenni relativi agli artisti italiani ed esteri che in essa dimorarono ed operarono*, Modena 1873, pp. 343–351: 348–350.

[26] See Pietro Andrei, *Sopra Domenico Fancelli fiorentino e Bartolomeo Ordognes spagnolo: memorie estratte da documenti inediti*, Massa 1871, pp. 57f., doc. VII.

[27] Migliaccio 1994 (note 1), p. 135.

[28] *Ibidem*. As regards the cornerstones, the one that I think should be considered a product of the late sculptor's atelier is the male figure with Saint Andrew's cross and the steel and flint: this is suggested by the different treatment of the hair and beard (characterized by deep and continuous patterns created with the help of a drill) as well as by the shape of the eyes and pupils; see León Coloma 1994 (note 1), p. 86, figs. 81–84. Manuel Gómez-Moreno, "Sobre el Renacimiento en Castilla: II. En la Capilla Real de Granada", in: *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, I (1925), pp. 245–288: 268, thought that Ordóñez had only sculpted two corners, the one with Saint Andrew's cross and the one with the yoke. Migliaccio 1994 (note 1), p. 117, observed that the female figure with the arrows should be considered as the work of the sculptor's assistants. Lenaghan 1993 (note 1), pp. 395f., attributed only two corners to Ordóñez but he does not specify which ones. León Coloma 1994 (note 1), p. 87, considered the sculpture with the Golden Fleece as a product of the atelier. Rethinking the problem, Migliaccio wrote that "sólo dos de las figuras de las esquinas revelan el cincel de Bartolomé": he included the female figure with the yoke in this pair; see Migliaccio 2004 (note 1), pp. 381f. and fig. 4 (the photo is reversed).

[29] Madurell Marimón (note 17), p. 365, doc. 7. Pedro Serra was declared executor in the will of Bartolomé Ordóñez; see Andrei (note 26), p. 54, doc. VII. The same document calls Pedro "avunculus ejus [of Bartolomé] consortis", that is, the uncle of Ordoñez's wife.

[30] Pietro Andrei, in 1871, interprets the mention of Bartolomé's son in the sculptor's will as a sign of his presence in the Tuscan city. In fact, the text of the document does not confirm that Jorge Benito followed his father to Italy: conversely, it suggests that he remained in Barcelona, entrusted to the care of the sculptor's sister Marina and to Pedro Serra; see Andrei (note 26), pp. 14, 65–67, doc. VII.

at the time of the request for final payment in 1524, he would not have submitted the first document from 1519 with the risk of exposing to scrutiny any inconsistencies between the contract and the final work.[31]

It is fair to assume, therefore, that the changes were introduced after Ordóñez had left Spain in the autumn of 1519, probably through the conservator appointed by Charles to manage the enterprise, the young count Gonzalo de Morales, who remained in Italy at least until the artist's death.[32] A contractual compromise between an assistant of Ordóñez, Bernardino de Chivos, on behalf of his master, and a representative of De Morales, subscribed on 12 September 1520, testifies to some disagreements about the tomb: in this document, both counterparts appealed to the judgment of the bishop of Luni-Carrara, Silvestro Benetti, to smooth over "omnes lites diferentias controversias seu questiones inter eos principaliter vertentes".[33] Such a dispute clearly provides evidence of the non-linear running of the commission, which was open to some rethinking.

With this chronology established, we should consider why these changes were introduced and how they contributed to the complex rhetorical structure of the sepulchre,[34] especially since, in those years, the tomb of Cardinal Cisneros – prepared at the same time in the workshop of Ordóñez – remained faithful to the original concept: the monument was installed in the University church in Alcalá de Henares as early as August 1524 in a form consistent with the initial contract, i.e. with gryphons and a *gisant* lying on a simple truncated pyramid with figurative reliefs (Fig. 10).

In the case of Joanna's tomb, the four cornerstones and the coffin together bear much of the sepulchre's symbolism (Fig. 11). As emphasized above, respecting its binary composition and equally divided between Philip and Joanna, a number of elements display the two sovereigns' emblems: while the right side shows the symbols of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the left side is embellished with a complex garland intertwined with the arrows and the yoke of Spain (Fig. 3). In the centre of each short side appears the emblem of Philip, similar to that depicted in the *Devocionario* of Joanna the Mad.[35]

The winged female busts and sylvan male figures on the coffin respond to those on the corners of the tomb's base. These cornerstones are typically identified as sphinxes or harpies and as satyrs or tritons, respectively.[36] It nevertheless remains difficult to suggest precise identifications. The cornerstones, in fact, differ from the family of ichthyocentaurs on the base of the tomb of the Catholic Kings (Fig. 12). From a compositional point of view, in recent years they have been associated with the solution of the corners on

[31] The tomb of Cardinal Cisneros was the focus of an evaluation signed by the sculptor Felipe Bigarny in 1524; this document testifies the precise accuracy of this kind of document in the context of Spanish princely patronage at the beginning of the sixteenth century; see Marchamalo Sánchez/Marchamalo Main (note 24), p. 37, note 8, pp. 159–163, appendix IV.

[32] See de Azcárate (note 17), p. 131, doc. 170.

[33] Andrei (note 26), pp. 15 and 51f., doc. VI. Michela Zurla kindly informed me of another document, signed on 11 November 1520, in which Gonzalo de Morales appointed Raffaele Blasi as his attorney in a dispute with Ordóñez (Archivio di Stato di Massa, Notarile Massa, 1498 [Giovanni Maria Simoni, 1515–1521], c. 281r), probably as a result of the problems already experienced in September of the same year.

[34] Some scholars have already pointed out how these changes transformed the visual and spatial relationship between the mausoleum of Joanna and Philip and that of the Catholic Kings. See Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Dos estudios sobre la Capilla Real de Granada*, Granada 1931, p. 56; Gómez-Moreno 1983 (note 1), pp. 30, 32; see also Redondo Cantera 2010 (note 1), p. 208, note 147, who observes that this dissimilarity was perceived as early as the seventeenth century. In fact, the difference between the heights of the two tombs allows both monuments to be seen upon entering the Capilla Real from the Sacristia mayor.

[35] For the emblems of Philip, see Earl R. Rosenthal, "The Invention of the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V at the Court of Burgundy in Flanders in 1516", in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXVI (1973), pp. 198–230: 210f. It is interesting to note that Charles used the emblem of his father in the choir of Barcelona Cathedral, executed for the nineteenth chapter of the Golden Fleece, which was celebrated in March 1519; see Rafael Domínguez Casas, *Arte y simbología en el capítulo barcelonés de la Orden del Toisón de Oro (1519)*, at http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/bib/historia/CarlosV/graf/DguezCasas/8_3_dguez_casas_fotosmini.shtml.

[36] See Redondo Cantera 2010 (note 1), p. 212, note 160.

11 Bartolomé Ordóñez and workshop, tomb of Joanna of Castile and Philip of Burgundy, detail of one of the cornerstones. Granada, Capilla Real

12 Domenico Fancelli and workshop, tomb of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, detail of the family of ichthyocentaurs. Granada, Capilla Real

13 Trapezophoros, II century AD. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

14 Maarten van Heemskerck, *Studies of antiquities in the Villa Madama* (Römische Skizzenbücher, I, fol. 40v), 1532–1537. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 79D2

the front of the sarcophagus now in the Musée du Louvre but once in the Roman church of San Francesco a Ripa.[37] However, they show only vague affinities with those elements, which are devoid of the sculpturality that characterizes the figures on the base of the tomb. In their monumentality, the cornerstones of the tomb rather point to archaeological pieces such as the famous trapezophoros (Fig. 13) once in the Villa Madama, which was well-known in the sixteenth century as attested by a sketch by Maarten van Heemskerck (Fig. 14),[38] as well as drawings in the *Codex Pighianus* and in the *Codex Coburgensis*.[39] Although it is very difficult to demonstrate that Ordóñez's atelier could have known of this particular marble, it is easy to imagine that – during his travels across the peninsula from Naples to Carrara – the sculptor may have come upon some analogous fragments in which almost *ronde-bosse* figures were employed as architectural angular corner supports.

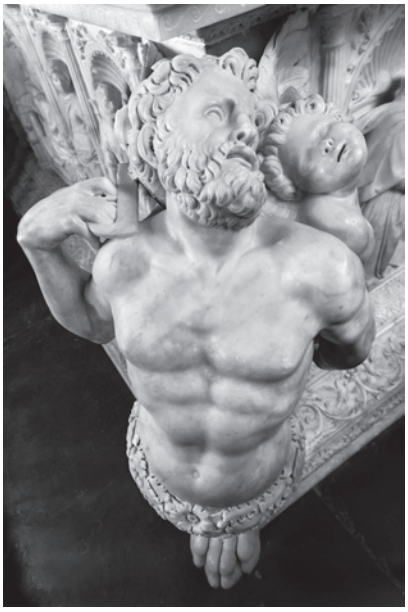
The four sculptures, each of them combined with a small putto, show the emblematic elements of the royal couple: the male ones are associated with the Golden Fleece and the cross of Saint Andrew with steel and flint (the device of Philip); the females, with the yoke and the arrows (the device of Joanna).[40] They are, therefore, elements that can be read in a clear heraldic key: but far from being static symbols, the four cornerstones produce real narrative tension.

[37] Inv. Ma 342. See Migliaccio 1994 (note 1), pp. 117, 169, note 38; *idem* 2004 (note 1), p. 382. On the sarcophagus see François Baratte/Catherine Metzger, *Musée du Louvre: catalogue des sarcophages en pierre de l'époque romaine et paléochrétienne*, Paris 1985, pp. 153–158, no. 75.

[38] The sculpture is now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale of Naples (inv. 6672); see Eloisa Dodero, in: *Le sculture Farnese*, ed. by Carlo Gasparri, III: *Le sculture delle Terme di Caracalla: rilievi e varia*, Milan 2010, pp. 93f., no. 33. For the drawing, see *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck im Königlichen Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin*, ed. by Christian Hülsen/Hermann Egger, I, Berlin 1913, p. 22, fol. 40v.

[39] See Dodero (note 38), p. 93. See also Federico Rausa, in: *Le sculture Farnese, storia e documenti*, Naples 2007, p. 177, no. 264.

[40] Quite exceptionally, the two corner elements representing male figures are situated on the short side of the tomb in front of the nave of the Capilla Real, while the female ones are both on the opposite short side, facing the


15a–c Bartolomé Ordóñez and workshop, tomb of Joanna of Castile and Philip of Burgundy, photographic sequence of one of the male cornerstone figures. Granada, Capilla Real



16a–c Bartolomé Ordóñez and workshop, tomb of Joanna of Castile and Philip of Burgundy, photographic sequence of one of the female cornerstone figures. Granada, Capilla Real

In the case of the two male figures, the twisting of the children's bodies enacts a contest for the emblems as a kind of childish game: one of them, winged, steals Saint Andrew's cross from the bearded herm, who claws the steel and flint alone (Figs. 15a–c); another putto, wingless, succeeds in taking the Golden Fleece. A different relationship is depicted between the female figures and children on the other side of the tomb (Fig. 16). With their arms outstretched, the women keep the arrows and yoke safely away from two putti who climb on their shoulders in a clear attempt to steal the emblems.

It is significant that while the emblems of Philip, who passed away in 1506, are divided between the male herms and the putti, those of Joanna, who was still alive at the time of the tomb's creation, are resolutely in the hands of the female figures. In light of the contemporary dynastical situation, this arrangement of figures suggests that the elements are to be read as metaphors of the passage of sovereignty between two generations of the Spanish monarchy, that of Joanna and that of her son Charles.[41] For evident reasons of *decorum*, the figures should not, however, be directly identified as personifications of Charles, Joanna, and Philip; rather, they ought to be understood as symbols of Iberian royalty. The same is true, for example, for a series of coeval engravings – attributed to the Master of the Die but based on drawings by Giovanni da Udine (deriving from a series of tapestries destined for the Sala di Costantino) – in which the pontifical power of Leo X is represented as a small winged angel

17 Master of the Die (after Giovanni da Udine), *Allegorical scene with putti and birds*. London, British Museum, inv. 1856,1213.23

dressed in the emblems of the pontifical royalty and surmounted by symbolic allusions (Fig. 17).[42]

Such an interpretation is reinforced by the presence, in the hands of one of the putti, of a pomegranate (Fig. 16b), a detail traditionally linked to the emblematical repertoire of the Catholic Kings by the bibliography dedicated to the tomb. In fact, the fruit has often been employed by the Spanish monarchy as an allusion to victory over Muslims in the southern regions of the realm, and in particular to the defeat of the last Islamic sultanate in the Iberian Peninsula, in Granada, conquered in 1492. With this same meaning, it is included in the decorative motifs carved on the tomb of Isabella and Ferdinand, where it can

retablo mayor. This placing can be considered a violation of the bipartite scheme of the sepulchre (arranged in relation to the long flanks of the monument and the *gisants* of the royal couple); it cannot therefore be ruled out that it was the consequence of a mistake during the erection of the tomb in the Capilla Real. It should be remembered that each corner is made up of separate elements consisting of one individual piece of sculpted marble, and that this technical measure would allow a different arrangement of the statues: organized by gender, mirroring the effigies of the king and the queen, the four herms would have showed the imprese of the sovereigns along the major faces of the monument.

[41] It is very significant that the iconography of Charles of Habsburg very early on associates the yoke and the arrows of Castile with the image of the king: see Campbell Dodgson, "Eine Gruppe von Holzschnittporträten Karls V. um die Zeit der Kaiserwahl", in: *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXV (1905), pp. 238–244; Erwin Pokorny, in: *Reyes y mecenas: los Reyes Católicos – Maximiliano I y los inicios de la casa de Austria en España*, exh. cat. Toledo 1992, Milan 1992, p. 511, no. 265.

[42] See Stefania Massari, in: *Rapahel invenit: stampe da Raffaello nelle collezioni dell'Istituto nazionale per la grafica*, exh. cat., ed. by Grazia Bernini Pezzini/Stefania Massari/Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, Rome 1985, pp. 137f., nos. II.1–II.4.

18 Albrecht Dürer, *Portrait of Maximilian I*, 1519. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

19 Albrecht Dürer, *Study of two hands holding a pomegranate*, 1519. Vienna, Albertina, inv. 26332

be found on the frieze under the *gisant* of the king of Aragon, on the longer side of the monument.

However, as of the second decade of the sixteenth century, the pomegranate had been chosen as a personal symbol also in the context of the Habsburg emblematical culture. Maximilian I adopted it in homage to the conquest of Granada and, as a consequence, it often appears in the emperor's representations or in his allegorical portraits, as for example in the *Arch of Honour*, the gigantic dynastical engraving accomplished by the workshop of Albrecht Dürer around 1517.[43] In 1519, the same fruit was associated with the bust of Maximilian in two posthumous paintings, again by Dürer, now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg and in the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna (Fig. 18). Even if they were executed after the death of Maximilian (probably following the indications of his heir Charles), they are both inspired by a life study the painter produced during the Diet of Augsburg, in 1518, when he had the opportunity to meet the emperor as a member of the Nuremberg delegation.[44] However, this drawing (now in the Albertina, Vienna), dated 1518 in the inscription on the sheet, does not record the arms of the subject portrayed,

[43] Karl Schütz, in: *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer*, exh. cat. Wien 2012/13, ed. by Eva Michel/Maria Luise Sternath, Munich 2012, pp. 292–294, nos. 75–78.

[44] On the portraiture of Emperor Maximilian I see Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*, Princeton 2008, pp. 211–215; Friedrich Polleroß, "Tradition and Innovation: Emperor Maximilian I and His Portraits', in: *Emperor Maximilian I* (note 43), pp. 101–115: 110.

and nor does the woodcut of the same subject – another work by Dürer –, faithful in every detail to the drawing. Significantly, we have a very accurate sketch by Dürer of two hands with a pomegranate, clearly a preparatory study for the two portraits of Maximilian, bearing the date 1519 (Fig. 19):[45] this suggests that – after the death of the emperor – the decision was taken to return to an emblem already used by the Habsburg, surely to stress the new dynastical links of the German house with the Spanish monarchy.

From this critical perspective, it is very interesting to note that at the same time, around 1518/19, Charles is represented holding a pomegranate in a series of engravings clearly linked to these portraits (Fig. 20); a series, usually attributed to the Master of Petrarch, that was intended to present Charles as the king of Spain to a German audience, according to the language of all the inscriptions. In the engravings, Charles is always associated with the shield of Spain and the emblems of Joanna – the arrows and the yoke (misunderstood, in some of the prints, as an arrow) – are a clear reference to his new role as sovereign of Castile and Aragon. These symbols are, however, displayed in the lower or upper part of the frame, separate from his portrait. Conversely, the pomegranate, as the necklace of the Order of the Golden Fleece, is strictly presented as a personal emblem, and in relation to these details Erwin Pokorny, Rainer Wohlfeil and Fernando Checa Cremades have already pointed out the dynastical value of the engravings, created to match the contemporary posthumous image of Maximilian.[46] Considering these figurative circumstances, it should not sound strange that, in the context of a symbolical representation of Charles, the pomegranate could have been used around 1520 to point out this kind of identification. Consequently, the fruit in the hand of the putto in one of

20 Master of Petrarch (Hans Weiditz?), *Portrait of Charles I, king of Spain*, 1519. Vienna, Albertina, inv. DG 1949/369

[45] On this group of works see Schütz (note 43).

[46] For a pioneering article on this series of engravings see Dodgson (note 41). More recently see Erwin Pokorny, in: *Reyes y mecenas* (note 41), p. 511, no. 265; Fernando Checa Cremades, *Carlos V: la imagen del poder en el Renacimiento*, Madrid 1999, pp. 31f. See also Rainer Wohlfeil, "Retratos gráficos de Carlos V al servicio de la representación y la propaganda", in: *Carlos V/Karl V 1500–2000*, ed. by Alfred Kohler, Madrid/Vienna 2001, pp. 307–332: 314–319.

the cornerstones of the tomb of Joanna – the child is trying to reach the yoke held by a female figure – can also be easily interpreted as an element of a net of references linked to the figure of the king.[47]

On the other hand, by interpreting the four figurative corners as an allusion to a wild and feral world (a connotation suggested by the presence of arboreous belts and facial features, for example long beards), they can also be related to the function of *reggiscudi* often attributed to the *uomini selvatichi* by European heraldic traditions between the Trecento and Cinquecento (from France to Germany).[48] Even in the Spanish (and Andalusian) milieu this iconographical convention was popular in the very same years when the tomb was conceived. One of the most ambitious applications of this motif was the monumental dome of the large staircase inside the Casa de Pilatos in Seville, completed in 1538 by the architect Cristóbal Sánchez, where four couples of wild men occupy each side of the drum holding the shields of the Enríquez family (the owner of the whole building). Another example is the patio of the Vélez Blanco Castle (Almería), built around 1506–1515, where it is still possible to see, on the upper frieze of the ancient representative courtyard, an analogous classicizing interpretation of a *donna selvatica* in a now badly damaged cortège of animals and monsters (Fig. 21). Even if this element is not charged with a specific heraldic value in the context of the patio, it was still used as a functional-ornamental element in the complex project of the marble decoration of that space.[49]

But how should we explain these variations to the decorative system of the sepulchre? Charles' position seems to have changed radically between the beginning of 1519 and the end of the following year. Coinciding with his election as emperor on 28 June 1519, tensions were rising within Castile and Aragon. First, the Cortes de Santiago, summoned between January and April 1520, assumed a critical position towards the king.[50] On 4 March an anti-imperial riot broke out in Valladolid, followed by tumults in Toledo; later on, in the summer of the same year, the discontent resulted in the revolt of the *comunidades*, an armed rebellion that – seeking to claim an exclusive role for Joanna in the government of the country – liberated the queen on 24 August of the same year.[51]

Charles responded with arms, yet significantly in September 1520, a few weeks after the liberation of his mother, the king also ordered – from his residence in Flanders – that the corpses of Isabella and Ferdinand, still buried in the convent of San Francisco in Granada, be transported to the Capilla Real.[52]

[47] It should be remembered here that one of the most important relics of the war to conquer Granada was the wooden statue of Nuestra Señora de la Antigua, once considered a Visigoth image: the sculpture was taken by the Catholic army to the walls of the city during the siege. After its capitulation, the Virgin was carried in procession on 6 January 1492 in a triumphal chariot (Edgar Rosenthal, *La Catedral de Granada: un estudio sobre el Renacimiento español*, Granada 1990, p. 136). The peculiar devotion linked to the Madonna was also motivated by the presence of Christ holding a pomegranate in the arms of his mother: therefore it cannot be ruled out that this famous image was also a reference for the peculiar iconography of the cornerstone of the tomb.

[48] Cf. Laurent Hablot, "L'emblématique de Georges d'Amboise: expression plurielle du pouvoir", in: *Georges Ier d'Amboise 1460–1510: une figure plurielle de la Renaissance*, ed. by Jonathan Dumont/Laure Fagnart, Rennes 2013, pp. 31–47: 36, 39; Milada Studničkova, "Gens Fera: The Wild Men in the System of Border Decoration of the Bible of Wenceslas IV", in: *Umění*, LII (2014), 3, pp. 214–239.

[49] On the Vélez Blanco patio, an imposing structure that for the most part is now displayed in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, see Olga Raggio, "The Vélez Blanco Patio: An Italian Renaissance Monument from Spain", in: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., XXIII (1964/65), 4, pp. 142–176. See also Alfonso Ruiz García, *El Castillo de Vélez Blanco (Almería): memoria histórica y belleza artística del palacio-fortaleza de los Fajardo. Siglos XVI–XX*, Vélez Rubio 2002, pp. 72–93, 105–108.

[50] For a short résumé of the political tensions experienced by the emperor during the Cortes de Santiago in 1520, see Manuel Fernández Álvarez, *Carlos V, el César y el hombre*, Madrid 1999, pp. 119–124. The Cortes were translated to La Coruña at the end of the discussion. It is very interesting that in the two speeches presented on that occasion by Pedro Ruiz de la Mota, bishop of Badajoz and representative of Charles' pretensions, as well as during the one pronounced by the emperor himself, no reference was made to the role of Joanna as queen of Castile; see Francisco de la Iglesia, *Estudios históricos (1515–1555)*, Madrid 1918/19, I, pp. 338–341.

[51] Pérez (note 6), pp. 141–153, 157f., 180–183.

[52] Parra-Arcas/Moreno Garzón (note 10), pp. 395–399.

In this political play of images, the small dynastical chapel in Andalusia represented both a cure and an effective response to the pretensions of the *comuneros*. After all, according to what Adrian of Utrecht conveyed on 4 September 1520, "los criados y servidores de la Reina dicen públicamente que el padre y el hijo [Ferdinand and Charles] la han detenido tiránicamente" and that she was "tan apta para gobernar [...] como lo fue la Reina doña Isabel".[53]

If the modifications to the sepulchre of Joanna and Philip are contemporary with Ordóñez's sojourn in Carrara, then they would have also arisen in this political context. Charles, fortified by the imperial election on the one hand yet faced with a complex dynastic situation on the other, apparently resolved to praise his mother publicly and thereby temper the palpable dissatisfaction of his subjects. Hence, the construction of the sepulchre ante-mortem became a rhetorical exaltation of the figure of Joanna as a result of the unprecedented position of eminence ascribed to her in the dynastical arena of the chapel. Conversely, the sepulchre symbolically ratified the uncontested role of the sovereign through the steady control of the emblem of the Spanish monarchy by the female herms on the tomb.

The presence of the sceptre in the hands of the *gisant* of the queen (Fig. 22), a detail not specified in the contractual provisions of 1518/19,[54] could be read in the same way: a symbol of the exercise of justice, which, according to the Spanish tradition of the *Espejos de Principes* (*Mirrors of Princes*), was often associated with the figure of Isabella in the iconography of the Catholic Kings, although Joanna's mother was denied such an honour in her tomb in Granada.[55] By the death of Ordóñez, the two monarchs' *gisants* had already been carved:[56] this circumstance indicates that modifications to the tomb had started early on. The fact that

21 Italian workshop (?),
Donna selvatica, 1506–1515.
Vélez Blanco, castle, courtyard

the statue of Joanna was enriched with attributes not agreed upon in the first contract clearly suggests that the original agreements were soon modified to respond effectively to current events and to their conceptual premises. This celebration of the queen's position was, however, purely symbolic and did not give her access to the decisions of the government *de facto*. Her imprisonment in Tordesillas would instead worsen due to the defeat of the riotous *comuneros* at the end of 1520. Charles would, nevertheless, entertain a formal deference for his mother throughout his reign. The few

[53] Quoted from Fernández Álvarez (note 7), p. 212. ("The servants and courtiers of the queen say in public that father and son [Ferdinand and Charles] had detained her tyrannically" and that she was "as capable to rule [...] as queen Isabella was.")

[54] Madurell Marimón (note 17), p. 365, doc. 7.

[55] Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *Los Reyes Católicos: paisaje artístico de una monarquía*, Madrid 1993, pp. 68–76.

[56] Migliaccio 1994 (note 1), p. 135.

22 Bartolomé Ordóñez and workshop, tomb of Joanna of Castile and Philip of Burgundy, detail of the *gisants*. Granada, Capilla Real

visits by court members to the hidden queen always coincided with the need to ratify, from a merely official point of view, any new regency on Spanish land, but, as underlined by Miguel Á. Zalama (the scholar who in recent years has dedicated the most in-depth attention to the figure of Joanna), her presence during these moments of court life should in fact be considered as purely symbolic as most of the time she appeared unaware of what was happening.[57]

In analyzing the commission of the tomb, we cannot ignore the iconography of the remaining portions of the monument, and in particular of the high socle. Noting the discrepancies between the actual monument and the text of the first contract, previous literature has in fact concluded on several occasions that the original plan for this part of the tomb was changed during its construction. The document of December 1518 declared that the four sides of the base should contain an equal number of "ystorias" from the life of Christ, in addition to "dotze encasamientos" ("twelve niches"). It also established that "en cada encasamiento" "hum himage que seya [...] la sete virtudes [...] y sincho dones del Spíritu Sancto" ("in every niche" "one image representing the seven virtues and five [of the seven] gifts of the Holy Spirit") should be represented.[58] In line with

[57] Zalama (note 1), p. 340.

[58] Madurell Marimón (note 17), pp. 365f., doc 7.

this document, we can see in the middle of each side of the tomb one episode of the New Testament: in a tondo under the crowned heads of Joanna and Philip is an *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 5);[59] on the right side – next to the high altar – a *Nativity*; on the left, an *Agony in the Garden* (Fig. 23);[60] and below the feet of the two *gisants*, a *Deposition*.

The remaining figures are more difficult to identify. A total of twelve niches appear on the four sides of the tomb. While it is a relatively simple task to discern at least six of the seven virtues (Fig. 24),[61] the other niche figures are open to a number of different interpretations. The identification of those on the short sides of the tomb has been especially controversial. In 1941, Manuel Gómez-Moreno referred to them as "otras alegorías, difícilmente reconocibles".[62] Later, in 1987, Maria José Redondo Cantera suggested instead that Arithmetic and Gideon were on the side of the tomb with the *Adoration*, while Grammar and St. Anastasia – identified on the basis of a comparison with Andrea Mantegna's *Tarocchi* – were on the side with the *Deposition*. The same scholar repeated this idea in a publication from 2010.[63] Only Luciano Migliaccio, writing in 1992, expressed the view that the personifications on the monument might respect the original plan, yet he did not provide any further argument in support of this position.[64]

23 Bartolomé Ordóñez and workshop, tomb of Joanna of Castile and Philip of Burgundy, detail of the *Agony in the Garden*. Granada, Capilla Real

[59] The location of the *Adoration of the Magi* at the head of the monument facing the aisle permitted those entering the Capilla Real to link this relief to the figures, representing the same subject, on the first level of the *retablo mayor*, executed between 1520 and 1522 by the atelier of Felipe Bigarny. This second *Adoration* contains a crypto-portrait of Charles V (León Coloma 2000 [note 1], p. 389). For the links between the Habsburg dynasty and the religious theme of the Magi, see Víctor Mínguez, "El emperador Carlos V en Belén: el cortejo de los reyes Magos y las epifanías asburgicas", in: *El imperio y las Hispanias de Trajano a Carlos V: clasicismo y poder en el arte español / L'impero e le* Hispaniae *da Traiano a Carlo V: classicismo e potere nell'arte spagnola*, ed. by Sandro De Maria/Manuel Parada López de Corselas, Bologna 2014, pp. 125–140.

[60] The inclusion of the *Agony in the Garden* is a singularity that has no equivalent in European royal tombs of the same period; the presence of a work by Botticelli's atelier depicting the same subject in the Capilla Real may have exerted some influence in this choice; cf. Antonio Calvo Castellón, *Pinturas italianas y españolas*, in: *El libro de la Capilla Real* (note 1), pp. 214-229: 223f.

[61] Thanks to their attributes we can recognize *Prudence*, *Justice* (who lost her sword and balance while she still holds the hilt in her hands), and *Temperance* (Fig. 24), all of whom are located on the side of the socle that corresponds to the *gisant* of Joanna, as well as *Faith*, *Charity*, and *Fortitude* on the side under the *gisant* of Philip. *Hope* may be one of the two figures on the short side of the monument looking towards the main altar.

[62] Gómez-Moreno 1983 (note 1), p. 31.

[63] Maria José Redondo Cantera, *El sepulcro en España en el siglo XVI: tipologia e iconografia*, Madrid 1987, p. 155; *idem* 2010 (note 1), p. 211. See also Rafael Domínguez Casas, *Arte y etiqueta de los Reyes Católicos: artistas, residencias, jardines y bosques*, Madrid 1993, pp. 680f., 684. León Coloma 1994 (note 1), p. 89, reads the four figures as allegories of the Liberal Arts.

[64] Migliaccio 1994 (note 1), pp. 112, 169, note 25; see also *idem* 2004 (note 1), p. 381.

24 Bartolomé Ordóñez and workshop, tomb of Joanna of Castile and Philip of Burgundy, detail of *Temperance*. Granada, Capilla Real

Complicating the definitive identification of the figures in the niches is the extreme rarity of depictions of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. Another difficulty lies in the circumstance that – according to the contract – only five of them were supposed to be carved on the socle of the tomb, instead of the entire series.[65] The fact that the gifts accompany the virtues may have justified such a decision: the two groups, in fact, overlap (as is the case, for example, with *Fortitude*). Such a reduction in the number of gifts, nevertheless, complicates our understanding of how the two sets are arranged in relation to each other, as we do not know which figures were sacrificed.

The interpretation suffers in particular from the absence of *comparanda*. It is significant, for example, that Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, the most exhaustive treatment of symbolism in the sixteenth century, neglects the theme in question and does not include the gifts as a separate lemma.[66] This lack reflects the fact that a similar subject does not appear to have gained a more canonical form in sixteenth-century iconography:[67] in the cases known to us, representations of the gifts tend to rely on generic imagery – e.g., female figures without precise attributes. With this in mind, we should also remember how much the marbles of Granada suffered between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Significant damage prevents us, for example, from making full sense of the old man next to the *Deposition*: there seems to be a tree trunk on the

[65] The contract specifies the names of the virtues but not those of the gifts; cf. Madurell Marimón (note 17), p. 366, doc 7. The virtues are included in the iconographical program of the tomb of John II and Isabella of Portugal, commissioned by Isabella of Castile in 1486 and executed by Gil de Siloé; see Felipe Pereda, "El cuerpo muerto del rey Juan II, Gil de Siloé, y la imaginación escatológica (Observaciones sobre el lenguaje de la escultura en la alta Edad Moderna)", in: *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, XII (2001), pp. 53-85: 60.

[66] The first edition of the *Iconologia* by Ripa, published in Rome in 1593, contains only individual entries for "Consiglio", "Intelletto", "Pietà" and "Sapienza": however, these brief texts referring to a secular conceptual framework (apart from "Sapienza", divided between "Umana" and "Divina") appear as a product of the figurative culture of the late Cinquecento (due to the overabundance of symbols); cf. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, Rome 1593, pp. 48, 141, 212f., 246f.

[67] See, for example, the gifts included by Federico Zuccari in the giant fresco in the dome of Florence Cathedral: although the program by Vincenzio Borghini does not specify their iconography, the painter represented them as winged female figures characterized by only a few attributes (for example the helmet of *Fortitude*). For the document see *La cupola di Santa Maria del Fiore, illustrata con i documenti dell'Archivio dell'Opera Secolare* [...], ed. by Cesare Guasti, Florence 1857, pp. 132–140; for Zuccari's frescoes see Cristina Acidini Luchinat, *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari, fratelli pittori del Cinquecento*, Milan 1989, II, pp. 65-97. Other, more detailed information about the iconography of the seven gifts were given by Borghini to Vasari for the execution of the altarpiece dedicated to the Pentecost for the Flor-

left, while he appears to hold an indecipherable object in his hands.[68]

If we now turn to the five figures that resist a more precise interpretation, a few details suggest that the original program regarding these five elements of the tomb may in fact have remained unchanged. For example, if we consult Ripa we can understand that the scourge held by the old woman next to the *Deposition* tondo (Fig. 25) could relate to notions of fear ("Terrore"), discipline ("Castità", "Corretione"), punishment ("Flagello di Dio, Debito"), and zeal ("Zelo").[69] These readings could together suggest an interpretation of the figure as Fear of God; even if her gender (the relief clearly represents a woman) might be an obstacle to such a reading, since Spanish uses the male noun *timor* to indicate this peculiar gift of God.

These iconographical ambiguities indicate that we must be cautious in interpreting the information regarding these figures contained in the original contract for the tomb, especially considering the literary culture of the Spanish monarchy under the reign of the Catholic Kings. In fact we are well informed about the imposing library held by Isabella until 1504; a bibliographical legacy that was in part entrusted to the Capilla Real after the queen's death.[70] An archival notice of the books held by the sovereign in Segovia in 1503 mentions the treatise *De septem donis Spiritus Sancti* by Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl, a theologian born around 1360 who taught at the University of Vienna and who was for a long time in the service of Duke Albert V of Austria.[71] This information could indicate a source for the inclusion of such an unusual motif in the funerary program of the tomb of Joanna and Philip. The fact that the theme of the gifts enjoyed particular popularity in *Reconquista* Spain during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is, moreover, evidenced by the *Tratado del Espíritu Santo*, written between 1497 and 1499 by Fray Juan de San Juan de Luz. The author, a Benedictine monk from the Congregation of San Benito in Valladolid, served as prior general of that order from 1488 to 1497. He was also a reformer of the monastery at Montserrat. The Catholic Kings were familiar with the monk and awarded him official duties.[72] Although his treatise on the Holy Spirit did not enjoy wide circulation – it was rediscovered in 1900 as part of a manuscript in the Real Biblioteca of the Monasterio del Escorial and the text would first appear in print only in 1978 –, it nevertheless sheds light on the context that lies behind the conception of the tomb for Joanna and Philip and suggests a possible motivation for the inclusion of the gifts in the Granadan mausoleum.[73]

According to the *Tratado del Espíritu Santo*, the Spirit, the bearer of the seven gifts, only visits those souls that are already in the grace of God.[74] It does not concern itself with those that fall into and remain in mortal sin. At this point, we should remember that – as noted in the diary of Martín de Moxica, treasurer of the

entine church of Santa Croce (Biffoli Chapel) around 1567/68 (see Ugo Scoti-Bertinelli, *Giorgio Vasari scrittore*, Pisa 1905, pp. 231–234): not even these suggestions are useful for the identification of the reliefs of Joanna's tomb.

[68] Other figures lost their attributes during the complex history of the monument; such is the case with *Faith*, *Justice*, and *Prudence*.

[69] Ripa (note 66), pp. 39f., 51, 89, 273, 301.

[70] See Francisco J. Sánchez Cantón, *Libros, tapices y cuadros que coleccionó Isabel la Católica*, Madrid 1951, pp. 17–88.

[71] See *ibidem*, pp. 26, 60, no. 158C. The book is not mentioned in the inventory of those found in the Capilla Real in 1536; see Gallego y Burín (note 34), pp. 99–111.

[72] For the biography of Fray Juan de San Juan de Luz, see Ernesto Zaragoza Pascual, "Estudio introductorio", in: Fray Juan de San Juan de Luz, *Tratado del Espíritu Santo*, Madrid 2010, pp. 11–37.

[73] Migliaccio thought that the presence of the gifts in the tomb should be explained by the medieval tradition of the *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* (Migliaccio 1994 [note 1], pp. 101–136: 112 and 169, note 26); yet it seems that, rather than referring to stages on a path towards the Divinity, the figures represented on the socle of the tomb of Joanna and Philip should be interpreted as 'attributes' of the two monarchs. Furthermore, it is useful to remember that, in the imagery linked to Spanish royalty, the intermediation of the Holy Spirit is seen as a tool to legitimize the Catholic monarchy; cf. José Manuel Nieto Soria, *Orígenes de la monarquía hispánica: propaganda y legitimación*, Madrid 1999, pp. 33f.

[74] Fray Juan de San Juan de Luz (note 72), pp. 45–51 (chapter II).

25 Bartolomé Ordóñez and workshop, tomb of Joanna of Castile and Philip of Burgundy, detail of an allegorical figure (*Fear of God*?). Granada, Capilla Real

queen – Ferdinand had announced Joanna's mental instability to the Cortes as early as 1505. This political calculation brought the matter of Joanna's mental state into the public domain. The most worrying of her misbehaviours was her persistent, willing abstention from the sacraments. These circumstances worried Charles at the time of his election to the throne of Spain: the obsession with the observation of secrecy on the matter that filled long letters exchanged in 1518 between Charles of Habsburg and the Marquis of Denia, Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas (elected by the king to be Joanna's new 'jailer') suggests that rumours were already circulating at the court and exacerbated an embarrassment that would continue into the following decades.[75]

The inclusion of the gifts of the Holy Spirit in the program of the tomb for the then still living queen (with her ongoing disturbances) could, therefore, have provided a symbolic guarantee of the devout inclinations of the heir to the throne of Ferdinand and Isabella. The gifts then became yet another element meant to celebrate the memory of the imprisoned and effectively deposed sovereign and thereby smooth over the uncomfortable memory of Joanna and her unsettling behaviour.

The construction of the tomb must have been of interest to Charles and his entourage for many years: after the renewal of the Wars of Italy in 1523 and the final defeat of the French in Pavia in February 1525, the completion of the unfinished tomb was indeed tackled again by the emperor during a journey to Granada. Charles resided in the city between June and November 1526, in the company of his wife Isabella of Portugal, immediately after their wedding in Seville.[76] In such circumstances it appears all the more signif-

[75] Beyond the black legend built around the figure of Joanna and her peculiar habits, the sources cited in the most recent biographies of the queen mention the problematic devotion of the sovereign; cf. Fernández Álvarez (note 7), pp. 192–198; Zalama (note 1), pp. 282–290. On the 'godlessness' of Joanna see Juan Luis González García, "Saturno y la reina 'impía': el oscuro retiro de Juana I en Tordesillas", in: *Juana I en Tordesillas* (note 1), pp. 163–184.

[76] On this stay see Antonio Gallego Morell, *Granada en el mapa viajero de Carlos V, campeón de la cristiandad*, in: *Jesucristo y el emperador* (note 1), pp. 309–332.

icant that the emperor returned to think about the tomb of his parents in the general organization of the internal space of the Capilla Real. In December 1525 the body of Philip the Handsome had been moved to the crypt of that sacred building. As the military campaigns in Italy had ceased and maritime markets had resumed a more secure and active routine, the problem of a proper burial for Charles' parents assumed renewed importance.

Therefore, on 6 December 1526, Charles wrote to the chaplains of the building founded by Ferdinand seeking a solution for the tomb (even though its sculpted parts had not yet touched Iberian soil). Announcing the imminent arrival in Granada of the marbles, the emperor proposed installing them as two monuments on the sides of the main altar, probably both on account of the limited space as well as to give some prominence to the *gisants* of the two sovereigns.[77] Even Isabella of Portugal, surely in agreement with her husband, expressed in her will, drawn up in May 1527, her desire to be buried next to the body of Queen Isabella the Catholic. If such a desire was conceived during the royal couple's stay in Granada, we can suppose that Charles' letter to the chaplains was intended to pave the way for such new requirements.[78]

In fact a few years would pass before the marbles of the tomb found their way from Carrara to Spain. Isabella oversaw the transfer while acting as regent of Castile in the absence of Charles. The undertaking significantly started in 1530, only after the end of the military campaigns in Italy, when firmer control over maritime traffic from Genoa had been secured.[79] The queen actually solicited the shipment and involved both the Genoese government and the Spanish ambassador in order to avoid further delays. These pressures were certainly effective: finally, in March 1533, the crates containing the individual elements of the tomb were sent to Cartagena. For reasons that are very difficult to understand or elucidate, but that could be linked to shifting ideas on the choice of a modern dynastical pantheon for the kings of Spain between the reigns of Charles V and Philip II, the tomb was eventually installed in the Capilla only in 1603. Nevertheless, special care was devoted to the preservation of the marbles after their transfer to Granada, demonstrating ongoing concern about the fate of the royal monument.[80]

Such insistences on the part of the Habsburg court show that the tomb continued to play a role in the politics of the imperial image, despite Charles' improved outlook in the years after his first landfall in Spain.[81] During the same span of time, visits to the recluse of Tordesillas by members of the ruling family continued to take place, although they were less fre-

[77] Francisco Pí y Margall, *Granada, Jaén, Málaga y Almería*, Barcelona 1885, p. 550. See also Gallego y Burín (note 34), pp. 169f., notes 95, 96. For a correct reading of this letter, see Redondo Cantera 2006 (note 1), pp. 407f.

[78] On the aims of the imperial family in the Capilla Real, see the still useful contribution by William Eisler, "Charles V and the Cathedral of Granada", in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, LI (1992), 2, pp. 174–181: 175–177. See also Redondo Cantera 2006 (note 1), pp. 405–409. On the interest demonstrated by Charles V during his stay in 1526 see Gallego Morell (note 76), pp. 331f.

[79] See de Azcárate (note 17), pp. 132–138, docs. 172–187.

[80] See Redondo Cantera 2010 (note 1), pp. 206f.

[81] A different opinion was expressed by Judith Ostermann in a contribution read at the 61st annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America in Berlin in 2014: "The Capilla Real in Granada: At the Roots of the Habsburg Memoria in Spain" in the panel *Remembering the Habsburg, I: Crafting Dynastic Monuments*. Ostermann argued that the tomb project was completely put aside after the third decade of the century. On the contrary, a series of important documents and circumstances show that the commission was among the concerns of the Spanish crown, even under the reign of Philip II. Isabella of Portugal clearly acted, with industrious alacrity, to have the tomb transferred from Genoa to Spain, and this solicitude is demonstrated by the numerous documents published by de Azcárate and referring to the period between 1531 and 1533 (see note 79). The importance given to the Capilla Real during the entire duration of Charles' reign is also demonstrated by the testimony of the many wills of the royal couple preserved to this day: as William Eisler correctly pointed out, all these documents indicate the Capilla Real as their burial place (Eisler [note 78], pp. 174–181). After the arrival of Joanna's tomb in Granada in 1539, special attention and concern was given to the sepulchre: in 1562 its pieces, stocked in the Hospital Real, were protected with new wooden boxes (Redondo Cantera 1983 [note 1], p. 329); in 1574 the sovereign, Philip II, asked for a report on the condition of the marbles (*ibidem*); at the end of the 1580s, he ordered Joanna's

quent.[82] This signifies that – on Iberian soil – Joanna continued to play a dynastic role that Charles could not afford to ignore entirely.

A synchronic reading of the dynastic vicissitudes experienced by the Spanish crown and the construction of the sepulchre for Joanna and Philip helps to explain the choices made for the tomb in Granada and its complex iconography. It also shows how the ante-mortem burial of Joanna of Castile aimed to erase her living presence from the Spanish political arena. The tomb arose amidst the unpredictable shifts and turns of history and consequently became an ambivalent celebration of the unfortunate heir to Ferdinand and Isabella, while reflecting Charles' dynastic ambitions and his seemingly unstoppable rise to imperial dignity. In this sense, the tomb of the Capilla Real reads like a prophecy of the forgotten queen's fate, a long reign without sovereignty.

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mortal remains to be transferred from Tordesillas to Granada (Reyes Ruiz [note 2], p. 36). At the same time, the political action of the *cabildo* of the Capilla Real was continuous and untiring in order to obtain the monument of the daughter of the Catholic Kings and of her groom (Rosenthal [note 47], pp. 133f.).

[82] Zalama (note 1), pp. 338–340.

Abstract

This contribution aims to investigate the planning, execution and iconographic program of the tomb of Joanna of Castile and Philip of Burgundy in the Capilla Real in Granada. This major monument of Renaissance Spain, carved by Bartolomé Ordóñez and his workshop in Carrara after the death of the Italian sculptor Domenico Fancelli (who had originally been commissioned to produce it), was conceived from 1518 as one of the first initiatives of the patronage of Charles of Habsburg after his declaration as monarch of Spain in 1516: for this reason its history and its symbolical meaning are strictly linked to the vicissitudes of Charles' coronation and his difficult succession to the thrones of Castile and Aragon at the expense of his mother, Joanna, daughter of Isabel and Ferdinand, the Catholic Kings. The article thus considers the whole sepulchral structure in its peculiar diplomatic and dynastic context, offering unprecedented considerations on its political meaning and the veiled intentions of its commission.

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