
Neapolitan Metalwork in New York: Viceregal Patronage and the Theme of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception

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The Metropolitan Museum of Art houses one of the most remarkable collections of Italian Baroque metalwork in the United States, outstanding not only in terms of numbers of objects but also for the different regions represented. Close study of some of these works has proved particularly fruitful for several areas of investigation: an enhanced understanding of the sculptural patronage of the Spanish viceroys in seventeenth-century Naples (a field still relatively overlooked),¹ the trade in lavish and precious sculptures shipped from Italy to Spain, and the key role played by Naples in the religious and political dispute over the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which holds that the Virgin Mary was conceived free from the taint of original sin.

The Spanish kings had held the Immaculate Conception in special devotion ever since the fifteenth century.² In the late sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries, Spanish diplomats tried to persuade the successively reigning popes to take their side in the theological conflict. This thorny dispute had already started in the Middle Ages between the Franciscans, who asserted the Virgin was conceived without sin, and the Dominicans, who were in opposition to this statement. Because the doctrine of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception had not been included in the precepts of the Council of Trent, the kings of Spain had pressed the pope to rule on the issue, but no decision was taken. Images of the Immaculate Conception were made in various media in Spain in the first half of the seventeenth century,³ at the same time that ambassadors and aristocratic supporters were sent to Rome to plead their case before the pope. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Pope Paul V had evinced a benign attitude,⁴ and the Spanish colony in Rome contributed significantly to the doctrine's diffusion in the late 1620s.⁵ For example, in 1627 the duke of Alcalá commissioned from Guido Reni *The Immaculate Conception*, now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for the Infanta Maria, Philip IV's sister.⁶ Among the Spanish noblemen who fervently argued on behalf of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was Don Manuel de Zuñiga.

Sixth count of Monterrey and brother-in-law of the powerful count of Olivares, don Manuel was ambassador to the Holy See between 1629 and 1631.⁷ However, in 1627 the papal Inquisition had imposed a series of limitations on the definition of the Immaculate Conception,⁸ and Urban VIII maintained a diplomatic but rather tepid attitude toward the question from the 1630s onward.

By contrast, when Monterrey arrived in Naples in 1631 as its new viceroy, he found a ready audience for his ideas. Naples was then one of the largest cities in Europe and the capital of a Spanish viceroyalty, and, even earlier than the Spanish, the Neapolitans had developed a devotion to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, who was frequently represented in painting and sculpture.⁹ In 1601 the Jesuit Order, allied with the Spanish throne in promoting the doctrine, had dedicated their Church of the Gesù Nuovo to the Immaculate Conception.¹⁰ Later, in 1618, the ruling viceroy, Don Pedro Téllez-Girón, third duke of Osuna, swore to defend the doctrine with his very life.¹¹

Study of Don Manuel de Zuñiga's patronage in the arts has concentrated on his remarkable painting collection and his role in securing distinguished Italian paintings for the Spanish court.¹² More recently, considerable attention has been paid to his unique enterprise in Spain: the erection of a new church and convent for Augustinian nuns in Salamanca, dedicated to La Purissima, that is, the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception.¹³ The entire project was conceived in Naples, where the majority of the works of art were made. The richly inlaid marble retable (Figure 1) was designed by the Lombard Cosimo Fanzago, then the leading sculptor and architect in Naples. At the center of the retable is the large canvas of the Immaculate Conception by Jusepe de Ribera, the great Spanish painter who had settled in Naples. This painting would become a seminal work for the iconography of the Immaculate Conception in Spain.¹⁴

Monterrey made a highly significant political and religious statement when he entrusted Ribera to execute a painting to be presented in such sumptuous surroundings. This important commission assumed a special meaning in



1. Cosimo Fanzago (Italian, 1591–1678), designer; Jusepe de Ribera (Spanish, active in Italy, 1591–1652), painter of *Immaculate Conception* at center. High Altar of the Church of the Agustinas Descalzas (La Purísima Concepción), Salamanca, 1633–36

2. Cosimo Fanzago. Tabernacle, 1636. H. ca. 59 in. (150 cm), Church of the Agustinas Descalzas (La Purísima Concepción), Salamanca



Naples and was made possible there (when it might not have been feasible in Rome, for example) because not only was the city a dependency of Spain, but it also, as noted, had its own long-standing devotion to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. The viceroy exploited the expertise and skill of the city's major artists to celebrate a cause dear both to the Spanish kings and to him and his wife.¹⁵ He commissioned liturgical objects for the convent in Salamanca and for his own collection, mainly from the same silversmiths who contemporaneously were making objects for the ornately decorated votive Chapel of the Treasury of San Gennaro in Naples. This chapel, one of the city's most important shrines, houses the relics of the patron saint of Naples, and in the course of the seventeenth cen-

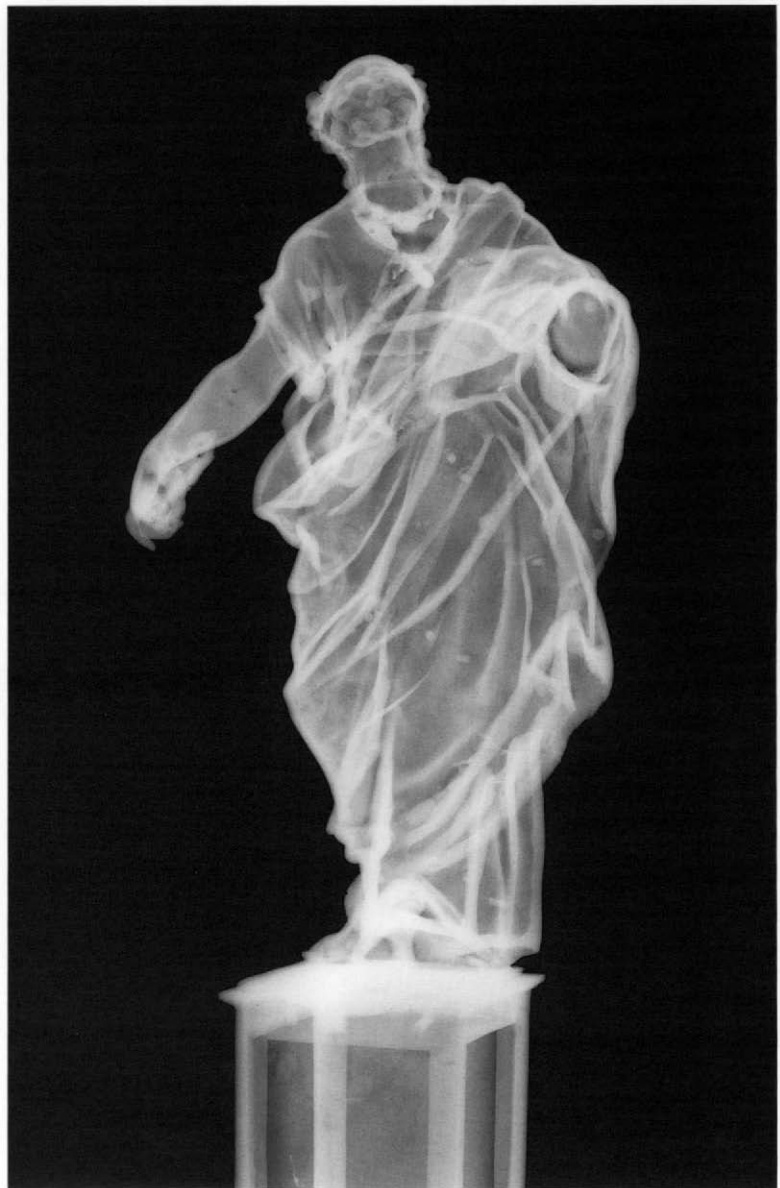
tury, the chapel's civic deputies spent great sums of money to make it one of the most arresting sites in Baroque Naples. Fanzago was an excellent choice on Monterrey's part, for the sculptor was used to doing casting himself as well as collaborating with silversmiths and metal founders who were capable of casting the great number of luxurious objects that were required.¹⁶

Fanzago's rich tabernacle, executed in gilt bronze, colored marbles, and semiprecious stones, survives in the church at Salamanca, though partially damaged (Figure 2). It was originally flanked by two statuettes representing Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Elsewhere I have discussed the *Saint Peter*, which is in the collections of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 3).¹⁷ Despite its small scale—it is



3. Cosimo Fanzago. *Saint Peter*, 1636. Gilt bronze, H. 11 ¼ in. (28.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1952 (52.187)

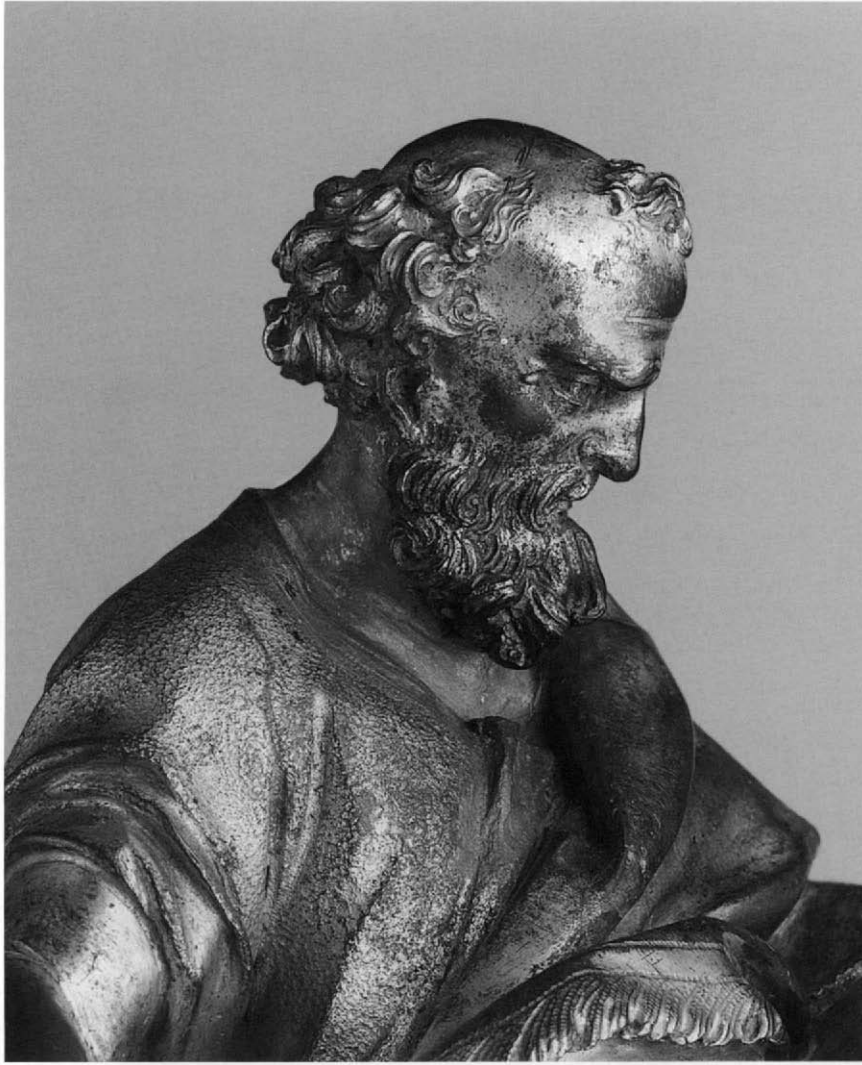
4. X-radiograph of Figure 3



less than twelve inches high—the statuette is a splendid example of the artist’s output in bronze as well as his technical mastery (Figure 4).¹⁸ The characteristic deep undercuts and sharp folds that envelop the figure complement the sense of movement, captured in the left foot that extends almost beyond the edge of the gilt-bronze cube of a base, three of whose sides are inlaid with red jasper that matches that in the tabernacle at Salamanca. Perfect

chiseling describes the saint’s bushy, scowling brows, hooked nose, and curly beard (Figure 5).

A statuette of Saint Paul (Figure 6), recently brought to my attention, is the pendant to the Metropolitan Museum’s statuette.¹⁹ Equally finely cast, the *Saint Paul* complements the Museum’s *Saint Peter* in its monumental stance and gestures: *Saint Peter* is frowningly absorbed in an open book, avidly reading a passage, whereas *Saint Paul* is portrayed



5. Detail of *Saint Peter* (Figure 3)

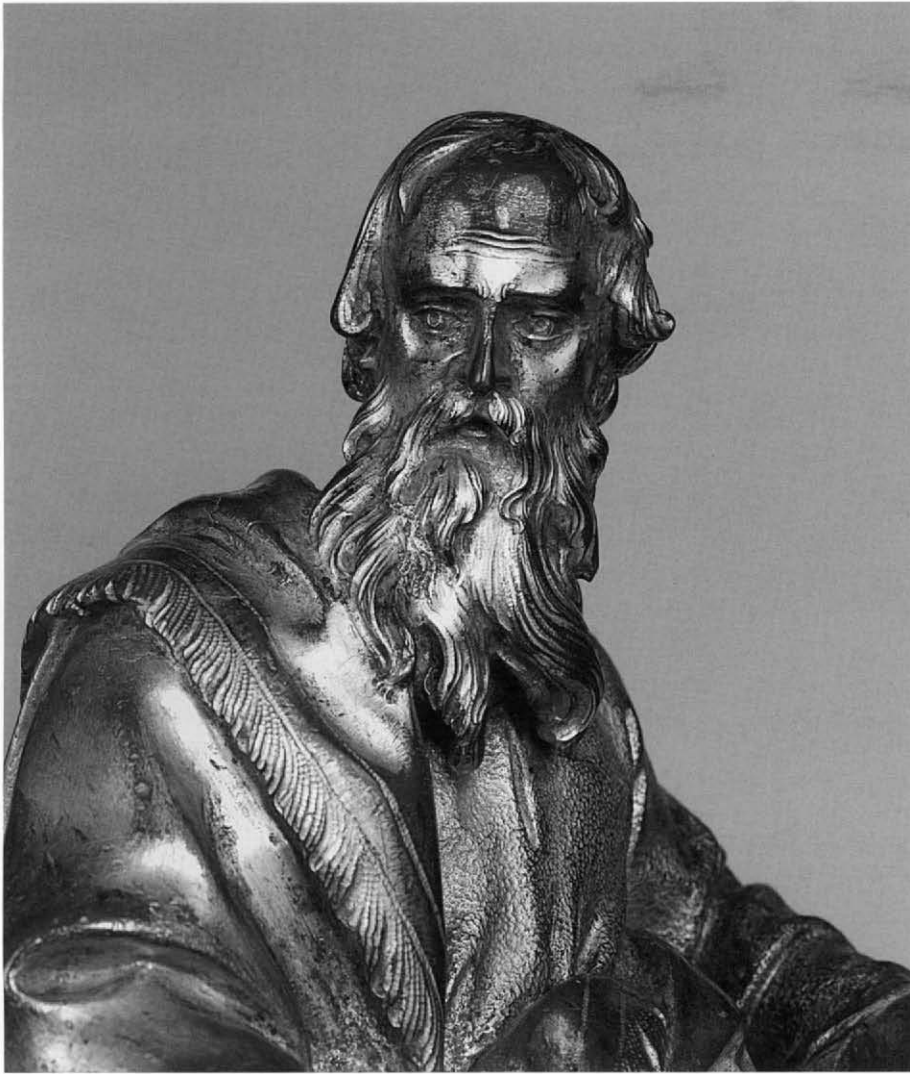


6. Cosimo Fanzago. *Saint Paul*, 1636. Gilt bronze, H. 11 1/4 in. (28.6 cm). Private collection, New York

the moment he has turned, his long, flowing beard still overlapping his mantle, which displays Fanzago's characteristic triangles on the right shoulder, the apostle's lips parted as if about to speak (Figure 7). The lines of *Saint Paul's* forehead are drawn with great delicacy, as are the eyes, the bony face, and the liquid rivulets of his beard. Fanzago's mastery in creating complex masses of drapery is evident, as is his refined differentiation of textures. *Saint Paul's* left hand is slightly damaged, especially the ring finger. Although

it now appears empty, that hand originally held the hilt of the sword, a typical attribute referring to the apostle's beheading.²⁰

Since a large part of Fanzago's formerly considerable production in bronze has been either lost or irreparably damaged, these statuettes in New York are of critical importance for the study of the artist's metalwork.²¹ They also record the artist's development toward a more solid and monumental treatment of figures that would only begin to



be employed in large-scale marble statues at the beginning of the 1640s. Although this pair of apostles was not intended to be seen in the round, they are completely modeled at the back with elegantly draped, silky mantles.

In addition to creating the lavish retable of colored marble—particularly rare in Spain—to enhance Ribera's painting of the Immaculate Conception, Fanzago made highly sophisticated works in metal for the powerful viceroy Monterrey. Among the various objects donated to the Augustinian foundation by the viceregal couple and listed in the convent's inventories was a lifesize silver statue of the Virgin with its pedestal and mantle in gilt bronze, which must also have been particularly striking.²² This work is lost, but by coincidence, another object in the Metropolitan Museum's collection is likely to be related to those works that Monterrey gave to the Spanish nuns: a crosier finial, reasonably attributed to Orazio Scoppa (Figure 8),²³ a rare example of silver production in Naples in the 1630s. Between 1632 and 1635 Scoppa was at work on the monumental gate designed by Fanzago for the Treasury Chapel of

San Gennaro. The fleshy acanthus leaves, beading, and cherub heads on the crosier finial are particularly close to Fanzago's decorative repertoire. The same forelock of thick, clustered curls on the forehead appears on the cherub heads on the finial and a marble angel from the artist's early period (Figures 9, 10).

The commission of the marble retable for the Augustinian nuns had a far-reaching effect on the artists active in Naples. While Ribera painted four further versions of the Immaculate Conception destined for Spain, other works on this theme were produced by artists in the viceregal city in the early 1640s.²⁴ Later, in 1656, a terrible plague struck Naples. Mattia Preti was commissioned by the Neapolitan electors to paint votive frescoes over the seven city gates depicting the protective saints, as well as the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, who were invoked during the pestilence.²⁵ Shortly afterward, between 1659 and 1664, the viceroy Gaspar de Bracamonte completed the refashioning of the Cappella Palatina in the royal palace and had installed on its altar a marble statue of the Immaculate Conception by

7. Detail of *Saint Paul* (Figure 6)

8. Orazio Scoppa(?) (Italian, active 1607–47). Crosier finial, 1630s. Silver; H. 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (24.4 cm), 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (26 cm) with threaded rod. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, by exchange, 1988 (1988.45)



9. Detail of the crosier finial in Figure 8



10. Cosimo Fanzago. *Angel*, 1619–21 (detail). Marble, H. ca. 23 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (60 cm). Church of the Gesù Nuovo, Cappella Borrello, Naples

Fanzago, to replace the painting of the same subject by Ribera that had been sent to Spain.²⁶ The placement of the statue on the principal altar of the viceregal chapel is undoubtedly a reflection of the changing artistic and religious climate in the early 1660s, in both Italy and Spain, following a highly significant event that took place in 1661. The visual and political campaign launched by the Spanish crown and the religious orders in support of the Immaculate Conception reached its turning point that year, when

Alexander VII proclaimed the *bull* *solicitude* that permitted priests in Spain to celebrate the Office and the Mass of the Immaculate Conception *de precepto*, thus turning it into an official religious festival, a privilege extended shortly afterward to the other Spanish dominions, notably, Naples.²⁷

In 1659 the deputies of San Gennaro commissioned a silver statue of the Immaculate Conception²⁸ and in 1664, an oratory to be frescoed with symbols of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. The fresco cycle was entrusted first to the Neapolitan Luca Giordano, who was a favorite of Spanish collectors. The fresco cycle, however, was completed by Giacomo Farelli.²⁹

Concurrently, Neapolitan sculpture was increasingly sought after in Spain, especially polychrome wood statues and works in silver, which were commissioned not only by private collectors but also by religious orders. Although many of these objects have been lost, and others have yet to be traced, the celebrated silver ensemble *The Four Continents* made after models by Lorenzo Vaccaro testifies to the opulence of these works (Figure 11). The technical and conceptual execution of these figures is impressive. Each of the female allegories is wrapped in flowing mantles decorated in floral patterns, and each is seated on a globe engraved with a map of her respective continent. The incredibly refined chasing differentiates the textures of the animals supporting the globes, the garments, and the minute definition of the faces. In addition, each figure is studded with precious stones (see Figure 21).

Now in Toledo, the *Four Continents* were commissioned for King Charles II by Fernando de Benavides, count of San Esteban, viceroy of Naples from 1687 to 1695, and completed in 1695.³⁰ Vaccaro, after a brief apprenticeship with the elderly Fanzago, established himself as a leading sculp-

11. Lorenzo Vaccaro (Italian, 1653–1706). *The Four Continents*, 1695. Silver, H. ca. 50 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (128 cm). Museo de la Catedral, Toledo





12. Lorenzo Vaccaro; cast by Giovan Domenico Vinaccia (Italian, 1625–1695). *Saint Michael*, 1691. Silver and gilt bronze, H. 63 in. (160 cm). Museo del Tesoro di San Gennaro, Naples

13. Detail of *Saint Michael* (Figure 12)



14. Lorenzo Vaccaro(?). *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, late 17th century. Gilt bronze and silver, H. 30 1/8 in. (76.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Wrightsman Fund, 1992 (1992.56)

tor who worked readily in different materials; for example, he supplied models to be cast in silver and bronze for the reliquary busts for the Treasury Chapel of San Gennaro. Unlike Fanzago, who ran a vast workshop, Vaccaro did not cast his own sculptures. Instead, he fashioned models for the numerous silversmiths and wood-carvers active in Naples. Sometimes Vaccaro followed designs by major painters of the time. In the well-known instance of the *Saint Michael* (Figures 12, 13), Vaccaro used a design by Luca Giordano; the three-dimensional model was cast in silver and gilt bronze by Giovan Domenico Vinaccia.³¹ This superb statue enjoyed an immediate celebrity and was imitated in different sizes and media. One of the finest bronze and silver versions was commissioned by an otherwise unidentified Miguel Río y Egea, most probably a Spanish nobleman.³²

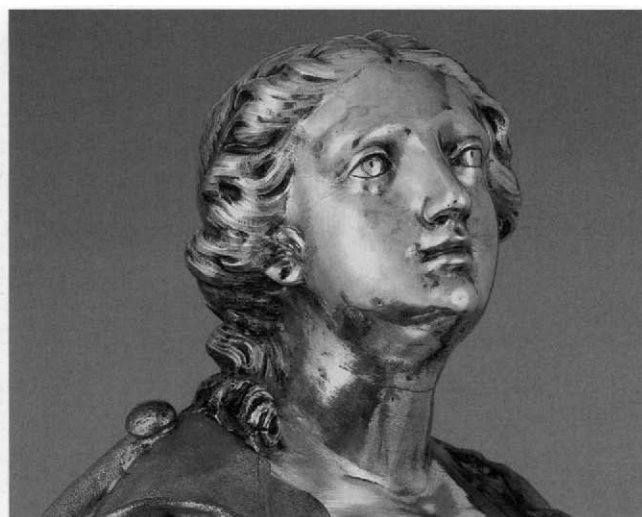
A large, elegantly composed gilt-bronze and silver statuette of the Immaculate Conception in the Museum's collection

15. Probably Lorenzo Vaccaro; cast by Nicola D'Aula. *Saint Hippolytus*, 1688. Silver, H. ca. 43¼ in. (110 cm). Main church, Roccaraso (L'Aquila)



16. Detail of the *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception* (Figure 14)

17. Detail of *Saint Hippolytus* (Figure 15)



(Figure 14) can be placed in this context of sculptural production in late seventeenth-century Naples.³³ The statuette commands attention for its refined and glittering surface and its iconography of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception as the new Eve.³⁴ The Virgin looks upward, lost in contemplation, with her right hand on her chest. She stands on a crescent moon around which coils a serpent with an apple in its mouth; the moon rests on the celestial globe. In spite of several casting flaws that have been expertly repaired, the workmanship of both the bronze and the silver is very good, and the mantle shows a skillful differentiation among the punched, matte, and lustrous surfaces.

The sober arrangement of the drapery, with its gentle curves that define the anatomy of the figure, is distant from the billowing folds of Roman Baroque sculpture and points instead toward Naples. A half-length reliquary of Saint Hippolytus in the main church of Roccaraso (Figure 15) offers useful comparisons. This sculpture was executed in cast and repoussé silver in Naples in 1688, probably after a model by Vaccaro, by the silversmith Nicola D'Aula, who left his mark on the base.³⁵ Sections of the octagonal pedestal are gilt, as are the dove and the palm. The reliquary half-

figure was donated by a pious nobleman to Roccaraso, a small town in the Abruzzi, a region that boasted several liturgical objects imported from Naples.³⁶ The differentiated chasing of surfaces is quite close to that of the Museum's statuette. Particularly striking are the parallels between the structure of the smooth heads with flat forehead, the sharply descending lines of the eyebrows, the identical shape of the eyes set deep in their sockets, the chiseling of the pupils, and the way the locks of hair tumble over the shoulders (Figures 16, 17). The flowing drapery of the Virgin's mantle and the soft fabric of the saint's sleeve that emerges from the beautifully punched lion's heads are also quite similar (Figures 18, 19). The salient stylistic affinities between the two works allow me to suggest that the same master who supplied the model for *Saint Hippolytus* to Nicola D'Aula must also have fashioned the Metropolitan Museum's *Immaculate Conception*. Both works are related to the circle of Vaccaro and probably can be traced to the artist himself. The flipped-back edges of the mantle, the scooped-out excavations that create zones of light and dark, suggestive of chiaroscuro, and the lateral movement of the left arm in the *Immaculate Conception* also recall those features of the high-relief figures of the silver altar frontal in the Neapolitan



18. Detail of the *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception* (Figure 14)



19. Detail of *Saint Hippolytus* (Figure 15)



20. Lorenzo Vaccaro; cast by Matteo Treglia (Italian, active 1681–1716). *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1689. Silver. Church of Santa Maria la Nova, Naples



21. Lorenzo Vaccaro. *Africa* (detail of Figure 11)



22. Detail of the hairstyle of the *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception* (Figure 14)



23. Lorenzo Vaccaro. *Asia* (detail of Figure 11)

Church of Santa Maria la Nova (Figure 20), for which Vaccaro supplied models in 1689,³⁷ while the dreamy, ecstatic expression and coiffure are close to those of the *Four Continents* in Toledo (see Figures 21–23), with the chignon in the distinctive shape of a figure eight, from which a coil of curly hair flows onto the shoulders.³⁸

The Museum's *Immaculate Conception* follows an iconography favored in Spain, whose first and most influential model was a painting commissioned by the marquis of Leganes from Peter Paul Rubens in 1627, which was widely imitated, especially in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.³⁹ Although it has not been possible to trace a document that specifically links the Museum's statuette to Spanish patronage, one meaningful piece of evidence is worth noting. Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, marquis del Carpio, was a prominent figure at the time whose patronage influenced the arts both in Rome and in Naples, where he was viceroy from 1683 to 1687.⁴⁰ Del Carpio was one of the major patrons of Luca Giordano, and his collection of paintings and sculpture was one of the most refined. He had acquired the majority of his antique marble sculpture and small-scale bronzes in Rome, but he also commissioned pieces of metalwork in Naples, which were listed in the inventory drawn up after his death in 1689. Notably, Del Carpio owned highly valued sculptural allegories of the *Four Continents*, having commissioned four gilt-copper figures of them in 1687. The sculptures are now lost, but their descriptions in documents closely recall the *Four Continents* that were cast in silver shortly afterward, following Vaccaro's models.⁴¹

Like his predecessor Monterrey, Del Carpio commissioned an altarpiece to be made in Naples in even more precious materials—porphyry, gilt bronze, and semiprecious

stones—to enhance the Spanish Dominican convent in Loeches.⁴² Giovan Battista Capozio, probably a Roman master, was responsible for the marble work, while Paolo Perrella was the main artist in charge of the metal decoration.⁴³ Originally, the altarpiece was meant to frame an *Adoration of the Magi* by Giordano, but as early as 1688 the officers in charge of dealing with Del Carpio's legacy had instead decided to place at the center of the altarpiece a gilt-bronze figure of the *Immaculate Conception*.⁴⁴ Del Carpio's detailed inventory makes no mention of a statuette in gilt bronze and silver of the *Immaculate Conception* of comparable measurements. However, it is tempting to put forward the hypothesis that the statuette of the *Immaculate Conception* at The Metropolitan Museum of Art was created as a presentation model for a larger bronze statue destined for the porphyry altar, perhaps with the hope of eliciting the interest of a wealthy Spanish patron. The large-scale statue was never cast, and the porphyry altar entered the Spanish royal collection at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Placed in the Chapel of the Alcazar in Madrid, it was later destroyed by fire in 1734.⁴⁵

The Museum's *Immaculate Conception* was, however, probably known to Neapolitan artists, and like many other examples of Vaccaro's work, it was imitated in various media. Two polychromed wood statues by different sculptors share compositional and stylistic affinities with the Museum's *Immaculate Conception*: one carved by Gaetano Patalano for the Franciscan nuns of Lecce in 1692 (Figure 24)⁴⁶ and another, severely damaged, in a church near Foggia that is attributed to Paolo di Zinno (Figure 25) and exemplifies a much later provincial repetition of themes developed in the viceregal capital.⁴⁷



24. Gaetano Patalano (Italian, 1654–after 1699). *Immaculate Conception*, 1692. Polychromed wood, H. 80 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (204 cm). Church of San Francesco, Lecce



25. Attributed to Paolo di Zinno (Italian, 1717–1781). *Immaculate Conception*, second half of 18th century. Polychromed wood, H. 47 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (120 cm). Old church, Accadia (Foggia)

In the late 1690s and early 1700s Nicola Fumo, Giacomo Colombo, and Gaetano and Pietro Patalano carved statues in polychromed wood destined for Spain,⁴⁸ among which were a few images of the Immaculate Conception,⁴⁹ approximately of the same dimensions as the Museum's statuette, and these figures possibly diffused a more Italianate iconography of the subject matter, more animated and fluid than the most influential type of seventeenth-century Spanish wood sculpture that had been developed by Juan Martínez Montañés.⁵⁰ With hands folded in prayer and long hair framing the downcast gaze, Virgins of the Immaculate Conception by Montañés are characterized by a hieratic frontality, their heavy mantles conferring on them a triangular shape.

The Museum's *Immaculate Conception* may well have served as a model that was copied in other materials and in other regions of the viceroyalty and in Spain. In any case, it represents a rare and alluring survival of the conspicuous production of metalwork in Naples and the sculptural relationship between Naples and Spain in the seventeenth century.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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1. Exceptions are the critical studies by Alvar González-Palacios: "Un adorno per Napoli vicereale," in *Civiltà del seicento a Napoli*, exh. cat., Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte and Museo Principe Diego Aragona Pignatelli Cortès, Naples (Naples, 1984), vol. 2, pp. 241–301; and *Il tempio del gusto: Roma il Regno delle Due Sicilie* (Milan, 1984), especially pp. 262–98. Documents concerning the trade of works of art between Naples and Spain have been published by Edoardo Nappi, "I viceré e l'arte a Napoli," *Napoli nobilissima* 23 (1983), pp. 41–57; and Elio Catello, "Argenti e sculture lignee per i viceré di Napoli ed altre aristocratiche committenze spagnole," *Napoli nobilissima* 36 (1997), pp. 77–84. See, more recently, especially with regard to wooden sculpture: Margarita Estella, "La escultura napolitana en España: La importación de esculturas a través del mecenazgo virreinal y personaje de su entorno," in *El arte foráneo en España: Presencia y influencia*, XII Jornadas Internacionales de Historia del Arte, Madrid, Departamento de Historia del Arte, CSIC, November 2004 (Madrid, 2005), pp. 330–46; Margarita Estella, "La escultura napolitana en España: Comitentes, artistas y dispersión," in *Scultura meridionale in età moderna nei suoi rapporti con la circolazione mediterranea, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Lecce, 9–11 giugno 2004*, ed. Letizia Gaeta (Galatina, 2007), vol. 2, pp. 93–122; Raffaele Casciaro, "Seriazione e variazione: Sculture di Nicola Fumo tra Napoli, la Puglia e la Spagna," in *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 245–63.
2. The early development of the iconography has been analyzed in the pioneering book by Mirella Levi d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (New York, 1957). For a summary of the Spanish political position on the Immaculate Conception, see Thomas Willette and Maria Ann Conelli, "The Tribune Vault of the Gesù Nuovo in Naples: Stanzione's Frescoes and the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception," *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano* (1989), p. 173.
3. See Suzanne L. Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art* (Cambridge, 1994). The dogma of the Immaculate Conception was proclaimed only in 1854 by Pius IX; between 2004 and 2005 in Italy and Spain there was a series of exhibitions and conferences to mark the 150th anniversary of the proclamation of the dogma: *Inmaculada: 150 años de la proclamación del dogma*, exh. cat., Santa Iglesia Catedral Metropolitana, Seville (Córdoba, 2004); *Inmaculada*, exh. cat., Catedral de la Almudena, Madrid (Madrid, 2005); *La Inmaculada Concepción en España: Religiosidad, historia y arte, Actas del Symposium, Colección del Instituto Escorialense de Investigaciones Históricas y Artísticas, San Lorenzo del Escorial*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 2005); *Una donna vestita di sole: L'Immacolata Concezione nelle opere dei grandi maestri*, ed. Giovanni Morello, Vincenzo Francia, and Roberto Fusco, exh. cat., Braccio di Carlo Magno, Vatican City (Milan, 2005).
4. He commissioned from Ludovico Cardi Cigoli the frescoes of the Pauline Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, where there appears an image of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception; see Steven Ostrow, "Cigoli's *Immacolata* and Galileo's Moon: Astronomy and the Virgin in Early Seicento Rome," *Art Bulletin* 78, no. 2 (1996), pp. 218–35. As Ostrow rightly underlines (p. 222, n. 14), "despite Paul V's being an Immaculist sympathiser, he staunchly resisted Spain's efforts to induce him to endorse the Immaculist position, on the grounds that the papacy would appear to be caving in to Spanish demands." In 1614 the pope commissioned a bronze statue of the Immaculate Conception by Guglielmo Bertholet to be placed atop an ancient column at the center of Piazza Santa Maria Maggiore.
5. See Alessandro Zuccari, "L'Immacolata a Roma dal quattrocento al settecento: Istanze immacoliste e cautela pontificia in un complesso percorso iconografico," in *Una donna vestita di sole*, pp. 70–71.
6. Howard Hibbard, "Guido Reni's Painting of the Immaculate Conception," *MMAB* 28 (summer 1969), pp. 19–32; D. Stephen Pepper, *Guido Reni: A Complete Catalogue of His Works with an Introductory Text* (New York, 1984), pp. 256–57, no. 114 (MMA 59.32).
7. See Stratton, *Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, p. 90.
8. As Hibbard poignantly summarized in "Guido Reni's Painting of the Immaculate Conception" (p. 24), there was a significant preference "for the wording 'The Conception of the Immaculate Virgin' over 'The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin.'"
9. Romeo De Maio, *Società e vita religiosa a Napoli nell'età moderna* (Bari, 1971), pp. 150–53; Anamaria Laneri, "L'iconografia dell'Immacolata Concezione a Napoli tra '500 e '600," *Arte cristiana* 79, no. 744 (1991), pp. 195–205.
10. Richard Bösel, *Jesuitenarchitektur in Italien, 1540–1773*, vol. 1, *Die Baudenkmäler der römischen und der neapolitanischen Ordensprovinz* (Vienna, 1985), p. 406; Willette and Conelli, "Tribune Vault of the Gesù Nuovo," pp. 169–82. In 1586 a confraternity dedicated to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception was founded in Naples (Salvatore Pisani, "La Santissima Concezione a Montecalvario e la tradizione della pianta centrale a matrice ottagonale," in *Domenico Antonio Vaccaro: Sintesi delle arti* [Naples, 2005], p. 167).
11. Laneri, "L'iconografia dell'Immacolata Concezione," p. 195. For the agitated climate of religious fervor, see Stratton, *Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, p. 84.
12. For an updated bibliography on Monterrey's key role in the decoration of the Buen Retiro Palace, see Andrés Úbeda de los Cobos, "The History of Rome Cycle," in *Paintings for the Planet King, Philip IV and the Buen Retiro Palace*, ed. Andrés Úbeda de los Cobos, exh. cat., Museo Nacional del Prado (Madrid, 2005), pp. 169–89.
13. Angela Madruga Real, *Las Agustinas de Monterrey* (Salamanca, 1983), pp. 53–100; Damian Dombrowski, "Nápoles en España: Cosimo Fanzago, Giuliano Finelli, las esculturas del Altar Mayor en las Agustinas Descalzas de Salamanca y un monumento desaparecido," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte (U.A.M.)*, nos. 7–8 (1995–96), pp. 87–93; Fernando Marías, "Bartolomeo y Francesco Antonio Picchiatti, dos arquitectos al servicio de los virreyes de Nápoles: Las Agustinas de Salamanca y la escalera del Palacio Real," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte (U.A.M.)*, nos. 9–10 (1997–98), pp. 180–86; Paola D'Agostino, "Un bronzo spagnolo di Cosimo Fanzago a New York," *Prospettiva* 109 (2003), pp. 83–88; Paola D'Agostino, "Uno scultore barocco autonomo? Cosimo Fanzago tra il 1630 e il 1656," *Paragone arte* 71 (2007), pp. 46–47; Gabriele Finaldi, "Works by Alessandro Turchi for Spain and an Unexpected Velázquez Connection," *Burlington Magazine* 149 (2007), especially pp. 756–57.
14. Stratton, *Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, p. 96.
15. He commissioned from Giuliano Finelli—Gian Lorenzo Bernini's first pupil, then active in Naples—marble portraits of himself and his wife, Doña Eleonora de Guzmán, kneeling in prayer in front of Ribera's painting; see Damian Dombrowski, *Giuliano Finelli, Bildhauer zwischen Neapel und Rom* (Frankfurt am Main, 1997), pp. 146–48, 342–43, nos. A.50, A.51, figs. 120, 121.

16. D'Agostino, "Sculutore barocco autonomo?" especially p. 47.
17. D'Agostino, "Bronzetto spagnolo di Cosimo Fanzago."
18. The *Saint Peter* is the first work by Fanzago to have been X-rayed. This procedure showed that it was cast in one piece and is less than 1 millimeter thick. I wish to thank Richard Stone, senior museum conservator, Scientific and Conservation Department, MMA.
19. I am extremely grateful to Katharine Baetjer, curator, European Paintings, and James David Draper, Henry R. Kravis Curator, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, MMA, and especially to the present owner of the statuette for allowing me to study and publish the work.
20. A few minor damages are visible in the right hand and the left foot of the *Saint Paul*, but both statuettes are in remarkably good condition, especially when one considers that the tabernacle and the statuettes were probably damaged when the dome of the newly constructed church collapsed in 1657. The tabernacle was finally set on the altar only in 1686 by two Spanish silversmiths, Juan de Figuera and Pedro Benítez, who were also responsible for its first restoration, since they were also paid for gilding some of the pieces and repairing the tabernacle that was "maltratada" (damaged) (AHP, Salamanca, Legajo 4450, Mattias Zamora, fols. 737r–741v). See also Madruga Real, *Las Agustinas de Monterrey*, p. 129.
21. For examples of Fanzago's extant work, see the almost contemporaneous series of bronze statuettes Fanzago executed for the monumental ciborium of the Carthusian monastery of Serra San Bruno in Calabria. Some of these statuettes broke off in the 1783 earthquake and were partially restored at the beginning of the twentieth century; see Gianfranco Gritella, *La Certosa di Santo Stefano del Bosco a Serra San Bruno: Documenti per la storia di un eremo di origine normanna* (Cuneo, 1991), pp. 79–92.
22. AHP, Salamanca, Legajo 4403, Mattias Zamora, fol. 787r: "una nuestra señora de plata. estatua natural con el manto i peaña de bronce dorado" (our Lady in silver. A lifesize statue with mantle and pedestal of gilded bronze). Although in this case it is not specifically recorded as the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, the dedication of the church and the special devotion Monterrey had to the Immaculist cause allow us to infer that the statue represented the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. The gilt-bronze mantle clearly alludes to the words of Saint John the Evangelist in the book of the Apocalypse (12:1): "the Virgin clothed with sun, and the moon under her feet." Analogous silver statues were produced in Naples in these years; for instance, Francesco Bruchmann, Italianized as Brucmanno, was paid for a silver figure of the Immaculate Conception in September 1620 (Catello, "Argenti e sculture lignee" [as in note 1 above], p. 85, n. 35).
23. For him, see Paola Giusti, "Orazio Scoppa," in *Civiltà del seicento a Napoli*, vol. 2, p. 305.
24. For instance, Cesare Fracanzano was commissioned to paint a large *Immaculate Conception* for the altar in the left transept of the Jesuit Church of San Ferdinando (Annamaria d'Alessandro, "Cesare Fracanzano," in *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 143), and Bernardo Cavallino painted the subject in small-scale format—unfortunately known only through copies—commissioned for private collectors, and also the beautiful *Immacolata*, now at the Brera, Milan, which was probably destined for a church (see *Bernardo Cavallino of Naples, 1616–1656*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art [Cleveland, 1984], respectively nos. 26, 51, pp. 103–4, 151–53). Between 1639 and 1641 Massimo Stanzione frescoed the vault of the Gesù Nuovo; see Willette and Conelli, "Tribune Vault of the Gesù Nuovo."
25. George Hersey, "Mattia Preti, 1613–1699," in *A Taste for Angels: Neapolitan Painting in North America, 1650–1750*, exh. cat., Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (New Haven, 1987), pp. 87–88, cites the first decree for the commission from a contemporary manuscript, where there is specific reference to the Immaculate Conception: "there be painted over each gate of this city the image of the *Immacolata* holding her child in her arms, and, below, the glorious San Gennaro, with San Francesco Saverio on the right, and on the left Santa Rosalia; and over the said images in capital letters this versicle is to be written: 'Praise to the Most Holy Sacrament; the Immaculate and pure Conception of the most holy Virgin conceived without stain of original sin.'" Although the frescoes are largely lost, two of Preti's *bozzetti* are in the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte (John Spike, "Mattia Preti, la carriera pittorica," in *Mattia Preti: Dal segno al colore*, ed. Erminia Corace [Rome, 1995], pp. 27–28).
26. For the painting, see Nicola Spinosa, *José de Ribera: L'opera completa* (Naples, 2006), p. 317, no. A312. For the statue, see Antonia Nava Cellini, *La scultura del seicento in Italia* (Turin, 1982), p. 123.
27. Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes* (London, 1957), vol. 31, p. 129; Stratton, *Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, p. 104.
28. In 1636 the deputies had already commissioned from Giuliano Finelli a model of the *Beatissima Vergine*—the Holy Virgin, as it is referred to in the documents—to be cast in silver (Dombrowski, *Giuliano Finelli*, pp. 351–53, no. A. 61).
29. Elio Catello and Corrado Catello, *La capella del tesoro di San Gennaro* (Naples, 1977), pp. 49–50; Franco Strazzullo, *La real cappella del tesoro di San Gennaro: Documenti inediti* (Naples, 1978), pp. 68–69. For the updated bibliography on Giordano's Spanish patrons and his staying at the court of Madrid, see Luca Giordano y España, exh. cat., Palacio Real, Madrid (Madrid, 2002); Giuseppe De Vito, "Luca Giordano y España (qualche osservazione)," in *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano: Saggi e documenti* (2002), pp. 163–85; and María Jesús Muñoz González, "Documentos inéditos sobre la llegada a España de Luca Giordano," *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano: Saggi e documenti* (2003–4), pp. 158–63.
30. See, with updated bibliography, Francisco Javier Montalto Martín, "América," in *Ysabel, la reina católica: Una mirada desde la Catedral primada*, exh. cat., Toledo Cathedral (Toledo, 2005), pp. 655–57. A proper appreciation of these figures is compromised by very old photographs and the fact that for security reasons they are kept in the treasury of the cathedral and are not on display. I am grateful to Don Juan Sánchez, dean of Toledo Cathedral, for allowing me to see and study these works, and to Prado Alguierz for her assistance during my visit to Toledo.
31. Angela Catello, "San Michele Arcangelo," in *Civiltà del seicento a Napoli*, vol. 2, pp. 316–17. Vinaccia was a skilled architect, sculptor, and silversmith. He is mainly known for the impressive silver altar frontal he made for the Treasury Chapel in San Gennaro. He was commissioned by the Jesuits to produce a similar altar frontal to be sent to Madrid. In 1680 Vinaccia also cast in silver two life-size statues of the Immaculate Conception for the Carthusians monastery of San Martino in Naples, both destroyed; see Raffaello Causa, *L'arte nella Certosa di San Martino a Napoli* (Naples, 1973), p. 107; and Elio Catello, "Argenti napoletani del seicento: Considerazioni su documenti inediti," *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano: Saggi e documenti* (1998), p. 7.
32. González-Palacios, *Il tempio del gusto*, pp. 262–71. The proliferation of small-scale sculptures representing Saint Michael continued well into the eighteenth century with Domenico Antonio Vaccaro, Lorenzo's son (Ferdinando Bologna, "A Silver Sculpture Ascribed to Domenico Antonio Vaccaro," *Burlington Magazine* 121, no. 913 [1979], pp. 220–22).

33. The statuette was purchased in 1992 and published by Olga Raggio as Roman school, probably after a model by Gian Lorenzo Bernini (Raggio, "The Virgin of the Immaculate Conception," *MMAB: Recent Acquisitions 1992–93* [fall 1993], p. 36). Before entering the Museum's collection the statuette had been auctioned at Christie's, New York, January 10, 1990, lot 198, as Neapolitan, with a tentative attribution to the circle of Lorenzo Vaccaro. The auction catalogue gives a possible provenance from the Barberini family that has not been traced. The head, hands, and feet are cast in silver. The body is thinly cast in bronze in two parts, joined by an internal ring; a seam is slightly visible from the outside. A modern T-shaped rod holds the statue together. The globe is hollow at the back, while the statuette is modeled in the round. I am grateful to Richard Stone, senior museum conservator, for X-rays of the work. The body of the serpent has been painted with a green varnish that covers parts of the fine chiseling.
34. Stratton, *Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, pp. 97–98.
35. The reliquary bust was published with an attribution to Lorenzo Vaccaro by Corrado Catello, "Scultori e argentieri a Napoli in età barocca e due inedite statue d'argento," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Raffaello Causa*, ed. Pierluigi Leone De Castris (Naples, 1988), pp. 281–86. Subsequently, Gian Giotto Borrelli ("Proposte per Giacomo Colombo autore di modelli per argenti," in *Interventi sulla questione meridionale*, ed. Francesco Abbate [Rome, 2005], pp. 297–303), has proposed the sculptor Giacomo Colombo as the modeler, an attribution with which I do not agree.
36. See, for example, Lorenzo Lorenzi, "Argenti abruzzesi dell'età barocca," *Antichità viva* 36, no. 4 (1997), pp. 36–45.
37. Vincenzo Rizzo, "Uno sconosciuto paliotto di Lorenzo Vaccaro," *Storia dell'arte* 49 (1983), pp. 211–33.
38. At the nape of the Museum's statuette there is a small cavity that was meant to receive a lock of hair, probably separately cast but now lost, as in the case of the allegorical figures in Toledo.
39. For this work, now at the Museo del Prado, Madrid, see Alexander Vergara, *Rubens and His Spanish Patrons* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 157–60.
40. There is a vast bibliography on the collection of the marquis del Carpio; for updated references, see Alessandra Anselmi, "Il VII Marchese del Carpio da Roma a Napoli," *Paragone arte* 71 (2007), pp. 80–109.
41. Elio Catello and Corrado Catello, *Argenti napoletani dal XVI al XIX secolo* (Naples, 1973), p. 224; Nappi, "I viceré e l'arte a Napoli" (as in note 1 above), p. 56.
42. On this impressive commission, see Leticia de Frutos Sastre, "Noticias sobre la historia de una dispersión: El altr de pórfido del VII marqués del Carpio y un lote de pinturas," *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano: Saggi e documenti* (2003–4), pp. 60–76; and María Jesús Muñoz González, "La capilla real del Alcázar y un altar de pórfido," *Real sitios* 164 (2005), pp. 50–68.
43. Antonio and Paolo Perrella also cast models by Vaccaro, and among the few surviving examples worth citing are the bronze models for the equestrian monument of Philip V, now at the Museo del Prado (Rosario Coppel Aréizaga, *Museo del Prado: Catálogo de la scultura de época moderna, siglos XVI–XVIII* [Madrid, 1998], nos. 54, 55).
44. In her detailed reconstruction of the porphyry altar, Muñoz González ("Capilla real del Alcázar," p. 54) states it was decided to "colocar en el centro del altar un relieve de la Concepción" (to place a relief of the Immaculate Virgin at the center). Conversely, I think it was not a relief but a statue. I was able to check the originals of the two documents she transcribes at the end of her article (respectively pp. 63, 66) in the Archivo de la Casa de Alba, and my transcription varies from hers. In the first, "in luogo del quadro di mezzo vi viene una statua della Santissima Concezione di grandezza di palmi cinque con puttini che tengono li misterij della Concettione, quale statua e puttini vengono di tutto rilievo" (my transcription), I read "tutto rilievo" instead of her "sotto[?] rilievo." The Spanish version lists the prices for the bronze that is needed for the figure of "Nuestra S.ra de bulto" (A.C.A. 221-1, fol. 1r; ACA, Caja 197-28), and it is evident the statue was to be in gilt bronze. Also, on p. 53 Muñoz González gives the measurement of the statue to be cast as 1.31 meters (4 ft. 3 1/2 in.). I am grateful to the duchess of Alba for granting me admission to the family archive, and to José Manuel Calderón, director of the archive, for his assistance during my research.
45. Muñoz González, "Capilla real del Alcázar," p. 62.
46. Raffaele Casciaro, "La scultura," in *Il barocco a Lecce e nel Salento*, ed. Antonio Cassiano, exh. cat., Museo Provinciale, Lecce (Rome, 1995), p. 150. Gaetano and Pietro Patalano were commissioned for an impressive polychrome wood retable in Cádiz in 1693; see Agostino di Lustro, *Gli scultori Gaetano e Pietro Patalano tra Napoli e Cadice* (Naples, 1993).
47. Mimma Pasculli Ferrara, "Contributo per la scultura lignea in Capitanata e in area meridionale nei secoli XVII–XVIII," in *Contributi per la storia dell'arte in Capitanata tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Galatina, 1989), pp. 53–80, especially p. 71.
48. Estella, "Escultura napoletana en España"; Roberto Alonso Moral, "La scultura lignea napoletana in Spagna nell'età barocca: Presenza e influsso," in *Sculture di età barocca tra Terra d'Otranto, Napoli e la Spagna*, ed. Raffaele Casciaro and Antonio Cassiano, exh. cat., Chiesa di San Francesco della Scarpa, Lecce (Rome, 2007), pp. 75–86.
49. See, for example, José Luis Romero Torres, "Nicola Fumo: Inmaculada Concepción," in *Inmaculada* (as in note 3 above), pp. 312–14.
50. See Manuel Gómez Moreno, *La Inmaculada en la escultura español* (Madrid, 1955).