

From Florence to Aranjuez: the cultural visit by Cosimo III de' Medici to the Royal Palace

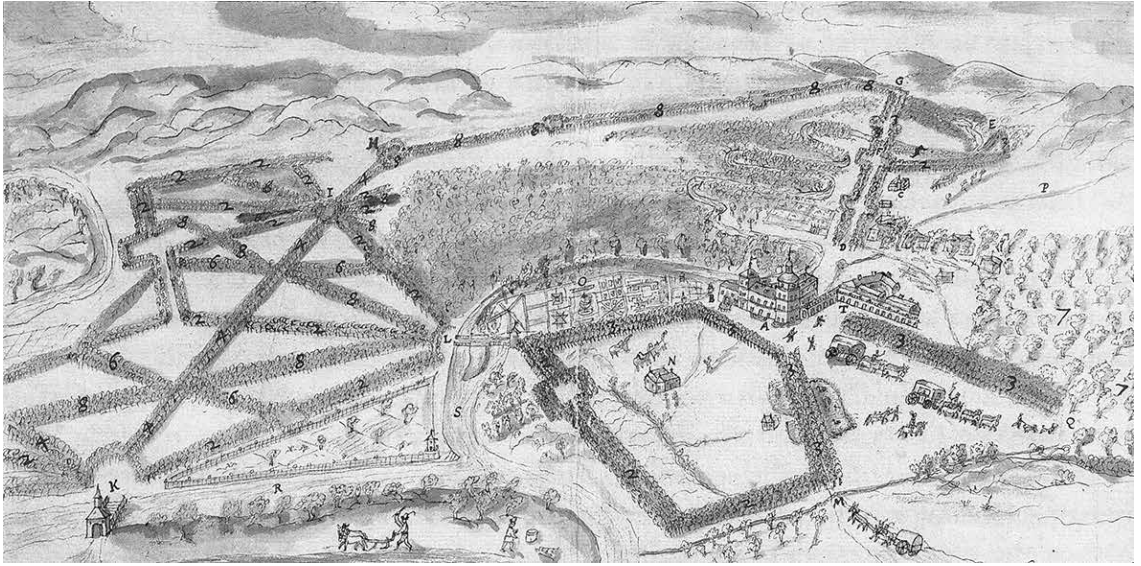
As a part of an educational journey across Spain, Portugal, England, Flanders and France between the 18th of September 1668 and the 29th of October 1669, Prince Cosimo III de' Medici, then heir to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, had a private audience with the Queen Regent Mariana of Austria and the child King Carlos II in Madrid, despite the political turbulence of the time caused by the intrigues of John of Austria, and visited the most important Spanish royal palaces such as the Palace of Aranjuez (on the 26th of November), the subject of this article¹.

During the trip, Cosimo was accompanied by an entourage of twenty-seven people, consisting of noblemen and servants. Five of them wrote a travel diary, making notes of the visits they made

each day, including Aranjuez. The most relevant is the *Relazione Ufficiale del Viaggio* written by the nobleman Lorenzo Magalotti, a member of the *Accademia della Crusca* and former secretary of the *Accademia del Cimento* where Cosimo had been educated. It was illustrated with ink washes of the places they visited, such as our royal site (fig. 1), by Pier Maria Baldi, another member of the retinue and the prince's teacher of drawing and architecture². A second interesting diary is the *Memorie del viaggio* by Filippo Corsini, also a member of the *Accademia della Crusca* and Cosimo's cupbearer on the journey (*scalco*)³. The accounts by the doctor, Giovanni Gornia⁴ and the administrator of provisions, Jacopo Ciuti⁵ (*spenditore*), contain details that are much more

1. Pier Maria Baldi, *The Aranjuez Palace*, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, codex 123, vol. 1, p. 58 bis (reproduced with permission of the MiBACT).





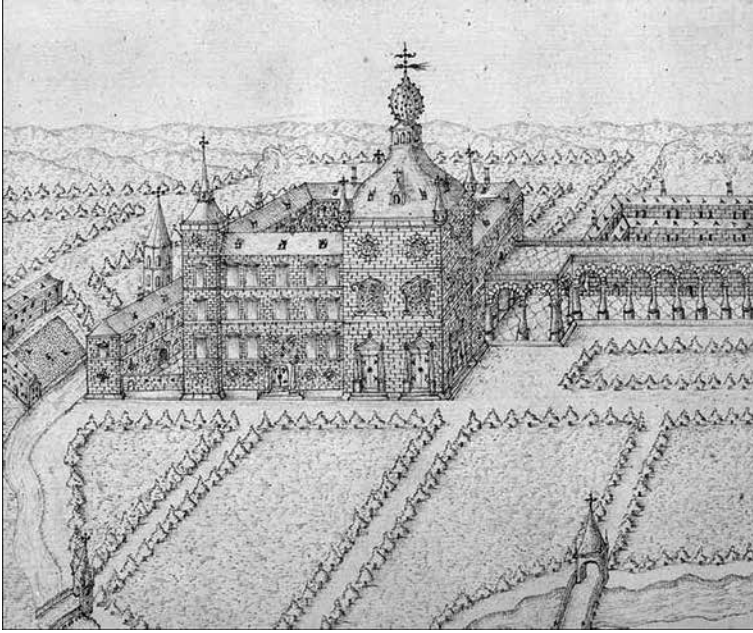
2. Jehan L'Hermitte, *View of the royal site of Aranjuez in 1587*, ms. *Le passetemps de Jehan L'Hermitte*, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique.

spontaneous. Finally, the diary by the chaplain Felice Monsacchi is the most succinct⁶. By studying these five texts together for the first time it is possible to evaluate the reactions of Cosimo and the different authors, each of whom was from a different social class, to seeing the palace, its gardens and fountains, sculptures and paintings, especially those created by Italians and Florentines, for which they showed a special interest, and which bear witness to Italy's cultural influence in Spain⁷. The notes made in the accounts book for the journey kept by Filippo Marchetti (*maestro di casa*) also provide information about the people the Prince met on this visit and about the objects he acquired⁸.

At the time of his visit, Aranjuez was a recreational residence, with wonderful gardens, allotments, orchards and forests⁹, which was only used by the royal family in spring for relaxing, walking, fishing and hunting¹⁰. It stood in meadowland in the valleys of the rivers Tajo and Jarama, with a large number of servants and surrounded by rich farmland and magnificent woodland full of game. The Palace consisted of an unfinished Italian-style Renaissance building that was designed by the architect Juan Bautista de Toledo, a disciple of Michelangelo Buonarroti, for King Felipe II (1561-1564) and later complemented by Juan de Herrera. The original plan was to build a central courtyard but, because of financial problems, only one part of the main western façade and the whole of the south wing were completed. This explains why it had an 'L' shape for centuries. The western façade was flanked by two towers. The right-hand

tower contained the royal chapel and stood behind an Italian-style garden known as the *Jardín del Rey* (King's Garden), enclosed by walls to preserve the king's privacy. On an island in the River Tajo, next to the Palace, were spectacular courtyard gardens, known as the *Jardín de la Isla* (Garden of the Island), which were famous throughout the whole of Europe for their fountains and water features. Unfortunately, everything was drastically reformed by the Bourbon dynasty, especially after the great fire of 1748. Although they retained the Renaissance structure of the Palace, they modified and expanded many parts to suit the new needs of the court. This is the reason for the interest in analysing the information we have about the royal site before these renovations were carried out, which is included in the documentation of the Prince's visit.

Fortunately, there are other graphic sources that make it possible to illustrate the elements described in the accounts. These are the anonymous view of the site drawn in 1587 by the Flemish Jean L'Hermitte, illustrating the manuscript *Le passetemps*, now in the Royal Library of Belgium¹¹ (fig. 2); a drawing of the Palace in 1606 by the German Hieremias Gundlach which is of little use in this study, due to the large number of mistakes it contains; illustration of the manuscript *Nova Hispaniae Regnorum Descriptio*, now in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek of Wien¹² (fig. 3); the two plans of the Palace by the royal architect Juan Gómez de Mora (showing the ground floor and upper floor), dating from 1626

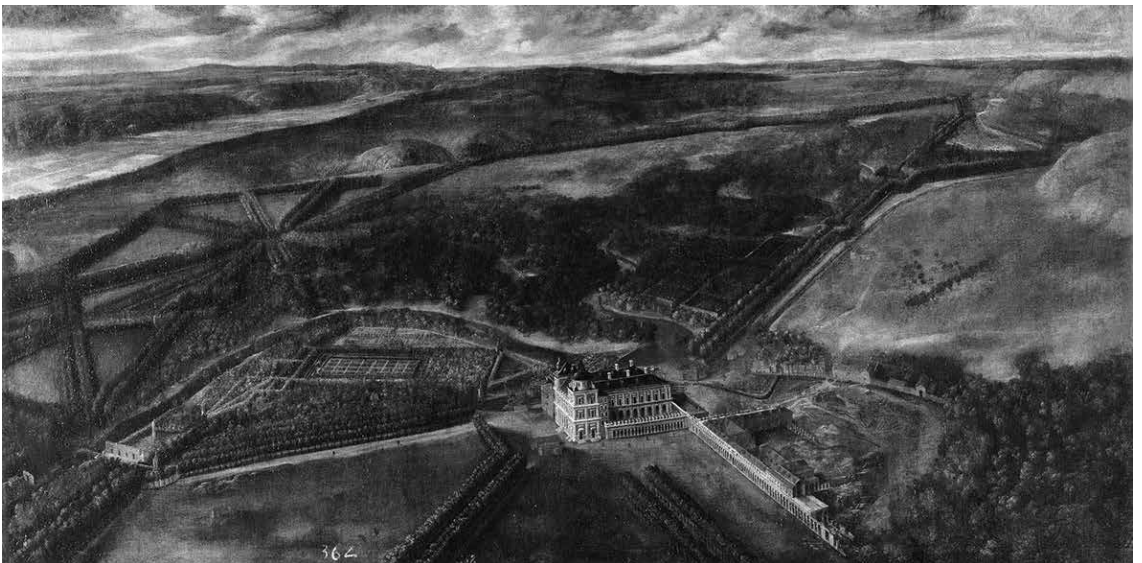


3. Hieremias Gundlach, *The Aranjuez Palace in 1606*, ms. *Nova Hispaniae Regnorum Descriptio*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek of Wien.

and now in the Vatican Library, using yellow watercolor to show the distribution of the part that was built at that time¹³; the four plans of the building by Gómez de Mora (the ground floor, two showing the mezzanine floors, and one of the lofts), dating from 1636 and now in the National Library of Madrid, using black ink to show the distribution of the part that was

built at that time¹⁴; an anonymous bird's eye view of the Palace in an oil painting from circa 1630, titled *Vista del Real Sitio de Aranjuez* and now in the Prado National Museum¹⁵ (fig. 4); an anonymous Spanish oil painting circa 1636 showing the project by Gómez de Mora for completing the Palace, now in the monastery of El Escorial¹⁶, with an accurate representation of

4. Anonymous, *Vista del Real Sitio de Aranjuez*, c. 1630, Prado National Museum, inv. P07090.



the *Jardín del Rey*, the *Casa de Oficios* and the *Casa de Caballeros*, both of which are incomplete and connected to the Palace by the portico, one angle of the *Jardín de la Isla*, some of the servants' houses and the avenue known as *Calle de la Reina* flanked by trees¹⁷; the painting of the *Fuente de los Tritones*, attributed to Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo and dated circa 1657, now in the Prado Museum¹⁸; the oil painting titled *La calle de la Reina en Aranjuez*, by Martínez del Mazo and dated circa 1660, now in the Prado Museum¹⁹ (fig. 5); the nine engravings of Aranjuez by Louis Meunier, published in *Veues du Palais, Jardins et Fontaine Darangouesse, maison de plaisance du Roi d'Espagne* (Paris, 1665)²⁰, of which there are several editions, consisting of views of the Palace, the gardens with flowerbeds and trellis tunnels, the fountain of Hercules (fig. 6), the fountain of Dolphins (or of Apollo) (fig. 7), the fountain of Tritons (fig. 8), the fountain of Juan de Austria (or of Venus), the fountain of the *Spinario* (or of the Harpies), the fountain of Neptune (or the Gods) and, finally, the fountain of Bacchus, which are quite accurate and were drawn in a close time of the journey²¹; and the plan of the *Jardín de la Isla* and the drawings of the fountains of Hercules, the *Spinario*, *Las Lonjas*, Juan de Austria, Bacchus, Neptune and Tritons in the diaries of Edward Montagu, first Earl of Sandwich, English ambassador in Madrid, made during his visit to the Palace in 1668²² (fig. 9).

1. BALDI'S INK WASH

Baldi's ink wash shows the real appearance of the Palace in 1668 from a point located to the south west of the esplanade that surrounded the complex in that area²³ (fig. 1). It seems to be a natural panorama from a real point and with a wide angle of view, following the typological classification of Fernando Marías for urban iconographies²⁴. This technique made it possible to draw the Palace in perspective, and for the buildings and trees at the front to conceal the rest of the structures situated behind them. Like the other ink washes in the *Relazione*, this would be made in Florence based on sketches drawn during the journey, in this case perhaps with more detail and less errors, as the artist had taken more time to make notes. The result was an invaluable graphic testimony of the condition of the site at the time of the visit.

This chorography shows the L shape of the building, with the main façade on the west wing, with a large square in front of it for welcoming visitors, and the southern façade of the south

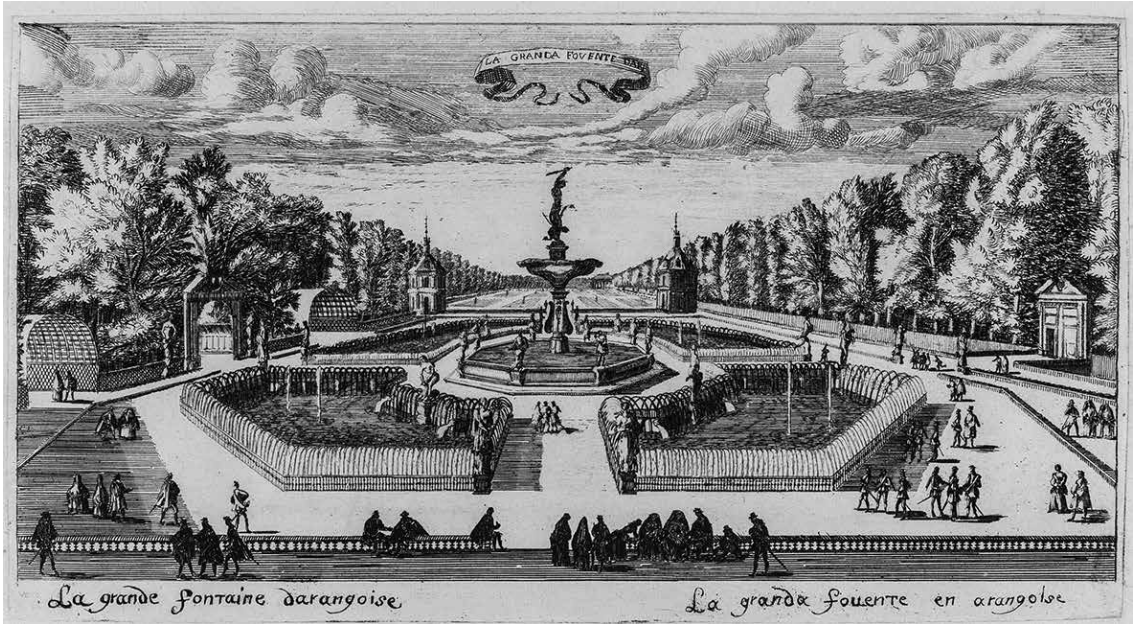


5. Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, *La calle de la Reina en Aranjuez*, c. 1660, Prado National Museum, inv. 1214.

wing. This main front consists of five sections on two floors. The ground floor has a gallery with five arches, which seem to have been filled in during the reign of Felipe IV, as originally they formed an open *loggia*²⁵. The central section contains the entrance to the palace, leading up a flight of clearly defined steps. On the other hand, the main floor has five large windows providing sweeping views over the countryside, with a small balustrade over the cornice. The façade is flanked by two towers, the left of which has a roof and the right a dome on top of a drum, an innovation in Spanish architecture at the time it was built²⁶, which is decorated in the drawing with square panels that are perforated by clearly defined openings. However, today they are alternately solid and perforated.

As previously mentioned, the right tower contained the royal chapel, as indicated in the view by the metal cross on the top of the weather vane on the dome²⁷. This small space had four entrances, although Baldi only shows the steps leading to three, which were used for the king's courtiers and servants to enter the building from the outside²⁸. It means that the church was public, as there were no others in the area²⁹.

Behind the chapel is the elevation of the building with a double staircase with parallel ramps, used

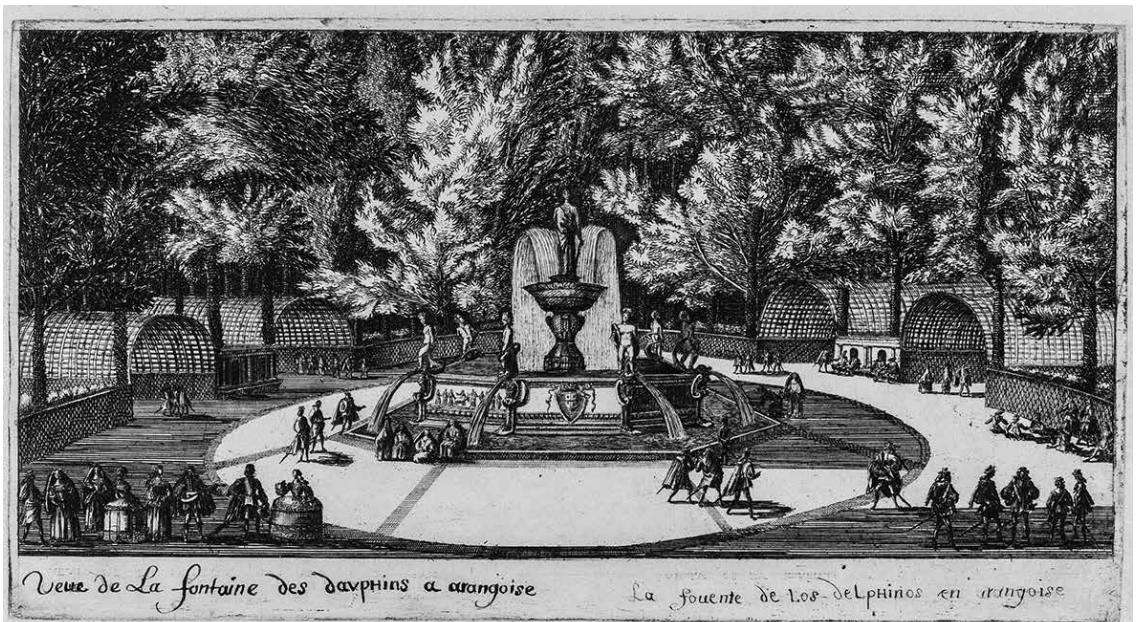


6. Louis Meunier, *Fountain of Hercules, Differentes vues des palais et Jardins de plaisance des Rois despagne deie a La Reine* (Paris? 1665-1668), National Library of Madrid.

for servants to move between the different floors of the Palace and the king's quarters³⁰. Only its southern façade is shown, with the double arcade on each level, ensuring an abundant supply of

light and a clear view over the stairs. On the top floor it is possible to see the other function of the building, with the bell tower of the chapel, whose arches contain two large bells³¹.

7. Louis Meunier, *Fountain of Dolphins, Differentes vues des palais et Jardins de plaisance des Rois despagne deie a La Reine* (Paris? 1665-1668), National Library of Madrid.



This view also shows the south wing of the unfinished *cortile*. Like the main façade, this part also has arcades on the ground floor – nine arches in total – facing out onto the King's Garden, of which we can only see four in the drawing itself. The main floor also has large windows; the first four would have belonged to the 'King's Gallery', which we will examine in greater detail later on, while the fifth would have belonged to the King's Bedroom³². The chimneystack would have corresponded to the fireplace on the north wall of the King's Gallery. This was used, together with another fireplace at the opposite end of the hall, which is not represented, to heat this large area. Finally, the picture also shows the original lead roof sheets and the distribution of the mansards and the rest of the chimneys. The symmetry and regularity of the drawn building, as well as the use of Tuscan columns, semi-circular arches and large windows, entablatures and cornices, all demonstrate the classicist, Italian training of their designer.

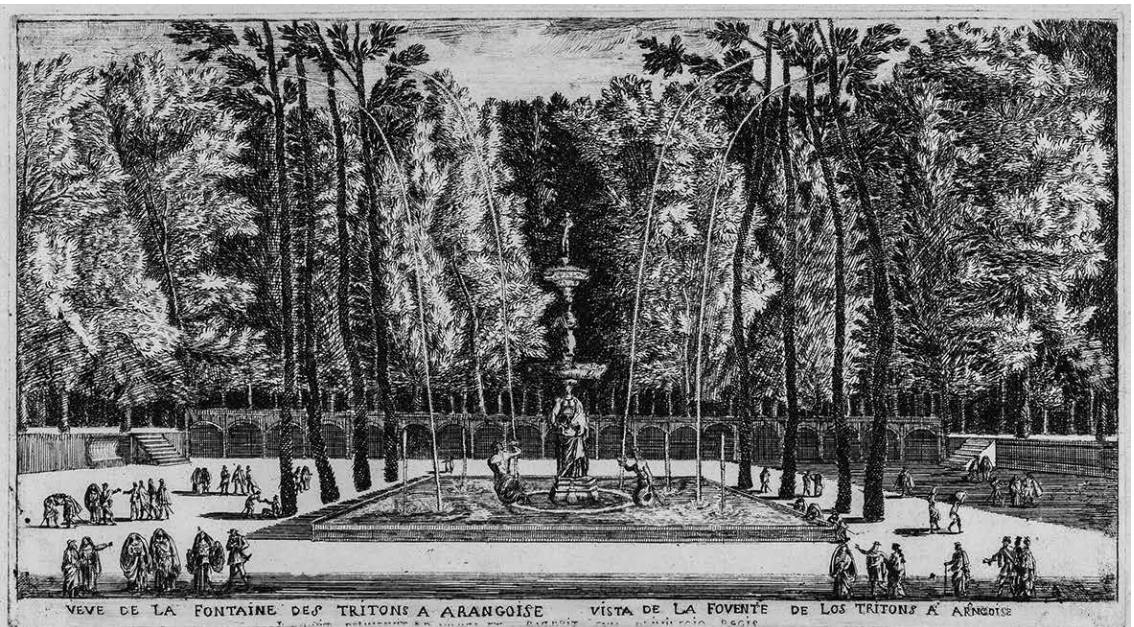
In addition, the drawing presents the porticoed south wall of the *Jardín del Rey*, a large gallery with an open terrace or walkway as a roof, enclosed by a balustrade sketched in the view. The number of arches shown does not coincide with those we can see today. This portico and the terrace continue at a right angle to the south, creating another square, used for performances and now known as the *Plaza de Parejas* (Couples' Square)³³. On these occasions, the upper terrace also functioned as a

box looking out over the esplanade, in the same way as the balcony with latticework on the western side, next to the Palace, which was prepared for the monarchs³⁴. As before, the number of arches does not coincide with those that can be seen today.

Behind this second portico is the *Casa de Oficios* (House of Offices) and the *Casa de Caballeros* (House of Gentlemen), designed by Juan de Herrera (1584) and which were incomplete at that time. The first was used for stables and as accommodation for the servants and officials. The drawing only contains its roof, with its chimneys and mansards, which begins from the line of the disclosed terrace of the portico. The central lintelled arch, not placed in the axis in the drawing, would have been used as an entrance for carriages, wagons and riders on horseback, leading into the large yard at the rear. The second house was used as accommodation for courtiers. The view shows its northeast angle with a high floor over the portico. Their location is very practical, as it would have provided its inhabitants with quick, comfortable access to the Palace through the galleries in the square (Baldi sketched a figure inside the second-to-last arch), and up the twin staircase to carry out their work.

Above the roofs can be seen a huge brick obelisk, which has now vanished, built as a vent for the lead guttering that channelled water from the artificial lagoon known as the *Mar de Ontigola* to the

8. Louis Meunier, *Fountain of Tritons, Differentes vues des palais et Jardins de plaisance des Rois despagne deie a La Reine* (Paris? 1665-1668), National Library of Madrid.



fountains in the *Jardín de la Isla*, where another still stands³⁵. A number of local buildings can be seen behind the galleries, probably houses and mills, which would have belonged to the king's servants and workers, as private individuals were prohibited from living in the grounds of the royal site³⁶.

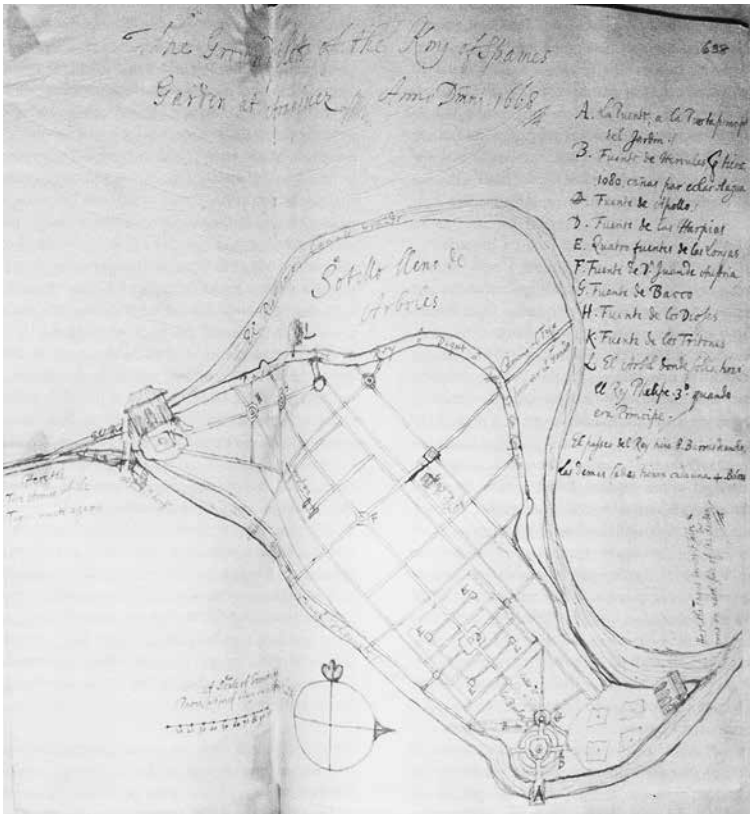
Alongside the Palace, separated by an alleyway and in line with the main façade and facing towards the River Tajo, the image portrays the old *Caserón de los Grandes Maestres de la Orden de Santiago* (1387-1409), which was reformed during the reign of the Catholics Kings and was the origin of the royal property³⁷. This is a fortified mediaeval residence, built of stone blocks and bricks, which has a somewhat crestfallen appearance in the drawing, which shows an entrance and a gallery supported by pillars.

The Florentine artist draws the Palace complex surrounded by the leafy groves of trees for which it was famous, with those on the northern side corresponding to the *Jardín de la Isla*. Here can be seen the spire of a building, topped by a weathervane, which I have not been able to identify. All of the wooded areas are surrounded by wooden fencing to prevent the king's livestock – cows, bulls and horses – as well as wild animals such as deers and boars

from entering the squares and avenues³⁸. Finally, in order to give a sense of scale to the architecture, the artist has drawn several local people associated with the customs mentioned in Magalotti's text which he illustrates. From left to right these are a herd of camels and their keepers; two gentlemen courtiers engrossed in conversation (at least one of them is wearing a sword); what may be two hunters and their dog; and then the movement of people and mules through the two lintelled arches opened in the galleries of the *Plaza de Parejas*, between the Palace and the *Casa de Oficios*, to allow for movement along the road and traffic in both directions. A third lintelled arch is shown in the drawing with a platform and some steps in front of it, perhaps a mounting block used by members of the royal family for mounting and dismounting from carriages and horseback. Only one of these three arches still stands today, while the other two have been replaced by the current versions.

2. THE PRINCE'S ROUTE

On Monday the twenty-sixth of November,



9. Plan of the Jardín de la Isla, account by Edward Montagu, first Earl of Sandwich, 1668, Mapperton House, Dorset, UK.

Cosimo left the court in his carriage in the morning towards Toledo and Andalusia, with the idea of exploring southern Spain. His first stop was Aranjuez, where he spent some hours visiting the site. Thanks to the diary of Corsini and, to a lesser extent, the other accounts, we know the route the Prince took and the places he saw, some of which have now been reformed or destroyed. According to them, the entourage arrived on the road from Madrid, and entering the royal grounds by first crossing the wooden bridge over the River Jarama represented by L'Hermitte (fig. 2, letter K)³⁹; then continuing along the avenue known as *Calle de Entrepuentes* flanked by high trees (fig. 2, n. 2); crossing two bridges over the Tajo in the *Jardín de la Isla*, the second of which led to the gate to the site (fig. 2, letter L, fig. 4); and, finally, following the avenue of *Calle de Madrid*, also flanked with trees⁴⁰ (fig. 2, n. 3, fig. 4)⁴¹.

Officially, the Prince was travelling incognito in Europe to allow him greater freedom of movement in the localities he visited, and to avoid him being humiliated due to not being received as royalty by European kings. This explains why he refused to accept his accommodation in the *Appartamento dell'Infanta* room in the Palace, an area that is now unidentified but which may have been located on the ground floor⁴², prepared for him on the order of the Queen⁴³. Instead, he chose to stay in a private house apparently belonging to the king's main huntsman⁴⁴, to whom the Prince gave a tip of 21 *scudi* as noted in Marchetti's book⁴⁵.

After unpacking in his room and eating, Cosimo visited the *Jardín de la Isla* described in the diaries as accessible from the area of the Palace by a wooden bridge and surrounded by a wall to protect against flooding⁴⁶. During his walk, the Prince and his entourage enjoyed the gardens that had been designed during the reign of Felipe II, later renovated in Italian style by the Florentine landscaper Cosme Loti for Felipe IV⁴⁷. The plan contained in the diary of Montagu is the only evidence we have of its layout at the time of the Prince's visit, making it possible to identify the bridge used by the entourage⁴⁸ (fig. 9). It has a longitudinal, orthogonal arrangement, divided into trellised tunnels and square flowerbeds with low hedges in different designs, consisting of box, sage, myrtle and other plants, which are mentioned in the manuscripts. The galleries were created using wooden trellises with climbing plants, as shown in the engravings by Meunier, creating mazes which according to Corsini sought to both please and surprise the eye (figs. 6, 7, 8). The crossroads and a number of esplanades contained spectacular fountains, many of which had an Italian design, with surprising features

and with bronze and marble sculptures, whose precise distribution is shown in the English plan⁴⁹. Magalotti also refers to the presence of wooden arbours painted in green, strategically allocated along the edges of the garden to shelter from the sun, go fishing, and enjoy the views over the River Tajo⁵⁰. Two are shown in the plan of the Earl of Sandwich, one at the eastern end of the island, with views upriver, and another at the western end, with views downriver (fig. 9), although there is written evidence of their presence, together with others, from the sixteenth century⁵¹.

After exploring the garden, the Prince visited the Palace, which had remained in basically the same condition since the reign of Felipe II. The diaries praise its modernity and fine design, despite noting that it is incomplete, and drawing attention to the combination and differing colors of the construction materials: red brick for the walls; white Colmenar stone for door and window openings, pilasters, entablatures and angles; and lead for the roofs⁵². They also refer to the architecture of the chapel and its dome⁵³ as well as the terraced porticoes enclosing the *Jardín del Rey*⁵⁴, which, as previously mentioned, continued to form the front part of the *Casa de Oficios* and *Casa de Caballeros*⁵⁵ and created the 'theatre-square' for bullfights mentioned by Gornia⁵⁶.

The doctor also mentions the existence of rooms for royal employees in what he describes as a 'castle-shaped' building. I suspect, like Palacios⁵⁷, that the autor is referring to the old *Caserón de la Orden de Santiago*⁵⁸, which apparently still had its mediaeval tower and a somewhat fortified appearance, as can be seen in the drawing by Gundlach (fig. 3). Cosimo and his entourage must have seen the outside of this building when they reached the esplanade of the Palace from Madrid, when began their visit of the *Jardín de la Isla* and later when they visited the grounds of the site on horseback. Gornia also states that a total of 600 people worked in Aranjuez⁵⁹, with administrative matters in the hands of a governor – the highest authority on the site – a warden, a captain of the guard and a secretary⁶⁰. This suggests that the survival of the building for so many centuries – it was finally demolished in 1727⁶¹ – was a result of the need for space for servants, as the Palace was still unfinished. This idea is supported by the documented presence of two high corridors that connected both buildings⁶².

Unfortunately, the manuscripts provide very few details about the rooms they visited, whose distribution we know from the drawings by Gómez de Mora, now lost after suffering fires and renovations⁶³. By reading them we can deduce

that they saw several rooms on the ground floor and main floor, because Magalotti describes them as few in number, not too large, square, and with spacious vaults⁶⁴. Neither are there any specific references to their decoration or furnishings, perhaps because during the reign of Felipe II it was decided to use a simple white stucco on the walls and ceilings⁶⁵. This would explain the disparaging comments made by Corsini, who describes them as poorly furnished and of no interest, probably because he was comparing them either consciously or unconsciously with those he knew in the Florentine palaces and villas of the Medici⁶⁶. However, Magalotti and Gornia draw attention to the layout of the upper gallery that leads into the *Jardín del Rey*, known as the *Galería del Rey* (King's Gallery), the largest room in the whole building, decorated with a large number of paintings that are studied later on in this article⁶⁷.

After leaving the Palace down the double staircase and through the side door in the porticoes, used by the kings to leave their rooms directly, mount their horses and go hunting⁶⁸, Cosimo also mounted his horse, and together with his entourage visited the large tree-lined avenues in what was one of the most important royal parks at that time, designed for Felipe II⁶⁹. In it, the pastures and areas used for growing crops are shown as organised around large avenues and squares, flanked by rows of elms, poplars and other shade-giving trees⁷⁰, which seem to have only undergone minor reforms and extensions in the years prior to the Prince's visit⁷¹. Magalotti's reference to the squares of the *Media Luna* (Half Moon) at the point where the bridge spanned the River Tajo, and the circular *Doce Calles* (Twelve Streets), and Gornia's reference to the *Doce Calles* and the *Avenida de la Reina* (Queen's Avenue), suggest that the Prince took the complete circular route from the east to the west that is shown in the view by Jehan L'Hermitte from 1587 (fig. 2) and in the oil painting from around 1630 in the Prado Museum⁷² (fig. 4). However, the diaries do not provide any information about the direction of the visit, i.e. whether it began in the avenue of *Calle de Madrid* or in the *Calle de la Reina*, whose appearance at that time we know from the oil painting by Madrazo circa 1660 (fig. 5). It comes as no surprise that both authors mention the square of *Doce Calles*, the largest and most spectacular in the entire park, whose name refers to the twelve avenues that split off from it at 30° angles, dividing the terrain into triangular and trapezoidal plots. Curiously, Corsini only highlights the avenue of *Calle de Madrid* which, as previously mentioned, runs from the bridge

over the River Tajo to a corner of the square where visitors were received at the Palace⁷³, clearly shown in Baldi's view (fig. 1). This explains the harsh criticism levelled by Magalotti and Gornia that none of them are perpendicular to the main entrance of the building⁷⁴. In the painting of the *Calle de la Reina*, by Martínez de Mazo, it can be seen how three carriages from the royal entourage, each drawn by six horses, are passing through the barrier that has been opened by the park's guards, the same barrier they may well have opened for Cosimo some months later (fig. 5).

During the visit, on the land between the avenues and the rivers, Cosimo, who was a lover of agriculture and hunting⁷⁵, noted with interest the layout of the gardens, the orchards and meadows, and the areas dedicated to livestock and hunting laid out during the reign of Felipe II, with the diaries providing information about the condition of the park at the time of the visit. They refer to the cultivation of apple and quince trees⁷⁶; the abundance of horses, mules, cows, bulls 'for bullfighting', goats and turkeys⁷⁷; the use of dozens of camels for transporting goods, shown in Baldi's view and analysed by Gornia⁷⁸; and the large number of deer, rabbits, hares, partridges and pheasants, requiring the construction of walls and fences to prevent them from escaping⁷⁹. Agricultural, livestock and forestry activities, and even hunting permits, brought substantial profits to the royal site, of up to 100,000 *ducados* a year according to Monsacchi, which the chaplain indicates would have been invested in paying the salaries of its servants and in the maintenance of the buildings and gardens⁸⁰.

The Prince then returned to his lodgings, where he received milk, fruit, rabbits and poultry from the site on the orders of the Queen⁸¹. Actually, these products and others such as beef, butter and milk-fed capons were sent every Saturday to Mariana de Austria, proof of the palace's productive capacity⁸². The following morning, he heard mass in the palace Chapel, which we can presume he entered through one of the four outer doors drawn by Baldi⁸³. Later, once mass was over, he continued on his journey towards Toledo.

3. THE FOUNTAINS AND HYDRAULIC MACHINES

When Cosimo visited the *Jardín de la Isla* he discovered a wonderful collection of fountains, some of which had been recently refurbished on the orders of Felipe IV⁸⁴. From the entrance to the western end, there were eight fountains, the same number mentioned by Gornia⁸⁵, most of which were made in Italy, and some elements in

Florence⁸⁶: these are, at the entrance, the fountain of Hercules; on the central path, the fountains of the Dolphins, *Las Lonjas*, *Spinario*, Venus and Bacchus; and on the western path, the fountains of Neptune and Tritons. Magalotti mentions their expensive materials, marbles and bronzes, although he criticises that they only have the water from the spouts⁸⁷. He also mentions the dimensions of the fountains of Hercules, the Dolphins and the Tritons. The fact that the first two are located at the start of the garden (fig. 9, B and C), while the third was at the far southern end of the western axis (fig. 9, K), would indicate that the Prince's entourage visited the whole island at their leisure⁸⁸.

Meunier's drawing (fig. 6) and those included in the diary of the Earl of Sandwich, together with the fountain that is still preserved, help us to understand Magalotti's description of the first fountain, installed in 1661 by the Master Builder of Royal Works José de Villarreal⁸⁹. It stands in an esplanade with twelve marble statues mentioned by the Italian, restored by Giambattista Morelli (the majority of which have now disappeared), and in the middle of four ponds that form an octagonal shape, with dozens of small water spouts shown in the French engraving, and praised by the Florentine. The central basin is polygonal, with a further eight statues on its angles. In the centre there is a dark marble bowl from the mountains of Toledo, carved by the sculptor Bartolomé Zumbigo, over which are white marble figures of Hercules and the Hydra, attributed to the Italian sculptor Martino Regio. As explained in the *Relazione*, the group represents the Greek hero strangling the heads of the monster, which shoot water out of their mouths⁹⁰.

The fountain of the Dolphins, which we know thanks to Meunier (fig. 7) and the fountain we can see today, is Italian and from the sixteenth century. Magalotti mentions that it is made of white marble, and that it consisted of a basin supported by several dolphins⁹¹. However, this statement must be a mistake, as the engraving in question shows that the dolphins do not support anything, but instead are located on the eight angles of the basin, accompanied by genii, and that they shoot water out of their mouths which falls into a lower pool. He also mentions that the fountain is topped by an image he is unable to identify⁹². I suspect he was cautious about this because despite the fact that the statue has always been considered as showing Apollo standing over the serpent Python, his attributes – a cornucopia and a crown of fruits – are more typical of the god Vertumnus, something that did not escape the erudite eyes of the Florentine. Recently, the

sculpture has been attributed to the Florentine sculptor Valerio Cioli⁹³.

Finally, the third fountain (fig. 8), made of white marble, looks Italian, although its author and origin are unknown. It was installed in the garden between 1656 and 1658 by Villarreal, where it remained until 1847, when it was moved to its current position in the gardens of Campo del Moro, in Madrid⁹⁴. Magalotti notes that it had a large basin, made ex-novo by the brothers Miguel and Bartolomé Zumbigo; a central bowl supported by unidentified figures, corresponding to the Three Graces; and on the top, a statue of Cupid. He also describes a clever system, shown clearly by Meunier, which consisted of four lead pipes camouflaged in the trunks of the trees in the corners, which made it possible to pour four huge jets of water onto the basin from a great height. Strangely, he does not mention the three large Tritons in the basin that gave the fountain its name⁹⁵.

References to these water features are also made for other fountains which Magalotti describes as 'minor' and in other parts of the garden⁹⁶. He is probably also referring to the promenade of *Las Burlas* (fig. 9), drawn in the plan of the Earl of Sandwich, which had been built in the sixteenth century between the fountains of Apollo and of *Las Lonjas*, which had dozens of spouts hidden in the ground to splash by surprise the ladies and gentlemen of the court as they passed by⁹⁷.

The *Relazione* refers to yet another hydraulic invention designed to entertain the court, which consisted of a bench with a back support, positioned beneath a false birdcage, where the water imitated the tweeting of the birds that were painted on it, and which blew a trumpet held by a small statue of the goddess PHEME⁹⁸. Magalotti, Corsini and Gornia realized that all of these fountains and hydraulic inventions required vast amounts of water, which came from millwheels in the River Tajo and from the artificial lake of Ontígola built during the reign of Felipe II⁹⁹.

4. THE PAINTINGS

As regards the collection of paintings in the Palace, only Magalotti analyses those contained in the now-vanished King's Gallery, which at that time was the largest and most lavish room that the entourage visited. Its size, with seven windows facing onto the *Jardín del Rey*, explains why it was used for receptions and ceremonies, a purpose for which it was decorated in 1664, possibly based on the instructions given by Diego Velázquez before his death¹⁰⁰. He

makes special mention of the paintings on the walls showing views of the royal country houses, including several of Aranjuez itself, together with landscapes and hunting scenes: «ed ella è tutta ornata di quadri [...] che tutti sono abitazioni di campagna del re, varie vedute dell'istesso Aranjuez e varie cacce e paesi». Described by Gornia as wooded scenes (*boscherécci*), they have been identified by Martínez Leiva as thirty-three landscapes attributed to the court painters Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo and Benito Manuel de Agüero, many of which are conserved in the Prado Museum and by the Patrimonio Nacional, while others have been lost. Martínez Leiva has studied the original distribution of the paintings, as the room was dismantled during the Bourbon period, identifying two vertical paintings on the east and west walls (*The Fountain of Hercules*, whose whereabouts are unknown, and the previously mentioned *Fountain of the Tritons*); two paintings that stood over the door on the east wall (*The Arch of Titus in Rome* and *Classic Building with Landscape*)¹⁰¹; two paintings over the door in the west wall (*Landscape with Mercury and Herse* and *A Garden with a Country House*)¹⁰²; six large canvases between the windows in the south wall (*Landscape with the Fable of Latona, A Storm at Sea, A Country in Winter, The Inferno, The Fable of Cephalus and Aurora* and *Landscape with the Fable of Pyramus and Thisbe*)¹⁰³; seven paintings over the windows in the south wall (*Landscape with Hermitage on a Hill, Landscape with the Fable of Antiope, A Portrait of El Pardo, A Portrait of El Retiro, A Portrait of El Escorial, A Portrait of the Casa Real del Campillo* and *A Portrait of Civitavecchia*)¹⁰⁴; two small paintings that hung over two mirrors on both ends of the south wall (*A Country Scene and a Stream* and *A Marina and its Port*)¹⁰⁵; two pictures over the door in the north wall (*A Portrait of the Pond in the Buen Retiro* and *A Country Landscape with a River*)¹⁰⁶; and finally, ten large format paintings that hung between the doors in the north wall (*Diana Killing a Boar in El Escorial, The Bath of Diana and her Nymphs, Landscape with the Fable of Venus and Adonis*)¹⁰⁷, the previously cited *Portrait of Calle de la Reina, Portrait of the Arbour and Parapet in the Canal of the Jardín de la Isla*, whose whereabouts are currently unknown, *A Sea Port with the Tale of Dido and Aeneas as they Embarked, A Storm with the Fable of Dido and Aeneas in the Cave, Landscape with the Fable of Polyphemus and Galatea, Landscape with Pan Teaching some Cupids* and *Landscape with the Fable of Mercury and Argos*)¹⁰⁸. He also mentions a number of golden ornaments¹⁰⁹ which could be a reference to the gilded frames of the paintings¹¹⁰,

or otherwise to the stuccoes of the cornices and vaults, which may have been partly gilded, and which were created by Giambattista Morelli.

Corsini, as well as Magalotti and Gornia, all describe the painting of the Annunciation by Titian, now disappeared, given as a gift by the Venetian artist to Empress Isabel of Portugal, and which had hung since the reign of Felipe II in the main altar of the royal Chapel, where Cosimo heard mass on the morning of his departure¹¹¹. Fortunately, an engraving by Gian Jacopo Caraglio allows us to know what the painting was like¹¹² (fig. 10) and makes it possible to verify the accurate descriptions of Magalotti and Gornia of the scene of the Annunciation, crowned by a choir of angels, with one in each corner supporting the Columns of Hercules with the motto *Plus Ultra* of the House of Austria¹¹³.

A thorough analysis of Baldi's drawing and the five diaries of the journey by provide us with priceless information about one of the most emblematic royal sites of the Spanish monarchy, a combination of park, palace and garden as it is described by Magalotti («ed è un connesso di parco, palazzo e giardino») and Ciuti («villa reale dov'è un bellissimo palazzo con tutte le comodità possibili, caccie bellissime [...], giardini [e] stradoni coperti piantate d'alberi»). For several centuries it was the favourite residence of the monarchs of the House of Habsburg, because of its rich hunting grounds, an aspect that was highlighted by Monsacchi («villa del re destinata alla comodità delle caccie»). The authors wrote very positive reviews of the palace's architecture (M: «l'architettura è moderna ed è assai buona»; C: «con regolare e buon disegno») as well as the layout of the *Jardín de la Isla* (Mo2: «un gran giardino»), the fountains (G: «fonti bellissime»), the tree-lined avenues (M: «vastissimi viali») or the complete ensemble (C: «tutto questo luogo è per la situazione e per la magnificenza degno d'un gran re»), contributing with the copies of their descriptions of the Prince's journey to the international literary renown of Aranjuez, rightly declared a World Heritage Cultural Landscape by the Unesco in 2001.

The coinciding details that appear in the different diaries about the history of the Palace, how work had begun on its construction during the reign of Felipe II and how it was still incomplete (C: «Filippo Secondo [...] doppo la conquista del Portogallo, gettò i fondamenti di questo luogo»); the unfinished parts of the project (M: «del Palazzo non è fatto che un fianco»); the source of the water used in the fountains (C: «quelle [fontaines], però, che fanno la forza maggiore vengono da un lago fatto a tal requisizione a



10. Gian Jacopo Caraglio, *The Annunciation of Aranjuez by Titian, 1527-1539*.

meza costa della vicina montagna»); the tree-lined avenues planted by Felipe II (C: «s'andò a spasso per i viali che all'intorno si ritrovano [...] che furono distribuiti fin dal tempo di Filippo Secondo»); or the plans of Felipe IV for the royal site (C: «Filippo 4° arricchì di varie fontane il giardino et ebbe pensiero di proseguire la fabbrica»); etc; indicate that the Prince's group was accompanied by several unidentified guides who provided them with a large amount of information. Magalotti refers to them when he states that Cosimo visited the park guided by staff from the royal site who had been assigned for this purpose, who he then gave a tip of 90 *escudos*¹¹⁴ (M: «colla guida d'ufiziali del luogo destinati a servirlo»). Therefore, these five texts have allowed us to obtain a more thorough understanding of the planned route for visits, an aspect which has not been studied by historiography until now.

Significantly, in the field of fine arts, the texts only praise the fountains of Hercules, Apollo and Tritons, the three with clear Italian connections, and the painting by Titian. These comments reveal the interests and cultural tastes of Cosimo and his entourage, and came about as a result of their intention to identify signs of Italian

and Florentine culture in the collections and properties of the Habsburgs.

Miguel Taín Guzmán
University of Santiago de Compostela
miguel.tain@usc.es

NOTES

1. On these visits see A. Sánchez, *Viaje de Cosme III por España (1668-1669)*. Madrid y su provincia, Madrid, 1927; V. Nieto, *Madrid y los sitios reales*, in *El viaje a Compostela de Cosme III de Médicis*, Santiago, 2004, pp. 451-457.

2. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Mediceo Palatino, Cod. 123, 1 (referred to in this article as M). The text of the journey through Spain has been published with an introductory study by A. Sánchez and A. Mariutti, *Viaje de Cosme de Medicis por España y Portugal (1668-1669)*, Madrid, 1933, and by P. Caucci, *El Viaje del Principe Cosimo dei Medici por España y Portugal*, Santiago, 2004. On Magalotti see C. Preti and L. Matt, *Magalotti, Lorenzo*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (hereafter DBI), vol. 67, Rome, 2006, pp. 300-305. On Baldi see R. Chiarelli, *Baldi, Pier Maria*, in *DBI*, vol. 5, Rome, 1960, pp. 470-471.

3. Private library of the current Prince Corsini, to whom I am grateful for allowing me to consult it in 2013 (referred to as C).

4. *Viaggio fatto dal Serenissimo Principe Cosimo Terzo*, British Library, ADD Ms. 16504; referred to as G.

5. *Relazione del secondo viaggio del Serenissimo Principe Cosimo*, Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Rari, K 975 r, ff. 40r-85v; referred to as Ci.

6. *Viaggio [...] fatto dal Serenissimo Signore Principe Cosimo*, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center of the Univ. of Texas, Ranuzzi Family Manuscripts, vol. Ph 12742, folder 6, ff. 97r-115r; referred to as Mo1. Also, one letter attributed to Monsacchi and addressed to Francesco Rucellai, today in la BNCF, Panc. 219, 219-220, is referred to as Mo2.

7. The texts of the visit of Aranjuez are in M pp. 58-60; C ff. 104v-107r; G ff. 40r-41v; Ci f. 52v; and Mo1 f. 103r.

8. Archivio di Stato di Firenze (ASF), Acquisti e Doni, 82, ins. 2; referred to as Ma.

9. On the history of the site up until the moment of the visit, see in particular J.A. Álvarez de Quindos, *Descripción histórica del real bosque y casa de Aranjuez*, Madrid, 1804; J.J. Martín, *El Palacio de Aranjuez en el siglo XVI*, in «Archivo Español de Arte», 1962, pp. 237-252; J.J. Rivera, *Juan Bautista de Toledo y Felipe II. La implantación del clasicismo en España*, Valladolid, 1984, pp. 103-183; V. Tovar, cur., presentation of *Juan Gómez de Mora (1586-1648). Arquitecto y trazador del rey y maestro mayor de obras de la villa de Madrid*, Madrid, 1986, pp. 65-69; J. M. Morán and F. Checa, *Las casas del rey. Casas de Campo, Cazaderos y Jardines. Siglos XVI y XVII*, Madrid, 1986, especially pp. 38-48, 83-84, 90-97, 105-

106, 109-114, 119-121 and 134-139; A. Luengo and C. Millares, *El Real Sitio de Aranjuez*, in *Jardín y naturaleza en el reinado de Felipe II*, Madrid, 1998, pp. 461-495; *El palacio real de Aranjuez*, in *Cuadernos de restauración de Iberdrola*, VII, Madrid, 2003; J. L. Sancho, *Aranjuez. Un Palacio para las jornadas de Felipe II*, «Reales Sitios», 2004, 159, pp. 14-25; A. Luengo, *Aranjuez, utopía y realidad. La construcción de un paisaje*, Madrid, 2008.

10. Cf. J.L. Sancho and G. Martínez Leiva, *¿Dónde está el rey? El ritmo estacional de la corte española y la decoración de los Sitios Reales (1650-1700)*, in *Cortes del Barroco. De Bernini y Velázquez a Luca Giordano*, Madrid, 2003, pp. 85-98.

11. Cf. J. Sáenz, introductory study to *El Pasatiempos de Jehan Lhermite. Memorias de un gentilhomme Flamenco en la corte Felipe II y Felipe III*, Aranjuez, 2005, pp. LXXXVIII and 390-395.

12. Cf. F. Unterkircher, *Hieremias Gundlach: Nova Hispaniae Regnorum Descriptio (Co. 6481 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek)*, in «Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien», 1960, 56, p. 190.

13. See Tovar, *Juan Gómez de Mora*, cit., p. 195.

14. See Tovar, *Juan Gómez de Mora*, cit., pp. 196-199.

15. Inv. P07090. Cf. *El palacio real*, cit., pp. 49-52.

16. Patrimonio Nacional, inv. 10014333.

17. Cf. J. Jordán, *Proyecto de Juan Gómez de Mora para la conclusión del Palacio Real de Aranjuez*, in *Tesoros de los Palacios Reales de España. Una historia compartida*, Madrid, 2011, p. 309.

18. Inv. P01213. Cf. M.J. Herrero, *Workshop of Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez (1599-1660). The fountain of the Tritons in the Jardín de la Isla, Aranjuez*, in *A Shared History. Treasures from the Royal Palaces of Spain*, Lisbon, 2014, pp. 210-211.

19. Inv. P01214. Cf. Museo del Prado, *Catálogo de las pinturas*, Madrid, 1996, p. 217.

20. The details of the publication are from the copy in the Narodowa Library (signat. A.612/G.XVII/II-11 adl. 17), digitalized in Europeana, which is only missing the engraving of the gardens and their trellis tunnels.

21. Cf. A.P. Robert-Dumesnil, *Le Peintre-Graveur Français, ou Catalogue raisonné des estampes gravées par les peintres et les dessinateurs de l'École Française*, vol. 5, Paris, 1841, pp. 255-260.

22. Cf. J. Portús, *El Conde de Sandwich en Aranjuez (las fuentes del Jardín de la Isla en 1668)*, in «Reales Sitios», 2004, 159, pp. 46-59.

23. The starting point for this analysis of the view is the study carried out in *El palacio real*, cit., pp. 52-53.

24. Cf. F. Marias, *Imágenes de ciudades españolas: de las convenciones cartográficas a la corografía urbana*, in *El atlas del rey planeta*, Hondarribia, 2002, p. 104.

25. Cf. *El palacio real*, cit., pp. 22 and 53.

26. Cf. J. Ortega and M.A. Alonso, *Sobre la torre cupulada del siglo XVI en el Palacio de Aranjuez*, *Actas del Cuarto Congreso Nacional de Historia de la Construcción* (Cádiz 2005), Madrid, 2005, pp. 803-808.

27. Cf. J. Ortega and M.A. Alonso, *Reconstrucción de la Capilla del Palacio de Aranjuez en el siglo XVI*, «Reales Sitios», 2004, 159, pp. 3-13.

28. Cf. Sancho, *Aranjuez. Un Palacio*, cit., p. 20.

29. Cf. Álvarez de Quindos, *Descripción histórica*, cit., p. 205.

30. Cf. Sancho, *Aranjuez. Un Palacio*, cit., pp. 19 and 20-23.

31. Sancho, *Aranjuez. Un Palacio*, cit., p. 23.

32. See the plan showing the original distribution and functions of the rooms in *El palacio real*, cit., p. 21, fig. 2.

33. This use can be seen in the painting *Las parejas reales* by L. Paret y Alcázar of 1770; Prado Museum (MNP) (inv. P01044).

34. Cf. *El palacio real*, cit., p. 53.

35. Cf. Luengo, *Aranjuez*, cit., 92-93.

36. Cf. A. Ortiz, *Aldea, sitio, pueblo Aranjuez 1750-1841*, Aranjuez, 1992, pp. 38-39.

37. Cf. J.S. Palacios, *Aranjuez: antigua residencia fortificada de los maestros santiaguistas*, in «Reales Sitios», 2001, 150, pp. 26-36; B. Alonso, *El Cuarto Nuevo de los Reyes Católicos en Aranjuez*, in «Reales Sitios», 2012, 194, pp. 16-35.

38. Cf. Luengo, *Aranjuez*, cit., pp. 101-102.

39. M: «una grossa lega lontano d'Aranjuez si passa sopra un lungo ponte di legno il fiume Zarama».

40. M: «passato il fiume [Jarama], un terzo di lega lontano dal Palazzo regio, s'incontrano stradoni piantati d'olmi d'altezza prodigiosa, per uno de quali si arriva ad un ponte di legno, sul quale si passa un braccio del Tago, et, attraversata la punta d'un isoletta sopra un altro ponticello, si passa l'altro braccio del suddetto fiume, alla riva del quale è un portone che mette in un altro stradone che conduce a Palazzo».

41. It was the normal route in this period; cf. Luengo, *Aranjuez*, cit., pp. 59-60.

42. Apparently all rooms of the infants were placed on the ground floor; cf. *El palacio real*, cit., p. 23.

43. C: «benché fusse stato esibito per ordine della Regina ai furieri del signore Principe l'Appartamento dell'Infanta dentro al Palazzo».

44. «E se fermò Sua Altezza anche a dormirvi [...] e stiede nella palagina del primo cacciatore del re»; ASF, MdP, 6381-ins. 5, *Viaggio del Magalotti col Principe Cosimo*, f. 745r.

45. Ma, f. 22r.

46. M: «dall'altra parte di questo [Palace] corre il Tago, il quale, poco prima di giugnervi, dividendosi per un regolatoio, artifiziosamente, forma un'isola non molto grande dov'è il giardino. Questa isola è tutta circondata da un argine rivestito di muro per difenderla dalle inondazioni [...]. Dalla parte di dietro del Palazzo, dov'è la Stilleria del re, si passa per entrar nell'isola sopra un ponticello di legno».

47. Cf. Morán and Checa, *Las casas del rey*, cit., pp. 136-139.

48. Cf. Portús, *El Conde de Sandwich en Aranjuez*, cit., pp. 50-51.

49. M: «il piano dell'isola è diviso da diversi viali coperti, ma stretti e bassi, nell'incrociature de quali s'incontrano frequentissime fontane et, oltre di queste, molt'altre, che rimangono negli spazi di essi, per lo più tutti ornati di diversi spartimenti di bossolo, timo, mortelle e altre erbette atte a far siepe, bassa e fronzuta»;

C: «le dette fontane sono ornate di statue, parte di bronzo e parte di marmo; con diversi giuochi d'acque in vari luoghi scomparti. Vi si ritrovano ancora molti perterri e strade coperte, che l'una con l'altra, intrecciandosi a guisa di laberinto, vengono nel tempo medesimo a dilettrar l'occhio e confonderlo».

50. M: «sopra dell'argine vi sono di luogo in luogo diverse loggette di legno tinte di verde, per goder da esse al coperto la vista del fiume».

51. Cf. Luengo, *Aranjuez*, cit., pp. 132-133.

52. C: «s'entrò di poi nel Palazzo solo nella quarta parte terminato, al quale fu dato principio da Filippo Secondo con regolare e buon disegno. Il materiale di esso è di mattoni frammischiati di pietre di color bianchiccio»; M: «il materiale è mattone e i concii di pietra bianca, il coperto è di piombo e l'architettura è moderna ed è assai buona».

53. C: «vi è incorporata una piccola chiesa, che resta in un angolo, sopra di cui è una cupoletta».

54. M: «aderente [...] vi è un portico di pietra angusto e basso, il quale, dopo essersi disteso lungo per qualche tratto il muro del giardino segreto sul quale guarda la galleria, aggiugnendo sopra di sé la delizia d'un passeggio scoperto tutto rigirato da una ringhiera di ferro».

55. M: «piega con un numero assai maggiore d'archi verso mezzogiorno. Dietro di questi vi è incominciato un altro gran quadro di fabrica per servizio delle stalle e per abitazione della corte».

56. G: «vi è [...] il teatro intorno della caccia de tori». Cf. Álvarez de Quindos, *Descripción histórica*, cit., pp. 198 and 387-388.

57. Cf. J.S. Palacios, *Aranjuez: antigua residencia fortificada de los maestres santiaguistas*, in «Reales Sitios», 2001, 150, p. 27.

58. G: «vi sono molte abitazioni intorno in forma di castello e tutte del re, date però e consegnate a gl'abitatori».

59. G: «gl'abitatori [...] saranno in tutto 600 pagati dal re, oltre le cariche grandi, a 4 e più reali per testa».

60. G: «molti sono i ministri che qui assistono, tutti pagati dal re, come governatore, alcaide, guardia maggiore, segretario».

61. Cf. *El palacio real*, cit., p. 60.

62. Cf. Palacios, *Aranjuez: antigua residencia*, cit., p. 33.

63. Cf. *El palacio real*, cit., pp. 18-24 and especially fig. 2.

64. M: «così a terreno come al piano nobile vi sono poche camere, né molto grandi, ma quadre e con volte sfogate».

65. Cf. Morán and Checa, *Las casas del rey*, p. 97.

66. C: «doppo haver veduto un[a] ordinaria abitazione et assai male in arnese».

67. M: «vi è una galleria che guarda sopra un giardino ed ella è tutta ornata di quadri».

68. Cf. Sancho, *Aranjuez. Un Palacio*, cit., 18.

69. This route means that the Prince did not visit the famous *Jardín del Rey*.

70. C: «i quali hanno sotto i detti portici la comunicazione col Palazzo. Dal quale, escita [...] montò Sua Altezza con tutti gl'altri a cavallo et s'andò a spasso per i viali che all'intorno si ritrovano. Questi, che furono

distribuiti fin dal tempo di Filippo Secondo, sono in gran numero e molto lunghi, e formano tra di loro diverse figure».

71. Cf. Álvarez de Quindos, *Descripción histórica*, cit., pp. 316-317; Luengo, *Aranjuez*, cit., pp. 284-285.

72. M: «tutto il rimanente della campagna di qua e di là dal Tago è rivestito d'olmi altissimi, che da per tutto piantati a due ordini formano vastissimi viali, i quali incontrandosi insieme in diversi luoghi e con diverse disposizioni ora formano una stella di dodici viali ora una mezza di cinque»; G: «in mezzo a stradoni vi è una piazza circolare, alla quale rispondono 12 stradoni, cosa veramente bella. Et un'altra piazza simile tonda è a mezzo lo stradone detto della Regina».

73. C: «tra gl'altri viali uno vè n'è, che viene appunto in faccia al Palazzo, piano affatto e lungo sopra 4.000 passi, in fondo del quale è un ponte che il Tago cavalca».

74. M: «quello però che soprattutto è considerabile si è che tra tanti viali tutti piantati dallo stesso che cominciò la casa [Felipe II] non ve n'è pur uno che venga a dirittura della porta di esso»; G: «vi sono [...] strade longhissime tutte piene d'alberi grandi, al numero d'8 in circa, quali tutte giungono al Palazzo regio senza però che alcuna risponda alla porta destinata per il Palazzo».

75. Cf. Fra D.M. Sandrini, *Della vita di Cosimo 3^o*, ms. by 1723-1725, now in the ASF, Miscellanea Medicea 458, ins. 11, ff. 10v-10bisv and ff. 9r and 10v.

76. M: «gli spazi triangolari compresi da questi ultimi son ripieni d'alberi fruttiferi a uso di pomari e in spezie di cotogni».

77. G: «vi sono 3 porte da molini, tori per toreare e vacche, capre, pavoni, conigli e capriole in grandissima quantità».

78. C: «Si vidde [...] gran numero di cammelli, i quali dicono ascendere a 200, che quivi fanno razza e di essi si servono per il trasporto di varie cose».

79. Ci: «caccie bellissime di daini, cervi, lepri, starne e fagiani [...] e con recinto di muraglia e steccate per causa degli animali».

80. Mo2: «profitta l'anno reddito della villa a Sua Maestà 100 milla ducati ciascun'anno applicati alle mercedi di molti ministri, che la vigilano, et al mantenimento delle fabbriche e giardino».

81. M: «tornata a casa fu presentata di latte, conigli, frutta e pollami, che sono le delizie che manda ogni settimana Aranjuez alla Regina, dalla quale era stato ordinato che in sua vece ne regalassero l'Altezza Sua». The men who brought the food got a tip of 24 *escudos*; Ma f. 22v.

82. G: «di qui va a Madrid ogni sabato vitelle, frutta, burro e capponi, quali nutriscono con latte».

83. G: «27, martedì, si partì di Aranjuez ove, prima, si disse messa nella cappella del Palazzo del re».

84. C: «Filippo 4^o arricchì di varie fontane il giardino et ebbe pensiero di proseguire la fabbrica, il che non fece dalla morte troppo presto sopraggiunto». Cf. A. González, *Las fuentes del Jardín de la Isla en el Real Sitio de Aranjuez, durante los siglos XVII y XVIII*, in «Reales Sitios», 1985, 85, pp. 57-64; J.L. Sancho, S. M. *ha estado estos días en Aranjuez a ver una fuente que allí se le hace... Felipe IV y las fuentes del Jardín de la Isla*, in «Reales Sitios», 2000, 146, pp. 26-39.

85. G: «è [...] fonti bellissime in tutto 8».
86. Cf. M. Estella, *Sobre las esculturas del Jardín de la Isla de Aranjuez*, in *Velázquez y el arte de su tiempo*, Madrid, 1991, pp. 333-348.
87. M: «tra queste fontane molte ne son ricche di materia per l'abbondanza de bronzi e de marmi, ma sottosopra tutte povere d'acqua, consistendo tutte in ispilli».
88. M: «tre ve n'è maggiori dell'altre. Due all'ingresso e una in fondo del giardino, dove risponde il muro che lo chiude nel transito che fa per l'estremità dell'isola la strada maestra».
89. Cf. J.L. Sancho, *La fuente de los Tritones y la renovación del Jardín de la Isla, en Aranjuez, por Felipe IV (1655-1663)*, in «Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños», 2000, 40, pp. 352-356; Sancho, S. M. *ha estado estos días en Aranjuez*, cit., pp. 32-35.
90. M: «la prima è arricchita di statue e nel mezzo, sopra una gran tazza di marmo scuro di Toledo, v'è un Ercole di marmo bianco che, strangolando l'Idra, ne fa uscir l'acqua per diverse bocche. Intorno alla vasca dove questa tazza è locata sorgono, per la parte di dentro, moltissimi spilli che, quando son battuti dal sole, fanno una mostra assai ricca».
91. M: «la seconda è tutta di marmo bianco et è formata d'un'altra tazza sostenuta da diversi delfini».
92. M: «e sopra di essa è parimente una figura in piedi».
93. Cf. F. Loffredo, *Viajes mediterráneos de mármoles italianos: sobre la procedencia de la llamada Fuente de Apolo en Aranjuez*, in «Acta Artis», 2015, pp. 119-129.
94. Cf. Sancho, *La fuente de los Tritones*, cit., pp. 346-350.
95. M: «e la terza, ch'è una tazza ancor ella sostenuta da varie figure, nel mezzo d'una gran vasca, sostiene un Amorino, dietro al quale scaturisce un capo d'acqua assai povero in comparazione della ricchezza della fontana. A ciascuna delle quattro cantonate da un olmo altissimo. Su ad alto tra le frondi, scappa un grosso stillo che, condottovi per canale di piombo mal dissimulato, va a ferir nella tazza e ricader nella fonte».
96. M: «un simile scherzo è alla maggior parte dell'altre fonti minori, quasi tutte poste nel mezzo di quattro alberi, dalle cortecce di ciascun de quali, a mezza statura d'uomo, giuoca uno spillo. I giuochi d'acqua vi son frequenti, ma tutti sono d'un istesso artificio, stando disposti dove s'entra sull'incrociature de viali di qua e di là da essi e i breccioli delle fonti».
97. Cf. Luengo and Millares, *El Real Sitio de Aranjuez*, cit., p. 480.
98. M: «uno vene all'entrare che scappa dalla spagliera d'un seditore posto sotto un uccelliera finta, dove l'acqua imita le voci degli uccelli dipintivi, e da il fiato ad una

tromba d'una piccola figurina rappresentante la Fama». According to Luengo (*Aranjuez*, cit., p. 286), these two inventions were integrated into the Fountain of Coral in 1637.

99. C: «a cui rendono ornamento molte fontane assai copiose d'acque, le quali, a forza di ruote, dai detti fiumi in abbondanza si cavono. Quelle, però, che fanno la forza maggiore vengono da un lago fatto a tal requisizione a meza costa della vicina montagna».

100. Cf. G. Martínez, *El Salón o Galería de Paisajes del Palacio Real de Aranjuez bajo el reinado de Felipe IV*, in «Reales Sitios», 2004, 159, pp. 26-45; G. Martínez, *La Galería de Paisajes de Aranjuez en tiempos de Felipe IV*, in *Tras el centenario de Felipe IV*, Madrid, 2006, pp. 271-303; J. L. Sancho, G. Martínez and J. Jordán, *De Velázquez a Giordano: la decoración interior del Palacio Real de Aranjuez 1650-1700*, in *Per la storia dell'arte in Italia e in Europa. Studi in onore di Luisa Mortari*, Rome, 2004, pp. 92-101.

101. Respectively MNP 1212 and MNP 1218.

102. MNP 1217 and MNP 1216.

103. The first picture MNP, 897 and the rest not found.

104. MNP 893, MNP 894, not found, not found, Patrimonio Nacional (PN) 50000008, PN 50000012 and MNP 890.

105. Neither of which have been found.

106. MNP 1215 and not found.

107. These first three respectively MNP 898, PN 10007832 and MNP 7116.

108. The last five respectively MNP 896, MNP 895, destroyed in 1915, PN 10007831 and MNP 899.

109. M: «compagni con ornamenti dorati».

110. In the inventory of properties of Carlos II from 1700, all of the paintings in the gallery are described as having gold frames; cf. G. Fernández, *Testamentaria del Rey Carlos II 1700-1703, Inventarios reales*, Madrid, 1985, p. 173.

111. Cf. C. García-Frias, *Una obra perdida de Tiziano: la Anunciación de la antigua Capilla del Palacio de Aranjuez*, in «Reales Sitios», 2004, 159, pp. 74-77.

112. Cf. M. Mancini, *Tiziano e il controllo dell'immagine riprodotta*, in «Venezia Cinquecento», 2008, 36, pp. 121-158.

113. M: «nella cappella del Palazzo dove è una superba tavola di Tiziano col Misterio dell'Annunziazione della Vergine. Ad alto, in una gloria d'angeli ve ne sono due fra gli altri, uno per parte, che reggon due colonne col motto Plus Ultra, impresa di Filippo Secondo, che fece fare il quadro»; G: «si disse messa nella cappella del Palazzo del re, ove è un quadro grande della Nunziata di Tiziano con un motto scritto nella banda d'un angelo Plus Ultra, usato da Filippo 2 dopo l'acquisto de Portogallo».

114. The tip also included the gardener; Ma, f. 22v.