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**Guido Mazenta's Plans for the Entry of Gregoria
Maximiliana of Austria into Milan (1597)**

With an edition of Madrid MS 2908

**Janis Bell
Stefano Bruzzese
Silvio Leydi
Elisa Ruiz Garcia**



Bridging Languages and Scholarship

Series in World History



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Table of contents

	List of Figures	vii
	List of Tables	ix
	Contributors	xi
	Abstract	xiii
	Prefazione and Preface <i>Rossana Sacchi</i>	xv
	Acknowledgments <i>Janis Bell</i>	xxv
	Introduction <i>Janis Bell</i>	xxvii
	Why Guido Mazenta?	
	Overview of this volume	
	Works Cited	
Chapter 1	Guido Antonio Mazenta (c. 1561-1613) <i>Janis Bell</i>	1
	Childhood, career, and family	
	Friendships with men of learning and prestige	
	Self-identify as Architect	
	Prominent collector of art	
	Owner of Leonardo manuscripts	
	Works Cited	
Chapter 2	Guido Mazenta, erudito e architetto “specolativo” <i>Stefano Bruzzese</i>	39
	Appendice	
	Works Cited	

Silvio Leydi

1548-1551: Arciduchi e principi a Milano

6-10 luglio 1548: arciduca Massimiliano d'Asburgo

19 dicembre 1548 – 7 gennaio 1549: Filippo d'Asburgo, principe di Spagna

Fine ottobre – 5 novembre 1549: arciduca Ferdinando II d'Asburgo

22 - 26 giugno 1551, principe Filippo d'Asburgo

28 novembre – 2 dicembre 1551: arciduca Massimiliano d'Asburgo e infanta Maria d'Asburgo, principi di Boemia

1563-1576: Arciduchi a Milano

29 dicembre 1563 – 7 gennaio 1564: arciduchi Rodolfo e Ernesto d'Asburgo

Agosto 1571: arciduchi Rodolfo e Ernesto d'Asburgo

8 maggio – 27 luglio 1574 e 26 giugno – 16 agosto 1576: don Giovanni d'Austria

1581-1598: l'imperatrice Maria, l'arciduchessa Gregoria Massimiliana e la regina Margherita

Autunno 1581: imperatrice Maria d'Asburgo, vedova di Massimiliano II

30 novembre 1598 – 2 febbraio 1599: Margherita d'Asburgo

5 – 22 luglio 1599: arciduca Alberto d'Asburgo e infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia

Works Cited

Manuscripts

Printed Books and Journals

Elisa Ruiz García

Hacia un nuevo iconismo

Vicisitudes de una boda real

Dominio estratégico del espacio urbano

Análisis del lenguaje arquitectónico
de Guido Mazenta

Técnica compositiva de Guido Mazenta

Lemas del arco primero

Lemas del arco segundo

Lemas del arco tercero

Lemas del arco cuarto

Lemas del arco quinto

Itinerario de descodificación de los programas
iconográficos

Ático

Cuerpo sustentante

Estudio monográfico de los cinco arcos triunfales

Descripción logo-iconográfica del arco primero

Descripción logo-iconográfica del arco segundo

Descripción logo-iconográfica del arco tercero

Descripción logo-iconográfica del arco cuarto

Descripción logo-iconográfica del arco quinto

Coda final

Works Cited

Manuscripts

Printed Books and Journals

Chapter 5	Edición Paleográfica del BNEM MS 2908	207
	<i>Eliza Ruiz Garcia, transcripción y notas</i>	
	Datos de identificación del manuscrito	
	Tipología gráfica	
	Criterios de presentación gráfica	
	Works Cited	
	Transcripción del texto de la obra	213
	Abbreviations	229
	Index of Names	231

List of Figures

- Figure 1.1** Antonio Campi, *Portrait of Christina of Denmark*, from *Cremona fedelissima citta et nobilissima colonia de Romani rappresentata in disegno col svo contado et illustrata d'vna breve historia delle cose piu notabili appartenenti ad essa et de i ritratti natvrali de dvchi et dvchesse di Milano e compendio delle lor vite / da Antonio Campo pittore e cavalier cremonese*, Cremona, 1585, Book IV, page 107 (credit: The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles [3027-567]). 8
- Figure 1.2** Vincenzo Catena, *Christ Delivering the Keys to St Peter*, Madrid: Museo del Prado, oil on panel, ca. 1520, 84 cm. x 135 cm., inv. P000020 (credit: Art Resource, New York). 23
- Figure 2.1** Leone Pallavicino, *Arco "delle legationi,"* from Publio Fontana, *Il sontuoso apparato fatto dalla magnifica città di Brescia nel felice ritorno dell'illustrissimo Vescovo suo il Cardinale Morosini con la esposizione de'sensi simbolici che in esso si contengono*. Brescia, 1591, page 18 (credit: The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles). 49
- Figure 3.1** Antonio Tempesta, *The Entry of Margherita, Queen of Spain, into Milan*, from Giovanni Altoviti, *Essequie della Sacra Cattolica e Real maestà di Margherita d'Austria regina di Spagna, Celebrate dal Serenissimo Don Cosimo II, Gran Duca di Toscana IIII*, Florence: Bartolommeo Sermartelli e fratelli, 1612, page 21, etching, 28.5 x 20 cm. (credit: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund). 113
- Figure 3.2** *Silver Medal Minted on the Occasion of the Entry of Margherita, Queen of Spain*, 1598. (credit: Gabinetto Numismatico e Medagliere, Castello Sforzesco - ©Comune di Milano). 127
- Figure 3.3** *Silver Medal Minted by Senator Galeazzo Visconti for Margherita, Queen of Spain*, 1599. (credit: Gabinetto Numismatico e Medagliere, Castello Sforzesco - ©Comune di Milano). 127
- Figure 4.1** Guido Mazenta, *The First Arch* (Arco I). BNEM MS 2908, fol. 22r, pen & ink with light gray wash on rag paper, 30

	x 21.5 cm. (credit: courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España).	167
Figure 4.2	Guido Mazenta, <i>The Second Arch</i> (Arco II). BNEM MS 2908, fol. 23r, pen & ink with light gray wash on rag paper, 30 x 21.5 cm. (credit: courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España).	175
Figure 4.3	Guido Mazenta, <i>The Third Arch</i> (Arco III). BNEM MS 2908, fol. 24r, pen & ink with light gray wash on rag paper, 30 x 21.5 cm. (credit: courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España).	183
Figure 4.4	Guido Mazenta, <i>The Fourth Arch</i> (Arco IV). BNEM MS 2908, fol. 25r, pen & ink with light gray wash on rag paper, 30 x 21.5 cm. (credit: courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España).	190
Figure 4.5	Guido Mazenta, <i>The Fifth Arch</i> (Arco V). BNEM MS 2908, fol. 26r, pen & ink with light gray wash on rag paper, 30 x 21.5 cm. (credit: courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España).	196
Figure 4.6	Juan van der Hamen y León (attr.). <i>Margarita de Austria–Estiria</i> . Madrid, Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, oil on canvas, early seventeenth century, 198 x 117 cm., inv. 5998 (credit: courtesy of the Institute Valencia de Don Juan).	201
Figure 5.1	Letter of Guido Mazenta, (<i>Epístola de Guido Mazenta</i>), BNEM MS 2908, fol. IIr.	208
Figure 5.2	Signature of Guido Mazenta (<i>Firma de Guido Mazenta</i>), BNEM MS 2908, fol. IIv.	211

List of Tables

Table 3.1	Genealogy of the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs and their Marriages, by Silvio Leydi.	136
Table 4.1	Arrangement of Iconographic Elements in the Five Arches (Distribución de los elementos logo-icónicos), by Elisa Ruiz Garcia.	163
Table 4.2	Diagram of Elements in Triumphal Arches (Esquema arquitectónico de un arco triunfal), by Elisa Ruiz Garcia.	165
Table 4.3	Arrangement of Iconographic Elements in Arch I in the Text (Disposición logo-iconográfica del arco I según el texto), by Elisa Ruiz Garcia.	168
Table 4.4	Arrangement of Iconographic Elements in Arch I in the Drawing (Disposición logo-iconográfica del arco I según el dibujo a pluma), by Elisa Ruiz Garcia.	173
Table 4.5	Arrangement of the Iconographic Elements on the Anterior Façade of Arch II (Disposición logo-iconográfica de la fachada anterior del arco II según el texto y el dibujo a pluma), by Elisa Ruiz Garcia.	176
Table 4.6	Arrangement of the Iconographic Elements on the Posterior Facade of Arch II (Disposición logo-iconográfica de la fachada posterior del arco II según el texto), by Elisa Ruiz Garcia.	180
Table 4.7	Arrangement of Iconographic Elements on the Anterior Façade of Arch III in the Text (Disposición logo-iconográfica de la fachada anterior del arco III según el texto), by Elisa Ruiz Garcia.	185
Table 4.8	Arrangement of the Iconographic Elements on the Anterior Facade of Arch III in the Drawing (Disposición logo-iconográfica de la fachada posterior del arco III según el dibujo a pluma), by Elisa Ruiz Garcia.	185
Table 4.9	Arrangement of the Iconographic Element on the Posterior Façade of Arch III in the Text (Disposición logo-iconográfica de la fachada posterior del arco III según el texto), by Elisa Ruiz Garcia.	187
Table 4.10	Arrangement of the Iconographic Element on the Anterior Facade of Arch IV in the Text (Disposición logo-iconográfica de la fachada anterior del arco IV según el texto), by Elisa Ruiz Garcia.	191

Table 4.11	Arrangement of the Iconographic Elements on the Anterior Façade of Arch IV in the Drawing (Disposición logo-iconográfica de la fachada anterior del arco IV según el dibujo a pluma), by Elisa Ruiz Garcia.	193
Table 4.12	Arrangement of Iconographic Elements on the Posterior Facade of Arch IV in the Text (Disposición logo-iconográfica de la fachada posterior del arco IV según el texto) by Elisa Ruiz Garcia.	194
Table 4.13	Arrangement of Iconographic Elements on the Anterior Facade of Arch V (Disposición logo-iconográfica de la fachada anterior del arco V), by Elisa Ruiz Garcia.	198

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Stefano Bruzzese majored in Philosophy and received his Ph.D. in Art History and Criticism from the University of Studies in Milan. He has written numerous studies on art and literature from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries. He edited an edition of the letters of Guido Cagnola, a Lombard collector who was close to Bernard Berenson (2012), and a critical edition of the earliest history of the Milanese school by Antonio Francesco Albuzi (written in the late 1700s). He has completed a monograph on the Mazenta family in the Milan of Federico Borromeo and is currently preparing a study of the correspondence between Austen Henry Layard and Giovanni Morelli.

Silvio Leydi, Ph.D. studied in Bologna, Turin and Florence (Villa I Tatti). His main interests lie in the social and material history of the sixteenth century, with a focus on Lombardy and Northern Italy. He has collaborated on miscellaneous volumes and international exhibitions, in which he has contributed essays and entries on the workshops of Milanese armorers, sculptors, medalists, crystal makers. He has published books on the imperial image in Milan in the sixteenth century (1999) and on the Milanese families d'Adda di Sale (2008) and Annoni (2015). He is currently preparing an edition of the *Memorie* of the Milanese notary Giovan Pietro Fossano (1512-1559).

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Abstract

Soon after celebrating the appointment of their native son, Federico Borromeo, to Archbishop of Milan (1595), the city of Milan began planning another, more elaborate celebration. Prince Philip, son of Philip II, King of Spain, had been betrothed to Gregoria Maximiliana, daughter of Archduke Charles II of Austria and cousin of Emperor Rudolph II. She would pass through Milan in 1597 on her journey to Spain. The plans for this celebration involved the construction of five triumphal arches in strategic locations throughout the city. An illustrated manuscript signed by Guido Mazenta, a private citizen, was given to Juan Fernández de Velasco y Tovar (henceforth Juan de Velasco), the Spanish governor of Milan, and now resides in the Biblioteca Nacional de España as MS 2908. The triumphal celebration never materialized because Gregoria died, but many features were quickly transferred to the celebration that was held the next year, in which the late Gregoria's younger sister, Margherita, entered Milan as the Queen of Spain. Margherita was betrothed to the Spanish prince soon after her sister's death, but since Philip II died before her scheduled visit, she married before she arrived in Milan and her visit celebrated the royal marriage while mourning the death of the late King. Guido Mazenta published a detailed account of Margherita's entry which also involved the construction of triumphal arches, one of which left a permanent mark on the city of Milan as the rusticated stone Porta Romana.

In recent years, there has been more interest in ephemeral decorations as a major part of the production of Italian sixteenth-century artists and as an interdisciplinary field incorporating theater design, architecture, painting, and sculpture. The project of 1597 occupies a transformative place as one of the first major projects undertaken after Federico Borromeo was appointed Archbishop of Milan and began to reconstruct the city as a center of modern art and architecture to rival Rome.

The core of the monograph is a transcription of MS 2908 by Elisa Ruiz Garcia. Her introduction to the manuscript focuses on the iconography of the project as she identifies the emblematic and allegorical sources used by Guido Mazenta to construct the program.

This central core is amplified in two directions. Janis Bell and Stefano Bruzzese focus on the author, Guido Mazenta, examining his involvement in Milanese cultural activities and his identity as an architect. Bell examines Guido's reputation as one of the most important collectors of art and antiquities in turn of the century Milan and the scandal that his family did its best to suppress. Bruzzese focuses on his reputation as "*architetto specolativo*," explores the

meaning of that concept, and reproduces his archival finding of an inventory of Guido's book collection that demonstrates the breadth of his humanist education.

Silvio Leydi explores the relationship of this project to earlier and later entries into Milan by members of the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs. He also examines—with a focus on expenses—the later entries of Margherita of Austria in 1598-99 and the entry of Isabella Clara Eugenia and Archduke Alberto in the summer of 1599, both of which made use of the triumphal arches first envisioned by Guido Mazenta.

The importance of Mazenta's program, particularly its triumphal arches, has not gone unnoticed, although earlier scholars gave credit to Guido's younger brothers and attributed the Madrid manuscript to better-known Milanese architects.

Prefazione and Preface

Rossana Sacchi

Nonostante i secoli trascorsi, e nonostante la ricca bibliografia accumulata negli ultimi cent'anni, il profilo della geografia artistico-culturale dei centri dell'Italia del maturo XVI secolo dipende ancora dal disegno vasariano che—come è noto—non ha riservato a Milano e al suo circondario un posto apicale. Quando la capitale lombarda recupera qualche posizione, la guadagna sulla scia di Leonardo o di Caravaggio e non per la sua intrinseca importanza, tanto che un posto fisso tra i grandi poli artistici italiani è ancora di là da venire. Il nuovo tassello presentato in questo libro offre ora ulteriori spunti per confermare Milano nelle sue giuste coordinate anche artistiche, ribadendone il ruolo ancora allo scorcio del Rinascimento nel momento della transizione verso i nuovi linguaggi barocchi.

Inizialmente, proprio le orme di Leonardo hanno guidato Janis Bell, fino a Guido Mazenta (c. 1561-1613), appartenente a una nota famiglia milanese ma celebrato dalle fonti quasi solo come raccoglitore di manoscritti del maestro di Vinci. Incontrato fortuitamente Mazenta, Bell si è accorta che il percorso si poteva in realtà smarcare dal vincolo riguardante l'eredità leonardesca per seguire nuovi indirizzi, ed è entrata dritta dritta entro le mura spagnole di Milano, la popolosa città che era un'attrattiva provincia di Filippo II e poi di suo figlio Filippo III. Giureconsulto di grido, scrittore e consulente per conto di numerose istituzioni milanesi, architetto dilettante, collezionista, Guido Mazenta si mostra nella sua poliedrica personalità, permeata tanto dalla cultura cortese ed emblematica cara alla tradizione lombarda, quanto dal fervore religioso peculiare della città di Carlo e poi di Federico Borromeo quanto, infine, da un senso dell'onore così radicato (e così tipico di quel tempo violento, lo stesso in cui si era formato il giovane Caravaggio) da trasformarlo in uxoricida e da costringerlo a trascorrere l'ultimo lustro della sua vita in esilio.

Il cuore del libro si sviluppa intorno alla trascrizione commentata del progetto elaborato nel 1597 da Guido Mazenta per accogliere a Milano la promessa sposa del futuro Filippo III, Gregoria Massimiliana d'Asburgo, con un trionfo effimero e grandioso; conservato a Madrid nella Biblioteca Nacional de España (MS 2908), il codice che riporta il piano è noto da tempo ma non è mai stato considerato per esteso, né mai è stato contestualizzato e ricollocato come fanno ora Bell e gli studiosi da lei convocati per affrontare, da più punti di vista, l'argomento.

Il percorso ideato da Mazenta avrebbe dovuto condurre la futura sposa dall'entrata della città al suo centro, Piazza del Duomo, attraversando una Milano internazionale che all'epoca si considerava una "seconda Roma," nucleo antichissimo e glorioso, consacrato dalle presenze di Sant'Agostino, Sant'Ambrogio e infine dei cardinali Borromeo. Il condizionale sottolinea che,

Despite the passing centuries and the rich bibliography accumulated over the last hundred years, Vasari's profile of the artistic and cultural geography of Italian centers in the mid-16th century still dominates and—as is well known—did not reserve a high place for Milan and its surroundings. Whenever the Lombard capital does gain some attention, it does so in the wake of Leonardo or Caravaggio and not because of its intrinsic importance. Consequently, it has not yet garnered a fixed place among the great Italian artistic centers. The new work presented in this book offers insights that confirm Milan's proper coordinates, including its artistic ones, to reaffirm its place at the end of the Renaissance during the period of transition to the new language of the Baroque.

Initially, Leonardo's footsteps guided Janis Bell to Guido Mazenta (c. 1561-1613), a member of a well-known Milanese family but celebrated by the sources principally as a collector of manuscripts by the master from Vinci. Having fortuitously encountered Mazenta, Bell realized that the path could be freed from the constraint of Leonardo's legacy to lead in new directions and went straight to the Spanish walls of Milan into the populous city that was an attractive province of Philip II, and later his son Philip III. Guido Mazenta shows himself in his multifaceted personality as a distinguished jurist, writer and consultant on behalf of numerous Milanese institutions, amateur architect, and collector, imbued as much with the courtly and emblematic culture dear to the Lombard tradition as with the religious fervor peculiar to the city of Carlo Borromeo, and then Federico, to finally, with a sense of honor so deeply ingrained (and so typical of that violent time, the same one in which the young Caravaggio was formed) that it turned him uxoricidal and forced him to spend the last glow of his life in exile.

The heart of the book revolves around the annotated transcription of the plan drawn up in 1597 by Guido Mazenta to welcome Gregoria Maximiliana of Austria to Milan, betrothed to the future Philip III, with an ephemeral and grandiose triumph; preserved in Madrid in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (MS 2908), the codex that lays out the plan has long been known but has never been considered in full, nor has it ever been contextualized and relocated as the scholars here address from multiple points of view.

The route devised by Mazenta was supposed to lead the bride-to-be from the entrance of the city to its center, Piazza del Duomo, passing through an international Milan that at the time was considered a "second Rome," an ancient and glorious nucleus, consecrated by the presences of St. Augustine, St. Ambrose and finally the Borromeo cardinals. Due to the unforeseen and untimely death of the weak and ill Gregoria Maximiliana, this project remained on paper, although it was later reused, almost immediately, as a starting point to remount, in December 1598, the Milanese entry of Gregoria's more energetic

a causa di un imprevisto—la prematura morte della debole e malata Gregoria Massimiliana,—questo progetto rimase sulla carta, sebbene poi sia stato riutilizzato come punto di partenza per riallestire quasi all'impronta, per il dicembre 1598, il nuovo ingresso milanese della più energica sorella di Gregoria, Margherita d'Asburgo, destinata a sua volta a sposare l'erede al trono subito diventato detentore dello stesso, stante la morte di Filippo II avvenuta nel settembre del medesimo 1598.

Posti a cavallo tra storia del teatro e storia della scenografia, tra antiquaria e storia dell'architettura, tra urbanistica e storia delle arti congeneri (così Giorgio Vasari appellava tutte le "arti minori," dignitose figlie e sorelle di pittura, scultura e architettura), gli studi sugli ingressi trionfali dei sovrani europei si arricchiscono ora di un nuovo tassello che, se da un lato si riallaccia alla consolidata prassi milanese di accoglienze germogliate dall'allestimento predisposto con la regia di Giulio Romano per Carlo V nel 1541, dall'altro dimostra la didascalica attualizzazione del linguaggio iscritto nelle tabelle degli archi e da trasformare in architettura, pittura e scultura effimere immaginate da Guido Mazenta, poco incline a mettere in atto e in scena divinità dell'Olimpo o leggendarie per privilegiare invece tematiche storiche, allegoriche ed encomiastiche inneggianti alle virtù e alla fede cattolica. Come ha notato Bruzzese, nella ricca biblioteca di Mazenta (la cui consistenza viene pubblicata per la prima volta nelle pagine che seguono), accanto a uno scelto florilegio di trattati architettonici antichi e moderni, figurava anche il libretto bresciano riferito al poeta e umanista Publio Fontana per ricordare *Il sontuoso apparato fatto dalla magnifica città di Brescia nel felice ritorno dell'illustrissimo Vescovo suo il Cardinale Morosini con la esposizione de' sensi simbolici che in esso si contengono* del 1591, una fonte erudita che aveva già restituito il profilo di quell'ingresso trionfale memore di molti precedenti internazionali ma ormai convertito in chiave moralizzata e controriformistica. Se, da un lato, Guido Mazenta tiene in evidente considerazione quel recente modello in una situazione locale ancora tesa (a Milano la frattura tra l'autorità ecclesiastica cittadina e il potere centrale era ancora aperta), dall'altro sa presentare nel suo progetto un repertorio antico-moderno che compendia la città nella *Via Triumphalis* immaginata per Gregoria Massimiliana: nonostante l'esplicito riferimento a Vitruvio inserito nel programma relativo al secondo arco ("gli quattro termini saranno ignudi dal mez[z]o in sù, con catene alle mani, significando con questi i popoli ribelli soggiogati, come narra Vitruvio che si figurono in un trionfo certi popoli del Peloponesso, detti Carpati"), è impossibile non notare che la struttura, dedicata a Filippo II ed eretta presso il Naviglio interno, con i prigionieri colossali, richiama agli occhi dei milanesi di allora e di oggi il prospetto monumentale della Casa di Leone Leoni (morta da poco, nel 1590), nota in città come "degli Omenoni." Il quinto arco, dedicato

sister, Margherita of Austria. Margherita was destined to marry the heir to the throne who would soon, after the death of Philip II in September of that same year, 1598, reign as king.

Placed between the history of theater and the history of stage design, between antiquarianism and the history of architecture, between urban planning and the history of related, congeneric arts (Giorgio Vasari called all the "minor arts" dignified daughters and sisters of painting, sculpture, and architecture), studies on the triumphal entrances of European sovereigns are now enriched by a new contribution. Harkening back, on the one hand, to the well-established Milanese practice of welcoming that arose from the staging prepared under the direction of Giulio Romano for Charles V in 1541, on the other, it reveals the didactic realization of the language inscribed on arches transformed into ephemeral architecture, painting, and sculpture as imagined by Guido Mazenta. Guido was little inclined to stage a theater of legendary, Olympian deities, instead favoring historical, allegorical, and encomiastic themes that praised virtue and the Catholic faith. As Bruzzese noted, Mazenta's rich library (the contents of which are revealed in this volume), contained a select florilegium of ancient and modern architectural treatises alongside the Brescian booklet by the poet and humanist Publio Fontana recording *The Sumptuous Apparatus Made by the Magnificent City of Brescia upon the Joyous Return of the Most Illustrious Bishop Cardinal Morosini with an Exposition of the Symbolic Meanings contained therein*, from 1591, an erudite source that already, having restored the triumphal entrance to the remembrance of many international precedents, converted it into a moralizing, Counter-Reformation key. If, on the one hand, Guido Mazenta clearly takes that recent model into account in a tense local situation in which the rift between Milan's ecclesiastical authority and its centralized power was still open, on the other hand, he knowingly presents Milan in a modernized, antique-inspired performance as the *Via Triumphalis* imagined for Gregoria Maximiliana: despite the explicit reference to Vitruvius included in the program for the second arch ("the four *terme* shall be bare from the waist up with chains in their hands to signify the subjugation of these rebellious peoples, as Vitruvius narrates, in which they figured certain peoples of the Peloponnesus, called Carpathians, in the triumph"), it is impossible not to notice that the structure dedicated to Philip II and erected along the inner canal, with its colossal prisons, would recall to the eyes of the Milanese of the past and present the monumental facade of the house of Leone Leoni (recently deceased in 1590), known in the city as "degli Omenoni." On the other hand, the fifth arch, dedicated to the bride-to-be, like the first, in leaning against the unfinished facade of the cathedral, seems to reflect an issue then at the center of heated city debates:

come il primo alla futura sposa, addossato all'incompiuta facciata del Duomo, pare invece riflettere sul tema che allora era al centro di accesi dibattiti cittadini: come realizzare la vera facciata dell'infinita cattedrale, guardando magari a modelli romani.

Se il progetto di Mazenta non è stato messo in opera così come era stato delineato, ha tuttavia avuto il privilegio di generare la reificazione in muratura dell'unico arco trionfale milanese superstite di tanti apparati eretti per tre secoli, fino al Settecento almeno: ancora nel cuore di Porta Romana, prescelta per l'accesso in città di entrambe le sorelle nubende, l'Arco qui eretto—pur spogliato dalle statue che l'adornavano—e recentemente restaurato (2008-2009) con le sue "bugne alla rustica," racconta molto della Milano spagnola a chi lo sa o lo vuole interrogare, e resta, insieme con il Palazzo dei Giureconsulti dell'attuale piazza dei Mercanti (pure privato—ma in epoca napoleonica—della statua di Filippo II che arricchiva il basamento della torre), e il Palazzo del Capitano di Giustizia (in piazza Beccaria, oggi sede del comando dei vigili) una delle pochissime testimonianze di architettura civile manieristica cittadina. Guido Mazenta avrà percorso mille volte gli spazi tra l'Arco, sotto il quale deve aver sperato di guadagnarsi l'imperituro ricordo dei concittadini, e il Palazzo dei Giureconsulti, dove erano passati altri dottori dalla cultura non troppo diversa dalla sua, come quel Bartolomeo Taegio (c. 1520-1573), la cui opera risulta ben documentata nella sua biblioteca. Non risulta che Taegio fosse un architetto speculativo, cioè teorico, come Mazenta, ma certo aveva pubblicato numerosi scritti testimonianti la sua passione classicista e antiquaria, in parte collezionati appunto anche da Guido, che possedeva almeno *L'Humore* (Milano 1564), un dialogo riguardante la viticoltura e il buon bere, ben radicato su fonti antiche e moderne, *L'Officioso* (1572), in cui l'autore aveva dato espressione alla *pietas* estrema, cioè al conforto cristiano da prestare ai condannati a morte in un dialogo dedicato a Carlo Borromeo, e soprattutto *Il Liceo, dove si ragiona dell'arte di fabricare le imprese conformi a' i concetti dell'animo, et si discorre intorno al poetico figmento delle Muse* (Milano 1571), da annoverare tra le fonti di ispirazione per formulare le invenzioni delle imprese e degli emblemi proposti per Gregoria Massimiliana. Come sarebbe accaduto più volte in séguito anche a Guido Mazenta, pure il giureconsulto Taegio era stato chiamato come consulente per valutare fatti artistici: nel 1564 è lui il terzo perito a pronunciarsi, accanto a Francesco Melzi e Gerolamo Figino, per assegnare al pittore milanese Giuseppe Meda l'esecuzione delle ante dell'organo del Duomo di Milano.

I saggi di Janis Bell e di Stefano Bruzzese, Elisa Ruiz García e Silvio Leydi illustrano il progetto di Mazenta e lo proiettano nella Milano fin-de-siècle, pulsante di relazioni anche internazionali e di intrecci tra passato (remoto e prossimo) e presente, e tra letterati, giureconsulti, segretari, artisti e artigiani:

how to design the actual facade of the never-ending cathedral, perhaps looking to Roman models.

If Mazenta's project was not put in place as planned, it nevertheless retains the privilege of generating a masonry construction of the only surviving Milanese triumphal arch among the many erected for three centuries, until the eighteenth century: still in the heart of Porta Romana, chosen for the access into the city of both marriageable sisters, the Arch erected here and recently restored (2008-2009) with its "rustic-style ashlar," albeit stripped of the statues that adorned it, tells much about Spanish Milan to those who know or want to question it. It remains, along with the Palazzo dei Giureconsulti in what is now Piazza dei Mercanti (also stripped, but in the Napoleonic era, of the statue of Philip II that enriched the base of the tower), and the Palazzo del Capitano di Giustizia (in Piazza Beccaria, now the headquarters of the police command), one of the very few examples of the city's Mannerist civil architecture. Guido Mazenta must have walked a thousand times through the spaces between the Arch, under which he must have hoped to earn the imperishable memory of his fellow citizens, and the Palazzo dei Giureconsulti, where other doctors with a culture not too different from his own had passed, such as Bartolomeo Taegio (c. 1520-1573), whose work is well documented in his library. It does not appear that Taegio was a speculative, that is theoretical, architect like Mazenta, but he certainly published numerous writings testifying to his classicist and antiquarian passions, some of which were collected by Guido, such as *L'Humore* (Milan 1564), a dialogue concerning viticulture and good drinking grounded in ancient and modern sources, *L'Officioso* (1572), in which the author gave expression to extreme pieties such as the Christian comfort to be given to those condemned to death in a dialogue dedicated to Carlo Borromeo, and above all *Il Liceo, dove si ragiona dell'arte di fabricare le imprese conformi a' i concetti dell'animo, et si discorre intorno al poetico figmento delle Muse*¹ (Milan 1571), to be counted among the sources of inspiration for formulating the inventions of the mottos, imagery, and emblems proposed for Gregoria Maximiliana. The jurisconsult Taegio had also been called in as a consultant to evaluate artistic projects, as would happen several times later to Guido Mazenta: in 1564, Taegio was the third expert, beside Francesco Melzi and Gerolamo Figino, to assign the Milanese painter Giuseppe Meda the execution of the doors of the organ of Milan Cathedral.

The essays by Janis Bell, Stefano Bruzzese, Elisa Ruiz García, and Silvio Leydi illuminate Mazenta's project and project it into fin-de-siècle Milan, which

¹ *Imprese* are the personal equivalent of modern trademarks and logos in businesses today. Families chose imagery and sometimes a motto that could be placed on a coat-of-arms, or used in other ways to indicate their patronage.

forniranno molti spunti per ulteriori percorsi, dato che la lettura non si esaurisce nelle vicende di Guido Mazenta, nel mancato ingresso di Gregoria Massimiliana e nel trionfo di sua sorella Margherita, ma si può allargare anche ad altri ambiti. Per esempio, temi di storia sociale, innescati dalle umanissime considerazioni di Elisa Ruiz García, che in un paio di occasioni abbandona l'erudita esegesi delle fonti letterarie, emblematiche e iconografiche di Mazenta per notare che l'infelice Gregoria Massimiliana viene celebrata negli archi solo come "fattrice" di eredi reali senza essere mai oggetto di considerazioni che la riguardino sul piano personale. Ci si può soffermare a latere anche sul tragico tema dell'uxoricidio, che nella Milano del 1608 scorre via con la lieve pena dell'esilio e della confisca dei beni comminata al Mazenta, ma che contava un precedente non troppo lontano perfino in casa Borromeo, dato che nel 1590—in una Napoli altrettanto spagnola—il nipote del futuro San Carlo (morto da poco, nel 1584), il madrigalista Carlo Gesualdo da Venosa, che portava quel nome di battesimo per onorare lo zio, fratello della madre, aveva ammazzato la prima moglie—Maria d' Avalos—e il suo amante per questioni di onore. Oppure, seguendo Silvio Leydi, dalla lettura del libro si ricavano spunti per trattare di storia economica, o per ricostruire l'aspetto organizzativo-politico degli accoglimenti dei reali in città e nello stato di Milano, formalmente un feudo imperiale concesso, dalla metà del Cinquecento, agli Asburgo di Spagna.

pulsated with relations, including international ones, with the intertwining of the remote and recent past, and the present, and with *litterati*, jurists, secretaries, artists and artisans. It will inspire further study, as the story does not end with the events of Guido Mazenta, the non-entry of Gregoria Maximiliana, and the triumph of her sister Margherita, but can be expanded to other areas as well. For example, themes of social history, triggered by the very human considerations of Elisa Ruiz García, who on a couple of occasions abandons the erudite exegesis of Mazenta's literary, emblematic, and iconographic sources to note that the unfortunate Gregoria Maximiliana is celebrated in the arches only as a "broodmare" of royal heirs without ever being the subject of considerations of her person. One can explore the tragic theme of uxoricide, which in Milan of 1608 was given the mild penalty of exile and confiscation of property, as imposed on Mazenta, and which counted a not-too-distant precedent even in the Borromeo household where, in 1590, in Spanish-ruled Naples, the madrigalist Carlo Gesualdo da Venosa, nephew of the future Saint Charles (d. 1584) whose first name honored his maternal uncle, murdered his first wife—Maria d'Avalos—and her lover over a matter of honor. Or taking up the path cut by Silvio Leydi, reading the book provides insights for dealing with economic history or for reconstructing the organizational-political aspect of the royal visits in the city-state of Milan, an imperial fiefdom formally granted to the Habsburgs of Spain in the mid-sixteenth century.

Acknowledgments

Janis Bell

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PAGES MISSING
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Abbreviations

ACMMi: Archivio del Capitolo Metropolitano, Milan

L: Liturgico

AGS: Archivo General, Simancas

CMC: Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas (3° epoca)

E: Estado (Milan y Saboya)

AHPMa: Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Madrid

ASBMi: Archivio Storico dei Barnabiti, Milan

ASC-BTMi: Archivio Storico Civico – Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan

D: Dicasteri

LM: Località Milanesi

ASDMi: Archivio Storico Diocesano, Milan

Vis: Visitaciones

ASFi, Archivio di Stato, Florence.

DU: Ducato di Urbino

MP: Mediceo del Principato

ASMi: Archivio di Stato, Milan

A: Autografi

CC: Carteggio delle cancellerie dello stato

F: Famiglie

FC: Fondi Camerali (parte antica)

MS: Miscellanea Storica

N: Notarile (atti)

P: Popolazione (parte antica)

PE: Potenze Estere (post 1535)

PS: Potenze Sovrane (post 1535)

RC: Registri delle Cancellerie e magistrature diverse

TAM: Trivulzio, Archivio Milanese

ASMn: Archivio di Stato, Mantua

AG: Archivio Gonzaga

ASPr: Archivio di Stato, Parma

CFB: Carteggio farnesiano e borbonico estero

ASTo: Archivio di Stato, Turin

LMM: Materie politiche per rapporto all'estero. Lettere ministri. Milano

ASVe: Archivio di Stato, Venice

SD: Senato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori e residenti

AVFDMi: Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Milano

R: Registri

BAMi: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan

BAV: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City

BLL: The British Library, London

BMLF: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence

BNEM: Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid

Index of Names

Kings and Dukes under first name as usually known; others under last names.

A

Alberi (Alberio, Galberio, Galbesio),
Giuseppe, 101, 130
Albert II of Habsburg, emperor, 84
Albert of Habsburg, archduke of
Austria, son of Maximilian II, 78,
114, 115, 116, 119, 120, 124, 125,
128, 129, 131, 133, 197
Albert V Wittelsbach, duke of
Bavaria, 98, 100, 102, 104, 105,
110, 122
Alberti, Leon Battista, 13, 15, 51
Albicante, Giovanni Antonio, 50
Albignani, Giovan Battista, 110
Alciato, Andrea, xxxiv, 41-42, 48,
153, 154, 172
Aldobrandini, Cinzio, cardinal, 133
Alessandro Farnese, duke of Parma,
99, 101, 103, 106
Alfieri, Luigi, xxxii
Alfonso II d'Este, duke of Modena e
Ferrara, 120
Alvarez de Toledo, Fernando, III
duke of Alba, 79, 84
Anguissola, Delia, 101
Anguissola, Giovanni, 102
Anna of Habsburg Vasa,
archduchess of Austria, daughter
of Charles II, queen of Poland
and Sweden, 118
Anna of Habsburg Wittelsbach,
archduchess of Austria, daughter
of Ferdinand I, 128

Anna of Habsburg, archduchess of
Austria, daughter of Ferdinando
II (of Tyrol), 129
Anna of Habsburg, archduchess of
Austria, daughter of Maximilian
II, queen of Spain, 91, 108, 111,
112, 128, 129
Anna Caterina Gonzaga Habsburg,
wife of Ferdinand II (of Tyrol),
129
Antonino Pio, roman emperor, 171
Antonio da Ferrara, musician, 82
Appiani, Alessandro, 133
Appiani, Ercole, 121, 133
architectural designer, xxxiv-xxv,
13-14, 18; collection of, xxxi,
xxxvii, 9-10, 19-23
Arcimboldi, Giovan Angelo,
archbishop of Milano, 92
Arconati, family, 2
Arconati, Galeazzo, xxx, xxxi, 29
Arconati, Giovanni Battista, 2
Aristotele (Aristotle), 12, 41, 48

B

Bagnadore, Pier Maria, 50
Balbi, Lattanzio, 94
Barbavara, Ottaviano, 2
Barberini, Francesco, cardinal, xxxi,
xxxii, 27
Barberini, Maffeo. *See* Urban VIII
Barca, Pietro Antonio, 44
Barocci, Federico, 10, 11, 12, 53
Barocci, Simone, 10, 12, 53

Bartoli, Cosimo, 51
 Basilio Magno, san, 152
 Bassi, Martino, xxxiv, 13, 14, 15, 44-47, 51
 Battista da Lonate, 104
 Beccaria, Alessandro, 116
 Bellini, Giovanni, 24, 26, 27
 Bellone (Belloni), Nicolò, 115, 116, 123, 131
 Bernasconi, Giuseppe, 43
 Bianchi, Ercole, 13, 24, 25
 Bianconi, Carlo, 48
 Biffi, Giovanni Andrea, 56
 Biglia (Bia), Baldassarre, count of Saronno, 125
 Blasco, Luis, 123
 Boccardi, Giovanni di Giuliano, 152
 Boch, Johann, 202
 Boltraffio, Giovanni Antonio, 55
 Bona, Tommaso, 50
 Borgogni, Gherardo, 9, 134
 Borja y Centellas, Francisco Tomás, VI duke of Gandía, 120
 Borja y Velasco, Magdalena, countess of Haro, 126
 Borromeo, Carlo, archbishop of Milano, xvi, xvii, xx, xxi, xxii, xxiii, 5, 10, 104, 105, 107, 122, 126
 Borromeo, Federico, archbishop of Milano, xxvii, xxxii, xxxiv, 3-6, 9-10, 15-17, 20, 24, 27, 29, 118-119, 122
 Borromeo, Renato, 103, 104, 116
 Borsieri, Gerolamo, xxvii, xxxi, 1, 9-10, 18-19, 25, 29, 44-45, 47, 52-56, 122
 Boscano, Enrico, 55
 Bossi, Gerolamo, 82, 94
 Botticelli, Sandro, 173
 Bottigella Mazenta, Caterina Bianca, 41
 Bracciolini, Poggio, 151

Bramante, Donato, 55
 Bramantino (Bartolomeo Suardi), 44, 56
 Brambilla, Francesco, 119, 120
 Brambilla, Giovan Antonio, 119
 Breughel, Jan, 24, 25, 26
 Brivio, Francesco, 97
 Brivio, Sforza, 116
 Brugora, Galeazzo, 41
 Busca, Gabrio, 118
 Buzzi, Lelio, 44

C

Cairo, Francesco, 25-6,
 Calandra, Silvio, 99, 101
 Calvete de Estrella, Juan Cristóbal, 86, 153
 Camilli, Camillo, 100
 Campi, Antonio, 9, 41
 Cantoni, Caterina, 122, 123, 134
 Caradosso (Cristoforo Foppa), 55
 Caravaggio (Michelangelo Merisi) xvi, xvii, 28
 Cardano, Gerolamo, 92
 Cardi, Fortunato, 132
 Cardi, Giovan Francesco de, stable master of Philip II, 85
 Carlo Emanuele I di Savoia, duke of Savoy, 18, 114, 118, 131
 Carlos II de Austria-Estiria, archiduque. *See* Charles II of Habsburg
 Carnago, Camillo, 98
 Caro, Annibale, 100
 Casalini, Andrea, 106
 Castelletti da Rho, Vittoria, 100
 Castiglioni, Alfonso, 100
 Castiglioni, Bianca Lucia, 5
 Castione, Gerolamo, 96

Catalina Micaela of Habsburg
 Savoia, *infanta* of Spain, duchess
 of Savoy, 118
 Catena, Vincenzo, 24
 Caterina of Habsburg Gonzaga,
 archduchess of Austria, daughter
 of Ferdinando I, wife of
 Francesco III Gonzaga, 89
 Cattabene, Ercole, 107
 Cencetti, Guglielmo, 209
 Cerano. *See* Crespi, Giovanni
 Battista
 Cesare d'Este, duke of Modena e
 Reggio, 114
 Cesare da Sesto, 21
 Cesariano, Cesare, 47
 Charles II of Habsburg, archduke of
 Austria, father of Gregoria
 Maximiliana, 98, 110, 115, 128,
 169, 174
 Charles V of Habsburg, emperor,
 xviii, xix, 77-79, 81, 84-85, 88, 99,
 101, 107, 109, 111, 115, 117, 157,
 162, 166, 178, 184, 186
 Chastel, André, 52
 Chieppo, Annibale, 132
 Christine Oldenburg of Denmark
 Sforza Vaudemont, duchess of
 Milano and Lorraine, 7, 9, 78, 108
 Ciceri, Cesare, 41
 Ciceri, Francesco, 41
 Cicerone, Marco Tullio, 42
 Cignardi (Cignarca), Ferrante, 114
 Ciocca, Giacomo, 96
 Ciriaco de Ancona, 151
 Cisero, Antonio, 97
 Cittadini, Benedetto, 130
 Civaleri, Giovan Giacomo, 108
 Clarici, Giovan Battista, xxxvii, 39,
 53, 110, 117, 118, 126
 Clemente VIII (Ippolito
 Aldobrandini), pope, 120, 203

Coecke van Aelst, Pieter, 50
 Colonna, Fabrizio, 81, 82, 97, 88
 Colonna, Francesco, 153
 Commandino, Francesco, 51-52
 Como, Agostino, 16
 Conte, Gian Giacomo del, 87
 Contile, Luca, 90
 Corbetta, Antonio Maria, 44
 Corbetta, Giovan Battista, 88
 Cosimo I de' Medici, grand duke of
 Tuscany, 5
 Cosimo II de' Medici, grand duke of
 Tuscany, 118
 Crasso, Francesco, 92
 Cresci, Giovanni Francesco, 209
 Crespi, Giovanni Battista (il
 Cerano), 4, 21, 23, 26, 44
 Cristina di Danimarca. *See*
 Christine Oldenburg of Denmark
 Crivelli, Giovan Francesco, 56
 Croeselius, Johannes, 186
 Cueva y Tellez-Girón, Gabriel de la,
 V duke of Albuquerque,
 governor of Milano, 96, 98
 Curione, Celio Secondo, 48
 Curzio, Lancino, 55

D

D'Adda, family, 2, 18
 D'Ádda, Francesco II, 54
 D'Ávalos Gesualdo, Maria, xxii, xxiii
 D'Ávalos, Alfonso, marquis of
 Vasto, governor of Milano, 84, 89,
 94, 99, 111
 D'Ávalos, Cesare, 103
 Dal Pozzo, Cassiano, xxxi, 25, 27
 Dal Pozzo, Emanuele, 121
 Davide da Spilimbergo, 106
 Decio, Agostino, 100
 Del Rio, Galeazzo, 123
 Della Cesa, Pompeo, 106

Della Guardia, Francesco, 122
 Della Porta, Guglielmo, xxix
 Della Porta, Teodoro, xxix
 Della Quadra, Maurizio, captain,
 96, 97
 Della Rovere, Camilla, 100
 Della Rovere, Giovanni Battista (II
 Fiammenghino), 119
 Della Somaglia, Francesco, 83, 86
 Della Torre, Giacomo Antonio, 131
 Della Torre, Giovan Francesco, 101,
 102, 103
 Dietrichstein, Franz Seraph von,
 cardinal 131
 Domenico, Giacomo de, 126
 Domitian, Roman emperor, 176
 Doria, Andrea, 79
 Doria, Giovan Andrea, 98
 Doria, Paolo, 99
 Doria, Pelagro, 99
 du Faing, Giles, 124

E

Eleanor of Habsburg Gonzaga,
 archduchess of Austria, daughter
 of Ferdinand I, wife of Guglielmo
 Gonzaga, 129
 Eleanor of Habsburg, archduchess
 of Austria, daughter of Charles II,
 110, 112
 Emanuele Filiberto di Savoia, duke
 of Savoy, 100, 101, 102, 103
 Enriquez de Azevedo y Toledo,
 Pedro, count of Fuentes de
 Valdepero, governor of Milano,
 121
 Enriquez de Velasco y Aragón,
 Juana, duchess of Gandía, 120,
 121
 Erasmo de Rotterdam, 178
 Ercole da Trezzo, musician, 90

Ernest of Habsburg, archduke of
 Austria, 94, 96, 97, 98, 197
 Esteban Lorente, Francisco, 152

F

Fabio Massimo, Quinto,
 “*Cunctator*,” 195
 Facino, Andrea, 102
 Faechia, Pietro, 94
 Fanzino, Sigismondo, 86
 Fauno, Lucio, 48
 Faustina, (medalla), 172
 Feliciano de Verona, Felice, 151
 Felipe II, rey de España. *See* Philip
 II
 Felipe III, rey de España. *See* Philip
 III
 Ferdinand I of Habsburg, emperor,
 77, 80, 107, 128, 129
 Ferdinand II of Habsburg
 (Ferdinando del Tirolo),
 archduke of Austria, 80, 89, 98,
 106, 129
 Ferdinand II of Habsburg, emperor,
 107, 112
 Ferdinand III of Habsburg,
 emperor, 129
 Ferdinand of Habsburg, archduke
 of Austria, son of Maximilian II,
 91
 Ferdinando I de’ Medici, grand
 duke of Tuscany, 5, 6, 7
 Fernández de Córdoba, Ana,
 marchioness of Ayamonte, 102,
 103
 Fernández de Córdoba, Consalvo
 (Gonzalo), III duke of Sessa,
 governor of Milano, 13, 87, 95, 97
 Fernández de Velasco y Tovar, Juan,
 V duke of Frias, *condestable* of
 Castilla, governor of Milano,

xxxiv, 39, 111, 115, 117, 118, 120,
121, 131, 156, 161, 189, 195, 202
Fernández de Velasco, Íñigo, VIII
count of Haro, xxxvii, 39, 125-6
Figino, Ambrogio, xxvii, 23, 28, 29,
41
Figino, Francesco, 41
Figino, Gerolamo, xx, xxi
Figino, Giovanni Ambrogio. *See*
Figino, Ambrogio
Figino, Giovanni Battista, 48, 57
Figino, Vincenzo, 41
Figliodoni, Danese, 174
Filippo (Felipe) II. *See* Philip II
Filippo (Felipe) III. *See* Philip III
Fiorenza, Giovanni Battista, 130
Fontana, Annibale, 22, 23
Fontana, Domenico, 51
Fontana, Publio, xviii, xix, 50
Foppa, Vincenzo, 56
Fornari, Lorenzo, 96
Fossano, Giovan Pietro, 81
Fossati, Giovanni Battista, 130
Fossati, Giulio, 119
Francesco I Sforza, duke of Milano,
55
Francesco I Vaudemont, duke of
Lorraine, 108
Francesco II Gonzaga, marquis of
Mantova, 92
Francesco II Sforza, duke of
Milano, 77, 78, 156
Francesco III Gonzaga, duke of
Mantova, 88, 89
Francesco Maria I della Rovere,
duke of Urbino, 39
Francesco Maria II della Rovere,
duke of Urbino, 39, 117
Franco, Giacomo, 50
Frederick III of Habsburg, emperor,
84

G

Gaddi, Niccolò, 18
Galilei, Galileo, 53
Galizia, Fede, 134, 135
Galizia, Nunzio, 126, 132, 134
Gallarati, Giovan Pietro, 120, 121,
123
Galli, Giovan Battista, 134
Galliani, Giovan Battista, 10, 18, 53
Gambaloita, Paolo Emilio, 95, 96,
98, 103, 109, 110
Gesualdo da Venosa, Carlo, xxii,
xxiii
Giannelli, Domenico, 83
Giorgi, Bartolomeo, 17, 119
Giovan Paolo, carpenter, 96
Giovannelli, brothers, 123
Giovanni d'Austria (don Giovanni).
See John of Austria
Giovio, Benedetto, 111
Giovio, Paolo, 48, 48, 111
Giuliano de' Medici, 173
Giulio Romano (Giulio Pippi), xviii,
xix, 84
Giunti, Domenico, 81, 83, 84, 86,
87, 90
Goltzius, Herbert, 155
Gómez de Silva, Ruy, duke of
Pastrana, 202
Gonzaga di Luzzara, Massimiliano,
81
Gonzaga, Alessandro, 82
Gonzaga, Eleonora, 132
Gonzaga, Ferrante, governor of
Milano, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88,
89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 101
Gonzaga, Ippolita, 81, 82, 87, 88
Gonzaga, Ottavio, son of Ferrante
Gonzaga, 101, 103, 104
Gosellini, Giuliano, 100, 103, 104

Gregoria Maximiliana of Habsburg,
 archduchess of Austria, xvi-xxiii,
 xxxv-xxxvi, 39, 107, 110-112, 117,
 135, 151, 155, 159, 162, 169-170,
 189, 200, 202, 207
 Gregorio Nacianceno, saint, 152
 Grosso, Michele, 89
 Gruytère, Joan, 49
 Guarini (Guarino), Battista, 97, 132
 Guazzo, Stefano, 80
 Guevara y Padilla, Sancho de,
 governor di Milano, 107, 108
 Guglielmo Gonzaga, duke of
 Mantova, 101
 Guglielmo V Wittelsbach. *See*
 William V Wittelsbach
 Guidobaldo II della Rovere, duke of
 Urbino, 52, 100
 Guzmán, Antonio de, III marquis of
 Ayamonte, governor of Milano,
 98, 101, 102, 103, 125
 Guzmán, Francisco de, IV marquis
 of Ayamonte, 125
 Guzman, Luis de, 125

H

Hamann, Brigitte, 200
 Hamen y León, Juan van der, 201
 Henry III Valois, king of France, 102
 Heródoto de Halicarnaso, 184, 187
 Horapolo, 153

I

Ignacio de Loyola, 155
 Isabella Clara Eugenia of
 Habsburg, *infanta* of Spagna,
 wife of Albert, archduke of
 Austria, 78, 119, 120, 125, 128,
 129, 131, 133, 134

Isabella d'Este Gonzaga, wife of
 Francesco II Gonzaga,
 marchioness of Mantova, 92
 Isabella di Capua Gonzaga,
 princess of Molfetta, wife of
 Ferrante Gonzaga 82, 84, 88, 90,
 92, 93
 Isabella of Habsburg Oldenburg,
 sister of Charles V, wife of
 Christian II Oldenburg of
 Denmark, 78
 Iter, Lucius, bishop of Coira, 79

J

John of Austria (don Giovanni
 d'Austria), 99, 100, 101, 102, 103,
 104, 105, 106, 110
 Juan de Velasco. *See* Fernández de
 Velasco y Tovar, Juan
 Julia Pía, (medal), 172
 Julius Cesar, 176, 195

L

Landi, Claudio, prince of Val di
 Taro, 102
 Leonardi, Giovan Giacomo, 52
 Leonardo da Vinci, xvi-xvii, xxvii,
 xxix, xxxiii, xxxv, 15, 21, 27, 29, 55,
 152-154, 172, 180
 Leoni, Leone, xviii-xix, xxxvi, 83, 88
 Leoni, Pompeo, xxviii, xxx, 21, 29
 Leto, Giulio Pomponio, 151
 Litolfi, Annibale, 79
 Lomazzo, Gian (Giovanni) Paolo,
 xxxiii, 9, 20-23, 41, 56
 Lomazzo, Giuseppe. *See* Meda,
 Giuseppe
 Lonati, Pietro Antonio, 99-101, 103-
 104
 Londonio, Antonio, 9

Lorenzo de' Medici, 151, 171-172
 Lucrezio Caro, 48
 Ludovico Maria Sforza, duke of
 Milano, xxxv, 55
 Luini, Aurelio, 3, 21, 27
 Luna, Juan de, 81, 86
 Lupo, Battista, 98

M

Madruzzo, Cristoforo, cardinal, 79,
 81-82, 88-89
 Magoria, Eliseo, 112
 Malaspina, Guglielmo, 98
 Mancho Duque, M^a Jesús, 155
 Mandelli (Mandelo), Giacomo, 202
 Manfredi, Muzio, 100
 Manrique, Giorgio (Jorge), 104
 Mantegna, Andrea, 151
 Manuzio, Aldo (the Elder), 56, 153
 Manuzio, Aldo (the Younger), 5, 55
 Manzoni, Ambrogio, 120, 130
 Marazo, Giovan Pietro Maria, 119
 Margarita de Austria-Estiria. *See*
 Margherita of Habsburg, queen
 of Spain
 Margherita of Habsburg (Suor
 Margherita de la Cruz),
 archduchess of Austria, daughter
 of Maria of Habsburg, 107
 Margherita of Habsburg,
 archduchess of Austria, daughter
 of Charles V, 99, 102, 106
 Margherita of Habsburg, queen of
 Spain, xviii, xix, xxii, xxiii, xxxv,
 xxxvi, xxxvii, 78, 107, 109-116,
 118-130, 132, 133-135, 164, 179,
 181, 189, 200-203
 Maria Anna of Habsburg, empress,
 daughter of Filippo III, wife of
 Ferdinand III, 129, 169
 Maria Anna Wittelsbach Habsburg,
 wife of Charles II, 98, 110, 115,
 120, 122, 128
 Maria Maddalena of Habsburg de
 Medici, archduchess of Austria,
 wife of Cosimo II, grand duchess
 di Tuscany, 118
 Maria of Habsburg, empress,
 daughter of Charles V, 81, 91, 93-
 94, 107-109, 112, 123, 128
 Mariani, Carlo, 51
 Marín Tovar, Cristóbal, 203
 Marino, Tommaso, 89, 102
 Marliani, Ercole, 125
 Marliani, Luigi, 82, 97
 Marliani, Ottavia, 95
 Marone, Pietro, 50
 Massimo, Camillo, cardinal, 18
 Matthias of Habsburg, emperor, 77,
 107, 129, 197
 Maximilian II of Habsburg,
 emperor, xxxvi, 79-83, 91, 93-95,
 97, 107, 111, 128-129, 176, 197
 Maximilian III of Habsburg,
 archduke of Austria,
 grandmaster of the Teutonic
 Order, 107, 197
 Mazenta, Alessandro, *monsignore*,
 xxxvii, 3-6, 11-12, 17, 25, 27, 119
 Mazenta, Ambrogio. *See* Mazenta,
 Giovanni Ambrogio
 Mazenta, Faustino, 4, 25
 Mazenta, Francesco (Ludovico),
 28-9, 41-44, 48, 53, 56
 Mazenta, Giovanni Ambrogio,
 xxvii, xxx-xxxii, xxxiv, xxxvii, 3-7,
 17-18, 22, 25, 27, 29, 40-43, 48,
 55-56, 180
 Mazenta, Guido Antonio, marquis,
 19, 23, 24, 27
 Mazenta, Guido, xvi, xvii-xviii, xix-
 xxiii, xxvii-xxviii, xxxi, xxxiii,

xxxvii, 1-8, 10-14, 16-24, 28-29,
39-43, 110, 112, 117, 119, 135,
151, 154-158, 161-164, 166-167,
170, 173, 175, 177-179, 181-185,
187, 189-190, 192-193, 195-197,
200, 202, 207-208, 210-211
as iconographer, 154-158; as
writer, 158-159; friends of, 3,
5-12; library of, 39-43;
patronage, 11-12, 16, 24-25,
28
Mazenta, Lodovico (son of Guido),
4, 25
Mazenta, Lucia, 2
Mazenta, Ludovico (Lodovico),
senator, xxxvii, 1-2, 4-5, 40-41,
46, 48
Mazenta, Margherita, 2
Mazenta, Melchiorre, 1, 20, 41
Mazenta, Simone, 1
Meda, Giuseppe (Giuseppe
Lomazzo), xx-xxi, 109, 112
Medici, Gian Giacomo de' (il
Medeghino), marquiss of
Marignano, 51, 81, 86
Medici, Giovanni de', 6
Medici, Giuliano de', 173
Medici, Lorenzo de', 151, 171-172
Melzi, Francesco, xx, xxi, 21, 29
Melzi, Ludovico, 97
Melzi, Orazio, 29
Menochio, Giovanni, 118
Merato, Gerolamo, 57
Minaggio, Dionigi, 134
Morazzone (Pier Francesco
Mazzucchelli), 26, 27
Morigia, Paolo, xxvii, 1, 19, 23, 41
Morone, Gerolamo, 116
Morosini, Giovanni Francesco,
bishop of Brescia, xviii, xix, 50
Muzio, Gerolamo, 88, 93

N

Negri, Cesare, dancer, 98-99, 101,
125, 131

O

Oddi, Muzio (Mutio), xxx, 45, 56
Olgiate, Giovan Maria, 90
Orfei da Fano, Luca, 209
Osio, Matteo, 94
Ottavio Augusto, 176
Ottavio Farnese, duke of Parma,
102, 106
Ovidio Nasone, Publio, 188, 203
Ozeno, Manfredo, 89-90

P

Paggi, Giovanni Battista, 18
Pagliarino, Alessandro, 119
Pagnani, Ercole, 97
Pagnani, Fabio, 82
Paleotti, Gabriele, cardinal, 105
Palladio, Andrea, 13, 51
Pallavicini, Ippolito, 106
Pallavicino, Leone, 49-50
Pallotino, Massimo, 58
Pappo di Alessandria, 52
Paranchino, Bernardo, 120
Pellesini, Giovanni (called
Pedrolino), 131
Peñas, Luis de las, 99
Perín del Vaga, (Pietro Bonaccorsi),
21, 157
Perrenot de Granvelle, Nicolas, 89
Petrozzani, Tullio, 132
Philip II, king of Spain, xvi-xviii,
xix-xxi, xxxiv, 77-79, 81-94, 99,
103, 105, 111, 115-119, 124, 128,
129, 153, 159, 162, 166, 176, 184,
186, 195, 187, 198

Philip III, king of Spain, xvi, xvii,
xxxiv, 3, 17, 77, 110, 115, 118, 120,
128, 131, 155, 160, 176, 182, 184,
198
Piantanida, merchant, 93
Piatti, Giovanni Antonio, 23
Piccolomini, Alessandro, 88
Pirovano, Francesco, 109
Pirzio, Cesare, 28
Pizza (Pizzi), Tarsia (Tarsia
Gallina?), embroiderer 134
Plinio, Caio Secondo, 45, 198
Plutarco da Cheronea, 48
Poggio Bracciolini, Francesco, 151
Pozzobonelli, Giuliano, 132
Prata, Antonio Maria, 126
Procaccini, Giulio Cesare, 4, 21, 29
Profondavalle, Valerio, 102, 103,
126, 130
Properzio, Sesto Aurelio, 198
Proserpio, Gabriele, 57
Pusterla, Camillo, 97
Puteano, Ericio, 3

R

Rainer, Johann, 203
Rainoldi Mazenta, Elena, 4, 134,
135
Rainoldi, Bernardo, 101
Rainoni, Bartolomeo, 98
Ranuccio I Farnese, duke of Parma,
116
Rasario, Giovanni Battista, 41
Renata Vaudemont Wittelsbach,
wife of William V, duke of
Bavaria, 108
Rho (da Rho), Carlo, 100
Rho (da Rho), Filippo, 100
Rho (da Rho), Francesco
Baldassarre, 100

Ricetto, Giovan Pietro (Pietro
Giovannelli), musician, 82
Richino, Francesco Maria, 44
Rinaldi, Tolomeo, 13, 15-16, 132
Ripa, Cesare, xxxiv, 154
Rodríguez de la Flor, Fernando, 152
Rossetti, Edoardo, 90
Rozono, Gerolamo, 93
Rudolph II of Habsburg, emperor,
94, 96-98, 107, 114, 197
Rusca, Battista, 98
Ruscelli, Girolamo, 154

S

Sacchetti Egidio, 48, 57
Salazar de Mendoza, Pedro, 203
San Clemente, Guglielmo de
(Guillermo, Guillem de
Santcliment), 114, 115
Sangallo, Giuliano da, 151
Sanseverino, Galeazzo, 99
Saracchi, Giovanni Ambrogio, 121
Scaccabarozzi, Bernardo, 86
Scala, Andrea, 96
Scala, Giovanni Antonio, 121
Scala, Michele, 96
Schiafenati, Camillo, 131, 132
Secco, Nicolò, 86, 92
Semino, Ottavio, 102, 104
Seneca, Lucio Amelio, 45, 48
Senofonte, 48
Serbelloni, Fabrizio, 125
Serlio, Sebastiano, 51
Sfondrati d'Este, Agata, 44
Sforza, Muzio II, marquis of
Caravaggio, 125
Sisto V (Felice Peretti), pope, 51
Strada, Giovan Battista, 104
Strozzi, Piero di Benedetto, 152
Strozzi, Roberto, 81

T

- Taegio, Bartolomeo, xx, xxi
 Taverna, Francesco, 86, 89, 90, 93
 Tellez-Girón y Guzmán, María, V
 duchess of Frias, 120
 Terzaghi, Gian Giacomo, 16
 Tibaldi, Pellegrino (Pellegrino
 Pellegrini), 103-104, 108-109
 Tito Livio, 186, 195
 Tiziano Vecellio (Titian), 7, 23, 88
 Todeschini, Giulio, 50
 Tornielli, Manfredo, 104
 Tortorino, Francesco, 20, 41
 Tradate, Giovanni, 121-122
 Trezzi, Aurelio, xxxiv, 43-44
 Trichet du Fresne, Raphaël, xxxii,
 Trivulzio, Bianca, 95
 Trivulzio, Carlo Emanuele Teodoro,
 95
 Trivulzio, Gerolamo, 95
 Trivulzio, Gian Giacomo Teodoro,
 95
 Trivulzio, Giorgio, 19, 116, 119
 Trivulzio, Paolo Alessandro, 95
 Trivulzio, Teodoro, 125
 Truchsess von Waldburg, Otto,
 bishop of Augsburg, 95

U

- Urbano VIII (Maffeo Vincenzo
 Barberini), pope, xxxi, xxxii, 5, 6

V

- Valdés, Alfonso de, 178
 Valeriano Bolzani, Pierio, 155
 Valotto, Cristoforo, 96
 Vasa, Cristoforo, 118
 Vasari, Giorgio, xvii-xix
 Vassallo, Lorenzo, 82

- Velasco, Iñigo de. *See* Fernández de
 Velasco, Iñigo
 Velasco, Juan Fernández de. *See*
 Fernández de Velasco y Tovar,
 Juan
 Veronese, Paolo, 26-27
 Verrocchio, Andrea, 172
 Vespasiano da Bisticci, 152
 Vespucci, Amerigo, 179
 Vialardi, Giovan Francesco, 81
 Viani, Antonio Maria, 132
 Vicini, Agostino, 101
 Vicini, Francesco, 101
 Villa, Battista, 119
 Villalpanda, Juan Bautista, xxviii
 Vincenzi, Francesco Maria, 10-11
 Vincenzi, Guidobaldo, 10-12
 Vincenzi, Ludovico, 10-11
 Vincenzo I Gonzaga, duke of
 Mantova, 114-115, 132-133
 Vinta, Francesco, 77, 79, 91
 Virgilio Marone, Publio, 172, 188
 Visconti di Fontaneto, Galeazzo,
 127
 Visconti, Benedetto, goldsmith, 122
 Visconti, Bernabò, 54
 Visconti, Ermes, 116
 Visconti, Galeazzo, 123
 Visconti, Gaspare Ambrogio, 19, 55
 Visconti, Gaspare, 105, 108
 Visconti, Gaspare, archbishop of
 Milano, 13-15, 109
 Visconti, Gerolamo, 103
 Visconti, Giovanni Battista, 97
 Visconti, Giovanni Battista, scholar,
 124, 129, 131
 Visconti, Giovanni Galeazzo, 54
 Visconti, Laura, 19
 Visconti, Lavinia, 125
 Visconti, Lucia, 1
 Visconti, Ludovico (Il Moscatello),
 musician, 82

Visconti, Prospero, 19, 98-100, 102,
104, 108
Visconti, Uberto, 116
Vistarino, Alessandro, 125
Vitali, Alessandro, 12
Vitali, Giovan Pietro, 133
Vitruvius (Marco Vitruvio Pollione),
xviii, xix, 14, 46-47, 51-52, 178

W

Waldseemüller, Martin, 179
Wechel, Christian, 153
William (Guglielmo) V Wittelsbach,
duke of Bavaria, 108, 122

Z

Zaccolini, Matteo, xxix
Zanchi, Giovanni Battista, 51
Zibramonti, Aurelio, 107