

CAPUA AND TZINTZUNTZÁN: NEGOTIATING PRIVILEGES, WRITING HISTORIES, MOVING STONES IN THE 16TH- CENTURY SPANISH EMPIRE*

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ABSTRACT

This essay examines the southern Italian city of Capua and the Mexican city of Tzintzuntzán in parallel. Both cities existed within the polycentric system of the Iberian monarchy. When faced with the deprivation of their privileges, the threat of losing their historical memory (enclosed within monuments from the past), and the forfeiture of their local identity within a broader empire, local elites from these two sides of the globe each responded with the same administrative procedure (petitioning) and the same cultural tools. These actions included the invention of local histories, the transfer of *spolia*, and the construction of modern buildings that incorporated “ancient” stones.

KEYWORDS: Petitioning, Redeployment, *spolia*, New Antiquities, Loyalty, Recognition, Local Identities

Capua e Tzintzuntzán: negoziare privilegi, scrivere storie,
spostare pietre nell’Impero spagnolo del Cinquecento

ABSTRACT

L’articolo tratta in parallelo le città di Capua in Italia meridionale e Tzintzuntzán in Messico con l’obiettivo di dimostrare come, all’interno del sistema policentrico della monarchia iberica, le élites locali sui due lati del pianeta, trovandosi di fronte alla privazione dei propri privilegi e al pericolo di perdere la propria memoria storica racchiusa in monumenti del passato, e di smarrire la propria identità locale all’interno di un impero planetario, reagirono con la stessa procedura amministrativa (petizioni), e con gli stessi strumenti culturali. Tali azioni compresero la compilazione di storie locali, il trasferimento di *spolia* e la costruzione di nuovi edifici che riutilizzavano tali pietre “antiche”.

PAROLE CHIAVE: Petizioni, reimpiego, *spolia*, nuove antichità, lealtà, riconoscimento, identità locali

Pleas and petitions have been the main way in which groups of the governing local elites of cities, as well as individual citizens, made their requests to monarchies and states from the medieval times and throughout the modern period¹. In the context of the Hapsburg Empire in the sixteenth century, cities, which found themselves suddenly immersed in the new imperial context, faced the need to

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¹ On petitions: D. FASSIN, *La supplique. Stratégies rhétoriques et constructions identitaires dans les demandes d’aide d’urgence*, «Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales», 5 (2000), pp. 955-981. C. NUBOLA, *La «via supplicationis» negli stati italiani della prima età moderna (secoli XV-XVIII)*, in C. NUBOLA, A. WÜRGLER (eds.), *Suppliche e “gravamina”*. *Politica, amministrazione, giustizia in Europa (secoli XIV-XVIII)*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2002. G. DODD, S. PETIT-RENAUD, *Grace and Favour: The Petition and its Mechanisms*, in C. FLETCHER, J.-P. GENET, J. WATTS (eds.), *Government and Political Life in England and France, c.1300-c.1500*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 240-278. S. CERUTTI, M. VALLERANI (eds.) *Suppliches. Lois et cas dans la normativité de l’époque moderne*, Paris, Centre de recherches historiques, L’Atelier du CRH, 2015.

negotiate their privileges and status with the central power, as well as confronting the threat of losing their own historical memory and identity, within a system with a global dimension.

This article will consider for the first time in parallel the cases of the city of Capua in southern Italy—once part of the viceregal Kingdom of Naples—and that of Tzintzuntán, located in modern-day Mexico—once part of the Viceroyalty of New Spain². At the time of the Spanish conquest both Capua and Tzintzuntán, although not capitals of their respective kingdoms, were nevertheless important centres within their provinces. They both held ancient monumental vestiges which testified to their glorious past, and were inhabited by competitive elites, who were able to react both politically and culturally to the upheavals and threats which arose from inclusion within the Iberian Empire³.

Relying on recent studies on the trans-oceanic polycentric and aggregative nature of the Iberian monarchy, this essay will try to highlight similar challenges and common strategies which these two cities, located in two different hemispheres, had to face once they were included in the Hapsburg context⁴. The perspective of investigating possible connections between cities respectively in southern Italy and the Iberian Americas is further reinforced when we remember that the gradual conquest and establishment of Spanish rule over mainland southern Italy between 1501 and 1528 occurred in parallel to the discovery and progressive subjugation of the territories of Mexico (1519)

² B. DE DIVITIIS, *Spanish Southern Italy and the Iberian Americas: Cultural Networks and Artistic Encounters (c.1492-1600)*, in M. COLE, A. RUSSO (eds.), *Spanish Italy and Iberian Americas*, forthcoming.

³ For elites in southern Italy see with previous bibliography G.VITALE, *Urban Spaces and Society in Southern Italy*, in B. DE DIVITIIS (ed.), *The Companion to the Renaissance in Southern Italy*, Leiden; Boston, Brill, 2023, pp. 210–230. G. MUTO, *Urban Structures and Population*”, in T.ASTARITA (ed.), *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, Leiden; Boston, Brill, 2013, pp. 35–62. G. MUTO, *Comunità, governo centrale e poteri locali nel Regno di Napoli in età moderna*, «Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée» 116 (2004), pp. 507–526. For the elites and composite elite in the Iberian world, see P.DEPREUX, F. BOUGARD, R. LE JAN (eds.), *Les élites et leurs espaces: mobilité, rayonnement, domination (du VIe au XIe siècle)*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2007; L.M. CÓRDOBA OCHOA, *Movilidad geográfica, capital cosmopolita y relaciones de méritos. Las élites del imperio entre Castilla, América y el Pacífico*, in B. YUN CASALILLA (ed.), *Las redes del imperio: élites sociales en la articulación de la monarquía hispánica, 1492-1714*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2008, pp. 359–378; J. CHAUCA GARCÍA, *Entre Andalucía y América: el malagueño José de Gálvez y la proyección de su red clientelar en Indias*, in E. SORIA MESA, J.J. BRAVO CARO, J.M. DELGADO BARRADO (eds.), *Las élites en la época moderna. La monarquía española*, Córdoba, Universidad de Córdoba, 2009, 4 vols, II, *Familia y redes sociales*, pp. 121–132.

⁴ On the conceptions of a polycentric Empire / Monarchy, see F.CANTÙ (ed.), *Las cortes virreinales de la Monarquía española*, Rome, Viella, 2008; P. CARDIM, J.L. PALOS (eds.), *El mundo de los virreyes en las monarquías de España y Portugal*, Madrid-Frankfurt, Iberoamericana / Vervuert, 2012; P. CARDIM, T. HERZOG, J.J. RUIZ IBÁÑEZ, G. SABATINI (eds.), *Polycentric Monarchies. How did Early Modern Spain and Portugal Achieve and Maintain a Global Hegemony?*, Eastbourne, Sussex Academic Press, 2012; R. GRAFE, *Polycentric States: The Spanish Reigns and the 'Failures' of Mercantilism*, in P.J. STERN, C. WENNERLING (eds.), *Mercantilism Reimagined. Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and its Empire*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 241–262; M. HERRERO SÁNCHEZ, *Spanish Theories of Empire: A Catholic and Polycentric Monarchy*, in J.A. TELLKAMP (ed.), *A Companion to Early Modern Spanish Imperial Political and Social Thought*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2020, pp. 17–52. On transcontinental connections, see: M. ESPAGNE, *Sur les limites du comparatisme en histoire culturelle*, «Genèses. Sciences sociales et histoire», 17 (1994), pp. 112–121; S. SUBRAHMANYAM, *Explorations in Connected History. From the Tanguis to the Gange*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005; T. DACOSTA KAUFMANN, C. DOSSIN, B. JOYEUX-PRUNEL, *Reintroducing Circulations: Historiography and the Project of Global Art History; Introduction*, in ID. (eds.), *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2015, pp. 1–22; S. GRUZINSKI, *Art History and Iberian Worldwide Diffusion: Westernization / Globalization / Americanization*, in *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, cit., pp. 47–58; ID., *Les quatre parties du monde: Histoire d'une mondialisation*, Paris, Éditions de La Martinière, 2004; ID., *La machine à remonter le temps: Quand l'Europe s'est mise à écrire l'histoire du monde*, Paris, Fayard 2017; G. MARCOCCI, *Indios, cinesi, falsari. Le storie del mondo nel Rinascimento*, Bari, Laterza, 2016; J. BARR, E. COUNTRYMAN (eds.), *Contested Spaces of Early America*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017.

and Peru (1526–36)⁵.

The modalities and outcomes of such nearly simultaneous conquests were very different, considering that southern Italy did not suffer the same eradication of the Indigenous population and obliteration of the local culture that occurred in Mexico. Taking in account such due differences and considering the conceptual frame of the polycentric empire and parallel conquest, this article will look at how local elites in both cities reacted to their new condition by placing pleas and memoirs to recuperate titles and privileges. In this context, petitioning can be regarded as an act defining links of belonging and allows us to interpret historical practices as a way for imperial subjects not only to interact with the centre of power but also to negotiate their place in relation to other parts of the Empire⁶. The article will look at how in both Capua and Tzintzuntzán such petitioning was sustained by the compilation of new historical works which deliberately refer to the ancient local past and by the creation of new works of art and architecture which redeployed ancient stones and sculptural works. While questioning the concept of antiquity in terms of time and space, the essay will consider the mobility and displacement of ancient and new *spolia* from “ancient” or Indigenous monuments to new building sites as a tool to convey resistance and negotiate identities with the new Spanish rules, as well as to generate in local communities a sense of proximity and belonging.

The simultaneous challenge of defending previous identity privileges and grappling with a powerful new authority emerged in parallel in the art histories of southern Italy and Mexico.

Capua

At the turn of the sixteenth century Capua had an undisputed prominent role in the Aragonese monarchy and was the main city of the rich province known as Terra di Lavoro. Thanks to its strategic position, at the entrance to the Kingdom, the city’s enduring loyalty and capacity to lend money to the royals, Capua had never been subject to a baron but was a “free” city, depending directly on the sovereign. Furthermore, Capuans enjoyed the special status of being citizens of the entire Kingdom, thus benefitting from a privileged fiscal status throughout the territory of southern Italy⁷. Capua’s prominence was symbolically demonstrated by the precedence of its representatives at public ceremonies, including general parliaments, loyalty oaths or coronations, and by the continuous visits of the Aragonese royals. Furthermore, the city exercised its own feudal control over nearby smaller centres and villages, such as Calvi and Marcianise and its diocese ruled over seven bishoprics in the area⁸.

Capua’s importance throughout the centuries was reflected in the numerous medieval monuments which had been created since its foundation in the ninth century, including the churches and tombs of the Lombard princes (9th–10th century), the Norman bell tower and castle (11th century), and the monumental gate built by the Swabian emperor Frederick II (c. 1233)⁹. During the fifteenth century,

⁵ On the parallel conquest: J.M.D. POHL, *Dramatic Performance and the Theater of the State*, in J.M.D. POHL and C.L. LYONS, *Altera Roma. Art and Empire from Mérida to Mexico*, UCLA-Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2016.

⁶ I am grateful to Fabien Montcher for suggesting this point.

⁷ F. SENATORE, *Una città, il Regno: istituzioni e società a Capua nel XV secolo*, Rome, SISMED, 2018. On Capua: I. DI RESTA, *Capua*, Rome; Bari, Laterza, 1985. B. DE DIVITIIS, *Architecture, Poetry and Law: The Amphitheatre of Capua and the New Works Sponsored by the Local Élite*, in K. ENENCKEL, K. OTTENHEYM (eds.), *The Quest for an Appropriate Past in Literature, Art and Architecture*, Leiden; Boston, Brill, 2018, pp. 47–75.

⁸ SENATORE, *Una città, il Regno*, cit.

⁹ DI RESTA, *Capua*, cit.; G. PANE, A. FILANGIERI, *Capua. Architettura e arte, catalogo delle opere*, 2 vols., Capua, Arti grafiche Salafia, 1994. On the bell tower: M.C. CAMPONE, *Il campanile della cattedrale di Capua e l'inedito progetto di*

the city had been further enriched by lavish palaces commissioned by the members of the local elites and by the so-called *Seggi*, the small loggias used for the meetings of groups of citizens¹⁰. Both Medieval and Renaissance buildings redeployed a notable number of antiquities, which had been imported from the nearby necropolis and moreover from the site of the ancient Capua located at a few kilometres of distance [fig. 1]. The amount of antiquities disseminated around the city was such that humanists considered the new Capua also to have been ancient and defined it as being «togated and happy» («togata et felix»)¹¹.

The end of the Aragonese rule over southern Italy in 1503 and the conflict between Louis XII of France and Ferdinand II of Aragon of Spain (known as Ferdinand the Catholic), for the control of southern Italy, had a notable impact on Capua, which found itself at the centre of major traumatic events, which marked the history of the Kingdom during the Wars of Italy, as the sack of the city led by Cesare Borgia in 1501 and the battle on the nearby river Garigliano in 1503¹². In 1528 Capua endured a further siege by the French troops commanded by Odet de Foix, Vicomte de Lautrec, as part of a further attempt by the French to conquer the Kingdom of Naples¹³.

Capua emerged from the end of the Aragonese kingdom and the Spanish conquest deprived of its privileges, physically wounded, and depopulated¹⁴. All the concessions, which had been made to the city in 1497 by Federico of Aragon and in 1501 by the first viceroy the *Gran Capitán* Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, were promptly revoked by Ferdinand the Catholic, who also deprived Capua of its feudal possession of Marcianise¹⁵. The city, which had always been free, was also given temporarily on loan by Ferdinand in exchange for money¹⁶. While facing such threats from the new rulers, Capua also had to defend itself from the claims of other cities, such as Aversa, Lecce and Cosenza, which in turn challenged its privileged position within the Kingdom of Naples, by trying to usurp its primacy in parliaments and processions¹⁷.

Enrico Alvino, «Capys», 36 (2003), pp. 17-26. On the Castello delle Pietre: P.F. PISTILLI, *Un castello a recinto normanno in Terra di Lavoro: il castrum Lapidum di Capua*, in A. CADEI, A. RIGHETTI TOSTI, M. CROCE, A. SEGAGNI MALACART, A. TOMEI (eds.), *Arte d'Occidente: temi e metodi, Studi in onore di Angiola Maria Romanini*, Rome, Ed. Sintesi Informazione, 1999, pp. 143-149. On Frederick's gate: M. D'ONOFRIO, *Porta di Capua*, in *Enciclopedia Federiciana*, Rome, 2005, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/porta-di-capua_\(Federiciana\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/porta-di-capua_(Federiciana)/) [accessed: 1 December 2023]. On the reuse of *spolia* during the medieval period in southern Italy, see; L. DE LACHENAL, *Spolia. Uso e reimpiego dell'antico dal III al XIV secolo*, Milan, Longanesi, 1995, p. 170.

¹⁰ On the Seggi: F. LENZO, *Memoria e identità civica. I Seggi nel Regno di Napoli. XIII-XVIII secolo*, Rome, Campisano, 2014. On the palaces in Capua: DE DIVITIIS, *Architecture, Poetry and Law*, cit.

¹¹ SENATORE, *Una città, il Regno*, cit., pp. 365-366.

¹² On Charles VIII conquest of southern Italy in 1494, see: D. ABULAFIA, *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy, 1494-95: Antecedents and Effects*, Aldershot, Variorum, 1995. On the entrance of Charles VIII in Capua, on the tenuous return of the Aragonese and on the coronation of Federico of Aragon in Capua in 1497: SENATORE, *Una città, il Regno*, cit., pp. 10, 193; 431-440. A. RUSSO, *Federico d'Aragona (1451-1504): Politica e ideologia nella dinastia aragonese di Napoli*, Naples, FedOA - Federico II University Press, 2018, pp. 318-319. On the sack of Capua: G. BOVA, *Il Sacco di Capua, 24 luglio 1501*, Naples, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2009, which relies on the 1682 chronicle of the sack by A. PASCALE, *Racconto del sacco di Capoua, su'l di ventesimo quarto di luglio nell'anno... 1501*, Naples, 1682.

¹³ SENATORE, *Una città, il Regno*, cit., p. 229.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ SENATORE, *Una città, il Regno*, cit., p. 302.

¹⁶ SENATORE, *Una città, il Regno*, cit., p. 515.

¹⁷ Capua, Biblioteca del Museo Campano, *Libro d'oro*, ff. 93-97. SENATORE, *Capys, Decio Magio e la nuova Capua nel Rinascimento*, «Incidenza dell'antico. Dialoghi di storia greca», 14, 1 (2016), pp. 127-148 (133-137). G. D'AGOSTINO, *Capua e il parlamento generale del Regno di Napoli 1507-1642*, Napoli, Fratelli D'Agostino, 1969, pp. 17-20. A similar fight involved the cities of Salerno, Nola and Sorrento. For the competition between Capua and Lecce: I.A. FERRARI, *Apologia parossistica della città di Lecce* (Lecce 1707), composed between 1576 and 1586. SENATORE, *Capys*, cit., pp. 7-10.

If, as part of the royal domain, Capua had always needed to reconfirm fiscal and juridical privileges at each change of dynasty, on becoming part of the Spanish kingdom and then of the Empire its situation became particularly critical, and the local council had to implement a defensive strategy to recover the city's privileges and defend the prerogatives accumulated under the previous Angevin rulers and throughout the Aragonese period¹⁸. Moreover, the loss of direct physical contact with the sovereign who lived elsewhere meant that Capua had to negotiate at distance and set up embassies not only to visit the viceroy in Naples but also to reach the sovereign, who was likely to be a thousand kilometres away, in one of his Iberian or Flemish dominions¹⁹.

It is interesting to note that key documents which were produced throughout the sixteenth century to recover lost privileges were based on historical and antiquarian arguments. Such arguments were sometimes regarded as more relevant than the strictly political and juridical elements²⁰. Moreover, such negotiations were accompanied and supported by a complex cultural strategy undertaken by the city council, who sponsored the creation of new works of literature, art and architecture, which recounted or visually emphasized the antiquity of Capua and its enduring loyalty throughout the times.

The alternation between juridical and antiquarian culture clearly emerges in the so-called *Apology of Capua*, a memoir in Latin dated around 1513, compiled with the aim of defending Capua's right to precede Aversa in parliaments and other official occasions²¹. Rather than referring to a privilege of precedence, which had been issued in 1436, the unknown author of the *Apology* explicitly claimed that Capua's right to be first, derived from its immeasurable antiquity compared to that of Aversa, which was instead a *civitas nova* founded by the Normans only in the 11th century²². Among the many ancient authors cited to prove the city's antiquity, the *Apology* includes the significant account provided by Suetonius (*Life of Julius Caesar*, *Iul.* 81.1) of the finding at the time of Caesar of a vase bearing the inscription «Capys founder of Capua» («Capys conditor Capuae»), a material proof of the ancient foundation of Capua by the Trojan hero Capys²³.

The reference to Capys was not new in the juridical context, since an image of the mythical founder in the guise of Saint Michael had been used to illuminate the first capital letter in the 1480 parchment booklet containing the authenticated copies of privileges granted to the city; the booklet was still in use at the beginning of the sixteenth century when Capuan ambassadors presented it during their missions to the court of Ferdinand in 1506 in Spain and Charles V in 1517 in Flanders to regain their privileges²⁴. In the case of the 1513 *Apology* the reference is not isolated but appears

¹⁸ On petitions in southern Italy: F. SENATORE, *Forme testuali del potere nel Regno di Napoli. I modelli di scrittura, le suppliche (secoli XV-XVI)*, in I. LAZZARINI, A. MIRANDA, F. SENATORE (eds.), *Istituzioni, scritture, contabilità. Il caso molisano nell'Italia tardomedievale*, Rome, Viella, 2017, pp. 113-146. On petitions in the New Worlds, see: A. MASTERS, *We, the King: Creating Royal Legislation in the Sixteenth-Century Spanish New World*, Cambridge University Press, Year: 2023.

¹⁹ Diplomatic missions by Capuan ambassadors were carried out in 1505 to Ferdinand, in 1518 to Charles V in Valladolid, and in 1559 to Philip II in Brussels. See F. SENATORE, *Diplomazia dentro e fuori: Le ambascerie della città di Capua (1504-1559)*, in J.L. FOURNEL, M. RESIDORI (eds.), *Ambassades et ambassadeurs en Europe (XVe-XVIIe siècles): Pratiques, écritures, savoirs*, Genève, Droz, 2020, pp. 149-173.

²⁰ F. SENATORE, *La memoria degli Aragona nei privilegi cinquecenteschi in favore delle città del Regno di Napoli. La Corona d'Aragona e l'Italia*, in G. D'AGOSTINO, S. FODALE, M. MIGLIO, A.M. OLIVA, D. PASSERINI, F. SENATORE (eds.), *Atti del XX Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona* (Rome-Naples, 4-8 October 2017), 3 vols., Rome, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 2020, II/1, pp. 985-997.

²¹ SENATORE, *Capys*, cit., pp. 7-10. Parliaments from which the conflict may have arisen were held in 1497, 1504, 1507, and 1511.

²² SENATORE, *Capys*, pp. 134-135.

²³ SENATORE, *Capys*, pp. 131-132.

²⁴ F. SENATORE, *Le scritture delle universitates meridionali. Produzione e conservazione*, in I. LAZZARINI, *in Scrittura e*

in the context of an extensive exegesis of antiquarian sources which proved Capua's antiquity, the only element which, according to the author, «makes cities more worthy», thus testifying to a growing awareness of the local history and its strategic use in political context²⁵.

The same fluctuation between juridical instances and antiquarian culture and the in-depth study of sources, functional to political claim, emerges in the memoir compiled for the ambassadors who had to travel to Philip II's court in Flanders in 1558 to reclaim the recognition of further ancient privileges, which had remained unconfirmed. The memoir includes a long historical excursus recalling the crucial events of the previous 150 years, which demonstrated the loyalty of Capua and its citizens to the Aragonese Kings, to the Catholic, to the Emperor. Such historical narrative was based on the minutes of the city council but also on historiographical works, such as the *Rerum gestarum Alphonsi primi regis neapolitani* by Bartolomeo Facio²⁶. Like the *Apology*, the memoir was also an internal document which was intended to prepare the members of the council and be presented during diplomatic missions. It is tantalizing to imagine how Capua's ambassadors had to recount the history of Capua to convince Philip II that it deserved to have its privileges reinstated, by virtue of its antiquity, and how the city's fame might have circulated within the Flemish court.

The same growing historical awareness, which emerges in the 1513 *Apology* and in the 1558 memoir, animated a series of notable cultural operations, which were aimed at supporting the requests and at visualizing Capua's claim of a contemporary importance, which relied on its ancient history²⁷.

A relevant occasion was the triumphal setting created for the entry of Charles V to Capua in 1536, when eight triumphal arches were created, decorated with inscriptions and with images of Roman emperors, as well as a statue, representing Decio Magio, a notable ancient Capuan citizen, celebrated by Livy for having remained loyal to Rome at the time of Punic wars²⁸. The triumph provided a visual account of Capua's glorious past, enduring loyalty and privileged relationship with the Empires. At the same time, it was also a stimulus for the advancement of a process which was already ongoing, in terms of in depth study of antiquarian sources and the creation of historical and visual accounts, which also involved the city's urban structure.

The amount of knowledge accumulated through archival research and the study of literary sources, from antiquity to the recent past, would lead to many projects of historical works specifically commissioned by the local elites which governed the city, which aimed to recount the history of Capua, from its origins to the present time. These works included the translation into the vernacular

potere. Pratiche documentarie e forme di governo nell'Italia tardomedievale (XIV-XV secolo), «Reti medievali. Rivista», 9 (2008), pp. 1-34.

²⁵ SENATORE, *Capys*, cit.

²⁶ SENATORE, *Diplomazia dentro e fuori*, cit.; SENATORE, *La memoria degli Aragona*, cit.

²⁷ Both the 1513 *Apology* and the 1558 memoir were preserved in two collections of documents which were created in Capua throughout the sixteenth century, respectively the folio parchment volume containing privileges called the *Libro d'oro*, compiled between 1513 and 1558, and the two-volume repertoire of decrees and norms compiled by local council member Giovanni Antonio Manna, the first of which was printed in 1588. These collections did not serve only the practical need to preserve and use documents, but should be considered as veritable monuments upon which Capua's civic identity was based. G.A. MANNA, *Prima parte della cancellaria de tutti i Privilegii, Capitoli, Lettere Regie, Decreti, Conclusioni del Consiglio et altre scritture della fedelissima Città di Capua* [...], Naples, Orazio Salviano, 1588. Manna's second volume is preserved in the Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano (Capua). See SENATORE, *Forme testuali*, cit.; SENATORE, *Una città, il Regno*, cit., p. 112, 216 and *passim*. On the concept of document/monument: J. LE GOFF, *Documento/Monumento*, in *Enciclopedia Einaudi*, Torino, Einaudi, 1978, vol.V, pp. 38-43.

²⁸ SENATORE, *Capys*, cit., pp. 137-144. LENZO, *Memoria e identità civica*, cit., pp. 113-114. On Decio Magio: L. MILETTI, *Sulla fortuna di Livio nel Cinquecento. Le domus dei nobili capuani nella veduta di Capua vetus di Cesare Costa*, «Bollettino di Studi Latini», 44, 1 (2014), pp. 107-126.

of the *Campania* (1562) by the Neapolitan friar Antonio Sanfelice (1515–1570), a work that, although dedicated to the entire region of Campania, emphasized the ancient importance of Capua²⁹. Furthermore, around 1570 the local historian Scipione Sannelli compiled the *Annali della fidelissima città di Capua*, the first monumental work specifically dedicated to the history of Capua, from antiquity to the sixteenth century. Remained unfinished, the *Annali* would be reused in several later historical studies of the city³⁰.

During the same years, such historical accounts from antiquity to the present found a visual reflection in the two frescoed maps commissioned by Archbishop Cesare Costa (1595). The maps represented respectively a reconstruction of the ancient city of Capua and a view of contemporary Capua³¹. Both frescoes have been lost, but thanks to a print of the view of ancient Capua we are aware that the work was the result of the antiquarian method and the body of knowledge accumulated through decades of study and onsite inspections [fig. 2]. It is tempting to imagine how the view of contemporary Capua instead would have illustrated the magnificence of the city in the sixteenth century, with its principal medieval monuments, as well as the urban renewals and new works which had only recently been completed³².

Possibly inspired by the 1536 triumph, during the second half of the sixteenth century, Capua underwent a notable urban renewal, which included the construction of new buildings central to its local identity and imperial power, namely the church of the Annunziata (1538–88), the Palazzo dei Giudici (1539–90), and the new city gate named Porta Napoli (1577–78). All three put on display the same idea of a contemporary importance, which was based on antiquity, just as it was claimed in documents and in the historical works. These new architectural works should therefore be regarded as part of the overall strategy effected by the local elites, who actually sponsored them. Within updated projects, all three buildings display a consistent and recognizable use of ancient limestone blocks and sculptures taken from the amphitheatre in Capua Vetere, located a few kilometres away³³.

²⁹ A. SANFELICE, *Campania*, Naples, 1562. On Sanfelice: DE DIVITIIS, *Architecture, Poetry and Law*, cit. L. MILETTI, *L'anfiteatro e il criptoportico di Capua nell'antiquaria del Cinquecento. Due sonetti inediti di Giovan Battista Attendolo*, «La parola del Passato», 67 (2012), pp. 134–148.

³⁰ Sannelli's *Annali della Città di Capua* has come down to us in a manuscript copy of the 17th century. See L. MILETTI, *Gli studi antiquari a Capua nel Rinascimento: da Biondo Flavio a Cesare Costa*, «Seicento e Settecento», 18 (2023), forthcoming. Sannelli's *Annali* would be reused in the compilation of the works on Capua by Fabio Vecchioni (1597–1673) and by Camillo Pellegrino Jr. (1598–1664). See W. PAESELER, W. HOLTZMANN, *Fabio Vecchioni und seine Beschreibung des Triumphators in Capua*, «Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken», 36 (1956), pp. 205–247. F. RUSSO, *L'erudizione storica capuana e la 'fortuna dei primitivi'. La basilica desideriana di San Benedetto a Capua in una testimonianza inedita di Fabio Vecchioni*, «Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli», 64 (2006–2007), pp. 239–270. L. MILETTI, *L'anfiteatro e il criptoportico di Capua*, cit. On Camillo Pellegrino Jr.: C. FERONE, *Camillo Pellegrino junior storico della Campania antica*, «Capys», 40 (2007–2008), pp. 55–65. T. PEDÍO, *Storia della storiografia del Regno di Napoli nei secoli XVI e XVIII: (note ed appunti)*, Naples, éd. Framas, 1973, pp. 188–193. L. MILETTI, *Gli studi antiquari a Capua*, cit.

³¹ F. LENZO, *Mario Cartaro e il perduto affresco della Capua Vetus di Cesare Costa (1595)*, «Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz», 60 (2018), pp. 66–91. See also MILETTI, *Sulla fortuna di Livio nel Cinquecento*, cit. On cartography in Renaissance southern Italy see, with previous bibliography, V. VLADIMIRO, *La cartografia rinascimentale del Regno di Napoli: dubbi e certezze sulle pergamene geografiche aragonesi*, «Hvmanistica», 10 (2015) 2016, pp. 191–232, 285–286; F. LENZO, B. DE DIVITIIS, *Mapping the Kingdom: History and Geography*, in B. de Divitiis (ed.), *A Companion to the Renaissance in Southern Italy (1350–1600)*, Leiden– Boston, Brill, 2023, pp. 157–187.

³² The reconstruction of the map of ancient Capua was reproduced in an engraving and circulated among learned international milieus, including that of Holsteius and Cassiano in Rome. LENZO, *Mario Cartaro*, cit.

³³ DE DIVITIIS, *Architecture, Poetry and Law*, cit. For a general overview of the amphitheatre *spolia*: L. GIORGI, *L'anfiteatro Campano: i materiali di spoglio nelle architetture dal IX al XVIII secolo*, in F. CORVESE, G. TESCIONE (eds.), *Itinerari storico artistici in Terra di Lavoro*, Naples, Athena, 1995, pp. 17–26. S. FORESTA, *Lo sguardo degli dei. Osservazioni sulla decorazione architettonica dell'anfiteatro campano*, «RIASA, Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di

The church of the Annunziata, with its adjoining hospital, did not belong to an order but to the city [fig. 3]. It was constructed in accordance with architectural models sent first from Rome and then from Naples, and still features an entire basement level made of regular ancient limestone blocks, which had been taken from the «mountain of stones» of the amphitheatre, which were already lying on the ground³⁴. Palazzo Giudici was conceived as the palace of the viceregal juridical authority [fig. 4]. Inspired by the most recent projects by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, it was built by redeploying stones from the amphitheatre to the rusticated corners and portal. Moreover, it displayed a collection of colossal portrait heads of divinities, which is the feature which distinguished the Capuan monument from all the other Roman amphitheatres [fig. 5]³⁵. The overall effect was that of a notable public collection of ancient portraits, which celebrated the local identity and connected the local history to the site of the new imperial power.

Both the Annunziata and Palazzo Giudici overlooked new public squares, which were regularized and created in conjunction with the construction of the two buildings. Moreover, Palazzo Giudici faced what was becoming the main civic space of the city. Here was located also the so-called *Seggio dei Giudici*, which is one of the three archways where the Capuan elite held meetings and where a civic collection of antiquities was put on display³⁶.

Finally, Porta Napoli was entirely constructed between 1577–1582, by using ancient stones from the amphitheatre, which were reworked in order to create a new Doric structure. The international language of imperial classicism typical of the age of Philip II was again visually connected to the local history, by significantly using as the arch keystone a colossal portrait of Apollo taken from the site of the amphitheater³⁷.

As we have seen, ancient blocks from Capua Vetere had been used since the early Middle Ages throughout the fifteenth century to enhance the prestige of public and private buildings. In the new context of the Iberian monarchy, projects as the Annunziata, Palazzo Giudici, and Porta Napoli encompass the simple need of building materials and also the aspiration of personal magnificence by single members of the elites. These new buildings should be regarded instead as part of a collective strategy carried out by the local council to prove how the contemporary importance of the city was grounded in the ancient past, in a way which parallels to the new textual and visual narratives which were being carried out in those same years.

The local origin of the ancient stones was not only recognizable on sight but certified in the minutes where the council authorized the use of materials from the amphitheatre. The Roman monument had been used as an open-air quarry for centuries, to the point when in 1514 the Capuan council had issued a decree, which imposed a fine on whoever removed stones, in order to preserve the material testimony of the ancient glory and the fame of the city. The decree was possibly intended to protect the monument from local spoliations as well as from the plundering carried out by the

Archeologia e Storia dell'arte», 59 (2008), pp. 93–112.

³⁴ DE DIVITIIS, *Architecture, Poetry and Law*, cit. See also DI RESTA, *Capua*, cit., p. 67; L. GIORGI, *Architettura religiosa a Capua. I complessi della SS. Annunziata, S. Maria e S. Giovanni delle Dame Monache*, Rome, Interstampa, 1990, pp. 29–57. D. DE ROSA, *La chiesa dell'Annunziata di Capua: contributo storiografico e nuovi documenti*, «Capys», 34 (2001), pp. 131–148. L. Giorgi, *Sangallo ed il modello ligneo della Chiesa della SS. Annunziata di Capua*, «Capys» 28 (1995), pp. 44–48.

³⁵ DE DIVITIIS, *Architecture, Poetry and Law*, cit.; PANE, FILANGIERI, *Capua*, cit., II, pp. 445–446. DI RESTA, *Capua*, cit., pp. 63–65. L. GIORGI, *Maestranze 'forestiere' attive a Capua e Caserta dalla seconda metà del 1500 agli inizi del 1600*, «Rivista di Terra di Lavoro», 2 (2007), pp. 5–13. FORESTA, *Lo sguardo degli dei*, cit., pp. 104–108.

³⁶ LENZO, *Memoria e identità civica*, cit., pp. 122–123; 156–159.

³⁷ On Porta Napoli: DE DIVITIIS, *Architecture, Poetry and Law*, cit. DI RESTA, *Capua*, cit., pp. 67–71. PANE, FILANGIERI, *Capua*, cit., II, pp. 529–530. On Apollo's head: D. CORLITA SCAGLIARINI, *Viaggio archeologico tra Capua ed Aquino in un quaderno di Giuseppe Bossi*, «Prospettiva», 9 (1977), pp. 44, 48, 54.

Spanish viceroys and administrators, who at the time were increasingly shipping antiquities from southern Italy to Spain. The desire to preserve the two arches, which were still standing and bearing portraits of divinities on the keystone, and at the same time to reserve the use of stone for monuments in Capua is demonstrated by later decrees issued by the city council relating the Annunziata, Palazzo Giudici and Porta Napoli. In order to construct these very three new buildings, it was ordered that only the stones, which were already lying on the ground, should be taken.

The systematic nature of the project is confirmed by the fact that the local council issued public tenders to assign works to dig, extract and transport materials, while streets were opened or repaved to allow easy movement of blocks from the ancient monuments to the new building sites³⁸. Incorporated in the new civic buildings, the stones would have established a material connection between local ancient history and monumental sites of civic identity within the Kingdom and within the wider Empire, conveying at one time a sense loyalty and resistance, negotiation and belonging.

Tzintzuntzán

At the time of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, Uicicila or Tzintzuntzán was the main city of the region of Michoacán (western Mexico) and the site of the royal court of the kingdom of the P'urhepechas, one of the most significant Indigenous groups living in the area before the arrival of the Spaniards, known by the Spanish name of *Tarasco*³⁹. Located on a hill overlooking the Lake of Pátzcuaro, in the mid-15th century, Tzintzuntzán numbered 25.000–30.000 inhabitants and was the capital of an articulated tributary state, ruling over the many Indigenous *pueblos* in the prosperous region of Michoacán⁴⁰. Archaeological evidence has allowed to reconstruct how the ancient city featured a ceremonial centre consisting of a colossal platform capable of hosting thousands of people on which were located five pyramids named *yácatas*, the palace where the priest resided as well as another residential building [fig. 6]⁴¹. The pyramids were entirely covered with a basaltic or volcanic stone with a quadrangular or rectangular shape, and a smooth surface decorated with reliefs, mainly geometric motifs such as that representing a double divergent spiral⁴².

Even though they had been capable of resisting several attempts at invasion by the Mixtecs/Aztecs, in 1522 the P'urhepechas surrendered peacefully to the conquistador Cristóbal de Olid, who had arrived at a moment of weakness, arising from an internal crisis and by the first epidemics⁴³. The

³⁸ DE DIVITIIS, *Architecture, Poetry and Law*, cit.

³⁹ B. WARREN, *The Conquest of Michoacán. The Spanish Domination of the Tarascan Kingdom in Western Mexico 1521-1530*, Norman, Oklahoma University Press, 1985, pp. 3-23. R. BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía. El gobierno indio y español de la "ciudad de Mechuacan", 1521-1580*, Mexico D.F., Conaculta- INAH, [2005] 2017, pp. 20-30. The name of Tzintzuntzán, which means "place of hummingbirds", and that of Michoacán both appear in the Hernán Cortés, *Cuarta carta de relación al emperador Carlos V* (15 October 1524). For this and for the P'urhépecha people, see: BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp. 42-55.

⁴⁰ On the Tarascan kingdom founded by Tariacuri (ca. 1440-1460) in the fifteenth century, on the elevation of Tzintzuntzán to capital under Zuangua (ca. 1500-1520) and on the organization of the kingdom: BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp. 74-77. On the *pueblos* subject to Tzintzuntzán: H.P. POLLARD, *Tariacuri's legacy: The Prehispanic Tarascan state*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1993, pp. 64, 78, 83; maps 3.1 and 3.6. BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., p. 76.

⁴¹ POLLARD, *Tariacuri's legacy*, pp. 29-47. V. HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, *Imágenes en piedra de Tzintzuntzán, Michoacán. Un arte prehispánico y virreinal*, Mexico City, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2011. V. HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, *El reuso colonial de los janamus en Tzintzuntzán, Michoacán. Una exaltación del pasado prehispánico*, «Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas», 96 (2010), pp. 5-35.

⁴² HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, *El reuso colonial*, cit, pp. 15-19.

⁴³ On the epidemics BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp. 89-91. The Cazonci (the ruler of the Purépecha

P'urhepechas were also hoping to avoid the fate of the Aztecs and the destruction of their capital as had occurred with Teotihuacan. In the new political setting, Tzintzuntzán was initially able to maintain its leading role in the region, hosting the new main Spanish institutions as well as a local Indigenous government, with a conspicuous presence of the P'urhepecha lineage⁴⁴. It was from here that the Franciscans led by Friar Martín de Jesús or Martín de la Coruña initiated their work of the evangelization of Michoacán in 1525, immediately beginning to construct the first Catholic religious buildings, such as the church of Santa Ana⁴⁵. The Spaniards took over the ancient Tarascan monumental centre and added new buildings, including a hospital, and undertook the construction of the convent of San Francisco in the ancient city centre⁴⁶.

Tzintzuntzán's initial prestige was immediately recognized by Hernán Cortés, who considered it the «ciudad principal» of the rich province of «Mechoacán», and by the fact that it was among the first cities incorporated in the *Nueva España* (officially the Viceroyalty/Kingdom of New Spain) by the *Real Cédula* issued by Charles V in 1528, where it is named as «ciudad de Huitzizila de Michoacán»⁴⁷. In 1534, the city's prestige was renewed when the Emperor invested Tzintzuntzán with the title of capital city of the newly created province of Michoacán with all honours, prominences and prerogatives⁴⁸. The formal foundation of the capital city of Michoacán meant that the city hosted both Spanish and Indigenous authorities and benefited from special privileges, such as the collection of tribute from its *barrios* and the right to elect a governor and other officials of the *cabildo*, that was, the Spanish colonial administrative town council, including an Indigenous mayor and commissioners; the city would have reunited Native people dispersed around the territory⁴⁹. It was at this time that Tzintzuntzán received its first coat of arms, which in its upper part represented three pre-Hispanic kings dressed as European monarchs, and in its lower part on one side the same kings dressed as Spaniards with armaments evoking their cooperation with the Spanish conquest and on the other side the three kings converting people to Christianity⁵⁰.

The designation of Tzintzuntzán as capital of the province had been the result of a diplomatic operation led by the priest and judge Vasco de Quiroga (1478/8-1565) who, before becoming appointed as bishop, visited Michoacán for the first time in 1533, as part of his work as *oidor* (judge) of the Second Royal *Audiencia* (1531-35)⁵¹, that is the government which ruled New Spain and

Empire) Zuanga died in the 1520 epidemic. On the initial submission of the Cazonci Tangáxoan Tzintzicha (son of Zuanga) to the emperor Charles V, his first meetings with Cortés in Coyoacán and for the first impact of conquest: WARREN, *The Conquest of Michoacán*, cit., pp. 24-72. BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp. 85-106.

⁴⁴ WARREN, *The Conquest of Michoacán*, cit., pp. 42-72. H. ROSKAMP, *Pablo Beaumont and the Codex of Tzintzuntzán: A Pictorial Document from Michoacán, West Mexico*, in M. JANSEN, L. REYES GARCÍA (eds.), *Códices, Caciques y Comunidades*, «Quadernos de Historia Latinoamericana», 5 (1997), pp. 193-246 (203); BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., p. 85.

⁴⁵ HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, *El reuso colonial*, cit., p. 25.

⁴⁶ WARREN, *The Conquest of Michoacán*, cit., pp. 81-101. J. MC ANDREW, *The Open-air Churches of Sixteenth Century Mexico. Atrio, Posas, Open Chapels and Other Studies*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, p. 509.

⁴⁷ P. BEAUMONT, *Crónica de Michoacán*, Mexico City, Tallers Gráficos de la Nación, 1932, 3 vols., D.E. LOPEZ SARRELANGUE, *La nobleza indígena de Pátzcuaro en la época virreinal*, PhD thesis, Mexico City, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1965 (Serie Historia Novohispana, 20), p. 60; BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp. 179; 231-233.

⁴⁸ BEAUMONT, *Crónica de Michoacán*, cit., II, pp. 401-402. BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., p. 179. LOPEZ SARRELANGUE, *La nobleza indígena*, cit. p. 60.

⁴⁹ ROSKAMP, *Pablo Beaumont*, cit., pp. 203-204; On the complex issue of the foundation of the Spanish city of Granada in Michoacán as parallel to Tzintzuntzán and the subsequent creation of the sole city *ciudad de Mechuachan* between 1533 and 1534: BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp. 182-183.

⁵⁰ BEAUMONT, *Crónica de Michoacán*, cit., III, p. 2; ROSKAMP, *Pablo Beaumont*, cit., pp. 204-207.

⁵¹ On Quiroga, his career, utopian ideas and foundation of hospitals: BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp.

which aimed to solve the tensions derived from the abuses which the Native communities had suffered under the rule of the First *Audiencia* (1529–31), including the dramatic execution of the supreme P'urhepecha leader *cazonci* Tangáxoan Tzintzicha, in 1530⁵². At the time, Tzintzuntzán had been sacked and her inhabitants had been decimated by epidemics and by the labour system and slavery connected to the Spanish institution of *encomiendas*⁵³. Alongside the title of capital of Michoacán, in 1536 Tzintzuntzán also became the episcopal seat of the newly created diocese of Michoacán, for which Quiroga was nominated by Pope Paul III as first bishop⁵⁴.

The situation of the city rapidly changed during Quiroga's second visit to the province from April to October 1538. In his dual role as bishop and *oidor*, he first shifted the cathedral from the first Franciscan church of Santa Ana to the church of San Francisco, which was still under construction and still made of «clay and straw» and decided in August 1538 to replace Tzintzuntzán with the nearby village Pátzcuaro as the seat of the bishopric of Michoacán⁵⁵. According to Quiroga, Tzintzuntzán was too sober, lacked drinking water and was located in an inconvenient position on top of a «deep valley full of ravines» and therefore inaccessible; moreover, he claimed that in the city there was no proper church and there were no inhabitants that could provide for its construction⁵⁶. As argued in the *Crónica de Michoacán*, written in 1778 by the Franciscan Fray Pablo de la Purísima Concepción Beaumont (1710–1780), the transfer of the episcopal seat, which effectively took place in 1540, represented a catastrophic loss for the city. Tzintzuntzán was contextually deprived both of the status of capital and that of city, losing at the same time «titles, peoples and papers»⁵⁷. Ceasing to be the seat of both civil and religious power, Tzintzuntzán became a dependency, a *barrio* of Pátzcuaro, nominated the new «city of Michoacán», and to which it was forced to pay a tribute⁵⁸. The transfer was strongly opposed by the local elites who immediately began to file pleas to regain their title.

Despite the fact that many documents had been transferred to Pátzcuaro, in the eighteenth-century Fray Pablo Beaumont could still inspect some of the original parchments which had been preserved by the heirs of the native populations and which he used and partly transcribed in his chronicle, allowing us to follow in part the negotiation and petitioning process. Thanks to these documents we can understand how the pleas placed by the local elites were focused on historical references and how the negotiations to reinstate the city's privileges were supported by a set of cultural operations which, relying on a growing historical awareness, aimed to visually reinforce the

126–150. See also B. WARREN, *Vasco de Quiroga y sus hospitals-pueblo de Santa Fe*, Washington, DC, Academy of American Franciscan History, 1963. P. SERRANO GASSENT, *Vasco de Quiroga. Utopía y derecho en la Conquista de América*, Madrid, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001. B. WATTENVERÁSTIQUE, *Michoacán and Eden: Vasco de Quiroga and the Evangelization of Western Mexico*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 2000. On Quiroga's 1533 visit to Michoacán: BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., p. 174 On the *Segunda Audiencia*: BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp. 161–170.

⁵² On the execution of the Cazonci: WARREN, *The Conquest of Michoacán*, cit., pp. 211–235.; BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp. 106–116.

⁵³ BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp. 89; 126–150, 161, 217, 231–233.

⁵⁶ BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp., 183–186. A *Cédula* dated 20 September 1537 and directed to Antonio de Mendoza ordered that the cathedral of Michoacán had to be constructed on the site which the viceroy and the bishop considered convenient for the province.

⁵⁵ On the translation see BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp. 199–204; 214–218.

⁵⁶ “Información de don Vasco de Quiroga sobre el asiento de su iglesia catedral, 1538”, transcribed in B. WARREN, *Estudios sobre el Michoacán Colonial*, apéndice X, pp. 89–94, 439–457. BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp. 205, 209; HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, *El reuso colonial*, cit., pp. 28–29.

⁵⁷ BEAUMONT, *Crónica de Michoacán*, cit., II, pp. 380–381.

⁵⁸ LOPEZ SARRELANGUE, *La nobleza indígena*, cit. p. 61. ROSKAMP, *Pablo Beaumont*, cit., p. 209.

claim of antiquity and loyalty contained in the juridical documents⁵⁹. As Beaumont recalls, in 1539, before revolting violently against the *traslado* (the transfer), a delegation of 19 «indios principales» reunited «en forma de república» and pleaded to Quiroga to recognize Tzintzuntzán's privileges. The elite group claimed how the city had been the ancient site of kings and therefore was more suitable than Pátzcuaro as an episcopal seat, whereas Pátzcuaro had been only a vacation site for royals⁶⁰. The local elites also committed themselves to completing the construction of San Francisco as the new cathedral. Even though the bishop's seat would soon be moved from Pátzcuaro to Guayangareo (modern-day Morelia) in 1541–42 by the viceroy Antonio Mendoza, and against Vasco de Quiroga's wishes, Tzintzuntzán had to struggle long and hard to regain its privileges, by demonstrating, with increasing insistence, its royal status and glorious history.

That the local elites were guided in their political claims by a growing historical awareness emerges in the *Información* addressed to the viceroy Gastón de Peralta, III Marqués de Falces (1566–1568), in 1567. Here testimonies from Tzintzuntzán reconstructed how, before the arrival of the Spanish and in the first years of the viceroyalty, the city had been the site of the court and then the capital of the province, had hosted the first cathedral and had been the site of the royal courts of justice⁶¹. With a further petition presented in 1593, which relied on previous documents produced since 1567, Tzintzuntzán finally regained the title of city, even if not that of capital, and was relieved of the servitude towards Pátzcuaro⁶². It is interesting to note how the petitions and pleas which were produced were paralleled and supported by a cultural and artistic strategy pursued in those same years by the local elites, including native nobles, and also by Franciscans and seemingly also by the first Spanish settlers.

Between 1539 and 1542, that is, during the actual years of the transfer, Fray Jerónimo de Alcalá wrote the *Relación de las ceremonias y ritos población y gobierno de los indios de Michoacán*, a notable illustrated pictographic codex recounting the history of the region⁶³. The history, which had probably been requested by the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza (1495–1552), covers a period between the beginning of the 13th to the 16th century and was based on the evidence provided mainly by the native governor Don Pedro Cuínierángari (1530–1545). Conceived as an account of the region and its Christianization in the face of previous “barbaric” practices, the *Relación* also describes the history, social organization and culture of the P'urhépechas, highlighting the complete civilization of the inhabitants of Michoacán and their support for the Spanish⁶⁴. Even though it was dedicated

⁵⁹ At the middle of the XVIII century, Juan Joseph Moreno (1730–1820), biographer of Quiroga, found the “cédula” among the «originales títulos y recaudos» of the *cabildo* of the city of Michoacán, as part of the petition presented in 1577 by the then governor Don Juan Purúata. Fray Beaumont saw the privilege in the same years among the «papeles y monumentos irrefragables de los indios de Tzintzuntzán» and added that «no obstante que la Cédula imperial (que he visto en pergamino) pasó con la traslación de la silla episcopal al barrio de Pátzcuaro». BEAUMONT, *Crónica de Michoacán*, cit., II, p. 286; 401–402. BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., p. 179.

⁶⁰ BEAUMONT, *Crónica de Michoacán*, cit., II, p. 382. BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp. 201–203.

⁶¹ BEAUMONT, *Crónica de Michoacán*, cit., II, pp. 382–383. LOPEZ SARRELANGUE, *La nobleza indígena*, cit., p. 63; BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp. 286–287.

⁶² BEAUMONT, *Crónica de Michoacán*, cit., II, pp. 376–78; 385–387. *Auto de posesión del título de la Ciudad de Tzintzuntzán-Vitzitzilan*, «Anales del Museo Michoacano», 2 (1889), pp. 182–184. LOPEZ SARRELANGUE, *La nobleza indígena*, cit., p. 64. BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., p. 260. On the conflict between Tzintzuntzán and Pátzcuaro: BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp. 272–274.

⁶³ The *Relación* is preserved in the Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Ms. Ç.IV.S. The *Relación* was attributed to Fray Jerónimo de Alcalá by B. WARREN, *Estudios sobre el Michoacán Colonial*, cit., pp. 155–186. See also A. LÓPEZ AUSTIN, L. LÓPEZ LUJÁN, *Mexico's Indigenous Past*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 2001.

⁶⁴ The *Relación* was possibly intended as the similar text written on Mexico by Fray Toribio de Benavente Motolinia. Roskamp argues that the *Relación* may have been an attachment to one of the petitions placed by the Franciscans and

to the entire region, it particularly favoured the image of Tzintzuntzán as the «ciudad de Mechuacan» and recalled how its pre-Hispanic primacy justified the fact that, after the conquest, Tzintzuntzán was maintained as a capital, a form of “Tzintzuntzánism” which has been regarded as the response to Vasco de Quiroga’s act of deprivation⁶⁵.

To the same years during which Tzintzuntzán was trying to recuperate its privileges we can ascribe the group of nine historical painted images and a map which Fray Pablo Beaumont copied in his chronicle. The images and map derive from an unfinished chronicle of west and northwest Mexico which had been provided to Beaumont by a descendant of P’urhépecha nobles from Tzintzuntzán named *Cuini*⁶⁶. This group of images have been defined by Hans Roskamp as the *Codex of Tzintzuntzán* [figs. 7–8]⁶⁷. One of the images significantly refers to the transfer of the episcopal seat from Tzintzuntzán to Pátzcuaro: within an overall cornice showing the five royal *yácatas*, that is, the P’urhépechas’ pyramids, the new chapel of Santa Ana (bearing the date 1526), the *yréchequaro*, that is the seat of the Indigenous ruler’s government, and three monumental bell towers, we find represented the ongoing discussion between the local community of Tzintzuntzán and the Bishop Quiroga, represented in four different moments⁶⁸. In the background, we see a large number of P’urhépechas, most of whom are referred to by their names, talking to a group of four, led by the native governor Don Pedro Cuínierángari⁶⁹. The scene in the foreground shows Quiroga conversing with Fray Jerónimo de Alcalá.

The context of the transfer and the claim of a contemporary importance seems to be the origin of the map derived from the *Codex*. The map represents a view of Tzintzuntzán as the main and dominating city within the vast area of the Lake Pátzcuaro, and bears annotations in Spanish which describe the sites and related events [fig. 8]. Its Indigenous origin may be proven by another map in black and white found by Eduard Seler at the end of the nineteenth century, which, despite some differences, seems to have been derived from the same original as that used by Beaumonts in his chronicle, and which bears the same annotations given in Spanish by Beaumont, but in the P’urhépecha idiom⁷⁰.

by the Indigenous elite, to reinstate the ancient status of Tzintzuntzán. ROSKAMP, *Pablo Beaumont*, cit., p. 229. For “Tzintzuntzánism” of the *Relación* and its conception as a response to Quiroga’s 1538 *Información*: BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp. 86; 220; 239–240.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁶ BEAUMONT, *Crónica de Michoacán*, cit., II, p. 25.

⁶⁷ ROSKAMP, *Pablo Beaumont*, cit., pp. 195; 214–239.

⁶⁸ BEAUMONT, *Crónica de Michoacán*, cit., *pintura* 9. ROSKAMP, *Pablo Beaumont*, cit., p. 227–229; BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp. 201–204; 214.

⁶⁹ ROSKAMP, *Pablo Beaumont*, cit., p. 228–229. Pedro Cuínierángari was “hermano adoptivo” of the Cazonci Tangáxoan Tzintzicha: BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp. 92–95. On Don Pedro’s initial support to the transfer: *Ibidem*, p. 203. The other three figures are Don Francisco Tariyacuri and Don Antonio “Vitimangari”, both represented as children, and Tzapicaha represented holding a staff. Both Don Francisco Tariyacuri and Don Antonio Huítziméngari (1543–1562) were the sons of the Cazonci Tangáxoan and would succeed Don Pedro as native governors of Michoacán. For Antonio Huítziméngari’s humanistic culture and his relationship with the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza and his library, see: J. CORONA NÚÑEZ, *Antonio Uitziméngari, primer humanista tarasco*, in *Humanistas novohispanos de Michoacán*, Morelia, Universidad Michoacana, Biblioteca de Nicolaitas Notables, 1982, pp. 49–62. BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., pp. 236; 242.

⁷⁰ E. SELER, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen Zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde*, 5 vols., III, Berlin, Behrend, 1908, p. 66. N. Paniagua Aguilar, *La cartografía de Tzintzuntzán como herramienta auxiliar para reconstruir la jurisdicción de una ciudad india en la época virreinal*, «Horizonte Histórico- Revista Semestral De Los Estudiantes De La Licenciatura En Historia De La UAA», 10, 2020, pp. 23–26. On Indigenous cartography, see: B.E. MUNDY, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1996. E. HILL BOONE, T. CUMMINS, *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World. A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks*, Conference proceedings (Washington 2nd–4th October 1992), Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and

Defined as the «Ciudad Capital de los Reyes Tarascos», the city is depicted with a defined and developed urban structure, with the main square located in the centre dominated by the church of San Francisco with its hospital, open chapels and two atria, surrounded by the loggia for the native governments (*junta de los naturales*), and a grid of regular roads lined with houses; just outside the centre we find the first Franciscan church of Santa Ana, which had been the first cathedral represented as a small building with a circular atrium; further west the three monumental pyramids are explicitly presented as an expression of the ancient royal power (*yacatas del rey*)⁷¹.

The urban nature of Tzintzuntzán dominates over the rest of the centres of the region which are all represented as very small villages, including Pátzcuaro. That the map can be considered the product of the attempts at negotiation carried out by the local elites is reflected in the emphasis given in the foreground to the traumatic transfer from Tzintzuntzán to Pátzcuaro of the organ and of the bell, which occurred in 1545. The detail, representing the shift of objects which symbolically represented the local and religious identity of the city carried away as a trophy, conveys in one image the whole traumatic process of deprivation underwent by Tzintzuntzán. Not by chance, three colossal bells were represented as part of the monumental landscape of the city in the foreground of the plate from the *Codex of Tzintzuntzán* showing the negotiations between the city's local elites and the bishop Quiroga, discussed above. We know that similar traumatic transfers occurred when the bishop's seat was further moved from Pátzcuaro to Guayangareo. Here the shift of the bell and of various sacred objects created by Quiroga caused the desperation and the revolt of the inhabitants of Pátzcuaro⁷².

The map, together with the images from the *Codex*, were probably enclosed in one of the pleas issued between 1567 and 1593 and seem to have been conceived as a visual document which would have informed and proven the “royal” aspect of Tzintzuntzán provided by ancient pre-Hispanic monuments and new contemporary buildings. The map would have therefore contradicted Quiroga's assumptions that the city had to be abandoned as too humble and not suited to a leading role in the region and as the main seat of civil and religious powers⁷³. Moreover, the map reflects the needs of the elites who, interested in preserving its privileges, carried out a general urban refurbishment and promoted the construction of the large convent of San Francisco. In this context, it is possible that there was also the need to compete with Quiroga's ambitious project for the cathedral in Pátzcuaro. The plan of new building, which was intended to have five naves, had been advertised in the 1533 in the city emblem (1553)⁷⁴.

It has been recently argued that the construction of the convent of San Francisco was well under way in 1570 and was completed in 1601, as indicated in a recently found inscription [figs. 10-11]⁷⁵. The building site therefore proceeded in parallel with the negotiation and pleas. The convent, which occupies 4 hectares, still features the original walls around the two main atria: a larger one with the convent, the church of San Francisco, an open chapel, a cross and small stations for the celebration

Collection, 1998. D. LEIBSOHN, B.E. MUNDY, *Vistas, 1520-1820 Visual Culture in Spanish America = Cultura Visual de Hispanoamérica*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 2010. R. PADRÓN, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2004. G. PARKER, *Maps and Ministers: The Spanish Habsburgs*, in D. BUISSERET, *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, Chicago; London, University of Chicago Press, 1992, pp. 124-152.

⁷¹ On the terms *yacatas* and *jamanus*: HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, *El reúso colonial*, cit., pp. 5-6.

⁷² ROSKAMP, *Pablo Beaumont*, cit., p. 210.

⁷³ According to Roskamp, the map and images were created before 1565 and were included in the 1567 plea, while Hernández Díaz argues on the grounds of a comparison between the buildings represented and the architectural evidence that the map should be dated to the end of the sixteenth century: ROSKAMP, *Pablo Beaumont*, cit., p. 237. HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, *El reúso colonial*, cit., p. 31.

⁷⁴ ROSKAMP, *Pablo Beaumont*, cit., pp. 208-209; BARACS MARTÍNEZ, *Convivencia y utopía*, cit., p. 87.

⁷⁵ HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, *El reúso colonial*, cit., p. 27

of the Via Crucis, the Temple of the Virgin of *Soledad*; a second smaller atrium leads to the hospital, an open chapel dedicated to *Nuestra Señora de la Inmaculada Concepción* and a baptismal font for immersion⁷⁶.

The construction of the new religious complex involved a notable redeployment of ancient stones derived from the pre-Hispanic ceremonial centre, located three hundred meters away⁷⁷. This reuse seems to reinforce the claim of antiquity and “royalness”, which was evoked in the pleas, chronicles and maps. Moreover, it seems to have been part of the overall strategy which emphasized the pre-Hispanic origins as a form of antiquity, consistent with the account given in Fray Jerónimo de Alcalá’s pictographic manuscript. Significantly this was the content of the city’s new coat of arms, probably created between 1593 and 1595. Compared to the one established in 1534, the new coat of arms features a strong Indigenous style and depicts Tzintzuntzán as the pre-Hispanic city of Michoacán, the centre of the P’urhépecha territory, founded by the P’urhépecha rulers from the “eagle” or *uacúsecha* lineage, and the descendants of the sun [fig. 9]⁷⁸.

It does not seem fortuitous that the new church of San Francisco was built in a new position which was close to the pre-Hispanic shrine. As demonstrated by Veronica Hernández Díaz, the shift of stones from the pre-Hispanic religious site to the Franciscan complex did not simply respond to a practical need for building material but was the central element of a carefully conceived strategy set up by the local elites, in agreement with the friars, to erect a new imposing monument which would have demonstrated the prominence of Tzintzuntzán and would have helped the city to regain its lost role as the historic capital of the P’urhépecha region. In this context, the shift of stones from one site to another seems to have been central to such a strategy. This becomes particularly evident if we look at the studied display of *janamus*, those smooth-surfaced quadrangular basaltic or volcanic stones bearing geometrical pre-Hispanic decoration, to be found on the façade of the main buildings which were part of the monastery and on the walls of the two atria⁷⁹.

The shift of stones from one site to the other was intended to demonstrate the contemporary importance of the city through uninterrupted continuity with its pre-Hispanic history. The survival of the pyramids, which were still visible in the eighteenth century with parts of their decoration still in place, would have made the association between the ancient and new building visibly obvious. By communicating a sense of material continuity and inheritance, the movement of the stones from the pre-Hispanic shrine to the monastery expresses at once a sense of local resistance as well as negotiation with the new Iberian system, thus placing the convent at the centre of the historical claim expressed in the petitions and pleas.

Connected Histories

Within the context of the Iberian monarchy, examining Capua and Tzintzuntzán in parallel allows us to consider the way in which two cities, which were not capitals of the new viceregal kingdoms but prominent centres in their respective provinces, reacted both politically and culturally to the

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 19–20. The chapel of *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* has the inscription 1619. The style of the portals of the *Templo de la Virgen de la Soledad* reveals it was constructed in the 17th century. Most buildings and the configurations of the open spaces are dated to the last decades of the 16th century and first years of the 17th century.

⁷⁷ HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, *El reíso colonial*, cit., p. 8.

⁷⁸ Seville, ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS, *Escudos y árboles genealógicos de México*, Number 168. BEAUMONT, *Crónica de Michoacán*, cit., p. 209–11; LOPEZ SARRELANGUE, *La nobleza indígena*, cit., p. 62. ROSKAMP, *Pablo Beaumont*, cit., pp. 210–211.

⁷⁹ HERNÁNDEZ DÍAZ, *El reíso colonial*, cit. *passim*.

upheavals and threats which arose from their inclusion within the polycentric and global structure of the Iberian monarchy. The consequences of the conquest in southern Italy and in Mexico were, of course, very different in terms of physical destruction, depopulation, and deprivation. At the same time, though, it is possible to uncover parallel changes and common strategies which were enacted once the two cities faced the threat of losing their privileges and material traces of their historical local past and their own identity. Once immersed in the new imperial context, Capua and Tzintzuntzán responded by means of the same administrative procedures, that is, by forwarding petitions, pleas and memoirs to the emperor and to the local authorities, and by using the same cultural tools, namely the compilation of local histories, the creation of maps, and the construction of modern buildings incorporating stones derived from ancient monuments⁸⁰.

Protagonists of such political and cultural strategies were in both cases the local Capuan and Indigenous elites, which were active in placing petitions, in preserving documents and monuments and also in sponsoring new literary and architectural works. Even if the role of the Spanish inhabitants in Capua and Tzintzuntzán in the overall strategies remains to be defined, the involvement of religious orders and of single religious figures, as friars and bishops, highlight the nature of such cities as composite and non-unified entities. All these actions enacted by competing elites seemed to have served at one at the same time to negotiate with the central authorities of the viceroyal kingdoms and the Empire and also with other nearby cities which questioned their leading role within their respective regions: Capua's competition for primacy with Aversa and Lecce recalls that of Tzintzuntzán with Pátzcuaro and Guayangareo.

Both in Capua and in Tzintzuntzán the formal requests which were placed to the central imperial authority contained notable references to the antiquity and played on the alternance between juridical and antiquarian culture. In particular, petitions and memoirs presented the glorious local past as the main element which served to prove the contemporary pre-eminence of both cities, thus justifying the legitimacy of those very requests. Such political and juridical claims were supported in Capua and in Tzintzuntzán by the production throughout the sixteenth century of historical accounts of different nature and by the creation of new architectural works. Both cities were placed at the centre of regional histories created by friars who were not "indigenous", namely the *Cronica of Michoacán* by Fray Jeronimo Alcalà (c. 1542) and the *Campania* by Fra Antonio Sanfelice (1562).

A growing antiquarian awareness, encouraged by the need to claim local privileges and preserve local identities within the global empire, fostered the creation of historical works which were specifically devoted to the single cities. In this context, the fragments of the *Codex of Tzintzuntzán* included within Fray Pablo Beaumont's work suggest the presence of alternative sixteenth century histories which have not come down to us. It also points out to the issue of the redeployment and reuse of sixteenth century literary and figurative works within later historical accounts. This was also the case of the unfinished monumental *Annali* (c. 1570) by Scipione Sannelli, which was incorporated in later histories of Capua.

The material recovery of the past was at the core of new architectural works which were being carried out in the same years. Both in Capua and Tzintzuntzán new religious and civic buildings were constructed by carefully redeploying stone blocks and sculptural elements derived from colossal monuments generally acknowledged as representing their glorious local past, respectively the Roman

⁸⁰ For strategic use of the past, see: K. CHRISTIAN, B. DE DIVITIIS (eds.), *Local Antiquities, Local Identities: Art, Literature and Antiquarianism in Europe, c. 1400-1700*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2019. For a specific focus on the Iberian context, see: K. B. OLDS, *Forging the Past: Invented Histories in Counter-Reformation Spain*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 2015; ID., *Local Antiquaries and the Expansive Sense of the Past: A Case Study from Counter-Reformation Spain*, in K. CHRISTIAN, B. DE DIVITIIS (eds.), *Local Antiquities, Local Identities*, cit., pp. 167-189.

amphitheatre in Capua and the P'urhépecha pyramids in Tzintzuntzán. If we study the constructions as the Palazzo Giudici in Capua and the church of San Francisco in Tzintzuntzán we can discern the frantic search and collection of “ancient” materials and the notable efforts to move these blocks from the original location to new building sites located at some distance.

At the same time, the cases of Capua and Tzintzuntzán should not simply be seen in terms of reuse but consider the multiple possible implications which derive from the process of movement and delocalization of stones, both in terms of materiality and identity⁸¹. To better place the movement of stones in Tzintzuntzán or Capua we should further look at them within the framework of local traditions of reuse, focusing on elements of continuity and disruption. In the sixteenth century, the tradition of embedding ancient stones in new buildings was well established in southern Italy and there is evidence that this was also the case in the Iberian Americas⁸². Even though this type of analysis remains at present provisional, we can still argue that in both cases the local practice of reusing ancient stones changed in reaction to the Spanish rule⁸³.

The redeployment of stones in Capua and Tzintzuntzán show the extent to which delocalization took the form of self-promotion by appropriating the multi-layered past, and suggests an alternation between claims of antiquity, senses of resistance as well as negotiations of privileges and identity with the new Spanish rulers. In this context, we could question whether from a local/Indigenous perspective such redeployment might have been regarded also as a way of preserving local antiquities in a context in which in both the viceregal kingdoms of Naples and Mexico the new rulers plundered and appropriated local antiquities, shipping them to Spain. The case of the viceroy Álvaro Manrique de Zúñiga, *primer marqués de Villamanrique*, who in 1590 had plundered a notable quantity of monumental stones to be shipped from Veracruz, demonstrates how treasures intended for Spain did not consist only of precious small-scale items, but also of blocks of stones which might serve for new constructions⁸⁴.

Finally, the intrinsic value of the stones as a proof of the city's uninterrupted importance leads us also to question the notion of antiquity in terms of temporality. Should the ceremonial centre of Tzintzuntzán, which was still active at the time of the conquest in 1521, be considered as a “new antiquity”⁸⁵ and as similarly as a monumental Roman ruin in Capua? Although contemporary, the pyramids of Tzintzuntzán were vestiges of an irretrievable past, just like the amphitheatre of Capua. At the same time though, in Mexico parts of this “past” were very much still alive through the surviving Indigenous populations, while Capuan citizen attempted to bring to life the ancient past

⁸¹ S. GREENBLATT, *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

⁸² C. REYES-VALERIO, *Arte Indiocristiano*, Mexico D.F., Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000; E. WAKE, *Framing the Sacred. The Indian Churches of Early Colonial Mexico*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 2010. L. LÓPEZ LUJÁN, *Echoes of a Glorious Past: Mexica Antiquarianism*, in A. SCHNAPP, with L. VON FALKENHAUSEN, P.N. MILLER, T. MURRAY (eds.), *World antiquarianism: comparative perspectives*, Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2013, pp. 272-294.

⁸³ B. DE DIVITIIS, *Polycentric Renaissance*, cit.

⁸⁴ M. VICENS HUALDE, *Un virrey con exeso de equipaje? El insólito inventario del Marqués de Villamanrique (1590)*, in A. HOLGUERA CABRERA, E. PRIETO USTIO, M. URIONDO LOZANO (eds.), *Coleccionismo, mecenazgo y mercado artístico: Orbis Terrarum*, Conference proceedings (Seville, 27-28-29 May 2019), Seville, Universidad de Sevilla, Secretariado de Recursos Audiovisuales y Nuevas Tecnologías, 2020, pp. 731-742. For the construction of vernacular histories through antiquarian and architectural practices, see: P.N. MILLER, *History and its Objects: Antiquarianism and Material Culture since 1500*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2017. P.N. MILLER (ed.), *Cultural Histories of the Material World*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2013.

⁸⁵ For a further conceptualization, see: A. RUSSO, *A New Antiquity. Art and Humanity as Universal (1400-1600)*, forthcoming with Penn State University Press.

by proposing themselves as direct heirs of their Roman ancestors⁸⁶. It is possibly in this sense of ambivalence between an interrupted history determined by the Spanish conquests and the efforts to keep this past alive by incorporating *spolia* in new building, that new connections between Spanish southern Italy and the Spanish Americas may open.

⁸⁶ On reviving antiquity see M. TAFURI, *Ricerca del Rinascimento. Principi, città, architetti*, Torino, Einaudi, 1992.



1. Capua, Roman Amphitheatre
View of the surviving arches



2. Copy from Jacques Thevenot, Map of Ancient Capua from the 1595 fresco commissioned by Cesare Costa, in F. GRANATA, *Storia Civile della fedelissima città di Capua* [...], Naples, 1752, I, plate



3. Capua, church of the Annunziata, Detail of the base constructed with the ancient blocks from the amphitheatre



4. Capua, Palazzo dei Giudici, View showing blocks and heads representing divinities from the amphitheatre



5. Capua, Palazzo dei Giudici, Detail of the head of Jupiter Ammon from the amphitheatre



6. Tzintzuntzán, View of the ceremonial precinct with the *yácatas*

CAPUA AND TZINTZUNTZÁN



7. Negotiations between local communities of Tzintzuntzán and Bishop Quiroga, from the *Codex of Tzintzuntzán*, p. 5, copied in P. BEAUMONT, *Crónica de Michoacán*



8. Map of Tzintzuntzán from the *Codex of Tzintzuntzán*, copied in P. BEAUMONT, *Crónica de Michoacán*



9. Coat of arms from Tzintzuntzán (ca. 1593-95), original in Seville, ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS, *Escudos y Arboles Genealógicos de México*, number 168



10. Tzintzuntzán, View of the Convent of San Francisco



11. Tzintzuntzán, Convent of San Francisco, Detail of a capital and a redeployed *janamu*