

IUPITER HISPANO, ESPAÑA INVICTA AND THE INFANDA INVASION: PERSPECTIVES ON THE REPRESENTATION, CIRCULATION AND CONTESTATION OF POLITICAL IDENTITY IN THE HISPANIC WORLD



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ABSTRACT:

A study of the visual representation of the martial political identity of Philip IV, through an analysis of palace decoration, festivals, book illustrations and prints.

Keywords: Philip IV, visual culture, political identity.

*IUPITER HISPANO, ESPAÑA INVICTA Y LA INVASIÓN INFAME: PERSPECTIVAS
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POLÍTICA EN EL MUNDO HISPÁNICO*

RESUMEN:

Un estudio de la representación visual de la identidad política marcial de Felipe IV, a través del análisis de la ornamentación palaciega, festivales, ilustraciones de libros e impresos.

Palabras claves: Felipe IV, cultura visual, identidad política.

«... pongamos ahora a contemplar a España: de yerro es esta ilustre Provincia, toda es Marcial, y bellicosa...»¹.

«Sepan pues todos los Principes del Mundo, que aunque sean Martes fortisimos, aunque sean altisimos como Saturno, aunque sea cada uno dellos un Iupiter en fortuna, y riquezas: si se apartaren del Sol esplendissimo de Espana, se abatiran aunque les pese: quando llegaren a hazerle oposicion, llegaran al Perigeo de su periodo, al lugar mas infimo de su infortunio»².

¹ Juan CARAMUEL LOBKOWITZ, *Ἡσπανο-σθημα. Declaracion Mystica de Las Armas de España, Invictamente Belicosa*, Brussels, Lucas de Meerbeque, 1636, p. 24.

² *Ibíd.*, p. 58.

Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz's *Declaracion Mystica de Las Armas de España, Invictamente Belicosa*³, published in 1636 and dedicated to the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand, gives voice to a renewed confidence in Spain's military capacity following the dedicatee's victory over the Protestant forces at Nördlingen in 1634, as well as the successful defence of Louvain in 1635 where Caramuel participated as military engineer⁴. The symbolic importance of Nördlingen and its victorious general was made wholly apparent in 1635 in the elaborate arches and stages adorned with portraits, historical scenes, allegory and heraldry created in Antwerp under the direction of Peter Paul Rubens to celebrate both the victory and authority of Habsburg rule, that of both the Austrian and Spanish houses⁵. Caramuel echoes the paeans of the previous year with an extensive literary arsenal of religious, classical and historical tropes in his *Declaración* of Spain and its king as an unrivalled military power. He also included engravings of the arms of eleven of the kingdoms that formed the Spanish Habsburg European territories⁶. Three years later Caramuel would use the printed image with greater immediacy in *Philippus Prudens, Caroli V Imperatori Filius Lusitaniae, Algarbiae, Indiae, Brasiliae, & c. legitimus Rex demonstratus*⁷. On this occasion the bellicose authority of *España* was represented with an elaborate astrological allegory (Figure 1)⁸. The title-page, designed by Quellinus the Younger, shows the violent confrontation arising from the Spanish

³ The research presented here was started while working on the research project *Excesos de la nobleza de corte: usos de la violencia en la cultura aristocrática ibérica del seiscientos (1606-1665)* MINECO HAR2012-31891. It has since been developed as part of a research project being undertaken at CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, which is supported by a Postdoctoral fellowship grant from the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia-FCT (SFRH/BPD/101729/2014).

⁴ Víctor MÍNGUEZ CORNELLES, «Juan de Caramuel y su “Declaración mystica de las armas de España” (Bruselas, 1636)», *Archivo español de arte*, 320:80, 2007, pp. 395-410, p. 398. See also: Inmaculada RODRÍGUEZ and Víctor MÍNGUEZ, «Symbolical Explanation of the Coats of Arms According to Juan De Caramuel (1636)», *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies*, 16, 2008, pp. 223-251.

⁵ See: Jan-Gaspar GEVARTIUS, *Pompa Introitus Honori Serenissimi Principis Ferdinandi Austriaci Hispaniarum Infantis S.R.E. Card...*, Antwerp, Jan Van Meurs, 1641 [1642]; John RUPERT MARTIN, *The Decorations for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, London, Phaidon, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, 1972, XVI.

⁶ MÍNGUEZ, *art. cit.*, pp. 397, 401, 405.

⁷ Antwerp, Baltasar Moretus, 1639.

⁸ The italicised *España* is used to refer to the entwined notions of the Spanish Habsburg monarchy and its territorial empire. The complex issue of the significance and evolution of early modern notions of nationhood and national identity cannot be addressed here, but the study that follows indicates how this was addressed in visual terms and reference is made to relevant studies of early modern Hispanic political discourse below. For critical reflection on the theme of national identity see the landmark study: Benedict ANDERSON, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London, Verso, 2006.

domination of Portugal, the former represented as a lion suppressing the latter, depicted as a dragon, with one clawed paw. In its other paw the lion holds a sword ready to unleash a deadly blow, while two cherubs descend to confer the laurels and palm of victory. Caramuel's assumption of preordained victory would be contested over the following thirty years on the battlefield, in diplomatic negotiation, and, as the final section of this article addresses, in both visual and literary culture. Nonetheless, *Philippus'* title-page is one of the most succinct visual representations of *España* as bellicose and martial.

The representation of Spanish Habsburg authority in terms of a martial rhetoric and violence in *Declaración* and *Philippus*, examples of what Fernando de la Flor has referred to as «la exposición infatuada de una expresiva violencia o “furia Española”»⁹, exploited a central tenet of the political discourse of Spanish Habsburg authority, which had in turn been long been represented in literary and visual media¹⁰. While bearing in mind de la Flor's discussion of the «fracturas and dialecticas profundas» that gradually evolved a critique of this martial discourse it is important not to disregard the latter solely as bombastic rhetoric, and the aim of this article is to analyse a series of visual representations of this political *topos*. Drawing on historical studies on the ideological use and significance of visual culture the task of this article is analyse how visual media, supported by a variety of literary texts, was used to define, and above all disseminate, an authoritative martial political identity for both Philip IV and *España* across the Spanish Habsburg territories. To achieve this attention is shifted from the study of the sources for and the significance of this iconography of power, to a consideration of its reception, circulation, emulation and even contestation. In this way valuable insights are offered into the ways visual media were key components of the cultural networks through which political power was represented and consolidated.

The present study, as a foundation for a broader study of visual culture and the construction of baroque political identity in Portugal and Spain, addresses the combined

⁹ Fernando RODRÍGUEZ DE LA FLOR, *Barroco: Representación e Ideología en el Mundo Hispánico, 1580-1680*, Madrid, Cátedra, 2002, p. 191. See also: Fernando RODRÍGUEZ DE LA FLOR, «En las fronteras del “planeta católico”»: Representaciones barrocas del estado de guerra permanente en la totalidad imperial hispana», *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 106, 2015, pp. 9-51.

¹⁰ See for example: Fernando CHECA CREMADES, «The language of triumph: images of war and victory in two early modern tapestry series», in *Festival Culture in the World of the Spanish Habsburgs*, eds. Fernando Checa Cremades and Laura Fernández-González, Farnham, Ashgate, 2015, pp. 19-40.

representation of three fundamental visual themes: martial portraits of the king, allegorical personifications of *España*, and representations of violence intended to signify regal authority. Caramuel's *Philippus* is a key example of this rhetorical strategy: emblematic violence and the allegorisation of *España* are represented together on the title-page, while portraits of Philip II, III and IV in armour conclude the series of the kings of Portugal included in his book¹¹. *Philippus* is returned to in the final section of this study, prior to which the exemplary precedents for this visual strategy are examined with reference, firstly, to palace decoration at the court of Philip IV. Consideration is then given to the reception of the political dimensions of visual display at Philip IV's court as evidence, not only of how these images were interpreted, but also for the dissemination of this iconography of authority. Historiographical discussion of the iconography of power focused on palace decoration has been developed by work on festivals and emblematics and in the penultimate section attention is turned to the dissemination and emulation of the court's visual culture at two contemporaneous festivals, one held in Salamanca, the other in Lima. A key aspect noted at these festivals is the representation of the threefold political iconography -portraiture, allegory and representations of violence- in different cultural registers to a more diverse public then. To conclude this article further attention is paid to the cultural register of visual representations, as well as the wider circulation of the aforementioned three elements of marital imagery, by considering the use of book illustration and prints to challenge and contest claims to authority and hegemony.

The two core themes of this study, political identity and visual culture, are terms whose use can belie the complex historical issues they encompass. The historiographical and methodological issues raised by both themes, as well the relationships between them, have been discussed by a range of scholars, yet regrettably this extensive literature and critical issues raised cannot be pursued here¹². Instead the

¹¹ On these portraits, which had been used in de A. VASCONCELLOS, *Anacephalaeoses Id Est, Summa Capita Actorum Regum Lusitaniae* (1621), and the fact that the Infante Cardinal is also included see: María Inmaculada RODRÍGUEZ MOYA, «Caramuel, Felipe IV y Portugal: genealogía e imagen dinástica en el contexto de la pérdida del Reino», in *IV Congresso internacional do barroco ibero-americano. (Ouro Preto, 2006)*, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 2006, pp. 554-568.

¹² For a succinct overview of identity as a subject of historical study see: David MARTÍN MARCOS, José María INÚRRITEGUI, Pedro CARDIM, «Introdução» in *Repensar a identidade: o mundo ibérico nas margens da crise da consciência europeia*, Lisboa, Centro de História de Além-Mar, 2015, pp. 9-16. With regard to the ideological discourse that shaped political identity in seventeenth-century Iberia the following studies should also be referred to: Ana Cristina NOGUEIRA DA SILVA and Antonio Manuel

illustrative and contrasting case studies studied are intended to contribute a deeper understanding of both terms and also signal issues for critical reflection in future studies. Before proceeding further, it should be made clear that political identity is used in two senses, firstly in a very literal sense to refer to the political dimension or significance of the public image of Philip IV as constructed through diverse media, ranging from clothing to ritual, and painting to poetry. As Fernando Bouza's statement, «hubo más de una imagen del poder y más de un discurso de imágenes», indicates baroque political identity was multifaceted, whereby the bellicose claims espoused by Caramuel and the imagery addressed below are just one facet of the political identity constructed for Philip IV; other facets to consider would be the king's devotion and piety, his intellectual pursuits and also his passion for hunting, some of which are touched on below¹³. Nonetheless, by focusing on martial concerns and authority a framework is provided to consider a second sense of political identity, which is how the king, in person and image, represented various interrelated collective political identities, of *monarchia*, *patria* and *imperio*, referred to here as *España*, a term frequently employed with this semantic range, as the sources discussed below indicate. Attention is turned to this second notion of political identity by addressing the threefold iconography of power set out above, yet it should be noted that Elena Santiago has indicated that images of *España* was by no means solely identified with martial issues¹⁴. Nonetheless, the focus on this martial theme offers a valuable focus to consider the historiographical complexity of political identity, for example analysis of the dissemination and circulation of imagery highlights how political identity was a cultural phenomenon

HESPAÑHA, «Identidade Portuguesa», in *História de Portugal: volume 4, o antigo regime*, ed. José Mattoso, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 1993; Anthony PAGDEN, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory 1513-1830*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1990; Francesco BENIGNO, *Espejos de La Revolución: Conflicto E Identidad Política en La Europa Moderna*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2000; Diogo RAMADA CURTO, *Cultura Política No Tempo Dos Filipes, 1580-1640*, Lisboa, Edições 70, 2011; Thomas DANDELET, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2014; Jodi CAMPBELL, *Monarchy, Political culture, and drama in seventeenth-century Spain*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006. Discussion of the political identity has also been implicit in studies of painting, festivals and print culture, and key studies are cited below.

¹³ Fernando BOUZA, «Por no usarse: sobre uso, circulación y mercado de imágenes políticas en la alta edad moderna», in *La historia imaginada: construcciones visuales del pasado en la Época Moderna*, eds. Joan Lluís Palos and Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, Madrid, Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2008, pp. 41-64, p. 45.

¹⁴ Elena SANTIAGO PÁEZ, «Grabadores flamencos en el Madrid de Felipe IV», in *Tras el centenario de Felipe IV: Jornadas de Iconografía y Coleccionismo*, eds. José Manuel Pita Andrade, Ángel Rodríguez Rebollo, Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española, 2006, pp. 183-206, pp. 187, 195-6.

beyond the confines of erudite discourse. Finally, it should be added that this study focuses on the opening decades of Philip IV's reign, a period when, with the guidance offered by his *valido* the Count-Duke of Olivares, considerable efforts were made to establish Philip's political authority, not only through the policies pursued, but also with the construction of an elaborate image of power and political identity for the king.

The use of the term visual culture must likewise be briefly addressed. The entwined issues of political identity and visual culture alone have an extensive bibliography, some of which is cited over the course of this essay, and again the state of research in this area cannot be addressed here. Visual culture is used primarily to refer to visual representations in a variety of media. Broader questions on what these images inform us about modes of seeing for example are touched on, above all, with regard to questions of reception, but cannot be examined in depth¹⁵. However, the term culture is not simply an appendage, and a concern of this article is to examine how media were employed across cultural networks in which ideological concerns were a key dynamic and texts were a key medium in defining and disseminating the visual. With regard to the latter point the discussion below illustrates the relevance of Clifford Geertz's discussion of the significance of rites surrounding the figure and authority of the monarch. The dissemination of regal imagery accompanied by festive rituals clearly indicates how the «the character of a sovereign», in this case martial, could be connected to a realm that spanned several continents, whereby this discussion provides a framework for a deeper study of the relationship between political identity and visual culture¹⁶.

I

The scholarship on palace decoration at the court of Philip IV provide an essential foundation for the themes addressed in this study. The rich variety of visual and material culture displayed in Philip IV's various residences stands testimony to the

¹⁵ See for example the chapter «Voir le portrait du roi» in Diane BODART, *Pouvoirs Du Portrait Sous Les Habsbourg d'Espagne*. Paris, CTHS, 2011, pp. 277-322.

¹⁶ Clifford GEERTZ, «Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power», in *Local Knowledge: Further essays in interpretive anthropology*, New York, Basic Books, 1983, pp. 121-146.

diverse facets of political identity¹⁷. The *Salón de Reinos* (Hall of Realms) is the paradigmatic example of the use of visual media to construct a martial political identity for Philip IV. Its decorative programme has as its primary focus the image of Philip IV, his father, Philip III, and his heir Baltasar Carlos, each portrayed on horseback in military costume¹⁸. The presence of the King's respective wives in contrast underscores the continuity of the Habsburg line, a recurring theme encountered in the portrait series and works with nuptial themes found in the Alcazar for example¹⁹. The allusion of these equestrian portraits to classical and renaissance precedents of military triumph, albeit subdued with Velazqueño naturalism, was made explicit, firstly, in historical terms with the twelve paintings of victorious battles, and then through the allegorical allusion offered by Zurbarán's paintings of the deeds of Hercules²⁰. A further allegorical element was the inclusion of twelve rampant lions, holding a torch and a shield, which Ángel Aterido's suggests may have been intended as a reference to the throne of Solmon²¹. Finally, the authority of Habsburg rule was evoked in the twenty-four escutcheons of the Iberian, European and American Kingdoms that made up Philip's empire, and which it befell to him to defend.

The extensive analysis of this programme by Brown and Elliott has established our understanding of the programme, and subsequently further insight has been offered

¹⁷ Significant publications on this theme include: Bonaventura BASSEGODA I HUGAS, *El Escorial como museo: la decoración pictórica mueble en el Monasterio de El Escorial desde Diego Velázquez hasta Frédéric Quilliet (1809)*, Barcelona, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2002; Svetlana ALPERS, *The Decoration of the Torre de La Parada* London, Phaidon, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, 1971, IX; Steven ORSO, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1986; Jonathan BROWN and John ELLIOTT, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2003; *El Palacio del Rey Planeta: Felipe IV y El Buen Retiro*, ed. Andrés ÚBEDA DE LOS COBOS, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 2005; Diane BODART, *op. cit.*; Angel RODRÍGUEZ REBOLLO, «Felipe IV, Velázquez y el Alcázar de Madrid. Recapitulación y nuevas vías de estudio a través del coleccionismo regio», *Goya: Revista de arte*, 359, 2017, pp. 93-113.

¹⁸ BROWN and ELLIOTT, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-202. José ÁLVAREZ LOPERA, «La Reconstitución del Salón de Reinos, Estado y replanteamiento de la cuestión», in *El Palacio del Rey Planeta: Felipe IV y El Buen Retiro*, ed. Andrés ÚBEDA DE LOS COBOS, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 2005, pp. 91-167.

¹⁹ See for example the series of portraits hung in the South Gallery and Gilded Hall in the Alcazar, and the depiction of the *Exchange of Princesses* recording the 1615 ceremony marking the arrival of Isabel de Bourbon and the departure of Anne of Austria, the wives of Philip IV and Louis XIII respectively. See ORSO, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 125-135, 146.

²⁰ ELLIOTT and BROWN, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-170; ÚBEDA DE LOS COBOS, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-167.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, 113-114. The shield was adorned with arms of Gerónimo de Vilanueva, see: Ángel ATERIDO, «Conjuntos iconográficos del Alcázar en tiempos de Felipe IV», in *Tras el centenario de Felipe IV: Jornadas de Iconografía y Coleccionismo*, eds. José Manuel Pita Andrade y Ángel Rodríguez Rebollo, Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española, 2006, pp. 305-336, p. 312.

by Álvarez Lopera, Kagan and Marías²². Kagan took up the claim made by Brown and Elliott that the Hall of Realms should be read as a Hall of Princely Virture, which he refers to as a *speculum principum*, thereby focused on the first sense of political identity, that of Philip IV, and developed this idea by proposing that it may also be read as a *speculum republicae*, which in turn offers a basis to consider the second broader sense of identity discussed above²³. Marías subsequently pursued this line of argument further to consider how the contemporaneous policies of the Count-Duke of Olivares and the historiography of Tamayo de Vargas likewise informed this series²⁴. The reading of the series as a *speculum republicae* primed with allusion to Olivares' policies, signals how the two senses of political identity discussed above were entwined. There was no explicit allegorical representation of *España*, but it may be argued that, the space of the hall itself adorned with the arms of its realms may be read as symbolising a collective, political unity.

While a martial political identity was the unifying theme of the Hall of Realms, articulated in the equestrian portraits of the kings in armour, the scenes of warfare and mythological struggle, the values professed are the virtues of the general, be that the king or his subalterns, rather than the violent suppression of revolts as alluded to in Quellinus' title-page²⁵. Indeed, as Marías comments Maino's *Recovery of Bahía*, the only painting featuring Philip IV, albeit in effigy, is a keynote of this series, and he states that its principal theme is «la clemencia católica frente a la impía herejía rebelde», a sentiment later echoed in Faria e Sousa's sonnet on Velázquez's *Surrender at Breda*, the source for the three political topoi cited in the title of this article²⁶. Indeed, in Velázquez's painting, as well as Maino's, along with Pereda's *Relief of Genoa*, Zurbarán's *Defence of Cadiz* and Leonardo's *Surrender of Jülich* the scenes take place following the cessation of hostilities with the respective general's re-establishing peace. Closer scrutiny of the other six paintings (Cajés' *Capture of St. Martin* is lost)

²² Richard L. KAGAN «Imágenes y política en la corte de Felipe IV de España: nuevas perspectivas sobre el Salón de Reinos», in *La historia imaginada: construcciones visuales del pasado en la Época Moderna*, Madrid, Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2008, pp. 101-120; Fernando MARÍAS, *Pinturas de historia, imágenes políticas: repensando el Salón de Reinos*, Madrid, Real Academia de Historia, 2012.

²³ BROWN and ELLIOTT, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-163; KAGAN, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

²⁴ For a summary and conclusion to his line of argument see MARÍAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 and 68.

²⁵ BROWN and ELLIOTT, *op. cit.*, p. 180 and ss.; See also RODRÍGUEZ DE LA FLOR, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-6, who interprets this as evidence of a tendency to suppress representations of warfare in visual imagery.

²⁶ MARÍAS, *op. cit.*, p. 62. See also: BODART, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-316; Manuel de FARIA E SOUSA, *Fuente de Aganipe O Rimas Varias ... Divididas En Siete Partes*, Madrid, Juan Sánchez, 1646, vol 1, f. 76v.

underscore Kagan's emphasis on their subject being a celebration of the general, whose aim was the virtuous conclusion portrayed by Velázquez and Maino²⁷. Indeed, violence is all but suppressed, the vague furore of battle is as a rule relegated to the mid-ground and beyond, only revealing itself with the corpse and mortal skirmish seen in the foreground of Carducho's *Battle of Fleurus*²⁸. Violence is enacted in seven of the ten paintings of Hercules with their emphasis on supernatural strength, but it is muted and Zurbarán's characteristic use of intense chiaroscuro above all highlights the hero's body performing an emblematic range of valiant postures. Brown and Elliott argued that the choice of Zurbarán's «imposing but rigid style» for this series, developed in his work for religious patrons, makes sense from both a formal and conceptual perspective as it clearly facilitates a reading of the paintings in an allegorical sense, as celebrating the combined martial triumph of king, *España* and his loyal servants²⁹.

With regard to the depiction of violence a striking contrast is offered by the corpus of paintings by Titian and Rubens which were a centrepiece in the *Salón Nuevo* (New Room) of Philip IV's principal royal residence in Madrid, the Alcazar. The decoration of the New Room brought together a more eclectic range of subject matter; Brown and Elliott again identify this within the tradition of the Hall of Princely Virtue and highlight how work on the New Room forged the conceptual foundations for the Hall of Realms³⁰. A key aspect of this eclectic display is that it indicates other facets of regal authority, such as regal magnificence and wisdom, yet as studies of this room have discussed the martial image of the Habsburg monarchs was a core concern³¹. Titian's *Charles V at Muhlberg* and the *Portrait of Philip II after Lepanto* laid the foundations for the decorative programme, and were complemented by Velázquez's *Expulsion of Moriscos*, depicting Philip III, and finally Ruben's equestrian portrait of Philip IV³². All these paintings were concerned with the monarch as defender of the faith. While, the

²⁷ BROWN and ELLIOTT, *op. cit.*, p. 175; KAGAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-117.

²⁸ ÚBEDA DE LOS COBOS, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 161-163.

³¹ ORSO, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-117; Matías DÍAZ PADRÓN, *Sansón y el León: Peter Paul Rubens*, Madrid, División Espacio Arte, 2004, pp. 81-136; Ángel RODRÍGUEZ REBOLLO, «Aportaciones de Felipe IV a las Colecciones Reales de pintura», in *Tras el centenario de Felipe IV: Jornadas de Iconografía y Coleccionismo*, eds. José Manuel Pita Andrade y Ángel Rodríguez Rebollo, Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española, 2006, pp. 95-154, pp. 96-109.

³² ORSO, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45, pp. 48-49, pp. 52-54. Peter HUMFREY, *Titian: the complete paintings*, Ghent, Ludion, 2007, pp. 222, 368; Francis HUEMER, *Portraits I*, London, Phaidon, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, 1971, XIX, pp.150-154.

victories won by Charles V and Philip II were renowned historical events Velázquez and Rubens had to employ allegory in the absence of comparable feats. Rubens painted Divine Justice accompanying Philip IV, while Faith bestowed the victor's laurels on the king with one hand while planting a cross in Philip's Iberian territory on a globe held aloft by two cherubs³³. The inclusion of such allegorical elements is rarely encountered in images of Philip IV as indicated by other portraits of the king, such as the Frick collection's portrait painted by Velázquez in 1644 at Fraga during the military campaign Philip IV led against the French; Maino's use of the picture within a picture motif in the Hall of Realms mentioned above is another rare occurrence of the recourse to allegory³⁴. However, the combination of allegory was addressed in a still more direct manner by Velázquez, whose *Expulsion of the Moriscos* depicted *España* «as a majestic matron, in Roman Armour... holding a shield and darts in her right hand, and in her left, some ears of grain»³⁵. In the absence of this painting it is hard to gauge the full significance of this allegorical figure, yet it is a singular instance of the combination of the two senses of political identity, King and *Patria*, discussed above.

The decoration of the New Room, which evolved into the Hall of Mirrors in the mid-1640s, underwent continual modifications throughout the reign of Philip IV. For the purposes of this paper attention is concentrated on the years prior to 1638 when it began to be formally used. In 1636 an inventory was made of the room's contents, which provides a valuable source to contrast this room to the Hall of Realms³⁶. Furthermore, a range of documentary sources testify to the evolution of the initial programme for this room from the early years of Philip's reign, and these demonstrate how the room's martial theme was given central prominence from the outset³⁷. As has been said other themes were also foregrounded such as the exemplar of regal magnificence evoked in Domenichino's painting inventoried in 1636 as *Solomon and*

³³ HUEMER, *op.cit.*, p. 152. See also, Simon VOSTERS, *Rubens y España: Estudio Artístico-Literario Sobre La Estética Del Barroco*, Madrid, Cátedra, 1990, pp. 144-153.

³⁴ BROWN and ELLIOTT, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-200; ÚBEDA DE LOS COBOS, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-125. Closer study of printed imagery is also required as indicated by the title-page to Vincencio Tortoretti, *Capilla Real*, Madrid, Martínez, 1630, cited in RODRÍGUEZ DE LA FLOR, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

³⁵ Antonio PALOMINO, *Vidas*, Madrid, Alianza, 1984; ORSO, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54. On the iconography of Spain see: RODRÍGUEZ, *art. cit.*, pp. 103-4.

³⁶ ORSO, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-192.

³⁷ In addition to those quoted by Orso see his publication of the 1636 inventory: ORSO, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-189.

*the Queen of Sheba offering her Treasure*³⁸. The painting no longer exists but it is recorded as being of the same size as the portraits of Philip II, III and IV indicating the prominence given to this subject. As Rodríguez argues the painting was intended to allude to Philip's emulation of Solomon's wisdom and justice, yet the painting may also have acquired a subtext regarding the payment of tributes and taxes: Kings I:10 continues stating that the Queen of Sheba «gave the king a hundred and twenty talents, and of spices a very great store, and precious stones», and further details on the sources of Solomon's material magnificence are later given; as Elliott and other historian have commented fiscal matters were a pressing issue for Philip IV and his *valido*³⁹.

With regard to this study a series of scenes of violence underscored the martial image of both monarchy and nation discussed above. The intention to develop this allegorical dimension of the programme can be dated to prior to 1626 when Titian's four *Furias* were recorded as on display in the room, having been moved from the king's bedroom⁴⁰. The cultural and specific political significance of these dramatic paintings of the punishment of those that challenged Jupiter's authority has been discussed by Falomir and Rodríguez amongst others as an allegory of regal power, and this will be returned to below with regard to the reception of this programme and the values it espoused⁴¹. An issue that merits greater scrutiny is the combination of these paintings with other classical subjects, as well as biblical ones, that together underscored a political message. Two paintings by Rubens, *Samson breaking the jaws of a lion* and *David Killing a bear*, clearly complemented the theme of the punishment administered to the *Furias*⁴². Likewise, Camilo Procaccini and his assistant's *Samson defeats the philistines*, Ribera's *Jael and Sisera*, and the fifteenth century *Queen Tomyris with the Head of Cyrus*, in the style of the Master of Flemalle, echoed this concern⁴³. However, violence was not treated unequivocally, and the programme seemingly included two juxtapositions. Firstly, the pendant Ribera produced to his

³⁸ ORSO, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 and 190.

³⁹ RODRÍGUEZ, *art. cit.*, p. 103. See also: Virgilio BERMEJO VEGA, «Acerca de los recursos de la iconografía regia: Felipe IV, de Rey Sol a nuevo Salomón», *Norba: revista de arte*, 12, 1992, pp. 163-186. On Spain's financial situation see, John ELLIOTT, *Count-Duke of Olivares: a statesman in the age of decline*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1988, pp. 233-234, 237-238.

⁴⁰ ORSO, *op. cit.*, p. 45; HUMFREY, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-235.

⁴¹ RODRÍGUEZ, *art. cit.*, pp. 108-109; Miguel FALOMIR FAUS, *Las furias: alegoría política y desafío artístico*, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 2014, pp. 63-67.

⁴² ORSO, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁴³ Respectively: ORSO, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 55, 58-9. On the latter painting see: Elizabeth MCGRATH, *Subjects from History II*, London, Phaidon, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, 1997, XIII, pp. 19-20.

painting of Jael, *Samson and Delilah*, seemingly contrasts the administration of justice with a scene of betrayal and deception of virtue. A second painting by Procaciani was *Cain slaying Abel*, which it might be proposed was intended to be thematically contrasted to Rubens' *Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau*⁴⁴. Regrettably, it is beyond the scope of this article to examine this series of thirty paintings in detail.

The size of the paintings clearly suggests a hierarchy of significance, as mentioned above the depiction of Solomon is recorded as being the same size as the portraits of the kings, and a second prominent image, this time focused on violence, albeit self-inflicted in a gesture of courage, was Rubens' *Gaius Mucius Scaevola before Porsenna*, which is recorded as a painting «larger than those of the *Furias*»⁴⁵. Again Rodríguez is insightful on the contemporaneous significance of this image referring to the reference made to this legend in an emblem by Hernando de Soto entitled «Scevolas produce España»; he concludes that its intention was the «exaltación del poder y la valentía de España»⁴⁶. The latter image was perhaps intended to remind Philip's generals' of the valour expected of them, or else to remind courtiers of the valour exercised in their name, which suggests a clear parallel to the Hall of Realms; a contemporaneous dimension was added to this moral example with the inclusion of a portrait of the Cardinal Infante and a representation of the battle of Nördlingen. However, setting aside these positive virtues the most striking feature of the New Room was undoubtedly its emphasis on the punishment of the enemy, wrongdoers and heresy. By invoking Philip's forbears, celebrated as defenders of Catholicism, along with allusions to both the wrath of both Jupiter and the Old Testament Divinity, exercised by his chosen servants, the image of both Philip IV and *España* was figured in unequivocal and intransigent terms.

II

Attention must now be turned to evidence for the wider circulation of the threefold configuration of political identity discussed here. To do so the final two sections address evidence for the use of these iconographical elements across Europe and as far afield as

⁴⁴ ORSO, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 56, 190.

⁴⁶ RODRÍGUEZ, *art. cit.*, p. 108.

Lima, but firstly the question of the reception of the imagery discussed so far should be considered. Carducho in his *Diálogos de la pintura* provides a point of departure for this issue, with his advice on the decoration of a royal palace:

Si fueren galerías Reales, sean historias las que se pintaren, graves, majestuosas, exemplares y dignas de imitar, como son premios que grandes Monarcas han dado a los constantes en el valor y en la virtud, castigos justos en maldades y traiciones, hechos de Héroes ilustres, hazañas de los más celebres Príncipes y Capitanes, triunfos, victorias, y batallas [...] ⁴⁷.

Regrettably, Carducho is silent on the exemplary nature of the New Room. The all too brief description he gives in *Diálogos* is comparable to the more detailed description written in 1626 by Cassiano dal Pozzo: both authors are primarily concerned with the images as artworks, their subjects and artists, rather than their ideological message⁴⁸. However, the Hall of Realms did prompt a number of literary works, and although of varying literary quality they give an indication of spectators' reception of the three visual elements discussed above as figuring the martial political identity of Philip IV and *España*.

The majority of the poems published in *Elogios al Palacio Real de Buen Retiro* are concerned above all with adulation of the Count Duke of Olivares and expressions of admiration for the Buen Retiro, whereby scant insight is offered to why the *historias* in the Hall of Realms would be «dignas de imitar»⁴⁹ by loyal spectators. However, the final two poems, which are considerably longer provide more insight into the ideas associated with the building. Antonio Pellicer praises the importance of the Palace with its Salon as a monument ensuring not only «La Felizidad de España» but also capable of making «un orbe felice» for the «agasajos le ofresces / Al Monarca mas sublime». He continues with reference to the challenge posed by the Dutch rebels, but declares Philip's capacity to suppress revolt:

⁴⁷ Vicente CARDUCHO, *Diálogos de la pintura...*, Madrid, Martínez, 1633, ff. 108v-109r.

⁴⁸ For a translation of the relevant passages from the works of both authors see, ORSO, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-189. See also: Enriqueta HARRIS, «Cassiano dal Pozzo on Diego Velázquez», *The Burlington Magazine*, 112: 807, 1970, pp. 364-373.

⁴⁹ *Elogios al Palacio Real del Buen Retiro: escritos por algunos ingenios de España*, ed. Diego de COVARRUBIAS I LEYVA, Madrid, Imprenta del Reyno, 1635. See also: BROWN and ELLIOTT, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

A quien el Cielo, absolute
Triunfador de sus Países
Ha de mirar, sugetando
desobediente cervizes [...] ⁵⁰.

In the final *panegyrico* José de Pellicer does state that the Buen Retiro is where «el gobierno se respire en ocio facil» away from «lo severo del Palacio», but he qualifies this as a well-earned rest from the battlefield:

En tanto que vuestras hazes
triumfan siempre victoriosas de reveldes i Neutrales...
En tanto que al Olandes
Sus designios desleales,
El miedo emienda [...] ⁵¹.

Evidently, Philip's role in suppressing his enemies was considered a primary one and similar sentiments are expressed in *Obras varias al Real Palacio del Buen Retiro*, consisting of a number of poems by the Portuguese poet Manuel Galhegos. For example, in verse XIV of the *Sextas rimas* he refers to the palace as a triumphal arch for the victories over Philip's enemies, as well as suggesting that the lead shot fired by his foes would serve to cover the palaces rooves⁵².

Galhegos' opening *Silva Topografica* also provides an extensive ekphrasis of the Hall of Realms in which the fiery gaze of Philip IV's portrait and vigour of his steed are singled out, and considered as follows:

Si assi le viera el Belga en la campaña
al imperio de España
se rindieran la turbas rebeladas,
en rayos de decoro fulminadas⁵³.

⁵⁰ *Ibíd.*, p. 46.

⁵¹ *Ibíd.*, p. 58.

⁵² Manuel de GALHEGOS, *Obras varias al Real Palacio del Buen Retiro*, Madrid, María de Quiñones, 1637, ff. 20r-v. On Galhegos see: Heitor MARTINS, *Manuel de Galhegos, Um Poeta Entre a Monarquia E Monarquia Dual E a Restauração*, Anadia, Cisial, 1964; Edward GLASER, «Review of *Manuel de Galhegos, Um poeta entre a Monarquia Dual e a Restauração* by Heitor Martins», *Hispanic Review*, 36:2, 1968, pp. 194-198.

⁵³ *Ibíd.*, ff. 2v-3r.

The allusion to Philip as victorious general representing the «imperio de España» is underscored when attention is turned to the battle paintings in which:

[...] aprenden
 los humanos sentidos quanta gloria,
 y quanta horibile y celebre vitoria
 la hispana gallardia
 gozó en el campo [...] ⁵⁴.

Galhegos briefly discusses the *Hercules* series and also includes a reference to the iconography of the *Furias*; his claim that Philip earns «laureles de Esmeralda» on the battlefield is argued by invoking the *Gigantomaquia*, yet Galhegos states that Jupiter would await Philip's help, thereby further indicating the prescience of the political message of the *Furia* series⁵⁵.

Silva Topografica continues by citing a series of other works in the Palace, and the choice of works is both striking and relevant to the discussion pursued here, as they are all scenes centred around violence: Rubens' *Death of Seneca*, Guido Reni's *Tarquin and Lucrecia* and then two paintings by Velázquez, an *Apollo and Marsyas* and the *Joseph's Bloody Coat brought to Jacob*⁵⁶. His choice of artists was seemingly intended to indicate how Philip's court painter rivalled celebrated artists from Italy and Flanders, and a similar concern was stated by Faria e Sousa in his introduction, which claims that the Buen Retiro, «dexando atras las memoradas viñas, con que Italia nos acusava de incultos; y haziendo que España saliesse de la barbaridad Gotica, en que hasta aora vivio...»⁵⁷. However, besides such issues of cultural supremacy Galhegos' selection serves as reminder that a significant number of scenes of violence were a recurring theme in this palace, ranging from Ribera's series of the *Furias* to the diverse scenes of classical Rome, including depictions of gladiatorial combat⁵⁸. Attention so far has been devoted to the elusive meaning of these paintings, which Úbeda de los Cobos has

⁵⁴ *Ibíd.*, f. 4r.

⁵⁵ GALHEGOS, *op. cit.*, f. 3r.

⁵⁶ *Varia Velazqueña: Homenaje a Velázquez en el III Centenario de su muerte, 1660-1960*, ed. Antonio GALLEGOS Y BURÍN, Madrid, Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1960, II, p. 31, footnote 23 refers to Elias Tormos suggestion that this refers to a lost painting by Velázquez, but no evidence has since been found to pursue this further.

⁵⁷ GALHEGOS, *op. cit.*, p.v.

⁵⁸ ÚBEDA DE LOS COBOS, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-239.

referred to as too ambiguous to identify with specific themes such as Neostoic values, yet Galhegos' ekphrasis of these paintings, as with the portrait of Philip IV, highlights how their moral example was articulated in terms of an emotionally charged spectacle, for example on Velázquez's *Tunic of Jose* he states:

[...] en essa table, donde lastimoso
el patriarca Iacob gime en colores
y explicando en matizes sus dolores
fúnebre llora [...] ⁵⁹.

The poetic response to the Hall of Realms, to which might be added Lope de Vega and Zarate's poems on the equestrian portraits of Philip IV, as well as Quevedo's *Al retrato del Rey nuestro señor hecho de rasgos y lazos, con pluma, por Pedro Morante*, which all likewise address the King's marital qualities, signal how portraits and secular history paintings and portraits were conceived with similar goals as to those described by the Counter-Reformation theorist Paleotti for religious paintings, they should: «stimulate the senses and excite spirituality and devotion»⁶⁰. Central to the visual rhetoric Paleotti proposed was the concern to «delight, teach and move» all classes of spectators, from painters to the pious, and the learned to the lower strata. In the secular images discussed here, addressed to a learned public, the concern was to inspire respect, loyalty and varying degrees of awe for Philip as a ruler, as well as a desire for vengeance on heretics and enemies alike⁶¹.

Carducho makes little reference to the emotional content of paintings or scenes of violence but he does refer to both with regard to a play by Lope de Vega, praising both the spectacle of theatre and its emotional content:

Yo me hallé en un Teatro, donde se descogió una pintura suya que representaba una tragedia, tan bien pintada, con tanta fuerça de sentimiento, con tal disposición y dibujo, colorido y viveça [...] ⁶².

⁵⁹ GALHEGOS, *op. cit.*, f. 8r.

⁶⁰ LOPE DE VEGA, *Laurel de Apolo con otras rimas*, Madrid, Juan González, 1630, ff. 116r-118v; FRANCISCO LÓPEZ ZÁRATE, *Obras varia*, Alcalá, María Fernández, 1651, pp. 56-57; FRANCISCO DE QUEVEDO, *Parnaso Español*, Madrid, Pablo de Val, 1649, pp. 5-6; GABRIELE PALEOTTI, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, Los Angeles, CA, Getty Research Institute, 2012, p. 310.

⁶¹ PALEOTTI, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

⁶² CARDUCHO, *op. cit.*, f. 61v.

He goes on to describe how an act of violence, performed offstage, prompted one ingenuous audience member to raise a cry for help. Naturally, Carducho distinguished between and enjoyed both the art and illusion of theatre, but his works indicate that he was attentive to the emotional charge of the latter. It may be argued that he and Pozzo amongst other spectators would likewise have attended to the emotional charge of the paintings they observed. Naturally, foreign visitors may have been resistant to the «fuerça de sentimiento» of the New Room, but loyal courtiers may well have viewed its *furias* and other scenes of violence in terms akin to those expressed in Quevedo's *Jura del Serenissimo Principe Don Baltasar Carlos* in which he invokes the figure of Jupiter and the war waged against the giants, with reference «al monstruo de Stocolmia que tirano / padecerá castigo»⁶³. He concludes with an image of the violence that would be wrought on the battlefield:

Padrones han de ser Rhin y Danubio
 De tu venganza en tanto delincuente;
 Rebeldes venas les será diluvio:
 Cuerpos muertos y arneses, vado y puente.
 Rojo en su sangre se verá de rubio
 El alemán, terror del Occidente:
 Tal gemirán las locas esperanzas
 De quien no teme al Dios de la venganzas⁶⁴.

Although this poem is addressed to Baltasar Carlos, the poem was to be read at court, and the subject is evidently the martial political identity of the Habsburgs, which is addressed with awe and fear in order to, as Paleotti suggested, «stimulate the senses and excite... devotion».

With regard to a theme such as vengeance, also encountered with explicit reference to Philip IV in Quevedo's *Exortación a la Magestad del Rey N.S. Phelipe III, para el castigo de los rebeldes*, poetry is both a rich but problematic source, above all

⁶³ QUEVEDO, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-21. For a discussion of this poem see María de la Fe VEGA MADROÑERO, «El poema de Quevedo a la jura del príncipe Baltasar Carlos y las relaciones de la época», in *La fiesta: actas del II Seminario de Relaciones de Sucesos (A Coruña, 1998)*, A Coruña, Sociedad de Cultura Valle Inclán, 1999, pp. 351-358. See also: Pablo JAURALDE POU, *Francisco de Quevedo: (1580-1645)*, Madrid, Editorial Castalia, 1998, pp. 627-629; FALMOIR, *op. cit.*, p. 63, footnote 2. Another examples of Quevedo's poetry using the same imagery as the New Room is his *Celebra el esfurço de Quinto Mucio, despues llamado Scevolla*, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

⁶⁴ QUEVEDO, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

with regard to the elusive question of emotional responses to artworks. A wider range of textual sources needs to be consulted, as is signalled by a letter which offers a comparable perspective on the strong feelings generated by the enemies of *España* and the need for justice to be administered, albeit randomly⁶⁵. The author refers to the loyal Portuguese supporters of the Philip that fled to Madrid following the acclamation of John IV stating:

Aqui se nos han venido un conde de Taroca, y un fulano Barrabás y otros locos lunares de sí mismos, S.M. los ha recibido bien por gusto del Conde, y si fuera por el mio, ya ellos estuvieran ahorcados por leales y traidores...⁶⁶.

Attitudes to and the significance of violence for a Golden Age public requires further study above all from sociological and anthropological perspectives that looks beyond the court and across the empire. However, with regard to this article the literary sources discussed here indicate how representations of political identity employed an emotional register and that their reception evoked emotions of awe, fear and vengeance and not solely reflection on erudite or artistic issues. To explore this further attention must be now turned away from the court and painting to another area of visual culture, festivals, which as will be seen opens up a new perspective on the cultural reception of political identity across the empire.

III

Attention will now be turned to ephemeral festive displays of the martial authority and vengeful jurisdiction of Philip IV, which indicate how political identity as represented in court circles in painting and theatre, as well poetry and political discourse, was a broader cultural phenomenon, which addressed a distinctive public than that of the court and to do so employed distinctive cultural registers. The two case studies chosen here took place in Salamanca and Lima. While their distance from the court is of particular interest, it is not the intention to consider these as isolated examples. They need to be contrasted to festivals organised in other locations including Madrid. Although this can

⁶⁵ *Ibíd.*, p. 5.

⁶⁶ VARIOUS, *Cartas de Algunos PP. de la Compañía de Jesús*, Madrid, Imprenta Nacional, 1862, IV, p. 329.

only be briefly addressed here, with regard to the theme of martial political identity, the celebrations held for the 1625 canonisation of Santa Isabel of Portugal provide an interesting point of departure, being contemporaneous to the start of work on the New Room and the jubilant response to the military successes of 1625. *Relaçam Das Festas Que a Real Villa de Madrid Fez Á Canonizaçao de Sancta Isabel Rainha de Portugal, Molher Del Rey Dom Dinis* records the following epigram being included in the celebrations.

Guerra en vastas regiões
faz nossa felice Espanha
em três de cabeça abazo
se vay a enemiga esquadra.
Que assi como três Coroas
prinicipais tem seu Monarcha
a tantas há respetado
a favor da Raynha Santa⁶⁷.

Further study of this festival and other celebrations of the canonisation above all in Madrid, Rome and Lisbon remain to be undertaken, but this example highlights a key aspect of festivals, which is the possibility of contrasting contemporaneous celebrations of the same event, as is undertaken here, with festivities held for the birth of Baltasar Carlos, along with his baptism and *juramento*.

The two case studies examined here form part of a series of celebrations held in a range of cities⁶⁸. A preliminary study of three other accounts indicates one challenge to the study of these festivals, which is the contrast between the official festival account, either in prose or verse, and the briefer *relación*. Many of the accounts catalogued by Alenda y Mira are the latter category, which provide scant mention of the events' visual dimensions. For example, three accounts of the celebrations for the birth of Baltasar Carlos held in Madrid betray little concern for any artistic contribution, save a passing

⁶⁷ I have not been able to consult the original text yet, but this is cited in: Ana Isabel LÓPEZ-SALAZAR CODES, «“May de Lisboa e dos Portuguezes todos”: imágenes de reinas en el Portugal de los Felipes», in *Las relaciones discretas entre las Monarquías Hispana y Portuguesa: Las Casas de las Reinas (siglos XV-XIX)*, coords. José Martínez Millán, María Paula Marçal Lourenço, Madrid, Polifemo, 2009, p. 1774.

⁶⁸ Jenaro ALENDA Y MIRA, *Relaciones de Solemnidades y Fiestas Públicas de España*, Madrid, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1903, I, pp. 261-276; see also: MADROÑERO, *op. cit.*

reference to pyrotechnic displays⁶⁹. Instead their concern with the people in attendance, the order of precedence and other formalities indicates the priorities for those readers who could not attend. However, a second example of a public festival of direct relevance to this study is the «fiesta agonal» held for the second birthday for Baltasar Carlos. José de Pellicer's *Anfiteatro de Felipe el Grande* provides a valuable source for the literary celebration of political identity, yet it is also a testimony to a different facet of court spectacle, in which the king would literally perform the role ascribed to him in the various visual and literary sources discussed above⁷⁰. In this festival, which was staged as an imitation of classical Greek and in particular Roman precedents, emulating the aforementioned paintings of classical scenes decorating the Buen Retiro, the highlight was when Philip IV became the focus of the event. After a Jarama bull had defeated both a lion and a tiger, Philip shot the animal. The symbolism of this act was celebrated in numerous poems, such as Quevedo's epigram in which the symbolism granted to this display echoes the concerns for justice and vengeance depicted in the palace decoration:

[...] señor, monarca, ibero,
al ladrón te mostraste justiciero,
y al traidor a su rey castigo fuerte.
Sepa aquel animal que tuvo suerte
de ser vestido a Jupiter severo,
que es el león de España al verdadero [...] ⁷¹.

In addition, this festival highlights how the king's political identity also involved a performative element. Further study of this aspect of the regal image in the context of re-enactments of classical celebrations needs to be undertaken⁷². The symbolism of the King's hunting skills, as celebrated in Velázquez's *Tela Real*, offers a further line of

⁶⁹ Francisco Bernardo de QUIRÓS, *Relación Verdadera de Las Grandiosas fiestas que se hizieron en Madrid al Bautismo del Príncipe Nuestro Señor*, Barcelona, Esteban Liberòs, 1629; Juan GONZÁLEZ, *Relación Verdadera, que trata de la insigne Fiesta, que los Alguaziles de Corte hizieron a Su Magestad, por el Nacimiento del Príncipe...* Baltasar Carlos Domingo: *Con un Romance al mismo Nacimiento*, Madrid, Juan González, c. 1629-1646; ANONYMUS, *Relacion Venida de Madrid, del Iuramento del Principe en siete de Março 1632*, Barcelona, Esteban Liberòs, 1632.

⁷⁰ Alfonso REYES, «Ruiz de Alarcón y las fiestas de Baltasar Carlos», *Revue Hispanique*, 36, 1916, pp. 171-176.

⁷¹ VARIOUS, *Anfiteatro de Felipe el Grande*, ed. José de Pellicer, Madrid, Juan González, 1632, f. 18r.

⁷² For discussion of the use of politically charged spectacle at the court of Philip IV, see CAMPBELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 and 74 and ss.

enquiry. However, still another approach is offered by the two festivals discussed below: at both of them members of the royal family, in one case the king himself, participate, albeit in symbolic form, in battles. Whether in person or as an iconic image these examples reveal how the static presence conveyed in paintings and the decorum of the court was on occasions set into motion. A key point of relevance raised by all these displays is that they were addressed to a wider public, one portrayed in Velázquez's *Tela Real*.

While as a text Cristóbal de Lazarraga's *Fiestas de la Universidad de Salamanca, al nacimiento del Principe D. Baltasar Carlos Domingo Felipe* was clearly addressed to a literate audience the diverse aspects of the festival ranging from the popular bull fighting and firework displays to erudition and poetry indicate that the festival itself addressed a broader audience⁷³. An insightful contrast is offered by the account of the festivities held at the University of Coimbra for the birth of Baltasar Carlos which was published in Latin and suggests the event was conducted in a much more exclusive manner⁷⁴. Of course it must be noted that festival accounts were intended to record the event for posterity, as well as communicate these displays of loyalty back to the court and a wider public, whereby these texts need to be read carefully as sources and where possible contrasted with archival sources for the events organisation⁷⁵. While bearing in mind these issues Lazarraga's descriptions of the visual components of the Salamanca festivities, signal how the celebrations would have appealed to a diverse public, and this is especially apparent with regard to the dissemination of the theme of martial political identity as the following examples demonstrate.

Lazarraga's detailed description of a pyrotechnic display, the «Castillo de Fuego» introduced the theme of martial political identity into this festival narrative. A simple ideological narrative provided the basis for this display: the successful defence of a castle against four «Turcos» by a figure of Victory, bearing in her right hand a «tarjeta» inscribed «BALTASAR CAROLUS HISPANIARUM PRINCPEPS» and in the other

⁷³ Cristóbal de LAZARRAGA, *Fiestas de la Universidad de Salamanca, al nacimiento del Principe D. Baltasar Carlos Domingo Felipe*, Salamanca, Jacinto Tabernier, 1640.

⁷⁴ *Augustissimo Hispaniarum Principi Recens Nato Balthasari Carolo Dominico Philippi ... III Lusitaniae Regis Filio... Natalium Libellum*, Coimbra, Gomez de Loureyro, 1630.

⁷⁵ For discussion of the issues related to this study of visual culture, see the essays published in Fernando CHECA CREMADES and Laura FERNÁNDEZ-GONZÁLEZ, eds., *Festival Culture in the World of the Spanish Habsburgs*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2015.

hand a flag with the royal arms on one side and those of the university on the other⁷⁶. In contrast to the New Room this allegorical representation was clearly intended to be intelligible to a broader audience in the very different physical conditions of the event, and its semantic and visual clarity was underscored by the pyrotechnic display: «ocho ruedas de cohetes, y veinte bombas chisperas, con quatrocientos troneros en los lienços, y en ellos setenta y dos truenos encordelados... una viva imagen de un asalto»⁷⁷. The final part of Lazarraga's account is a compilation of the poems written for the literary competition that was the final part of the festival. While Baltasar Carlos was the principal subject, the festival itself was a further source of inspiration: and the poems offer an indication of how spectators understood the spectacle. The «Castillo de Fuego» clearly provided inspiration for the *otavas* by Juan Gómez de Ulloa, entitled, *El Tormes al Príncipe nuestro señor*. He claimed the crown prince was born to be «Emperor of the world» and predicted his future victories, with a clear allusion to the aforementioned pyrotechnics:

Y en el ardiente fuego de tu guerra
Abrasaras turbantes Otomanes:
No mira alvergue el sol, ni el cielo encierra
Region inhabitable, que no ganes, Y sujetando las lucientes zonas,
Oro te faltará para coronas⁷⁸.

Gómez de Ulloa, thereby confirms the intended message of the firework display. As has been said this awe inspiring spectacle was clearly addressed to a broad public, who were also treated to gifts of money and sweets during the bull fighting⁷⁹.

In contrast to these popular displays, the visual centrepiece of the festival, like the sermon and literary competition, was articulated in an erudite visual language that echoed the visual display of palace decoration. Lazarraga provides a detailed description of the decoration of the university colleges' altars and above all the «Parnaso» staged in the «Patio de las escuelas». In addition to the depictions of the Immaculate Conception and Queen of Angels on the Altars of the *Colegios Mayores* of Cuenca and Oviedo

⁷⁶ LAZARRAGA, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁷⁷ *Ibíd.*, p. 41.

⁷⁸ *Ibíd.*, p. 216.

⁷⁹ ALENDA Y MIRA, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

respectively, the *Capilla Real de Escuelas* was hung with Royal portraits. Although no specific information is given on their appearance, the *Otava* de Dr. Francisco Sanchez Randoli referred to all the Habsburg kings, who he claimed the Young prince would emulate:

Tendra el valor de Carlos Quinto en todo
Siendo azote al herege, y Otomano,
Imitara pudencia, zelo y modo
Del Segundo Filipino, y a su mano
Asistira la religión del Godo
Tercer Filipino, y su deseo Christiano
Del quarto que oy gobierna, la justicia⁸⁰.

Whether this is another case of the author making an explicit reference to the actual visual display is not clear, yet his verse indicates the various religious values identified with the Spanish monarchy.

A more detailed discussion is then given of the Parnassus, which provided a clear statement of the martial political identity. It consisted of a «teatro quadrado de quinze pies cada lado», with four pilasters on each side, accompanied by statues. The first of which is discussed in the most detail: «imitada de bronce, que en su traje mostraba ser nuestra Espana por tenerle militar, y belicoso, qual acostumbraron pintarla los Romanos, armado el medio cuerpo...»⁸¹. In addition, the figure was adorned with a helmet, three darts or short spears held in the right hand and tall shield in the left. The latter was decorated with a royal sceptre and a crown was added to the helmet thereby underscoring *España's* monarchical status. Lazarraga continues by offering the following interpretation of this figure:

[...] la fortaleza, constancia, fidelidad, y fuerças invencibles desta nación, y celebran sus historias el imperio, y Monarquía, que tiene en la mayor parte del Orbe, y para dar a entender, que fue, y es madre de Reyes, y senora de todo el mundo⁸².

⁸⁰ *Ibíd.*, p. 214.

⁸¹ *Ibíd.*, p. 71.

⁸² *Ibíd.*, p. 72.

He also notes that this sculpture was accompanied by a line from Claudian's poem *Laus Serenae* (In Praise of Serena), lines 50 to 85 of which consist of a paean to Hispania. The chosen phrase from line 66: «Haec generat, qui cuncta regant», «Spain gives us men to govern and direct all this», pays tribute to the Emperors and generals born in Spain that had shaped the Roman Empire. Thereby, both the classical costume of this allegorical figure and its epitaph emphasise Spain as an Imperial power that emulated classical Rome. The fact that Lazarraga gave an especial emphasis to this figure suggests this was a key focus of the display, or else the element he wanted to draw his readers attention to.

The other three statues were Minerva, described more succinctly, and then two figures representing the royal house of Spain and France. The former was adorned with an imperial crown, a cross and a sceptre and had the following epitaph «Imperii, & religionis domicilium». The figure of France was decorated with a military habit and royal Crown, scpetre and lance, and the following text «sceptris insignes convenere domus». Neither of these texts, have been traced to a classical source so far. Four figures decorated with a classical Greek costume completed the allegorical display: Peace, Happiness, Good Fortune (Buen Sucesso), were accompanied by «un muchacho con vestidura militar... victoria». The arms of the king and university crowned this display. A close reading of the sermon and the other poems composed as part of the celebrations cannot be undertaken here, but with regard to the focus of this article this festival provides evidence of the circulation of the martial political identity of the monarchy in two distinctive registers; as an element in an erudite classicised display of allegory and portraiture, and then the more dramatic firework display of warfare. Further study of the latter element of festivals remains to be undertaken, above all with regard to celebrations of the monarchy, but as this next example indicates such dramatic performances permitted striking visual representations of the ideological concerns traced here⁸³.

Fiestas que celebros la Ciudad de los Reyes del Piru, al nacimiento del Serenissimo Principe Don Baltasar Carlos de Austria nuestro señor... consists of sixteen *silvas* by Rodrigo de Carvajal. His composition has been the subject of a literary

⁸³ For a discussion of other examples see: Laura FERNÁNDEZ-GONZÁLEZ, «Negotiating terms: King Philip I of Portugal and the ceremonial entry of 1581 into Lisbon», in CHECA CREMADES and FERNÁNDEZ-GONZÁLEZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-113, pp. 89-95.

analysis, which has highlighted how the poem was intended to provide a further literary dimension to the celebrations it recounted, which is an issue that will be returned to below, but attention must first be addressed to the account given of the visual representation of martial political identity⁸⁴. Carvajal's account of the numerous processions and spectacles held during the festivities cannot be done justice to in this text and a selection of key examples are discussed. *Silva* III recounts an ephemeral display of mythological characters and scenes, including Andromeda and Perseus, Ganymede and the rape of Europa amongst others, a spectacle which concluded with their being burnt. However, the *silva* also records that the Royal Palace was adorned with «estampas... de la prosapia de Austria verdadera», portraits of Charles V, Philip II, Philip III and Philip IV⁸⁵. The portrait series included other family members and the ties between Spain and France were celebrated with a portrait of Louis XIII. Charles V was also represented in person in a *comedia*, which is recounted all too briefly, in contrast to the detailed accounts of the bullfighting⁸⁶. A lengthier account is given in *silva* IX of a re-enactment of the battle of Troy, in which Philip's portrait would feature once more.

The scene was set with a «tela de torneo» representing Troy. Then following a parade of musicians a triumphal carriage entered, adorned with «jaspar, marble and gold» and an armed portrait of Philip IV, referred to as follows: «Que a sus vassallos provocó a decoro / Mas o lealtad de España»⁸⁷. The author notes, that as is usually done in Madrid the royal effigy was accompanied by a guard of archers and halberdiers, as well as portraits of the Conde de Benavente and the Count Duke of Olivares. The performers then made their way onto the stage, but before the performance began the squadron of Greeks brought in a carriage pulled by two gryphons on which was the world, including a representation of Potosi, from which arose a marble column with the nest of a Phoenix, which in turn bore a likeness of Baltasar Carlos. The explanation given for this «emblema misterioso, y cierta profecia» is:

⁸⁴ Rodrigo de CARVAJAL Y ROBLES, *Fiestas que celebros la Ciudad de Los Reyes del Piru, al Nacimiento del Serenissimo Principe Don Baltasar Carlos de Austria Nuestro Señor...*, Lima, Geronymo de Contreras, 1632. See also: José FERNÁNDEZ DOUGNAC and Belén MOLINA HUETE, «La poesía de Rodrigo de Carvajal y Robles: ensayo de selección», *Castilla: Estudios de literatura*, 26, 2001, pp. 83-104.

⁸⁵ CARVAJAL, *op. cit.*, f. 19r.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 40r.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 46r.

De que el mundo seria
En la prudencia, y prospera fortuna,
De la paz, y la guerra
Un fénix sin igual, solo en la tierra⁸⁸.

Following this celebration of the new-born prince the events of the battle of Troy were re-enacted as «Una Guerra mortal de sangre y fuego»⁸⁹. The startling richness of this festive display can only be briefly alluded to here. The representation of the battle of Troy ends with Menelaus and the Greeks paying homage to the «estampa refulgente del Rey de las Españas» foretelling of the still greater victory that was to come of Philip's own deeds, which would in turn provide an example for his son to learn valour and the virtue of defending the Militant Church⁹⁰.

On this occasion in Lima there was no allegorical representation of Spain, however the ideological message articulated through portraiture and the spectacle of Philip's victory at Troy was underscored by a still more striking event. The «fiesta de los Plateros» was interrupted by an earthquake. Carvajal refers to this as:

un felize
anuncio del espanto,
Con que el Nuevo Español, en viva Guerra,
Hará temblar la tierra
Hasta que toda al estandarte santo
Del Romano Pontifice se humille,
Y a la insignia de Christo se arrodille⁹¹.

Although the concerns of the monarchy and empire are reduced to the immediate ones of New Spain, the interpretation of this seismic event in terms of the martial political identity discussed above is a striking reminder of the centrality of this ideological concern, which was also echoed in *silva* XI. Here Carvajal recounts a procession that includes a pyrotechnic display on the one hand reminiscent of the fiery

⁸⁸ *Ibíd.*, f. 48r.

⁸⁹ *Ibíd.*, f. 47v.

⁹⁰ *Ibíd.*, f. 54v.

⁹¹ *Ibíd.*, f. 37r.

castle seen in Salamanca: two castles with the battlements filled with «dogmatizadores insolentes, de setas, y heregias por castigar alli sus rebeldias»⁹². However, the principal focus of the display was a procession of five carriages adorned with awe inspiring images: a crocodile, two elephants towing a whale and a ship later compared to a Dutch vessel, two dragons accompanied by other monsters including a hydra, the «feroz gigante», Prometheus, and finally Turkish corsairs⁹³. As the *silva* continues the impressive incendiary display of this castle of heretics and these five spectacular carriages, is referred to as representing Baltasar Carlo's destiny s as «fuego de la heresia y de la infernal secta»⁹⁴.

Carvajal's poetic account of the festival is insightful both as a source for the festivities and the reception of their intended significance. Nonetheless, both Carvajal's poetic figures and the fact that the publication was paid for by the City of Lima indicate that he was concerned with presenting the festival as a singular event and therefore worthy of being recorded for posterity, which in turn was related to a concern to promote the patronage and loyalty of the authorities and population of Lima, who paid for this publication. Fortunately, Carvajal's account can be contrasted with that found in Juan Antonio Suardo's *Diario de Lima*, which has regrettably only recently come to my attention; this source may offer a different perception of events⁹⁵. However, the veracity of Carvajal's account is not a primary issue, as it may also be read as a node in the cultural network through which the political identity of Philip and the Spanish Habsburgs was constructed and disseminated, and what is of especial interest in his account is that it was mostly probably intended to be read at court.

Lazarraga's account of the Salamanca festival was dedicated to the Count-Duke of Olivares, which provides the clearest indication that albeit in verbal form the spectacle of the Salamanca festival was intended to be "witnessed" in Madrid. The fate of Carvajal's *Fiestas* is less clear. It escaped the notice of Nicolas Antonio, but it did catch the attention of José de Pellicer, who included it in the catalogue of «grandes varones

⁹² *Ibid.*, f. 61r.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, ff. 61r-62r.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 62v.

⁹⁵ Juan Antonio SUARDO, *Diario de Lima, de Juan Antonio Suardo (1629-1634)*, Lima, C. Vásquez L., 1935. Cited in Francisco LÓPEZ ESTRADA's introduction to Rodrigo de CARVAJAL Y ROBLES, *Fiestas de Lima por el Nacimiento del Príncipe Baltasar Carlos*, Sevilla, Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1950, p. xvii.

destos tiempos que han hecho memoria en sus escritos de los de Don Ioseph Pellicer»⁹⁶. Pellicer's reference to Carvajal perhaps was an acknowledgment of the latter's praise of Pellicer as a poet, far better suited to praise his own brother Juan Pellicer, who took part in part the Lima celebration in the «fiesta de los Plateros»⁹⁷. It was perhaps Juan Pellicer who told his brother about this publication or even sent him a copy of it, and Carvajal may likewise have included his references to the Pellicer brothers as a strategy to encourage the circulation of his book at court. To what extent the citizens of Lima were successful in communicating their display of loyalty to Philip IV and his heir to the court is not clear, but the expenses incurred, as well as the commission of a poet to undertake the task of recording the event for posterity, indicate that they were keen to ensure that even in Lima there was a *speculum* of the King's majesty, and with it a celebration of his martial triumphs as exceeding that of the capture of Troy.

IV

To conclude this study two final examples are examined as a postscript on the circulation and critical response to the political identity of Philip IV and *España* in visual culture. The frontispiece, title-page and illustrations by John Droeshout to Antonio Sousa de Macedo's *Lusitania Liberata* and the anonymous print *La rencontre et combat des ambassadeurs d'Espagne et de Portugal, arrivé à Romme, l'an 1642* demonstrate how the threefold iconography of martial political identity discussed above, the combination of portraiture, scenes of history and allegory, also provided a framework to contest the authority of Philip IV and his policies⁹⁸. Not only do these images indicate two different strategies to challenge the visual construction of Philip IV's political identity, they also offer further insight into the range of cultural register addressed in visual culture; Droeshout's images on the one hand were intended for erudite courtly readers as part of a text published in Latin, while the satire of the French

⁹⁶ Nicolas ANTONIO, *Bibliotheca hispana nova*, Madrid, Joachim de Ibarra, 1783, I, p. 292; José PELLICER DE OSSAU Y TOVAR, *Bibliotheca Formada de Los Libros, I Obras Publicas de Don Ioseph Pellicer de Oussau, y Tovar*, Valencia, Jeronimo Valiagrassa, 1671, f. 164r.

⁹⁷ CARVAJAL, *op. cit.*, f. 88v.

⁹⁸ Antonio SOUSA DE MACEDO, *Lusitania Liberata*, London, Richard Heron, 1645; ANONYMUS, *La rencontre et combat des ambassadeurs d'Espagne et de Portugal, arrivé à Romme, l'an 1642*, Paris, Jean Boisseau, c. 1643.

print, with its comic vernacular poem, was clearly intended to reach a wider audience, although it by no means eschewed artistic skill and the language of painting.

Caramuel's *Philippus* provides a point of departure. As stated above it employs a series of royal portraits along with the eloquent allegory of Spanish authority depicted on the title-page. There is no allegory of *España* included in Caramuel's work, but a very passive, although armed, *Lusitania* is included in the front matter of the book⁹⁹. The year following the publication of *Philippus* the Portuguese declared John Duke of Braganza king and thereby Portugal's independence from Spain. Over the coming decades Portugal effectively challenged the passivity of Caramuel's allegorical image of Portugal. In addition to this in the discourse that accompanied the outbreak of war Caramuel's *Philippus* prompted a number of critical responses which he in turn replied to as the war of restoration was fought with pen as well as sword¹⁰⁰. None of these publications employed imagery save what is perhaps the best known response to *Philippus*, Sousa de Macedo's *Lusitania Liberata*, which included a striking series of fourteen engravings prints made by John Droeshout. The direct contestation of *Philippus* is eloquently demonstrated in the allegorical title-page, in which the now crowned dragon is shown to be victorious over the lion (Figure 2). As Lilian Almeida makes clear the Latin inscription above highlights how justice is exercised in this struggle, and this is underscored below with the allegorical figure of Justice¹⁰¹. With regard to the second standing figure Rodríguez Moya identifies it as representation of Victory and Fraga as Peace¹⁰². The interpretation of the text accompanying each figure remains to be resolved. Rodríguez Moya identifies this as one phrase, but this overlooks the possibility that «Justus ut palma», which accompanies Justice, refers to the first part of Psalm 91:13 «iustus ut palma florebit / The just shall flourish like the palm tree», but the second line «Oppressa Crescit» has not so far been traced to the bible or any other source. Closer scrutiny of this title-page in the context of a construction Portuguese

⁹⁹ CARAMUEL, *op. cit.*, 1639. The image is actually reused by Caramuel, on this issue see footnote 10.

¹⁰⁰ For a succinct survey of these publications see: RODRÍGUEZ MOYA, *op. cit.*, pp. 557-558. See also the doctoral thesis by Joana FRAGA, *Three Revolts in images: Catalonia, Portugal and Naples (1640-1647)*, (unpublished), Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, 2013, pp. 215-217.

¹⁰¹ Lilian PESTRE DE ALMEIDA, «A *Lusitania Liberata* ou a restauração portuguesa em imagens: análise iconológica do conjunto das gravuras da obra de antónio de sousa de macedo», *Talia Dixit: revista interdisciplinar de retórica e historiografia*, 6, 2011, pp. 85-119, p. 92.

¹⁰² Inmaculada RODRÍGUEZ MOYA, «Lusitania liberata. La guerra libresca y simbólica entre España y Portugal, 1639-1668», *Imagen y cultura*, 1, 2008, pp. 1377-1392, p. 1382; FRAGA, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

political identity must be postponed for the present to focus on the elements that directly contest *Philippus*.

Lusitania Liberata likewise employed a series of portraits, although not of all the kings of Portugal, in order to underscore his arguments for the legitimacy of John IV. Portugal's first king Afonso Henriquez and also a scene of the miracle of Ourique signal John's emulation of the creation of the Portuguese monarchy by restoring it, in addition to this John I of Portugal is depicted¹⁰³. However, it is three portraits of John IV that are of particular interest as two of them underscore a martial political identity. The first, the book's frontispiece (Figure 3), is a bust portrait of John IV in armour framed by a uroboros inscribed *aeternitas*. Beams of divine light illuminate John IV's features signalling the celestial source of his authority, which is underscored by the inscription of Psalm 84:12, "Justice hath looked down from heaven". The motto that completes this emblematic representation of the king reworks Martial's epigram "To Caedicianus, on a likeness of Marcus Antonius Primus, a topos of early modern *kunstliteratur*, to encourage the reader of his book to look beyond the king's likeness, and by reading Sousa de Macedo's book, examine his deeds in liberating Portugal from Spanish rule¹⁰⁴. The title-page offers a succinct allegory of these deeds that unequivocally contests Caramuel's title-page to *Philippus*, but John IV's deeds are illustrated more explicitly in two contrasting images. Firstly, on page 560 John is shown in ceremonial robes crowned by justice and peace, thereby indicating that he has instituted an ideal of good government (Figure 4). Then, on page 650 he is shown riding a rearing horse, evidently marshalling his troops on the battlefield¹⁰⁵. In this latter image (Figure 5) the ideal goal of the title-page and the coronation portrait, John IV's establishment of justice and peace, was clearly to be won on the battlefield; in the mid-ground with the furore of war and its victims, the pose of the horse and the decorative device of canons, halberds, standards and powder kegs highlights his readiness for war.

Sousa de Macedo also contested Caramuel's use of the image of *Lusitania*¹⁰⁶, again an emphasis is placed on more noble, pious and imperial values. The canon on

¹⁰³ SOUSA DE MACEDO, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 93, 143.

¹⁰⁴ MARTIAL, *Epigrams*, Book 10, n. 32. Bohn's Classical Library (1897). On the literary currency of Martial's epigram with regard to writings on art see: John SHEARMAN, *Only Connect: Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1992, pp. 108-112.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 560, 651.

¹⁰⁶ This image is briefly discussed by Luís Reis TORGAL, *Ideologia política e teoria do estado na Restauração*, Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, 1981, I, pp. 143-144, footnote 2. It

which Lusitania was sat in Carmuel's image is exchanged for a globe, her armour remains, but her spear is replaced with a sceptre. In the other hand she still holds the cross, but this is now adorned with the arms of Portugal. A Cherub's trumpet issues an inscription with the first part of Pslam 18:5 «Their sound hath gone forth into all the earth». The caption to the image. «Ausa mea est pietas divinae insistere dando ut mihi regna Deus, sic regna Deo» underscores the claim that Portugal's independence and rule over its empire is done in the name of and under the protection of God. It is beyond the scope of this essay to examine these images in relation to the arguments set out by Sousa de Macedo in his text, nonetheless considered solely in visual terms it is evident that the representation of the political identity of Philip IV and *España* provided a framework to both contest Spanish hegemony and forge a political identity of Portugal and its new king.

I want to conclude by examining one final print, *La rencontre et combat des ambassadeurs d'Espagne et de Portugal, arrivé à Romme, l'an 1642*, which was published in 1642 and offers a visual account of the conflict that broke out on the streets of Rome between the Spanish and Portuguese Ambassadors (Figure 6). Spain's efforts to deny Portugal an opportunity to engage in diplomatic negotiations regarding its claims as an independent kingdom, or even be recognised in a diplomatic capacity, as was the case in Rome, have been discussed by a number of scholars¹⁰⁷. Rather than the events themselves, of which diverse accounts were written and published, it is their visual representation, which remains to be studied in detail. A preliminary analysis of this print is offered as a contestation of the iconography of Spanish political identity, rather than its role as reportage. The image combines two modes of representation each associated with a distinctive cultural register. Firstly, the decorum and compositional strategies associated with the painting of historical subjects, and secondly caricature. It is the language of history painting that defines this print and it does so as a victory, first and foremost a French victory. In relation to this it should be noted how this courtly, erudite mode of representation is underscored by the inclusion of a poem, emulating the

is not found in all edition of *Lusitania*, and the British Museum catalogue entry for item 1871, 1209.175 states it was placed opposite page 1. A survey of the existing editions is currently underway.

¹⁰⁷ For example: Eduardo BRASÃO, *A missão a Roma do Bispo de Lamego*, Coimbra, Coimbra Editora, 1947. See also: Thomas DANDELET, *Spanish Rome 1500-1700*, New Haven and London, Yale Univeristy Press, 2001, pp. 197-199; FRAGA, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-215.

examples of poetic discourse addressed above. However, this image is clearly unlike the victories seen above, as it has no general and is not concerned with the art of war, but rather the bravery and violence of the French noble who stands in the foreground sword in hand, and the valiant page, identified in the key, who appears to be about to stab the fallen Spaniard. The page's youth underscores the cowardice of the Spanish soldier. The representation of the Spanish soldier on the far left as fearful and inept, his smoking pistols suggest he missed his target and is about to pay dearly for his error, clearly contests the martial discourse studied above. Above it was stated that this was a French victory, but it is also a Spanish defeat, and to articulate this the decorum of victory as seen in the Hall of Realms is eschewed and instead an explicit act of violence is used to underscore the defeat suffered by the Spaniards.

Besides this focus on violence the genres of history painting and portraiture are subverted with the use of satire, which introduces a comic popular register into these courtly genres. In terms of composition the attention to the architectural details of buildings as well as the contrasting depiction of the rearing and dead horses underscores the veracity of the event for French spectators and this also emulates the language of history painting. Yet once again this formal language is used to attack; in this simultaneous narrative composition the Spanish ambassador appears twice, first fleeing his carriage and secondly being arrested, a double ignominy. The use of such compositions had become rare in painting, but was exploited as in prints such as Jerome Nadal's *Evangelicae historiae imagines*, which also provides a precedent for the depiction of historical subjects using a letter key such as this one. The inclusion of portraiture in history paintings, is also subverted, rather than images of generals we have a satire of fearful nobles, opposed to the bravery of a French page and Portuguese bishop¹⁰⁸. The identification of the Spanish with what were by then anachronistic ruffs and comic moustaches was a staple of contemporaneous French satire, however, what is singular about this particular print is the way that satire is deployed as a contrast to the decorum of historical subjects¹⁰⁹. The comic gestures of the Spanish contrast to the serious demeanour of the French assailants who are depicted as effective soldiers in

¹⁰⁸ Jerome NADAL, *Evangelicae historiae imagines*, Antwerp, Martin Nutius, 1593.

¹⁰⁹ A valuable introduction is offered to this Corpus of imagery in: Véronique MEYER, «El traje español en el grabado francés de 1630 a 1715: entre sátira y realidad», in *Vestir a la española en las cortes europeas (siglos XVI y XVII)*, eds. José Luis Colomer and Amalia Descalzo, Madrid, Centro de Estudios de Europa Hispánica, 2014, II, pp. 341-362.

convincing naturalism. Needless to say the claim of Portugal is also made, with the Bishop of Lamego entering the fray sword in hand, but as his mid-ground position indicates this image is primarily about French superiority. There is no image of the king of any of the nations involved, but attention should be drawn to the roundel inserted in the building overlooking the arrest of the Ambassador. In addition to the letter key this image is accompanied by a poem that offers an explanation of the event, which denigrates the Spanish as going against the interests of the Church and public peace. However, it also refers to a lack of respect for «un lieu si plein de sainteté / Aux yeux du grand Pontife...», which suggests that the portrait included is intended as a representation of the Pope Urban VIII or perhaps Cardinal Barberini, whose authority, as was demonstrated by the arrest of the Spanish Ambassador, prevailed¹¹⁰.

Allegory is absent from this image, and it may be argued that the directness of this image is due to this event providing a rare opportunity to challenge Spain in the privileged language of history. However, to fully gauge the significance of this print it should not be considered in isolation, but rather in the context of the anti-Spanish propaganda deployed in Rome, as well as France and elsewhere in Europe. As Thomas Dandeleet commented the celebrations held in 1638 for the birth of the future Louis XIV depicted France as Hercules defeating Geyron, the monster that the hero killed in Spain, as a clear reference to French superiority over its rival¹¹¹. *Rencontre* reiterates the message of that allegory but this time in terms of history, whereby these two images clearly reveal how the iconography of political identity became a focus to contest to rival ideological positions.

Lusitania Liberata and *Rencontre...* were evidently produced with very different goals in mind. While Sousa de Macedo would have expected his book to be read at courts across Europe, as well as Madrid, the French printmaker was working with a Parisian public in mind, which documents how the visual representation of Spanish political identity was contested in contrasting cultural registers¹¹². What is clear from these two examples is that the hegemonic discourse, both visual and textual, established across the Spanish Habsburg territories provided a key foundation for such

¹¹⁰ DANDELEET, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-199.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*. On urban culture of Rome with a specific relationship to *Rencontre*: see: John M. HUNT, «Carriages, Violence, and Masculinity in Early Modern Rome», *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 17, 2014, pp. 175–196.

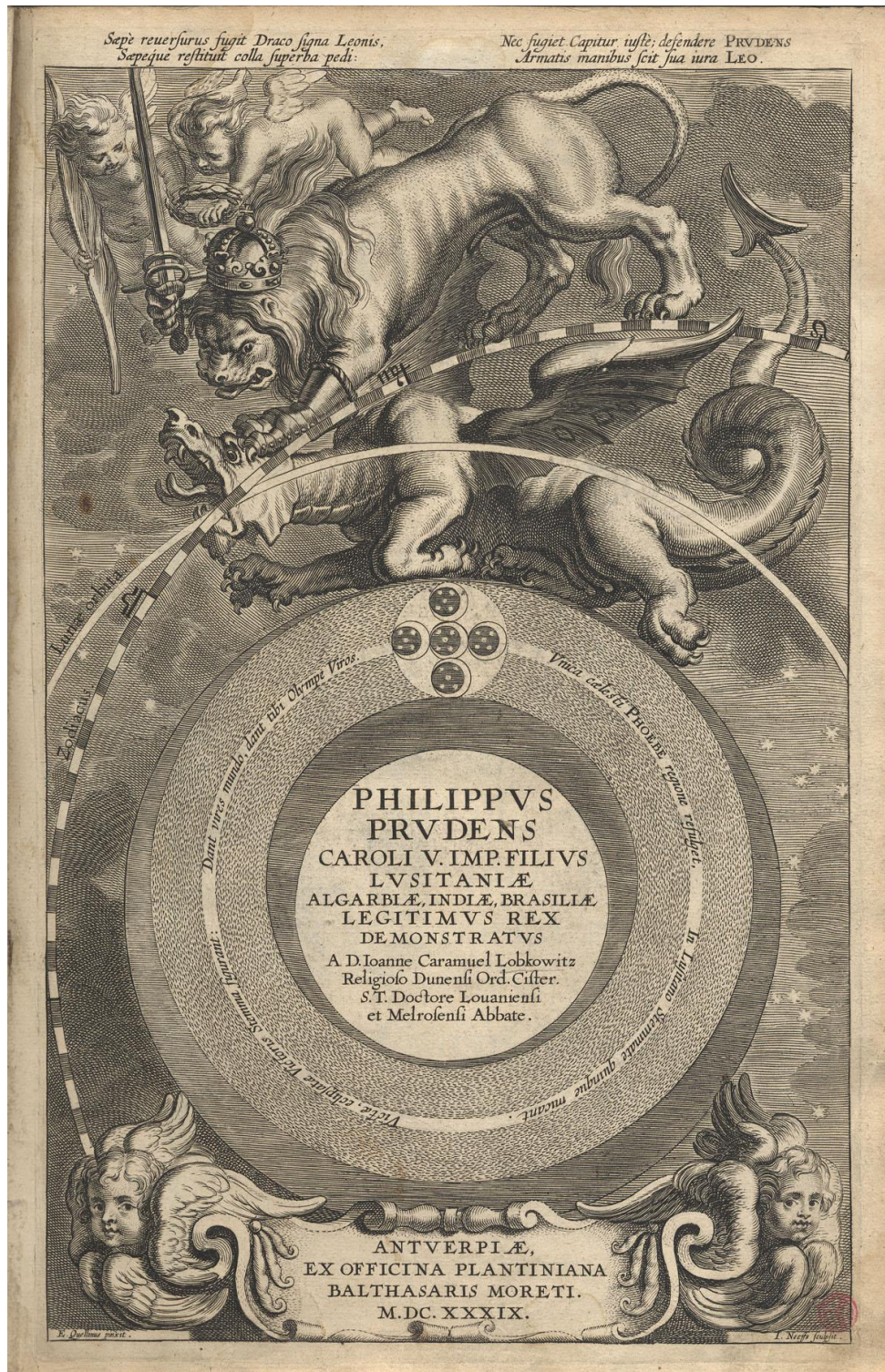
¹¹² On the question of audience see: MEYER, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

contestations. As the discussion above has indicated there is still considerable work to be undertaken on the nature of the visual discourse on political identity, but by focusing on the threefold iconography studied here it is apparent that the significance of representations of political identity need to be understood in the context of the cultural networks that mediated the exemplary message of the court across the empires and also reflected the images back to their iconic subjects, creating diverse artistic and festive *speculae* that ensured loyalty to the king. Numerous lines of enquiry may be researched to develop a deeper understanding of this issue; examining the whole reign of Philip IV, analysing other media, studying other areas of conflict such as Catalonia and Naples, and addressing other facets of the regal identity are clearly central¹¹³. However, in addition to this and with regard to this final example an issue that also merits closer scrutiny is the way in which the courtly register was transformed into imagery and spectacle that was capable of moving spectators to feel a sense of loyalty, a desire for vengeance and in some cases a justification for and motive for revolt and violence.

¹¹³ See for example, BODART, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-478. With regard to issues of the use of visual media in political and social conflict two important recent contributions are: Cristina FONTCUBERTA I FAMADAS, *Imatges d'atac: art i conflicte als segles XVI i XVII*, Barcelona, Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2011; *Soulèvements, révoltes, revolutions Dans l'empire des Habsbourg d'Espagne, XVIe-XVIIe siècle*, eds. Alain Hugon and Alexandra Merle, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2016.

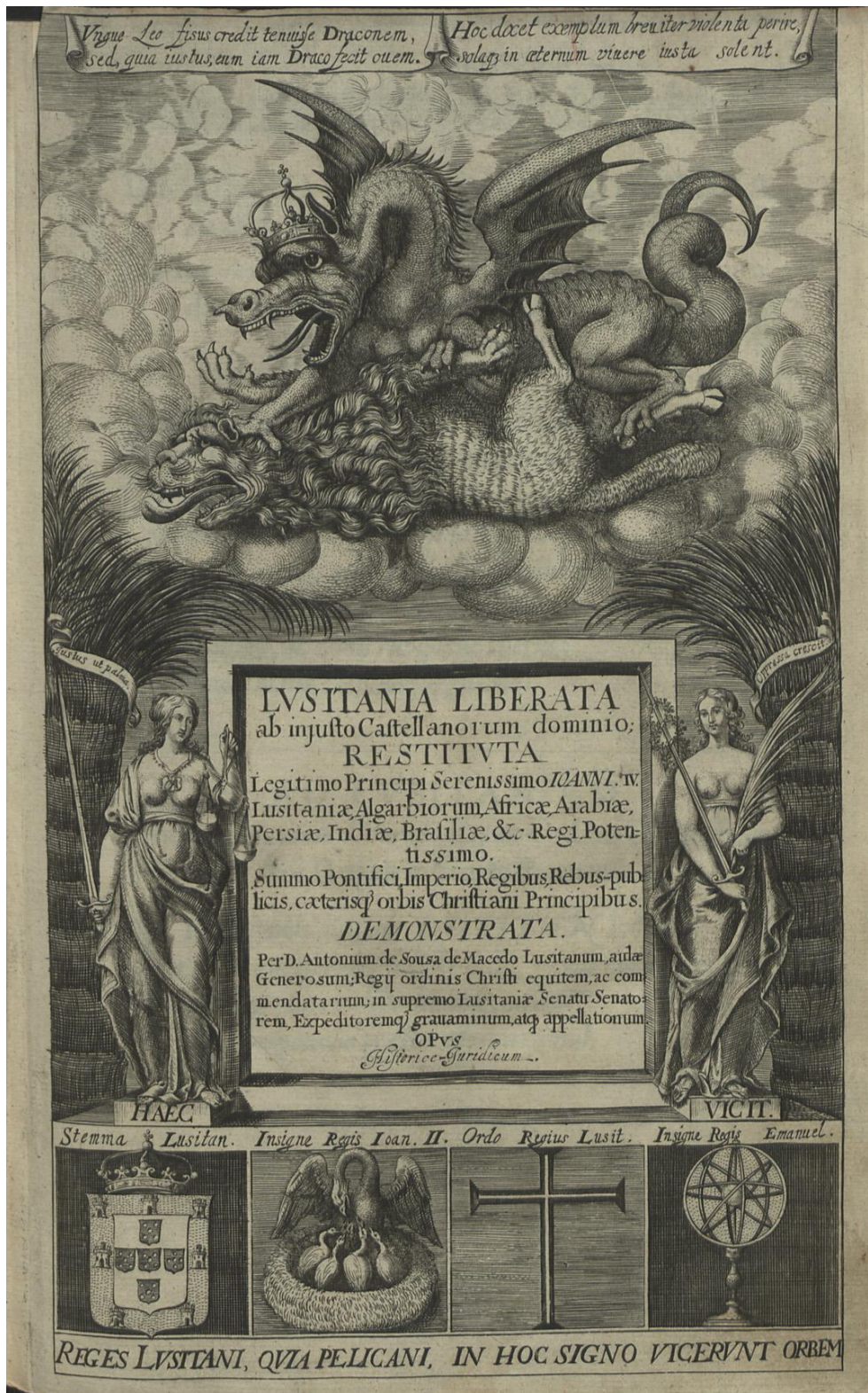
ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1



Title-page to CARAMUEL LOBKOWITZ, Juan, *Philippus Prudens, Caroli V Imperatori Filius Lusitaniae, Algarbiae, Indiae, Brasiliae, & c. legitimus Rex demonstratus*, Antwerp, Baltasar Moretus, 1639. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, RES. 1638 A.

Figure 2



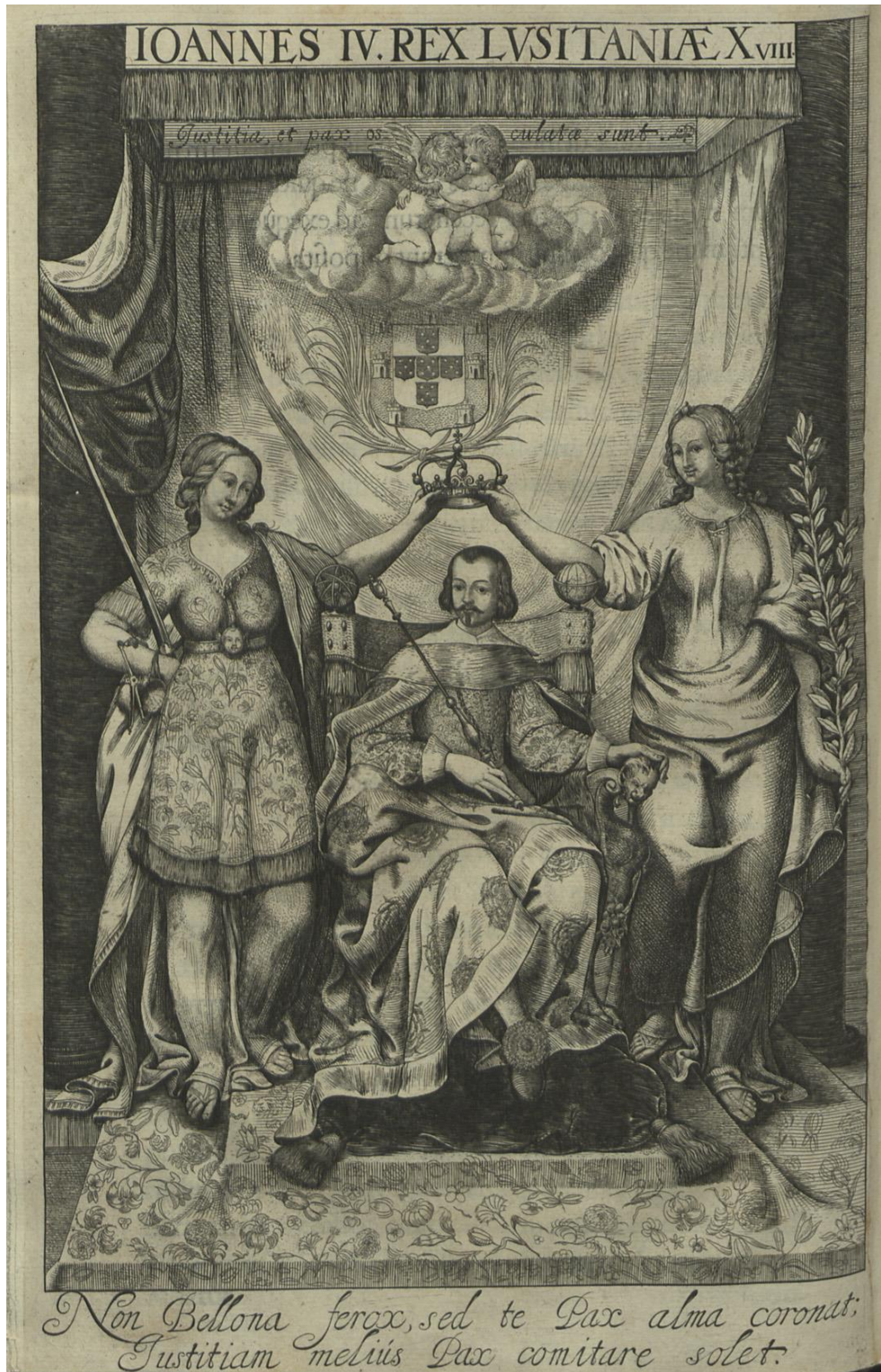
Title-page to MACEDO, António de Sousa de, *Lusitania liberata ab injusto Castellanorum dominio: Restituta legitimo Principi, Serenissimo Joanni IV*, London, Richard Hearne, 1645. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, res-785-a.

Figure 3



Frontispiece portrait of John IV, in MACEDO, António de Sousa de, *Lusitania liberata ab injusto Castellanorum dominio: Restituta legitimo Principi, Serenissimo Joanni IV*, London, Richard Hearne, 1645. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, res-785-a.

Figure 4



Allegorical portrait of John IV, in MACEDO, António de Sousa de, *Lusitania liberata ab injusto Castellanorum dominio: Restituta legitimo Principi, Serenissimo Joanni IV*, London, Richard Hearne, 1645, p. 560. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, res-785-a.

Figure 5



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DOI: 10.14643/52E

RECIBIDO: ABRIL 2017
APROBADO: OCTUBRE 2017

