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POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY: EMBLEMS DURING THE WAR OF DEVOLUTION IN THE MINORITY OF CHARLES II OF SPAIN

Emilia Montaner

Illustrated title-pages in seventeenth-century books, whatever form they took, were designed to entice and encourage readers towards the text. This does not mean that they were simple or straightforward in their content; on the contrary, they were often erudite inventions involving allegorical symbolism of baroque complexity, intended to intrigue as well as instruct. Some authors provided information in a preface or dedicatory epistle, which elucidates the message of the title-page,¹ but often it is necessary to unravel the meaning without any such help, as in the case of the two title-pages which are the focus of this paper. They are found in two legal reports—unusual of their kind—which were written in reply to the *Traité des droits de la reine très Chrétienne sur divers Etats de la monarchie d'Espagne* (1667), in which Louis XIV of France laid claim to part of the Netherlands through the inheritance of his wife Maria Theresa of Austria.

Book illustration in Spain was relatively backward at this period, and in general, title-pages and frontispieces produced in seventeenth-century Spain are of lower quality than many of their European counterparts.² The craftsmen involved could hardly be assumed to be capable of translating complex abstract concepts into images. They were no doubt left a certain amount of freedom regarding typography and decorative elements, but significant motifs or iconographic discourse deriving from the nature of the text were provided by the authors or publishers.³ This is probably true in our case, though the frontispieces are quite accomplished in style and technique. The authors of both the legal reports are known to have overseen visual programmes in the course of their careers: the jurist Don Francisco Ramos del Manzano had designed the ornate symbols for the funeral ceremony of Isabella of Bourbon celebrated in Salamanca in December 1644; and, some forty-five years later, Don Pedro González de Salcedo, another influential Spanish lawyer, was responsible for decorating Madrid for the arrival at court of Marie Louise of Orleans on her marriage to Charles II of Spain in November 1689.⁴

1. For the development of the illustrated title-page, and the notions of portal, frontispiece and stage involved in it, see, e.g., M. Corbett and R. Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece. The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550–1660*, London, Henley and Boston 1979, pp. 1–47; also M. Kintzinger, *Cronos und Historia. Studien zur Titelblattikonographie historiographischer Werke vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, pp. 19–25, with much bibliography.

2. For engraved Spanish examples see the catalogues of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid: E. Páez Ríos, *Repertorio de grabados españoles*, 4 vols, Madrid 1983. A good selection of images is in E. Páez Ríos et al., *Los Austrias: Grabados de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid 1993 [hereafter GBN].

3. Although we have little documentary evidence, we know that at least in some cases the author of the book determined the iconography of the title-page. See J. M. Matilla, *La estampa en el libro barroco, Juan de Courbes*, Vitoria 1991, pp. 4–7, concerning an agreement of 1621 between Melchor Prieto, author of a *Psalmodia Eucaristica*, and one Juan de Courbes, who was to provide illustrations for it, 'conforme al patron que de cada una le da el Padre Maestro' ('according to the design for each one provided by the Reverend Father'). The document was first published by E. M. Vetter, *Die Kupferstiche zur Psalmodia Eucaristica des Melchor Prieto von 1622*, Münster 1972.

Their two treatises were published during the minority of Charles II and the regency of his mother, Mariana of Austria, Philip IV's widow. Queen Mariana was deeply influenced by her confessor, the German Jesuit Johann Everard Nithard, State Counsellor and Inquisitor General. Her lack of knowledge of affairs of state and inability to control the government led to discontent and conspiracy, and the Madrid court became a centre for political intrigue and machination. These were not good times for the messianic Catholic monarchy.⁵ The state was collapsing, internal struggles were becoming more widespread and Spain's army was suffering one defeat after another. All of this, together with the fragile state of health of the feeble young king, fired the envy and greed of neighbouring monarchies, all anxious for their share of the empire.⁶

France saw her opportunity as early as 1665, on the death of Philip IV. Louis XIV considered that his wife Maria Theresa of Austria, the sole descendant of Philip's first marriage to Isabella of Bourbon, was the rightful heir to Brabant in the Low Countries. The Infanta Maria Theresa had relinquished her rights to the inheritance by article 5 of the Treaty of the Pyrenees of 1659, in exchange for a dowry of 500,000 gold escudos; but this dowry had never been paid, as Spain was in a state of bankruptcy, and Louis XIV's lawyers considered that the relinquishment was, therefore, null and void. In support of his claim, they cited the principle of 'devolution' which was in force in Brabant at the time and stated that female children born of a first marriage had precedence of inheritance over male children born of a second or subsequent marriage. These arguments were set out in the *Traité des droits de la reine très Chrétienne sur divers Etats de la monarchie d'Espagne*,⁷ presented to Queen Mariana on 17 or 18 May 1667 by George d'Aubusson, Archbishop of Ambrun, who was then French ambassador in Madrid.⁸ Louis XIV's demands were ignored and France declared war by invading the Spanish Netherlands on 24 May 1667. French military superiority quickly led to success, but England, the Dutch Republic and Sweden formed a triple alliance that forced an end to the so-called war of devolution through the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of May 1668, whereby France returned Franche-Comté to Spain but gained Lille and territories in the south.

France had been obliged to set out some justification for invading Spanish territory to the other European powers, so an abridged version of the *Traité*, entitled *Dialogue sur*

4. E. Montaner, 'The Last Tribute to Isabella of Bourbon at Salamanca', this *Journal*, LX, 1997, pp. 164-93 (169-70, 176, 180-82, and appendices). M. T. Zapata, *La entrada en la corte de Maria Luisa de Orleans*, Madrid 2000, p. 59.

5. Cf., however, H. Kamen's view that around 1650 there was an economic and demographic upturn in Spain, and that history has exaggerated this decadence: *La España de Carlos II*, Barcelona 1981, pp. 29-30, 107, 127, 173-74.

6. From the moment of his birth on 16 November 1661, there were serious doubts as to whether Charles would reach the age of 14 when he would become king in his own right. Yet he died on 1 November 1700, on the eve of his 40th birthday, having outlived his first wife, Marie Louise, who died aged 27, and gone on to marry Maria Anna of Pfalz-Neuburg.

7. The treaty is attributed to Antoine Bilain. See *GBN* (as in n. 1), no. 972. The title-page contained no illustrations.

8. According to Ramos del Manzano, the *Traité des droits*, in 'lengua española', together with a memoir and letter of Louis XIV dated in Paris on 8 May 1667, were submitted to Mariana by the ambassador d'Ambrun on 17-18 May. The ambassador was also charged to inform the queen of the king's resolve to march on the Low Countries at the head of his armies, while expressing the will to reach an 'acomodamiento razonable y moderado'; on 21 May, the queen accepted this proposition provided both parties could agree on naming persons and places to resolve the issue without resort to arms; see *Respuesta de España* (cited below, n. 15), fols 23^v-24^v.

les droits de la reine très chrétienne, had been published through various French printing houses in 1667, the title-pages simply illustrated with heraldic symbols. The text of the *Dialogue* was translated into several languages.⁹ The case was thought to be so compelling that Antoine Aubéry, a lawyer of the French parliament, went so far as to suggest that France should incorporate a large part of Germany, as he considered that it belonged to the French monarchy's heritage. These absurd claims were put forward in *Des iustes prétentions du roy sur l'empire* (Paris 1667) and were soon contested.¹⁰ Aubéry's initiative, in turn, led to counter-claims concerning the Netherlands: Peter Stockmans, a professor at the university of Leuven, published a *Tractatus de jure devolutionis* (Brussels and Amsterdam 1667–68), of which there are several reprints.¹¹ Also in 1667, a 223-page document entitled *Bouclier d'Etat et de Justice contre le dessein manifestement découvert de la monarchie universelle sous le vain prétexte des prétentions de la reine de France [...]* was published. It was signed by François Paul de Lisola, a lawyer and diplomat at the court of Leopold I of the Austrian Empire (Leopold was an uncle of the Spanish heir and one of the contenders for Spain's possessions).¹² Lisola's treatise was translated into several languages and was quickly made available throughout Europe, much to the anger of the French who considered its author to be a schemer and troublemaker.¹³

Spain's objections soon followed on from all these foreign texts. Among them, the works of Ramos del Manzano and González de Salcedo are two of the most brilliant. Both authors were reputable figures who occupied important positions in public service and had influence at the Spanish court. Francisco Ramos del Manzano (1604–83) had spent twenty-two years as professor of law at the University of Salamanca before entering the service of Philip IV in the 1640s. He became president of the senate in Milan, regent

9. The text was translated into Latin by J. B. Du Hamel, *Reginae Christianissimae iura in ducatum Brabantiae, et alios ditionis Hispanicae principatus*, s.l. 1667; into Italian by V. Bignor, *Dialogo sopra le ragioni della regina cristianissima in diversi stati della Monarchia Spagnuola*, s.l. 1667; into German by Fabian Gustmeyer, *Der allerchristlichen Königin Rechte auff verschiedene Lande und Herrschafften der Reiche Spanien*, [Frankfurt am Main] 1667; into Dutch as *Samenspraak over de rechten der allerchristelijste Koningin*, s.l. 1667. Various further recensions followed.

10. Aubéry's book had a typographic title-page and was also printed in Cologne (1667). On the German side, responses to Aubéry's proposals came from Nicolao Martín in *Libertas aquilae triumphans sive de jure quod in Imperium regi galliarum nullum competit...*, Frankfurt 1668; and [Louis du May], *L'advocat condamné et les parties mises hors de procez par arrest du Parnasse...*, s.l. 1669.

11. Already in 1666, Petrum le Grand in Amsterdam had published Stockmans's 24-page leaflet entitled *Deductio ex qua probatur clarissimis argumentis non esse jus devolutionis in ducatu Brabantiae [...]*. Ramos del Manzano, in the introduction to his *Respuesta de España* (cited below, n. 15), mentions both this and the longer *Tractatus de jure devolutionis*, first issued in 1667. Stockmans's so-called *pars secunda* was printed by the same

publishers (F. Foppens in Brussels, Petrum le Grand in Amsterdam) in 1668, in response to an anonymous refutation of the treatise; this was followed by a *pars tertia* (published by Foppens, Brussels 1668), following a second refutation of 1668, by Guy Joly.

12. The various European powers were already fighting over who had claims to Spain and her empire in the event of the death of Charles II. In 1668, a diplomatic ploy on the part of Louis XIV led to the signing in Vienna, in great secrecy, of a treaty whereby Leopold was granted Spain, the Indies and the northern Italian territories; France was granted the Low Countries, Franche-Comté, the Philippines, Navarre and Naples.

13. Two versions appeared in Spain: *Escudo de estado y de justicia contra el desprecio manifestamente descubierto en la monarquía universal debajo del vano pretexto de las pretensiones de la reina de Francia*, Brussels (Foppens) 1667; and *Defensa de Estado y de Justicia contra el designio manifestamente descubierto de la monarquía universal debuxo del vano pretexto de las pretensiones de la Reyna de Francia*, translated by 'P.D.P.V.', [Madrid] 1667. There is an Italian translation, *Difesa di stato e di giustizia*, s.l. 1667. For the anger and contempt with which Lisola's text was received, see, among others, Paul Pellisson (1624–93), *Histoire de Louis XIV depuis la mort du Cardinal Mazarin*, Paris 1749, II, p. 143.

of the Italian Council, and counsellor in Castile. In 1659 he had been chief negotiator of the Treaty of the Pyrenees in the delegation headed by Luis de Haro.¹⁴ His *Respuesta de España al Tratado de Francia sobre las pretensiones de la reina cristianísima*, published in 1667, was translated into several languages and reprinted.¹⁵ In suitably forensic and academic mode he set about refuting one by one the tricky legal arguments put forward by Louis XIV, and asserted the validity of the relinquishment by Maria Theresa and her heirs of the Duchy of Brabant and all annexed territories. Among other points, he put the case that the civil legislation operative in Brabant could not be enforced in political matters. He also contended—and proved by means of historical documents—that never before in the Duchy of Brabant had a male heir born of a second marriage relinquished his rights in favour of a female heir born of a first marriage.¹⁶

The illustrated title-page of Ramos del Manzano's *Respuesta* (Fig. 1) is unsigned, but both style and technique suggest that the artist may be Pedro de Villafranca, who had worked at the court of Philip IV and was one of the most prolific engravers of the period.¹⁷ The eight vignettes with their inscriptions not only feature the arguments put forward in the text; they also reveal the political stance taken by the author and, with obvious propagandistic aims, show his fervent attachment to the house of Austria and more specifically to the heir to the dynasty. The author is evidently well aware of the weakness of the last of the Spanish Habsburgs compared to the physical and mental strength of Louis XIV, but tries to bypass these shortcomings by exalting Charles's youthful dignity and valour as well as the legality of his claims. The allegorical and emblematic elements, which have been carefully designed for this work, are set around an architectural-style plaque containing the title and the year of the treatise, which adds an air of gravitas amid the childish imagery.¹⁸ In the corner vignettes are rampant lions surrounded by olive wreaths, representing the four most important and prosperous towns in Brabant: Brussels, Antwerp, Leuven and Mechelen.¹⁹ The figures which best sum up the content of the *apologia* are, unsurprisingly, situated on the main visual axis of the design. They mythologise the frail Infante in ways both sentimental and exaggeratedly positive, likening him to Jupiter and Hercules.

14. His meteoric ascent must have been partly due to his role in the funeral ceremonies for Isabella of Bourbon, organised by the University of Salamanca in 1644, for which see Montaner (as in n. 4, loc. cit.). In 1669, his loyalty to the queen was rewarded by his appointment as Charles's tutor. He was eventually made count of Fuentes. See G. Maura Gamazo, *Carlos II y su corte*, 2 vols Madrid 1911–15, 1, p. 301; J. Fayard, *Les membres du conseil de Castille à l'époque moderne (1621–1746)*, Geneva and Paris 1979, pp. 55–56, 118.

15. The name of neither the author nor the printer are given on the title-page of the *editio princeps*, but the second edition (Madrid 1667) indicates the printer as 'widow of Juan de Valdés'. The work was reprinted several times and is quoted in all bibliographical lists from that of Nicolás Antonio (1617–84), *Biblioteca hispana nueva*, 1, p. 464, to A. Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano*, Barcelona 1963, xv, nos 247905 and 247907. The text was translated into Italian and

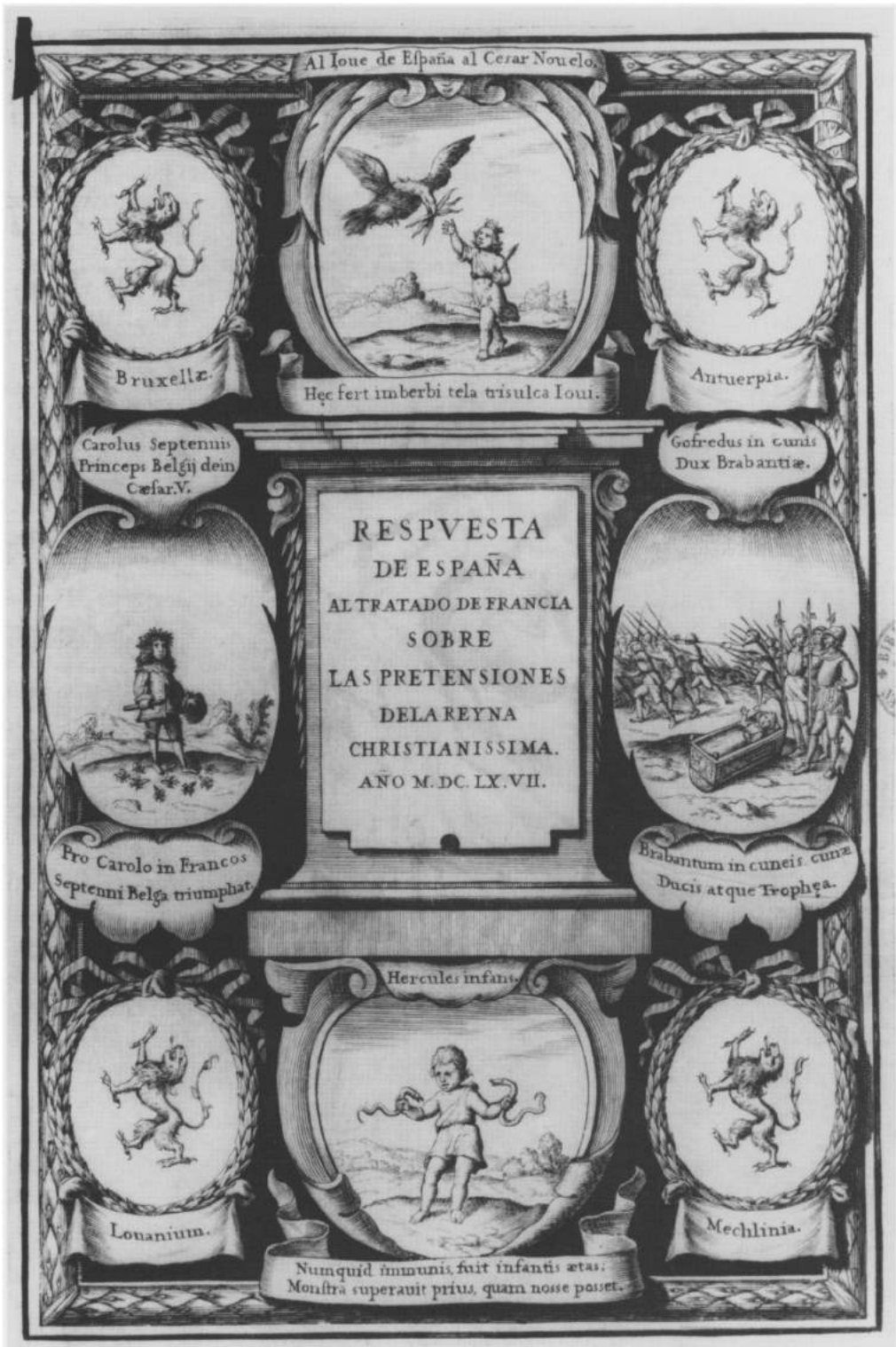
printed with a simple emblem on the frontispiece by D.S.F.D.A. (Francesco d'Andrea), as *Risposta al trattato delle ragioni della regina cristianísima sopra il ducato del Brabante et altri state della Fiandra*, Naples 1667 and 1676. There was another translation into Latin, *Responsio Hispaniensis ad Tractatum Franciae*, Brussels (?Foppens) 1667 and 1668.

16. *Respuesta de España*, fols 215^v and 257^r.

17. For Villafranca see below, n. 42.

18. The book was in fact published a few months later, in 1668, due to the 'ill health' of the author, as we read in the first few pages. The title-page is in *GBN* (as in n. 1), pp. 341–42, no. 360.

19. Brabant, which had become a duchy in the 12th century, was annexed to Burgundy on the marriage of Mary of Burgundy to Maximilian of Austria in 1447. During the reign of Charles V it became dependent on the Spanish branch of the Hapsburgs.



1. Attributed to Pedro de Villafraña, frontispiece to Ramos del Manzano, *Respuesta de España al Tratado de Francia sobre las pretensiones de la reina cristianissima*, Madrid 1667

The first image is accompanied by the words 'Al Iove de España al Cesar Novelo' ('To the Spanish Jupiter, to the New Caesar'), a message reiterated in the subscription's 'Haec fert imberbi tela trisulca Iovi' ('it brings this three-pronged weapon to the youthful Jupiter'). It consists of a boy (whose features bear no resemblance to the distinctive traits of Charles II) wearing a crown and brandishing a sceptre, receiving the thunderbolts of Jupiter from his eagle. On the one hand, the sceptre and the crown represent the supreme authority of the future monarch; on the other, his acceptance of the weapons used by the lord of the universe to punish the Titans, who had rebelled against him, alludes to his authority to use force to defend the integrity of the empire. Jupiter's thunderbolts, which had long been associated with the notion of majesty in the coats of arms of reigning monarchs and their successors, were well-established in emblematic language.²⁰ Ramos was not over-imaginative in his choice of the motto, which is from Valeriano and had already appeared in one of the hieroglyphs of the last tribute to Isabella of Bourbon at Salamanca.²¹ Apart from a small variation, it repeats one of the lines the poet Juan de Mena dedicated to King Juan II in his *Laberinto de Fortuna* (1444), which is used in turn by Antonio de Nebrija as an example of elision in his work *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana*, the first grammar of Castilian Spanish.²²

The second of the mythological emblems, situated underneath the title-plaque, ventures to compare the delicate child to Hercules, traditionally credited as the founder of the Spanish monarchy.²³ Like a *Hercules infans*, Charles strangles with his bare hands a pair of serpents (in the story sent by a jealous Juno). The epigram is 'Numquid immunis fuit infantis aetas; monstra superavit prius, quam nosse posset' ('Surely his infancy passed safe from harm, when he conquered monsters before he even knew it').²⁴ Evoking Hercules's first task to emphasise the early courage of princes and rulers was not unusual and had been, for example, the subject chosen by Saavedra Fajardo for the first emblem in his *Idea de un príncipe político cristiano* (1640), extolling the innate qualities of princes which can be perfected by a good education.²⁵ A medal minted by the town council of Seville in 1621, to celebrate Philip IV's accession to the throne, has a bust of the sovereign on the front and on the back shows Hercules as a child on his knees, strangling the serpents (Fig. 2).²⁶ The image of another Herculean labour was invoked to celebrate the ill-fated prince Baltasar Carlos: in 1638, at the age of only nine, he had supposedly, and to the delight of his proud father, killed a wild boar and a bull. This event was commemorated in the Spanish Netherlands in a publication by Charles-Philip de Marselaer, printed at Antwerp in 1642 and accompanied by an engraving by Cornelis Galle. Here the Infante is represented as a new budding Hercules, despatching the Erymanthean boar and Minotaur/Cretan bull, as a page hands him the Hispanic lionskin he has won (Fig. 4).²⁷

20. Such an image appears, for example, in Francisco Gómez de la Reguera (c. 1599–c. 1674), *Empresas de los reyes de Castilla y de León*, ed. C. Hernández Alonso, Valladolid 1990, p. 252, empresa XXXIV (to Philip IV).

21. Pierio Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, Basle 1575, lv, fol. 402^v; for its use in the ceremonies for Isabella of Bourbon see Montaner (as in n. 4), p. 190, hieroglyph 9.

22. Juan de Mena's verse reads: 'Al gran rey de

España al César Novelo' (first octave). *Compilación de todas las obras del famosísimo poeta Juan de Mena*, Valladolid 1536. Juan II succeeded to the throne when he was one year old (though he was 39 at the time Juan de Mena completed his *Laberinto de Fortuna*). A. de Nebrija, *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana*, Salamanca 1492, ch. VII, 'De la Sinalefa y apretamiento de las vocales'.

23. Herodotus claims (*Histories*, II.42), and his point

The impulse to compare Spanish royal children to Hercules is particularly noticeable during the reign of Charles II, probably in an attempt to counteract the view held by his European neighbours that he was weak and sickly.²⁸ In the frontispiece by Giacomo Piccini to Jerónimo de Basilico's *Las felicidades de España*, which had been published one year previously, the young king has multiple Herculean attributes (Fig. 5).²⁹ Draped in both lion pelt and serpents and standing astride a club, he also holds aloft two globes, each topped with a cross. He has put down his club for the job, but is 'equal to the weight' (*oneri par*). America and Africa, to either side of him, look upward at his coronation by Europe and Asia. Shortly before, at the funeral rites for Philip IV in Rome in December 1665, Fabrizio Chiari's decoration of the façade of the Spanish church had included an image of an aged Hercules



2. *Herculi Hispano*, medal minted by the town council of Seville to celebrate the accession to the throne of Philip IV, 1621



3. Louis XIV of France as *Hercules infans*, medal of 1644–45, commemorating victories in civil wars and against the Germans and Spanish. From Claude François Menestrier, *Histoire du Roy Louis le Grand par les medailles emblèmes...*, Paris 1689

is taken up by Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, XIII.15.2, that Hercules reached the Mediterranean. Once in Hesperia, under the rule of King Geryon, he conquered and founded cities. R. Jiménez de Rada, *Historia de rebus hispaniae*, Madrid 1793, I, chapters IV and V, pp. 8–10.

24. The inscription comes from Seneca, *Hercules furens*, actus secundus, 214–15. According to J. Pérez de Moya, *Philosofía secreta donde debajo de historias fabulosas se contiene una doctrina provechosa*, Madrid 1585, IV.3, fol. 183^v, this first work of Hercules illustrated how 'even as a child he was fired by the glory and deeds of past heroes, to imitate them with his virtue and surpass them' ('porque siendo aun niño, se encendió con la gloria y las hazañas de héroes pasados, para imitarlos con su virtud y sobrepujarlos').

25. The motto was 'Hinc labor et virtus'. Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Idea de un príncipe político cristiano representada en cien empresas*, Munich 1640, p. 1.

26. D. Angulo Iñiguez, *La mitología y el arte español del Renacimiento*, Madrid 1952, pp. 72–73 (*Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, CXXX, 1952, pp. 128–29).

27. De Marselaer's folio *Serenissimi Hispaniarum Principis Balthasaris Caroli venatio, sive bellica fortitudinis praeludia...* (Antwerp 1642) was dedicated to Olivares. It was printed in 300 copies by the Plantin press, paid for by the author. See A. Balis, *Rubens: Hunting Scenes* (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard XVIII.2),

London and Oxford 1986, pp. 226–27, 233 and fig. 145. The prince's feat is compared to Apollo's defeat of the Python and Theseus's conquest of the Minotaur, as well as the exploits of Hercules. The illustration is referred to by C. Justi, *Vélezquez y su siglo*, Madrid 1953, p. 470; and F. Bouza, 'La Biblioteca de la torre alta del Alcazar de Madrid', in *La Real Biblioteca Pública 1711–1760. De Felipe V a Fernando VI*, Madrid 2004, p. 189. A copy of the print, which forms part of the collection at the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, print R-9228, was part of the exhibition *El Escorial biografía de una época*, Madrid 1986.

28. Charles II's pitiful physical condition was well known. In 1667 Lisola wrote: 'Tiene aun mil peligros que pasar antes que llegue a la edad en que pueda asegurar la sucesión de su linea y cortar vastas esperanzas de los que fundan el designio de la dominación universal sobre su muerte'. *Defensa de Estado y de Justicia* (as in n. 13), p. 31.

29. *Las felicidades de España y del mundo cristiano, aplauso panegirico en la pública y real aclamación de la majestad del rey ... Carlos II*, Madrid 1666. See *Feder-schmuck und Kaiserkrone: das barocke Amerikabild in den habsburgischen Ländern*, ed. F. Polleross et al., Vienna 1992, exhib. cat. (Schlosshof, Marchfeld), p. 63, no. 6.13; E. Páez Ríos, *Iconografía Hispana: Catálogo de los retratos de personajes españoles de la Biblioteca Nacional*, I, Madrid



4. Cornelis Galle, commemoration of Prince Baltasar Carlos's slaying of a bull and wild boar at the age of 9, on 26 January 1638. Printed by Charles-Philip de Marselaer, Antwerp 1642



5. Giacomo Piccini, Charles II of Spain surrounded by the Continents and as the infant Hercules 'equal to the weight'. Frontispiece to Jerónimo de Basilico, *Las felicidades de España* ..., Madrid 1666



6. Hercules, or Atlas, helped by a winged Victory, handing the Spanish Empire to the young Charles II on the death of Philip IV. Detail of an engraving by Antonio Pérez de la Rúa (1666), after Fabrizio Chiari's decoration on the façade of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli in Rome, for the funeral rites performed there in December 1665

or Atlas, helped by a winged Victory, handing the huge globe of the Spanish Empire to the sturdy Herculean prince, ready to take the weight on his shoulders (Fig. 6).³⁰ Some years later, in 1689, the first labour of Hercules was represented in one of the ornaments for the entry into Madrid of Marie Louise of Orleans, his future wife.³¹ Hercules was once again the motif for the fresco cycle painted by Luca Giordano (Lucas Jordán) for the great hall (now known as the Casón) of the Retiro Palace, in 1697.³²

As Louis XIV, like Charles II, became king at a young age, it is worth contrasting what we have said about Charles with two early mythological images of Louis. In the first, the *dauphin* is portrayed as *Hercules infans*, vanquishing serpents, one foot on a lion and an eagle, in clear reference to both houses of Austria. This image appears on a medal commemorating the victories which took place during his minority (Fig. 3).³³ The second example is an allegory of the Peace of the Pyrenees. The king, now a young man, is seen as Jupiter brandishing his thunderbolts at Spain (Fig. 7). However, the true actor is Mazarin as shown by the allusion to his coat of arms (lictorian *fascies*) and 'Iulus' (his first name) in the Latin inscription, as the one who has brought together the warring factions.³⁴

To return to Ramos del Manzano's title-page, the emblem at the centre-left achieves a closer resemblance to Charles's physical features, and indeed the boy is shown in court dress, holding a commander's baton. On his head is a laurel wreath like those worn by victorious Roman emperors, and at his feet we see French *fleurs de lis*. Bearing in mind the inferiority of the Spanish army, this is a sad and bold parody of reality. At the time the title-page was designed, Louis XIV had already invaded Flanders and won important



7. Petrus Van Schuppen, Louis XIV as Jupiter, with thunderbolts, attacking the lion of Spain, 1659. Département des estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France

1966, no. 1710–2; eadem, in *GBN* (as in n. 1), p. 313, no. 325.

30. Chiari's ephemeral adornment, painted in bronze and illuminated in gold, is known from the engraving by Antonio Pérez de la Rúa, *Funeral hecho en Roma en la iglesia de Santiago de los españoles... a la gloriosa memoria del Rey...*, Rome 1666. It is illustrated in *GBN* (as in n. 1), p. 307, no. 320.

31. Zapata (as in n. 4), p. 162.

32. Copies on canvas of these frescoes, which were lost in the 19th century, were painted by José del Castillo in 1779 and are kept in the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando; see R. López Torrijos, *La mitología en la pintura española del Siglo de Oro*, Madrid 1985, pp. 161–65 and figs 46–53; eadem, *Lucas Jordán en el casón del Buen Retiro. La alegoría del Toison de oro*, Madrid 1985, pp. 53–54.

33. Claude François Menestrier, *Histoire du Roy Louis le Grand par les médailles emblèmes, devises, jettons, inscriptions, armoires et autres monuments publics*, Paris 1689, p. 36, no. 6: 'Les Victoires de la Minorité du Roy sur les Allemans, et les Espagnols et des guerres civiles'. Lions and eagles are often found too on allegorical portraits of the Spanish monarchs. In this regard, see

the image of Philip IV included by Pedro Rodríguez de Monforte in his *Descripcion de las honras que se hicieron a la catholica Mg. de D. Phelippe quarto Rey de las Españas ...* Madrid 1666; illustrated by S. Orso, *Art and Death at the Spanish Habsburg Court: The Royal Exequies for Philip IV*, Columbia 1989, p. 137, fig. 9.

34. Petrus Van Schuppen, 1659, listed in G. Duplessis and P. A. Lemoisne, *Catalogue de la collection des portraits français et étrangers...*, Paris 1907, vi, no. 594, p. 263: 'en pied sous les traits de Jupiter lançant la foudre sur l'Espagne sous les traits d'un lion'. The engraving is in the Département des estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France. The engraver Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694–1774) gives the following interpretation: 'Louis XIV, roy de France, sous la figure de Jupiter, l'empereur sous celle de Mars, et le roy d'Angleterre sous celle de Neptune, armés chacun de faisceaux (par allusion à ceux qui sont dans les armes du cardinal Mazarin, pour lors premier ministre de France) faisant fuir le lyon (simbole de l'Espagne) et le contraignant à accepter la paix. Cette piece allegorique flatte extremement la vanité du cardinal Mazarin à qui elle a ete dediée.' P.-J. Mariette, 'Notes manuscrites' (BnF, Département des estampes), VIII, fol. 136^r, cited from the edition of P.

victories, causing great alarm among the other European powers. The image is accompanied by inscriptions structured around the word *septennis* (Charles was seven years old when the book was published) and the expectation of victory against the French: 'Carolus septennis princeps belgii dein Caesar V', and 'Pro Carolo in Francos septenni belga triumphat'.

Correspondingly, the emblem on the right aims to highlight the illegitimacy of the French claims to Spanish territories by reference to a legendary event. This time the motto and epigram revolve around the Latin word *cunae* (cradle): 'Gofredus in cunis dux Brabantiae'; and 'Brabantum in cuneis cunae ducis atque trophea'—Godfrey III of Brabant was known as 'dux in cunis'. As the story goes, the lords of Grimbergen revolted and raised a strong army in 1142 at the death of his father Godfrey II, landgrave of Brabant (and Duke of Lotharingia as Godfrey VII), whom they had never recognised as their sovereign. In view of the impending danger, Godfrey's followers snatched his infant son from the arms of his wet nurse and carried him in his cradle to the battlefield, where his cries so fired the soldiers' spirits that the rebels were soundly routed.³⁵ The story was chronicled as early as the late twelfth century and became very popular. A Dutch verse chronicle, the 'Grimbergse oorlog' (Grimberg war), dated by its editors to the mid-fourteenth century, relates at length and in elaborate detail the tale in which 'Godfrey was survived by a very young child, I tell you no lies! This infant lay in a cradle, and was called Godfrey III'. We learn, for example, that the lord of Wesemale ordered the young duke in his cradle to be hung 'in a large willow tree, to be visible to the people in the other army, who were preparing themselves for battle'. This chronicle is found in various recensions, including Latin and French translations, up to the early eighteenth century.³⁶

The truth of the legend had been questioned by Christophe Butkens, a prior of the Cistercian monks in Antwerp; since this author is cited by Ramos del Manzano he was probably aware of these objections but shrewdly ignored them, and at least within the treatise itself, the story is hardly mentioned.³⁷ He does, however, refer to it obliquely, saying that their 'defence of the Duke of Brabant, Godfrey, the one in the cradle', is the 'greatest testimony' to the courage, love and loyalty to their [Spanish] princes of the noble estates and provinces of the Low Countries, which were 'chosen by France as theatre of the foremost tragedy'.³⁸ His frontispiece image was evidently inspired by previous illustrations of the legend: a chapter by the Flemish humanist Hadrianus Barlandus in the *Ducum Brabantiae chronica*, and Franciscus Haraeus's *Annales ducum seu principum Brabantiae totiusque belgii*, both have engravings of it, with the same legend, 'Godefridus III in cunis Brab[antiae] Dux' (Fig. 8).³⁹ These identical images show Godfrey III the adult in the foreground, and in the background Godfrey the young child,

Rouillard: *Catalogues de la collection d'Estampes de Jean V, roi de Portugal*, 3 vols, Lisbon and Paris 1996–2003, III, p. 215 (illustrated).

35. In fact, Godfrey III could hardly have been a few months old in 1142, as in 1143, with his mother Lutgarda, he endorsed a document for the priory of Grand Bigard, as 'dux et marchio Lotharingie et comes Lovainii'. Four years later he awarded a franchise to the church of St Pierre de Liège, and in Aachen in 1147 he took part in the crowning ceremony of Henry Berengar, made co-king by his father Conrad III Hohenstaufen.

Moreover, whatever happened on the battlefield in 1142, the historical fact is that the Grimbergen rebels were decisively defeated only in 1159 (cf. next note). See P. Bonenfant, 'La date de la mort de Godefroid II, duc de Brabant', in *Miscellanea Historica in oppido Lovainensi*, Brussels 1947, pp. 192, 195 and 197. The author establishes that Godfrey II died in 1142, not 1143.

36. The story of young Godfrey who 'lay in a cradle' in this war can be documented to within 50 years of the event. It occurs in the Afflighem continuation of Sigebert of Gembloux's chronicle, written before 1189;

in a cradle hung between two trees, and a battle scene at the gates of a fortress. Ramos del Manzano's aim was surely to flatter the Flemish at the same time as impressing on the restless Spanish nobles the example of love and loyalty of the former toward their rightful lords.

In the year following publication of the *Respuesta de España*, Pedro González de Salcedo brought out his exposition of the fragile reasoning employed by Louis XIV in the famous *Traité*. This no less valuable document is entitled *Examen de la verdad en respuesta a los tratados de los derechos de la reina cristianísima sobre varios estados de la Monarquía de España*. The prestige of the author, his legal knowledge and the force of his arguments led to the work being reprinted and translated into several languages.⁴⁰ A native of Nájera, a town in the north, González de Salcedo had great experience in matters of jurisprudence. He had held the post of *juez de contrabando, alcalde del crimen en la Chancillería de Valladolid*, overseeing the



8. Godfrey III of Brabant. Engraving from Franciscus Haraeus, *Annales ducum seu principum Brabantiae*, Antwerp 1623

see *Auctarium Affligemense*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*, Paris 1844–64, XL, cols 279–80 and 291 (under 1159): ‘Bellum gravissimum ortum erat ante annos circiter 20 inter ducem Lovanii Godefridum juniorem, et Walterum cognomento Bertold. Puer quidem Godefridus adhuc in cunis jacebat...’. The Dutch rhymed chronicle repeats the phrase: see *De Grimbergsche oorlog, ridderdicht uit de XIVe eeuw*, 2 vols, ed. P. Blommaert and C. P. Scrrure, Ghent 1852–54, I, ll. 3006–9, ‘Dese Godevaert liet een kint, / Jonc van daigen, ic liege u twint, / Dat in de wiege lag onbejaert, / Ende hiet die derde Godevaert’. The willow tree is mentioned at vol. II, ll. 1452–60: ‘Also die here van Wesemale / Dat volc hadde gescaert wale, / Dede hi halen, sonder liegen, / Den jongen hertoge metter wiggen, / Ende hangen, des sijt goem, / Aen enen groten wilgenboom, / Soe dat menne sach in ’t ander heere, / Die hem stelden sere ter were, / Also ic u sal seggen te hant’. I am grateful to Sjoerd Levelt for these chronicle references and his translations.

37. Christophe Butkens provided documentary evidence showing that Godfrey III was too old on the death of his father to be sleeping in a cradle, and concluded that the story was made up by a Roman author and was without foundations or authority. See his

Trophées tant sacrés que profanes de la duché de Brabant, tome I, contenant l’origine succession et descendance des ducs et princes de ceste maison..., Antwerp 1637, pp. 118, 119, 122 and 131. Ramos del Manzano refers to Butkens at *Respuesta de España*, fol. 283^v, note 32.

38. *Respuesta de España*, fol. 283^{v-v}: ‘...nobles Estados, y Provincias de los Países Baxos, que ha elegido la Francia para teatro de la primera tragedia’ ‘...Pero el testimonio mayor han sido, y son vuestras hazañas, ya en la defensa del Duque de Brabante Godofredo el de la cuna, ...’ No further details of the story are given: he does not even specify Godfrey’s position in the ducal dynasty.

39. Hadrianus Barlandus, *Ducum Brabantiae Chronica ... ad Serenissimos principes Albertum et Isabellam ...*, Antwerp 1600, ch. XXXII, p. 33; Franciscus Haraeus (F. van der Haer), *Annales ducum seu principum Brabantiae totiusque belgii*, Antwerp 1623, III.26, p. 221. Both authors are cited by Ramos del Manzano (*Respuesta de España*, fol. 283^v).

40. Madrid s.n. [but 1668]. The work, which was translated into Latin and French, is catalogued by Nicolás Antonio in *Biblioteca Hispana Nueva*, II, under the epigraph *De Dignitate et juribus regum Hispaniae*. See also Palau y Dulcet (as in n. 15), VI, nos 105833–35.

investigation of smuggling and crime in Castile, and was a member of the *Consejo de su Majestad* and later of the *Consejo de Castilla*.⁴¹ He was a particular adherent of the queen mother and had shown unswerving loyalty to her confessor Nithard, to whom the *Examen* is dedicated. The work is divided in two parts, of which the first deals with the articles set out in the marriage treaty signed in 1659 as part of the Peace of the Pyrenees. González de Salcedo was very familiar with the terms of this treaty, having been present at the signing together with Luis Méndez de Haro, Marquis of Carpio. In the second part, he contests each and every one of Louis XIV's claims to the Duchy of Brabant, employing a panoply of reasoned arguments.

The artist responsible for the title-page is this time certainly Pedro de Villafranca (Fig. 9).⁴² The design shows his expertise in chiaroscuro, which he achieves by means of parallel or interwoven lines of different intensity, a solid drawing technique and a remarkable command of tonal perspective. Asserting the credentials of a volume published under royal patronage, the Spanish coat of arms is featured, surrounded by the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the insignia of the monarchy. The sovereignty of the Order of the Golden Fleece, founded in Burgundy in 1430, had passed into Habsburg hands along with the Duchy itself, and was one of the issues at stake in the War of Succession.⁴³ An angel blowing a trumpet—Fame, the familiar Baroque character who proclaims memorable events—lifts a curtain as of a theatre. Thus unveiled for the audience, a combination of images highlights the grandeur of the members of the house of Austria; opposed to the iniquity of the Bourbons.

The spectacle begins with an eagle and its young in the nest, surrounded by weapons and military trophies; a young eagle flies toward the nest. The motto, a simple play on words on a scroll, is 'et favet et fovet' ('it both favours and fosters'). Imperial eagles, historical referents to the house of Austria, relate to both branches of the Habsburgs. Countless examples are found in frontispieces, tapestries, paintings or sculptures as well as in all types of architectural ornament. With wings spread, they indicate protection; Jupiter's thunderbolts in their talons indicate the strength of the sovereign; when standing on serpents, they refer to victory over heresy; and surrounded by solar rays, they indicate how their monarchs are immune to attacks by the enemy.⁴⁴ On this occasion, the imperial eagle embodies the Spanish dynasty, a fierce but loving mother who favours and protects her subjects, as well as alluding to the typical concepts of majesty and grandeur.

41. He was a graduate in canon law and was a counsellor in Castile in 1673; see Fayard (as in n. 14), pp. 40, 99 and 512.

42. The title-page used for various editions appears in Páez Ríos, *Repertorio de grabados españoles* (as in n. 1), III, nos 2252-54-55. The title-page of the 1668 edition is in GBN (as in n. 1), pp. 342-43, no. 361. Villafranca was born around 1615 in Alcolea de Calatrava and died in Madrid in 1684. There is evidence to show that around 1630-35 he moved to the court to work as a painter under Vicente Carducho. A. Gallego, *Historia del grabado en España*, Madrid 1979, pp. 170-76.

43. The Order of the Golden Fleece, founded by Philip the Good to defend the Christian faith against the infidels, was brought to Spain by Charles V; see

López Torrijos, *La mitología* (as in n. 32), pp. 165 and 167.

44. The use of the eagle to refer to nobility and majesty is a familiar topic in political emblems. See, e.g., Pierio Valeriano Bolzano, *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris aegyptiorum literis*, Basle 1556, XLIV, fol. 324^{r-v}; Juan de Borja, *Empresas morales*, Prague 1581, empresa XLVIII. As the emblem of the two branches of the house of Austria, the list of examples would be endless. Eagles featured in the decoration of the arches erected for the entries by the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand to cities he visited on his journey to Brussels. D. Aedo y Gallart, *Viaje del infante cardenal don Fernando de Austria... hasta que entró en Bruselas*, Barcelona 1635, pp. 21, 73, 81, 84 and 92. See also Fig. 3, illustrated above; and n. 33.



9. Pedro de Villafranca, title-page to González de Salcedo, *Examen de la verdad en respuesta a los tratados de los derechos de la reina cristianísima*, Madrid 1668

After this dramatic prologue, the symbolic content continues with an opening scroll on which the title, dedication and authorship can be read, hung in front of a classical architectural framework. All other publishing data are omitted. On two placards at right and left, verses from the prophesies of Isaiah glorify the young Charles II, in accordance with a familiar device of court rhetoric.⁴⁵ The inscriptions, which on this occasion seem particularly ironical, read: 'Multiplicabitur eius Imperium et super regnum eius sedebit' (Isaiah 9.7), and 'Quia antequam sciat puer vocare patrem et matrem auferetur fortitudo damasci' (Isaiah 8.4). The remaining discourse is explained in four ingenious enigmas framed by folial and floral garlands.

The first of the hieroglyphs presents a lion pawing with open claws at a kind of curtain or makeshift fence, featuring a lattice of *fleurs de lis*. The motto is 'inveniet virtute viam' ('He will find a way by virtue'), from the poet Claudian.⁴⁶ The lattice might refer to the 'web of peace' ('tela de la paz')—a term used by Gonzalo de Salcedo at the very beginning of his text, to characterise the Peace of the Pyrenees. He considered that the treaty by which Maria Theresa signed away her rights to her paternal inheritance was neither firm nor true on the part of the French, and wrote:

... though the web of peace was woven of flowers naïve and pure it was on a background of self-convenience and it would last as long as no interest was touched that would tear it.⁴⁷

This corresponds to the image, in which the French *fleurs de lis* have been arranged in a lacy net. Taking his cue from the text, the artist shows that the French have relied on a flimsy fence or curtain, constructed from convenience, as support for their beguiling flowers—which are 'cándidas y puras' in themselves, just as the Spaniards saw their own motives. The Spanish lion can rip this fragile façade to threads, merely by touching it with his claws. The image invites us to mock the 'web of peace', and—like the virtuous lion which will 'find a way'—to see it instead as a web of French deception. The enigma predicts the triumph of the Spanish cause, as a just reward for the sincerity and honesty of the Spanish claims compared to the intrigue and evil intentions of Louis XIV.⁴⁸

The emblem on the right also shows the moral superiority of the Spanish crown, and subversively adapts a familiar image of emblematic literature: the dolphin curled around an anchor (*festina lente*). The motif of dolphin and anchor to signify *spes et felicitas* was commonly used to decorate medals or coins minted to celebrate the birth of French princes.⁴⁹ However, in this mocking version, the king of fish is not curled around but hooked by the nose by the anchor, on which hangs a tell-tale sheepskin (Fig. 11). The dolphin (*dauphin*) is a reference to France,⁵⁰ while the large, jaunty anchor, with the ram of the Golden Fleece swinging from it, alludes to the Spanish crown. The aim of the

45. It was normal practice (and not only in Spain) to relate passages from the Bible to members of the royal family: this practice was extended to include members of the nobility, the church hierarchy and famous writers.

46. Claudian, *De Bello Gildonico*, 1.320.

47. *Examen de la verdad*, fol 1^v: '... aunque la tela de la paz se había tejido de flores cándidas y puras era sobre fondo de conveniencias propias y que duraría en cuanto no se atravesase algún interés que la rompiese'.

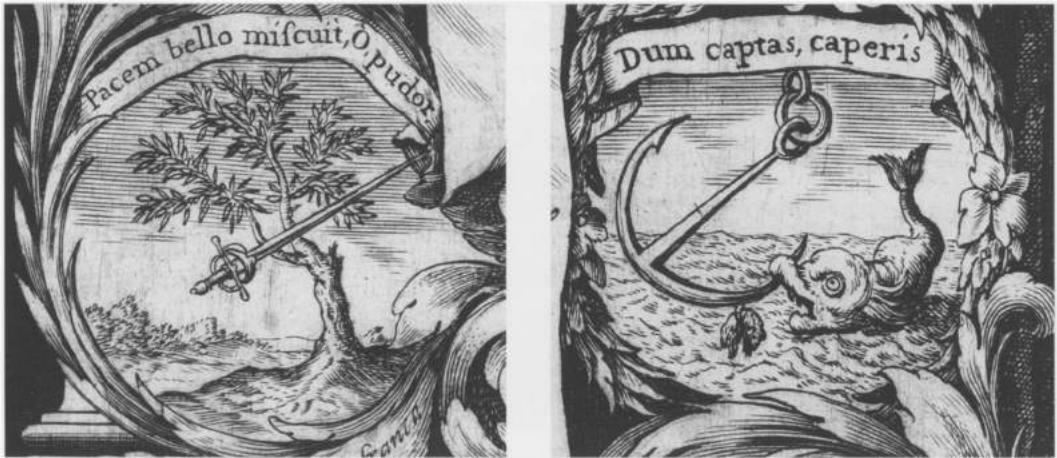
48. The lion, as already mentioned, is a typical heraldic motif of the Spanish throne; see n. 33.

49. The dolphin around the anchor to signify *spes et felicitas* was one of the most popular motifs used to decorate medals or coins minted to commemorate the birth of French princes. Menestrier (as in n. 33), p. 36, no. 3; and the 2nd edn, Paris 1693, pp. 13, 77, nos 2 and 3.

50. It has been suggested to me that the dolphin may refer to the 'grand dauphin', Louis de France (b. 1661), who was close in age to Charles II and had been featured in French prints defending the invasion of Flanders (see below, Fig. 12). However, it is more likely that France herself is the primary referent of this, her

frontispiece emblem is to show Spain's command of the weighty (legal) issues, by comparison with French opportunism. France's hope of acquiring Brabant will be snarled by her own dishonesty and greed: 'dum captas, caperis'.

Perhaps in a further allusion to the theatrical performance of the *Examen de la Verdad*, to which the frontispiece seems to invite us, the final two vignettes in the programme put aside comedic mockery, turning now to the tragic implications of France's lack of wisdom and restraint. The third hieroglyph shows an olive tree and a sword, with an inscription from Horace: 'Pacem bello miscuit, o, pudor' ('He confuses war with peace—for shame!') (Fig. 10).⁵¹ The conjunction of Minerva's olive tree, symbol of peace and prosperity, and the sword, instrument of destruction, is in allusion to one of the great debates in political theory of the period: the legality of war. Christian thought, starting with Augustine and continuing with Thomas Aquinas, argued that war is only legal in defence of peace or in defence of the faith. If these requirements are not fulfilled or if war is declared out of greed or cruelty then it is not acceptable and contrary to the will of God.⁵² Many examples can be found in emblem books which engage with this debate, opposing signs of security and abundance to instruments of war.⁵³ In his text, González de Salcedo declares that Louis XIV 'has decided ... to resort to the last rationale of kings, which is the sword'.⁵⁴ The frontispiece image emphasises that the war of devolution was declared by France unjustifiably and (echoing the implication of the *festina lente* hieroglyph) with undue haste: confusing might with wisdom, Louis XIV has invaded the Low Countries without waiting for peaceful, legal reasoning and Spanish diplomatic negotiations to bear fruit.



10, 11. Pedro de Villafranca, emblems, title-page of González de Salcedo, *Examen de la verdad*. Details of Figure 9

most famous emblem, which González de Salcedo could not resist putting to good use.

51. Horace, *Odes*, III.5.38.

52. St Augustine, *Epistola ad Bonifacium*, CLXXXIX.

53. St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, II-IIae, q. 40, art. 1.

54. See, e.g., Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata*, Augsburg 1531, emblema clxxviii; Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus*

emblematum selectissimorum ..., Arnheim 1611 (fac. edn Paris 1989), I, p. 78. George Wither, *A Collection of Emblems, Ancient and Moderne*, London 1635 (fac. edn Columbia 1975), p. 90; Saavedra Fajardo (as in n. 25), *empresas* 74 and 99.

54. *Examen de la verdad*, p. 2: 'ha resuelto ... valerse de la última razón de los reyes que es la espada'.

On the opposite side of González de Salcedo's frontispiece (separated by the coat of arms of Nithard), the final image shows two palaces on either side of a road: one is intact and the other is in flames. The legend, 'iam proximus ardet' ('next door is already on fire'), is from a famous line of the *Aeneid* and had been used in emblematic literature to indicate the need to be prepared for approaching danger.⁵⁵ With the image of the burning building, González de Salcedo seeks to warn of the perverse aims of the house of Bourbon, burning with the fire of resentment. This can be deduced from a vivid passage in his text, in which he declares that the ashes of Maria Theresa's late father, Philip IV, served not to quench, but to fan 'the fire that had been conserved in the heart of France'.⁵⁶

As Voltaire later put it, at first the war was fought with words: 'La France et l'Espagne combattirent d'abord par des écrits'.⁵⁷ There was also a war of images, and we have seen how two legal scholars illustrated the Spanish case. A comparison with the French side is provided by the front page of a calendar illustrated by Nicolas de Larmessin, published for the year 1668 (Fig. 12).⁵⁸ Such calendars, of which thousands of copies were printed, were used to inform the general population about the main events relating to the monarchy. The image is presented as a discourse, triumphalist in tone. A winged genie proclaims: 'Les justes conquestes de l'Auguste Monarque Louis XIII roy de France et de Navarre en Flandre'. Next, at the centre of the composition, the personification of Flanders offers her heart to the royal couple and the *grand dauphin*. The king's entourage looks on, and the homage of submission and respect is repeated by means of further smiling ladies whose coats of arms or tiaras contain the names of the places which have been conquered: Franche-Comté, Brabant, Antwerp, Lille, Limburg, Hainau, Namur, Mechelen, Artois and Charlesroi, among others. Louis XIV, 'grand maître de la guerre', is seated on his throne and holds his sceptre. He is about to be crowned by an angel carrying an olive branch of peace (this time bearing fruit), and at his feet lies the lion of Spain, defeated by the power of reason. Below this scene, Justice points to the text of a book held open by the personification of France: 'Les droits de la reyne sur la Flandre et autres estats de la monarchie d'Espagne'. Opposite, the king's glorious feats are celebrated by Mars, god of war, and Time. A medallion showing the signing of the Treaty of Breda between France and the Triple Alliance completes the discourse. The allusion to the Peace of Breda (July 1667) is significant, as it was reached immediately after the beginning of the war of devolution (May 1667). It dealt a severe blow to Spain as it ensured the neutrality of Holland, England and Sweden thus giving free rein to the French invasion.

It is not known to what extent, if any, the arguments presented in the two treatises which are discussed here helped to lessen the Spanish problems. The decision of the Dutch and the English to put a stop to the war and force the signing of the Treaty of

55. Virgil, *Aeneid*, II.311. The motto is illustrated by a picture of a burning city by Julius Wilhelm Zinggreff, *Emblematum ethico-politicorum centuria*, Heidelberg 1619, emblem no. 28.

56. *Examen de la verdad*, p. II: 'La nueva desta lamentable perdida descubrió el fuego que se avia conservado en el corazon de la Francia, desde que se concluyó el casamiento de su Reyna; sirviendo las cenizas del difunto Padre, no à apagarle, [sino] avivarle'.

57. Voltaire, *Le siècle de Louis XIV* (1752), chapter VIII, 'Conquête de la Flandre'.

58. *Almanach pour l'année bissextile MDCLXVIII*. Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, print no. 18.655; *GBN* (as in n. 1), pp. 342–43, no. 362. The same image was reprinted in the almanac of the following year.



12. Nicolas de Larmessin, illustration for a calendar for 1668, justifying the conquests of Louis XIV of France

Achen (Aix-la-Chapelle) in May 1668 was more a result of the alarming show of French power (for France the war was a 'voyage de cour', as Voltaire famously put it) than a consequence of legal arguments. Yet Louis XIV's expansionist policy with regard to the possessions of the Habsburgs did not end with the Peace of Achen:⁵⁹ the tensions and invasions continued until the Treaty of Nijmegen, signed in 1678–79, established that Spain should return the Franche-Comté and a number of towns in Flanders to France. As late as 1674, Georges d'Aubusson—who as ambassador to Madrid had delivered the famous *Traité* to the Queen Regent—was still defending in print the supposed rights of Maria Theresa, against what he considered to be false arguments 'by an author who is well-known for his books against France'—perhaps referring to Lisola.⁶⁰

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59. It is notable that in 1669 Larmessin's triumphalist almanach was reprinted with the same design, even though the Peace of Achen had been signed in the meantime.

60. *La defense du droit de Marie Thérèse d'Autriche reine de France à la succession des couronnes d'Espagne*, Paris 1674, preface. The volume includes a title-page consisting of a woodcut vignette; it also features an engraving.