



UNIVERSITAT DE
BARCELONA

Three revolts in images: Catalonia, Portugal and Naples (1640-1647)

Joana Margarida Ribeirete de Fraga

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UNIVERSITAT DE BARCELONA
Facultat de Geografia i Història

THREE REVOLTS IN IMAGES: CATALONIA, PORTUGAL AND NAPLES (1640-1647)

Department d'Història Moderna

Societat i Cultura
2012/2013

Director:
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo
BB	Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna
BNC	Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya
BGUC	Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
BNP	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal
BNN	Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli
BPE	Biblioteca Pública de Évora
BUB	Biblioteca de la Universitat de Barcelona
MNSMN	Museo Nazionale di San Martino Napoli
SNSP	Società Napoletana di Storia Patria
MNAA	Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank to those who have helped me carrying out my research. First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to my advisers Joan Lluís Palos and Pedro Cardim, for their advices and their constant encouragement.

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Presentation

By the time I finished my degree in History in the University of Coimbra in 2007, I had decided to specialize in Early Modern History. During the summer of 2007, I met Professor Joan Lluís Palos who talked me into pursuing a PhD degree in the University of Barcelona. I enrolled then in the Master of Historical Studies (Early Modern History) in the University of Barcelona, where I had done my Erasmus. The subject of my PhD was a comparative study of the three revolts of 1640-1647, Catalonia, Portugal and Naples under a cultural perspective. The idea was to compare the three revolts taking into account the visual and the literary dimensions as well as the ceremonies.

In my Masters dissertation – considering the sources available in Barcelona – I decided to study the political meanings of the poetry produced during the Reapers' War (1640-1652), under the supervision of the Professor Agustí Alcoberro. In 2009 I started officially my PhD in the doctoral program *Societat i cultura* assisted by a Portuguese governmental grant, and I registered my dissertation with the provisional title “*Manifestaciones culturales de las revueltas políticas en la monarquía hispánica de los Habsburgo: Cataluña, Portugal y Nápoles (1640-1648)*”.

After the first year, it became clear that it was impossible to focus my research on the three dimensions. The literary sources were far too abundant and could perfectly become another dissertation, and the same could be said about ceremonies. I decided then to focus on the visual sources and on the visual communication. The revolts of Portugal and Naples – and in a smaller dimension Catalonia – were privileged scenarios for the production of images charged with political intentions. These forms of communication were very important in territories in which the majority of the population could not read nor had access to books and written texts. Having this in mind, my priority was to identify these images that sometimes are only noticeable to us through secondary sources. Which messages did they contain? Who was in charge for their elaboration? Who saw them and how did the audience perceive them?

The writing of the first chapters made clear the limitations in the use of the Spanish language. Confronted with the problems of such a similar language to my original one –

Portuguese – but at the same time so different, I decided to write my dissertation in English. The subject is very international and the doctoral program did not see any inconvenient. In any case, I do apologize for any mistakes and misspellings. All the responsibilities of wrong interpretations due to the misuse of the language are entirely mine.

Along with the progress made in my research, there was the necessity of changing the title of the dissertation. Firstly, it was imperative to find an appropriate title in English and secondly, it was necessary to adapt it to the changes I made in the scope. The title “*Three revolts in images: Catalonia, Portugal and Naples (1640-1647)*” answers to these new concerns: a comparative study of the visual communication during the revolts. The dates I selected are the years in which the revolts started and the ones that are usually attributed to each of the uprisings: the revolt of the Catalans (1640), the Portuguese restoration (1640) and the Neapolitan revolt – or the revolt of Masaniello – (1647). Nevertheless, I do consider the visual sources produced during the conflicts and in the immediate years that followed it.

Regarding the organization of the dissertation, I included the visual sources as three different appendixes, one for each of the three chapters of part two. However, as having some of the most significant sources could contribute to a better and more understanding reading, I decided to include in the end of each chapter a selection of the most representative images. These will be signed with a “*” along the text.

State of the Art

The revolts of Catalonia, Portugal and Naples of 1640-1647 have been the object of study for many historians for the past century. Due to the characteristics of my dissertation, I will present in this section a general state of the art with the most important titles and historiographical tendencies concerning the revolts in each of the territories. A more specific state of the art will be presented in the beginning of each chapter.

In 1938, Roger Bigelow Merriman published a book with the title *Six contemporaneous revolutions*. According to the author, the revolts of the Netherlands, Catalonia, Portugal, England, Naples, and the Fronde, were part of a general moment of conflict in Europe – the Thirty Years’ War, and should not be seen as isolated conflicts. It was the first time an historian

was comparing these 17th century revolts, although he insisted more on the differences than on the similarities. This pioneer general perspective did not find any immediate follow up. Many have been the studies on each of these revolts but the comparative approaches were scarce, apart from a few exceptions. The studies of John Elliott and María de los Ángeles Pérez Samper comparing Catalonia and Portugal are good proof of these exceptions, as well as the conference which originated the book *Rebelión y Resistencia en el Mundo Hispánico del siglo XVII*¹.

The revolt of the Catalans is a subject with a large historiographical tradition that has been usually seen as a crucial moment in the history of Catalonia and as an identity element. The two most important books on the Catalan revolt were certainly the one from Josep Sanabre, *La acción de Francia en Cataluña en la pugna por la hegemonía de Europa*, published in 1956 and the one from John Elliott, *The revolt of the Catalans*, published in 1963. Both historians broke with the romantic interpretations of the revolt and inserted it in the dynamic of the monarchy and in the Thirty Years' War. Moreover, Elliott offered a new chronology: the British historian placed the distant causes that led into the rupture back to Philip II. Moreover, he offered in the last chapter of his book a comparison between the revolt of Catalonia and the one in Portugal. In several studies, Eva Serra also placed the revolt in the international context, comparing it with the revolt in the Netherlands during the reign of Philip II. She also reconsidered important aspects of the uprising such as the conflicts between the rural populations and the political movements of the ruling class, as well as their aspirations and ideological contexts².

In 1985, Ricardo García Carcel published *Pau Claris, la revolta catalana*. Elliott was also the author of an important if not definitive biography of the count-duke of Olivares, *The Count-duke of Olivares: the statesman in age of decline* published in 1986. In the following year, Lluís Rourera published a biography of Pau Duran, the bishop of Urgell in favor of Habsburgs, *Pau Duran (1582-1651) i el capítol i bisbat d'Urgell fins al tractat dels Pirineus*, and in 1988 a biography of the viceroy Santa Coloma was published by Pere Català i Roca, *El Virrei comte de Santa Coloma*. The study of the protagonists during the second half of the decade of 1980s,

¹ Werner Thomas and Bart de Groof (eds.), *Rebelión y Resistencia en el Mundo Hispánico del Siglo XVII*, 1992.

² Eva Serra, *Pagesos i senyors a la Catalunya del segle XVII*, 1988; "Segadors, revolta popular i revolució política". In: *Revoltes populars contra el poder de l'Estat: jornades de debat*, 1991, pp. 45-57; and *La revolució catalana de 1640*, 1991.

allowed giving new lights on the study of the revolts. In 1992, María de los Ángeles Pérez Samper published *Catalunya i Portugal el 1640: dos pobles en una cruïlla*, a comparative study of the causes and the beginning of the revolts of Catalonia and Portugal.

In the past decade, a new interest on this topic has been revealed, with the studies of Antoni Simón i Tarrés on the ideological aspects of the revolt. In 1999 Simón i Tarrés published *Els Orígens ideològics de la revolució catalana de 1640*, in which he studied the written propaganda of the revolt. In 2006, Xavier Torres made a good synthesis of the revolt in his *La Guerra dels Segadors*, analyzing the most important lines of the revolt, politically, economically and culturally. Finally, in 2008, Simón i Tarrés published a revised biography of Pau Claris.

Regarding the Portuguese revolt, the dynastical union and the separation of Portugal from the monarchy was for a long time a subject of suspicion and disinterest for the historians. The few Spanish historians who tried a comparative history of the Iberian reigns by the end of the 19th century were deeply discouraged by the magnitude of the task they had to face. In 1950, the historian José Maria Jover Zamora called the attention for the need of studying the Spanish Monarchy, especially the territories in the peninsula³. In the same year, the author published an article about Portugal after 1640⁴, but the general interests made it pass undetected. The historiographical tendencies that arrived from France in the middle of the 20th century prevented this line of studies to keep going and it was not until the 1980s that historians gained new interest in it.

In Portugal, the revolt of 1640 was interpreted under a patriotic point of view during the 19th century and part of the 20th century and it became a myth, explained as a reaction against the dangers coming from Spain and the dictatorship of the *Estado Novo* contributed to this anti-Iberian perspective⁵.

³ José Maria Jover Zamora, "Sobre los conceptos de Monarquía y Nación en el pensamiento político español del siglo XVII". In: *Cuadernos de Historia de España XIII* (1950), pp. 101-150.

⁴ José Maria Jover Zamora, "Tres actitudes ante el Portugal Restaurado". In: *Hispania X* (1950), pp. 104-170.

⁵ The feverous nationalism promoted by the *Estado Novo* inspired the celebration of the 600 years of the revolt in 1940. A large number of studies were published, including the transcription of documents. For an overview on the available studies at the time, see Augusto Botelho da Costa Veiga, *Exposição bibliográfica da Restauração*, 1940.

However, since the 1980s the historians started criticizing these anachronistic and inexact approaches and new studies have brought new lights into the period of the dynastic union and into the revolt of 1640⁶. It certainly also contributed the attention paid by foreign historians, allowing a revision of certain lines of thought influenced by the mentioned nationalism and prejudices. The works of Fernando Bouza⁷, Santiago Luxan Melendez⁸, Jean-Frédéric Schaub⁹ and Rafael Valladares¹⁰ meant a significant advance in the historical knowledge, as they all saw the integration of Portugal in the Spanish Monarchy as a form of aggregation instead of the traditional perspective of conquest and domination.

But there was also the need to take into account the different reactions to the discontentment and, especially, the different ways of attempting to legitimate a new position. When a conflict bursted, different forms of response were produced: military response, written response and even a visual one. We have seen so far some of the main studies on the politics and military events during the revolts. But, as some authors have pointed out, the ink was as important as the guns for the outcome of the conflicts. João Francisco Marques did his PhD dissertation about the role of the sermons in the Portuguese revolt, which incorporated some of the most important arguments used. These were studied by Luis Reis Torgal in his *Ideologia política e teoria do Estado na Restauração*, Diogo Ramada Curto, *O discurso político em Portugal (1600-1650)* and Fernando Bouza, *Imagen y propaganda. Capítulos de historia cultural del reinado de Felipe II*.

The studies of the protagonists and important characters of the revolt – as it happened in Catalonia – allowed us to shed new lights on the events of 1640-1668. In 2007, a collection of

⁶ António Hespanha, “Revueltas y revoluciones”. In: *La Gracia del Derecho. Economía de la Cultura en la Edad Moderna*, 1993. On the origins of the Portuguese revolt, see Jean-Frédéric Schaub, “La crise Hispanique de 1640. Le modèle des “révolutions périphériques” en question”. In : *Annales HSS* 1 (1994), pp. 223-227.

⁷ Fernando Bouza, *Portugal en la monarquía hispánica: 1580-1640. Felipe II, las cortes de tomar y la génesis del Portugal, católico*, 1987; *Portugal no tempo dos Filipes: política, cultura, representações, 1580-1668*, 2000; *Felipe II y el Portugal "dos povos": imágenes de esperanza y revuelta*, 2010, apart from several articles.

⁸ Santiago Luxan Melendez, *La Revolución de 1640 en Portugal, sus fundamentos sociales y sus caracteres nacionales: el Consejo de Portugal: 1580-1640*, 1988.

⁹ Jean-Frédéric Schaub, *Le Portugal au temps du Comte-Duc d'Olivares: 1621-1640: le conflit de juridictions comme exercice de la politique*, 2001; *Portugal na monarquia Hispânica (1580-1640)*, 2001.

¹⁰ Rafael Valladares, *Felipe IV y la restauración de Portugal*, 1994; *La Rebelión de Portugal: guerra, conflicto y poderes en la monarquía Hispánica: (1640-1680)*, 1998; *Castilla y Portugal en Asia, 1580-1680: declive imperial y adaptación*, 2001; *La Conquista de Lisboa: violencia militar y comunidad política en Portugal, 1578-1583*, 2008.

the biographies of the Portuguese kings was published, including the three Spanish monarchs and the kings from the restoration war¹¹.

The Neapolitan revolt of 1647-1648 deserved many studies from both Italian and foreign historians¹². It was one of the most famous reactions against the government during the Spanish rule and as such it has interested the historians. Different approaches have been made and there is a multiplicity of studies and sources which makes it impossible to list them all here. One of the most influent studies is the one from Rosario Villari (1967), who placed the revolt of 1647 in the context of the *crisis* of the 17th century and of the relations between Spain and Italy. Moreover, he paid a lot of attention to the duality of fidelity/rebellion in order to evaluate the dissidence and on the process of *refeudalización*, not only in this book but in other studies he dedicated to the revolt of 1647-1648¹³. Giuseppe Galasso, among other historians, saw some limits to the perspective of Villari, refuting for example, the concept of *refeudalización*. He also argued that the contradictions inside the Spanish Monarchy could not lead to a permanent state of crisis inside the viceroyalty of Naples¹⁴.

In 1989, the book of Aurelio Musi, *La rivolta di Masaniello nella scena politica barocca*, places the revolt in the international scenario, stressing its complexities. Musi also expressed in his book his disagreement with the emphasis Villari put on the rupture with Spain. According to him, the revolt was not so much about the predominancy of the separatist intentions, but about the anti-nobility and anti-feudal characteristics.

¹¹ The collection was published by the Circulo de Leitores: Fernando Bouza, *Filipe I*; Fernanda Olival, *Filipe II*; António de Oliveira, *Filipe III*; Mafalda Soares da Cunha and Leonor Freire Costa, João IV, 2006; .

¹² There are several historiographical reviews of the revolt of 1647-1648. Among others see, Isabel Enciso Alonso-Muñumer, “Revueltas y alzamientos en Nápoles. La crisis de 1647-1648 en la historiografía”. In: *Revista Studia Storica* 26 (2004), pp. 129-153; Francesco Benigno, Masaniello. In: *Espejos de la revolución: conflicto e identidad política en la Europa moderna*, 2000; pp. 133-189. For a good synthesis on the Meridional Italian history, see Giovanni Muto in the prologue to the book of Alain Hugon, *Naples insurgée*, 2011, pp. I-IX.

¹³ Rosario Villari, *La rivolta antispagnola a Napoli. Le origini (1585-1647)*, 1967; *Elogio della dissimulazione*, 1987; “Revoluciones periféricas y declive de la Monarquía española”. In *1640: La Monarquía Hispánica en crisis*, 1992, pp. 169-182; and *Per il re o per la patria: la fedeltá nel Seicento*, 1994.

¹⁴ Giuseppe Galasso, *De Mazzini a Salvemini: il pensiero democratico nell'Italia moderna*, 1974. Cited by Aurelio Musi, Prologue of the book by Silvana d'Alessio, *Masaniello*, 2007, pp. 7-18.

Pierluigi Rovito in 1986¹⁵ and Vittor Ivo Comparato¹⁶ later in 1998 went back to the *ceto togato* – a group of intellectuals, bourgeoisie and professionals – who according to the authors had been responsible for instigating the revolt, aiming at a new distribution of powers. Luis Ribot García has also supported this perspective in some of his studies about the revolts of Naples and Sicily¹⁷. The last contribution is the recent publication of Villari, *Un sogno di libertà. Napoli nel decline di un impero 1585-1648*. More than bringing new ideas, Villari insists on going back to 1585 to explain the revolt of 1647. This book is the culmination of the academic career of the historian.

The importance given to Masaniello during the revolt and contemporary interests led to the fact that for centuries, the studies of the revolt had been centered in his figure. During the 19th century, the myth of the popular hero was forged, following the lines of the romanticism and the nationalism in vogue at the time. The popular hero, the independence and the republicanism were manipulated to serve the population. This strongly influenced the historians such as G. M. Baldacchini¹⁸ and B. Capasso¹⁹, who have centered their research on the fisherman and his qualities. This exaltation of the protagonist – that only lived the first 10 days of the revolt! – led to the conversion of Masaniello into the archetype of the Neapolitans. It was not until the studies of Michelangelo Schipa that this line of research was interrupted. Schipa's book, *Masaniello* was published in 1923, gave Masaniello a more secondary role in the revolt, paying more attention to the months that followed the death of the fisherman. His and Benedetto Croce's contributions allowed the opening of a new line of research which contemplated the revolt as something more complex and articulated than an uprising against the taxes.

¹⁵ Pierluigi Rovito, "La rivolta costituzionale di Napoli (1647-1648)". In: *Rivista Storica Italiana* XCVIII (1986), pp. 367-462.

¹⁶ Vittor Ivo Comparato, "La Repubblica Napoletana del 1647/48: Partiti, idee, modelli politici". In: *Il Pensiero Politico* XXXI-2 (1998), pp. 205-239.

¹⁷ Luís Ribot García, "Las revueltas de Ñapóles y Sicilia (1647-1648)". In: *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 11 (1991), pp. 121-130; "Las revueltas italianas del siglo XVII". In: *Studia historica. Historia moderna* 26 (2004), pp. 101-128; "Revueltas urbanas en la Italia española (siglos XVI-XVII)". In: Juan Ignacio Fortea Pérez, Juan Eloy Gelabert González (eds.), *Ciudades en conflicto: (siglos XVI-XVIII)*, 2008, pp. 337-370.

¹⁸ G. M. Baldacchini, *Storia napoletana sell'anno 1647*, 1834.

¹⁹ Bartolommeo Capasso, *Masaniello ed alcuni di sua famiglia effigiati nei quadri, nelle figure, e nelle stampe del tempo: note storiche*, 1987; *La famiglia di Masaniello: episodio della storia napoletana nel secolo 17*, 1875.

In 1983, Peter Burke made a risky attempt of a cultural study of the revolt. In his article “The Virgin of the Carmine and the Revolt of Masaniello”²⁰, Burke proposes an anthropological and cultural approach to the behavior and rituals of the revolt. It was highly criticized by Villari for considering that it reduced the revolt to the 10 days of Masaniello, disregarding the complexities of the revolt in the months that followed July 1647.

In the late 90s from the 20th century, there is a renewed interest in the figure of Masaniello, now seen in the context of the complexities of the revolt. In 1998, Roberto de Simone coordinated a book about the role of Masaniello in the European dramas²¹. Besides transcribing the texts of the plays, the authors were able to gather a considerable number of images picturing Masaniello, scenes of the revolt and other important characters that assumed an important role in 1647-1648.

In 1999, V. Dini went back to the analysis of the myth of Masaniello, emphasizing the importance of the chroniclers and writers contemporary to the revolt in establishing the dimension of the hero given to Masaniello. More recently, in 2007, Silvana d’Alessio published a new book about Masaniello²². The author offers an analysis of the construction of the character of Masaniello during his 10 days as *capopolo* until his death on the 16th July and then the impact his personality and the myth created around him had in Europe. The true value of this book is the effort to balance the edification of the memory of Masaniello between history and myth.

In the same line of offering new interpretations in the recent past years, Alain Hugon gave us in 2011 a new contribution to the study of the revolt²³, dedicating a chapter to the images of the revolt and another one to the impact of his figure outside Naples. Hugon provide us some chapters with important cultural interpretations of the revolt, something that had been missing so far. He used the image as sources to highlight the importance of the visual dimension in the revolt and the role that images played in both sides of the conflict. Capasso had already made

²⁰ Peter Burke, “The Virgin of the Carmine and the Revolt of Masaniello”. In: *Past & Present* 99 (1983), pp. 3-21.

²¹ Roberto de Simone, *Masaniello nella drammaturgia europea e nella iconografia del suo secolo*, 1998.

²² Silvana d’Alessio, *Masaniello: la sua vita e il mito in Europa*, 2007.

²³ Alain Hugon, *Naples insurgée 1647-1648. De l’événement à la mémoire*, 2011.

some comments on portraits of Masaniello, but the images were always used to illustrate rather than as sources from which the historian would extract information.

It might seem curious that the images of the revolt had been set aside by the historians for so long. Not even art historians – who find in Naples a rich field of study – have used too much those sources. This can be explained if we consider that those are images that in general lack quality and hence do not capture the interest of art historians.

Of no less importance are the studies that focus on the end of the revolt and the years that followed it. The repression of the revolt was carried by Juan José de Austria and a new viceroy was appointed, the count of Oñate. Giuseppe Galasso published in 1982, *Napoli spagnola dopo Masaniello: politica, cultura, società* and in 2011 Ana Minguito Palomares published *Nápoles y el Virrey Conde de Oñate: la estrategia del poder y el resurgir del reino (1648-1653)*, focusing on the cultural policy of the viceroy to reestablish the power of the Crown in Naples.

Methodology

During the first part of my PhD, I dedicated some months to the reading of important bibliography, in order to write the chapter 1. This chapter analysis the contexts of the three revolts: how did they become integrated in the Spanish Monarchy, the conditions of such integration and then the increasing tension that led into the revolt. A part of this chapter is dedicated to the examination of the main moments of the days the revolts began and an interpretation of the behaviors and ritual moments.

In the next phase, I recollected the images that are the main sources of this dissertation. In order to do that, I have spent some months in Naples, where I worked in the Biblioteca Nazionale de Napoli and in the Società di Storia Patria. In Portugal, my research was focused in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, in the Biblioteca da Ajuda, Biblioteca Pública de Évora and in the Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra. Moreover, I did some research in the library of the University of Cambridge, in the Warburg Institute in London and in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, in Paris. Finally, I included visual sources that were possible to gather thanks to the generosity and good will of the staff of the Landesmuseum für Kunst und

Kulturgeschiede (Westfälisches Landesmuseum – Münster) and from the Koninklijke Bibliotheek.

After collecting the sources, I had to address the question of dealing with an exceptional large number of visual sources. In order to do so, I created a database with all the images and their information. The next step was to start reading about other works done with images, and how to extract relevant information from visual sources. These readings allowed me to write chapter 2, in which I start by doing a state of the art about the treatment given to images as sources by historians and art historians through the centuries until present time. In the second part of the chapter, I do analyze the role of the image in the 17th century.

Once I finished it, I started writing chapters 3-5, about the visual production in each of the three territories and finally the conclusion, where I give a general perspective of the common aspects the three revolts shared regarding visual communication and their differences. I tried to offer reasons to justify both resemblances and differentiations.

The last chapter, the conclusion, is dedicated to compare the visual communication in the three territories, offering some possible interpretations for the questions previously raised.

- **Importance of comparative history**

One of the main methods used is the comparative history. The first chapter intends to compare the three scenarios and preconditions to the revolts of 1640-1647, and the last chapter compares the visual arguments used during those years in the three territories, allowing us to see the revolts and their reasoning less in an individual perspective and more in a joint point of view as part of the same cultural and political moment.

Besides the individual analysis of each revolt, there is still more information that we can extract from the visual sources. By putting the three territories side by side, under a comparative point of view, there are some aspects that could go otherwise unnoticed. The comparative approach is therefore an important methodological basis in this dissertation.

Comparative history existed for a long time, but it only started taking form as a method in the 19th century, as the beginning of the national histories emerged to accompany the nation-making projects. The development of disciplines such as ethnology, anthropology and philology

supported this new systematic approach, providing historians and social scientists with a new tool. In fact, Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) and Max Weber (1864-1920) showed their concern with understanding social dynamics and transformation of cultures and social structures using comparative history²⁴. During the first decades of the 20th century, Louis Davillé and Lucien Febvre (1878-1956) published a series of articles in the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* presenting the possibility of using comparative history as a method as an alternative to the studies that privileged the singularity of the state²⁵.

In February 1928, comparative history was eloquently praised by Marc Bloch (1886-1944), during the International Congress of Historical Sciences in Oslo²⁶. He made an enthusiast plead to the benefits of such method, although he never developed it to its full extent. According to Marc Bloch, comparative history was the alternative of the experimental method of sciences, for testing hypothesis. Bloch, along with Henri Pirenne (1862-1935) and Otto Hintze (1861-1940) were part of a new generation of historians that followed the World War I. After the war, it was felt a certain disappointment with the nationalism and the need to overcome the models defended by the old political and nationalistic historiography from the 19th century. Marc Bloch's *Les Rois Thaumaturges* (1924) had in mind breaking the national borders by comparing the English and French medieval societies. Henri Pirenne's call for a comparative history that would cross geographical and disciplinary boundaries translated in the publication of *A History of Europe* (1936) and Hintze's examination of the connections between war, finances and the emergence of a 'modern' bureaucracy responded to the need of going beyond the traditional national approach that no longer sufficed. In order to face the challenges, historians had to find a solution and comparative history was in part the answer. It meant an opportunity to break the barriers imposed

²⁴ Theda Skocpol and Margaret Somers, "The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry". In: *Comparative Studies in History and Society* XXII-2 (1980), pp. 174-197, p. 174.

²⁵ Louis Davillé, "La comparaison et la méthode comparative, en particulier dans les études historiques". In: *Revue de Synthèse Historique* XXVII-79/80 (1913), pp. 4-33; XXVII-81 (1913), pp. 217-257; XXVIII-83/84 (1914), pp. 201-229; and Lucien Febvre, "Une esquisse d'histoire comparée". In: *Revue de Synthèse Historique* XXXVII-128 (1924), pp. 151-152.

²⁶ The text of his communication was reprinted with the title "Pour une histoire compare des sociétés européennes". In: *Révue de Synthèse Historique* 46 (1928), pp. 15-50.

by the old historiographical paradigm of the state as a monocentric structured, overcoming the isolation and providing a chance to consider the communication between people and societies.

Twenty-five years later, comparative history found another enthusiastic supporter in Fernand Braudel²⁷. In the 1950s, studies of compared local history are published, which led – during the second half of the 20th century to the appearance of several studies of micro-history. Historians were interested in using comparative history for the analysis of the everyday life, in a small scale, opposed to the previous studies of macro realities.

However, since Marc Bloch there had been no real effort of providing comparative history with systematization. This gap was filled by Charles Tilly (1929-2008), who developed his studies on the formation of the national states. His idea consisted in creating different types of comparison: the universal, the global, the individual and differentiation one²⁸.

But not always historians have used gladly this approach and they often find it difficult²⁹. There are certainly some objections and dangers inherent to this method. Often has been observed that comparative history can be misleading as not always comparisons can be established. There is also the danger of what José Barros called “*synchronic illusion*”³⁰, meaning that sometimes an historian might want to compare two or more societies at a similar level of development, but he/she needs to be confronted with the fact that this development might have been a cause of different situations. The election of the unities of comparison is indeed a possible obstacle. Firstly, it is not the same to study two unities as comparing three or more. Having the same knowledge about three different territories is a hard task. In other words, the more units of comparison one chooses, the more one depends on secondary and literary sources, as not always it is easy or even possible to master primary sources for two or more units. It also might imply to break continuities and comparative history has been accused of interrupting the narrative. And,

²⁷ His most representative study adopting the comparative approach is *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen a l'époque de Philippe II*, originally published in 1949.

²⁸ Célia Maria Marinho de Azevedo, “História comparada: um novo modo de ver e fazer a história”. In: *Revista de História Comparada* 1-1 (2007), pp. 1-30; pp. 18-22.

²⁹ Jürgen Kocka, “Comparison and Beyond”. In: *History and Theory* 42-1 (2003), pp. 39-44.

³⁰ José d'Assunção Barros, “História Comparada – um novo método de ver e fazer história”. In: *Revista de História Comparada* I-1 (1997), pp. 1-30, p. 25.

finally, it usually implies a selection or an abstraction, as one cannot compare totalities – only viewpoints³¹.

In 2004, Haupt and Kocka called the attention for the fact that comparative history was more common in Germany than in countries such as France or Italy, which had devote a greater attention to regional studies and to interactions across borders³². They also remarked that particular subjects were more prone to use comparative history, such as antiquity, modern era and more recently early modern history, and within these periods, economical, social and political studies were more likely to engage with this method rather than cultural studies and history of the ideas³³.

In the last years, comparative history gained a new turn, it has been the subject of quite some studies and gave place to publications such as the international journal “Comparative Studies in Society and History”, published by the society sharing the same name (1958) and the Brazilian journal “Revista de História Comparada” (2007). In 1960, the Centre de Recherches Comparées sur les Sociétés Anciennes (CRCSA) was created by Jean Pierre Vernant, Marcel Detienne and others. It became a very active center of research that integrated later in the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. Marcel Detienne, author of *Comparer l'incomparable* (2000), shared in this book the concerns of some of his colleagues. For them, comparative history can and should be used to study ancient and actual societies, simple and complex ones, and it should focus on the singularities, the repetitions, time and space. The hierarchy of societies and cultures should be put aside so the complex networks can be revealed and fully understood.

The decade of 1990s assisted to the progressive internationalization of knowledge and the increasing debate of the globalization gave new basis to the discussion of the comparison³⁴. The comparison based in global terms, as Jürgen Kocka remarked in several articles, played an

³¹ Jürgen Kocka, “Comparison and Beyond”. In: *History and Theory* 42-1 (2003), pp. 39-44; Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka, “Comparative history: methods, aims, problems”. In: Deborah Cohen and Maura O’Connor (eds.), *Comparison and history: Europe in cross-national perspective*, 2004, pp. 23-40.

³² The same idea is shared by Neyde Theml and Regina Maria da Cunha Bustamante, “História Comparada: Olhares Plurais”. In: *Revista de História Comparada* 1-1 (2007), pp. 1-23, p. 7.

³³ Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka, “Comparative history: methods, aims, problems”. In: Deborah Cohen and Maura O’Connor (eds.), *Comparison and history: Europe in cross-national perspective*, 2004, pp. 23-40, p. 23.

³⁴ For a debate on the debates around global history and comparative history, see Gale Stokes, “The Fates of Human Societies: a review of recent macrohistories”. In: *American Historical Review* 106 (2001), pp. 508-525.

important role. The study of Barrington Moore (1913-2005), *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (1966) puts in evidence the importance of the comparison in a global perspective to analyze the modernization of England, France, the United States, Japan, India and China. The transnational perspective opened without doubt new doors to comparative history, which is practiced along with *histoire croisée* and the model of ‘cultural transfers’³⁵. “Entangled histories” became the new trend expression, advocated for example by the sociologist Shalini Randeria³⁶, while *histoire croisée* has been defended, among others, by Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann³⁷.

As seen, there are several approaches to the comparative history. Charles Ragin wrote that “good comparative social sciences balance emphasis on cases and emphasis on variables”³⁸. However, not all authors agree. For instances, some do not even consider ‘comparative history’ as a method, as it lacks a well defined set of practices. John Elliott, for instance, shows to be very reluctant to consider it a methodology. Instead, he considers that due to the different kinds and degrees of comparison, it would be better to call it an *art*³⁹.

In the present day, amongst the most active supporters of comparative history, a special mention must be made to John Elliott, who besides theorizing about it, is the author of some very good titles of comparative history⁴⁰. This tool forces the historian to define what can and what cannot be compared, and helps reflecting about the conditions that allow such comparisons. The connection established with other historiographical fields such as political history, economical

³⁵ On “cultural transfers” see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, “Pintura de los reinos: A global view of the cultural field”. In: Juana Gutiérrez (ed.), *Pintura de los reinos: identidades compartidas*, 2008; Bronislaw Malinowski, Introduction of the book of Fernando Ortíz, *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar*, 1978.

³⁶ Shalini Randeria, “Entangled Histories of Uneven Modernities”. In: Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (eds.), *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, 2009, pp. 77-104.

³⁷ Michel Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, *De la comparaison à l'histoire croisée*, 2004; “Beyond Comparison. Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity”. In: *History and Theory* 45-1 (2006), pp. 30-50, among others.

³⁸ Charles Ragin, *Issues and Alternatives in Comparative Social Research*, 1991, p. 1. From the same author see also Charles Ragin, “Making comparative analysis count”. In: *Revista de História Comparada* 1-1 (2007), pp. 1-29.

³⁹ John Elliott, *History in the Making*, p. 204 of the Spanish edition “Haciendo Historia”.

⁴⁰ John Elliott, *Richelieu and Olivares*, 1991; John Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic world: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830*, 2006.

history, cultural history, etc. allows us to have a broader look on our subjects. There is indeed a need of a deeper study about the past realities, a bigger interconnection instead of a mere description of the events. Sometimes we find ourselves historians at a point in which is not so much about the extensive usage of new archives as it is about reassembling the disparate elements. In other words, it is about avoiding the growing atomization of historical knowledge. The first mention John Elliott made to comparative history was during his inaugural lecture delivered in May 1991 in the University of Oxford. Elliott highlighted the eminent risk of the atomization and trivializing the historical knowledge. But this lecture was just the first step of the historian in the field of comparative history. He called the attention again to this method in 1993 during the congress “Historia a Debate”⁴¹, centering his talk in the possibilities and importance of the comparative history and by promoting it as “*one of the most promising means*”.

By using the comparative approach, historians can analyze how the same problem crosses two or more realities or social practices or even mentalities. It is a permanent tension between the generalization and the particularities.

Moreover, sometimes it might be interesting to compare units separated by time or by space. This is the case of the studies made by Clifford Geertz, who compared Morocco with Indonesia⁴² and Theda Skocpol, who compared the revolutions of France in 1789, Russia in 1917 and China in the 20th century⁴³. Robert Darnton, in an interview given in 1996, also discusses a research he was doing on the censorship in three different societies: the France in the Early Modern Age, in British India during the 19th century and in the West Germany during the 20th century. His goal, with this study, was to understand how the censors did their job in each of the three realities and how they understood their tasks⁴⁴.

Of course we must be aware that if no common features emerge, then probably there is no reason to compare. Forcing comparisons is a risk that should be avoided, as the argument loses its exactitude. But, when there are elements that can be compared, then it is an extraordinary tool at the service of the historians. In the case of my dissertation, comparative history represented a

⁴¹ John Elliott, “Comparative History”. In: Carlos Barros (ed.), *Historia a Debate*, pp. 9-19.

⁴² Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*, 1971.

⁴³ Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, 1979.

⁴⁴ María Pallares and Peter Burke, *The New History: Confessions and Conversations*, 2002, pp. 158-183.

○ **Three revolts under the comparative perspective.**

Peter Burke in his *History and Social Theory* stated that comparative history was extremely fruitful for – among others – political history, for its role in the studies of the revolts. Some examples have been cited already, such as Theda Skocpol and Barrington More, but there are others, as Hugh Trevor-Ropers, who centered his research in expanding the study of the Great Rebellion into a comparison with other revolts in the continent (1959)⁴⁵, Roland Mousnier, who examined the role of the peasants in different revolts in France, in Russia and in China, during the 16th and 17th centuries⁴⁶, and Lawrence Stone's essay on the causes of the English revolution (1972)⁴⁷.

Recently John Elliott wrote in a chapter of his latest book, *History in the Making*, that revolutions offer a very rich field of comparative history⁴⁸. But he goes even further: the comparative approach emphasizes the role of culture in the context of the revolts⁴⁹. Few centuries offer such great opportunity for comparing such as the 17th. There are an abundant number of documents representing the many areas of the everyday life, displaying important elements of political, commercial and cultural interchange, while it lacks the obstacles raised by the revolutionary changes in Europe of the 18th century⁵⁰.

The 17th century was a century of conflicts, tensions and wars that did not only affect the internal politics but that were mostly transnational. The most important one was probably the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), which involved a large number of European and colonial territories. Historians have often seen conflicts as the Portuguese Restoration War, the Reapers' War in Catalonia and the Neapolitan Revolt of 1647 as separate events, but in fact in the past years the tendency has been inverted and the three episodes have been studied under a more

⁴⁵ Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, "The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century". In: *Past and Present* 16 (1959), pp. 31-65; See also the same journal n. 18 (1960), pp. 8-42.

⁴⁶ Roland Mousnier, *Fureurs Paysannes: les Paysans dans les Révoltes du XVIIe Siècle (France, Russie, Chine)*, 1967.

⁴⁷ Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory*, 1991.

⁴⁸ John Elliott, *History in the Making*, p. 193 of the Spanish edition *Haciendo Historia*.

⁴⁹ John Elliott, *History in the Making*, p. 216 of the Spanish edition *Haciendo Historia*.

⁵⁰ Michael O. Gately, A. Lloyd Moote and John E. Wills, Jr., "Seventeenth-century peasant "furies": Some problems of comparative history. In: *Past & Present* 51 (1971), pp. 63-80, p. 63.

integrated point of view and as part of a larger conflict, the Thirty Years' War, side by side with the French Fronde and the revolt in the Netherlands. Many have been the approaches to these conflicts, sometimes isolated, other times in a more comparative perspective. However, this chapter aims at putting the three conflicts together and analyze under a comparative perspective the visual propaganda produced during those years.

A comparative approach allows us to perceive how people responded in the context of three different revolts. By putting the three of them side by side, it can be seen that distinctive triggers cause similar answers. As Vitor Ivo Comparato wrote, the comparison allows the historians to formulate more questions and illuminate obscure aspects or unexplored ones. And this is exactly what the historian does in his article about the revolts of Catalonia and Naples⁵¹.

There might have been a political rupture (more or less enduring), but there was not at any moment a cultural one. It was more of a cultural continuance, with the differences inherent to the three different circumstances.

External facts, mainly political and economical, conditioned the production of such images and their diffusion. But they all three had two things in common: the concern of legitimating their cause and the fight against the notion of rebel.

This is the perspective I try to pursue in my first and last chapters. Well documented and individual studies were developed in chapters 3-5, so that in the Conclusions I could draw my attention to the main lines of the visual communication during the three revolts: which similarities? And which differences? Were really the three revolts so different from each other? The comparative approach allows us to remove some of the rigidity that still affects the historiography of the three revolts, in order to understand them in a more fluid and heterogeneous scenario.

Sources

⁵¹ Vitor Ivo Comparato, "Barcelona y Nápoles en la búsqueda de un modelo político: analogías, diferencias, contactos". In: *Pedralbes. Revista d'història moderna* 18-2 (1998), pp. 439-452, p. 439.

In order to do a comparative study, it was possible to gather a total number of 212 images, from libraries, archives and private collections, mainly in Lisbon (Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra and Biblioteca Nacional), Naples (Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli and Società Storia Patria) and Barcelona (Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya and Biblioteca de la Universitat de Barcelona).

When considering the visual sources, I am referring to engravings, paintings, coins, medals, figures in wax and ceramics. Sometimes we are aware of their existence not because they survived to the present day but because of the written sources. These indirect references were very important, giving us a wider perspective of the existing propaganda.

The first important thing to note is that the visual production was not evenly distributed over the three territories. This can be explained through political and economical factors: as Portugal, Catalonia and Naples were distinctive scenarios, as it was analyzed in Chapter 1.

The territory with more images is Naples (91 images), then closely followed by Portugal (87) and finally Catalonia (34). In the introductory chapter, it was seen that Naples was a privileged scenario for the creation and diffusion of propaganda. But how can we explain the fact that a popular revolt such as the Neapolitan one, produced more images than the Portuguese one, led by the aristocracy?

The first possible reason lies in the fact that Naples was in terms of market of images some steps ahead of Portugal and Catalonia: there were more artists, most of all very committed to the revolt; there was an active patronage and a visual culture probably more advanced. In Portugal and in Catalonia there was no international artistic market, there were no painters that could compete against the Italians Micco Spadaro and Cerquozzi, or any of painters of the court of Philip IV. Even John IV's royal painter Avelar Rebelo was considered the only solution in a time of need. This was probably influenced by the economical situation that affected both Iberian territories. It must be taken into account that it had been years since Portugal had had a royal court resident in Lisbon – and often there was no viceroy but a group of five Portuguese men ruling (the *Juntas*). One could argue that neither did Naples have a royal court. In fact, the king had not lived in Naples for much longer than in Lisbon. But Naples was one of the richest territories culturally speaking, and the viceroys took advantage of it. Politically speaking, being

the viceroy of Naples was one of the most prestigious positions in the Hispanic Monarchy and they certainly used the rich cultural life of the city in order to promote themselves.

Also, in Portugal the protest was directly against the king, and although in Catalonia it was at first against the bad government, then there was the rupture with Philip IV. There was no tradition in satirical representations of the monarchs at the time. The immediacy of the events probably also contributed to restrain the creation of new models for new prints.

In terms of the different kinds of visual sources circulating in the three territories, the image production answered to the political and economical needs and to the capacity of the existing printing houses. In Portugal there was the question of legitimating a new dynasty, so engravings were especially important in order to make the new king known inside and outside the Portuguese borders. In Naples the existing visual culture demanded a large number of engravings but also some paintings: people needed to see their hero, the authorities were curious about the monster and there was an active patronage. Catalonia, going through an economical crisis, relied more on the images of saints in the absence of a strong leader.

Regarding the information that can help us lead with these sources, the sources are uneven as well. The revolt of Masaniello left us a considerable amount of written testimonies, which mention the images. In Catalonia there are not many images, so as a consequence there is little information about them. In Portugal the situation was not so clear. There are more images than in Catalonia, and still we do not have enough clues to establish conclusions. Was it because the images were more consumed outside Portugal? Indeed, a large amount of engravings were commissioned and printed in foreign territory, especially in France. On the contrary, Catalonia did not share the same international resources, so there are even fewer images, and the majority were already existing ones, adapted to the new political context.

In order to write this dissertation, I used different kinds of sources, according to the information available for each territory.

- Visual sources

The first and most important sources of information are the images themselves. Although it is almost impossible to find all the images available, I do consider that I do have a representative sample of what was the production of visual propaganda during the three revolts.

Although we can quantify the volume of visual material available, it is important to remember that we consider only those that survived in archives and libraries, and those for which there is bibliographical evidence. They are, almost for sure, a serious understatement of the total number of images that were produced and circulated during those years. For example, if we consider the surviving Neapolitan engravings of Masaniello and those who are referenced in letters and chronicles, we can see no match between them. If they refer to different images, we should probably think that many more existed besides those. Another fact to take into account is the high number of material that was produced at a cheap price. It was seen in chapter 2 the conditions of production and the kind of support of this materials. Cheap prints meant most probably to a short life due to the fragility of the material support and the little care in their handling. Unlike medals or paints, engravings were meant to be ephemeral, of quick diffusion, absorption and then disappearance. Even in the cases that their owners meant to keep them, it took many decades of exposure to worms, mice and mildew until proper conditions were set. There is also the question of possessing these images. Not always having one was a good thing and it could even put the owner in danger. We know for sure that many were intentionally destroyed, either by their owners, either by the authorities. Though we cannot guess how much was lost, we may cross bibliographical and visual sources. This suggests that losses were significant. In many cases a single copy survived. In other cases, there is more than one copy but there are references to their proliferation. This is the case of the French engraving "*L'espagnol affligé du mal de Naples*". There is a copy in the Bibliothèque National de France, but there is also a copy in the personal diary of the friar Molini, who explains that "*di queste carte stampate che sono nel foglio antecedente che per gratia, mediante il mio compagno che era anc'egli Lorenense, me ne toccò un'ache con difficoltà ho conservata sino al presente*"⁵². According to Molini's account, this particular engraving was being distributed in a considerable amount

⁵² Sebastiano Molini, *Sollevazione di Tommaso Aniello di Napoli*, f. 76v.

around Naples. And as it was a French engraving, there are great chances that it was distributed in French territory as well.

Apart from the three territories where the revolts had place, there are other places where sources can be found. France's interest and implication in the three revolts because of the war against Spain makes it an especially important scenario. Louis XIII was proclaimed count of Barcelona in 1641. He had been an instigator of the Portugal revolt as well. He had sent money to Portugal and Richelieu kept an active correspondence with the promoters of the coup d'état. The revolt in Naples was supported by French soldiers in 1648. But these military contributions helping to weaken the Hispanic Monarchy were not the only action French took. Side by side with the military war, they set a propaganda system consisting in pamphlets, books and engravings. The Bibliothèque National de France, especially in the Cabinet d'estampes, has in fact an important collection of engravings allusive to the revolts.

The Westphalia peace can also be considered a privilege scenario for the circulation of images. An exhaustive research in the libraries and archives in the cities where negotiations took place could reveal some more images. My research was limited to the Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, in Münster and to the collections available online of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. But also in the Netherlands, in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek there are some engravings and books related to the events of 1640-1647 and in Wien, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek also has some material that would be interesting to consult in a near future. The impact of the three revolts and the interest that followed the movements fully justifies the dispersion of sources. In Italy there are also other archives and libraries besides those in Naples. The Vatican archives and library might be another relevant place to find documentation. In Bologna I had the chance of working in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, where the manuscript written by Sebastiano Molini is.

For the Portuguese revolt in particular apart from the already mentioned collections, it would be interest to consult the collection of Barbosa Machado, in the Biblioteca Nacional de Rio de Janeiro, a collection that the king John VI took with him to Brazil. Unfortunately, the distance did not allow more than a superficial overview of the catalogues published in the internet.

Although there are possibly many other images, the geographical dispersion of the sources and the lack of time did not allow me such a more extensive search.

- Historical sources

Apart from the visual sources, that give us immediate information, there are also secondary sources that can help suppressing – in a way – the images lost and destroyed. Many authors dedicated their time to record the events of the revolts, in chronological order. Some were even eyewitnesses to the events and make considerations on several aspects, such as the existence of images and the behavior of the protagonists and other intervening characters towards to them. These accounts are especially useful because they give a wider perspective about the revolts, as they mention the images in a context, relating them with the people in a time and place. The Neapolitan accounts are very good examples for these kind of sources. Innocenzo Fuidoro wrote *Successi storici raccolti dalla sollevazione di Napoli dell'anno 1647*, a work that contains several references to engravings, drawings and paintings. Apart from this one, there are also the accounts of Camilo Tutini and Marino Verde, Giuseppe Pollio, Esprit Raimond de Mormoiron and Sebastiano Molini, among others. They all reveal a special sensibility towards the image, including their existence in their narratives of the Neapolitan revolt. The accounts of the Catalan revolt contain no information regarding possible images. We can interpret this omission not as a lack of sensibility towards the visual production, but as a sign of the inexistence of such materials.

- Diplomatic sources

Another kind of sources is the diplomatic correspondence. It is especially important for the study of the Portuguese revolt, as once it happened, the King sent envoys to the main European cities. These men established networks that reveal the concerns about the image production and the commissions. The letters that survived in Portuguese libraries demonstrate the importance of having portraits of the king, as well as the process of diffusion. Also in Naples there are some letters sent from residents to their superiors, after the revolt began. There was a preoccupation in

informing them about the events, often sending portraits of Masaniello. In Catalonia, again, those were not so important, as there were almost no images of the protagonists that could be sent.

- Literary sources

These sources are very close to the historical ones, but mainly they are panegyrics and romances. History and literature served the same function: transmit the political events. They also describe the various events of the conflicts, some of them as eyewitnesses. The main difference lies between fact and fiction. These compositions often have a satirical, exaggerating factor. They are not my main source of information. In fact, the study of literary texts would be, per se, a whole new research project. However, specific texts bring important evidence about images that did not survive to our present day. The panegyric written after the death of Pau Claris, for example, illustrates us about the visual scenario that was displayed in his funeral. The book of the celebrations made for Afonso VI's wedding contains several images that have not been preserved.

Sometimes, the short poetic compositions bring us even more information, even when contain no references to images. In some cases, short stanzas written in Catalonia contain details about the place where they were displayed. There is a possibility that images would be placed in the same locations.

- Notarial sources

Notarial sources such as wills and inventories allow us to know better private collections. This means they are more useful for studying paintings. These sources are especially useful for Catalonia, although there is some information available for Naples as well. Due to the proportions of these sources, I did not look into them in archives, but in published works. In this sense, it was particularly important the book of Santi Torras Tilló, about art in Catalonia, as the author uses a great number of notarial sources. For Naples, it was important the exhaustive work of Gérard Labrot about art collections in Naples in early modern age. They often not only indicate the owners, but where the paintings were placed. This allows us to have an idea about the potential public.

a. **Types**

The majority of the images found are either engravings or paintings. There are some coins and medals, as well as some ceramics. And in an exceptionally reduced number, other kind of visual supports as drawings and wax. The support says a lot about the image itself. Different materials supposed different publics and a bigger or smaller amount of spectators. An engraving that was placed in the Piazza del Mercato in Naples would have a much bigger impact than the portrait of John IV placed in his royal palace. The same could be said about a medal in a private collection and a print in a book or pamphlet. The type and diversity of images were also a consequence of the artistic possibilities of each territory. Therefore, in Naples there are a great number of engravings and paintings, and there are medals and ceramics and drawings. But for Catalonia we can verify the opposite situation: there are just a few engravings and even fewer paintings. Portugal can be considered in the middle term, with a great number of engravings and some paintings of the revolt, certainly inspired by the fact of having a royal candidate. The fact that the revolt was not repressed as it happened in Naples in 1648 and in Catalonia in 1652 might constitute another reason for the existence of these materials.

b. **Number**

As it was stated, the revolt that inspired more images and the biggest production was Naples (91). The artistic and economic possibilities of the reign, as well as the international impact it had, made possible an almost massive production of images, even if they were to be destructed.

Following Naples, in terms of quantity, there is Portugal with a total of 87 images. Portugal did not share the artistic splendor lived in Naples, so we could really question ourselves why are the numbers so similar. One possible explanation lies in the fact that a great number of Portuguese engravings were printed in Paris. When comparing the portraits of John IV printed in Portugal and in France, there is a considerable difference regarding their quality. Portuguese engravers could not compete with their equals/peers in France.

Finally, in third place, comes Catalonia, with 34 images. Catalonia was the least fortunate territory when it comes to image production. Besides the economical crisis that certainly affected

the artistic environment, there was no international projection comparable to the Portuguese and Neapolitan ones. The interest showed by France, although Louis XIII was proclaimed count of Barcelona, could not be compared either to the action of the king in Portugal and in Naples. There was an effort of reusing previous engravings, images that had been circulating in Europe for quite some time, and readjust their meaning.

But there must be some flexibility when considering these numbers. When considering the amount of images for each revolt, one should not think in absolute terms. First of all, because there are probably more images besides the ones found until now. The dispersion is one of the problems of this project. Moreover, we know that both Naples and Catalonia had to face the destruction of the images after the revolt, under the orders of Juan Jose of Austria. In Portugal this did not happen. Besides the intentional destruction, all three territories had to face the natural destruction of the documentation caused by time and lack of conservation conditions.

c. Differences

The most obvious difference is related to the protagonists of the three revolts. While in Portugal there was a new king, in Naples there was a fisherman and in Catalonia there was the government of the Principality but no royal candidate. This conditions strongly the visual production of those years, as it was not the same to promote a king, a minister or a fisherman.

However, Naples had one thing in its favor: the cultural development. The Neapolitan aristocracy and the viceroial institution were, as Peter Arnade wrote about the Burgundian dukes, “master image makers, harnessing public performance and patronizing art to make visible their authority and secure their place in the public eye”⁵³. A revolt that started, developed and finished within two years produced more images than the two Iberian revolts.

One of the main concerns when elaborating this corpus was the chronological limits. Although Portuguese and Catalan revolution start in the same year, they have different evolutions, and they finish in different moments. The same can be applied to the Neapolitan revolt: it started later and it was finished before the other two wars. So, in order to respect the chronology, I decided to collect evidence from the 17th century only, focusing in the dates of

⁵³ Peter Arnade, *Beggars, iconoclasts, and civic patriots*, 2008, p. 19.

each of the revolutionary episodes: Portugal (1640-1668), Catalonia (1640-1652) and Naples (1647-1648). It means that the corpus is composed by images that are contemporary to the events or posterior by a couple of years, leaving aside all of those produced in the later centuries, often charged with nationalistic sentiments.

There are a couple of exceptions as I do use intentionally some images that go outside this chronological frame, but it is only as the corpus would seem incomplete without them. It is the case of a Portuguese engraving from 1672 that presents a kind of imagery very similar from the previous ones, probably being a reused image and, by being so, it is a witness of a contemporary image that fits the chronological frame. Whenever the images represent exceptions, it will be fully justified.

The second concern is related to the kind of materials selected, or in other terms, the visual supports. It was clear that they all had to be visual representations, as this dissertation is about the messages they transmit, but yet it was important to decide which supports should be considered. After an exhaustive search, I decided to focus mainly on paintings and engravings, although I do include some coins, medals and some ceramics as I considered it reinforced the argument made. This is not a study about art history, so more than giving relevance to the support itself, it is more important the message they contain, how were they diffused, what reactions did they cause on their public and how can they contribute to the main argument of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 1

The revolts: a political background

The revolts of Catalonia, Portugal and Naples (1640-1647) have been seen more and more as episodes from the international conflict that became known as the Thirty Year War (1618-1648), instead of isolate episodes. This integrated perspective allows historians to see contact points and differences which favour a more exhaustive understanding of the multiple dimensions of the 17th century.

In the first half of the 17th century, Europe was the stage of several disputes: a religious war was going on between Protestants and Catholics in the Roman Catholic Empire; at the same time, several monarchies were facing internal political conflicts; and the disputes for the territories of central Europe were abundant¹.

A new phase of this conflict began when France entered in a direct dispute against Spain and the dynasty of the Habsburg in 1635. It was far from being the best moment – military and economically speaking – for any of the monarchies, as they were both financially exhausted from the military effort. But the conflict instead of abridging, just took the opposite direction.

The government of Madrid had to face the shortage of economical and human resources to sustain a war of such dimensions. As a consequence, it accelerated the idea of creating a project of support and distribution of such effort and expenses through the different kingdoms and territories integrating the Hispanic Monarchy.

In this chapter it will be analyzed the conditions that precipitated the three revolts in Catalonia, Portugal and Naples. As Francesco Benigno stated, we face today a great number of historiographical interpretations on these events, offering different perspectives, sometimes divergent². This multiplicity of interpretations, although it must be celebrated for the richness of its contributions, also represents a problem when trying to elaborate a brief summary of the most

¹ Many have been the studies about the Thirty Years' War. See, among others, Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years' War*, 1984; Ronald Asch, *The Thirty years war: the Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618-1648*, 1997; Peter H. Wilson, *Europe's tragedy: a new history of the Thirty Years' War*, 2010; and Lucién Belly et al., *Guerre et paix dans l'Europe du XVIIe siècle*, 1991.

² Francesco Benigno, "El misterio de Masaniello". In: *Espejos de la revolución: conflicto e identidad política en la Europa moderna*, 2000, pp. 133-189, p. 166.

important aspects regarding the origins of the three revolts. Therefore, this chapter does not aspire to give a detailed and full view on the causes of the revolts, but to establish the main lines that constituted the background of the creation of the visual messages used during the uprisings in 1640-1647.

1.1. Aggregation and Integration: Catalonia, Portugal and Naples in the Spanish Monarchy

The monarchy of the Habsburg was, as others at the time, composited. This means it resulted from a process of aggregation of titles and territories through distinct paths. Conquest, aggregation, matrimonial alliances and succession were the possible ways of enlarging their domains. A composite monarchy included a number of territories and political entities with their own representative institutions, exclusive legislative systems and a specific fiscal system³. The king ruled with the cooperation and agreement of the local oligarchies and with the representative estates of each reign or province. It was implicit since the first moment the recognition and respect of the monarch for each of the privileges.

The Spanish Monarchy is the example par excellence of these composite monarchies of the Early Modern Age⁴. As a result of the confluence of several dynastical inheritances, Charles of Gant became the heir to the three main dynasties of the 16th century: the Trastámara, the Habsburg and the Valois. The dominions of the Catholic kings and of the Habsburg became united under the same crown, gathering under the same person the crown of Castile, with the reigns of Granada and Navarra and the territories of the New World; the Catalan-Aragonese crown that included Aragon, Catalonia, Mallorca, Naples, Sardinia and Sicily; and the Burgundian patrimony that included the counties of Flanders, Burgundy, Artois, Nevers, Charolais, and the Franche-Comté; and the territories from central Europe: Austria, Bohemia and Hungary.

³ With the exception of Granada and the Indies that were ruled through Castilian laws and institutions. See Xavier Gil, "Spain and Portugal". In: Howell A. Lloyd, Glenn Burgess, Simon Hodson (eds.), *European political thought 1450-1700*, 2007, pp. 416-457, p. 417.

⁴ On the Spanish monarchy, see among others: Alfredo Alvar Ezquerro, *La España de los Austrias*, 2011; Pere Molas Ribalta, *La Monarquía Española: siglos XVI-XVIII*, 1990; Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño and Bernardo J. García García, *La monarquía de las naciones: patria, nación y naturaleza en la monarquía de España*, 2004.

With the abdications of Brussels (1555-1556), the monarchy was divided. The brother of Charles I, Ferdinand, obtained the possessions in central Europe, while the heir of Charles I, Philip (future Philip II of Spain), got the Hispanic territories and the Low Countries. Philip II (1554-1598) was able to include in his possessions the Philippines islands later in 1571 and Portugal in 1580, which included the territories overseas (the Portuguese Africa, the Far East and Brazil).

Castile, Aragón and Portugal were in the end of the 16th century the epicenter of a relation between center and periphery, between obedience to a common king preserving institutions and different administrative practices, and dissidence. The relation between king and their vassals was based in the fidelity: the vassals sworn loyalty, obedience and assistance in the military confronts.

In order to rule over the territory of the Spanish Monarchy, it was required the creation of an administrative system designed to link the center of the monarchy with its periphery. The system used was the same that had been used by the Catholic kings Ferdinand and Isabella. According to this model of government, the territories were represented in the presence of the king by councils and the king was represented through the figure of the viceroy⁵. This was thought as a conciliatory model that would allow the vassals to suppress the absolute absence of their monarch⁶ – a question, as it will seen later on in this chapter – that not always was peaceful.

Catalonia, part of the Catalan-Aragonese Crown, joined the monarchy of the Habsburg in 1469, through the matrimony of Isabel of Castile with Ferdinand heir of Aragon⁷. Portugal was integrated in the monarchy after the premature death of the Portuguese king D. Sebastian, in Alcazarquivir in 1578. The king Sebastian had no children, leaving the throne vacant. His uncle, the cardinal D. Enrique, was acclaimed king of Portugal but he was old and had no descendants. He died in 1580 opening once more the problem of succession. A commission was created in

⁵ Each vicerealty had its specifications. See: Pedro Cardim and Joan Lluís Palos (eds.), *El mundo de los virreyes en las monarquías de España y Portugal*, 2012.

⁶ John Elliott, “Spain and its Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries”. In: *Spain and its world: 1500-1700: selected essays*, 1989, pp. 15-16.

⁷ María de los Ángeles Pérez Samper, *Catalunya i Portugal: dos pobles en una cruïlla*, 1992, pp. 21-28. For the process of aggregation of Portugal, see pp. 30-36.

order to decide who would be elected. Among the many candidates that presented as successors to the throne, there was Philip II, invoking his rights through his mother Isabel of Avis, daughter of Manuel I (1495-1521), king of Portugal. The second strong candidate was D. Catarina of Braganza, second daughter of the infant D. Duarte, son of Manuel I. Catarina was a favorite by the council and it seemed to exist a certain inclination towards her party. However, the commission did not have time to issue a decision, for the debate about the legitimacy of the candidates was interrupted by the military invasion of the duke of Alba who, after the campaign, assumed the control of Portugal⁸. As a consequence, the commission decided for the rights of Philip II as legitimate heir, a process that ended with the proclamation of Philip II as Philip I king of Portugal and the signature of the pacts of Tomar in 1581⁹. But the stain of such an arrogant demonstration of power remained in the memory. This was in fact one of the arguments used later in 1640 to justify the revolt. And finally, Naples was part of the crown of Aragon since 1443, the year of the military conquest by Alfonso V. In 1458, after the king's death, Naples separated from the crown, but it in 1503 it was conquered again by Fernando the Catholic¹⁰.

Philip II was, in the end of the 16th century, the king of one of the largest existing monarchies, including the three mentioned territories, although with different titles and in different ways. As a consequence of this heterogeneity, the actions he took in one territory could not be applied to another. The kind of connection with the territory determined the type of the relation. They all had their own institutions, history, laws and language and the king had to deal with all the local specificities.

1.2. The monarchy and the three territories: the first signs of tension

The reign of Philip IV (1621-1665) began under a tense atmosphere in Catalonia: the king, contrary to what was usual, did not go to the Principality to swear the constitutions. As a

⁸ Rafael Valladares, *La conquista de Lisboa*, 2008, Rafael Valladares, *A independência de Portugal*, p. 33.

⁹ Fernando Bouza, *Portugal en la Monarquía hispánica (1580-1640): Felipe I I, las Cortes de Tomar y la génesis del Portugal católico*, dissertation presented in the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1987.

¹⁰ Giuseppe Galasso, *Alla periferia dell'impero: il Regno di Napoli nel periodo spagnolo: secoli XVI-XVII*, 1994; Carlos José Hernando Sánchez, *El reino de Nápoles en el imperio de Carlos V: la consolidación de la conquista*, 2001.

consequence, the viceroy, the duke of Alcalá, did not have the right to exercise his power. The Diputació – the structure of the Principality representing the interests of the Catalans – however, decided to recognize his position provisionally until the king would come to Catalonia. The situation deteriorated in 1622 when Philip IV – who had not visited Barcelona yet – decided to replace the duke of Alcalá as viceroy for the bishop of Barcelona, Joan Sentís. The conflict around this question was settled when Sentís was accepted and sworn temporary viceroy, while the Principality was still waiting for the king to come. At last in 1626, Philip IV decided to visit Catalonia, accompanied by his favorite, the count-duke of Olivares, who traveled to the Principality with the goal of introducing the “*Unión de Armas*” (Union of Arms)¹¹.

In Portugal, the union of the two kingdoms in 1580 caused a controversial memory. Many members of the aristocracy saw the new political situation as a good thing. But, despite the initial good will of the aristocracy towards the government of the king, there was a progressive deterioration of the pact of Tomar and the first serious tensions were felt in 1619, during the courts and increased during the reign of Philip IV. The notion that Portugal was participating in wars that were not its concern and that the politics of king were not in the best interest of the reign began to extend. Rafael Valladares on this topic talks about a “chronology of the disenchantment” dividing the period of the union of the two reigns in three stages. A first one, of illusion until 1609, followed by a period of deception with the end of the truce of the Netherlands that goes until 1630, the year of the crisis in Brazil. The third period is of eminent uprising, until 1640¹².

In Naples the first serious warning denouncing the tense climate was in 1585, with the murder of the *Eletto del Popolo*, the representative of the people in the administration of Naples during the Spanish period, Gio. Vincenzo Starace¹³. The main reason was the rising of the price of the bread, but despite the incident, the prices kept increasing. In 1592 it was possible to see again

¹¹ Xavier Torres, *La Guerra dels Segadors*, 2006, pp. 35-36.

¹² Rafael Valladares, *A Independencia de Portugal*, p. 35.

¹³ Rosario Villari, *La revuelta antiespañola: los orígenes 1585-1640*, 1979, pp. 40-99.

papers and people promoting the insurrection against overpricing, but the discontentment did not have an organized expression and no continuance.

By 1636, Naples had exceeded the public debt. The role of Naples in the strategy of the monarchy had changed. According to Rosario Villari, Naples was no longer the strategic Mediterranean point for the monarchy in order to become an economical reserve. The forced incorporation of the rural population in the armies led to tumults and violence in the fields¹⁴.

There were some conspiracies between 1640 and 1647 in order to achieve the participation of the aristocracy in a pro-independence movement, but without any success. The crises of 1634 led by Tomaso Pignatelli and 1636 conducted by Epifanio Fioravanti are good examples of that.

Tensions were growing, especially with the danger of a French invasion during the years of 1643-1644. Mazarin, who succeeded to Richelieu, did not believe either that a revolt could really begin in Naples, as Olivares had wrongly predicted for Catalonia and Portugal.

In the next pages, we will see in a deeper analysis the tensions that led to the revolts in 1640-1647, especially the policies implemented by the count-duke of Olivares, the favorite of Philip IV.

1.2.1. Administration

In Catalonia, the government was exercised based on the *Constitució de l'Ordenança*, promulgated in 1481 (a confirmation of the anterior policies). Its content guaranteed the respect of the king towards the *constitucions* of Catalonia. However, in the decades previous to 1640 complaints of abuses were frequent, claiming that the king no longer allowed the Catalans to exercise their own laws. The conflicts involving the royal and local institutions were no novelty¹⁵. But in the decade of 1620 the situation became more serious. In 1621, the viceroy duke of Alcalá (1619-1622) took over the jurisdiction over the galleys of the Diputació and in March 1621 the same duke ordered the placement of the royal arms instead of the coat of arms of Catalonia in the constructions taking place in the dockyards supervised by the Diputació¹⁶.

¹⁴ Rosario Villari, *La revuelta antiespañola*, p. 125.

¹⁵ Eva Serra, *La revolució catalana de 1640*, 1991, pp. 5-10; Antoni Simon i Tarrés, *Els orígens ideològics de la revolució catalana de 1640*, 1999, p. 121.

¹⁶ Eva Serra, *La revolució catalana de 1640*, pp. 17-18.

The unfinished *Corts* that started in 1626 were also the scenario of conflicts. The Catalans demanded changes in the *Observança*, as its ambiguities allowed abuses perpetrated by the royal officials, the suppression of the *quints*, a tax, and the reduction of the jurisdiction of the Inquisition in the cities. But the plans of the count-duke of Olivares were different. The favorite of the king demanded the *excusat* (a contribution from the Church to the Crown that the clergy refused to pay), the payment of the *quints* that had not been paid since 1599 and 16.000 men for war. In total, the count-duke was asking for 250.000 *lliures* every year for a period of 15 years, an amount four times superior to the one approved in 1599¹⁷. With the refusal to pay the requested amount, the king left the city without closing the *Corts*. Later in 1636, considering the deterioration of the economical situation of the monarchy, the king went back to the Principality to resume the sessions. However, negotiations were not any easier: the *quints* were still unsolved business. In addition to that, conflicts arose around a question of ceremonial: the right to keep the councilor's heads covered in presence of the king, a right usually reserved to the *grandes* of Spain¹⁸; and on the right the Catalan *estaments* (the members of the *Diputació*) had to fill the positions of the *Diputació*.

In the second half of the decade of 1630, the tensions kept increasing. After the declaration of war between France and Spain in 1635, Catalonia became a front of war, originating many problems concerning the accommodation of the soldiers. However, this was not the only source of conflict. Since the beginning of the war, all the commercial relations with France had been forbidden, but the many interests between Catalonia and France overcame the decree and royal officials and members from the Catalan institutions became involved in the contraband. In 1638, the *aguacil* Joan Miquel Montrodón under the orders of the viceroy confiscated a shipment of French goods in the Costumes office in the ports of Mataró and Arenys de Mar. This led to a strong contestation by the new elected *Diputació*, who argued that the interference of the royal official was a violation of the rights of the Principality¹⁹. A year later, before the contraband issue was even solved, another conflict detonated. On the 2nd January 1639, the king promulgated two new laws. The first one forced all the French living in Catalonia to ask for a

¹⁷ Antoni Simon i Tarrés, *Els orígens ideològics*, p. 132.

¹⁸ Antoni Simon i Tarrés, *Els orígens ideològics*, pp. 133-134. John Elliott, *The revolt of the catalans*, pp. 278-279.

¹⁹ Antonio Simon i Tarrés, *Els orígens ideològics*, pp. 153-154.

permit of residence and pay the correspondent tax. The second one forced the Principality to pay 100.000 *lliures* in two years for the fortifications. The city of Barcelona and the Diputació refused both laws, invoking that no new taxes could be imposed without the consent of the *Corts*²⁰. The dispute between the Catalan institutions and the ones from Madrid reached its highest point, with the decision of imprisoning the deputy Francesc Tamarit for his opposition to the royal politics (made effective on the 18th March) and the start an investigation on Pau Claris, the ecclesiastic deputy and president of the Generalitat at the time. But this was not the first time deputies were arrested. Earlier that month, two councilors from the *Consell de Cent* had already been persecuted for suggesting that the councilors should wear black a signal of mourning for the violation of the laws and privileges of the Principality²¹. The *Consell d'Aragó* also wanted to gain control over the economical incoming of the Diputació.

The reign of Philip III was known in Portugal as a period of apathy and indifference²², but probably for a general ignorance about this period. The causes that are usually indicated to justify the revolt of 1640 are not as much innovations imposed by Philip IV as they generally are from this period. In 1601 the *Junta de Contos* was created to control de debts of the Portuguese economy. It was extinguished in 1605 but the Spanish accountants were moved to the *Consejo de Hacienda* (a court designated to control the incomes of the reign and the disputes about the fiscal issues). The integration of Spanish employees in the Portuguese economical life was a fragrant violation of the agreements signed in Tomar.

Also during the reign of Philip III, the dissatisfaction was felt after some titles and rents were attributed to polemical figures, as they were to be given to Portuguese families only. Diego da Silva, count of Salinas was given the title of marquis of Alenquer, but he was only half-Portuguese. The concession of Portuguese rents to the marquis of Villahermosa, Juan de Borja y

²⁰ Antoni Simon i Tarrés, *Els orígens ideològics*, p. 160.

²¹ Antoni Simon i Tarrés (ed.), *Cròniques de la guerra dels segadors*, 2003, p. 15.

²² Jean-Frédéric Schaub, *Portugal na Monarquia Hispânica*, 2001, pp. 76-79. The author remarks that despite the violations of the agreement signed in Tomar in 1581, they were not in the base of conflicts nor dissidences, only of a few critics. However, the events of 1637-1640 erased them from the memory.

Aragón, was not consensual either and later, in 1617, D. Diego was appointed as viceroy, breaking the established pacts of Tomar – he was not a member of the royal family²³.

In Naples, the respect for the autonomy was – as for other territories – the center of the balance between the Crown and the ruling classes.

The administration of justice was unable to control the feudal authority. A considerable sector from the high nobility and the clergy kept aside from the state control. Organized in extensive family networks and provided with notorious groups of partisans, the great nobility from the provinces – such as the count of Conversano and the duke of Maddaloni – were free to commit offenses with no consequence²⁴. This was a result of the legal powers that nobility maintained in the local jurisdiction and in the administration. Even in the *Hacienda*, the royal officials had to negotiate with the local landlords in matters of tax recollection and contraband repression. The respect for the autonomy and the large liberties that the institutions guaranteed to the nobility was part of the viceroyalty and did not suffer not even when Spanish pressure reached its exponent. This is one of the reasons why the nobility did not have a major role in the crisis of 1647-1648.

The large powers the nobility and the clergy had in the province of the kingdom of Naples prevented the royal justice to be applied in a fair way. Before 1647, a series of insurrections took place against the nobility: in Castiglione the people insurrected against the prince of Santobuono, in Atri there was a revolt led by the doctor Giulio Casorati, and the vassals of the prince of Satriano insurrected against him. Faced with the situation, the duke of Arcos invited the representatives of the cities to present their complaints in person. Surprisingly for the viceroy, huge lists of complaints against the nobility were made. This was the last warning before a generalized anti-feudal revolt began in the province²⁵. But this anti feudal offensive met its parallel also in the city, during the revolt of July 1647 – the nobility had also conquered its place in the capital with several privileges.

²³ This and other jurisdictional problems are analyzed by Jean-Frédéric Schaub, *Le Portugal au temps du Comte-Duc d'Olivares: 1621-1640: le conflit de juridictions comme exercice de la politique*, 2001.

²⁴ Rosario Villari, *La revuelta antiespañola*, p. 19.

²⁵ Rosario Villari, *La revuelta antiespañola*, p. 221.

1.2.1.1. Figures of authority: the viceroys

The symbol of the union was the figure of the king. However, one of the problems of a composite monarchy, especially such a large one in terms of territorial extension, was the physical absence of the king. If we consider the centralizing and absolutist policy of the crown, this becomes even a bigger issue. One of the most frequent complaints of the aristocracy in the three territories was the absence of the royal figure.

In Catalonia, the viceroy moved in a well established framework delimiting his duties and privileges, not giving him much freedom²⁶. His action was very well limited and his attributions did not allow him to introduce major novelties in the Principality. However, the appointment of viceroys during the 17th century became more and more another tool of the central power in order to achieve its goals. During the first decades of the 17th century, the viceroys were mostly foreigners – from Castile – a fact that disturbed the locals, for the lack of trust and the animosity. Problems such as the continuance of the duke of Alcalá after the death of Philip III in 1621 and the appointment of the bishop Sentís by the king before being going to Catalonia to swear the constitutions demonstrate well the controversies that could generate between the Principality and the Crown, the local and the central power²⁷.

When Olivares idealized the *unión de armas*, he thought as well about who the ideal person would be to apply his project. The duke of Cardona (1608-1640) was one of the most important elements of the Catalan aristocracy, with a vast estate, and a high degree of consideration among his peers. He was viceroy twice, first in 1630-1632 and then 1633-1638. However, he was – according to John Elliott – too much aware of himself, and not willing enough to subordinate to the policies of Madrid. This was very interesting as he had to face several contestations of his power during his two periods of viceroyalty²⁸. The choice went then to a noble of a secondary

²⁶ On the viceroys of Catalonia, see Joan Reglà, *Els Virreis de Catalunya*, 1987; Jesus Lalinde Abadía, *La institución virreinal a Cataluña: 1471-1716*, 1964.

²⁷ María de los Ángeles Pérez Samper, *Catalunya i Portugal*, pp. 88-91.

²⁸ John Elliott, *La rebelión de los catalanes*, p. 328.

rank, the count of Santa Coloma who did follow scrupulously the instructions that arrived from Madrid and would cause a tremendous animosity.

Philip IV, as king, did not visit Portugal. He made himself present through his representation, but the ceremonies of representation were not enough for an aristocracy that missed the royal figure. In order to suppress the *saudade*²⁹ of a population used to the physical presence of the king, in the courts of Tomar it was agreed that the vicerealty had to be filled with a person either from the royal family or by a group of Portuguese men (the *Juntas*). If at first the king complied with what was set forth in Tomar, quickly the first tensions were felt. For the *Junta* that was assembled to govern in Lisbon in 1593, Philip II appointed five men: the first four Portuguese and the fifth was Juan de Silva, count of Portalegre, who had inherited the title after his father-in-law died. But the controversy was even bigger in 1600 when Philip III appointed for the position Cristóbal de Moura, who despite being Portuguese, was not from the royal family and he was governing alone³⁰.

As the tensions increased in Portugal at the same time as the demands of the count-duke of Olivares, the king decided to appoint the duchess of Mantua (1589-1655) as vicereine in 1634.

The duchess of Mantua, Margarita de Savoy, arrived to Lisbon in the end of 1634 as the new vicereine, accompanied by her secretary, the Spanish marquis of Puebla. The duchess was the granddaughter of Philip II and cousin of the actual king, Philip IV. The idea of Philip IV was to give Portugal a substitute of the king of royal blood³¹. As it was said earlier, not always in Portugal there was a viceroy and often this position was replaced by a *Junta*, but in a time of increased tension, the king thought that the appointment of someone of the royal house could ease the conflicts. On the other hand, Philip IV sent her with the mission of obtaining a yearly fix

²⁹ Fernando Bouza, "Sola Lisboa casi viuda. La ciudad y la mudanza de corte en el Portugal de los Felipes". In: *Imagen y propaganda: capítulos de historia cultural del reinado de Felipe II*, pp. 95-120. The same text was previously published with the title "Lisboa sozinha, quase viúva. A cidade e a mudança da corte no Portugal dos Filipes". In: *Penélope. Fazer e desfazer a História* 13 (1994), pp. 71-93.

³⁰ María de los Ángeles Pérez Samper, *Catalunya i Portugal*, pp. 92-93.

³¹ The election of the duchess of Mantua also had the purpose of keeping her from Italy, the center of tensions and conflicts. It was also a strategy for the marquis of Puebla to act as the viceroy *de facto*. See António de Oliveira, *Movimentos Sociais e Poder em Portugal no século XVII*, 2002, p. 117.

income of half a million *cruzados*. So, her arrival was felt as an attempt to dissolve the first groups of dissidents³² instead of a relief for having a royal figure in Lisbon.

In Naples, there was no similar concern as in Portugal of appointing a viceroy of royal blood, as the tensions were constant but not comparable to the ones in Portugal and Catalonia in 1640. The manifestations and conflicts were not seen as a threat. In many senses, the revolt of Naples was actually a surprise that nobody in Madrid expected. However, at the moment of repressing it, a member of the royal family – Juan José de Austria – was sent.

1.2.2. The taxation system

A common factor to the three revolts of 1640-1647 was the tensions caused by the fiscal policy. One of the main sources of income for the monarchy was the silver coming from America. But, during the first half of the decade of 1630's, the flow reduced abruptly, compromising the public funds. The fear of a financial collapse led to an acceleration of the necessity of a reform in the territories that composed the monarchy, as the military and financial needs were growing quickly. But again, it is important to remember that one of characteristics of the composite monarchies was the multiplicity of taxation systems.

The suggestion advanced by the count-duke of Olivares was based in the idea that if all these territories were part of a whole, as a body, then they all should look after each other. With this argument, the favorite justified more than a financial homogeneity: he was decided in altering the financial agreements between the crown and periphery.

In Catalonia the financial question did not take directly into armed conflicts, but it was an important factor in the development of the events. On one hand, the financial pressure created a precedent. On the other hand, it threatened to violate the constitution. In the decade of 1620's, the crown demanded the payment of the *quints*, the fifth part of the income of the cities, as well as several loans, as the one asked to the city of Barcelona of 100.000 *ducados* in 1628, the one on the credits of the Catalan dealers that were in Italy in 1629, and he instituted the *decimal*, a

³² Rafael Valladares, *La Independencia de Portugal*, p. 38.

tax over the ecclesiastical assets, which led to a true discontentment in Vic and Urgell³³. The payment of the *quints*, the fifth part of the municipal income, had been a focus of tension for quite some time. Not all the cities were to pay the tax, as some of them were exempt by old privileges. In others, the tax was not collected due to the negligence of the royal officials. And, in other cases, it meant a hard effort. Cities as Granollers, Vic and Manresa had to get into debt in order to pay the required amounts³⁴. The refusal of Barcelona of paying this tax led to tense conflicts between the city and the viceroy and ultimately with the king, who saw in the collection of this tax an opportunity to control the finances of the Catalan cities. In 1634, the viceroy demanded an inspection of the finances. Barcelona denied the petition and four member of the Consell de Cent were arrested for resisting to the financial request, between 1634 and 1635. In 1635 Barcelona had still not paid the taxes.

In 1635, Philip IV decided to convert Catalonia in the center of the war against France. The first attempt to mobilize the population failed and the king took action against the city of Barcelona, moving the *Audiencia* to Girona, where it stayed until 1638, when Barcelona finally agreed to pay a sum of 45.000 *escuts*.

In Portugal, the first problems were felt immediately after 1580. The war between the Netherlands and Spain put in danger the routes and the trade of some of the main Portuguese commercial companies, as from 1580 they were no longer authorized to trade with the Dutch.

Also, the intromission in the financial matters led to a tense situation. As mentioned before, during the reigns of Philip II and Philip III some irregularities were observed, disrespecting the agreement signed in Tomar, but in the end it was the political and fiscal measures imposed by the count-duke that finally accentuated the abusive relation between Madrid and Lisbon. But it was not until the decade of 1630 that the resistance became more direct and offensive.

The conquest of Pernambuco by the Dutch in 1630, the main area for the production of sugar, made necessary a revision of the taxes accorded in Tomar in 1580. For Madrid this was an opportunity to reinforce the communication between the king and Portugal, but for the Portuguese this was nothing but an attempt to convert the reign into a province. The count-duke

³³ Xavier Torres, *La Guerra dels Segadors*, p. 47.

³⁴ Antoni Simon i Tarrés, *Els orígens ideològics*, pp. 142-143.

saw this as an opportunity to suggest a major alteration to the financial agreement first established. The military expenses of the crown imposed major recollections of economical resources, especially to keep the active wars going on.

Besides these innovations regarding the defense of Portugal, there were also changes in the internal taxes: free donations, forced loans, retention of a part of the salaries (the tax of the *meia anata* imposed to the officials of justice created in 1632), the *sisas*, the conversion of the *real d'água* (an exceptional tax on meat and wine) into an annual mandatory payment were some of the measures that, theoretically could not be approved without the consent of the reign. These measures affected especially the clergy and aristocracy, who denied paying any taxes which violated their privileged status. Moreover, the change imposed by the favorite of Philip IV also contemplated the return of the rents of the kingdom now in the hands of the Portuguese aristocracy by forcing the privileged to pay for their richness.

In 1637 fiscal revolts exploded in Évora and in other cities in Alentejo and Algarve: the notary's house was burnt, as well as the houses of some of the city councilors. They quickly spread all over the Portugal, from north to south, from west to east, including the Azores. Madrid ordered their quick repression, preventing them to gain a more serious dimension. However, the episode showed the discontentment of the population³⁵. This was not the first demonstration of violence, but the uprisings of 1637 certainly were the most representative ones. Until 1635 the financial pressure had been felt especially in the most popular sectors. However, in 1635 nobility and clergy were required to contribute as well. Some members of the nobility refused to pay, such as D. Antão de Almeida, one of the men related to the conspiracy of 1640. By the end of 1636, Richelieu was informed that the situation in Portugal was explosive and that “*all Portugal is ready to uprising*”³⁶.

The creation of a new team was another decisive factor in the tension between large sectors of the Portuguese society and the Crown. The secretaries Diogo Soares in Madrid and Miguel de Vasconcelos in Portugal had the mission of imposing a “fix rent” to Portugal. The introduction of people Olivares trusted and of new institutions that tried to replace the existing jurisdiction

³⁵ António de Oliveira, “Fiscalidade e revolta no período filipino”. In: *Movimentos sociais e poder em Portugal no século XVII*, pp. 241-273.

³⁶ António de Oliveira, “Fiscalidade e revolta no período filipino”, p. 262.

created a deep discomfort in Portugal. In 1638 the king summoned members of the Portuguese elite to participate in the *Junta Grande de Portugal*. The main proposal was, as Bouza wrote, “consider natural the Portuguese in Castile and the Castilians in Portugal”³⁷. As a result of the meeting, the king ordered the extinction of the *Consejo de Portugal* that should give place to the creation of two *Juntas*, one in Madrid and the other one in Lisbon. This change implied the loss of one of the main prerogatives of 1580, as it accepted the presence of Spanish officials in the Portuguese administration. However, in the beginning of 1639, the *Consejo* was back again, and in an attempt of a conciliatory move, the duke of Braganza was promoted to *General de terra e mar de Portugal*³⁸.

In Naples too the opposition to Philip IV was structured around financial issues. The economical situation during the second half of the 17th century was critical due to the administrative chaos, the bureaucratic corruption and speculation³⁹. The lack of constant payments led to an unprecedented corruption. The emptiness of the safes of Naples was compensated with the selling of positions, lands that belonged to the Crown, extraordinary taxes and loans, which at the same debilitated the administration⁴⁰.

The increase of the public debt, the financial crisis and the intensification of the “assistances” (meaning, the contribution with money for the expenses of the monarchy) opened the way to an aristocratic opposition, able to feed the feeling of discontentment of the other social groups. The economical supports, bankers and dealers, for example, started offering resistance to the requests of the viceroy after realizing the safety limits of the public debt had been exceeded.

The Neapolitan taxation system generated a perverse relation between the needs of the State and its administration. One of the main pillars of the tax system was the aristocracy, responsible in part for the financial speculation. Then, it is important to note that the clergy also depended greatly on the taxes as they represented a significant part of their rents, as well the people of

³⁷ Fernando Bouza, “Primero de diciembre de 1640: ¿una revolución desprevenida?”. In: *Manuscrits* 9 (1991), pp. 205-225, p. 218.

³⁸ Gabriel Espírito Santo, *A grande estratégia de Portugal na Restauração*, 2009, p. 54.

³⁹ On the economy in Naples see Giovanni Muto, *Le finanze pubbliche napoletane tra riforme e restaurazione (1520-1634)*, 1980.

⁴⁰ Rosario Villari, *La revuelta antiespañola*, p. 123.

Naples: the offices related to the tax collection represented an important number of jobs. There were also the foreign bankers implied in the loans and the national banks establishing a delicate balance with the trade. Therefore, the tax system was more than just a piece of the political internal life: it had a relation with international economics of the monarchy and it was a key piece of the social Neapolitan life⁴¹. The growth of the State created the debt and the necessity of collect taxes, and it could be supplied only by a group of officials who could provide the services at a cost inferior to the one the bureaucracy generated. The balance could be achieved in case that the profit was superior to the expenses of the maintenance of the State, a situation that in Naples was very difficult. The imbalance was double: the new taxes led to an increment of the rents of the State but at the same time, the financial pressure led to a reduction of the economical activity. In the end there was a bigger contraction of the economy. Several businesses broke during the period of 1636-1647.

But despite the situation, Spain kept sending requests, more numerous than before. On the 31st January 1636 the king asked for 6-8.000 soldiers for Lombardy, 100.000 monthly *ducados* for a period of one year for Genoa, 300.000 *ducados* for the navy and 6.000 *quintais* of gun powder, wheat and barley. On the 17th September of the same year, 2 million and a half *ducados*, 6.000 infants, 2.000 *quintais* of gunpowder and the naval force were requested for 1638. In 1639, Naples sent again 2 million *ducados*, guns and soldiers to Genoa, Milan and to the Empire. In September the requests for 1640 arrived: 200.000 *ducados* to be paid monthly to Milan for a year, 6000 infants, besides food and munitions⁴². Between 1641 and 1664 sums over 2 million *ducados* were requested every year and every time the difficulties to answer to these petitions were greater. Apart from the fact that the requisitions of men for war meant uprisings in the fields and violence.

The opposition felt in Naples did not give place to a change of policy from Madrid. There were no changes in the strategy designed for Naples and the viceroys tried to follow their

⁴¹ Aurelio Musi, *La rivolta di Masaniello nella scena barocca*, 1989, pp. 97-101.

⁴² Rosario Villari, *La revuelta antiespañola*, p. 132.

instructions to the last details⁴³. In their correspondence to the king they admit the tumults but they all dismiss the possibilities of a bigger insurrection⁴⁴.

From 1636 on, new taxes were created on products such as olive oil and silk – the main exportation products – and salt and flour in the capital in order to try to face the public debt. There was also an attempt to impose a new tax on the contracts made and on the stamp-impressed paper but the opposition of the nobility, the main affected group, prevented it from becoming effective.

1.2.3. The war

The beginning of the war against France did nothing but to contribute to the existing problems with this new conflict affecting Portugal, Catalonia and Naples. Madrid needed more money to pay for a war that none of the three territories wanted to finance. Portugal evoked that they should be investing in the protection of Brazil.

In Catalonia the argument was not the oversea territories but it caused several tensions. The count-duke of Olivares needed men for war, especially in a moment that the voluntary recruitment had significantly decreased. For Olivares, it was about giving *utility* to the vassals. The Union of Arms was a project the count-duke had designed to unite all the vassals of the monarchy, reinforcing the unified character of the royal power⁴⁵. All the territories should be able to contribute with a certain number of soldiers: Portugal, Catalonia and Naples with 16.000 men, Flanders with 14.000, Aragón with 10.000, Milan with 8.000, Sicily, Valencia and the Mediterranean islands with 6.000 and Castile with 44.000 men. Soldiers must be ready all the time for combat, in times of peace and war and they should be kept with public funds⁴⁶, meaning that it was actually the populations who were paying this extra expense.

⁴³ In fact, the Almirant of Castille left the position in part because he could not face the demands of Madrid. See Rosario Villari, *La revuelta antiespañola*, p. 151.

⁴⁴ Rosario Villari, *La revuelta antiespañola*, p. 136.

⁴⁵ María de los Ángeles Pérez Samper, *Catalunya i Portugal*, pp. 111-123.

⁴⁶ John Elliott and J. F. de la Peña, *Memoriales y cartas del conde duque de Olivares*, 1978, p. 192, cited by Xavier Torres, *La Guerra dels Segadors*, p. 44.

When Philip IV went to Barcelona for the celebration of the *Corts* in 1626 accompanied by the count-duke to present the project, he did not have much success⁴⁷. The *Braços* (each of the three social estates who participated in the assembly) were not interested and refused to participate. Moreover they already had a quite extensive list of the complaints they wanted to expose to the king. Philip IV left the city without concluding the *Corts* and, when he returned in 1632 he does not even call for *Corts*, which meant that the military project did not succeed once more. It was not until the declaration of war between Spain and France that Catalonia was directly implied in the conflict, becoming a scenario of war.

The Union of Arms was the price to pay for the war. The count-duke could not, under his point of view, keep all the privileges and liberties of Catalonia, as the price was too high⁴⁸. In short, his plan meant to standardize the territories that formed the monarchy and have the soldiers guaranteed. The first groups of opposition started forming, especially integrated by the population invoking their interests. This was common to Portugal, Catalonia and Naples. In August 1640, two months after the uprising, Olivares still believed that it was possible to avoid a military action in Catalonia or have a quick campaign to restrain the revolt.

In Portugal, the news of the Union of Arms was very badly received. As in Catalonia, Olivares planned to have a more efficient control on the government of Portugal with the unification of the taxation system and the participation of the Portuguese in the military campaigns.

1.2.3.1. Overseas: the Portuguese colonies

In Portugal another factor that contributed to the revolt was the situation of the territories in the overseas. The Atlantic, in particular Brazil, was the center of many problems from the decade of 1620's on. The war between the monarchy and Flanders had its repercussions in the Portuguese colonies. The Dutch conquered Bahía, the capital of sugar. The Portuguese were able to take the city back in 1625, but in 1630 they lost Pernambuco to the Dutch. The problems in Brazil were converted into an argument to justify the lack of interest from the monarchy in the

⁴⁷ Ernest Belenguer Cebrià, *Cataluña: de la unión de coronas a la unión de armas, 1479-1626*, 1996.

⁴⁸ John Elliott, *La rebelión de los catalanes*, pp. 489-522.

Portuguese colonies and to accuse the government of Philip II of using it as an excuse to raise taxes.

The threats of the Dutch was over Guinea and S. Tomé as well, putting in danger the slave trade that went from Africa to Brazil. In India there was the constant problem of the lack of capacity of the Iberians in general to adapt to the new colonialism set by the English advances made in Asia. The inexistence of efficient renovation of the existing structures, the permanent conflicts with the local maharajas and the Twelve Years' Truce in 1609 with the Dutch contributed to a deterioration of the situation. The truce had been negotiated leaving the *Consejo de Portugal* and the *Consejo de Indias* aside and it opened the Orient to the Dutch. In 1635, the truce with England only made the situation worse for the Portugal. The argument used, regarding Asia, was that India was very abandoned compared to the attention paid to America. Consequently, one of the main arguments in Portugal when faced with the increased financial pressure consisted in refusing to pay them as that money should be inverted in the defense of the colonial territories⁴⁹.

1.2.4. Three societies in the composite monarchy

1.2.4.1. The clergy

The clergy was of great importance in the three territories when discussing the revolts for their role in disseminating the discontentment during the hours of mess and during preaches⁵⁰. But they did not act only as bearers of messages; they were also giving a voice to their protest.

In Catalonia, the clergy had many disputes with the royal power, as it was highly exposed to the fiscal demands. The high clergy complained about the little perspectives of promotion: the bishopric and other ecclesiastical positions were designated by the king, who had appointed mainly men from Castile for the positions during the decades that preceded 1640. It was in the

⁴⁹ On the Portuguese colonies during the dynastic union, see Rafael Valladares, *Castilla y Portugal en Asia, 1580-1680: declive imperial y adaptación*, 2001; Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *O Tempo dos Filipes em Portugal e no Brasil*, 1994; Roseli Santaella Stella, *Brasil durante el gobierno español*, 2000; María da Graça M. Ventura (ed.), *A união ibérica e o mundo atlântico*, 1997.

⁵⁰ On the role of the sermons in the revolts see: João Francisco Marques, *A parenética portuguesa e a dominação Filipina*, 1986; João Francisco Marques, *A parenética portuguesa e a restauração 1640-1668*. 2 vols, 1989.; R. M. González Peiró, *Los predicadores y la revuelta catalana de 1640. Estudio de Sermones. Actes del Primer Congrés d'Historia Moderna de Catalunya*, vol. II, 1984, pp. 435-443.

context of these disputes that Pau Claris, one of the protagonists of the revolt later in 1640, emerged as a political subject. In 1632, the king obtained from the Pope a license for imposing the *decima*, a tax on the tenth part of the revenues of the Church in Spain. The following year, the collection was prevented by the Diputació but it only meant postponing the problem, especially without knowing whether it was exceptional or if it had a continuance⁵¹. The resistance against the new taxes was particularly felt in rural areas and in Vic, where the clergy was well organized.

In Portugal, as in Catalonia, the high clergy saw little opportunities for advancing in their ecclesiastical careers. Although they did not show at first an open opposition to the acclamation of Philip II as king of Portugal, they did not cherish it either. They feared that the king would impose the Castilian system of reversion of a part of the ecclesiastical revenues for the *hacienda*, a measure that was promised to be avoided so the king could gain their support⁵².

In the end of 1635, the duchess of Mantua was in charge of making an inventory of the Portuguese Church, in order to start confiscating a number of properties; especially ecclesiastical properties and chapels⁵³. The ecclesiastical institution together with the apostolic collector sent by Rome began a strong campaign against Madrid, threatening with excommunication all those who denounced ecclesiastical assets. In May 1637, under a big pressure, the collector removed the excommunication penalty, but a large part of the Church was in war against Madrid.

In this context of animosity, in Portugal and in Catalonia, the sermons played an important role in the formation of the mentality of the people. The diocesan clergy assumed a position of prestige in disseminating messages of revolt and contestation.

In Naples, the cardinal Filomarino assumed the role of mediator in the first moments of the revolt, always present and active in the most delicate situations – from the fires and pillages to the tragic end of the *capopolo*⁵⁴. He was the element that more success had in having his power recognized as an authority over the people of Naples, Madrid, the viceroy and over the aristocracy of the reign at the same time. The people saw in him – in a moment of great

⁵¹ John Elliott, *The revolt of the Catalans*, pp. 288-289.

⁵² María de los Ángeles Pérez Samper, *Catalunya i Portugal*, pp. 164-165.

⁵³ Rafael Valladares, *La independencia de Portugal*, p. 39.

⁵⁴ Aurelio Musi, *La rivolta di Masaniello*, pp. 120-132. For more information on Ascanio Filomarino, see: Lorzio Loredana, *La Collezione del cardinale Ascanio Filomarino*, 2006.

confusion – a reference point, and his ambiguous attitude was never openly against the duke of Arcos. Rovito claimed that Filomarino played an obvious anti-Spanish role during the revolt, but maybe that is an excessive position. Aurelio Musi assumed a more moderated position and considered him a “*charismatic leader who emerged during the days of Masaniello*”⁵⁵. The true value of Filomarino was being able to keep his own autonomy and the role of Church in a level superior to the conflicts.

1.2.4.2. The ruling class

The aristocracy played according to their interests in the dynamics of wining as many powers and privileges as possible with the royal decrees. On one hand, they were the pillar of the royal power in order to exercise the government and to maintain the social order. But, on the other hand, the nobility played also as a curb to the hegemonic tendencies of the central government. This meant that the king needed the greatest political skill if he wanted to extent his control over the aristocrats. Very often he found himself limited by laws and institutions that prevented such “intrusions”. Often, the royal officials were obstructed by a local aristocracy possessing many privileges and a great influence.

In Catalonia the aristocracy was no exception to this and in fact there was a considerable cohesion as a group⁵⁶, in part due to the lack of titled nobles. Great Catalan families had tended to leave the Principality and became assimilated into the aristocracy of Castile⁵⁷, such as the Requesens. Other families, such as the Cardona, had a close relation with the court in Madrid but kept, at the same time, their influence in the Principality. The 18 years of the government of Olivares were of constant threats to the financial resources and to the liberties and rights of the province. But, in general, when the rupture came, there was a notorious lack of enthusiasm⁵⁸. In the decade of 1630s, as Elliott explains, there was a strong determination in avoiding breaking

⁵⁵ Aurelio Musi, *La rivolta di Masaniello*, p. 130.

⁵⁶ The relative cohesion, evidently, had its tensions as Elliott explains in *The Revolt of the Catalans*, especially in chapter 2, “The Disordered society”, pp. 49-77.

⁵⁷ In fact, in 1626 during the celebration of the *Corts*, there were only nine native holders of titles: one duke (of Cardona), seven counts and a viscount – and all the count titles had been created by Philip III in 1599. See John Elliott, “A provincial aristocracy: the Catalan ruling class in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries”. In: *Spain and its world 1500-1700: selected essays*, 1989, pp. 67-91.

⁵⁸ John Elliott, “A provincial aristocracy”, p. 88.

with the monarchy. It was only a small group of men, from the oligarchy of Barcelona who led the resistance in the decades of 1620s and 1630s, and who later decided to engage the negotiations with France. The reluctant ruling class ended up accepting the rupture only when facing the popular uprising and the intransigence of Madrid⁵⁹.

In Portugal, contrary to what happened in Naples, it was the middle nobility who organized the revolt. In Catalonia there was a small group of middle nobility also very implied in the revolt, although not as implied as the Portuguese nobles. The high nobility, despite their problems, felt identified with the monarchy of the Habsburg. After the dynastic union, a number of the noble families established themselves in their properties in Portugal while others moved to Madrid, to the court. There was an effort of establishing a new network of influences through matrimonial alliances between the nobilities of Spain and Portugal – such as the wedding of John of Braganza with Luisa of Guzmán.

They expressed their opposition to the project of the Union of Arms, easing in certain measures. But the middle nobility took a much more radical position regarding the financial policies of the count-duke: they understood they only had two options: to adapt or to rise against him. The second was the solution they favored the most, although they were aware of their military inferiority. However, two major events gave new hope to this middle nobility: the naval disaster of Downs in 1639 for Spain against the Dutch and the revolt in Catalonia in 1640. The balance of powers changed considerably and Philip IV was obligated to concentrate his troops in Catalonia, leaving no contingent to block the Portuguese coast.

It was a strategy that the king thought to be the best: he had either to focus in Catalonia or in Portugal. While the latter only shared its border with the monarchy, Catalonia had Louis XIII and a possible alliance could be an extra problem for the monarchy – still in war against France

⁵⁹ On the Catalan ruling class see: John Elliott, “A provincial aristocracy: the catalan ruling class in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries”. In: *Homenaje a Jaume Vicens Vives*, vol II, 1967, pp. 125-143; James Amelang, *La formació de una classe dirigente: Barcelona 1490-1714*, 1986; M. A. Fargas Peñarrocha, *Familia i poder a Catalunya 1516-1626*, 1997; Joan Lluís Palos Peñarroya, *Catalunya a l'Imperi dels Àustria*, 1994, *Els juristes i la defensa de les constitucions. Joan Pere Fontanella (1575-1649)*, 1997 and “Les idees i la revolució catalane de 1640”. In: *Manuscrits* 17 (1999), pp. 277-292; and Josep Maria Torras Ribé, *Poders i relacions clientelars a la Catalunya dels Àustria. Pere Franquesa (1547-1614)*, 1998.

to face⁶⁰. A large part of both Catalan and Portuguese nobilities were displeased with the absence of the king and large sectors of the bourgeoisie shared the same feeling for the tax pressure Olivares had imposed. However, these large sectors of the Catalan bourgeoisie were against a political revolt in the autumn of 1640. The aristocracy, as it happened in Naples, was not in favor of a rupture with the monarchy. There was though a progressive alienation from Madrid, culminating finally in 1640 with the rebellion⁶¹.

The Portuguese bourgeoisie, in general, had no problems accepting the new king: the change did not put in danger their interests and they were safeguarded by the commercial networks. As supporters of John IV they could even aspire to accumulate new privileges. In the Principality this advantage of a royal candidate did not exist and there was no colonial empire to gather the political class.

To sum up, the Catalan and the Portuguese ruling class had points in common. Their grievances were many and sometimes they were identical: they both demanded more favors and they complained about the absence of their prince and that offices, pensions and favors were exclusive of the privileged ones of Castile⁶².

Naples offers a social scenario full of complexities. It was a very heterogeneous world, where there were no closed categories and it was possible to find social mobility. Titled aristocracy lived along with members of recent ascent, who made it through the exercise of political positions, war, trade and participation in the local government. Then, there was the popular sector of the population, where traders, businessmen, doctors, militaries, jurists, artisans and peasants coexisted⁶³.

But the behavior of the nobles in charge of the government of the city of Naples had points in common with the Catalan one pre-1640. It was disorganized and disoriented between an idea of defense of the monarchy imposed by the force of the weapons and the economical policy

⁶⁰ On the dilemma between Catalonia or Portugal see Antoni Simon i Tarrés, “Catalunya o Portugal? El dilema dels dos fronts i el marquès de Villafranca”. In: S. Sansano and P. Valsalobre, *Francesc Fontanella: una obra, una vida, un temps*, 2006, pp. 13-42.

⁶¹ John Elliott, “A provincial aristocracy: the Catalan ruling class”, pp. 67-91.

⁶² John Elliott, “A provincial aristocracy: the Catalan ruling”, p. 90.

⁶³ On the Neapolitan society see Giovanni Muto, “Il regno di Napoli sotto la dominazione spagnola”, in G. Cherubini (ed.), *Storia della società italiana: la Controriforma e il Seicento*, 1969, pp. 225-316, John Marino, *Becoming Neapolitan*, 2011.

marked by an accentuated tax pressure and the increasing public debt. There was – as in Catalonia – very little demonstrations of a possible contamination of the separatist fever that around those years affected Europe. There was no “national” program elaborated to face the existing problems. In fact, at the same time the tax pressure and debt were increasing, so were the privileges conceded to the nobility. This does not exclude the existence of frictions with the viceroy – these disputes existed and in large quantities. But there was never a plan for breaking with the monarchy. There were some attempts to include the nobility in an independent insurrection but they were never successful⁶⁴.

But a factor that differed from Portugal and in Catalonia was the revolts inside the nobility. In Naples, between 1639 and 1644, Gian Girolamo Acquaviva, count of Conversano, fed the idea of creating an alliance between Neapolitan nobility and the French court, due to their strong feelings against Spain. But none of these incidents worried Madrid.

1.2.4.3. The population

The population was the protagonist in the revolts of Naples and Catalonia. In Catalonia, the presence of the Spanish soldiers caused many tensions and conflicts. In April 1640 the *tercio* of Juan de Arce had been for eight days close to the walls of Sant Feliu de Pallerols waiting for the authorities of the city to indicate a better place to accommodate his soldiers. Something similar happened to the soldiers of Philip de Guevara in Santa Coloma de Farners and to the *tercio* of Leonardo Moles. The viceroy Santa Coloma, when he was notified of these situations, sent the *alguacil* Miquel Joan de Montrodón to solve the eventual resistances. When Montrodón arrived to Santa Coloma found many houses closed and abandoned. He ordered to burn them, despite the complaints of the local inhabitants. On the 30th April, the *aguacil* and his servants were murdered by the enraged population. The revolt of Santa Coloma was the sign for nearby communities. In the beginning of May, a group of peasants attacked the troops of Leonardo Moles, who was near to Riudarenes. The soldiers escaped but burnt and pillaged the church and the village. On the 4th May, the soldiers of Juan de Arce were attacked nearby Amer for almost 3.000 peasants and 10

⁶⁴ Rosario Villari gives the examples of the attempts of Tomaso Pignatelli in 1634, Epifanio Fioravanti in 1636 and the Prince of Stanza later, which was quickly repressed by the viceroy and perceived as an episode of personal power exaltation. See Rosario Villari, *La revuelta antiespañola*, p. 195.

days later, under the instructions of the viceroy, the soldiers pillaged and burn Santa Coloma de Farners.

These confronts between soldiers and the population spread to the entire Principality, arriving to Barcelona. The seriousness of the problems led to a formal complaint of the bishop of Girona, who excommunicated the soldiers of the king.

In Portugal, the population was the protagonist of the fiscal uprisings in 1637. Later their lack of involvement in the aristocratic conjure became a possible problem for the supporters of the Braganza. In 1641 a counter-conspiracy was organized to remove John of Braganza from the throne and return it back to Philip IV. This movement was organized by the bishop Noronha, and one of the main arguments he used to attract collaborators was the inexistent participation of the population in the uprising of 1640. So, they would easily accept a return to the previous king⁶⁵. The writers of the new administration had to generate a manipulated version where the population would be included, showing the love for the kingdom that everyone shared.

In Naples, the social revolt in the rural areas also had a strong impact. The constant abuses of power and the violence perpetrated by the nobility – besides the tax pressure – provoked the beginning of a social revolt, against the taxes and the nobility. During the last decades of the 16th century the first symptoms of popular political lines of thought started being felt. Protests against the high prices – partly inspired by the revolt in Flanders – and the banditry converged in a will of change.

In order to understand the revolt of 1647, it is necessary to go back to the revolt of 1585. This revolt marks, according to Villari, a before and an after in the relations between monarchy and the province. The immediate cause was the decision of the *Eletti* to rise of the price of the bread. Some months before, the administration had allowed the exportation of over 400.000 *tomoli*⁶⁶ of wheat to Spain. This kind of speculation was normal in Naples, but it was especially troublesome in a moment of such a delicate social equilibrium caused, in part, by the devaluation of the salaries. Tension led to the murder of the *Eletto del Popolo*, Starace. The uprising failed

⁶⁵ Rafael Valladares, “Sobre Reyes de Invierno. El diciembre portugués y los cuarenta fidalgos (o algunos menos con otros más)”. In: Pedralbes 15 (1995), pp. 103-136, p. 132.

⁶⁶ 1 *tomoli* is the equivalent of 45 liters. This information is given in the Spanish translation of the book of Rosario Villari, *La revuelta antiespañola*.

and was repressed, but at the same time it succeeded in creating a movement capable to question the organization of the kingdom and its political and cultural tradition⁶⁷. Previously, other episodes of turbulence had questioned the ambiguity of the nobility positions, as in the uprisings of 1510 and 1547, when the monarchy tried to introduce in Naples the Spanish Inquisition⁶⁸. However, the movement of 1585 demonstrated clearly how available some groups of the city bourgeoisie were to join the demands.

Moreover, during the second half of the 16th century, the *Eletto del popolo* had been progressively removed from the center of the decision making process. Traditionally, this *Eletto* had important competences, participating actively in the administration of the public life of the cities, especially in Naples. However, changes were introduced. In the city of Naples, the popular *seggio*, the *Seggio de Sant'Agostino* was no longer able to choose directly his representative. They had to give the viceroy six names and he would elect one. Then, it was conceded a privilege to the representatives of the nobility so they only needed four elements to make their decisions, even in the absence of the popular representative⁶⁹. More than evidencing the lack of influence of the popular representative in the municipal administration, these measures brought to light the mixed private interests in the city political life and a financial flexibility practice with no regards for the laws⁷⁰. There was an increased lack of trust in the aristocracy of the *seggi*. Illicit fortunes, the practices of negotiation of the votes – especially regarding taxes issues – were strongly condemned by popular sectors.

New opposition movements arose after the repression of the revolt in 1585. The repression had been done during a period of a relative decrease of the price of the bread. However, after a short period it began rising again. In 1591 there were new uprisings and in 1592 there were posters in the city encouraging the population to show their discontentment.

While this was going on in the capital, in the province the problems increased with the banditry⁷¹. It was not a form of protest related to the political problems of the city of Naples, but

⁶⁷ Rosario Villari, *La revuelta antiespañola*, pp. 40-41.

⁶⁸ Rosario Villari, *La revuelta antiespañola*, p. 41.

⁶⁹ Rosario Villari, *La revuelta antiespañola*, p. 47.

⁷⁰ Francesco Benigno, “El misterio de Masaniello”, p. 133.

⁷¹ The problems caused by the intensive action of the bandits were partially solved after Masaniello ordered their punishment and assassination.

more of a form of resistance to the great feudal lords. It was a phenomenon of big proportions that forced the viceroy to take measures. But the people were not willing to cooperate with the viceroys agents and denied to give the bandits away. The ineffectiveness of the measures demonstrated the fragilities in the administration, at the same time the problem kept growing.

Besides the banditry, the landlords also had to face the *massari*, workers – usually owners of small properties – that refused to pay taxes to the nobility and the ecclesiastical rents as a form of protest. They were exposed to the pressure of the privileged ones and after some years of bad harvests their capacity to face the costs changed. Their reaction spreads all over the rural areas of the kingdom. Following their example, the peasantry also reacted denying the payment of the taxes imposed by the landlords and the clergy⁷².

1.3. Insurrection and legitimation

In Catalonia when the revolt began on the 7th June 1640, the rural zones were already in an open conflict against the soldiers of Philip IV.

In Portugal, the revolt was prepared during the autumn of 1640, probably with the collusion of Richelieu. Rumors of the Portuguese discontentment were spread in Europe and the duke of Híjar warned Olivares about 3 months before December.

The first reference the viceroy made to a revolt in Naples dated back from 1646, presented by the duke of Arcos to the *Consiglio d'Italia* in September: the situation of the reign was disastrous due to the tax pressure. The following year in February, he insisted again on the danger of a popular uprising.

1.3.1. The protagonists

One of the main concerns when rising up against the king was the necessary legitimation. Breaking the loyalty with the monarch was very serious, and it required a theoretical justification and a strong motivation such as tyranny⁷³. In the same way, when electing a king it was necessary to be able to legitimate the choice made. This was one of the aspects that distinguished

⁷² Rosario Villari, *La revuelta antiespañola*, pp. 66-68.

⁷³ Xavier Torres, *La guerra dels segadors*, p. 70.

the three revolts. The Portuguese had the advantage of having a royal candidate. The election of the responsible to head the revolt was somewhat obvious. John of Braganza, heir of Catarina de Braganza, who had been in 1580 set aside for Philip II, was a royal candidate. Moreover, the popular belief in the Divine Providence provided the cultural basis for the justification of the new king. This belief assumed different forms such as *sebastianismo*, *bandarrismo*, and the *messianismo brigantino*. After the death of the king Sebastian in África, a mystical line of thought emerged invoking the return of the king to save the kingdom and lead it to the fifth empire⁷⁴. The *sebastianismo* was not only a cultural phenomenon, but a social and political one. A derivation of the same idea of freedom was shared by Gonçalo Eanes, known as Bandarra, a shoemaker from Trancoso who prophesized, around the year of 1546, the return of a legitimate king. Both contained the idea of the *messianic return* of a legitimate to king and it constituted a powerful argument widely diffused to attack the abuses of the monarchy, especially by the Jesuits. A large section of the population trusted that John of Braganza was meant to set them all free and he had even be proclaimed king – it was a popular acclamation – in the revolts of Évora in 1637⁷⁵. Only the thesis of the popular origin of the power could justify the deposition of Philip IV and the proclamation of John of Braganza. He was a king of natural right, as Philip II had been in 1580, but the Habsburg had fell into tyranny and the pact between the reign and the monarch was broken⁷⁶. This justification was widely diffused through sermons⁷⁷ and printed books⁷⁸ and images that circulated not only in Portugal but also across Europe. However, the process was not so simple. The duke of Braganza was part of the aristocracy who had assimilated to the Habsburg, partly through a matrimonial alliance. He was married to Luisa of Guzmán, sister of the duke of Medina Sidonia, one of the *grandes* of Spain. He had preferred to live in Portugal, instead of Spain, so he could outstand instead of being just one more among his peers:

⁷⁴ These subjects have been studied by many authors. Among others, see J. Lúcio de Azevedo, *A evolução do Sebastianismo*, 1984; and José van den Besselaar, *O Sebastianismo: história sumária*, 1986.

⁷⁵ Luís Reis Torgal, *Ideologia Política e Teoria do Estado na Restauração*, 2 vols., 1982; Fernando Dores Costa, *A Guerra da Restauração*, 2004, pp. 13-22.

⁷⁶ Fernando Dores Costa, *A Guerra da Restauração*, p. 16.

⁷⁷ For more information on the sermons see João Francisco Marques, *A parenética portuguesa e a Restauração*, 2 vols., 1986.

⁷⁸ See Luís Reis Torgal, *Ideologia política e teoria do Estado na Restauração*, vol. 2, pp. 93-134; María de los Ángeles Pérez Samper, *Catalunya i Portugal*, pp. 322-347.

the house of Braganza was the most important one in Portugal⁷⁹. When he was contacted in order to participate in the conspiracy, his first reaction was to refuse. Nevertheless, the throne of Portugal was a tempting offer, the problem would be if Madrid would find out and the consequences it would have for him. Without the participation of the duke of Braganza, the conspirators had no possibilities and, in the end, the solution came thanks to Philip IV. After the revolt detonated in Catalonia in June 1640, the king requested members of the Portuguese aristocracy in the war front. This provoked the animosity among these men, who felt like Catalonia was not their problem. It was the perfect opportunity for the conspirators who finally got the compromise of John of Braganza, with the only condition of staying in Vila Viçosa. In case the conspiracy was uncovered, he would be able to deny any involvement.

On the contrary, Naples and Catalonia did not have a royal candidate. In the first moments after the Catalan revolt, Pau Claris assumed the role of the protagonist, as the ecclesiastic deputy since 1638. After the early death of Pau Claris and the increasing needs to face the war against Philip IV, the Principality started negotiating an alliance with France. Louis XIII was proclaimed count of Barcelona based on the allegation that the French king was the heir of the Carolingian monarchs.

In Naples, the situation was different. Recent interpretations indicate that the revolt was ideologically planned by a group of intellectuals, from which a jurist named Giulio Genoino formed part. This group had the support of a broad front that included some members from the traditional aristocracy, the *togati*, artisans and some popular sectors of the population. However, the face of the revolt was a man from humble origins: Tommaso Aniello d'Amalfi or, as he became known, Masaniello. The population since the first moment recognized in the fisherman their leader and spokesperson. Masaniello – whether influenced or not by Genoino – led the population in a violent revolt against the viceroy. His meteoric rise was compensated by a quick fall and he was killed just 10 days after the beginning of the revolt, but his memory endured. In fact, his memory was so strong that quickly gave place to the almost absolute identification between revolt and the protagonist. The formation of a legend and the creation of symbols led to an inevitable simplification of the events, which implies neglecting the following events that

⁷⁹ Mafalda Soares da Cunha, *A Casa de Bragança: 1560-1640: práticas senhoriais e redes clientelares*, 2000.

lasted 9 more months. The revolt was very connected to Masaniello, but there was a political culture and practice that should not be forgotten: those 9 months of conflict were a period of diplomatic, political and military issues⁸⁰. Rosario Villari proposed three possible explanations for this. Firstly, he pointed the use of the technique of dissimulation by the contemporary authors. Secondly, the existence of several studies focusing in the figure of the fisherman, minimizing the political content. And finally, the Meridional Italy historiography is still too inclined in accepting clichés and stereotypes about the structure and urban institutions⁸¹. Francesco Benigno added the important propaganda of misinformation of the government and the difficulties of the different historiographical sensibilities to give coherence to the events but still excluding their original meaning⁸². Moreover, Masaniello caused an extraordinary impact on the contemporary writers who felt the need to attribute a face and a personality. However, these texts responded to political interests. As Benigno wrote, the extraordinary force of the collective experience symbolized in Masaniello, have been considered too often as something irrelevant or it remained as a mystery”⁸³. During the *Risorgimento*, writers and historians projected their own problems in Masaniello, offering a perspective of the revolt even more centered in the fisherman. It was not until 1918, when Schipa published his *La cosiddetta rivoluzione di Masaniello*, that the myth of the revolt of Masaniello achieves a new interpretation and Masaniello is given a more secondary role. For Schipa the revolt had as the main goal the change of the system of government. Masaniello was the tool employed and once he converted into an obstacle, he was strategically removed.

As it happened in Catalonia, Naples proclaimed a Republic under the protection of France and later, when the duke of Guise went to Naples with the pretensions to the throne, he invoked his ascendance from the house of Anjou in order to legitimate his position.

1.3.2. The three revolts

⁸⁰ In fact, Rosario Villari criticizes Peter Burke’s article on the revolt, for considering that the revolt disintegrated after the 10 days of Masaniello. For Villari, the concerns of the viceregal government and of the *Consiglio d’Italia* increased after the 16th July.

⁸¹ Rosario Villari, *Elogio della dissimulazione: la lotta politica nel Seicento*, 1993, p. 88.

⁸² Francesco Benigno, “El misterio de Masaniello”, p. 135.

⁸³ Francesco Benigno, “El misterio de Masaniello”, p. 135.

1.3.2.1. Narrative and ritual

Ritual played a key role in the course of the revolts⁸⁴. They shared causes, consequences, ways of expressing political arguments, but they all shared behaviors. The 17th century societies were deeply emerged in a calendar of festivities and ceremonies. Certainly these were occasions that could quickly become stages of conflicts. Aldermen and consuls knew the dangers inherent to the popular festivities: the foreigners that came into town, the wine consumed with no limits, military demonstrations and preexisting tensions were just some of the many possible triggers. Especially in moments of political and economical crisis, any festivity could be the scenario of an uprising. The concept of power in Early Modern Age implied an association between power and symbols, the representation of the sovereignty. The exercise of the temporal power could not exist without the religious consecration, and the popular devotion was mandatory⁸⁵.

However, the insurrections that could rise from these events obeyed to certain precepts and rituals. Popular violence was often organized and *ritualized*⁸⁶, giving sense and legitimacy to the insurgents.

The three revolts of 1640-1647 were very different in many aspects, but the days the revolts began offer some common points, same shared experiences that are worthy of analyzing. Until what point was this ritual unique? Until what point was there *blind fury* without any control? What kind of solutions did the representatives of power provide?

In order to try to give an answer to these questions, it is important to see what sources do we have available. If visual sources are sometimes difficult to find, the written narratives are abundant. Diaries, correspondence and chronicles offer details and much information about the days the revolts commenced. But, as visual sources, they offer interpretative challenges as well. One of the problems of these sources is the contradictions we can find in them, as different writers reflected distinctive points of view and political supports. Someone loyal to John of

⁸⁴ This has been the focus of attention of many studies. See: Edward Muir, *Ritual in early modern Europe*, 1997; Natalie Zemon-Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays*, 1975; Graeme Murdock, Penny Roberts, and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Ritual and violence: Natalie Zemon Davis and early modern France*, Past&Present Supplements, 2012.

⁸⁵ Yves-Marie Bercé, *Fête et révolte: des mentalités populaires du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle*, 1994, p. 56.

⁸⁶ Peter Burke, "The virgin of the Carmine and the revolt of Masaniello". In: *Past & Present* (1983), pp. 3-21, p. 3.

Braganza did not write with the same perspective as a supporter of the Philip IV. No written construction is innocent, especially in the context of a revolt. The memory of a crucial moment depends – in a great measure – of the written narratives, so they were elaborate to serve a political purpose or to please the authority. It is important then to disassemble their intentions.

In Catalonia, a series of diaries and chronicles reflected the concerns of the local people. Antoni Simon i Tarrés listed about 50 different texts of this sort⁸⁷.

After the proclamation of John of Braganza as John IV king of Portugal, a number of narratives appeared allusive to the 1st December, written by different authors – some present at the time of the events, others because they obtained information somewhere else and others that collected the elements available years later in order to put down the memories of those days⁸⁸.

As for Naples, Saverio di Franco recently put together a list with the manuscripts in Neapolitan libraries and archives in a total of 290 accounts⁸⁹.

1.3.2.2. The outburst

On the 7th June 1640 the reapers entered in Barcelona looking for work. Unlike other years, this time they brought weapons with them – the tension could be perceived. The rural population was insurrected against the presence of the soldiers, and the authorities feared the entry of these men in the city. Around 9 a.m., a servant of the *alguacil* (officer of justice) started a verbal conflict with a reaper and stabbed him, near Santa Maria del Mar. When the news of the death of a reaper arrived to the Rambla, where approximately 500 other men were, the tempers got heated. The reapers headed to the house of the viceroy Santa Coloma to set it on fire, shouting “*visca la terra y muiran los traidores*”.

⁸⁷ Antoni Simon i Tarrés, *Cròniques de la Guerra dels Segadors*. For a listing of these diaries and written memories, see pp. 29-39.

⁸⁸ Among the known contemporary narratives of the Portuguese revolt of 1640, see: António Coelho, *Chronica del Rey Dom Joao IV*, Padre Nicolau da Maia, *Relação de tudo o que passou na felice aclamação do mui alto, & mui poderoso Rey Dom Joao o. IV*, 1641; Conde de Ericeira, *História do Portugal Restaurado*, 1679; Frei Rafael de Jesus, *Vida, e açoes do Serenissimo Rey D. João IV*, 1677; Durval Pires de Lima, *Rellação do Notavel Successo e aclamação del rey Dom Joao IV, Relação de tudo o que passou na felice aclamação*, 1943; and *Discurso historico, e politico sobre o sucesso de sabado 1.º de Dez.º do año de 640* (BGUC, Ms n.º 122)

⁸⁹ Saverio di Franco “Le rivolte del *Regno* di Napoli del 1647-1648 nei manoscritti napoletani”. In: *ASPN*, CXXV, 2007, pp. 1-132.

On the 1st of December 1640, at dawn, the noblemen met in the house of D. Miguel de Almeida in order to gather the weapons. From this place, some went to the palace and other to strategic places in town. At 9 a.m., Jorge de Mello and Antonio de Mello e Castro, detained the Spanish soldiers on guard. D. Miguel de Almeida fired his gun to sign the beginning of the attack. Luis de Mello and João de Saldanha e Sousa retrieved the halberds from the soldiers. Other guards tried to protect the doors, but the Portuguese noblemen made their way. From this initial confrontation, one noble got injured and a soldier died. After this first moment, D. Miguel de Almeida wielded his sword and shouted “*Valerosos Portugueses, viva ElRey D. João IV, até agora Duque de Bragança, viva; morram os traidores, que nos arrebataram a liberdade!*” (Brave Portuguese, hooray for King John IV, until now Duke of Braganza, hooray; death to the traitors, que took away our liberty!). He approached the balconies of the palace, repeating the same words as the people – curious by the agitation – were gathering in the square.

On the 7th July 1647 it took place the celebration of the Virgin Mary, a major festival in Naples. According to the tradition, a castle made of wood should be erected in the Piazza del Mercato, for a mock-up battle between young men from the quarter armed with fruits and sticks and watched by a crowd. In this group of youngsters, there was a 23 year old fisherman, Tomaso Anello d’Amalfi – Masaniello. At the same time the ritual battle took place, there was a conflict over the distribution of the burden of the new fruit tax. Somehow, the two disputes converged into a major one. The tax office and its records were burnt, while people shouted “*Viva il Rè di Spagna e muora il mal Governo!*” (Long live the King of Spain, and death to the misrule). It was at this moment that Masaniello emerged as a leader and, inexplicably, thousands of people joined him immediately. They attacked the flour storage and marched to the palace of the viceroy in protest, carrying sticks and pikes with loafs of bread as a sign of protest against the rise of the prices. They headed to the jail of S. Giacomo de’ Spagnoli where they released the prisoners. Although the crowd was able to enter the palace, the viceroy managed to leave and search for a safe refugee.

1.3.2.3. The reaction of the authorities

In Barcelona, after the initial burst, the religious of Saint Francis tried to intervene, showing a big Christ to separate the insurgents. When their attempt failed, they brought to the street the equipment needed to celebrate mass, but not even that stopped the reapers. The bishops of Barcelona, Vic and Urgell tried to calm the people down but nothing seemed enough to pacify the fury. Moreover a second reaper died in the walls of the city after a gun fired. They reached to open one of the windows of the palace. The spirits and the hatred escalated and there were shouts of “*Cremaulos!*” (Burn them!). The appeals of the deputies and bishops also increased and they managed to have the reapers following them back to the Rambla. However, when passing the Calle del Carmen, they passed the house of Gabriel Berart, judge in the *Audiencia Real* and a very unpopular man responsible for the forcing Catalans to join the Spanish armies, they entered his house, took all of his belongings and burnt them in the street. After this, they headed to the house of Grao Guardiola, in Portal del Angel. Windows and doors were destroyed and another fire was set in the Plaça de Sant’Ana, with everything they found, from religious images to furniture ornamented with silver. They also entered and burnt the houses other officials from the *Audiencia*, such as the judge Rafael Puig. Again, the religious tried to stop them with the Christ of Santa Maria del Pi, but in vain.

Around midday, the deputies recommended that the viceroy Santa Coloma should search for a refuge in the *Drassanes* (the port).

The reapers went back to the Rambla in order to go to the coach house of D. García de Toledo, Marquis of Villafranca. His coaches were taken to the fire in front of Berart’s house and burnt and immediately after this, they went to his place, behind the Convento dels Angels. There, they met five to six servants who tried to defense the house, but threaten by the fire they ran to the convent trying to save their lives. The reapers entered the convent and killed them, as well as a priest who went to the window. They kept going through the convents between the Rambla and Raval, looking for the judges of the *Audiencia*.

When the rumors of some servants of the Marquis of Villafranca killing a city deputy (Joan Massana, who was in fact only injured) hit the reapers, there was another wave of rage. A group

of about 3000 men met in the end of the Ramblas, planning to take the port, where the viceroy was known to be hiding. At this moment, new groups of men had entered the city with more weapons, shouting “*Visca la terra!*”. The viceroy feeling the eminent attack, tried to escape in direction of Montjuïc, but he never made it. In his way, he met a group of reapers and he – according to the narratives – did not survive.

In Lisbon, the guards ran to defense the house of the vicereine without any success: two more soldiers were killed and one injured. At the same time, on the ground floor, nobles and town people dominated the Spanish Guard. Then, the nobles went up to the German Hall to help their peers. João Pinto Ribeiro was spreading the news that they were “*Vamos expulsar um rei e pôr outro*” (we are going to remove a king and place another one). Simultaneously, D. Miguel de Almeida and D. Antonio Luis de Menezes were walking by the windows of the palace, shouting “*Liberdade Portugueses: Viva ElRey D. João IV*” (Freedom Portuguese: Hooray to the King John IV), and the people gathered in the square answered “*Viva!*” (Hooray!). A third group of nobles were looking for Miguel de Vasconcelos, the hated secretary. They headed to the House of India and crossed with Francisco Soares de Albergaria, magistrate of the city, and they exclaimed “*Hooray to the King John IV*”. When he answered “*Hooray to Philip IV*” they killed him. They entered in the house of the secretary and as they could not find him, they asked a slave woman where he was. She finally confessed he was hiding in a closet. They opened the doors and Antonio Telles de Menezes fired his gun, injuring him. He left the closet immediately. After some more injuries, he was defenestrated and fell on the square, with shouts of “*Viva a liberdade, e ElRey D. João IV, morte aos traidores*” (Hooray to the freedom and the king John IV, death to the traitors). On the square, the people covered him with insults and the body was left to the popular fury.

Inside the palace, the captain Diogo Garcez Palha was found and also defenestrated, as well as the head of the secretary, Antonio Correia. Then, the nobles left to the *Casa da Galé*, in search of the vicereine. She tried to reason with them, but she was told that the duke of Braganza was now the legitimate king and she had to retire to her rooms for the moment.

At this moment, the nobles went to the streets proclaiming John of Braganza as the new king of Portugal. At first, people were not aware of what was going on: at 11 a.m., the shops were opened and the merchants sold their products in the streets of Lisbon. The group of nobles left for the city council, where the senate was assembled that morning. The nobles entered and proclaimed the new king. From there, they headed to the cathedral, looking for the archbishop, who was leaving to celebrate a procession thanking God. When they were passing through the church of Santo Antonio, the crowd shouted in unison: one of the arms of Christ had fallen from a silver image. Full of confidence, the people spread the word that God was in favor of their cause and acclaimed John IV king of Portugal.

Meanwhile, another group of nobles went to the court and signed the first documents. Then, they released the prisoners from jail to celebrate the new king and the president of the Senate ordered the immediate destruction of the weapons of Spain, in a shield made of stone in the royal palace. Only three hours after the beginning of the movement, Lisbon was dominated and the people joined the cause. During the day several fortresses give in and the castle was handed over to the nobles.

In Naples, the authorities tried to calm down the population using religious symbols. The archbishop brought to the streets the sacred blood and head of Gennaro, and the religious orders – Franciscans, Theatines, Jesuits, Carmelites and Dominicans – came to the streets in processions. In the church of Santa Maria del Carmine, in the Piazza del Mercato, the prince of Bisignano, who had very good relation with the people, talk to them from the pulpit, showing a crucifix, trying to calm the crown down. However, this was not enough to control the population.

1.3.2.4. From riot to revolt

On the 8th June, the revolt kept going in Barcelona. Some more houses were assaulted, as the house of Montrodon in Carrer Ample; the one from Ramon de Calders, governor of Catalonia; the one from Miquel Joan Magarola, regent; and the ones from the doctors Jaume Mir, Felip Vinyes and Josep Massó. On the 9th the search for the offices continued, looking for justice for the presence of the armies during the spring and summer and for the campaign of Salses in 1639.

The revolt only calmed down when the news of the evil deeds perpetrated in Gerona and Perpignan by the *tercios* of Philip IV. The city councilors organized a company of men to go help Perpignan (the news from Gerona were fake), including a great number of reapers. But the pacification of the city did not mean the end of the conflict, it was just the opposite. By the end of June, the revolt against the soldiers was extended to the whole Principality. The insurrection of the reapers in Barcelona was repeated in other cities such as Vic, where several houses were burnt and pillaged, Manresa and Tortosa, until the end of August.

The king responded officially in August alerting the Catalan institutions they should prepare for war: he was preparing a military offense to contain the uprising.

But the Catalans knew they were in a disadvantage. A possible alliance with France could represent the solution they needed to face the war. The first contacts seemed quite positive although no official position was taken.

The armies of Philip IV entered the Principality in September 1640, commanded by the Marquis of Los Vélez. First he occupied Tortosa and then headed to Barcelona. Considering the severe threat the Catalans were facing, the Catalan republic was proclaimed on the 16th January of the following year. However, it was impossible to face the invading army, so the Catalonia placed itself under the control of France on the 23rd of January, proclaiming Louis XIII count of Barcelona. This marked the beginning of an alliance that allowed the Catalans to win important battles until 1645.

On the 6th of December, John of Braganza entered Lisbon, at 1 p.m. He was sworn as king on the 15th of the same month. He quickly started working on appointing people he trusted for all sort of positions and prepare the kingdom for a war that would not end before 1668. At this moment, Masaniello erected a stage from where he appealed to the civic guard. Within the day, he was able to gather a group of about 2000 young men, shopkeepers and craftsmen, armed with sticks. They planned and attacked over sixty palaces. Their contents were brought to the Piazza del Mercato and burnt. Religious images were spared (unlike in Catalonia). The persecution of people connected to the financial local administration puts in evidence the anti-fiscal reactions towards the irregularities that had been observed in the previous decades.

Between the 7th and the 16th July, Masaniello governed the city with the help of the *lazzari* and counselors such as Genoino. On the 8th trying to face the uprising, the duke of Arcos promised to abolish the taxes and to address a general pardon for the crimes and offenses committed. A new *Eletto del Popolo* was chosen, Francesco Arpaia, a man close to Genoino. However, an attempt to murder Masaniello, perpetrated by Micco Perrone, the head of the bandits – probably with the support of Giuseppe Caraffa – ruined the negotiations between the viceroy and the population, increasing the climate of suspicion towards the authorities. A new wave of violent repressions took place: Caraffa was killed, as well as many other men, along with rituals of popular justice. The corpses were dragged along the streets covered in rubbish. Some heads were placed in pikes and one was decorated with a crown of fake gold. After these episodes, the viceroy made important concessions and a great ceremony was organized to confirm the new understandings from both sides.

On the 11th another symbolic moment took place: among all the houses of the aristocracy Masaniello ordered to be burnt and pillaged, they went to the palace of the Carafa. The rebels found two canvases of the count Tiberio Carafa and his father. These two images were used to stage a ritual of despise for them: the heads were cut in order to reassemble triumphs from capital executions. The two pieces of canvas were placed in two baskets on the table ready for the lunch of Masaniello.

From this moment on, several chronicles establish that Masaniello went mad, into a state of dementia, due to the excessive power he had on his hands and he started distancing himself from his humble origins. On the 15th July, he announced he was planning to destroy the houses around his so he could build a palace⁹⁰. On the following day, the displeasure was evident on the streets and Marco Vitale, the secretary of Masaniello, was killed in a small conflict. At this moment, the viceregal authorities saw an opportunity of regaining the control and occupy with soldiers the popular quarters of the city. The shouts of “*Viva il rè d’Espagne e morte al ribelde*” could be

⁹⁰ On this account, Peter Burke reminds that most of the chronicles that mention this episode were written by elements of the upper class who were concerned in legitimating the assassination of Masaniello. See Peter Burke, p. 16. Also Villari considers that the subject of the madness of Masaniello could be easily explained if one considers the theory of the conspiracy of the death of the fisherman. The idea of the disorientation provoked by the power in a person that had not been raised to exercise it was easy to diffuse and to be accepted. Rosario Villari, *Elogio della Dissimulazione*, p. 84.

heard on the streets. On this same day, Masaniello was murdered, and there was another inversion of values. Some recent interpretations consider that the death of Masaniello was planned by the same group that had projected him. Genoino and his men considered that Masaniello would have become an obstacle so they decided to eliminate him⁹¹.

It was his head's turn to decorate a pike and his body was dragged through the streets of Naples. But Masaniello achieved again, after his death, the status of a hero. Huge funerals were celebrated in his honor and a miracle of the reattachment of his head to his body was attributed to his connection with the Virgin.

After the 10 days of Masaniello, the revolt assumed a new dimension. The viceroy was convinced that the death of the fisherman would calm the situation down. However, he had to face the opposite scenario. The turning point was the funerals celebrated in honor of Masaniello who raised the biggest admiration for their opulence. There was a massive participation of the population in a celebration that followed the same models of the funerals celebrated for the marquis of Torrecuso, one of the greatest military commanders. The exhumation of the body, the pomp and circumstance of the ceremony and the posterior apotheosis⁹² of the hero on the 17th July upset immensely the viceroy, who considered totally inappropriate the use of such ceremonial usually reserved for high rank figures only. He was also concerned about the capacity of mobilization of the population: it was an episode of strong unity and of intensive collective life⁹³. The social basis of the revolt was widened by the participation of intellectuals and of the diocesan clergy, and has it echoes in the province.

The revolt then went through four stages. The first one, until the beginning of October, is characterized by the authorities still hoping to get the control of the city. On the 5th October 1647, the naval army of Juan José de Austria arrived to Naples and bombed the city, starting a military offensive, creating a scenario of civil war between the republican forces and the monarchic and aristocratic ones. It is a period of the proclamation of the republic of Naples, outside the sovereignty of Philip IV, and the shouts were for the people this time. The arrival of

⁹¹ Francesco Benigno, "El misterio de Masaniello", p. 143.

⁹² On a detailed interpretation of the funerals of Masaniello see John Marino, *Becoming Neapolitan*, pp. 230-232.

⁹³ For Villari, this was the moment of the most intense collective life in Naples in the 17th century. See Rosario Villari, *Elogio della dissimulazione*, p. 86.

the French fleet in December 1647 opened a third and last part of the revolt. The city is then divided in multiple factions: supporters of the monarchy, republicans, aristocrats, plebeians, democratic parties, etc.

1.3.2.5. The end of the revolt

From 1645, the Catalan and French armies stop winning the battles. The complaints about the *tercios* were now made about the French troops in the Principality and the economical situation was serious. The revolt was finally repressed in 1652 by the armies commanded by Juan José de Austria.

In Portugal, the war went on until 1668, the year in which the peace was signed and Spain formally recognized the independence of Portugal.

Whether the Neapolitan revolt was a consequence of a prepared and intentional revolt or was a spontaneous one is not clear⁹⁴, but the fact is that it deeply affected the Monarchy. On the 5th of April 1548, the Spanish armies arrived to Naples. Juan José de Austria and the new appointed viceroy, count of Oñate manage to gain the control of the city and they installed the peace again, after the duke of Guise left on the 19th May.

1.3.2.6. Symbols of the revolt

The context of the 17th century allows the comparison between the three revolts; all three had on their origin the consequences of the adversities of war. Besides the political events that have been previously analyzed, the revolts were characterized by the intense use of symbolism. Ritual and behavior were two important elements that contributed to structure moments of crisis. It had a legitimating function, and organizing one (order and cohesion) and an expressive one. Revolts usually start on a Saturday or Sunday. The language to be expected in such moments, for example, was common in the revolts of this period: “Long live the king, death to the misrule”. In Catalonia and in Naples there was no anticipated plan of breaking with Philip IV. In Portugal there was such a plan but still, the shouts were against the vicereine and mainly against her secretary Miguel de Vasconcelos.

⁹⁴ On the alleged preparation of the revolt see Alain Hugon, p. 67.

The different moments were also part of a standardized process that was not unique for any of the territories. The ritual of destruction of the tax office observed in Naples was common in moments of fiscal revolts since medieval times. It also happened in Portugal: in Aveiro, for example, after the news of the acclamation arrived, the crowd released the prisoners and headed to the tax offices where the tax of the salt was collected. After its destruction, they went to the houses of the Spanish officials and pillaged them, killing their occupants⁹⁵.

The same can be observed about the fires: the destruction was necessary in order to purify. The pillages of the houses of members connected to the royal administration in Barcelona, in Naples and in Lisbon and the respective burning of their assets was a collective catharsis.

The violence, especially the killings, was ritual as well; most of them took place in symbolic places where the action was developed: the main square in Lisbon (*Terreiro do Paço*) and the square of the market in Naples (*Piazza del Mercato*), for their capacity to offer a visible spectacle. In Portugal, a special king of killing represented the climax of the revolt, the defenestration of Miguel de Vasconcelos. Defenestration for itself is a symbolic act. There are well known episodes of defenestration, as the one of Prague. This one in 1640 fits in the same line of significance. It is not a random building or a random person that is thrown out, just because. It is the gesture of throwing a person who had a certain political function out of the building where that power/function is carried out. Considering this, we can consider the defenestration a way of breaking with the exercise of the power. In the account of Roque Ferreira Lobo, the people gathered in the square cover the body with insults, leaving the body exposed to the popular fury, until it was buried by the *Irmandade da Misericórdia* (an association to help the poor, the sick and the prisoners). According to António Coelho, the writer of *Cronica Inedita de D. João IV*, the body fell and stayed there until the next day, Sunday, and then he was left with his shirt only, they pulled his beards, tied his feet with a rope and he was dragged along the main square. Only after this humiliation, he was buried in a local destined to slaves. Although both

⁹⁵ Rafael Valladares, “Sobre reyes de invierno”, p. 119.

accounts do not match, it is not so much the exactitude that counts but the attention paid to the humiliating treatment is given to the body, the annihilation of dignity and the purification of the body⁹⁶. And Vasconcelos was not the only victim. In Lisbon, the same day, the captain Diogo Garcez Palha, was also defenestrated. Although historians have not paid much attention to it, during the 7th of June, in Barcelona, some men – mainly judges – were defenestrated. During these acts, several objects (usually of small value) were also thrown out of the window – they were considered that they were the result of a fortune illegally formed so they should be returned to their original owners or to those who had the right to possess them: in this case, the people.

Public executions had a double meaning: on one side they were the negative example, as a dissuasive device, but they also represented a collective state of emotions. It was a collective punishment of the guilty ones. In Naples, the killings assumed a different form. The corpses were beheaded and showed across the city. But, in all of the situations, applying to a member of the government rituals usually reserved to the popular classes was the same as proclaiming the subversion and it was perceived as such⁹⁷. These were forms of justice, the same one the opening of the prisons was a rite of justice as well. In Portugal and in Naples after the outburst took place, one of the first things done was to go to the prisons and open their doors. Behind this gesture was the idea of the people applying justice to a reality threatened by the ill exercise that had been practiced so far⁹⁸.

But, as Peter Burke stated, rituals of degradation were followed by religious rituals to restore order⁹⁹. Within this category it is important to consider the religious factor: in the three revolts there is the religious element present as an attempt of calming down the crowds. The exhibition of the religious symbols had an effect on the crowd feelings, on the sentiments of the participants.

⁹⁶ Violence against bodies has been studied by Natalie Zemon Davis for the French religion wars. See: Natalie Zemon-Davis, *Society and culture in early modern France*. In 2012, Past&Present published a special supplement with the title *Ritual and Violence: Natalie Zemon-Davis and Early Modern France*.

⁹⁷ Rosario Villari, *La revuelta antiespañola*, p. 52.

⁹⁸ Francesco Benigno, *Espejos de la revolución*, p. 177.

⁹⁹ Peter Burke, “The Virgin of the Carmine and the revolt of Masaniello”, p. 15.

Another element, very often present in the revolts of the 17th century in Europe is the female participation in such events. In Catalonia they are believed to have a key role during the battle of Montjuic in January 1641. In Naples, Giuseppe Donzelli admits his surprise to “vedere le compagnie intere di femmine sole, armate alcune con archibugi ed alter con bastoni, picche, alabarde e simili strumenti di Guerra, e fare tutte le operazioni chef anno i veri soldati”¹⁰⁰. The presence of women – true Amazons – in these revolts could be vastly argued whether it was a true component or a ritual element that writers included in their memories.

Narratives were stylized according to the paradigm of the world “upside down” lived in those days in Catalonia and in Naples: the order gave place to disorder, the popular protagonists were implied in symbolisms and rituals usually reserved for higher ranks, everything was outside its normal order. There was a parallel to the Carnival of the Romans that usually ended in revolt and social inversion. These characteristics were perceived by the contemporary authors, who moreover wrote their chronicles keeping their interests in mind (or their patrons’). For example, the official version of the Portuguese revolt written by the count of Ericeira in the late 17th century silences and smoothes the violence occurred during the 1st December¹⁰¹. The contemporary “official” narratives contributed to consecrate the myths of the Restoration, such as the one of a bloodless revolt. We have seen that soldiers and members of the administration were killed during the 1st December, and others were spared because they escaped. Expressions such as “*Feliz aclamação*” (fortunate acclamation) and the “*Quarenta Fidalgos*” (forty noblemen) were created to face the justification process¹⁰². There were not forty men involved, but the number had the mystical symbolism inherent. After all, the revolt in Portugal was nothing but a coup-d’état planned by a reduced group of privileged, removing a legitimate king in order to recover the control over the political power. It was necessary to provide to the involved ones a status of honor and responsibility. It would be a similar – although more demanding – “cleaning process” it would be applied to Masaniello seven years later.

¹⁰⁰ Giuseppe Donzelli, *Partenope Liberata*, p. 70, cited by Aurelio Musi, *La rivolta di Masaniello*, p. 121.

¹⁰¹ Conde de Ericeira, *Historia do Portugal Restaurado*, 1679.

¹⁰² Rafael Valladares, “Sobre Reyes de Invierno”, p. 120.

Finally, there were the symbolic elements that were far more than mere accessories. In Naples, during the punishment of the thieves, fake golden crowns were used as a symbol of treachery.

1.4. The reaction of the central power

1640 was a terrible year for the Hispanic Monarchy: Catalonia and Portugal rebelled against the project of the Union of Arms of the count-duke. The revolt of Catalonia, in a way, led and inspired the Portuguese one¹⁰³. Elliott wondered whether the decision of sending the Portuguese nobility to the conflict in Catalonia was an unwise or just desperate measure from Olivares, but everything points out towards the great mistake of the favorite that kept dismissing the threats of revolt in Portugal

Olivares could not give in to the demands of Catalonia. The possibility of an agreement raised immediately the complaints of the viceroy of Valencia, which implied the risk of other revolts. Besides the revolts of 1640, in the end of 1641, inspired by the Portuguese uprising, the duke of Medina Sidonia and the marquis of Ayamonte prepared a complot to take the count-duke down, and follow the Portuguese steps into converting in an independent monarchy.

In any case, the two revolts had different outcomes, but with a common element: it marked the beginning of an armed conflict and a military response was inevitable. At first, Philip IV trusted the situation would calm down on its own and he appointed the duke of Cardona as the new viceroy. However, he was not able to achieve much. In the summer of 1640 the Principality was in a situation of absolute anarchy. A new viceroy, the bishop of Barcelona, Garcia Gil de Manrique, was appointed but again with no success. The only way to face the Catalan situation was then a military intervention that should be commanded by the Marquis of the Vélez. After twelve years of war, the city of Barcelona was taken by Juan José de Austria, who became the viceroy¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰³ Fernando Dores Costa, *A Guerra da restauração*, p. 14

¹⁰⁴ For more information on Juan José de Austria and the government of Catalonia after 1652 see Fernando Sánchez Marcos, *Cataluña y el gobierno central tras la Guerra dels Segadors*, 1983.

When the news of the Portuguese uprising arrived to Madrid on the 7th December, the impact was so huge that Philip IV forbade everyone of touching the subject, under the penalty of death¹⁰⁵. It might seem curious that Olivares, aware of the risks, had done nothing to prevent the revolts, but he believed that it would not happen.

He was aware of the growing tensions in Portuguese territory, but he thought he could solve it. When finally he tries to avoid a general uprising it was too late. He called John of Braganza to the court in Madrid, but advised by his peers, the duke kept postponing his journey, until on the 1st December 1640 the revolt took place. Philip IV had to face the problem of having two territories in a situation of revolt and having no capacity to solve both problems at the same time. The war against France and now Catalonia absorbed most of his resources. Deciding on a military offensive against Portugal seemed then of secondary importance: after solving the French conflict, he would be able to return to Portugal. The first years after the revolt began were of nothing but short battles in the borders. After the peace was signed with France in 1659, it did not change much: Portugal had no capacity to mobilize a powerful army and Spain was exhausted. The war finished in 1668.

The news of the uprising in Naples arrived to Madrid on the 15th July 1647 through the duke of Arcos. For the *Consejo de Italia*, the *capitoli* are outrageous: the people of Naples deserved an exemplary punishment for their “*rebelión manifiesta*”¹⁰⁶. Faced with the lack of capacity of the duke of Arcos to deal with the revolt, Philip IV sent his illegitimate son, Juan José de Austria, to control and reinstall the order. He also named a new viceroy, the count of Oñate, who put together a display of power with no precedents¹⁰⁷.

The failure of the policy of Olivares in the three territories was due to the lack of information in such a huge monarchy, unable to adapt to the situations. The lack of flexibility of the monarchy led the organism to explode, unable to sustain the structural damages.

¹⁰⁵ Rafael Valladares, *La independencia de Portugal*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁶ Aurelio Musi, *La rivolta di Masaniello*, p. 140.

¹⁰⁷ On the action of the count of Oñate as viceroy of Naples, see Ana Minguito Palomares, *Nápoles y el Virrey Conde de Oñate: la estrategia del poder y el resurgir del reino (1648-1653)*, 2011.

1.5. The role of France

Louis XIII and his favorite Richelieu were decisive elements in the closure of the events of the three territories and the monarchy. La Mothe, the general that commanded the military operations in Catalonia, wrote in his book that Louis XIII after having France in peace, went to “*promover las revoluciones en Cataluña y Portugal*”¹⁰⁸

France played a key role in the revolt of Catalonia since the beginning of the revolt. Josep Sanabre stated that France had already meddled in the relation between Spain and Catalonia in the military campaigns in Roussillon in 1639¹⁰⁹. In the summer of 1640, the first contacts were made between a Catalan delegation and a French one, to negotiate support to the war. The first pact was signed on the 30th October 1640: according to it, the Catalans were not to start any offensive against France and should open their ports and pay the maintenance of the officials and the weapons of the French army that was to be sent.

Richelieu tried to profit from the discontentment and the revolts. After the uprisings of Évora in 1637, the French favorite contacted Portugal trying to persuade them to look at a wider revolt. However, the promised support after the revolt was always ambiguous. In the negotiations of Westphalia, the Portuguese and the Catalan revolts were never an urgent matter in the discussions, and Portugal did not receive the army and the money it expected from France after 1640 in order to face the war against Philip IV.

In Naples, although in posterior years, Richelieu also played an important role. A majority of the events in the reign of Naples can be understood when considering the history of the Peninsula in 1640-1645. The French knew of the importance of Naples for Philip IV. Among the several attempts to mine the debility of the Spanish king, there are the episodes of the prince of Stanza¹¹⁰ and the assault of 1643¹¹¹. In 1646, there was a different approach: Richelieu tried to sign a treaty with Tomas of Savoy so he assumed the government of Naples. Agents of the prince

¹⁰⁸ Cited by Josep Sanabre, *La acción de Francia en Cataluña en la pugna por la hegemonía de Europa 1640-1659*, 1956, p. 91.

¹⁰⁹ Josep Sanabre, *La acción de Francia en Cataluña*, p. 90.

¹¹⁰ Rosario Villari, *La rivolta antiespañola*, pp. 192-235.

¹¹¹ Aurelio Musi, *La rivolta di Masaniello*, p. 59.

of Savoy established relatively important contacts with several supporters. One of them, the prince of Galliciano, from Rome, was openly in favor of a French occupation of Naples. He committed to rebel all the Abruzzo when the French arrived to Naples, “*como ya había hecho Braganza en Portugal*”¹¹². It is interesting to see how the Portuguese revolt was used later to try to legitimate a possible French invasion. During the first months of 1647, the French advances were eminent and all the involved people were expecting signs of action, when – independently – the revolt of Masaniello exploded.

In general, France was interested in feeding the conflicts not only in Italy but also in Portugal and in Catalonia to raise the price of the negotiations and to weaken Spain.

1.6. Conclusion

These were not the only revolts in the decade of 1640s. Maybe they were the most representative ones, but in 1646, Sicily rose against the tax pressure. Several cities were in a general state of conflict, such as Carini, Alcamo, Caccamo, Cefalù, Agrigento, Mazzara and Palermo. Palermo rose up again in May of the following year. Messina was also in state of conflict, but the local oligarchic never lost the control over the population.

The mutual knowledge of the each of the revolts in the other territories is still a field of study yet to study. The intensive circulation of military, political, bureaucratic and commercial people in the territories of the monarchy points towards the communication between them, or at least, towards the awareness of the particularities of each one. The pamphlets and written works published contribute to this line of thought. However, influences and contact points still constitute a quite unknown field, apart from some contributions¹¹³.

Despite the previous scenarios – similar in some aspects – that led to the revolts in 1640-1647, the disclosures were very different. After twelve years of rebellion, Catalonia returned to

¹¹² Rosario Villari, *La rivolta antiespañola*, pp. 203-205.

¹¹³ Vitor Ivo Comparato, “Barcelona y Nápoles en la búsqueda de un modelo político: analogías, diferencias, contactos”. In: *Pedralbes. Revista d’història moderna* 18-2 (1998), pp. 439-452, pp. 451-452; María de los Ángeles Pérez Samper, *Catalunya i Portugal*, 1992; John Elliott, *The revolt of the Catalans*, 1963, pp. 489-522.

allegiance to Philip IV and faced the consequences: it left the war with a reduced territory. Catalonia kept its privileges intact, but it was still part of the monarchy. Portugal, on the other hand, obtained its independence, recognized internationally. In the scenario of the rebellions of the 17th century, it can be compared to the Dutch rebels that also conquered successfully their goal.

Seven years later, the focus of the attention moved to Naples. The crisis of 1647-1648 called the attention to Italy, for the consequences it could have for Spain. The three main aspects that led to the revolt – the taxation system and its effect on the merchants; the dialectics between privileged ones and “excluded”; and the social confrontation in the rural areas – are the main characteristics of the first stage of the revolt. As it was done for Catalonia, the solution for Naples was at first to declare the rupture with Spain and proclaim the republic under the protection of the French king, on the 21st October. It assumed the same anti-taxation characteristic, but at the same time it moved apart from the 1640 revolts for being anti-feudal.

However, the many factors that distinguished Portugal from Catalonia played in the first one's favor. Portugal had only been under the dynastical union for 60 years, and they were able to keep their traditions and reinforce the overseas territories. John of Braganza was introduced as a natural heir to the throne, a much stronger symbol of national unity than Pau Claris or the Diputació itself. Moreover, although both territories had the support of the diocesan clergy, only in Portugal the Jesuits played such an important role.

Secondly, the revolts of Naples and Catalonia are different from the one in Portugal for the apparent lack of organization of the first ones. The events of the 7th June 1640 7th July 1647 and of the show no previous organization, it was a spontaneous thing (despite the eventual preparation in the case of Naples, there was no specific day appointed for starting the revolt). In Portugal there was a plan carefully designed. Also in Naples and in Barcelona, the first scenario was the rural area, until the capital assumed the protagonism. In Portugal did this not happen: the tension goes from the cities to the rural areas. While in Naples the nobility kept fighting for their positions close to the Crown, in Catalonia and in Portugal this did not happen.

But popular contestation was common in the three territories. As Villari remarked, the effect of the revolts cannot be observed strictly under the political point of view: it is important to consider the collective identity, as the popular revolts leave a seed that takes time to germinate. In Catalonia, for example, the rupture with Madrid came in a moment of a strong sense of identity and a spirit of cultural unity¹¹⁴. And in Portugal that same identity was deeply felt: there was a general strong sense of pride of their own history, especially regarding the Reconquest and the overseas expansion¹¹⁵.

The outcome of Naples is also different: the republic did not succeed and it was over in March 1648. Spain was able to repress the rebellion by sending Juan José de Austria and appointing a new viceroy, the count of Oñate. Catalonia and Naples returned to the *status quo ante bellum*. After the three uprisings, the local institutions were in a very delicate position: they were the three in the juridical condition of “rebels”, with no options but to face the consequences from the monarchy. The legitimation that followed the beginning of the revolts was extraordinarily important in order to try to fight the notion of rebellion. Not only had they to face the central power but also the foreign opinion.

In the following chapters, it will be seen how this notion was fought through the use of images and the role played by the visual communication.

¹¹⁴ Francesco Benigno, “El misterio de Masaniello”, p. 165.

¹¹⁵ Pedro Cardim, The political status of Portugal within the Spanish Monarchy (in press, I would like to express my gratitude to professor Cardim to allow me to read the manuscript).

CHAPTER 2

Visual communication: the role of the image in the Early Modern Age

2.1. Introduction

This chapter resulted from the need of making a reflection about the role of the image in the Early Modern Age. The use of the image as a source is a relatively new practice for historians, and often we are not aware of the potentialities of the visual sources. Therefore, the next pages will offer general guidelines for the interpretation of the images. In the first part of the chapter, I will do a quick summary of the main tendencies regarding image interpretation. It is not my goal to value each of the existing debates, but to trace a scenario where several tendencies intersect each other, which allowed me to understand the complexities behind the study of images. The second part will focus on the use of the image, especially in the 17th century.

As it was stated before, this dissertation is not about political history, it is about cultural history. It focuses on the political messages that circulated throughout images produced within the context of the Catalan and Portuguese revolts of 1640 and the Neapolitan one in 1647. In the previous chapter, some considerations were made about the political environment and some relevant concepts. In this present chapter it will be discussed the role that the image has a potential informative source, its relevance in Early Modern Age and how historians studied the visual documents until the present day. It will be discussed as well some important concepts such as “visual culture” and “art” that are frequently used. To sum up, it will be analyzed how the image got its well deserved place along with written documents.

2.2. The importance of the image

The first question should be: what do we consider an image? In current days we often talk about images as mental representations, as metaphors and as figurative images. In other words, it can be both an abstract concept as well a concrete one and, sometimes, it can be very hard to separate/isolate them. Most of visual concrete objects have, behind, another dimension. In the next paragraphs, we will look further into it.

There are several words when it comes to describe visual representations: image, figure, icon, illustration, representation, paintings. Usually they are used lightly but they certainly do not all mean the same. The ones we will be using are “image”, from the Latin word “*imago*”. Etymologically it means “mask of wax resembling a deceased that was usually placed in the altars of Roman houses”. Therefore, since its beginning, *imago* has been understood has a sacred term, an object of cult. This term came close to his Greek ancestor, *eidolon*, a kind of shadow from the soul of the deceased that would raise from the body¹. With the development of Christianity in the Roman Empire, icons start appearing, as well as paintings on wood of Jesus or even of the Virgin Mary. It was, in this case, a sign in which the significance and the significant are in a relation of resemblance and evocation². Therefore we could understand the images as systems where figures or resemblances of distinct figures. The image is formed by signs and since then it had the objective of representing or substituting someone or something. Since the Antiquity that by creating funerary masks or figures made of clay, stone or wood for funerary rites, people are perpetrating the survival of the dead, replacing them and representing them.

The etymology of the word “illustration”, on the other side, introduces a link to clarity and light, as it was meant to give light on something. This establishes a complex relation between the written text and image. Through centuries the term evolved to “illustrator”, as the person who makes images, either by engraving them or drawing. For its complexity and direct relation to texts, it will not be one of the adopted terms, except when in relation to a text. Many of the images that I present in the following chapters are indeed inserted in books, but they have a value *per se* as well: often they circulated as prints without the need of the written text to provide them a meaning. They are no mere illustrations.

The term “representation” itself which will be used quite a lot in the pages that follow deserves some considerations. This word is used so often and so lightly that sometimes it loses some of its real meaning. The Dictionary of the French language published by Furetière in 1690 defined the term in two somewhat contradictory ways.

¹ Annie Duprat, *Images et histoire: outils et méthodes d'analyse des documents iconographiques*, 2007, p. 11.

² Annie Duprat, *Images et histoire: outils et méthodes d'analyse des documents iconographiques*, p. 11.

The first stated that “representation” is the image that returns to us as an idea and as a memory of an absent object, it depicts them as they really are. In other words, the representation allows us to see an absent object and replaces it by an image. The second meaning says “*Representation, it is said in the Palace in the exhibition of something [or someone]*”³. In this second definition, there is the introduction of a human element, of the presence of someone. It is also the use of language and images to create meaning about the world around us. Over time, images have been used to represent, create meaning and convey feelings about nature, society and culture, as well as to represent imaginary worlds and abstract concepts. Throughout a considerable part of History, for instances, images – most of them paintings – have been used by religions to convey religious believes, church doctrines and historical dramas. The decree on the sacred images issued during the 15th session of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) in the early days of December 1563 puts in evidence the importance of regulating the decorum of the forms⁴.

In this chapter, as well as in the next ones, representation is then understood according to both definitions, as we propose an analysis of the images of the revolts as devices to serve both sides of the conflicts and a powerful communication tool.

It might seem obvious to state that in present time images are important sources of information about the past and without them it would have been quite hard to study early civilizations. The paintings found in Lascaux, for example, provide us unique information about the Paleolithic men and we could apply the same considerations about Egypt, Sumerians, etc. It is also quite unarguable that images play a central role in our everyday life and that not only in distant times where superstition was the rule images were feared, admired, hated or adored. To take an example close to the period covered by this dissertation, during the French Revolution, an era of lights and reason, all the statues of the Notre-Dame cathedral in Paris were destroyed because people

³Fernando Bouza, *Imagen y propaganda. Capítulos de historia cultural del reinado de Felipe II*, 1998, p. 5.

⁴Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente: étude sur l'iconographie de la fin du XVIe siècle, du XVIIe, du XVIIIe siècle: Italie, France, Espagne, Flandres*, 1932 ; and A. Michel, “Les Décrets du Concile de Trente”. In: Charles-Joseph Hefele and Henri Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux*, vol. 10, 1907, pp. 592-596.

thought they represented the kings of France, instead of the ancient kings from the Old Testament.

This proves that the interpretation represents a key role when it comes to “read” images and use them as sources. Problems such as techniques, diffusion, and their utilization are always present and represent some of the main obstacles when it comes to interpretation. For many years, reading images was equivalent to describe them.

But to understand an image is to go through an itinerary, through several steps. There are several suggestions on how to read an image. In fact, over the centuries, the interest of analyzing an image has increased until present day and many suggestions were made on how to read them⁵.

In the next paragraphs we will see how this happened and the main contributions for the studying of visual sources. What I propose is a simple itinerary through the several stages that one should go through in order to retrieve the information from a visual document.

The first should be observation. On this subject, Francis Haskell states that “*before the historian can try to make valid use of visual sources however demanding, however simple, he has to know what he is looking at, whether is authentic, when and for what purpose it was made, even whether it was considered to be beautiful*”⁶.

So, it must be established a long dialogue between the observer and the image. In this first step, the observer should take a look at the technique, whether it is a painting, an engraving, a woodcut, a drawing, a coin, a sculpture, a fresco, a tapestry, a medal, etc. The relationship between the material and the iconographical content is an important one, as the fabrication techniques might say a lot about the message expressed by the image. Therefore, its material support, the main characteristics, the price (whether it was for sale or that was paid for it), its dimensions and its usage should be the first things to be observed. Within this first observation category, there is a second step which is looking. It is the moment when the observer takes a closer and more attentive look at the image, absorbing all the elements that constitute it.

⁵ The “reading” of images has been a very prolific area of discussion. A well-know introduction to the subject is Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, 1981 and *Empire of Signs*, 1983.

⁶ Francis Haskell, *History and its images: art and the interpretation of the past*, 1993, p. 2. The ideas advanced by Haskell were in great measure influenced by the method suggested by Erwin Panofsky in *Studies in Iconology*, 1939.

Sometimes there are signs that in the whole context of the image have different meanings and it is important to take a look at the whole thing at the same time as we highlight each and every detail. Thirdly, it is crucial to note if there is any text in the image. Very often images such as engravings were accompanied by fragments of texts: legends, verses, or even small identification information. The artist had to be sure that all the elements were recognizable by the audience so, sometimes, there was an explanatory note. These notes were especially relevant when the image was reused. Also, the text can indicate the artist, as in the early modern age, artists gained a sense of authorship. It is frequent to see engravings and paintings signed by their authors. There could also be information about the place where it was made and its price.

After a complete observation, it is time for a deeper level of interpretation. We stated already that visual sources give us important information that often written documents omit. Nevertheless, this does not mean we should disdain texts. Reading an image without understanding its context is almost impossible and would give place for several misinterpretations. On this next level, we should *read* allegories and the meanings of the image that go beyond what is physically represented. This means being aware of the circumstances, conventions and constraints that always govern what can be represented in art at any given time. What Annie Duprat calls this step the “*transposition from the text to the image*”⁷, I would rather call it “*going beyond the image*”, in order to keep the focus on the image itself instead of the text.

Finally, on a third level, we should be equipped for confrontation. Images should not be understood by themselves, alone and isolated from others from the same period, from the same context – political, religious or social. For instances, the illustrations of a book play relatively the same role, so they could be contrasted and compared, and then probably they should be compared with other illustrated books from the same period. Or even if they share the same set of themes, there is a possibility of comparing and contrasting them. Also, the comparisons based on studies of larger durations can be another good idea. Studying the coins or medals, for instances, since the Antiquity

⁷ Annie Duprat, *Images et histoire: outils et méthodes d'analyse des documents iconographiques*, p. 41.

allows us to find out which are the scenes that are represented more often and probably come up with an answer that explains it.

For many centuries, the use of visual sources was something almost exclusive to art historians or people whose work was strictly related to art. Historians worth the title would use only written documents, in particular from archives. This avoidance has been a result of the privileged position of the language over the image. The fact that history was considered during the 18th century a literary discipline and a positive science in the 19th century led to the supremacy of the written document.

Nevertheless, efforts were made in order to change this and dialogue and cooperation are now possible due to a frequent juxtaposition of interests. In the present day, working with visual sources is no longer a privilege for art historians and no longer are these sources witnesses for their formal characteristics. In order to achieve this, we had to go through several stages: the study of the object as a visual source, the development of interdisciplinary studies and the increased interest in visual culture.

The term “visual culture” has had considerable prominence over the past 10-15 years and there are many excellent studies on the subject⁸. This term encompasses many media forms ranging from fine art to film, television and advertising, and visual data in fields such as sciences, law, sport and medicine. This phenomenon has been described as the “*new, new art history*”. This might suggest that there was something wrong with the “old” art history. The scholars who started using this term pointed out that the traditional art history was concerned with “*transhistorical truths, timeless works of art and unchanging critical criteria*”⁹. When art history opened itself to Marxism, feminist studies, postcolonialism, semiotics and psychoanalysis, the visual played a small role. As William I. Homer stresses, art was “*a political instrument for social, gender or class justice. [...] the visual played a small part or none at all*” and it was “*to be avoided*”¹⁰. Art long ago stopped being the most important visual expression of cultural identity and

⁸ Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey, *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations*, 1994; Barbara Stafford, *Good Looking: Essays on the visual images* (1996); Beate Albert, *Languages of Visuality*, 1996; W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*, 1994; among others.

⁹ William Innes Homer, "Visual Culture. A New Paradigm". In: *American Art* 12-1 (1998), p. 6.

¹⁰ William I. Homer, *Visual Culture. A New Paradigm*, p.8.

experts from different fields such as philosophy, sociology, art history, history and psychology got interested in the subject. Visual culture replaced the typical chronological art history survey and it had a good welcoming in institutions such as Harvard and University of California. Visual culture is a concept organized according to the principle that says that vision is a way of cultural expression and communication between people as important as language. This means that visual is a kind of language, through which ideas do circulate¹¹. It may concern itself with mass culture and the popular arts, a field that for long art history rejected. It also offers an alternative to the excessive dependence from texts from the structuralism and post-structuralism from the 1970's and 1980's. It proposed then a more sensorial experience, insisting particularly in the visual dimension.

It is relatively recent the interest in the idea of the *Other*, as well as to the cultural identity and cultural encounters. These new debates, as well as the new fields of interest mentioned above open the door for new methodologies and new tools to serve scholars. One of the main achievements of the 20th century is the interdisciplinary approach.

Interdiscipline played an important role in making visual sources common ground for more than one field of study¹². In the beginning of the 21st century, historians – for instances - are aware of the possibilities of images as documents for their research and for the past decades, historians are demanding new possibilities of studying fields. The search for new perspectives and interpretations promoted the interdisciplinary studies. Some people designate the “symbolic turn” as this new necessity of penetrating into cultural history through representations – often plastic ones – in order to study new dimensions of history¹³.

¹¹ Joan Lluís Palos Peñarroya, "El testimonio de las imágenes". In: *Pedralbes. Revista d'història moderna* 20 (2000), pp. 127-142, p. 136.

¹² Regarding the importance of the interdisciplinarity, some recent collective works have put in evidence the desire of further cooperation. See among others: *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, especially the volumes coordinated by R. Rotberg and Theodore Rabb and the collection of essays on the Dutch culture in the 17th century coordinated by David Freedberg and Jan de Vries.

¹³ This “symbolic turn” has been often attribute to Erwin Panofsky, who opened art history to new connections such as physics, mathematics, painting and philosophy. He demonstrated that all these fields had been influenced by “a definite style of vision, embodied in new techniques for the representation of space”, Catherine Chevalley, “Physics as an art: the German tradition and the symbolic turn in Philosophy, History of Art and Natural Sciences in the 1920s”. In: Alfred I. Tauber (ed.), *The elusive synthesis: aesthetics and science*, 1996, pp. 227-250.

Interdisciplinarity was a big contributor for the spread of the importance of the images. If everyday more and more studies based on visual sources are published, that is partly due to the interdisciplinary approach. These studies of the visual culture are a result of the confluence of interests of fields such as anthropology, sociology, psychology and literary theory. Freedberg himself suggested acting like an ethnographer and a cultural anthropologist in the suggested method of approaching images¹⁴.

Although this statement looks quite obvious, many have been the historians of art who discussed the role played by Interdiscipline. In 1995, the *Art Bulletin* invited some of the most respected art historians who had been worried about these issues to write a short essay on this subject. Carlo Ginzburg, James D. Herbert, W. J. T. Mitchell, Thomas F. Reese and Ellen Handler Splitz came together to write their perspectives on Inter/disciplinarity¹⁵.

Having in mind that it is undeniable that images are a vital/indispensable source for historians interested in society, material culture, gender relationships or any other subjects than archives usually do not cover. Political historians, for example, are among those who use this kind of sources more often. In fact, they have been working with images for several decades now. Different regimes made available for their own interest a variety of visual materials such as palace decorations, monuments in public places, pictorial cycles, etc. In most situations, these were no mere decorations: they had a political purpose¹⁶ whether it was to promote the sense of loyalty or to encourage the sense of belonging to a greater body, the State. Politic was – and still is – an art of symbolization, so it is crucial for historians not to overlook these materials. Having this in mind, it would make no sense to consider images exclusive for art historians. Both work on images as an historical phenomena in the narrative they build, their reception and the effects produced on those who see them.

¹⁴ David Freedberg, *The Power of Images*, 1989.

¹⁵ Inter/disciplinarity. In: *The Art Bulletin* 4 (1995), pp. 534-552.

¹⁶ Nevertheless, sometimes they could also answer to aesthetical motivations. The idea of art having to answer always to a political program has been defended by the cultural studies that follow the ideas of Antonio Gramsci.

2.3. Studying the image through the centuries

Having stated the importance of the visual element, it is also commonly accepted that images have as many meanings as observers, as they might contain so many information. The cultural matrix of the images implies that not always is easy to understand or interpret them. Whenever the expertise of the observer has no correspondence to the same codes or competences of the person who produced the image(s), the result is usually first confrontation and then a communicative collapse. It became famous in the history of interpreting images the reading of the painting of Jesus being contemplated by a Christian after the flagellation, by Velázquez in 1919. The painting was in the National Gallery of London and a visitor read it as child who was visiting his suffering father in jail.¹⁷

The employment of images by a few historians goes back a long way. The paintings in the Roman catacombs, for example, were studied in the 17th century as evidence of the early history of Christianity and in the 19th century as evidence for social history. But long before the 17th century, men were already conscious about the importance of the image. Even those who did not leave explicit references to the role of the visual elements as sources, might have left us a theoretical testimony who inspired other thinkers into go further in this discipline.

Vicenç Furió starts the second chapter of his book *Sociologia del arte* stating that Plato was afraid of art. For his ideal state, the effects of art could be dangerous. He knew that the power of imagination and fiction are big and difficult to control. Therefore, it could constitute a peril for the entire community¹⁸. Plato barely knew how right he was about the immense power of the visual dimension.

In the 16th century it is crucial to mention Cesare Ripa (c. 1560-1625), who created the art of iconology¹⁹. In his book *Iconologia overo Descrittione Dell'imagini Universali*, he proposes different representations of philosophical concepts, moral

¹⁷ Román Gubern, *Patologías de la imagen*, 2004, pp.33-34. The painting mentioned is *Cristo tras la flagelación contemplado por el alma cristiano* (1632) by Velázquez.

¹⁸ Vicenç Furió, *Sociología del arte*, 2000, p .35. See also Edgar Wind, *La Elocuencia de los símbolos: estudios sobre arte humanista*, 1993, chapter 1.

¹⁹ There are several contemporary editions of his *Iconologia*. Among others see the edition from Akal, 1996 with the prologue by Adita Allo Manero; the edition from 1992 with the prologue by Mario Paz; and *Baroque and rococo pictorial imagery : the 1758-60 Hertel edition of Ripa's 'iconologia' with 200 engraved illustrations*, 1992, with the commentaries by Edward A. Maser.

virtues, arts and abstract concepts as peace, war and the four seasons. Iconology was then established as the science of reading these graphic signs and the books of iconology were (and still are, as a matter of fact) useful for their didactic properties, a bit as an alphabetic system for artists and art interpreters. Not only many of these symbols proposed by Ripa influenced the future treaties about art on how to represent scenes and emotions, but they were massively used during the Early Modern Age, integrating more complex images. Many of the images that would be produced during the revolts contained elements established by Ripa.

It was also in the 16th century that the art-history writing was established. Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) is considered to be its ideological father. He combined theories from philosophers of history, both ancient and modern and created a concept that there was a close analogy between the development of the arts and the successive stages of human life. This was the novelty introduced in the preface of his master work, *The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (first published in 1550). The work itself was very innovative as well as it was an encyclopedia of artistic biographies²⁰.

Later, by the end of the 17th century we have the first indications that critics and antiquarians were becoming aware of the importance of earlier art for interpreting the past. For example, by 1698, Filippo Buonarroti decided to gather a repertory of gestures to help him to elucidate the meaning of some of the medallions in Cardinal Carpegna's collection²¹.

During the 18th and in the beginning of the 19th centuries, historians, theorists and philosophers of different convictions and different places frequently suggested that the development of the visual arts was far more connected to politics than what it has generally been considered before. It is hard to trace the exact processes of thought that led to this conviction but it was written during this period that even during Antiquity some observers realized that the arts could provide valuable information about specific

²⁰ On Giorgio Vasari see: Antonella Fenech Kroke, *Giorgio Vasari: la fabrique de l'allégorie : culture et fonction de la personnification au Cinquecento*, 2011; Juan María Montijano García, *Giorgio Vasari y la formulación de un vocabulario artístico*, 2002; Patricia Lee Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: art and history*, 1995; and Moshe Barasch, *Theories of Art. From Plato to Winckelmann*, 1985, pp. 209-228, among many others.

²¹ Francis Haskell, *History and its images*, p. 147.

events (that were wrongly placed in time) and about far-reaching issues to do with beliefs and social life.

In the 18th century, there are some important art history books, such as the ones from the Abbé Bernard de Montfaucon of the Benedictine congregation of Saint-Maur established at Saint-Germain-des-Prés²². His first book, *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* (1719) is an illustrated record of everything that could throw any light on antiquity. It has an enormous success to the point that it has a second edition. But it is his second work that shows an important change of mentality. In his *Les Monuments de la Monarchie française* (1729-1733) he showed to be interested in the historical method and he challenged the orthodox method in which written texts must prevail above all else: “the reader with note that often these prints will teach us many particularities that historians do not say...”²³. Nevertheless the promising innovation and the previous successful book, this collection did not inspire much interest at the time. In these books, he inserted plates to follow his account of each reign he described but he did not consider the problems that the interpretation of those images could represent. He never thought of them as political propaganda or manufactured with a specific purpose other than mere illustration.

The work of Vasari had major impact not only for historians, writers, architects and artists, but also to philosophers as Immanuel Kant (1725-1804). He came across Vasari's work in the process of studying aesthetics. Kant did not study art as such, considering his works on the aesthetics was more of a reflection about the forms than a book on art history. According to the Prussian philosopher knowledge was constituted, perceived and organized according to discrete spheres of scientific knowledge, aesthetics and morals. In his major work *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), he establishes that this categorization leads to drastic differentiation between kinds of thought – the scientific, the conceptual and the intuitive, associated with the artistic genius. The implications of making aesthetics thought into a separate category or faculty of mind are

²² On Bernard de Montfaucon see James Westfall Thompson, “The age of Mabillon and Montfaucon”. In: *The American Historical Review* 47 (2) (1942), pp. 225-244; Francis Haskell, *History and its images*, especially pp. 130-140, and the publication that resulted of a congress on Montfaucon: *Dom Bernard de Montfaucon: actes du colloque de Carcassonne*, 2 vols., 1998.

²³ (1729-33, V (au lecteur): unpaginated).

immense and lead to the idea that art is autonomous and therefore, it has an independent development. It led, ultimately, to the development of art theory at its own right²⁴.

Contemporary to Kant, Hegel (1770-1831) also gave his contribution to art theory. He rejected, like Kant, the rationalist approaches and argued for a rigorous observance of the uniqueness and autonomy of art, ranking it with the highest of spiritual activities. However, he considered that it was impossible that art would take humanity to a future transcendental perfection, since the spirit is already fully materialized in history. According to his thinking, art is viewed as a phenomenon of the past and the history of art had, consequently, no future. Several subsequent philosophers were critical in this point, but many drew inspiration from his line of thought, especially Karl Marx, who adopted the Hegelian notion of critique (although he rooted it in the real materialist world, despising the idealism, as we will see)²⁵.

Hegel also considered that any artistic style or form or even convention, necessarily coincided with every other aspect of the civilization in which it was found. In more pragmatic terms, this means that the Baroque, for instances, had an intrinsic and determined relationship with Catholicism and authoritarianism. This influenced great art historians until the beginnings of the last century. But long before influencing minds from the early 20th century, it affected Victor Cousin and Edgar Quinet, who later met Michelet.

Jules Michelet (1798-1874) was not particularly interested in Hegel's rigid theories when he started analyzing them in 1827. Nonetheless, it was the visibility that philosophers as Cousin and Quinet gave to arts that allowed Michelet and subsequent thinkers to "make use of art at an incomparably richer and more imaginative spirit than ever been done before"²⁶. All of this analysis supported a new concept. Michelet introduced for the first time that both the actual structure of past societies and the defining characteristics of different nationalities could be directly visualized and interpreted by imaginative contemplation of the arts that those societies and nations had left behind them. In other words, images of a country represented its spirit and its study

²⁴ Immanuel Kant, *Critique of pure reason*, 1781; Regarding the studies of this work, see Béatrice Longuenesse, *Kant and the capacity to judge: sensibility and discursivity in the transcendental analytic of the 'Critique of pure reason'*, 1998.

²⁵ Elizabeth Chaplin, *Sociology and visual representation*, pp. 23-25.

²⁶ Francis Haskell, *History and its images*, p. 235.

would allow us to understand the society itself. It was his attempt to make use of arts as an indication of the temper of a particular society (which could be seen as a Hegelian influence). His use of the visual evidence was adventurous, if not reckless, even when he was working with traditional images such as portraits and religious visual elements and asking them questions about the character, behavior and achievements of important figures.

This kind of thought was highly criticized as this was considered to be naïve, and a very broad statement and a much generalized one as well. His sweeping generalizations were in fact an obstacle but yet, he left a remarkable testimony. He showed an unusual originality and fascination of the tool that the image was for the historians. He often returned to the visual arts when trying to throw light on the beliefs and circumstances of earlier societies.

In the 19th century, the clash between capitalism and industrial progress with socialism and romantic utopia produced an increment in the writings and essays about the social role of the art. The idea was that art influenced society through an ethical and formative action over the collectivity. All of these theories were highly influenced by the political events of this century. The consequences of the Industrial Revolution changed mentalities. The new production systems that combined with liberalism led to capitalism; the two social classes that emerged: bourgeoisie and proletariat; and consequently the social instability that increased gave material for reflection also for artists and philosophers. Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897), Hippolyte Taine (1828-1895) and later Johan Huizinga (1872-1945) were three of the main authors who emphasized the idea of studying art without disregarding history, society and culture. Burckhardt published his famous book in 1860, *The Civilization of Renaissance in Italy*²⁷, where he gives a multifaceted vision of Renaissance, considering politics, humanism, literature, moral, ceremonies, women's conditions and domestic life. Instead of the traditional chronological study, he introduces the study by themes and emphasizing the cultural history. Taine, on the other side, more influenced by Auguste Comte's positivism, published his best known book, *Philosophy of Art*, in 1865²⁸. He did not consider that art could be produced alone, so it was vital to consider the context. Also, for him, art

²⁷ Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of Renaissance in Italy*, 1860.

²⁸ Hippolyte Taine, *Philosophy of Art*, 1865.

was determined to be produced according to scientific laws, as in physics. He strongly believed in the science and in the scientific progress and it influenced his perspective on the place of art in society.

Huizinga, almost fifty years later than the other two, published a book about the Middle Ages basing his descriptions and interpretations of the culture of the Netherlands on paintings by painters such as Van Eyck as well as on texts from the period. While Burckhardt had described images and monuments as “*witnesses of past stages of the development of the human spirit*”, and objects “*through which it is possible to read the structures of thought and representation of a given time*”, Huizinga gave his inaugural lecture at Groningen University in 1905 on *The Aesthetical Element in Historical Thought*, comparing historical understanding to “*vision*” and declaring that “*what the study of history and artistic creation have in common is a mode of forming images*”²⁹. Both art historians left a great testimony on working with images. The first one established that culture, visual sources and politics were inseparable, while the second left us questions about historians and visual images, and the problems that could arise from this study.

This newly politicized society gained a new perspective on both art and its theory. The effects of the already mentioned Industrial Revolution also gave new concerns to citizens, such as welfare and social state. From these concerns, it was born the first currents of modern socialist thought, that were named as utopian socialism. In France, Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825) gave up on his aristocratic title in order to defend a more equal society. The same ideas were welcomed in England, by the hand of John Ruskin (1819-1900) and William Morris (1834-1896). Both authors believed that there was a direct relationship between the quality of art and the quality of life of a nation. There should be also a commitment from the artist with the values, ethics combined with aesthetics. Art, in this sense, was a way of educating society, of improving it, at the same time it reversed the negative effects of the modern civilization.³⁰

On the other hand, the scientific socialism developed Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, gave art a minor role in their theoretical development. In fact, for both Marx and

²⁹ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence*, 2008, p. 11.

³⁰ Vicenç Furió, *Sociología del arte*, pp. 36-38.

Engels, art was an element merely influenced by the social forces, so had no main role in society. Neither wrote specifically about art and they only left little references of these topics in their writings. Marx took some of Hegel's ideas about the application of art in the materialist reality but always with a passive role: for him art was definitely not an economic category, but a strategy of imagination. In other words, it was a system to mediate sense and intellect, between cognition and feeling.

These economic determinism was strongly countered by many Marxist thinkers, among them Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937). In the arts field, the main difference was that Gramsci believed that culture had a bigger role in society. He considered that a political education was a major issue, since creating a counter-culture was the only way of overturning capitalism. The combat of ideologies was only possible if the masses were educated. This emphasis on the political importance and consequent relative independence of ideas had considerable implications for the status of the art: it achieves a certain critical status and urges towards the creation of critical visual art projects in the building of a counter culture³¹.

2.3.1. The image in the 20th century

As for the 20th century, as Vicenç Furió states, there are so many different studies, theories and proposals that would be impossible to list them here. Therefore, it will be recollected specially those who bring new lights to the subject studied.

The first to be mentioned is Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968) for his contribution of method in art history. Panofsky can be considered as one of the last intellectuals working in response to Hegel's theories regarding philosophy of art. He began by establishing the idea of an absolute viewpoint from which it would be possible to regard the past. In other words, he created an *a priori* system of interpretation which would locate a particular mind-world relation (meaning between the subjective observer and the objective piece of art) within any particular work. This could seem awfully *Hegelian* but around the 1930's there was a deep change in his thinking. Forced by the political situation of Germany, he moved to the United States, where he detached himself from the German world and language. With the years he went on conceding a more active

³¹ Elizabeth Chaplin, *Sociology and visual representation*, p. 304.

role to the art historian, allowing him to combine both aesthetic recreation and empirical research³². He became particularly well known for his studies in symbols and iconography. He was the first to state that the *Arnolfini Portrait* by Van Eyck was not only a representation of a wedding, but it was a visual contract testifying the act of marriage. This approach was developed in his book “Studies in Iconology” (1939).

One of the great contributors to the social role of art was Arnold Hauser (1892-1978), mainly known for his book *The Social History of Art*, published in 1951. In this work, he tried to explain art history, from Lascaux to the Film Age, through the historical materialism. He considers that the propagandistic value of art was discovered early in history and used. However, centuries had to pass until mankind could make a theory about this propagandistic side of art. He asked historians to search a bigger social content, instead of giving so much space to aesthetics values. Hauser also considered that the sociological value of an image did not have to match the value of the technique. In fact, it could happen that a less valuable image could be more interesting in terms of social point of view. This could apply to the engravings that circulated in the 17th century in the context of the revolts against the Spanish Monarchy: they were cheap prints that give us, historians, far more information about the revolution and its participants and ideologies than the big ceremonial portraits and paintings. The controversial methodology attracted many critics. One of the most discussed topics was precisely the application of pre-established structures and generalizations. It would be better, according to Ernst Gombrich, for instances, to focus on a more concrete period and study it more deeply.³³

This is what Meyer Schapiro (1904-1996) does in 1947 when he published an article entitled *On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art*³⁴. His study, along with other pieces of work – not only about Middle Age, but also about Early Modern History - is a rigorous and interesting look on medieval art in relation with the context. He demonstrated that medieval art was not, contrary to what was believed, merely religious. There was more to it: there were aesthetic effects that were possible due to

³² Elizabeth Chaplin, *Sociology and visual representation*, p. 51.

³³ Vicenç Furió, *Sociología del arte*, p.53.

³⁴ Meyer Schapiro, “On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art”. In: *Selected Papers*, I, Romanesque Art, 1977, pp. 1-27.

technique, materials, colors, etc. This was new for the period: it implied an interdisciplinary approach and taking into account politics, society and material construction. Moreover, he collected and analyzed several texts from the 12th and 13th centuries that reflected the impact the works of art had on their audience³⁵, establishing the antecedents for the aesthetics of reception, a subject very trendy these days: he removes some of the importance of the artist to give a more privileged place to the observers and their attitudes.

Herbert Read (1893-1968) was also much into the discussion of the social role of art in society. For him, art gains different functions along history, and the artist has the social task of materializing the instinctive life of the deeper levels of the mind, that is a collective one. However, he also covers the true with superficial charms, which causes the essential function of the art.

Also medievalist, we must consider George Duby (1919-1996), who became known for his works on history of mentalities. However, the French medievalist also gave an important role to society in studying arts: each piece is a product of a time and place, as well as of the creation of an individual. This was exactly what he did in his *The Age of the Cathedrals: Art and Society 980-1420* (1976). In order to explain the artistic novelties of the 14th century, he relates three factors: the changes in prosperity with new clients and new patrons; the new beliefs and mentalities, especially due to the chivalrous culture; and the dynamics of the expressive form itself.

It was already mentioned Ernst Gombrich (1909), as criticizer of the work of Hauser. Gombrich always opposed to the idea of finding easy connections between art and everything else, as well as he opposed to historical determinism. He dedicated his researches to very concrete periods of time, where he analysis the relation between art and society, specifically in Renaissance. He is most known for his work on the Medici and the critics on the Renaissance.

Among other historians of the 20th century who studied and developed the studies between art and society, there are the already mentioned Michael Baxandall, with his study on the everyday life in the Renaissance (1972), Rudolf Wittkower on the artists

³⁵ Moshe Barasch, *Theories of art. From Plato to Winckelmann*, pp. 88-89.

(1963); Francis Haskell, on the patronage in the baroque Italy (1963), with which he recreates vividly the artistic ambience of Venetia and Rome during the Baroque and the also already mentioned Svetlana Alpers, with her work on the Dutch art in the 17th century (1983)³⁶.

However, most of the mentioned authors are art historians whose concerns are more focused in exploring the conditions of the production of the works of art instead of the messages they transmit and their role in society. It is important then to see which positions took historians.

Having this in mind, we must consider the works of Peter Burke (1937), one of the historians that has theorized the most about the use of the images as historical sources. In one hand, he has several concerns about the usages of images in historical studies, which we can check in his books *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence* (2000) and *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (2001) (editor and contributor)³⁷. Actually, the first book mentioned was considered to have reached a new maturity in the relation between the historian and art³⁸. On the other hand, he has some master works about art and society: *Culture and Society in Renaissance Italy* (1972) and *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (1992)³⁹. In the first, he attempts to explain how the so-called 'system of art' works and how did it relate to other activities within society. The second one is a case study of the formation of the image of the French king. Through the analysis of his life, Peter Burke identifies the works of art and how they contribute to create an image of the "roi soleil".

Regarding the use of images as historical sources, two of the most notorious studies are the ones from Simon Schama, *The embarrassment of riches: an interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age* (1988) and Carlo Ginzburg, *The enigma of Piero: Piero della Francesca* (2002). Schama combines the use of prints and woodcuts into the argument about the Dutch culture. Ginzburg offers his readers an interpretation of the

³⁶ Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, 1972; Rudolf Wittkower, *Born under Saturn: the character and conduct of artists*, 1963; Francis Haskell, *Patrons and painters*; Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, 1983.

³⁷ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 2000; Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on historical writing*, 2001.

³⁸ Theodore Rabb, "The Historian and Art: A New Maturity". In *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XXXIII-I, (2002), p. 87.

³⁹ Peter Burke, *Culture and Society in Renaissance Italy*, 1972; *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 1992.

paintings of Piero della Francesca in which they are the outcome of a precise political situation. Moreover, according to the author, the paintings allow to extract information about his relations and rivalries with his peers. In 1989, the *Art Journal* published a number (vol. 48, n° 2) with the results of the 76th annual meeting of the College Art Association of America that took place in February 1988. In this issue emphasizes the challenges of studying the relations between power and ceremonial and festivities, through the use of visual sources.

Others that have been and will be cited further in this text also gave great contribution for the methodology: David Freedberg, Francis Haskell and Ivan Gaskell just to name three have studied the relationship between art and society and what kind of questions can we, as historians and art historians, pose and what kind of answers can we expect.

Since the 1990's that these kinds of studies and activities have been developed more and more. In 1993, James Tunis and Daniel Horst published *Images of Discord: a graphic interpretation of the opening decades of the Eighty Years' War*, about images against the Spanish presence in the Dutch republic⁴⁰.

In the same year, an exhibition was held in Spain about Philip II: *Felipe II y el poder de persuasion de la estampa*, in the Real Academia de Bellas Artes, in Madrid. Several articles were written for the catalogue, about the power of persuasion of the images created under the sphere of the king⁴¹.

In 1998 in Germany it was organized an exhibition about the political images produced during the absolutism, in Europe. It gave place to a master catalogue: *Krieg der Bilder* (war of the images)⁴². Other two exhibitions were organized, *Fatal consequences. Callot, Goya and the Horrors of War* held in the Hood Museum of Art⁴³;

⁴⁰ James Tunis and Daniel Horst, *Images of Discord: Graphic interpretation of the opening decades of the Eighty Years War*, 1993.

⁴¹ José Manuel Matilla and José Miguel Medrano (eds.), *Felipe II y el poder de persuación de la estampa*, 1998.

⁴² Wolfgang Cillessen (ed.), *Krieg der Bilder: Druckgraphie als Medium politischer Auseinandersetzung im Europa des Absolutismus*, 1998.

⁴³ *Fatal consequences. Callot, Goya and the Horrors of War*. Hanover: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, 1990.

and 1648, *Paix de Westphalie (1648: War and Peace in Europe)*⁴⁴, held in the Hôtel de la monnaie, Paris.

Vicenç Furió and Cristina Fontcuberta are two art historians who have been working in the past ten years on the social role of the image, for both theoretical and concrete case studies, presenting an actualized interdisciplinary analysis. More than describing the images in their context – which they do – they also take a broader look into the potential market, public and reception⁴⁵.

Within those who wrote specifically about the role of the image in the Spanish Monarchy, the territory in which this dissertation focuses on, there are several authors who have largely contributed to a better understanding of the images as visual sources. Fernando Bouza⁴⁶ is one of the most active ones. His several books on images as tools for political source, especially in the reign of Philip II, have demonstrated that indeed images were far from being mere illustrations and iconographical programs were thought until the last detail in order to promote the glorification of the monarch not only in Madrid, but also in the peripheral territories, like Portugal.

Richard Kagan, among his several books, dedicated two to the images of the cities in Early Modern Age. *Ciudades del Siglo de Oro: las vistas españolas de Anton van den Wyngaerde* (1986), *Urban images of the Hispanic world* (1998), and a chapter dedicated to the painter El Greco and the social life in Toledo⁴⁷, which demonstrate his interests in art history, history and culture to study the importance of the cities in

⁴⁴ 1648: *paix de Wesphalie: l'art entre la guerre et la paix = 1648: Westfälischer Friede : die Kunst zwischen Krieg und Frieden*. Paris: Musée de Louvre/ Münster: Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte: 1999.

⁴⁵ Vicenç Furió, “¿Clásicos del arte? Sobre la reputación póstuma de los artistas de la época moderna”. In: *Materia: Revista d' art* 3 (2003), pp. 215-246; “El formalisme des de la sociologia de l'art: algunes consideracions”. In: *D' Art: Revista del Departament d'Historia de l'Arte* 13 (1987), pp. 37-54; *Arte y reputación. Estudios sobre el reconocimiento artístico*, 2012; *Sociologia de l'art*, 2005; Cristina Fontcuberta i Famadas, “La iconografía contra el III Duque de Alba”. In: J. L. Palos and D. Carrió, *La Historia Imaginada*, 2006, pp. 207-234; “L'artista en el conflicte: mercenaris i compromesos en l'art crític de l'època moderna”. In: *Pedralbes* 20 (2000), pp. 173-216; “Imatges d'atac i estratègies de persuasió en l'art dels segles XVI i XVII”. In: *Materia. Revista d'art* 3 (2003), pp. 247-280.

⁴⁶ His main works on this topic are: *Imagen y propaganda. Capítulos de historia cultural del reinado de Felipe II*, 1998; *Palabra e imagen en la corte. Cultura oral y visual en la nobleza en el Siglo de Oro*, 2003; *Portugal no tempo dos Filipes. Política, Cultura, Representações (1580-1668)*, 2000.

⁴⁷ Richard Kagan, *Ciudades del siglo de oro: las vistas españolas de Anton Van den Wyngaerde*, 1986; *Urban images of the Hispanic world*, 1998; and “The Toledo of El Greco”. In Jonathan Brown, Richard Kagan, Willian B. Jordan and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *El Greco of Toledo. Little, Brown and Company*, Boston, 1982, pp. 35-73.

Spanish and Hispanic-American culture, as well as the different meanings that artists invested in their depiction of the cities from both sides of the Atlantic. These representations represented a point of view from a certain human community and therefore it was conditioned by it.

The collection *Image, Communication and Power* from the Universidad Complutense (Madrid, Spain) published several books regarding these questions, two in concrete related to the chronological period that we relate to. Bernardo García edited in 2006 a book on the images of war in the Dutch Republic, mainly during the years of war against Spain: *La Imagen de la guerra en el arte de los antiguos Países Bajos*. The participant authors analyze the representation of war episodes in the art, considering particular aspects such as memory, propaganda and consumption. On the same topic and on the same year, Ingrid Schulze Schneider published a book about the Spanish black legend: *La leyenda negra de España. Propaganda en la Guerra de Flandes (1566-1584)* (2008). In a short book, she identifies the main images produced during the war, considering the political context, the rebel propaganda and the counterpropaganda. However, although she takes into consideration a lot of images, it is a very short study that could have profited far more from the fantastic material she put together.

From the literary field, we have the studies from Fernando Rodríguez de la Flor, who studies the figurative culture of the Baroque. His philosophical and literary approach contributed with several essays on symbols and symbolism in the society of the 16th-18th centuries. In the book *Imago. La cultura visual y figurative del Barroco* (2009), for instances, he considers the Baroque as the moment when we assist to the spread of the use of images, for exhibition, consumption and also other kind of artifacts that play with the image and visual tricks in order to create what he refers to as “thaumaturgic optics”. These consisted one of the limits of the visual culture in this period that is so important for all of those who care about visual culture, no matter in which century.

2.3.2. Methodological approaches

In the 1930's a group of historians develop a pioneer study about the possibilities of the images. Amongst them were Aby Warburg, Fritz Saxl, Edgar Wind, Michael Baxandall, Erwin Panofsky, Ernst Gombrich. It was first known as the Hamburg group,

before moving to London and they developed an approach that was summed up in a famous essay by Panofsky, first published in 1939. In his work, he established three levels of meaning in the image itself. First of all, there was the preiconographical description – the identification of the object. Then, there was the iconographical analysis, or the conventional meaning. And in third place, there was the iconological interpretation, which differs from the second level because it is concerned with the “intrinsic meaning”. It is at this third level that historians can recollect useful evidence for cultural studies.

We have referred already to iconology, first established by Cesare Ripa and to the iconographic method. The latter consists in the interpretation of an image through the analysis of details. It has been often criticized for being too intuitive, too speculative to be trusted and for lacking social dimension. As the only tool it is indeed insufficient but it is useful combined with other resources. Peter Burke suggests, when discussing iconology and iconography in his book that historians should practice more both of them as well as combine them with psychoanalysis, structuralism and especially, reception theory⁴⁸. The psychoanalytic approach evokes that the scholar should not focus on the meanings, privileged by Panofsky, but on the unconscious symbols and associations of the kind that Freud describes in his *Interpretation of Dreams* (1879). It has the problem that historians cannot resuscitate the dead artists to question them about their free associations and that a great part of the images resulted from a commission with detailed instructions. Moreover, it results inevitably speculative and it is not so much the individuals that the historians care about but the society and culture.

The structuralist and post-structuralist approaches are also known as semiotics or semiology. These terms were created to describe the general science of signs and it had a fair reception, thanks to the works of Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-2009) and Roland Barthes (1915-1980). Their claims consisted in two main points. Firstly, the image should be regarded as a system of signs and should focus on the work’s internal organization. Secondly, the system of signs is viewed as a sub-system of a larger whole that is the language. They were criticized mainly for the lack of interest in specific images, which they reduce to simple patterns and for lacking interest in changing

⁴⁸ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence*, p. 42.

processes. Finally, the reception theory, initially conceived for philologists and researchers interested in literature to explain the process of appropriation of the texts by readers⁴⁹, focuses on the history of responses to images or the reception of works of art, running parallel to the movements in literary studies⁵⁰. Barthes also had a theory about the two levels of interpretation of the images. On one side, he considered the “*denotative level*” and on the other, the “*connotative level*”. An image can denote certain apparent truths, providing documentary evidence of objective circumstances. The denotative refers to its literal descriptive, meaning, while the connotative one refers to a deeper level of interpretation in the light of context and symbols.

Aby Warburg (1866-1929) understood art history in the style of Burckhardt, and devoted his career to the attempt of producing a cultural history based on images as well as texts. In fact, his contribution was so important that we have today the Warburg Institute brought to London after Hitler’s rise, which still promotes this kind of approach. It left an inspiring footprint for other historians who followed this method. Frances Yates (1899-1981), for instances, was a Renaissance historian begun to frequent the Institute in the late 1930’s. She described herself as being “*initiated into the Warburgian technique of using visual evidence as historical evidence*”⁵¹.

The innovation consisted in not studying just the formal aspects of the image and get interested in the contents, meanings and reception. All of their studies reflect a concern about the role of the images in the *unfolding spirit of mankind*⁵².

Also, the second generation of the Annales School was very enthusiastic in the use of the images as sources in the context of the New History born in France. Historians like Philippe Aries, Jacques LeGoff and George Duby gave a relevant role to the images in their studies about the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Nevertheless, none of the most prominent figures such as Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre treated the image as a historical source in a more detailed way. Even Braudel, who described the arts as “*great witnesses of the real history*”, used the images superficially.

⁴⁹ The concept applied to the literary studies was initially used by Hans Robert Jauss in the decade of 1960s. See Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, 1982.

⁵⁰ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence*, p.169-179.; David Freedberg, *The Power of images: studies in the history and theory of response*, 1989, p. 534.

⁵¹ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence*, p. 11.

⁵² Ernst H. Gombrich, *Tras la historia de la cultura*, 1977.

Across borders, back to England, the historians who gathered around the journal *Past & Present* did not make more improvements than his fellow French colleagues. Between 1952 and 1980 only two articles were related to images. However, from 1980 on, this situation changes radically. A conference held in the United States in 1985 marks a before and an after in these matters. The outcomes of this conference were published in a special issue of the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* in 1986, "The Evidence of Art: Images and Meaning in History", and then, due to the success it had, republished in book form. Some of the participants became well known for their studies using visual evidence: Theodore K. Rabb, Jonathan Brown, Simon Schama.

Schama, of the contributors mentioned above, has become well known for his use of visual evidence in studies ranging from an exploration of the 17th century Dutch culture (*The Embarrassment of Riches*, 1987) to a survey of western attitudes, to landscapes over the centuries (*Landscapes and Memory*, 1995), passing by a study about the biography of Rembrandt through his paintings (*Rembrandt's Eyes*, 1992). Jonathan Brown became specially known for those working about the Spanish monarchy for his studies on the glorification of the Habsburg during the early modern age. And Theodore K. Rabb has several articles on the importance of the image and on the role played by historians and art historians in the analysis of the visual sources. He considers that often these two disciplines claim to maintain distinct sets of priorities but that claim can be dangerous as often there are common preoccupations that blur the disciplines.

The historical approach to the visual material is not confined to the attribution of ideological significance, such as was discerned, correctly or not, by Barrell and Solkin (Gaskell, 183). As for Michael Baxandall, the author of *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (1972), he sought to go beyond simple iconographical analysis. For him, the historian's task was to recover the "period eye": the culturally specific way of seeing of the subject of study. He introduces the concept of "visual culture", as his approach is based on the awareness that selective perception and attention to certain visual phenomena rather than others, is partly determined by previous experiences. Interaction and perception will differ in time, so every period has a visual culture of its own.

This approach was very well received and other historians created their own version of this scheme, taking it further. For example, Svetlana Alpers, in 1983, published *The Art of Describing Dutch Art in Seventeenth Century*. In her book, she argued that 17th century Dutch people sought to know the world taxonomically by accurate pictorial description of the everyday reality. And this, for them, took precedence over allegory. Moreover she claimed that the existing model for art history had been made to Italian Renaissance and was not possible to use on the Dutch art.

This debate brought to light two things. Ivan Gaskell explains that it brought to light that speculation on cognitive processes can be more dangerous than simply comparing visual images with each other and with contemporary texts⁵³. Also, she completely misuses – intentionally or not – the concept of “visual culture” used by Baxandall, losing the original idea behind it and therefore, much of its substance.

Certainly it was hugely criticized by those who did not believe that these forms of retrieval history. Hans Belting, among others, considered that cultural significance could not be encoded in visual material and subsequently decoded by a later interpreter to produce an adequate meaning. Even Baxandall questioned the retrieval history as it was no better than the critical appraisal⁵⁴.

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⁵³ Ivan Gaskell, "History of Images", pp. 183-184.

⁵⁴ Ivan Gaskell, "History of Images", p. 185.

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John Berger published one of the first and most important books on the subject, *Ways of Seeing*, in 1972. His book is a model for the examination of images and their meanings across disciplinary boundaries as media studies and art history. His work was groundbreaking in bringing together a range of theory, from Walter Benjamin’s concept of ‘mechanical reproduction’ to Marxist theory in order to examine images from the history of art⁵⁷.

Matthew Rampley, an expert on historiography of art, points out in the introduction of his book “Exploring Visual Culture” that nevertheless this advance, some of these studies equate visual culture with the study of the image, which is highly criticized by those who argue that what is needed is the recognition of the role of the much broader range of images. Although in England and in the United States the term is already most common, in France and in Germany, for instances, the link between visual studies and the image is made explicit by the rise of the so-called image theory or the science of the image (which, in German, is called *Bildwissenschaft*). But this link was described as being way too narrow for the understanding of the concept⁵⁸.

⁵⁶ Ivan Gaskell, "History of Images", p.185.

⁵⁷ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 1972.

⁵⁸ Matthew Rampley, *Exploring visual culture: definitions, concepts, contexts*, 2005, p. 1.

By the late 1980's a new conscience was gained about these visual sources. W. J. T. Michel coined a term, 'pictorial turn', which served as a focus for ongoing theoretical discussions on pictures in the humanities and social sciences. But can we use this expression?

It is to assume the place of the linguistic turn and "*push the art history to a central place from its peripheral traditional positions in the interdisciplinary relationships tissue/fabric*". Nevertheless, according to J. L. Palos, it is not that simple⁵⁹. Some historians shared this concept and adopted it for their studies. Raphael Samuels, a British Marxist historian, for example, became aware of the value of photographs as evidence for the 19th century social history and it allowed him to construct a "history from below" focusing on the everyday life and on the experiences of ordinary people. Indeed the discussion on visual studies has been intense and three particular questions were raised: what is visual culture? Where does it come from? And where is it going?

Later in 1995 Mitchell proposed a new interdiscipline of visual studies, running through critical theory and philosophy, at the same time that related issues of vision and visuality were explored across a broad range of fields. It was the trend that Martin Jay called the "visual turn"⁶⁰.

However, it is important to recognize that such a broad term carry its own problems. The main problem would be its wideness/amplitude: visual culture understood as such includes images but it includes theatre, cinema, gardening, ballet, etc. It makes it an impossibly large notion, which makes it neither possible nor desirable. It is important, then, to draw its limits.

Secondly, considering it is a recent term, it is not very well defined it. Often there are misconceptions. In particular, the concepts "visual culture", "cultural studies" and "visual studies" not always are well understood. Although they seem very similar, some authors consider that there are vague but significant differences. James Elkin, the author of *Visual Studies. A skeptical introduction* (2003), is one of them. He considers that "cultural studies" started in England in the late 1950's, based on a small number of texts

⁵⁹ Joan Lluís Palos Peñarroya, "El testimonio de las imágenes", p. 130.

⁶⁰ For a discussion of the contributions brought to the study of ritual culture by Mitchell, Jay and many others, see Margaret Dikovitskaya, *Visual Culture: the study of the visual culture after the cultural turn.*, 2006.

by Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams and Stuart Hill⁶¹ and it combines historical writing and social concern. It spread in the 1970's all over Britain and in the next decade British cultural studies spread to America, Australia, Canada and India.

The second term he considers, "visual culture", is a preeminently American movement and it is from the 1970's. The term was used, probably for the first time, in 1972 in Baxandall's book. It is less Marxist, further from the kind of analysis that might be aimed at social action. It is oriented towards 'what is seen'. This movement grew as a discipline in the 1990's with the publication of several books by Michael Ann Holly, Victor Burgin, Malcolm Barnard, Chris Jenks, Nicholas Mirzoeff, Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, and Margarita Dikovitskaya⁶². Finally, in third place, he refers to the "visual studies", the youngest of the three. The term appears to date from the early 1990's, perhaps inspired by the University of Rochester's program in Visual and Cultural Studies.

These categories presented by James Elkins are, probably, excessively narrow. The way I see it, Elkins does not distinguish them as he puts them in a chronological order. It would not be so much about their conceptual differences as it is about using the most actual term, which would be "visual studies". However, as we have seen, 'visual studies' was forged essentially for academic purposes. It was not theorized as "visual culture" was. In the last couple of years of the 1990s, visual culture was adopted as a recognized field. Authors such as Mirzoeff tend to insist on the preeminence of the visual on the institutional world, which would promote the production of textbooks and anthologies. Therefore it should be considered as a recently new field, valid but still in need of further theorization.

⁶¹ Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy*, 1957; Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society*, 1958; Stuart Hill, "Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms". In: *Media, Culture and Society* 2 (1980), pp. 52-72.

⁶² Michael Ann Holly, Norman Bryson and Keith Moxey, *Visual culture: images and interpretations*, 1994; Victor Burgin, *The End of art theory: criticism and postmodernity*, 1986; Malcolm Barnard, *Approaches to understanding visual culture*, 2001; Chris Jenks, *Visual culture*, 1995; Nicholas Mirzoeff, *The Visual culture reader*, 1998; Maria Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, *Practices of looking: an introduction to visual culture*, 2001; and Margarita Dikovitskaya, *Visual culture: the study of the visual after the cultural turn*, 2006.

A third issue is related to the relationship between visual culture and art history. The authors that were previously cited as the main thinkers about this discipline tend to keep art history aside in order to prevail the new media: cinema, television, photography, advertising, etc. Art history and its studying field tend, except for a few exceptions, to be kept aside. This might be considered as a mistake as art history has much to teach when it comes to methodology and possibility of questions to be raised. Maybe it could also profit from the dialog and gain new contributions.

Lately, we have been assisting to an emergence/publication of books written by historians in which visual sources have an important role: Bob Scribner on Reform-religious propaganda engravings, Simon Schama on the bourgeoisie in the Netherlands, Carlo Ginzburg on the cultural encounter between occident and orient through the French Revolution and his research about the distinctive meanings of the flagellation of Christ painted by Piero della Francesca and Richard Kagan on the visual representation of the urban world in the Hispanic territory.

This last generation of historians has proved to be a good advance in the usage of the images, besides the political events, economic trends and social structures. It was in fact necessary by the opening of new fields of study: history of mentalities, history of everyday life, the history of material culture, the history of sport and so on. It would be impossible to do research on these new fields if they had limited themselves to the traditional written sources preserved in archives and libraries.

In 1989, Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann wrote the introduction to the special number of the *Art Journal* "Images of Rule: Issues of Interpretation" in which he called the attention for the fact that an increasing number of historians were already working with images and the general concern for the studies of the court and power in the Early Modern Age⁶³.

However, when Peter Burke wrote his book *Eyewitnessing: uses of images as historical evidence*, he noted that "a significant minority of historians were already using the evidence of images for quite some time, especially the specialists in periods

⁶³ Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Images of Rule: Issues of Interpretation". In: *Art Journal* 48-2 (1989), pp. 119-122.

where written documents are sparse or non-existent”, like pre-history, ancient Egypt, etc. It could be a good sign; nevertheless he also notes that “it may well be the case that historians still do not take the evidence of images seriously enough so that a recent discussion speaks of ‘the invisibility of the visual’⁶⁴. He continued by saying that few historical journals carry illustrations, and when they did, relatively few contributors took advantage of this opportunity. And when they do use them, often it is as mere illustrations, reproducing them in their books often without further comments. In the case in which images are discussed in the text, this evidence is used to illustrate conclusions that the author has already reached by other means, using other sources, rather than to give new answers or to ask new questions⁶⁵.

It is troubling that after so many decades of discussion on how to treat images and on the concepts related to visual culture, in 2001, Peter Burke still talks about this condescension towards images.

Nevertheless, the interest in images as sources has been growing more and more and this reflects in the number of congresses and publications that result from it. In 2002 it was created the *Journal of Visual Culture* that deals with information and thought on the visual. They encourage the publication of articles regarding methodological positions on various historical moments and across diverse geographical locations.

In 2008 it was published the book *La Historia Imaginada. Construcciones visuales del pasado en la Edad Moderna*, as a result of a conference with the same name. In this volume, fifteen scholars write about the different roles of the images in different contexts, from politics to literature, from law to military conflicts, without forgetting an introduction and a methodological initial chapter. In the same year, also as result of a congress, the book *Imagen y cultura. La interpretación de las imágenes como Historia Cultural* was published by Rafael García Mahiques and Vincent Zuriaga Senet reinforces the importance of the images in the studies of historians and art historians.

In 2010, Joan Lluís Palos, author and editor from *La Historia Imaginada* also published a new book *La mirada italiana Un relato visual del imperio español en la corte de sus virreyes en Nápoles (1600-1700)*, where he analysis the royal palace in

⁶⁴ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence*, p. 10.

⁶⁵ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence*, p. 10.

Naples as a form of projection of royal power. By going through the different rooms of the palace, we get a sense of the existing paintings and decorations and how they work as a symbolic program.

In the following year, Cristina Fontcuberta, an art historian, published a book, *Imatges d'atac. Art i conflictes als segles XVI i XVII* as the result of her PhD dissertation. She studies the images as weapons across Europe, without forgetting the artists, the contexts and the reception. In this book, there is a special attention paid to the critical role of the images during Early Modern Age and a rescue of engravings and drawings that for long were despised by art historians as they were not considered as art.

Currently, the research group *Poder i Representacions* (www.ub.edu/poderirepresentacions/) supervised by the leading researcher Joan Lluís Palos is hosting new investigations on cultural studies using images as sources. Diana Carrió-Invernizzi published in 2008 her PhD dissertation with the title *El gobierno de las imágenes. Ceremonial y mecenazgo en la Italia española de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII*. Leticia de Frutos published in 2009 *El Templo de la Fama. Alegoría del marqués del Carpio*. And during the first semester of 2013, the PhD students Alfredo Chamorro, Verónica Salazar and Filomena Viceconte will present their dissertations on cultural studies. Alfredo is carrying out an investigation about the royal entries in Barcelona during Early Modern Age, comparing them with others from the Spanish Monarchy. Verónica is studying the imagery of power of the monarchy in the American territories and Filomena did her research about the cultural patronage of the duke of Medina de las Torres. In the next couple of years, Carlos González will present his dissertation about the cultural patronage of the III duke of Maqueda during his viceroyalty in Sicily and Diego Solà will finish his dissertation about the *Historia de China* by Juan González de Mendonza as a cultural product.

2.4. Problems and actual dangers

Needless to say images constitute difficult sources and carry different problems in their interpretation. They are, as Peter Burke described them, “mute witnesses” and it is hard to translate their testimony into words. To read images between the lines is a hard task and interpretational mistakes are easy.

If we take a moment to think about these last paragraphs, we could ask ourselves how come historians worked so much on images, or at least for so long and still, it seems that so little was achieved by the 1990s. When it comes to the already discussed “visual culture”, it is not a settled field yet, and its stories of origin are varied. It still lacks a theoretical basis and only now starts to assemble the foundational texts that can support it as a new field.

In respect to the relationship between historians and visual sources, some art historians still doubt of the ability of historians to deal with visual sources. Gaskell, for instances, does not believe that the historian is best placed to deal with this kind of material, as he is primarily occupied with interpreting the past, not with current visual practice and critical issues⁶⁶. We could refute this argument by saying that since 1991 that might have changed a bit. Historians are worried about visual practices and thanks to interdisciplinary new approaches are possible. The same author also says that few historians have shown sufficient awareness of these issues or the particular skills to cope with such material. They have shown that they are better equipped to discuss production and consumption as social, economic and political activities. They still have much to learn, although they have important points to teach as well. Historians have been concerned about deliberate destruction of images, for instances, a field that art historians have kept aside, as the objects do not survive or are severely damaged.

Francis Haskell goes even further. For him it is not so much the lack of abilities but the reluctance in using the evidence offered by art or artifacts when trying to interpret the past. Written records, he says, came to monopolize the sources on which they drew⁶⁷.

Joan-Lluís Palos considers that a possible answer could lay in the fact that often historians keep to the good intentions without going further on. History students are still being taught to use written sources only and when they become professionals not always are able to face the methodological challenges that are required to extract the potential amount of information existing in an image. Ivan Gaskell goes even further by saying that that historians are indeed most at ease with written documents and they are often ill-equipped to deal with visual material. Many images appear just as illustrations,

⁶⁶ Cited by Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence*, p. 188.

⁶⁷ Francis Haskell, *History and its images*, pp. 1-2.

which can appear “naïve, trite or ignorant to people professionally concerned with visual problems”⁶⁸.

Moreover, J. L. Palos argues that the rules that could define a “*historical hermeneutics*” of the visual sources are yet to be defined. If not, we could be in real danger of reducing a project as the visual culture of history to a mere illustration for conclusions obtained from written documents⁶⁹.

Indeed working with images implies new challenges, certainly different from those presented by written sources. Some art historians were aware of these problems already some years ago. Huizinga, one of the great masters in using images as sources, warned about the risks implied without a proper reflection and theoretical approach. In his book, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1919), he raises a number of questions about the relationship between art and the historical imagination. Among other arguments, the author states that images allow the researcher to see the past more historically⁷⁰. Ivan Gaskell also made some warnings concerning this question. He wrote that the problem was not so much the scarce amount of works published, but the unconsciousness about the problems that necessarily exist when dealing with such materials and about the preparation required. Francis Haskell wrote that “*the practice of scrutinizing images in the hope of making contact with the past has been discontinuous and difficult, full of traps and false turnings*” and that “*too often a visual approach has been adopted merely to supplement what is already known from the written word*”⁷¹.

We have been talking about problems inherent to the use of visual sources and a certain preparation. But what kind of problems are these? What kind of obstacles should we be prepared to face? How to get over them? How do we proceed?

In relation to the last question, we have seen already that one of the best approaches is the one recommended by David Freedberg: “*the first task must be to proceed as*

⁶⁸ Ivan Gaskell, “History of Images”, p. 168.

⁶⁹ Joan Lluís Palos Peñarroya, “El testimonio de las imágenes”, pp. 133 and 142.

⁷⁰ Jean-Claude Schmitt, “Images and the historian”. In: Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley (eds.), *History and Images. Towards a New Iconology*. 2003, pp. 19-44, p. 21.

⁷¹ Francis Haskell, *History and its images*, p. 3.

ethnographers and record as much as possible of all sections of society; we must then act as cultural anthropologists, attending to a wide range of societies as practical". With this answer, Freedberg is not going into a broad generalization about the treatment of visual sources. In fact, he clarifies that he is well aware that social and cultural contexts condition the response given and that images are encoded in such a way as to communicate specific things to specific cultures or groups⁷².

In the present time, although we have extra tools when it comes to analyze images, we do have new dangers as well. One of the main problems is the danger of a hyper-specialization, which sets us historians and art historians apart.

Peter Burke, in a short yet fundamental article, published in the book *La Historia Imaginada*, suggests a structure to question visual testimonies, or, according to his own words, a kind of "10 commandments for a critical questioning of the images as visual sources"⁷³. The first of all is to find out if the image is a result of direct observation or if it is a product of the observation of another image. This implies a previous knowledge of the observer of the visual topics, the *topoi*.

Secondly, images should be placed in their cultural tradition, with their conventions and rules. We have discussed the 'reading' of an image and Peter Burke also insists on the existence of "visual alphabets". Baxandall used to speak about "*the eyes of the period*" and Jonathan Brown about "*scopic regimes*", but although they all used different expressions, the idea is pretty much the same.

In third place, the deeper the level of a detail is, the more reliable the information is: usually the artist is not using it for any particular reason. This brings us to rules four and five: the importance of studying the theory of reception, reutilization and the conscience of possible manipulation of the image.

Then, never forget the role of the mediators, nor should be forgotten that two images is always better than having only one. In eighth place, Burke calls the attention for the materials, technique and the cultural, social and political contexts. The interaction of the image with the surrounding world can give us valuable information.

⁷² David Freedberg, *The Power of images: studies in the history and theory of response*, p. 23.

⁷³ Peter Burke, ¿Cómo interrogar a los testimonios visuales?, pp. 29-40, p. 32. For a direct application of this scheme, see Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, El poder de un testimonio visual, pp. 85-99. Both articles in Joan Lluís Palos and Diana Carrió-Invernizzi (eds.), *La Historia Imaginada*, 2008.

And finally, he finishes by stating (ironically) that there are no rules due to the variety of images and to the infinity of questions that a historian can make. Another point could be added though, at the risk of undo the biblical harmony of the Ten Commandments. In his book *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence*, Peter Burke says that “historians cannot and should not be limited to ‘evidence’ in the strict sense of the term. Room should be left for what Francis Haskell has called ‘the impact of the image on the historical imagination’”⁷⁴. So, the 11st commandment – if it existed – should concern the space given to the historical imagination.

2.5. The role of the image in Early Modern Age

We have discussed the importance of visual sources for writing history and how historians, art historians and philosophers have considered the place of art in society and in the philosophical thinking. We have seen that images constitute important sources, through which we can understand cultural changes, religious practices, political life and economical behaviors that usually are not revealed in written sources. Moreover, they are more effective than texts in rousing our emotions and in reinforcing our memory or make us feel empathy. Now we will discuss the importance of these images for the people in Early Modern Europe. Why were they so important? What did they mean? Who produced them?

A great part of the early modern Europe was illiterate; therefore images played a central role as a channel of communication, serving a social purpose rather than being a mere illustration. As J. Maravall stated, the culture of the Baroque was massive and rhetorical, aimed at an audience. The appeal to the images was the most efficient tool of persuasion⁷⁵. Gregory the Great (540-604) left us a testimony of its relevance. In one of his letters, he admonished Serenus, the bishop of Marseille, for having taken down the images from the churches in the dioceses. He wrote: “*images are to be employed in churches, so that those who are illiterate might at least read by seeing on the walls what they cannot read in books*”⁷⁶.

⁷⁴ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence*, p.11.

⁷⁵ José Antonio Maravall, *La cultura del Barroco*, 1996, p. 55.

⁷⁶ Gregory the Great, Lib. IX, Epistola IX *Ad Serenum Episcopum Massiliensem*, in PL 77, cols. 1128-29, cit. by David Freedberg, *The Power of images*, p.163.

The available evidence suggests that before 1400 there were hardly any prints circulating in Europe. However, this inexistence was quickly suppressed, as in the middle of the 15th century prints and woodcuts were already a common practice in a number of European countries. The first single-sheet woodcuts can be found sometimes as decorative elements (such as playing-cards), but they were mainly of religious subjects. These first images were very simple, with schematic figures identified by a sign or a particular attribute and often, according to William M. Ivins, had no other meaning than the figurative one⁷⁷. For this author, the first images that can be considered of informative character were those which illustrated an edition of Valturius' *Art of War* (1472). These representations of machinery intended to communicate ideas and information.⁷⁸ Although by the late 16th century, the woodcuts had been already replaced – in general – by the engraving, the characteristic of the mentioned informative images brought along a substantial change.

2.5.1. The new possibilities of the images

The beginning of the Early Modern Age came with important political changes. The concept of national monarchies started arising slowly in territories such as Spain, France or England. It was a new idea of government that implied a complex bureaucracy, a centralized army, new court ceremonial and a new conception of the image of power, more real and more concrete. The image of the king should present him as a strong, politically and militarily powerful and yet distant leader. In the next pages we will see that, as Fernando Bouza stated, "*the history of images during the Early Modern Age is full of testimonies that, without getting to the extremes of programmed or individual iconoclasm, tell us about a sum of images that were denied, forgotten, destroyed, mutilated or reused in places and for purposes very different from those they were created for*"⁷⁹. And, of course, not always did these images amused or satisfied everyone. Very often images tended to be polemical and therefore they were no mere illustrations: they were historical agents since they "*not only recorded events but also*

⁷⁷ William M. Ivins, Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication*, 1953, pp.27-31.

⁷⁸ William M. Ivins, Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication*, p. 31.

⁷⁹ Fernando Bouza, "Por no usarse. Sobre uso, circulación y mercado de imágenes políticas en la alta Edad Moderna". In: Joan Lluís Palos Peñarroya and Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, *La Historia Imaginada*, p. 41.

influenced the way in which those events were viewed at the time”⁸⁰. The monarchy served from the visual supports full of meanings and oriented them towards the diffusion of a set of ideas that refer to discourses carefully thought to teach, guide and remain in the public conscience⁸¹.

Probably when we talk about images, we tend to think about portraits, still natures or depicts of saints and religious scenes. Those would be, almost for sure, images intended to an internal consumption. This means that only a little number of people would have access to them. The distinction between private and public use of the image is based on the public who had access to its visualization. Not all the images produced in this period were destined to public exhibition. We can object, however, that these paintings were usually placed inside the palaces, in order to replace the monarch inside his house. This means that it was intended mainly to the few people who lived inside or had access to the rooms. Nevertheless, it created the sense of belonging and admiration for the people who worked and lived closed to the king, and often they were adapted into cheaper engravings that circulated outside the walls of the palaces.

In fact, in the following chapters those visual elements will receive little attention, with only few exceptions. Besides the decoration of palaces and private spaces, it must be considered public images those that were placed in places where large numbers of people could see them. These images were carefully programmed as the contemplation, as Ángel Rodríguez Sánchez stated, was never an innocent activity for any of the persons involved. The one who exhibits – that seeks a certain answers - and the person who is exposed to the observation of the image – who provides a reaction to it, establish a relation with the composition and significance of the visual element⁸². Often paintings kept in palaces were place outside during celebrations and festivities, exposed to the massive contemplation of those who participated in the parades, processions, rituals of public penance, executions, etc. They could also be used to set an example. Frauds and traitors were hanged. Witches were burnt and depending on the region and the laws, other punishments were possible according to the crime perpetrated. But not only would the criminal suffer the punishment. A further step could be taken: the images could also

⁸⁰ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence*, p. 145.

⁸¹ Ángel Rodríguez Sánchez, “La Percepción social de la monarquía”. In: *Manuscripts* 13 (1995), pp. 79-85, p. 80.

⁸² Ángel Rodríguez Sánchez, “La Percepción social de la monarquía”, p. 83.

be burnt or hanged. The same apparatus of execution could be set for images. It can be mentioned the case of the *Meier* of Rijmenam who deliberately set free a thief in Mechlin in 1490. He was asked himself to set up the gallows, at his own expense, upon which a portrait of the thief was hung. The Spanish Inquisition did something similar: when they were not able to capture the heretic, they burnt his/her effigy. This rite offered a penal satisfaction for the public. A few years later, in 1575, Pierre Ayrault, a French writer, testified that “*if it is correct that we can be honored through an effigy, with the affixation and erection of an image: we can as well receive the punishment and the shame*”⁸³. With this short statement, Ayrault was saying two very important things: if a man could be honored by his effigy, so why could it not receive his punishment and the same shame as the person? A last example in 1660 took place in England, when the images of Cromwell and Bradshaw were taken into court. The judges asked the images whether they would submit themselves to the judgment of the court. Of course they remained in silence, but for their lack of response they were charged with the murder of Charles I and consequently High Treason. The surrounding crowd started shouting “*Justice! Justice!*” and the two images were condemned to hang on two gallows, each forty feet high⁸⁴. This was another proof of the importance of visual materials also within the legislative system.

Not far from this logic is the example that took place in Madrid. In 1643, Jeroni de Torres reports how when “*yesterday afternoon the monarchs and their sons went to the Company saw children and some adults throwing stones at a portrait of the countess of Olivares that a careless painter had at his door, together with others*”⁸⁵. This happened after the fall of the count- duke of Olivares. Although he retired Toro, in Zamora, his wife kept serving in the palace as a chambermaid of the prince Baltasar Carlos which probably provoked the animosity. Something similar would happen in Naples in 1647-48, when the population produced and attacked the images of Juan José de Austria, a situation that will be studied further on in the chapter dedicated to the Neapolitan revolt.

⁸³ David Freedberg, *The Power of image*, p. 259.

⁸⁴ David Freedberg, *The Power of images*, p. 261.

⁸⁵ Jeroni de Torres a Miguel Bautista de Lanuza, Madrid, 14 february 1643. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisboa, Casa de Cadaval, Book 19, fl. 532r cited by Fernando Bouza, *Por no usarse. Sobre uso, circulación y mercado de imágenes políticas en la alta Edad Moderna*, p.53.

Indeed the creativity and production of art tends to increment during periods of tension and crisis and in the years that follow the beginning of the conflict. They work as vehicles for the transmission of ideas and emotions in order to convince people to take one side or the other. They also work as counter-information, in order to mine the ideas of the enemies. In this case we could talk about art as propaganda.

2.5.2. The image as propaganda

Using the term ‘propaganda’ can seem to be an anachronism when applied to a period previous to the French Revolution, because it is charge with a connotation that cannot be used in the 17th century. However, if we understand ‘propaganda’ as an ideological channel to transmit certain messages maybe it will not seem so disparaged.

Violet Edwards defined propaganda as the expression of either an opinion or an action carried out by individuals or groups, intentionally done in order to influence opinions or actions from other individuals or groups, for certain predetermined purposes.⁸⁶ In other words, propaganda always defends an ideological and subjective attitude and, in this sense, ‘ideology’ is: “*a set of ideas, beliefs, values, attitudes, practices and representations that constitutes a comprehensive framework for dealing with and influencing social, economic and political reality*”⁸⁷. Having this in mind, ‘propaganda’, either written, represented or illustrated, can be used for previous periods of history, as persuasive strategies were carried out long before 1789.

It is important, thus, to understand art in this sense of a way to circulate ideas, values and concepts – religious, political, social or cultural in order to promote certain points of view. There are two basic kinds of propaganda: the one meant to integrate and the one for agitation. This means that while the first one aims at reinforcing structures already created, the second intends to promote a change of the *status quo*, which will be the case studied in the next chapters. This second one is a recent one as well: before 1500, although there were wars and conflicts, there barely existed critic, one of the most necessary conditions for critical art to exist. And side by side to propaganda is the counterpropaganda, a reaction against the persuasion reached by propagandistic elements. If we consider that propaganda was usually promoted by the power (royal,

⁸⁶ Violet Edwards, cited by Ingrid Schulze Schneider, *La Leyenda negra de España*, 2008, p. 83.

⁸⁷ Ted J. Smith, *Propaganda: a pluralistic perspective*, 1989, p. 80.

local or religious), the counterpropaganda was then motivated by those who were against it, and therefore, it was usually clandestine.

Often, there was an organized structure that regulated the production of propagandist images, according to a state (or in case of a religion institution, religious) policy. Peter Burke, in his book about Louis XIV, mentions that Jean Chapelain wrote a report to Colbert about the utility of the arts in order to preserve the deeds of the king. This same report mentioned that arts were a valid mean to spread and glorify the king. On his turn, Colbert had men he trusted who were in charge of giving advice on these subjects: Chapelain was his adviser on literary topics; Lebrun did it for painting and sculpture: and Perrault for architecture.⁸⁸ In England, especially after breaking the relations with Rome, the Tudors and then the Stuarts had present the importance and even the dependence of their authority on forms of representation. So they tried to control the media of representation. Henry VIII and his successors through a variety of means sought to make words and images – especially printed ones – the principal medium of royal government. They publicized and endeavored to enhance their authority, and they profited from the public impression made by the magnificence and display they built in order to achieve the divine and natural authority⁸⁹.

It can be established that propaganda in the 16th and 17th centuries had certain characteristics and goals. The first would be the glorification of the existing leaders and tease the opponents: for example, during the conflict between France and Spain, between 1635 and 1648, the French published a vast number of engravings mocking the Spanish. “*La Fortune de la France*” engraved by Abraham Bosse is a very good example of this: it represents an idealization of the French and a deformed caricature of the Spanish.

Often, the propaganda came with the creation of stereotypes, which often exaggerate certain features of reality and omit others to undermine the opinion. The French engravings during the Thirty Years War are very good examples. There are two engravings, very similar, each with a Spanish man – presumably drunk judging by his twisted eyes and the disordered clothes – declaring they lost Portugal and Catalonia. It

⁸⁸ Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 1992, p. 59.

⁸⁹ Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660*, 2010, pp. 279-280.

could be said that there was a strong generalization and simplification of a more complex subject and it was true. One of the characteristics was precisely the ability to reduce complex matters to a black and white situation. Strongly linked with this, it is satire for mocking and highlighting certain flaws of the enemy, usually present in these engravings. Again, the French published several engravings during this war in order to show support to the Portuguese, Catalan and Neapolitan causes. In all of them, usually there is a Spanish man, always represented as drunk, careless and irresponsible. By repeating and exaggeration, and even creating lies, one would hope that the statement would become a reality. Gabriel Naudé, in his *Mascurat* (1649) says about the ridiculed Spaniard in France: “*Sous les charniers de Saint-Innocente et au bout du Pont-Neuf, l'on voit en tous lieux des Espagnols en taille-douce qui ressemble mieux à des diables ou à des monstres qu'à des hommes [...], il me semble que tout ce qu'il y a de gueux, d'infâme et d'extravagante parmi nous est représenté sous le visage d'un espagnol*”⁹⁰

Along with this, although it was more present in texts, there was also the diffusion of rumors about events. There was very common to diffuse the idea of military victories that had not been fought yet, as well as accentuating the casualties in the opposed faction. This was, for instances, a common practice in the map production in Portugal during the Restoration War (1640-1668). Evidently this was usually mixed with misinformation and silence on certain topics, so inside tensions would not become public.

To sum up, there is a large production of images during early modern age with ideological intentions. Whether their goal was to promote a positive or a negative vision, one thing was for sure: they used a lot of visual resources that constitute nowadays rich visual sources for historians. This scheme, or this short summary of the main characteristics of propagandistic images, can be applied to a large number of images produced during the Early Modern Age. Having in mind the differences between the Portuguese, Catalan and Neapolitan situations, we can verify that the image production obeys to these general characteristics, as well as other propagandistic images from these centuries.

⁹⁰ Cited by Simone Bertièrre, "La guerre en images: gravures satiriques anti-espagnoles". In: Charles Mazouer, *L'âge d'or de l'influence espagnole. La France et l'Espagne à l'époque d'Anne d'Autriche, 1615-1666. Actes du 20. Colloque C.M.R.*, 1991, p. 151.

Propagandistic were, for instances, one of the main chains for the political power, as it persuaded more through affection than through rational arguments. In Early Modern Age, people were not involved in politics not nearly as we are today. In fact, the acquiescence and participation in political life is a consequence of the French Revolution of 1789. Nevertheless, the relationship between art and politics has been tight through the Ancient Regime. A great number of the best known pieces of art and monuments were made under the orders of pharaohs, kings, emperors and popes. In a broader sense, we could say that art was mainly impelled by people who were in charged or, at least, belonged to the powerful circle who gravitated around the political force.

This production of images, strictly related to power, could be understood as a way of keeping the *status quo* or an instrument of control. The paintings commissioned by the Duke of Olivares to decorate the *Salón de Reinos* of the Buen Retiro palace are an example of the first situation: the duke commissioned a commemorative series of paintings representing the Spanish military triumphs, including Velazquez' famous painting "*The surrender of Breda*". There were also paintings representing scenes of the life of Hercules and equestrian portraits of the king. These were created and exhibited ostentation and as a demonstration of power, of the Spanish Monarchy during the reign of Philip IV (1621-1665). Another example can be given as well: the duke of Alba, for instances, ordered – under the advice of Benito Arias Montano – the edification of a statue of him in Antwerp in commemoration of the military victory over Louis of Nassau in 1568. The statue showed the duke in real size stepping on the rebels. This extreme example of vanity and desire of promotion served well the rebels who immediately answered publishing satirical engravings as "*The throne of the duke of Alba*". There was more than one version of this, all of them ridiculing the duke for wishing to have the same power as the king Philip II.⁹¹

2.5.3. The image as a tool of power

⁹¹ Ingrid Schulze Schneider, *La leyenda negra de España.*, p. 137.

Kings and queens, as well as nobility, soon discovered how images, monuments and buildings could contribute to their glorification, to the construction of a suitable image for them as leaders and figures of power. In this particular case, we could refer to the policy of construction new palaces that characterized the early modern centuries: Philip II put a lot of enthusiasm in the construction of the Royal Alcazar of Madrid and the one in Toledo, as well did the kings of France (Charles VIII, Louis XII and Francisco I) and of England (Henry VI and Henry VIII).

In Amsterdam, the construction of the city hall started in October 1648, shortly after the peace between the Dutch Republic and Spain. The main goal of the iconographical program that decorated this new building was to put Amsterdam in the center of the world. In the main pediment it was represented the richness brought from all the seas and oceans arriving to town, and in the posterior one, the treasures of all the continents offered to Amsterdam, personified in a classical feminine figure⁹². The same preoccupation with showing off power was shared by the viceroys in Naples. Oñate ordered a remodeling of the palace built by the VI count of Lemos, to project his own image⁹³. He was, until a certain point, competing with the royal power when he commissioned the construction of a big room in the opposite side of the royal rooms, decorated with the portraits of those who had governed in Naples since the Great Captain⁹⁴. In fact, when the count of Lemos arrived to Naples with his wife in 1599, he announced the construction of a new palace. This might have been seen as weird, as the previous palace had only fifty years. One of the reasons could lay in the possibility of the king Philip III considering moving the court to Naples. Nevertheless, the point of a new building was none but the glorification of the monarchy in Italy, as at the same time, Lerma was buying a set of buildings in Valladolid that would be used by the royal

⁹² For more information on this building and the iconographical program see Ivan Gaskell, "El Ayuntamiento de Amsterdam: ¿poder político o poder del arte?". In: Joan Lluís Palos and Diana Carrió-Invernizzi (eds.), *La Historia Imaginada.*, pp. 65-84.

⁹³ Joan-Lluís Palos, "Un escenario italiano para los gobernantes españoles. El nuevo palacio de los virreyes de Nápoles (1599-1653)". In: *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, 30, 2005, pp. 125-150; Joan-Lluís Palos, "Imagen recortada sobre fondo de púrpura y negro. La reina Mariana de Austria y el virrey de Nápoles". In: Joan Lluís Palos and Diana Carrió-Invernizzi (eds.), *La Historia Imaginada.*, pp. 121-152.

⁹⁴ Joan-Lluís Palos, "Un palacio para los virreyes de Nápoles", Real Cuerpo de la Nobleza de Cataluña, pp. 5-33, Barcelona, 2003, p. 12.

family, was adapting his palace in Huerta de la Ribera for the king and was commissioning the reconstruction of his own palace to Francisco Gómez de Mora⁹⁵.

- **Portraits**

This introduces us to the importance of the portraits. The portrait is a composition based on a system of conventions which changes only slowly in time. We will see in the next paragraphs that in the 17th century there were certain rules and general lines that should be obeyed when a portrait was depicted. There were color, postures, materials, objects, accessories, etc. that put together gained a symbolic meaning. In this sense the portrait was a symbolic form. It was a staged theatrical scene, even a performance with a political motivation of promoting power and glory. As a matter of fact, royal portraits were much more than mere paintings of the monarchs. It was more than the simple question of portraying the King as a person. Fernando Bouza states that “*the major part of the portraits of the time overcomes largely the simple objective of defining the physical appearance of the model*”⁹⁶. On the same subject, he adds that “*these images represent the power, doubling it, giving it prestige, either because they are taken as a expression of a fair title, either because they convert themselves into tools of power*”⁹⁷. It was the representation of the state itself, as a god, a hero, a superior being, above all but God. Its nature and function could be understood through certain names, attributes, clothes and even looks. By doing this, the state was personified and the illusion of the communication with the mortals could be established. According to Kurt Johannesson, this illusion allowed people to communicate in an intimate way, almost like looking up to your own father searching for comfort and protection. Moreover, the existence of certain symbols allows the spectator to have a sense of belonging to a bigger and unique political body, from which he depends for protection and well-being⁹⁸.

Royal portraits had often the objective of glorifying the monarch, of spreading his qualities and transmit the idea of power and authority. Gustav Vasa after conquering the

⁹⁵ Joan-Lluís Palos, “Un Escenario italiano para los gobernantes españoles”, p. 128.

⁹⁶ Fernando Bouza, “Retratos, efigies, memoria y ejemplo en tiempos de Felipe II. Para una historia de la idea de centenario.”. In: *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* 580 (1998), p. 25.

⁹⁷ Fernando Bouza, *Portugal no Tempo dos Filipes. Política, Cultura, Representações (1580-1668)*. Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 2000, p. 67

⁹⁸ Kurt Johannesson, “The Portrait of the Prince as a Rhetorical Genre”. In: Allan Ellenius, *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*, 1998, pp. 11-12.

throne of Sweden to Denmark, in 1523, was proclaimed Gustav I of Sweden. He then undertook a series of measures in order to make himself visible for his people, through portraits and engravings.

The portrait in a way replaced the person at the same time that it is a witness of his/her existence. It replaced the king, for instances, in the territories far from the court. As the expression says “*the portrait of Cesar, it is Cesar*”. This became particularly important in the 17th century, when the power started to concentrate more in less people and we walk towards the absolute king. In the previous century, this would have been impossible has the enormous amount of jurisdictional powers tried to prevail above the others in a permanent competition⁹⁹. In fact, one of the main complains of the Portuguese people after the union of the kingdoms in 1580 was precisely the absence of the king¹⁰⁰. This made the Portuguese feel lonely, abandoned and it was one of the arguments raised later in 1640 to justify the independence. Despite the direct view of the king usually had a big impact on people, the principle *Regis Imago Rex est*, generally accepted during the Early Modern Age, allowed the efficacy of the portraits to be the same as the image of the living king¹⁰¹. The representation of the king also allowed him to be present and authorize actions and decisions made in his name. The presence of the figure of the king, of his pictorial representation, replaces him at the same time that makes his authority present as well as the power of the state. It had, then, the efficiency of perpetuation¹⁰². According to a contemporary guide to etiquette, the portraits of Louis XIV of France displayed in the palace of Versailles were supposed to be treated with as much respect as if the king himself were in the room in which they hung¹⁰³. Viewers had to obey to certain norms of conduct when in presence of these portraits, as if they were, again, in the presence of the king. They were not allowed, for instances, to turn their backs on the canvases depicting the king.

⁹⁹ Fernando Bouza, *Imagen y Propaganda. Capítulos De Historia Cultural Del Reinado De Felipe II*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁰ Fernando Bouza, *Portugal no Tempo dos Filipes. Política, Cultura, Representações (1580-1668)*.

¹⁰¹ Fernando Bouza, *Portugal no Tempo dos Filipes, Política, Cultura, Representações (1580-1668)*, p. 73

¹⁰² Fernando Bouza, *Retratos, efigies, memoria y ejemplo en tiempos de Felipe II. Para una historia de la idea de centenario*, p.26.

¹⁰³ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence*, p. 59.

The monarchs were portrayed to look good and powerful: the best clothes were worn and the best scenario put together so, along with the correct symbols of power. If there is something that a historian should keep in mind is that the immediate reality that can be seen does not correspond to the everyday life of that period. In fact, this representational art generally is not realistic at all as it distorts social reality rather than reflecting it. Nevertheless, this distortion process is evidence itself for those who want to study mentalities, ideologies and identities¹⁰⁴.

But even the most accomplished painter was not enough to depict the superhuman majesty of the king. Pedro Salazar y Mendonza, about the portraits of Philip II, stated that “*no portrait was correct; and the reason given was his [the king’s] beauty so particular and so extraordinary. He was so handsome that, according to what the duke of Nágera used to say, his mother, the Empress, did not give birth to men, but angels instead*”¹⁰⁵.

Accessories may be regarded as “properties” in the theatrical sense of the term. Certain symbolic objects refer to specific social roles. Throne-like chairs give the sitters a regal appearance; tables are usually present as an attribute of majesty. The table can be even divided in two kinds of tables: the one that reveals intellectual activity, where we can see objects related to reading or writing; and the table as a symbol of justice. In the first example, the king or the noble might be sitting down, like in the painting of Leo X by Raphael. In the second one, the figure is usually standing by the table, like in the paintings of Philip II by Titian, or the one of Charles I by Daniel Mytens¹⁰⁶. Sometimes, there is also a dark red curtain, another symbol of majesty. It is very common to visualize elements connected to the classical iconography of triumph such as arches, columns, laurel wreaths, trophies, personifications of victory (a winged female figure) and fame (a female figure with a trumpet, often also with wings).

It became very common as well to depict the ruler in an equestrian portrait. These were revived in Italy during the Renaissance, asserting authority. The examples of the portraits of the count-duke of Olivares illustrate this very well.

¹⁰⁴ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence*, p. 30.

¹⁰⁵ P. Salazar y Mendonza, *Origen de las dignidades seglares de Castilla y León* [1618], Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1657, fl. 173v. cited by Fernando Bouza, *Por no usarse. Sobre uso, circulación y mercado de imágenes políticas en la alta Edad Moderna*, p. 51.

¹⁰⁶ Julián Gállego, *Visión y símbolos en la pintura española del siglo de oro*, 1972 (1978), pp. 259-261.

The Baroque also introduces an interest in the portraits of not only kings, popes and princes. There is a genuine interest in well-known people from military heroes to ambassadors and plenipotentiaries. During the negotiation of the Westphalia peace, many portraits of the envoys circulated and were commissioned to local artists. There were even collections of portraits collected in expensive editions. And usually in the palaces and houses of the nobles there is a Room of Lineage, with the portraits of the ancestors. The most famous example in Spain is the Marquis of Astorga, who had all the portraits of the European kings and the most important men of the family.

- **Medals and coins**

Apart from the painted portraits, in the 15th century a new genre (re)appeared: the political medal, promoted in great measure by the Renaissance painter Pisanello (ca. 1395-1455) in the end of the 15th century, inspired on the ancient coins. These forms of representation are to be understood in a time where the philosophy of the individual was being promoted, as a new necessity to promote the ‘representation of the self’¹⁰⁷. Around 1438-39, Pisanello designed what has been considered the first medal from the early modern age, which fixed the canons of representation for the future centuries. It was a celebrative medal of the visit of the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaiologos. In one face, there was a depiction of the emperor in a profile view with a legend “king and emperor of the Romans” and on the opposite face of the medal, a narrative scene.

These were specifically designed to celebrate important public events or to praise someone great. They were then distributed by governments to ambassadors and other important people who would take them to other spectators. They usually were accompanied by inscriptions that gave precise instructions on how to read and interpret them. Although the reduced surface limited the number of symbols and representations, they were effective tools to project the values of the royal power¹⁰⁸.

- **Engravings and popular prints**

¹⁰⁷ Isabel Valverde, “La imagen del poder en las cortes renacentistas: el caso de las medallas”. In: Jean-Claude Seguin, *Image et pouvoir*, 2005.

¹⁰⁸ See also Stephen K. Scher, “Introduction”. In: Stephen K. Scher (ed.), *The currency of fame. Portrait medals of the Renaissance*, 1994.

So far we referred mainly to political power and canvases. That was just a part – probably a minor one due to the fact that visual objects such as drawings and engravings were far more exposed to destruction – of the total production of visual materials during these centuries. The properties of persuasion of the images found in the engravings a great way for diffusion¹⁰⁹. In the beginning of the 16th century, the emperor Maximilian I showed to be completely aware of the possibilities of the prints as a vehicle for the values and ideals of the monarchy he embodied¹¹⁰. For this purpose, he hired some of the best artists available at the time for working on some of the most complex and ambitious prints at the time, as the *Arch of Triumph*, realized almost entirely by Durer and his workshop between 1515 and 1517.

Antwerp grew enormously in the 16th and 17th centuries due to the production and selling of this new kind of visual support. The new system of printing that appeared almost simultaneously to the printing press, allowed the printing of engravings to create a whole new concept of diffusion and a market, with shops and places, destined to serve the demand of a growing public. It was now cheaper and faster to print images and texts, so more copies circulated and more people had the means to buy them. This was one of the main pillars of the Early Modern Age propaganda. From this moment on, it was possible to produce pictures of current events and distribute them while the memory of those events was still fresh, like the printed images sold representing the burning of the town of Oppenheim in 1621 and the assassination of the General Albrecht von Wallestein in 1634 (both from the engraver Matthäus Merian)¹¹¹. They were the “newspapers” of the time¹¹². It was also the beginning of the wars and conflicts fought with weapons, words and images. Often these engravings were combined with text. The news-sheets, for instances, used to have images illustrating the major events of war as they happened. From this moment on, we can talk about critical and satirical images with the purpose of attacking people or situations. Although we are focusing specially in the 17th century, there are authors who consider that the turning point was

¹⁰⁹ Although I mainly refer to propagandistic engravings, they could also be pedagogical and used by the government or the Church to explain certain concepts.

¹¹⁰ José Manuel Matilla and José Miguel Medrano (eds.), *Felipe II y el poder de persuasión de la estampa*, 1998, p.11.

¹¹¹ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence*, p. 141.

¹¹² The first news-sheets appeared in the beginning of the 17th century but considering the rates of illiteracy, images kept playing a crucial role.

the Lutheran reform, which concurs with the invention of the printing press¹¹³. The emergence of the engravings meant the end of the visual supports for the privileged ones only¹¹⁴. The lower price made it accessible to a whole new group of population. In fact, William M. Ivins described engravings and their capacity to repeat pictorial statements as “*far from being merely minor works of art, prints are among the most important and powerful tools of modern life and thought*”¹¹⁵.

However, cheaper and easier to print engravings came with more consequences. The main one, that affects us as professionals in the present time, is the fragility of the material support. Then we have to face the difficulty of determine who the author is. Sometimes there is some evidence about the editor or the engraver, but often they are anonym (in order to secure the author’s integrity) and it is very hard to distinguish the drawer, engraver, editor, and seller. Another one was the easy manipulation of the image and its reuse. This was not a novelty, but from this moment on begun to be a common practice. Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa demonstrated how the panoramic view of Lisbon in the *Civitates orbis terrarum* from Braun and Hogenberg was reused later to become a New Amsterdam in 1672, without so much as adding a small map of the American New Holland¹¹⁶.

The same would happen with portraits. Fernando Bouza described how the portrait of the X duke of Béjar was engraved by Romeyn de Hooghe in 1682, inspired in a drawing. When the duke died, the original composition of the plate became available for new episodes. Indeed Hooghe adapted it to represent the future emperor Joseph I as king of Hungary: he changed the inscription for a new one and then he changed the head, the cane for a scepter, the arms of the shield hold by the valet and the cipher on the horse clothing. He also added an eagle and two figures, one that crowns Joseph I

¹¹³ Despite we point out the Lutheran reform and the invention of the printing press as the beginning of critical art, Hodgart considers that the first satire in Europe goes back to Middle Age, and it was anti-clerical and is from the 12th century. It was against greed, power and the sins of the curia. However, he also recognizes that better images start appearing around the 16th century, which he relates to the new systems of patronate. See Cristina Fontcuberta i Famadas, *Imatges d'atac. Art i conflicte als segles XVI i XVII*, 2011, p. 70.

¹¹⁴ Francisco Esteve Botey, *Historia del Grabado*, 1935, pp. 42-60. For a description of the history of the engraving in the Netherlands, Germany, France, Italy, England and Spain in the 15th century see pp.61-89.

¹¹⁵ William M. Ivins, Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication*, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, “Le Portugal et la Méditerranée. Histoires mythiques et images cartographiques”. In: *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian*, XLIII (2002), pp. 94-147, pp. 144-147.

and the other representing Fame. A year later, Hooghe changed again the same plate. On the occasion of the coronation of William III and Mary II as king and queen of England, the artist readjusted the plate in order to convert it in a portrait of William after his victory in Ireland. He replaced the head again, removed the eagle and changed the inscription once more, as well as the cipher and the coat of arms¹¹⁷.

In the same article, Bouza describes another great example. The same artist, Romeyn de Hooghe, did a similar thing with the engraved portrait of an allegoric picture of Charles II. When he died, the artist converted it in Charles III, by changing his head. This example is especially interesting as the plate without head still exists¹¹⁸.

Another important element that configured the visual communication in the Early Modern Age was the frontispieces. The engravings allowed the texts – short or long – to be accompanied by illustrated covers, which usually condensed the main written arguments. It assumed then an important role shaping minds and as a persuasive tool, for power and religion.

- **Ephemeral art**

Another visual element is the ephemeral art. This is not exclusive from Early Modern Age as they were existed during the Roman Empire (the celebration of military victories), in Middle Ages (theatrical representations of religious themes) and even during Renaissance (the magnificent decorations in Italian celebrations). During the Baroque, however, public ceremonies were a huge deal and gained an extreme importance. Their goal was to distract people from their daily miseries, giving them a brief illusion of happiness; to promote social cohesion in order to diminish social problems, but they were also moments of public display of power, richness and social importance. They were so important that in Valencia, during the 17th century there was a public ceremony once a week.¹¹⁹ However, many of these ceremonies were not paid by the monarchy, but by local corporations that welcomed the monarchs. By doing this, they expected the royal power to recognize their local liberties and sometimes even

¹¹⁷ Fernando Bouza, *Por no usarse. Sobre uso, circulación y mercado de imágenes políticas en la alta Edad Moderna*, p. 57.

¹¹⁸ Fernando bouza, *Por no usarse. Sobre uso, circulación y mercado de imágenes políticas en la alta Edad Moderna*, p. 57.

¹¹⁹ Vicenç Furió, *Sociología del arte*, p. 101.

encourage them for new ones. According to the contemporary texts, when Philip II entered in Lisbon in 1581 he was welcomed with a structure conceived as a reminiscence of the polemics that preceded his coronation as king of Portugal. Nothing was forgotten or omitted, nor even the military invasion by the duke of Alba. Representations of Charles V and of the prince D. Diego who had been sworn in Tomar; and of classical famous heroes known for their clemency over their defeated enemies served as allegories from the people to their new king, as a demand for forgiveness. Some years later, in 169, Philip III went back to Portugal. The atmosphere was now of discontentment and the entry was again organized by local corporations. The arches reflected clearly this displeasure against the king's policies. In the arch of the goldsmiths and stone-cutters, there were represented both symbols of Portuguese and Spanish maritime expansion: Vasco da Gama and Cristobal Colombo, side by side of Philip II with the crowns of Portugal and Spain in a strict equilibrium. This was a clear reference to the equality of treatment for both kingdoms that the people felt it was no longer being respected¹²⁰. Whenever this happened, it was obvious that was portrayed the point of view of the city, not of the king, so not all the images used in the royal entrees are, necessarily, part of royal propaganda.

Another example for ephemeral art is the production of mural hieroglyphs that were placed inside the cloister, porticos and a chapel of Convent of Sant Francesc in Reus, in 1662. They depicted simple people who usually was not represented in such places, for what the Inquisition from Barcelona reacted immediately as some of them were considered injurious¹²¹. This changes a bit the context, since there are religious images, but these were quite important as well – they could cause tension and conflicts between the local religious authorities and, until a certain point, political motivations behind the dogmatic arguments.

It cannot be dissociated from power the relation art has with religion. It does not necessarily have a link to a demonstration of status: it was frequent that art was used for religious practices, as well as didactics and devotion. It is possible that a great number

¹²⁰ Fernando Bouza, *Imagen y propaganda. Capítulos de historia cultural del reinado de Felipe II*, pp. 89-91.

¹²¹ Fernando Bouza, *Por no usarse. Sobre uso, circulación y mercado de imágenes políticas en la alta Edad Moderna*, p. 47.

of the images made of San Sebastian were used as talismans against the pest, considering he was the saint traditionally associated to the protection from epidemics. And all the altarpieces and frescos representing scenes of the life of Jesus and his apostles had a clear didactic intention for the public who frequent those churches.

This didactic purpose can be connected to the function of devotion and comfort. In Italy, between the 14th and 17th centuries, people sentenced to death were given by the brotherhoods who accompanied them in their last hour small painted images as consolation. These were known as *tavolucchie* or *tavolette*, and they were painted on both sides. On one side there was a scene from the Passion of Christ and on the other side, a martyrdom that usually matched the one the prisoner would face. Moreover, these images would accompany the prisoner until his or her death, by the hands of the monks who would sustain them at the level of the condemned person's face. We could ask ourselves if indeed these images would relieve the prisoner from their pain and fears, but for sure gave them some lessons to think about and reflect, in order to seek redemption and regret.

Power and religion could also go together, as it happened during the war in Flanders (1566-1584). In this case we assisted to an opposite proceeding: the destruction of images. The iconoclast movements have been much studied, namely the movements of the 8th and 9th century in Byzantium, of Reformation Europe and of French Revolution, to name only the main ones from the ancient regime. All of these were marked by a massive destruction of image, either spontaneously or in a legitimized way, either for political or theological reasons. In any case, these images produced shame, hostility and even fury, raising emotions and inducing different violent behaviors. There were waves of iconoclasm in the 1520's and in the 1560's. Those were collective acts of destruction of images by the Protestants. At the same time catholic images were destroyed, many were produced in a conscious attempt to reach the majority of the population, who were illiterate or semi-literate so they could reach them and pass on the message. Images were, then, weapons in a religious conflict. But should we consider it only a religious conflict? We have assisted to other moments of destruction of images, for example, during the French Revolution, a number of monuments were smashed, among them the two statues of Louis XIV, one on Place

Louis-Le-Grand (currently Place Vendôme) and the other one on Place des Victoires, as they represented the previous regime¹²².

Propaganda and art were also an important part of the religious conflicts of the early modern age. The Church was relatively tolerant towards the art made until the 16th century: it was the most powerful institution across Europe and it was not threatened by a few heretical pieces. Nevertheless this situation changed drastically with the religious wars. The Council of Trent, in 1545, marked a new period of the history of the Catholic Church and its relation with images. From this moment on, religious art must have had the function of reminding the believers which was the true doctrine and instructions were given for a tight control on the religious images so they would not stray from the orthodoxy. It was, in a way, a form of censorship.

Religious uses of images were not, as we have seen, confined to the inside of churches or monasteries. On the 21st February 1519, “*the city of Regensburg expelled its large and prosperous community of Jews, which it had been trying to do for some time. The synagogue was razed to the ground and the Jewish cemetery destroyed. A workman engaged in pulling down the synagogue was badly injured but recovered miraculously; the wonder encouraged contributions for a chapel on the site dedicated to the Virgin*”. This vivid account related by Baxandall¹²³ brings us to another use of the images: pilgrimage. A copy of the already miraculous picture of the Madonna attributed to Saint Luke was brought here and set up in a marble altar. Albrecht Altdorfer was commissioned to make further copies and a statue of the Virgin by Erhard Heydenreich, master of works at the cathedral, was placed on a column outside. Before the end of the year, more than 50.000 people had visited the Virgin at Regensburg for both images had begun to work miracles¹²⁴. These pilgrimages often started after the account of a miraculous deed of an image witnessed by someone or as a demonstration of gratitude after an apparently miraculous act. This devotion made people wanting to make further copies of the miraculous images and take them away. They placed these copies elsewhere, with a different public who would adore them as well. In the first year that the pilgrimage took place in Regensburg, a contemporary noted that there were not

¹²² Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence*, p.78.

¹²³ Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, 1980, pp. 83-84

¹²⁴ David Freedberg, *The Power of images*, pp. 100-101.

enough tokens to take home, and “*many people cried and were tearful at having to go back without any*”. The following year, to face the increased search in these images, the accounts relate the manufacture of 109,108 clay pilgrimage badges and 9763 silver ones.¹²⁵ This was a tendency very popular in Europe, especially in Bavaria and Italy.

Earlier, it was mentioned that art could also reflect certain political events from life, as wars and revolutions. This is the kind of art that interests us the most having in mind the subject of this dissertation. Wars and revolutions have been conditioning art since the Roman Empire. The Emperor Trajan ordered, among others, the construction of the Trajan Column, inaugurated in 116 CE after the victories in the Dacian wars as a demonstration of military power. During the early modern age, the battle-pieces deserve a special attention in the imagery. They were often requested by rulers and governments, by the news-sheets, and sometimes by the common people as they were interested. However, representing such scenes was not an easy task and it raises several questions. The British historian John Hale expressed this complexity in a simple sentence: “*Battles sprawled. Art condensed*”¹²⁶. Indeed art condensed action, since many of these images contained a narrative line which scholars must try to decode. It might happen that the same character is represented more than once; that in the same canvas (or any other support), there are simultaneous events and then in which sense should we read it (from right to left? From top to the bottom?); and finally that might exist certain formulas or themes, that must be correctly understood.

When it comes to the production of art during or even in periods after the war, there are some factors that must be taken into consideration. On one hand, the elaboration of that image: who paid for it, what was intended to be represented and concealed, etc. Secondly we must always have in mind that only a small part of images survived to the present time. With conflicts always came censorship and destruction. And thirdly, we must weight condition interpretations. It was stated before that the image production was not innocent at all, but this was even more evident in times of conflicts. It was quite common after military victories to celebrate it commissioning paintings devoted to the military event. The battle of Lepanto had a huge repercussion in the Arts. It was a

¹²⁵ David Freedberg, *The Power of images*, p. 103.

¹²⁶ Cited by Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence*, p. 146.

victory of not only Philip II, but also from the Pope and Venetia. There are several canvas of the war, as well as tapestries. For his own use, the king commissioned six canvases with a considerable size (270x370cm) to Luca Cambiaso, for the Escorial. These canvases constitute a mix of narrative and mystification of the event. We can state the same combination of heroic, mythic and narrative elements in other artistic productions, as the tapestries of the Conquest of Tunis, in honor of Charles V¹²⁷.

But the opposite could happen when changing politics and governors. The substitution of Requesens by John of Austria in Flanders was seen as a clear pacifist move, ratified by the union of Brussels in 1577, and sustained by the pacification of Gant and the Perpetual Edict of Marche-en-Famenne (also in 1577). These pacifist intentions had a repercussion in politics as well as arts: the monument of the Duke of Alba disappeared and several engravings were published celebrating the new ruler and putting the previous one in ridicule¹²⁸.

It was also an element of censorship for political power. Its importance as propaganda was recognized by Philip II when he forbade the Protestant propaganda at the same time he promoted the publication of texts and engravings that showed the legitimacy of his power given by God. There is a particular engraving that illustrates this situation particularly well. It is from Hieronymus Wiericx, and it entitled “*Christus overhandigt de machtssymbolen aan Filips II en paus Gregorius XIII*”. It shows Jesus handling the symbols of government on an Earth globe to Philip II and the pope Gregorio XIII, both on their knees.¹²⁹

We have seen so far images as tools for glorification, preservation of political and religious power, for disputes and moments of tension, but we have not discussed yet images and their social role. In this “category”, art and propaganda must be considered together with a social purpose. Art was one of the principal means of public denunciation, critic or satire. In this case, we can go back to the example of Louis XIV. There was the preoccupation of create a right image for the glory of the king, but there was the “other side of medal” as well, as Peter Burke calls it. Images were created for

¹²⁷ Román Gubern, *Patologías de la imagen*, p. 172.

¹²⁸ Román Gubern, *Patologías de la imagen*, p. 174.

¹²⁹ Ingrid Schulze Schneider, *La leyenda negra de España. Propaganda en la guerra de Flandes (1566-1584)*, p. 139.

criticizing the king, promoted by his enemies – for example England and the Dutch Republic. These images tend to be, as we will see, forgotten, or at least not taken into account with the same rights as the official images. However, this “satirical” propaganda is extremely important. Open criticism was not always welcome, and as we have seen, engravings are great vehicles for transmitting ideas, such as the creation of a negative image of certain figures. For more than a century, a negative image of the Duke of Alba circulated around Flanders. It originated an unusual number of paintings, engravings and even a couple of medals¹³⁰. Cristina Fontcuberta defines these critical images as having “*a hostile intention towards people or specific situations. They highlight and denounce faults of certain characters, actuations and events. They assume a position towards a specific political, religious, social or even cultural conflict*”¹³¹.

Once again, religious wars originated a big source of critical and satirical images. There are a great number of anti-catholic engravings promoted by Luther and the Lutherans. Vicenç Furió makes a particular interesting statement in this subject: when we refer to the ideology of an image, we do not necessarily mean the ideology of the artist. In fact, there was little chance that a painting illustrated the vision of its executer. Most of them were commissioned with precise requests and instructions. It could be – and this happens more in the 17th century – that a patron supported different artists and styles.¹³²

Therefore, it is important to study the authorship: it is a consequence of the conception of the artist and his perceived relationship with art. His political condition interferes and conditions the final product. One of the main challenges of this work is, precisely, to analyze the authorship of visual material that traditionally is not considered being art, which is generally held to be of little consequence.

Besides authorship, there is also diffusion and reception. These are difficult fields to study as there is little information about circulation and on how did people react to certain images. Techniques say a lot about the diffusion process as they strongly

¹³⁰ Cristina Fontcuberta, “La iconografía contra el III duque de Alba”, pp. 207-234.

¹³¹ Cristina Fontcuberta, *Imatges d'atac. Art i conflicte als segles XVI i XVII*, p. 15.

¹³² Vicenç Furió, *Sociología del arte*, p. 123.

condition it. A big dimensioned canvas will not circulate, it will be in exhibition in a wall of a certain building. A statue or a column will dominate the public space around it, probably a square. And an engraving, small, cheap and light will circulate around easily, travelling even beyond the borders. In this part, Cristina Fontcuberta suggests that it is important to compare what the images have in common and the persuasion strategies as that information can offer some clues¹³³.

When it comes to diffusion, it is very interesting to see how were the markets like, who saw the images, what kind of reactions they did provoke. This is a recently new field in the study of visual sources as for long art historians and historians have not paid much attention to it.

This visual communication played a remarkable role within the Catholic Monarchy.

In the following chapters images will be presented three case studies: Catalonia, Portugal and Naples. It will be discussed communication, production, circulation and reception of the analyzed images. It is interesting to see how different yet close these cases are to each other. For instances, the Portuguese revolution of 1640, as we have stated before, gave to Portugal a new king. The images produced in the following years were related to the creation of an image to the king, to the new dynasty.

They were images with critical sense and they even emphasized the ridicule aspects of the enemy, but they were also legitimating images at the same time, especially in Portugal. The Portuguese new king implied a large process of European recognition of the new dynasty, so propaganda was crucial to achieve this goal. Meanwhile, in Naples, the larger part of images was produced by the people. They had a strong motivation against the local government, so they were images of contestation. The same happened in Catalonia some years earlier. Catalonia, as Naples, had no royal candidate to the throne. On top of that, in Catalonia the visual tradition was not as developed as it was in Naples, so there is little production of images. But for sure these two last examples produced distinctive images from Portugal. Nevertheless they had more in common than we could think at first.

¹³³ Cristina Fontcuberta, *Imatges d'atac. Art i conflicte als segles XVI i XVII*, p. 9.

PART TWO

CHAPTER 3

Catalonia (1640-1652): a revolt without images?

3.1. Introduction

The revolt of the Catalans was the first of the three revolts studied in this dissertation. As it was seen in chapter 1, the king at no time suspected that the Catalans would break with the central government. However, it did happen, marking the start of a war that would not end until 1652. The conflict, as Antoni Simon i Tarrés stressed, was not only of a military nature, but also of a cultural one: a true battle of ideas was disputed at the same time the soldiers fought in the Principality. The printing press was then used to express the discontentment and to justify the positions assumed regarding the Spanish Monarchy. In this chapter it will be seen which were the means used and what kind of messages circulated in this visual supports.

3.2. Corpus: typologies and characteristics

Unlike the Portuguese and Neapolitan uprising, the revolt in Catalonia did not promote the production of a large number of images reflecting the political events of 1640-1652. In fact, it is quite hard to find references to the circulation and reception of such visual materials. After an exhaustive reading of sources such as diaries, chronicles, some correspondence and even some inventories¹, it was possible to conclude that there are almost no references to visual elements made explicitly for the revolt. Even the letters of the Jesuits² make no references to the circulation of images in Catalonia despite referring their existence in Portugal and Naples. If there were indeed images circulating and being commissioned at the time of the revolt, it would be highly probable that the Jesuits would have mentioned it, as they do when writing about the Portuguese and Neapolitan revolts. There are several possible reasons to explain this lack of image that will be analyzed further on in this chapter. However there are a few exceptions and some images or references to their existence survived to our days and they deserve to be analyzed and contextualized.

¹ The inventories read are the ones transcribed and published by Santi Torras Tilló in Santi Torras i Tilló, *Pintura catalana del Barroc: periple i auge d'una praxi*. 2012 and M. Carbonell i Buades, "Pintura religiosa I pintura profana en inventaris Barcelonís ca. 1575-1650". In: *Estudis històrics i documents del Arxiu de Protocols* (1995), pp. 137-190.

² Real Academia de la Historia, *Cartas de algunos PP. de la Compañía de Jesús sobre los sucesos de la monarquía entre los años 1634 y 1648*, 1861.

We can count up to 34 images. There are mainly five different categories of images. First of all, there are the images representing the protagonists. In Catalonia there was no massive distribution of any kind of images, considering the information given by the sources, so there are no leading characters represented in a way that can be compared to Masaniello or even John IV of Portugal. It can be considered though as a protagonist Pau Claris and then the French king, considering their political role in the events of 1640-1652, but they never reached the same projection or symbolic weight as the Portugal and the Neapolitan protagonists. In second place, there are the religious images, most of all related to Saint Eulalia, the co-patron saint of Barcelona. Thirdly, there are the French engravings where Catalans played a superior role in comparison to the Spaniards, who were always represented in a less dignifying way. In fourth place, there are the symbolic images that illustrated written pamphlets or festival books. Some of these, as it will be explained later, are not exactly polemical images with the intention of attacking. In fact, there is some distance between written texts and images that illustrate them in some cases but in any case they must be analyzed. There could be another category, that would include other images which allude to battle scenes but they are scarce if not isolated examples. Moreover, they do not evidence clear propagandistic characteristics so that it is the reason why they do not form exactly a category by themselves, although they will be considered.

When it comes to the typology of these materials, most of the images are engravings, although there are references to some paintings, coins, emblems and even sculpture. In the first part of this chapter, it will be analyzed the production of visual images in Catalonia during the Reapers' War. In a second part, there will be presented some of the images that have been presented over the years as products of the war, but that in fact might not be the case. Finally, in the last part, I will also try to explain the small number of images produced, having in mind the social, political and economical context of the Principality.

3.3. State of the Art

The Reapers' War has been largely studied over the past years. The conflict gave rise to a large body of political and propagandistic writings. In the last years, historians such as Henry Ettinghausen³, Antoni Simon i Tarrés and Xavier Torres have dedicated important studies to the

³ Henry Ettinghausen has dedicated an important part of his research to the study of the printing press during the Reapers' War. He considered that it was an important event for the development of the prints and the press in

production of written pamphlets and others more connected to the literary field also contributed to these studies⁴. They even speak about a “war of papers”, along the military war that took place between 1640 and 1659. Indeed the Catalans wrote many pamphlets justifying their separation from the Spanish Monarchy, and they used these short texts to justify and to denounce the abuses of the troops of Philip IV in the Principality. The Generalitat set a propaganda machine in order to emphasize the international dimension of the conflict, by establishing parallels with other anti-Castilian confrontations and by attempting to gain the sympathies of other territories in conflicts with the Spanish Monarchy at the present time. So, for many years these pamphlets were studied and little attention was paid to the visual production. The large number of printed texts along with the belief that the conflict did not originate visual propaganda limited the studies about this particular subject.

In 1991, Simone Bertière published an article “La guerre en images: gravures satiriques anti-espagnols”⁵, in which she studies some of the satirical engravings published during the conflict between France and Spain that often had the Catalans as subjects. She suggested that maybe on the other side of the Pyrenees the satirical and polemical engravings would find a match against the politics of Philip IV. In 2003, Cristina Fontcuberta published the article “Art i Conflict: L’ús de la imatge a la Guerra dels Segadors”⁶ answering that question by pointing out that little was produced in the visual field during those years and she gave some possibilities to explain the fact. Also in 2003, Hélène Duccini published *Faire Voir, Faire Croire. L’opinion publique sous Louis XIII*⁷, where she analyzes many engravings edited during the Thirty Years’ War. Among these engravings, some of them are related to the Catalan revolt so she approaches the subject. It is important to note, though, that these are French engravings, they are not edited in Catalonia. Some years later, in 2007, Núria Lucas Val presented her PhD dissertation, *Catalunya i Castella*,

general in Catalonia. See: Henry Ettinghausen (ed.), *La Guerra dels segadors a través de la premsa de l’època*, 4 vols., 1993; “Trimof i desastre: reportatges coetanis de la batalla de Montjuïc I del stege de Barcelona”. In: S. Sansano and P. Valsalobre, *Francesc Fontanella: una obra, una vida, un temps*, 2006, pp. 43-64.

⁴ Alejandro Coroleu, "Latin and political propaganda in Early Modern Catalunya: the case of the Guerra dels Segadors". In: *Renaissanceforum* 8 (2012), pp. 193-204.; Montserrat Bonaventura i Ivars, "Imatges i paraules: el llenguatge mixt de la literatura emblemàtica en Francesc Fontanella. Un recorregut per la guerra, la pietat i la mort". In: Pep Valsalobre and Gabriel Sansano, *Francesc Fontanella: una obra, una vida, un temps*, 2006, pp. 197-223.

⁵ Simone Bertière, "La Guerre en images: gravures satiriques anti-espagnoles". In: Charles Mazouer, *L’Âge d’or de l’influence espagnole: la France et l’Espagne à l’époque d’Anne d’Autriche 1615-1666: Actes du Colloque du C.M.R. 17, placé sous le patronage de la Société d’étude du XVIIe siècle et de l’université de Bordeaux III*, 1991, pp. 147-184.

⁶ Cristina Fontcuberta i Famadas, *Imatges d’atac. Art i conflicte als segles XVI i XVII*, 2011.

⁷ Hélène Duccini, *Faire voir, faire croire : l’opinion publique sous Louis XIII*, 2003.

1598-1652: “nosaltres i els altres. Les identitats nacionals en temps de conflicte a través de la literatura i la iconografia de l’època about the perception that Catalans and Castilians had from each other⁸. She dedicated one chapter to the images produced by Catalans during the second half of the 17th century, which includes the war of 1640-1652. Last year, in 2012, Cristina Fontcuberta presented in a seminar⁹ some conclusions of her research on this topic. She concluded that there was more than she thought when she started her research on this topic and published the already cited article, but still there was no possible comparison with the Neapolitan and Portuguese episodes. Apart from these contributions, little has been done in this field and there is no systematic study so far that could be considered a complete one.

3.4. Arguments

3.4.1. Protagonists

3.4.1.1. Pau Claris

Although, as stated in introduction of the chapter, there is no visible protagonist in the image production, Pau Claris can be considered the great protagonist of the revolt¹⁰ for his political commitment with the Catalan institutions. He was born in 1586 and there is little information about his childhood and youth in general. He studied law in the University of Lleida. In 1612 he was made by the Pope Paul V canon of the chapter of Urgell. Until 1621, he performed economical, fiscal and judiciary tasks. From 1621 on, with a minor exception in 1625, he moved to Barcelona, on the service of the chapter as lawyer. It is possible to see his opposition to the politics practiced by the favorite of Philip IV by reading his correspondence with the chapter of Urgell. He got particularly involved in the politics of the Principality during the decade of 1630 and he became a well known person, committed to the constitutions and institutions of Catalonia¹¹. In 1638, a new Diputació was elected, and Pau Claris became the ecclesiastical

⁸ Núria de Lucas Val, *Catalunya i Castella, 1598-1652: "nosaltres i els altres". Les identitats nacionals en temps de conflicte a través de la literatura i la iconografia de l’època*. Dissertation presented in the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2007.

⁹ The seminar “Imatge, devoció i identitat a l’època moderna” took place in the University of Barcelona, 19th-21st December 2012, and it was organized by the professors Cristina Fontcuberta (University of Barcelona), Silvia Canalda (University of Barcelona) and Jeremy Roe (University of Nottingham).

¹⁰ There are some very good studies about the figure of Pau Claris. See, among others, Ricardo García Cárcel, *La revolta catalana*, 1980; Eva Serra, “Pau Claris and Casadamunt”. In: Josep M. Solé i Sabaté (dir.), *Historia de la generalitat i dels seus presidents*, vol. II, 2003, pp. 204-216; and Antoni Simon i Tarrés, *Pau Claris, líder d’una classe revolucionària*, 2008.

¹¹ Antoni Simon i Tarrés, *Pau Claris*, pp. 88-96. John Elliott, *The revolt of the Catalans*, 1963, pp. 342-345.

deputy. When the revolt started in June 1640, he had then an important position in the government of the Generalitat and he led the process of separation. His skills as an agitator had been tested before. The resistance of the chapter against the bishop had been organized and directed by him, and he played an important role in the religious disorders in Vic in 1634.¹² On January 1641, he proclaimed the Catalan Republic under the protection of France. Despite his active role on the first months of the revolt, he died on the 27th February 1641, as he had been sick for the previous months. According to the account of Francesc Pasqual de Panno, “*Clarís, who had lost the ability to speak since the beginning of a disease that he had caught days earlier, ended up dying with the eternal anxiety*”¹³. However, there were also some coetaneous theories sustaining that he might had been poisoned¹⁴.

The early death of Pau Clarís touched deeply the city of Barcelona: the population came to the streets to accompany the transport of the body, the attendance to his funeral was massive, and when three days later another ceremony was preformed, there were still so many people that some could not enter the church¹⁵.

Despite the commotion created by the death of Pau Clarís, there is only one engraving known of him [fig. 1]. This engraving was made by Ramon Olivet, who worked closely with Pere Lacavalleria, one of the printers committed to the Catalan cause, and it can be found in *Lagrimas catalanas* (Gaspar Sala, 1641). There is no further information about this engraving: whether it was printed just for the book or whether it also circulated as a loose stamp we do not know.

Fontanella refers to him by saying that “*His Majesty could perfectly try to defeat the enemies, at the first attempt of his enterprises, but in the storm of the danger, in the night of tribulation, the light of the moon of our undefeated deputy will shine*”¹⁶.

But not everyone saw Pau Clarís as a hero. In fact, the party that remained loyal to the king referred to him in a less considerate tone, describing him as perverse and malicious¹⁷.

¹² John Elliott, *The revolt of the Catalans*, p. 343.

¹³ Francesc Pasqual de Panno, Jordi Vidal and Isabel Juncosa Ginestà, *Motines de Catalunya*, 1993, p. 168.

¹⁴ This theory of poisoning has found support in contemporaneous historians such as Elliott, Josep Sanabre and Antoni Simoni Tarrés. See Antoni Simoni i Tarrés, *Pau Clarís*, pp. 414-419.

¹⁵ Antonio Simoni i Tarrés, *Pau Clarís*, pp. 420-421.

¹⁶ Henry Ettinghausen, "Triomf i desastre: reportatges coetanis de la batalla de Montjuic i del setge de Barcelona". In: Pep Valsalobre and Gabriel Sansano, *Francesc Fontanella: una obra, una vida, un temps*, 2006, pp. 43-64, p. 51.

¹⁷ Pasqual de Panno, Vidal, and Juncosa Ginestà, *Motines de Catalunya*, 1993, pp.234 p., p. 170: “vassallo tan perbeso y mal yntensionado”.

In other political and economical circumstances, a political figure such as Pau Claris might have had a bigger impact in the visual propaganda. Considering the tragic situation of the Principality, there is little to be said about the representation of the canon.

According to several sources, the ceremonies in honor to Pau Claris were extraordinary, with several prayers, music and demonstrations of love for whom they considered “*pare i restaurador dela patria*”.¹⁸ On the 1st of March he was buried in the church of Sant Joan de Jerusalem, according to the familiar tradition. On the 4th more funerary honors were paid to the ecclesiastic deputy. The condolences and the massive attendance from the population had no precedents in Catalonia.

Despite the lack of images, there is a text that might give us some more clues about the impact of Claris in the visual representations during the revolt: the panegyric written after his death, *Lagrimas catalanas* (Gaspar Sala, 1641). Along with an already mentioned description of Claris, there is a description of the thirteen emblems made during the celebration of his funeral. As it was seen, emblems were very popular during the Early Modern Age. They usually were symbols that could be easily recognized by the population, even by the illiterate ones. There is an association between image and words, the visible and the legible that is set by the government of the Principality in order to transmit certain ideas they wanted the public to absorb. The authorities appeared to have used emblems to build their symbolic language and therefore diffuse their messages. The massive attendance of the funeral of Pau Claris meant many pairs of eyes were set to contemplate, to read the images, to assimilate the pedagogical and propagandistic message. This idea of exposing images in these public ceremonies was not new and it is not the only example of the use of emblems during the Reapers’ War. The explanation and description of the emblems seem to indicate that some could be quite complex and they way they were organized according to certain logic and a well-thought program. Unfortunately, under our point of view as historians, the text does not reproduce these emblems. However, based on the description Gaspar Sala made and confronting with the *Enciclopedia de emblemas españoles ilustrados*¹⁹, it is possible to identify some of them. The reuse was, then, common with little adjustments in the texts that completed the images. Again, society was familiar with many

¹⁸ *Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya*, vol. V., p. 1142, cited by Antoni Simon i Tarrés, *Pau Claris*, p. 345

¹⁹ Antonio Bernart Vistarini, *Enciclopedia de emblemas españoles ilustrados*. Another very useful source is the website <http://www.bidiso.es/EmblematicaHispanica/> (consulted last on the 31st January 2013) from Universidad de la Coruña.

preexistent symbols and their message could be adapted to a specific scenario, as we will see²⁰. In the following paragraphs, the emblems will be explained according to the text. All the images that are referenced are my suggestion of which emblems could the author be referring to.

In the first one there was the representation of an elephant, being hold by the dog of Alexander and the legend “NEC CAESVS CAEDAM” (Not even cut I will surrender). It was said that this dog was so tenacious that he did not let go of the elephant after his paw was cut. Not even after the amputation of the second, third and forth paws. When Alexander ordered to cut the dog’s head, it laid hanging from the elephant’s ear. The dog was a symbol also used in other emblems for representing the Catalans, so it symbolized the perseverance of the people of Catalonia, especially Pau Claris who fought for the cause he believed in until his death. The second emblem [fig. 2A] represented bees producing honey with the legend “VOS NON VOBIS” (You but not for you). This was a metaphor to emphasize that Claris worked for a purpose he did not usufruct, but that could benefit others. Side by side with his hard work in favor of the others, his integrity was loaded in the third emblem [fig. 2B]. There was a rock in the middle of the agitated ocean with the legend “SEMPER IDEM” (Always the same). This rock means the value of Claris, who could not be moved by praises neither by threats and stayed faithful to his ideals. His sacrifice for the common good is repeated in the forth emblem. In this one, it was shown an ox between an altar and a plow and it said “AD UTRUMQUE PARATUS” (Ready for one and other thing). It meant that the ox could be used for sacrifices in the altar, as well as to work the lands. It was the same with Pau Claris: he sacrificed himself after the hard work he had performed. In the fifth emblem [fig. 2C], there is a lion and an ox. The same idea that had been suggested in the previous emblems is repeated here: Claris governed as a lion as president; and he served like an ox working hard. The legend insisted in the message “REGNANS SERVIO” (Governing I serve). His actions were not only a result of hard work, but also of justice. In the sixth emblem [fig. 2D], there was a sun; in the middle it was painted the Justice, with a heliotrope (sunflower) that followed it, with the legend “SOLI ET SEMPER” (Always towards the sun), meaning that the same way the heliotrope is a plant that always follows the light of the sun, Claris always had in mind justice and all his actions were then justified.

²⁰ In the description that follows, the numbers of figures are the suggestions I make about the possible emblems the author might be referring to.

Many attacks were made by Madrid to his actions, not only by the Castilians but also by some of the Catalans who supported Philip IV. Maybe because of all the accusations made, the seventh emblem [fig. 2E] justified his actions. From a heart in the ocean, fire is shot in the direction of the sky, although it is raining. The legend says “NON POTUERUNT EXTINGUERE” (They could not extinguish it), stressing that the bad government did not extinguish Claris’ love for the Principality. To reinforce this idea, the eighth emblem [fig. 2F] showed a pomegranate, a fruit that opens in order to protect the seeds. “NEPEREANT” (So they do not die) completed the emblem.

On the ninth [fig. 2G] there was Argos, full of eyes and it said “OMNIA LUSTRANS” (Watching for everything). It symbolized that no matter how busy he was, he was never found asleep.

Finally, the last four emblems are dedicated to his memory and how he should be remembered. First, there was a dove – symbol of peace – flying through the clouds: Pau Claris might have left his people, but he would not be forgotten “ALIIT NON OBIIT” (He is absented, not gone). No matter how hard his enemies tried to make his courage and value disappear, it would not succeed. In the eleventh emblem [fig. 2H], there is a candle protected by a closed lantern and the four winds were blowing hard. There is only one word “FRUSTRA” (It goes). However, no matter how hard they blew, Claris’ qualities would not vanish. In the twelfth emblem there is a Hydra with the five heads and the sixth is cut. “UNO AVULSO” (One persistent) helps clarifying its meaning. This last head belonged to Pau Claris, but like the Hydra, when you cut one head, another one grows. The memory of Claris would grow and survived no matter how hard the enemy tried to cut it. And finally, the last emblem shows a dwell from which a lot of water is taken. The more water we take from the dwell, the clearer and brighter it gets. The same happened to Claris with business. The more he worked, the better his results were, so that should not be forgotten. The legend expresses it with all the clarity: “MOTU CLARIOR” (Clearer with the movement). This one is also a game of words, playing with the association “Clarior” and “Claris”²¹.

Here there is a clear example of the usage of both image and word in order to transmit a very concrete idea. The emblems were put together in order to communicate with the public and they

²¹ Gaspar Sala, *Lagrimas catalanas al entierro y obsequias del illustre deputado ecclesiastico de Cataluña, Pablo Claris*, 1641.

are the result of a program thought until the last detail. There was no room for misinterpretation: Pau Claris was a hard-working man who would not be forgotten, no matter how hard the enemy tried to discredit him. The idea of a man who died fighting for the ideas and institutions of the Principality justified the ceremonies and the honors held in his memory.

3.4.1.2. Louis XIII

There could be the impression that the royal figure would promote the diffusion of the image of a king, even if it was as count of Barcelona. The same happens after his death, with Louis XIV. In fact, we have little information about the effects that the proclamation of Louis XIII as count of Barcelona had on the commission of portraits and on the edition of pamphlets. There are only a few exceptions that we know of. The first one is the engraving of Louis XIII that was edited in the book *Praesidium inexpugnabile Principatus Cataloniae...* by Francesc Martí I Viladamor, published in 1644 [fig. 3*]. This book, commissioned by the Consell de Cent, was circulated during the peace negotiations that took place in Munster, where the author acted as the Catalonia's principal delegate between 1646 and 1648²². The text was an appeal and a justification to the right of the Catalans to elect their own prince, considering the politics of the count duke of Olivares. In the opening of the book, there is an engraving of the French king that shows the monarch standing in a three-quarter length portrait. The figure of the king is inscribed in an oval frame. Louis XIII is represented with the symbols of power: the curtain and the scepter. In the back, there is a castle. And on each side of the king there is a coat of arms. The one on the left side shows three fleurs-de-lis, the hierarchic symbol of the French monarchy and on the right side there is the flag of Catalonia. On top of the image, a legend explains it: "*Vera effigies potentissimi, invicti, ac christianissimi monarchae, Ludovico XIII. Francorum et navarrae regis, comitisque Barcinonae / Quem in Orbe terrarum, Justum, indique iam apud superos gloriosum, aetatis suae, nostrique seculi anno XXXXI/ Catalonia suum Principem elegit ac verum Dominum acclamavit, de cuius electionis iure inexpugnabile Praesidium extruitur*"²³.

The second exception to the lack of representations of the French kings is the portrait that was made for the building of Generalitat. In the *Dietari de la Generalitat de Catalunya*, on

²² Alejandro Coroleu, "Latin and political propaganda in Early Modern Catalunya: the case of the Guerra dels Segadors". In: *Renaissanceforum* 8 (2012), pp.193-204., p. 199.

²³ "True image of the powerful, invincible and Christian monarch Louis XIII. King of the realms of France, Navarre and Barcelona. / In the world, the Just, has already reached the most famous and dominants / Catalonia elected their rulers and the true Lord responded, (...).

Saturday, 12th March 1644, it says that “*In this same day, in the morning, their lordships ordered to the carpenter of the institution that he would put – as he did – in the room of the kings a painting that is the true effigy of the majesty of the king Louis XIII of France and Navarre and II of Catalonia (...) which painting was hanged immediately after Philip III.*”²⁴ The painting does no longer exist. It was probably destroyed after the capture of Barcelona in 1652, and therefore it impossible to know which painting was this²⁵. However, there is a big coincidence that both the painting and the engraving both date from 1644. So, it is possible that the engraving had been inspired in the portrait of the French king, which would allow us to have an idea of how it was. The engraving is an almost perfect copy of the portraits of Louis XIII painted by Philippe de Champaigne, the court painter. There is also the information of a painting made for the Generalitat of Louis XIV. This portrait was commissioned to Leandre Altisent, at the price of 35 *lliures*²⁶.

Apart from these two, there are other sparse references to portraits of the French king. During the 17th century, royal portraits played an important role in wealthy houses. Both nobility and bourgeoisie used to express their loyalty to the dynasty by including their portraits in their collections. However, during the revolt, most of the paintings of the Habsburg were probably put aside and replaced with portraits from the French monarchs. In 1646, in the house of Francesc de Vilalba, baron of Montmagastre, located in front of the *Hospital de la Misericordia*, there were a total of ninety-six paintings. Amongst them, there were portraits of the kings of France, two small paintings of the funerals of Louis XIII and of Richelieu and a series of paintings that described the military victories won by the French and Catalan troops in Catalonia²⁷. There is little information about the participation of Francesc de Vilalba in the war, but assessing from his collection, he was an enthusiastic supporter of the French party. Unfortunately there is the only thing we know about these paintings. It would have been interesting to have more details, especially about the paintings of the military scenes.

Another enthusiastic of the French party is Pau Rosso, canon and dean of the cathedral of Barcelona. In 1650-1651 he achieved a certain political visibility as he was nominated governor

²⁴ *Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya*, vol. XX, 162X-1644, pp. 1367-1368.

²⁵ I would like to thank Àngel Rivas for confirming that this painting was not in the inventories of the Generalitat.

²⁶ Santi Torras i Tilló, *Pintura catalana del Barroc*, p. 284.

²⁷ “(...) *Item vuyt quadros grans guarnits ab sa guarnició daurada, en los quales están pintats los rey y reyna de Fransa y altres figures. Item, sis quadros en los quals están pintades les victòries guanyades per los francesos y catalans en Cathalunya*”. AHPB. Josep Safont, *Llibre d’inventaris i encants, 1632-1647*, 564/86, 17th April 1646, cited by Santi Torras i Tilló, *Pintura catalana del Barroc*, pp. 64-65.

of the Generalitat, in a time of extreme difficulties for the Principality. From an early moment that Pau Rosso expressed his sympathies for the French party: during his stay in Rome, during the years that preceded the election of the cardinal Maffeo Barberini as Pope Urban VIII, he counted with the protection Barberini, an influential family close to the French kings²⁸. Pau Rosso was able to form a remarkable fortune and therefore he was able to assemble a good collection of art. The inventory of his belongings made on the 4th of March 1658 mentions portraits of Richelieu and Mazarin but no portraits of the French kings²⁹. Considering the year the inventory was made, one possibility is to consider that portraits of the kings had existed but had been removed after 1652. However, there are no portraits of the Spanish king or Juan Jose de Austria either. And, it is curious that the portraits of the French ministers had survived until 1658 but they probably met the same fate and were removed after the end of the war in 1659. Despite the inexistence of paintings of the French kings, there was a chain of gold with a medal and the representation of the effigy of the French king³⁰. The inventory does not specify which of the French kings, but it a clue that indicates the possibility of existing other paintings in previous years.

3.5. Religious arguments

3.5.1. Saint Eulalia

The art in the 17th century in Catalonia is mainly religious. The Consell de Cent, the city council, and the Generalitat were the main commissioners of such pieces. Therefore it is understandable that the most relevant images revolt-related that arrived to our days are inspired by the religious cult. On one hand, they are less prone to destruction. And, on the other hand, it is important to note that the canons had a very relevant role in the revolt of 1640, especially those who were related to members of the city oligarchies, like Pau Claris. Saint Eulalia was the co-patron of the city, and protector of the soldiers. Usually, she was represented alone but in some images she is represented along with Saint Madrona, the other patron of the city and the saint patron of Montjuic. The image of Saint Eulalia appears often in the pamphlets printed in 1641 related to the battle of Montjuic (26th January 1641) and to the celebrations that took place on the

²⁸ Santi Torras i Tilló, *Pintura catalana del Barroc*, p. 124.

²⁹ Santi Torras i Tilló, *Pintura catalana del Barroc*, p. 130.

³⁰ “(...) una cadena d’or ab una medalla ab la efigie del rey de França que ha pesat trenta onzas y tres quarts”. Cited by Santi Torras i Tilló, *Pintura catalana del Barroc*, p. 130.

12th of February in order to commemorate the victory³¹. During this celebration, the text that describes the festivities tells about a procession in the afternoon where the citizens and the chevaliers saluted the image of the saint³². Her iconography offered little variations: she was represented as a gracious figure with long hair, dressed in a tunic. Her symbols were the diagonal cross and the palm leaf, representing the courage and the strength during the martyrdom suffered. She could also be represented with a book. Her symbols, the palm leaf and the cross were part of her flag, used during the procession of the Corpus Christi. The image of the saint had a powerful influence over the people. In December 1639 it was ordered a new royal call for gathering new soldiers. During these calls, made on the 24th, 26th, 27th and 28th of December, the Consell de Cent was instated to exhibit the flag of Saint Eulalia, under the penalty of losing the privileges over the flag and over the city statutes (=regimento municipal?)³³.

By the end of 1640, this flag was changed in order to incorporate to image of Saint Eulalia, the city coat of arms and a chalice³⁴. This profusion of symbols was meant to mobilize the people towards the war against the army of the Marquis de los Vélez. The text “Breve y verdadera relacion de la entrada del Marques de los Veles en Cataluña” (1641) shows in the frontespiece an engraving of Saint Eulalia with all her symbols: the cross, the palm leaf and the book [fig. 4]. However, her symbolism could limit to just one element. The already mentioned description of the ceremonies after the victory in Montjuic, also published in 1641, had only the cross [fig. 4E], but the association with Saint Eulalia was immediate.

After the victory in Montjuic, the flags stolen to the Spanish troops were exhibited in the balconies of the building of the Generalitat, as a symbol of submission to the flag of Santa Eulalia – the responsible for the outcome of the battle³⁵. This same presence of the flags can be seen in the literature:

³¹ The image of Saint Eulalia can be found in pamphlets such as *Romance de la Victoria que se alcanço*; *Romance de la Victoria que tuvieron los catalanes*; *Breve y verdadera relacion de la entrada del marquez...*; *Relacio de festas que la illustre ciutat*.

³² *Breve y verdadera relacio de la entrada del marquez* cited by Henry Ettinghausen, *Triomf i desastre: reportatges coetanis de la batalla de Montjuic i del setge de Barcelona*, pp.43-64, p. 49.

³³ Núria Florensa i Soler, "La ciutat de Barcelona i la Reial Audiència contra Felip IV de Castella: 'lo pes de las paraules'". In: *El món urbà a la Corona d'Aragó del 1137 als decrets de Nova Planta: XVII Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó*. Barcelona, Poblet, Lleida, 7th-12th December 2000 (2003), p. 331.

³⁴ Núria de Lucas Val, *Catalunya i Castella, 1598-1652*, p. 304.

³⁵ Núria de Lucas Val, *Catalunya i Castella, 1598-1652*, p. 304.

“Divina Eulària, ja ab denou banderas / fem lo trofeo a vostras bellas planas / banderas eran antes altaneras / ara catifas de eixas plantas santas; / ...”³⁶. The “Crònica <<Exemplària>> de la Catedral de Barcelona” also recollected the event: “Baxaren-se de Monjuich tretze banderas (...) Estas se posaren al balcó de la Diputació ab lo major regosijo i contento que.s pot exprimir”³⁷.

In the *Llibre de Passanties*, from the silversmith guild from Barcelona, there is a drawing signed by Francesc Via, named “soldat de la bandera de Santa Eulalia” (soldier of the flag of Santa Eulalia). In the back, there is a schematic representation of what looks like the preparations for the battle of Montjuïc³⁸. Although this is not a satirical image, nor it was created with propagandistic purposes, it demonstrates the importance of Saint Eulalia in the military life.

In an ex-voto dated from 1641 [fig. 5], Santa Eulalia can also be seen, seated next to Saint Madrona, both at the bottom of Montjuïc, while Mary is in upper part of the painting.

The counselors of Barcelona also commissioned a statue of the Saint [fig. 6] to Joan Perutxena. This image, made in silver and then bathed in gold, was very inspired in the Baroque aesthetics. It was inspired in a previous model made of wood. Saint Eulalia is represented with her usual symbols and she is standing on a hexagonal basis decorated with heads of warriors, vegetable motifs and, in the center, the coat of arms of Barcelona.

As it was stated before, the friars involved themselves with the Catalan cause. The monastery of Montserrat was no exception. During the revolt of 1640, after expelling the Castilian friars and all those who expressed sympathy towards their cause, the monastery supported the politics of the Generalitat and Consell de Cent. As a demonstration of their affection, the abbot, during a visit, offered to the Counselors a big painting representing Mary, the Mother of God, supporting the counselors of the city and the monastery in the back³⁹. This canvas was painted by Llorenç de Montserrat, a friar from the same monastery. On this subject, Bruniquer wrote that on the *Dietari* there is a mention to the visit of the abbot and that he offers

³⁶ Joseph Català, “Triunfo de Santa Eulalia en Montjuych. Octavas”. In: *La Illustrissima catalana, la protomartyr de las Españas barcelonesa gloriosa, : vida, martyri y triunfos de la admirable verge Santa Eularia ab son vltim triunfo de Monjuych a sa bandera y plantas*, 1642.

³⁷ Crònica “Exemplària” de la Catedral de Barcelona, fl. 151, Antoni Simon i Tarrés (ed.), *Cròniques de la guerra dels segadors*, 2003, p. 232.

³⁸ Núria de Lucas Val, *Catalunya i Castella, 1598-1652*, p. 288.

³⁹ Santi Torras i Tilló, *Pintura catalana del Barroc*, p. 186; Antònia M. Perelló Ferrer and Joan-Ramon Triadó, *L'Arquitectura civil del segle XVII a Barcelona*, 1996., p. 232.

them “*an enormous painting where Our Lady was painted with the whole mountain and the counselors from last year. The same painting it is placed in the room of the Consell de Cent, over the door*”⁴⁰. The painting, that is now lost, unites both devotional and propagandistic uses of the image: there is the devotion for Mary, who gives the city council the divine recognition.

In 1651 it was painted a canvas for the Cathedral of Barcelona [fig. 7*] that represents the act through which the city counselors place themselves under the protection of the Immaculate Conception. In the first plan it can be seen the governor of Catalonia, Josep de Margarit (1602-1685). It was a difficult time for the city: they were threatened by the plague and by the siege of Juan José of Austria and only the divinity could help them in these desperate times.

This sort of devotional images respond to the necessity of creating elements to which people could relate to, to whom they felt identified with. The defense of the revolt was publicized as the defense of the religion; therefore there was the need to create religious images that invoked the war and that could bring the people together around the same cause. Saint Eulalia was the symbol of the institutions fighting against the central government. Her actions were divine; her intervention was a message from God that wanted the Catalans to win. Before the conflict started, it is hard to find images depicting Santa Eulalia accompanying this kind of literature as pamphlets.

When the course of the war changed, in 1652, the devotion changed to the Immaculate Conception, patron of Spain, and to the Virgin of Mercy, the symbol of the redemption of the captives. The Catalans presented themselves as rescued by the troops of the king, after being kept held by the French king, Louis XIV. This change can be seen already in 1651, as the city council (Consell de Cent) commissioned to Joan Arnau an ex-voto of Immaculate Conception and Saint Roch, in order to ease the effects of the plague⁴¹. But, again, this image is not a propagandistic one, but for protection against a decease.

3.6. French engravings

⁴⁰ Barcelona (Catalunya), Consell de Cent, Esteve Gilabert Bruniquer, Francesc Carreras i Candi, Bartomeu Gunyalons i Bou, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat and Barcelona, *Rúbriques de Bruniquer: Ceremonial dels magnífics consellers y regiment de la ciutat de Barcelona*, 1916., vol. IV, chap. LIII, p. 30.

⁴¹ Imma Socias Batet, “El món del comerç artístic a Catalunya al segle XVII: els contractes entre els pintors Joan Arnau Moret i Josep Vives amb el negociant Pere Miquel Pomar”. In: *Estudis Històrics i documents dels Arxius de Protocols*, 2000, pp. 267-282, p. 271The painting is lost.

The conflict between Spain and France dates back to 1635, but it was not until 1640-1648 that the satirical images reached its most prosperous moment⁴², at the same time the French troops won important battles in places such as Arras, Balaguer, Rocroi and Lens. Unlike most of the Catalan engravings that survived until the present day, these ones are satirical images made on purpose for the occasion. They have in common a combative spirit and a general sense of ridicule of the Spaniards. France had, since the beginning of the 1620's a strong tradition in political engravings, depicting the qualities and triumphs of the king. These engravings serve as tools of propaganda, no matter they adopt the form of narrative, epopee, allegory or satire. They recollect the events of battles, sieges, and the victories of the king: i.e., they glorify the monarch and his grandeur. However, since France officially entered the Thirty Year's War in 1635, these images change their content. Slowly the engravings lost their informative character, giving place to the new forms of informing, such as the *Gazette* of Théophraste Renaudot. They kept the propagandistic content, but now they adopt a new satirical nature/essence, putting in ridicule the Spaniards. From 1635 on, these new kinds of engravings were shown in the main public places in France, often exhibiting *Cum Privilegio...*, meaning that the engravers were protected by the royal privilege. Maybe some were even commissioned by the court. Regarding the engravers, some of them were even specialized in this kind of images, such as Abraham Bosse, Alexandre Bourdan, Jacques Lagniet, etc. Each engraver established their own version of the Spaniard, according to the general canon: brunette, short hair, a moustache strongly curled in the ends, usually with a top hat. The satirical image plays at the same time a role of informing and spreading propaganda. This means that they were a powerful instrument for the king: they serve the monarchy and they eliminate the enemy in the French consciences, the same way and at the same time the French troops were crushing/razing the armies of Philip IV⁴³. Simone Bertière in an article published in 1990 about the French propaganda during Louis XIII makes reference to over one hundred satirical images that have the Spaniard as subject⁴⁴. These engravings can be divided in three separate groups: images that constitute the archetypes and put the Castilians in

⁴² Simone Bertière designated this period as the "golden age of the satirical engraving". See Simone Bertière, "La Guerre en Images : gravures satiriques anti-espagnoles". In *L'Age d'or de l'influence espagnole: La France et l'Espagne à l'époque d'Anne d'Autriche, 1615-1666*, 1991, pp. 147-184.

⁴³ Hélène Duccini, *Faire voir, faire croire: l'opinion publique sous Louis XIII*, 2003, p. 465.

⁴⁴ She refers to the engravings kept in the Cabinet des Estampes in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the only collection she consulted. Simone Bertière, "La Guerre en images: gravures satiriques anti-espagnoles", p. 147.

ridicule; images more elaborated that usually relate a story; and images referencing the defeats of the Spanish troops.

The French also explored the fragilities that the Spanish monarchy was facing those years: the revolt of the Netherlands and then the revolts of Catalonia and Portugal.

Between 1639 and 1642 a series of four engravings was published, evoking the loss of Portugal [fig. 8], Indies, Roussillon and Catalonia [fig. 9]. The same model applies to the four representations: a soldier in the center of the image states he lost each of the four territories. Between his legs, there is a representation of each of the places. The only difference, besides the territories represented, is the function of the soldier: in the different engravings he is the trumpeter, the drummer, the standard-bearer or the sergeant. It is interesting to note that in the last engraving, from 1642, the Spanish soldier has his moustache curvier than in the previous ones. This shows the process of elaboration of the stereotype⁴⁵.

This means that some of these engravings make specific allusions to the Catalans, as victims of the Spanish king. Notwithstanding the Catalan presence in the French engravings, they should not be considered propaganda specifically in favor of the Catalans. In fact, we cannot even conclude that the engravings circulated in Catalonia. There are some references about the spread of French engravings in Catalonia, but after the decade of 1660's⁴⁶. There are no references of their circulation in the Principality during the years of the revolt, neither to whether the French brought them. However, they deserve to be explained, as they include the Catalans as part of the arguments.

One of the most important ones regarding Catalonia is the "*La Catalogne se donne à Louis XIII*" (1641) [fig. 10]. The authorship is unknown and it represents the alliance between Catalonia and France. On the 19th of September, the French king accepted becoming count of Barcelona and he recognizes the privileges of the Principality (unlike Philip IV, according to the Catalan arguments). In the center of the image, there is a map of the Principality. Under the map, there is a female figure representing Catalonia. She is crowned with a fortress and she is looking and raising her hands towards her left, in the direction of the French party. The king, in a military garment, serves her a tray with a helmet and a sword (symbolizing the military aid). On his left side, there is Richelieu and behind them, the generals who fought in the campaign: Charles de La

⁴⁵ Simone Bertière, "La Guerre en images: gravures satiriques anti-espagnoles", p. 154.

⁴⁶ Imma Socias Batet, "À propos des images populaires III. Quelques aspects de l'estampe populaire catalane et son rapport avec la France du XVII^e Siècle". In: *Nouvelles de l'Estampe* 172 (2000), pp. 33-43, n. 35.

Porte de la Meilleraye, cousin of the cardinal, and Urbain de Maillé-Brézé, his brother-in-law. On the right side of the allegory of Catalonia, there is the Spanish party: Philip IV, with his royal mantle and the crown, holds on his left hand the insignias of Barcelona and on the right hand a branch of olive tree. He is accompanied by three men who belonged to the Council of Spain and behind them there is D. Diego de Melo, who commanded the Spanish troops. To complete the symmetry of the engraving, in the back of the image, on the French side, there are three men who watch over the works of peace armed with a spade, a hoe and the horn of plenty, while on the Spanish side the same three men represent executioners, carrying a wheel, a spike with a head on top and a gallows.

On the bottom of the image there is the legend, representing the dialogue the characters – the Provinces and the two kings - are having. First, Catalonia says to Philip IV: “*Je ne veux ny de toi ny de ta paix fourrée / Je suis sage aux dépens de trop de malheureux / Qui pour avoir suivi tes traités dangereux / Ont eu pour leur tombeau la Ratière dorée*”⁴⁷. Then, they turn to the French king: “*Gran Roy c’est de vous seul que j’espère un asile / Contre l’injuste effor de ce monstre odieux / Si vostre bras est for juste et victorieux / Ma terre est en lauriers pareillement fertile*”⁴⁸. With this speech, Catalonia steps away from the label “rebellion”, justifying her actions due to the tyranny of Philip IV. And the king answers back: “*J’accorde à vos désirs très aimable province / Mes armes ma puissance et ma protection / Et vous reconnoiterez dans cette élection / Quittant un usurpateur vous gagniez un vray prince*”⁴⁹.

In short, this engraving represents the choice of Catalonia between the French peace and abundance against the Spanish oppression and war.

Another engraving is “*L’Espagnol dépouillé*”, by Alexandre Boudan, engraved in 1642 [fig. 11*]. The whole engraving is a visual metaphor of the situation of Spain in 1643. In the center of the image there is a man, the Spanish, who is being undressed with certain violence by the alleys of France – and among them there is the Catalan. Each of the pieces of clothing represents a territory or important fortresses of the Spanish monarchy: Portugal is the hat; the mantle is Thionville; the doublet Breda and the trousers are Catalonia. The men who are trying to get a

⁴⁷ “I do not want from you neither from your underhanded peace / I am wise due to too much misfortune / Who for having followed your dangerous treaties / had as their tomb the golden rattrap.

⁴⁸ “Your Highness, it is from you that I expect asylum / against the injustice efforts of the odious monster / If your arm is strong, just and victorious / My territory is in the same way fertile in laurels.”

⁴⁹ “I agree with your desires, dear province / My weapons, my power and my protection / And you will recognize in this election / that by leaving an usurper, you will get a true prince”.

piece of cloth represent the province or reign that he is trying to get back. The trousers are hold by the Catalan, the Dutch is trying to recover Breda, and so on. The legends, on top and on the bottom of the image reinforce the satire, the ridicule and put on evidence the losses of Spain, such as Perpignan and Salses. This must have been an engraving with some success and good reception, as there are – at least – two German versions that introduce slight differences [**figs. 11A and B**]. Despite the differences in the configuration and orientation of the characters, they are attached to the same pieces of clothing.

In the same sense of mocking on the pretense invincibility of the Spanish monarchy, there is the well-known engraving named “*La courante espagnole*” [**fig. 12**], by Philippe Huart. It dates from 1642 and it was named after a popular dance in the 17th century. “Courante” can also be interpreted as a game of words, as it also meant “diarrhea”. The couples associate ladies who represent territories in dispute with Spain, with chevaliers who represent the other side of the dispute. The French goes with a Catalan lady, the Portuguese with a Galician lady, the Dutch with a Flemish, and the Swedish with a German lady. The order was not in vain: in the front it is the French chevalier who leads the dance. On the right side there is a man who is not dancing: he is the Spanish who is left out.

Another group of images are those related to the military victories. In this group, it is important to highlight the images produced after the capture of Arras, in August 1640. The French gave an immense attention to this victory and this is an especially interesting case as it produced many engravings around the same subject and it is possible to see the evolution of the concepts transmitted. Spanish generals considered Arras to be impossible to take, and there was even a popular saying engraved in the doors of the city “*Quand les Français prendront Arras, / Les souris mangeront les chats*”⁵⁰. The metaphor of the mice and cats was immediately used for the visual production, representing that the weakest defeated the strongest, like David and Goliath. The first engravings incorporated the mice along with human figures, but at a certain point, engravings with only cats and mice are engraved and diffused [**figs. 13A, 13B and 13C**]. This idea must have arrived to the Principality and it found its place in the scarce visual repertory left of the war. There is panel of tiles [**fig. 14***], today kept in the Museum Vicenç Ros, in Martorell, representing an allegory of the battle and siege of Perpignan and Cotlliure by the Mice, while the Cats are shown hanged and losing the combat. It was originally in El Mas del

⁵⁰ “When the French conquer Arras / the mice will eat the cats”.

Garí (in Occitan dialect, *garí* means mouse) in Crau d'Arles, Provence, today French territory and it shows how the mice can invert the situation and win, partly because of the excess of confidence of the cats.

In conclusion, these images fulfilled a double pedagogical goal: informing and persuading. There were figuratively elaborate, but the message was simple. As Simone Bertière wrote, the French meant to pass the message “we can win, we are in the process of winning and we won”⁵¹. There was the glorification of the monarchs and the metaphorical elimination of the enemies; the idealization of the French and the caricature of the Spanish; the good and the evil.

3.7. Symbolic images

A great number of pamphlets printed in Catalonia during the war contain images. These images represent castles, warriors or boats and they usually came in the front page. They often came in small sizes and simple lines, with little details. They were not specific images elaborated to illustrate those written papers. They were stereotyped images – at a European level even – that the printers had been using in pieces that shared the same subjects for several decades⁵². The knight on the horse [figs. 15-15A] stands for narratives related to battles or fights and transmitted the notion of values. It is used at least twice in different covers of printed texts. Both *Carta vinguda de Paris, de un ben aficionat a esta Provincia* (1643) and the poem *Als mals efectes de tota Cathalunya* (1643) use the same. They were both printed in the house of Jaume Mathevat. The fortified tower [fig. 16] represented fortress and meant the defense and triumph of a village against the attacks of the enemies. There are also at least two texts using the same engraving: one from 1643, *Copia de una carta que ha escrit un cavaller...* and the other from 1645, *Canso, Al to del Estudiant....* Again, they are both printed by the same Jaume Mathevat, although the second one was printed after his death and therefore by his widow. Some variation of the motive can be seen in [fig. 17], the fortification is more of a castle, but the symbolic meaning is the same. Boats in the sea [figs. 18-18A] were indicatives of a naval battle or attacks to coastal villages. These two examples are, unlike the previous ones, different but they both use the same kind of engraving. One is printed in Barcelona, in 1641 and the other one in Valencia, in 1652.

⁵¹ Simone Bertière, "La Guerre en images: gravures satiriques anti-espagnoles", p. 183.

⁵² Núria de Lucas Val, *Catalunya i Castella, 1598-1652*, pp. 258-259.

The coats of arms were usually symbols of victories of the King or disputes between institutions. With the revolt of 1640, they became representations of the conflicts between the Generalitat and the King and they were used in pamphlets that invoked the war and the need to fight for the defense of the rights of the Catalans [figs. 19-20].

But they do not introduce any novelties; they form part of the iconographical culture of those years and so they deserve to have their place as well in this analysis. The lack of propagandistic images created from new plates, was replaced, in part, with these coats of arms and symbolic representations of the subject of the pamphlets. In other words, symbolic and narrative images (towers of defense, knights, boats...) occupied the visual place that in other territories was used for deliberately made images. These sheets containing news or evoking legitimating arguments in favor of cause of the Principality were often decorated with the coat of arms of Barcelona. It can be argued then that it gained a new meaning, as it started being read as a symbol of a new order, of the separation of Catalonia from the monarchy.

As it can be seen in these images, the coats of arms printed in the pamphlets were from this moment on the ones with the symbols of the Principality. In [fig. 19] there is the coat of arms of the city of Barcelona: a combination of the cross of Saint George (Sant Jordi), the patron of the House of Barcelona, and the stripes from the Counts of Barcelona (although traditionally the stripes are in the vertical position). The next coat of arms shows the symbols of France, the fleur-de-lis [fig. 20]. This was the political and dynastical symbol of the French king. It was longed associated to news coming from France, but over the decade of 1640 it gains a new significance. With the alliance of Catalonia and France, the fleur-de-lis becomes a symbol of this association between the two territories.

Both the one from the city and the one with the French fleurs-de-lis were used in many pamphlets, probably as a solution to the lack of other images. The same happens with the Lion, the symbol of the Spanish monarchy. It was used for a long time, but from 1640 (or even some years before) it obtained a critical sense. In *Cobles ab dialogo del Espanyol y Frances* (1638), there is an engraved Lion [fig. 21]. There is absolutely no novelty in this image, but from this moment on, it will be used to identify the enemy and all his tyranic characteristics. Nevertheless the simplicity and the lack of innovation, sometimes other examples can be found, such as the coat of arms published in the already mentioned *Lagrimas Catalanas*, about the funeral of Pau

Clarís. In [fig. 22], the frontispiece of the text, there is the coat of arms of Richelieu, to whom the book is addressed to.

Although there are small changes in the significance of some of these stereotyped symbols, there is no real change in the iconography. The printers used the same plates that they used to, and there was no place for innovation.

3.7.1. Emblems

This iconography was very different from the one placed in more elaborated books. Those expensive editions were carefully prepared, with allegoric engravings in the frontispiece. But these were, as mentioned, expensive and usually commissioned by kings, nobles or ambassadors. None of these were the protagonists of the Catalan revolt and the ones living in the Principality did not have the economical means for such commissions.

Some of these symbols were also used during celebrations. For instances, after the capture of Perpignan in 1642 there were celebrations in Barcelona. In order to recollect and explain the celebrations, the text *Triumphos del amor, glorias del afecto y fiestas de la lealtad verdadera celebradas en la iglesia peroquial de Santiago de la ciudad de Barcelona à los 25 de setiembre 1642* was published. This is another example of the use of emblems in public ceremonies. The author is unknown but we do know that the text was printed in Sant Domingo Street, by Gabriel Nogués. The celebration took place in the Church of Sant Jaume and all the important political and military figures were there. The text is dedicated to René de Voyer d'Argenson, who had been sent to Catalonia as intendant of the French army and governor of the Principality. The author's main intention was to recollect the events that occurred during the celebrations as well as explain them. As he says: "*It has been outlined the discourse from what could be a difficulty to the eyes*"⁵³. He justifies the place and date of the celebration and the need of it, as "*Perpignan was the soul of Catalonia*"⁵⁴ and in the last part, he copies the lyrics of the songs that were sung, the two sonnets that were exhibited in public places, the romances that were written and the emblems painted, also in public areas. This last category includes a total of forty-one emblems

⁵³ Joan Saperà and Gabriel Nogués, *Triumphos del amor, glorias del afecto y fiestas de la lealtad verdadera celebradas en la iglesia peroquial de Santiago de la ciudad de Barcelona à los 25 de setiembre*, 1642, p. 44.

⁵⁴ Joan Saperà and Gabriel Nogués, *Triumphos del amor*, p. 42.

that adorned the Sant Jaume's square⁵⁵. The existence of such description is especially important as it demonstrates that there were some images used with propagandistic purposes. They were neither portraits nor engravings, as those kinds of supports would demand a bigger economical inversion – that probably was out of reach at the moment. Contrary to the emblems used in the funeral of Pau Claris, it was impossible to identify so easily these ones. Probably some of them were done according to the French influence and it was harder to identify them.

The ensemble is structured in three main symbols: the cock that represents the Catalans for their alliance with the French (the *gallus*), the fleur-de-lis, representing the French and the Lion of Castile. And then, there is a fourth category for other emblems.

These first three elements had a clear symbolism and they represented not only a certain people, but they also represented their main characteristics. Therefore, the cock presented himself as the sovereign bird which can defeat the proud Lion. His only presence is enough to scare the enemy. He possesses a noble, generous and faithful character. The fleur-de-lis is also presented with positive qualities, unlike the Lion – who is dominated by pride and arrogance. It is particularly interesting to consider the victory of an animal over the Lion. The Lion had been part of the iconographical tradition for centuries. Since the 11th or 12th century, the lions were part of the heraldic of the kings of Leon, and with the pass of the centuries, its use incremented progressively. Sources from the 13th century mention that the Lion represents the royalty, as he is the king of animals. There is the association between king, lion and strength, and the Lion is the representation of the Monarchy. But it is not until Philip IV that the Lion gains the splendor of its representation. It becomes quite usual to see the royal animal in portraits of the king, as a symbol of majesty (along with the curtains, scepter, eagle, Sun, etc.)⁵⁶. The Lion becomes more than the animal that accompanies the king, he started representing the king himself. Moreover, as we have seen in the chapter regarding images produced in the context of the Portuguese revolt, the Lion goes his serenity poses to an aggressive one: it becomes the fearsome and valiant beast.

If we consider they were to be read and seen in the same order that the author lists them, we can see that there is certain logic in the sequence.

⁵⁵ On this subject, the author says “wonderful arrangement of that celebrated portico that mediated the square of Santiago [or Sant Jaume] and its parochial church (...) it was registered not the minor part of the celebration as there were devices (...) in order to give the ultimate perfection with the admirable diversity of so many and so celebrated romances and other verses and glorious emblems”. Joan Saperia and Gabriel Nogués, *Triumphos del amor*, p. 55.

⁵⁶ Víctor Mínguez, “Leo Fortis, Rex fortis. El león y la monarquía hispánica”. In: Víctor Mínguez and Manuel Chust, *El Imperio sublevado: monarquía y naciones en España e Hispanoamérica*, 2004, pp. 57-94., pp. 61-77.

The fourteen emblems of the Lion, the “*the beast who threw us (Catalans) into war*”⁵⁷, were the first ones. They are used to introduce the audience to the subject: the Lion, a metaphor of the King, led Catalonia into war due to his bad character. His arrogance and his cruelty moved Catalonia apart. The first emblem reflects this situation: a Lion repels a brave dog (Catalonia) just with his bad breath. However, the Lion is afraid of the fire of the torch branded by the Catalans (second emblem). The separation between Spain and Catalonia was then inevitable as cruelty and tyranny scares everything away. Cruelty is his biggest fault but it is the Lion’s main debility as well. The third emblem represents the Castle of Perpignan, which the Lion injured and destroyed. Despite being hurt, Catalonia always recovers from the injuries with the singing of the Cock (forth emblem). The fifth emblem showed two castles. On the right side, there was a Lion and on the other one a Fleur-de-lis, which liquor flows in a river. It evoked that Spain had no longer the right to claim Catalonia. The sun no longer reached the Lion, and the waters of the Nile can attribute their growth to another influence. The same comparison could be established with the nobility of Catalonia that recognized its good fortune to the French king, who fertilizes the fields of happiness and innocence. Catalonia was then free from the claws of the Lion, who had tried to take over its privileges and liberties (sixth emblem). The ambitious Lion tried too hard to go beyond his jurisdiction and he lost. The seventh emblem shows this loss. There are two columns and in both it was written *NON PLUS ULTRA* (Nothing farther beyond) and the Lion sitting in the middle, with *REGNABIS* (You will reign) written. So, the Lion could only give birth to the only thing that ambition can create: vanity which is only smoke, wind and dust. Even a mouse would be too much for him (eighth emblem).

In the ninth emblem, the Lion tries to reach the top of the staff of Santiago, the Patron Saint of Castile, where there is a Fleur-de-lis. Nevertheless he cannot get there and he can only reach the squash (symbol of the brevity and vanity of life). So he only gets the vanity, while the humble Catalonia gets the staff and his strength. But no matter how enraged the Lion is, in the tenth emblem he is stopped by the figure of Justice. So, tired from giving birth to vanity, that comes whenever it feels like, the Lion lays at the feet of Justice. And this was how in the day of the celebrations the “doors of Spain” were conquered by Louis XIII (emblem eleven), despite the Lion not being so surrendered and helpless as it could be expected or wished.

⁵⁷ Joan Sapera and Gabriel Nogués, *Triumphos del amor*, p. 71.

It was said that the Lion slept so deeply that he could not wake up not even with the Cock singing on the top of his head nor could he feel the injuries inflicted (emblem twelve). But how could this be? The author questioned this profound sleep as lions usually sleep very lightly, almost with their eyes opened, always attentive to the minor noise. However, this could be negligence. When starrng at the sky, the constellation of the Lion can be seen, brilliant and careless, as he does not have the opposition from the Cock (emblem thirteen). It could also be the excesses of eating too much of his favorite food, the apes. Those animals are symbols of tricks, stunts and lies. Their taste sweetens not only the lips but also the senses, causing the deep sleep. But Catalans and French should be attentive because the Lion is tricky and he also chews lilies in order to pretend to be someone he is not (emblem fourteen).

It is interesting to note that all the characteristics that were usually connected to the King, such as courage, strength, vigilance, were used but their meaning was inverted: from courage to coward, from strength to weak and vigilance into sleepiness. This was part of the strategy of the authorities to legitimate their actions, and it keeps going at the same time as the exaltation of the French qualities goes.

After this long description of the negative characteristics of the Lion, that Catalonia used to justify the separation, it followed the emblems of the Cock, the natural opponent.

The cock is a sovereign bird that alone can restrain the Lion (emblem one). He is an animal that recognizes no superiors and allows no transgressions. He lives in his retreat because chickens without him cry as lonely widows. And, considering there is a Gallic King⁵⁸, chickens (or people) could be safe.

His sovereignty grew every day because the Cock does not fly only over his retreat; he also flies over the entire world, at the light of Justice (emblem two). Spain used to be the winner and intended to convert France in Spanish territory but now the situation was different and Spain was the one becoming slowly part of Gallia. And this was the powerful France that the Lion feared. He feared at her sight and voice, but also for the purple crest that crowned her. Just at her sight, the Cock could scare over a thousand lions (emblem three).

Moreover the Cock sings softly his victories, with no need of violence. In the fourth emblem, he can open the doors of the castle of Perpignan without the iron key (which means violence)

⁵⁸ The author plays with the words in this analogy. Gallus from Latin means Cock but also makes reference to "Gallia" as in French territory.

with this soft singing. Especially because the victory means not having the key, as Perpignan is a key itself, for the entry in Spain and all its reigns. The glory consists in being able to keep it and the Cock is able to do so.

Besides all this, he also has the ability of inducing penitence. This sixth emblem recalls Saint Peter, the cock's singing and how the saint cried so his tears could be converted in a laugh of happiness. The author recalls that many did not wake up when the Cock first started singing but now they were all awake and they could cry their tears of pity. However it was important to stay alert: there are those who sing like a Cock but act like a Lion. Those were cocks with the feet of the lion, and they prefer to be the "Galloleones" (Cocklions) instead of the danger of being only cocks without any feet (meaning, any merits) (emblem seven).

This description of the virtues of the French king introduces the next set of emblems, concerning the Fleur-de-lis.

It starts by asking for the attention of the public, because only those who pay attention can see how this flower grows and how their offspring spring, surely because the Heaves wish so (emblem one). Then, there is a rhetorical surprise on how the times had changed. The olive tree brought by a dove was once the announcement of the end of the Great Flood. And now that Catalonia was going through the revolts, its end was brought by a dove bringing a Fleur-de-lis (emblem two). The analogy with the biblical sense was intended to legitimize the French intervention.

And the Fleur-de-lis was growing by the day, standing up from France to foreign reigns where her roots grow strong (emblem three). The main example was Catalonia, who was alone the universal declaration of this argument. Fortune cannot move her wheel in Catalonia anymore: it is immobilized as well as the happiness of the people (emblem four).

The flower looked more like a star, as it did not move at all. It was so steady it deserved this status of star and Catalonia recognizes it, personified in Philippe de la Motte and his resplendent sword and victories (emblem five).

So, Catalonia had many reasons to be thankful to France, and the Dog recognizes his thankfulness to the Fleur-de-lis. She healed his injuries and took away the pain inflicted by the Lion. For those who deserved it, she was the antidote. For the others, she was deathly venom (emblem six).

On the seventh emblem, an ostrich is giving away with its beak some golden lilies, as its stomach can only take iron (the ostrich with the iron on its beak is a common heraldic representation) (emblem seven).

Finally, on the last emblem of the Fleur-de-lis, there is a flower from which stem gives place to a human heart and the leaves come near the lips of another man. The stem has this form of a human heart so the public knows that it is important to focus on the stem, and not so much on the leaves. In those fragrance can be found, and they are only for those who seek interest. The ones who love the flower with their hearts should keep to the stem. And those who have not the stem at heart are the ostrich, the one who has to change the gold for the iron.

After the explanation of the three main subjects, the author finishes with the last twelve emblems, “a wonderful end, like a dessert”. Here the ingratitude is the main subject. The first emblem shows a woman breast-feeding a baby at the same time he is trying to pull her eyes off. This was a metaphor for the political situation. Catalonia had been feeding Castile with her fidelity at the same time that Castile was taking her privileges and liberties away. These circumstances allowed Catalonia to justify a fair war because the peace was not for real. So, Catalonia has the right to fight such ingratitude, the same one she puts on fire (emblem two). In this emblem there is a Phoenix, usually used as a symbol for those who fell and reborn from the ashes. In this celebration, the Phoenix represents Castile, who was on fire at the same time it tried to extinguish it. But, was not Castile so fond of Catalonia? Did its navy not commiserate at the sight of Catalonia (emblem three)? Well, now it was too late, Castile had lost Catalonia.

In emblem four there is the introduction of a new element, the tiger. This animal is the emblem of cruelty, and any sound frightens him. The Lion represents Castile, but the Tiger also looks like it, when he is scared by the sound of the Catalan drums.

Moreover Catalonia had the protection of Saint Michael. How can she not be feared with such protection? In the fifth emblem, on the top there is the representation of the archangel fighting with his sword at the doors of Heaven, repelling the Devil and his followers. In the bottom part, there are some “almogavars” (class of soldiers, mainly from Iberian kingdoms) that scare away many Spanish troops.

But Catalonia was not alone during this war. In fact, she had the help from the king of France, the one who irradiated more light with his eyes than the sun (emblem six). And this was proved during the battle for Perpignan, won by the honest armies of Louis XIII. Catalonia owns

her value to France (emblem seven), as so far she was being oppressed. She was now able to leave her cocoon with wings, like a dove (symbol of her innocence) in order to enjoy her freedom (emblem eight). However these wings are possible because of the King of France, who let Catalonia fly under his protection (emblem nine). This way, she flew to Perpignan, where the surrender was possible, partly because of the lethargy of the Lion (emblem ten).

Flattery and adulation are the biggest fault of the favorite of Philip IV and the consequence of that is, again, the inertia of the Lion. Argo is the Lion in the eleventh emblem and he sleeps and watches, over and over, but he is negligent and the more he sleeps, the more he loses. So, to sum up, Castile would not succeed while there was justice in Catalonia, which was made possible thanks to the alliance with France. De la Motte made possible a fair government in the Principality and he should be thanked for that (emblem twelve). In the end, due to the ingratitude, Castile lost Catalonia to France, and now there was, at last, justice.

This narrative was clearly written in order to please the French administration present at the celebration. It was in fact the purpose of these public ceremonies with emblems decorating public spaces: the praise of a person (in this case the king of France), his virtues and actions and an overreaction in the demonstrations of gratefulness and happiness. In the first part there is the justification of the Catalonia's secession, but the other two parts justify the French intervention: it was a matter of justice, of bringing back the freedom to an oppressed people.

3.7.2. The books

The emergency of the situation, the precipitation of the events and the immediate need of establishing the right legitimating discourse might have also been a cause for the progressive use of these symbolic images. For instances, let us consider the example of the *Proclamación Católica*, by Gaspar Sala (1640), the most emblematic book from the ideological and written war during the War. This was a book was written at the request of the Counselors in order to justify the rupture with the loyalty to Philip IV and it mixes political, juridical and historical arguments. It was the book with highest diffusion not only in Catalonia and in Castile, but also in Europe. The first edition, of 1500 copies, was presented to the Consell de Cent on the 4th of October 1640, only a couple of months after the revolt⁵⁹. It has no engravings, probably due to the

⁵⁹ Gaspar Sala, Antoni Simon i Tarrés, Karsten Neumann, *Proclamacion catolica a la Magestad piadosa de Filipe el Grande, Rey de las Españas y Emperador de las Indias*, 2003, p. 26.

necessity of publishing right away, without delays. But on the second edition consisting in 2000 copies and published only a month later, presents a chalice in flames, an allusion to the sacrileges perpetuated by the Spanish troops in Riudarenas. The possible explanation is that by the time of the first edition, there was no model for the chalice. Maybe it was made explicitly for the book, although it seems unlikely, because there is little innovation on the visual field during this period. So, maybe there was no time to print the chalice, or maybe the thought of it came later, just in time for the second edition and the others that followed it. The third edition of 1500 copies saw the light of day before the end of November 1640 had the same engraving of the chalice and another of Saint Eulalia that was already analyzed [fig. 4C*]. The fourth edition came before the 21st of November of the same year. There were another 1500 copies and they presented the chalice and a crucifix, as well as the some engraving of Saint Eulalia⁶⁰. Besides these editions in Catalan and Spanish, there are also four French editions, one in Portuguese, another in Dutch and a partial translation in Italian, all of them printed between 1640 and 1645. So, as far as we can conclude, this book and its engravings got an immediate diffusion all over Europe. Moreover, if we calculate the amount of books published, we could estimate about 8000 copies, a considerably large number for the period. We also know that 500 copies were given to the Counselors, 240 to the members of the *vint-i-quatrena de Guerra* (temporary commission of twenty-four elements elected by the Consell de Cent for matters related to war) and some citizens received between 20 and 30 books each. The emissaries sent to Mallorca received 330 copies and there is notice that the deputies of Aragón and Valencia, as well as the municipal council of Zaragoza, Valencia and Palma also received copies. In Madrid this book was immediately forbidden by the Inquisition, however members of the court had copies. At least two different editions circulated in Madrid at the time, because there are similar references in different pages. Outside the Peninsula, copies were sent to the court in Paris and to the officers assigned to go to Westphalia. Finally, there is evidence that a French edition printed in Amsterdam was distributed and sold in book fairs in Leipzig and Frankfurt in the spring of 1641⁶¹. Along with all the written arguments, there were also the already mentioned engravings that supported the text and gave a more condensed if not even summarized perspective about the

⁶⁰ Gaspar Sala, Antoni Simon i Tarrés, Karsten Neumann, *Proclamacion catolica*, pp. 27-29.

⁶¹ Gaspar Sala, Antoni Simon i Tarrés, Karsten Neumann, *Proclamacion catolica*, p. 45. The author also says that before the end of 1640, Olivares commissioned “Aristarco o censura de la Proclamación Católica”, a text censoring the book of Gaspar Sala. This gives us a more accurate idea of the impact that the book had on that moment. See p. 47 and John Elliott, *El Conde-duque de Olivares: el político en una época de decadencia*, 1990, p. 575.

events. The chalice stood for the tyranny, while Saint Eulalia for the protection against those who did not respect the liberties of the Catalans.

3.7.3. Human figures

Other symbolic images concern human figures. For instances, after the Spanish defeat in Roussillon in 1642, a pamphlet was published containing in the front page an engraving of a man carrying a bottle [fig. 23]. On the side two other men observe him, and in the back there is a castle⁶². This engraving has no specific connection to the text, once it can be found at least in another text, from a totally different subject – the “Llibre del Coch”, from Rupert de Nola, edited in Barcelona in 1568. This cooking book published in the 16th century certainly had nothing in common with a description of a battle from the 17th century. This was a clear example of the reuse of the images in the Early Modern Age. Another example can be found in a pamphlet that narrates the events concerning Perpignan until the surrender of Salses, also from 1642 [fig. 24]. In the front page there are two engravings: one is a noble man and the other, facing the man, is a lady with some kind of parchment in her hand⁶³. In the case of the female figure it is clear that it is just a fragment that used to belong to a bigger engraving. [Fig. 25] illustrates the poem *Comparació de Cathalunya ab Troya* there is a castle on top of a rock and in the center of the image two figures. One of them is dressed like a courtesan and he is sitting under a tree. In front of him there is a man poorly dressed with a book on his hand and he seems to be scaring him. In the next example [fig. 26] there are two parties: on the left side a noblewoman looks at a nobleman, who is on the opposite side. Behind him there are more men. It looks like on the right side there could be more women, establishing the parallel but the engraving seems to be cut unevenly. It was used to illustrate *Carta que ha enviada la vila de Perpinya a Cathalunya* (1641). All of the examples given for human figures were printed by the same man: Jaume Romeu.

Once again it looks like in these examples there is no apparent correspondence between the text and the images. They were the same images used over and over again, with no evolution.

3.7.4. Coins and medals

⁶² Simon Verges, *Copia de una carta, que envia Simon Verges, a Bertran*, 1642.

⁶³ Baldiri Malvesia, *Relació en rima de Jaume Roig, de tot lo que há succehit dintre y fora de Perpiñà*, 1642.

Finally, there should be considered the iconography of the coins and medals. After the rupture, Catalans tried to maintain their own production of coins, something that did not happen since the Medieval Ages. The right of manufacturing coins belonged to the Consell de Cent who created a new organism to control all the matters related to the coin emission, the *Setzena de Moneda*. There were changes, not so much in the level of the system itself, but the values change. All these monetary decisions were made by the Catalan authorities, with little interference from the French king. However, it is known that in Paris there are plans to elaborate coins for Catalonia, but in the end they were never manufactured. There was some plans of introducing some new coins, *escuts d'or* and *peces de plata* (in gold and silver), in 1642, in two different series. One had the effigy of the king and the inscription “CATALON PRINCEPS”, and on the other side the coat of arms with the arms of France and Navarre on top and the arms of the Catalonia on the bottom. The second one also had the effigy of the king with the inscription “CATALON COMES” and the arms of the Catalonia, now under the protection of the French king. In any case, these were probably only prototypes and they were not meant to be coined. They were just a project that had no continuance.

The only considerable change – besides the values – was the iconography. Coins with the effigy of Philip IV stopped being produced and they gave place to the insignias of the Principality. In Gerona the change occurred on the 5th of October 1641 but in Barcelona those orders had already been given before, probably around the end of the year⁶⁴. In some situations, coins were produced in the name of Philip IV, but with the coat of arms of the Principality, demonstrating a clear republican choice. This happened probably until the autumn of 1641. From September or October 1641 on, they started being coined with the name of the Principality and its coat of arms [fig. 27A]⁶⁵. From 1642 on, they were also produced with the name and the effigy of the French king, Louis XIII [fig. 27B] and by 1652 there were coins with the name and effigy of Louis XIV [fig. 27C]. All these coins presenting the effigy and name of the French kings were ordered by Juan Jose of Austria to be destroyed when he took the city.

There is also a commemorative medal that survived to the present day. It was made as a commemoration of the victory in Tortosa in 1648 [fig. 28]. On one side, it shows a woman (an

⁶⁴ M. Crusafont i Sabater, Xavier Sanahuja Anguera, Anna M. Balaguer and Eva Serra i Puig, *Història de la moneda de la Guerra dels Segadors (Primera República Catalana), 1640-1652*, 2001, pp. 37-38.

⁶⁵ M. Crusafont i Sabater, Xavier Sanahuja Anguera, Anna M. Balaguer and Eva Serra i Puig, *Història de la moneda de la Guerra dels Segadors*, p. 39.

allegory of Tortosa) sitting on a big jar from which springs the Ebro River and her arms are resting on a spear. The legend says “DERTOSA EXPUGNATA” (Tortosa conquered). There are several other medals similar to this one, presenting little changes in the iconography so it was probably a popular image at the time and it circulated at least in France and in Catalonia.

3.8. Other images

There are other images related to the revolt of Catalonia. Military scenes are a good example of other representations that survived to the present day.

There are, for instances, the battle scenes painted by Pandolfo Reschi (1640-1696) who painted two canvases. One, the *Assedio di Barcellona* [fig. 29], represents D. Juan Jose of Austria in Tibidabo supervising the military moves. The other, *Gran battaglia* [fig. 30], the war between Barcelona and the royal troops. These two paintings were commissioned by Bartolomeo Corsini (1622-1685), cavalier of the Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand II (1610-1670). Reschi worked for Corsini around the year 1681, so he probably painted these two canvases around that period. They were destined to the walls of the Corsini Gallery, which was built in 1656. Despite illustrating war episodes, these paintings should not be considered images from the revolution. They do not transmit a political message; nor do they contain the particular point of view of someone who participated in them. In fact, they do not even represent the real Catalan territory. Reschi was a painter of battles; he painted according to the pre-established canons and the possibility of being politically inspired by the events or representations is very little. In fact, painting battles was not a very popular genre in Catalonia during the 17th century. There are just a few exceptions to this, like the already mentioned paintings from the baron of Montmagastre (1646) and the paintings made on the occasion of the victory of Montjuic. There is also another one, amongst the properties of Melcior Granollacs, inventoried in 1648. He owned a painting of the siege of Ostende, or, as it said, a painting “en lo que és pintat lo siti de Ostende”⁶⁶.

Pieter Snayers (1592-1667), a well known Flemish painter, also left us one battle scene: the Siege of Lleida [fig. 31]. However, the same that was said about the paintings of Reschi can be applied to this painter. Snayers was famous for his battle scenes, he had no involvement in the

⁶⁶ Francesc Reverter, *Llibre segon d'inventaris i almonedes*, 1648-1654, llig. 23, f. 9v, 13th October 1648, cited by Santi Torras i Tilló, *Pintura catalana del Barroc*, p. 89, n. 109.

war and therefore his painting cannot be considered propagandistic. But these paintings do convey one thing: the memory of the revolt.

3.9. Problematic around the question of the image production

As it was seen in this chapter, there is little evidence of visual materials reflecting the Reapers' War. Comparing to the immense production of the French, the Catalan territory seems very poor when it comes to propaganda during those years. One could say that most of it could have been destroyed in successive wars and conflicts, or that other disasters (such as fires) could have produced this lack of materials. It is a possibility that one must not reject, but it is unlikely. It is known that a lot was burnt and destroyed after Juan Jose of Austria conquered the city, and some images might have formed part of this suppression, but some examples would have survived, even if it was through indirect references. The reading of several written sources such as chronicles and correspondence did not give any evidence of the existence of such materials. In the Neapolitan case there was an intended destruction of images related to the revolt of Masaniello with Count of Oñate, but the sources give us that indication so we know that images did exist. During the Portuguese revolt, many envoys wrote asking for portraits or making comments on the images that circulated. There are no parallel examples for Catalonia.

There might be several reasons that explain this apparent small number of images. The first one is the lack of tradition when it comes to propagandistic images. Inversely to what happens with painting, the editorial business in Barcelona assists during the 17th century to an exponential growth, especially during the years of war, as Ettinghausen explained⁶⁷. The conflict demanded new sources of information and faster ones. However, the industry of engravings did not go through the same growing process. There were printers working for the Catalan cause, such as the Mathevat brothers (and then the widow of Jaume Mathevat), Pedro Lacavalleria and Sebastià Comellas, but apparently they were more committed to the publication of written pamphlets than to polemical images.

The printers were used to work with juridical and institutional texts, also with theological ones and lives of saints, but there was no tradition of satirical texts or images, especially against the king. The lack of experience of the Catalan printers could explain this absence of images. So,

⁶⁷ Henry Ettinghausen (ed.), *La Guerra dels Segadors a través de la premsa de l'època*.

when a time of crisis came, the printers kept using the same images they were used to, adjusting their symbolic meaning but keeping the forms. It also must be taken into account that they did not have much time to prepare new models. The little expertise in producing engravings together with the emergence of the crisis could constitute part of the answer to the cultural panorama of the 1640's.

On this subject, Núria de Lucas Val adds another possible explanation. According to her, the lack of images might be related to the fact that these satirical images (or texts) did not have place in the baroque mentality. France assisted to an impressive development of the satirical engraving, but none of those images attacked the king directly. The king was designated by God and he was His representation on earth, therefore it was impossible to mock the monarch. Criticizing the king would be an attack against religion, against God and the Inquisition would have persecuted the authors, editors and printers⁶⁸. In fact, the Portuguese, the Neapolitan and the Catalan revolts started by being against the bad government, they were not aimed at the king. The Portuguese case ended up breaking with the Spanish king using the argument of tyranny but this only makes the argument stronger as there are not many examples of satirical images.

Then, Núria Lucas also says that another possibility lies in the economic factor. The pamphlets were short texts, the printing and the material did not have much quality so the costs of production were low allowing this literature to be sold at a cheap price. In order to keep the low price and the immediacy, the printers used the old models with little variations since the 16th century. The cost would immediately go up if a printer decided to make a plate for one image only. Recycling was a more economical option. By not investing in new plates, they could maintain the same prices⁶⁹. But the problem went beyond the investment in new techniques regarding engravings. Catalonia was going through an economical crisis that grew bigger with the war. The lack of economical stimulation prevented the society from paying good prices for the paintings. This generated a vicious circle: society would not pay a fair sum for the paintings so the painters produced worse pieces of art. In fact, the consuls of the city in 1677 decided to divide the paintings and the painters in three categories: “better”, “average” and “infamous”⁷⁰. Although the reference is subsequent to the period of the war and to the present dissertation, it

⁶⁸ Núria de Lucas Val, *Catalunya i Castella, 1598-1652*, pp. 260-261.

⁶⁹ Núria de Lucas Val, *Catalunya i Castella, 1598-1652*, p. 262.

⁷⁰ Santi Torras i Tilló, *Pintura catalana del Barroc*, p. 24.

gives a very good perspective of the situation lived in the Principality. There was no painter in Barcelona, or any other Catalan city, during the 17th century that could be compared to Micco Spadaro, Michelangelo Cerquozzi or even an Avelar Rebelo just to name some of the contemporaneous painters who were involved in the visual production in Naples and in Portugal at the time of the revolts.

So, on third place, despite probably being an economical reason, it was probably an artistic one as well, as economics reflected directly on the artistic panorama. The only possibility for the artists to survive was the massive production which would allow them to obtain for twelve paintings what a normal painter in another place would charge for just one. Besides, there are few Iberian engravers during this period. In fact in terms of the production of engravings, the Iberian territories were unable to follow the other European territories⁷¹. The images created for the Portuguese king were engraved mainly in Paris and in the Netherlands and some of the ones engraved in Portugal were made by foreign artists. For this situation it certainly contributed the inexistence of a court. Courts usually engaged a network of artists and patronage that the viceroy in Catalonia was not able to establish. In addition to the lack of capacity of creating a viceroial court able to engage patronage and artistic creations, as the viceroys of Naples did, there is the cultural factor, the base of the question. As Elliott wrote, “*the Catalan nobility was singularly lacking in intellectual distinction*”⁷². The noble aristocracy did attend the theatre and knew the most important Castilian dramatis, but, in the contrary, the rural aristocracy was “*primitive and barbarous in its habits*”⁷³. Alfonso Pérez Sánchez described the Catalan painting of the Baroque as “*modest and poor*”⁷⁴

During the 17th century, Catalonia experienced an interest mainly for sculpture and most of the paintings were related to religious topics⁷⁵ – commissioned mainly by the city and Principality organs, which means there was no private capacity to commission neither patronage networks that would allow the arts to develop. The status of the painter himself was another

⁷¹ Cristina Fontcuberta i Famadas, "Imatges d'atac. Art i conflicte als segles XVI i XVII". In: *Pedralbes* 23 (2003), pp. 147-164, p. 161.

⁷² John Elliott, *The revolt of the Catalans*, p. 69.

⁷³ John Elliott, *The revolt of the Catalans*, p. 69.

⁷⁴ Alfonso Pérez Sánchez, *Pintura barroca en España 1600-1750*, 1992, p. 400.

⁷⁵ Santi Torras i Tilló, *Pintura catalana del Barroc*, pp. 21-23.

problem. They had no right to enter in an influent guild/union that could lead them towards the recognition of the city. As Santi Torras states in his latest book, painters and sculptors lived – with few exceptions – in an environment of social suffocation, social greed and technical backwardness.

As we have seen, in this period there is a certain artistic decline in Catalonia, which influences the mentalities. The lack of cultural tradition also prevented an intellectual evaluation or even appreciation for the arts, so there were no authentic collections inside the houses of the wealthier citizens. They had paintings, but it was more about gathering them than giving them a sense as other great collectors and patrons in Europe did. As a consequence, Barcelona was left out of the circuit of the expensive collections. As Imma Socias points out, there were no important art merchants in Catalonia⁷⁶. Compared to the French ones, the graphic and the painting business in Catalonia were very small and undeveloped.

But even under the consideration that the artistic scenario was poor compared to other territories, censorship and repression should also be taken into account. It does not make much sense to talk about censorship during the decade of 1640's. After all, the religious institutions were involved side by side with the city and the Principality administrations. After the city was taken by Juan Jose de Austria, in 1652, he gave instructions to the lawyer of the court, Rafael Vilosa all the documentation from the Diputació, municipal, judicial and from the guilds corresponding to the years of the rebellion⁷⁷. This explains the lack of documentation for those years, as Juan Jose was extremely concerned with elimination/destruction of any historical memory concerning those years. Along with the documents, he probably ordered the same for the images. The portraits of Louis XIII and Louis XIV were removed. Probably they were destroyed. All the monetary production that contained the effigy of Louis XIII was also destroyed under his orders. Emblems and other existing engravings due to their fragile nature probably disappeared with time, wars and suppression after the restoration of the son of Philip IV. The Monarchy was well aware of the importance of the symbols. During the conflict, the Generalitat had an opportunity to use its symbols in the construction of its identity and in the

⁷⁶ Immaculada Socias Batet, "El món del comerç artístic a Catalunya al segle XVII: Els contractes entre els pintors Joan Arnau Moret i Josep Vives amb el negociant Pere Miquel Pomar", p. 267.

⁷⁷ Eva Serra i Puig, "El pas de rosca en el camí de l'austriacisme". In: Joaquim Albareda i Salvadó, *Del patriotisme al catalanisme: societat i política (segles XVI-XIX)*, 2001, pp. 71-104, p. 78.

edification of a political new vocabulary. The use of the symbols, the four stripes and the coats of arms, became a problem after 1652. In fact, during the regency of Mariana of Austria and during the administration of the viceroy Francisco Fernández de Córdoba (1669-1673), it was considered that the Generalitat should not use its symbols as “*during the times of the revolts, they abused from them*”. According to the Court, “*it was a thing introduced in times of turbulences in Catalonia and of France*”⁷⁸. The memory and the association of the stripes and the coat of arms with the period of rebellion and with the French alliance was unpleasant for the Monarchy who even tried to impose a change of insignias.

Another possible reason lies in the fact that the Catalan institutions took the revolution as a religious war. As it was said, there was a big involvement of the clergy in the conflict. The Chapter of Barcelona participated actively in the defense of the city. When in December 1640, the troops of Marquis of Velez approached Barcelona, they offered to help and the city counselors, besides the military preparation, also took some religious measures. A sum of 3000 *llibras* was destined to the canonization process of Saint Olegarius. Then they commissioned an altar lamp for the devotion of Saint Eulalia for the Chapel of the Cathedral and another lamp for Our Lady of Montserrat, for the altar in the mountain. On the 11th of January of the following year, just before the battle in Montjuic, the counselors decided to invoke the help from the heavens and commissioned that a lamp should be made – and quickly – for Saint Eulalia. Such lamp should be made out of 500 *llibras* of silver and should have the city coat of arms engraved. Moreover, a perpetual offer was made of 150 *llibras* to the Chapter for the oil of the lamp so it could burn night and day. If there was an economical crisis going on, it is comprehensible that the institutions had limited funds for artistic commissions, and in Catalonia those funds went mainly for religious pieces.

On fifth place, there was no royal figure in Catalonia that could provide a royal candidate, as it happened in Portugal. Although culturally Portugal also suffered from the absence of the court, the demands of having a royal candidate made possible the creation of imagery around the Duke of Braganza. This was possible thanks, in part, to the involvement of Luis XIII in the Portuguese

⁷⁸ Cited by Eva Serra i Puig, "El pas de rosca en el camí de l'austriacisme", pp. 80-81.

revolt and his support – military and diplomatic, as most of the portraits of John IV of Braganza were made in France.

In Catalonia this did not happen the same way. Since the conflict began, in 1635, the war was fought mainly in central Europe. Cristina Fontcuberta suggested that a possible explanation could lie in the fact that there was no massive support to the Catalan revolt, at least not in the same way it happened in the Netherlands. In this case, it was a war fought against a foreign and common enemy, moreover with a different religion and the Netherlands had a completely different economical and strategic role. In Catalonia, on the contrary, it was an inside conflict⁷⁹. By the end of the decade, the conflict displaced to the meridional border, justified by the will of recovering the territory of the Languedoc and the overcoming the power of the Habsburgs. The conflict between Catalans and Castilians was familiar to Richelieu who saw an opportunity to weak Philip IV by attacking his own territory. As Òscar Jané wrote, the Catalan front could produce a huge psychological impact⁸⁰. At the same time, France assists to an increase justification of the exercise of power, sustained by Richelieu and other specialists in law. Their ideas allowed Louis XIII to justify the intromission in the affairs of Portugal, Catalonia and even Naples as they defended France as a guardian of the rights of the people, even those who belonged to hostile territories, as long as they had their rights threatened. When the revolt burst in June 1640, Louis XIII saw an opportunity to speed the negotiations with Catalonia. In December of the same year, an agreement was signed in Barcelona: the *Traité d'Alliance* signed by Louis XIII and the Generalitat. In January 1641, Louis XIII was recognized as count of Barcelona and finally, in September 1641, there is a third step with the Treaty of Péronne.

According to the documents signed, the Catalan administration was to continue Catalan, with the exception of the viceroy, named by Louis XIII. However, during the years that followed, there was an increasing introduction of the French bureaucracy and clientelistic networks.

Despite these agreements, the French king did not project his image in Catalonia, nor did the Catalans produce many visual arguments in favor of (or even against) the monarch. As we have seen, the French engravings allude to the Catalans but there is no promotion of Louis XIII as the king (or even count) of the Catalans. There is evidence of the existence of some paintings, but

⁷⁹ Cristina Fontcuberta i Famadas, "Imatges d'atac. Art i conflicte als segles XVI i XVII", p. 163.

⁸⁰ Òscar Jané Checa, *Catalunya i França al segle XVII: identitats, contraidentitats i ideologies a l'època moderna : 1640- 1700*, 2006, p. 96.

only in personal collections. We could be inclined to think that Richelieu and then Mazzarin would have instated a visual political plan in order to establish the French power over the Principality – especially considering there was at no moment an invasion or a conquest. It was not the case. Maybe both ministers thought that Catalonia was relatively secured with the bureaucracy and the viceroys. Maybe it was not a priority in their politics. In fact, according to Òscar Jané, “*the French decisions* [regarding the geographical borders] *do not appear to have coherence until the decade of 1660*”⁸¹. The true motivations of the French king were questioned in the later years when the complaints about the behavior of the troops started spreading around. Were they not supposed to be there to guarantee their rights and the Constitutions?

Moreover, if in the beginning there was a genuine concern and true interest in helping the Catalans, in the end of the decade of 1640, the French generals and envoys started having doubts about their role in Catalonia. In part this was due to the “*impatience of the Catalans*” and because “*they were not a homogeneous sociopolitical group in favor of France*”⁸². There were changes in the treaties signed and slowly what was understood at first as a voluntary pact became a domination process.

The physical presence of the French in the Principality brought new problems. The French beliefs in the inferior character of the Catalans (often represented as calculating, selfish and lazy); the presence of the soldiers and the consequent conflicts; the changes in the religious posts promoted by the French king caused a certain animosity within the alliance. Nevertheless, the French did print many texts in favor of the Catalan cause, using juridical arguments at the same time they promoted the animosity between Castilians and Catalans.

3.10. Conclusion

In conclusion, there are many reasons to explain the production of images in Catalonia. Economical reasons, political and social factors and the artistic environment are strong determinants. However, the existing idea that there are almost no images is not entirely correct. In this chapter it was demonstrated that there were visual representations related and that are a result of the conflict. Their quality or massive reproduction might have been limited because of the mentioned circumstances and it cannot be compared to the Neapolitan situation, but it should

⁸¹ Òscar Jané Checa, *Catalunya i França al segle XVII*, p. 141.

⁸² Òscar Jané Checa, *Catalunya i França al segle XVII*, p. 247.

not be ignored either. Important ceremonies like the funeral of Pau Claris and the celebration of the victory of Perpignan gave place to the emblems, images that condense strong messages controlled and imposed by the institutions. The *Generalitat* used the years of conflict to expose its symbols and display a discourse of its own, supported by their insignias and visual elements more autonomous than ever. But they were not the only ones; they were fighting – not only with weapons, but also with images – one of the biggest producers of images, the Monarchy. Philip IV not only fought Catalonia with weapons and Tortosa constitutes a good example. In 1641 the *Tortosa ciudad fidelissima y exemplar* by Vicent de Miravall i Florcadell is published. It is a text about the reasons that led Philip IV to concede the city the titles “fidelissima” and “exemplar” (extremely faithful and exemplary). The frontispiece of the publication was engraved by Johannes de Noort, a Dutch artist that often cooperates with Philip IV. This is the first difference, the resources of the Monarchy. Then, the engraving itself is a complex one [fig. 32], depicting Minerva, protector of the arts, wisdom and war techniques⁸³. The whole engraving has a quality far more superior to any work commissioned in Catalonia in those years. The frontispiece of *Cataluña Desengañada*, from Alexandre Ros (Naples, 1646) also presents a well elaborated engraving. In this book, written in order to persuade the Catalans to surrender and abandon the French protection, the illustration talks by itself: in the center two female figures –two allegories of Spain and Catalonia – are identified by their coat of arms [fig. 33]. Spain seems to be pulling the hair of Catalonia, like a fight between two women. On the left side, next to a Lion, it can be read “ANTIQUA POSSESSION / TUTA DE FORTI DULCEDA” (Ancient possession/ the attractiveness of a strong safety) and on the opposite side, next to a laurel tree, it says “INCERTA SPES CERTA AMARITUDO” (Uncertain hope/ Certain bitterness), the contrast between the two situations, the safety offered by the monarchy and the uncertainty provided by the French⁸⁴. There are other examples that could be mentioned, like a mural depicting the victory of the Spanish troops in Salses in a mill (Molí dels Frares), nearby Campanar (Valencia) [fig. 34]. It was discovered in 1994. The painting has 5m per 1,30m and it offers several interpretation problems. According to José Luis Arcón and Luis Pablo Martínez, this fresco was initially thought to represent the recuperation of Salses by the Spanish troops sent by the viceroy Santa Coloma in 1639. However, the scenes do not correspond to what actually happened. As we

⁸³ There is some more examples of the propagandistic displayed by Philip IV in Tortosa around those years. See Núria de Lucas Val, *Catalunya i Castella, 1598-1652*, p. 248.

⁸⁴ “Ancient possession / the attractiveness of a strong safety” and “Uncertain hope/ Certain bitterness”

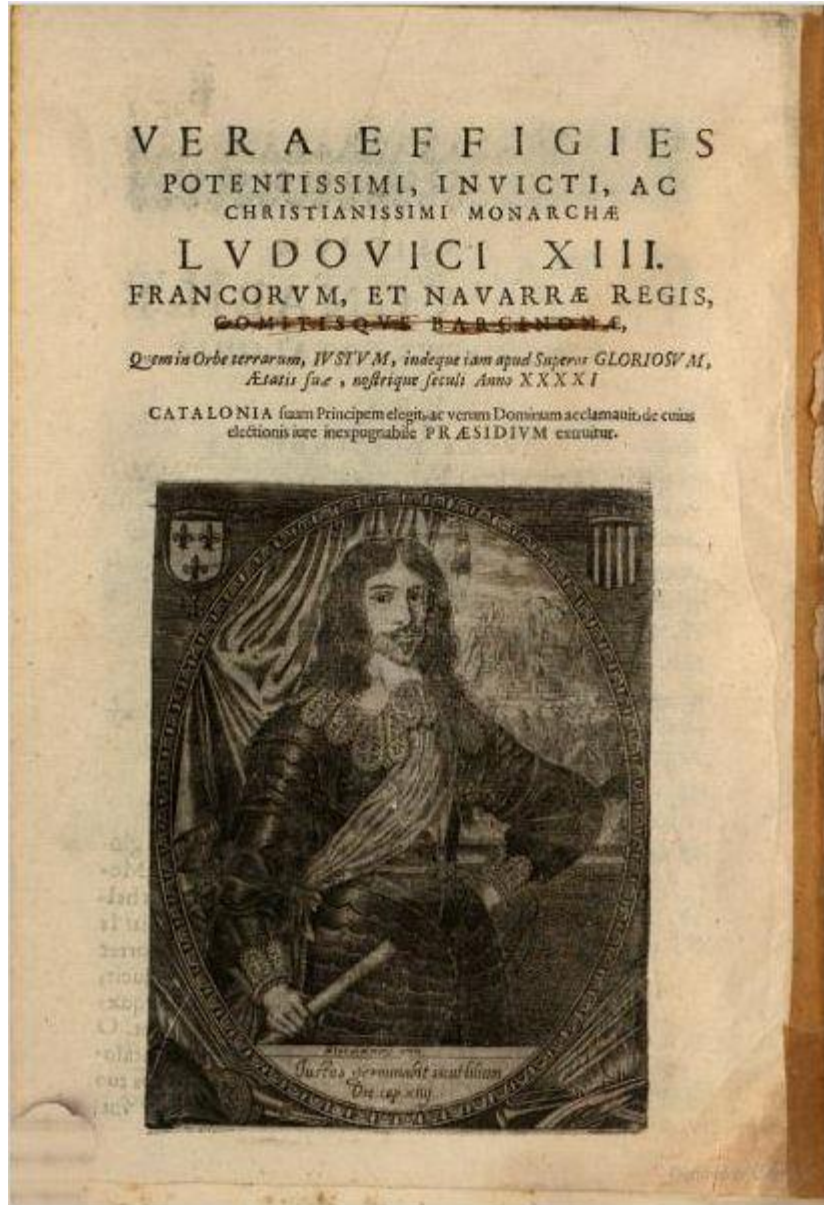
know that this episode never happened, as when Philip IV conquered Salses, there were no Spanish soldiers inside the city. The authors suggest several theories⁸⁵, but the most plausible one seems point that this panel is an allegorical representation of the events of 1639, in which the moments of triumph of the Spanish soldiers are shown but not their rendition. Also, the aid is represented although we know it arrived too late. But the most interesting aspect in this panel is the depiction of the kingdoms fighting for the monarchy, in equal numbers: Castilian, Aragonese, Neapolitan and Portuguese flags are exhibited, as the plan formulated by Olivares.

We know nothing about the author and the year it was painted, and unfortunately, due to the lack of conservation, a part is already lost. Although they are images left in favor of the “enemy”, they constitute some of the few more elaborated examples of the visual culture of the conflict in Catalonia and they show that, in fact, the image played an important role in the political events of 1640-1652. If not, why bother commissioning such engravings, such images?

But back to the Catalan-French side, there are also some visual testimonies of the revolt. The supporters of the French king had his portrait in their galleries. The governing elite commissioned some religious images that were thought to influence the course of the war. There were even some battle scenes that were probably destroyed. The destruction of images – for repression reasons, posterior conflicts, due to the pass of time or any other disasters – leaves little information so it is our job to put the production of visual products in a certain perspective.

I do believe that, no matter what, there was more than one could possibly think at a first approach and the more we study complementary sources such as notarial records and personal correspondence not only in Barcelona but in other cities from Catalonia and South France, the more we will find on this subject.

⁸⁵ José Luis Arcón and Luis Pablo Martínez, “Asitio del Castillo de Salça: Una pintura de batallas en la Huerta de Valencia”. In: *Militaria. Revista de Cultura Militar* 11 (1998), pp. 133-152, p. 144.



[FIG. 3] Portrait of the king Louis XIII. In the book *Praesidium inexpugnabile Principatus Cataloniae...* by Francesc Martí I Viladamor (1644), BNC



[FIG. 4C] Engraving of St. Eulalia. In: *Proclamación Católica* by Gaspar Sala and *Notícia Universal de Catalunya* by Francesc Martí i Viladamor



[FIG. 7] The counselors of Barcelona donate the keys of the city to the Virgin in the presence of Josep Margarit i de Biure, 1651.
Cathedral of Barcelona



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[FIG. 11] Alexandre Boudan, *L'Espagnol despoillé*, 1642, BNF



[FIG. 14] *Battle of the Cats and the Rats*, 1642.
Museum Vicenç Ros, Martorell

CHAPTER 4

Portugal (1640-1668): John of Braganza and the legitimation of a new king

4.1. Introduction

All the revolts contain their sum of beliefs and ideas that usually structures the propaganda around them. The Portuguese revolt of 1640 was no exception. There are several characteristics of the population and of the situation of the kingdom that between 1640 and 1668 shaped the images and texts published.

The revolt of 1640 was a successful one for the insurgents, unlike the Catalan and the Neapolitan ones. The nobles who organized the coup d'état and who placed John of Braganza in the throne as John IV, king of Portugal succeeded in breaking with the Spanish Monarchy of Philip IV. Military speaking, the battles in Portugal were hardly more than mere small-scaled conflicts. Between 1647 and 1656, the conflicts were far more active in the colonies than in Portugal itself: the permanent tensions with the Dutch dictated a considerable effort in order to keep Brazil, win Angola back and assure the Asian possessions, apart from Ceylon. It was not until 1657 that the important battles took place in the Portuguese borders. However, the visual representations did not accompany these military events. From the first moment the authorities understood the need to legitimate the new power through the visual dimension.

4.2. Corpus: typologies and characteristics

The perception of the new monarchy as a new unity found in visual representations a way of expressing itself, through the representation of certain models that were repeated over and over. As it was stated in chapter 2, in 1640, Portugal, due to the discontinuity in its government, had to face the consequent military activities that followed the separation from the Spanish Monarchy at the same time that it has to deal with the recognition and legitimating process.

In the following pages, the visual representations used by the new king in order to achieve the necessary national and international legitimacy will be analyzed. Besides understanding why the existence of such materials in Portugal at the light of the political events, especially relevant attention will be given to the international context: the need and constant need to seek recognition of the former Duke of Braganza, now king John IV of Portugal before the monarchs

and the Pope. These representations were produced and were to be understood under a certain context. They had a specific role they were created to perform. What was this role? And who commissioned them? What kind of messages did they contain? Which characteristics did they have that would make them different from other images from the same period? Who was the audience?

In this chapter we will try to answer these questions, having in mind the strong relation between written word, image and power.

This chapter was elaborated counting on a total of 87 images, produced mainly between 1640 and 1668. The main visual supports are paintings and engravings, as they were the main elements produced during these years with propagandistic intentions.

In the case of the engravings, they proceed from both printed books and engraving collections from archives and libraries. This means that these engravings could circulate inside books, as illustrations, as well as unities, sold and distributed from hand to hand. Moreover, with the practices of the reuse of previous images, they sometimes present slight differences, or they could even be inspired by a pre-existing painting. These practices can provide us important clues to their study. This also allows us to compare the existing images with other examples.

Most of the images presented have necessarily a political intention, as they were produced with the goal of convincing and persuading an audience of the reasons why the new king should be recognized as the legitimate one. This means that the focus of the analysis is mainly on the message and not so much in the formal aspects.

Briefly, it was applied the following criteria:

- The image must be related to the political events of 1640-1668.
- It should be comprised between 1640 and 1668, although rarely exceptions can be made.

All of them will be justified.

4.3. State of the art

The use of the images during the revolt has been a subject that for a long time had been omitted from the research about 1640. In 1992, the art historian Vitor Serrão defended his PhD dissertation about art in Portugal between 1612 and 1657, in which he included a chapter about the nationalist visual production during the Restoration. He later came back to this subject in several articles about concrete case studies, in which he defended the existence of a nationalistic

art that assimilated the political arguments used to legitimate the revolt. It is possible though that his interpretations went somewhat too far, including images that do not necessarily respond to a political ideal. Luis de Moura Sobral, another art historian, has dedicated some studies to the analysis of the visual production. He is the author of an article about one of the most complex engravings from the period of the revolt, and another about the importance of the national saints in the legitimating process. In the latest years, the research about the visual production during the war of Restoration has been stimulated by the studies of Fernando Bouza and Pedro Cardim. Pedro Cardim has published, together with Ângela Barreto Xavier, in 1996, the book of the celebrations realized for the occasion of the wedding of Afonso VI of Portugal. In this book, the authors reproduce some images that were used for the ephemeral decoration. In 1997, on an article about the embassy of António Vieira to Paris and Amsterdam, Cardim also mentions and reproduces some important engravings produced during the revolt. In 1998, the author goes back to the subject of the international Portuguese delegations – this time during the Westphalia peace negotiations. In this article, Cardim dedicates some paragraphs to the images that circulated in the international scenario. In 2008, in the sequence of a workshop realized in the University of Barcelona coordinated by J. L. Palos and Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, Pedro Cardim published a chapter of a book about the possibilities of the image in the revolt, having as a starting point the imagery designed for the funeral of John IV in 1656. Also in 2008, the Spanish art historian Inmaculada Rodríguez, published an article about the “Lusitania Liberata”, one of the most important books of the revolt, with an important number of engravings. Fernando Bouza, on his turn, has dedicated his research to the role of the image in not only the period of the dynastic union, but also during the first years of the Braganza. Susana Flor, presented her PhD dissertation on the iconography of D. Catarina of Braganza, daughter of John IV¹. She presents new documents not only about the creation of an iconography of D. Catarina, but also about the commission and circulation of images of the royal family in the European scenario in the years of the war.

4.4. Political Arguments

¹ Susana Flor, *Aurum reginae or Queen-Gold: a iconografia de D. Catarina de Bragança entre Portugal e a Inglaterra de seiscentos*, 2010. The dissertation was published in the end of 2012 with the title *Retratos de D. Catarina de Bragança*. Unfortunately it was not possible to consult it. For this reason, the citations made will be from the dissertation.

In order to a better understanding of the corpus, it will be divided in several blocks, according to the dominant subject they reflect.

4.4.1. The 1st December

In December 1640, a Portuguese spy informed Lisbon that in Madrid “*everyone was astonished and that the Count-duke did not sleep and called on Diogo Soares at midnight to talk to him*”².

The Count-Duke of Olivares was right to have trouble sleeping as on the 7th of December news arrived to the court of Madrid that Portugal had declared their independence, proclaiming John, duke of Braganza as John IV, king of Portugal. The news provoked such impact that the death penalty was imposed for all of those who would mention the episode in the court.

However, in Portugal the atmosphere was totally different. The coup d'état gave place to celebrations all over Lisbon and in the whole kingdom as the news arrived³. Such an event had a big impact on the image production at the time. Nevertheless no specific images concerning this day arrived until our days. Most of the visual references to the 1st of December are part of other images, with a wider message. For example, the [fig. 1], a German (maybe Dutch?) engraving illustrates, almost like a comic strip, the main events of December and January 1640-1641. In the first scene (A), we can observe the defenestration of Miguel de Vasconcelos, the Portuguese secretary of the vicereine Margarita de Mantua. Although most of the contemporary chronicles mention that he was first wounded with guns, in the engraving we can see the nobles with swords – a detail that the artist probably did not have time to sort out.

In the second scene, the central one, we can see the bust of John IV with the legend “*Johannes der vierte. Konig zu Portugal und Algarbe etc.*” (John IV. King of Portugal and Algarve, etc.). On the right side, the scene B, we can see the entry of the king in Lisbon on December 6th, while the population receives him with demonstrations of joy and happiness. The scene C represents the ceremony in which John IV who “*aos quinze dias do mez de Dezembro do dito anno, em sabbado pela manhã, na Cidade de Lisboa, nos Paços da Ribeira della, onde ora está o muito Alto e muito Poderoso Senhor El-Rei Dom João o IV deste nome, Nosso Senhor, se*

² ANTT, Conselho de Guerra, maço 1, Information of D. José de Meneses with news from Madrid, 29/XII/1640, cited by Rafael Valladares, *Independencia de Portugal. Guerra e Restauração, 1640-1680*, 2006, p. 47.

³ There were some local resistances though, as well as in the provinces. However, there was an effort of transmitting an image of a united kingdom, supporting a strong anti-Castilian feeling. See Fernando Bouza, “Primero de diciembre de 1640: ¿una revolución desprevénida?”. In: *Manuscrits* 9 (1991), pp. 205-225.

*fez o Levantamento, e Juramento de Sua Magestade na Corôa destes Reinos e Senhorios de Portugal, por os Grandes, Titulos, Seculares, e Ecclesiasticos, e pessoas da Nobreza, que se acharam presentes, o qual acto se fez com toda a solemnidade a elle devida*⁴. Next to the king stands the queen D. Luisa de Guzmán, who held a Bible – according to the *Auto do Levantamento e Juramento D’El Rei D. John IV* given by his secretary Francisco de Lucena. In the last scene (D), it is possible to see the ceremony of the coronation celebrated by the Bishop of Lisbon. Portuguese kings usually did not wear the crown, and after John IV no other king ever wore it either, as in 1646 John IV consecrated the crown to the Virgin Mary, proclaiming her the queen and patroness of Portugal. The engraving has a legend in the superior part that says “*Vorbildung was es zur zeit Konigs Johannes des IV in Portugall beruffung. Kroning fur 4 Saunt actus gegeben 1641*”.

This kind of engraving is exceptionally interesting for its didactic characteristics. Besides explaining only with images the main events of the revolt, it legitimated the Portuguese king by recognizing his new status. Moreover, the number of copies that still exist and that can be found in different libraries and collections all over Europe allow us to deduce that they were printed in more than one edition and that they were widely disseminated.

A second engraving, also German, also represents the events of the 1st of December [fig. 2]. The legend says “*Der Portugallische Abfall*” (the fall of the Portuguese), referring to Miguel de Vasconcelos. In fact, it could be done a double reading of this legend. “Abfall” can be read in the literal sense of falling, which the secretary did when he was thrown out of the window of the palace, but it can be interpreted in a metaphorical sense: it was the fall of the Spanish rule, represented in Portugal by no other than Miguel de Vasconcelos, the secretary of the vicereine Margaret of Savoy. In the image it is possible to see the façade of a building – allegedly the Royal Palace – in front of which there is a big multitude formed by agitated people. The main focus of attention, on the left window, is the secretary Vasconcelos, who is being defenestrated and he is represented in the process of falling. It is another example of an informative image that made reference to concrete events. In order to legitimate the king, it was important to explain the circumstances that led the nobles into taking the action. The act of the defenestration symbolized the rupture with the former power and opened the way to a new ruler.

⁴ *Auto do Levantamento e Juramento D’El Rei D. oão IV*, 15th December 1640.

4.4.2. Royal Ceremonies

During public ceremonies it was important to be able to show effectively what the government was capable of. Images and ephemeral architecture had to demonstrate that the war was going well, that the kingdom was strong and the royalty loved its people, no matter what tensions were going on inside Portugal.

There is no information about images used in ceremonies such as the acclamation of John of Braganza as John IV of Portugal. But we know that an iconographical program was designed for his funeral in November 1656, celebrated in the Church of S. Vicente de Fora, in Lisbon. The images did not survive, but there is the written account of the ceremony: “*Memorias que pertencem ao Funeral do Senhor Rey D. João 4º. Por Pedro Vieira da Silva*”⁵. The center piece was an octagonal catafalque, with panels in each of the eight sides. According to Vieira da Silva, the secretary of State of the departed king, each of these panels should be decorated with the reigns and possessions of the Portuguese crown in Europe, Africa, Asia and America. The text suggests that there was a profuse ornamentation with the military victories as a central theme. Next to these panels, there should be 16 columns, with panels as well. In these ones, it should be painted the victories – and not only the military ones – of John IV in Europe since he had been proclaimed king of Portugal⁶. The space left should represent the day of the revolt, in particular, the procession that left the cathedral, the moment that Jesus’ arm fell from the cross carried by the archbishop, and the noblemen with happy faces. The detail of the happy faces of the noblemen was more than curious. John IV had a strong need to justify the revolt and legitimate it, of fighting the notion of rebel. The ceremonies had a powerful projection, and this one had been thought even about those who could assist and where should be placed. As Ignacio Mascarenhas wrote, “*these [the Spaniards] will only spread confusing news, and corrupted information, attributing rebellion and dissension to Portugal, and not with King*”⁷.

It was important to show that this movement was not a popular uprising against the authority, like the one in Catalonia: it had the strong support from the nobility and the clergy.

⁵ This text was studied by Pedro Cardim in Pedro Cardim, “¿Una Restauração Visual? Cambio dinástico y uso de las imagines en el Portugal del siglo XVII”. In: Joan Lluís Palos and Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, *La Historia Imaginada. Construcciones visuales del pasado en la Época Moderna*, 2008, pp. 185-206.

⁶ Pedro Cardim, “¿Una Restauração Visual?”, p. 188.

⁷ *Relaçam do successo, que o Padre Mestre Ignacio Mascarenhas da Companhia de IESU teve na jornada que fez a Catalunha, por mandado de S.M. el Rey Dom Joam o IV nosso Senhor aos 7 de Janeiro de 1641*, p. 8.

Other decorations reflected military events, such as the Battle of Montijo, and several allegories related to the good government, in the same line of other European ceremonies. Indeed the funeral of John IV shared many common elements used in other territories, and the vocabulary was not new⁸. The novelty was the adaptation made in order to convert it in a propagandistic vocabulary in order to legitimate the revolt and the separation from the Hispanic Monarchy.

This was exactly the same goal of the ceremonies made for the celebration of the wedding of Afonso VI, son of John IV, and Maria Francisca of Savoy 10 years later. The whole city mobilized in order to prepare Lisbon for the entry of Maria Francisca. The preparations started in May 1666 and the program was carefully designed and thought by António de Sousa Macedo, secretary of State of the king. The war was still going on and the internal tensions between the king and his brother D. Pedro were possible obstacles that had to be erased from the public sphere during those days of celebrations. The sophistication of the preparations shows well enough the conscience of the impact these had on the audience. Among ephemeral architecture, diversions, music, dances, there was an iconographic program displayed through triumphal arches. The images, due to their fragility, did not arrive to our present day, but the book *Festas que se fizeram pelo Casamento del Rey d. Affonso VI* collects some of the aquarelles used for the triumphal arches made in Lisbon on the 29th August 1666⁹. There is no data about the possible author of such aquarelles, but there is important information we can extract from his work. It seems that there were two main themes in the decorations. The first and most important one was the wedding itself: there were many allegories to marriage, abundance and fertility. The second one was a propagandistic program that expressed the supremacy of Portugal and its determination in winning the war. The *Arco da Bandeira de São Jorge*, in the *Rua da Padaria* showed S. George on a horse killing a dragon, while a damsel thanked him¹⁰. In this representation the dragon was Castile. In the *Arco dos Alemães*, there was a representation of a fight between the Portuguese dragon and the Spanish lion [fig. 3], with the following legend: “*IN*

⁸ Regarding the problems of interpretation of this ceremony, see Pedro Cardim, “¿Una Restauração Visual?”, pp. 195-203.

⁹ The book has been published by Ângela Barreto Xavier and Pedro Cardim, with an introductory chapter by Fernando Bouza. According to the authors, these images are a total of 27 aquarelles preserved in the library of the Paço Ducal da Casa de Bragança, in Vila Viçosa.

¹⁰ Ângela B. Xavier and Pedro Cardim, *Festas que se fizeram pelo casamento do rei D. Afonso VI*, p. 52.

SPE CONTRA SPEM’ (In hope against hope, meaning that against all the terrestrial hope, there was still the celestial one). A second legend said: “*CONTRA SPEM VICTOR QVADRATO CIRCVLVM ADEQVAT*” (Against the hope of winning, the circle adapted to the square), in a circle inscribed in a square, where the four elements and winds are represented. The idea of hope and fight for the fair outcome is also present in the same arch [fig. 4], as it shows an eagle with a crown and the palm leaf and three angels carrying the emblems of Portugal, Savoy and France. This alliance between Afonso VI and the French Maria Francisca was another opportunity for the Portuguese king to insist on the close relation between the two countries and how natural was to establish alliances. In fact, other images reflected the same idea. The crowns of Portugal and France decorated several other arches, as the “*Arco dos Alfaiates*” and “*Arco dos Franceses*”. This union, for many Portuguese resulted as a supernatural doing orchestrated by the Providence. The representation of certain kings also contributed for the propagandistic character of these emblems. In the “*Arco dos Franceses*”, there was on one side a statue of Afonso Henriques, and on the other side, one of John IV¹¹. A contemporary noted that the arch was particularly close to the main church of Lisbon, which was probably more than a coincidence: both kings were the founders of Portugal and the divinity was there to protect and inspire them¹². Finally, in the “*Arco dos Flamengos*”, there were statues of John I, John IV and Henry IV (ancestor of Maria Francisca).

4.4.3. Restoration War

After being declared king of Portugal, John IV knew the war against Spain was inevitable. Philip IV did not accept the accusation of tyranny, so under his point of view, John of Braganza and his supporters had done nothing but to lead the population in a rebellious action. So, the imminent conflict was one of the main concerns of the king. There was an obvious disproportion in both armies: Philip IV had way more resources than the former Duke. However, the many war fronts in which the Habsburg king was fighting did not allow him to move a strong army to the Portuguese borders. Instead, he decided to keep his armies in the Catalan front, where France represented a bigger threat at the time.

¹¹ For a more detailed analysis on the use of the memory of the old kings, see 3.2. Historical Arguments in this same chapter.

¹² Ângela B. Xavier and Pedro Cardim, *Festas que se fizeram pelo casamento do rei D. Afonso VI*, p. 53.

The spread of the forces of Philip IV reduced the conflict between Portugal and Spain to a few important battles and mainly to confrontations in the borders for almost thirty years (1640-1668). Both sides had to fight with poorly paid armies, with a high number of soldiers deserting their posts. These circumstances ended up favoring Portugal. As it was said before, Philip IV was in war against France and this prevented an immediate attack against Portugal. The Marquis of Montalvão, on this subject, wrote in 1643 that he was sure “*that the main cause of our conservation to the principle of the restituition to Our Majesty was the war of Catalonia and how the King of France instilled it in the heart of Spain, with which they forced the king of Castile to rescue with all their forces to repress it...*”¹³.

However, Portugal knew it would be a question of time until Philip IV would focus his attention on its borders. In the beginning of 1641, the preparation for war started, but the scenario was devastating. It was said that “*the war broke the few experienced captains and even less veteran soldiers, the reign almost exhausted of money, munitions and weapons, against such a powerful king, that had in abundance everything the reign lacked*”¹⁴. The possibilities of survival of the new dynasty seemed very low. This was, in fact, an idea that was supported by the expression “*king of a winter*”¹⁵, given to John IV in Madrid.

The first military encounters date from the middle of 1641. But they did not favor the armies of any king. It was not until 1643 that the episodes started being less optimistic for the Portuguese. The Portuguese armies were not strong enough to conquer important cities in the other side of the borders.

Nevertheless the propaganda profited from these conflicts to emphasize the Portuguese military action and spread it all around. The map published in “*Francia interesada con Portugal*” (Paris, 1644) [fig. 5] shows a part of the Portuguese region Alentejo, the border and part of the Spanish Extremadura, between Badajoz and Villanueva del Fresno. In this map it can be seen the fortresses conquered by John IV. According to the description, the army had more than 20.000 soldiers that in less than a year had conquered Badaios, Valverde, Albofeira, Almendral, La Torre, Figueira de Vargas, Alconchel, Cheles, Villa Nueva del Fresno and

¹³ BNP, Annaes de Portugal, Anno 1643, cited by Fernando Dores Costa, *A Guerra da Restauração 1641-1668*, 2004, p. 23.

¹⁴ Fernando Dores Costa, *A Guerra da Restauração 1641-1668*, p. 24.

¹⁵ About the concept of “King of one winter” see Rafael Valladares, “Sobre reyes de Invierno. El diciembre portugués y los cuarenta hidalgos (algunos menos, con otros más)”. In: *Pedralbes. Revista d'història moderna* 15 (1995), pp. 103-136.

Payomogo. It also presented the number of inhabitants and prisoners made in each of the conquests. However this information seems to have been manipulated as it does not match other numbers. Also, the way the fortresses are disposed in the map may seem to give the impression of being important conquests of the Portuguese armies. But, in fact, it was a very small area of the territory of the enemy and they were all small villages¹⁶. The manipulation of scale and numbers helped hiding the fact that these were characterized by small scaled raiding and skirmishes.

In 1644 there was the first major battle, the Battle of Montijo. The episode originated an abundant literature as both sides of the battle reclaimed the victory. Regarding this battle, there are some representations such as the tiles of the Palace of the Marquis of Fronteira [fig. 6].

In 1647, the second phase of the conflict began and ended with the death of John IV¹⁷. The main differences compared to the previous years were related to the military tactics used. Considering the disastrous results so far, it was now obvious that Portugal had no capacity to conquer important fortresses across its border. This fact gave place to a more defensive war, hence years of less important conflicts and less visual representations of battles.

It was not until 1657 that the decisive battles commenced. Once Catalonia was pacified, Philip IV displaced his troops to the Portuguese border. Among the battles Portugal won, there was the Battle of the Lines of Elvas in 1659. Such a decisive victory had to be used by the Portuguese propaganda, which did not lose the chance of insisting on the legitimacy of its position. In 1662, Dirk Stoop engraved a scene of this battle [fig. 7]. The legend of the engraving says “*Praça de Elvas sitiada pello Exercito Castelhana e levantamento do sitio a força das armas porteguesas a 14 de Janeiro de 1659*”. This image contains a lot of written information. First, several names of nearby villages can be read. Then there are comments about the military moves. In the upper right corner, it can be read “*fuga dos castelhanos*” and in the inferior right part, there is a dedicatory to the king Afonso VI, followed by a description of the battle and an assessment of the troops’ behavior: “*forçandose pello valor dos portugueses as linhas e fortificaçoens dos castellanos derrotando-os com perda notable e morte de quase todos os seus cabos e prizaos de mais de dous mil entre os quaes entrao pessoas de grandissima calidad.*”

¹⁶ See João Carlos Garcia, "As razias da Restauração. Notícia sobre um mapa impresso do século XVII". In: *Cadernos de Geografia* 17 (1998), pp. 43-48.

¹⁷ Fernando Dores Costa divides the battles of the War of Restoration in three phases: a first that goes from 1641 until 1647; a second one from 1647 until 1656 and finally the third one from 1656 until 1655. The years 1666-1668 are designated as “years of peace”.

*Fugindo os inimigos cum tanto temor e desacordo que deixaram toda a artilharia e de balas, armas de toda sorte, polvora, monçoens de boca, tendas e outros pertrechos militares. Hua contia innumeravel de modo que ate a secretaria e papeis della deixaram em poder dos nossos com a qual derrota ficou de todo ponto abatida a soberbia castelhana*¹⁸. This last paragraph is a clear praise to the superiority and bravery of the Portuguese soldiers, against an exaggerated cowardice of the enemy: an enemy so scared that he did not even had time to collect his belongings. A painting was also done to celebrate the battle [fig. 8] but one could wonder: was this a celebratory painting or a propagandistic one? The visual representation does not seem to include any political content besides the military victory that it is not even in evidence.

After the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659, there are new concerns: the peace between France and Spain and the new availability of the Spanish armies put again the Portuguese sovereignty in danger. But it was not until 1662 that the difficulties of the Portuguese king became visible. The armies of D. Juan José de Austria took Borba and Jurumenha, but avoided battles in important places such as Estremoz and Vila Viçosa. The engraving [fig. 9] shows the entry of the illegitimate son of Philip IV in Portugal, detailing the battle of Ameixial in 1663, won by the Portuguese army. In the upper part, it shows the path the Spanish troops did back to Badajoz. In the main scene, the Duke of Schomberg leads the Portuguese army. The Duke had spent all his adult life fighting the Spaniards in the French armies. After the Peace of the Pyrenees, he went to Portugal and entered the service of the king to fight the armies of Juan José.

In the same year of 1663, Juan José de Austria tried to take Évora, putting Lisbon in danger, but the difficulties made him go back to the border. This defeat was seen as a miracle to the Portuguese side. The optimism increased after the decisive victory in the battle of Montes Claros in 1665. Truth was that the military effort of the previous decades left the Spanish crown with almost no resources.

There are several representations of these battles. The victories had to be celebrated, especially when they were attributed and dedicated to the divine intervention. The inferiority of the Portuguese forces also contributed to the necessity of producing materials to avoid a possible

¹⁸ “Reinforcing the lines and fortresses of the Spaniards with the value of the Portuguese, they defeated them with notable losses and the death of almost all their corporals and the imprisonment of more than two thousand men, among which people of grand quality. The enemies flew with such much fear and lack of organization that they left all the artillery, bullets, weapons of all kinds, gunpowder, munitions, tents and other military objects. One even had the secretary and the papers they left came into our possession, so the defeat was effective on the arrogance of the Castilians”.

feeling of defeatism. However, until what point were all of these paintings truly instruments of propaganda? Probably not all of them suffered the same manipulation as the map from the *Francia interesada con Portugal*, but they consisted in a psychological strategy: the paintings were placed in places where the popular spectators could see them so they could celebrate the victories. The “*Combate de Ordenanças*” [fig. 10], represents a battle that took place on the 23rd April 1644 in Lanhelas, in the north of the kingdom, between local habitants and Spanish soldiers that crossed the border to pillage the villages nearby. As a reward for the Portuguese victory, the king exempted the village from the *decima*, a tax. The painting was done after the royal privilege was conceded and placed in the Church of Lanhelas. It shows the combat between the two parts and in the middle S. George – the protector of Portugal and celebrated precisely on the 23rd April – killing the dragon.

Probably these paintings decorating the churches¹⁹ were merely commemorative but they for sure they played a part in creating a sense of cohesion, important for a population so far from Lisbon and from the king.

The already mentioned Palace of the Marquis of Fronteira has a well-known collection of tiles decorating one of its main rooms (Room of Battles), on the first floor. The four walls of the room are filled with the blue and white tiles that narrate the main 8 battles that took place between 1640 and 1668²⁰, with the respective legends that allow us to identify them. Their elaboration is posterior to the war. The title “Marquis of Fronteira” was given to João de Mascarenhas (1632-1681) by D. Pedro II in 1670 as a reward for the political support in the deposition of Afonso VI. João de Mascarenhas played an important role in the war and occupied several political positions close to the king. Moreover he showed a genuine interest for the arts. The project of the house was done between 1668 and 1672. The war ended in 1668, so the decoration was dedicated to the construction of the memory of an event in which he participated actively [figs. 6 and 6A].

¹⁹ For more examples see 3.3. Religious Arguments.

²⁰ The website of the Fundação das Casas de Fronteira e Alorna offers a virtual tour on this room. It also offers a selection of texts about the family, the house and the art collection: <http://www.frenteira-alorna.pt/index.htm> (last consulted on the 24th April 2013).

The Museum of Ancient Art in Lisbon has an important collection of 17th century folding screens that narrate episodes of the War of Restoration [figs. 11-12]. These decorations (the Room of Battles included) aimed at a less varied audience. They were limited to those who visited or lived in their houses. However, it is important to remember that the victory of the war was possible in a great part thanks to the aristocracy, who supported the king. And John of Braganza was king thanks to the efforts of the nobles. Until recent time he was *primus inter pares*, which meant he owned his “promotion” to his peers. The victory of Portugal was, in a way, the victory of the nobles and these were decorative elements that reminded the public of that.

4.4.4. D. Duarte

The king was not the only protagonist in the visual representations. His brother was, unexpectedly, a hero for the Portuguese cause.

The infant was the second son of D. Teodosio and brother of John IV. He was born in Vila Viçosa in 1605. He left Portugal in 1634 to serve the emperor Ferdinand III. In 1638, he went back to Portugal to solve some personal problems regarding the will of his departed brother, D. Alexandre. It was the time when the *conjurados* started talking about a possible revolt in Portugal. He was approached in order to take the command and the throne in case his elder brother was not interested. His answer was rather evasive²¹. He went back to central Europe and to the armies of the emperor. It was exactly in this position that the news of the coup-d'état reached him, as well as a request to go back to Portugal. However, Philip IV managed to imprison him in Ratisbon and he was taken to a fortress in Milan. At this moment, D. Duarte converted himself in one of the main topics of the Portuguese propaganda. The accusations of tyranny for having the infant imprisoned echoed all over Europe during those years. John IV ordered to all the diplomats at his service to work on the freedom of his brother. He also tried – although without much exit – to convert this issue in one of the main topics during the negotiations of Westphalia. D. Duarte became a person of interest and of great importance as a topic. A vast bibliography concerning the infant was written during those years²².

²¹ Leonor Freire da Costa and Mafalda Soares da Cunha, *D. João IV*, 2006, p.15.

²² Among the many examples that could be cited, there are the following works: António Moniz de Carvalho, *Innocentis, et liberi principis venditio viennae celebrata die 25. junio anno 1642. Venditore rege hungariae. Emptore regi castellae ...* (Paris, 1642); Manuel Fernandes Vila-Real, *El principe vendido o venta del inocente y*

His image was converted in another argument to fight the Spaniards. During the journey to Milan, among the bodyguard that accompanied D. Duarte, there was one of his servants, Henrique Peres de Magdeburgo, who was released from his duty. In the middle of the journey, the infant renounced to his services and gave him one of his garments and a portrait of him²³. He ordered him to go to Venice, and from there he should go to Portugal and serve the king. During the journey, he should always carry the infant's portrait. His image was then a safe-conduct, a guarantee of safety as they had allies in Venice.

When the governor of the castle where the infant was imprisoned found out that D. Duarte had a portrait of the queen of Sweden and that the queen had, as well, a portrait of the infant as one of the many gifts she had received, he panicked. The fact of carrying the portrait of the queen made the governor think that existed an understanding for a future marriage. Despite the concerns of the governor, Philip IV did not give much importance to this and insisted that D. Fradique Henriquez should worry more about keeping the prisoner safe as he had previously required²⁴.

But despite being such an important figure in the propaganda, there are only two surviving engravings of D. Duarte. One of them, a very well-known engraving [**fig. 13***], is part of the book *Innocentis et liberi principis venditio* (Paris, 1642), by António Moniz de Carvalho, secretary of the embassy sent to Paris. The piece was printed during the first days of November, and on the 17th of the same month, Fernando Brandão, chronicler of the reign, was already thanking the volume he had received in Rome from the Count of Vidigueira. On the 28th of December, the king also expressed his gratitude to the author for the book. The engraving, according to the biographer of D. Duarte, José Ramos-Coelho, was hard to produce. It was difficult to find a model in Paris, so the governor of La Rochelle was asked for his, so it could be copied²⁵. This statement gives us two important pieces of information. Firstly, this means that there were indeed portraits of the D. Duarte and the second thing is about the importance of a

libre principe Don Duarte infante de Portugal, celebrada en Vienna, a 25 de junio de 1642, años...etc. (Paris, 1643); Luiz Marinho de Azevedo and J. Herculano de Moura Lourenço, *Exclamaciones políticas, jurídicas, y morales al summo pontífice, reyes, principes, respublicas amigas y confederadas con el rey don Juan IV. de Portugal en la injusta prisión, y retencion del serenísimo infante D. Duarte su hermano* (Lisboa, 1645); and João Baptista Birago, *Historia del regno di Portogallo del Dr. Giovanni Battista Birago Avogaro*, (Liorne, 1646), libro V.

²³ José Ramos Coelho, *História do Infante D. Duarte: irmão de El-rei D. João IV*, 1889, p. 515.

²⁴ AGS, M. 3360, Consulta del Consejo de Estado hecha en Madrid a 14 de octubre de 1645, cited by José Ramos Coelho, *História do Infante D. Duarte: irmão de El-rei D. João IV*, vol. 2, p. 79.

²⁵ José Ramos Coelho, *História do Infante D. Duarte: irmão de El-rei D. João IV*, p. 605.

rigorous copy. The engraving, from Jean Picart, it is quite complex. In the four corners it can be read the names of the first four chapters of the book, illustrated by four allegorical elements: the armor, the jail bars, the chains and the money of the demanded ransom. Those elements told the story of the infant: his military values and presence in the empire as a soldier, the imprisonment behind bars and the chains – symbol of tyranny of both Philip IV and the emperor who so far had not agreed to concede him an hearing, and the money – a sum that Portugal could not afford to pay. In the center of the image, in an oval, there is the infant with both hands enchained and a legend that says: *Serenissimi D. D. Eduardi Infantis Portugalliae in meritis in carcere in viculis in venditione effigies*. Above there is the Portuguese coat of arms. This engraving in the book comes with the following verses:

Pro meritis carcer, pro lauro vincula dantur;

Virtus crimen habet, gloria supplicium.

Victrices onerant immania pondera palmas,

At nequeunt palmas pondera deprimere;

Venditus argento tandem, das inclite princeps,

Effigiem Christi, non, Eduarde, tuam.

Some of the editions do not have the verses. This shows that the image was probably popular and well-known. The book was also translated in other languages, and the number of different editions that we know in the present day makes us believe that it had a wide circulation. The Spanish and French editions, printed in Paris and in Lyon, present the same engraving, but the ones from Lyon do not contain the verses. The same engraving was used later on in the 19th century by Gustavo de Veer, in his book *Dank vom Hans Oestreich oder du Infant Dom Duarte. Episode aus dem 30 jahrigen Kriege* (1869)²⁶. Moreover, this engraving was also distributed as a print.

The other known engraving of the infant is less known is [fig. 14]. It was engraved by Lucas Vosterman around 1650, for the *Panegyrico Funeral, em a morte do Serenissimo Senhor Dom Duarte Infante de Portugal* (Lisboa, 1650). This engraving shows a circle divided by a line in the middle. In the upper part, there is John IV king of Portugal in the daylight, in the world of the living ones and reigning, while in the bottom part, in the darkness, lays D. Duarte sitting in the

²⁶ José Ramos Coelho, *História do Infante D. Duarte: irmão de El-rei D. João IV* pp.vol. 1, p. 606.

clouds with the handcuffs on his right hand. While his brother was king, he had now died imprisoned.

But the infant besides becoming an important subject was also an agent working for the Portuguese propaganda. Despite all the security measures taken in order to assure he did not communicate with the outside²⁷, they were inefficient and D. Duarte was able to participate in the diplomatic network established some years before, at the same time he fought for his release.

In a letter he wrote to Francisco Taquet, the fictitious name of the friar Fernando de la Houe, born in the Netherlands around 1593 and an agent of John IV in Venice, he asked him to alert the Count of Vidigueira that he should answer to a paper wrote by D. Antonio de Fuertes y Biota, printed in Brugges: “*I cannot explain the pain that I feel that in Portugal there are no books worthy of circulating around the world, and for the fact that they do not want to know how much damage it causes such silence and carelessness*”²⁸. This was just one of the examples that show the concern of D. Duarte in displaying an active and well prepared campaign to fight the lies printed by the enemy and to explain their own motives. He was indeed committed to the Portuguese situation and he did not spare any efforts in giving his opinion, asking for materials and imposing a certain level of quality.

In another paper also addressed to Taquet, “*Advertencias para Francisco Taquet, para responder às objecções, mentiras e infamias, com que sahem os castelhanos contra Portugal, e em particular o abbade Caramuel, e D. João Chamucero*”, along with other considerations he wrote “*I advice that the portraits made of the king should be with the crown and the royal garment, as the Spaniards are displeased seeing it like that*”²⁹. It was important to represent well the king: with his attributes of majesty, not only to be recognized as a legitimate king, but because the Spaniards suffered with those images.

In 1645, D. Duarte was interrogated under the accusation of being involved in the conspiracy of 1640. Probably in a moment posterior to this episode, he wrote a protest complaining about the maltreatment he was subjected to in Milan: he felt oppressed and close to death. In the pamphlet he denounced the loss of his confessor Matheus Storr, to the “*impio*

²⁷ Gustavo Kelly de Almeida, *Herói em processo. Escrita e diplomacia sobre D. Duarte de Bragança (1641-1649)*. Postgraduation in History: Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2011, p. 102.

²⁸ Cited by Leonor Freire da Costa and Mafalda Soares da Cunha, *D. João IV*, p. 200.

²⁹ BA, Mss., Correspondencia de Luis Pereira de Castro cited by José Ramos Coelho, *História do Infante D. Duarte: irmão de El-rei D. João IV*, vol. I, p. 682.

processo” that he had been exposed to, which was “*unfair, false and tyrannical*”, full of frauds, “*without allowing that my reason is exposed to the public of the world*”³⁰. Indeed the sadness of D. Duarte led him to an early death in 1649, about the time when the negotiations finally seemed to be getting to an agreement about the sum to be paid. His funeral was celebrated in Lisbon, in the royal chapel, but his body never arrived to Portugal. It is possible that the absence of a body led into a more intense drama, raising the level of the tragedy – although it seemed to be a very attractive one for the Portuguese propaganda.

The publicity around the infant was one of the main axes of the war against Philip IV, and it was one of the main political discussions. The pamphlets including inflammatory words such as “injustice”, “tyranny”, “ingratitude” and “perfidy” and images such as the engravings described above, converted D. Duarte in an international topic. He personified the sacrifice asked of Portugal in order to regain its throne and crown.

4.4.5. The peace negotiations in Westphalia

One of the most important international events during the war of Restoration was the Treaties of Westphalia, signed in 1648, putting an end to the Thirty Years War. John IV, following his diplomatic policy, sent some his men to the main cities where the negotiations were having place. The acceptance of his men as ambassadors and as participants in the meetings was crucial for the recognition of Portugal as an independent reign. The envoys, aware of their responsibility, worked hard and intensified their activity. All their effort is reflected in the correspondence they kept from and to Munster and Osnabruck. Besides the letters, they worked on the Portuguese propaganda: books and images were printed and they were at the same time subjects and agents, readers and authors. Luis Pereira de Castro and Francisco Andrade Leitão were sent to Munster, while Rodrigo Botelho de Morais and then Cristóvão Soares de Abreu went to Osnabruck.

The congress in Munster was – in general – the perfect scenario for a wide diffusion of documents and images. The diplomatic conflicts and the different political opinions were reflected in an abundant production of pamphlets, engravings and paintings. Pedro Cardim on this matter states that “*it is widely known that the use of the printing press for propaganda*

³⁰ Gustavo Kelly de Almeida, *Herói em processo. Escrita e diplomacia sobre D. Duarte de Bragança (1641-1649)*, p. 132.

purposes is one of the most striking aspects of the early modern political history”³¹. Jonathan Israel considered the European peace congress was not only an unprecedented political event, but a cultural one as well³². These texts and images circulated among the participants in the peace conferences, trying to persuade the involved ones to take certain positions in favor of one or another. Portugal and Spain commissioned a great number of books and engravings to well-known writers and artists. In the newssheet from August 1645, it is written on the Portuguese text production: “regarding which [the argument about the release of the infant D. Duarte] the Doctor Luis Pereira de Castro printed now a paper that he made in Latin, to give to all the Princes and Ambassadors³³. Among the main texts printed in those years are the *Verdades Portuguesas contra Calumnias Castelhanas* (Lisbon, 1645) and the *Philippica Portuguesa contra la Invectiva Castellana* (Lisbon, 1645), by Francisco de Santo Agostinho Macedo. Although they were printed in Lisbon, copies were sent to central Europe where they had a notable diffusion.

When the negotiations started taking a more serious course, the Portuguese government saw it as a great opportunity to get the acceptance they needed. Portugal should participate as an independent and legitimate reign. They had three goals. First of all, seek the acceptance in the negotiations. Then it was important to guarantee the inclusion in the treaties, in order to assure its colonies. And finally, they wanted the release of D. Duarte³⁴. The idea of a Portuguese participation quickly became news worthy. In the newssheet of May and June of 1644 it said that “in Munster are now arrived the ambassadors of Castile, and Denmark, and Venice, and the legacy of His Sanctity, an ambassador from France and Luis Pereira de Castro from Portugal”³⁵. The information was given in a way that it seemed that Luis Pereira de Castro was received under the same conditions and statue as the other envoys.

³¹ Pedro Cardim, "Portuguese Rebels' at Münster. The Diplomatic Self-Fashioning in mid-17th Century European Politics". In: Heinz Duchardt, *Der Westfälische Friede. Diplomatie politische Zäsur kulturelles Umfeld Rezeptionsgeschichte*. 1998, p. 315.

³² Jonathan Israel, *Conflicts of Empires: Spain, the Low Countries and the Struggle for World Supremacy, 1585-1713*, 1997, p. 93.

³³ “Gazeta do Mes de Agosto de 1645 de novas fora do Reyno”, f. 3, In: Eurico Gomes Dias, *Gazetas da Restauração: [1641-1648]. Uma revisão das estratégias diplomático-militares portuguesas (edição transcrita)*, 2006, p. 383.

³⁴ Pedro Cardim, "Portuguese Rebels" at Münster. *The Diplomatic Self-Fashioning in mid-17th Century European Politics*", p. 298.

³⁵ “Gazeta do Mes de Mayo, e Ivno de 1644 de novas de for a do Reyno”, fls. 5vº and 6. In: Eurico Gomes Dias, *Gazetas da Restauração: [1641-1648]. Uma revisão das estratégias diplomático-militares portuguesas (edição transcrita)*, pp. 328-329.

One of the most important visual elements during the negotiations was the galleries of portraits of the ambassadors. Envoys and their monarchs were painted, in great quantity and quality. According to Gerd Dethlefs, there still exist over one thousand paintings and almost two thousand engravings. The painter Ansel van Hulle, a Flemish artist who had gone to Munster specially to exploit the artistic opportunities offered by the occasion, until 1647, sold 400 works of his own, and he had 100 more commissioned to his workshop³⁶. Many of them were possibly copied as engravings by Paul Pontius, Pieter de Jode and Cornelius Galle, not only in those years but in the ones that followed. Regarding the engravings, Dethlefs states that, without considering the variations, each print could reproduce in average between 300 and 500 copies. They all were addressed first to the decoration of palaces and aristocratic houses where the ambassadors and their delegations were hosted. Besides the portraits, there were landscapes of Westphalia, biblical and historical scenes and images allusive to the negotiations³⁷. Paintings could also be a gift that the ambassadors exchanged, while engravings were aimed to be passed from hand to hand, to be seen in the streets, often manipulated and offering a satirical version of the events. Van Hulle in collaboration with Ian Baptista Floris, an artist from Antwerp, worked on 34 portraits of the leading diplomats at the peace congress. This had been commissioned by the Münster city government, and in 1649, they were mounted on the walls of the council chambers in the city hall³⁸.

In this category of satirical engravings, there is the “*Groß-Europisch Kriegs-Balet*”, an image that presents in a complex visual allegory the main participants of the negotiations dancing [fig. 15]. The original version was probably engraved around 1645 in German territory. It was used as print, in different newsheets and there are – at least – 4 versions. On one side there are the king of France, Louis XIV, still as a child, side by side with John IV of Portugal, the prince of Orange and the general Torstenson, one of the Swedish envoys. On the other side, dancing, there were Philip IV of Spain; the Kaiser; Ferdinand Maria elector of the Bavaria and the king of Denmark. For the author of the engraving, John IV was considered one of the participants, and he was represented in the foreground dancing along his allies and enemies of Spain: France, Sweden and the Low Countries. Besides these men, in the engraving it can also be

³⁶ Gerd Dethlefs, *Friedensappelle und Friedensecho. Kunst und Literatur während der Verhandlungen zum Westfälischen Frieden*. Dissertation presented in the Universität zu Münster in 1998, p. 66.

³⁷ Gerd Dethlefs, *Friedensappelle und Friedensecho. Kunst und Literatur während der Verhandlungen zum Westfälischen Frieden*, p. 67.

³⁸ Jonathan Israel, *Conflicts of Empires*, p. 95.

seen on their backs and embraced, the Swiss cantons. On the floor, sleeping, there is the Swedish king: an open critic to his lack of firm position during the negotiations. Although there was a Swedish ambassador dancing on the right side, the king was interested in the Portuguese cause but showed little preoccupation in bringing the subject to the top of the negotiations. On the opposite side, falling, it is the elector of Saxony. In the back, together, there are representatives of Lorena and Brandenburg. On the left side there is the Pope conducting the orchestra. This engraving is a satirical representation of the existing factions, dancing for better positions in the negotiations. This engraving was very popular, several versions of it survived until present day: the engraving was the same but the legend changed.

A less known engraving [**fig. 16***] also alludes to the peace negotiations. This French engraving, entitled “*Mieux vaut de voir en tous quartiers La Paix, que dix mille lauriers*” (it is better to see Peace in every quarter than ten thousand laurels) and it shows an image divided by half. On the top part, angels are flying and resting on the clouds, giving crowns of laurel. On the bottom part, also in the clouds, several political figures are standing. In the center there is the king of France (3). On his right, sitting on a cloud, there is his wife, the queen of France (5). Between them, there is the brother of the king (8) standing on a secondary plan. On the right side of the monarchs, there is the king of Portugal (7) with the crown and scepter and the Cardinal Mazarin (13). On the left side of Louis XIV, also sitting there is the queen of Sweden (6). Standing in front of her, the Kaiser Ferdinand III (2) seems to be engaging a conversation and behind him, the seven electors (10). In the back of the image, the Pope is standing with the Council as if he was observing the scene. The characters – most of them allies of the French king – are in great harmony. It is curious to note that the legend – in Dutch – has more numbers than the ones used in the engraving. This leads us to think it was imported from another image, with more characters than this one.

The portraits of the Portuguese kings were in general very popular among the French and the Swedish diplomats. They were supporters of the Braganza and they were interested in the history of a small country they barely knew. Unfortunately, there is little information about the portraits themselves. One of the possible clues is the collection of engravings of the Westfälisches Landesmuseum. There we can find several portraits of John IV [**figs. 17, 18 and 19**], which

probably were circulating during the years of the negotiations³⁹. There are also portraits of the Portuguese ambassadors. Anselm van Hulle is the author of engravings of Francisco Andrade de Leitão and Luis Pereira de Castro [figs. 20, 20B and 21]. The first two are of Andrade Leitão. The [fig. 20] presents the legend “*Melior est tuta pax – quam sperata victoria*” (Better a safe peace than a hoped victory). On the top of the oval frame there is the Portuguese coat of arms. The second one [fig. 20B] is very similar, but in a more simple framing. It does include the engraver – Moncornet – and the legend says “*François de Andrada plenipotentiaire de Portugal*”. It refers to the envoy of John IV as a plenipotentiary, the status he was being constantly denied. Besides these two, there is another very similar pair of portraits. They were all probably inspired in a painting – and the four of them were used in books or iconographical series during the peace congress.

There is no direct information on these portraits, but we know that the ambassador Johann Graf von Sayn-Wittgenstein, sent by the elector of Brandenburg, had a book of portraits of the participants in the Westphalia treaties, and it included one of Luis Pereira de Castro⁴⁰. It was probably inspired in the same model that provided the lines for the [fig. 21].

However, despite de initial optimist, the efforts and the propaganda displayed by the envoys, the fragility of the Portuguese became clear. The most part of the participants did not recognize the right of the Portuguese to take part in the congress. João de Braganza was a rebel for the majority and their status of “plenipotentiary” and safe-conducts were denied. Spain did not spare efforts in putting pressure on the other territories so they would not recognize them as legitimate participants. According to an agreement signed on the 25th December 1641, the assistance was limited to those who had the status of “plenipotentiary”. This was attributed only to the recognized elements from the international community – leaving the Portuguese ambassadors out. Besides the difficulties imposed by Spain, the ambassadors often complained about the lack of economical resources, the lack of support from Portugal, the extreme weather conditions in the region and the frequent threats to their integrity. During the first weeks they counted on the French support, who claimed to be the defenders of the Portuguese and the Catalans.

³⁹ I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Gerd Dethlefs for this information and for sending me the copies of the inventories and reproductions of the engravings.

⁴⁰ Gerd Dethlefs, *Friedensappelle und Friedensecho. Kunst und Literatur während der Verhandlungen zum Westfälischen Frieden*, p. 302.

Those were years of tense negotiations and many setbacks for the Portuguese. The initial intentions of the French soon were set apart from the list of priorities, as the first instructions sent by Louis XIII highlighted that the Portuguese cause was not an urgent matter. From time to time, some episodes gave hope to the ambassadors of John IV. In May 1644, French diplomats complained that Philip IV was introducing himself as “*king of Navarra, Portugal and count of Barcelona*”⁴¹, but then there were not effective changes that could provide the outcome desired by the Portuguese.

This constant struggle also found its expression in the publication of several books and pamphlets. In 1644, Antonio Moniz de Carvalho published in Paris the book *Francia interessada con Portugal en la separación de Castilla*, dedicated to Anne of Austria, the regent queen of France and sister of Philip IV. In this text, the author exposed the arguments that justified the natural affinity between Portuguese and French, and the reasons that proved this was a natural alliance between both countries. Moreover, the book had an ornamented frontispiece [fig. 22]. It shows the coats of arms of France and Portugal, with crowns on top, from which, two hands shake each other, as a symbol of friendship and agreement. There are allegories of Justice with a legend “*ET JUSTITIA DE COELO PROPEXIT*” and of Providence that blows the sentence “*VERITAS DE TERRA ORTA EST / IN DECIMAL GENERATIONEM*”: they both insist on the legitimacy of the Portuguese revolt and the right of the duke of Braganza to the throne. The image also shows on the right upper corner Afonso Henriques with a crown in front of his knees, praying to Jesus, a motif that became very popular in the visual representations of the period – it evoked the ancient roots of the Portuguese independence and the mission that Jesus gave Afonso Henriques of founding a new reign, but it also alluded to the French ancestors of the first king⁴². In the same book there was another engraving, representing the area of the Guadiana and the villages that the Portuguese had won to the Spaniards: Elvas, Badajoz, Moura, Alconchel, Almendral, etc. The same book was also published in Barcelona in the same year, with the same engravings.

In 1645 the Portuguese changed their strategy: they incremented the pressure on the French allies and succeeded in calling the attention of two Italians present in the negotiations: the

⁴¹ Pedro Cardim, “*Portuguese Rebels*” at Münster. *The Diplomatic Self-Fashioning in mid-17th Century European Politics*”, p. 300.

⁴² See Pedro Cardim, “*Portuguese Rebels*” at Münster. *The Diplomatic Self-Fashioning in mid-17th Century European Politics*”, p. 324.

Venetian Contariani and the nuncio Chigi. But again: nothing effectively changed: French and Swedish kept avoiding the Portuguese from their list of priorities. This situation went on until the middle of 1647, with the additional tension between the Netherlands and Portugal because of the colonies in South America and in Asia. It is possible that because of their desperate situation, John IV sent to Paris the Marquis of Niza, so he could try to influence Mazarin.

In 1647, Francisco Macedo, a Franciscan friar that had travelled with the Marquis of Niza to Paris, published *Propugnaculum Lusitano-Gallicum contra las calumnias hispano-belgicas*, dedicated to the Marquis. The frontispiece [fig. 23] is ornamented with an engraving that represents the understanding between France and Portugal. In the center of the image there is a triumphal arch which sums up the will of Portugal to establish a formal alliance with France. The columns are decorated with busts. On the left one, there is the bust of Nuno Álvares Pereira and Vasco da Gama: a man who played a key role in the Battle of Aljubarrota (1385) and the man who discovered the maritime way to India in 1498. On the right side, Charles Martel and Gastón de Foix decorated the other column: the first one was a famous French soldier who stopped the advances of the Muslim invasion in the Battle of Poitiers (732), and the second one another French soldier known for his military campaigns in Italy during the War of the League of Cambrai (1511-1512). In total, four emblematic figures of the history of both countries were selected, almost like establishing a parallel between them. The arch is also decorated by allegories: there is the Portuguese dragon defeating the Spanish lion, and the scales of truth – symbol of justice – reinforcing the justice and balance of this agreement. In the inferior part, the kings John IV and Louis XIII are represented, with a symbolical decoration that insists on this natural alliance: the handshake and the legend “*FOEDERA FIRMAT*” (Strengthened alliances). On the top of the arch, an angel carries the Portuguese and the French coats of arms. This and the previous engraving were part of the Portuguese propaganda in order to obtain the French support in a less evasive way. They were thought into the last detail to reinforce the idea of an alliance between both kings. Nevertheless, the years went by and the Portuguese had almost no importance in the negotiations. The French plenipotentiaries never brought up the Portuguese cause as an emergency, and, up to a certain point, gave a bigger priority to the matters of Catalonia⁴³. Diplomatically, the congress of Munster represented a great defeat for John IV. The

⁴³ Pedro Cardim, “Portuguese Rebels’ at Münster. The Diplomatic Self-Fashioning in mid-17th Century European Politics”, p. 305.

strategy of Philip IV and of his envoys succeeded in keeping the Portuguese away from the negotiations.

4.4.6. Rome: royal imagery and the incident of the Bishop of Lamego

The diplomatic missions were not as easy as arriving to a city, get audiences and printing the arguments that justified the separation from the Spanish Monarchy. Sometimes they became absolute adventures, putting in danger the lives of the envoys of John IV. One of the most important destinations of the Portuguese envoys was Rome, for the Pope's recognition of Portugal new status was crucial. In 1641, D. Miguel de Portugal, bishop of Lamego left for Rome. The entry in the city was difficult as a sign of the adversities yet to come, as the Spanish ambassador, Marquis of Los Vélez complained he could not be received as an ambassador – Portugal was under the Spanish rule after all! D. Miguel entered in Rome with no pomp or circumstance and installed himself first in the house of the French ambassador Monsieur de Fontaine and then in Piazza d'Agone (today Piazza Navona), where he kept a discrete life⁴⁴. The threats of the enemy succeeded, in the same scale the privileges of the bishop in the court of the Pope. The day the Cardinal Barberini agreed to meet him in his palace, the streets and gates of the palace were full of soldiers and secret police so no harm could be inflicted to D. Miguel. In general, the presence of the Portuguese bishop was an issue for other people in Rome. Theodore Ameyden, also known as Dirk Ameyden (1586-1656), was a Flemish poet and lawyer in favor of Philip IV and also neighbor of D. Miguel. He complained about the many armed men guarding the residence of the bishop, as it had forced him to the same. According to his own words, "*I am surrounded by the soldiers so that I can barely leave home, having for my unfortune the traitor Lamego closed in a house next to mine*"⁴⁵. He also complained to the Pope about the commotion and the huge number of people congregated in the square to see an image of John of Braganza and his wife with the title of king and crown. He was referring to Dutch and French prints that could be seen in other places in Rome – these were images so inappropriate and illegal that he bought the entire stock to prevent them from public exhibition⁴⁶. For him, the duke was nothing but the usurper of a royal title and a traitor. After seeing other images that were circulating in

⁴⁴ José de Castro, *Portugal em Roma*, 1939, p. 193.

⁴⁵ Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 1831, f. 212v, cited by Alexandro Bastiaanse, *Teodoro Ameyden (1586-1656): Un Neerlandese alla corte di Roma*, 1967, p. 113.

⁴⁶ Diane Bogard, *Verbreitung und Zensierung der Königlichen Portrats im Rom des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, 2004, p. 27.

Rome, such as genealogical trees justifying the rights of the Braganza to the crown [fig. 24], Ameyden insisted that the Pope should not allow the printing of such images. However, the answer from the Maestro del Palazzo Sacro was that those engravings came from Lisbon⁴⁷.

But the most violent incident involved both ambassadors of Portugal and Spain, and it must have caused a strong impact on the contemporaries. There are many letters and narratives of the event⁴⁸, and even an engraving [fig. 25] remarking its importance, “*La rencontre et combat des ambassadeurs d’Espagne et de Portugal*”. According to some of the descriptions, the Bishop of Lamego was getting more and more confident as the days went by, daring even to go on his carriage with the curtains opened.

According to an anonymous narrative, today kept in Ms. 1692 in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, the marquis of Los Vélez waited for D. Miguel to leave his place, sending a spy to watch him. The spy reported that D. Miguel was visiting the French ambassador in his residence, close to Fontana di Trevi, but he must have been a double agent who was working for both sides as he also warned the French ambassador of the presence of Los Vélez with a guard of 40 armed men. Monsieur de Fontenay ordered then that D. Miguel should be escorted by 50 men and sent him in a closed carriage⁴⁹. The confrontation however was inevitable. The engraving shows the moment of the attack to the carriage. There is a death horse and a death or injured man on the floor. The strong agitation is perceived through the figures running, entering and leaving the carriages. It was printed *avec privilege*, which means that was probably engraved by one of the printers working for the king of France, and it is accompanied by a text in verse allusive to the events:

“*Temeraire Espagnol as tu bien l’assurance / dattaquer sans raison les gens de Portugal...
Tu sais sonner si haut ce nom de Catholique / Et tu veux cependant massacrer un Prelat / C’est*

⁴⁷ Diane Bogard, *Verbreitung und Zensierung der Königlichen Portrats*, pp. 27-28.

⁴⁸ There are several accounts of the incident of the Bishop of Lamego: Eduardo Brasão, *A Missão a Roma do Bispo de Lamego*, 1947; Letter sent by the Bishop of Lamego to the king, in: *Corpo Diplomático Portuguez contendo os Actos e Relações Políticas e Diplomáticas de Portugal com as diversas potencias do mundo desde o século XVI até aos nossos dias*, vol. 12, 1862-1891, pp. 296-298; D. Francisco Manuel de Mello, *Tacito Portuguez, vida e morte, dittos y feytos de El-Rei Dom João IV*, 1940, pp. 209-210; *Relação do successo que o Embaixador de Portugal teve em Roma com o Embaixador de Castella*, 1642; BB, Ms. 1076, *Relazione di avventimenti storici successi in Ispagna dal 1640 al 1657*; BB, Ms. 1692, n°75, *Relatione di quanto successe in Roma tra il March de Los Veles ambasciatore di Spagna e Mons. Vesc. di Lamego il 20 agosto 1642*; BB. 1321, n° 19, *Successo in Roma tra l’Ambasciatore di Spagna e il Vescovo di Lamego*; and MHE, *Cartas de algunos padres jesuítas*, Letter from Madrid, 7th September 1642, vol. VII, pp. 331-334.

⁴⁹ BUB, Ms. 1692, n° 75, ff. 537-543.

*horrible dessein choque avec trop d'eclat... / Napprehendes tu point de tuer un tel homme / De qui la douce humeur ne ta point irrité / Et mesme dans un lieu si plein de sainteté/ ... lux yeux du grand... / C'est fort mal entrepris dans ceste sainte ville / Ou la paix doit regner sans interruption / C'est faire un lieu de guerre et de sedition / ... lieu que sert a tous d'un infallible azile / Mais enfin te voila puny de ton audace / Tu vois le chatiment de ta temerité / Tes suivans sont traittez comme ilz l'ont merité / Et les plus quereleux en sont morts sur la place / Fuy tant que tu pourras de peur qu'on ne t'assomme / Il est permis de fuir pour eviter la mort / Metz toy dans un Vaisseau va vite droit au port / Et va dire a Madril qu'on ta battu dans Rome*⁵⁰. The popular verses marked the strong position of the French against what had happened that night. Both ambassadors were able to escape without injuries, but it was necessary the intervention of the soldiers of the Pope to separate both contingents⁵¹. The news of the confrontation quickly spread in Rome.

The Marquis of Los Vélez expected the Pope to take a position against the D. Miguel. However he did not, adopting an ambiguous position, and following the advice of some cardinals, De Los Vélez left Rome.

Another incident took place in Rome with the placement of the portrait of John IV. In 1642, for the celebration of the ceremonies in honor to S. Antonio de Lisbon, the portrait of John IV was placed in the church of Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi, instead of the image of Philip IV, usually displayed for the occasion. In order to address the complaints of the Spaniards, the Pope Urban VIII decided to forbid the celebration until new orders, a measure that upset both Portuguese and Spaniards. Finally, in 1668, when the peace treaty was signed between Portugal and Spain, the portrait of the Portuguese king was finally displayed in the church⁵².

⁵⁰ Reckless Spaniard, you have the self-confidence / of attacking with no reason the people from Portugal... You know how to ring the name of Catholic / and you want meanwhile to massacre a prelate / It is a horrible offensive plan with too much fuss / and even in a place so full of sanctity / ... lux eyes of the high ... / It is a huge mistake in this sacred city / Where peace should reign without interruption / This is converting a place of war and sedition / ... a place that serves all as a infallible asylum /but finally you are punished for your audacity / You see the punishment for your recklessness / Your followers had the treatment they deserved / and the most belligerent were killed in the square / So much that you should be scared for our proximity / It is allowed to flee to avoid death / You should go on board quickly / And say to Madrid that you were defeated in Rome.

⁵¹ Ignazio Ciampi, *Innocenzo X. Pamfili e la sua corte: storia di Roma: storia di Roma dal 1644 al 1655 da nuovi documenti*, 1878, pp. 221-222.

⁵² Diane Bogard, *Verbreitung und Zensierung der Königlic Portrats*, p. 32.

4.4.7. Political Allegories

One of the most important books published during the years of the Restoration was *Lusitania liberata ab injusto Castellanorum dominio: restituta legitimo principi serenissimo Joanni IV* (London, 1645), written by António de Sousa Macedo in the house of Richard Heron. António de Sousa Macedo (1606-1682) was raised in an aristocratic family with relations with the Braganza. He studied Law in the University of Coimbra. His activity as a writer started before the 1st of December: he was one of the most well-known authors of the autonomist writings during the dynastical union⁵³. He participated in the revolt of December, and then he integrated the embassy presided by D. Antão de Almada to go to London. He was secretary during the years of 1641-42 and then he stayed as a resident until 1646. During his stay in London he achieved great things. Besides the “*Lusitania Liberata*”, he is the author of several letters to Charles II where he justified the legitimacy of the Portuguese revolt. He tried to use the same arguments with the Pope. In 1643 he published *Santissimo Domino nostro Papae Urbano VIII in Ecclesiá Dei Praesidi Planctus Catholicus juris gentium pro legatione Serenissimi, ac potentissimi Principis Joannis IV, Regis Lusitanae, etc. Contra Castellanorum calumnias*. He also participated from London in the negotiations for the release of D. Duarte and he tried to create a commercial league between France, England and Portugal against the Spanish maritime trade⁵⁴.

The book along its 794 pages is about the juridical rights that Portugal had to the crown. It includes a great number of cites from jurisconsults, politics and several writers that sustain his theories. The book as a whole can be considered as a political weapon for the time, in the context of the war. In 1639, Juan Caramuel had published *Philippus Prudens* about the invincibility of Philip IV and the dynasty of the Habsburg. In 1641, António Pais de Viegas wrote *Manifesto de Portugal*, about the rights that Portugal had to separate from the Spanish Monarchy. As an answer, Juan Caramuel published in 1642 *Respuesta al Manifiesto del Reyno de Portugal*. In the same year, with the polemics at its highest level, António de Sousa Macedo wrote *Juan Caramuel Lobkovvitz ... convencido en su libro intitulado Philippus prudens Caroli V Imper. filius Lusitaniae etc. legitimus rex demonstratus, impresso en el año de 1639 y en su Respuesta al manifiesto del reyno de Portugal*. Manuel Villa Real in the same line, also published

⁵³ Luis Reis Torgal, *Ideologia política e teoria do Estado na Restauração*, 1981-82, vol. 2, pp. 300-304; Hêrnani Cidade, *A Literatura Autonomista sob os Filipes*, 1950.

⁵⁴ Luis Reis Torgal, *Ideologia política e teoria do Estado na Restauração*, vol. 2, pp. 300-304.

Anticaramuel ó defença del manifesto del reyno de Portugal. A la respuesta que escrivio Don Juan Caramuel Lobkovvitz. This was a political debate, full of complex arguments⁵⁵ that finally found their visual expression in *Lusitania Liberata*.

The book contains a total of 13 engravings allusive to the arguments used for legitimating the king. Although the images are presented in a certain order, there are two possible levels of lecture: historical images and the allegorical ones. The first ones representing important Portuguese kings in chronological order are explained along the present chapter. This section will focus on the second set of images, which allude to different concepts.

It was not until this moment *Lusitania Liberata* that there was a visual answer to the provocation made by the *Philippis Prudens* frontispiece [fig. 26]. This engraving made by Erasmus Quellin represents allegorically the supremacy of Philip II over Portugal: in the upper part, a lion (symbol of Spain) with a crown and a sword, defeats the Portuguese dragon, standing on top of him. On the frontispiece of *Lusitania Liberata* [fig. 27], engraved by John Droeshout, it is possible to see the reverse image: the dragon wearing the crown restrains the lion that is now defeated. In the center of the engraving, the title is protected by two female figures: Justice and Peace. The bottom part represents 4 important symbols of the new dynasty: the coat of arms with a crown, the pelican – the symbol of João II and symbol of the Passion of Christ, the Cross of Christ and the Armillary Sphere.

The second one [fig. 28] shows an allegory of Lusitania, dressed like a warrior (almost at the same style as Bellona) sitting on a globe with a scepter on her right hand and a flag with the Portuguese coat of arms on her left hand. On the upper left corner, an angel is blowing from his trumpet “*IN OMNEN TERRAM EXIUIS SONUS EORUM*” (Their sound went into all the word), showing how the voice of Portugal as an independent kingdom spread all over the world. The legend on the bottom of the image, “*AUSA MEA EST PIETAS DIVINAE INSISTIRE, DANDO / EST MIHI REGNA DEUS, SIC EGO REGNA DEO*” (My enterprise is to listen to the divine piety / the kingdom of God is given to me, so I am the kingdom of God). The next one, [fig. 29] represents a phoenix on a rock and a fire, being illuminated by the rays of sun. The phoenix, with the open wings, symbolizes Portugal, reborn from the ashes as an independent kingdom after sixty years of union. This was a recurring theme in the literature of the time, as Portugal,

⁵⁵ This system of provoking-answering was very common. Another good example is the *Ecco Politico. Responde en Portugal a la voz de Castilla* (1645), by Francisco Manuel de Mello. The book contains an engraving in the frontispiece [fig. 84] that represents a female figure with a trumpet from which the title is displayed.

according to the prophecies would resurge from the ashes as a phoenix, with so many signals and circumstances promising perpetuity⁵⁶. This idea is complemented with two legends: one that says “AD SOLEM JUSTITIAE” (Towards the sun of justice) and the second “*MORTALIS MORIAR; SEDI QUO MIHI VITA PERENNIS / ECINERE INSURGEM MORTE REDEMPTA MEA*” (Mortal I die, but I sat in my eternal life / I will resurge from the ashes redeemed from my death). The figure of the dragon [fig. 30] is used again in this engraving. It antecedes the chapter about the vigilant Portuguese nobles. The dragon is keeping the fruit tree, which appears to be an apple tree. This would like to establish a comparison with the golden apples from the Garden of the Hesperides⁵⁷. Considering this interpretation, the dragon would be keeping an attentive watch on the Portuguese most precious thing: the independence. The following image is again a dragon [fig. 31], but this time of the Braganza dragon, sitting on a globe, that has represented the tropics of Capricorn and Cancer and several known constellations. The legend “*DOMINABITUR ASTRIS*” (dominate the stars) closes the idea of the prophecies and observations in the stars concerning the future of Portugal. The last engraving containing a dragon is [fig. 32], showing the Portuguese coat of arms, with two winged female figures. The representation of the arms of Portugal was believed to have been dictated by God during the miracle of Ourique and it was considered the divine emblem of the blood and wounds of the Risen Christ. According to a legend, when John I from Castile (1358-1390) expressed his wish to put the wounds of Christ on his coat of arms, they fell – God wished only the Portuguese to carry them. Finally, the last engraving is the representation of Fame [fig. 33] on top of an obelisque. The front side of the monument has written: “*Magnanimo pio inclyto felici victori triumphatori castellanorum liberatori patriae, samper augusto. Lusitania sua aeternitatem. Anno Christianoe salutis 1644 Lusitania libertatis 4*”, on the side “*Diletus Deo et ho, inibus cuius memoria in bendictione est*” and on the bottom, “*Fortitudine ac Prudentia*”. Under the obelisk, looking like they are being crushed, there is a lion and a serpent, symbols of the Spaniards and tyranny. This engraving concludes the visual narrative of the Portuguese triumph against the tyranny of Philip IV.

This allegories show a very strong sense of the intervention of divinity in their independence: the Portuguese people was the heir of Christ.

⁵⁶ João Francisco Marques, *Parentética Portuguesa e a Restauração*, 1989, vol. 1, p. 545.

⁵⁷ Interpretation given by Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya in “Lusitania liberata. La guerra libresca y simbólica entre España y Portugal, 1639-1668”. In: Rafael García Mahiques and Vicent Zuriaga Senent (eds.), *Imagen y cultura*, vol. 1, 2008, pp. 1377-1392, p. 1387.

4.5. Historical Arguments

One of the specificities of the Portuguese proto-baroque was the use of the historical subjects⁵⁸. During the years of the Habsburg rule, painting had already been a way of expressing the discontentment towards the government, but it was not until 1640 that it reached its maximum splendor⁵⁹. 1640 did not bring the artists back to 1580. Instead, it opened the doors to a “*new conciliatory synthesis of ancient and new traditions*”⁶⁰. The generalized feeling against the Spaniards was shared by a large sector of the population, and this helped shaping a new pictorial genre, the historical painting⁶¹. Although some of the paintings had a limited audience and the Braganza had even more limited resources, subjects such as the Battle of Ourique (1139) and the conquest of Lisbon (1147) gave place to symbolic representations that corroborated the legitimacy of the new king. As it will be demonstrated in the next paragraphs, often these paintings were placed in churches, incrementing the number of possible spectators in comparison to paintings placed in palaces.

During the years that followed the 1640, that is a particular interest in episodes of the history of Portugal. Through a set of key episodes of the history of Portugal (usually moments in which the independency was at stake), there was built an iconographical discourse to support the search for legitimacy and recognition.

There were two episodes that were particularly popular during the war: Afonso Henriques (1109-1185) and John I (1358-1433). Afonso Henriques was the first king of Portugal. He was the heir of the county of Portugal, transmitted from his father Henry of Burgundy. He was also the responsible for the enlargement of the borders until Lisbon, conquering the territory and the city to the Muslims.

⁵⁸ See Vitor Serrão, *A Pintura Protobarroca em Portugal 1612-1657. O triunfo do naturalismo e do tenebrismo*, 2000, pp. 337-344, Luís de Moura Sobral, "Um ciclo emblemático de Bento Coelho em Salzedas: a Ordem de Cister e a Restauração". In: Luís de Moura Sobral, *Do Sentido das Imagens*, 1996, pp. 74-79.

⁵⁹ It was not the first time that this exaltation of the values of Portugal. In 1470, Afonso V (1438-1481) commissioned to Nuno Gonçalves, the painter of the court, the panels with the scenes of the Adoration, Martyrdoms and the Miracles of S. Vicente, to express his gratitude for the support of the saint in the military company in North Africa. See Vitor Serrão, *A Pintura Protobarroca em Portugal 1612-1657*, p. 337.

⁶⁰ Vitor Serrão, *A Pintura Protobarroca em Portugal 1612-1657*, p. 30.

⁶¹ Vitor Serrão when using the term uses it as “historical painting with nationalistic feelings”. However, I do consider the term “nationalism” should not be applied in this context. Instead, I will refer to the pictorial genre as “historical painting”

The presence of John I is especially relevant in the political context of 1640. The king Fernando died in 1383 without any descendants. His wife, D. Teresa, made public her romantic connection with a Spanish nobleman, Count of Andeiro, influent in the court. The affair put in danger the independence of Portugal, opening a period of conflict. On the 8th of December 1383, João of Avis, persuaded by other nobleman, assassinates Andeiro in the palace. After the dynastical crisis of 1383-1385, John of Avis was elected as the new king of Portugal, creating a new dynasty. In a certain way, in 1640 the history repeated itself, and a parallel was established with the crisis of 1383: the palace conjure, the role of the noblemen and the murder of a figure that represented the Spanish authority. The same way John I assumed the control, John IV was too the person that should reinstall the order with all the legitimacy after a period of crisis. In the *Chronica del Rey Dom Joam I* that was printed again in 1644, the prologue established a parallel between John I and John IV – the two responsible for the restoration and defenders of the liberties and freedom of Portugal.

From north to south, always accompanied by the presence of the religious element – the divine aid from Heaven, the visual representations of historical moments met their highest point during those years. Both painters from the court of John IV and sympathizers of the dynasty, began to work and they left a considerable number of paintings praising the values of the Braganza, of the military victories and the presence of the divinity always protecting the reign and accompanying it in its fate. The Church played a key role in these propagandistic visual representations: the clergy was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the king and they showed their support through the sermons they read and the images that were placed in the churches illustrating the written contents. So, the “cycle of the Restoration” and the historical themes were not exclusive of the royal power. The religious entities also promoted the production of canvases with episodes of the history of Portugal, as they were in general, the strongest supporters of the duke of Braganza. Canvases and cycles of paintings were painted for the walls and altarpieces of churches, convents and monasteries, such el Monastery of Alcobaça, the Colegiada of Guimarães, the Church of Pias and the chapel of the royal palace itself.

Avelar Rebelo was the artist in charge of the altarpiece for the chapel of *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires* in the Church of S. Luís de Tolosa in Pias, Ferreira do Zêzere. It represents in the upper

part, in the form of a half moon, the coronation of the Virgin, and in the other half the episode of the conquest of Lisbon [fig. 34]. It was commissioned by the captain António Ferreira, a nobleman from Ferreira do Zêzere. He participated actively in the Restoration and commissioned to Avelar Rebelo this particular painting of the conquest of Lisbon. He installed the chapel, but its construction only started after his death. It was built under the supervision of Manuel Fernandes Soares, the responsible for the execution of his will⁶².

The same thematic was used by the Brotherhood of S. Crispin and S. Crispiano. On the occasion of the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the conquest of Lisbon, in 1647, the hermitage of the brotherhood was ornamented with a big canvas, representing the conquest of the city by Afonso Henriques, the first Portuguese king. The “*Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros Sob Patrocinio de S. Crispim e S. Crispiano*” [fig. 35] from 1647, shows the army of Afonso Henriques, identified with the coat of arms trying to take the city, while in the sky, the two saints contemplate the scene. Both the conquest and the sacrifice of the saints occurred on the 15th October, establishing then a relationship between both events, and probably between the king and the religious order. But it might be questionable whether the brotherhood indeed meant to give a political meaning to this painting or whether it was just part of the artistic influence of representing important historical moments.

A tile panel can be found, representing the battle of Clavijo (844) in the fortress of S. Tiago in Sesimbra. The construction of such fortress was ordered by John IV as part of the plan of defense for the upcoming war. This was one of the most important battles of the Reconquest. In this panel, S. Tiago is fighting and defeating the enemies. However, according to Vitor Serrão, the enemies do not have the facial features and the clothes expected from the Muslims. In fact, this representation was a metaphor for the war between the Portuguese and the Spanish armies⁶³.

The strong support given to the king can be perceived in Simão Álvares (whose artistic activity is known from 1638 until 1657, probably the year he died). He was given an important position by John IV in reward for his services in the northern Portugal. This is an example of

⁶² Gustavo de Matos Sequeira, "Um quadro da conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros". In: *Revista Municipal* 61-3 (1949). Unfortunately it was not possible to obtain a good representation of this alterpiece altogether, just of the conquest of Lisbon.

⁶³ Unfortunately, the fortress is closed for works of conservation and restoration. Therefore, it was impossible to see the panel. The description was made according to Vitor Serrão and the website of IGESPAR (Instituto de Gestão do Património Arquitectónico e Arqueológico). See Vitor Serrão, *A Pintura Protobarroca em Portugal 1612-1657*, p. 341.

someone who participated in the legitimation of the king, without living in the court or close by to the palace. There is little information about him, but he is the author of several paintings – with religious themes – that are today preserved in the Museu Alberto Sampaio. He is allegedly the author of 4 paintings about Afonso Henriques, for the main chapel of the Colegiada de Nossa Senhora da Oliveira, in Guimarães [figs. 36-39*]. The first one [fig. 36] represents the ceremony of his baptism, by Saint Gerald, archbishop of Braga: the moment the king to be entered the family of God. In the second one [fig. 37] according to the title given to the paint, there is S. Teotonio is on his knees before Afonso Henriques celebrating. S. Teotonio (1082-1162) was a friar who took the party of Afonso Henriques in the conflict against his mother, D. Teresa. After the proclamation of Afonso Henriques as king of Portugal, he became one of his counselors. In the third one [fig. 38], Afonso Henriques prays, not to Jesus, as other contemporary representations showed, but to *Nossa Senhora da Oliveira* (Our Lady of the Olives). John I was also extremely devoted to this Virgin on the days before the Battle of Aljubarrota. After the victory, in 1387, he ordered the remodeling of the church and he made generous donations to the treasure of the institution. It is curious to note that this church did not pay obedience to the archbishop of Braga, but only to the king of Portugal and to the Pope. Probably because of the personal implication of the Portuguese kings with the institution, there was a close relation between both sides. This helps us understanding the fervor for the Restoration. The fourth painting [fig. 39] represents S. Antonio of Lisbon praying for the Restored Portugal, after the *return* of the throne to its right and fair owner.

In 1665, another set of four paintings were commissioned for the same religious institution. There were made between June and October for the main altarpiece of the church, commissioned by the prior Diogo Lobo da Silveira – openly in favor of John IV – in Lisbon, for 40.000 *reis* to the Franciscan friar Manuel dos Reis [figs. 40-43*].

The first one [fig. 40] shows Afonso Henriques praying to the Virgin asking for protection, along with other noblemen. The second one [fig. 41] shows the same king with the full armor (in the previous one, Afonso Henriques is represented dressed in civil clothes), on his knees seeing Jesus during the battle of Ourique. On the left side there is a scene of the battle going on. On the opposite side, a monk and a nobleman are surrounded in a dark cloud. Was it a reference to a historical episode? The third one [fig. 42] represents John I on his knees in front of Our Lady of

Olives, pleading for the intercession of Jesus in the battle that was about to start and that could be seen in the painting behind the curtain. Finally, the last one [fig. 43] depicts John I after the battle, thanking for the support of the divinity, while he leaves in front of the altar of the Colegiada the symbols of power: crowned helmet, the breastplate, the scepter, the gloves and the boots. There is a clear parallel of both kings, appealing to the divinity before battles decisive for the independence of Portugal and then after the victories, thanking the divine intervention. The portrait of Our Lady of Olives responds to a clear propagandistic program in the context of the Restoration. As the friar Agostinho de Santa Maria stated: “*from the altar of this sovereign queen and Lady, received the prince D. Afonso Henriques the arms, asking the Virgin to handle them to him so he could defende the faith of her sacred Son and fight against those used by the Muslims in Alentejo, from where he came back victorious in the year of 1139*”⁶⁴.

This was planned to establish a connection with John IV. Moreover, these series of paintings in the Colegiada de Guimarães answered to the propagandistic needs of the time and probably reflected the inflamed sermons and discourses in favor of the Braganza read in the church⁶⁵.

In the south of Lisbon, in Évora, there are more examples of paintings of historic theme. António Vogado (whose activity is known from 1624 until 1658), among many religious paintings, is the author of the altarpiece representing the Battle of Salado for the chapel of Our Lady of Victory, in the church of S. Vicente. It shows Afonso IV and his soldiers fighting the Muslims in 1340.

There was a special attention paid to the kings who played an important role in these key moments of the independence of Portugal in order to explain the legitimacy of the Braganza. In the *Lusitania Liberata*, there is an engraving of D. Henrique (1066-1112), the father of Afonso Henriques [fig. 44]. He was given the county Portucale by Afonso VI of Castile and León as a reward during the Reconquest. He is portrayed with the armor and the sword and a legend that says “*Henricus fundator regni lusitani*” (Henry founder of the Lusitanian reign). In this case there is no reference to Portugal. Instead, Henrique is celebrated for receiving the county,

⁶⁴ Santa Maria, *Santuário Mariano*, vol. IV, 1712, p. 55 cited by Luis Moura Sobral, *Pintura Portuguesa do século XVII. Histórias, lendas, narrativas*, 2004, p. 44.

⁶⁵ These paintings were removed in 1675, probably because their propagandistic tone was considered excessive. See Susana Flor, *Aurum reginae or Queen-Gold: a iconografia de D. Catarina de Bragança entre Portugal e a Inglaterra de seiscentos*, p. 398.

awarded by the king. Another engraving from the same book [fig. 45] represents John I (1385-1433). In this image, he is represented with the armor, the stigmata in his shield (again the presence of Christ in the legitimation of a new dynasty) and a sword where a crown is pending.

But this historical thematic could be find in material supports other than paintings and engravings. On the occasion of the wedding between D. Catarina and the British monarch Charles II, the ambassador extraordinary Edward Montagu was received in Lisbon in the Royal Palace, in the “*big room of the Fort, the biggest and the most beautiful ever seen, upholstered with excellent tapestry of the conquest of Tunis, and with others that wanted to match it*”⁶⁶. The conquest of Tunis that the author refers to is the one of 1535, in the context of the conquests in North Africa in the 16th century. On the 28th February 1645 the Marquis of Rouillac was received in the Palace, in the *Casa da Gale*, which rooms were richly decorated with tapestries and there were the tapestries with the history of Nuno Álvares Pereira (1360-1431)⁶⁷. The Contestable Nuno Alvares Pereira was a key figure in the history of Portugal and his military action converted him in a hero in 1383-1385, when the independence of Portugal was in danger. The reception of the marquis of Rouillac was little after the battle of Montijo, in 1644, so it is easy to understand the allusion to decisive battles that decided the future of Portugal. The ambassador was then received with ornaments and decorations that exalted the glories of the Portuguese and their victories over the Spaniards.

To sum up, the paintings and tapestries commissioned by the royal power and the religious orders often reflected historical episodes of the history of Portugal, especially illustration moments in which the independence of the reign was compromised. As the previous kings had done, John of Braganza was now the legitimate king fighting for his legitimate rights of being king. Afonso Henriques and John I were key figures in these representations, as allusions to a distant past where the sovereignty had been compromised. However, the kings fought for their causes and for Portugal and with their moral values and the divine intervention, they managed to save the kingdom, passing it intact to the next heir to the crown. It was now the turn of John IV of doing the same.

⁶⁶ António de Sousa Macedo, *Relacion de las fiestas que se hicieron en Lisboa, con la nueva del casamiento de la Serenissima Infanta Doña Catalina con el Serenissimo Rey de la Gran Bretaña D. Carlos II desde nombre*, 1662.

⁶⁷ Leonor Freire Costa and Mafalda da Cunha Soares, *D. João IV*, 2006, p. 213.

4.6. Religious Arguments

One of the most popular forms of propaganda during the period that followed the acclamation of John de Braganza as king of Portugal was the rhetorical literature, in particular the sermons. This religious influence had also an impact in the image production, with several examples of representations of Portuguese saints. Cycles of paintings of national saints decorated the walls of the churches and of the royal palace in the years that followed 1640. These saints had contributed with their acts and sacrifices to glorify Portugal and they became part of the legitimating campaign of the new dynasty. As Luis Moura Sobral stated, they acted as a huge *ex voto* invoking the sacred protection to Portugal in an impressive entourage of Portuguese saints⁶⁸.

Throughout this chapter some of the examples have already been referenced. All the images where there is a presence of Christ or the Virgin have an obvious religious tone. The same can be said about the tile panel of S. Tiago in Sesimbra.

There is also an abundance of representations of the Immaculate, proclaimed patroness of Portugal by John IV during the courts of 1646. It might seem curious that the Portuguese king chose a devotion that was so popular in Spain during the 17th century. In the second half of the 16th century, the devotion of the Immaculate won an extraordinary popularity in the Spanish Monarchy, thanks to the diffusion made by Franciscans and Jesuits. Philip IV embraced this devotion and in 1644 converted it in one of the mandatory liturgical calendar.

But the Virgin had been always evoked by the Portuguese kings in moments of crisis, such as 1383-1385. But it was also an easy cult, as the Portuguese population shared for many centuries a strong devotion to Maria.

One of the most emblematic images representing the importance of the Immaculate is the engraving by Lucas Vosterman, the *Virgem da Imaculada Conceição Protectora da Restauração* [fig. 46], 1648. There is no information available about the engraving: was it part of any written document? Was it known by the population? The lack of information raises difficulties in the moment of analyzing the image. This is probably the most complex visual argument produced in Portugal in the context of the Restoration: in the center of the image there is the Virgin standing on a globe and crushing with her feet the evil serpent. Behind her there is a military tower. On

⁶⁸ Luis de Moura Sobral, “Da mentira da pintura. A Restauração, Lisboa, Madrid e alguns santos”. In: Pedro Cardim (ed.), *A História: Entre Memória e Invenção*. Lisboa: Europa-América, 1998, pp. 183-205, pp. 189-190.

her left side there is Duns Scott (1266-1308), theologian and university teacher from the 13th century, who played an important role in the diffusion of the cult of the Virgin. He carries on his hands a feather and an arrow, symbols of the fairness of his theories. The words “*LINGUA ET CALAMO*” (Through the word and through the feather) come out of his mouth. On the right side, John IV is represented with the crown and the cape of the knights of the Military Order of Christ. He is defending the Immaculate with a sword and the scepter, his attributes of power. From his mouth the legend “*ENSE ET SCEPTRO*” (sword and scepter) convert him in the secular defender of the Immaculate. But there was another possible reading of this engraving: the protection given by the Virgin to the armies of John IV. The fortress behind the Immaculate was an allusion to the war. Besides the iconography, the engraving contains several short sentences. In the upper part, an inscription says “*REGES VIDEBUNT, ET CONSURGENT PRINCIPES ET ADORABUNT DOMINUM DEUM TUUM ET SANCTUM ISRAEL QUI ELEGIT TE SINE MACULA CONCEPTAM*” (The kings will see, and the princes will rise to adore God your Lord and the saint of Israel that elected you Immaculate). This citation from the Bible⁶⁹ was probably known by the audience. The rhetoric of the 17th century contained abundant cites from the Bible, especially those referring to the captivity of Israel. In the autonomist literature there was a strong emphasis in the parallel between the exile and the captivity of Israel and the political situation of Portugal, after sixty years under the Habsburg rule. The complexity of the image and all the details suggest that the image had a specialized audience, people who could identify correctly all the elements. The unusual representation of Duns Scott with a Portuguese king might be an indicator that this image already existed but it was adapted to include John IV. Or maybe it was commissioned specifically by someone very devoted to the Marian cult. Either way, these are just possible explanations.

John IV took the devotion of the Immaculate very seriously. On the 8th December 1640 the king thanked to the Virgin her protection. From that moment on, there is a growing desire of proclaiming the Virgin the patroness of Portugal, which finally happens in 1646. On a ceremony celebrated on the 25th March 1646, the royal family solemnly took an oath to the Virgin⁷⁰.

⁶⁹ Luis de Moura Sobral identifies it with Isaiah (49,6) with the exception of the three last words (*sine macula conceptam*)

⁷⁰ The decision was taken in the Courts that took place in Lisbon between the 28th December 1645 and the 16th March 1646. See Luis de Moura Sobral, *Do Sentido das Imagens*, pp. 147-148.

It is impossible to present an exhaustive list of all the images made of the Virgin during the years that followed the acclamation of John IV, but there are two more examples that are worthy of further comments. The first one is a commemorative medal [fig. 47], from 1648, probably to commemorate that the king finally had achieved the acceptance of the Marian cult from the University of Coimbra⁷¹. The medal shows a representation of the Virgin, standing on the half moon, the globe and the serpent, surrounded by the sun, the house of God, the crown of stars, the enclosed garden, the stainless mirror, the Ark of the Covenant and the fountain – her usual symbols.

The second example is an altarpiece that is now in the Museu Machado de Castro, in Coimbra [fig. 48]. This altarpiece was sculptured by Manuel Rocha, an artist from Oporto. It shows in the center the Virgin standing on the half moon, on the globe and the serpent/dragon?

In a way, the commitment with the devotion to the Immaculate represented a different manner of remembering Afonso Henriques, who had prayed to the Virgin so she could defend the kingdom from its enemies.

4.6.1. The miracle of Ourique

The Battle of Ourique took place in 1139, in the context of the Reconquest and it opposed the army of Afonso Henriques, still count of Portucal, and the Muslim army, in a numeric superiority. It was from this moment one, after the victory of Afonso Henriques, that the chancery started producing documents with the title “Rex Portucallensis” (king of the Portuguese). The episode became known as Portugal founding moment and it was used every time the independence was in danger. The first texts described Afonso Henriques as an epical hero. From here, he started being represented as a consecrated monarch. During the 14th and 15th centuries, these narratives evolved towards a monastic legend, with the myth of Christ showing up to Afonso Henriques the day before the battle. During the apparition, Jesus announced that they were going to win and he should take the title of king and form a reign for Him. From the 15th century onwards, the miracle of Ourique was considered the founding moment and it started being integrated in a political and historical discourse. It is at this moment that the origins of Portugal are consecrated around the myth of Ourique. The messianic destiny of Portugal is set. The sight of Christ crucified supremely erected “*de maravilhosa grandeza levantada da terra*

⁷¹ Luis de Moura Sobra, *Do sentido das Imagens*, p. 152.

quasi dez covados”, appears at the same moment that the prince was preparing to fight the infidel. The references mentioned the “*shinning ray*” and Christ being “*shinning more than the sun*”⁷². The first reference is in the “*Segunda Chronica Breve de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*”, written in 1451. It is a text that relates the appearance of Christ to Afonso Henriques with the composition of the Portuguese coat of arms. A second reference can be found in the introduction of *Mémoires touchant les souveraines maisons pour la plupart d’Autriche, Bourgogne et France* (1491), by Olivier La Marche, a Burgundian who lived in the court of Philip, the Good and Charles the Bold. The third reference, the most elaborate one, is the *Oração de Obediência*, by Vasco Fernandes de Lucena, written in 1485. He was sent by John II (1481-1495) to the Pope Innocence VIII, to announce the importance of the miracle in the ideological discourse. It a text that makes reference to the battle at the same time it established a relation between the five stigmata of Christ and the Portuguese coat of arms⁷³.

In the end of the reign of John III (1521-1557) the first attempts of consecrating Afonso Henriques were made. So, in the middle of the 16th century, Afonso Henriques and the battle of Ourique were shaping a new ideological representation, a new affective pillar of the nationality⁷⁴. Along with it, there was a narrative of signs, auguries, visions and predictions complemented the divine apparition in Ourique⁷⁵.

In 1603, the *Primeyra Parte da Chronica de Cister*, by Bernardo de Brito, a friar from the monastery of Alcobaça, develops for the first time the missionary and imperial character of the narrative, which Antonio Vieira would take to its limit in the second half of the 17th century. According to this new account, Christ had told Afonso Henriques that He had came to give him the courage needed for the battle and that his people would ask him to enter the battle with the title of king⁷⁶. During the 17th century there is a strong consolidation of the myth of Ourique as a tool for legitimating the independence. It is a recurring subject in the literature of the Restoration, especially in the sermons.

⁷² Bernardo Brito, *Chronica de Cister*, p. 126 citado por João Francisco Marques, *A Parenética portuguesa de Restauração, 1640-1668: a revolta e a mentalidade*, 1989, p. 444.

⁷³ About the evolution of the miracle of Ourique see Ana Isabel Buescu, "Um mito das origens da nacionalidade: o milagre de Ourique ". In: Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto, *A memória da Nação : Colóquio do Gabinete de Estudos de Simbologia*, 1991, pp. 51-53.

⁷⁴ Isabel Buescu, *Um mito das origens da nacionalidade: o milagre de Ourique*, p. 51.

⁷⁵ Luis Filipe Silvério Lima, "Imagens e figuras de um rei sonhador: representações do milagre de Ourique e do juramento de Afonso Henriques no século XVII". In: *História (S. Paulo)* 26.2 (2007), p. 312.

⁷⁶ Bernardo Brito, *Chronica de Cister*, p. 127, cited by João Francisco Marques, *A Parenética portuguesa de Restauração, 1640-1668: a revolta e a mentalidade*, p. 445.

But apart from the written production, the miracle also conquered the visual representations. The first known image that adopts the motif is an engraving used in the *Genealogia do Infante D. Fernando* (1530-1535), inspired in the drawings of António de Holanda, commissioned by the king Fernando himself to Simón Bening, a Flemish artist⁷⁷. In this image, there is a representation of Afonso Henriques on his knees, praying, in a scenario of war.

In 1619, the religious element enters the representation and the battle scene loses importance, in the decoration of the “*Arco dos oficiais de S. Jorge*”, during the royal entry of Philip II in Lisbon. It was common to see during the dynastic union representations of the Habsburg kings along with the Portuguese Afonso Henriques⁷⁸. The sacred origins were used to insist on the union of the first king and the monarchs from the Habsburg house⁷⁹. After the 1st of December, the new dynasty needed to appeal to the foundation of the reign and the legitimacy of Ourique in order to legitimate its position. This argument became really important in the Portuguese mentality of the time, deeply influenced by visions and miracles. Firstly, the consecration of Afonso Henriques was picked up again: after the first courts called by John IV, he king is urged to resume the canonization of the first monarch.

The Portuguese independence was announced on a providential act, and images helped reflecting this concept and contributed to sustain and legitimate the revolt and the acclamation of the new king.

The representation of the king on his knees praying to Jesus regains meaning, at the light of the new legitimating needs. In the [fig. 49], one of the engravings used in the *Lusitania Liberata*, from António de Sousa Macedo, Afonso Henriques can be seen on his knees in the battle field, with his military accessories in front of him, while he looks upon the sky. His eyes are fixed in the apparition of Jesus, who says “*UOLO IN TE ET IN FEMINE TUO IMPERIUM MIHI STABILIRE*” (I want you and your wife to establish an empire for me). In this image the messianic element is present: the king is destined to found a new kingdom, it was a God given right and therefore no one could stop him or take it away from his hands. He had done it in the name of God. It was not the weapons, the chancellery agreements or the Holy See’s intervention

⁷⁷ Luis Filipe Silvério Lima, *Imagens e figuras de um rei sonhador: representações do milagre de Ourique e do juramento de Afonso Henriques no século XVII*, p. 315.

⁷⁸ For example, João Baptista Lavanha, *Viagem da Catholica Real Magestade del Rey D. Filipe II. N. S. ao Reyno de Portugal* (Madrid, 1622) and António Soares Albergaria, *Tropheos Lusitanos* (Lisboa, 1623).

⁷⁹ See Luis Filipe Silvério Lima, "Imagens e figuras de um rei sonhador: representações do milagre de Ourique e do juramento de Afonso Henriques no século XVII", pp. 315-320; Isabel Buescu, *Um mito das origens da nacionalidade: o milagre de Ourique*, p. 56.

that originated Portugal, but the will of God⁸⁰. The staging of such notion passed on the feeling of greatness, solemnity and majesty, like saying “*putting the part of the shield and the sword, and throwing on the floor the clothes, and shoes, I threw my self on the land, and crying out loud I started praying for my vassals*”⁸¹.

The same representation can be seen in the frontispiece of *Francia interesada con Portugal* (1644) [fig. 21]. Although they are not the main scenes of the engravings, they complement the message, remembering the God given right to the throne. It was also used in the frontispiece of the *Chronica del Rey Dom Joam I de boa memoria*, by Fernão Lopes, reprinted in 1644 and dedicated to John IV [fig. 50], and in the *Chronicas del Rey Dom Joam de floriosa memoria o I deste nome* (1643), by Duarte Nunes Leão. Another version of the miracle is on the frontispiece of *Principios del Reyno de Portugal* (1641), by Antonio Pais Viegas, [fig. 51] a text about the deeds and conquests of the first king of Portugal.

But the image of Afonso Henriques was not confined to engravings. In Guimarães, there was the already mentioned cycle of paintings [figs. 40 and 41], done in 1665, probably by Francisco da Silva or by the frail Manuel dos Reis, representing Afonso Henriques during and after the battle⁸². And there is the also mentioned cycle of paintings of historical argument referring to the different stages of the life of Afonso Henriques painted by Simão Álvares years before for the same church [figs. 36-39].

Portugal had sinned and it had been punished for it – the captivity of the dual monarchy – but the divine election was still a factor to consider and the glorious destiny should be reinstated. The time and the circumstances of such restoration were also predicted by God. The new dynasty was destined to regain and exercise the plans that had been laid down. This prophetic perspective reflects on an engraving made by the English artist Thomas Dudley present in the book *Cordel Triplicado de amor* (1680), de Antonio Ardizzone Spinola [fig. 52]. Although the book is a bit posterior to the end of the war, it presents a very interesting iconography. John IV is on his knees in a balcony looking at the sky, where Jesus is appearing to him with the legend *MANUS DOMINI ERAT CUM ILLO* (The hand of the Lord was with him). This scene establishes a parallel between Afonso Henriques but also with John I: the three kings succeeded

⁸⁰ João Francisco Marques, *A Parenética portuguesa de Restauração, 1640-1668: a revolta e a mentalidade*, p. 441.

⁸¹ Bernardo Brito, *Chronica de Cister*, p. 126, cited by João Francisco Marques, *A Parenética portuguesa de Restauração, 1640-1668: a revolta e a mentalidade*, p. 444.

⁸² Luis Filipe Silvério Lima, "Imagens e figuras de um rei sonhador: representações do milagre de Ourique e do juramento de Afonso Henriques no século XVII", p. 328.

in fighting for their reign in moments of crisis, and in the three moments they had the help from the divinity. The first king was asked to found the reign, and John IV was now asked to recover it.

John de Braganza was then the king prophetically announced since the origins of Portugal. He was, like Afonso Henriques, elected by his pairs to establish a universal Christian monarchy⁸³. In the words of Lourenço Vivas, he was the “*sixteenth grandchild of the king Afonso Henriques*” for it was “*in the blood and progeny of this generation*” that God would put “*the eyes of His mercy, as He did, He raised John IV descendant and grandchild of D. Catarina*”⁸⁴. The duke was the representative of the sixteenth generation prophesied to save the Portugal. This idea inspired several genealogical trees that were printed and circulated probably as prints and in books during the years of war. The [figs. 53, 54, 55] are good examples of the attempt of legitimating John IV through his lineage. Probably forcing the family ties in order to demonstrate that John IV was the legitimate heir of Afonso Henriques. The [fig. 55] has the peculiarity of representing D. Manuel (1469-1521) in a horizontal position and from his chest the tree emerges. The legend clarifies: “*MASCULA DUM FUERIT, SERVAT ME, LINEA, VIVUM; / SUBSIDIUM EXTINETA FAEMINA PROLIS ERIT*” (While alive, the male succession served me, once extinguished, I shall be followed by the feminine one), meaning that once the line had been broken by the lack of heirs after the death of Sebastião, the chosen one should have been elected through the feminine line from D. Manuel. This was surely a known engraving, as it appears as well in one of the French editions of “*Les revolutions en Portugal*”, by the Abbot Vertot. [Fig. 56] goes even further, as it shows the ascendancy of Christ accommodated to the royal origins of John of Braganza.

Visualizing the miracle of Ourique implied the representation of the collectivity, bringing together the political and the sacred powers. Through the manipulation of the traditional vocabulary and popular myths, the new king emerged as the legitimate one for the Portuguese throne. He was part of a plan designed by God and he was predestined to the exercise the royal power.

4.7. Representing the King

⁸³ João Francisco Marques, *A Parenética portuguesa de Restauração, 1640-1668: a revolta e a mentalidade*, p. 452.

⁸⁴ João Francisco Marques, *A Parenética portuguesa de Restauração, 1640-1668: a revolta e a mentalidade*, p. 450.

From 1640, the need of establishing a royal iconography led into the creation of a visual program, parallel to the oral and written discourse passed along through sermons and pamphlets charged with symbols and arguments in favor of the Braganza.

As it was seen in chapter 3, the state was often represented as God, as a hero, a superior being, different from the others. The name, the attributes, the cloths, the physical appearance allowed the spectators to understand its function and nature. From this personification, it was possible to create the illusion of being able to communicate with the state as a human being. In the words of Kurt Johannesson, people could communicate in an almost intimate way, almost like turning to a father seeking for comfort and protection. But the author goes even further: there are distinctive symbols which allow the public to feel like he belongs to the political body and depends on it for his protection and well-being. Moreover, to represent the state was a way of legitimating and defining the power, the authority and the richness⁸⁵. The portraits of the king had the objective of exalting the monarch, diffusing his qualities and transmit the idea of power and authority. Gustav Vasa, for example, after conquering Sweden to Denmark, in 1523, undertook a series of measures in order to become visible through paintings and engravings to his vassals. The direct sight of the king had a great impact. In fact, one of the complaints that the Portuguese often made during the years of the dynastical union was about the absence of the king⁸⁶. According to the principle of *Regis Imago Rex est*, generally accepted in the Early Modern Age, its efficacy passed on to the portraits as well⁸⁷. Besides this, the representation of the king allowed him to be present all the time and authorized all the actions took under his name. The presence of the king is replaced by his representation, makes his authority and the power of the state present. So, the portrait was not a mere re-presentation of the model. On this subject, Fernando Bouza writes that “*la mayoría de los retratos de la época supera con mucho el simple objetivo de fijar tan sólo la apariencia del modelo*”⁸⁸. On the same topic, he adds that “*essas imagens representam o poder, reduplicando-o e dando-lhe prestígio, seja pro serem*

⁸⁵ Kurt Johannesson, "The Portrait of the Prince as a Rhetorical Genre". In: Allan Ellenius, *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*, 1998, pp. 11-12.

⁸⁶ Fernando Bouza, "Lisboa sozinha quase viuva. A cidade e a mudança da corte no Portugal dos Filipes". In: *Revista Penélope: Fazer e desfazer a História* 13 (1994), pp. 71-93

⁸⁷ Fernando Bouza, "Lisboa sozinha quase viuva. A cidade e a mudança da corte no Portugal dos Filipes", p. 73.

⁸⁸ Fernando Bouza, "Retratos, efigies, memoria y ejemplo en tiempos de Felipe II. Para una historia de la idea de centenario". In: *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* 580 (1998), p.25.

*tomadas como expressão de um título justo, seja porque se convertem em instrumentos da transformação do poder, de relação inacessível, em reconhecimento efectivo*⁸⁹.

In other words, it had the utility of perpetuation⁹⁰. However, one could argue that those paintings were often made were placed inside the palaces, in the corridors and rooms, to replace the monarchs. This means that this art was, in a great measure, aimed at the few privileged ones who had access to the social life of the palace. Some of the portraits probably were public, and placed in squares, in front of churches or important buildings, but there is no specific information about this kind of procedure in Portugal for these years.

The union of the two crowns represented to Portugal, besides the political formalities, a cultural unity: artists, writers and musicians circulated around the peninsula, searching for the best training and education. There were two main centers for the Portuguese artists: Seville and Madrid. As a result, there was an influence of the artistic taste, in particular of the portraits. However, this influence did not seem to be enough, and the Portuguese artists were never able to be at the same level as the painters of the court of the Habsburgs, such as Maino, Ribera or Velázquez. In fact, apart from some portraits, painted by foreign artists, of the Portuguese aristocracy such as the Flemish portraits of the house of Arronches, or the Duke of Fria painted by Van Dyck, the Portuguese iconography of the middle 17th century can be considered rather poor. Even the paintings of the royal palace after 1640 do not show signs of being commissioned by demanding clients⁹¹. The same can be said about the first portraits of Catarina of Braganza, daughter of John IV, promised to the English king, Charles II. Despite her status as the future queen of England and the presence of Dirk Stoop in her entourage, it was not until later that the English painter Peter Lely provided her with a more adequate image⁹². One of the possible explanations for this apparent lack of quality was the precipitation of the events. John IV did not accept at first to participate in the coup-d'état, and then, after being proclaimed king of Portugal, there was the emergency of providing an image. There was no time to prepare a more consolidated image, neither to look for a better prepared artist. When the Braganza were

⁸⁹ Fernando Bouza, "Retórica da imagem real. Portugal e a memória figurada de Filipe I". In: *Portugal no tempo dos Filipes. Política, Cultura, Representações (1580-1640)*. 2000, pp. 61-108, p. 67.

⁹⁰ Fernando Bouza, "Retratos, efigies, memória y ejemplo en tiempos de Felipe II. Para una historia de la idea de centenario", p. 26.

⁹¹ José Augusto França, *Retrato na arte portuguesa*, 1981, p. 33.

⁹² On the iconography of the infant D. Catarina, see Susana Flor, *Aurum reginae or Queen-Gold : a iconografia de D. Catarina de Bragança entre Portugal e a Inglaterra de seiscentos*.

proclaimed king and queen of Portugal, they did not bring any royal traditions along with them, and they were not able to provide portraits of quality. This did not change until the reign of Pedro II (1683-1706).

Nevertheless, the need of new images for creating a new prototype of the emerging power was obvious. A credible iconography able to reflect the qualities of the new king was imperative and urgent. In 1645 the gallery of the royal palace was decorated with paintings and a year later, several portraits were commissioned through a royal decree⁹³. The noble hall was also redecorated: a gallery of portraits of the dukes of Braganza was commissioned for the ceiling, “*all in canvases of fine oils*”⁹⁴. It is possible that Pedro de Azevedo Tojal, in his poem *Carlos reduzido. Inglaterra ilustrada. Poema heroico offerecido à Soberana Majestade...* (Lisbon, 1716) makes a reference to such paintings, when writing about the departure of D. Catarina from Lisbon:

“*Sahia pelas salas magestosas,
Onde os panos & as telas lisongeyras
Em cores ostentavão primorosas
Dos Deoses vãos as fábulas guerreiras:
Alli se via as nuvens luminosas
Atreverem-se mãos aventureyras,
Que do tear subtil o sabio estudo
Parece faz mover no pano mudo*”⁹⁵

Whether the verses are about this or any other gallery, we can deduce that these iconographical records were allusive to the new monarchy and to the great deeds of the Avis. Unfortunately, there is no other information available about these portraits, as the palace was destroyed during the earthquake of 1755.

But no matter the artistic mediocrity of the decades of 1640 and 1650, it is interesting to see how the new dynasty succeeded in creating a new image. The painter in charge of creating such image was José Avelar Rebelo (active between 1634 and 1657). Félix da Costa, painter and

⁹³ ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, Livro nº1148, Cópia dos Retratos que Sua Magestade que Deus guarde enviou ao Conselho da Fazenda..., fl. 49, cit. por FLOR, *Aurum reginae or Queen*, p. 55.

⁹⁴ Fr Manuel Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno e o Triumpho da Liberdade*, Lisboa, 1648.

⁹⁵ Pedro de Azevedo Tojal, *Carlos Reduzido. Inglaterra ilustrada. Poema heroico offerecido à Soberana Majestade del Rei, N. S. João V*, 1716, p. 86. Cited by Susana Flor, *Aurum reginae or Queen-Gold : a iconografia de D. Catarina de Bragança entre Portugal e a Inglaterra de seiscentos*, p. 292.

writer from the end of the 17th century, considered Avelar Rebelo as “a man of great talent, discretion and genie”, but to whom “lacked the means for the solid basis of art”⁹⁶. There is little information about his private life. It is known that he grew up in the ducal palace of Vila Viçosa, together with D. John of Braganza. They became personal friends. He probably might have completed his education either in the court in Madrid or in the Andalusian schools⁹⁷.

The most famous painting of John IV was done by Avelar Rebelo in 1643 [fig. 57*], and it became the new official portrait of the king. The first idea that this painting transmits is of a “work of crisis”, for trying to revive a tradition lost in Portugal for more than sixty years⁹⁸. In a more detailed analysis, the figure of the king can be distinguished from the attributes he carries. John IV is represented standing in a three quarter-view, according to the Spanish tradition consecrated by Alonso Sánchez Coello and Juan Pantoja de la Cruz. On his side there is a table, where the king rests his left hand. The table, according to the Spanish tradition once more, is covered by a carmine table cloth. Instead of the clock that usually characterizes the Velázquez’s portraits, there is the hat for the military campaigns. Behind it, there is a curtain of the same carmine tone, as a symbol of majesty. The king is represented in a rather colorful yet sober garment. This is one of the few details that do not follow the Habsburg tradition, usually represented in black. John IV recovers the Avis’ tradition. On his right hand, the king has a scepter and at his feet there is the Portuguese coat of arms. In this painting there are the symbols of the military power – the shield and the breastplate – marking his qualities as a military king, at the same time that there are the symbols of the good government and majesty – curtain, table and scepter. The king was the head of the army and the head of the state. In the inferior part the legend said “*Ioannes IV Rex Portugallia*”, John IV King of Portugal. This painting was displayed in the rooms of the ducal palace in Vila Viçosa. This meant that the spectators were elements of the aristocracy and those who worked for the House of Braganza. However, the efficacy of this image was not limited to such a small public, as it the engravings allowed the diffusion of the visual representation of the new king of Portugal.

⁹⁶ Félix da Costa, *The Antiquity of the Art of Painting*, 1967, cited by Luís de Moura Sobral, “Non hai mai abbastanza: Desenho, pintura e prática académica na época do Magnânimo”. In: Luís de Moura Sobral, *Do sentido das imagens*, 1996, p. 188.

⁹⁷ Vítor Serrão, *A Pintura Protobarroca em Portugal 1612-1657*, p. 387.

⁹⁸ Luís de Moura Sobral, “Os retratos de D. João V e a tradição do retrato da corte”. In: Luís de Moura Sobral, *Do sentido das imagens*, p. 177.

There is one other painting of the king, done by the same Avelar Rebelo. It depicts an older king, dressed in black, with the sword and the curtain [fig. 58]. It is today in the Museu dos Coches, in Lisbon, together with a portrait of the queen [fig. 59]. Both the portraits are very sober, representing the king with the Portuguese coat of arms and the queen with the coats of the Guzmán. Until recently, this painting of the king had been erroneously considered from an unknown author, but in 1960 when the catalogue of the museum was elaborated, it was attributed to Avelar Rebelo. The painting presents the traditional sobriety of the portraits of the court in Madrid, as it reveals certain similarities with works of Velázquez.

As stated before, one of the inconvenient of the paintings was the small number of people who had access to them. Engravings, on the contrary, had a much wider public. This is why portraits of the king were engraved and distributed in books and in prints. In *Historia di Portogallo*⁹⁹ (London, 1645), from Birago, there was an engraving opening the book, with the kings of Portugal¹⁰⁰. In neither of the editions that arrived to the present day there is a copy of such engraving. However, according to the description made by José Ramos Coelho, it would probably represent the succession of kings of the first and second dynasties, presenting them as prestigious and capable of great deeds and conquests and the new one – the Braganza – as their legitimated successor.

As it was stated in the section 3.3.1., John IV was the image of a reality that needed legitimacy. During the 16th and 17th centuries, a current of thought called “*sebastianismo*” developed and won supporters. It defended the return of the *desired one*, of the *Encuberto* (undercover, hidden one). The death of Sebastian in 1578 opened not only a political crisis but it led as well to a transitory death of the reign¹⁰¹. The belief in a savior that should arrive and rescue their homeland opened the ways towards a great acceptance of the duke of Braganza in 1640. Years before, among visions and predictions, Bandarra, a shoemaker from Trancoso stood out indicating in his prophecies that D. Teodosio duke of Braganza (and father of John IV) was the chosen one. After the death of the duke, it was clear that the heir of the prophecy was his

⁹⁹ This book was published the following year in León and in Geneve with the title *Historia del regno di Portogallo e Historia delle rivoluzioni di Portogallo*. These are the editions that have arrived to present day. None of the editions has the mentioned engraving.

¹⁰⁰ José Ramos Coelho, *História do Infante D. Duarte: irmão de El-rei D. João IV*, vol. 2, p. 432.

¹⁰¹ José Francisco Marques, *A Parenética portuguesa de Restauração, 1640-1668: a revolta e a mentalidade*, p. 488.

elder son, John of Braganza. According to the popular belief and to a letter allegedly written by S. Bernard to Afonso Henriques, in the end of 1640 the kingdom would return to their natural heirs, after sixty years of captivity¹⁰².

The sermons read after 1640 insisted constantly in this idea, but it was necessary to visualize the king as well. John IV was the so long waited king, the promised one, and it was necessary to put it in images, to get to know the physical features of the new monarch.

A great number of portraits were produced and many arrived to our present day. However, the majority were engraved by foreign artists, who do not seem to have exercised their job in Portugal. This means these were images of the king made for foreign spectators. There are two known examples of portraits of John IV engraved by the most prestigious national artists at the time, João Baptista Coelho and Agostinho Soares Floriano [figs. 60 and 61]. They both follow the painting by Avelar Rebelo and represent the king in armor with the cross of Christ.

The portrait of the king was widely diffused across borders, so the foreign governors and ministers could know and accept him. In December 1644, Francisco de Sousa Coutinho wrote to the king saying that the portraits of the royal family (not only of the king) had a high demand in that region and it was a good thing as their existence could contribute to the legitimation of his rights to the Portuguese crown in those northern lands¹⁰³.

Although there are little variations in the physical features of the king, there are two different models that were massively copied at the time. One of the most common ones was the one inspired by the painting of Avelar Rebelo. The French engraver Michel Lasne certainly was inspired by that image when he engraved his own version of John IV [fig. 62], published in the book “*Anticaramuel*” (Paris, 1643), by Manuel Fernandes Vila Real. The engraving used for the sixth volume of the *Theatrum Europaeum* (1652) [fig. 18] and the one by John Droeshout used for *Lusitania Liberata* (1645) [fig. 63] are also inspired in the same model, as they are identical. The same Michel Lasne is the author of a frontispiece of *Perfidia de Alemanyia y de Castilla* (Francisco Velasco Gouveia, 1644), where the king is represented in an oval frame [fig. 64].

¹⁰² João de Vasconcelos, *Restauração Prodígiosa de Portugal*, 1643, p. 69, cited by Lúcio Azevedo, *A evolução do sebastianismo*, 1984, p. 59. This letter is reproduced in the book. Other copies from the same period circulated around in those years. There is no reason to believe that this document forged in the 40s had previous copies.

¹⁰³ Edgar Prestage, *Correspondência Diplomática de Francisco de Sousa Coutinho durante a sua embaixada na Holanda*, 1920, vol. 1, p. 227.

Pierre Aubry seems to have followed the same model in the engraving probably published in Strasburg [fig. 65].

The portrait engraved by Balthasar Moncornet in 1650 and the variations that circulated around those years [figs. 66 and 67, respectively] introduce a different John IV: older and often they present the coronation scene in the background. In this second version of the king, he often has his head covered. The same artist reused the figure of the king in different frames that circulated as prints [fig. 19] and in books, such as the *Theatrum Eiropaeum* (p. 444). The same facial features are reproduced in four other engravings. [Figs. 66 and 67] are identical, presenting changes only in the frames. The next one seems to be the drawing of a commemorative medal or any kind of ephemeral decoration, as it shows the two circles together [fig. 68]. The first one shows the king, with exactly the same style. The second one shows the sun, in a metaphorical relation between both. The last of this series, the [fig. 69] depicts the monarch with the same facial expression, but in a full-body representation, with the acclamation scene behind. This one is signed by Houlangier (probably a variant from Boulanger, an artist active in Paris in the second half of the 17th century).

The coronation scene becomes an important theme in the representations of the monarch – it was after all the consecration of the former duke as king. In [fig. 70] John IV is sitting on a throne with his scepter while two female figures, Justice and Peace hold the crown over his head.

This was a very important moment. Although Portuguese kings were not crowned, it presented the symbolism value of crowning a new king. Sometimes visual representations were not so much about a truthful capture of reality, but more of a depiction of a concept. This image, also from *Lusitania Liberata*, shows the king sitting on a throne, on a decorated platform. John IV has on each side a feminine figure that raise the crown above his head. On the right side there is the Lady Justice, with the scales, and on the left side, there is an allegory of peace, with a palm leaf on her hand. It promoted a kingship of peace and justice. Above these figures, there are two angels kissing, integrated in the legend “*JUSTITIA ET PAX OSCULATE SUNT*” (justice and peace kiss each other), and between the terrestrial and the celestial plans, there is the Portuguese coat of arms. The throne has symbolic decorations: the armillary sphere, symbol of the discoveries, and a globe, indicating the control over Portugal and the colonies.

Other representations of the king also include narratives. It is the case of the already mentioned [fig. 52] which represents John IV praying to Jesus.

As stated before, France was a privileged scenario for the production and circulation of images of John IV. Although the same two variations were used, the models in which they were applied changed, presenting different scenes. All the engravings mentioned before by Moncornet, Aubry, Boulanger and Lasne were printed in Paris, most probably at expenses of the very active Portuguese installed in the French capital. There are still another number of copies and portraits of John IV that arrived to present day without further information apart from the representation of the monarch and sometimes a descriptive legend. These are very hard to contextualize, but according to the physical attributes and clothes, it seems to be that they are French or of French influence [figs. 71, 72 and 73]. [Figs. 74 and 75], identical, present a French legend “*Jean IV roi du Portugal*”, but they introduce a novelty regarding the others: the king is wearing a crown, which is not common.

Another variation is introduced by the few equestrian portraits known of John IV [figs. 76, 77 and 78]. The first engraving is part of the *Lusitania Liberata*, and the king is represented with a hat and plumes, the scepter and on a scenario of a battle that cannot be identified. This is another of the many examples of reuses of the image. So far we have seen examples of using the same representation of the king in different settings and frames, but this one is a clear use of a previous engraving and there was an adjustment only of the face. The previous one [fig. 76A] is Louis de Guise, engraved by Jacques Callot. It is very interesting to note that the same image was reused later in 1656 [fig. 76B] to represent Philip IV. The engraving was incorporated in a book by D. Nicolas Fernandez de Castro, *Portugal convencida con la razon para ser vencida*, published in Milan in 1648 (there is a posterior edition in 1656).

The second engraving could also be another example of this practice. It is engraved by Moncornet, an artist who had several other representations of John IV. However, the king does not look the same as in other portraits from the same artist – he is represented on horse, with a baton and a crown of laurel. In the back there is a battle that appears to be reaching its end: there is the center of the conflict and there are men on horse running from it in opposite direction, as in retreat.

In the third engraving, the king is shown on the horse, with a view of Lisbon, identified by the legend “*Lisbone capitale de Portugalle*”. Under the image, there is the full title of the king, with all his territorial possessions.

But these representations of the king were not exclusive of French and Portuguese artists. There are a couple of engravings with English legends that were probably thought for an English audience. The first one follows the Dutch model of storytelling, narrating the main events of the Portuguese revolt [fig. 79]. The action was designed to be read from left to right, from top to the bottom and the main characters are identified through letters. The first scene represents the murder of Miguel de Vasconcelos (A), the alderman of Albergaria (B) fighting the German guard – one is already dead on the floor (C). The next scene shows an oval portrait of John IV, following the French iconography, and on the background the acclamation scene, where the king takes the oath (D). On his side, according to the legend there was princess Margarita (E) but it could be probably a mistake, as his wife Luisa of Guzman was the one standing on his side. On the other side, there was the Marquis of Ferreira (F). This is a clear example of the circulation of images and of their constant reuse. Moving the eyes down, there is the final scene, which condenses several moments: the coronation of John IV (G), his riding to the cathedral (H) and his riding to the gates of the city to receive the keys (I).

The second engraving presenting English legends [fig. 80] shows several images. It is divided in three rows and in three columns, but more than telling a story it shows important elements related to Portugal. In the first row there is Braga, John IV (following the same iconography from the previous image) and Coimbra. In the second one: Afonso VI, the globe with the legend Lusitania, and the infant Catarina. On the third row, there is only one image: the royal palace. This engraving does not show the same strong propagandistic ideas as the previous one. It seems to be more informative: the most important cities in Portugal (Braga, Coimbra and Lisbon with the royal palace), the figure of John IV, responsible for a change of dynasty and two of his children: Afonso VI and Catarina who married Charles II of England.

Two other engravings [figs. 81 and 82] introduce new elements. The first shows a totally different representation of John IV – this is a either German or Dutch image considering the title: “*Johannes der Vierdt Knonig in Portugal*” (John the Fourth king in Portugal). It represents the king more as a Dutch/German man, judging by the clothes and hat, and none of the accessories

usually used are present. Is this another example of images reused? Was this engraving made thinking about someone else and then the title was placed adapting it to new meanings? The second one, from Hendrik Hondius, a Dutch engraver, shows John IV slightly different from the usual visual representations but still with traces of the French models circulating around those years.

However, not only direct images of the king and his lineage were produced during those years. There are a few examples of visual representations of the power of the king, where his image is implicit but not visible. This is the case of the frontispiece of the book *Arte de Reynar ao Potentissimo Rey D. Joam IV* (Bucelas, 1644), by António de Carvalho de Parada, prior of Bucelas. This front page [fig. 83] shows the title of the book in an oval frame, flanked by two figures allegorical to the religion (on the right side) and to war (on the left side). They are sustaining with their hands an Armillary sphere in which is inscribed the Portuguese coat of arms. Here, there is no need of the physical presence of the king, as his power is reflected in the allegories of Religion and War sustaining the Portuguese coat of arms topped by a crown.

Also, some of the visual production is related to the marital alliances negotiated by John IV. His children, in particular Catarina, became important subjects for establishing political alliances in Europe and reinforce the separation from Spain. In this context, Portuguese ambassadors fought hard for settle alliances with European powers. John IV was not represented in these portraits and images, but the idea of his power and status of king was always implicit.

John IV died in 1656 therefore his representations stopped circulating in Portugal and in Europe around those years. He and those who governed with him concentrated, especially in the first years of the 1640's, on shaping the new dynasty in the mold of a legitimate, divine-designated king.

It is interesting to note that his son, Afonso VI never shared the same visual projection John IV had. One possible explanation lies in the fact that Luisa de Guzmán assumed the regency: Afonso's mental instability and paralysis and his lack of interest for the government never created the same opportunities for propaganda. This does not mean there are no images of the

king, but they lack the symbolical and allegorical elements that allow establishing them as elements of propaganda.

4.8. Image production

4.8.1. Commissioning an image

Not always is easy to find documents that show us how these images were produced, who commissioned them to whom and how much they did pay for them. Sometimes there is complementary information such as correspondence that gives some potential clues, but in general the information is scarce.

After the 1st of December 1640 and the proclamation of John of Braganza as John IV of Portugal, one of the main concerns of the king was the preparation for war. The second concern was the international recognition. Fighting Philip IV was not enough without the international support. Before, it was seen how the king sent ambassadors and envoys to the main European cities seeking for support and alliances. He sent his delegations to Paris, London, Rome and Hague with instructions for signing peace treaties, agreements, truce opportunities, financial and logistical support for the war against Spain¹⁰⁴

The need of showing their love¹⁰⁵ for the king was one of main priorities of these men. Many were committed to publish pamphlets and engravings that showed their political support to the Braganza. It was more: this effort was expected from them. They should participate in the campaign for John IV at the same time they should fight the rumors and news published by the Spanish agents. In return, they hoped for royal privileges once their missions were over.

One of the main books, that has been mentioned before in the previous pages is the *Lusitania Liberata* (London, 1645). Through the correspondence of the count of Vidigueira it is possible to know that for the elaboration of the book, Sousa Macedo consulted the public library

¹⁰⁴ On the embassies and diplomatic action of John IV, see Pedro Cardim, "Entre Paris e Amesterdão. António Vieira, legado de D. John IV no Norte da Europa 1646-1648.". In: *Oceanos* 30-31 (1997), pp. 134-54; Pedro Cardim, "'Portuguese Rebels' at Münster. The Diplomatic Self-Fashioning in mid-17th Century European Politics", pp. 293-333; Ana Leal de Faria, *Arquitectos da paz. A diplomacia portuguesa de 1640 a 1815*, 2008; Edgar Prestage, *As relações diplomáticas de Portugal com a França, Inglaterra e Holanda de 1640 a 1668*, 1928; Edgar Prestage, *Frei Domingos do Rosário, diplomata e político : (1595-1662)*, 1926; Edgar Prestage, *O Dr. António de Sousa de Macedo: residente de Portugal em Londres (1642-1646)*, 1916; Eduardo Brasão, *A diplomacia da Restauração*, 1934, among others.

¹⁰⁵ Pedro Cardim, "Entre Paris e Amesterdão. António Vieira, legado de D. John IV no Norte da Europa 1646-1648", p. 137.

in London and borrowed some books¹⁰⁶. In a letter sent to the count in November 1643, Sousa Macedo wrote that he is “*printing in Latin with the title ‘Lusytania Liberata’ (sic), half history, half law, in big sheets, with images and other ornaments...*”¹⁰⁷. In the following month, on the 10th December he added “*I am printing a big volume, Lusytania Liberata, in Latin with images, with big letters and the biggest effort that I can make, so nothing will go unsaid according to what I imagine to be all the principles and progresses of Portugal in histories, law and curiosities*”¹⁰⁸ and some days before, he had sent another letter saying “*I have also received the printed text and the image of His Majesty, that truly has me chocked. This sculptors make His Majesty very ugly (...) Your Excellence will see the images from my book, you will see the difference...*”¹⁰⁹. He was receiving materials – visual and textual, but his book was from a far superior quality.

4.8.2. Artists: writers, painters and engravers

The facts about who wrote a pamphlet, a book or about certain artists can help us understand better the meaning of the visual representations and their context, intentions and reception. Due to the diversity of writers, painters and engravers, this section will focus only on the most important ones, and those who had a closer relation to the royal power.

John IV counted with the collaboration of several lawyers and supporters of the 1640 revolt. António Pais Viegas¹¹⁰ was one of the closest to the king: he had several positions in the government but he died early in 1650. Nonetheless, he left an impressive number of writings about the Portuguese cause, such as: *Principios del Reyno de Portugal. Con la vida y hechos de D. Alfonso Henriquez su primer Rey, y con los principios de los otros Estados Christianos de España* (Lisboa, 1641) and *Manifesto do Reyno de Portugal. No qual se declara o direyto, as causas, e o modo , que teve para eximirse da obediencia del Rey de Castella, e tomar a voz do Serenissimo D. João o IV* (Lisboa, 1641). Another author, of similar condition, is Francisco

¹⁰⁶ See Edgar Prestage, *O Dr. António de Sousa de Macedo: residendo de Portugal em Londres (1642-1646)*, p. 69: “os outros vi em huma grande livraria publica que he nesta cidade onde antiguamente foi um mosteiro de S. Bento”.

¹⁰⁷ BPE, CVI/2-8, fl. 183, carta de 19 de noviembre de 1643. This and the following letters from António de Sousa Macedo are addressed to the Count of Vidigueira, D. Vasco Luís da Gama.

¹⁰⁸ BPE, CVI/2-8, fl. 154.

¹⁰⁹ BPE, CVI 2/8, f.402v.

¹¹⁰ On António Pais Viegas see Luis Torgal, *Ideologia política e teoria do Estado na Restauração*, pp. 289-290.

Velasco Gouveia¹¹¹. He was one of the most important jurists of the time, besides teaching in the University of Coimbra. He belonged to a family of converts, a fact that brought him some problems. When the proclamation of John of Braganza as king of Portugal took place, Francisco de Castro was the general inquisitor. He was extremely loyal to the Habsburg and hence he positioned himself against the events of 1640. In fact, Francisco de Castro was one of the participants in the conspiracy against the king in 1643, despite being considered innocent. But the relation between the Inquisition and king was tense – a fact that had consequences for some of the close followers of John IV. In the 1620's, Velasco Gouveia had already had problems with the Inquisition. In 1626 he was found guilty. In 1633 he was charged by the Inquisition of Coimbra, considered guilty again and expelled from the University. But he did not lose his prestige as jurist and he worked hard for the legitimating process of John IV. He was the author of *Assento de Cortes* (1644) and of the *Justa Acclamação do Serenissimo Rey de Portugal Dom João o IV* (Lisboa, 1644), which was considered the official book of the Restoration¹¹². He was also a defender of D. Duarte, imprisoned in Milan. On behalf of John IV, he wrote *Perfidia de Alemania y de Castilla en la prisión, entrega, acusacion, y proceso, del Serenissimo Infante de Portugal D. Duarte. Fidelidad de los Portugueses, en la aclamacion de su legitimo Rey* (Lisboa, 1652). In the same year the book was published, he was interrogated because of its content but he was set free. From this moment on, the Inquisition did not dare to show its animosity towards the monarch again¹¹³.

Manuel Fernandes Vila Real was also a convert, but he dedicated his professional life to the commercial and financial activities. He obtained several positions in African possessions and in Portugal. When the 1st December took place, he was in Paris and immediately achieved an important role. He guided the first Portuguese envoys to Paris and years later he received the count of Vidigueira (that later became marquis of Niza, a title created by John IV in 1646 to express his gratitude), helping him with the contacts with the French court. He was very active in the diplomatic field and he wrote important works such as *Anticaramuel o defensa del Manifiesto del Reyno de Portugal. A la respuesta que escrivio D. Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz* (Paris, 1643). In 1649 he returned to Portugal, bringing forbidden books with him and the animosity of the

¹¹¹ On Francisco Velasco Gouveia see Luis Torgal, *Ideologia política e teoria do Estado na Restauração* pp. 304-306. Despite his importance, there is no comprehensive studies about this author.

¹¹² Luis Torgal, *Ideologia política e teoria do Estado na Restauração*, vol. 2, p. 306.

¹¹³ António Baião, *Episódios dramáticos da Inquisição portuguesa*, 1919, pp.161 and the following ones; António Baião, *El-Rei D. João IV e a Inquisição*, pp. 10-70.

Inquisition. He ended up being executed on the 1st December 1652 without any possible intervention from the king.

For the king it was crucial to have men close to him in Lisbon, but it was probably even more important to have them abroad, working on his legitimacy. Vila Real was an important agent, but so it was Francisco Taquet¹¹⁴ in Venice, a territory that did not give in under the pressure of Spain and of the empire, but that did not recognize the Portuguese independence either. In Venice, he was hosted in the house next to the one of the French ambassador, which protection he had. In March 1644, Pedro Vieira da Silva, secretary of state of John IV, wrote to the count of Vidigueira informing him of the existence of a religious man in Venice “*ready to write everything related to Portugal in the same way as the ones in France*”¹¹⁵.

In February 1656, Taquet wrote to Cristóvão Soares de Abreu, resident in Paris, explaining the propaganda activity in Venice: “*I will also be pleased that Your Excellence will testify in the same certificate of the many treaties, books and texts, that every day were printed and translated into Italian, of the good deeds of Portugal, and I spread all over Europe as His Majesty ordered me, in order to give credit to the kingdom and undo the bad reputation that the ministers of Castile try to install to discredit him*”¹¹⁶.

From Venice, he had the support of count of Vidigueira in Paris to establish a bridge with the Portuguese court. Although he did not write any book or pamphlet of relevance, he certainly was responsible for the diffusion of many printed works and images in favor of the Portuguese cause, something that often triggered the Spanish fury.

António de Sousa Macedo¹¹⁷ has been already mentioned for his *Lusitania Liberata*, but he deserves some more information on him. He had several positions in Portugal, but he became known for his writing. During his period in London, he supported Charles II during the civil war and cooperated with him during the negotiation for his wedding with Catarina de Braganza. He came back to Portugal but in 1650 he left again, this time for the Netherlands to help with the negotiations of the colonies. He returned to Portugal in 1651, and he hold important positions close to Afonso VI, until he fell in disgrace of the regent queen.

¹¹⁴ Sobre Francisco Taquet see Maria Emília Madeira Santos, *Relações Diplomáticas entre Portugal e Veneza (1641-1649)*, 1965; Leonor Freire Costa and Mafalda Soares da Cunha, *D. João IV*, pp. 200-201.

¹¹⁵ BPE, Cod. CVI, 2-1. Fl. 154, *Carta do Conde da Vidigueira a Pedro Vieira da Silva*. Paris, 2 de Março de 1644, cited by Maria Emília Madeira Santos, *Relações Diplomáticas entre Portugal e Veneza (1641-1649)*, p. 132.

¹¹⁶ Maria Emília Madeira Santos, *Relações Diplomáticas entre Portugal e Veneza (1641-1649)*, p. 125.

¹¹⁷ Luis Torgal, *Ideologia política e teoria do Estado na Restauração*, p. 300-303, Edgar Prestage, *O Dr. António de Sousa de Macedo: residendo de Portugal em Londres (1642-1646)*.

If it is hard to have information about the writing documents, it is not any easier to gather information about the artists. The studies about the presence of foreign artists and their legacy, and the voyages of the Portuguese artists abroad are recent¹¹⁸, and in many cases the sources are scarce. Some artists such as Lucas Vorsterman contributed to the diffusion of the Braganza cause during their stay in Portugal, but they barely left any additional evidence. Unlike what happens with jurists and writers, it is harder to establish relations between artists and power. Were they really committed to the political cause? Or was it just a job for them? Many of the engravings were made by foreigners – which can be considering normal once most of them were printed outside Portugal – but there is no evidence of the artists sharing political affinities with their commissioners.

Lucas Vorsterman II was born and died in Antwerp (1624-1667), he was not as famous as his father, with whom he shared the same name and who became known for his collaboration with Rubens. Vorsterman II was an engraver and author of several reproductions¹¹⁹. He lived and worked Portugal between 1645 and 1648 and he left around 13 works¹²⁰, 3 related to the Restoration [**figs. 14, 45 and 83**]. It might be that his stay was related to a request made by Francisco de Sousa Coutinho. In a letter from Francisco Manuel de Melo to Sousa Coutinho, he writes that “*Not many days ago, a Flemish man, from Anvers, assisted here and went from this state, his name was Lucas Vuosterman, I wrote to Your Excellence a letter that he promised to put in your hands and I believe he did, if it arrived well*”¹²¹.

Among the French engravers, there are two who particularly stand out: Michel Lasne and Balthasar Moncornet. Moncornet¹²² was born in the Spanish Netherlands, in Brussels. Although the family business was tapestries, he and his brothers ended up working with engravings, due to

¹¹⁸ Susana Flor, *Aurum reginae or Queen-Gold: a iconografia de D. Catarina de Bragança entre Portugal e a Inglaterra de seiscentos*, p. 54.

¹¹⁹ Luís de Moura Sobral, "Teologia e propaganda política numa gravura de Lucas Vorsterman II: a Imaculada Conceição e a Restauração de 1640". In: *Do sentido das imagens*, p. 145.

¹²⁰ See Ernesto Soares, *História da Gravura Artística em Portugal: os artistas e as suas obras*, 1971, pp. 655-659; José Alberto Gomes Machado, "Lucas Vostermans em Portugal. Uma via de introdução da imagética barroca?". In: Pedro Dias, *IV Simpósio luso-espanhol de História da Arte: Portugal e Espanha entre a Europa e Além-Mar*, 1998.

¹²¹ Francisco Manuel de Melo, *Cartas familiares*, 1981, Letter XXI.

¹²² On Balthazar Moncornet there is a PhD dissertation in four volumes. The first one is focused on the artist, while the other three are an extensive catalogue of his work. See Edmond Rohfritsch, *Balthazar Moncornet: graveur, éditeur et marchand d'estampes à Paris au XVIIe siècle ou L'invention du portrait de notoriété de grande diffusion*, 1995.

the difficulties imposed to the textile commerce¹²³. From 1624 on, his activity can be traced in Paris. He worked on several kinds of images: portraits, landscapes, religious ones, as engraver and editor. He is the author of some of the portraits of John IV, with complementary battle scenes and the coronation ceremony [figs. 17, 19 and 70].

Regarding the Portuguese artists, it is even harder to get any information. The most important painters during this period were José de Avelar Rebelo and Domingos da Cunha, known as *O Cabritinha* (1598-1644). He did his learning in Madrid, with Eugenio Caxès and his works were very appreciated in Portugal. According to his biographer, Pedro António Franco, “his works were very sought for being unique, with a specialty in the portraits that he did in a very natural way”¹²⁴. In 1641, John IV commissioned to Domingos da Cunha a portrait of himself. Unfortunately, this painting is lost.

The most well-known engravers were João Baptista Coelho and Agostinho Soares Floriano. There is a publication about the first one¹²⁵, but with very little conclusions, as he did not leave evidence of his personal or professional life. It is known though that he worked over thirteen years in the *Casa da Moeda* and he often collaborated in the illustration of books. He is the author of a portrait of the king, inspired in the one by Avelar Rebelo [fig. 60]. There is a contrasting difference between this engraving and the ones produced in France, putting in evidence once more the little preparation of the Portuguese artists. Soares Floriano is even more unknown to us. He was surely an active artist for the amount of works he left. He is the author of four engravings, all of them frontispieces of books: one is a historical scene [fig. 80], another of a sinking ship [fig. 85] and one of a coat of arms destined to *Manifesto del Reyno de Portugal* [fig. 86]. He is also responsible for an engraved portrait of the king [fig. 61], that shows little artistic capacity: it lacks sense of proportion. Is it possible then to assume that he collaborated with the Restoration? Is this proof enough to establish that these artists lived around the court?

Apart from the writers, painters and engravers, there is still another profession – very important for the diffusion – that worked closed to the royal power: the publishers. In Portugal there was a family that showed to be particularly committed to the Restoration, the Craesbeecks.

¹²³ Edmond Rohfritsch, *Balthazar Moncornet: graveur, éditeur et marchand d'estampes à Paris au XVIIe siècle ou L'invention du portrait de notoriété de grande diffusion*, pp. 20-22.

¹²⁴ Vitor Serrão, *A Pintura Protobarroca em Portugal 1612-1657*, p. 120.

¹²⁵ João Carlos Rodrigues da Costa, *João Baptista, gravador português do século XVII (1628-1680)*, 1925.

The family came from the Netherlands in the end of the 16th century. Pedro Craesbeeck, typographer, publisher and editor. He established his shop in Lisbon and published several important works related to the visits of Philip II to this city, winning social prestige. After his death, both his sons kept with the business. The decades of 1620 and 1630's represented years of crisis for the publishers, now also book-sellers. But the Restoration brought them new incentives. In 1641, Paulo Craesbeeck published five works relate to the revolt. Thanks to the many services he did on behalf of the Braganza legitimation, he achieved from John IV a royal letter awarding him "*the grace of the craft of bookseller (...) together with the one of printer, while I understand to be the correct measure and do not say otherwise*"¹²⁶. However, one could ask: was this effort of the Craesbeeck family a sincere support of the political cause? Or was it a business opportunity? Sixty years before the family won social prestige printing texts about Philip II, now they were doing the same for John IV.

To sum up, it is possible to say that some of the people involved in the diffusion of the iconographical and written documents in favor of the new dynasty did participate actively. Others, as the Craesbeeck, saw in the revolt an opportunity to revive a business going through severe difficulties. During the years that followed the 1st of December, they were – without doubts – the main printers and probably sellers of the propagandistic texts and images.

Portuguese artists could not compete with their foreign pairs, but that did not prevent them from elaborating their own propaganda aimed at an internal consumption. On this subject, Francisco de Sousa Coutinho wrote: "*but as the innexistence of good painters in the kingdom is huge and here [in the Netherlands] they are in abundance, I determined some days ago to suggest that this gap could be easily be solved*"¹²⁷. He was aware of the mediocrity of the Portuguese artists, at least compared with the Dutch ones and he was offering the king the possibility of commissioning portraits there, in order to suppress the quality problem. He evens adds that he "*had tempted two painters that would be glad to go to Portugal and they were both*

¹²⁶ ANTT, Chancelaria Antiga da Ordem de Cristo, book XXXVI, fl. 95, cited by João José Alves Dias, *Craesbeeck: uma dinastia de impressores em Portugal: elementos para o seu estudo*, 1996, p. XV.

¹²⁷ Edgar Prestage, *Correspondência diplomática de Francisco de Sousa Coutinho*, vol. 1, p. 227.

willing to go”¹²⁸. But to which painters is Sousa Coutinho referring to? Was it Vorsterman? And did they effectively go to Portugal?

4.9. Consumption, diffusion and reception

The Portuguese legitimating process was organized in two directions. On one hand it was important to commission and produce the portraits and engravings of the king, but on the other hand it was important to diffuse them.

Diffusion and reception is the next important step after the production of the visual materials and they can contribute with important details for the understanding of the propaganda. Who saw them? Who were they aimed at? It has been demonstrated that paintings were aimed at a more reduced public: the royal family, aristocracy and those who participated in the life of the palace. Engravings, on the other hand, reached a wider audience, due to their cheap prices and they could be printed quite quickly.

In the displacements of ambassadors and envoys to European courts, portraits were usually taken and other portraits of foreign monarchs were brought in return. One of the main concerns of the diplomats sent by the king was precisely the diffusion of his images in the courts of the foreign reigns.

Rodrigo Botelho de Moraes, Portuguese ambassador in Sweden in 1641-1643, kept an active communication with the queen: “Another time, Her Majesty stayed with him hours and hours talking both in Latin and in French. Besides this and other honors, she conceded him the highest of all, that it was to take her by the hand publically in the streets of Stockholm. This fact touched deeply our ambassador and with reason, and as a result a painting came to Portugal, either commissioned by himself, with the license of the queen, or who knows, even offered by her”¹²⁹. Besides this, among the gifts the queen offered, there was a jewel ornamented with her portrait¹³⁰. The circulation of portraits was then very common, and it could be perceived as a form of acceptance. The same happened in Paris: Francisco de Melo was ordered to go to Paris and he took portraits of the Portuguese royal family. On his return, he brought portraits of the

¹²⁸ Edgar Prestage, *Correspondência Diplomática de Francisco de Sousa Coutinho*, vol. 1, p. 227

¹²⁹ José Ramos Coelho, *História do Infante D. Duarte: irmão de El-rei D. João IV*, vol. 2, p. 183.

¹³⁰ José Ramos Coelho, *História do Infante D. Duarte: irmão de El-rei D. João IV*, vol. 2, p. 183.

French monarchs, Louis XIII and Ana of Austria, painted by Philippe de Champaigne, the court painter¹³¹.

All the news we have of monarchs sending their portraits back were, at first, willing to help Portugal. The diffusion of portraits could also be related to matrimonial alliances established by the king. Marrying Afonso VI was not an easy task. Before accepting Maria Francisca of Savoy, there was the possibility of marrying Anne Marie Louise d'Orléans. The marquis of Vidigueira, in a letter to the count of Cascais, from 1645, writes that he tried to obtain a portrait of the *Mademoiselle*, but he had found nothing that “*could not even reassemble with her shadow, so they promised me to finish one until Saturday*”¹³² so he could send it to Lisbon. Portraits had a key role in the alliances established, in the search for allies.

In the *Relaçãm da viagem que a Fraça fizeram Francisco de Mello, Monteiro mor do Reyno e o Doutor Antonio Coelho de Carvalho*, João Barreto, secretary of the embassy sent to France in 1641 wrote the details of the journey he did together with Francisco de Melo and António Coelho de Carvalho as ambassadors. On the 22nd May, he stated that the Bishop of Lamego, D. Miguel de Portugal, arrived to Paris taking with him the portrait of the king although “*although the painting did not appear to be from the hand of any Apelles*”. But, despite the apparent lack of quality, “*for what it revealed from its original, it cheered up the eyes of everyone because, as a Castilian well said (they always talk better than they do) ‘Las imagines adora, quien conoce la figura’*”¹³³. The image in this situation had the power to console, to fulfill the love for the monarch.

But having an image could also be a problem for its holder. That is the case of Félix Pereira, who was beheaded in Brussels by the Spaniards for having at his place an image of John IV¹³⁴. Félix Pereira was the son of Pedro Pereira, a man who left Portugal after the defeat of the Prior

¹³¹ Suana Flor, *Aurum reginae or Queen-Gold: a iconografia de D. Catarina de Bragança entre Portugal e a Inglaterra de seiscentos*, p. 80.

¹³² BNP, Mss, Box 14, Letter 173.

¹³³ João Franco Barreto, *Relaçãm da viagem que a Fraça fizeram Francisco de Mello... & o Doutor Antonio Coelho de Carvalho, indo por embaixadores extraordinarios... [de] Dom Joam o IV... ao... Rey de França Luis XIII... este presente anno de 1641, 1642*, p. 101.

¹³⁴ Fr. Claudio da Conceição, *Gabinete Historico que a sua magestade fidelissima, o senhor rei D. João VI*, vol. IV, p. 117, 1819; Conde da Ericeira, *História de Portugal Restaurado*, 1759, 1st part, vol. 2, pp. 242-243.

D. António in 1580. After the death of D. António, the family Pereira kept serving his son, D. Manuel de Portugal. When he left for Flanders on the service of the Spanish monarch, the Pereiras went with him. After the death of his father, Félix managed to obtain a pension for a position as captain. But, according to a contemporary document written by Sousa Macedo, Félix never lost his loyalty to the true heir to the Portuguese throne, the Braganza. Allegedly, these feelings were felt so strongly in the court of Brussels that he was imprisoned for treason¹³⁵.

In 1649 the count of Vidigueira – now marquis of Niza, a title created by the king in 1646 - wrote that “*from the communication he had [Manuel Fernandes Vila-Real] with D. Félix Pereira in the court of Brussels about what happened in Portugal and in Flander [...] and the Marquis of Castelo Rodrigo decided to behead the mentioned D. Félix for finding the letters and the portrait that His Majesty [John IV] had sent him*”¹³⁶.

According to an account from the 19th century, Félix Pereira besides having the portrait of the king was also trying to persuade the Portuguese to return to Portugal. Moments before dying he declared that he was not dying as a traitor – as the accusation had sentenced – because he had never recognized the kings of Spain: the only real king was John IV¹³⁷.

Francisco Taquet, in Venice, had an important role in the printing, translation and diffusion of pamphlets, books and images. He also had to hide at his place from time to time due to the Spanish threats regarding his activity¹³⁸.

The diffusion was important not only for legitimating and justifying the separation from the Spanish Monarchy: it was at the same time a way of fighting the *lies* that were written by the enemy. António Moniz de Carvalho on the 24th July 1644 wrote that: “*There was not a place where the Castilians did not send fake newssheets against the victory of Portugal, but even they probe to be liars by other letters in which they confess from Madrid the loss and our victory in the battle field*”¹³⁹.

Sometimes, the instructions were not followed as they should – for one reason or another – and the ambassadors had to write to Portugal asking for portraits. It is the case of Francisco de

¹³⁵ António de Sousa Macedo, *Panegyrico sobre o milagroso sucesso com que Deos liurou elRey Nosso Senhor da sacrilega treição dos Castelhanos*, 1647.

¹³⁶ BNP, Mss., F. 4-5. Fl. 46

¹³⁷ Fr. Claudio da Conceição, *Gabinete Historico que a sua magestade fidelissima, o senhor rei D. João VI*, vol. IV, 1819, p. 117.

¹³⁸ Maria Emília Madeira Santos, *Relações Diplomáticas entre Portugal e Veneza (1641-1649)*, p. 126.

¹³⁹ BNP, Mss., Box 14, letter 41.

Sousa Coutinho, who wrote to John IV on the 5th December 1644 asking for portraits that were highly demanded: “*Your Majesty ordered me to write in a letter (...) that with brevity Your Majesty would be so kind to send me the portraits that I do cherish so much; as I was such a distracted ambassador that I did not bring them with me, and as they are very requested, and it is convenient that they are spread around here, with the titles that Flanders denies him*”¹⁴⁰. He confirms the importance of having portraits circulating in foreign territories, especially where John IV is not recognized yet, like the Netherlands.

The translation of the books allowed a wider diffusion of not only the written content but also of the engravings. The *Innocentis, et Liberi Principis Venditio* (1642) by Moniz de Carvalho, about the imprisonment of D. Duarte was published in Latin. This propagandistic book was extended and translated in French and Spanish by Manuel Fernandes Villa Real, and it was printed in Paris and in Barcelona in 1643¹⁴¹. Moreover, it contained the engraving of D. Duarte enchained [fig. 13*]. We know that this was an important work for on the 17th November 1642, Fernando Brandão was thanking from Rome the copy the Count of Vidigueira had sent him. On the 28th of December, the king expressed his gratitude to Moniz de Carvalho for writing this book. Considering all the cities mentioned in this paragraph, we can deduce that the portrait of D. Duarte with all the visual information about his situation in Milan circulated around the most important cities in Europe and was seen by many people.

On the 4th September 1644, the Count of Vidigueira wrote to the marquis of Cascais saying that the account of what had happened in Portugal was not necessary, as some days before he had received another one about the victory in Montijo that he had sent to print and publish not only in Paris, but in England, the Netherlands, Germany, Rome and Genoa. But he did not spare any efforts: he adds on the same letter that he did the same for all the papers he received, so the news could be “*well spread over the world*”¹⁴².

¹⁴⁰ Edgar Prestage, *Correspondência diplomática de Francisco de Sousa Coutinho*, vol. 1, p. 227.

¹⁴¹ Manuel Fernandes Villa Real, *Le Prince vendu, ou contract de vente de la personne du Prince libre et innocent Dom Edoüard infant de Portugal, passé à Vienne le 25. iour de Juin 1642. ou furent presents le Roy de Hongrie comme vendeur. Le Roy de Castille comme acheteur. Et stipulans dans le contract pour le Roy de Castille. Dom Francisco de Mello gouverneur de ses armées en Flandres. Dom Emmanuel de Moura Cortereal, son ambassadeur en Alemagne ... traduit de l'espagnol*, 1643.

¹⁴² BN, Mss, Box 14, letter, 74.

The already mentioned *Historia di Portogallo* by Birago, that contained the engraving of the Portuguese kings, was widely diffused as well. Immediately after being printed, Taquet sent three copies through Jerónimo Nunes da Costa to Luis Pereira de Castro, one for Contari. At the same time, he remembered the importance of showing it during the Westphalia negotiations¹⁴³. As it happened with other writings, its production compromised the security of the author. The Spanish ambassador in Venice actively tried to avoid the printing of this book, threatening Taquet and Birago with death, evoking that it was necessary to “*put out with blood what had been written in ink*”¹⁴⁴.

But not only portraits of the king were taken in the embassies. In the *Relaçã da viagem que a Fraça fizeram Francisco de Mello...*, that narrates the journey of the ambassadors to France, there is news of a portrait of the captain António da Silveira, a famous character who played an important role in the siege of Diu in 1537. This portrait is delivered to a French house where there were the portraits of the most famous men in the world: “*the natural portrait of the famous Captain Antonio da Silveyra, who won that grandiose and the first siege of Dio (...) and order to place in France, in a house that he built, with the portraits of all the most famous men in the world*”¹⁴⁵. The importance of showing and making public relevant figures of the Portuguese history is once again put in evidence. João Barreto insists that “*And so they said that it was the same to say Portugal than ‘porto de Gallia’ or France; and it was the same to say that Lisboa was ‘boa Lis’ or good fleur-de-lis, wanting to show that the name of Lisbon came from France*”. It was important to create a closer relation with France for their financial and military support. The appeal of common origins (“*the idea that the Portuguese shared the same origin was very cherished, and the kings of Portugal descendants of the kings of France*”) tried to obtain the grace of Louis XIII: they were sibling reigns and together they could win the war against Spain.

However, most of these images – that were printed along with books and that were sent to the international courts – had a limited audience. The *Lusitania Liberata*, for example, was an expensive volume. Nonetheless, the author on the 25th May 1645 writes saying that “*today I sent to Calais a volume of my books to Your Excellence, other for the Doctor Antonio Moniz, other for the captain Villa Real, one in paper for the Library of the cardinal Mazarin*”¹⁴⁶. In April of

¹⁴³ José Ramos Coelho, *História do Infante D. Duarte: irmão de El-rei D. João IV*, vol. 2, p. 432.

¹⁴⁴ José Ramos Coelho, *História do Infante D. Duarte: irmão de El-rei D. João IV*, vol. 2, p. 432.

¹⁴⁵ João Barreto, *Relaçã da viagem que a Fraça fizeram Francisco de Mello...*, p. 15.

¹⁴⁶ BPE, CVI 2/8, f. 225v

the same year, Sousa Macedo rejoiced that he had sold already most of the copies of his book¹⁴⁷. So we can think that these works were effectively bought and read, but what about the people in the cities?

This is a far harder answer to give. We know for sure that a great number of images circulated as prints, passing from hand to hand, being hanged on public spaces, but there is no concrete information about where were they sold, their costs and the reactions they caused. Nonetheless, one thing is certain: representing the king and the royal family was a task with a double responsibility. Firstly, it was important to share the political, moral and ethical values of the Crown. And secondly, there was the need of distributing this image. John IV shows being aware of this when he mentions on a decree that “*on the 30th of August of this year [1646] I ordered to the Conselho da Fazenda that, considering the demands of some of the ministers that serve me from the outside of the reign, who asked with persistence some portraits that were commissioned through the Secretaria de Estado, should inform about their value, have them paid and give some money to the painter in advance*”¹⁴⁸. His envoys were then frequently asked for portraits and he knew how important that was for his legitimation.

4.10. Conclusion

The military conflict found its expression in the editorial world, in images and texts. It was a natural move, and a very necessary one, considering the written and visual elements played an important role in the transmission of the propagandistic ideas in favor of the new dynasty. Representations of the king with his attributes and symbols of majesty, of important figures of the Restoration such as D. Duarte, of the main events and of allegories symbolizing the new Portuguese power were abundant during the years of war. There were also the genealogical trees and dynastical portraits – to establish the idea of the return of the king and to reinforce in the mind of the spectators the continuity in the lineage and hence the legitimacy of the monarchs.

The imagery for John IV was designed to serve the legitimacy of Portugal. An image had to be quickly provided to the king after the 1st of December, and then it was copied, engraved, printed and diffused not only in Portugal but across Europe. Within the Portuguese borders, it is

¹⁴⁷ Leonor Freire da Costa, and Mafalda Soares da Cunha, *D. João IV*, 2008, p. 199.

¹⁴⁸ ANTT, *Miscelâneas da Livraria*, Livro nº1148, *Copia dos Retratos que Sua Magestade que Deos guarde enviou ao Conselho da Fazenda tocante o seu real serviço*, fl. 49.

possible to see that the paintings of historical events, especially evocative of moments where the continuity of the kingdom had been compromised, and the paintings celebrating military victories prevailed and they were displayed in churches and palaces. In Europe, John IV counted with several diplomats who worked hard in the construction of his legitimation, through the printing of books and portraits. Paris was one of the most active centers, together with Venice. All the questions, suggestions, news, books and images arrived and were sent from Paris to the main European cities and to Lisbon. Often, the ambassador Count of Vidigueira was a contact point between the king and his diplomats. Westphalia also offered a great opportunity for the diffusion of images, although it represented a diplomatic failure for the Portuguese king.

The reception of these messages was achieved in a double way. Firstly in a more generalized way, through the direct appeal to the image that could circulate from hand to hand or displayed in public places, in ceremonies and altarpieces in churches. In the second place, it was diffused in a more erudite way, through iconography thought until the last detail, carefully studied and often with the support of the written word. They were often more complex, full of symbolism and result more difficult to *read* to an unnoticed spectator.

The vocabulary used in these visual representations often was not new: the historical episodes had been used before as well as the allusion to the divine intervention. The ceremonies did not present any innovations in style or language. The novelty was the adaptation made in order to convert it in a propagandistic vocabulary in order to legitimate the revolt and the separation from the Hispanic Monarchy.



[FIG. 13] Jean Picart, *D. Duarte*.



[FIG. 16] Allegory of the Peace Negotiations, 1648



[FIG. 36] Simão Alves, *Baptism of Afonso Henriques*, Museum Alberto Sampaio



[FIG. 37] Simão Alves, *Celebration of S. Teotonio*, Museum Alberto Sampaio



[FIG. 38] Simão Alves, *Afonso Henriques praying to the Virgin*, Museum Alberto Sampaio.



[FIG. 39] Simão Alves, *S. Antonio watching for the protection of Lisbon* Museum Alberto Sampaio



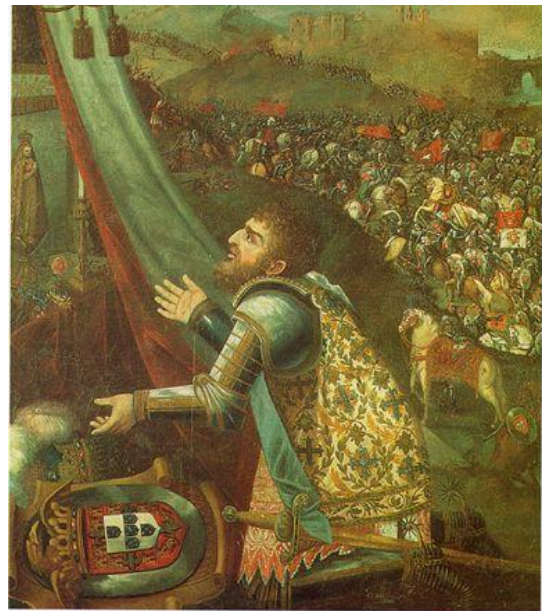
[FIG. 40] Manuel dos Reis, *Vision of Afonso Henriques during the Battle of Ourique*.
Ca. 1665. Museum Alberto Sampaio



[FIG. 41] Manuel dos Reis, *Afonso Henriques praying to Our Lady of Olives*.
Ca. 1665. Museum Alberto Sampaio



[FIG. 42] Manuel dos Reis, *John I placing his weapons after the Battle of Aljubarrota*.
Ca. 1665. Museum Alberto Sampaio



[FIG. 43] Manuel dos Reis, *John I praying to Our Lady of Olives*.
Ca. 1665. Museum Alberto Sampaio



[FIG. 57] Avelar Rebelo, John IV, ca. 1643

CHAPTER 5

The revolt of Masaniello (1647-1648)

5.1. Introduction

In the beginning of the 17th century, Naples was one of the largest cities in Europe with a population of half a million citizens.

As a general rule, the defeated remain in the anonymity: they usually are not represented; they do not get a face or a voice. However, in Naples, during the revolt of 1647, this did not happen. During the revolt and the years that followed it, there were visual traces of the insurrection in the kingdom of Naples and a bit all over Europe, from the representation of the protagonists to the depiction of important moments of the events. Fortunately for us historians a relatively high number of these images survived to our present day, allowing the study of their main characteristics and messages.

When considering the imagery, it is important to note that the majority was produced in Naples during the years 1647 and 1648. They are not (in general terms) posterior or done as commemorative images, but they are more the result of a reaction simultaneous to the events as they happened. We will see in this chapter that the images responded to certain moments of the revolt, to the needs and goals of the people in the context of the events.

Naples was very familiar with visual communication in the 17th century, a characteristic that contributed to the fabrication of a visual culture of the revolt. The power of communicating through the visual dimension and the perception of such messages converted the images was an important tool of power. This does not mean that they only existed in periods of crisis. Images were present in almost every moments of the everyday life: public buildings, fountains, churches, squares, etc. There was the capacity of producing and absorbing images that justified the great number of copies that arrive to our days and that make us think about the even greater number of existences in the middle of the 17th century. In the middle of the 17th century there is news of about one hundred artists, among painters, engravers, architects, and others.

In the years of the revolt, there was an abundant production of texts, as it happened in Catalonia and in Portugal in 1640. But apart from the texts, there were images as well, and – as it

will be demonstrated – they often had a political content. Images and texts accompanied side by side the two years of the insurrection, reflecting the main concerns of the population involved.

In order to study these images, there are certain questions that should be answered: who were the authors? Which characteristics prevailed? Which models were used? Which were the main messages? What kind of diffusion and consumption did they have? And what was their goal? The following pages will try to give an answer to these questions having in mind the political circumstances of 1647-1648.

5.2. Corpus: typologies and characteristics

During the search and collection of images, there were two main books that were of great help: the compilation made by Roberto de Simone, Christiane Groeben, Mario Melchionda and Aleid Peters, *Masaniello nella drammaturgia europea e nella iconografia del suo secolo* (1998) and the book by Alain Hugon, *Naples insurgée, 1647-1648. De l'événement à la mémoire* (2011).

In order to study the visual production of the revolt of 1647-1648, it was possible to assemble a total of 81 images, from archives, libraries and some private collections. The images used in the chapter can be divided in several categories, according to their physical characteristics: engravings – the most abundant one – painting, drawings, ceramics and coins. In the next pages, these materials will be analyzed having in consideration the relation between their goal, their material support, authorship and message.

Another important source, contemporary to the revolt, is the manuscript written by Sebastiano Molini. The book, with the title *Sollevazione di Tommaso Aniello di Napoli*¹ is a very rich tool for the researchers. It was written after 1648, as the memories of the friar seem to be fresh. It has a total of 176 folios (280x200mm) and it combines text with some curious colored images, engravings and drawings. It is a chronicle of every day of the revolt of 1647-1648, with the description of the main events of the 253 days of the revolt, starting on the 7th July 1647 until the 15th April 1648.

¹ This manuscript is in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna (BUB), ms. XX, 17th century. It is originally from the convent of SS. Salvatore, in Bologna, where it was listed in inventory with the number 271. It was removed from the convent by the French supports of Napoleon and taken to France. That explains why some of the pages have the stamps of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Sebastiano Molini was born on the 7th January 1610 in Bologna, son of Alessandro Molini. On the 7th March 1643 he joined the clergy, as a friar in the Canonici Lateranensi, from Bologna. On the 7th September of the same year he was sent to Naples in a mission from his order. He went first to the monastery of Santa Maria a Capella and then he moved to S. Agnello a Capo, both from the same order. He was then in Naples at the time of the revolt. This allowed him to be an eyewitness to the events. Moreover, in Naples, Molini was the person in charge of supplying the monastery of food, so he used to go out daily, to buy fish, fruit and vegetables. His mobility allowed him to have a privileged view on the main episodes that he later put down in words. But the true interest of this manuscript lies in the images it includes. Spinazzola called the attention to the fact that some of the images do not seem to be initially part of the manuscript, but they were incorporated later around 1680, when his notes are transcribed to the actual book we know.

The first image that opens the diary is an engraving of a letter published as a newsheet with the figure of a monster, the “*Nova osservazione sopra il prodigioso mostro apparso in Polonia. Interpretato sopra li successi di Tomaso Aniello d’Amalfi, occorsi nella Città di Napoli l’anno 1647*” [fig. 1]. This letter written by Andrea Naclerio, the *eletto del popolo* who had approved the reinstatement of the fruit, to Cornelio Spinola, consul of Genoa in Naples who had express his opposition to this measure, and it was written to announce the apocalypse in the city in July. The illustration of the monster obeyed to a traditional representation in news of abnormal beings, situations, wars, catastrophes, etc. It was very common all over Europe and the same exact image can be found in Polish, French, Italian and German prints².

Then, he introduced the revolt itself, by telling about the actions of Masaniello that he admits to have met personally: “*this nice figure that often had brought me fish*”³. The description is very vivid and interesting, not so much for the political and economical data – that is a kind of information that many other writers provide – but for the personal comments he makes. He explains how he sees the protagonists, their interventions, the impact the actions of one had on the others and how the revolt affected the city and its inhabitants. The incorporation of images, especially of Masaniello, of his family and of the participants in the revolt, gives this manuscript the personal touch of a journal, with no matching. His picturesque narrative is full of colors, life and emotions. He does not take any clear political sides, but he is clearly in favor of peace and

² Roberto de Simone, Christiane Groeben, Mario Melchionda and Aleid Peters, *Masaniello nella drammaturgia europea e nella iconografia del suo secolo*, 1998, p. 76.

³ Sebastiano Molini, *Sollevazione di Tommaso Aniello di Napoli*, fl. 6.

order. He insists on the negative impact of the violence that much displeases him and, in the end, he highlights how happy he is to go back to Bologna, far from the violent and cruel people of Naples.

Bartolommeo Capasso was the first historian to make reference to this manuscript, in his book *Masaniello ed alcuni della sua famiglia*, published in 1897. Then, Vittorio Spinazzola, in 1900, dedicated a short essay to some of the images that are used by Molini, analyzing them and giving fresh ideas on the interpretation made by Capasso. After these two studies, no other intents of a deep and serious analysis have been made, although there are many references in the books published in the last years.

The manuscript contains a total of 34 images and 26 printed sheets (brief texts that were usually fixed in the walls and in public places)⁴, drawings and engravings. Some of them were engravings he collected and bought during the revolt and inserted them in the book for future references. The majority of the images are figures of the revolt that illustrate the text. Capasso considers that these images might have the same origin as some cheap prints made out of wood models that were used for popular printed texts about histories of bandits, very much enjoyed by the population⁵. There are no similar images so probably these were extracted from another manuscript or publication that is now lost.

They all seem to be from the same author. In fact they are very similar: three are originals and were not retouched (39x28cm) and they represent Philip III on horse, and two galleys, one with the French coat of arms and the other with the Spanish one. The others that represent male figures are identical to the one of Philip III but with some adaptations. In the case of the representation of Francesco Toraldi, prince of Massa, for example, there was a change in the facial features and in the colors. The one of the duke of Guise running away on horse seems to have been shortened compared to the others. Respecting other images, Molini adds small details to confer authenticity to his illustrations. He added hats, moustaches, colors and attributes in order to get a better result to his colored illustrations. The figure that represents Juan Jose de Austria [fig. 2], for example, has a hat with feathers that were added by hand. In the case of the duke of Guise, in the first image [fig. 3], he has black hair and no facial hair, but in the one representing the “*Duca di Chisa fuggendo*” [fig. 4] has blond hair, a moustache and a beard. This

⁴ For a complete list of the images and texts, please see Appendix A.

⁵ Bartolommeo Capasso, *Masaniello. La sua vita la sua rivoluzione*, 1993, p. 162.

image, on its turn, it is similar to the one of Francesco Toraldi [fig. 5], prince of Massa, elected “*capitano generale del fedelissimo popolo*” on the 22nd August 1647, the same title given to Masaniello while he was still alive. In this representation, Molini shortened the hair, used different colors for the clothing and he added a battle scene in the background.

And he uses the same process with the family of Masaniello: his brother and the figure “*Masaniello di notte*” are made out of two similar images. Molini gives them hats, darkens their skin tone, he adds the moustaches and changes the colors and the pieces of clothing. In order to create “*Masaniello fuora di se*”, a fearsome character, he uses the image of the page of Juan José de Austria and gives him a tempestuous, almost insane look. His hair is almost blond and Molini added a hat and changed the movement of the horse and the legend.

Using these elements, Molini was able to create a rich iconography and a real gallery of the distinguished characters of the revolt. The use of other images such as engravings and copies of texts make a true witness of the revolt of 1647-1648.

5.3. State of the Art

As stated previously the identification between the revolt and Masaniello has led the historians to manifest their interest in the visual representations of the revolt. Bartolommeo Capasso dedicated an important part of his research to the portraits and engravings of Masaniello and his family, as well as R. Guariglia and Vittorio Spinazzola⁶. Their contributions were important considering the effort made of collecting engravings and paintings while trying to establish their origins and their formal characteristics. The teeming artistic environment in Naples made several cultural studies possible. Among them, it is important to note the researches of Gérard Labrot and R. Ruotolo⁷, who have conducted systematic studies on the collections and patronage in Naples in the Early Modern Age. Although these are not directly about the revolt and the visual communication, they help us understanding the relation between images and the public, as images often are present in inventories.

⁶ Bartolomeo Capasso, *La casa e la famiglia de Masaniello. Ricordi della storia e della vita nel secolo XVII*, 1919; Capasso, *La famiglia di Masaniello: episodio della storia napoletana nel secolo XVII. Illustrato con note e documenti*, 1919; R. Guariglia, "Ritratti in cera di Masaniello e dei suoi accoliti". In: *Rassegna storica salernitana* 1-2 (1944), pp. 46-48, Vittorio Spinazzola, *Masaniello e la sua famiglia secondo un codice del secolo 17*, 1900.

⁷ Gérard Labrot, *Peinture et société à Naples: XVIe-XVIIIe siècle: commandes, collections, marchés*, 2010; *Études napolitaines: villages, palais, collections: XVIe-XVIIIe siècles*, 1993; *Collections of paintings in Naples: 1600-1780*, 1992; and R. Ruotolo, “Collezioni e Mecenati napolitani del XVII secolo”. In: *Napoli Nobilissima* (1973), pp. 118-119, pp. 145-153; *Mercanti collezionisti fiamminghi a Napoli: Gaspare Roomer e i Vandeneiden*, 1982.

More recently, new studies carried out by historians from distinct geographical provenance have been published about Masaniello. These studies now integrate the fisherman in a wider political scenario. Alain Hugon in the end of 2011 published a book in which he dedicates a whole chapter to the visual representations of the Neapolitan revolt⁸. The author had the preoccupation of analyzing the revolt, resting Masaniello some of the excessive protagonism historiography gave him and placing him in an international scenario. The contributions of Silvana d'Alessio⁹ go in the same line of studies: a well-documented research on the protagonist at the light of the international events. Both try to search for the motives behind the canvases, their messages and possible recipients.

However, it is interesting to note that these are researches carried out by historians. The art historians have disdained the image production of the period, in detriment of the studies focused on the great Italian artists from the Early Modern Age. Two exceptions must be mentioned: Wendy Roworth¹⁰ and Christopher Marshall¹¹, two art historians who have worked on identifying some of the most relevant paintings of the painter Micco Spadaro related to the revolt. In these studies there is a clear preoccupation in studying in depth the image, from the artistic and historical point of view.

5.4. Political Arguments

5.4.1. Masaniello

The revolt of 1647-1648 became known as the 'revolt of Masaniello', attesting until a certain point, the importance of Masaniello¹². Since the first moment, he assumed the control and the protagonism and led the people of Naples into an uprising against the local government. His humble origins converted him in an unexpected leader and his importance shocked many people not only in Naples but all over Europe, as soon as the revolt started.

Almost every author contemporary to the events of 1647 who wrote about the revolt, occupied many lines in order to describe the protagonist of the revolt – Tommaso Aniello

⁸ Alain Hugon, *Naples insurgée: 1647-1648, De l'évènement à la mémoire*, 2011.

⁹ Silvana d'Alessio, *Contagi: la rivolta napoletana del 1647-'48 : linguaggio e potere politico*, 2003; *Masaniello: la sua vita e il mito in Europa*, 2007.

¹⁰ Wendy Wassing Roworth, "The Evolution of History Painting: Masaniello's Revolt and Other Disasters in Seventeenth-Century Naples". In: *The Art Bulletin* LXXV-2 (June 1993), pp. 221-34.

¹¹ Christopher R. Marshall, "'Causa di Stravaganze': Order and Anarchy in Domenico Gargiulo's *Revolt of Masaniello*". In: *The Art Bulletin* LXXX-3 (1998), pp. 478-95.

¹² A more developed reflection on the association "revolt of Masaniello" can be found in Chapter 1.

d'Amalfi or, as he was known, Masaniello. They were not only interested in his actions, in his relation with the political power, but also in his life, his costumes, clothes, habits and disposition¹³.

According to the *Libro XII dei battezzati*, on the 29th of June 1620, “*Thomaso Aniello son of Cicco [Francesco] d'Amalfi and Antonia Gargano was baptized by me D. Giovanni Matteo Peta and taken from the sacred fountain of Agostino Monaco and Giovanna de Lieto to the vico Ritto*”¹⁴.

Masaniello was often described¹⁵ as a 27 year old of medium height, almost short, slim, with tanned skin, good looking and agreeable. He had brown hair, short, falling on his large forehead. The eyes were dark, very enthusiastic, configured a rectangular face. He also had a big nose, no beard but a small blond moustache. He was a humble fisherman, who worked on the “*Pietra del pesce*”, selling fish. Sebastiano Molini states in his diary that Masaniello used to sell him fish¹⁶. Although he became known for his profession as a seller, he had other occupations that were not reflected with the same intensity in the visual production. Besides “*fishing fish with the fish cane and the hook, and take it and sell it to some people of his neighborhood*”¹⁷, Masaniello also provided services that helped him surviving.

Regarding his clothes, the same authors described them as: shirt and trousers of a thick and rough fabric, according to his social condition and he had a red sailor hat. He usually walked barefoot with nothing else in his legs but the trousers. On his neck, he carried the scapular of the Virgin of the Carmine, and according to some authors, a small crown on his waist (although this

¹³ Among the authors that have described Masaniello see: Aniello della Porta, *Causa di Stravaganze ovvero compendio istorico delli rumori e sollevazioni dei populi nella città e nel regno di Napoli*, BNN, XV F 49-51; Tizio della Moneca, *Istoria della rivoluzione di Napoli dell'anno 1647*, SNSP, XXVII B 16, pp. 1-241; Giuseppe Campanile, *Libro Primo. Quale contiene le cose degne di memoria accadute nella città di Napoli nel tempo delle sollevazioni popolari degl'anni 1647 e 1648*, SNSP XXVI D 5, pp. 1-722; Alessandro Giraffi, *Le rivoluzioni di Napoli*, 1647; Nescipio Liponari, *Relatione delle rivoluzioni popolari successe nel distretto e regno di Napoli nel presente anno*, 1648; R. Della Torre, *Raccolta di tutti i più rinomati scrittori dell'Istoria Generale del Regno di Napoli*, 1770, t. 8; and Giovanni Battista Birago, *Delle historie memorabili che contiene le sollevatione di stato di nostri tempi*, 1653.

¹⁴ Bartolomeo Capasso, *La famiglia di Masaniello: episodio della storia napoletana nel secolo XVII. Illustrato con note e documenti*, 1875, p.13.

¹⁵ De Turre, Giraffi, Sauli, Della Porta, Birago, Molini, Della Moneca, Pollio, Campanile. Cf. Silvana D'Alessio, *Masaniello*, 2007, p.62.

¹⁶ Sebastiano Molini, *Sollevazione di Tommaso Aniello di Napoli*, 1648, fl. 5.

¹⁷ Alessandro Giraffi, *Le rivoluzioni di Napoli*, 1647, p. 11, cit. por Silvana D'Alessio, *Masaniello*, p.62.

was probably information added after the events, in order to emphasize his noble character). Sometimes, he had “*wrapped on his neck a towel to dry the constant sweat of his brown*”¹⁸.

Since the first moment that it is possible to see the preoccupation in building a literary image of Masaniello, that was followed by the visual one. It demonstrates as well not only the concern that the authors had about his features, but the importance of giving to such a surprising creature a face and a physical image.

When Masaniello assumed the protagonism, his image found its reflex on the visual production almost immediately. He was depicted in distinctive supports: wax, canvases, paper, but following most of the times certain models of representation.

The most popular support for diffusing the image of the Neapolitan fisherman was, naturally, the paper, either in drawings or engravings, for their cheap cost and immediacy of printing. We preserve today an important number of drawings and engravings of Masaniello that obey – most of them – to a unique model of representation, facing left or right. These images [figs. 6-15] represent the fisherman standing on his feet, with the clothes previously described (the white and rough shirt and trousers, barefoot and sometimes wearing the red hat). One of the arms is raised, in position of command, and the other is bent, often pointing in the direction of the sky, as if Masaniello was interacting with the divine, as he commanded men inspired by the Virgin. This image was abundantly reproduced, introducing changes especially in the backgrounds, not in the main character. One could ask if this was the paradigm of the representation of the leaders in the 17th century. Traditionally only kings, princes and aristocrats or religious men of high rank used to be represented as military and political leaders. He does not have the attributes of power that could be found in the portraits of Philip IV, Juan Jose de Austria or cardinal Filomarino, but his representations contained important elements of leadership: the arm raised, sometimes he even had a *bastón de mando* (staff) – probably considering a more advance stage of representation and new needs of legitimation, and the other hand raised pointing upwards.

¹⁸ Francesco Carusi, *Narrazione del Tumulto seguito nella Città di Napoli*, 1647, Part I, p. 34, cited by Bartolommeo Capasso, *Masaniello: ricordi della storia e della vita napoletana*, 1979, pp. 141-142.

Considering the repetitiveness of the representations, it would be interesting to track the inspiring model that was so often repeated. Bartolomeo Capasso considers that an engraving made by Pietro Bacchi could be in the origin of all the other images¹⁹ and, as such, served as prototype for examples that will be presented in the next pages.

Pietro Bacchi was a Dutch engraver about who there is little information available²⁰. He seemed to be living in Naples at the time of the revolt (hence probably the adaptation for the Italian name) and the year of his death, 1650²¹. The engraving [fig. 6*] shows Masaniello according to the model previously described with the fisherman outfit. In the back, there is a representation of the city of Naples, with the castle of Sant'Elmo with the flag hoisted. In the bottom, a legend says “*Tomaso Anniello da Malfi al[ia]s Mas'Aniello Pesci Vendolo d'età d'Anni 23, acclamato Capo del Popolo di Napoli. A dì 7 di luglio dell'anno 1647. Pietro Bacchi dona e dedica e sculpsit superiorum permissa*” This must have been a popular image as it circulated as a loose print but also in the frontispiece of the *Relatione delle Rivolutioni Popolari sucesse nel Distretto e Regno di Napolo nel presente anno 1647* (Padua, 1648) by Nescipio Liponari, the true name of Alessandro Giraffi, the one the author used to sign his account that was translated in English, Dutch and German, besides eight known editions in Italian. The same engraving was also integrated precisely in the English translation of the book of Giraffi, *An exact history of the late revolutions in Naples: and of their monstrous successes, not to be parallel'd by any antient or modern history* (London, 1650).

As stated, if we consider this was the first engraved image of Masaniello, it soon became very popular. It must have arrived quickly to Paris, as [fig. 7] was printed in the French capital. It has a legend that says “*Envoyé de Naples / le Pourtrait au naturel de Thomaso: Ma=saniello pescheur de la ville de Naples et chef des soulevez*”. It is the same representation of Masaniello and it also contains a view of Naples, although this one presents slight changes. But it has the indication “*La ville de Naples*”. A third note in the bottom clarifies the provenience of the image: “*Rue St. Jacques chez Van Merlen devant le Coeur Bon*”. This Van Merle was Jacques Van Merle (1616-1682), a Flemish publisher and printer who moved to Paris in 1646, where he became a major publisher. He was friends with Balthasar Moncornet – the publisher of several

¹⁹ Bartolommeo Capasso, *La casa e la famiglia de Masaniello*, p. 158.

²⁰ According to Pietro Zani's *Enciclopedia metodica, critico-ragionata dele Belle Arti*, vol. III, 1820, p. 9, Pietro Bacchi used to sign as “*Petrus Baacchius inv. Fect et sculpsit. Scultore, Pittore ed incisore Fiammingo. Morto nel 1650*”, and it is all the information provided.

²¹ Bartolommeo Capasso, *Masaniello: ricordi della storia e della vita napoletana*, p. 157.

paintings of the Portuguese king John of Braganza, as he was the godfather of Van Merle's son, Pierre-Jacques²².

This image, as the previous one, must have been of great importance as well, as it went back to Naples. Innocenzo Fuidoro (which was the anagram of his true name, Vincenzo d'Onofrio) (1618-1692) was a part of a family of some prestige and was the chronicler of Naples, after Antonio Boulifon. He was therefore a very well informed person, with sources in the low sector of the nobility, who provided him the information he needed. It is understandable then that a portrait of Masaniello arrived to his hands. He is the attributed author of a drawing [fig. 8] of the fisherman based on the model previously described. It is a very schematic drawing and it contains a handwritten note on the right side that says "*Tomas Aniello d'Amalfi copiato da quello che fu stampato in Parigi e con cautela fu fatto vedere a curiosi in Napoli, et delle quattro parti ne sono tre al naturale per quello che testimifica chi se lo ricorda nel 1647. che ne furono portati li ritratti a pennello in più paesi in quel tempo*". This annotation offers important data. Firstly it mentions that his drawing was copied from the one printed in Paris – probably the image Van Merle printed. Then, Fuidoro says that the image was shown with precaution to some curious people, as if showing it openly could be a problem. We know the drawing was made after 1647, as Fuidoro says the image was very similar to the original Masaniello, according to those who had seen him alive. Finally, he says that handmade portraits of the fisherman were made and taken to other countries. This is an important information regarding the diffusion: not only the portraits were engraved, but they were also painted and then sent abroad.

But, apart from these, there are several others that use the same style of representation, with slight changes. The [figs. 9 and 10] are drawings of Masaniello, in color, certainly inspired in the Bacchi's representation. The first one [fig. 9*] is part of the Molini's manuscript, and about it, Molini wrote that "*This morning 6th July 1647 Saturday. I went as I usually did on this day to the fish market, and I went to the gabella and I met this beautiful figure that often had brought me fish*"²³. As it was said before, Sebastiano Molini knew Masaniello personally, as he used to sell him fish and identifies him with the conflicts against the tax offices. However, the writing of his diary is posterior and so must have been the drawings. It is perfectly possible that he obtained a portrait of Masaniello and copied it – as he did for other images. The other image [fig. 10*] is

²² Henri Herluisen, *Actes d'État-Civil d'Artistes Français*, 1873, p. 442.

²³ Sebastiano Molini, *Sollevazione di Tommaso Aniello di Napoli*, fl. 6.

from Giovanni Batista Denti and it presents a very similar figure. The thing these two images have in common that differentiates them from the previous ones is the colour, and in particular the red colour of the hat Masaniello is wearing. The descriptions of the chronicles do not mention a red hat. On this subject, Francesco Benigno stated that during the first days of the revolt, Masaniello was represented with nothing on his head, but then he gained a white hat. The red, colour of war, was introduced later in October, to express the will of fighting from the popular sectors. It was only in that moment that the iconographical tradition started representing the fisherman and the other *lazzari* in red hats²⁴. The Denti's drawing, in fact, even adds a red vest to the traditional outfit of Masaniello, which leads us to think that it dates back – at least – to the end of 1647.

In two other portraits of Masaniello [**figs. 11 and 12**] it can be observed that although they are not identical, they strictly obey to the same model of representation, with the only difference of being turned to the opposite side of the previously described images. In both images the fisherman is depicted with the moustache and he is wearing the shirt and trousers, without the vest that is possible to see in some images. The drawing in [**fig. 11**] is placed in the first page of a manuscript conserved in the Vatican Library²⁵. The legend points that it is a “*Ritratto di Massaniello Sollevatore del Popolo Napolitano*”. The second one [**fig. 12**] represents Masaniello with the same characteristics (standing with one hand pointing towards the side). It is integrated in the already mentioned book of Alessandro Giraffi, “*An exact history of the late revolution*”, published in 1650 and it can be found as a print as well. This image contains as a title “Masaniello The Fisherman of Naples”, and it is interesting to observe as he is depicted with the staff again. In the back, there is a scene representing a fight – a clear representation of an episode from the revolt of July 1647. In the center of the fight, there is a column with the statue of Fame. Behind Masaniello and in front of the tumult there is a building that could be the palace of the viceroy: the conflict takes place in front of a symbolic structure, as the vindications were to change the forms of government and power in Naples. As a whole, this is a complex engraving with a message aimed at a cultivated audience that had the means to decode the intricate meanings of the emblematic tradition of so popular at the time in certain cultural circles.

²⁴ Francesco Benigno, *Espejos de la revolución*, p. 186.

²⁵ It is the Ms. Barb. Lat. 7608. See *Masaniello: nella drammaturgia europea e nella iconografia*, p. 326.

It is hard to establish a sequence of the production of these images: which came first? Which ones are simultaneous? Did one inspired another? Trying to provide an answer to these interrogations is a hard task and it is based mostly in speculation. However, it is interesting to provide an attempt of the chronology of the image of Masaniello.

The first portraits described – the first one by Bacchi and the second one printed in Paris – represent Masaniello in relation to the city. He is represented as the captain of Naples, as in many portraits of figures of power – princes and generals – that are often depicted in triumph with battle scenes, conquered cities or important capitals where they rule. Masaniello, in pose of commander, is the captain of Naples during his 10 days of glory. A painting, attributed to Onofrio Palumbo, depicts the same model of representation of Masaniello, but with a superior quality [fig. 13*]. Masaniello is painted with no moustache, brown jacket, large trousers and a staff in the right hand. The staff was the traditional symbol of the generals. In the back, there is a representation of Naples. Masaniello is represented in the clothes of a fisherman with the attributes of a general with the city view in the back: Masaniello was the captain general of the *popolo* in the city of Naples.

The presence of the red hats and red pieces of clothing point towards a posterior chronology, towards to the republican period.

This same red hat is present in more images, such as [fig. 14*]. In this case, under the figure of Masaniello, there is the following text: “*Tomasso Aniello Di Amalfi âgé de 24 ans. Ce Pourtrait a esté envoyé par Monsieur Gueffier Resident pour le Roy a Rome comme piece authentique et curieuse... Ce Tomasso Aniello fut celuy qui esmeut la sedición a Naples, et fut le general de la populace contre les Espagnols en 1647. Il estoit brasseur [words unreadable] pauvre poissannier en 1647*”.

In other cases, we know the image because it is part of a book, but one must wonder: was the image engraved specifically for that work? Or was it a known image that was included in the book? This could be the case of [fig. 15], which represents Masaniello as a charismatic leader. The engraving is part of the book *Napoli Sollevata. Narratione degli accidenti occorsi in detta citta dalli 7 luglio 1647 sino li 20 marzo 1648* (Bologna, 1650) by Diego Amatore. This was one of the first narratives of the whole revolt, completely in favour of the authority of the monarchy and it was dedicated to the duke of Parma. It shows Masaniello in a stage with a flag on his left hand. His right hand is on his lips as if he was asking for silence before talking. Behind him,

there is a crowd with drums and pikes. The most interesting aspect of this image is the legend: “*el maior monstruo del mundo y prodixio dela Italia Tomas Aniielo de Amalfi*”. The monstrosity here, according to Benigno, consists in the combination of two elements that are understood as contrastive and opposite: the clothes of fisherman and the attitude of commander²⁶. Poverty and sovereignty are here combined attesting once more the social inversion lived during the revolt of 1647-1648.

This idea of leadership was well received by the population, who conceived itself as the flock of David, against the wolves²⁷. The fisherman, humble and illiterate, became an icon, side by side with the saints, the Virgin and the miracles that were deeply connected with the Neapolitan culture²⁸. This was a phenomenon that took place after his death. While alive, Masaniello was the military captain of the people who followed him, but after his death, he became a spiritual leader as well. As it was seen before, the death of Masaniello, instead of putting an end to the revolt, it had the opposite effect. For some time that the image of Masaniello had been controversial. The idea of the madness of the fisherman – discussed in chapter 1 – had been spread in Naples. The shouts were against Masaniello at the time he fell death on the floor. On the 16th he was killed and decapitated. According to Campanile, his head was placed in a pike and exhibited in triumph in the city. Then, the head was left in the Fosse del Grano, next to the Palazzo degli Studi, where Michelangelo Ardizzone, the head of the murderers responsible for the assassination of Masaniello, lived. But the people started looking for the head and it was handed over. It was cleaned with wine and myrrh and more than one painter made portraits of it²⁹. The writer De Sanctis stated that meanwhile the people had headed to the Porta Lovalana, where they exhumed the body of Masaniello, with the license of Filomarino. Head and body of Masaniello were reunited in a white sheet and taken to the church of Santa Maria del Carmine. While his funeral rites were being prepared, many painters went to paint his portrait. Some made it of wax, “*molto al natural e ognuno ne cercava, ognuno ne voleva senza guardare a prezzo*”³⁰. At this moment, even before the celebration of the funeral

²⁶ Francesco Benigno, *Espejos de la revolución*, p. 174.

²⁷ Francesco Benigno, *Espejos de la revolución*, p. 176.

²⁸ Jean-Michel Sallmann, *Naples et ses saints à l'âge baroque (1540-1750)*, 1994, pp. 369-376.

²⁹ Campanile, *Diario*, f. 19, cited by Bartolommeo Capasso, “Masaniello ed alcuni di sua familia”, p. 12.

³⁰ Santis, *Istoria del tumulto*, p. 116, cited by Bartolommeo Capasso, “Masaniello ed alcuni di sua familia”, pp. 12-13.

started, an adoration of the fisherman was generated: people were looking for the portraits, buying them with no regards for the price asked. The already described funerals of the people's *captain* showed well the evolution in the image of the fisherman during these hours. There was an absolute identification between Masaniello and the population that had become a martyr. The canonization and the idea of saint were applied by the population to Masaniello. The cardinal Filomarino himself described the honours and respects paid to the body as "*come a corpo di persona Beata*" and a man who understood liturgy used the term: "*it was canonized by the riot the innocence of Masaniello*" ("*era canonizzata da queste turbe l'innocenza di Masaniello*")³¹. The [fig. 16] reflects this aura of sanctity. It is a painting by Giacomo Farelli (1624-1706), and it depicts Masaniello death, on the floor, with bare chest and the fist closed, as if moments ago he had been still fighting, almost like Jesus.

He was seen as a man above all the others, an expression of a superior will, the arm of the Lord at the same time he was poor and walked barefoot, as the prophet of the liberty³². Everything had been done in order to protect the poor and injusticed ones, forgotten by the authorities of Naples. Masaniello was the prodigy whose arrival was prophesised: he was the reincarnation of the Holy Spirit, a Christ that sacrificed himself for his people. Providing the sacred characteristics to Masaniello, the people managed to create an archetype that granted the religious dimension to the cause of the rebels, legitimating it³³.

The religious language allowed the construction of a discourse that legitimated the violence and the rebellion against the injustice and tyranny in name of a superior justice. This was an idea that circulated abundantly in the literature and as part of a culture of political religiosity. Exaltation, superstitions and miracles were part of the religious experiences, a tendency increased in the light of the Counter-Reformation³⁴. Alessandro Giraffi, in a narrative about the revolt, stated that "*consciously sacrificed himself for the common good*"³⁵, while the jurist Francesco Marciano and Martino del Balzo told the Barberini their impression that since the first day of the outburst, an unusual sense of the sacred "*rinova il mondo*", as they attributed to

³¹ Giambattista Altieri al cardinale Segretario di Stato [Giov. Giac. Panciroli], Napoli, 20 luglio 1647, ASV, Nunziat, Napoli, 42, f. 379 cited by Romeo De Maio, *Pittura e controriforma a Napoli*, 1983, pp.153-154.

³² Francesco Benigno, *Espejos de la revolución*, p. 175.

³³ On the Baroque saints and the value of the relics see José Luís Bouza, *Religiosidad contrarreformista y cultura simbólica del barroco*, 1990 and on the canonization of Masaniello see Romeo di Maio, *Pittura e Controriforma a Napoli*, 1983, pp. 153-159.

³⁴ José Luís Bouza, *Religiosidad contrarreformista y cultura simbólica del barroco*, 1990, p. 43.

³⁵ Alessandro Giraffi, *Rivoluzione di Napoli*, 1844, p. 175.

Masaniello visions, divine inspiration and a profound religiosity and Catholic orthodoxy³⁶. And it met with the visual production as well. Masaniello, the martyr, was a tool of the divine power at the same time he acted for himself³⁷. There was then the need of visualize him, of distributing images of him on the streets. Masaniello had been visited by the Virgin and had her protection all the time.

The use of the image certainly obeyed to cultural and religious traditions, but it was a way of seeking legitimacy as well. The idea of the Madonna del Carmine descending to the earth and the sight of her of Masaniello quickly spread, and often associations with David and the Maccabees were made, against the Hydra of the nobility and the bad councilors of the king of Spain. Although there is no direct translation of these discourses into images, there are some visual elements that confirm it. The **[fig. 17]** is a good example of this argumentation. Masaniello is represented with the scapular of the Virgin del Carmine on his chest. This is a very interesting representation of Masaniello. It is very different from the regular model that was usually seen. This painting is part of the collection of the Prince Rospigliosi. It represents Masaniello standing, with the left hand in his waist and the right hand resting on a sword. He is wearing the traditional fisherman clothes without a hat, the scapular and in the bottom part there is an anagram (AAEILLMNOS) for Masaniello and the numbers 2,3,7,6,8,9,1,2,10 that indicate the position of every letter in the word 'Masaniello'. It was a gift to the pope Clement IX, previously cardinal Giulio Rospigliosi from the apostolic nuncio in Naples, Emilio Altieri. The fact that the responsible for the ecclesiastical policy in Naples sent the pope a portrait of Masaniello with the sword and scapular was significant of the importance of the fisherman as a religious element.

In the same way, in **[fig. 18]**³⁸ it can be seen Masaniello, still alive, talking to the people with the scapular visible. The accounts also narrated the miracle attributed to the fisherman: his head and body united in front of the people in the church and his devotion became exemplary.

The images, the association between the Virgin and Masaniello, the miracle and references such as "*emanated the smell of a beatified person*"³⁹ were created in order to open the ways to the construction of an unexpected yet predestined hero. Masaniello was the evangelic paradigm

³⁶ Biblioteca Vaticana, cod. Barb. Lat. 7608, cited by Romeo De Maio, *Pittura e controriforma a Napoli*, p. 154.

³⁷ Alain Hugon, "Le violet et le rouge. Le cardinal-archevêque Filomarino, acteur de la révolution napolitaine (1647-1648)". In: *Les Cahiers du CRHQ* 1 (2009), p. 14.

³⁸ The complete image can be seen in **[fig. 43]**.

³⁹ For a deeper reflection on the importance on the smell of sanctity see André Vauchez, *La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge*, 1981.

of Christ: his death was foreseen, announced, he was betrayed by his friends, handled over to his enemies but in the end he resurged and appeared to his followers⁴⁰.

But his influence was perceived by the population while he was still alive. Political and ecclesiastical representatives were forced to show interest and share its glory. On this subject, the cardinal Filomarino wrote: “*Masaniello became such a symbol of authority, of command, respect and obedience in this few days, that he made the whole city tremble with his orders, and he was followed by his men with punctuality and rigor: he showed prudence, good judgment and moderation; to sum up, he became a king of this city, the most glorious and triumphant that the world had ever seen*”⁴¹. Whether this was a dissimulation exercise or not, the same feeling was shared by the viceroy who, although did not admire the fisherman - how could he? – he received him with all the honors usually reserved to the members of the aristocracy. Contemporary narratives described how the Masaniello changed his traditional fisherman clothes for rich clothes, ornamented with silk, riding a horse, with a sword and a hat with feathers. There is an absolute inversion of the social values, politically and socially speaking. The fisherman leaves behind his humble origins and transforms into a man of the same social level as the viceroy, accompanied by his wife, promoted to an equal of the vicereine. This peculiar scenario was naturally represented – it gave Masaniello and his family a legitimacy that otherwise would be very hard to achieve. In his collection of illustrations, Molini dedicates two to Masaniello [**figs. 19 and 20**] that in his narrative show two moments after the famous meeting with the duke of Arcos. In both Masaniello is on horse and wearing a hat with feathers. In the first one, he is carrying a staff and in the second one a sword. In both he is finely dressed and the horses carry admirable ornaments. The [**fig. 20**] had the additional value given by the legend “*Massaniello fuora di se*”. In this image, Molini was referring to the last days of Masaniello and to the so-called and already discussed “madness of Masaniello”. His comments focused on the leader’s incapacity to exercise power, for his authoritarian, despotic and cruel temper in those days. Even his peers were thinking of him as another tyrant. After his death, Filomarino wrote to the pope

⁴⁰ The Church was not too interested in accepting the sacred treatment that was being given to Masaniello, so when the plague appeared in 1656, they were able to argue that it was a form of punishment and consequently remove the sacred character from Masaniello.

See Romeo De Maio, *Pittura e controriforma a Napoli*, p. 157.

⁴¹ F. Palermo, "Sette lettere del cardinal Filomarino al papa". In: *Archivio Storico Italiano* IX (1846), pp.379-393, p. 385, letter from Monday, 12th July 1647.

saying: “*the terror and the fright that Masaniello caused, as head and author of the popular uprising in this city, with his furious and tyrannical way of proceeding*”⁴². Construction and rehearsed discourse or not, this was an idea that not only circulated in written books and letters but that Molini decided to save in an image.

But going back to the rich clothes of Masaniello on the day of the meeting with the viceroy; that change was a necessary elaboration of the figure of the fisherman and an exception in his short political career. He stood out during his 10 days of glory as the person who kept faithful to his humble origins regarding his outfit. He did an exception the day he met the viceroy, changing his shirt and trousers for more noble clothes. On this matter, Filomarino wrote, “*He did not dress anything but a shirt and trousers of white cloth used by the fishermen, barefeet and nothing on his head; he did not want to change except for the visit to the Viceroy*”⁴³. And this change of clothes was perceived by the visual production as well. There are two known images [**figs. 21 and 22**] that reflect the change in Masaniello. On one hand, they show the fisherman according to the scheme of representation already seen: standing position, facing right, with the left arm on his side and the opposite arm pointing. But, on the other hand, they introduce two novelties: the clothes and attributes of a member of the aristocracy (doublet, konickerbockers, the justacorps and a sword) and the arm is bent, with his hand pointing upwards in direction of the sky, an allusion to the divine protection. A last detail in these images is that Masaniello keeps his sailor hat. This mixture of elements was probably necessary in the construction of the hero: he changed his clothes as the situation required it – and he was described wearing the hat with feathers, but the posterior discourse that was implemented aimed at establishing a hero that kept his humble roots in all the moments, even in the meetings with the authorities. The first image is attributed to Giovanni Battista Denti⁴⁴. The second one is very similar but it has more details in the clothing and there is a legend: “*Masaniello da Menfi vendipesce d’ani 23 sedotto capit gen del popolo di Napoli 1647*”.

⁴² F. Palermo, "Sette lettere del cardenal Filomarino al papa", p.387, letter from the 16th July 1647 cited by Alain Hugon, "Le violet et le rouge. Le cardinal-archevêque Filomarino, acteur de la révolution napolitaine (1647-1648)", pp.15-16, n. 49.

⁴³ F. Palermo, "Sette lettere del cardenal Filomarino al papa", p. 385.

⁴⁴ Roberto De Simone et al., *Masaniello nella drammaturgia europea e nella iconografia del suo secolo*, 1998, p. 67.

But not all the images were made from the same archetype. Other representations offer a different approach to the image of the fisherman. The [fig. 23], for example, is different. Masaniello presents distinctive facial features and body: he is still dressed as a fisherman and he is pointing towards in a commanding position, but he also has a fishing rod and the hat is more of a soft cap, a beret, instead of the traditional sailor hat. We have no further information on this image, but the indication “Naples” in the reverse page, which indicates its possible English origins.

Another important element is the diffusion of these images. The possession of portraits had a different meaning from the actuality⁴⁵. Having a portrait did not express necessarily political sympathies. The association “image” and “carrier” did not imply devotion, an attachment or a political alliance with the protagonist/scene represented in the image. Therefore, it is easier to understand the wide circulation of portraits of Masaniello that took place after his death. Wax portraits have been mentioned before, and certainly Vincenzo di Medici, resident of Tuscany in Naples, referred to one of them when on the 20th August 1647 he wrote to the great duke: “*It has arrived to my hands two portraits in wax of Maso Aniello that were made for the viceroy, to send to Spain; and as the memory of this man that disturbs so much the memory of Your Excellence, the agreement was undone*”. It is interesting to note that the viceroy himself had commissioned portraits of Masaniello to send them to Spain, where he was seen as a despicable person. Moreover, Vincenzo added important details in his letter: “*It was very hard to get them; and I send them to Your Excellence with the security that no one will ever have such a natural, as they were done while he was still alive and not even an artist has a copy. And this is the plebeian, the meanest of the 600.000 people, that more often has touched the beard of the Viceroy saying he should not fear the extravaganza of the world*”⁴⁶. According to this last piece of information, portraits of Masaniello had been done while he was still alive hence the resemblance. A final consideration regards the fact that not even the artist kept a copy of the image. Was this an attempt to control the spread of the image of the fisherman? It was August, it had passed just a month after the death of the fisherman and the population was impregnated with faith and feelings of devotion for Masaniello, the martyr. There are two portraits in wax that

⁴⁵ On this question, see Fernando Bouza, “Por no usarse. Sobre uso, circulación y mercado de imágenes políticas en la alta Edad Moderna”. In: Joan Lluís Palos and Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, *La Historia Imaginada. Construcciones visuales del pasado en la Edad Moderna*, pp. 41-64.

⁴⁶ “Documenti sulla storia economica e civile del Regno, cavati dal Carteggio degli Agenti del Granduca di Toscana in Napoli”. In: *Archivio Storico Italiano* IX (1846), pp. 243-355, p. 352.

survived to our present day. The first one, [fig. 24], is a representation of the head of Masaniello. [Fig. 25] is the other possibility, it represents the bust of the fisherman, with the white shirt and the red hat and contains has a legend: “*Vera effigie & abominada memoria d’un vile sollvato di Pop.º Tomas Aniello D’Amalfi*”. This one contains a clear negative message about the character of Masaniello. It does not mention shocking contrasts of power and poverty, nor does it put in evidence the leading aptitudes of the fisherman. Instead, it just highlights his vile character. This is the kind of image that could have been made to send to Spain as a representation and a piece of evidence of the events of 1647.

If we understand the possession of portraits of Masaniello by people who were loyal to the king and to the viceroy as a documentation process, then it is possible to see why other men loyal to Philip IV, as Giovanni Battista Capece Piscicelli had a portrait of Masaniello in his gallery⁴⁷, side by side with one of Juan José de Austria. Piscicelli was a member of the aristocratic *seggio* of Capuana and residence in a palace behind the monastery of SS Apostoli, hence he was probably not in favor of the revolt. Even before, only a week after the death of Masaniello, on the 23rd of July, Francesco Ottoneli, the resident from Modena in Naples, wrote to the duke of Modena, Francesco I d’Este, sending him “*a drawing of Masaniello and a text about the accidents occurred after his death*”⁴⁸.

Feared and hated, but also loved and admired, Masaniello was the subject of several other representations. Many historians have insisted on the support that he had from the artists in Naples. Painters such as Micco Spadaro and Salvatore Rosa, distinguished artists, and Aniello Falcone, master of this generation of painters, were authors of many representations. Of course when one considers these images, it must be considered their patrons as well. That is why a drawing of Masaniello made by Aniello Falcone [fig. 26] is more than a mere reflection of support. This drawing has a very detailed inscription on its back: “*Era questo disegno in un libro di disegni ch’io comprai l’anno 1683 in Napoli da Andrea de Leone decrepito, e me disse, che il*

⁴⁷ The only information available about this portrait is the one present in an inventory: “un ottangolo piccolo di Masanello con cornice intagliata di Spadaro” that is placed “alla prima camara a man sinistra videlicet”. See *Archivio di Stato di Napoli*, scheda 550, prot. 20, ffs. 760v-763. Information gathered in the database Getty Provenance.

⁴⁸ Bartolommeo Capasso on this point adds that unfortunately, both the text as the portrait are not in the *Archivio di Stato*, in the *Carteggio degli ambasciatori Estensi a Napoli*, Cancillaria nell’*Archivio di Stato di Modena*. Bartolommeo Capasso, *Masaniello ed alcuni di sua famiglia*, p.17.

detto libro era del Duca di Tarsia vecchio”⁴⁹. According to the note, it comes from a book of drawings that belonged to the collection of the duca di Tarsia. Later this book went into the possession of his pupil, Andrea di Lione, who in 1683 sold it. The only element here identifying the head of Masaniello is the word of the buyer. F. Saxl indicated in an article that the attribution of the drawing to Masaniello could be a way of getting a better payment, but his representations were abundant and there was no reason why it could be true. Ferrante Spinelli, duke of Tarsia was one of Falcone’s closest patrons, and for a time, the painter lived in the palace with the duke.

Andrea di Lione was also the author of two portraits of Masaniello. The first one, [fig. 27] is very similar to the one made by his master Falcone. And the second one [fig. 28] is very different. This second representation, of Masaniello without the clothes of a fisherman and no attributes of commandment exclude the exaltation of leadership. However, when compared with the portrait of St. Agatha [fig. 28A], this Masaniello reflects an idea of “half blood, half saint”, as Fritz Saxl described it⁵⁰.

To sum up, the figure of Masaniello assembled a great variety of meanings and symbolic contents. The characteristics the fisherman was given meant a complete distortion of the social order and converted him in a political subject. In his way, Masaniello was a fisherman and a king, a rebel and a saint, he was disdained but he was loved. Masaniello was a tool in the hands of a small group of intellectuals but he became much more than that: he turn out to be the symbol of the rupture.

5.4.2. The family of Masaniello

The family of Masaniello also captured the attention of the artists and that reflected in the production of images. The first consideration about these family representations is their idealized content. There was a general *upgrade* on their social condition so they could contribute to the construction of the image of the fisherman. The idealization of the family, with a strong and forced insistence on their noble character and military abilities creates the idea of continuity, of dynasty. There is a search of the ideal family for the ideal leader, so it is very important to show his background as of moral superiority.

⁴⁹ F. Saxl, “The Battle Scene without a Hero. Aniello Falcone and His Patrons”. In: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 3-1/2 (1939-1949), pp. 70-87, p. 84, n. 4.

⁵⁰ Fritz Saxl, “The Battle Scene without a Hero. Aniello Falcone and His Patrons”. p. 85.

At the age of 21, Masaniello married Bernardina Pisa, a young lady of 16 years old. In their wedding there were his sister, Grazia d'Almalfi and her husband, Cesare di Roma di Gragnano; his brother Giovanni that in 1647 would have an important position side by side with Masaniello; Girolamo Donnarumma, a brother-in-law of the fisherman that after his death was promoted to *capitano del popolo*⁵¹. They lived in the *Piazza del Mercato*, the scenario where the revolt started.

The raise of the taxes on food, especially on the bread, led to an increased cost of living, which affected several families in Naples, like Bernardina and Masaniello. Trying to face the misery of their living conditions, Bernardina used to smuggle small amounts of food, as flour. When his wife was caught, before the summer of 1647, by the authorities and sentenced to a fine of 100 *escudos* and eight days of jail⁵², Masaniello started expressing his discontentment towards the authorities.

Tension increased on the following weeks, until the 7th of July 1647. In this day and the ones that followed it, the family of the fisherman shared his fame and success and it is brought to the first scene of the events, especially his wife and his brother.

Giovanni d'Amalfi was since the first moment his right hand and on the 13th July, he went with his brother to visit the vicerojal palace, dressed with Turkish silver threads. He also accompanied him in the gondola of the viceroy in Polisipo, and on the day before Masaniello, they went together and 500 other men to capture the Diomede Carafa, the duke of Maddaloni. Despite the political role of Giovanni, there is only one known representation of him, in the diary of Sebastiano Molini [fig. 29], that shows Giovanni on horse, dressed in a very elegant garment and a hat with plumes. A second problem concerning this image is the fact that Molini identifies him as *Matteo d'Amalfi, Fratello de Masaniello*. In the manuscript, on this subject, he wrote that “when the news that the Duke had escaped to Benevento to Masaniello, he dispatched his brother on horse with many people to capture him death or alive and in any case to bring him to his presence”⁵³. The description points that Giovanni and Matteo should be the same person, and that was probably a mistake of the friar.

⁵¹ For more information on this, see Bartolommeo Capasso, *La famiglia di Masaniello: episodio della storia napoletana nel secolo XVII*, pp.14-15.

⁵² Bartolommeo Capasso, *La famiglia di Masaniello: episodio della storia napoletana nel secolo XVII*, pp.17-18.

⁵³ Sebastiano Molini, *Sollevazione di Tommaso Aniello di Napoli*, fl. 14.

The [fig. 30] represents the brother-in-law of Masaniello. He is well dressed, with a hat and on his left hand he has a memorial dedicated to the *Signor Capitan General del Fedelissimo popolo di Napoli, Li signor di Salerno*.

On the other hand, there were the feminine elements of the family. His wife, Bernardina, seemed to have had a great influence over her husband and those who followed him. This might explain why the viceroy worked so hard in keeping her happy, through valuable gifts and invitations to the palace⁵⁴. B. Capasso, in a compilation of documents he published, transcribed one that states the following: “*the viceroy and the vicereine alternated in sending gifts to Masaniello and to his wife, brought by soldiers of their guard*” and “*the vicereine has sent as a gift to the wife of the mentioned Tommaso Aniello another gold necklace (alla siviaglia) to Giovanni d’Amalfi, brother of the mentioned Tommaso Aniello*”⁵⁵.

On the 14th July in the afternoon, a carriage pulled by six horses and four soldiers of the German Guard stopped in front of the couple’s house. Bernardina accompanied by other women of her family entered the carriage. She was wearing luxurious clothes, of silk and gold, ornamented with lace and ribbons. She also had a petticoat, an accessory that recently had become fashionable, introduced by the Duchess of Monterrey. On her neck she was wearing a gold necklace, a gift from the vicereine the Duchess of Arcos. The other women were also elegantly dressed and her sister, Grazia, was carrying her new-born baby, also wearing rich clothes. While they were passing the streets, the people stopped to watch, curious and envious, shouting respectfully “*Viva Spagna, viva il popolo, viva Masaniello*”. In the entrance of the garden of the palace, the women stopped. Bernardina occupied the seat of the vicereine. When they arrived to the stairs of the palace, they were received by the captain of the guards, who led them into the presence of the vicereine. She greeted Bernardina in Spanish: “*Sea V. S. Illustrissima muy bienvenida*”. Bernardina answered kissing and hugging her: “*Vosta Eccellenza è la viceregina delle signore, e dio sono la viceregina delle popolane*”. Whether this is true or it was made up by the contemporaries we do not know. Either way, it reveals a construction of a specific character. There is clearly an *upgrade* of the social status of Bernardina, entering a social circle that in normal circumstances would be completely excluded.

⁵⁴ Bartolommeo Capasso, *La famiglia di Masaniello: episodio della storia napoletana nel secolo XVII*, p. 25.

⁵⁵ Bartolommeo Capasso, *La famiglia di Masaniello: episodio della storia napoletana nel secolo XVII*, p 80.

In [fig. 31] there is a representation of Bernardina, which depicts a woman with a decorated hat, gold necklace, dress with ribbons and lace and a basket with exotic fruits that depicts her according to her new luxurious life, with a delicate face, a nice hairstyle, very fashionable among the Neapolitan aristocracy, with an elegant dress, necklace and earrings. The [fig. 32] represents Masaniello's sister who is depicted in a similar way in a ceramic plate. In [fig. 33] it is possible to see another representation of the sister, with no hat and her hands are free. Yet, she is well dressed and wears a gold necklace. All sources agree that both women visited the palace and they tried to match the vicereine in elegance and pose. But it is very possible that these portraits obeyed to an idealized conception of their status. It was very hard to transform a woman from the lowest social stratum and convert her in a princess in just a couple of days: it was not only the clothes but also the gestures, behavior, the eloquence and education. No matter how much gold Bernardina and Grazia wore on their necks, hardly they could be indeed mistaken by high society members. These visual representations tried to complement this gap between the ideal and the reality.

However, all this changed dramatically after the assassination of Masaniello. When the news arrived, Bernardina lost her senses. An edict from the 16th July forced the people to “*restitute and give back to our power [of the viceroy] every clothes, gold, dinars, silver, paintings and every object of the sort, that if it is found in possession of any person, taken by Tommaso Aniello d'Amalfi or any other on his name from any person or any house, and those who are found with such possessions incur into a penalty of confiscation of their belongings*”⁵⁶. This implied that Bernardina and all those who had profited from the viceroy generosity in a time of need had to return everything to its legitimate owner. After the glory of the *virregna del popolo*, the viceroy was now trying to install his power back.

The glory days of Masaniello were used by his family in order to obtain their own personal profit, to be admired and respected. These aspirations found their reflection in the visual representations, but their quick social climbing was followed by an even quicker descent. A group led by Carlo Catania di Bracigliano, a former friend and also one of the people implicated in his death, entered the house of Bernardina, got her and Grazia and took them to the palace, while he mistreated and humiliated them on the streets of the city, before everyone who was passing by. It was even necessary the intervention of the cardinal Filomarino and of the popular

⁵⁶ Bartolommeo Capasso, *La famiglia di Masaniello: episodio della storia napoletana nel secolo XVII*, p. 29.

elect, Francesco Arpaia, who asked the people to show some clemency. They were imprisoned in Castel Nuovo, together with the brother, brother-in-law and other members of Masaniello's family that after his death had tried to escape or hide⁵⁷. The women of the family were taken outside Naples, Giovanni was killed and buried one night with the maximum discretion and Bernardina ended up dying of the plague in 1656. The sole fact that we do have this information demonstrates that her memory was kept alive after the repression of the revolt.

5.4.3. Other characters of the revolt

Masaniello, the poor and humble fisherman, did not leave anyone indifferent to his action. Either positive or negative, many were the opinions expressed by several contemporaries who participated in the revolt: the cardinal Filomarino, the Duke of Arcos, Giulio Genoino, etc. Most of these men had important positions and met him personally. They tried in several moments to negotiate and cooperate with him. Masaniello's lack of political preparation was highly compensated with his charisma that allowed him to control the crowds. The contact and contrast between the fisherman and the political and religious authorities of Naples did not go unperceived by the artists and image consumers. They produced and consumed images that reflected these relations established in 1647.

Although the revolt became known as "the revolt of Masaniello", many historians consider that the young man was influenced and encouraged by Giulio Genoino, a Neapolitan jurist⁵⁸. At the time of the insurrection, Genoino had a solid position as *eletto del popolo*, and he had closely monitored the discontentment in the decades of 1630 and 1640. He had the conviction that the precarious situation and the misery affecting the people was a direct result of the disparity of powers between aristocracy and the people in the city administration⁵⁹. He was able to put together a small group of people who shared his views on the bad government, such as Francesco Arpaia – represented by Molini after being declared *eletto del popolo* [fig. 34], the Carmelite Savino Boccardo, the jurist Marco Vitale and several captains from the *ottine* of Naples. Through the contacts of Vitale, Genoino established contact with Masaniello, a man that had been for some time the spokesman of the complaints against the pressure of the taxes. According to some

⁵⁷ Bartolommeo Capasso, *La famiglia di Masaniello: episodio della storia napoletana nel secolo XVII*, pp.30-31.

⁵⁸ On Giulio Genoino see: Nicola Napolitano, *Masaniello and Giulio Genoino. Mito e coscienza di una rivolta*, 1962.

⁵⁹ C. Manfredi, "Il cardinale arcivescovo Ascanio Filomarino nella rivoluzione di Masaniello". In: *Samnium XXII* (1949), p. 77.

authors, this contact allowed Genoino to convert Masaniello in a tool to put in practice his revolutionary plan, at the same time he could keep under control the anarchical tendencies of the population. He was also represented by Molini in his diary [fig. 35] and engravings of Masaniello and Genoino together circulated around those years, as showing the two heads of the revolt: the one who idealized it and the other who put it into practice [fig. 36]. This model of representation seen in the previous engraving probably corresponded to a known image, as a painting survived to the present day, showing Genoino with the same facial features [figs. 37 and 38]. The idea of reusing certain images was very popular and it was surely practiced in Naples. The existence of a wax model representing the face that Genoino presents in the engraving and in the painting could induce the spectators in error, if it was not for the legend clarifying the image. The wax figure is interesting precisely for its legend that openly supports one of the sides of the conflict: “*L’escrando Prete Luise del Ferro consultor dell’ infame Mas Aniello nel 1647*”. Both the adjectives “*escrando*” and “*infame*” give us good clues about the public these images were addressed to: probably aristocracy in favor of the Spanish party or the viceroy himself. Luigi de Ferro was part of the group supporting Gennaro Annese, and he considered himself the successor of Masaniello after his death. He had proclaimed himself as ambassador of France in Naples. The Duke of Guise in his memories wrote that: “*In the meantime [a meeting with Annese] someone knocked on the door as he wanted to destroy it (...) it was the ambassador of France that wanted to see me, it [the door] was opened: and once I got ready to receive him with the due ceremony, I was surprised by a man without a hat, a sword in his hand, two large rosaries around his neck (...), who laying down completely and throwing his sword, hugged my legs and kissed my feet. I raised him with pity (...) seeing the person of Louigi del Ferro as more of a mad person escaped from the Petites-Maisons, that a minister of a great crown*”⁶⁰. According to the sources, he was nothing but a “*folle maniac*”⁶¹. So, despite his apparent importance, he was not really taken seriously and did not constitute a true replacement of Masaniello.

A very similar wax figure was made of Peppo Palumbo, the popular leader in 1647 [fig. 39]. This was most probably done at the same time of the previous one, and meant to be standing

⁶⁰ Henri de Lorraine Guise, *Mémoires du duc de Guise*, 1826, p. 178.

⁶¹ Aurelio Musi, *La Rivolta di Masaniello nella scena politica barocca*, 1989, p. 190.

together. This one also includes a legend that does not favor its protagonist: “*L’orrendo Peppone Palumo capopolo in Nap. Nel 1647*”.

A figure that was close to both parties was the cardinal Ascanio Filomarino. The cardinal was, along with Masaniello, one of the main protagonists and the representative of the religious power. He was present since the first hours of the revolt. At first, he tried to palliate the effects of the angry crowd and he acted as an intermediary between the people and the viceroy. In fact, the cardinal is an element of continuity and he as a constant presence in the tensions and disputes between the several institutions much before the revolt started in July 1647. Despite his apparent importance as a mediator, artists, the elites and the population in general did not seem to have expressed desire or need for his image. Religious symbols were abundant in the city, especially during troubled times as this one. This might explain why Filomarino did not find in the visual representations a prominent place. Apart from the image that Molini uses in his manuscript [fig. 40], there are no other known images of the cardinal that could be related with the events of 1647. This does not mean that paintings of the cardinal did not exist at the time – they did – but their content could be considered more related to the affirmation of his power in the city.

But not only were the people who worked closed with Masaniello represented. The bandit Perrone and Tiberio Caraffa were two of the most famous victims of the revenge of Masaniello. The Duke of Maddaloni and his brother Peppe Caraffa became famous in the revolt of 1647 for planning the murder of Masaniello. The duke made possible the entrance in the city of men under the command of Perrone and placed them close to the churches in the *Piazza del Mercato*. The idea was to kill Masaniello around 6 p.m. after his meeting with the viceroy, when he came back to the church of Santa Maria del Carmine to read the chapters of the agreement. However, doctor Peitro, a good friend of the people and a declared enemy of the Spaniards, did not allow Masaniello to read the texts. He was against the taxes in all over the kingdom and he kept interrupting the reading all the time, shouting that there were no motives to trust the Spaniards for neither Catalonia, nor Portugal nor Flanders had done so. In the middle of the discussion, Perrone shouts that the bandits should be included in the pardon decreed by the viceroy. This statement generated an immediate reaction of animosity. Shouts of treason were heard and shots were fired in the direction of Masaniello. The fury of the population was then out of control and although Masaniello was not hit, Perrone and some of the bandits were massacred in the

church⁶². The same happens to Caraffa [fig. 42]. Both their heads are put in pikes and taken across the city.

5.4.4. Images of the revolt

One of the richest iconographical categories of the corpus is the engravings and paintings that are related to the events of 1647-1648. These are images that condense one or more actions that illustrate (or visually narrate, in some of the cases) to the audience the events. As it will be seen further along, it was not unusual to reflect an action in an image, as if it was a story.

One of the most famous paintings is from Micco Spadaro, *La rivolta di Napoli* [fig. 43]. This painting was described by Bernardo De Dominici as “*non solamente è maraveglioso, ma è opera di stupore*”⁶³, an expression he borrowed from the biographer from the 17th century Filippo Baldinucci, in the painting of the market by Cerquozzi and Codazzi [fig. 44]. Micco Spadaro was the pseudonym of Domenico Gargiulo, one of the well known artists from Naples during this period, not only for the amount of sources available, but because of his presence in Naples during the years of the revolt and his patrons. His work was exhibited in several occasions: he was an artist specialized in landscapes and naval themes, very adequate to the decoration of the houses. He was born in Naples in 1612, son of Pietro Antonio. Since he was a boy that he showed his inclination towards the arts, but his father was not keen on the idea of his boy following that path. According to his father, Gargiulo should keep working on his trade of swords. Among the clients of Pietro Antonio was Carlo Coppola, disciple of Aniello Falcone, who established a relation of friendship with the young Domenico. In secret, he started practicing drawing, helped by Coppola who made suggestions and corrections. Against the will of his father, Domenico entered the office of Aniello Falcone, joining artists such as Andrea di Leone, Paolo Porpora, Marzio Masturzo and Salvator Rosa.

There is little information about the origins of this canvas but an inventory of the collection of Giovanni Battista Capece Piscicellidone in 1690⁶⁴ places it in the “*casa palatiata*”, just behind

⁶² Perrone is represented in the diary of Sebastiano Molini (fl. 9v). It is curious to notice that he is depicted not as a bandit but as an aristocrat. This is probably the result of the reuse of the images practiced by Molini [Fig. 41]

⁶³ Bernardo De Dominici, *Vite dei Pittori, Scultori, ed Architetti Napolitani*, vol. 3, 1844, p. 412.

⁶⁴ Inventory, Archivio di Stato, Napoli, Italia (scheda 550, prot. 20, ff.760v-763). Rosario Villari in a recent interpretation defends that the painting should be considered as part of a wider debate. For the Italian historian, the population has an excessive important role in the revolt, and he considers that the revolt of 1647 cannot be read as a

the monastery of SS. Apostoli, together with other assets from Giovanni Battista Piscicelli, member of the noble *seggio* of Naples. Initially, this painting was hanged “*on the first room at the right hand*”, a small room, where 8 other paintings were, including 4 landscapes from Spadaro and two medium sized canvases of religious themes painted by Luca Giordano⁶⁵. It was part of the inheritance of his sons Nicolas, Cristofor, Francesco and Domenico, through who the painting moved from generation to generation until Don Antonio Piscicelli.

Although the painting looks like a scene of the revolt of Masaniello in the *Piazza del Mercato*, this image represents distinctive scenes at once, condensing in one scenario several episodes from the first days of the revolt, occurred in different days. If we want to read the image in chronological order, we should start by the secondary plan, on the left side, where the tax collectors are expelled from the square. In the same plan but moving our eyes towards the right side, Masaniello on a stage calls the population and invites them to react against the bad government. Both scenes represent the 7th July, when everything starts, in the *Piazza del Mercato*, where the church of Santa Maria del Carmine stands out. After the call for violent action, the revolt against the taxes creates a spiral of violence that has as a consequence the pillage of palaces, houses and even threats to the security of the viceroy. The violence outside the square is omitted but the consequences are not. Bringing the eyes down, we can see the three carriages full of objects: the pillaging from the house of the Duke of Maddaluna and his brother, probably. According to the orders of Masaniello, everything – including gold, silver, tapestries, horses and carriages – should be taken to the square to be burnt⁶⁶, the ritual fire that would purify. Next to the *Epitaffio*, there is a body hanging from a stick, which reinforces the general climate of violence lived in Naples. Moving the eyes to the right again, we can now see Masaniello, now as king of the people, on horse and dressed in the elegant garment he wore to visit the viceroy on the 11th July. He could either be going on his way to meet the Duke of Arcos or on his way back and preparing the speech he would do inside Santa Maria del Carmine. He

spontaneous popular uprising. He then claims a bigger role for the bourgeoisie and for the intellectual groups, and he identifies the interests of these groups with the painting of Spadaro. Having this in mind, it was probably commissioned by an intellectual involved in the revolt, as Giulio Genoino or Giuseppe Donzeli. Christopher Marshall refutes this theory by stating that all the evidence in the inventory of 1690 point towards an aristocratic collection. See Christopher Marshall, "'Causa di Stravaganze': Order and Anarchy in Domenico Gargiulo's Revolt of Masaniello", p. 486.

⁶⁵ Christopher Marshall, "'Causa di Stravaganze': Order and Anarchy in Domenico Gargiulo's Revolt of Masaniello", p. 483.

⁶⁶ Innocenzo Fuidoro, *Successi storici raccolti dalla sollevazione di Napoli dell'anno 1647*, 1994, p. 47.

has his right hand raised, as if he was asking for silence before addressing to the crowd. This representation of Masaniello seems to be the only one aware of the people surrounding him. All the others are more static, with little interaction with the environment around, which gives a bigger protagonism to the Masaniello on horse, in the most splendid moment of his short political career. This Masaniello stands out from the anonymous people, as a figure of authority that is placed in a central part of the canvas. Behind him, the *Epitaffio* is erected, a monument commissioned by Masaniello to Cosimo Fanzago, an artist famous for statuary and decoration, on the 14th July to celebrate to agreement between the viceroy on the past 11th of the same month.

This visual narrative, so rich in small details, allows the spectators to understand the main moments of the revolt [fig. 43A]. It presents a general tone of violence, disorder and social threat. The ritualistic moments are all included: the fiscal uprising, the pillage and burning of the belongings of unpopular figures, the groups of young men in a riot, the hanged dead body. Micco Spadaro reveals a journalistic style that implies the preoccupation of condensing the main moments in a raw representation, almost exempt from personal feelings.

At a first sight, this painting does not appear to have a negative view on the revolt, as others that contained legends clearly against Masaniello. But it does not seem to encourage it either. Spadaro belonged to the middle class, but he worked hard for moving around his aristocratic patrons. Having in mind that the painting was commissioned by the Piscicelli family, one could think that the painting had to express a negative view on the revolt. There is little information about the political alliances of the Piscicelli, but they belonged to the noble *seggio*, and therefore, they were threatened by the population. Aristocracy received a considerable profit from the taxes that originated the uprising, a reason that explains why their name was in the list of the houses that should be pillaged⁶⁷. So, if on one hand there are no reasons to believe this painting contains a message in favor of the revolt, on the other hand we cannot find any manifestation or attack on Masaniello. It has a very neutral and descriptive tone.

The [fig. 45*] is a draft made by Spadaro of a painting that if it was ever painted, could be now lost. It represents some figures – with no distinctive features – and the legend “*Antica porta del Carmine Mas’Aniello da cadavere trascinato senza testa. Le teste mozze giù dalle picche,*

⁶⁷ L. Corraja, “Relazione dei tumulti napoletani del 1647”. In: *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 15 (1890), pp. 355-387.

ragazzi con rami di rovo ed altre fraschetamburri bandieri bianche e rosse e popolaccio dell'arrestato con le mani legate in dietro e con piccoli cappotti da Monaci Francesca nicondotti..." According to the previous explanation it was the draft for a painting that represented Masaniello beheaded, surrounded by young men armed with sticks and pikes with heads on them and white and red flags. In other words, another representation of a symbolic moment of the revolt: the death of Masaniello.

Micco Spadaro offered the public a very live and full of action perspective of the events. In order to accomplish it, it surely contributed the fact that he was in Naples when the revolt began, so he had the advantage of being able to document himself or even of assisting in first hand to the moments he depicted.

Michelangelo Cerquozzi, a painter from the same generation, did not have the same luck. Cerquozzi lived in Rome and started around those years a new collaboration with the painter of architectures Viviano Codazzi, who arrived to Rome from Naples in the end of 1647. From this collaboration, a significant advance was made in the career of Cerquozzi. He was able to pass from the representation of the rural life to the representations of Filomarino and the revolt⁶⁸. The circumstances of the painting done by Cerquozzi [fig. 44] remain very mysterious. There is no direct information about the commission of the work, but in the end of the 18th it belonged to the Spada collection. The cardinal Bernardino Spada was one of the patrons of Cerquozzi and a passionate supporter of the French party. He had been nuncio in Paris and he was very active in the Pope's court, which might have influenced his protégée's works. Filippo Baldinucci on this painting only wrote that "*it can be seen in the palace Bali Spada*"⁶⁹. In an inventory made in 1816 of the collection Spada-Veralli includes some more details: "*another representing the revolt of Masaniello in Naples, from Michelangelo delle Bambocciate*" exhibited in the Palazzo Capi di Ferro, in the "*second room*"⁷⁰. Whether it was the Cardinal Spada to commission it or not we do not know, but considering that possibility, the painting would certainly have a political meaning against the Spaniards.

⁶⁸ Christopher Marshall, "Causa di Stravaganze': Order and Anarchy in Domenico Gargiulo's Revolt of Masaniello", p. 484.

⁶⁹ Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie de' professori del disgno da Cimabue in qua seculo V dal 1610 al 1670*, 1681, p. 192.

⁷⁰ Archivio di Stato, Roma, *Collection Spada Veralli*, vol. 1109, p. 160 of the inventory, it. 85.

The news of the Neapolitan revolt did not leave any city indifferent, first in Italy and Spain and then all over Europe. Rome, in particular, was considered the observatory of the world, so it is easy to understand the image circulation and production in the city.

The canvas itself appears at first sight to be of notable neutrality. It is the representation of the Piazza del Mercato, as in the work of Spadaro, but it focus only on the events of the 7th of July. In the closest plan, between the market displays the people seemed to be in a riot. Masaniello in his fisherman clothes is represented on horse and he is giving orders: he is shouting and he has his right arm raised, while he holds the horse with the left one. Around him, a group of young men and adults armed with sticks seem to be shouting as well. In front of Masaniello a group of *lazzari* stands out, they are dressed like Masaniello – they also wear the red cap – and they are throwing fruit at the tax collectors. In the foreground, everything seems to be accordingly to a normal Sunday of market but the agitation gets the eye of the spectators. In this painting it is possible to see the imperial eagle painted in the building where Masaniello lived, a detail that Spadaro did not paint. The eagle was a proof of the fidelity that the people had towards Carlos V, and a reinforcement of the message that was so many times shouted in times of revolt: “*viva el ré, muora il mal governo*”. So, it is possible to start distinguishing some details that distance this painting from the neutral one of Spadaro. Cerquozzi gives an alternative perspective to his audience. Masaniello with his white trousers and shirt is represented on horse, an element that according to the chronicles is not introduced until the 11th July, when he meets the viceroy in the palace. Wendy Roworth in an article makes a distinctive interpretation of this painting. According to the author, Cerquozzi’s work is a burlesque reading of the revolt. She considers that the smiling figures behind Masaniello and the dog that is restraining the tax collectors, preventing them from escaping, and the animosity of the people in contrast with the tranquility transmitted by the animals are elements of this satire⁷¹. However, burlesque representations were not the kind of paintings Cerquozzi used to do. It is not as narrative and informative as the painting of Spadaro and the possible patron of the canvas was in favor of the French party, but other interpretations can be made. The painting seems to be a narrative of the first moments of the revolt (the market on a Sunday, the attack against the tax collectors and Masaniello assuming the control). The horse could be a mistake, result of the confusion of whom

⁷¹ Wendy Roworth, *The Evolution of History Painting: Masaniello's Revolt and Other Disasters in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, pp. 221-234.

narrated the event – it is important to remember that Cerquozzi was not in Naples at the time of the revolt, he probably read about it, or he was informed by his collaborator Codazzi who had been in Naples. The horse could also be a formal device to bring the attention to him, to make him stand out from the other men. To sum up, this painting does not condense as much information as the one from Spadaro but it is a narrative one as well. The lack of additional data makes its interpretation hard. There are no obvious elements that could help us understand the goal, besides informing the audience about the events – all we can do is to speculate about possible readings.

Another canvas represents the episode of the death of Giuseppe Caraffa [fig. 46]. This painting, also from Micco Spadaro, establishes a more enraged view of the revolt, centered in an event only. The emphasis is the ambience of violence from the people of Naples. In the Piazza del Mercato, Masaniello stands out in the top of a stage, where he seems to be appealing to the insurrection, to the violence. A small group of men is listening to him attentively, with their heads down, as if they were accepting his authority. Others raise their arms in the direction of Masaniello, emphasizing his importance and the influence of his charisma on the crowd. The main scene is dominated by the cruel violence of the episode: the people shout in rage, while they kill, drag and mistreat the bodies that are lying on the floor. The crowd is even represented beheading one of the bodies. In one of the pikes carried by the people, it is the head of Giuseppe Caraffa, punished for attempting against the life of Masaniello.

Like the previous painting by Spadaro, this one – although it is a smaller one (32x44 cm), is also listed in the inventory of Antonio Piscicelli, among “*four small paintings of ‘distinct incidents’*” (possibly the revolt) and “*in the first room at the left hand*”. In other words, it was in an adjacent room to the one where *La rivolta di Masaniello* was hanged. An almost contemporary manuscript from Onofrio Giannone⁷² also refers the painting of the market square and 4 small paintings – it could be these ones, with another one, representing the punishment of the bandits.

But not only canvases of Masaniello were painted. There is a curious case of a ceramic plate that has survived to our present days [fig. 47]. It is a work from the Mastro di Castelli, an artist

⁷² Onofrio Giannone, *Giunte sulle vite de' pittori napoletani*, 1941, pp. 139-140.

active in Naples in the second half of the 17th century. The main scene is inscribed in a very colorful frame, decorated with floral motives. It represents the city of Naples and in the front scene there is an agitated crowd, where 2 or 3 individuals stand out among the baskets of fruit lying on the floor – the beginning of the revolt – instigated by Masaniello, the figure depicted with more clarity and with a piece of fruit on his hand. Again, it is a visual representation of a moment of the revolt, without any evident political support to any of the parties.

Another interesting image [fig. 48] is the result of the overlapping several fragments from other images in a collage. Moreover, comments were added to explain the important elements. This true mosaic presents an unusual irregular form: this might lead us to think that it is incomplete. But considering the way it is incorporated into the manuscript of Molini seems to indicate that it was done according to the intentions of the friar⁷³. According to the author, “*this meeting represents when the head of Masaniello was taken outside the church of Santa Maria del Carmine*”. It is the representation of one of the main episodes of the revolt, the apotheosis of Masaniello’s death. In the back, there is the port, and in front a temple (Santa Maria del Mar?), the main scenario of the revolt. The perspective would be, of course, wrong, as the church was in the city center, but there is a general distortion of the elements in this engraving. Next to the church, men on horse and on foot fighting. In the main scene, different pieces of engravings are mixed, of men arguing, some armed, and on their feet a body without head is lying. Next to the body, the handwritten legend says “*corpo di Masaniello*”. On the left side, a group of men is running with the head of the fisherman, identified by another legend “*testa*”. The majority of these figures seem to be from the Classical Antiquity: Molini used existing engravings, with totally different meanings to narrate a certain moment, which induces us to think that he could not find any existing visual representation of the death of Masaniello. Another curiosity about this engraving is the identification of the author, “*Ant. Sal^o Exc[ulpit]*”, just under the feet of a male figure whose face disappeared overlapped by another piece of paper. Was it the author? Was this image composed by another man instead of Molini? This possibility might be weighed if we consider that the handwriting is similar to the one that made the annotations of the head and

⁷³ The question of the strange format of the engraving is discussed by Vittorio Spinazzola. See Vittorio Spinazzola, *Masaniello e la sua famiglia secondo un codice del secolo 17*, p. 6.

body of Masaniello. Either way, the collage seems to be very amateur, although it succeeds in telling the story of the death of Masaniello.

5.4.5. The repression of Juan José de Austria and the count of Oñate

In almost – if not every – conflict Spain fought in the 16th and 17th century there was the presence of the propaganda in favor of the cause of the insurgents which coexisted with the response of the other party. In Naples, according to the strong visual tradition, the repression of the revolt and the pacification was achieved not only by a military attack but also by a strong visual program. It is not the scope of this dissertation to analyze in detail the visual elements produced under the rule of Philip IV, but it is interesting to see how some images acted as visual weapons.

Juan José de Austria (1629-1679) was the natural son of Philip IV. He was recognized but he never obtained the title of “infant”, which would allow him to claim the throne. But he did obtain in 1647 the title of “*Principe de la Mar Oceana*” and his father sent him as commander of an armada to repress the revolt of Naples and reconstitute the authority that the Duke of Arcos had lost. He was also the temporary viceroy between the 23rd January and the 1st March 1648, while the Count of Oñate did not arrive to occupy the position in while the previous viceroy had failed. This task was the first one of responsibility and Juan José successfully accomplished⁷⁴.

The armada arrived to Naples on the 1st October 1647. The following day, 3000 infantrymen disembarked and occupied key positions in the city. On the 5th, at dawn, the city was bombed from the sea and from the castle of Sant’Elmo. Quickly, important parts of the city were taken: Santa Lucía, Santa María and Santa Chiaia, while the rebels were mainly in the city center. The arrival of Juan José was seen by the Neapolitan nobles as a relief, but the people reacted violently, showing their discontentment without any restraints. Juan José was insulted, as well as his effigy, to which people also threw fruit and rotten food. And as if the words were not enough, “*many portraits and statues of the king and now of the D. Gio. as well, and throwing at their faces a lot of rubbish and junk, then they throw them at the sea or crashed the statues and portraits at the sight of the Spanish Armada, which did not want according to the intentions of*

⁷⁴ The role of Juan José de Austria was largely discussed by historians. It seems to be consensual that the definitive merits of the repression are due to the efforts of the count of Oñate, but with no doubt Juan José had a relevant role as general of the armada and as a negotiator. See Elvira González Asenjo, *Don Juan José de Austria y las artes:1629-1679*, 2005, p. 46.

Don Giovanni to ruin, but to preserve the city”⁷⁵. It is interesting to observe the reaction of the people: Juan José was so unpopular that portraits of him were explicitly made to be disrespected in public and in front of the armada. The effigy was a replacement of Juan José himself, and this was a ritual of collective punishment. The fact that the portraits of the king were also present shows an important change in the perception of the people. Not many months before, portraits of the king had been adored and celebrated. Now, he was the enemy as well, sending his illegitimate son to destroy Naples.

However, after the city was pacified in April 1648, the imagery changed completely and images in favour of Juan José and his victory were displayed in the city. Before the end of the year, some works of art were made to celebrate the victorious general. First, there is an equestrian painting made by José de Ribera [fig. 49], and the correspondent conversion into engravings, by the same artist [figs. 50 and 51]. Secondly, a sculpture in bronze of his bust signed by Juan Melchor Pérez (although it was recently attributed to the sculptor Giulio Mancaglia), that we know that Juan José sent to his father in 1652 from Catalonia [fig. 52]. Thirdly, a drawing of an equestrian portrait attributed to José Jiménez Donoso, surrounded by troops, during the surrender of Naples, where a man (possibly Annese) on his knees delivers a salver with the keys of the city [fig. 53]. Finally, in fourth place, there is also a drawing by Micco Spadaro that depicts the entry of Juan José in Naples [fig. 54]. These last two could be preparatory studies for now lost paintings⁷⁶. All of them represent the paradigmatic image of power and good government. It would be interesting to know who commissioned such works of art, but the lack of documentation does not allow us more than mere speculations. These were probably a result of the policy of Juan José of imposing his position, his power and his image. Juan José had all the motives for wanting to make clear that the conquest of the city had been his deed and not a victory of the Count of Oñate. But it could be a result of the politics of Philip IV who wanted to put in evidence the victories of his son. Nevertheless, despite who had commissioned them, they had the function of showing the victorious one, the only one in the revolt of Masaniello.

The victory of the Spanish forces also generated historical narratives. The entry of the victorious Juan José de Austria in Naples was represented by Carlo Coppola, a disciple from

⁷⁵ *Vita di don Giovanni d’Austria figlio naturale di Filippo IV Re di Spagna*, Ms. XXIII, fl. 8r. Cited by Elvira González Asenjo, *Don Juan José de Austria y las artes: 1629-1679*, p. 52.

⁷⁶ See Elvira González Asenjo, *Don Juan José de Austria y las artes: 1629-1679*, pp. 68-72.

Spadaro [fig. 55*]⁷⁷. There is a shocking contrast between the sense of order that this image gives, in comparison to the ones painted by Spadaro. In the “*Resa della Citta di Napoli a Giovanni D’Austria*”, Coppola depicts Juan José on horse with the baton of commandment in front of Gennaro Annese, who delivers him the keys of the Piazza del Mercato. The church of Santa Maria del Carmine is represented in the back as one of the main symbols of the revolt, now under the influence of Juan José (in fact, ritual and religious celebrations took place in the church in honor to Juan José). The delivery is also made in the presence of the Cardinal Filomarino, on the right side of Juan José. In the center of the painting there is the *Epitaffio* with the beheaded heads. Were those the heads of the rebels after the conquest of the city? Or were they still the heads of the victims of the repression of the Duke of Guisa? Considering this is a scene of surrender, it would make more sense to contemplate the first option. It seems incongruent as the *Epitaffio* was built as a symbol of the liberties and rights of the people – it was the legitimation of their actions and placing it in such a central position in the canvas it is to give it too much importance. However, it was important to show the people disoriented, ready to put themselves under the Spanish rule again. The presence of the *Epitaffio* can be understood in this reading as the people surrendering in the main scenario of the revolt, with all their symbols, accepting now the authority of Juan José de Austria.

This was painted some years after the events it describes. It was painted together with the “*Scena della peste del 1656*”.

5.5. Image Production

5.5.1. Artists and patronage

Through this chapter, several images were analyzed regarding their iconographical elements. However, it is impossible to fully understand them without considering the people who are behind them: the artists and those who commission them. In some of the cases, bibliographical information was given. In this section, it will be analyzed the environment in which the artists lived, as well as the commissioners of the paintings.

The painting of the revolt of 1647 by Spadaro was analyzed with some detail, when trying to understand what kind of political posture the artist adopted. In the end, it was stated that it was

⁷⁷ This painting is also described by Alfred von Reumont, *The Carafas of Maddaloni: Naples under Spanish dominion*, 1854, pp. 378-379.

very hard to distinguish anything but a neutral description of the main events of the revolt. The same can be said about two small paintings of Masaniello and Annese that were part of the inventory of the Pignatelli in the beginning of the 18th century⁷⁸. The Pignatelli were one of the most influent aristocratic families in Naples⁷⁹, and their political associations and loyalties had been always been favorable to Spain. This is confirmed when we verify that several members of the family occupied important positions in the Habsburg administration.

The same level of loyalty to Spain can be observed in Esteban Carrillo y Salsedo, another of the patrons and friends of Spadaro. Stefano Carrillo was the regent of the *Consiglio Collaterale*, and in the royal chancellery and for 4 years he occupied the position of *Soprintendente Generale della Campagna*. He achieved the culmination of his political career during the viceroyalty of Pedro Antonio de Aragón (1666-1671), when he integrated the ‘Aragonese party’ during the reorganization of the administrative body⁸⁰.

Spadaro painted for Carrillo y Salsedo versions of the Eruption of the Vesuvius, the revolt of 1647 and a “triumph of Cesar” and sent them to Spain “to gain merits in the court of Spain”⁸¹. Effectively, he achieved “infinite thanks to the Regent who had sent it”. It would be unconceivable to think that a person so devoted to the Habsburg would commission paintings with a message contrary to the Spanish policies. His version of the revolt, which remains unknown, painted by Spadaro should not contain any elements favorable to the insurgents of 1647. The inventories kept in the letters of the notary Giuseppe Ragucci, written by Carrillo himself, indicate that his collection was given to the hermitage of Suor Orsola Benincasa, to whom he left a great legacy. Only a small part of the paintings was left at home. However, in a will from the 23rd September 1697, it was stated that all the jewels, silver and paintings should be sent to Spain, to his brother D. Fernando. It is possible then that Carrillo thought about dividing his collection between the nuns and his brother. To the latter, historical paintings were sent, while perspectives, still lives and anonymous paintings remained in the monastery. Among the

⁷⁸ Christopher Marshall, "*Causa di Stravaganze: Order and Anarchy in Domenico Gargiulo's Revolt of Masaniello*", p. 486.

⁷⁹ Amongst its members it is Antonio Pignatelli, archbishop of Naples (1686-1691) and later Pope Innocent XII (1691-1700).

⁸⁰ Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, *El Gobierno de las imágenes: ceremonial y mecenazgo en la Italia española de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII*, 2008. Diana Carrió adds that Esteban Carrillo was able to form an eclectic collection, in which every school was represented. However, there is a preference towards the works of Micco Spadaro and Andrea Vaccaro.

⁸¹ Bernardo De Dominicis, *Vite dei Pittori, Scultori, ed Architetti Napolitani*, vol. 3, 1844, p. 194; Renato Ruotolo, "Collezioni e mecenati napoletani del XVII secolo". In *Napoli Nobilissima* 3 (1973), p. 146.

Spadaro's paintings that were sent to Spain, probably there was the one from the revolt, but there is no further information about it⁸².

In a general manner, all the patrons of Spadaro seemed to be loyal to Spain: Ettore Capecelatro dedicated his life to serve the Philip IV, occupying important positions close to the viceroy. He served twice as the Neapolitan ambassador in Madrid. Giacomo Capece Zurlo, patron of Spadaro in his last years, also served well Philip IV, as one of the 4 judges in the *Vicaria*. He did not spare any efforts in persecuting the rebels of the revolt of Masaniello. Even Giuseppe Carafa, one of the most hated men among the aristocracy, can be identified as one of the earliest patrons of Spadaro⁸³.

Through this short analysis of some of Spadaro's main patrons, it becomes evident that it would be very hard for the painter to express feelings in favor of the revolt. However, despite the political involvement of his patrons in the Spanish administration, his production does not reveal in an obvious way any political sympathies he might have shared. There is only one exception to this. There is one drawing that represents Juan José of Austria entering as a victorious general in Naples, while the people knee down to as a sign of respect and submission. This one has a possible political content, but again – it would be one of the few existing ones.

To sum up, it is possible to say that Spadaro painted few canvases with an explicit political message, as they all as a common element the neutrality of the narratives. But one could wonder: the constant presence of the rituals of violence and punishment perpetrated during the revolt by the people, could they be a message in favor of the Spanish party? The violence of the rebels was the justification for an armed intervention and the posterior repression.

5.6. Image Consumption: diffusion and reception

One of the most important roles of the image is related to its circulation. As mentioned before, the visual culture in Naples was a strong tradition and had a constant presence in the everyday life of the Neapolitans. Having this in mind, it is possible to understand the high number of images circulating in the streets during the revolt and sent along with the correspondence from Naples.

⁸² Renato Ruotolo, *Collezioni e mecenati napoletani del XVII secolo*, p. 146.

⁸³ Christopher Marshall, "'Causa di Stravaganze': Order and Anarchy in Domenico Gargiulo's Revolt of Masaniello", p. 487.

However, it is hard to collect information about the reception of such visual materials. There is information about the production, the dispatch and exhibition but not about who saw those images, what kind of impact they had on the audience or about the interpretation that was done about them.

Previously, it was seen that the most popular theme was Masaniello himself. He was the new hero, a man who quickly became the protagonist of the revolt. For sure several portraits of him were distributed and seen in abundance in the streets of the city. De Dominici shared the same idea, associating them with their authors and the people they were addressed to. According to the author, “*it should not wonder that many portraits of Masaniello could be found in the hands of Rosa. One was in possession of Francesco di Maria, Neapolitan painter, and his close friend, to whom he said he had received a good payment*”⁸⁴. Salvatore Rosa was the author of many portraits according to him, but also Francisco di Maria had another one for which he had been well paid. De Dominici kept writing saying that Masaniello had found out that people were asking for his portraits so he wished the best artists to paint him. However, it possible that this last piece of information is part of De Dominici’s vivid imagination. No contemporary writer mentions this episode, and Masaniello was probably too busy to pose for portraits⁸⁵. But it is possible that the description is not entirely wrong: “*portraits made by Falcone, Salvatore, Francanzani, Marullo, Vaccaro, Micco Spadaro and Andrea di Lione, ornament more than a museum; and Salvatore [Rosa] took one to Rome, where he showed it to the famous lawyer Giuseppe Valletta and it was also seen by Luca Giordano, while he was studying in Rome: and it added the particularity that this portrait was less than the greatness of the natural figure, and those made by Micco Spadaro were always in stalk, and only Andrea Vaccaro, Marullo and Francanzani depicted him while he was alive*”⁸⁶. De Dominici was not very rigorous in his information, but the idea of the circulation of portraits is well described: it was even showed in Rome, and it circulated among artists. Moreover, the detail about Spadaro is probably correct, as it is demonstrated by the inventory already cited.

⁸⁴ Bernardo de Dominici, *Vite dei Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti Napoletani*, vol. 3, p. 226.

⁸⁵ Capasso states that only Andrea Vaccaro, Marullo and Francanzani painted Masaniello with the model present. Bartolommeo Capasso, *Masaniello ed alcuni di la sua famiglia*, p. 6.

⁸⁶ Bernardo de Dominici, *Vite dei Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti Napoletani*, vol. 3 p. 226.

On the 23rd July, the ducal agent in Naples sent by post to the Grand Duke of Tuscany a drawing of Masaniello. What drawing would it be? The same question can be made about another portrait of the fisherman. When the Marquis of Carpio died, during his position as viceroy of Naples (1683-1687), due his debts, his family secretly left Naples, to go back to Spain. Before the journey, they selected the assets of the marquis they valued the most. In one of the shipments “*con niñerías, reliquias de oro y plata, ‘cerradas en dos cajas cubiertas de baqueta con las armas de V. E., cada una de tres tiradores; más otro cajón de reliquias, todo cerrado’*, además de la ‘*estampilla de Maçaniello, y tratado original con el duque de Arcos*”⁸⁷. It is curious that in a time of need, the portrait of Masaniello and the agreement signed with the Duke of Arcos would be in the belongings the family treasured the most. This shows up, once more, the interest in being documented about the revolt.

Through the inventories, it is possible to trace the kind of consumers of these portraits. Besides the Piscicelli, who have already been discussed, the Pignatelli can also constitute a good example.

The collection of Giovanna Battista d’Aragona Pignatelli, duchess of Terranova e Monteleone, was listed in an inventory in 1723, and in the folio 75v, “*another [portrait] of a palm hand from Micco Spadaro, with the portrait of Masaniello, with black frame*”⁸⁸. Giovanna Pignatelli was the daughter and wife of one of the Grands of Spain. There is little information about her, but the political career of her husband, Niccolò Pignatelli di Monteleone (1648-1725) is well documented. He was viceroy in Sicily and then in Sardinia. Moreover, he was a collector, an enthusiast for the arts and he gave continuance to this passion of his ancestors. But the fact is that a family loyal to Spain commissioned a portrait from the rebel Masaniello. We do not know who commissioned it or how it entered the collection: it could have been from an ancestor, it could have arrived to his possession through his wife or it could even have been bought. In any case, it was exhibited in the “*antecamera al Pontone*” in the house of Pignatelli.

In the inventory of the collection of their grandchild, Fabrizio Pignatelli Aragona Cortes (1718-1763), there is a portrait of Masaniello but of anonymous authorship: “*Two paintings of a palm for ¾ with black frames (...) one with the portrait of Masaniello and the other with his*

⁸⁷ Leticia de Frutos Sastre, *El templo de la fama. Alegoría del Marqués del Carpio*, 2009, p. 688.

⁸⁸ Gérard Labrot, Carol Togneri Dowd, and Anna Cera Sones, *Collections of Paintings in Naples 1600-1780*, 1992, p. 317. See also Getty Provenance Databases.

*consultant*⁸⁹. Considering it is the same family, it could be the same portrait, but the author of the inventory did not manage to identify the painter. The second was most probably a portrait of Masaniello with Genoio.

It is possible that some of these portraits the aristocratic families possessed had an artistic value as well (Spadaro, after all, was a renown artist) and that would partially explain why they kept them.

The abundant production of images, for private galleries and for public consumption in the streets, indicates that people were avid for them and that they had an important role. Could the fact that the Neapolitans were so familiarized with images, remove importance to the ones of Masaniello? The answer is that probably not. The visual tradition very likely was the necessary base for the people to fully understand the imagery produced and react accordingly. The profusion of portraits of Masaniello had the goal of creating fascination, respect – they were objects of admiration.

Sebastiano Molini gives the necessary confirmation on this topic. In one of the entries of his diary, on the 11th September 1647, he states that all the squares and streets of Naples are impregnated with the *Capitoli* fixed on every wall. The most curious aspect is the following affirmation: he remarks that there were so many people congregated to see them that he could not even get near and he had to go to the house where the news were printed to buy it with the cost of “*un carlino*”⁹⁰.

The abundance of images of power (first of the king, then of the duke of Guise and the king of France) confers sense and authority to the events. In a general ambience of inversion of values, of great social chaos and of extraordinary violence, the images in a way served to provide order and sense. When the people proclaimed the Republic under the French protection, there was extensive feeling of confusion, disorientation and uncertainty, especially after the arrival of the Spanish armada. On this, Molini wrote that there was an effort of tranquilizing the people “*giving away for comfort these printed images that can be seen in the previous sheet, that my*

⁸⁹ Archivio di Stato, Napoli, Archivio Pignatelli Aragona Cortes, scaffo XIII, vol. XXII, ff.130-336, p. 22, cited in Getty Provenance Databases.

⁹⁰ Sebastiano Molini, *Sollevazione di Tommaso Aniello di Napoli*, fl. 50.

colleague, also Lorenense, gave me one that with difficulty I keep until the present time”⁹¹. Faced with the surprise, despondency and confusion, the engraving allusive to the French victory [fig. 56*] was distributed offering tranquillity and consolation. Moreover, it seems to be a very demanded image, as the friar mentions that he was lucky to obtain a copy and keep it until the moment of writing down his memories. It is a very illustrative engraving with the legend “*La Deroute des Espagnols dans la ville de Naples a l’arrivee de M. Le Duc de Guise*” and it is organized like the scenario of a play. The curtain in the back (like the ones existing in the theatres) shows Naples in war, with smoking rising from some buildings and a naval battle. In the stage a man is inside a barrel, covered by a cloth, allowing to see only his head. The barrel has a poster that says “*L’Espagnol affligé du mal de Naples*” and the legend correspondent to the figure says “*Reduit au triste estat, ou le malheur m’a mise / Atteint d’un malefice honteux et miserable / L’escume de depot, je baue, je fremis / et j’ay peur que m’en mal ne se treuve incurable*”. The “mal” is the syphilis that the Spaniard suffers from. On his right side, a servant is on his knees burning a piece of cloth, probably part of the clothes of the Spaniard in the barrel. He is saying “*Je fais se que je puis sans en venir a bout / Je chauffe des frotoirs mais que sert ce remede? / On a déjà frotté dos et ventre et partout / Et lon fait suer sans que rien luy succede*”. On the left side of the barrel, a Neapolitan is placing the charcoal to feed the fire that should make the syphilitic sweat. His speech is “*Il y fait un peu chaud, mais il le faut souffrir / c’est la moindre effet de ta concupiscense / je te feray suer (sans vouloir te guerir) / et juques a la mort durer ta penitence*”. In the corner of the stage, a French man observes the situation through a telescope, accentuating the mocking tone and he says “*Considerant de loin ce senior aux abois / je puis dire au Malheur que tousjours l’accompaigne / Naples ton mal a tort de ce dire François / Puis que c’est tout a bon qu’il afflige l’Espagne*”. This engraving is a satire to the Spaniards⁹². The syphilis is a contagious and venereal disease and it was a metaphor for what Spain represented to Naples: a contagious illness with no cure but to be burnt.

5.6.1. International Diffusion

⁹¹ Sebastiano Molini, *Sollevatione di Tommaso Aniello di Napoli*, fl. 76v.

⁹² Simone Bertière has studied this engraving in “La guerre en images: gravures satiriques anti-espagnoles”, pp. 171-172.

It was stated before that the revolt caused a huge commotion across Italy and Europe, especially in England and in the Netherlands. The news of the revolt echoed in Europe, arriving even to the colonies.

The Italic Peninsula was the first to respond to the revolt. After the revolt began, many narratives were published, supporting either the people from Naples or Philip IV. Not only political texts were published, but also comedies, play and even songs. Some of these editions have illustrated frontispieces that complemented the written arguments. In Naples, in 1648, the academic Agustonio Torbia published “*Masaniello Trionfante. Oda in Dialoghi*”. The cover [fig. 57] shows an emblem of an eagle that spreads its wings under the sun while the old feathers are falling. This was very similar to the illustration of the book of Luis Sanchez, “*Libro de Honras que hizo el Colegio de la Compañia de Jesús de Madrid*” in 1603, representing the renovation.

Another frontispiece – a simpler one – belongs to “*Canzoneta Nuova sopra il Pescatore*” [fig. 58], and it represents the silhouette young man who could be Masaniello, once he is the main theme of the composition.

London was flooded with prints and booklets relating the deeds of Masaniello and the several events of the Neapolitan revolt. This news arrived in a moment of internal turbulence for England – the Great Rebellion. The parliamentary revolt and the civil war ended up with the assassination of Charles I in 1649, and in such times of commotion, the revolt of Masaniello had a great impact in England. On one hand, there were the supporters of the Parliament, who converted Masaniello in a political tool and in an extra argument. On the other hand, there were the supporters of the king who saw Masaniello as a rebel and a traitor, as Cromwell himself. As a result of the interest in these matters, a series of publications came out. Even before the translation of the book of Giraffi, in 1649 it was published “*The Rebellion of Naples or the tragedy of Masaniello commonly so called*”. The frontispiece contains an engraving of Masaniello very rich in iconographical elements [fig. 59]. This play presented the logic of the Spanish reasoning “how can one make juice with no oranges? Or how can wine be made with no grapes”, applied to the political scenario: “how could the monarchy survive without *squeezing*

their colonies?”⁹³. The image shows Masaniello on foot with his fishing net. But he is wearing noble clothes, with a sword, although he keeps the hat. He is slightly turned over his right and he has the left arm raised. With his hand he holds the baton of commandment. From his mouth there is a legend expressing his idea: “*Acchipatto il pesce via la rete*”. In the foreground, from left to right, first we can see the city of Naples, with the castle of Sant’Elmo in the top of a mountain, wrapped in the fishing net sustained by soldiers. The people seem to be running away with bags of money, and begging for mercy to the soldiers. The city is under an intense rain and from the sky there is a hand with a lightning bolt and a thunder. The, there are the boats represented, apparently caught up by the storm. Contrasting with this scenario, on the right side the soldiers are organized in unities and the water seems calm. In the sea a boat is resting peacefully. In the horizon line, the sun is brightly shining. It is possible that the weather elements are related to metaphors that were familiar to the writers. The storm was one of the best comparisons for the times lived in Naples during the revolt. Moreover, De Santis in his “*Storia del Tumulto di Napoli*” ends with a metaphor about the political storm. The baron of Modena on his memories about the revolt also used the same literary device: “*Cette populace qui, à l’imitation de la Mer, n’a aucun mouvement natural & ne s’agite que par accident & par le soufflé impetueux des vents divers qui la dominant, obéit ou plutost vola avec autant de fureur que de diligence (...)*”⁹⁴. When considering these comparisons, the image could be read under the dichotomy storm/sun. The first one affects Naples, where the tumultuous rebels live, and the second part, where the Spanish soldiers are, is sunny and quiet. In the bottom, a legend says: *The Fish is caught, the Net is under foot, / Whil’st Fool’s cry Shal I, Shall I, these goe to’t. / The silly Fish, whil’st left but the least water, / And can see through the Net, think it no matter / But sacrifice to th’ Net, where in they’r caught: / Burne Incence to the Drag, that thus has wrought / All their Destruction: Neither doe they dread. / The Divine Vengeance that is or’e their head. / And ne’re will think themselves meet Fish to fry, / Till great Tomaso draws the City dry*”.

A year later, a translation of the book of Alessandro Giraffi was published. In 1650, J.H. Esq. is the responsible for the translation and R. Lowndes for printing it with the title “*An Exact Historie of the Late Revolutions in Naples; And of their Monstrous Success, not to be parallel’d*”

⁹³ T. B., *The Rebellion of Naples or the tragedy of Massanello commonly so called*, Londres, 1649, cited by António Serra, *A ‘Short Treatise’ on the wealth and poverty of nations (1613)*, 2011.

⁹⁴ Esprit Raimond de Mormoiron, *Mémoires du comte de Modène, sur la révolution de Naples de 1647*, vol. 1, 1827 (1665), p. 88.

by any Ancient". The frontispiece [fig. 60] presents Masaniello in a colorful engraving, with the traditional clothes and hat, and in the pose that became more popular in his representations. The legend said "*Effigie & vero Ritratto di Masaniello, comandante in Napoli*".

In the British colonies in America, Masaniello was used to defame the rebels. He became the reference of a well-known citation: "the epitome of wrong-headed aggression". This explains why the leaders of the revolts of New York and Maryland (1689) were known as the "masanelli", as a reference to a vain and arrogant leader.

The appropriation of the fisherman in the English and American propaganda found its place in the visual dimension as well. A coin [fig. 61] presents on one face Masaniello and on the other one Cromwell. Masaniello is represented according to the traditional standing position, with the hat and the fishing net in his hand. In the back, episodes of war and destruction complete the scene, as well as the legend "*Masaniello vanus es Rebellis*". On the other face, there is a representation of the bust of Cromwell according to the classical model, with the crown of laurel and supported by a barrel of beer. In the back it is possible to see the coats of arms of England and Scotland, and Ireland and England in the bottom part. The legend says "*Crowellus Victor Perduellis*". In the bottom part, on the right side, the initials PA refer to Pietro Aquila, the artist responsible for the coin⁹⁵. Both legends have a burlesque and ironic tone in order to put in ridicule both leaders of the revolts. The medal is attributed to Wouter Muller, active in Amsterdam between 1653 and 1688.

Forty years later, François-Maximilien Misson, a French writer, after a travel in which he visited the church of Santa Maria del Carmine in Naples, wrote: "*We could do a fair comparison between Maz. Aniel and Cromwell ; the only difference would be that Cromwell was a man of quality while Maz-aniel was just a fisherman*"⁹⁶.

A second medal of Dutch mint depicts again an association of Masaniello and Cromwell, both with crowns sustained by two figures [fig. 62]. For the supporters of Charles II, Masaniello was a proof of the illegitimacy of Cromwell and the Commonwealth. However, considering the Dutch origins of the medal, it could also be an element of protest of the Dutch who, between 1652 and 1654, were in an open conflict against the English in the first Anglo-Dutch war. And this parallelism between both leaders was not limited to the visual representation. Juan José of

⁹⁵ Rosario Villari, *Elogio Della dissimulazione*, pp. 101-102.

⁹⁶ François-Maximilien Misson, *Voyage d'Italie fait en l'année 1688*, p. 288, cited by Alain Hugon, *Naples insurgée*, p. 331.

Austria wrote that: “*there is no doubt that your Royal Highness [the queen] will find theologians, as the insurgents did for everything. Masanello won, hanged, destroyed and made laws at his pleasure, with no other right than the one from a popular tyranny and even he did find his theologians that advised him: Cromuele was also a great seducer of the people and a regicide of the principles, and he also had his theologians, who did not only advise him with words but also with the feather, and provided him with a good conscience (or advise from the Devil) in his cause of seeking the death of the king*”⁹⁷.

The Netherlands also showed a great interest in the revolt. There was a general curiosity for the events and a great diffusion of images and texts about it. As it happened in England, there is an appropriation of the leading figure of Masaniello to transform it into an argument against the Spanish and English enemies. The situation of tyranny evoked against the Habsburg allowed establishing a parallel between the two territories, as well as ties of friendship and solidarity. Not that long ago, the Dutch had had the figure of the “sea beggars”⁹⁸, a band of men who fought against the Spanish rule in the 16th century. The book written by Giraffi also found a translation in Dutch territory. The edition of Van Bos had at least six different printings during the second half of the 17th century. These editions had illustrations of Masaniello, according to the stereotyped representation. The edition of 1650, printed in Haarlem, from Vincent Casteleyn, has the title: *Wonderlijcken Op, ende Ondergang van Tomaso Aniello...* and it presents a very interesting frontispiece [fig. 63]. The image is divided in two parts: in the superior part, there is a scene with two columns and in the center the title of the book. On the sides there are two figures: on the right side there is a man dressed as a noble and on the left side a female figure is covered with a nice cloth and a hat. On top, two angels hold a wreath. In the center, a small figure that looks like Masaniello according to his position and for the commanding position of the hands (one close to the body and the other raised). In the bottom part of the image, there is a representation of the city of Naples, seen from the sea.

Besides this engraving, it also contains a series of 10 other images that illustrate the first ten days of the revolt and highlight the most representative moments of each day. The visual

⁹⁷ D. Juan Jose de Austria, *Diario e lettera sopra gli affari correnti di don Giovanni d'Austria : con un ritratto della sua vita, cioè nascita, qualità, costumi, attioni, e governi*, p. 58.

⁹⁸ For more information regarding the “sea beggars” see: Virginia West Lunsford, *Piracy and Privateering in the Golden Age Netherlands*, 2005.

narrative gives the reader a perspective on the events side by side with the printed text. In the first one [fig. 65] represents the death of Andrea Naclerio, attacked with the fruits by the people in the market on the 7th July⁹⁹. Besides Naclerio, Masaniello can be also identified, in a superior plan, rising as the hero and giving orders to the people. In the second one [fig. 66], there is smoke rising from a building. There several people armed gathered, while in the main scene of the image, men are collecting basic essentials, according to the orders given by Masaniello. The third image, from the 9th July [fig. 67] shows the attack to S. Lorenzo, the prison, followed by the death of Peppe Carafa [fig. 68]. In this image, men are holding sticks with heads and a man presents the head of Carafa to Masaniello, sitting like a king with his armed bodyguards. The episode of the 11th July [fig. 69] is the reading of the *Capitoli* and the Privilege of Charles V, a document that had been highly demanded since the revolt had begun. In the next image [fig. 70] we can take a glimpse through the house of Masaniello and see the people handling their petitions, afraid that the agreement with the viceroy does not satisfactory. On the 13th July, the oath of the *Capitoli* made by the viceroy takes place in the Duomo [fig. 71], and on the following day, Masaniello meets in Posillipo with the viceroy [fig. 72]. In the next engraving, Masaniello is represented as going mad, on horse instigating to the violence and punishing himself the thieves and confiscating assets [fig. 73]. Finally, on the 16th July, Masaniello is killed [fig. 74]. The image shows Michelangelo Ardizzone, Andrea Rama and the brothers Salvatore and Carlo Catania shooting their guns towards Masaniello.

But the Dutch also made their personal interpretation of the figure of Masaniello, engraving his portrait with new characteristics. The [figs. 75 and 76] are two examples. The first one was engraved by Pieter de Jode (1606-1674), a Flemish painter and engraver from a family of artists. It represents the bust of Masaniello with the head slightly facing his right side, with the fisherman clothes, the hat and a fishing rod. The fishing rod is the new element in these representations and it seems to have been his main attribute in Dutch and German representations. The second image is very similar, must probably done with the same plates.

Spinoza, a philosopher, took this interest for the revolt of Masaniello even further when he hanged on his office a portrait of a man dressed like a fisherman, made during the days of the tyranny of the Prince of Orange, to whom he had lost a great number of friends. The painter Heindrick van der Spyck, friend and protégé of Spinoza, confirms the parallelism between the

⁹⁹ Naclerio is also represented by Sebastiano Molini in fl. 6V [fig. 64]

painting and the philosopher. J. Coler, the author of “*La vie de B. Spinoza*” wrote that “among this portraits I find in page 4 a fisherman drew with a shirt, with a net on his right shoulder, quite similar to the attitude of the famous chief of the rebels of Naples, Masaniello, as he is represented in the History and in the engravings. In the occasion of this drawing, I should not omit that Mr. Vander Spyck who lives at Spinoza’s after his death, assured me that it looked very much like Spinoza and for sure it had been done inspired in him”¹⁰⁰.

The fact that a man in a place so far from Naples had his portrait done following the costume of Masaniello is a sign of the impact and the echoes of the revolt.

In the German territory there is little information about the reception of the revolt of 1647. The book of Giraffi was also translated into German, in 1648, almost at the same time the revolt was having place. As it happens with the English edition, the frontispiece has an illustration of Masaniello [fig. 77]. The representation introduces a few changes: the clothes of the fisherman are blue. Above, an angel is holding a red flag with the expression “*One Zol*” (One duty). On the bottom, another legend says “*Thomaso Aniello Rebellant zu Napolis*”. It is interesting to note that all the translations of the Giraffi’s work refer to Masaniello as a rebel and a monster.

Besides this image, there is another engraving from 1687 – posterior to the revolt – that puts in evidence its impact in the German. The image [fig. 78] has a legend that says “*Die Auffruhr zu Neapolis*”. The engraving seems to present several episodes in one image, as the paintings of Spadaro. However, it does not evidence the same journalistic and organized style. The main scenario is the palace – or an idealized version of it – with the view over the sea and some houses on fire. On the left side, a great number of men are running, led by a man on horse. In the center the public is brought to the violence that Spadaro also represented: the people fighting against the aristocracy. Men armed with sticks are fighting, subjugating their victims and mistreating them, while others carry pikes with heads on them. It could be a reference to the punishment of the bandits and to the death of Giuseppe Caraffa, intensified by the presence of Masaniello. The fisherman in this engraving does not stand out for anything but his attributes: in one hand he holds the fishing net and in the other a small stick that looks more like a commanding baton than a weapon. All the men surrounding him have weapons, but not Masaniello. He his pointing in the

¹⁰⁰ Johann Colerus, *La vie de B. Spinoza*, 1706, pp. 59-66.

direction of the running men, as if he is giving an order to the others to go after them. In the right side of the image, the scene changes: totally unaware of the rest of the action, in a stage, 5 men dressed like nobles can be seen sitting down. In the middle of the stage, a man with a sword kills another one bent on his knees and with his eyes covered. In the top of the engraving, there is a legend, “*Die Aufruhr zu Neapolis*” (the revolt of Naples) and a medal with the representation of Masaniello, with his traditional clothes. This is a very complex image and we do not have any additional information besides the iconographic elements. There is no news of such a sentence in the chronicles. Death sentences with swords were typically reserved to aristocracy and the popular violence in Naples did leave space for such organized acts. It is possible that the artist was not well informed, or that he might have followed a pre-existing model of a revolt. Was this man on his knees Masaniello? Was this a suggestion of the involvement of the viceroy in the death of Masaniello? It would not be an accurate narrative, but we do not know to which sources (Oral? Written?) the artist had access to.

Apart from these two engravings, there is another one of German provenience. It is part of the book *Theatrum Europaeum*. In volume 6, a portrait of Masaniello [fig. 79] occupies two thirds of the page¹⁰¹. It is the same image that was used in the translation of the book of Giraffi, but looking towards the left side and on black and white, with the legend “*Thomaso Aniello d’Amalfi. Populi Neapolitani Rebellis Dux*”.

After analyzing the role that France played in the Portuguese and in the Catalan propaganda and the importance of the duke of Guise in Naples, one could expect a measurable impact of Masaniello in France. However, this did not happen as much as one could expect. Mazarin worked hard in order to contain the information about Masaniello and the revolt. The news that were made public mentioned a revolt but never fiscal uprisings or the fisherman. With the threat of the upcoming Fronde (1648-1652) on the royal power, the authorities tried to control the information available to prevent possible contagions. The idea was to create a general indifference towards the event.

Strictly speaking, under the visual point view, the impact of Masaniello arrived with especial intensity to England, to the Netherlands and to the Empire. But were there images in other places

¹⁰¹ *Theatrum Europaeum*, vol. 6, 1663, p. 215.

that did not survive to our present day? Other cultures and political lives prevented the image of Masaniello to spread with the same enthusiasm?

5.7. The images of the king: a visual counter-offensive

So far the main subject has been Masaniello, the protagonist of the revolt. However, it is important to note that images of the king circulated in Naples in 1647-1648. In a first moment, there was an appeal to God, to Masaniello and to Philip IV. There are images about which we do not have any concrete references, but it is crucial to consider them for their meaning. The opposition of the “bad government”, at first, did not prevent the people from exhibiting portraits of the king and express their support to the royal dynasty. The monarchy of the Habsburg was in fact one of the main subjects that the visual representations reflected: the portraits of royalty offered protection to those who exhibited them and showing these images confirms the affection to the monarchy¹⁰². This devotion goes back to Charles V, who has a central representation in the speeches about the revolt. While the population gathered and marched armed in the city, the shouts were of “*viva il rè, muora il malgoverno*”. The love for the dynasty was deeply felt in the month of July. Charles V was evoked for the reminiscences of the golden ages of Naples. When the insurgents claim for the original text of the privileges conceded by Charles V to the city, they identified the document for the seal and the gold letters, two visual elements. They were the ones that allowed distinguishing the original document from fake ones.

In the night of the 8th July, the incendiaries met in front of the palace of the Duke of Traietto, where Antonio Miroballo lived. He was a royal counselor, and a member from the noble *seggio* of Portanova, inspector of the flour taxes. They burnt every good thing he owned. Among the assets they were burning, there were some portraits – one of them of Charles V. The incendiaries did not recognize it but someone in the audience did and warn them that “*you want to burn the portrait of the one who did so much for you, that is the portrait of Charles V*”. When they heard it, they quickly stopped and shouted “*viva nuestro benefactor*”¹⁰³.

The day before, when the revolt started, the people invaded the palace of the viceroy. They searched for him everywhere and “*finding much, they vented their rage on the most precious furniture they found in the apartments, throwing some out of the windows, or breaking and*

¹⁰² Alain Hugon, *Naples insurgée*, p. 293.

¹⁰³ C. Tutini y M. Verde, *Racconto della sollevazione*, pp. 27-28.

*tearing apart the others with no respect for anything but the portrait of the king*¹⁰⁴. The respect towards the portrait of Charles V was demonstrated in a situation of high instability and it was prevented from being destroyed.

On the 13th July, during the oath the viceroy took in the cathedral to make the privileges of the city official, there are more demonstrations of devotion towards the figure of the emperor. First, in the procession organized in the city, the portrait of Charles V was associated with the one of Philip IV and their effigies were placed under canopies made of silk and damask in several places along the way. During the trajectory, Masaniello saw a portrait of Charles V close the *Piazza del Nido*. He went closer and made huge compliments to the effigy.

But it was not a devotion expressed only during processions or public events. Masaniello also ordered that in every door of palaces and houses, noble and popular, should have the arms of the king and of the people¹⁰⁵. Portraits of the king should also be made and placed under canopies in every road of the city¹⁰⁶. On this measure, Leti stated that “*Masaniello for colouring better the alleged fidelity of the People, ordered that those who had at their homes portraits of the Catholic king, should exhibit them under the canopy of the windows, with the symbols of the People*”¹⁰⁷ and in the same line of thought, M. Verde wrote that “*meanwhile the voices of the evil plebs were growing of tone, proclaiming the portraits of the king made at whim out of the windows under the canopies*”¹⁰⁸. So, once more, the idea of the guilt being from the bad government was established: the people were still faithful to their king. The disobedience to the orders of Masaniello had severe consequences. One of the houses close to the *Piazza di Capuana* “*it was not placed with the desired care of these, either by negligence, either because they did not have the time: around the house the plebs, as wild animals, reproached them for rebellion and it was not easy to calm them down, as they wished to burn the house*”¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁴ Esprit Raimond de Mormoiron, *Histoire des revolutions de la ville et royaume de Naples*, I vol., Paris, 1668, pp. 52-53.

¹⁰⁵ Innocenzo Fuidoro, *Successi storici raccolti dalla sollevazione di Napoli dell'anno 1647*, p. 49.

¹⁰⁶ Innocenzo Fuidoro, *Successi storici raccolti dalla sollevazione di Napoli dell'anno 1647*, p. 53. In fact this is an order that was followed. Some days later, around the 13th July, Fuidoro wrote that “*Si vedevano venerati sotto baldacchini per ogni strada cretti su le pareti, li ritratti di Carlo V imperatore et del Re Filippo IV et tavola in un istesso dossello ambidue*”. See p. 59. In the pages related to the 20th August, he insists “*che se idolatrava la imagine di Sua Maestà esposta in pittura sotto dosselli per tutte quasi le strade della città*”. See p. 110.

¹⁰⁷ Gregorio Leti, *La Vita di Don Giovanni d'Austria*, 1686, p. 61; Elvira González Asenjo, *Don Juan José de Austria y las artes :1629-1679*, p. 775.

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¹⁰⁹ Innocenzo Fuidoro, *Successi storici raccolti dalla sollevazione di Napoli dell'anno 1647*, p. 49.

Moreover, the exhibition of the portrait of Philip IV was not limited to houses and palaces: it was also placed in public buildings such as the court of S. Lorenzo. When the people from Marano, Piscinola and Mariglianella entered Naples in order to offer their support to Masaniello, they passed through the court and they bowed to the portrait saying “*Viva casa d’Austria et mora il mal governo*”¹¹⁰.

In another episode, on the 21st August 1647, during a fight in which the people were trying to take Castel Nuovo, Fuidoro wrote that “*Geronimo alias Ciommo Ruoppolo et il capitano [que] era Cicco [Giannella] per soprannome Guallecchia, eressero una forte trincera col cannone e, sparando continuamente verso la porta del Castellnovo, colpirono l’insegna imperiali di Carlo V*”¹¹¹.

The profusion of portraits of the king and of the emperor highlights the love for the dynasty: their image had a ritualistic value. The protection of the representation of the monarch evokes the sacred character of the monarchy: the canopy reinforces the majesty of the sovereignty and establishes the association with the celestial world. Through these mechanisms, the absent king was present and represented in all his majesty, with a halo of supernatural and divinity.

These different examples show that in any moment of these first months the monarchy was persecuted and accused of tyranny as in Portugal in 1640. The accusations were formulated against the viceroy. The portraits of Philip IV were respected in the kingdom of Naples, even in the rebel areas¹¹². However, in moments of crisis, when the authority is questioned, so is the image and often they are removed from the public spaces.

However, the consumption of the royal image of the Habsburgs suffered an important turn after the bombings of the Spanish armada, opening a new visual cycle. The attack to the city marked a new moment regarding the circulation of royal images: the representations change their subjects and start reflecting the new alliances. From October on, the change of attitude can be well seen.

¹¹⁰ Innocenzo Fuidoro, *Successi storici raccolti dalla sollevatione di Napoli dell'anno 1647*, p. 53.

¹¹¹ Innocenzo Fuidoro, *Successi storici raccolti dalla sollevatione di Napoli dell'anno 1647*, p. 106.

¹¹² Alain Hugon, *Naples insurgée*, p. 296.

The portrait of Philip IV that had been exhibited in every road is no longer recognized. The insurgents give express orders that all the arms and symbols of the king should be removed. The devotion for the king of Spain was now over¹¹³.

Coinciding with the beginning of the French period of the revolt, the portraits of not only Philip IV but also of Charles V are removed from the public places. They were no longer the protectors of the city, or figures of devotion or loyalty. In October, “*queste et altre più lunghe esaggerationi di puesto indiatolato vecchio [Gennaro Annese y apoyantes suyos] fecero opra che affatto furono tolti et levati tutti ritratti et effigie dell'imperadore Carlo V e del Re Filippo IV da sotto li baldacchini (...) in luogo de' quali vi posero altri santi diversi*”¹¹⁴. The royal figures were replaced by portraits of the saints, patrons of the city. San Gennaro and the Madonna del Carmine became the key figures and their cults were incremented.

S. Gennaro had been important in the Neapolitan devotion since the end of the 15th century, after the episode of the plague and the conquest of his relics: the head, a finger and blood. However, his cult expanded in the 17th century, originating the Chapel of the Treasure of San Gennaro in the cathedral and the reproductions of paintings and sculptures. S. Gennaro symbolized the local origins, the heroic martyrdom, the faith and the catholic virtue, so emphasized at the time. During the revolt of 1647-1648, the saint was the protagonist when the cardinal Filomarino showed his relics trying to calm the population down. The exhibition of the relics and image had the capacity to move the people's feelings. So, and considering his importance for the people of Naples, his image was diffused during the period of the republic. The majority of the written accounts insist on the veneration of S. Gennaro. His image was printed in thousands of copies to protect the people and the soldiers from the Spanish attacks: “*A priest very devoted to Saint Gennaro printed the effigy of this saint; he made an edition of two thousand copies, distributing them all over the city, some were fixed in the houses, in the windows and in other public places (...) He distributed also small images to the soldiers, that put them over their heart, and it is important to note that all of those who did not carry the image of Saint Gennaro were injured or killed*”¹¹⁵. The religious image contributes with its saving capacities, protecting and saving the lives of those who are devoted and carry them.

¹¹³ Alain Hugon, *Naples insurgée*, p. 296.

¹¹⁴ Innocenzo Fuidoro, *Successi storici raccolti dalla sollevatione di Napoli dell'anno 1647*, p. 227.

¹¹⁵ C. Tutini-M. Verde, *Racconto della sollevatione*, p. 192 Cited by Alain Hugon, according to his translation.

But the use of the images of the saints during the Republic had an impact also in the economy, in the coins. From October on there was a change in the iconography of the coins. Money was a powerful tool, not only for the value in metal, but because of their circulation properties: it was passed from hand to hand inside and outside the city, and even outside the kingdom. The people from Naples took advantage from this situation. The image of the king was removed and replaced with the symbols of the people and of S. Gennaro [fig. 80]. From Rome, the abbot of Saint-Nicolas described the new iconography: “*We make new coins: in one side there is a Saint Gennaro, protector of the city and around him, Sanctus Januarius Regit & Protegit; on the other side the weapons of the République that are a SPQN [Senatus Populus Que Neapolitanus] with a royal crown and around Henr. A Lotar. Dux Respub. Neapol*”¹¹⁶. And some months before, on the 19th October, the same abbot wrote in a letter to the cardinal Grimaldi stated that: “*The Neapolitans and the Spaniards keep fighting over a weird animosity. The first ones have all sort of advantages; and apparently they remain the masters, as all the kingdom almost comes in their help [...] The People started minting their own coins in which there is no symbol of the king of Spain*”¹¹⁷. From that moment on, only the symbols of the people were used. News arrived to Paris of coins with the image of the Virgin, or with San Gennaro and the word “*libertas*”. And later, when they materially arrived to France, they contained the inscription “SPQN”, the same one used in the symbol of the republic, with an imperial crown, the word “*libertas*” and the effigy of San Gennaro¹¹⁸.

But the change was not only in the coins used. There was a radical change in the visual universe. The standard commissioned by Gennaro Annese, with the representation of the Virgin and S. Gennaro on one side and the three golden fleurs-de-lis on the other are a good example of this. Neapolitans were now protected by their saints and by the French¹¹⁹. Moreover, the representations of S. Gennaro and the Virgin could be often seen in the printed sheets that circulated and were posted on the walls of public buildings. Usually, above the text, there used to be the representation of the crowned Virgin with Jesus on her arms, and the seal of the people, with the symbolic ‘P’ also crowned [figs. 81A and B].

¹¹⁶ Henri Arnauld, *Négociations à la cour de Rome et en différentes cours d'Italie*, vol. 5, 1748, p. 363, cited by Alain Hugon, *Naples insurgée*, p. 299.

¹¹⁷ Henri Arnauld, *Négociations à la cour de Rome*, vol. 5, pp. 286-287, cited by Alain Hugon, *Naples insurgée*, p. 299.

¹¹⁸ Francesco Benigno, *Especjos de la revolución*, p. 182.

¹¹⁹ Innocenzo Fuidoro, *Successi storici raccolti dalla sollevatione di Napoli dell'anno 1647*, p. 233.

The same set of representations was included in important letters. The abbot of Saint-Nicolas, in a letter sent to M. Lanier, the person in charge of the business of the French king in Lisbon, on the 28th October 1647, mentioned the existence of a letter sent by the people of Naples to Louis XIV in which they communicated their wish to recognize the protection of the Duke of Guise. This letter has the image of the Virgin, between the representations of S. Gennaro and S. Antonio, another saint of the Neapolitan devotion. In the bottom part, there were the French coat of arms, the ones from the duke of Guise and the symbol of the people of Naples¹²⁰.

The diffusion of these symbols in the correspondence was another form of transmitting a political message: the rupture with Philip IV, reaching a wider number of people, especially outside the kingdom. The same abbot of Saint-Nicolas in a letter sent to the Cardinal of Este, on the 29th January 1649 insisted on the fact that the soldiers who fought for the Republic had the symbols of France (the three fleurs-de-lis) and the symbols of the duke of Guise in their capes¹²¹.

According to Fuidoro, even before the arrival of the duke to Naples, Luigi de Ferro had already exhibited a portrait of the king of France, placing it under the canopy in a public square, while he complimented the French people: “*cheering the people to a bigger sedition with his words and exalting the moods of some against the Spaniards and raising the French name to the level of the stars by placing the portrait of the king of France under a canopy in a public square*”¹²². This public demonstration eventually considered polemical and provocative, was also an offer to place Naples under the protection of Louis XIV as a solution to their problems. This act caused different reactions and the portrait was removed, although Luigi de Ferro kept trying to place it in public spaces¹²³.

Also before the arrival of the duke to Naples, Luigi de Ferro insisted in the visual persuasion of the Neapolitans. According to the narrative of C. Tutini and M. Verde, he sent addressed them letters with the portrait of the duke enclosed¹²⁴. Unfortunately we do not know to which portraits the authors were referring to.

The duke of Guise arrived to Naples to command the French party, but he also had the pretension of becoming the king of the Neapolitans. The Duke, Henry II, was a man with a wide

¹²⁰ Henri Arnould, *Négociations a la cour de Rome*, vol. 5, p. 301.

¹²¹ Henri Arnould, *Négociations a la cour de Rome*, vol. 5, p. 301.

¹²² Innocenzo Fuidoro, *Successi storici raccolti dalla sollevazione di Napoli dell'anno 1647*, p. 192.

¹²³ Michelangelo Schipa, *Masaniello*, 1925, pp. 160-162.

¹²⁴ C. Tutini and M. Verde, *Racconto della sollevazione*, p. 269.

political experience and member of the powerful ducal house of Lorraine. He had the dream of increasing the glories of his house and of winning the throne of Naples. In order to legitimate his demands, he invoked that he was the descendent – for feminine line – of the Angevin kings of Naples. Yolande d’Anjou, daughter of René d’Anjou, expelled from Alfonso V of Aragon, was the legitimate heiress to the throne hence he considered he had the right to claim it.

When the duke arrived to the city, his effigy was placed in the prison of the court of Vicaria (the main court under the Spanish rule), following the same traditions of the political portrait. The images of the duke probably circulated around the city as a tool for the diffusion of his ambitions. Fuidoro states that while he was writing his chronicle, he had a portrait of the duke of Guise that possibly was being distributed by a faction of Neapolitans who were trying to gain the favor of the duke¹²⁵.

When on the 29th November 1647 the duke of Guise prepared to take the oath on the privileges of the city as the new viceroy, portraits of Louis XIV were displayed and shouts of “Long live the king” were heard, exactly the same way it had been done not half a year ago for the Spanish king in the ceremony of the duke of Arcos. In this sense, it was also interesting to observe that during the period of the duke of Guise in Naples, there is no news of images of Masaniello. During this period, literature and image production do not make any allusions to the acts of the fisherman. There is a protection of range of action of the duke, of his stability and a preoccupation of projecting his image as a hero, savior of the Neapolitans¹²⁶.

However, the arrival of the armada commanded by Juan José of Austria and the nomination of the count of Oñate as viceroy give a new spin in the events and in the image production and circulation. After the repression, as stated previously in this chapter, Juan José did not spare any efforts in projecting his image and power. The count of Oñate followed the same procedure and a program of public festivities was displayed. The programs were printed and fixed everywhere from the 11th April on, along with the pardons, capitulations, privileges and immunities. All these were meant to transmit the ideal of military control and submission of the people.

Although there is no written or visual proof of it during the months of the duke of Guise, even after the victory of the 6th April, the image and presence of the “Masaniellian beatification”

¹²⁵ Alain Hugon, *Naples insurgée*, p. 296.

¹²⁶ Silvana D’Alessio calls the attention to the absence of Masaniello in the literature in favor of the duke of Arcos. See Silvana D’Alessio, *Masaniello*, pp. 202-203.

seemed to be alive and it was necessary to put an end to it. This liquidation of the symbolic memories and representations is replaced with a new set of other images, of religious and political nature. Nevertheless, it was impossible for Juan José and to the count of Oñate to eradicate all the images. They focused on the destruction of the images that represented an obstacle to the “official view” of the past events. The, there is a recuperation of the images of Charles V and Philip IV. On this, Pollio wrote that: *“During this time (...) all the prints that were found with the effigies of the saints and the emperor Charles V, of Her Majesty the Queen, of her children, and of the king of Spain should not be burnt. Instead they should be exhibited with evident veneration (...) and this was observed for many years after the revolt”*¹²⁷.

In this third moment of the revolt, after the city is pacified, there are some changes in the policy of the circulation of images. The elimination of the images of the rebels is followed by a very intensive visual program displayed by Juan José and the count of Oñate. This only confirms once more the extreme importance of the images in the visual communication in Naples. The visualization of certain pictorial models was an efficient political tool and certain all the protagonists of the revolt demonstrated to know how to manage it in their favor. The symbolical and visual representation of power – whether it was the official or not – allowed it to be the vehicle of the presence of the authority with no geographical limits.

5.8. Conclusion

During the revolt of 1647-1648, ritual and politics found a deep correspondence in the image production. The use of the same models to elaborate different images was one of the main characteristics during the visual representation of the revolt. The overlapping of symbols and signs, often followed by theatrical devices, contributed for a profusion of messages that not always are easy to decode. However, this theatricality and staginess allowed Masaniello to convert into an icon and the revolt into one of the events with the widest visual representation in the 17th century.

Against all odds, a humble fisherman as Masaniello became one of the most popular characters of the second half of the 17th century and the face of the revolt. The construction of the public figure responded firstly to the necessity of the insurgents to give a face to their cause,

¹²⁷ BNN, ms. X-B-7: G. Pollio, *Historia del Regno di Napoli*, 13th July 1647.

and secondly to the feverous religious beliefs of the people. The Neapolitan culture on its own very visual and used to the symbols encouraged the reproduction of images and their circulation.

The exaltation of the values and good character of Masaniello and his family naturally was forced and forged in order to fit the model of virtues of the Italian culture of the time, together with the characteristics of a leader. He was idealized as a poor young man with good ideas and principles, law-abiding and concerned about the natural laws of the Neapolitans, catholic devoted to the Virgin and to the king but also capable of showing rage and authority. The transformation of his family, of noble character, praised for their good taste and refined manners evidences an effort of imagination and distancing from the reality, but it contributes for their environment to be *purified* and of increased legitimacy. Masaniello and his family were the symbol of the fight against the abuses of the viceregal government.

One could argue about the efficiency of such representations but the ideas discussed in the previous paragraphs seem to be very conclusive: Masaniello's visual representations fulfilled a pedagogical and spiritual goal. The contemplation of the images impressed the audience, who commissioned abundant reproductions.

The construction of the figure of Masaniello was absorbed in quantity in the years that followed the beginning of the revolt, able to interfere with the behaviors of the crowd, having a miracle effect on the angry masses. The manipulation of certain images and symbols were used in order to control feelings and excessive behaviors.

The existence of three political moments in the revolt reflected in the image productions. In a first moment, the construction of the stereotyped Masaniello coexists with the portraits of Philip IV. Then, in the beginning of the French period of domination, there is a complete removal and replacement of the French visual representations and of the saints of Naples. The figure of the duke of Guise is presented as a conspirator and a gallant with ambitions to the throne of Naples. The third and final moment corresponded to the restoration of order by Juan José de Austria and the count of Oñate, the appointed viceroy after the revolt. Under their authority, the city assisted to the destruction of images and coins allusive to the revolt, and to the creation of their own visual representations of power. The final memory of the revolt corresponded to their capacity, power and success in repress the uprising and install peace.

During the three stages of the political revolt, the use of images was constant. The different sides of the conflict had at their disposition all the iconographical supports: from the engravings to the statues, without forgetting medals, coins, drawings and paintings. Visual representations offered political resources and arguments of legitimacy but also of spiritual comfort aimed at facing and overcome the situation.

If for many political historians the revolt of 1647-1648 was reduced to the figure of Masaniello, for many cultural historians there was the danger of incurring in the same mistake: the majority of the representations are allusive to him. This is because the initial leadership projected to the first scene and his mystification transferred to the visual dimension. Masaniello, more than a decisive figure, was the symbolic standard of the Neapolitan revolt, in the literature and in the visual representations. This does not exclude in any way the existence of images of other characters or themes, but they cannot be compared to the process of transformation that Masaniello went through. Some of the images are evocative of the past: paintings of Micco Spadaro, for example, while others were produced in order to influence the events, such as the French engraving of the syphilitic Spaniard.

The strong bond between text and image and politics puts in evidence the importance of considering the visual dimension of the conflicts. Not only in Italy, but at a European level, there is no doubt that the revolt had an almost immediate repercussion. The social inversion that the glorification of Masaniello meant as a hero left Europe surprised and caused different reactions. There were critics towards the Neapolitans for being violent and excessive people, against the exacerbated violence that occurred during 1647 and 1648, and against the rebellion. But there were as well an appropriation of the events for the benefit of internal and external political conflicts in which the European territories were involved.

CONCLUSIONS

6.1. Introduction

As it was previously established, there are a growing number of historians interested in images as historical sources. In the previous chapters it was shown how the images are for us, historians, important witnesses about the events of 1640-1647. They had an active role in shaping minds, behaviors and conducts of societies. In the present dissertation, I am studying those visual products as political tools in the context of the revolts of 1640-1647 in Catalonia, Portugal and Naples. These images gave a visual dimension to the political arguments of the propaganda and the events of war, forging mentalities and promoting certain responses.

However, as it was seen in the previous chapters, the use of visual sources raised new questions and new methodological problems. Ángel Rodríguez Sánchez stated that the image was perceived by too many people and the written word by too few¹. Indeed one of the problems that were faced along this research was the little information that some of the images related to the revolts generated around their existence. Who created them? Who saw them? What kind of message did they aim to transmit? What reactions did they provoke? These were some of the questions that I tried to answer for the each territory. Also, caution is needed when interpreting these images. Not always they were a truthful representation of the reality – not to say they rarely were – and they were full of symbols and symbolism that could easily go unnoticed to our contemporary eyes.

In this last chapter, it will be analyzed how these images as a whole emerged once the revolts begun and how they affected other territories. Which similarities can we find? Which differences? How can we explain them? How did other reigns react to the propaganda? These are the sort of considerations that I will do in order to conclude this dissertation.

6.2. Subjects

6.2.1. Protagonist: the construction of an hero

¹ Ángel Rodríguez Sánchez, “La percepción social de la monarquía”. In: *Manuscripts revista d’història moderna* 13 (1995), pp. 79-95.

One of the aspects that it is important to consider when comparing and contrasting the revolts of 1640-1647 is the process of constructing a hero through images. This process of cultural construction began as soon as the revolts took place. The display of the images of the protagonist was not something that could be done without a thorough preparation. In fact, the visualization of the leading characters of the three revolts was carefully thought. It was important to present the right characteristics to make him look morally and military superior and fight the accusations of rebellion.

As it was stated before, in Catalonia there is no protagonist standing out. Neither Pau Claris nor Louis XIII seemed to have been represented for the masses. The socio-economical situation of the Principality did not favor the reproduction of such images in quantity. There are accounts of families who had portraits of Louis XIII in their places, but there is no notice of spreading prints of the king in public spaces. The inexistence of images of Pau Claris could be explained considering his early death. But it could be also explained by other facts. Although there are few images about the revolt, there is an abundant production of popular texts, songs, romances and short stanzas, written about the protagonists, victories and the noble character of Catalonia and the Catalans. However, again, there is little information on Pau Claris. A possible explanation lies in the fact that the Catalan government was afraid that the people would insurrect after his death. The fear of an uncontrolled uprising from an angry mass might have prevented the Generalitat and the Diputació from encouraging and stimulating the written and visual production about Pau Claris, after his premature death.

The situation in Portugal and in Naples was quite different. For both territories there is a leading character that represented the revolt: John of Braganza, acclaimed John IV king of Portugal; and Masaniello, the fisherman who led the population of Naples into a revolt against the viceroy. At a first glance, it may seem weird – or even unwise – to compare two protagonists that look so different, but it is interesting to observe both processes as the results were not as different as one might think.

The first contrast is their social status: John of Braganza was an aristocrat who belonged to the most powerful Portuguese aristocratic house. The Braganza had been one of the candidates to the throne in 1580, after the early death of the king Sebastian in Africa, and D. Catarina seemed to be the leading candidate before the military invasion ordered by Philip II. Instead, Masaniello was a humble fisherman who had to take more jobs in order to buy food. He was one of the

lazzaroni, the poor, whose wives were often connected with prostitution and theft. The Duke of Braganza was married Luisa of Guzmán, daughter of the VIII Duke of Medina Sidonia, the oldest and one of the most important dukedoms in the Spanish Monarchy. Masaniello was married to Bernardina Pisa, a woman who was imprisoned for smuggling food.

At a starting point, their social status and their marriages could not be in more opposed poles. However, during both revolts we assist to a similar process of conversion into a heroic figure. They were both portrayed in order to obey the anxieties of a population in need of a leading model and as a legitimating device. John of Braganza was represented as a king, and Masaniello as a cultural icon, both inspiring figures who should be followed and admired.

Considering the Portuguese artistic scenario and the inexistence of a royal court during the previous 60 years, it is no surprise to observe that John of Braganza was painted as a king following the Spanish canons. His royal painter, José Avelar Rebelo could not be compared to Velázquez, neither to some of the painters living in Naples at that time, so his paintings suffered from his lack of artistic superiority. But, despite the artistic problems, the king was represented with the symbols of majesty, dignity, military superiority and good government. There are three known portraits of the king, some national engravings and then many engravings produced in France under the supervision of the Portuguese envoys.

In Naples there were probably more than one hundred prints of Masaniello in circulation only in the year that followed the revolt in July 1647. He was represented as a popular king. Although he was mainly represented with his fisherman clothes – an element often remarked by the contemporary writers to assure his humbleness – he often had a scepter in one of his hands and the other arm was raised in a commanding position. This form of representation was copied several times and used with different backgrounds, in books, pamphlets and as prints. One might think that dignifying a person such as Masaniello probably required a bigger effort of representation than the one used for John IV². The problem for Portugal was not so much the internal acceptance but the foreign one. The Habsburg had favored the Portuguese aristocracy during the years of dynastic union with titles and honors. They had established a policy of matrimonial alliances between families from both reigns. The idea of splitting with Philip IV and the inherent notion of rebellion was a problem that John IV faced for the rest of his life and the

² This is an interesting aspect, considering that it was probably harder in terms of economical resources to display the images of the king than the ones of Masaniello.

truth was that the protagonists of the 1st December felt difficulties in legitimating a revolt with all the irregularities implied³. Masaniello's images, instead, were aimed at internal consumption mainly (although there was a genuine interest from foreign territories for his image) and there was no royal candidate to support, only the memory of a revolt instigator that intrigued and fascinated many.

The Neapolitan fisherman presents more nuances in his representation than the Portuguese king, who was seen only under the duality "king/rebel". Masaniello suffered a process of several metamorphoses. During his lifetime, he was first the inspiring leader, then the cruel man instigating the rebellion and after his death the status of a hero was reinstated, before evolving into a process of beatification. Masaniello, the humble fisherman, overcame his humanity in order to become a sacred image in the eyes of the Neapolitan people and others around Europe.

Until a certain point, it is possible to say that it was Masaniello who went under a more powerful construction, transformation and manipulation of his figure than John of Braganza. John needed to be presented as the legitimate king in Portugal and all over Europe, in the eyes of the other governors and in the eyes of the Pope. But he was already a nobleman. Masaniello was the fisherman who led the people in a revolt against the Spanish power in Naples and despite that, he ended up being consecrated. The engravings of the king are easy to understand and explain in their context. The same cannot be said about the massive visual representation of Masaniello, not only in Naples but in other European contexts, such as The Netherlands and England. Samuel Pepy, one of the most famous diarists in England, put together, in the late 1690's, a collection of the engravings he had bought during the previous years. There are two engravings of Masaniello and surprisingly both in the chapter "Sovereign Princes", along with European princes⁴. This tells us how far his influence as an agitator went.

We can then consider that there were two contemporary protagonists of two revolts against the Hispanic Monarchy. In the beginning there was a social distance between them, but in little time they became comparable figures. In both cases the visualization of their figures insisted on certain symbols like their cloths and attributes. Both were represented always in the same clothing: Masaniello with his fisherman's trousers and shirt, John IV with the military armor (the breastplate). They were both inspired by the divinity and they had God's support. Masaniello

³ Rafael Valladares, *A independência de Portugal. Guerra e Restauração 1640-1680*, 2006, pp. 274-276.

⁴ Eric Chamberlain, (ed.), *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College*, vol. 3, 1994, pp. 50-51.

was represented with the scapular of the Virgin del Carmine, while John IV always exhibited the cross from the Order of Christ. Although there were some rearrangements and changes from these models, they admitted little deviation. But one must ask: how did Masaniello succeed? There is no problem understanding the royal propaganda of John IV. But a fisherman? Even though he had the support of more prominent figures, it is hard to project the idea of promote a fisherman as a king. One thing made the difference: Masaniello succeeded in being adored by the population. The large number of artists living in Naples who joined the revolt contributed to the creation of an image for Masaniello with the attributes a king instead of the ones of a rebel.

Having all this in mind, we can talk about a certain if not total inversion of values, almost like during the Carnival. Promoting an aristocrat to king was not an easy task, as the envoys of John IV had the occasion to verify as they faced constant threats and denials. Moreover, John IV has been described as a king who rather enjoyed literature, art and music far more than governing. This was not the message the government of the king wanted to pass.

Nevertheless, promoting a fisherman as a king was even more difficult. And yet, it seems to have been more successful and more of a cultural icon whose popularity surpassed his death. The heroic – if not even magical – view of Masaniello prevailed in the popular imagination via prints, paintings and sculptures.

In the end, none of them saw the effects of the propaganda. On one hand, John IV died in 1652, 16 years before the end of the war, and the problems that came with the succession prevented the existence of a comparable image of the new king. On the other hand, Masaniello died 10 days only after the insurrection. But they both became, in their own way, prototypical heroes of a revolt.

6.2.2. Other protagonists

Legitimizing a revolt was not all about the protagonist. Other elements had to be taken into account when creating an image able to inspire.

It is interesting to see until which point was the representation of the family of Masaniello more efficient than the one of John IV. Luisa of Guzmán was a noble woman. She was the daughter of a “grand” of Spain, and part of the most important aristocratic family. There was little need to form a profile that would match a queen. In fact, her representations have no

visibility in the public sphere. She was portrayed by Avelar Rebelo, but those paintings were not aimed at popular exhibition.

On the other hand, the situation of Masaniello's wife could not be more different. Very quickly, this woman went from being in prison for theft to become a princess. She was dressed and appointed to meet the wife of the viceroy in the palace. The situation, ridicule if not grotesque, was accompanied by her depiction in noble clothes in engravings and ceramics. His family was given a royal status and his wife and sister were painted as noble women.

However, unlike what happened to Masaniello, there is no evidence that his wife's image was promoted after his death. All the documentation left regarding his family point out that they were imprisoned. Therefore, the visualization of the family of Masaniello was for a very short period of time. In ten days they were promoted, represented as aristocracy and then fell into punishment and oblivion.

In Portugal, coincidentally, the other figure that was represented and became another protagonist was the brother of the king, D. Duarte of Braganza. The circumstances were totally different from the ones of Masaniello's family. D. Duarte was an aristocrat who fought along with the Emperor when, after the 1st December, he was imprisoned, handed to the Spanish soldiers and locked in a fortress in Milan. He immediately became a person of interest and one of the main topics in the propaganda. D. Duarte was presented as a victim of the tyranny of Spain, who had him illegally imprisoned. This was a trend topic until his death in 1649.

Unfortunately, the destruction of a considerable part of these images of secondary characters does not allow us to take many conclusions. But one thing we can observe: there is a need to define an image for the most important characters of the revolts during their lifetime. This was an image that, with the exception of Masaniello, did not endure after their deaths or political annihilation.

6.3. Religious elements

Religion was one of the most important elements of the everyday life in the early modern age. It was present in social, political and even economical life. Religious images had a constant presence in the streets of the catholic cities. They could be seen in the corners, yards, façades and portals. With such exposition, images contributed to express devotion, to establish strings and

consolidate identities⁵, especially in the spirits of the Counter-Reformation. Therefore it is not surprising that it is a crucial element during the revolts and present in the three territories.

It is more often associated devotion and conflicts in religious-based revolts, such as the French Wars of Religion, or the conflicts in the Netherlands between Protestants and Catholics. In fact the three revolts studied in this dissertation do not present any religious opposition. Both sides of the conflict were Catholic and shared the same beliefs and devotions. There is no rupture at all; but the devotions to particular saints or cults served the propaganda and configured one of the strongest vectors of the legitimating images. Devotions associated with the populations directly involved in the conflict were often directly utilized for their religious and mainly symbolic valences in political struggles, and important spaces were often associated with a church, such as the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine in Naples. The idea of sacred figures acting as mediators between the earthly world and God, very popular during the Baroque, was perfectly applied in the context of the revolts.

In Catalonia the religious element was particularly important. The economical and artistic scenarios did not allow a massive production of new images, so there were mainly adaptations of previous existing models. The saint patronesses of Barcelona, especially Saint Eulalia, were represented and used as an expression of the military arm and identity of the Principality against the tyranny of Philip IV. Most of the engravings in Catalonia have a religious background and inspiration. In fact, the role John IV and Masaniello had in Portugal and Naples, in Catalonia was played by Saint Eulalia. Martyrs offered a model of heroic sanctity and Santa Eulalia assumed this dimension in the lives of the Catalans.

In Naples, there was a strong religious feeling as well. The saint adopted by the rebels was Santa Maria del Carmine, whose church was in Piazza del Mercato, the square where confronts started in July 1647. The devotion to the saint was very strong. All the pamphlets and edits published and placed in public places had the figure of the saint, along with San Gennaro (Saint Januarius), the saint patron of Naples.

There was an appropriation from the people of the saints in general. During the revolt, the people capture an image of Saint Anthony of Padua. The justification was that they were

⁵ María José del Río Barredo, "Imágenes callejeras y rituales públicos en el Madrid del siglo XVII". In: María Cruz de Carlos Varona (ed.), *La imagen religiosa en la Monarquía hispánica. Usos y espacios*, pp. 197-218, p. 197.

“liberating” him from the Spaniards, who had imprisoned him because he was Portuguese, in an allusion to the events of the 1st December 1640.

In Portugal the divinity the king appealed to was the Immaculate Conception, the cult of the Virgin, offering her the crown. It is particularly interesting because it was also the predominant cult of the Habsburg. When Barcelona was taken by Juan José de Austria, the cult of the Virgin gained a new meaning. The Marian cult was very popular in the Crown of Aragon since the 14th century, and that did not change during the 17th century. In Barcelona, the Immaculate was venerated side by side with Saint Eulalia and Saint Madrona, however after 1652 the cult obtained a new propagandistic character: the king intended to recuperate his power with the establishment of a common belief⁶. So, it is with some surprise that we see that John IV since the first moment dedicated his crown to the Virgin and did not rest until it was consecrated as patroness of Portugal in 1646.

This devotion was not purely religious, it was political as well. Religious authorities legitimated the complaints. If the support of a saint could be demonstrated – usually through miracles – the insurgents could invoke they had the divine protection on their side, and therefore use the religious argument in favor of their cause. In Portugal, miracles played an important role in the legitimating discourse. Many sermons mentioned the fall of one of the arms of the Jesus used during the procession made on the very 1st of December. This miracle was a sign of the Heavens, showing the conveyance of the divinity with the action of the Portuguese.

The same happened in Naples seven years later. Masaniello was killed and his body separated from the head. However, when the people got his body back, they invoked that the head united to the body again, in a miracle. Masaniello had been blessed by the Virgin, she had even appeared to him, and therefore he had the Divinity support and his action was legitimate. The most important element to prove the importance of religion was the ultimate consecration of Masaniello. He had been sent by God, and some even said they had seen a white dove circling his head.

In general, images of the protagonists were accompanied by the Virgin or the saints they were devoted to. The coins and medals would also have on one of the sides, an allusion to the saints or the Virgin.

⁶ Alma Linda Reza, “Devoción inmaculista en Barcelona, 1652-1662. Una imagen triunfal de la monarquía hispánica”. In: *Pedralbes. Revista d’història moderna* 28 (2008), pp. 761-778.

Having God and the Saints supporting a certain political position, allowed that side of the conflict to produce propaganda with not only political justifications, but religious ones as well. For John of Braganza it not enough having the French king's recognition of his condition as king of Portugal, it was even more necessary to have the Pope's recognition of Portugal's new political status.

In the Portuguese visual propaganda, there is also present Jesus Christ. As it was stated before, the fact that the Portuguese propaganda involved legitimating a king originated a more complex vocabulary and also more related to political concepts. The idea of a dynasty promoted by Christ implied the idea of a sacred Royal House, to which God had given His blessing and therefore blessed with miraculous virtues. Christ's eternity was a symbol of the eternity of the dynasty. There was an appeal to decisive moments of the history of Portugal, moments in which the independence was at stake and in which Christ had always appear to the kings showing His support. Subjects such as Afonso Henriques, the first Portuguese king, on his knees seeing Christ, who transmitted him the mission of creating a kingdom for Him, and of the Battle of Aljubarrota fought in 1385 against the Castilians became very popular to justify the idea of the return of the legitimate king.

The Virgin, whether it was the Immaculate Conception or the Virgen of Carmine, the Saints (Saint Madrona, Saint Eulalia, Saint Gennaro) or Christ were all powerful symbols of cohesion in times of conflict.

6.4. Others

During the revolts another kind of representation was related to the narrative of the events. The illiteracy rates certainly promoted these images that condensed the most important moments of the revolt, almost like telling a story. Some, instead, presented only one important moment, usually the moment that triggered the revolt – a representative one. We can find this kind of narrative images for Portugal and Naples. None could be traced regarding Catalonia's revolt, probably because of the already explained economical and artistic factors.

However, the economical and artistic conditions in Portugal did not favor the local products either. The engravings that we know were made in central Europe, for the local people, as the

legends are in Dutch and in German. They obeyed to the German and Dutch canons of representation and probably to versions of the story that arrived in pamphlets or books. In the case of the engraving “*Der Portugallische Abfall*”, it is not even an accurate representation of the events. But, it still recreates the most important aspects of the 1st December: the defenestration of Miguel de Vasconcelos. The chaos represented in the square, reassembling a battle with weapons and clouds of smoke was probably a free recreation of the artist/commissioner. Or could it be inspired in an engraving about the defenestration of Prague of 1618?

Some of the engravings of John IV produced in France had a background scene representing the coronation ceremony, stressing the legitimation of the new king.

In Naples and in Rome, Micco Spadaro and Michelangelo Cerquozzi were the authors of very detailed paintings that explain the main events of 1647. Especially Micco Spadaro, who painted several moments of the revolt in the same scenario: the Piazza del Mercato. A less significant yet still important narrative image is one arranged by Sebastiano Molini, who used existing engravings in order to make a collage that explains the moments of high tension in Naples in that July. It lacks precision, rigor or even artistic taste, as it uses pieces of engravings with Roman soldiers and classical architecture. But it reveals the interest in explaining a story through images.

These images were especially useful outside the territories where the revolts took place. This may be one of the possible explanations for the fact we barely can find them in the archives, libraries and collections in Portugal and Naples. The engraving that represents the Portuguese revolt as a comic story was engraved in Amsterdam and used also in the *Theatrum Europaeum*⁷. Considering the number of copies that still exists, this engraving must have had a great success and several editions. They were informative, they not always promoted a specific side of the conflict (the Spadaro’s painting has been considered more informative than propagandistic, for example) and they always focus on important elements and events. They do not seem to have been the favorite mean to express protest or justification, nor to promote social cohesion. This does not exclude that the some can still be considered as a vehicle of contestation and promote validation, but in a less evident way.

⁷ *Theatrum Europaeum*, vol. 4, Frankfurt am Main, 1692, fig. 17.

These elements constituted a more complex form of communication as they contain several actions, sometimes separated by time, but they did not transmitted the same values and political messages that the portraits of Masaniello or John IV.

Moreover, these engravings and paintings offer a different characteristic compared to those who represent the participants in the revolts: they all were produced after the main events happened.

Regarding the other side of the conflict, Philip IV of Spain, it is worth to say a few words as well. Although this dissertation does not focus on the propaganda conceived by the Spanish authorities, some considerations should be made about its reaction to the events in the three territories.

The geographical proximity made that Catalonia was a privilege territory to find evidence of the Habsburg visual propaganda. The city of Tortosa was in the Principality but kept faithful to the Spanish king: in this territory we can find several engravings showing the Spanish king as the legitimate one and demonstrations of gratefulness and devotion. When Philip IV put his son Juan Jose de Austria in charge of repressing the revolts in Naples and in Catalonia, he instated his own image in the two territories. Philip IV did not take the Neapolitan uprising as rupture or eminent threat of ceasing with the Spanish Monarchy, so we cannot find images against Naples itself. It is more about a strong affirmation of power after the revolt was ended. As for the Portuguese, especially in Europe, the Spanish did not spare any efforts in printing all sorts of rumors and counter-propaganda.

6.5. Political rupture, cultural continuance

John Elliott wrote that “*violent attempts were made at times to disrupt this framework [aristocratic-monarchical state] from below, but without any lasting degree of success*”⁸, referring to the 16th and 17th revolts in Europe. Indeed, in Catalonia, Portugal and Naples there was a will of breaking with the existing power. Only Portugal succeeded in not going back to the *status quo*, but the question of the ruptures should be considered. Can we in fact talk about

⁸ John H. Elliott, “Revolution and Continuity in Early Modern Europe”. In: *Past & Present* 42 (1969), pp. 35-56, p. 55.

disruption in Portugal or any of the other two territories? Or should we instead consider the continuities?

Images produced in the context of the revolts tell us that we should probably go for the second option. There is an important political change in Portugal: the Habsburg dynasty ceases abruptly its ruling in Portugal and a new king is proclaimed.

However, the engravings produced in the years that followed the coup d'état reinforce the idea of continuity. John IV attempted to demonstrate that the “*Braganza dynasty would rule in a completely different manner than the Habsburgs*”⁹, but culturally speaking, there was no rupture. The royal portrait painted in 1647 by Avelar Rebelo contains all the elements of the traditional representation of the Habsburgs. The engravings presented little differences from previous ones, except for the quality: Portuguese artists left a lot to be desired when compared with some international personalities. In Catalonia the rupture was even more discrete if we consider the small number of engravings and the usage of previous ones, adapting them to new meanings and contexts. This means that the images represented important vehicles of political expression but the vocabulary used and the visual strategies were not new. In fact, we can even talk about certain contradictions in the Portuguese argumentation. The appeal to the Immaculate, the use of the historical arguments that had been used not so many years before to strengthen the ties between the Habsburg kings and Portugal during the dynastic union and the artistic continuances demonstrate that the only existing rupture was effectively the political one.

The three conflicts of 1640-1647 allowed enacting propaganda and gathering support. Nevertheless the type of propaganda differs according to the political outcome of the outburst. In general these three conflicts present a common characteristic: the visual strategies were of explaining, legitimating, instead of attack. In Portugal there is a new king from a new dynasty who is in need of internal and external recognition. In Naples there is the effort of legitimating Masaniello, the humble fisherman and in Catalonia there is the effort of showing that the Principality was just protecting their liberties and rights. In the end, the three territories were fighting the notion of rebellion by accusing Philip IV of tyranny.

⁹ Pedro Cardim, “The Representatives of Asian and American Cities at the Cortes of Portugal”. In: Pedro Cardim (ed.), *Polycentric Monarchies: how did early modern Spain and Portugal achieve and maintain a global hegemony?*, pp. 43-53, p. 44.

One of the other characteristics of the uprisings in Early Modern Europe that John Elliott mentions in an already cited article is the dependence of external assistance. These ephemeral movements –especially the popular uprisings – could achieve nothing or very little without the support from a dominant group, usually foreign. All the three territories studied in the present dissertation had the support of France. France was in war against Spain since 1638 so Louis XIII and then Louis XIV were much interested in weakening the enemy, by stimulating and supporting parallel fronts of conflict. This can be sensed in the image production. Regarding the Portuguese engravings, the most active centers were in France, in Paris and in Lyon. Not only for the quantity of published materials, but also for their quality. No engravings printed in Lisbon could stand against those signed by the French royal printers. This is the second aspect that is very interesting: a large part of the engravings related to the Portuguese new king are signed by artists that worked for the French king or for the court in general. In the majority of the engravings, it is impossible to know who commissioned them, but we can deduce that they were probably from the Portuguese delegation or part of the aristocratic circles.

The propensity of Naples to contest the viceroial authority had already made itself felt in 1585. In Portugal apart from some exceptional conflicts, until 1580 there were no major insurrections nor ruptures, and the same happened in Catalonia. There were several conflicts between the principality and the crown, but since the civil war against the king John II of Aragon in the 1462-1472 that there were no major revolts that led to the rupture. However, it was the first time that the revolts were accompanied by visual propaganda of such dimensions, following the example of the Dutch revolt. So, by 1640 some incipient images emerged in Barcelona and then in Portugal and in 1647 visual propaganda was in full swing with the Neapolitan revolution and the negotiation of the Westphalia treaties.

There was a common European culture that conditioned and influenced the production of images during the revolts. Certain elements appear in different territories, showing the usage of a same cultural model, although with different nuances.

For instances, there is the usage of similar models, such as the Phoenix. In the visual propaganda in favor of John of Braganza, it is used the phoenix. The bird represents the idea of

immortality, *perpetuitas* and *aevum*, the collective and the individual at the same time¹⁰. It was a metaphor used not only in the Portuguese imagery, but also in the French and English ones. For example, the English queen Elisabeth I used it as a symbol of her virginity. On a medal from 1649, in England, the phoenix appears associated with Charles I. In this example, it represented the continuance of the hereditary royalty and the *dignitas*. A similar meaning can be found in an engraving from 1643 for the French king. It had been idealized years before in order to announce the death of Louis XIII and the succession of Louis XIV. The Phoenix, in the nest, is illuminated by the sun rays. The drawing has the following legend: “*The phoenix is born and resurrects from the ashes of its father by the inflow sent by the sky and the sun. In the same way, the king is given to us miraculously from the heaven*”¹¹. The same model was used for the Lusitania Liberata’s engraving of the Phoenix.

The same phoenix was used in Catalonia’s propaganda during the revolt, although it was used with a different sense. In the emblems described in the celebration of the victory of the French-Catalan army in Perpignan, there is the comparison of Castile with a phoenix, in the sense that it was on fire and it could not extinguish its fire.

It is certain though that the visual propaganda was influenced by the political situation of each territory. In the case of Portugal, for example, the images produced in France and in England are visually richer than the most of images produced in Naples and in Catalonia. The reason for that could lie in the fact that Portuguese propaganda was a royal one. It was not just about one hero; it was about a new king and a new dynasty with national and international consequences. Having this in mind, it is easier to understand the multiplicity of symbols associated with the figure of the king. The Phoenix, the Dragon, the genealogical trees and the several allegories that accompanied John of Braganza show the kind of support and resources that the English and the French kings put at the service of the Portuguese cause. The same cannot be said about the production in Naples. Here, the players were the people.

On the other side, there were the French engravings about the three revolts. In the previous chapters, it was analyzed this production of images in foreign territories. France put artistic and economical resources at the service of the three revolts, resources that not even Naples could

¹⁰ Ernst Kantorowicz, *Los dos cuerpos del rey: un estudio de teología política medieval*, 2012, p. 384.

¹¹ Ernst Kantorowicz, *Los dos cuerpos del rey: un estudio de teología política medieval*, p. 406.

compete with. From 1638 on, France assisted to the production of over one hundred engravings (many accompanied by short texts) railed against the Spaniards, and some made allusions to the political situation of Portugal, Catalonia and Naples.

It is important to note as well that there is more diversity in the Portuguese visual propaganda, compared to the Neapolitan one. In Naples there was a massive repetition of Pieter Bacchi's representation of Masaniello. This drawing of the fisherman enjoyed such popularity that was adapted by many artists and reproduced over and over again. Instead, in Portugal there was the initial inspiration from Avelar's depiction, but there was the French model as well and all the allegorical engravings that circulated in books and as prints.

A final aspect to consider are the supporters of the cause, those who printed, engraved and worked on the propaganda materials. In Portugal, many of the artists and promoters of the royal cause were close to the king and were expecting favors in return of their support. Agostinho Soares Floriano and Avelar Rebelo worked hard in the representation of the king. The diplomats who were located in the international diplomatic network also shared the same hopes of receiving favors from John IV once they came back. In Catalonia, we have more information on the printers than on the commissioners. It is possible to see that there are certain printing houses which seemed to be committed to the Catalan cause: Pere Lacavalleria, Jaume Mathevat and Gabriel Nogués were the main editors and printers active in Barcelona during this period. They were probably more ideologically involved than the Craesbeck in Portugal, who seemed to see the Restoration as a business opportunity. Despite the differences, the three revolts shared the same involvement of the bourgeoisie: men who studied law and worked in the administration, joined the revolts and worked hard in the legitimating process. In Naples, some artists joined the cause of Masaniello, as mentioned before, but there were lawyers and jurists as well. In fact, as stated before, although this present dissertation focus mainly in the protagonists that were visually represented, recent interpretations point that the key figure in the Neapolitan revolt was Giulio Genoino, a jurist. And in Catalonia, the jurist Joan Pere Fontanella played an important role as well. In Portugal men such as Antonio Pais Viegas and Francisco Velasco Gouveia (both studied law) were engaged to the Portuguese propaganda. In Catalonia, the same members of the

Generalitat promoted the printing of many of these texts and images, while in Naples there was a great interest for Masaniello's image.

A mention must be made to the French engravers who, although do not seem to be particularly committed to none of the three revolts, worked for Louis XIII and for the French court. Names such as Michel Lasne and Balthasar Moncornet can often be seen not only signing Portuguese and Neapolitan engravings, but the French ones against the Spaniards as well.

6.6. Dissemination and consumption

The image was at the time the main form of communication, identification and reaction. In Naples there were images for legitimation and images for protest, for adoration and for destruction. Instead for Catalonia and Portugal we can only guess about the usages and consumption of the images. Apart from their display in ceremonies, there is little information available. Who saw them? Which reactions did they provoke?

Knowing where the people could find and would affix/post these images can give us clues about where the legitimating images could be seen and distributed. In Naples, the paintings of Spadaro and Cerquozzi putting in evidence the Piazza del Mercato give the idea that was a privileged scenario for the diffusion of images. The *Epittaffio* built in the square was one of the places where short texts, prints and drawings could be posted.

The second consideration regarding the circulation of images within the Hispanic Monarchy concerns the fact that it does not seem to exist the consumption of images in the other territories. This means that we cannot find any evidence that the Catalan engravings circulated in Portugal around the same years. And we cannot find any evidence of the opposite, nor do we have information about images of Masaniello and of the Neapolitan revolt in Portugal and Catalonia, apart from a few exceptions. *Cataluña desengañada* was published in 1646 in Naples; there was the already mentioned incident of the stolen image of Saint Anthony of Padua which shows the awareness of the Portuguese revolt; and a special license was given to the editor Antonio Alvarez to print in Portugal books about the Catalan events. However, these were more related to the printed word than to the diffusion of images.

But can we consider then that these images were only produced for internal consumption? The answer is no.

We can find Portuguese, Catalan and Neapolitan engravings in central Europe. There is evidence of the circulation of engravings in England, France, in the Netherlands, in the empire and even in Sweden. There were three major factors that explain why this happened. The first is the political instability. The second is the diplomatic networks and the third, deeply related to the previous one, the Westphalia peace negotiations. During the 17th century, diplomatic networks were established in order not only to serve political purposes but also for cultural transferences. In this sphere, it circulated an abundant correspondence, often followed by paintings, objects of value, engravings, books and pamphlets. The diplomats were agents of information, culture and ideas. In Portugal, the diplomatic network established after the proclamation of the king promoted actively the production and circulation of engravings. John IV sent envoys to London, Paris, Hague, Venice, Rome and Stockholm. Through the correspondence it is possible to see the envoys' interest in receiving and sending portraits of the king and their concern for the quality of such products.

In Naples, the foreign residents living in the city were committed in informing their superiors of the events. Also the viceroy and members of the vicerojal government such as Stefano Carrillo y Salcedo sent portraits of Masaniello in order to explain to Philip IV what had happened. The presence of the French armies contributed for diffusing prints too. They made the diffusion of images easier, as some were brought to Naples. Maybe some images were also taken by the soldiers back to France.

The celebration of such a diplomatic congress was a perfect opportunity for the rebels to expose their cause and seek for support. Therefore it was a privileged scenario for the circulation of engravings and texts. The Portuguese delegation had to face several problems. The main one was their inability to be recognized as ambassadors of a legitimate king. Nevertheless, both emissaries Francisco Andrade de Leitão and Luis Pereira de Castro were painted by Anselm van Hulle, a man who sold over 400 paintings during the time of the negotiations, and had their portraits engraved and diffused. Both their engravings were included in the books of ambassadors, which became very popular during that period. Although there is no notice of engravings or paintings of the Catalan delegation, there is information about one of the most important books about the Catalan propaganda, the *Proclamación Católica*, by Gaspar Sala. This book contained an engraving of Saint Eulalia, the most representative symbol of the Catalan

cause and a small engraving of a chalice on fire, symbolizing the sacrileges perpetrated in Catalonia by the Spanish troops.

There was a general curiosity and a direct political interest in Europe for the events in the Spanish Monarchy and a genuine interest from some of the statesmen for the rebels' cause. During the first half of the 17th century, Europe had been in an extensive state of war. On one hand, the Thirty Years' War had involved most of the European countries. On the other hand, there was the Eighty Years' War, a conflict between the Netherlands and Spain that had started in the 16th century and was still active. Being part of this context, the three revolts had different impacts in different territories.

England since the decade of 1630 had been dealing with internal problems: the parliamentary revolt and the civil war that ended up with the decapitation of Charles I in January 1649 illustrate well enough the internal political situation. In 1641, interest had been shown by the king Charles I for the Portuguese cause. After all, the debilities of the Braganza and the war against Philip IV were a good opportunity for the English merchant navy. He kept long conversations with the Portuguese Antonio de Sousa Macedo who wrote him several letters explaining the events occurred in Lisbon. He also stood besides the king when the crisis against the Parliament began.

However, the Neapolitan revolt, in 1647 caused a surprising impact, far superior to the reactions to the Portuguese revolt. Even before the first translation of the account of Alessandro Giraffi about the revolt, an author signing T.B. published *The Rebellion of Naples, or The Tragedy of Massanello* in 1649. The association of "rebellion" and "tragedy" was a common trace along the piece, in which the author put in ridicule the fisherman. It was established a parallel between the beheaded Masaniello and Charles I. The message is reinforced by the engraving seen in the frontispiece, where Masaniello dominates the scene. During the next year, it was published the translation of Giraffi's book and after the success it had, J. Howell writes two other books on the Neapolitan revolt, in 1652 and 1654.

But it is possible to go even further with the impact Masaniello had in England in these troubled years. The existence of two coins portraying both Cromwell and Masaniello, as equals, is very representative of the influence the fisherman had. If on one hand, the fisherman was compared to Cromwell and the Commonwealth as a symbol of the illegitimacy; on the other

hand, for the republicans Masaniello set a new example to be followed in the new monarchies¹². By the end of the 17th century, there were still books being published on the subject and adaptations for theatre plays.

And this influence was not only in England, as one of these coins is of Dutch mint. The Netherlands, in war against England since the middle of the 17th century, shared the same interest in discrediting the English statesman. In the Netherlands the book of Giraffi was published firstly translated to Italian and in 1650 it had printed in Dutch, with at least six editions. All these volumes certainly had an engraving representing Masaniello, according to the P. Bacchi's model.

The Netherlands certainly showed a great interest in the revolts in the Hispanic Monarchy. However, they expressed little sympathies towards the Portuguese cause, due to the conflicts in Brazil and in Asia. This obstacle for the Portuguese diplomacy was not a problem for the circulation of propaganda though. This can be explained because of the Portuguese Sephardic community installed in Amsterdam. They welcomed the new king and they were one of the main economical supports for the war. It is possible that this support also made them promote the printing of images. The same happened in Ruan, a French city where a large community of Portuguese Jews joined the cause of the Braganza.

It is highly significant that in the beginning of the XVIII century, the Dutch engraver Caspar Luyken printed a series of engravings representing the revolts in Barcelona and Portugal [**figs. 1 and 2**]. The memory the three revolts studied persisted far behind the dates that mark their end.

Regarding the revolts' influence overseas, there is little to be said. Masaniello had a surprising influence, via England: the word "Masanielli" was used in the end of the 17th century to refer to the insurgents against the landlords in New York and in Maryland. As A. Hugon described, Masaniello heritage was used to ignite social conflicts. What about the Portuguese colonies? Did any of the materials produced in Europe arrive to such distant places? What messages were diffused? These are some of the questions that are still waiting for a proper answer.

We are ill informed about the prices of these visual materials. In the cases of the engravings, it is very hard to know if they were commissioned and then sold to the people or if they were

¹² Alain Hugon, *Naples insurgée 1647-1648: de l'évènement à la mémoire*, 2011, pp. 330-331.

distributed and the costs were in the charge of the commissioner. Although they were cheap, there is no evidence that an ordinary worker could afford them, and it was not always necessary to buy the engravings. They were distributed or exhibited in public ceremonies, such as the funeral of Pau Claris in Catalonia, or in the processions celebrated by Masaniello in Naples where portraits of the king were displayed. They could also specifically be made to be destroyed, as it happened in Naples.

In case of engravings that were integrated in pamphlets or books, it is easier to assume they had a certain cost.

Such little evidence makes impossible to reach definite conclusions and there is still work to be done in the archives about the artists, about the patronage and the cultural circulation of products in Europe in the 17th century that can bring new lights to the study of the memory of the revolts.

Another element to take into consideration is the meaning of having an engraving, a portrait or any other visual product illustrative of the events of 1640-1647. So far in this chapter, it has been described how the supporters of the revolts have conveyed their political thoughts in the images. However, not always having an image meant loyalty to the cause. This is the case of Vincenzo de Medici, the Tuscany's resident in Naples, who sent two portraits of Masaniello to the Gran Duke commissioned by the viceroy himself. They were made so they could be sent to Spain in order to show the responsible for the insurrection. For the Portuguese, however, having a portrait of the king could be more than an informative tool. It was sometimes a factor of risk and it could put the image owner's life in danger, as Félix Pereira and Francisco Taquet had the opportunity to experience.

6.7. Final balance

As Jean-Claude Schmitt stated, using images as sources widened the historian's field of study, obliging him to reflect on objects and on values¹³. Analyzing the images produced during the revolts of 1640-1647 in Catalonia, Portugal and Naples requested/demanded a different method and certainly brought new conclusions on these subjects.

¹³ Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Images and the historian". In: Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley (eds.), *History and Images. Towards a New Iconology*, 2003, p. 19.

David Bindman wrote that “revolutionary politics had its language, rhetoric and slogans; its own gestures, forms of deportment and costumes – including hairstyle, its own imagery, symbols and iconography; its distinctive temples, ceremonies and festivals”¹⁴. Although Bindman was referring to the French Revolution, the same idea can be applied to the 1640’s. Through using their own mechanisms, they tried to gather support, create an identity and advertise it.

These images contain visual vocabulary that goes back to classical antiquity, they are highly diverse by nature, but they are also predominantly positive, emphasizing the character of its protagonists and the justification of their common causes: the uprising against the Spanish tyranny.

Visual propaganda conveyed the political arguments of both sides of the conflicts. It reflected both political arguments and personal points of view. Each image has behind it a skillful legal argument, easy to decode for the eyes of the contemporaries.

Behind each image there is more than the mere representation of a character or an event. There is a symbolic vocabulary that gives us historians more clues about their production and about the conflicts, mentalities, rituals and behaviors. Edward Muir stated that “*political rituals present simple truths. They encourage a simple course of action. And they achieve these things by framing some images more prominently than others (...), enhancing some characteristics of a person and suppressing others*”¹⁵. The same concepts can be applied to visual propaganda. They usually present simple truths: “legitimate king”, “*a hero who is saving the people from the Spanish tyranny*”, or “*the legitimate side who is fighting the abusive behavior of the central power*”. They all intend – one way or another – to promote the spectator to take an action, either in favor or against the content of the visual representation. And they achieve to do so by representing certain characteristics or symbols, familiar to the 17th century societies, which could be easily assimilated. They were an appeal to the emotions at the same time they were a vehicle for a political message. The invocation to the emotional side of the spectators allowed the 17th century Europe to assist to the rise of two new political heroes, which were probably more *heroicized* than heroic.

¹⁴ David Bindman, *Shadow of the Guillotine. Britain and the French Revolution*, London, 1989, p. 12 cited by Alastair Duke, *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, 2009, p. 137.

¹⁵ Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 1997, p. 231.

One portrait as John of Braganza's or Masaniello's generally contained always a political reference. It is not easy for us, these days, to know whether it was a positive or a negative one, but the configuration of the elements should provide the spectator to understand the position of the artist/commissioner of the piece.

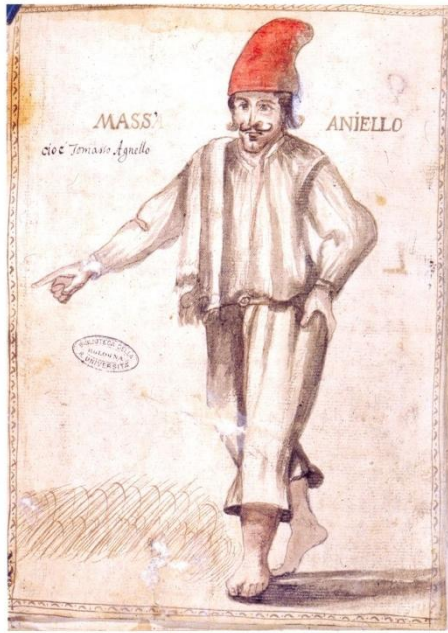
However, the analysis of the images can be misleading as well. Most of the arguments reflected in the images are very simple. Reducing the revolts to the protagonists and their families or closed ones would be unequivocally a mistake. These images must be understood in the light of the political events and as a cultural product of the time. The revolt of 1647 became known as "the revolt of Masaniello", but it had so much more into it than the figure of the fisherman. The abundant production of the Portuguese John IV might lead us into forgetting that the war kept going for another 16 years, under the regency of Luisa of Guzman and then the reign of Alphonse VI. And in Catalonia there were many books written with carefully elaborated political arguments, despite the poor imagery production focusing mainly in religious aspects.

To conclude, we can say that the visual production of the three revolts were a form of reinterpreting the events to serve an ideological agenda. Despite the differences, the three territories were able to visually display their concerns and their arguments. Were they effective? Did they change the course of the events? In some cases more than others, some images were probably more efficient than others, but for sure they left their print in the memory.

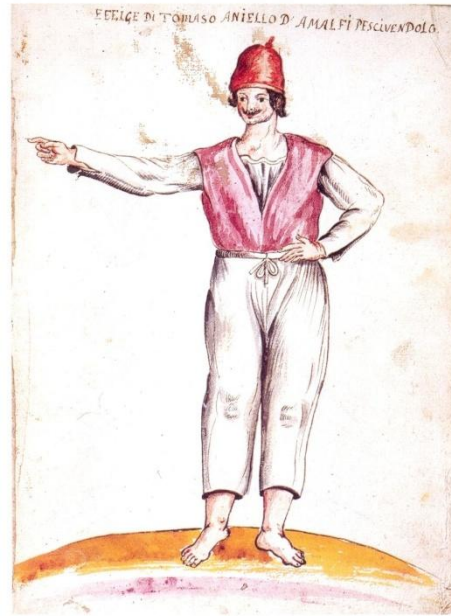


Tommaso Aniello da Masaniello, acclamato Capo del Popolo di Napoli
l'età d'anni 27, acclamato Capo del Popolo di Napoli
Add. 7 di Luglio dell'anno 1799
Pietro Bacchi donatore

[FIG. 6] Pietro Bacchi, *Masaniello*. MNSMN



[FIG. 9] Mas' Aniello, BB



[FIG. 10] Giovanni Battista Denti, *Effigie di Tomaso Aniello*, Private Collection.



[FIG. 13] Onofrio Palumbo, *Thomas Aniellus* Collection Martino Obertos, Genoa



[FIG. 14] *Tomasso Aniello d'Amalfi* Collection Guido Donatone



[FIG. 43] Micco Spadaro, *La rivolta di Masaniello*. MNSMN



[FIG. 55] Carlo Coppola, *Resa della Citta di Napoli a Giovanni d'Austria*, MNSMN

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PART THREE

APPENDIXES

Brief Commentary:

The following appendixes are organized by territory and they follow the same criteria as the chapters: the chronology of the revolts: Catalonia (June 1640), Portugal (December 1640) and Naples (July 1647). The images are presented according in the same order they appear in the text.

In some cases, there are more images besides the ones that are analyzed in the text. This is justified as the Neapolitan revolt, for example, had several images that were very similar and not always there is enough information to fully understand them. In these cases, I do present the images but I do not use them in my argument.