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Changing the Enemy, Visualizing the Other:

Contacts between Muslims and Christians in the Early Modern Mediterranean Art

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Images of Islam in the Ephemeral Art of the Spanish Habsburgs: an initial approach

Borja Franco Llopis*

Abstract

The aim of this article is to analyze the configuration of the image of the Spanish crown's enemies, especially Muslims and Turks, during the early modern period. I am going to focus on the peculiarities of each area and chronology in order to know how this image changed and how it was perceived in the Royal triumphal entries and catafalques. These public celebrations provides very important information about the perception of otherness through ephemeral architectures, historic paintings and hieroglyphs.

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Lo scopo di questo articolo è analizzare la creazione dell'immagine dei nemici della monarchia spagnola, specialmente di musulmani e turchi in età moderna. Verranno studiate le particolarità che furono sviluppate in ogni area e cronologia, al fine di capire come questa immagine cambiò e venne percepita nelle entrate trionfali e nei catafalchi dei monarchi. Attraverso le loro architetture effimere, pitture di storia e geroglifici, queste celebrazione pubbliche ci offrono informazioni molto importanti riguardanti la creazione dell'alterità.

On February 26, 1443, after having conquered several cities in Calabria, Alfonso V the Magnanimous made his triumphal entry into Naples. This act, in which he sought to make manifest his authority in the south of the Italian peninsula, is one of the festive celebrations that has most interested historians, because it revived elements from classical antiquity and because it revealed the monarch's hostile attitude toward Islam, especially the Turks[1]. Although the Crown of Aragon had a tradition of pageants featuring allegorical floats, balls organized by the city government and the guilds, staged battles or dramatizations of the battle between good and evil, there is no precedent for this event, no previous celebration with so complex an agenda or that exalted the court to such a degree. In addition to the links it established between Alfonso and the Roman emperors, the most noteworthy thing about this celebration was the simulation of battles ending in the gory image of the heads of the Turks' horses impaled on the Christian soldiers' lances, an iconography that will have little repercussion in Spain but that we do see repeated in, for example, Marcantonio Colonna's arrival in Rome after the victory at Lepanto[2]. Alfonso the Magnanimous was presented as the *vespertilio destructor Sarracenorum* – a title that had previously belonged to his father (Ferdinand I of Aragon) on account of his victories in the Hispanic territories – and was also linked to Saint George, patron saint of the Crown of Aragon. This hagiographical connection was key, because years later, when the Spanish monarchs wished to be depicted as ordained by God to rid the world of infidels, they were portrayed not only as Saint George but also as Saint James the Moor-slayer, the former's Castilian counterpart. This image was understood as a representation of the *Miles Christi* doing battle against evil. To cite some examples, Charles V was depicted in this way in Lille[3], as was Anne

1 The last historiographical reflection on this topic was the international conference *La città e il re. L'ingresso trionfale di Alfonso d'Aragona a Napoli (1443)*, Rome, December 2016. Prior to this, we can note the following publications: Gállego 1991, p. 131; Massip 2003, pp. 108-123; Massip 2000, 1859-1892; Pinelli 2006, pp. 33-75; Molina 2011, pp. 97-110; Molina 2015, pp. 201-232; Delle Donne 2015, pp. 114-155.

2 On this aspect, see: *I trionfi* 1571; Jordan 2004, pp. 137-160; Canova-Green 2013, p. 178.

3 Pinson 2001, p. 211.

of Austria in Segovia (posthumously)[4] and Charles's successor, Philip II, in his entry into Lisbon in 1581[5].

Another extremely interesting aspect of Alfonso's celebration was the important role played by the figure of the *friendly Moor*, the Muslim ally that aided the Christians in their battle with the enemy. In fact, contemporary sources tell us that among the king's retinue there were a number of Ethiopians, although their submission to him is also mentioned. This concept of the Muslim ally is significant in that it differentiates within Islam between those who collaborated and those who did not. This would not be the last time that this idea was expressed in a triumphal entry. Years later, under Charles V, a similar use is made of images of Muley Hassan, ruler of Tunis, another ally of the crown, as we will see below.

To go back to the staged performance of victories against the Turks presented in Alfonso's festivities in Naples, as Molina has pointed out[6], these can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, it is possible that they were intended to show the subjugation of the Muslim enemy to Christian power. However, they can also be understood as calling on the king to put an end to the threat posed by Turks and Barbary pirates to Catalan shipping in the Mediterranean. In the latter case, they would in essence constitute a plea by Catalan merchants to defend their maritime interests. In any case, this triumphal entry staked out a new direction for royal celebrations in the Italian territories and became, for example, an obvious model for Charles V's victory tour following his success at Tunis, though this influence would take a long time to reach the Iberian Peninsula.

This was the first of many celebrations taking place over a period of more than two centuries that presented the image of the Muslim in diverse ways, whether as an enemy or an ally. In the following pages, I will attempt to create a conceptual map to help us understand these modes of representation.

[4] Báez de Sepúlveda 1998, pp. 130-131. This was not the first time that the figure of Saint James was associated with the Spanish monarchy during a processional entry of a female personage. A precedent can be found in Joanna of Austria's entry into Lisbon in 1552, for which the guild of wood merchants staged a short theatrical production on their ship, which had on its prow a sculpture of Saint James mounted on a horse. Saint James also clashed with Moors at the opposite end of the ship, where Christian prisoners could be seen in a tower. It is important to keep in mind that Joanna was born during the Battle of La Goulette, on June 23, 1535, and therefore her very birth was associated with a victory of the monarchy over Islam. Jordan 2010, pp. 179-240.

[5] Guerreiro 1581, p. 32; Velázquez 1583, pp. 129-130. See also Pizarro 1998, pp. 397-416.

[6] Molina 2015, p. 209.

1. *Muslims as War Trophies*

One of the least allegorical and most common ways of representing the subjection of Islam in triumphal celebrations is through the figure of the slave or war captive, who can appear either at the front of a procession, supporting a throne, caged, or in illustrations on commemorative arches[7]. As it relates to the spectacle, this tradition goes back to the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, to the ceremonies that took place during the reign of Ferdinand I of Aragon[8]; but these figures became more prominent in Alfonso's entry into Naples and especially in Carlos V's tour of Italy following his victory at Tunis. Nonetheless, in the plastic arts it is possible to find various similar examples from the medieval world. For example, Muslims are shown carrying thrones, as a sign of their defeat, in the famous Throne of Bishop Elias, held at the Basilica di San Nicola, in Bari (c. 1098). This was commissioned by Pope Urban II when he visited this city for a synod to address various issues, among them the First Crusade, which was ongoing at the time and a priority for the papacy. This bishop's throne is supported by three slaves in the form of atlantes. André Grabar performed a detailed analysis of the physiognomy of these figures and concluded that they are two North African slaves flanking a personage of higher rank who is identified by his clothing as an Arab or a Seljuk Turk[9]. The presence of Muslim atlantes in the Bari throne is not a unique case in the Romanesque of southern Italy; we find carriers under the tomb of Roger II of Sicily (c. 1154), at least one of which wears a turban and all of which wear short tunics. The triumphalist attitude toward Islam is even more pronounced in the iconography of Roger's silk mantle, where his conquests are symbolized by the figures of two lions crushing two camels[10], symbols that Charles V will take up again in the sixteenth century, as we will see below.

Very early on, chroniclers begin to treat Muslims as the king's servants. They recount, for example, that the ship that delivered Charles V to Genoa in 1529 had purple-clad oarsmen who were Muslim slaves, whose freedom he granted in a gesture of magnanimity[11]. But not until after the conquest of La Goulette does this idea get effectively deployed. These characters played a part in Charles's entry into Messina, where they were used in different ways. Some of them were paraded around in cages, imprisoned in decorated carriages that were attended by various performances and on whose roofs were attached images of the four cardinal virtues atop sculpted trophies[12]. Others – six to be exact – marched

7 Some of these celebrations and representations have been analyzed in Scorza 2012, pp. 121-163.

8 Ruiz 2012, pp. 78-82.

9 Grabar 1954, p. 10; Dorin 2008, pp. 29-52; Belli D'Elia 1974.

10 Ettinghausen, Hartner 1964, pp. 161-171.

11 Mitchell 1999, pp. 213-251.

12 Strong 1998, p. 91; Checa 1999, p. 204; Mitchell 1999, p. 229.

just in front of the emperor carrying war trophies in the form of an antique suit of armor including helmet, shield, bow, and quiver[13]. Regarding these Muslims there is a historiographical debate. Some scholars, such as Visceglia and Scorza, consider them to have been *mori subiugati* (subjugated Moors)[14], but in the extant documents they are not described in those terms[15], but simply as carrying the floats with the war trophies mentioned, as Cristelle Baskins shows in her forthcoming book on the triumphal entry in Italy[16].

In contrast, in Charles V's triumphal entries into Naples[17] and then Florence[18], which took place shortly after Messina, the presence of Muslims is more simulated than real. They appear less prominently in the entourage and, instead, are represented as defeated and humiliated in paintings on the scuncheon of the triumphal arches.

Years later, in the celebrations of the victory at Lepanto, mainly in Seville, the ideologues succeeded in making this act of submission more dramatic by including not only defeated slaves but also ten other characters who wore masks, were richly arrayed in Morisco attire, rode horseback in the *gineta* style, and were without weapons and shacked with thick iron collars around the neck. The masks showed expressions of pain and sorrow, to represent that they had been defeated in battle, and contrasted with the radiance of the Christian countenances. The identical masks expressing sorrow served to homogenize and degrade the enemy; his identity was nullified and dissolved behind the hieratic rictus of the mask. As García Bernal has pointed out[19], John of Austria's triumphal mask shows how successful the language of representation was in the new communicative context of the public spectacle. The device is designed to evoke strong feelings in the audience: revulsion and ridicule (toward the infidel enemy) and support and enthusiasm (for the military leader).

At other times, the fact that Muslim slaves were taken along as throne bearers was criticized by the locals, mainly in coastal areas. When Philip II made his entry into Barcelona in 1585, his carriages were borne by Moors from Prince Doria's galleys, dressed in red, green, and black. They were vilified by the people of the city, who had endured persistent attacks by pirates and Berbers. They argued that the life of a prince should not be entrusted to Moors, because they were treacherous, and the noblemen themselves offered to bear the carriages[20].

The spectacle of subjugated Moors was captured in static form on the funeral biers of some monarchs. Thus, Philip II's catafalque in Seville, specifically the top

13 Santa Cruz 1922, vol. 3, p. 297.
14 Visceglia 2000; Scorza 2012, p. 125.
15 *La Triomphale Entrata di Carlo V* 1535.
16 I would like to thank Professor Baskins for discussing this topic with me in the spring of 2017 at Tufts University, which helped me to orient my research in a more useful direction.
17 *Il triomphale* 1535, p. 4.
18 *Ordine pompe* 1536, p. 27.
19 García Bernal 2006, p. 543; García Bernal 2007, p. 196.
20 *Entrada de la magestat* 1930, pp. 38-64.

tier on the chorus side, presented four vanquished and chained figures: «Iudaica Perfidia, Heretica malicia, Idolatria ciega, Mahoetica erronia», representing the enemies of the Catholic faith that the king had fought to stamp out. He was depicted just to the side, with a crown and scepter, subduing the kneeling, humiliated figures by the chains that bound their hands. Alongside this scene was an allegory of Religion, with severe mien and a large candle that is being used to set fire to the chained figures. Accompanying all this was an inscription in Latin that the chronicler translated thus: «The king, defender of the Christian faith, makes those who are opposed to it bend their necks and kneel down, because they do not even fear those they do not love, and punishment achieves what love cannot»[21]. The way that this monument is described makes it seem more like a scene from one of the *tableaux vivants* that were performed around the triumphal arches when the king's entourage entered a city, and less like a static sculpture on a funeral monument.

This iconography can be linked to three models: the one created by Leoni in his *Charles V and Furor* (although the furor does not refer to Muslims); Titian's portrayals of Philip II with the chained Moor at his feet after the victory at Lepanto; and, lastly, those ephemeral celebrations that presented the Turk at the feet of the king, in a posture of humiliation, composed in a way similar to the well-known iconography of Saint James the Moor-slayer. This is just how they appeared in representations created for the entry of the emperor into Zaragoza along with Isabella of Portugal, where Charles was painted with his right foot resting on a golden globe and his left, on several vanquished Turks[22]. This composition is also very similar to one that would be used several years later, when the emperor and his son entered Milan. Here, a figure holds the world in its hands and has under foot two men dressed in the Turkish style, «a manera de sojuzgados» (as ones who have been conquered). On the same arch there were other figures: one had a scepter in its hand and under foot several people in attitudes of submission pleading for mercy. Above was written: «Felipe, Príncipe de España, hijo del emperador Don Carlos Quinto» (Philip, Prince of Spain, son of Emperor Charles V), and this inscription was accompanied by the depiction of several historical figures who waged war against the infidel[23].

These kinds of representations were repeated in other funerary contexts, the most obvious example being the funeral of Charles V in Seville. The second tier of his catafalque had figures of dead personages with their hands and feet outside of the wooden structure, who were identified by signs that described their heresy (as in Justinian's case) or their connection to Islam (as in the case of

21 «El rey defensor de la fe cristiana a los contrarios de ella atados con cadena, hace inclinarse arrodillados, porque si quiera teman a quien no aman y la pena acabe lo que el amor no puede acabar». *Historia de la mui noble* 1698, chapter 81.

22 Río 1988, p. 37.

23 Santa Cruz 1922, vol. 4, p. 245. Checa (1979, pp. 24-31) undertook an exhaustive study of this arch and has insisted on its importance among the collection of structures built for the occasion.

the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, who was a great conqueror and who recovered the Holy Cross and took it to Jerusalem in person, but in his old age he allowed the rise of Mohammedism)[24].

2. *The Muslim as Animal*

Although Sorce[25] believes that there are almost no representations of Muslims as animals in the history of European art, except where they are linked to dragons, I believe that he is wrong, since in ephemeral representations this is one of the most common ways of depicting and criticizing Muslims, as we will see below.

Since Islam originated in North Africa, it is common for depictions of Muslims to take the form of animals that are native to that continent. Frequently, the specific animals that appear in the depictions are not described – as happens with the ephemeral art produced on the occasion of Anne of Austria entry into Madrid, where only the animals' place of origin is described[26] – but among those that are specified the most common types are elephants and snakes. The former appear in the funeral of Philip II in Seville (1598) in conjunction with an allegory of conquered Africa [27], and the scene is crowned with an eagle in clear allusion to the king. At other times, elephants are depicted along with other animals from Africa, such as camels[28], as happens in the Rua Nova arch, created for Philip's entry into Lisbon, which shows the king in the form of a lion stalking its prey[29]. This same iconography was used in Lisbon on the occasion of the entry of Philip II's successor, Philip III, in the Arch of the Businessmen, where Africa was presented in connection, again, to a lion[30].

Thus, the linking of the elephant to Islam does not suggest moral degradation[31] but is rather a symbol of the geographical provenance of the enemy. In fact, elephants appear in some portraits of Muley Hassan, painted years later[32], as

[24] Bonet 1960, pp. 55-66; Ramos 1988, p. 229; García Bernal 2010, pp. 673-703.

[25] Sorce 2007-2008, p. 173.

[26] This happens on the third arch. Lopez de Hoyos 1572, p. 176.

[27] Lleó 1979, pp. 145-46.

[28] The camel as a symbol for Africa first appeared on the Capuana Gate, built for Charles V's entry into Naples in 1535, where it was surrounded by military trophies. As I understand it, the camel stood for yet another victory, since it alluded to the rich resources of the region. *Il triomphale* 1535, p. 7.

[29] Guerreiro 1581, pp. 49-50; Velázquez 1583, p. 138.

[30] Lavahna 1622, p. 15.

[31] On the depiction of Moriscos and Muslims as animals as a strategy of degradation and the different animals used to define these groups and, therefore, the different enemies of the crown, see Perceval 1992, pp. 173-184.

[32] For example, the engraving of the king of Tunis made by Nicholas van der Horst and Paul Pontius, dated circa 1620. In the upper part of this engraving two elephants hold up a crown. In

a decorative feature, in order to indicate his provenance. The elephant is not shown being stepped on or ridiculed – indeed, in modern symbolism it has a positive connotation. Valeriano identifies it as a symbol or piety or religion[33], and likewise Álvar Gómez considers it to be a pious animal because it seems to be worshipping when it lifts its trunk toward heaven[34].

The choice of the snake to represent Islam is much more pejorative and implies much harsher criticism, because of the allusion to original sin, in particular, but also more generally the association with evil. This linking of the snake to Islam becomes widespread during the reign of Philip II[35], although a snake had appeared previously in Charles V's entry into Florence in 1535 to symbolize «African evil»[36]. As Ludovico Dolce pointed out, Charles V had to do battle with infidels «che l'internal serpe se ne scorni»[37].

During the reign of his successor, Philip II, there were two important events for which this image was used, accompanied mainly by storks. The first was Anne of Austria's triumphal entry into Madrid[38]. The first arch had a representation of storks trampling snakes, for two reasons, according to the chronicler. One was to allude to Pierio Valeriano, who says in his book 17 that storks wage perpetual warfare against snakes, since they are animals that live on high, close to God, and revolt against the desire and lust of snakes, whose bellies slither along the ground, and thus storks represent God's triumph over sin. The second reason was linked to the allegory of Concord that crowned the composition, since storks were considered to be particularly good at communication and demonstrated fondness for one another, two of the virtues of sound government. Hostility toward evil and harmony are two of the basic features of the concept of heroic virtue, which is so well depicted in the propagandistic image of Charles V and which Philip II wished to emphasize through his wife's royal entry[39]. We should also recall that lust was one of the vices most commonly attributed to Muslims, which explains why snakes were often associated with Islam.

This iconography was widely influential, even on the other side of the Atlantic. One example is the leather shield made by the Amanteca people of

other places, the elephant becomes a diplomatic gift, one that is associated with luxury and wealth by virtue of its exotic novelty.

33 Valeriano 1825, book 2, p. 25.

34 Fernández Travieso 2007, pp. 37-46.

35 Checa 1988, p. 65; Checa 1992, pp. 454-455.

36 *Ordine pompe* 1536, p. 29.

37 Dolce 1535, p. 511, octave 146.

38 López de Hoyos 1572, p. 70.

39 As Jorge Sebastián (2008, pp. 57-77) and Río Barredo (2000, p. 66) have shown, the royal entries organized for the women of the court, which were much more sumptuous than those the king arranged for himself, were intended to be celebratory and to promote dynastic and propagandistic objectives. Philip II personally oversaw the planning of the formal functions at these events, which demonstrates how aware he was of the devices for limiting their constitutional meaning and instead emphasizing dynastic and international themes. Elisabeth's 1560 entry can be seen as a first, experimental case of this, but the full-blown version would be Ana's entries, especially her solemn entry into the capital.

Mexico, which depicted four of the Spanish monarchy's major victories over Islam: the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), the conquest of Granada (1492), the victory at Tunis (1535), and the victory at Lepanto (1571). The aim was to show the Catholic monarchy's political continuity and commitment to defending the faith. One of the two storks carries the inscription SERAE SPES UNA SENECTAE (There is only one hope for old age), which Checa links to Charles V's stance. The other stork is attacking two vermin, representing Philip II's more aggressive policies toward the infidels[40].

In the hieroglyphs on Philip's *túmulo* in Seville, the storks are replaced by an eagle, another animal that was closely linked to the crown because of its association with nobility and its connection with Jupiter, in addition to being the heraldic emblem of the two branches of the royal family (the eagle of Saint John on the crest of the Catholic Monarchs and the Habsburgs' two-headed eagle)[41]. The link between the Spanish crown and the eagle had been forged by Charles V during his tour of Italy – the beginning of his association with the Caesars and the great heroes of the Roman world[42] – and this iconography reappeared in his own funerary monument in Seville[43]. The eagle, as the contemporary chronicler remarks[44], protects not only the emperor's children[45] but his supporters as well, which is why it is portrayed killing the serpent who attempted to poison the water of the region's farmers. Here, according to the texts, the allusion is not only to Islam but to all enemies of the faith, including Protestants. Essentially, this slithering, poisonous animal is used to symbolize the evil that the Spanish king spent his life fighting against.

In contrast to the positive associations of the eagle and the stork, the Moor is represented as a crow, the symbol of apostasy, according to Covarrubias. This symbol is used in Philip II's funeral in Sevilla, in reference to the Alpujarras rebellion, in which the king, again represented as an eagle, did battle with the flock of crows that escaped[46]. Here, color is used to define the Moor, in allusion to racial features, since the chronicler insists on how, in their flight from the king, they left a trail of destruction, which is described as black marks all over

40 Checa 1988, p. 65.

41 In the Portuguese context, the eagle that battles the infidel is replaced by a pelican, an emblem for John II of Portugal, to associate him with local heroes, such as happens in Philip III's entry into Lisbon. Lavanha 1622, p. 35.

42 Chastel 1960, pp. 197-206; Mínguez 2015, p. 155.

43 Lorenzo de San Pedro, *Exequias del Invictissimimo Emperador Carlos V en Sevilla*, in Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina hereinafter, (BCC), Ms. 59-1-3, *Memorias eclesiásticas y seculares de la muy noble y muy leal Ciudad de Sevilla*, 1698, pp. 167-168.

44 *Historia de la muy* 1698, chapter 72.

45 In a different scene on this funeral monument, the eagle appears once more, here protecting other animals, such as swans, which are a symbol of the beauty and purity of religion. *Historia de la muy* 1968, chapter 81. The same theme, with a similar meaning, would be seen on Empress Mary of Austria's funeral monument (1603) in the College of Jesuits in Madrid, to cite another example. Mínguez 2015, p. 83.

46 Lleó Cañal 1979, p. 144.

the landscape. It is significant that this is one of the few allusions to ethnicity that can be found in the representation of Muslims as animals.

Another animal with a malevolent aura in the collective imagination of the modern world is the fox, which was closely associated with Islam during the reign of Philip III. It shows up twice in the ephemeral art created for this king's funeral in Seville: first, next to the paintings of the capture of Larache (1610)[47], where it suggests not only the Turkish enemy but also pirates and corsairs, who most often came from the Muslim world; and second, in a hieroglyph in which Philip III and Henry IV are shown casting ropes to Pope Paul V, who is making them into a large bowknot and tying a vixen at his feet, here in allusion to heretics[48].

This representation persisted even into the eighteenth century, as can be seen in the celebrations to mark the quincentennial of the conquest of Valencia. It appeared on the altar of the Convent of San Sebastián, which alludes to the dispute between the Moorish king, represented by a fox, and James I the Conqueror[49]. In addition, on the same altar, the wolf also served as an allegory for the Muslim and is chased away by a mastiff representing the Christian army. The image of the wolf as enemy thrived in the Valencia region because, among other reasons, Juan Bautista Agnesio alluded to them in the texts where he advocated on behalf of Morisco children, arguing that it was necessary to protect them, like lambs from hungry wolves, from Muslims who refused to convert[50].

The portrayal of Muslims and Moriscos as animals was customary in these celebrations commemorating the Christian conquest of various cities. In fact, in the celebrations to mark the fourth centennial in Valencia, they are symbolized by a cat that is trying to lay hold of a bat, which was a symbol of James I (hieroglyph XVI)[51] and which also fought against other unspecified birds (hieroglyph IX) that, again, symbolize the infidel[52]. Lastly, in these same celebrations the Muslim is portrayed as a mouse (hieroglyph III), in a facile attempt to make him appear ridiculous, in spite of the complexity involved in these kinds of emblematic representations in the culture of the modern world[53].

[47] BCC, Ms. 58-5-36, *Historia desta ciudad de Sevilla que escribió el Lizenciado Collado…* 1698, p. 200; Allo Manero 1992, p. 139.

[48] Allo Manero 1992, p. 140.

[49] Ortí Mayor 1740, p. 216.

[50] «Cogere qui sparsos, erranteis ore luporum tutos ad caulas qui revocare sciant. Haedos qui tenero norint quoque lacte tenellos. Tum solido rigidos atque cibare cibo. Educant, qui deducant, ducantque reducant incolumem ad pastum, septaque ad alta gregem. Hoc facias implorat inops Saracenus, & erro. Saucius exoptat, semisepultus avet». (May [the shepherds] know how to gather the scattered [sheep], may they guide the wanderers in the wolf's mouth safely back to the fold. May they also know to feed the tender kids with fresh milk and the strong with solid food. May they make the flock go out and descend, may they guide it and guide it back again to the pasture in the lofty folds. The Saracen begs you to leave [the flock] to wander destitute. He wants it to be wounded, he is content [to have it] half buried): Agnesio 1543, p. 51.

[51] Mínguez 1997, p. 39.

[52] *Ivi* 1997, p. 36.

[53] *Ibidem*.

To conclude this inventory of dangerous animals used to symbolize the Muslim, I should mention that one of the most important was a mythical creature: the dragon, historically associated with evil and also with serpents[54]. Moreover, this creature is a key component of the iconography of Saint George, who was the archetypal warrior against the infidel in the Crown of Aragon[55]. In fact, medieval bestiaries identify the dragon with the devil, who is the largest of all reptiles, an idea that Saint Augustine adopts by linking the dragon to the heretic in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (Sermon 2, 9: «quando haeretici insidiantur, draco est subrepens»), while some emblem books, such as Alciato's *Emblemata*, reference the dragon and associate it with the enemies of the faith (Emblem 131). The dragon can also be seen as a figure of the Antichrist, who in turn was sometimes understood to be incarnated in Muhammad, who often stood in for Turks as a whole in the collective imagination of modern Europe[56].

The dragon appears in many triumphal entries, though it is possible to pinpoint its heyday during the reign of Philip II – it coincided exactly with the creation of a much more allegorical image, which was doubtless connected to Philip's well-known Messianic outlook and his persistent need to justify his war against the Turks and his repressive Morisco policies[57]. It was during the 1570 celebrations, just after the Alpujarras rebellion, a turning point for *neoconverso* policy, that this iconography became more conspicuous, and it is little wonder that he chose Seville to launch the propaganda campaign in support of this new policy[58]. Here he had the dragon placed close to the Alcázar; it is described in detail by the chroniclers: it had green scales, outspread wings, a coiled tail all ablaze, and a mouth spewing flames and hurling projectiles. Mal Lara explained the spectacle as «a portent of the viciousness of the Turk, the universal enemy of Christianity, who in the time of such a fortunate king ought to be annihilated with the flames of his very arrogance»[59]. In fact, in order to intensify the sense of urgency regarding the war against the infidel, the figure of the dragon was magnified. As Mal Lara described it, when its bowels were slit open, balls of fire irrupted all around, like a volley of bullets sufficient to bring down entire walls, striking fear into the spectators in the plaza, who were enveloped in dust. We can see a very clear political strategy in this triumphal entry, not only in representing the infidel as an animal in order to highlight the king's power in subduing him, but also in showcasing the enemy's ferocity in order to gain the

54 For Sorce (2007-2008, p. 174) it is necessary to consider the dragon together with the serpent and the Hydra, a mythological creature that will be addressed below.

55 Río 1988, p. 24; Montaner 1999; Redondo 1999; Massip 2003, p. 45; Pérez-Soba 2006; Linares 2008; Olivares 2016.

56 Mas 1967, p. 510.

57 Alonso-Gonzalo 1998, p. 133.

58 Hess 1968, pp. 1-25; Pizarro 1985, p. 74; Benítez Sánchez-Blanco 1999, pp. 503-536.

59 «[…] presagio de la braveza del Turco y enemigo universal de la cristiandad, que en tiempo de tan venturoso Rey se debe acabar con sus mismas llamas de soberbia»: Mal Lara 1570, p. 66; Pizarro 1985, p. 66; Pizarro 1986, p. 66; Pizarro 1999, p. 21.

support of the public for the campaigns that Philip II was undertaking and that would culminate in the Battle of Lepanto. However, Seville did not invent this kind of sensationalist representation. We have indications that it was used with the same intent in 1564 for Philip's entry into Barcelona, in the float designed for the cotton guild, which is described in the sources as «very frightening»[60], although there is much more detail in the description of the celebrations in Seville than there is about Barcelona.

This artifice was repeated in local celebrations even after the Moriscos had been expelled and anti-Turk sentiment had largely abated, and possibly had the same festive and sensationalistic quality as what was described above. Thus, in the commemorative celebrations for the canonization of Saint Isidore in Madrid, there were «dragons, serpents, and giants guarding the mountain. A Roman army, the Mahommedan sect in the figure of a Turk, Heresy, and Judaism all did battle against them but in the end were defeated and taken prisoner. It would take Saint Isidore, assisted by angels, to achieve the final victory»[61]. We should keep in mind, moreover, that these kinds of spectacles were also very common for Corpus Christi.

I have left for the end a rather curious representation of the dragon linking it with the story of Perseus and Andromeda, which in turn links the Spanish king with this hero from classical antiquity. This representation appeared on the triumphal arches that were built for Philip V's entry into Madrid in 1791: «The fable of Andromeda and Perseus was painted, and the dragon who comes to devour Andromeda had a crescent moon on its head, with the following inscription: Your right hand eclipses the moon, / since now from Ceuta / the best Perseus awaits you. It is the treacherous dragon-Moor, who, seeking to collect tribute, has enslaved the beauty of the best Andromeda in Africa; and since that Perseus was a pagan (or a fable), she hopes to gain her liberty from this true Perseus»[62]. The king is presented as the liberator of the North African territories, symbolized by the figure of Andromeda, an idea that was also underscored in the propaganda for the War of Succession. In fact, the king himself was depicted defeating a dragon in an oil painting that has survived, titled: *Felipe V, María Luisa de Saboya y el príncipe Luis combatiendo la herejía*

60 Hierro 1564, no pagination; *Entrada de la magestat de nostre* 1930, p. 40.

61 «Dragones, serpientes y gigantes guardaban la montaña. Un ejército romano, la secta de Mahoma en figura de turco, la Herejía y el Judaísmo intentaron combatirlos siendo finalmente vencidos y aprisionados. Será San Isidro, por fin, quien ayudado por los ángeles logrará la victoria». Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 2351, *Relación de las fiestas de San Isidro*, pp. 538-539. Also mentioned in Ferrer 1986, p. 169.

62 «Pintóse la fábula de Andrómeda y Perseo, y el dragón con una media luna en cabeza, que la viene a devorar, y esta letra: Tu diestra eclipse a la luna, / Pues ya de Ceuta el deseo / Te espera el mejor Perseo. Es el dragón pérfido moro, que procurando cobrar feudo, tiene oprimida la belleza de la mejor Andrómeda de África; y siendo aquel Perseo Gentil (o Fabuloso) espera deste verdadero Perseo su libertad». *Relación de la… entrada de… Felipe V* 1700; Girald-Boungermino 2005, p. 662; Olivares 2016, p. 275.

(eighteenth century, Palacio Real de Aranjuez), reviving a type of representation that, though it continued to exist during the reigns of the last Habsburgs, had started to wane[63].

Before we end this summary, it should be noted that the Morisco, as a convert from Islam, is sometimes portrayed as an animal but in a positive light. This is the case with the third arch created on the occasion of Anne of Austria's entry into Madrid, which took place just after the Alpujarras rebellion. Here, the Morisco takes the form of a lamb[64], and the subtext is that the lion (the king) did not want to devour his prey following the crisis of this rebellion, both out of magnanimity and because, at bottom, the Moriscos were a defenseless people in need of evangelization, an argument that Juan Bautista Agnesio had previously made, as we mentioned before, in his *Pro Sarracenis Neophytis*. In a similar vein, the new convert is represented on Philip II's *túmulo* in Seville as a fledgling, an allusion to how the king tried to protect the Moriscos but in the end was forced to expel them on account of their defiance[65].

3. *Hercules and the Image of Islam*

In addition to the creatures discussed above, we can also find references to Muslims in mythical beings that figure in stories about Hercules. It is well known that all the European monarchies were interested in finding parallels between their own origins and this Greek hero, whose Twelve Labors took him to the far reaches of the Old World and who, along the way, impregnated the princesses who gave rise to the different dynasties. Hercules was also a model of virtue and strength, which is why he was used for purposes of symbolic legitimization. The main episodes from Hercules's adventures that used to make statements about Islam are those of the monster Geryon, the Lernaean Hydra, the garden of the Hesperides, and in a more questionable way, the capture of Cerberus.

It is possible to document the Muslim enemy represented as Geryon[66] in two ephemeral decorations. The first, from the middle of the sixteenth century, was for Philip II's and Elisabeth of Valois's entry into Toledo. Right beside the Zocodover Plaza, there was an enormous sculpture of Geryon, along with one

63 Morán 1988, pp. 187-200.

64 López de Hoyos 1572, p. 136. On the importance of the Rebellion of the Alpujarras for Anne of Austria's entry, see Ruiz 2012, p. 110.

65 Allo 1992, p. 440.

66 A three-headed and three-bodied giant who lived on the island Erytheia and whom Hercules killed with his club or with arrows, depending on the version of the story. As Allo (*ivi*) points out, this island was, from antiquity, identified with several different locations, but most commonly with Spain, and Juan Pérez de Mora, among others, echoes this.

of Hercules and Cacus, in allusion to the three religions that had coexisted in the Iberian Peninsula. Obviously, the hero from Thebes represented Christianity and fought against the other two giants[67]. The second place where we see Geryon being used was in the funeral for Margaret of Austria in Cordoba – here not in relation to Muslims but to Moriscos. In tribute to the queen's piety, Basilio Vaca created a hieroglyph in which he painted a hand coming out of a cloud to detain the scythe that Death held over Margaret. The queen was shown cutting off one of Geryon's three heads with a saw, and the scene was inscribed with the sentence: «Ne totum pereat, melius est abscindere parte / donec abscindat manum, quae scandalizat» (Matt. 18), and the verses: «Detén Muerte la guadaña / Hasta que la mano la sierre / y los Moriscos destierre, / que escandalizan a España»[68] (Death, thy scythe restrain / Ere the hand exsect / and Moriscos eject / who appall and offend Spain). Each head would have represented a different enemy of the Christian faith that sought to gain ascendancy in Iberia: Jews, Protestants, and Muslims (in this case, Moriscos)[69]. Thus, Margaret of Austria's funeral glorifies the important role she played in ridding Spain of Moriscos, one of the most significant political events of the reign of her husband, Philip III, one that would appear in history paintings in several triumphal entries and catafalques[70].

A creature with multiple heads, each of which represents a different enemy to be defeated, also figures in the episode in which Hercules confronts the Lernaean Hydra[71]. One of the first occasions where we see a depiction of this episode is in Charles V's triumphal entry into Florence following his victory at Tunis. The celebrations were planned by Alessandro de' Medici, who had participated in the battle and was married to Margaret of Parma, the emperor's daughter. Here, the program was designed by Vasari, and Tribolo created the sculpture using precious metals: silver for Hercules and gold (or at least a gold color) for the Hydra[72]. The latter was accompanied not only by a Latin inscription associating the hero from Thebes with Charles V and Caesar but also by a painting depicting a fleeing Barbarossa after his defeat at La Goulette and, just

67 *Entrada del Rey* 1896, p. 89.

68 Allo 1992, p. 383.

69 The link between the two mythological creatures, the Hydra and Geryon, and the Protestant problem in ephemeral architecture has already been studied in Franco (in press).

70 Several canvasses from other funeral rites held for the queen depicted the expulsion. It appears, for example, in the funeral ceremonies in Salamanca (Montaner 1994, pp. 519-520) and Seville (*Historia de la mui noble* 1698, chapter 85; Pérez Escolano, 1977, pp. 149-176; García Bernal 2010, p. 689), as well as allegorically in the funeral ceremonies held for her husband, Philip III, in Salamanca (Allo Manero 1992, p. 436) and Seville (*Historia de la mui noble* 1698, chapter 85; Baena Gallé 1971, p. 75; García Bernal 2007, p. 214). Lastly, a much better-known painting on this theme adorned the Italians' arch built for Philip III's entry into Lisbon (Lavanha 1622, p. 9; Gan 1991, p. 419).

71 A first attempt to address this issue can be found in Lamarca 1999, pp. 187-200, though some of the places in which this episode was depicted are missing from this study.

72 *Ordine pompe* 1536, p. 27.

to the side, the coronation of the king of Tunis. In this case, no allusion is made to other enemies of the faith, such as the Protestants, since here the point was to celebrate the Spanish emperor's first naval victory over the infidel[73].

In the Iberian Peninsula the first representation of the episode of Hercules and the Hydra was in Charles V's entry into Majorca in 1541, on a triumphal arch in the Court Plaza, where this mythological creature is identified, via a Latin inscription, with Protestants (particularly with Luther) and with the Turks defeated in North Africa[74]. Afterward, it was used again in the well-known tour of Philip II, who was at the time not yet king, of the Low Countries, mainly his 1549 entry into Antwerp (one of the places where the comparison between Turkish and Protestant enemies was made most emphatically)[75]. This episode was thus made into an example of the battle against the infidel. In fact, John of Austria adopted this symbol for the standard of the squadron he embarked with for the Battle of Lepanto, placing the motto «Ardua tantarum peragam discrimiua rerum» under the Hydra[76]. Lastly, it is also interesting to note that this same image of the Hydra was used by Protestants to criticize Catholics and other religions, as can be seen in the representation of Christ above a hydra with three heads, one of which is the Turk, and another, the pope[77].

We continue to see this image well into the seventeenth century in ceremonies celebrating the conquest of territory from Islam, a case in point being hieroglyph XXXV from the commemoration of the fourth centennial of the taking of Valencia (1238-1638). Hercules is shown in this hieroglyph in combat with a hydra who bears the motto «Herculis arte perit», and below the image is written the following text: «Scanditur ense caput rediturum protinus Hydrae / Ni vadi vires Herculis aadmoveas / Tam bene Rex Hydras Mauros ac victor in urbe / truncas, ut nullum proferat Hydra caput». In essence, it allegorizes the battle between James I and the Muslim army using one of Hercules's best-known labors, following not only the tradition of ephemeral decoration that had been forged years earlier[78] but also the illustrations in some treatises on

[73] Santa Cruz 1922, vol. 3, p. 357; Strong 1998, p. 93.

[74] «Leonem turcarum profugas, terresque premisas fugatum, et quos Scipiadis tandem vic tempore longo, uno mense tibi dedit Aphrica victa triumphos. Tu Lutheri resecas hydrae fruticantia colla, antipodumque domas fedes regna invia priscis». *Relaciones Góticas* 1982, p. 26. On these celebrations, see also Sebastián 1971, pp. 99-113. We should not forget that for intellectuals such as Covarrubias, the symbolism of the Hydra was closely linked to heresy and heretics, who he argued should be wiped off the face of the earth in his *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana* (Madrid, 1611).

[75] Calvete de Estrella 1930, vol. 2, pp. 168-170; Checa 1988, pp. 55-80. As Teófilo Ruiz (2012, p. 143) points out, Calvete de Estrella, the chronicler of this royal entry and of the king's tour, always describes ephemeral architecture with anti-Islamic elements in careful detail and tries to provide a complete explanation of their textual and visual sources, which indicates that these elements were among the Spanish crown's paramount considerations in planning these celebrations.

[76] García Bernal 2007, p. 195.

[77] Scribner 1981, p. 176; Sorce 2007-2008, p. 187.

[78] Ortí 1640, p. 86; Mínguez 1997, p. 38.

the expulsion of the Moriscos. The cover of *Iusta expulsión de los moriscos de España*… (Rome, 1612), by Damián Fonseca, also shows a hydra to represent the defeat of Islam by Christianity. It is important to keep in mind that this kind of emblem or hieroglyph was very common beginning in the middle of the sixteenth century: we find it in Andrea Alciato, Barthélemy Aneau, Claude Mignault, Diego López, and Juan de Solórzano in conjunction with unambiguous political discourse regarding the war against the infidel[79], which plainly had an influence on commemorative celebrations.

As has been seen, these representations transcended the realm of the ephemeral and were used to illustrate the different biographies of the Spanish monarchs. Thus, the metaphor of the hydra as infidel and heretic appears in *Dialogo llamado Philippino*, by Lorenzo de San Pedro, where the figure of Geryon is also portrayed[80]. Prudencio de Sandoval's later work on the life of Charles V (Antwerp 1681) presents the hydra – shown devouring workmen's and artisans' tools and crushing altars and a crucifix in unmistakable allusion to Protestant iconoclastic movements in the Low Countries – in the company of Muley Hassan, thus capturing both Muslims and Protestants in a single image[81].

However, we should be careful to not automatically identify this mythological creature with heretics or Muslims; to do so would be to make the mistake of overinterpretation. The hydra was also used sometimes to allude to evil in general or for pyrotechnic effects at social dances or in staged battles. It served this purpose, for example, in the tournament of courtly and chivalric contests organized in honor of Philip II in Valladolid in 1544. The celebrations opened with the appearance of a seven-headed hydra with green satin wings spewing fire from all its mouths[82]. On top of which was a dwarf dressed in red who carried a letter for the queen in explanation of the tournament and the reasons for the contests. We find something similar twenty years later in the entry of Philip's wife, Elisabeth of Valois, into Toledo, which is described as having a depiction of a hydra in battle with Hercules but without any clear connection to Muslims or heretics[83]. We should recall, as was mentioned above, that Hercules was a valuable political symbol for European monarchies, especially in particular cities. As Fernández Travieso has pointed out[84], the symbolic use of Hercules in Toledo might have been part of a strategy on the part of the city (which was founded, according to legend, by the hero from Thebes) to safeguard its place on the Spanish political map. Thus, ephemeral structures built for the celebrations surrounding the queen's arrival had the theme of the garden of the Hesperides, alluding to the city's wealth, which was placed at the service of the monarchy.

79 López-Peláez 2014, pp. 103-112.
80 Bouza 1998, p. 79; Checa 1992, p. 281; Lamarca 1999, pp. 189-190.
81 Sandoval 1681, p. 197.
82 Checa 1992, p. 27.
83 Gómez de Castro 1561, p. 43.
84 Fernández Travieso 2007, pp. 40-42.

Although the image of Hercules in the garden of the Hesperides was not a reference to Islam when it was used in Toledo, it did have this function when used for the commemoration of the fourth centenary of the conquest of Valencia, where we have already noted that Hercules also appeared in battle with the Lernaean Hydra. The Hesperides image is found in hieroglyph XL and should be understood as complementary to the Hydra image, which asserts the Spanish monarchy's power against the infidel[85].

With caveats about the polysemic nature of the Labors of Hercules and the difficulty of correlating all of them with the war against the Muslim infidel, we might nevertheless approach the portrayal of this hero's battle with Cerberus within the same interpretive framework. We have one extant example from the entry of Philip III into Portugal, where the mythological three-headed dog is described as having inscriptions on its heads that read: «gula, lujuria y avaricia» (Gluttony, Lust, and Greed)[86]. These three labels, but especially the first and the second, were persistently applied to the behavior of Turks and Muslims, who were said to indulge in large banquets and whose culture Christians understood to be defined by sexual license and polygamy. Thus, although Lavanha, the author of the account, does not make this connection, by comparing this representation to the stereotypical image popularized by the literature of the day, we might interpret this representation as referring to Islam.

4. *Allegories of sound government and the religious virtues in contrast to Islam*

Another constant in the representation of victory over Muslims or strategies of sound government in response to being besieged by them is to represent them as vanquished by feminine allegories taken from the latest books of emblems and moral campaigns, or even from classical antiquity. The three theological virtues – Faith, Hope, and Charity – usually take on an important role in this regard. The first of them will appear, for example, in the funeral of Charles V in Seville with a chalice in her hand, crowning the pictorial representations of the victories in North Africa[87]; or resisting Luther and Muhammad in the celebrations surrounding the arrival of Elisabeth of Valois in Madrid[88]. The allegory of Faith is frequently paired with a symbolic image of Religion itself defeating the infidel, as happens in the ephemeral art created for the entry of

85 Ortí 1640, p. 87; Olivares 2016, p. 675.

86 Lavanha 1622, p. 33.

87 Lorenzo de San Pedro, *Exequias del Invictissimimo Emperador Carlos V en Sevilla*, in Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina (BCC), Ms. 59-1-3, *Memorias eclesiásticas y seculares de la muy noble y muy leal Ciudad de Sevilla*, 1698.

88 Gómez de Castro 1561, pp. 45-46; Fernández Travieso 2006, p. 253.

Anne of Austria into Burgos. Here, we see Faith shackling Heresy and Idolatry, figures that Checa has linked to Lutherans and Muslims[89], in an image based on the model of the vanquished enemy, the war trophy that we explained above. For its part, Charity is represented in conjunction with an armed woman besieging the enemies of religion in the ephemeral art for Charles V's entry into Florence[90]. And lastly, Hope, holding a bouquet of flowers, crowned the arch on the main processional route for Margaret of Austria's entry into Madrid in 1599, suggesting that this virtue alone was capable of tending the flame of orthodoxy, which was under siege by heretics and the Muslims[91].

The image of Piety could also be studied in conjunction with that of Charity. This has already been mentioned in the cases where Muslims are portrayed as animals in order to show the king's magnanimity in not completely destroying them but instead giving them a chance to redeem themselves. Piety appeared in conjunction with Islam in Charles V's entry into Majorca, which preceded his first naval battles[92], and in the third arch commemorating his wedding vows with Isabella of Portugal in Seville[93].

Prudence was another of the virtues that not only was associated with the reign of Philip II, known as the Prudent King, but went back to the time of his father, due to both their interactions with Islam. Thus, an allegory of Prudence prevailing over Ignorance with inscriptions mentioning the Turks appeared on the first arch commemorating the wedding vows of Charles V and Isabella of Portugal in Seville[94]. But it was in the different monuments built for the emperor's death where this theme was made much more apparent. Among all of these, the one that interests us most was built in Valladolid, where Prudence was crowned with laurel and held a compass in her hand, rather than the more-traditional mirror, to signal the emperor's military skill. She was moreover accompanied by a flag bearing a painting of the retreat of the Great Turk from the Danube and from Vienna, beset by a multitude of Christian soldiers, while the pedestal that had supported his statue now upheld several Turkish war trophies[95].

Fortitude is another important virtue for sound government, especially at times when hostilities with the Muslim enemy were particularly intense. We can find images of this virtue battling the Moors on the arches commemorating Charles V's entry into the city of Nuremberg in 1545, as well as on the aforementioned catafalque for this monarch in Valladolid, where it is

89 Checa 1992, p. 185.
90 *Ordine pompe* 1536, p. 27.
91 *Año de 1599* 2005, pp. 188-189.
92 Forteza 2010, p. 176.
93 Gómez-Salvago 1998, p. 139.
94 *Feste et archi* 1526, p. 2; Gómez-Salvago 1998, p. 133.
95 Calvete de Estrella 1559, f. 18.

accompanied by an allegory of Victory[96] and a banner representing the capture of La Goulette and Tunis in a style that Calvete de Estrella has connected to Vermeyen's tapestries[97]. The association of fortitude with victory over Islamic forces is repeated years later in the ephemeral art created for Anne of Austria's entry into Madrid[98] and Philip III's into Lisbon[99].

5. *Other representations of Muslims in Ephemeral Art*

In addition to the stereotypes that have we have been discussing up to now, there were also diverse images of the Muslim that relied on the specific visual culture or collective imagination of the particular region in which the celebrations took place. For example, for Philip II's entry into Lisbon, the image of the defeated and shackled infidel was made more graphic by adding an unpleasant froth coming from his mouth, while anchors fastened him to the ground, which according to the chronicler of the event was related to the fury of the Great Turk, his naval attacks, and the association of his maliciousness with the devil[100].

The enemy was also portrayed as a fearsome giant, as a way of glorifying the power that Christians were able to bring to bear in subjugating him. There are still physical traces of these kinds of representations in the reconstruction of Naples's Capuana Gate, erected to commemorate the arrival of Charles V. Giants were also depicted for Charles V's entry into Milan, where they were linked to Protestants, Muslims, and Indians[101], and for Philip II's into Lisbon, on the Alfóndiga Arch, where they allude only to Protestants and Muslims[102].

In a less aggressive way, as a simple personification of the nations or territories conquered by the Spanish crown[103], Muslims are sometimes represented through a woman with a dejected expression, to suggest the loss of territory to advancing Christians. The first allegory of this kind was for Charles V's entry into Naples, on the Capuana Gate, where she is portrayed dressed in Morisco style, in chains, and surrounded by weapons, with the motto «Africa victa»[104].

96 The allegory of Victory accompanied by anti-Turkish messages was used not only in many of Charles V's Italian entries but also in the commemorative celebrations following Lepanto both in Spain and Portugal.

97 Calvete de Estrella 1559, f. 19.

98 Checa 1992, p. 185.

99 Lavanha 1622, p. 42.

100 Guerreiro 1581, p. 22.

101 Jacquot 1960, p. 442; Strong 1998, pp. 94-95.

102 Gan 1991, p. 419.

103 On the representation of nations in the Habsburgs' entries, especially in Portugal, see Fernández González 2014, pp. 413-449.

104 *Il triomphale* 1535, p. 3.

The next reference to this image that I have been able to find comes from Elisabeth of Valois's entry into Toledo, in the Zocodover Plaza, where she is again dressed as a Morisca but is also accompanied by an elephant, an animal that was mentioned above[105]. The fact that Morisco dress was chosen rather than the typical Turkish turbans was related to the goal of making the meaning of the work more intelligible to the spectator, since the Morisco style of dress had been used for years in Spanish society, even before Moriscos existed as a forcibly converted people[106]. Moreover, this style of dress was a symbol of wealth, which was important since North Africa was the gateway to controlling the Mediterranean and therefore securing trade that was threatened by pirates.

A third example of Muslims as a whole being represented as a woman dressed in the Morisco style can be found in the funerary monument to Philip II in Seville, as part of a battle painting[107]. This woman has been linked by some scholars to the matriarch of the Baxa family[108]. However, in my opinion, she is depicted in this way not in direct allusion to this defeated family, to a particular victory, but rather this posture was chosen in order to demonstrate that Spain's possession of these territories was due to the sound government and political strategy of the Christian monarchs, especially Philip II[109].

This idea transcended ephemeral art and also appeared in some engravings with portraits of Muslim figures, where the meaning of the depiction is indicated just below the figure and is not left to interpretation, as in the case of Seville. An example is an engraving by Nicholas van der Horst and Paul Pontius dated circa 1620, which includes an image of the king of Tunis in the bottom corner of the drawing of the ephemeral architecture.

It is interesting to note that the representation of territories as matrons or women surrounded by children had previously appeared in works created for Charles V and Prince Philip's entry into Genoa, where Africa was allegorized in this way and was accompanied by three other feminine figures: Germany, with the Elbe; Hungary, with the Danube; and the *Indicus*, in connection to the Indies[110].

The form of a woman, though not of a matron, was used to represent victories over Islamic cities. The paradigmatic case is Valencia, where on the occasion of Philip II's arrival in 1585, feminine figures were depicted on the Puerta de los Serranos bearing inscriptions with the names of conquered cities, as a way of glorifying the Spanish monarchy[111].

105 Gómez de Castro 1561, p. 51; Fernández Travieso 2006, p. 253. The latter of these scholars says that she is dressed in the Moorish style, which is incorrect since the primary source describes the Morisco style.

106 Carrasco Urgoiti 1996; Fuchs 2002; Fuchs 2011; Irigoyen 2017.

107 BCC, Ms. 58-5-36, *Historia desta ciudad de Sevilla que escribió el Lizenciado Collado…* 1698, chapter 81.

108 Lleó Cañal 1979, p. 144; García Bernal 2010.

109 On this subject, Franco-García, forthcoming, goes into more detail.

110 Checa 1992, p. 74.

111 Cock 1876, p. 228; Fernández Castilla 1981, pp. 59-60; Checa 1992, p. 283.

The dejected, melancholic attitude that these representations of cities or continents tended to display can also be found in several textual sources from the period, as Kimmel has pointed out[112], mainly in texts by Juan Millán or the *cancionero* of Juan de la Encina, and thus this image totally fits with the common perception of Africa at the time.

6. *The figure of the «peaceful Moor» or the «friendly Moor»*

Before ending this article, I think it is fitting to analyze portrayals that appear in either ephemeral architectural structures or the attendant theatrical performances that exhibit a positive attitude toward Islam. As was mentioned at the beginning of the article, during Alfonso V of Aragon's entry into Naples, a figure representing the *allied Moor*, or more specifically, an Ethiopian, was present. This figure reappeared in many other celebrations. It is important to keep in mind that, as a result of Castile's trade relations with North Africa, several tribes from that region became indispensable for provisioning the fortified enclaves in the area, especially the garrisons[113].

These *peaceful* or *allied Moors* do not usually appear independently in ephemeral art but rather are lead by some standard bearer for the whole of the Muslim population. The figure most commonly used for this purpose was Muley Hassan, who was granted the title of king of Tunis by Charles V in recognition of the aid he provided during the conquest of that city, which had been captured by Barbarossa. Thus, for Charles V's royal entry into Naples, an allegory of Humanity was depicted receiving the Tunisian monarch. The latter appeared, according to the sources, dressed in Morisco fashion accepting gifts from Humanity[114]. The same thing happened in Rome, where the commemorative arches built for the arrival of the emperor had a depiction of Muley Hassan's coronation with an inscription that alluded to Charles V's role in restoring power in North Africa[115]. Both representations served as models for the first arch in the celebrations to mark the emperor's arrival in Florence, where the city of Tunis and Barbarossa's siege was represented allegorically, surrounded by symbols for victory and for the continents, framing the coronation referred to above[116]. These three examples, among other similar ones (all of which are located in Italy), served as models for Charles V's funeral catafalque in Seville. In this case, however, it was the virtue of Charity that was extolled in the Spanish emperor through the depiction of him on the third tier of the wooden

112 Kimmel 2012, p. 25.
113 Alonso 1998, pp. 11-28; Alonso 2000, pp. 287-414; Alonso 2006; Rivero 2005, pp. 593-613.
114 *Il triomphale* 1535, p. 7; Santa Cruz 1922, vol. 3.
115 *Ordine pompe* 1536, p. 11.
116 *Ivi*, p. 27.

structure, which according to the chronicler was connected to the Conquest of Tunis, after he restored it to the usurped king Muley Hassan, from whom the corsair Barbarossa had seized it[117].

Elsewhere the representation of Muslims was not linked to any figure in particular, such as Hassan, but to an icon for all the peoples that were ruled by Muslims. Thus, on both sides of the last arch for Isabella of Portugal's entry into Seville, to take her wedding vows with Charles V, the territories that belonged to the emperor were represented by figures of Spaniards, Romans, Germans, Indians, Jews, and Moors, outfitted in their nations' typical attire[118]. In fact, as Lamarca has pointed out[119], the representation of the non-believer in baroque commemorative decorations came to be yet another demonstration of the importance that royal-political and religious propaganda had in marking all those who did not practice the Catholic faith but who were part of the society ruled by the Habsburg monarchs. Even so, I think the representation of non-believers is problematic when we attempt to interpret the intended message behind these portrayals. Much has been said of the importance of popular celebrations as a communicative phenomenon between the people and the ruling class, but the fact that the same celebration presented both positive and clearly critical images of Islam would have made it difficult for the less-experienced viewers to interpret them unambiguously, since they were not familiar with the political accommodations made by the crown, in which interreligious alliances were quite common. Perhaps because of this, some chronicles linger over the style of dress used by the allies, describing them as attired in the Morisco fashion, in order to differentiate them from enemies, who followed the Turkish fashion. This distinction might seem conclusive, but it is not. Many Moriscos dressed in the Turkish style, and as was mentioned above, the African continent itself was represented allegorically as a woman who sometimes dressed as a Turk and sometimes as a Morisca, all of which makes it clear that this world was quite porous and changeable; as such, it is impossible for us today to draw unambiguous conclusions.

Lastly, it is interesting to note also that the figure of the *friendly Moor* disappears from ephemeral representations during the reign of Philip II, perhaps because of the problems involved in maintaining alliances with the peoples of North Africa, as well as the need for the king to demonstrate an unbending stance toward the infidel.

117 Lorenzo de San Pedro, *Exequias del Invictissimimo Emperador Carlos V en Sevilla*, in BCC, Ms. 59-1-3, *Memorias eclesiásticas y seculares de la muy noble y muy leal Ciudad de Sevilla*, 1698, p. 174; on this, see also Jacquot 1960, pp. 428-429.

118 Ramos 1988, p. 191; Morales 2000, p. 40.

119 Lamarca 1999, p. 187.

7. *By way of conclusion*

Due to space limitations, throughout these pages I have only been able to present summarily the main representations of Islam – sometimes as enemy, sometimes as convert and ally – that appeared in Spanish ephemeral art during the modern period. Obviously, this is a partial study, since it does not include paintings of battles, in which Muslim warriors are depicted in diverse ways; staged battles and tournament contests, in which there was a certain amount of *Maurophilia*, as a matter of tradition and the uses that were made of it; or an exhaustive study of the Latin and Castilian inscriptions intended to facilitate understanding of the images. These are issues that I hope to address in a more detailed way in future publications. Even so, I believe that a sufficiently broad sampling has been put forward to show how religious alterity was constructed in these celebrations. This construction made use of a variety of devices, from symbols and depictions of animals to mythology and propaganda, mixing together ephemeral art with theater and performers who portrayed the vanquished. The main features of this representation were not created for Charles V's entry into Italy following his victory in Tunis but much earlier, since we must recognize that Alfonso V of Aragon's entry into Naples already employed most of the motifs that were later elaborated on. Obviously, each celebration (beatification, royal wedding, triumphal entry, funeral catafalque, commemoration of a city's Christian conquest, Corpus Christi, or allegorical sculptures of the battles) was a response to its own special circumstances. I know that there is currently a lot of interest in this topic. Historians such as Mínguez are studying specific events such as the Battle of Lepanto, looking at the distinctive features of the representation of the event and comparing the written record with the visual culture of the period. This was done very briefly here, since the purpose was to create an initial sample of the images of Islam and to explain their origin and the periods and geographical areas in which they were most widespread. This was the objective, but above all it was to break with the idea of a monolithically negative view of the Muslim in these kinds of events. Obviously, the Turk was the enemy par excellence in the Mediterranean region, and his defeat or the incitement of fear among the people with the goal of glorifying royal prowess were essential aspects of these ephemeral celebrations. But, even so, the Muslim was also the ally in some conflicts, and this is something that is taken into account especially during the period of Charles V, even in his funeral catafalque. Later, during the reign of Philip II, this role would be assigned to the Morisco – i.e., he who must be protected for true conversion – using metaphors such as the lion that does not devour the sheep. Lastly, during the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV, this «cordiality» disappears and is replaced by a much more critical stance toward the Other in an attempt to justify the expulsion and evade the political crisis to which it gave rise. In spite of the gaps that have been mentioned, I hope that these pages

contribute to the study of alterity based on specific cases that attempts to show all the possible specific circumstances that informed the perception of Islam in the Iberian Peninsula and other territories ruled by the Habsburgs.

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