SUPPLEMENTI 06

Changing the Enemy, Visualizing the Other:

Contacts between Muslims and Christians in the Early Modern Mediterranean Art

IL CAPITALE CULTURALE
Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage

JOURNAL OF THE **SECTION** OF **CULTURAL HERITAGE**
Department of Education, Cultural Heritage and Tourism
University of Macerata

eum

IL CAPITALE CULTURALE
Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage
Supplementi 06 / 2017

eum

Il Capitale culturale
Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage
Supplementi 06, 2017

ISSN 2039-2362 (online)
ISBN 978-88-6056-553-2

Web
http://riviste.unimc.it/index.php/cap-cult
e-mail
icc@unimc.it

Editore / Publisher
eum edizioni università di macerata, Centro direzionale, via Carducci 63/a – 62100 Macerata
tel (39) 733 258 6081
fax (39) 733 258 6086
http://eum.unimc.it
info.ceum@unimc.it

Layout editor
Marzia Pelati

Progetto grafico / Graphics
+crocevia / studio grafico

Rivista accreditata AIDEA
Rivista riconosciuta CUNSTA
Rivista riconosciuta SISMED
Rivista indicizzata WOS

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MINISTERIO
DE ECONOMÍA, INDUSTRIA
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AGENCIA
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INVESTIGACIÓN

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edited by Giuseppe Capriotti, Borja Franco Llopis

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ISSN 2039-2362 (online); ISBN 978-88-6056-553-2
DOI: 10.13138/2039-2362/1714

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DOI: 10.13138/2039-2362/1724

Changing the Enemy, visualizing the Other: the State of Art in Italian and Spanish Art Historiography

Giuseppe Capriotti*
Borja Franco Llopis**

The image of religious otherness in the Mediterranean is one of the most significant fields of research in European historiography over the last few years. This spurred us into launching a call for papers a year ago, to gather innovative proposals on the image of the Other, in order to submit two panels at the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, held in Chicago from 30th March to 1st April 2017. As a matter of fact, the texts published in this monographic supplement of the review «Il Capitale culturale. *Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage*» are a revision of the papers presented at that congress, accompanied by some other research which was not discussed in Chicago, which enriches and completes the complex context of the matter. Besides having been selected

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Even though this text was conceived by two authors, the first part of this introduction has been written by Giuseppe Capriotti and the second by Borja Franco Llopis.

by a call for papers, the texts that we present have also been submitted to a double-blind refereeing by international experts prior to their publication. Most of the authors are members of the Research Project HAR2016-80354-P, "Before Orientalism: Images of the Muslim other in the Iberian Peninsula (15th-17th Centuries) and Mediterranean Connections", having Borja Franco Llopis as a Principal Investigator. The project aims at reconstructing the perception of Islam in the Modern Mediterranean society, through the analysis of images. The essays are prefaced with this brief introduction presenting the current state of research on these subjects, in particular in Italian and Spanish art historiography, since the case studies in this supplement analyze the images produced in these territories. If on the one hand attention is drawn on the number of studies produced in this field over the last few years, on the other hand, the creation of otherness in the Modern Age still needs exhaustive research, to be carried from a multidisciplinary approach, by combining the methodologies pertaining to history, art history, anthropology and literature.

1. *Italian art historiography and the image of the Muslim in Italian art*

Although in Italy the theme of the representation of Muslims, Moors, Turks has recently aroused a growing interest in historical and artistical studies, a monograph focusing on such subject in an overall view has not been produced yet, unlike the image of Jews for example[1]. However, if the distinction between *image* and *picture* (allowed by the English language and less by the Italian[2]) is applied, things will change: on the *image* of the Turk, or better, on the construction of the image of the Turk in Italian (literary and non-literary) written sources, a recent and important monograph was published by Marina Formica in 2012. The volume reconsiders and systemises the research which has been carried out (and has partially been published) since 2008. It is based on a basic assumption which is argued in three chapters: between the 15th and the 18th century the Turk became «the Other par excellence, the symbolic place where fears, aspirations, the conflicts of the European civilization converged; in short, the mirror of fears and anguish, of qualities and faults of Western Christianity»[3]. In times of greatest difficulty, Western culture, unable to solve the upheavals caused by the confrontation with the outside world (the Americas, the East) and by its internal (religious or political) divisions, described the Ottoman as a paradigmatic (infidel and cruel) enemy, but also as a positive example of unity, obedience and fidelity that the divided Western was not able

1 Cf. Capriotti 2014.
2 Mitchell 2017, pp. 5-17.
3 Formica 2012, p. 4.

to find. Therefore, the Ottoman was a resource to solve domestic issues and to define a stronger identity, just as had happened with the Jews between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance[4].

Whereas Marina Formica, as a historian, has been working on written sources to reconstruct the image of the Turk in the Modern Age, another Italian historian, that is the medievalist Chiara Frugoni, has dealt with the issue of religious otherness and the image of Muslims in the Middle Ages[5], by using iconographical representations as historical resources and by applying a methodology based on the comparison of texts and images. As a matter of fact, images are considered as historical documents having the same dignity as written texts[6]. In 2008 she decoded the presence of the black holding a cane in the *Christ mocked* by Giotto in the Scrovegni Chapel. In such a context the image of the black is contextualized with the real presence of Moor slaves in the Veneto region during the accomplishment of the chapel, even if the representation of the black hitting Christ resumes the negative ideas that the Church used to attribute to coloured people, frequently associated with devil and precociously identified with the Muslim religion[7]. The theme related to the representation of the Other (including Muslims, Jews and monstrous beings living at the borders of medieval geographical maps) is dealt with in an article dated 2013 in which the scholar highlights that Muslims were often represented as deformed and black people in the Middle Age. Whereas conversion was envisaged for the Jews, as members of the people chosen by God, Muslims only deserved to be defeated and banished (as asserted by Innocent III) without any possibility of dialogue. For this reason, Muslims were normally represented as humiliated and defeated in the fight against Christians[8]. Such theme is widely treated by Chiara Frugoni in a monograph devoted to the relationship between Francis of Assisi and the Muslims. In particular, in the chapter dedicated to the analysis of the iconography, the author demonstrates that the images show a far more different evidence from the texts, in particular in the episode in which Francis proposes the sultan to make an ordeal[9] during his journey in Egypt. The story is only narrated in the *Legenda maior* by Bonaventura da Bagnoregio, according to whom Francis asked the sultan to authorize his priests to enter the fire alongside him: should the winner exit unharmed, he would be granted the conversion of his adversaries. According to the biographer, the sultan did not accept Francis's proposal, which remained purely verbal and therefore the fire

4 Capriotti 2014, p. 19, pp. 41-42; p. 59.

5 The scholar dealt with the problem related to the representation of the different in a chapter issued in 2010 (Frugoni 2010, pp. 153-208). Though she mainly analysed the representation of Jews, the chapter is particularly interesting as an example of method.

6 Frugoni 1994.

7 Frugoni 2008, pp. 221-231.

8 Frugoni 2013.

9 Frugoni 2012, pp. 125-151.

was never lit. In the iconography things change considerably. In the *Fire Proof* in the Basilica Superiore in Assisi, Giotto depicts a lit fire, Francis is ready to enter it and the sultan's priests are fleeing in fright[10]. Besides being defeated and humiliated, the Muslim priests are wearing the Jewish *tallit*, according to a singular syncretism which approaches two different forms of religious otherness and infidelity. In the following iconographical representations of the episode, the same humiliating situation for the Muslims is proposed anew. In the apse of the church of San Francesco at Montefalco, Benozzo Gozzoli even goes so far as to paint Saint Francis who enters the burning fire[11].

Historians have been taken into consideration so far. What are art historians' views on these matters? In Italy, as a general rule, iconographical surveys are less practised than the traditional historical and artistical fields of research. This general situation affects the studies on the image of religious otherness as well. A pioneering book which has somehow opened research on these fields in Italy as for the Modern Age is *Le storie di Carpaccio. Venezia, i Turchi, gli Ebrei*, published by Augusto Gentili in 1996[12]. It is a specific work on Carpaccio which has revived the studies on the rich and complex subject of "Venice and Islam", to which an important exhibition[13] was dedicated in 2007. The paintings and the cycles of canvasses by Carpaccio are analysed by the author by a research method which he calls *contextual iconology*, that is a refoundation of iconology on the basis of a closer examination of the historical context of artworks. Thanks to this method, a few details which have been neglected so far are pointed out, thus enabling a wider comprehension of the works in the light of the conflict with the Turks and the dispute with the Jews. In the cycle depicting the stories of Saint Ursula, for example, banners with three crowns, or rather Mohamed's III tiara, appear on the side of the Hunnish executioners responsible for the slaughter of Christians: the Loredan family who commissioned the cycle, wanted to celebrate their naval battles against the Turks, comparing the ferocity of barbarians to the ferocity of the modern enemies of Venice and Christianity. Hence, the theme of hybridisation comes up, it appears again in the chapter dedicated to the cycle of the canvasses depicted for the scuola di Santo Stefano, who, according to sources, was martyrised by the Jews. Carpaccio represents the Jews as Turks, wearing rich Oriental clothes, showy turbans and exotic headdresses. Similarly, in the scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, established by the Dalmatians who were constantly attacked by the Turks, the figure of the dragon, prematurely associated to the fierceness of the Turk, conveyed the terribleness of the Ottoman enemy who is however destroyed by the *miles christianus*.

10 The fresco is analysed again in Frugoni 2015, pp. 289-301.
11 Frugoni 2012, pp. 141-142.
12 Gentili 1996.
13 *Venezia e l'Islam* 2007. An exhibition had already been dedicated to the same subject in 1985 (*Venezia e i turchi* 1985).

Due to its relationships with the Ottoman world, Venice becomes the favoured field of research to analyse the image of the Turk directly or indirectly, especially in relation to the celebration of the victory of Lepanto. In such field, the research carried out by Cecilia Gibellini is very interesting, it connects texts and images to analyse how the victory was celebrated in the civil and religious ritual of the Serenissima and provides a few remarks on how the Turk was imagined and represented[14]. Other studies have highlighted that in other geographical areas the celebration of the victory of Lepanto caused the use or the elaboration of specific iconographies, such as the iconography of the humiliated Turk at the feet of the Virgin Mary, in the periphery of the Papal States and in Calabria[15], those relating to the Turkish slave in the tapestries of the Battle of Lepanto commissioned by Giovanni Andrea I Doria in Genoa[16], or the singular invention by Lattanzio Gambara in Palazzo Lalatta in Parma, where the Justice of Lepanto triumphs on Turks' vices, as a prelude to the spiritual and political renewal of the whole world caused by the victory over the infidels[17].

Another trend being rather investigated is hybridisation (as emphasized by Gentili in his studies on Venice): when the conflict with the Ottoman empire, even the military conflict, prevailed in the Modern Age, in the images representing the Passion of Jesus, the Jews, normally considered as the persons responsible for the deicide, were replaced by Turks, portrayed with showy turbans, long moustaches or with shaven heads and their characteristic tuft of hair. Even though a complete mapping of this phenomenon still does not exist, these hybridisations might be found in the whole Italian peninsula, as shown by the sample research carried out in the Sacri Monti of Piedmont and other surveys in the Venetian and Adriatic areas as well as in the periphery of the Papal States[18]. More in general, between the 15th and the 16th century, enemies of various kind, either political or religious enemies, took often the aspect of Turks in images, as showed by Francesco Sorce in his essay which is going to be published[19].

Thanks to him new studies are being carried out in a field of research which has been little investigated by art historians so far, that is the use of prints as documentary sources enabling to reconstruct and to comprehend how the West built the image of the Turk in the Modern Age. Although prints have unjustly been considered as the periphery of historical and artistical studies, they have played a crucial role in shaping the common sense and in crystallizing stereotypes before the Turkish threat, thanks to their widespread circulation and to the fact

14 Cf. Gibellini 2001, 2008, 2011.
15 Capotorti 2006, 2013; Capriotti 2016, 2017.
16 Stagno 2008.
17 Sorce 2016.
18 De Caria 2013; Capriotti 2012, 2016.
19 Sorce in print.

that they could be viewed closely and in detail. The repeated representation of the Turkish menace in dragon shape is an emblematic example of this subject as well as the use of prints to support the prophetic and astrological literature announcing the conversion and the fall of Muslims[20].

Tough some have highlighted that the Turk has also been perceived with the interest and the fascination for the exotic[21], in Italy, the whole historical and artistical studies made on the image of Muslims in Italian art, have mainly focused on themes related to conflict and antagonism. On the contrary, recent research on Muslim history has pointed out the dimension of encounter, the high number of opportunities for contact in daily life, integration, hybridisation among people of different religious belief[22]. Thorough surveys should be made on the contrast between the results issuing from the analysis of the artistical representation, frequently dominated by hatred and polemical themes, and from the study on real interfaith exchanges which were often far from being conflictual. Such surveys should consider the functions and the reasons for the image of religious otherness in each context of analysis. The studies gathered in this monographic supplement examine the image of Muslims in different and specific geographical contexts of the Modern Age.

2. *Analyzing the image of Moriscos and Muslims in Spanish historiography*

Although the study of how the image of the Muslim was constructed in Spanish historiography goes back to the beginning of the twentieth century, it is only since the 1960s that it has started to have a wider impact. In 1985 García-Arenal noted that the study of images (understood as representations or symbolic expressions of reality in literature) and of the ideas that European Christianity had conceived of Islam and Muslims throughout its history had for some time been an exciting and fruitful field[23]. In contrast, in the field of art history, there has been some delay in producing more or less scientific studies on this topic, especially if we compare it to what has happened in European historiography[24], or to studies on literary representations and the creation of stereotypes in literary works. Still today, not a single monograph has been written on this topic. Instead, we have some rather unconnected case studies that tend to fragment historical reality; these need to be reorganized within the new methodological framework for analyzing religious alterity.This is all the more clear since other religious minorities, such as Jews, have been

20 Sorce 2007-2008, 2007, 2008.
21 See, for example, Curatola 2006.
22 Ricci 2011.
23 García-Arenal 1985, p. 133.
24 See, for example: Orbay 2000; Stoichita 2014; Born *et al.*; 2015.

painstakingly analyzed using multi-faceted approaches[25], and several doctoral theses are being written on the different modes of representation that have been applied to them[26].

Perhaps this deficiency can be accounted for by the difficulty of the task. We can identify different "typologies", if that is what we wish to call them, of Muslims living in or around the territories ruled by Spain. There is no single figure but rather a group of populations with different origins and ways of life, which in many cases are difficult to portray. There are the Moriscos, a community that developed out of the former Mudéjars, who were forced to convert to Christianity at the beginning of the sixteenth century, first in Granada and then during the Revolt of the Brotherhoods in Valencia. The sincerity of these converts' faith could thereafter be continually called into question. But there are also the Muslims of North Africa, an area where Charles V and Philip II had expansionist pretensions, seeking to keep the major strongholds out of Ottoman hands. The Muslims who lived in these areas were not always enemies of Spain but rather its allies, as was the case during the conquest of Tunis[27]. And, lastly, there were the Ottoman Turks, the common enemy of Christendom and the source of anxiety for European monarchies that were struggling to repel their encroachments by sea and by land.

To complicate matters further, the Moriscos themselves, like the Turks and North African Muslims, cannot be understood as a single community. Rather, several typologies can be distinguished within this group, according to their place of origin and degree of acculturation (which was often a function of the different migratory patterns of this group over a period of many years). This makes the study of images of Moriscos even more difficult.

As for art historiography, although it is true that researchers who specialize in the topic of Muslims in medieval art have gone into greater detail about how the latter were represented in the plastic arts of the time, in some regards this has led to conclusions that rely on stereotypes. All these researchers agree on three aspects of this representation: constant demonization, animalization, and deformation of the Other. Most images of the infidel from the Christian point of view are derogatory and damning; they are not a realistic depiction of their physical characteristics or provenance but rather portray Muslims as ugly, fierce, hairy, "black as Satan" – in other words, as metaphors for their rejection by Western society[28]. In this vein we can include studies by Monteira[29], which focus on the Spanish Romanesque. In his work, he carefully analyzes

[25] Molina Figueras 2002, 2008; Rodríguez 2008; Espí 2009.

[26] We know of one on this subject currently being written at the Universidad de Valencia by Rubén Gregori, under the direction of Professor Amadeo Serra.

[27] On the mutability of the concept of the ally and the enemy in this period, see: Mechoulan 1973, p. 69.

[28] See Benito 1988, pp. 53-54.

[29] Monteira 2012.

Romanesque sculpture from the north of the Iberian Peninsula, looking for possible representations of Islam in, notwithstanding the lack of textual sources other than the *cantares de gesta* that would allow us to assert unequivocally that a given representation is indeed of a Muslim. His approach is very interesting, mainly in the context of the sacralization of the Holy War[30], and might be useful as a methodological blueprint for other art historians specializing in periods that have more extant documentation.

We can learn more about this image of Islam if we take a look at the *Cantigas de Santa María*, which presents an entire collection of more or less "realistic" physical typologies of Muslims, in accordance with their connection to the king or their propensity to convert. In the *Cantigas* Muslims are not always portrayed as enemies or criticized; rather, they are depicted in a more favorable light when it is in the interest of royal power to ennoble them or emphasize their inclination toward the Christian faith. In fact, as García-Arenal pointed out, despite the fact that Muslims were a problem for Spanish society, the images of them are not extreme and rarely tend toward caricature or elicit revulsion, as is the case, for example, with the way Jews were represented in the same types of works[31]. There are certain traits, however, in depictions of warriors that, in the manner of a common denominator, identify them as Muslims: a large nose, bulging eyes, and thick lips, as well as a wrinkled visage and dark skin, a trait that was considered unattractive by the aesthetic norms of Western Christianity[32].

Moving on to studies on the Renaissance and the baroque in the field of history, beginning with Cirot's pioneering research[33], there have been many scholars who have attempted to unravel the way alterity is constructed. Among them, we should mention Miguel Ángel de Bunes[34]. His analysis is interesting in that it proposes that the process of constructing religious alterity is multi-faceted. For example, he argues that the perception of Islam in Spanish culture was not always negative, because the prolonged coexistence between Muslims and Christians in al-Andalus had led to a respect for the adversaries' culture, way of life, and forms of warfare. According to De Bunes, in the mind of Spaniards, these Muslims, including Moriscos, would always be the most cultured and civilized among the followers of Islam, since their education had been influenced by the Spanish. Increasing contact with the Islamic world during these centuries had been the result of two things: trade and religiously motivated military confrontation, namely the war to reclaim lands that had previously belonged to the Visigothic monarchy. Both De Bunes and González

30 Flori 2003, pp. 221-222; Jardin 1991, pp. 23-32.
31 García-Arenal 1985, p. 149. See also: Prado 2005; Klein 2007.
32 Díez 1999; Molina 2011.
33 Cirot 1928.
34 Bunes 1983, 1989, 2002a, 2002b, 2006, among others.

Alcantud[35] concur that the negative view of the Other, mainly the Morisco as a possible ally of the Turk, became more extreme following the expulsion, due to the need to justify their exile and the Christians' hatred of Ottomans, who were assailing the coasts of Spain.

These negative views – expressed in historical and literary sources, but not always made visible in works of art – combined with a sort of pre-Orientalism that was linked to certain novels that have been said to reflect "Maurophilia", such as *El Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa* (1561), or the texts of Pérez de Hita, frontier romances that idealize the Other. The display of virtue by noble Moorish and Christian knights implied a surmounting of religious difference, but this process is too complex for us to go into here.

In art history, the approaches that have been taken to religious alterity in modern art can be divided into three categories. First, there are studies that analyze images of defeated Muslims in the hagiographical tradition, which is connected to the myth of the holy knights. This topic has been of interest to researchers both of the Middle Ages and of later periods. It is almost a staple of historiographical scholarship to approach the infidel through the figure of Santiago Matamoros (the Moor Slayer) and his Aragonese counterpart, Saint George. For many scholars, these depictions of the battle against and triumph over Islam are ever-present signs in modern visual culture of how Muslims were truly perceived in medieval and modern Spain. We do not deny that they were champions in the fight against the infidel, as is shown in the decorations on the armor that was used in battle by Charles V and Philip II. But an exclusive focus on the triumphalist view expressed in these images leads to a unbalanced assessment of how the Muslim was seen. In fact, a thorough study of the geographical distribution of this iconography remains to be undertaken, which we believe would show that images of the Moor Slayer prevailed mainly in border regions, in legal documents connected to military orders or the nobility, and in depictions reflecting the Habsburgs' triumphalist discourse and the need to justify the Morisco expulsion of 1609.

One of the biggest challenges that we face in art history is the excessive dependence on texts. That is why earlier art historians such as Cabrillana[36], in his analysis of the figure of Saint James Matamoros, could insist on how visual representations of Islam were nothing more than translations of written texts or, even more complex, of the perceptions of the Other than are developed in these texts. For him, these images were symbols of religious antagonism, which we believe to be a reductive understanding, although it is sometimes useful. Perhaps because of this, in the few studies on depictions of Muslims or Moriscos, so much attention has been paid to mythography[37], to those

[35] González Alcantud 1993, p. 93.
[36] Cabrillana 1999, especially p. 44.
[37] As Burke points out, Man is a "mythogenic" being: "esta mitogénesis se explica

categories that were being developed in certain cultural contexts – namely, the brutal, unassimilable, treacherous Morisco or Muslim. These categories have been much discussed among historians, and today it seems clear that the debate has contributed to the characterization of Islam and Christianity as standing in clear opposition to one another. All this creates a perception that is not only artificial but that also reflects the interests of the ruling classes, and that becomes more and more skewed over time. This historiographical debate about distortion and reality has not yet been resolved in historical research but has at least been contained within sufficiently objective parameters. It is now up to us as art historians who work on this topic to address the plurality of our visual and bibliographic heritage, starting from case studies that are connected to one another, within a comprehensive methodological framework, and thereby to propose new lines of inquiry for future research.

The starting points are the same as in literary studies, and issues of race have had a large influence on the interpretations that have been put forward. The creation of these *topoi* prevents us from reaching a clearer understanding about visual representations of alterity, and thus they are generally harmful. However, they can provide a useful – we almost dare say didactic – outline of what happened. The creation of such a false stereotype was nothing other than a strategy by Western Christians, and later historians who accepted them, to define themselves – the well-known theory of the enemy in the mirror[38]. In fact, according to Blanks[39], Muslims became a photographic negative of how Christians perceived their ideal self – that is, Europeans as valiant and virtuous believers in the one God and true faith. By demeaning their rivals with these unflattering images, Christians sought to enhance their own self-perception, in an attempt to boost their confidence in the face of an enemy whose culture and military power was superior to their own. In fact, in analyzing the Muslim as historical and cultural enemy, some art historians have seen in Renaissance artistic representations certain parallels with medieval images of Jews. They argue that, after the expulsion of Jews in 1492, Islam takes Judaism's place as the vilified Other. This theory needs to be qualified. For one thing, the Muslim had always been an enemy within for Spanish culture and was portrayed as such with his own features, so it would not have been necessary to transpose the model of the Jew onto the image of the Muslim[40]. For another, the social position of medieval Jews makes it impossible to compare them to the multi-faceted figure of the "Moor" (who could be a Turk, a Muslim, or a convert).

fundamentalmente por la percepción (consciente o inconsciente) de una coincidencia en algunos aspectos entre un individuo determinado y un estereotipo actual de un héroe o villano – gobernante, santo, bandido, bruja, etc. Esta coincidencia cautiva la imaginación de la gente y empiezan a circular historias sobre el individuo, al principio oralmente." Burke 2000, p. 75.

38 Barkai 1984.

39 Blanks 1999, p. 3.

40 Arciniega 2012, p. 86.

The social and religious frictions that gave rise to the disputes between each of the two minorities and the Christian majority were so different that it is impossible to create parameters that are valid for both cases; in fact, such a comparison tends to distract rather than bring the issues into sharper focus.

Returning to the three ways that art history scholarship approaches the image of the Muslim in the modern period, the second would include those studies that focus on connecting the military strategy of the Spanish monarchy with its visual propaganda through paintings of battles that go beyond mere hagiographical depictions. During the centennial celebrations for the reigns of Charles V and Philip II (1998-2000), and even before, art historians began to engage in fruitful study of the visual manifestations that were created to glorify these monarchs' military victories (the conquest of Tunis, the Battle of Lepanto, etc.)[41], comparing these manifestations to, for example, the choir-stalls in the Toledo Cathedral, which show scenes from the conquest of Granada[42]. For years, Vermeyen's tapestries, as well as other pieces with similar themes, had been studied mainly as reflections of the emperor's or the king's taste and as propaganda for disseminating his military victories, justifying Spain's preeminence in Europe, and promoting the need to combat the Turks. All of this led to the fabrication of a negative image of the Ottoman Turk, a device meant to alarm Christians and convince them of the need to defend the integrity of their community from the threat posed by this "Other"[43]. These studies are based on the few visual manifestations that are extant, which were created mainly by foreign artists, not local ones. They include the paintings in the Queen's dressing room in the Alhambra[44], the above-mentioned works by Vermeyen[45], Cambiasi's canvasses and murals in the Hall of Battles at the Escorial[46], and the frescos in Viso del Marqués, which were painted by the Peroli family in imitation of the paintings in the Doria Palace in Genoa[47].

In analyzing all of the works cited above, the art historian must act to "correct" the distortions that have been created in different historical periods by stereotypes of the past – motivated by political or religious considerations – while avoiding contemporary intellectual categories and getting inside the mentality of those who created and enjoyed these works. It should not be forgotten that images are produced by human subjects. The same constellation of subjective perceptions of the Other that determined how Muslims were depicted makes it

41 To cite a few important publications: Checa 1980, 1987, and, regarding the tapestries and murals with depictions of military conquests, see: Carlos 1981; Bustamante 1991, 2004, 2008 and 2009; Falomir and Bunes 2001; Mínguez 2011; González 2015.

42 Mata 1985; Pereda 2002.

43 García Arranz 2012.

44 Blázquez 1994; Gómez-Moreno 2007; Hinojosa 2007.

45 The bibliography on this group of works is extensive; the most recent overview of much of this research is Gonzalbo 2016.

46 Checa 1992, pp. 366-367; Brown 1998; Campos 2001; García-Frías 2003.

47 López Torrijos 2009.

difficult for us to understand the images today. It is our job, as Eloy Benito saw it[48], to free ourselves to the extent that we can from the effects of subjectivity that in the past have manipulated and ideologized the image of the Muslim, and have led to understanding the construction of alterity as fixed, when in reality it was permeable and mutable over time[49].

The third approach taken by art history scholarship looks the representation of the Muslim in the triumphal entries and ephemeral architecture of the modern period, and much remains to be done in this area. Studies of alterity have usually focused on large altarpieces or tapestries created to magnify military victories. This narrow focus has left out, as was mentioned, one of the most interesting sources for understanding the visual apparatus that actually reached the people, since many altarpieces and tapestries were only seen by a very small segment of the population. As is well known, triumphal entries, royal funeral ceremonies, and celebrations to commemorate the conquest of different cities were events that brought the common people and the political elites together in the same spaces, with the goal of indoctrinating them. Each city created a visual apparatus either to pay homage to a particular figure or to glorify the city itself as triumphant over the infidel. This visual apparatus made use of hieroglyphs, poems, and other images. The study of triumphal arches and the paintings that were hung from the monarchs' catafalques in commemoration of the Hapsburgs' military victories or their wedding vows, in which literature mingled with art, should shed new light on this topic, which has not been adequately addressed, except in a few specific studies[50]. That is why the study that we present in this volume of «Il Capitale culturale» is essential. In it we analyze the use of certain clichés and iconographic types to create an image of the enemy – the Moor – in the Spanish Kingdoms, Venetian Republic, Genoa Republic and Pope State. Using a comparative lens, we attempt to map patterns of artistic creation, both geographically and chronologically, and to show how these patterns were molded and modified by the specific traditions and the political interests of the cities that organized the events for which the ephemeral art was created.

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[48] Benito 1988, p. 111.
[49] See: Bernabé 2016, pp. 205-224.
[50] Mínguez 2011.

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Baskins C., *De Aphrodisio expugnato*: the siege of Mahdia in the Habsburg imaginary
«Il Capitale culturale», Supplementi 06 (2017), pp. 25-48
ISSN 2039-2362 (online); ISBN 978-88-6056-553-2
DOI: 10.13138/2039-2362/1691

De Aphrodisio expugnato: the siege of Mahdia in the Habsburg imaginary

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Abstract

In the summer of 1550, Habsburg forces from Genoa, Naples, and Sicily defeated the Ottoman corsair Dragut Rais at Mahdia, the Tunisian city also known as Africa (ancient Aphrodisium). Illustrated pamphlets, letters, and maps immediately began to circulate the news throughout Italy, often associating Mahdia with Charles V's 1535 victory at Tunis. Some published maps include troops that contemporary viewers were likely to have identified as «mori amici». In Palermo, the Viceroy of Sicily commissioned the Porta d'Africa to celebrate his role in the Mahdia campaign. But its relief sculptures, representing two European soldiers and a Turk, invited viewers to forget that allied Arab troops from Tunis and Kairouan had taken part in the battle.

Nell'estate del 1550, truppe degli Asburgo provenienti da Genova, Napoli e dalla Sicilia sconfissero il corsaro ottomano Dragut Rais a Mahdia, la città tunisina chiamata anche

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Africa (l'antica *Aphrodisium*). Opuscoli illustrati, lettere e mappe iniziarono subito a far circolare questa notizia per tutta l'Italia, spesso associando la battaglia di Mahdia con la vittoria di Carlo V a Tunisi nel 1531. Alcune delle mappe pubblicate mostrano delle truppe che gli spettatori contemporanei avrebbero probabilmente identificato come «mori amici». Ma, a Palermo, il viceré della Sicilia commissionò la Porta d'Africa per celebrare il suo ruolo nella campagna militare di Mahdia. Tuttavia questi rilievi, che raffigurano due soldati europei ed un turco, portano gli spettatori a dimenticare che anche le truppe arabe alleate da Tunisi e Kairouan parteciparono alla battaglia.

A well-known engraving by Enea Vico celebrates Habsburg imperial ideology with its triumphal arch, Latin captions, trophies, personifications, and a cameo portrait of Charles V (fig. 1)[1]. The figure of Germania, at bottom left, recalls the victory of Mühlberg in 1547, while personified Africa, at right, represents the conquest of Tunis in 1535. When Vico went to Augsburg in 1550, to present this image to the emperor, another North African battle had just been won under the combined efforts of the knights of Malta and military commanders from Genoa, Naples, and Sicily. This coalition of forces drove the Ottomans from Sousse, Monastir, and Mahdia (Arabic: al-Madīya), the city once known as Africa or ancient Aphrodisium[2]. A contemporary viewer was likely to have compared this latest triumph to the victory of 1535 that restored the Hafsid ruler Muley al-Hassan (r. 1526-1550) to the throne. While the Tunis campaign would continue to feature in Habsburg iconography well into the seventeenth century, the short-lived and ambiguous example of Mahdia – site of a mutiny in 1552, destruction at the hands of the Spanish in 1554, and eventual takeover by the Ottomans – led to varying responses among writers of news pamphlets, mapmakers, historians, poets, court humanists, and artists. Hitherto neglected in the copious Mahdia material are the occasional references to *moros de paz*, or *mori amici*, ie. friendly Moors, as well as the association of the embattled city with the demise of Muley al-Hassan.

The siege of 1550 was entangled in the shifting alliances and enmities of several North African cities including Tunis, with its fortress known as Halq al-Wadi or la Goletta that housed garrison troops under the command of a Spanish governor. Kairouan, inland to the southwest, was an independent kingdom and holy city often at war with the regency of Tunis[3]. Mahdia, located on the coast, had once been the capital of Fatimid Ifriqiya (909-1171 CE),

[1] For an introduction to the vast topic of Charles V in the visual arts, see Burke 1999. Mulcahy 2002 discusses Anton Francesco Doni's essay, *Sopra Effigie di Cesare* (Venice, 1550), which explains the iconography of the Vico print. She argues that Vico abandoned his plan to publish a series of Habsburg triumph prints due to political failures in northern Europe; she overlooks the equally fraught North African campaigns.

[2] For an overview of events in Mahdia from 1550-1554, see Vilar 1991, pp. 140-147; Mármol Carvajal *et al.* 2007, pp. 114-117; Martínez 2011, 2016, pp. 86-100.

[3] See Monchicourt 1939, a volume comprised of articles published over several years in the «Revue tunisienne».

as well as the seat of an early medieval Norman kingdom (1148-1160 CE)[4]. In the sixteenth century it remained a large city of commercial and strategic importance, one that Charles could ill afford to lose to Ottoman expansion[5]. Even so, he had to be convinced by his advisors to order the attack in the summer of 1550. As many scholars have noted, by the end of his reign Charles had largely abandoned the idea of crusade and preferred diplomacy or evasion to open conflict[6].

An engraved map, published by Paolo Forlani in Venice in 1562, shows the battle for Mahdia with Ottoman galleys led by the corsair Dragut Rais (1485-1565) encroaching on the city (fig. 2)[7]. Juan de Vega, Viceroy of Sicily (1507-1558), Garzia di Toledo, of Naples (1514-1577), and Andrea Doria (1466-1560) coordinated the land and sea combat. Forlani pays careful attention to the massive defensive walls that protected the city, along with the palisades, trenches, and gun placements erected by the invading troops. Looking closely one can see that the walls have been breeched and the city has been overrun. Within the city walls tiny figures representing both defenders and invaders engage in skirmishes; their raised guns emit puffs of smoke that echo the larger explosions emanating from the ships surrounding the isthmus and promontory of Mahdia. Along the bottom of the map, at lower left and right, we see a large number of cavalry wielding lances along with some riders on camels. These troops appear to be Arabs carrying their characteristic *adarga* shields, rather than Ottomans. Since Forlani's map appeared twelve years after the battle, he was not an eyewitness but depended on various texts and images to construct his retrospective map of *Africa olim Aphrodisium*.

The geopolitical complexity of North Africa meant that many leaders had a stake in the outcome of the siege of Mahdia, including Charles V, his viceroys, the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman, and pope Julius III. This essay will focus on the fate of Muley al-Hassan, who had become a Habsburg vassal after Charles V defeated Barbarossa in 1535 and restored the kingdom of Tunis[8]. Within just a few years, however, the king had been usurped and blinded by his own son Amida. In 1548 Muley al-Hassan was described as being, «without crown, without money, and with paltry servants», when he went to seek help from Charles V in Augsburg[9]. After a fruitless audience, the emperor ordered him to

[4] For medieval Ifriqiya, see Hannezo 1908; Bloom 2007; Hassan 2007; Mármol Carvajal *et al.* 2007, p. 66; Metcalfe, Rosser-Owen 2013.

[5] Hassan 2007, p. 59.

[6] See Bunes Ibarra, 1989; García-Arenal, Bunes Ibarra 1992; Alonso Acero 2001, p. 414; Salgado 2001; Martínez 2011, p. 294.

[7] Vilar 1991, pp. 438-440. Forlani's map was reprinted in the atlas published by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, Köln, 1575. For prints of besieged cities in early modern Europe, see Pollak 2000.

[8] For newly discovered correspondence between Charles V and Muley al-Hassan, see Chachia 2013; Chachia, Temimi 2015.

[9] According to the seventeenth-century Tunisian historian Ibn Abi Dinar 1845, p. 283, Muley

return to Sicily under the supervision of Andrea Doria and Juan de Vega but, while en route, they were diverted to the siege of Mahdia. Thus the exiled king was caught up in the Habsburg invasion of 1550, albeit as a spectator rather than as a combatant.

Muley al-Hassan appears in a woodcut by Tobias Stimmer in the *Elegies of Famous Men of Arms* by the renowned prelate and historian Paolo Giovio (fig. 3)[10]. Across the page from the caption, «Muleasses Tuneti Rex» (Muley Hassan king of Tunis), the bust length portrait is surrounded by a wide Mannerist frame featuring female figures (Athena/War and Venus/Peace), putti, military trophies flanking the head of a captive, wreaths, fruit, flowers, and dragonflies. The king wears a large turban with a veil under the chin, characteristic of North African attire. He turns his head to look to the right as he lifts his right hand and spreads his fingers, perhaps in a gesture that indicates speech. A loop around the middle finger of his left hand alerts the viewer to the presence of a knife hidden underneath the king's sleeve.

The text accompanying the portrait of Muley al-Hassan begins with a reversal of fortune, asking the reader to pity this ruler who was once associated with the imperial victory at Tunis, but who later fell into an ignominious exile. Giovio avidly followed the African campaigns, even noting how he had received booty from the 1535 siege of Tunis, specifically a scepter and a large bowl that once belonged to Muley al-Hassan[11]. And, although the bishop was not in Rome in 1543 during the exiled king's brief sojourn in the Eternal City, in 1548 the two men met and spoke via interpreters[12]. Thus, the historical account printed alongside the woodcut portrait drew on personal knowledge of the king of Tunis as well as the eyewitness testimony of soldiers and others involved in events spanning the years from 1535 to 1550. At the end Giovio's brief biography of *Muleasses Tuneti Rex*, we read that the king died at Mahdia and was taken to Kairouan for burial:

> Muley Hassan was present but only heard the din of the battle since he couldn't take part in the conflict. But before the city [Mahdia] could be conquered, he died of an illness… His funeral took place in Kairouan, attended by a big crowd of Tunisians of every rank. The North Africans consider this city sacred and they are accustomed to burying their illustrious kings and the high nobles of Numidia there[13].

al-Hassan's 1548 trip to the land of the Christians resulted in a quick return voyage to Mahdia. See also Monchicourt 1939, p. 126; Boubaker 2011, pp. 46, 56; Varriale 2014, p. 126.

[10] Giovio 1575, p. 359. See Giovio, 2006, pp. 941-945. The portrait depends on a woodcut broadsheet published by Silvester van Parijs (Antwerp, 1535) that derives from Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen who went to Tunis with Charles V; see Horn 1989, vol. 1, pp. 19-20.

[11] For a letter by Alfonso D'Avalos listing these items, see Price Zimmerman 1995, p. 332; Giovio 2006, p. 944.

[12] Giovio 2006, p. 945. Giovio 1560 contains a longer biography of the Tunisian king; see vol. 2, books 33 and 44.

[13] Giovio 1575, p. 360.

Despite Giovio's familiarity with Muley al-Hassan and his political misfortunes, scholars have cast doubt on his account of the king's demise. Since we know that Tunis and Kairouan were political enemies, how can we accept Giovio's claim that the exiled king was buried there? To make matters more complicated, many later sightings appear to place Muley al-Hassan in Barcelona, Madrid, or Sicily[14]. These cases of mistaken identity arise due to highly irregular and inconsistent naming practices, transliteration, and spelling; in each case after 1550 the individual turns out to have been one of Muley al-Hassan's sons, nephews, or other relatives.

Further shoring up the case for Giovio's account of Muley al-Hassan's death at Mahdia and burial at Kairouan is the work of Charles Monchicourt, an official in the French colonial government, who avidly pursued Tunisian history and archeology. He published the ground plan of the mosque and mausoleum of Sidi Abid in Kairouan, indicating the site of Muley al-Hassan's tombstone[15]. In addition, he included a drawing of the engraved, stylized turban found on the slab. Monchicourt went on to document the hitherto unexpected alliance between Mohammed Abu Taieb of Kairouan and Muley al-Hassan, despite the historic enmity between the two regencies[16]. And he placed this rapprochement in the years 1547-1550. With Monchicourt's meticulous research at hand, Giovio's account starts to sound more plausible. Indeed, it drew from a number of contemporary *avvisi*, *relazioni*, chronicles, and maps published in the immediate aftermath of the Mahdia campaign[17].

1. *Mahdia in Black and White*

Giovio collected news pamphlets in his search for accurate information. But the large number of publications in several European languages offered conflicting information, depending on the political allegiances of the authors. Two pamphlets published in Bologna in 1550, for example, make no mention of Muley al-Hassan or Kairouan. The published letter from Cardinal Alonso de la Cueva, governor of the Goletta fortress in Tunis, celebrates Andrea Doria,

[14] For example, Alonso Acero 2006, pp. 140-141. Recently Pérez de Tudela, Gschwend 2007, p. 434, mistakenly claim that, «In 1550 the king of Tunis traveled expressly to Genoa, with the intention of bringing Charles V horses, lions, and falcons, in exchange for political favors».

[15] Ibn Abi Dinar 1845, p. 283; Monchicourt 1939, pp. 8, 134-136; Brunschvig 1940-47, vol. 1, p. 372.

[16] Monchicourt 1939 draws much of this information from the *Hystoria de la Guerra y presa d'Africa* by Pedro de Salazar, 1552; see below. Treaties with the king of Kairouan appear in Mariño 1980, pp. 235, 239. But see Sutton 1984, p. 535 and Varriale 2014, p. 132 on the king's conflicted loyalties after the siege of 1550.

[17] For surveys of this material, see Rachel 1879; Bégouën, 1901; Solís de los Santos 2009a; Martínez 2011, 2016, ch. 3.

the Viceroy of Sicily, and Garzia de Toledo while mourning the deaths of other elite soldiers. He observes that while around eight thousand prisoners were taken captive in Mahdia, the sack did not result in much booty[18]. The anonymous *Dechiaratione*, also praises Astorre Baglione, along with Giordano Orsini[19]. But, in contrast to De la Cueva, this author argues that the soldiers enjoyed an «inestimable» booty of money, jewels, and other goods imported by Jewish merchants from Salonika and Portugal. In addition to taking ten thousand prisoners, mainly women and children, they also took advantage of plentiful foodstuffs like apples, dates, oil, rice, and wheat.

Perhaps Giovio read *La Presa d'Africa* (n.p., n.d.) that features a crude woodcut map on the cover depicting the coastal cities of Sousse, Monastir, and Africa (ie. Mahdia)[20]. If so he would have found in that text an indication of friendly relations between Habsburg troops and the ruler of Kairouan during the Mahdia campaign, along with a brief mention of Muley al-Hassan's death. The anonymous author begins his doggerel verse with a rather pompous claim, «I will attempt to sing about the immense Glory and eternal honor of Doria and the other great leaders… though no author has known how to do it, nor any artist succeeded in painting it»[21]. A few pages later we learn that in 1550, «… death came to the king of Tunis, the blind king, and his younger son [Bakr] remained by his side since the elder [Amida] usurped the realm»[22]. The author adds that despite rumors of double-dealing, «The Sherif of Kairouan came in person and spoke often with our troops, wearing long robes like a woman… bringing things to eat and good meat»[23]. Likewise, an anonymous Spanish *Romance* explains, «And this king of Kairouan was called Sidi Arfa, the enemy of Dragut, he also sent us provisions»[24].

La presa d'Africa looks very humble when compared to another anonymous pamphlet addressed to an unspecified «*Vostro Serenità*». We might imagine Giovio turning to *Il vero et ultimo aviso della presa d'Affrica (The True and Latest Report of the Conquest of Africa)*, which offers more specific details about the city of Mahdia than any of the pamphlets so far discussed[25]. The letter is dated September 15, 1550, but it cannot have been produced so quickly after the victory. It must be a later work, a presentation copy for Charles V or for one of the generals who led the campaign. The anonymous author states that the keyed map found on the last page is meant to correct an earlier, faulty version (fig. 4)[26]. Looking at the map, we see that although the walls appear

[18] Cueva 1550, pp. 1-4.
[19] *Il Vero et Ultimo* 1550, pp. 1-3. Compare *La felicissima victoria* 1550.
[20] *La pressa d'Africa* s.a., pp. 1-16.
[21] *Ivi*, p. 1.
[22] *Ivi*, p. 4.
[23] *Ibidem*.
[24] See *Romance y relación* 1550; Sepúlveda 1551, pp. 243 and 247.
[25] *Il Vero et Ultimo* 1550.
[26] The map on p. 2v appears to reverse the woodcut map of «Africha» published in *Nova copia* 1550. In this earlier map, the mosque is also number 20.

to be intact, flags with Christian crosses flying from the towers signal the final victory. In the interior of the city, a hexagonal building, number 20, indicates the mosque where Garzia de Toledo took two hundred captives, mainly women and children. From other sources we know that many Spanish soldiers who lost their lives at Mahdia were buried in its courtyard[27]. And before the city was blown up in 1554 by imperial order, prior to being abandoned to the Ottomans, the bodies were exhumed and returned to Palermo for reburial[28].

At the same time that these *avvisi* and *relazioni* were being published in Italy, the Antwerp printmaker Hieronymus Cock issued a single sheet etching of the battle of Mahdia; it is signed and dated 1550 (fig. 5)[29]. The orientation of Cock's map and many of its internal features recall the map from *Il vero et ultimo aviso*, in particular the circular building representing the city's main mosque. Invading troops at right have begun to damage the defensive walls but Ottoman crescent flags still fly from the towers. The European forces are identified by flags with Habsburg double-headed eagles, as shown on two ships in the left foreground and carried by ground troops at the right. At the right margin of the map, cavalry bearing a crescent flag charge an infantry group that carries flags emblazoned with Christian crosses. This vignette may refer to a sortie that Ottoman forces made in the vicinity of the olive groves during the siege of Mahdia. Cock clearly distinguishes Habsburgs from Ottomans whereas Forlani's 1562 map shows unidentified cavalry arrayed in the foreground who approach Mahdia from all sides, whether friend or foe.

While the patronage of these early *avvisi*, *relazioni*, and maps is unknown, Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, humanist tutor of Philip II, wrote *De Aphrodisio Expugnato* (*On the Destruction of Mahdia*) on the suggestion of the Spanish ambassador Juan Hurtado de Mendoza as a gift for Charles V[30]. Calvete's woodcut map of Mahdia features captions rather than numbers relating to a key as in the earlier examples (fig. 6). Note the labels for the cardinal directions, for geographical sites such as the «olive grove» at left and «ancient Africa» at right, along with the battle stations and abbreviated names of the military commanders Gaspar de Guzman, Viceroy Juan de Vega, Garzia de Toledo, Fernando de Toledo, Bernardo Solerio, and Fernando Lopez. A text in the center foreground tells the viewer that this battle took place on the feast day of St. James the Apostle, or 25 July 1550. Below this reference to the date,

27 Salazar 1552, p. 79v.

28 Vilar 1991, p. 146; Martínez 2011, p. 300.

29 Serebrennikov 2001, pp. 191-193.

30 Calvete de Estrella's *De Aphrodisio expugnato* was republished in the *Rerum á Carolo V* (Antwerp: Jean Beller, 1554), edited by the Flemish ambassador Cornelis Schepper (Schepper 1554). Calvete's vertically oriented woodcut map in the text, on p. 6r, would be turned ninety degrees and used as a frontispiece in later editions. He also included references to Mahdia in his *Tumulo imperial* (Valladolid, 1559). See Sánchez Molero 2001, pp. xxxii, xxxvi, and xl; Solís de los Santos 2009a, pp. 1327-1331. Regarding Hurtado de Mendoza, see Spivakovsky 1970; Kagan 2009, p. 82.

we see a skirmish between European and Ottoman troops outside the military encampment in the vicinity of the olive grove, likely the same event represented in Cock's map. As we have already seen, the Forlani map of 1562 will turn these figures into an impressive mob of Moorish riders with *adarga* shields and a few camels.

Paolo Giovio died in 1552 just as histories of the conquest of Mahdia by Horatius Nucula (Nocella) of Terni, and by the Spaniards Calvete de Estrella, and Pedro de Salazar were going into print. Each of these authors describes the Arab cavalry that came to assist Habsburg troops in the siege. Calvete echoes the anonymous *La presa d'Africa* when he says, «About two thousand five hundred Arabs from Tunis and allies of the king of Kairouan came to our camp, bringing with them sheep and other provisions for us»[31]. Nucula, a cleric and chronicler who accompanied Viceroy Juan de Vega to North Africa, reports the arrival of some Arabs on the very day that Muley al-Hassan's ship landed at Mahdia; in due course they received reinforcements from local armed Arab horsemen[32].

Calvete and Nucula each confirm Giovio's account of Muley al-Hassan's death and his eventual resting place. Calvete says, «…the king of Tunis, fell ill and died, Vega sent his remains to be buried in the tomb of Sidi Arfa in Kairouan with royal pomp and so that he could be laid to rest in his homeland»[33]. Nucula echoes Giovio even more closely when he describes how Muley al-Hassan's

> …son, Bakr, in accordance with custom rather than due to any sort of piety, turned his attention to his father's African body, which had to be laid in a coffin immediately, and carried to Kairouan – where there is a very beautiful shrine of Mohammed, and which city is held sacrosanct in its very name among the barbarian kings, there where men renowned throughout the whole of the African region are buried – through Numidia, as it is there that burial services are carried out with honor[34].

Another account of Muley al-Hassan's death at Mahdia comes from the historian and novelist, Pedro de Salazar, who probably wrote the *History of the War and Conquest of Africa* on commission from the Viceroy of Naples[35]. The text includes three bird's eye view maps; in the first woodcut (p. 32) we see the city before the siege with its imposing rows of defensive towers protecting the isthmus. Two additional maps track the progress of the battle (p. 78, see fig. 7), and the eventual conquest (p. 152). Even though the text describes in detail

31 Calvete de Estrella 1551, p. 23v.; Serebrennikov 2001, p. 193.

32 Nucula 1552, p. 107. A schematic woodcut map of the North African coast and part of southern Sicily appears on pp. 8-9. For Nucula's eyewitness experience of Mahdia, see De Angelis 2014.

33 Calvete de Estrella 1551, p. 24r. Monchicourt 1939, p. 136 explains that Muley al-Hassan was buried in the Kairouan shrine of Sidi Abid rather than the mausoleum of Sidi Arfa.

34 Nucula 1551, pp. 141-142.

35 Salazar 1552, 2015; Milburn 2003, p. 12; Solís de los Santos 2009b, pp. 220-222; Federici 2013, 2016.

the role of local Moorish allies against the Ottomans, none of the maps shows Arab cavalry as found in the Forlani map. The soldiers represented in the maps carry lances but they hold round European shields. Like Calvete and Nucula, Salazar records the death and burial of Muley al-Hassan: «…the king having died at this time, his remains were carried off to Kairouan for burial by order of the Viceroy [Juan de Vega]; the corpse was taken by the Caid Mahmud, with other Moors in his company, to a small house in Monastir where he was much mourned by his sons and by the Sherif [of Kairouan] and other Moors who loved him well, those who were not loyal to Amida»[36].

Given the anonymous *La presa d'Africa* and the texts by Calvete, Nucula, and Salazar, along with echoes by several later historians, including Fr. Tommaso Fazello, O.P., Diego Fuentes, Mármol de Carvajal, and Prudencio Sandoval, some viewers might have identified the lance wielding cavalrymen shown at the bottom of the 1562 Forlani map as Arab soldiers who came to aid the Spanish and Neapolitan troops[37]. These «mori amici» allied with the Europeans to ward off their common enemy, the Ottomans[38]. But since the map lacks any captions, this aspect of its reception history has been lost over time. As politics hardened in Spain under Philip II after the second Revolt of the Alpujarras (1568-1571) and the eventual expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609, such tactical alliances between Christians and Muslims no longer served official Habsburg rhetoric. After the late sixteenth century most viewers have probably assumed that Forlani's map of *Africa olim Aphrodisium* shows hostile troops rather than welcome reinforcements.

2. *Mahdia in Gold and Stone*

Let us shift from representations of Mahdia in news pamphlets and maps to the luxury arts. Just as Nucula accompanied Juan de Vega to Mahdia, so too the Neapolitan poet Luigi Tansillo went to the siege with his patron Garzia de Toledo. After their triumphant return, the Viceroy of Naples Pedro de Toledo is thought to have commissioned Tansillo's *Sonnets for the Siege of Africa. And the Design for a Golden Necklace Bestowed on Don Garzia of Toledo by Naples* (Naples: Mattia Cancer, 1551)[39]. In the text, Tansillo explains that three local goldsmiths, Marco Andrea Dancora, Annibale Dancora, and Lorenzo de

[36] Salazar 1552, p. 100.

[37] Fazello 1560, p. 643; Fuentes 1570, p. 15; Mármol de Carvajal 1573, pp. 273v-274r; and Sandoval 1681, vol. 2, p. 504.

[38] Contemporary poems about Mahdia, unlike the news pamphlets and chronicles, tend to portray Muslims in a negative light; see Paris Mantovano Fortunato in Beer, Ivaldi 1988, pp. 728-732; and Arcangelo da Lonigo in Beer, Ivaldi 1988, pp. 734-742.

[39] See Pestarino 2011; Milburn 2003, pp. 12, 73-84.

Lorenzi, asked him to provide the program for the necklace to be offered to Garzia the «Africano». He gives instructions for fourteen pendants, comprised of paired historical and allegorical images, along with a portrait of Don Garzia. The histories range from the departure of the ships from Naples, arrival on the shores of Africa, the attack on Monastir, the victory at Mahdia over the Ottoman Dragut Reis, landing at Messina, and the victorious return to Naples with booty and slaves. Tansillo focuses on the Ottoman enemy rather than on the ambiguous Habsburg ally, Muley al-Hassan. The exiled king of Tunis makes no appearance on the pendant representing Mahdia nor does his burial in Kairouan have a place in the program for Don Garzia's golden necklace[40].

Although Pedro de Salazar also mentions the gold collar described by Tansillo in his *History of the War and Conquest of Africa*, it has never been traced:

> And, taking into account the fact that Don Garzia had been the main reason for the victory at Africa [Mahdia], because he encouraged the Prince to take it, some of them thought about giving him 3,000 ducats; but others didn't want to do that, and they contradicted them, saying that they would rather give him a golden necklace of the same weight, with pieces worked subtly and beautifully representing the siege of Africa. And, once they agreed [on the necklace], they decided how it should be made and they ordered the work. And once it was made they presented it to him with great solemnity[41].

Celebrations of the conquest of Mahdia in Naples were rivaled by those held in vice-regal Palermo. When Charles V entered the Sicilian city in triumph after the victory in Tunis in 1535, he came from the direction of Trapani, through the Porta Austriaca or Porta Nuova. In contrast, Viceroy Juan de Vega's triumphal entry into Palermo in 1550 took place from the sea between the eastern walls and the port. Nucula notes that Vega was led through triumphal arches like those once erected for the ancient Roman victor, Scipio Aemilianus [Africanus][42]:

> Yet when Palermo settled down [after the defeat of Dragut] the Viceroy went back to that place from which he had departed. And when he had returned, Palermo experienced incredible happiness, on account of such a great victory, and the return of the man [Vega] himself, and it made a promise to that man when he was present, [and] ordered triumphal arches to be built, through which it assessed [Vega] as he passed, as well as multiple statues to be placed within these [arches]. Among these [sculptures], though I shall omit some (lest I go on too long), was one of Scipio Aemilianus, who seemed to receive the victorious Vega as he was returning, and

[40] The omission is surprising since Don Garzia knew Muley Hassan from the visits he made to Naples in 1543 and 1547. See Varriale 2014, pp. 120-126.

[41] Salazar 1552, p. 294: «Y considerando entre ellos que don García avía sido principal causa que Africa se ganasse, por aver movido y puesto al príncipe a que tomase la en presa della, uvo paresceres de algunos se le presentassen tres mil ducados; y paresciéndoles a otros no los estimaría lo contradixeron, mas antes le presentassen un collar de oro del mesmo peso, labrado en las pieças dél por muy sotil arte y lindo primor la tomada de Africa. Y resolutos en ello, dieron la orden de cómo se avía de hazer y mandaron ponerlo por la obra; y hecho con gran solemnidad se le presentaron».

[42] Nucula 1552, pp. 312-313.

who seemed to call him the fourth Africanus in a beautiful poem. He seemed to assign the cognomen [Africanus] first to his grandfather Scipio, who set a tax upon Carthage; to himself he assigned the cognomen second Africanus, he who destroyed [Carthage] from its very foundations; Caesar Carolus the 5th, the third Africanus, commander of the Roman people, who wrestled the kingdom of Tunisia from the hands of the great pirate captain Barbarossa, and restored it to king Hassan; moreover, he assigned the cognomen fourth Africanus to Juan de Vega, viceroy of Sicily, who, with a modest force, subdued [the port city of] Aphrodisium, highly fortified by nature and by design, and protected by a robust Turkish guard, and [who] subjected that entire region, which was properly called Africa, to Caesar's command.

In addition to describing Scipio as a speaking statue hailing Vega the «African», Nucula also lists the booty from Mahdia that the viceroy sent to Pope Julius III in Rome: «Two lions and their caretakers, six African horses with livery, six African captives to lead the horses, six African dogs, six banners taken in the victory, twelve bows and arrows, twelve shields, and chains with locks that once held Christian captives – all to be kept at the seat of the Apostle in perpetual memory [of the victory]»[43]. In making this donation, Vega was self-consciously emulating Charles V who gave the bars and locks of the gates of Tunis to Pope Paul III in 1536.

Another Vega apologist, the poet Vincenzo Colocasio wrote the *Quattri belli punici*, or *Fourth Punic War*, a lengthy poem of 3,333 Latin hexameters celebrating the Viceroy's victory in Mahdia[44]. In the fifth book, the poet gives a moving account of Juan de Vega bringing Muley al-Hassan's body to the tent of the King of Kairouan to be prepared for burial:

He bears the dead Hassan himself to the king's tent. Three hundred servants convey the cold limbs, dressed in burial clothing, to the royal bed, and they wail with shrill voices in the manner of mourners. They pour dirt around him on either side, and they press limb upon limb, and on either side, they lace their fingers together, moving their heads here and there. In turns, they sing out sad songs in Libyan tongue. When the sky turns dark with the night, many crowds come together in song, as it is the typical practice throughout the city to mourn at the crossroads… while the great, outstanding leader Vega entered the flaxen-roofed shrine of the gods, with the whole line of men after him. Suddenly a brother entered on either side, and the one born of their uncle; they embraced the bloodless body of the king, and washed it with the tears upon their cheeks. «Heuheu I am wretched» Buccharis [Bakr] cries aloud, uttering it in Spanish, Latin, and Libyan. Thence follows Machometis [Ahmet], then the cousin, and then the whole Libyan crowd repeats, «Heuheu, I am wretched, wretched I am!» And they sing this three-part lament in alternate turns… Afterwards, at the sight of Vega, they shouted the funeral chants together, and again to the brothers even more loudly. Thus it was done[45].

[43] Nucula 1552, pp. 361-362; Merkle 1965, vol. 2, Diary 6, p. 214. Julius III celebrated the victory of Mahdia with a mass in St. Peter's basilica; see Sutton 1984, pp. 535-536.

[44] Colocasio 1552. He was originally from Marsala but active in Messina, see Beccaria 1900, pp. 1-52; Scalabrino 1936; Solís de los Santos 2009a, p. 1333.

[45] Colocasio 1552, pp. 53v-54r.

Colocasio presents the *mori amici* of Kairouan uniting with Vega to mourn the exiled king. Bakr, who, like his brother and cousin demonstrates filial piety as well as an impressive command of European and African languages, embodies the ideal North African ally.

Viceroy Vega would outdo Tansillo's poetic conceit in gold by commissioning a monumental stone gate to commemorate his military victory in North Africa. When he expanded the eastern bulwark and defensive walls of Palermo in the mid 1550's, he renamed the Porta dei Greci, the «Porta d'Africa»[46]. A set of iron gates from the spoils of Mahdia was presented to the city, and a converted Muslim called Giovanni Monteagut received payment for attaching them to the portal[47]. An eighteenth-century print shows some elements that were once featured on the gate, including Plus Ultra columns, a Habsburg double-headed eagle, and a cartouche (fig. 8)[48]. The Senate of Palermo commissioned Antonio Veneziano, a lawyer and poet from Monreale, to compose the Latin text once found in the lost cartouche:

> [Dedicated] To the Emperor Charles V, King and Commander at Sicily, in the year 1556, by the foremost general Vega, with the city of Africa conquered in the Fourth Punic War, and its foundations destroyed, with the gates of the entire, overpowered region of Africa carried away by one outstanding Roman citizen, he [Vega] decreed, to the shame of the enemies, the glory of virtue, and to the memory that must be passed down through the ages, that they be set in this public place, as a collective representation of service.
> Vega, after the Punic battles, bore these doorposts, having carried them as victor from the captured city[49].

In this text, Veneziano makes a double reference to the gates and doorposts of Mahdia that at one time would have been physically present below the Latin inscription. The poet then imagines two polarized viewers of the gate – a Turk who would experience the shame of defeat and a Christian who would remember a virtuous triumph. But given the date of these textual additions, after the mutiny, retreat, and destruction of Mahdia in 1554, the Porta d'Africa must have been a bittersweet reminder of fleeting victory.

Further sculptural reliefs were added to the spandrels of the Porta d'Africa, consisting of two European soldiers wearing armor; at left a younger beardless man holds a helmet and at right an older bearded man cradles a round shield. The bust of an Ottoman Turk appears at the apex of the figural group, located just under the corbel in the center of the entablature; he wears a turban, has a

[46] *Orazione latina* 1556; Mongitore 1988, pp. 56-62; Vesco 2013, pp. 47-65.

[47] Vesco 2013, p. 62 also gives the names of the sculptors who worked on the gate: Matteo and Antonino de Arculeo, Giovanni and Tommaso Gianguzzo, Giovanni Vitale, Matteo de Marco, Carlo Maneri, and Pinuccio de Marco. Fazio Gagini carved the Plus Ultra device and the Habsburg eagle.

[48] Mongitore 1988, p. 61.

[49] See Mongitore 1988, pp. 57-58.

beard and long mustache, and a long-sleeved robe but he bears no weapons[50]. If this is Dragut Rais, the admiral who led the Ottoman fleet at Mahdia, he now appears incapacitated, captive between the two soldiers who flank him on either side. This radically foreshortened figure folds his arms tightly and twists his face to the right, as if he is being crushed under the weight of the Habsburg eagle that once rested on the corbel. If the identities of the «*mori amici*» in the 1562 Forlani map were soon forgotten, so too this Turk eventually lost his original identity as Dragut, to become a generic Muslim foe outnumbered by Christian soldiers. Such polarized representations require a strategic amnesia about alliances with local Arabs in North Africa; in addition, they divert attention away from the internal divisions among the European forces. During the siege of Mahdia, for example, Andrea Doria opposed Garzia de Toledo who also clashed with Juan de Vega. And Naples and Palermo, the cities they represented, were each embroiled in factions and opposition to vice-regal rule that resulted in harsh suppression and civil strife.

In sum, Habsburg claims to victory at Mahdia were compromised despite the best efforts of chroniclers, historians, poets, and artists. While memories of the heroic struggle between Scipio and Hannibal, Europe and Africa, continued to captivate audiences, that ancient conflict did not align easily with the complicated and rapidly shifting relations between Habsburgs, Hafsids, and Ottomans in contemporary North Africa. Moreover, the conquest of 1550 would always be overshadowed by the triumph of Tunis in 1535. While the restoration of Muley al-Hassan to power had been the goal of the earlier campaign, his presence at Mahdia was the product of chance. He went from being the star of the show to a bit player whose death removed him from the stage of history.

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[50] Nobile 2015, p. 18.

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La presa d'Africa con il successo delle cose occorse narrando batterie assalti dirupi cave fossi trinzere tanti di dentro quanto di so[p]ra fate durante lo assedio por infino ala presa, s.a. s.l.

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Appendix

Fig. 1. Enea Vico, *The Triumph of Emperor Charles V*, engraving, Venice, 1550

Fig. 2. Paolo Forlani, *Africa olim Aphrodisium*, engraving, Venice, 1562

Fig. 3. Tobias Stimmer, *Muleasses Tuneti Rex*, woodcut in Paolo Giovio, *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium*, Basel: Pietro Perna, 1575, p. 359

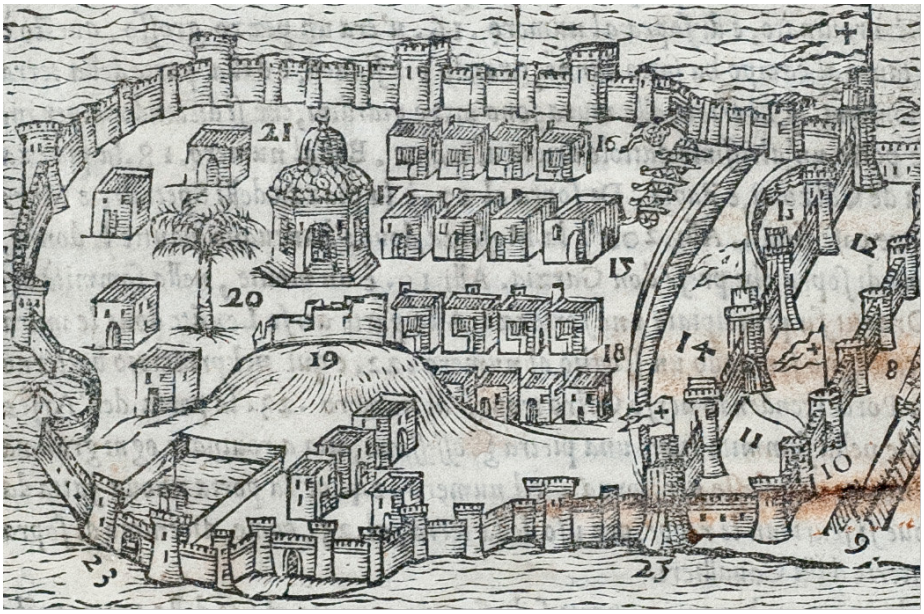

Fig. 4. Anon, *Mahdia*, woodcut in Anon, *Il vero et ultimo aviso della presa d'Affrica*, 1550, f. 2v

Fig. 5. Hieronymus Cock, *Mahdia*, etching, Antwerp, 1550

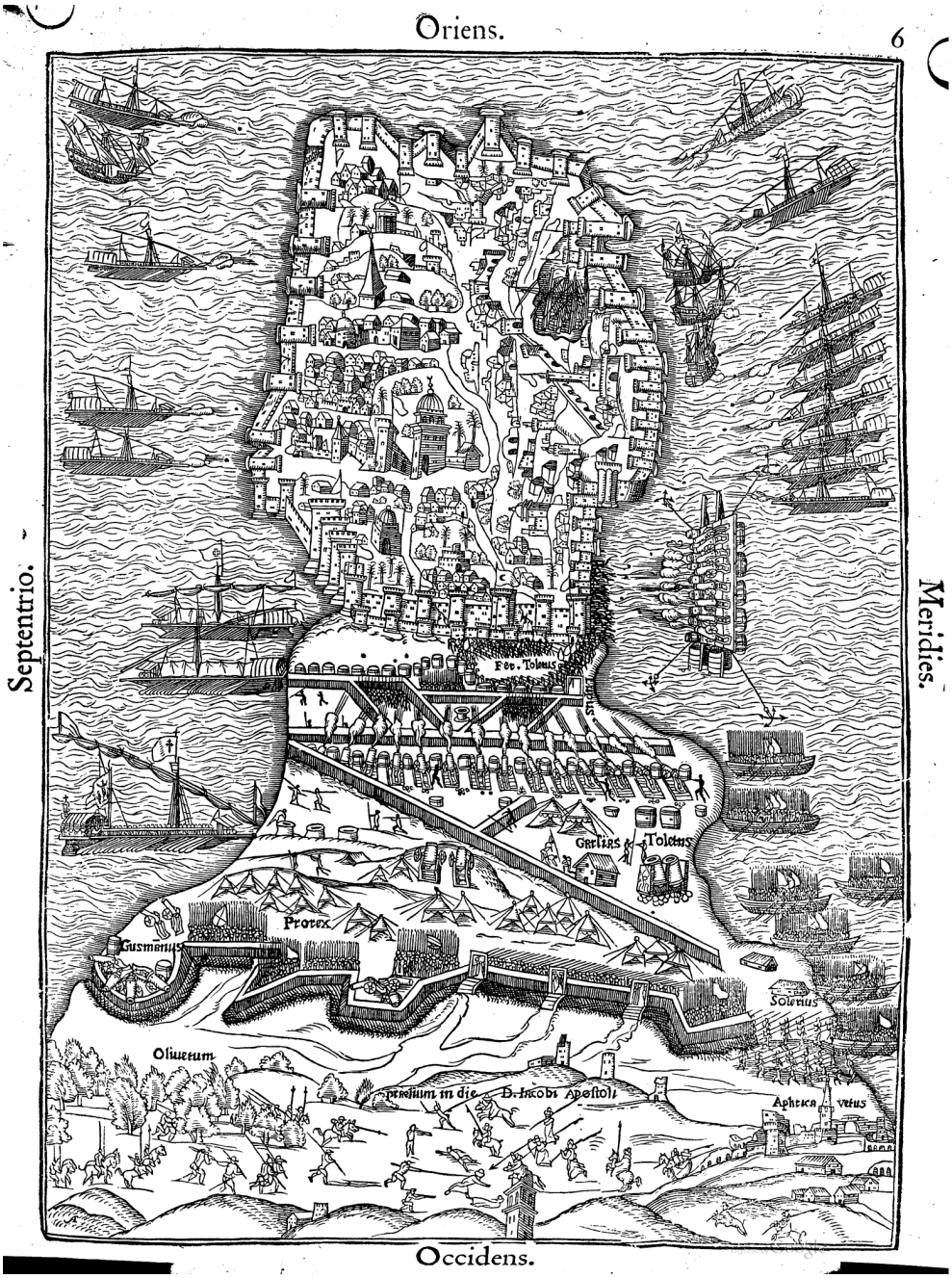

Fig. 6. Anon, *Aphrodisium*, woodcut in Juan Calvete de Estrella, *De Aphrodisio expugnato*, Antwerp: Martin Nutius, 1551, p. 6r

Fig. 7. Anon, *Siege of Mahdia*, woodcut in Pedro de Salazar, *Hystoria de la Gverra y presa de Africa*, Naples: Mattia Cancer, 1552, p. 78

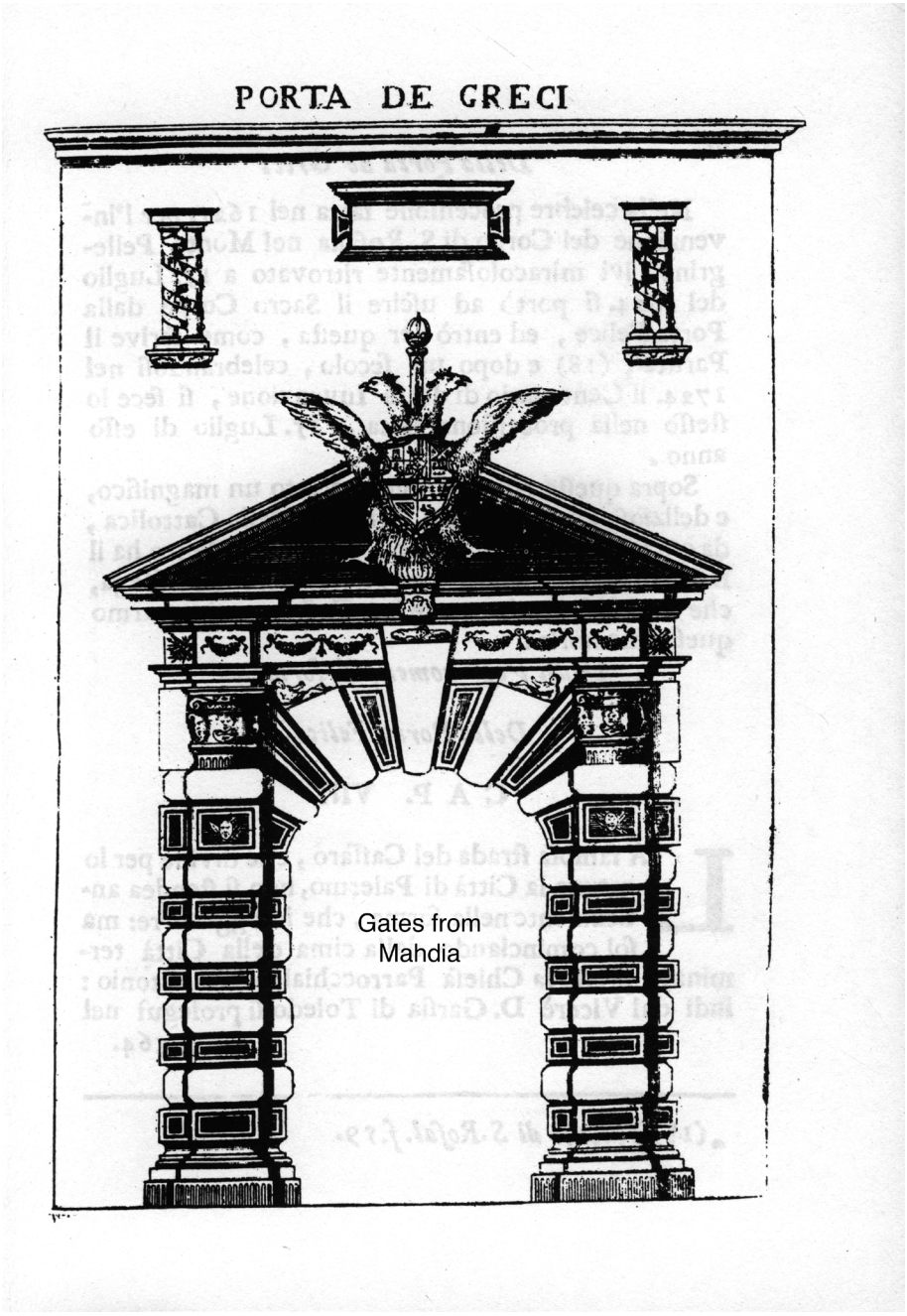

Fig. 8. Anon, *Porta dei Greci*, etching, in Mongitore, 1732, p. 59

Díez Jorge M.E., Under the same mantle: the women of the "Other" through images of Moriscas
«Il Capitale culturale», Supplementi 06 (2017), pp. 49-86
ISSN 2039-2362 (online); ISBN 978-88-6056-553-2
DOI: 10.13138/2039-2362/1710

Under the same mantle: the women of the "Other" through images of Moriscas

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Abstract

In Granada the topic of visual images of victors and vanquished, as well as Morisco men and women, seems to have been handled with some care, especially during the first years after the conquest of the city in 1492. The images of Morisco men seem to feature a greater diversity of types, and some of their clothing reflects an assimilation of Christian customs, while in the depictions of Morisco women there is an effort to project a certain homogeneity under the mantle of the *almalafa*. I ought to underscore here that this was an attempt to project an image, a stereotype, as upon reading the documentation of the time this homogeneity is hardly clear. The images offer us a magnificent repertoire, revealing

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Translation from Spanish into English by Óscar Jiménez Serrano, subsidised by the project *Estudios de Arquitectura y Género*, Consejería de Innovación, Ciencia y Empresa de la Junta de Andalucía.

shared symbolic dimensions and a whole range of nuances that can only be the result of the social complexity that existed during that time.

La rappresentazione dei vincitori e dei vinti a Granada, così come degli uomini e delle donne *moriscos*, sembra essere stata trattata con una certa cautela, soprattutto nei primi anni dopo la conquista della città nel 1492. Le immagini degli uomini *moriscos* sembrano presentare una maggiore diversità di tipi e alcuni abiti maschili riflettono un'assimilazione di modi cristiani; nelle raffigurazioni delle donne *moriscas* invece c'è uno sforzo di raggiungere una certa omogeneità sotto il mantello dell'*almalafa*. Va sottolineato però che questo è stato in realtà solo un tentativo di creare un'immagine, uno stereotipo, perché leggendo la documentazione del tempo questa omogeneità non è affatto chiara. Le immagini ci offrono un magnifico repertorio, rivelando condivise dimensioni simboliche e un'intera gamma di sfumature, che possono essere solo il risultato della complessità sociale esistente in quel periodo.

1. *"Otherness" after the conquest of Granada in 1492*

Following the conquest of Nasrid Granada in 1492 by the Christians, there remained a confluence of cultures, a continuation of the dynamic existing during previous periods on the Iberian Peninsula. Yet, it was a different type of multiculturalism that prevailed thereafter, and in this context it is important to consider how we understand that encounter of cultures. We can approach it simply as a dominant process of acculturation, or perhaps it could be more interesting to endeavour to reconstruct the complexity that characterised that era by interrelating acculturation with other intercultural processes. The latter would explain how certain artistic manifestations associated with the legacy of al-Andalus were employed and promoted in the Christian kingdoms and produced by artists of different religious backgrounds. In this regard it is worth clarifying that the concept of multiculturalism was not even recognised at the time, and we do not know to what extent it is possible to speak of different cultures in an antagonistic way. Due to all of this, it is really difficult to approach "otherness" as if there were watertight social compartments during the era. Moreover, otherness varied depending on whose perspective we view it from.

In this case we focus on the views of Granada's Muslims existing in some Christian circles after the conquest, especially following the forced conversions of 1501-1502. We do not analyse other cases, such as those of Jews or Protestants. And we also place our attention on women, recognising that there were common elements among those of different sociocultural and religious origins because they lived in a patriarchal society, but there were also major differences because gender relations varied depending on one's social status.

After 1492 the Muslims of Granada became, first, Mudejars, and, after the forced conversions, Moriscos or New Christians. Here again we have

more nuances, since Granada's Muslims who were baptised before the forced conversion were considered Old Christians. There were cases of hybridisation and interculturality between the different groups, but there was also cultural resistance. It was a period of great cultural "confusion". Ultimately this era culminated in a violent and traumatic exodus, with the expulsions of 1609-1610. At this point we ought to clarify that recent research suggests that there were many who remained, despite the expulsion decree, as there was an integrated Morisco population that included members of the elite and the most powerful and wealthy classes, their on-going presence traceable until well into the 18th century[1].

The terminology itself is complex and rife with nuances: Moriscos, the newly converted, new converts, newly converted Mudejar Moors… Focusing on the term «Morisco», it should be noted that its roots can be traced to what is Moorish (*moro*), just as «alemanisco» (Germanic) alluded to what was German (*alemán*), and «berberisco» to that and those from the Berber Coast, all terms employed during the era[2]. But, beyond the denomination of a social group, there existed recognition of a set of aesthetic and technical peculiarities included under the term «Morisco» that defined a way of doing things, finding its roots in the tradition of al-Andalus, although it was not always identified as a manifestation unique to Mudejars or Moriscos. Rather, it acquired a greater dimension by signifying a way of doing things, as certain works and clothing were said to be made «a la morisca» (in the Morisco fashion), with such references appearing in the documentation of the time, along with distinctions between other modes, whether Roman, German or French («a la romana», «alemana» or «francesa»)[3]. The term Morisco appeared in the 11th century as an adjective to refer to textiles, and in this context should be understood as meaning «typical of Moors», although it is clear that it is necessary to systematise it and to confirm when exactly the word appeared and how it evolved[4]. «A la morisca» was a way of crafting certain textiles, for example, and it did not imply that they were necessarily made by Moriscos, as they could be produced by Old Christians or New Christians. The term appears in various texts in 16th century Granada ordinances, but it was not something "local" and tied to the situation there; for example, the term appears in other ordinances, like in those of Cordova governing painters in 1493, referring to «arte de lo morisco», alluding to painting on roofs and also, apparently, on leather[5]. Travellers also used the term Morisco to suggest a way of doing things and dressing, as in the case of Antoine de Lalaing, who accompanied Philip

1 Soria Mesa 2014.
2 Carrasco Manchado 2012, pp. 64-74.
3 Díez Jorge 1999, pp. 39-40.
4 Bernabé Pons, Rubiera Mata 1999, p. 599.
5 Leva Cuevas 2005, p. 23. It seems that this term disappears from the ordinances of Cordova in 1543.

the Fair on one of his journeys through Spain, and was in Granada from 18 to 23 September, 1502, where he praised the silks made *a la morisca* («draps de soye ouvrés à la morisque») and the churches built *a la morisca* («églises à la fachon morisque»)[6]. Also worth mentioning is the case of Johannes Lange, who accompanied Charles V in 1526 and visited Granada, attending a *juego de cañas*, a game in which nobles and bourgeoisie were armed with shields and spears in the «Morischkhen und Turckgsche» manner[7]. We understand in the latter case that there is a distinction between the terms Morisco and Turkish, and not that they were intended to be analogous or used as synonyms; inventories from the end of the 16th and 17th centuries also distinguish between the two terms, with references to products in the Turkish manner and other Morisco ones in the same document[8]. This explains why the prohibitions on Morisco customs of 1566 and the expulsions of 1609-1610 lacked parallels in the sphere of arts and crafts, as some products and techniques that were then included under the Morisco denomination were by then fully accepted and integrated into the cultural fabric.

At this point we must distinguish, as was done then, between those who had been Muslims of al-Andalus, from those from the Berber Coast, and still others, like the Ottoman Turks, since they were viewed and feared in very different ways. With regards to the Moriscos, although they gradually aroused suspicions of false conversions and the on-going harbouring of Islamic beliefs, at least nominally some were Christians, and others were very devout ones. And they were people not hailing from faraway, but rather born on the Iberian Peninsula, Granadans in the case of our specific research. Thus, at least during the years right after the conquest, the Mudejars (Muslims in Christian territory) were never politically or legally confused with those coming from the Berber Coast, and even less with Ottoman Turks.

And yet, we cannot think of the Moriscos as a homogeneous block. It is necessary to distinguish between Granada's Moriscos and those of other territories. In Granada the Moriscos were forced to endure harsh and clearly hasty measures, as 1492 marked the final fall of al-Andalus, the Mudejar period was very short (from 1492 until the forced conversions of 1501-1502), and a large portion of the Muslim population that had remained was subjected to forced baptism. Some figures from the end of the 15th century clearly evidence

[6] The *Relation du premier voyage de Philipe le Beau en Espagne, in 1501* by A. de Lalaing covers the first trip by Philip the Fair, and the sections relative to Granada, where he was in September of 1502, are published in Luque Moreno 2003, pp. 365-369 (Chapter XXVII).

[7] The section *Das Kronigreich Granaten*, written by J. Lange in 1526, is an excerpt from his travel diary, from when he accompanied Duke Friedrich von Wittelsbach. The fragment was published by Luque Moreno 2013, pp. 365-369.

[8] For example, in an inventory of the goods of Captain Melchor de Robles, taken in 1612, various terms continue to appear: he has a Berber slave, a fine Turkish carpet, a Turkish musket, and two Morisco cutlasses. Granada, Archivo del Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife (hereinafter, APAG), Book 3, c. 955*r*, 955*v*, and 956*r*, respectively.

the diversity of situations: let us consider the case of recently conquered Granada, where a population of between 150,000 and 200,000 Mudejars has been estimated, compared to that in other cities, such as Toledo, whose 25,000 inhabitants were estimated to include just 180 to 225[9]. Similarly, it must be taken into account that the conversion processes took place at different times: in Valencia, in 1525; in Aragon and Catalonia, in 1526[10]. In Granada, due to the size of the Morisco population, an attempt was made to ensure that they did not maintain or reinforce their identity as a group in the city; spaces that might spawn solidarity amongst them were averted and forbidden, and measures were taken that hardly facilitated their integration with Old Christians. In spite of the formal prohibitions, actual social practices were more flexible, and we find multiple examples of social relations characterised by mixing and exchange, in which daily life contributed to harmonious coexistence and engagement.

There was an evolution in perceptions of the Moriscos, which underwent an important transformation after the rebellion in the Alpujarras region (1568-1571) and the subsequent deportation of Granada's Moriscos to other cities and towns far from the Kingdom of Granada. Documents from after the expulsion of the rebellious Moriscos distinguish between those that remained in Granada and those that had been deported («moriscos llevados»)[11]. A clear example of this heterogeneity can be seen when these Moriscos from Granada arrived in these other towns, and there were clear differences between them and the Moriscos who were native to the areas receiving them, as in the case of Campo de Calatrava, skilfully studied by Trevor J. Dadson[12].

Within the Morisco community there was a great diversity: some were more or less convinced in terms of their conversion, and others were Christians, with better or worse socio-economic positions, who were more or less integrated. And this entire situation includes some nuances when we refer specifically to Morisco women.

2. *Women of the Other*

Literary, normative and visual images depict women through the same prism, in a way even more homogeneous than men were portrayed. Morisco and Old Christian women were, first and foremost, women, which explains why there

[9] Ladero Quesada 2015, p. 190.

[10] *Ivi*, p. 214.

[11] Granada, Archivo Histórico de Facultad de Teología (hereinafter, AHFT), Box 1, File 1, Part 1. *Copia del apeo de los pagos de Ynadamar, Fargue, Mora y Beiro, practicada por el licenciado Loaysa en 1575* (Copy of the survey of the payments of Ynadamar, Fargue, Mora and Beiro, carried out by the lawyer Loaysa in 1575).

[12] Dadson 2017.

were common prohibitions and rules that encompassed both groups because they were females: certain positions, such as city labourers, were reserved for men, both Morisco and Old Christian, but never for women. Legally women could not practice any trade, or be certified as masters of any crafts, and they were not included in the organisation of guilds. However, sources, including various municipal ordinances, do demonstrate the recognised, accepted and regulated presence of remunerated work performed by women, especially in cases that could distort the established social and labour order[13]. At times, however, distinctions were made between Old and New Christians, the latter representing an on-going threat and being under the persistent suspicion of false Christianity. But, once again, this was a society in which women, regardless of their cultural or religious backgrounds, were not considered citizens. In this context we must appreciate how difficult it must have been to be both a woman and a Morisco one.

It is necessary to understand the role played by women while establishing the necessary connections with men and the gender roles assigned to each. We do not wish to assert that it is necessary to present a partial history dedicated only to Morisco women, as we must analyse the history of the Morisco period in a comprehensive manner, tracing the relationships between men and women and Old Christians, but it cannot be ignored that there is a shortage of documentation and reflections on women as historical subjects, absences that run parallel to the tendency to equate the masculine with the universal. For all these reasons, it is necessary to examine in depth the roles played by the Morisco women in the different contexts on the Peninsula.

Traditionally research into Christian women, in comparison to the women of al-Andalus, or Mudejar and Morisco women, has been very fragmented, although in recent years there have appeared texts seeking to draw attention to the need to work in a more interrelated manner. The consideration of some inexorable differences between the various religions consolidated a set of stereotypes that, historiographically, were to prove very durable. Though finally overcome, they had been perpetuated not only in academia, but also in painting, cinema and literature, such as the greater freedom supposedly enjoyed by Christian women as opposed to their Muslim counterparts.

Undoubtedly, over the course of the 16th century there were differences and similarities in the experiences of women, depending on whether they were Jewish converts, New Christian, Morisco, or Old Christian women, and on their social status. In the specific case of the Morisco women there has been important research and work done, including that by Bernard Vincent, Margarita Birriel Salcedo, and Elisabeth Perry, the latter vividly illustrating the multiple and diverse attitudes that New Christians harboured in response to religious and social impositions[14].

In this context we sometimes find strange gaps, silences with regards to the

[13] Díez Jorge 2016, pp. 107-140.

[14] Vincent 2000; Birriel Salcedo 2004; Perry 2004; Perry 2005.

Morisco women, and, at other times, disturbing words. There were different trends in the literature of the time with regards to them. There are strong literary images of them, but they constitute only one face of this polyhedron. There was a tremendously misogynistic literature in the 16th century, but this ought not lead us to believe that women were mere passive agents who could do nothing, that they did not rebel, that they did not have any power, or that there were no agreements and deals struck between men and women. The same may be said of the Morisco men and women. As some researchers have pointed out, it would be necessary to determine to what extent the stereotypical literary images of Mudejars, as well as Moriscos, actually prevailed in everyday coexistence[15]. The separation was not so rigid or extreme; despite the fact that a mainly Morisco population could concentrate in certain areas of a city, the documentation actually reveals mixing and dispersion in some cases, such as that of Granada, in addition to indicating the numerical importance of the Morisco population during the early years of the 16th century. Given this mixing, it is not difficult to find evidence of relationships between men and women residents who dealt with each other and, at times, entered into legal disputes. In some studies we have been able to carry out on the early years of the 16th century, we have documented a significant number of Morisco women who were property owners, their names and surnames appearing[16]. Like the Morisco men, they also dreamt of staying there, as they appear buying and selling houses in the city. After their forced conversions, Morisco men and women continued to participate in everyday commercial dealings involving the sale and purchasing of houses, the need to expand housing, to settle down and prosper, having been promised that they would be able to stay in what was their homeland. Likewise, Old Christian women who settled in Granada must have had dreams of settling down and prospering, even if it was not their native land, because it was a city full of riches that opened up new horizons, and they can therefore be found in the documentation, acquiring and repairing houses[17].

It is undeniable that the reality gradually changed and that the key site of the home came under strong suspicion of domestic resistance, as it was thought that the traditions of the Muslim religion were transmitted and maintained in homes, especially by women. And, as history unfolded it yielded a situation very different from what these Morisco women who had bought and leased real estate could ever have imagined: the rebellion of the Moriscos in the Alpujarras (1568-1571), which gave rise to an order to banish many of them from the Kingdom of Granada, forcing them to abandon their houses. Those that remained would later suffer the expulsion of 1609-1610. Exaltation over the expulsion, the justification of failure, silences and mourning… They were all faces of the same polyhedron.

15 Ladero Quesada 2015, p. 196.
16 Díez Jorge 2009.
17 Díez Jorge 2015.

Travellers during the time were struck by Granada's women: how they dressed, their jewellery, their makeup[18]. After reading these descriptions, and consulting the documentation, it seems that those who aroused the most curiosity were the Morisco women, particularly for their clothing. In this regard it would be interesting to know the perceptions of women visiting Granada, but to date we have nothing from female travellers to the city during the period. Of course, we know, based on inventories and wills, that the variety of clothing and jewellery of upper-class Morisco women was rich and striking, and they always had colourful and attractive looks. They were, evidently, not comparable to lower-class Morisco women, although it is sometimes surprising that, although humble, dashes of colour were seldom absent from even the latter's personal clothing and home decor. It suffices to consult the inventories of Moriscos from the Kingdom of Granada to discover in their garments the likes of green velvet, crimson damask, and colourful *marlotas* (a type of Morisco dress) combining green and blue, others in purple and red, and purple damasks with gold trim[19]. Colour was also present in the houses and attire of Old Christians: in Catalina Diaz's estate inventory from 1545 we find a white and red rug, pillows of blue silk and black silk, and a hand cloth of green silk[20].

It is evident that there was a set of garments recognised as Morisco, worn by Old and New Christians, and which at a certain time, though not always, was a target of control because it was perceived as evidencing an attachment to old traditions. This Morisco-style dress was perceived this way both in official circles and by the general population, as demonstrated by a case involving the abduction of a Morisco woman in which the witnesses themselves stated that she had been dressed like a Morisco woman («en hábito de morisca»)[21].

In the case of Morisco women, the use of the *almalafa*, a kind of gown covering the body from shoulders to the feet, sparked suspicion, as suggested by a 1513 ordinance instructing women not to dress in the Morisco style. Interestingly, the order reflects more concern about Old Christian women not imitating the Morisco ones by donning *almalafas*, as in this way they set a bad example for the newly converted[22]. Thus, it is clear that some Old Christian women were dressing in the Morisco style. As the Morisco Núñez Muley pointed out in his memorial of 1566:

Si la secta de Mahoma tuviera traje propio, en todas partes había de ser uno; pero el hábito no hace al monje. Vemos venir a los cristianos, clérigos y legos de Siria y de Egipto vestidos a la turquesca, con tocas y cafetanes hasta los pies; hablan arábigo y turquesco, no saben latín ni romance, y con todo eso son cristianos (If the followers of Muhammad had their own attire, it would be the same everywhere; but the habit does not make the monk. We

18 On the dress of the Muslims, including Moriscos, see Arié's classic (1965-1966).
19 Martínez Ruiz 1972.
20 APAG, L-103-102, 1545.
21 APAG, L-138-6, year 1560.
22 Granada, Archivo Histórico Municipal de Granada (hereinafter, AHMG), File 1929.

see Christians, clerics and laymen from Syria and Egypt dressed in the Turkish style, with headcloths and caftans down to their feet; they speak Arabic and Turkish, they do not know Latin or Romance, and yet they are Christians)[23].

The ordinance sought to impose homogeneous ways in the face of more intercultural practices and realities. Similarly suspect was the maintenance of the Arabic language, especially by women. For the Inquisitors this was clear evidence of a desire to preserve the faith of Islam, while the Moriscos viewed this situation as understandable, as women worked at home more, rather than engaging in dealings outside it. There formerly prevailed a misconception about a lack of initiative on the part of the Morisco women, and their alleged confinement to strictly private areas, substantiated by the observation that they required interpreters. Today, however, this notion has been at least partially overturned, with information indicating quite active learning of Spanish by Granada's Morisco women[24]. In Inquisitorial proceedings and other investigations into New Christians, such as for the granting of permits for arms, or the possession of slaves, witnesses were regularly asked whether their homes, manners, speech, and clothing were in line with those of Old Christians. In the case of Granada it was customary to specify whether they dressed in the «manera castellana»[25]. Archbishop Hernando Talavera stated the following in his sermons to the Moriscos of the Albaicín quarter in Granada:

…es menester que vos conformeys en todo y por todo a la buena y honesta conversaçion de los buenos y honestos christianos y christianas en vestir y calçar y afeytar y en comer y en mesas y viandas como comúnmente las guisan (it is necessary for you to conform in everything and for everything with the good and honest speech of the good and honest Christian men and women; your clothes, shoes and makeup should look like their own; you should eat their same food, and dine and cook as they customarily do)[26].

With the data researched thus far it is not possible to state whether the maintenance of these garments was only a matter of tradition, lacking any intentionality, or, on the contrary, there were individual or collective attitudes of resistance driving their usage. Without dismissing the economic factors advanced by the Morisco Núñez Muley, who argued that Morisco men adopted the Castilian style more than women because the latter saved by not investing in anything new, which they could not afford, I believe that there is no need to deny or rule out, *a priori*, women's capacity, desire and need to resist in their own way and through their gender roles. Regardless of whether or not there was awareness, albeit individual, and some socio-economic conditioning factors

23 The memorial of Núñez Muley is documented in 1600 by Mármol de Carvajal 1600, Book II, Chapter IX.

24 García Pedraza 2000.

25 Martín Casares 1997.

26 Ladero Quesada 2015, p. 212.

that prompted the maintenance of certain customs, such as Morisco clothing amongst poor women, their perseverance in maintaining some traditions was also the result of their resistance to a social and political system. This resistance does not negate other realities, such as the cases of women who manifested a clear desire to integrate into the new Spanish society. Both, resistance to certain impositions and the maintenance and upholding of certain traditions, were attitudes that probably coexisted.

3. *Women on paper: dressing the identity of the Morisco women*

The apparel donned by Morisco women was important, not just a frivolous question of fashion. In fact, there were numerous decrees throughout the 16th century to regulate, down to the last detail, the types of clothing that men and women were allowed to wear[27]. As Margarita Birriel has explained, through one's clothing and appearance – dress, hairstyle, headwear, footwear – an identity or belonging to a class, ethnicity or gender was expressed[28]. For example, documents dealing with attire from the period often contained descriptions of men's clothing, concentrating on the wearer's geographical origins and social status (noble, clergy, various trades). However, in the case of women, along with their provenance, their marital status stands out, as their clothing conveyed their status as a maiden, virgin, betrothed, married, widowed or courtesan woman, aspects not considered to be of concern or interest in the case of men.

Regarding the Morisco women, we must mention the images widely disseminated by Christoph Weiditz through his work *Die Trachtenbuch* (Dress Codex), which may have been produced in 1529 during a trip the German took as part of Charles V's entourage, in which he depicted a broad range of clothes from different areas[29]. From Granada he portrayed only Morisco men and women, or people he identified as such, with Old Christian women being conspicuously absent. Although Weiditz explains that he was specifically portraying the Morisco women of Granada, in the later historiography they came to represent those from all of Spain, thereby obscuring any type of diversity

[27] See the case: «Prematica en que se manda guardar la de los vestidos y trajes, con las declaraciones que en ella se refieren; y se declara que los hombres puedan traer los vestidos que tuvieren hechos contra las dichas leyes por todo el año de noventa y quatro, y las mujeres por el de noventa y cinco». (Decree which orders the regulation of certain dresses and suits, with the declarations that it includes; it being declared that men may wear the garments which they may have contravening said laws throughout the year ninety-four, and women, throughout ninety-five), Granada, Biblioteca del Hospital Real de la Universidad de Granada (hereinafter BHRUGR), A-031-138 (9).

[28] Birriel Salcedo 2013a.

[29] Birriel Salcedo 2013b.

in this regard[30]. Some wear a short headcloth fastened to their foreheads with a scarf, in a kind of bun; a shirt or robe, and the characteristic *zaragüelles* (wide and baggy pleated trousers worn up to the knee, tightened from there to the ankles with strips of cloth), while another wears an *almalafa* and a band around the forehead. Some wore *alcorques* (cork clogs), others were barefoot, and others were shown with the customary flat shoes featuring elongated tips. It should be noted that their gowns, *marlotas* and *almalafas*, could be very expensive, representing luxury garments, and tended to combine eye-catching colours, those with the most lavish dyes being even pricier. Some Morisco men were shown with dual-colour *marlotas*, while others wore short cassocks and skullcaps, in the Castilian fashion. Some wore espadrilles, and others, pointed shoes (fig. 1).

In the case of the illustrations produced by Georg Hoefnagel, who toured Spain between 1563 and 1567, creating landscape images of its main cities to illustrate the work *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, by Georg Braum and Franz Hogenberg, it is important to point out the different editions of the work, in which the colour of the clothes varies enormously: what in one print may be a white headcloth, may be a black one in a print in a previous edition, and then there are the copies made from these prints. The different editions vary greatly. In total six volumes were published, the first in 1572[31]. What is worthy of note is that in the images of Granada there is an evident variety in the clothes depicted in the same landscape images, suggesting that quite different types of clothing were worn at the same time. In the case of men there is less diversity, and a particular focus on the distinction between lavish vs. other humbler types of clothing. The men do not appear wearing the dual-coloured *marlotas* that Weiditz drew, but rather more in the Castilian style. Such is the case in an illustration of Granada made in 1563, featuring eight clearly identifiable female figures, four of them in Morisco clothing, a younger one wearing chopines, a light-coloured *almalafa* and *zaragüelles*; two wearing dark cloaks and hats, in more of a Castilian clothing style; another, carrying a pitcher on her head, wears a simple skirt and a simple headcloth, while a woman on horseback wears a bodice dress and shirt with puffed sleeves, without a headcloth, leaving her locks exposed. In addition, the card that indicates the work's title and explains the image is flanked by a man wearing wide pants and a beard similar to the ones of other men shown in the print, while the woman is dressed in the Morisco style, in an *almalafa* (fig. 2).

Flanders' Anton van der Wyngaerde toured Spain between 1563 and 1567. In one of his drawings of Granada, signed by the author in 1567, he depicts

[30] The manuscript to which we refer for the images is the copy of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, Hs. 22474, which is dated by the museum between 1530 and 1540.

[31] Gámiz Gordo 2008, p. 59 and f. For this work we focus on the coloured image found in the copy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, edition from 1582 and with the pressmark GMG / 433.

the city's buildings in precise detail, which is what has generally attracted the most attention, but it is also worth noting the people featured in his drawings, with several appearing in Morisco attire, with their *almalafas* and *zaragüelles*, in addition to other women in more simple cloaks[32] (fig. 3).

In his work *Habiti antiqui et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice, 1590) Cesare Vecellio presents nearly 500 prints of different forms of dress, including garments he saw directly, and others described by those who had travelled to the different parts where they were worn[33]. Unlike Weiditz, Vecellio does not cover a great diversity of Spanish cities. With reference to Granada he cites the *Donna di Granata*, pointing out that they were very extravagant and associating them with those from the Berber Coast («et quanto à me pare, che sia più simile all'Habito delle More di Barbaria»)[34]. He also describes them as wearing long hair down their backs, and covering their heads with a kind of velvet beret with a medal, and wearing a sort of short cloak, and wooden soles tied to the feet with cords. This is, however, a form of dress that does not match any of those previously drawn, or with the descriptions of garments on record, such that we must surmise that he did not see them directly, and they were poorly explained to him. Curiously, however, his description is very similar to one of the forms of dress that Weiditz identifies from Portugal. Another print in this same edition and also in the first book is entitled *Donzelle di Granata*, in which they are depicted as half bare from the torso up, evidencing their poverty, and wearing wooden discs on their heads to hold the headscarves they donned. Also, though he does not identify them as such, he draws trousers similar to *zaragüelles*[35]. Surprisingly, these women are, again, drawn with naked torsos, their breasts exposed – something unthinkable, given the decorum of the time, the chilly Granada winter, and because there are no records whatsoever corroborating this practice of women not covering their breasts. Curiously, the Morisco attire of the couple appearing in the background, watching her, is closer to reality. Some authors have pointed out that Vecellio could hardly have seen them, so much so that he surely copied Weiditz, although erroneously[36] (fig. 4).

In this group, only Weiditz refers to and describes them as Morisco women. Hoefnagel does not, though he does mention in the text the former Muslim inhabitants that remained, especially in the Albaicín quarter. Nor does Wyngaerde, nor Vecellio, specifically referring to them merely as women of Granada. It is Weiditz who most clearly refers to Morisco women, employing

32 We have used the copy of this view, found in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Austria).

33 There is a later edition, from 1598, and another from 1664, in which others are added, but we opted to use the 1590 edition.

34 Vecellio 1590, pp. 290a-291a (we follow the a and b denomination system, rather than front and back, because the author himself used it).

35 Vecellio 1590, pp. 291b-292a.

36 Barrios Aguilera 2000, p. 406.

the term «morisquen». Clearly, research on the term Morisco is essential, exploring its uses and evolution applied to people[37]. In the work of Hoefnagel and Wyngaerden we find that, when describing Granada, they chose to include a diversity of people and clothing.

This topic becomes even more complex if we consider the terms and images appearing in other works, which call for a detailed study. For example, there are the images by Enea Vico in his work on 16th century Spanish dress, of which there are prints in different museums and libraries, including a complete copy of the work in the Bibliothèque National de France (ref. FRBNF40356727). Of the 95 prints there are some dedicated to the women of Granada: one entitled *Maritata de Granata* (married woman of Granada) and another *Mora de Granata* (Moorish woman of Granada), in which she wears *zaragüelles*; flat, pointed shoes; and an *almalafa* over a *marlota*. The work has been dated between 1560-1562, and it is known that Enea Vico was in Spain a few years prior[38]. The term «mora» (Moorish woman) marks an important change from the use of «morisca» (Morisco woman). These prints are of the same type as the *Mora de Siviglia*, attributed to Diana Ghisi (Diana Mantova or Diana Scultori, 1547-48/1612)[39]. In my research into the studies on her, I have not found evidence placing her in Spain, such that the print may be a copy based on the work of Enea Vico, apparently a common practice by the female engraver[40].

Another point to mention with regards to these women on paper is the physical features with which they are depicted: in the work of Weiditz both Granada's Morisco men and women are rendered with a darker complexion, but never a black one. Vecellio describes Castilian women as dark-coloured («le donne sono di color bruno»)[41]. Dark skin had generally been considered an ugly feature in the Christian symbolic system. At this point we should turn to and keep in mind what the written sources say, as we know that in 16th century Granada the term *negros* (blacks) alluded essentially to slaves of different ethnic groups in sub-Saharan Africa, as well as Berbers, while *esclavos moriscos* (Morisco slaves) were assumed to be mainly whites, although there were also, apparently, blacks and mulattos[42]. Again, it would be necessary to

37 Although in a later period, in the 18th century, a striking case is the use, for example, of the term in Latin America, distinguishing between Morisco, mulatto, Spanish and albino, as appearing in the series of "caste painting" canvasses found at the Museo de América (Madrid), from the Viceroyalty of New Spain (Mexico).

38 Gaignard 2007.

39 It seems that a print of this *Mora de Siviglia* is found in the Gabinetto delle Stampe della Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna, according to the catalogue by Gaeta Bertelà 1975, n. 581. I am deeply grateful to Ricardo Sierra Delgado, a professor at the School of Architecture of the University of Seville, and a great connoisseur and collector of prints, for the help he provided in locating these works.

40 Lincoln 1997, p. 1122.

41 Vecellio 1590, p. 281a.

42 Martín Casares 1995, p. 202.

quantitatively analyse this supposed darker complexion in Granada's Moriscos, as some works, like that by the traveller Johannes Lange, describe half of the population as white Moriscos («weyssen moren»), while Weidtz chooses to depict them with a darker complexion[43].

This more or less static image of Granada's Morisco women is projected along with others of women, amongst which the covered Spanish lady is particularly noteworthy. The invaluable and varied illustrations of female dress in Spanish cities that Weiditz offers include images of women wearing cloaks, covering their bodies and heads, along with chopines for shoes, as in the case of women from Zaragoza, though their faces are exposed. In later images the recurrent figure of the covered Spanish woman is evident, as in the case of Hoefnagel; in one of his illustrations of Granada there are several women dancing, dressed in the Castilian style and wearing chopines. I am particularly interested in one who is shown walking, completely covered with dark cloak and hat, without showing her face (fig. 5). The same kind of image appears in other images of cities in the work, like one of the prints depicting Seville. In Cesare Vecellio's view this is the prototype of the Spanish woman, not from Granada or other specific cities, but from Spain in general. In his print entitled *Citella Spagnola* she wears a cloak covering her from her head almost down to her feet, and also her face, except for an opening enabling her to see, and chopines, or *zoccoli*, as the author calls them. In the text accompanying the image the author draws a comparison with the dress of Venetian women[44].

It should be noted that these images of veiled women were accurate. In fact, the documentation from the 16th century mentions women who went around *tapadas* (covered up), and not, as we might suspect, in reference to Morisco women wearing *almalafas*, but rather women walking about without showing their faces. In fact, this was considered a serious problem, as their own parents could not even recognise their daughters, such that Philip II was asked to bar women from appearing in public with their faces concealed[45]. It has been argued that Carmen Bernis pointed out how Morisco women's *almalafa*, which exposed both eyes, was nothing like that used by Castilian women, who used a dark cloak to cover only one eye[46]. Indeed, the colour is a great difference, although the question of whether one or both eyes were covered is not clear; Antoine de Lalaing, chamberlain at the court of Philip the Fair, accompanied the king in a trip to Spain in 1501 and described the Morisco women as follows:

Encuentro los trajes de las mujeres de Granada muy raros porque no llevan más que blancos lienzos que los arrastran hasta el suelo, y cubren, al ir por las calles, la mitad de su rostro, y ellas no ven más que un ojo; y llevan grandes calzas que les cubren las piernas a la manera de un collar; tienen otras calzas de tela, como un maronita, que sujetan por delante con una

43 Lange 1526, in the section *Das Konigreich Granaten*.
44 Vecellio 1590, p. 283.
45 Bass, Wunder 2009, p. 98.
46 Bass, Wunder 2009, p. 102.

agujeta. […] Los españoles las llaman tornadizas, porque han sido moras (I find the dress of the women of Granada very strange, as they wear nothing but white cloths that drag upon the ground, and that cover, as they go through the streets, but half their face, such that they see with only one eye; and long hose covering their legs like a necklace; and they have other hose, like those of a Maronite, which they fasten in front with a string. […] The Spaniards call them *tornadizas*, because they were once Moorish)[47].

As it has been pointed out, the rules against this covering up, and exposure of just one eye, were not directed so much against the al-Andalus past as the dangers it represented[48]. And here it was the same for Morisco and non-Morisco women, as all women were seen as potentially dangerous since they were able to trick and deceive, and use the exposure of just one eye as a seductive element. The use of chopines that were too high was also considered improper[49]. These prohibitions must not have been very successful, as in 1636, in a painting of Granada by Juan de Sabis, *Vistas del Darro*, appear women walking down the street wearing veils and with their faces covered[50]. Control over women's virtue extended into many spheres, and not only that of dressing. There were other fields, such as their places at church, or their representation in figures and statues, as can be seen in a document from 1582 stating that all churches were to have wooden confessionals in which all women, of all ages, were to confess, and no priest under the age of 35 was to hear their confessions, and any figures of women in inappropriate dress were to be removed and replaced with others featuring more decent attire, and that, in the meantime, no woman were to enter convents nor churches adorned with such jewels[51].

All these concepts, ranging in accuracy, were put on paper. There are images that circulated in editions of books and in which it is evident that there was communication between artists from beyond the kingdoms of Spain who attempted to capture the peculiarity of Granada's Morisco women. As far as we know, this situation did not occur in the Spanish case, as there was no special interest in drafting dress codes or including images of dresses in illustrations of cities for editions of books. Take, for instance, works like that by Pedro de Medina for the *Libro de las grandezas y cosas memorables de España* (Book of Great Feats and Memorable Facts About Spain), published in 1549, featuring

47 The exact term «tournadisques» is used. Lalaing 1502, chap. XXIX. Translation in Luque Moreno 2013, pp. 322-323.

48 Bass, Wunder 2009, p. 105.

49 Trujillo 1563, Chapter 31.

50 The original was burnt in the fire of the Archbishopric's Palace of Granada in 1982, there being a copy, made in 1930, at the Museo Casa de los Tiros (Granada).

51 *Compendio de los capítulos cerca de la reformación de lo tocante a la confesión y decencia de la ymagines. Hechos y publicados por el Illustrisimo Señor don Joan Mendez de Salvatierra Arçobispo de Granada mi Señor. En Granada 30 de enero 1582 años* (Compendium of chapters on the reformation with regards to confession and the decency of images. Made and published by Joan Méndez de Salvatierra, Archbishop of Granada. In Granada on January 30th 1582), BHRUGR, A-031-168 (10).

a very basic representation of Granada, and in which people are portrayed as mere outlines of the human figure. Or the case of the well-known plan of Granada drawn by Ambrosio de Vico at the end of the 16th century and engraved by Francisco Heylan circa 1612 to illustrate the work by Justino Antolínez, representing a magnificent and detailed map of the city at the end of the 16th century, but without depicting the population at all. There are some images on paper, but outside of the publishing circuits, like the ink wash drawing that appears in *Libro I de los Bautizos de la parroquia de Santa María La Alhambra* (Book I of Baptisms at the Parish of St Mary The Alhambra), documenting the baptisms carried out between 1518 and 1570, in which a priest is baptising a newborn who is handed over by a man that we must understand to be a Morisco, in light of the subject of the book, and because he is wearing a kind of turban on his head, and given his beard, trimmed so as to highlight his chin. In the background there is a simplified rendering of the Alhambra, and the Sierra Nevada mountains (fig. 6). To date, drawings of this type featuring women, have not been found in the documents of Granada, but there are some in other contexts, such as that of Zaragozan Mudejars; in the files of a notary from 1493 appear some heads of men wearing turbans, and two women, one donning a kind of *almalafa*, and another in more vaporous clothing[52].

It is not until the 17th century that we find works like the *Historia Eclesiástica de Granada* (Ecclesiastical History of Granada) by the aforementioned Justin Antolínez, with prints by Francisco Heylan. In the image that refers to the baptism of the Moriscos they appear with different turbans and caps, while the women do not wear *almalafas*, and many of their heads are uncovered (fig. 7). In other prints, such as that depicting the martyrdom of Juan Martínez Jaúregui, the women do not wear *almalafas*, per se, but rather cloaks covering their bodies, while on their heads they wear cloths secured with a bun[53].

4. *Images of women in the symbolic imagery of the city*

Obviously, the variety of places where there are visual images is great, which must be taken into account, as works on a facade were not the same as those on the interior of a building, or in books like those noted in the previous section. They were seen by different groups, evoked different perceptions, and could reach varying numbers of people. Who saw and could access the palatine city of the Alhambra, or the house of a noble? Who saw those images of dress in Weidtz's works? Were those works in the libraries of Granadans?

[52] Álvaro Zamora 2017, p. 224.

[53] Based on the copy preserved in the Museo Casa de los Tiros (inventory number CE00884) and the cataloguing done, it should date from 1601-1650.

We have sought these works in three bookstores from the 16th century, and one from 1601 in Granada. From a rather extensive and curious list of these bookstores, none of these works appear – although there are other ones related to Architecture, such as that by Vitruvius and *Medidas del Romano* (Roman Measurements) by Diego de Sagredo, Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata*, and works on silk. This does not prove that it was not in the libraries of Granada's nobles and humanists, but neither *Die Trachtenbuch* nor *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* were books regularly bought and sold, based on these inventories[54].

This also entails knowing the viewer's receptive capacity. In the case of Granada's women, we know that during the first half of the 16th century literacy rates were low. Some studies on notarial records confirm that women's levels of literacy were limited. In addition, some records contain confessions by even upper-class women, in which they acknowledge that they could not read or write[55]. This aspect is even more acute in the case of Granada's Morisco women. Although we have writings by some, and they played an active role in society, it seems that many did not know how to write, or even how to speak "Castilian", at least during the first years after the conquest of the city. There was a broad variety of situations. For example, in the sale of the house and gardens that had belonged to Muhammad el Pequeñí (an important figure in the War of Granada, who became *veinticuatro* knight of the city, calling himself Fernando Enríquez after his conversion), carried out by his daughters, Doña Isabel and Doña María, as his legitimate heirs; they recognised that they did not know how to write in "Castilian", nor did their husbands, even though more than 20 years had passed since the conquest of Granada, though it is clear that they understood and were able to communicate in the language:

E porque esto sea çierto e fyrme nos, los dichos Pedro Carrillo Abençobhe e doña María Pequenya, su muger, otorgamos esta carta de poder ante el escribano público e testygos yuso scriptos e porque no sabemos scrivir letra castellana rogamos a Antonio de San Stevan e a Pedro de Molyna, vesyinos desta dicha çiudad que ba, fyrmasen por nosotros de sus nombres en el registro de esta carta, que fue fecha e otorgada en la dicha çiudad de Granada, a seys días del mes de febrero año del nasçimiento de Nuestro Salvador Ihesu Christo de myll e quynientos e trece años (And because this is true and certain we, said Pedro Carrillo Abençobhe and Doña María Pequenya, his wife, grant this authorisation before the public notary and witnesses here mentioned, and because we do not know how to write in Castilian we do ask Antonio de San Stevan and Pedro de Molyna, residents of this city, to sign for us in their names to duly record this document, which was dated and granted in said city of Granada, on the sixth of February of the year one thousand five hundred and thirteen since the birth of Our Saviour Jesus Christ)[56].

Her sister said much the same, although in her case she specified that they would sign in Arabic:

54 Osorio *et al*. 2001.
55 Moreno Trujillo *et al.* 1991, p. 124.
56 AHFT, Box 1, File 1, Part 8, Year 1514, p. 4*v*.

E porque esto sea çierto e fyrme nos, los dichos doña Ysabel Pequenya por my, e Juan de Velasco, en el dicho nombre, otorgamos esta carta ante el escrivano público e testigos yuso scriptos e la firmamos de nuestros nombres en letra aravyga en el registro desta carta e por mayor fyrmeza porque no sabemos escribir letra castellana rogamos a Juan Pynel, vesyno desta dicha çiudad de Granada que la fyrmase por nosotros de su nombre en el dicho registro, que fue fecha e otorgada en el dicho pago de Aynadama, estando dentro en la dicha huerta de suso conthenida e deslindada, a veynte e seys días del mes de junyo, año del nasçimiento de Nuestro Salvador Jhesuchristo de myll e quinientos catorze años (And because this is true and certain, we, the said Doña Ysabel Pequenya, on my behalf and on behalf of Juan de Velasco, in said name, grant this document before the public notary and witnesses here mentioned, and we sign our names in Arabic in order to register this document, and for greater certainty, because we do not know how to write in Castilian, we ask Juan Pynel, a resident of this city of Granada, to sign it in his name, it being dated and granted in said payment in the district of Aynadama, being inside the said orchard here contained and delineated, on the twenty-sixth day of the month of June of the year one thousand five hundred and fourteen since the birth of Our Saviour Jesus Christ)[57].

The same situation arose, but without any clarification of whether they did not know how to write in Arabic or Castilian, in the case of Isabel Hivia, formerly Haxa, and her brother, Juan Aguilera, formerly Hamete el Hiby, both of whom explained that «porque no sabemos escrevir» (we do not know how to write)[58]. In neither case did they need interpreters, as this would have been specified.

However, in the case of men, it seems that the spread of literacy was rapid, as in the early years of the 16th century there were many signatures by Moriscos in *aljamiado* (Spanish transcribed into Arabic), Castilian, or both[59]. If they did not know how to read in Castilian or Latin, they could have had little interest in the books analysed, as they could not have understood them.

Let us focus our attention on one of Granada's main spaces in terms of its symbolic value and power: the Alhambra. It seems that relatively few Granadans frequented the site after the conquest, although it had residents who lived in the palatine city, along with craftsmen, merchants and others moving about daily to attend to the court's various needs.

A few brief reflections on some images of women at the Alhambra during the Nasrid period (1237-1492) are in order. It is true that words prevailed over images in al-Andalus. In fact, understanding the images of women during the Nasrid period involves analysing the epigraphic texts, in which a dominant metaphor was their literary and ideal representation as brides, but this was not the only one. Depictions of the human figure were scant, although we do have two important sets of images from the Nasrid era in the Alhambra: the paintings in the Palace of the Partal (first half of the 14th century) and those in the Hall of the Kings (second half of the 14th century). The scenes found in

[57] AHFT, Box 1, File 1, Part 8, Year 1514, p. 8.
[58] AHFT, Box 1, File 1, Part 10, 1514, p. 3v.
[59] Osorio Pérez *et al.* 1991-1992, p. 251.

the Hall of the Kings feature three wooden vaults covered with works painted on leather. The identity of their creators has generated and continues to fuel intense debate, with some contending that they were paintings by Muslims, others that they were by Italian artists, or artists influenced by the Italian style, while others assert that they were made by Mudejar artisans. What is of interest to us is that the women appear dressed and coiffed in the Christian manner of the time, although some of them wear *arracadas* (Nasrid earrings) and henna tattoos on their hands[60]. There are men dressed in the Christian manner, but also in the Islamic fashion, with turbans and *adargas* (leather shields). In the same way, in the flooring work, at both the palace of Alijares and Tower of Abu Hayyay (considered by some a work of the 14th century, and by others from the 15th, but in any case from the Nasrid period), appear a man and a woman in Christian clothing, she wearing the braids of the time[61]. As we see, then, at the Alhambra during the Islamic period women were depicted in both Islamic clothing (Partal) and in the Christian manner (fig. 8).

In the Alhambra after the conquest of 1492 we find other images of women, such as the sculpture of the Virgin and Child, placed during the time of the Catholic Kings over the Gate of Justice, one of the main entrances to the Islamic compound. It is a subtly chosen image, as the Virgin was venerated by Muslims in al-Andalus as the mother of Jesus, whom they considered a prophet[62]. Let us recall the words of the German traveller Münzer in his visit to Granada in 1494, who stated that the Muslims venerate the virgin and other saints: «Venerantur etaim valde Virginem Mariam, Sanctam Katherinam, Sanctum Iohanem et pueris suis eorum illa nomina dant»[63]. This was one of the main images taken into account during the conversion process[64]. To such point that in the wills of the Moriscos from Granada, from both early in the sixteenth century and during the second half, often evidencing sincere conversions, we find the veneration of the Virgin Mary[65]. In fact, attacks on images of the Virgin at that time were carried out more often by foreign Lutherans in Spain than by Moriscos[66]. When going through the gate, we find, in the second bend, an altarpiece featuring a painting of the *Virgen de la Antigua* (Virgin of Antiquity) that is believed to be of Queen Isabella I of Castile, perhaps serving as an altar after the conquest[67]. However, the composition of the altarpiece, featuring other paintings surrounding the *Virgen de la Antigua*, dates from 1588, ninety-

60 New interpretations of the meaning of the main lady appearing in these paintings in Robinson 2013.

61 Martínez Caviró 2001, p. 39; Fernández Puertas 2007, pp. 119-124.

62 Epalza 1999, pp. 161-190; Díez Jorge 2007.

63 Münzer 1999, section *De ritibus et vestimentis sarracenorum* in *Itinerarium sive peregrinatio per Hispaniam, Franciam et Alemaniam.*

64 Pereda 2007, p. 305 and f.

65 García Pedraza 1995, p. 231.

66 Franco Llopis 2011-2013, p. 147.

67 Caballero Escamilla 2014.

six years after the conquest. Obviously the sense and caution characterising the period surrounding the victory of the Christian troops over the Nasrid Sultanate in 1492 had evaporated by the late 16th century. There is a clear shift in the symbols: although the *Virgen de la Antigua* had been associated with the whole process of the conquest, an altarpiece was now constructed containing portraits of the Catholic Kings, a painting featuring a mounted Santiago Matamoros (St James the Moor Slayer) defeating and trampling several Muslims wearing turbans and bearing a crescent flag, in addition to St. Michael vanquishing the devil, and St. Francis. It is clear that the whole aesthetic is aimed at celebrating the victory over the "infidel" scored by the Catholic Monarchs, but the context was no longer that of the conquest, as there was no recently-defeated Muslim population. Rather, 20 years earlier, in 1568, the rebellion of the Alpujarras had begun, and the problem now was that of the Moriscos, who were not directly represented here. Rather, the image of the Muslim is more that of a Turk. It was not the first time that Santiago Matamoros was represented in the city, there being other images in the Royal Chapel and in the Monastery of St. Jerome[68].

But there are really no images of Muslims in the Christian Alhambra from the first years after the conquest, and this is important, as it shows that the focus of the new Christian power holders was not to uphold the victors over the vanquished. In Granada images of the conquerors and conquered, as well as Morisco men and women, seem to have been handled with some care, though not always, and especially in the first years after the conquest, a pattern that seems to have occurred in other places, such as Valencia, as well[69]. The most relevant representation of the Muslim world from the Christian period of the Alhambra in the 16th century is that of the 1535 conquest of Tunisia, seen in the paintings in the Queen's Dressing Room; but it did not have to do with Muslims from al-Andalus, with «mauri pacis», but rather with Muslims beyond its borders. There are only a few small elements which we would like to point out: the four *adargas* (leather shields) that appear in the stylobates on the south facade of the Palace of Charles V[70]. The *adarga* is identified with Muslims, both before these reliefs at said palace (as in the case of the paintings in the Hall of the Kings produced during the Nasrid period) and in other cases throughout the 16th century, as we can see in well-known examples such as the *juegos de cañas* on tapestries by Vermeyen, and later in the representation of the Battle of the Higueruela at the Escurial Monastery.

These all contained allusions to a world of knights in battle, to weapons and wars; therefore, they always conveyed what was expected of men and considered to be their roles. The images of women we find here, on the other

[68] León Coloma 2009, p. 449.
[69] Franco Llopis 2016, p. 299.
[70] Díez Jorge 2014.

hand, mainly contain allegories and virtues associated with Charles V as a new Caesar (allegories alluding to Fame, History and Peace). This would be a frequent dynamic in the visual imagery of women created in 16th century Granada: the new sets of images lacked images of Moriscos in general, and, therefore of Morisco women in particular. This absence also reveals the spirit of the time: women, including the Virgin and some female saints, appear mainly in allegories upholding virtues, in both religious and civil buildings, and as part of mythological scenes. Biblical heroines are also portrayed. There are iconographic sets featuring female heroines from the ancient Greco-Roman world and Biblical antiquity, but the most immediate history of al-Andalus is absent in images from the first half of the 16th century in the context of Granada, which is limited to showing, in any case, the exploits of heroes (and some heroines) who participated in the war of Granada, in the fight against the infidel. A legendary and religious system of images is created in which few real women and their historical feats are represented, unlike men, who appear frequently. The Virgin Mary was established as the ideal model to be followed by all women, Old and New Christians. As for more flesh-and-bone models, Isabella the Catholic was the paragon and almost the only symbolic reference point.

An example: the Cuadra Dorada (Golden Chamber) at the Casa de los Tiros, the main hall of a building whose construction was based on the fusion of several previous houses, with working beginning towards the second quarter of the 16th century. The entire iconographic motif is essentially based on figures of illustrious men, though women are also introduced, to a much lesser extent. Of the 32 references to renowned people in the *alfarje* (flat wooden ceiling), only two allude to women: Queen Isabella I of Castile and Empress Isabella I of Portugal; on the *arrocabes* (wooden frieze) of the facade and entrance there are 16 more references, and only two of them are related to women: the wife of Álvaro Pérez de Castro, who defended, along with her maidservants the town of Martos and the wife of Count Hernán González, who rescued her husband from prison, while she ending up jailed. Also, on the Cuadra Dorada's walls there appear four *tondos* featuring heroines from mythology and the Bible (Penthesilea, Lucretia, Semiramis and Judith)[71]. The references to men allude essentially to political-military exploits, while women are portrayed as engaged in defensive and protective actions. It is interesting to note that, in contrast to other iconographic elements that spotlight King Ferdinand as the conqueror of Granada, in this case the feat is attributed to Queen Isabella: «Isabel, Reina de España, entre otras muchas hazañas que hizo, allanó a España, echó a los judíos y moros y ganó a Granada» (Isabella, Queen of Spain, among many other feats, unified Spain, expelled the Jews and Moors, and took Granada). This is curious when we consider that this house

[71] For the iconographic and iconological motifs, noting reflections on the inclusion of female characters and their relationship to marriage bonds: López Guzmán 1987, p. 438 and f.

was owned by María Rengifo Dávila, who married Pedro Venegas (a descendant of the royal Nasrid family who converted to Christianity) in the second third of the 16th century. It is unclear whether these images were created whilst they were married, or they inherited them, but they certainly kept and cherished them, as this space was used for well-known poetic and theatrical performances.

An important image is the well-known relief of the baptism of Morisco women found on the altarpiece of the Royal Chapel of Granada, traditionally dated between 1520-1522, which is a work by multiple artists, led by Felipe Vigarny but also featuring Alonso de Berruguete, Jacopo Florentino, Alonso de Salamanca and Antón de Plasencia[72]. All the Morisco women here appear wearing the *almalafa* covering part of their faces. On their foreheads most wear a string, though some of them do not, and let some of their hair be seen. This type of *almalafa* is the one that Weiditz drew in one of his prints. They wear *zaragüelles* and pointed shoes. By representing women as a more or less homogeneous group, it becomes reminiscent of other images, such as the wooden panel painting found at the Chapter Museum of the Cathedral of Mallorca, of similar dates (1520-1521), catalogued as a work by Bartomeu Martínez, and in which San Vicente Ferrer is preaching in the Cathedral of Mallorca. The women constitute a block in which diversity is represented only by some donning white veils that cover their foreheads – except in some cases, where their hair can be seen. Other works presented a bit more diversity when it came to depicting women, both in their dress and attitude, as in the case of the views of Granada in the painting of the Battle of the Higueruela in the Hall of Battles at the Escurial Monastery, produced between 1584 and 1591, in which some appear wearing white *almalafas*, others with white headclothes and others with their heads uncovered[73]. In the case of the relief in the Royal Chapel, the last restoration made it possible to recover its original colours, revealing blue, red, white and green, actually found in the clothes and textiles of the time (fig. 9).

In the relief of the baptism of the Moriscos there is greater diversity: some wear turbans, some do not, while some wear hats; some have beards and others do not, some have a black complexion while others are white, and they range in age. It would be interesting to analyse the different turbans and male headwear in this relief, especially comparing them with the standard set of images existing then (fig. 10). On the altarpiece, in the relief of the Catholic Kings entering with the Christian armies, there appears what could be the Morisco guard, wearing another type of turban, just as they are seen in the relief in which Bobadil hands over the keys. There are endless ways of wearing the turban and representing it: in the enamel work known as the *Triptych of the Great Captain*, in the sculptural

[72] Andalusian furniture heritage database at the Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico at <http://www.iaph.es/patrimonio-mueble-andalucia>, 01.10.2017.

[73] In this regard, see the descriptions and splendid image featured in Gámiz Gordo, 2008, pp. 28-32.

group of the *Burial of Christ* at the Monastery of St Jerome, and on a medallion of the choir stalls at the convent of Santa Isabel La Real[74].

There are other images which are less public outside the spaces and spheres of power, such as the one interpreted as a Morisco woman appearing in a historical graffiti in the room of a house in the Albaicín in Granada, catalogued as from the sixteenth century, in which she appears with a partially covered face, wearing an *almalafa* and *zaragüelles*, and chopines bearing Arab inscriptions[75]. In this more domestic context, upon analysing sixteenth-century household goods, I have been able to find quite a few figurines discovered during excavations, with those of women clearly predominating. There are different types of them, some in the form of whistles, or bells. Some are very rudimentary, while others are glazed and more delicate. In some the woman's breasts are outside her bodice. To date I have not found them cited in the archival documentation of the time, perhaps because they formed part of a whole set of pottery items and were objects that were not usually inventoried, conceivably found in those chests full of "odds and ends" sometimes mentioned in the documentation. I have already addressed, in other works, the meaning not only of these objects, but also of other miniatures, broadening the range of their uses beyond just toys[76].

The material presence of these objects is not surprising. From the al-Andalus period, and also from Christian territories during medieval and modern times, there are examples of whistles and some "little dolls." The collection harboured by the Museum of the Alhambra is the most complete in terms of miniature objects. The problem is that they come from excavations of the Alhambra that were carried out without current techniques, so that they were not studied in context. Some of them must have formed part of the royal house's Nasrid goods, but the modern pieces, which are of interest to us, must have been made by the pottery workshops at the Alhambra compound, and later sold, as there have appeared a significant number of them. I have analysed about 300 pieces catalogued as toys, although there are many more[77]. What is of great interest is the great preponderance of images of women. For example, in box 2106, out of 25 pieces 17 are females, between 10 and 20 cm in height, although some are only fragments. They are dated by the museum as from the modern era, and we have been able to locate some similar pieces in other archaeological contexts from the 16th and 17th centuries. It is evident that there were models to follow for some of them. However, though they are similar, they are not exact copies, as they feature different thicknesses and slight variations in their measurements. Usually they are figures of women with

74 All at the Museo de Bellas Artes de Granada, following the dates cited: references CE0001 (dated 1475-1525), CE0006 (1520-1525) and CE0058 (1580-1582), respectively.

75 Barrera Maturana 2007. For the Arabic inscriptions and their significance see Barrena Maturana 2017, vol. II, pp. 877-879.

76 Díez Jorge, forthcoming.

77 I would like to thank the Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife (Granada) for its assistance.

flared skirts and their hands on their waists, producing bell shapes, although there are no traces of any clappers. There are also female figures lacking the bell shape. Some are glazed and elaborate, while others are basic and unglazed. We must conclude that they had different functions and meanings. For example, the bell-shaped ones, very basic and in which any fine work is limited to the woman's hair, are nothing at all like some of the glazed pieces, in which the woman's breasts protrude, in a possible allusion to maternity – as in the mural paintings at Mondoñedo Cathedral, dated by some as 16th century, featuring a scene of the slaughter of the innocents, in where we can see women dressed in turbans and headcloths, and with dark complexions, their children being killed by the soldiers, with some of the women's breasts falling outside their bodices. Perhaps they were small figures given when a girl reached puberty, or before a birth, in clear allusion to breastfeeding; though it is difficult to know. The point is that they formed part of daily life and the symbolic world of the 16th century. What we do not know is whether they were found in the homes of both Old Christians and Moriscos (figs. 11, 12a and 12b).

Another interesting type is the whistles found in Box 2107, containing 55 pieces, at least 21 clearly feminine figures; and Box 2121, with 32 pieces, in which there are whistles in the shape of animals, like the rooster and the turkey, figures of men playing musical instruments, and others of friars, water whistles and, again, representations of women. The female images are dated from between the 16th and 17th centuries. The women found are wearing different kind of clothes, but all in the Christian style. Whistles were common during the al-Andalus period, but water whistles predominated, along with those in animal shapes. This was a common object, and not only in Granada, but also in other areas, such as Almería, and Jaén, and this suggests that they were used on a daily basis. But why were these whistles made in the shape of women? Were they used by Moriscos and Old Christians? For what and when? We do know that Christian and Morisco women played instruments and sang. There are accounts of this, such as that provided by the traveller Iohanes Lange in 1526, who talks about how on the last day they were in the Alhambra there was a dance performance by Morisco women:

> Bailaron a la manera de su país al son de laúdes y tambores tocados por mujeres que tendrían unos cincuenta años y una de aproximadamente cuarenta años acompañó con cante de voz desagradable y tosca haciendo palmas con alegría (They danced in the manner of their country, to the sound of lutes and drums, played by women who must have been about 50, and one of about 40, who accompanied them with a coarse and unpleasant singing, whilst cheerfully clapping)[78].

I am afraid, however, that these whistles were not used to produce music and songs, but rather noise. I will not fall into the stereotype of citing the Muslims'

[78] Lange 1526, in the section *Das Konigreich Granaten*.

animosity towards figures, and contend that they could not have had all these pieces. One question was religious images, and others, in the civil sphere, was quite another. We have seen that at the Alhambra there were actually representations of the human figure during the Nasrid era, and not just a few isolated cases. And we are talking here about Moriscos, already immersed in Christian culture. Old Christians and Moriscos lived in the same society. They certainly harboured different traditions, but they belonged to Granadan society and, as a result, I have no doubt that they must have shared some tastes and fashions. As Dadson has observed, if you do not seek evidence of assimilation, you will not find it, and that is what has happened, historiographically[79]. There has been a tendency to look for differences, but there were also shared elements. I do not want to paint a rosy picture, but rather show the complexity of that society.

Finally, there is another relevant question. Who created these images? Who published these books? To date it has been established that they were, essentially, men, and, in general, in certain pictorial and sculptural images, "leading" artists. Moriscos do not appear. It is true that there were great Mudejar *alarifes* (master builders) in Granada right after the conquest, and some of them became Christians before the forced conversion. Though they were not, apparently, involved in major works of public and religious architecture, Moriscos were involved in some activities, and Morisco women were active outside the home. We may not have evidence of important women sculptors and painters in 16th century Granada, but there were women in craft shops and, for example, in pottery workshops – precisely the guild that could have been commissioned to produce the pieces like the female figures and whistles we have found. Morisco women were not great *alarifes* or renowned painters, as they were not allowed to be. But both Morisco and Old Christian women were present in the textile sector, as potters, and at work sites, contributing to the artistic and artisanal culture of the era.

Thus, under their *almalafas* and under the protection of the same mantle of the Virgin, Old Christian and New Christian or Morisco women displayed a great diversity of attitudes. The images we have, offer us that heterogeneous range, since, although there are images that presented them as two supposedly monolithic and opposed blocks, others revealed in a natural way the mixture and diversity of types that coincided in the same society, without forgetting the absences that, paradoxically, tell us so many things. That is, the absence of images of Morisco men and women in certain spaces suggests a coexistence marked by a great delicacy. Perhaps it was not initially considered a great problem, or perhaps there was a desire to depict it as resolved and overcome. There are many possibilities that transcend depictions of the victors and vanquished, and also entail thinking beyond oppressive men and women victims, as there were pacts and transgressions that sought to produce other threads with which to weave the mantle of coexistence.

[79] Dadson 2017, p. 289.

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Appendix

Fig. 1. Prints of the Morisco women of Granada in the work *Die Trachtenbuch*, by Christoph Weiditz, Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 22474 (1530-1540). Image from the non-commercial free-use repository <http://dlib.gnm.de/item/Hs22474/249>, 10.08.2017

Fig. 2. View of Granada from 1563, print by Georg Hoefnagel for *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, Liber Primus, 1582 edition, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (GMG/433)

Fig. 3. Anton van der Wyngaerde, Detail of *Vista de Granada*, 1567, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Fig. 4. *Donzelle di Granata*, print by Cesare Vecellio illustrating *Degli Habiti antiqui et moderni de diversi parti del mondo* (1590), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Image at the non-commercial free-use repository <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8446755d/f638.item>, 10.08.2017

Fig. 5. Detail of image of a covered woman in a view of Granada from 1565, engraved by Georg Hoefnagel for *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, Book five: *Contrafactur und beschreibung von den Vornembsten Staten der Belt das Funsste Buch*, Granada, Spain, Biblioteca del Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife

Fig. 6. Drawing in Book I of *Bautizos de la parroquia de Santa María La Alhambra (bautizos entre 1518 y 1570)*, Paper, ink and ink wash, Granada, Spain, Archivo de la Parroquia de San Cecilio. Archbishopric of Granada. Photo: Pepe Marín. Printed with permission

Fig. 7. Print alluding to the baptism of the Moriscos, by Francisco Heylan, early 17th century, Granada, Spain, Museo Casas de los Tiros, ref. CE07998. Printed with permission

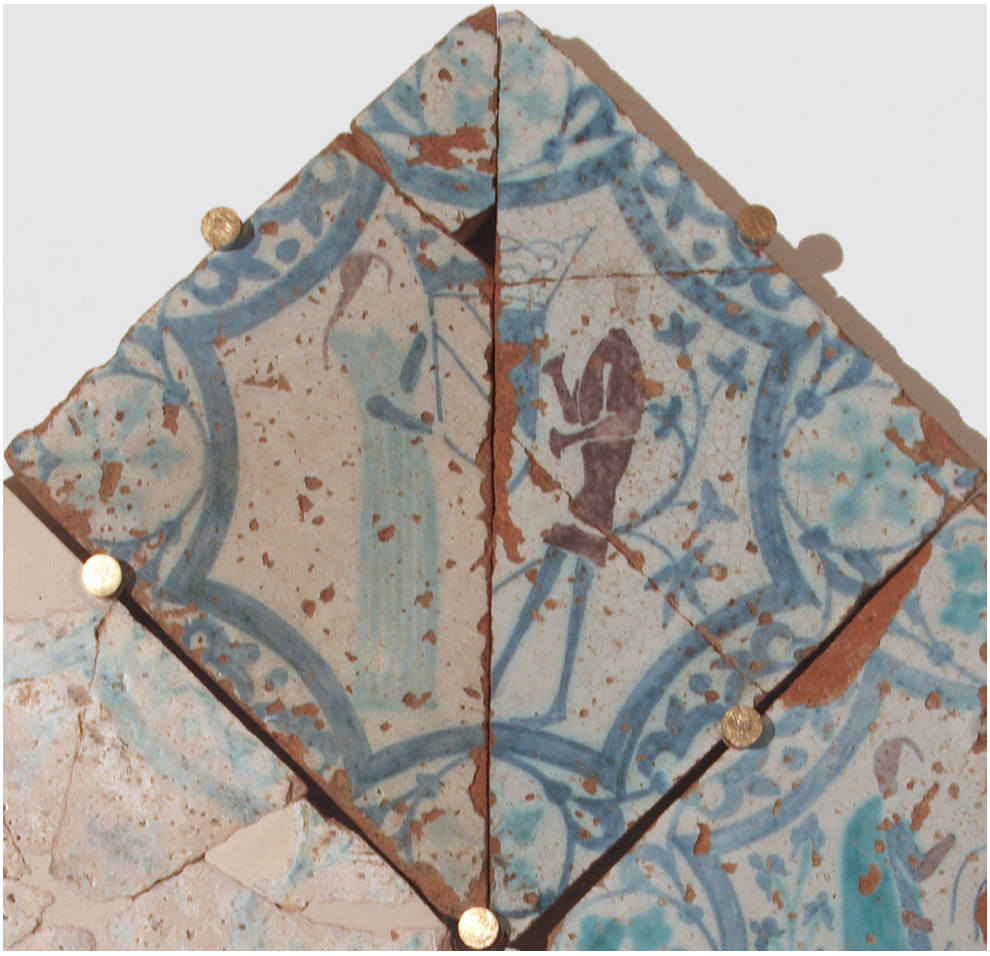

Fig. 8. Fourteenth-century floorwork. Nasrid period, Granada, Spain, Museo de la Alhambra, Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife. Photo: Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife. Printed with permission

Fig. 9. Relief of the baptism of Morisco women on the Altarpiece of the Royal Chapel of Granada, 1520-1522, work by multiple artists, led by Felipe Vigarny. Photo: Archbishopric of Granada. Printed with permission

Fig. 10. Relief of the baptism of Morisco men on the Altarpiece of the Royal Chapel of Granada, 1520-1522, work by multiple artists, led by Felipe Vigarny. Photo: Archbishopric of Granada. Printed with permission

Fig. 11. Figurine of a woman in ceramic glaze, Granada, Spain, Collection of Museo de la Alhambra, Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife, ref. 5056. Height: 17 cm. Photo: María Elena Díez Jorge

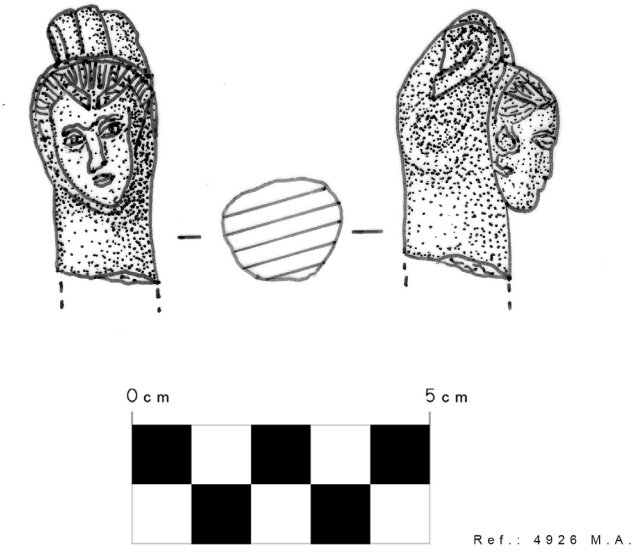

Fig. 12a and 12b. Woman's head, Granada, Spain, Collection of Museo de la Alhambra, Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife, ref. 4926. 4.2 cm high, 2 cm wide and up to 2 cm thick. Photo: María Elena Díez Jorge. Sketch: María Elena Díez Jorge, Ignacio Barrera Maturana

Franco Llopis B., Images of Islam in the Ephemeral Art of the Spanish Habsburgs: an initial approach
«Il Capitale culturale», Supplementi 06 (2017), pp. 87-116
ISSN 2039-2362 (online); ISBN 978-88-6056-553-2
DOI: 10.13138/2039-2362/1693

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

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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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I would like to thank Iván Rega Castro and Cristelle Baskins for their suggestions during the writing of this article. This article is part of the Research Project HAR2016-80354-P, "Before Orientalism: Images of the Muslim in the Iberian Peninsula (15th-17th Centuries) and Mediterranean Connections", PI: Borja Franco Llopis.

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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Čapeta Rakić I., Distinctive features attributed to an infidel. The political propaganda, religious enemies and the iconography of visual narratives in the Renaissance Venice
«Il Capitale culturale», Supplementi 06 (2017), pp. 117-143
ISSN 2039-2362 (online); ISBN 978-88-6056-553-2
DOI: 10.13138/2039-2362/1695

Distinctive features attributed to an infidel. The political propaganda, religious enemies and the iconography of visual narratives in the Renaissance Venice

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Abstract

After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the political debate between the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire intensified, culminating with the War of Cyprus in the second half of the 16th century. At the same time the rise of Lutheranism started to erode Christian Europe from the North. In these times of crisis, the Church did not hesitate to

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This article is part of the Research Project HAR2016-80354-P, "Before Orientalism: Images of the Muslim in the Iberian Peninsula (15th-17th Centuries) and Mediterranean Connections", PI: Borja Franco Llopis.

use all available resources in its battle against infidels. Several Christian monks preached claiming that they had foreseen the triumph of Christians over Muslims. Their words were printed on various pamphlets, leaflets and brochures which were distributed throughout the Venetian territory and beyond. That kind of propaganda was supported and reinforced by visual narratives. In this text, the author analyzes the impact of historical circumstances and of ecclesiastical and political propaganda on the iconography of Renaissance painting in Venice, particularly focusing on how two Venetian painters – Girolamo and Francesco da Santa Croce – responded to those inputs.

Dopo la caduta di Costantinopoli nel 1453, il dibattito politico tra la Repubblica veneta e l'impero ottomano si intensificò, culminando con la guerra di Cipro nella seconda metà del XVI secolo. Allo stesso tempo la diffusione del luteranesimo aveva cominciato a erodere l'Europa cristiana dal Nord. In questi tempi di crisi, la Chiesa non esitò a utilizzare tutte le risorse disponibili nella sua battaglia contro gli infedeli. Diversi monaci cristiani predicarono affermando di aver previsto il trionfo dei cristiani sui musulmani. Le loro parole furono stampate su vari opuscoli, volantini e pamphlet distribuiti in tutto il territorio veneziano e oltre. Tale propaganda fu sostenuta e rafforzata da narrazioni visive. In questo testo, l'autore analizza l'impatto delle circostanze storiche e della propaganda ecclesiastica e politica sull'iconografia della pittura rinascimentale a Venezia, in particolare sul modo in cui due pittori veneti – Girolamo e Francesco da Santa Croce – reagirono a quegli input.

One of the most important iconographic themes of Christianity is the *Adoration of the Magi*. It is an extremely important doctrinal and liturgical event for the Catholic Church since it represents the first acknowledgment of Christ's divine nature, and thus the starting point of Christian faith. By bringing the gifts, the Magi recognized the power of the young Christ King[1]. Although the exact number of the magi has never been specified in the canon[2], it is already from the earliest visual renderings, dating from the 2nd century (in the Catacombs of Priscilla in Rome), that their "basic" iconography was formed and their number established[3]. However, the image of the Oriental magi has changed over time. The most obvious change is their transformation into kings[4], which has later developed into a virtual platform for representation

[1] Prijatelj Pavićić 1998, p. 154.

[2] Matthew 2, 11. For the purpose of this paper, the following edition was used: *Biblija* 2013, p. 1103.

[3] The shaping of the iconography was also affected by apocryphal writings: the Protoevangelium of James, the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, and Evangelium Infantiae Arabicum. Cf. Kehrer 1904, p. 4.

[4] Iconographic transformation of the Oriental Magi into kings was probably influenced by Tertullian, an early Christian writer and apologist (Carthage, around 160 AD – Carthage, around 225/240), who was the first to establish a connection between a part of Matthew's Gospel and the Psalm 71, 10-11 as a prefiguration of the Adoration from the New Testament. This prefiguration was probably not accepted in the iconography before the 8th century, with the earliest examples most likely being those in the mosaics in the Vatican Grottos. In the early 9th century a closer bond was established between the Psalm 71, 10-11 and the adoration of the wise men, which is evident in the illustration of the said psalm from the so-called Stuttgart Psalter, which is kept in Würtembergische Landesbibliothek. Cf. Garrucci 1877, pl. 280, n. 5; Kehrer 1908; Mâle 1978, pp. 66-72.

and propaganda of a broad variety of phenomena: from church and religious doctrines[5], through personal and secular displays, to various other allegorical and political manifestations[6]. Thus, due to contextualization and actualization of the themes of Epiphany and numerous other iconographic themes, it has assumed completely new meanings and conveyed entirely new messages.

Andrea Mantegna (Isola di Carturo, 1431 – Mantua, 1506) played an important role in the process of iconographic transformation of the theme in Italian Renaissance, in particular through his painting the *Adoration of the Magi* which he had painted for the Gonzaga family in Mantua between 1462 and 1470[7]. In this concave rectangular painting, the Virgin Mary and Child are standing in a dark cave surrounded by a *mandorla* of cherubs, while St. Joseph is standing in front of it. Above the cave, four angels are shown from the waist up and among them is a star whose ray descends vertically towards the Christ Child, accentuating the importance of his figure. The left half of the painting features a landscape with a winding road down which a royal procession is travelling descending towards the Holy Family. Following the usual scheme established already in the 6th century (in the mosaics from the Basilica of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna), Mantegna showed the Three Wise Men as representatives of the three ages of man but, to my knowledge, he was the first Italian painter to show them also as representatives of three continents and three different ethnicities[8]. In Mantegna's painting, the first of the Wise Men is shown as an old man with a long white beard. He is kneeling down on one knee and his arms are crossed on his chest. He has already delivered his gift to Christ Child, who is extending His right arm towards him in the gesture of benediction. He is a representative of Europe and Christianity. He is followed by a man of a more mature age, darker complexion and head stubble, with a thick, dark beard. In his left hand he is carrying a gift and is just about to kneel down, while behind him a young wise man, dark-skinned, is already kneeling on the ground. They are representatives of Asia and Africa. The introduction of a dark-skinned man (a black man) in the Adoration of the Magi scene has begun in the late Middle Ages. In Italian art it most likely appeared between 1266 and 1268, on the pulpit made by Nicola Pisano in the cathedral of Siena[9]. At that time, the only role assigned to this figure was that of a servant or companion to the magi. In the European context, the dark-skinned magus appeared around 1360 (probably

[5] Nilgen, Franciscono 1967, pp. 311-316.

[6] It is sufficient to remember the depiction of this theme in the paintings of the Florentine Renaissance, such as the Adoration of the Magi by Gentile da Fabriano (currently kept at the Uffizi Gallery in Florence), Benozzo Gozzoli (Magi Chapel of Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence, 1459-1461) or Botticelli (also kept at the Uffizi, Florence).

[7] The painting is now part of the collection in the Uffizi Gallery Museum in Florence. Cf. Fossi 2004, pp. 112-113.

[8] Kaplan 1985; Carr 1997, p. 64; Kaplan 2005, p. 131; Manca 2006, p. 81; Kaplan 2010, p. 21.

[9] Kaplan 2010, p. 21.

the earliest was his appearance in the *Adoration of the Magi* painting in the Emmaus Monastery in Prague)[10], while it was Andrea Mantegna who introduced it into Italian art in the painting he created for the Gonzaga family. The dark-skinned man representing Africa, as well as the one representing Asia, are both Muslim. Their link to Islam is determined by their headgear – turbans. Although turbans existed long before Mohammad[11], starting from the Middle Ages, for Europeans, people who wore turbans were synonymous with unbelievers and members of Islam[12], even if they wore other items of clothing which could belong to any other entity or be entirely fantastical[13]. This is confirmed by some of the earliest examples in Italian painting, such as the famous Giotto's fresco *Saint Francis Proposing the Trial by Fire to the Sultan* in the Bardi Chapel in Santa Croce, Florence. The Sultan is characterized by his rich garments and a turban surmounted by a crown; a fantastic creation, yet appropriate from an Italian perspective[14]. The Muslim world that encountered Europe in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 15th century consisted not of one dynastic power but two, each with its distinguishing cultural features. In the words of Francesco Filelfo in his letter to Charles VIII from 1451: «Duo sunt infidelium genera… Turci et Sarraceni»[15]. The term 'black Turks' in Venetian and western art derives from the Venetian usage (*turchi mori*)[16]. When examining representations of the black African magus in the visual arts of Italian Renaissance, it is important to remember that physical blackness was usually associated with sin and Otherness and the black Magus is no exception[17]. As Yona Pinson has pointed out, already towards the end of the Middle Ages blackness or swarthiness were perceived as symbols of evil, sin and demonic, and in Renaissance art blacks are mostly associated with heresy and infidelity[18]. Although Yona Pinson points out that not every representation of the black magus should be interpreted as that of an enemy, i.e. an infidel, in Mantegna's case it is rather evident. The dark-skinned representative of Africa as well as the Asian Magus are both Muslims, and there is no doubt that Mantegna intentionally and consciously attributed clear iconographic characteristics of infidels, i.e. of contemporary adversaries of the Catholic Church, to the two magi.

A few years later Mantegna painted another work of art on the same theme, which is now kept in J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles[19]. In comparison

10 Devisse, Mollat 1979, p. 27.

11 It is mentioned by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*: Midas, careful to hide his long ears, wore a purple turban over both, which hid his foul disgrace from laughter (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 180-181).

12 Friedman 2008, pp. 173-191; Mack 2002, p. 152; Madar 2011, p. 159.

13 Kubiski 2001, pp. 161-180.

14 Mack 2002, p. 152.

15 Raby 1982.

16 Kaplan 2011.

17 Kaplan 1985, p. 119.

18 Pinson 1996, pp. 159-175.

19 Carr 1997.

with the previous instance, the theme of the Adoration of the Magi has been reduced to the essentials. The painting, shaped as a horizontal rectangle with a dark, un-defined background depicts Virgin Mary and Child from the waist up. The narrow area in the upper left corner features St. Joseph peeking over the Virgin's shoulder. The three Magi are also depicted from the waist up and identified as representatives of the three ages of man, as well as representatives of three different ethnicities. Andrea Mantegna was the brother-in-law of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, the two most prominent Venetian painters, under whose tutorship two painters from the Santa Croce workshop, Francesco di Simone da Santa Croce (Santa Croce, Val Brembana, c. 1470/75 – Venice, 1508)[20] and Girolamo da Santa Croce (Santa Croce, Val Brembana, c. 1480/85 – Venice, 1556) started their career[21]. They were most likely rather familiar with Mantegna's work, considering that Francesco di Simone da Santa Croce had made the earliest known copy of Mantegna's Adoration, preserved in Getty's Museum[22], while several other similar compositions derived from the same source are attributed to the Santa Croce workshop[23]. Sometime between 1535 and 1545 Girolamo da Santa Croce, whose selected works, together with those of his son Francesco da Santa Croce (Venice, 1516 – Venice, 1584) are the main focus of this paper, realised another painting of the *Adoration of the Magi* (Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, Maryland, fig. 1)[24]. In terms of composition,

[20] So far no archival data have been found to testify to whether Francesco di Simone was Bellini's student. However, in the painting which depicts the Virgin and Child on a throne and two saints, the painter signed his name as FRANCISCUS DE SANTA † D. I. B. 1507 (D.I.B could be interpreted as "discipulus Iohanni Bellini", that is, "student of Giovanni Bellini"). The painting was made for the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, and today it is kept in the church of San Pietro Martire in Murano. Cf. Baccheschi, della Chiesa 1975, p. 497, fig. 506.

[21] The name of Girolamo da Santa Croce is first mentioned in an archival document dated October 20, 1503. On that day he attended the signing of the last will and testament of Maria Trevisan, the second wife of Gentile Bellini. In this document he signed his name as *Ierolimo da maistro Bernardin depentor*. To sign an official document in front of a notary public also meant that the witness had to have been of age, which is why that document is used to establish the possible date of Girolamo's birth. Cf. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Testamenti di Scalla Andrea*, busta 879, n. 243, transcribed according to: Ludwig 1903, p. 8; Fiocco 1916, pp. 11-12; Stradiotti 1975-1976, p. 570; Baccheschi, della Chiesa 1976, p. 5. He is again mentioned in the last will and testament of Gentile Bellini dated February 18, 1507, as a certain disciple named *Hieronimo*, who is presumably Girolamo da Santa Croce. In his last will and testament, Gentile left his own drawings to him and another student for them to share among themselves […] *Item dimitto et dari volo Venture et Hieronimo meis garzonibus mea omnia designa retracta de Roma que inter ipsos equaliter dividantur* […]. Cf. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Sezione Nototarile, Testamenti, Bernardo Cavagnis, notary public, folder 271, n. 352, transcript according to Ludwig 1903, p. 16.

[22] The painting was kept in a Kaiser Frierich Museum in Berlin, and it was destroyed in the 1945 bombing. Cf. Baccheschi, della Chiesa 1975, p. 497, cat. 6 and p. 505, fig. 1; Carr 1997, pp. 72-73.

[23] Baccheschi, della Chiesa 1975, p. 498, cat. 16, and p. 505, fig. 2; Baccheschi, della Chiesa 1976, p. 48, cat. 90; p. 80, fig. 5; p. 80, fig. 7.

[24] The original ubication of the painting is unknown, but in the early 20th century Cavalcaselle stated that it was in the Manfrin collection in Venice. Cf. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1912, p. 447.

this multi-layered painting has no similarities with the previous examples, but they can be examined within the same context due to their content, meaning and iconological interpretation. Virgin Mary and Child and St. Joseph are placed in front of a piece of stone architecture which occupies the right third of the painting, surmounted by exposed wooden eaves. In the background we can see blue skies and a hilly landscape with a path winding through it. Down that path, a royal procession is travelling with horses and camels. Two Wise Men are kneeling before the Virgin and the Child, while the third one is a young, black Magus who is standing and offering his gift. Both Girolamo da Santa Croce and his son Francesco are known to have built their compositions using the principle of addition. It is a sort of 'cocktail' of borrowed figures, arranged in the painting's context, which are literally copied from famous works by other masters or repeated in a slightly altered manner[25]. Thus, Girolamo's *Adoration of the Magi* is also a sort of 'patchwork' based on a number of sources, especially those from the graphic media. Two of Dürer's prints (woodcuts) depicting the *Adoration of the Magi* are important for us, in particular the one created between 1509 and 1511[26] (fig. 2). Although Girolamo did not copy the composition literally, the main model remains recognizable[27]. The piece of architecture in front of which the scene is taking place in the two images is very similar, although Girolamo has reduced it in the upper part, having chosen a horizontal shape for the painting in comparison to the vertical orientation of Dürer's print's composition. In Dürer's print, the scene is taking place within the architectural framework, while Girolamo places his protagonists outside, i.e. in front of it. The arrangement of the Virgin and the Child is largely adopted from the same source, although it is not copied rigorously[28]. However, the most obvious link between the graphical source and the painting can be seen in the figure of the first kneeling Magus. In Girolamo's painting, the head of the old man is somewhat different from its graphical counterpart (in the painting, the old man has taken off his turban and placed it on the ground), but the posture of his body and the folds of the fabric are completely identical. In both Dürer's and Girolamo's works, the first Magus is dressed after the Ottoman fashion. Over a long-sleeved tunic, the old man is wearing a ceremonial kaftan, the

[25] Čapeta Rakić 2011, p. 37.

[26] The second graphical source is a woodcut number 11 taken from the cycle known as the *Seventeen Cuts From the Life of the Virgin*, created between 1501 and 1505. Cf. Kurth 1963, p. 185. It was from this graphical source that Girolamo adopted the idea of placing stone blocks, on which the Virgin and Child are seated, in the lower right corner of the painting, as well as a group of angels holding a cartouche in the upper section of the painting.

[27] It should be noted that, at the time when Girolamo was working on his painting in Venice, there was a certain number of copies of Dürer's prints originating from the *bottega* of Marcantonio Raimondi and the other copyists, which is why Girolamo could have used their prints as well. However, regardless of that fact, the credit for the compositional arrangement belongs to Dürer.

[28] Hans Tietze was the first autor who wrote about correspondences in composition between Girolamo's *Adoration of the Magi* and Dürer's graphics. Cf. Tietze 1941, pp. 88-95, 122.

distinctive item of the oriental costume which has a distinct hierarchical social symbolism[29], although in the painting the fabric of the kaftan can be more closely inspected, thus allowing a more precise iconographical interpretation. It is a luxurious fabric, made of silk and velvet and belonging to the distinct 'a griccia' typological group[30]. This type of silky velvet was produced both in Venetian weaving mills and in those in Bursa, although the latter one was of somewhat different technical execution and poorer in quality[31]. It is therefore inherent to both cultures, the European and the Ottoman, and was equally used to produce luxurious textile items in both East and West[32]. Another example of an Ottoman kaftan similar to the one seen on Girolamo's painting is now kept at the Topkapi Palace Museum in Istanbul (inv. 13/500)[33] (fig. 3). It was made in the 16th century from Venetian silk velvet, which further emphasized its value, considering the fact that in the Ottoman court, textile items made of imported, especially Venetian fabric were seen as exclusive commodities[34]. Kaftans made from luxurious Italian fabrics were reserved for the Ottoman Court only[35]. The Sultan wore them during public ceremonies and diplomatic audiences, and they could also be worn by foreign ambassadors who received them as a gift from a Sultan or by viziers for their loyalty to him[36]. For example,

29 Han 1984, p. 277.

30 «The Renaissance *a griccia* textile pattern is characterized by the motif of a massive trunk twisting diagonally, thereby forming gaps which in turn are filled by thick foliage, flowers and fruit, among which those of the thistle, lotus flowers, pomegranates and pine cones can be identified. Previously, authors believed that the term *a gricce* referred primarily to the motif, while recently it has been pointed out that *griccio* also entails the manner in which the loom was set up. *Griccio* – or *grizze* in the Venetian dialect – is a term which referred to the dominant direction of the pattern on a fabric, according to which the loom had to be set up. Thus, *grizze a camino* refers to a strictly symmetrical, mirror-like arrangement, while *grizze a grizze* denotes a pattern with a diagonal orientation». Quotation from Banić 2011, p. 118. For more information on the typology, Silvija Banić suggests the following titles: De Gennaro, Peri 1985 and D'Avanzo 1981, p. 102. I woud hereby like to thank my colleague Silvija Banić for her considerable assistance with this part of the text.

31 Nurhan *et. al.* 2001, pp. 182-190.

32 Mack 2002 pp. 27-49; Carboni 2007, pp. 187-189; Mackie 2004. For Italian silks made for export to the Ottoman sultans, see: Nurhan *et. al.* 2001, pp. 182-190.

33 Cf. Saule 1999, pp. 96-97; Nurhan *et. al.* 2001, p. 182; Carboni 2007, p. 323; Nurhan *et. al.* 2001, pp. 182-190.

34 This is substantiated by an instance when envoys from Dubrovnik, bearing gifts for the Sultan, tried to pursuade the women from the Ottoman court to replace Venetian satin with the Florentine one, which was less valued and declined with indignation. Cf. Belamarić 2012, p. 413.

35 This is substantiated by the fact that only two ceremonial kaftans from the Topkapi Palace Museum collection in Istanbul were made of velvet manufactured in the ottoman weaving mills. Cf. Nurhan *et. al.* 2001, p. 182.

36 Festal, i.e. ceremonial caftan as a luxurious and costly piece of artistic craftsmanship of Turkish origin often served as a gift offered by the Porte to individuals of foreign nationality, and first of all to diplomatic representatives of European royal courts and governments, then to Christian princes and other members of contemporary high society. Donated caftans were accepted with pleasure and often (re)used in various ways. Festive caftan, in other words, as the sign of the hierarchial social symbolics at the Porte, was often remodelled into vestments for Catholic liturgical celebrations. Cf. Han 1984, p. 287.

tribute emissaries from Dubrovnik, the *oratores tributari* – who brought gifts to the sultan's court in Istanbul in exchange for the freedom of their City – used to put on the kaftans they received as a gift at the beginning of the consignment ceremony. Upon returning to Dubrovnik, the emissaries had to hand the kaftans over to the state authorities, and they were then converted at the government's expense into liturgical vestments and given to the church where they were used to celebrate the holy mass[37].

However, sultans and members of the court wore ceremonial surkaftans with long decorative pendant sleeves over the short-sleeve kaftans underneath, which were closed with matching-color buttons[38]. What we see in Girolamo's painting is actually a surkaftan, which is why there is no doubt that Girolamo consciously and intentionally painted the Wise Man as a high-ranking member of the Ottoman court. This is further substantiated by the piece of headgear which, as a sign of respect for Mary and the Child, the magus has placed on the ground. It is a turban made of white cloth folded and curled around the red cap (*tãj*), a kind of turban which was introduced to the Ottoman court by Mehmed II, later to become a recognizable Ottoman attribute. Sometimes, as in this example, the end of the white cloth (*'adhaba*)[39] was left to trail freely from and behind the turban[40].

Both Dürer's prints depicting the *Adoration of the Magi* theme were made in the early 16th century, after his sojourns in Venice. There the German painter had an insight into the appearance of Oriental figures, most likely thanks to their presence in the works of Gentile Bellini[41] and other Venetian masters[42]. He is also one of the first of many German artists to use images of the Turk directly in biblical scenes, attributing them various iconographic roles[43].

It is therefore very curious that Girolamo, as a Venetian painter and a student of Gentile Bellini, relied on secondary sources to depict the Ottomans in his

[37] Also interesting is the state ceremony of preparing the tribute emissaries for their mission. The emissaries and their entourage were 'invested' at holy mass held at the cathedral; after which they would move in a slow and dignified horseback procession through the crowd gathered in the city and bow before the Rector and the members of the Small Council, as well as before the church of St. Blaise. They were also accompanied by a chaplain, and according to the lore, on their way to Constantinople the emmissaries from Dubrovnik also carried a small portable altar with a truly fitting depiction of the Adoration of the Magi. Cf. Belamarić 2012, p. 416; Prijatelj Pavičić 1998, p. 154.

[38] Mackie 2004, p. 221.

[39] For the definition of the term *'adhaba* see: Bearman *et al.* 2012.

[40] Portraits of Mehmed II the Conqueror are preserved, showing both types of turbans. Cf., for example, Campbell, Chong 2006, pp. 78-79, cat. n. 23.

[41] This hypothesis is further substantiated by Dürer's drawing *Three Turks Wearing Long Coats and Turbans*, dated between 1495 to 1500. The drawing is based on three figures in the background of Gentile Bellini's painting, *Corpus Christi Procession in the Piazza San Marco*, signed and dated 1496 (today in Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice). The drawing is kept in the British Museum in London. Cf. Madar 2011, p. 160.

[42] Raby 1982, p. 25.

[43] Madar 2011, pp. 155-183; Colding Smith 2016, p. 36.

paintings. It is even more curious that the same iconographic pattern was also adopted by Girolamo's son Francesco da Santa Croce, in his work depicting the same theme, which is now kept at the Museo Borgogna in Vercelli, as well as Girolamo's grandson Pietro Paolo da Santa Croce (Venice ? – Venice, 1620) in the painting kept in the Basilica of st. Anthony of Padua[44]. If we want to consider the appearance of the Magi / Muslims in these paintings of Renaissance masters in the context of historical, religious and political circumstances of the time, we will see that the years immediately preceding the creation of the first of Mantegna's paintings, the *Adoration of the Magi* for the Gonzaga family, were marked by the efforts of Pope Pius II to gather the European rulers in Mantua in order to prompt them to wage a defensive war against the Ottomans, and by his attempt to launch a crusade against the Ottomans[45]. Such ideas gained even more ground after the fall of Constantinople in 1453; an event which had a particular impact on Rome and Venice. The Pope's fruitless efforts resulted in an offer to the Ottoman sultan promising him the title of Roman Emperor in exchange for his conversion to Christianity[46]. In the eyes of the Catholics, the triumph of the Church over Islam would have been accomplished only through the conversion of the Sultan and his empire to Christianity. Such an idea was not a novelty. It originated back in the 13th century, when Pope Innocent III predicted the fall of Islam six hundred sixty six years after its emergence, as well as the Second Coming of Christ which was supposed to take place in 1284. In order to pave the way for this eschatological event, the Muslims of the Middle East would have to be converted to Christianity[47]. A similar climate continued in the centuries to come. In the 15th and 16th century the prophecy and propaganda of the conversion of Muslims and the fall of Islam found its support in new visual narratives and in interpretations of the existing ones. At the time, it was believed that certain scenes in the mosaics of St. Mark's Basilica in Venice contained hidden prophecies related to the future of Venice[48]. Such iconography of works of art was reinforced by prophecies written by several Christian apologists and preachers. Their words were printed on various pamphlets, leaflets and brochures and distributed throughout the Venetian territory and beyond[49]. At the beginning of the 16th century, more precisely in 1509 a monk, Pietro Nanni, preached in Venice. He predicted that, after losing all their dominion due to their sins, the Venetians would regain their territorial possessions after a 'flagellation' of two and a half years. Nanni also said «Il Turcho si fará Christian» (the Ottoman will become a Christian)[50]. During

44 Čapeta Rakić 2011, pp. 38-40.
45 Prijatelj Pavičić 1998, p. 68.
46 Jezernik 2010, p. 4.
47 Cutler 1970, p. 95.
48 Sansovino 1604, p. 58.
49 Preto 1975, pp. 67-91.
50 Deny 1936, pp. 201-220; Setton 1992, pp. 18-19. Preto 1975, pp. 67-91.

those years, another priest was present in Venice: Paolo Angelo, a refugee who had fled from the Ottoman Albania, the author of several prophetic texts in which Ottomans and Protestants were represented as the most dangerous enemies of Christianity[51]. Prompted by the failure of the Ottomans in Vienna in 1529 and due to the fact that the previous prophecies had not come true, in 1534 *De eversion Europae Prognosticon* was printed[52]. The publication had a great reception. It was printed in several editions during the 16th and 17th century and has been translated into several languages including German, French and English[53]. The author claimed that the Venetians would succumb to the Turkish assault. But Christ would ultimately reconcile the Christians; all of Europe was going to respond with a vast crusade overseas. Victory would attend the crusaders' arms, and would affect the conversion of Turks to Christianity. The Ottoman Empire and the Holy Roman Empire would be united under a single emperor. Muslims and Jews would receive Christian baptism[54]. This was supposed to occur in 1538. Instead of that, the Third Ottoman-Venetian War broke out. Precisely at that time, two other Venetian prophetic brochures were printed, one in 1538 and the other in 1542, whose task, according to Bataillon, was to offer hope and consolation to Christian troops in battle[55].

I believe that Girolamo's painting was created in this period, i.e. between 1535 and 1545, during his most productive and most creative phase. For Christians, the black magus and the magus shown as a Muslim who came to bow before the Christ Child offered faith in the triumph of the cross over the crescent moon[56] and the victory of true faith over heresy. Behind the main scene in Girolamo's painting we can see multiple other figures among which we can recognize a few Ottomans. They are all there as witnesses, present at the time of the conversion of the Muslim and his recognition of Christ's divine nature. Angels are holding a scroll with an inscription from Luke's Gospel: GLORIA. IN / ALTISIMI / DEO / ET IN TERA / PASE FRAGIL / OMENI (Glory to God in Heaven and Peace to Men on Earth), which can certainly be linked to the political situation of the time.

51 Preto 1975, pp. 67-91.

52 Although it is assumed that the manuscript dates from a bit earlier, there are no known editions prior to 1534. Cf. Ernst 2005, pp. 635-646.

53 Setton 1992 p. 25.

54 Cf. Setton 1992, p. 26.

55 Bataillon 1966, p. 461; Preto 1975, pp. 72-73.

56 In the woodcut of the *Adoration* by Albrecht Dürer, dated between 1501-1505, even the banners which the soldiers carry are Ottoman; one is decorated with the crescent and star. The crescent was not identified with Islam until the appearance of the Osmanli Turks, whilst on the other hand there is the clearest evidence that at the time of the Crusades and long before, the crescent moon and star were the regular insignia of Byzantium and the Byzantine emperors, some of whom placed it on their coins. It is held by some that the Ottoman Turks adopted the crescent moon and the star symbol from Byzantium after their occupation of Northern Asia Minor, whilst others hold that they did started employing it after the capture of Constantinople in 1453. Moreover, there is evidence that the crescent with a star or stars is much older than the Byzantine empire in the Aegean world. Cf. Ridgeway 1908, pp. 241-258; Raby 1982, p. 25.

The topic of the conversion of Muslims to Christianity is also featured in the famous epic *Orlando Furioso* written in the early 16th century by Ludovico Ariosto (Reggio Emilia, September 8, 1474 – Ferrara, July 6, 1533). It would be far too impractical to discuss such a complex literary work here, but there are several segments of the plot which are interesting for us. Those are, first and foremost, the conflicts between Christians and Saracens (which took place in the 9th century, during the reign of Charlemagne), and the love between a Christian woman, the Frankish warrior Bradamante, and the Saracen warrior Ruggiero, whose irreconcilable religious divide is bridged by his conversion from Islam to Christianity[57]. The motif of the conversion of Ruggiero and his sister Marfisa is crucial for the interpretation of Ariosto's perception of Saracens, as the author expresses his attitude not only towards the Saracen faith, but indirectly also towards the contemporary Ottoman beliefs. This was emphasized by Pia Schwarz Lausten, who pointed out that in the 16th century, under the influence of Classical culture, the medieval perception of Saracens as infidels, heretics and enemies of the true faith was gradually replaced by the image of Ottomans as a paradigm of an uncivilized, barbaric people[58]. A similar idea is also present in the visual narratives inspired by the epic, which we would like to highlight here. The first illustrated edition of Ariosto's epic was printed in Venice in 1530 by the publisher Nicolò d'Aristotile called Zoppino, who also printed the extended edition with forty six cantos illustrated with forty six woodcuts in 1536[59]. As was already said by Andrea Canova, those illustrations depict battle or court scenes as general motifs which could have served for any chivalric romance[60]. Thus Caneparo, Pezzini, Rizzarelli and Urbaniak recognize the woodcuts printed to accompany Zoppino's edition of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* of 1536 in the illustrations of Aretino's *Tre primi canti di Marfisa*, also printed by Zoppino in 1535 in Venice[61]. The second illustrated edition of *Orlando*

[57] Apart from Ruggiero, five other Muslims are converted to Christianity: Marfisa, Sobrino, Clorinda, Sansonetto and Brandimarte. Cf. Donnelly 1977, pp. 162-170; Schwarz Lausten 2014, pp. 261-286.

[58] It was Pia Schwarz Lausten who pointed out the allusions to contemporary political developments in Ariosto's epic, although she did not focus on interpreting visual representations, but rather examined the issue exclusively through the literary medium. Cf. Schwarz Lausten 2014, pp. 261-286.

[59] Stéphane Lojkine claims that none of the editions published in Ariosto's lifetime were illustrated, but this was disproved by Federica Caneparo, Serena Pezzini, Giovanna Rizzarelli and Martyna Urbaniak, having published preliminary results of their research. This research was conducted within the scientific research project called *L'Orlando Furioso e la sua fortuna figurativa. Ricerche per un archivio digitale di parole e immagini*. The project is managed by Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi, and implemented by the Università degli Studi di Pisa – Storia delle arti. Compare with: <http://sites.univ-provence.fr/pictura/Arioste/AriosteEditions.php>, 03.01.2011. Their previous research was published on: <http://www.ctl.sns.it/furioso/apps_v3/mastro_furioso/intro.phtml>, 27.12.2010.

[60] Canova 2003, p. 110.

[61] Cf. <http://www.ctl.sns.it/furioso/apps_v3/mastro/mastro.php#x1>, 27.12.2010.

Furioso was also published in Venice in 1542 by the publisher Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari[62]. This edition must have left an impression on Giorgio Vasari, as he described it in the following manner: «Non furono anco se non lodevoli le figure che Gabriel Giolito stampatore de' libri, mise negl'Orlandi Furiosi, perció che furono condotte con bella maniera d'intagli»[63]. The author of the prints is unknown. However, they represent a significant departure from the previous edition, visible in the elegantly shaped figures which are printed by means of relief printing technique, while the difference which is particularly important for our topic is the change in the visual narration of certain themes with regard to the previous edition. Indeed, in Zoppino's edition, the African king Agramante, leader of the Saracens, was depicted as any other European king wearing a crown on his head, while in Giolito's edition from 1542 he exhibits the traits of an Ottoman in the illustration accompanying the Canto XXXVIII[64]. Particularly important for us is the fourth, illustrated edition of Ariosto's epic which was first published in 1556 by the Venetian publisher Vincenzo Valgrisi[65], seen that the xylographies from that edition were used by Francesco da Santa Croce as sources for his three paintings depicting themes from *Orlando Furioso*[66]. One of the three paintings, which is now kept in a private collection in Macclesfield (sold by Christie's auction house in 2009), is a visual representation of scenes from the Canto XIV of Ariosto's epic. The protagonists are Agramante, the king of Saracens, Rodomonte, the king of Sarza and Algiers, and Mandricardo, the son of the Tatar king and the lover of Doralice (fig. 4). On the left side of the painted composition, Agramante is sitting with his entourage greeting the army troops, including the one of king Rodomonte whose army is besieging the city of Paris (Canto XIV, 25-26). The figures from the vertically oriented composition of the print, which features a selection of scenes from the following canto (fig. 5), were arranged by Francesco on his horizontally oriented painting surface. While the unknown author of the xylography attributes a somewhat fantastical appearance to the character of Agramante, with merely a hint at his belonging to the Muslim world (turban on his head), Francesco's rendering of Agramante, and his entourage in particular, is more explicitly that of the contemporary Ottomans. It is difficult to say when

[62] This edition has been re-published numerous times, dating from 1542 to 1603. Venetian libraries (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Fondazione Querini Stampalia) still keep a total of fourteen Giolito's editions printed between 1536 and 1559. Editions printed before 1542 contain no illustrations. The complete 1542 edition is available in digital form at <http://www.ctl.sns.it/furioso/apps_v3/mastro/mastro.php#x1>, 23.10.2017.

[63] Vasari 2003, p. 852.

[64] Ariosto 1542.

[65] A complete digital edition is available at <http://bibliotecadigital.fl.ul.pt/ULFL036841/ULFL036841_item1/P1.html>, 22.12.2010.

[66] Two paintings are currently kept in a private collection in Macclesfield, while the third one is in the Columbus Museum of Art. I wrote about the attribution of those paintings to Francesco da Santa Croce in 2012. See: Čapeta Rakić 2012, pp. 130-137.

Francesco's painting was made, considering the fact that it was neither signed nor dated, and it is also unknown who the commissioner was. It certainly must have been made between 1556 and 1584, and one cannot but wonder whether the siege of Paris might be a reference to the events which took place in Cyprus in 1570.

Current circumstances of the historical moment in question can be used to interpret another painting by Francesco, the *Flagellation of Christ*, which is kept in the Venetian Galleria dell Accademia[67] (fig. 6). Much like Girolamo's *Adoration of the Magi*, this painting was also made by collaging various Dürer's prints borrowed from the cycles known as *The Large Passion* (1497-1500), *Small Passion* (1511), and *The Engraved Passion* (1507-1512). The scene takes place in an interior in the middle of which there is a marble pillar. Tethered by ropes to the pillar is Christ, completely naked save for his hips which are covered with a white cloth. Two executioners are flicking their whips at him. They are a reference to Dürer's executioners from the *Flagellation of Christ* scene (*Small Passion*, sheet 17). In Francesco's painting, the third executioner has put down his bundle of sticks and, having removed his headgear, is kneeling on the ground. He is derived from the *Mocking of Christ* print (*Small Passion*, sheet 14), but in the painted version the explicit gesture of the executioner's right hand was changed. While in Durer's print he is making a fig sign, wherein the thumb is thrust between the middle and index fingers in a derisive gesture (which was used already by Dante in his *Divine Comedy*)[68], in the painting the executioner has put two fingers into his mouth, clearly mocking Christ by whistling at him[69]. The right side of the painting features a group of three men who are observing the scene and commenting on it among themselves. One man is seen in the foreground. He is shown in profile; beneath a pointy headgear, only his nose and a long brown beard are jutting out[70]. In the background we can see an older, grey-bearded figure, who is pointing with his right index finger to the central scene, while his head is turned towards his interlocutor. Behind him is a man whose facial features (exaggerated nose and beard) border on a caricature. He is also wearing a piece of pointy brown headgear with a frontlet[71]. The external characteristics of these men (their clothes, pointy headgear, frontlet, exaggerated nose physiognomy…) as well as the roles assigned to them, define them as Jewish servants and villainous onlookers. On

67 The painting was originally from the Venetian church of San Severo. Cf. Fiocco 1916, p. 19; Bacceschi, della Chiesa, 1976, p. 38.

68 «Al fine delle sue parole il ladro / le mani alzó con ambeduo le fiche, / gridando: Togli, Dio, ché a te le squadro»: Dante Alighieri, *Inferno*, XXV, 1-4.

69 Francesco adopted the gesture from another Dürer's print, i.e. from a woodcut from the *Large Passion* cycle: number 3, *Flagellation of Christ* (1497).

70 This figure can be found on the right side of the *Christ on the Cross* woodcut from the *Small Passion* cycle (sheet 24).

71 He was 'borrowed' by Francesco from Dürer's print *St. Peter and St. John Healing the Cripple*, from the *Engraved Passion* cycle (sheet 16).

the left side of Francesco's painting is an elevated throne on which Pontius Pilate is sitting, flanked on each side by two men. Here Francesco has again resorted to collaging Durer's figures. It is most likely that he combined two prints depicting the same theme – that of *Pilate Washing His Hands* (*Small Passion*, sheet 20[72] and the *Engraved Passion*, sheet 9, fig. 7), but in doing so, he has conducted an iconographic metamorphosis. Francesco's Pilate is a high-ranking Ottoman official (a sultan?) who, just like Girolamo's magus, is wearing a luxurious ceremonial kaftan made of silk and dark blue velvet with the "a griccio" pattern. His advisor standing on his left is also a member of the Ottoman court. Francesco's awareness of specific ranks associated with Islamic costumes allowed him to create a hierarchy among figures[73]. Christ before Pilate represents the moment when Christ is sentenced to flagellation and crucifixion, and seen through the prism of Christian iconography it also identifies those responsible for his death. The responsibility was attributed equally to the Roman prefect and the Jewish Sanhedrin, which is the topic of numerous theological debates. Dürer's Pilate is washing his hands. This episode is mentioned only in Matthew's Gospel (Matthew, 27, 24), wherein Pilate is saying as follows: «I am innocent of the blood of this righteous man». Despite that, Dürer confers to him the traits of a contemporary infidel, while Francesco, having left out the hand-washing motif, undoubtedly and explicitly assigns Pilate the role of a villain. In the foreground of the painting, next to Pilate's throne, two other male figures are standing. They are dressed after the European fashion. We identify them as a German soldier and probably a German merchant. The German soldier is taken from Dürer's *Ecce Homo* composition which forms a part of the *The Large Passion* cycle (sheet 4)[74]. The same German soldier was also included in the large painting of the *Crucifixion*, which is now kept in the Sala Capitolare of Scuola Grande di San Marco in Venice[75] (fig. 8). The painting is a collaboration between Girolamo and Francesco da Santa Croce made in the mid-16th century[76]. Christ crucified on the cross is shown in the central axis of the composition. In accordance with all four Gospels, he is flanked by two thieves. A tearful Mary Magdalene is embracing the Cross of Christ while the Virgin Mary is seated unconsciously on the ground. She is supported by Saint

[72] In this print, Pilate is wearing a Mamluk outfit. In comparison with the Ottoman attire, this one is primarily distinguished by a turban. Although there are several types of turbans in the Mamluk culture, their common trait is that they were 'high-rising' with vertical, rather than horizontal folds of contemporary Ottoman turbans, and unlike the latter they were never wound around a *tāj*. Cf. Raby 1982, p. 40.

[73] Carboni 2007, p. 304.

[74] Professor Hans Ankwicz first noted that the German soldier was taken from Dürer's prints. Cf. Ankwicz 1905, pp. 127-134.

[75] The painting was originally created for the Monastery of San Giorgio in Alga in Venice. Cf. Čapeta Rakić 2017, pp. 9-23.

[76] Previously, literature has usually attributed the painting to Alvise di Donato. Cf. Čapeta Rakić 2017, pp. 9-23.

John and the holy women. In the crowded composition we can also recognize Longinus the Centurion on horseback, while Stephaton the sponge-bearer has joined a group of Roman soldiers who are sitting on the ground throwing dice to decide who shall receive Christ's seamless robe. An entire series of other figures participate in this allegorical Crucifixion, in which political and religious iconography has fused the contemporary enemies with well-known biblical and hagiographic villains by giving them visibly distinctive features which could be attributed to infidels. Followers of Islam, as we have seen so far, have been empirically identified with the Ottomans and the Ottoman army, and in the painting they are marked by turbans and the flag. The flag which can be seen on the left side of the painting is particularly interesting. It is divided into two horizontal stripes. The top bar bears the acronym SPQR while the bottom stripe bears a symbol composed of three crowns. In the second half of the 15th century, three crowns became symbols of the territory conquered by Mehmed II (Asia, Empire of Trebizond and Greece), and therefore symbols of the Ottoman Empire. We can see them on the medal of Mehmed II which was designed by Gentile Bellini, as well as in his portrait of the Ottoman emperor[77]. From one of the towers in the fortified Jerusalem, which was seized by the Ottomans in 1517, one Ottoman soldier is also waving a red flag with three crowns. Some soldiers are carrying the Holy Roman Empire flag. Here we should remember once again the sentence from the *De eversion Europae Prognosticon*: «The Ottoman Empire and the Holy Roman Empire would be united under a single emperor», and this emperor is Christ himself. Therefore, references to contemporary and recent historical events in the painting are unmistakable. This painting, too, abounds in references to Dürer's prints from the *Large Passion* cycle, but we shall focus on just a few: the blue-clad horseman on the left side of the painting can also be seen on the right side of Dürer's *Crucifixion* (sheet 6); the hatted figure wearing a green tunic and turned with his back towards the observer was 'borrowed' from the *Arrest of Jesus* print (sheet 10); and the boy below the cross of the thief on the right can also be seen in the *Ecce Homo* print (sheet 4).

In the context of this topic, which discusses the representation of Ottomans as biblical villains in the works of the Santa Croce workshop, we also need to emphasize their presence in iconographic themes which involve martyrdoms of Christian saints. In effect, Roman emperor Licinius, who sentenced St. Blaise to martyrdom, is also shown in Girolamo's painting *Martyrdom of Saint Blaise* (Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool) as wearing a turban, as well as the Roman prefect who condemned St. Lawrence to death in the painting representing the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri, fig. 9)[78]. The person stoking the grill under the Christian martyr

[77] Cf. Campbell, Chong 2006, pp. 74-75, 78-79, cat. n. 19, 20, 23. For the three crowns on Mehmed II's portraits, see Karabacek 1918, pp. 48-49.

[78] The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, Missouri.

is also shown as a Muslim in the event which involves a number of other witnesses wearing turbans[79].

The works of the Santa Croce workshop, painted by means of anachronistic method, are consistent with the circumstances of their age, combining the visual narratives and iconography of visual works of art with the propaganda of Christian faith and politics in the fight against the heretics and enemies of the time. Such atmosphere is further reinforced in post-Tridentine iconography in which peoples of other ethnicities attest to the supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church and the global expansion of the Gospel[80].

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[79] The painting with the theme of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence attributed to Girolamo da Santa Croce is also kept in the gallery Gemäldegalerie in Dresden. The one attributed to Francesco is located in Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte in Naples. Cf. Baccheschi, della Chiesa 1976, p. 38.

[80] Cvetnić 2010, p. 153.

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Appendix

Fig. 1. Girolamo da Santa Croce, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1535-1545, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Museum

Fig. 2. Albrecht Dürer, *Adoration of the Magi*, woodcut, c. 1509-1511

Fig. 3. Kaftan made of Italian velvet, 16th century, Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Museum, inv. n. 13/500

Fig. 4. Francesco da Santa Croce, Visual representation of scenes from the Canto XIV of Ariosto's epic Orlando Furioso, private collection in Macclesfield

Fig. 5. Sixteenth Century Xylograph, Visual representation of scenes from the Canto XIV of Ariosto's epic Orlando Furioso, Venetia: appresso Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1562

Fig. 6. Francesco da Santa Croce, *Flagellation of Christ*, Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia

Fig. 7. Albrecht Dürer, *Pilate Washing His Hands*, The Engraved Passion, sheet 9

Fig. 8. Girolamo and Francesco da Santa Croce, *Crucifixion*, Venice, Sala Capitolare of Scuola Grande di San Marco

Fig. 9. Girolamo da Santa Croce (attr.), *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, Kansas City, Missouri, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art

Stagno L., Triumphing over the Enemy. References to the Turks as part of Andrea, Giannettino and Giovanni Andrea Doria's artistic patronage and public image
«Il Capitale culturale», Supplementi 06 (2017), pp. 145-188
ISSN 2039-2362 (online); ISBN 978-88-6056-553-2
DOI: 10.13138/2039-2362/1709

Triumphing over the Enemy. References to the Turks as part of Andrea, Giannettino and Giovanni Andrea Doria's artistic patronage and public image

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Abstract

Andrea Doria (1466-1560) and later his heir, Giovanni Andrea I (1540-1606), were "generals of the sea" for the Spanish crown, and in that capacity engaged in a long-term effort to contain and defeat the Ottoman enemies. Ariosto, in his *Orlando Furioso*, celebrated Andrea as a new and greater Pompey, who made the Mediterranean safe from the "pirates" in its every part, and many other contemporary authors exalted his feats against the Turks. This paper aims to investigate how this role translated into images, with reference to Andrea, but also to his second-in-command and designated heir Giannettino (who was killed in the 1547 Fieschi conspiracy), and to the latter's son Giovanni Andrea, who, because

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This article is part of the Research Project HAR2016-80354-P, "Before Orientalism: Images of the Muslim in the Iberian Peninsula (15th-17th Centuries) and Mediterranean Connections", PI: Borja Franco Llopis.

of his father's premature death, became Andrea's successor. Works of art commissioned by the Dorias include references to Turks in such diverse contexts as "all'antica" sculptures and plaquettes, the depiction of the Battle of Lepanto in a narratively articulated series of six large tapestries, and the celebration of the passage of power from Andrea to Giovanni Andrea in a complex allegorical composition. The approach of the two Dorias to the theme was different: mediated by classical references in the case of the emperor's admiral, more explicit in that of his heir. The earliest, most direct representation of the defeated Turks at Andrea's feet, however, originated outside the family patronage, in the context of the public commission of an honorific portrait statue.

Andrea Doria (1466-1560) e in seguito il suo erede, Giovanni Andrea I (1550-1606), quali "generali del mare" per la corona spagnola, ebbero un ruolo cruciale nella strategia a lungo termine di lotta contro il nemico turco e di contenimento del suo potere. Ariosto, nel suo Orlando Furioso, celebrò Andrea come nuovo e più glorioso Pompeo, in grado di liberare il mare dai corsari ottomani, e numerosi altri testi coevi ne esaltarono le gesta contro il Turco. Scopo dell'articolo è quello di indagare in che modo tale ruolo si sia tradotto in termini di rappresentazione figurativa, in riferimento al grande ammiraglio, ma anche al suo luogotente ed erede designato, Giannettino (ucciso nel corso della congiura dei Fieschi, nel 1547) e del figlio di questi, Giovanni Andrea, che appunto in ragione della morte prematura del padre succedette al grande ammiraglio. Tra le commissioni artistiche dei Doria si riscontrano riferimenti al nemico turco in statue e placchette, nell'articolata serie di arazzi dedicati alla battaglia di Lepanto, ma anche nella complessa raffigurazione allegorica del passaggio del potere dal vecchio principe al giovane erede. Il tipo di approccio al tema risulta però diverso: mediato da riferimenti classici e simbolici nel caso di Andrea, più diretto in quello del successore. In parallelo al patronage dei due Doria ha un ruolo di grande importanza la committenza della Repubblica genovese, alla quale si legano le prime iconografie che presentano in modo esplicito il trionfo di Andrea sugli Ottomani.

«Questo è quel Doria che fa dai pirati
Sicuro il vostro mar per tutti i lati.
Non fu Pompeio a par di costui degno,
Se ben vinse e cacciò tutti i corsari»[1].

Thus Ludovico Ariosto presented Andrea Doria in the 1532 edition of his *Orlando Furioso*, defining the admiral's figure by his victories on the Ottoman "pirates" and comparing him favourably to Pompey, who had freed the Mediterranean from corsairs in ancient times[2].

Ludovico Dolce later proposed the same concepts in the sonnet opening Andrea's first biography by Lorenzo Capelloni (1562), writing «Né fu Pompeo

[1] «This is that famous Doria / Who makes your sea safe from pirates on all sides / Not even Pompey was as worthy as he is, / Though he defeated and drove out all the corsairs»: Ariosto 1532, XV, vv. 30-31.

[2] The parallel between Andrea Doria and Pompey is analyzed in Gorse 1995, pp. 259-260 and Gorse 2016, pp. 14-15. On references to Andrea Doria in the Orlando Furioso, see B.M. Savy, catalogue entry 76, in Beltramini, Tura 2016, p. 196.

di maggior gloria cinto dell'invitto Doria»[3]. Andrea – Dolce asserted – had made every fierce, barbarous heart tremble and defeated Barbarossa, so that his name would live forever while the «impious Scythian» (as the Turk is called here, in reference to its barbarian ancestors: «la nation de' Turchi senza dubbio alcuno ha l'origine sua da scythi»[4], Giovio observed) was left to sigh and cry, confronted with the extinction of all memories of his feats. In the meantime, Pietro Aretino, in the same letter of July 1541 in which he advanced his fortunate image of Andrea as Neptune – destined to become a standard reference for visual celebration, too – had called Doria «flagello della insolenza infedele», the scourge of infidel insolence[5].

It is quite clear, from these few examples, that in reference to Andrea, emperor Charles V's «general of the sea»[6], the Turks (using the term in its 16th century broad sense)[7] were unambiguously typecast as the enemy on whose containment and defeat Doria's fame largely rested, as Andrea's biographies by Capelloni and Sigonio, which chronicle his battles and clashes with the Ottoman forces, confirm[8]; and, on a lesser scale, the same applies to his designated successor Giannettino, whose promising but brief career was interrupted by his murder during the Fieschi conspiracy (1547)[9], as well as to the latter's son Giovanni Andrea I, who was Andrea's main heir and in 1583 gained the position of admiral of the Mediterranean fleet for Philip II (having previously commanded the right wing of the Christian fleet at Lepanto)[10].

The main object of this paper is to investigate if and how, for the three of them, this literarily celebrated role of champions in the fight against the Muslim enemy translated into visual imagery.

[3] «Pompey was not crowned with greater glory than undefeated Doria»: *Sonetto del signor Ludovico Dolce in lode del prencipe Andrea Doria*, in Capelloni 1562.

[4] «The Turkish nation draws its origin from the Scythians, without a doubt» (Giovio 1535, p. 3).

[5] Pietro Aretino, *A lo immortale Andrea Doria* (Venice, July 13th, 1541), in *Il secondo libro* 1609, p. 215.

[6] The vast bibliography on Andrea Doria's figure and political role includes: Grendi 1979, pp. 91-121 (later published in Grendi 1987, pp. 139-172); Lingua 1984; Grendi 1992, pp. 264-274; Pacini 1999; Lo Basso 2003, particularly pp. 267-272; Pacini 2007, pp. 409-435; Graziani 2008; Carpentier 2013a; Airaldi 2015.

[7] In early modern Italy, the term "Turks" referred not only to those who belonged to the Turkish ethnic community and state, but to all Ottomans, including Barbary corsairs; in fact, to all Muslims of any ethnic origin except the black inhabitants of Northern Africa, called "Mori" (Moors). See Formica 2012, p. 17. The term was often used in the singular ("il Turco"), to signify the perceived unity of the Ottoman "other" (*ivi*, p. 10). In this paper, "Turk(s)" and "Turkish" are therefore used in the same generic way.

[8] Capelloni 1562 (and later editions); Sigonio 1586 (later translated into Italian by Pompeo Arnolfini: Sigonio 1598). Capelloni also authored an encomiastic address to celebrate Andrea's conquest of the city of Africa (Capelloni 1550).

[9] On Giannettino Doria, see Cavanna Ciappina 1992, pp. 341-345; Bernabò 2008, pp. 43-49. Andrea Doria had no children of his own: hence his adoption of Giannettino, a first cousin's son, and then of Giannettino's son, Giovanni Andrea, as his main heirs.

[10] On Giovanni Andrea I Doria, see: Bracco 1960; Savelli 1989; Savelli 1992; *Vita del Principe* 1997; Borghesi 1999; Lo Basso 2003, *passim*; Borghesi 2008; Carpentier 2013b; Lomas Cortés 2013; Carpentier, Priotti 2015.

Before doing that, though, it is useful to emphasize that Genoese art – an almost uncharted territory from this point of view[11], as opposed, for instance, to the well-studied Venetian context – comprises a wealth of images of Ottomans which cannot all be inserted in a binary discourse of direct opposition between local Christian identity and infidel threat, but rather concur to present "otherness" in a more complex and multi-faceted way[12]. Images of Turks surface in early modern Genoa in a variety of contexts, with different roles and purposes. They appear in religious scenes, by means of the well-known translation mechanism by which the old enemies – typically, the Jews and the Romans persecuting Christ, as well as the first martyrs' pagan tormentors – came to be represented with the characters of the new ones, the Ottomans[13]; but also as symbols of attractive exoticism or general remoteness in time and space, often linked to Old Testament episodes[14]. Classical figures of chained "captivi" with Turkish attributes recur in frescoes, sometimes on palaces' façades for maximum impact[15], but a series of etchings by Cornelis De Wael realistically presents, with no hints of condemnation, Muslim slaves' everyday life in the city, from their work in the port to their performance of basic dentistry[16]. A portrait of 17th century aristocrat Gio Agostitino Durazzo in "alla Turchesca" apparel and a series of paintings (most of them now lost) celebrating his diplomatic missions to the Sublime Porte constitute the highest point of positive Turkish imagery in Genoa[17].

It is against the background of this wider and diverse range of images, by avoiding monolithic generalizations, that the representations linked to the patronage or the public celebration of three generations of Doria di Melfi[18] – committed to fight the

11 A pioneering approach to the theme is offered by the exhibition catalogue *Turcherie. Suggestioni dell'arte ottomana a Genova*, edited by L. Pessa (2014), especially by Pessa 2014, pp. 36-45, and Sommariva 2014, pp. 46-53. An essay on the topic by L. Stagno is forthcoming (2018).

12 For the concept of being confronted, most of the time, «non pas à une altérité univoque mais à une altérité 'interconnectée'» – which is central to recent research on the theme of the image of the "other" in medieval and early modern Europe – see Stoichita 2014 (quotation from p. 36), as well as Formica 2012 (with specific reference to the Ottomans).

13 In general terms, see Stoichita 2014, pp. 31-41, and Capriotti 2016, pp. 357-373. For references to the Genoese context, from the late 15th century on, see Stagno forthcoming (2018).

14 For Genoese examples, see Pessa 2014, pp. 41-44.

15 Stagno forthcoming (2018).

16 Reference is made to a series of twelve etchings dated 1647, by Flemish painter Cornelis De Wael, who spent most of his life in Genoa (see Donati 1988, pp. 18-20; Castagneto 2008, pp. 29-50).

17 The portrait is by Franz Luyckx von Leuxenstem. 18th and 19th century sources mention paintings by Lorenzo Bertolotto and Domenico Piola, depicting significant moments of Durazzo's mission to Costantinople. See Leoncini 2004, pp. 41-73; L. Leoncini, catalogue entries 62-64, in *ivi*, pp. 350-355. Durazzo wrote interesting reports about his missions to the Sublime Porte in 1665 and 1666-1667 (see E. Ferro, catalogue entry 3 in Pessa 2014, p. 77).

18 Andrea received the title of prince of Melfi from Charles V in 1531. There were many other branches of the family, bearing different titles. Among Andrea's relations, Antonio Doria – not part of his line of adopted heirs, though serving under him for part of his career (with a pattern of recurring disagreements between them) – also had an important role in fighting the Ottomans, engaging in many clashes with them and writing the unpublished but widely circulated and

Ottomans by their role in the service of the Spanish crown (by which they surged to prominence and, in Andrea's case, to European relevance) – can be analysed as a most significant, high profile case study, itself characterized by a plurality of approaches and nuances.

Since his first sea commands in the service of the Republic of Genoa, during the second decade of the 16th century, Andrea's operations were largely directed against Barbary corsairs (which constituted a threat to navigation and to Ligurian coasts well into the 17th century). But it was at a later stage of his exceptional career, after he entered Charles V's service in 1528 – bringing with him his twelve galleys, in the specific kind of "asiento" contract he created[19] –, that Andrea's role against the growing threat posed by the Ottomans, led by the greatly feared corsair Barbarossa (Khair-ad-Din) after the welding of Turkish-Barbary forces, came to be internationally recognized. The patent letter by which Charles V appointed him captain general of the army against the Turks insisted on Doria's «calidad, valor y experiencia» and «singular zelo» as means to defeat «el Turco común enemigo de la Cristiandad»[20]. On the strength of his position as the emperor's admiral – «le bras armé des Castillans en Méditeran»[21] – Andrea also established, according to Grendi, his own "informal signoria" of Genoa[22].

The list of Doria's clashes with the Ottomans is long, including the conquest of Corone and Patrasso in Morea (1532), the liberation of Tunis (1535), the rescuing of the imperial forces in Algiers one year later, but also such important defeats as the one at Prevesa (1538), which inaugurated a long period of a mostly unfavourable balance of forces[23].

How did all this translate into images?

Andrea's direct patronage was mainly focused on his palace, Palazzo del Principe, an *unicum* on the Genoese scene from both an architectural and an artistic point of view, which was built and decorated with the aim of conveying the exceptionality of Andrea's status. Perino del Vaga acted as court artist between 1528 and 1533, executing the fresco cycle with the help of his collaborators and designing most of the furnishings, tapestries included; Pordenone and Beccafumi were involved in the decoration of the southern façade[24].

influential *Discorso sopra le cose turchesche per via di mare* (1539), in which he cautioned against the threat posed by the strengthening of Barbarossa's naval forces (for Antonio Doria, see Borghesi 2007, pp. 454-466, with bibliography).

19 On the agreement stipulated between Andrea Doria and Charles V and the characters of the "asientos de galeras", see Lo Basso 2003, pp. 268-272, and Lo Basso 2007, pp. 397-428.

20 «Quality, valour and experience» and «singular zeal» as means to defeat «the Turk, shared enemy of Christendom». Roma, Archivio Doria Pamphilj (hereinafter ADP), *Copia della Patente di Capitano generale dell'Armata contro il Turco fatta dall'imperatore Carlo V al Principe Andrea Primo. Estratta del suo Originale esistente nel Libro delle lettere Reali del 1528 a tutto 1560 segnato n. 1. 25 marzo 1532*, Scaff. 79.58.1B.

21 Carpentier 2013a, p. 215.

22 Grendi 1992.

23 Grendi 1987; Grendi 1992; Pacini 1999; Pacini 2007; Carpentier 2013a.

24 On Palazzo del Principe, see Gorse 1980; Parma Armani 1986, Magnani 1987; Boccardo 1989; Parma Armani 2001; Stagno 2004; Parma Armani 2004; Stagno 2005; Altavista 2013.

In this context, no images of Turks as such appear. On a more general level, Andrea did not have himself or events of his times represented in his palace, at all. With the help of an unknown adviser, a "letterato" who produced the iconographic program for the artistic cycle (the annalist Paolo Partenopeo and Paolo Giovio, who was more than once a guest at Palazzo del Principe, have been proposed for the role)[25], Doria used the filter of myth and ancient history to speak of the present. A case in point is the illustration of Lucius Aemilius Paulus's triumph over the Gauls, from which he had freed Liguria, evoking the admiral's own success in driving the French out of Genoa in 1528[26]. In the same key, the *Fall of the Giants* on the vault of the main hall in Andrea's apartment, considered to be Perino's masterwork, has been interpreted by Elena Parma as an allusion to Charles V crushing his enemies[27], in the light of such parallels as the one proposed by Pietro Aretino in a 1537 letter to the emperor, in which he compared the latter's foes – "il Turco" among them – to the foolish giants who challenged Jupiter and were destroyed by him[28]. This kind of interpretation finds a parallel in the use of the giants' motif as a symbolic reference to defeated enemies (Muslim included) in the arches erected in other cities for the emperor's triumphal entries, and later for his son's ones[29]. By the time Charles V sojourned in Palazzo del Principe (March 28th – April 9th, 1533), the fresco was completed and the emperor's throne was erected below it[30]. The connection to the emperor's presence is significant. For the same occasion, an ephemeral triumphal arch of classical architecture – of which a preparatory drawing survives[31] (fig. 1) – was designed by Perino del Vaga and erected close to the palace[32]. The veil of myth was discarded here, in favour of a more direct celebration: in the upper section of the arch, scenes of battles in which turbaned Ottomans are recognizable flank a central personification bearing a papal tiara, possibly symbolizing catholic Religion, with figures kneeling in front of it[33]. Reference is thus made to the recent clashes with the Infidels in Morea and Hungary, thanks to which Charles on his arrival at Genoa was saluted in the welcome address as a triumphator over the Ottomans, having «di fresco vinto e domato l'atroce e crudele nemico di Cristo Solimano imperatore turco»[34].

25 Parma Armani 2001, pp. 85-88.

26 Boccardo 1989, p. 53.

27 Parma Armani 1986, pp. 122-123.

28 Pietro Aretino, *A Cesare*, Venezia, May 20th, 1537, in *Il primo libro* 1864, pp. 152-153.

29 See Borja Franco Llopis's essay in this issue of «Il Capitale culturale».

30 On Charles's V stay at Palazzo del Principe and the ephemeral arches erected in that occasion, see Stagno 2002b, pp. 73-88, with bibliography.

31 London, Courtauld Institute of Art, inv. 21, recto. See E. Parma Armani, catalogue entry 95, in Parma Armani 2001, pp. 202-203.

32 Another arch was built close to the church of San Lazaro. The importance of the 1529 and 1533 ephemeral arches celebrating Charles V's arrivals in Genoa have been underlined in Gorse 1993, pp. 9-18.

33 Gorse interprets the figure as a personification of Rome, in a general reading of the arch's and the palace's iconography in terms of a new Augustean Golden Age, inaugurated by Charles V and Andrea Doria (Gorse 1993, p. 13).

34 «Recently won and tamed the atrocious and cruel enemy of Christ, the Turkish Emperor

The same concepts were central in the address delivered when Charles V's son, Philip, arrived at Palazzo del Principe in 1548: in his encomiastic *Oratione*, Capelloni recalled the Emperor's great feats against «l'hinumanissimo Solimano Ottomano», the most inhuman Ottoman Suleyman, conducted with Andrea Doria's help, and auspicated a new crusade against the Mahometan sect, led by Philip[35]. In the series of triumphal arches built in the city to honour the prince (only known through descriptions), various references were made to the defeated enemies, and the arch erected in Piazza dei Giustiniani bore a representation of the War of Tunis[36].

In Andrea's patronage, such explicit depictions were apparently reserved for Hapsburg exaltation in triumphal entries' propaganda. As previously said, only motifs that indirectly evoked a present-day enemy could be seen in Andrea's palace, as far as we know: details of classical imagery offered the visual means to convey ennobling allusions to current themes. The Phrygian cap recurs as an oblique reference to Ottoman "captivi", substituting the elsewhere ubiquitous turban, so as to be consistent with the Greco-Roman theme of the whole decoration: it appears in the stucco freeze of the Hall of the Giants, attributed to Silvio Cosini, and on one of the two marble figures of barbarian slaves – «figure barbate di schiavi, le quali […] vestono il costume dei Daci, come vedonsi rappresentati nella colonna Traiana e sopra l'arco di Costantino. L'uno di tali schiavi ha coperto d' un berretto frigio il capo, all'altro lo intornia una benda»[37] – which support the majestic fireplace of this room, whose execution has been referred to Silvio Cosini, Guglielmo Della Porta and, lately, Niccolò da Corte and his workshop (fig. 2)[38].

The symbolic function of the cap is clear: one of the two engraved portraits by Enea Vico opening Andrea's first biography by Capelloni[39] – an "all'antica" image that defined and disseminated the idea of Andrea as «dux and princeps preliorum victor», military commander and prince, winner of battles – significantly includes in the bottom left corner a figure of a chained slave with a Phrygian cap, in a context which refers to Doria's victories over the Turks,

Suleyman». *Annali di Paolo Partenopeo* 1847, p. 113. Partenopeo wrote the welcome address, his young daughter Simonetta delivered it.

35 Capelloni 1549.

36 Stagno 2013, pp. 76-77.

37 «Bearded figures of slaves, who […] wear the dress of the Dacians, as they are seen represented on Trajan's column and on Constantine's arch. One of these slaves has his head covered by a Phrygian beret, the other wears a band around his» (Varni 1868, pp. 17-18). For the classical models of the "captivi" statues, see catalogue entry 74 (*Prigioni Farnese*), in Haskell, Penny 1984, pp. 436-339.

38 Boccardo 1989, p. 57 (Cosini); Parma Armani 1987, p. 282 (Della Porta); Campigli 2014, pp. 83-104 (Da Corte).

39 For the biography, its etchings and its editions, see Andreoli 2004, Stagno 2013. The biography was published two years after Andrea's death with Giovanni Andrea's support, and was dedicated to the latter. A new, much more successful edition was published in 1565, and later reprinted.

as is made explicit by the insertion of an ottoman flag and turban at the top of the same page (fig. 3).

A similar association is also visible on the series of six trophies sculpted by Giovannangelo Montorsoli between 1543 and 1547, now in Palazzo del Principe, but originally in the Doria church of San Matteo, whose renovation Andrea entrusted to the artist[40]. These marble reliefs – which are celebrative of the patron's status and *cursus honorum* (since they include his araldic eagle, the Golden Fleece he received in 1531 and maritime emblems, as well as a repertory of classical weapons, shields and cuirasses), while displaying no Christian symbols – may originally have had the function of chancel's plutei; but they were removed from the church no later than 1613[41]. A headpiece evocative of a Phrygian cap is again included here; while in the panoplies flanked by putti, some of the arms of the defeated – dominated in four reliefs by the enemies' reversed cuirasses, alternating with Andrea's standing one, displaying the collar of the Golden Fleece – bear small crescents that discreetly but clearly identify them as belonging to Muslim foes. It is the presence of this detail that provides these military trophies with a measure of religious meaning, in that they commemorate the vanquishing of enemies of the faith: it is significant that the explicit mark of the crescent surfaces not in Andrea's palace, but in his family church. For this motif the reliefs have an important antecedent. They share the crescent detail with the armour of the defeated foes in Montorsoli's previously executed portrait statue of Andrea, which constitutes an iconographic turning point by offering an instance of a much more imposing and directly anti-ottoman image, that of Doria trampling two Turks underfoot.

It is to be noted that this statue, the most explicit contemporary work of art visualizing Andrea's triumph over the Ottomans, did not originate within Doria patronage. Rather, it was linked to the way the Republic of Genoa viewed and communicated Andrea's role. On October 7, 1528, after Andrea's agreement with Charles V, the magistrate of the Twelve Reformers decreed to honour Doria, "Pater patriae", by having a statue made for him[42]. It was first commissioned to Baccio Bandinelli, and a figure of Neptune with Doria's features was the chosen subject (though possibly not from the start), but a series of disagreements and difficulties followed, so that Bandinelli never completed it. The artist, however, did produce a high quality presentation drawing of the sculpture, an unfinished statue and a series of projects for a never executed historiated pedestal, which include scenes of *all'antica* sea battles and a significant depiction of Doria as Roman dux (with a trident, to connect it to the mythological projection chosen for the sculptural portrait) receiving kneeling *captivi* with Phrygian

[40] On Andrea Doria's patronage in relation to the church, see Chapter VI in Boccardo 1989, pp. 89-104. A PhD dissertation on *Andrea Doria, San Matteo, and the Art of Patronage in 16th Century Italy* is being prepared by B. Eldredge at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey.

[41] Merli, Belgrano 1874, p. 40.

[42] The decree is published in Alizeri 1877, pp. 312-314.

caps (fig. 4): a narrative rendition, expressed in the customary classical terms, of the idea of Andrea subjugating the Turks, which would become the main theme of the statue later executed by Montorsoli, replacing the Neptunian iconography[43]. In 1538, following cardinal Innocenzo Cibo's recommendation of the artist, Montorsoli did in fact receive a commission for a new statue. He executed a colossal marble sculpture representing Andrea in the attire of a roman admiral or emperor (fig. 5), one of the first portrait statues to revive the fashion of classical "colossi" and an influential prototype for later ones[44]. It was presumably finished by December 1539, and put in place between September and October 1540, against the main façade of Palazzo Ducale (seat of the Doge and of the government of the Republic) at the side of its entrance, rather than in the middle of the Doria family's square, for which it had been planned according to Vasari[45]. As Lomazzo's description attests, Doria was represented holding a baton and having «some Turks under his feet»[46]. The statue was badly damaged during the Jacobin uprising of June 14th, 1797[47], and only its central section and fragmentary basement survive[48]. Andrea's left foot is shown pressing down on ornate arms and on the chained bust of a Turk, whose face is completely obliterated (while his turban survives); the torso of another defeated Ottoman can be seen close to it. The template was the classical image of Roman emperors crushing barbarians underfoot, visible on coins and statues[49], adapted to the illustration of the subjugation of the Turks (in the role of new barbarians). For this specific iconographic declination, the impact of ephemeral art – in which, after Charles V's triumphal progress through Italy subsequent to his Tunis victory, «the years 1535-36 saw a veritable invasion of Moors and Turks»[50] represented as *captivi* in various stances – must not be discounted. With this public statue, which was crucial in the creation and dissemination of the iconography of Andrea as a Roman dux, triumph over the Ottomans started to openly define Doria's image visually, in convergence with Ariosto's earlier evocation of a "new Pompey" ridding the Mediterranean

[43] The events related to Baccio Bandinelli's sculpture are described in Boccardo 1989, pp. 112-116. For the pedestal's drawings, see Gorse 2016, pp. 15-19.

[44] On Montorsoli's statue, see Keutner 1956, pp. 143-148; Manara 1959, pp. 26-32; Parma Armani 1970, pp. 33-41; Parma Armani 1987, pp. 286-289; Boccardo 1989, pp. 113-116; Laschke 1993, pp. 39-41; Gaier 2002, pp. 178-206; Hanke 2009-2010, pp. 175-176.

[45] On this point, see Parma Armani 1987, p. 288.

[46] Lomazzo 1584, p. 551.

[47] For a chronicle of the events, see Ronco 2005, pp. 142-146.

[48] The surviving fragments – the torso and the basement – of the two statues were retrieved and placed in the cloister of the Doria church of San Matteo in 1846, by prince Filippo Andrea V Doria Pamphilj. In 1936 they were transferred to Palazzo Ducale's atrium by Orlando Grosso, and later put into storage. In 2010, after restoration, they were moved from Museo di S. Agostino's deposits to the first landing of Palazzo Ducale's grand stairs, were they can be seen now (Spalla, Ansaldi 2014).

[49] Mattern 2002, pp. 196-197.

[50] Scorza 2012, p. 124.

of corsairs and with the other literary celebrations of his role, establishing an "official" model later appropriated by Giovanni Andrea Doria I in his own patronage.

At the time, Andrea's chosen heir, Giannettino, son of his first cousin Tommaso, was acting as the admiral's second-in-command. He had debuted in his career by taking part in Andrea's expedition against Suleyman's fleet in Cefalonia in 1537[51], and later participated in other enterprises, earning a good reputation, as "valorous" and "very able" in maritime warfare, so that his name started to be well known among Christians and infidels alike[52]. In this capacity, following Andrea's orders, in June 1540 he chased and captured the much feared Turkish corsair Turghud Ali Pasha – that is, «Dragut gran Corsale, e molto favorito di Barbarossa Re di Algeri»[53], the great corsair Dragut, much favoured by Barbarossa king of Algiers – in the bay of Girolata on the west coast of Corsica[54]. This success, which was the apex of Giannettino's career (interrupted in 1547 by his premature death), had a vast echo locally and internationally: it was considered «impresa utile»[55] and «assai nobile vittoria»[56], a useful feat and a most noble victory, against an «empio e rapacissimo nemico»[57], a godless and rapacious enemy, whom the young commander brought to Genoa in chains, exhibiting him as a trophy in his triumphal entry in the city[58]. This defining moment constitutes the implicit subtext of the two bronze plaquettes celebrating Giannettino produced in 1541 by Leone Leoni, who had come to be in the service of Andrea Doria in Genoa, where he stayed for about eleven months, after being freed by the admiral's intervention from his labours as "forzato" on a papal galley, to which he had been sentenced for assaulting the pope's jeweller[59]. The two subtly executed reliefs are part of a set of three known pieces, «intended to complement one another as a multi-faceted tribute

51 Bernabò 2008, p. 45.

52 «Giovine valoroso, nell'esercizio dell'armata marittima diligente e peritissimo […] Il cui nome era già in molte parti de' Cristiani ed infedeli noto e famoso». This definition was given by contemporary writer Lorenzo Capelloni in a manuscript description of the 1547 Fieschi conspiracy (in which Giannettino was killed), published in the 19th century by A. Oliveri (Capelloni 1858, p. 8).

53 Ulloa 1565, p. 119.

54 Bernabò 2008, p. 45; Moresco 2014, pp. 31-43. In 1544 Dragut, after having suffered the humiliation of serving on the Doria galleys, chained to an oak, was ransomed, probably as part of a wider political scheme.

55 Capelloni 1565, p. 90.

56 Campana 1605, p. 59.

57 *Ibidem*.

58 Capelloni 1565, p. 90; Ulloa 1565, p. 120; Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano 1573, p. 149; Campana 1605, p. 59 (in which the date June 22nd, 1540, is given as the day of the "solemn entrée" of Giannettino in Genova).

59 On Leone Leoni's plaquettes (as well as his relations with Andrea Doria and the medals he produced for his Doria patrons, one of which, now lost, bore Giannettino's effigy), see Thornton 2006, pp. 828-832, with bibliography. The events of Leone's punishment and subsequent liberation are known through a letter from Jacopo Giustinian to Pietro Aretino (May 16th, 1540), published in Bottari, Ticozzi 1822-25, 1, pp. 247-250.

to Andrea and Giannettino Doria»[60], the only plaquettes to be attributed to the artist with any certainty[61].

The one surviving in multiple versions (fig. 6) shows Giannettino, attired as a Roman general, in a sea-car, with Neptune in his own chariot in the background, and bears the legend ANDR.PATRIS.AVSPITIIS.ET.PROPRIO.LABORE (under the auspices of his father Andrea and by his own efforts): an inscription and an iconography that Hill was the first to connect to Giannettino's victorious capture of Dragut[62], and that faithfully reflect the widely shared perception of this feat as the result of the joined virtuous actions of the old admiral and of his adoptive son (in Andrea's biography by Capelloni, the "celebrated trophy" is said to have been acquired by Giannettino's vigilance and valour, and through the old Prince's wise judgement and deliberation: «acquistato con la sua [di Giannettino] vigilanza & valore, & dal saggio giudizio & deliberatione del vecchio Principe»)[63]. Neptune in the background obviously alludes to Andrea; Boccardo has emphasized the timely relevance to this iconography of Aretino's 1541 letter identifying the old admiral as the only true god of the sea[64] (at the same time calling him scourge of the infidels, as mentioned before).

While a second plaquette portrays Andrea alone, between the allegories of Peace and Fame, the third one – known in only one specimen, purchased by the British Museum in 2005[65] – represents Giannettino, again in ancient Roman attire, while engaged in a classical-style sacrifice in front of a flaming altar (a scene partly "christianized" by Doria's kneeling posture), with a laurel tree behind him and a stormy sea with a ship in the background; it bears the legend DEO LARGITORE (to God, who gave [the victory]) (fig. 7).

Dora Thornton links this scene, too, to Giannettino's triumph over Dragut. She also notes the presence of a snake rising in the middle of the altar flames, and of another one depicted under young Doria's kneeling figure, connecting the second one to the precedent of Constantinian and later coins representing Christian emperors trampling serpents, interpreted as emblems of Discord[66]. In light of Francesco Sorce's research on dragons and «their herpetological variations» (admitting a certain interchangeability between dragon and serpent) as symbols, originally rooted in the concept of religious heresy, of the Ottoman enemy in Christian literature and visual representation[67], as well as Borja Franco Llopis's observations on the use of snakes as negative symbols of Islam

60 Thornton 2006, p. 830.
61 Warren 2012, p. 43.
62 Hill 1929, pp. 500-501.
63 Capelloni 1565, p. 90.
64 Boccardo 1989, p. 110 and p. 117, note 46. Boccardo prefers to interpret the figure in the sea-car in the foreground as Andrea rather than Giannettino, but observes that the general meaning of the composition is not greatly altered by the different reading of this character.
65 Thornton 2006, p. 828.
66 Thornton 2006, p. 832.
67 Sorce 2013, pp. 173-198 (quotation at p. 173).

in ephemeral art[68], the serpent twice depicted in the plaquette – once amid flames, the other below Giannettino's figure – can be read in a more specific sense as an allusion to the defeated enemy: "il Turco" in general and Dragut in particular.

Leoni's plaquettes are consistent with the rest of Andrea Doria's patronage in the choice of a classical paradigm to mediate references to current events, and in the preference for symbols and allegories.

It was only while the Doria house was headed by Giovanni Andrea I – Andrea's chosen heir since his father Giannettino was killed in the 1547 Fieschi conspiracy – that the direct representation of Turks in the prince's patronage, in connection both to his predecessor and to himself, became pervasive.

Giovanni Andrea did not gain the same role as Andrea, as the latter's informal signoria of Genoa was never replicated in the Republic's history – still, he was one of the richest men in Italy[69] as well as the *primus inter pares* among the Genoese oligarchs, and had an outstanding career on the sea and at the Spanish court[70]. He started to navigate as a young boy, accompanying the old admiral on his galleys[71]. His first commands met with inauspicious results, especially with reference to the defeat at Gerbes (1559), but he later came to be considered one of the first "uomini di mare" in Europe, specializing in the war against the Turks. He maintained the "asiento" of his galleys to the crown of Spain, commanded the right wing of the fleet at the Battle of Lepanto, where he played an important – though controversial – part, and in late 1583 was appointed by Philip II general of the sea (the same position held by Andrea years before)[72]. Throughout his career, he was engaged in clashes with Barbary corsairs and with the Ottoman fleet[73]: at Orano and Peñon de Velez (1563-1564), in the rescue operations of sieged Malta (1565) and of Tunis (1574) and in many other instances, till the final, unsuccessful expedition against Algiers (1601), after which he resigned his position[74]. His vast information network and Genoa's unique position allowed him to largely control the flux of information pertaining to Ottoman matters directed to Madrid, which enhanced his role in shaping Spain's military strategies[75]. In 1594 he became a member of the Spanish State Council, a honour rarely conferred on non-Spanish aristocrats[76].

[68] See Borja Franco Llopis's essay in this issue of «Il Capitale culturale».

[69] In 1601 he was defined «richest, and most hated» of all Italian noblemen by an agent of the Granduke of Tuscany (Borghesi 1999, p. 19).

[70] Savelli 1992; Borghesi 2008; Carpentier, Priotti 2015.

[71] *Vita del Principe* 1997, p. 3.

[72] Savelli 1992; Borghesi 2008; Carpentier 2013b (where the date of Giovanni Andrea's appointment as generale of the sea is given as 1584, rather than late 1583).

[73] See Carpentier 2013b. Some interesting materials can be found in *Relazioni di viaggi di G.A. Doria I con le galere del Re Cattolico contro i Turchi*, 1565-67, in ADP Scaff. 79.53. 15.

[74] Borghesi 1999, p. 8; Borghesi 2008, pp. 110-112.

[75] Carpentier 2015.

[76] *Ibidem*.

Yet, the pivotal role played by his predecessor Andrea in European politics and his unequalled status cast a long shadow, influencing his successor's career choices, lifestyle and artistic patronage.

Giovanni Andrea started enlarging Palazzo del Principe as soon as he inherited it in 1560, and continued to renovate and decorate it till his death, in 1606[77]. Images of Turks abound in the rooms he added to the palace, in a plurality of functions. They appear in religious scenes, in frescoes pertaining to two chapels destined to the use of Giovanni Andrea's wife, Zenobia[78]: the first one, executed by Lazzaro Calvi in the passage leading to the main "Oratorio" on the ground floor (dated by documents to 1583)[79], comprises a depiction of *Christ among the doctors* – a scene sometime invested with the meaning of a confrontation and a resistance to the Christian truth on the part of the "others"[80] – in which an exotic-looking, turbaned figure stands in the foreground; while the second one, attributed to the brothers Cesare and Alessandro Semino, is on the wall of the small "camerino" attached to Zenobia's bedroom (1589) and represents an *Ecce Homo*[81] (fig. 8). Here Pontius Pilate is attired in clearly recognizable Turkish dress and headgear (many other instances of this specific iconography, a blatant anachronism most loved by 16th and 17th century painters, can be found in Genoese art, from the works by Luca Cambiaso to those by Orazio De Ferrari)[82]: another example of the tendency to project the characters of infidel alterity on all negative figures of the Gospels' narrative[83], such as the «iniquitous judge»[84] blamed for Christ's death. Late 16th century turbaned Turks support a mantelpiece, as opposed to the classical figure of the Phrygian capped slave in Andrea's monumental fireplace; and rustic telamons, originally in the palace's north garden (probably as part of a nimpheus), present the same attribute.

While all these details show a change in attitude, by presenting a frequent evocation of Ottoman figures and renouncing the earlier all-encompassing classicization of iconographies, they can be considered as relatively marginal. Other works of art, on the other hand, point at Giovanni Andrea intentionally assuming victory over the Turks as a central tenet of the family's glory (and consequent claim to primacy in the ranks of Genoese aristocracy). One of them, whose early story remains largely obscure, is a veritable manifesto: an

77 On Giovanni Andrea's role with reference to Palazzo del Principe's decoration, furnishing and collections, see Stagno 1999; Stagno 2004; Stagno 2005; Stagno 2017a; Stagno 2017b.

78 Both were added during Giovanni Andrea's tenure, as all other chapels in the palace (see Stagno 1999).

79 Stagno 1999, p. 40.

80 For a discussion of anti-Jewish renderings of the iconography, see Capriotti 2014, pp. 101-117; for an analysis of Dürer's *Christ among the Doctors* (among whom a black man is included) in terms of contrast between identity and alterity, beauty and ugliness, see Stoichita 2014, pp. 31-36.

81 Stagno 2017a.

82 Stagno forthcoming (2018).

83 Gentili 1996; Capriotti 2016.

84 For one of many instances in which Pilates's iniquity is underlined, see Visdomini 1575, p. 19.

allegorical painting (fig. 9) which includes an overabundance of inscriptions (part of them probably modified at a later date) to make its meaning clear to viewers and fulfil its didactic purpose, in an interplay of written words and images, realistic portraits and personifications which recalls the rhetoric structure and the relation between the figurative and the textual components typical of ephemeral monuments.

An allegorical ship is depicted, flying flags bearing the coat of arms of the sovereigns Andrea served as admiral (pope Clement VII, emperor Charles V, Philip II of Spain and Francis I of France), plus a Crucifix standard with the coat of arms of Emperor Charles V, Pope Paulus III and the Republic of Venice, alluding to the 1538 League against the Turks of which Andrea had been appointed "general of the sea"[85], and another one bearing the Genoese red cross on a white shield. Andrea is shown sitting on a throne while he invites the personifications of *Magnanimitas* and *Liberalitas* to pass their crowns to his heir, a young Giovanni Andrea, labelled as GENUAE SPES ALTERA MAGNA, the second great hope of Genoa (second after Andrea, of course). The whole painting is therefore an illustration of the passage of power from the old admiral to Giovanni Andrea, who was his heir but not his son; hence the need of such an emphatic celebration of the succession. But what matters more is that Andrea's figure and career are presented overwhelmingly in terms of his victories over the Turks. The large, crowded painting is teeming with references to this theme. The main inscription at the top introduces Andrea as MAGNVS ANDREAS DORIA ALTER NEPTVNVS PIRATARVM ACERRIMVS HOSTIS[86] (The great Andrea, second Neptun, the fiercest enemy of the pirates). The sequence of two framed plates on the ship's stern and nine green shields on its flank lists his major feats against the Ottomans: the liberation of Gaeta and the conquer of the city of Africa, as well as of Corone and Patrasso; the capture of Dragut and of Godoli's galleys, and Himerale's retreat; the victories over the Turkish fleets at Valona and Nice; the capture of Barbarossa's galleys; the liberation of Christians from slavery. For this choice of episodes, the first source seems to be Capellloni's biography[87]. Images focus on the subjugation of the Ottomans

85 «Essendosi fatta lega contra il turco tra il Papa, Cesare e Vinitiani, [Andrea Doria] fu fatto Generale di quella lega in mare e il Duca d'Urbino Generale degli eserciti da terra» (Capelloni 1565, *Sommario*; see also p. 83).

86 MAGNVS ANDREAS DORIA ALTER NEPTVNVS PIRATARVM ACERRIMVS HOSTIS PATER ET LIBERATOR PATRIAE QVI CLARISSIMVS PRINCEPS AVTORITATEM IMPERIVMQ. IN ITALIA CAROLO CAESARI SINE CONTROVERSIA-IACTENVS RETINVIT AC CONSERVAVIT.

87 The inscriptions read: GAIETA OBSIDIONE MIRABILITER LIBERATA / AFRICA VRBS AFRICAE CAPTA / CORONAE ET PATRAE EXPVGNATAE / DRAGVTVS PYRATA CAPTVS / GODOLIS PYRATAE TRIREMES CAPTAE / CLASSIS TVRCICA AD VALONAM PRAELIGATA ET CAPTA / BARBAROSSAE, REGVLO, TRIREMES EREPTAE /CHRISTIANI SERVITVTE TVRCICA LIBERATI / HIMERARIS TVRCA IVGATVS / CLASSIS TVRCARVM AD NICEAM DISSIPAT / INSVLAE CORSICAE, OPTIMAE CONSVLTVM. Capelloni's biography seems to

as the basis of the admiral's power. Andrea and his throne are supported by chained, turbaned Turk captives, on which Doria's feet rest: an ancient motif, this of the throne-bearers, which found great fortune in 16th century triumphal processions and 'apparati' celebrating victories over the infidels[88]. Close to one of these figures is the inscription TIRANNIS, which shows that, beyond symbolizing the enemy's defeat, they also function as an allegory of tyranny, as represented by the Ottoman state: a political trope which progressively gained strength from the 16th to the 18th century[89], and is to be found in many Christian texts, including – in the Genoese context – Capelloni's 1548 address to prince Philip that mentions peoples oppressed by the "Turchesca tirannide", or, one century later, *Il Genio Ligure risvegliato* which comments on the dispotical nature of the Sultan's regime both toward his own subjects and toward other nations[90]. It is significant that below the head of the Turk supporting the throne and the personification of *Magnanimitas* at his side, an inscription on the ship's flank reads PATRIAE LIBERTAS RESTITUTA, an allusion to one of Andrea's best known claims to fame, celebrated in his biographies: according to Capelloni, after his agreement with Charles V he was offered the full signoria of Genoa, but refused it because of his wish to guarantee the freedom of the Republic, an attitude as opposite to tyranny as could be conceived[91]. The cartouche in the bottom-left corner of the painting bears a long *Explicatio Triumphi* that associates *Tirannis* to *Avaritia* and *Cupiditas*, stating that they were never able to induce Andrea to dominate his own city[92].

A trophy of Ottoman arms can be seen hanging from the mast, while shipwrecked Turks, some of them already dead, float among the waves, and a triton figure with devilish characters chases them with his trident.

This is a visual reconstruction of Andrea's glorious career – as defined mainly by his triumphs over the Ottomans – used in all its force as a consecration of his heir's own role; and though no document gives information about the chronology of the painting (which, in the very few mentions it has received in recent literature, was dated either to Andrea's time[93] or to the 17th century,

be the source for the inclusion of such relatively minor episodes as the capture of Godoli's seven galleys (for which see Capelloni 1565, p. 24).

88 See Borja Franco Llopis's essay in this issue of «Il Capitale culturale».

89 Formica 2012, pp. 37-38.

90 Capelloni 1549, pp. n.n.; Veneroso 1650, p. 99.

91 Capelloni 1565, p. 40.

92 CIRCVM SOLIVM HINC TYRANNIDEM, ILLINC AVARITIAM ATQVE CVPIDITATEM CATENIS VINCTAS DVCIT A' QVIBVS ABDVCI VNQVAM POTVIT, VT SVAM PATRIAM AVBIGARET. The complete text can be read in De Marchi 2016, pp. 406-407. The *Explicatio* poses some problems, as it is not perfectly consistent with the representation (for instance in the description of the two protagonists' attire and in the reference to an absent personification of Cupiditas, while Avaritia can be seen, in chains). See also the following note, with reference to the 2012 restoration report.

93 Borghesi 1999, p. 12.

after 1627[94]), it seems, on the strength of its artistic language, to have to be placed in the late 16th century, which links it to a commission by Giovanni Andrea in his later years. It is difficult to attribute it to a specific painter; in fact, the language does not appear to be distinctly Genoese, it seems to have more of a southern inflection, and combining this with the fact that its first known (quite late) mention is in an inventory of the Doria castle in Melfi[95], the fiefdom in Basilicata from which this branch of the family derived their title of princes[96] (though in 1830 the painting was transferred to Rome[97], from where it was moved to Genoa in 1996[98]), I would suggest that this might be the highly didactic image that Giovanni Andrea commissioned for the Melfi palace, possibly to a local painter, wishing to summarize in one single allegory the greatness of his family, procured by Andrea's successes, and its continuity through the generations.

Much more information is available for other works of art which Giovanni Andrea commissioned to celebrate both his own and his predecessor's victories.

The Doria were collectors of precious tapestries – of which they owned an exceptional number – rather than of paintings[99]. Andrea had extended his preference for classical subjects and motifs to the many tapestries he ordered for his palace, often designed by Perino del Vaga[100]. Giovanni Andrea, on

[94] On the basis of the long inscription in the bottom-right corner, it has been argued (De Marchi 2016, pp. 406-407) that the painting must have been executed after 1627, as a Giovanni Andrea Doria Landi, marquis of Bardi, count of Compiano and lord of Turbigo (as well as prince of Melfi and other Doria titles) is mentioned in it, and 1627 was the year in which Giovanni Andrea II Doria married Polissena Landi, Federico II Landi's only daughter, who received Bardi, Compiano and other fiefdoms as her dowry. But the nuptial agreement (*Istromenti di dote della Signora Maria Landi Marchesa di Bardi nel suo matrimonio con Giovanni Andrea Doria Principe di Melfi*, in ADP, Scaff. 79.61), clearly state that the donation would become effective only after Federico's death, which happened only in 1661, twenty-one years after his son in law's demise. The first Doria to fit the profile would appear to be Giovanni Andrea Doria Landi II (1653-1737). The inscription on this cartouche – which has been suggested by a recent restoration (2012) to have been probably superimposed on the original surface, as its companion on the left (M. Fasce, "*Trionfo di Andrea Doria", Restoration report*, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe's Archive) – is therefore problematic and looks like a later addition, which does not in fact offer reliable clues about the date of the painting.

[95] «Quadro grande del Impresa del Trionfo della casa Doria», registered in the Melfi Castle in 1685 (ADP, Scaff. 23.5).

[96] Succession to the title was not linear. Charles V gave the principality of Melfi to Andrea Doria in 1531; Andrea left it to Marcantonio Doria Del Carretto, born of his wife Peretta's first marriage, to be passed on to Marcantonio's daughter Zenobia. Zenobia married Giovanni Andrea, as arranged by Andrea. Upon her death in 1590, the title of prince of Melfi passed to Giovanni Andrea; when he died, it passed to their first son Andrea II and then to his descendants.

[97] De Marchi 2016, p. 407.

[98] On the relocation in Palazzo del Principe of works of art belonging to the Doria Pamphilj collection which were connected to the Genoese side of the family's ancestry, during the late 1990s (when the Palazzo opened to the public and its restoration began), see Stagno 2002a.

[99] Boccardo 1983-1985, pp. 122-124; Stagno 2008, p. 57.

[100] Boccardo 1989, pp. 79-83. The conquest of Tunis, in which Andrea had taken part, was illustrated in the famous series of tapestries designed by Vermeyen, but it was a commission of Charles V's, but that was commissioned by Charles V (on the Tunis tapestries, see Bunes Ibarra 2006).

his part, commissioned an extraordinary set of tapestries (fig. 10) depicting the whole enterprise leading to the victory at Lepanto (October 7th, 1571), including the meeting of the Holy League's ships at Messina, the battle itself and the return of the Christian fleet to Corfu. Lepanto – «the most spectacular military event in the Mediterranean during the entire sixteenth century»[101] – was a triumph celebrated throughout the Christian world and generated a wealth of celebrative images[102]; but this series has been defined, in absolute terms, «la más completa crónica de la Batalla de Lepanto que se ha ejecutado en el campo de las Belles Artes»[103]. In the expedition and battle, Giovanni Andrea was second in command, together with Luis de Zuñiga y Requesens, under Juan de Austria; he led the right wing of the Christian fleet[104] (according to the Doria family's tradition, it was in this occasion that he captured and brought back the Ottoman standard in crimson taffetas bearing Ali's two-bladed sword, Zulfiqar, and other Muslim symbols in contrasting coloured silks, still in their collection)[105].

His role was crucial; but his behaviour at the moment of the clash with the enemy (particularly the manoeuvres he ordered to avoid encirclement by the Turkish fleet's left wing, led by Uluç Ali, called Occhiali by the Italians) was harshly criticized by the leaders of the Venetian and papal forces[106]; Marcantonio Colonna, in particular, orchestrated what has been defined a defamation campaign against him[107]. Though Juan de Austria expressed his full support and appreciation for Doria's actions, it still made his participation to the Christians' greatest success against the Ottomans quite controversial. Many official representations of the battle, especially those connected to papal commissions, purposely omitted depicting the events that took place in the southern sector, in which the galleys led by Giovanni Andrea confronted Uluç Ali's[108]. A number of reports preserved in the Doria Pamphilj Archive in Rome – including the copy of a "Relatione" Giovanni Andrea sent to Giacomo Di Negro, describing in detail the phases of the battle, «perché mi è venuto

101 Braudel 1973, p. 1088.

102 See Le Thiec 2007; Strunck 2011, pp. 217-242; Scorza 2012b.

103 «The most complete chronicle of the Battle of Lepanto ever produced in the field of fine arts», Junquera 1971, p. 22.

104 Borghesi 2008, p. 111.

105 The standard might have migrated from the Palazzo del Principe in Genoa to the Doria Pamphilj palace in Rome (which had become the principal residence of the Doria family, subsequent to their inheriting the Pamphilj properties, titles and surname) in the late 18th or in the 19th centuries, as many other objects did (see Stagno 2013, pp. 169-206), though no document proving that has been found. During prince Alfonso Doria Pamphilj's tenure (1890-1914), it was exhibited in the display of arms and military antiques created in the Winter Garden of the family's roman palace, of which a photograph by Romualdo Moscioni (1849-1925) survives in the collections of Archivio Doria Pamphilj, Rome.

106 Savelli 1992; Borghesi 2008, p. 111, with bibliography. See also Scorza 2012b, pp. 170-171.

107 Capponi 2010, p. 254.

108 See Scorza 2012b, pp. 169-170.

all'orecchie che alcuni vanno dicendo che il giorno della battaglia mi allargai con il corno diritto che io guidava troppo in mare et lo attribuiscono a poca voglia di combattere»[109] – attest to Doria's efforts to fully clear his name and claim the sizable share of glory he felt was his due. His decision to commission such a detailed illustration of the sequence of relevant events – preceded by a series of six canvases with the same subjects as the narrative parts of the tapestries, which he sent to Antonio Perez, Philip II's secretary, and are now at the Escorial – is probably at least partly motivated by the same reasons. A study published in 2008[110] analyses the material story and complex iconography of the tapestries (as well as the relation between them and the earlier canvases); therefore they will be just summarized in this paper, while more specific attention will be paid to the figures of Turks represented in close-up in the low section of the two last tapestries. The set was commissioned by Giovanni Andrea about ten years after the battle. A modest payment in 1581 to Lazzaro Calvi (a prolific but relatively minor artist often employed by Giovanni Andrea) for six drawings, and important ones in 1582 and 1583 to Luca Cambiaso (the best Genoese painter of the time, soon to depart for Spain, where he would serve the king) for the "patroni" – the tapestry cartoons – are recorded[111]. The series comprises six main pieces, plus three vertical "entre-fenêtres" with personifications of Spain, Rome and Venice[112]. Each of the main pieces bears a central narrative scene, flanked by two personifications of virtues related to it (for instance, Concord associated to the meeting of the League's ships, Vigilance connected to the sea journey, etcetera); and a lower section displaying inscriptions that refer to the above scene, with either allegorical or realistic figures at their sides. This section is where negative or defeated characters are represented, such as the chained personification of Ocean under the depiction of the Christian fleet coasting Calabria.

It is to be noted that, though Giovanni Andrea was a most devout post-tridentine champion of the catholic faith, with the foundation or renovation of no less than eight churches and convents to his name and a strong connection to Borromeo's circle[113], this detailed representation abstains from presenting Lepanto as a God-given victory, diverging in this from most other works of art connected with the theme[114].

109 «As it came to my ears that some people are saying that on the day of the battle I extended too far the line of the right wing [of the fleet], which I led, and they attribute this to little will to fight» (ADP, *Relatione*, Scaff. 75.30.5; other reports on the battle are preserved in the same box). See also *Particolare relatione del viaggio et della vittoria dell'armata della lega contra infideli l'anno del 1571*, in ADP Scaff. 79.53. 5.

110 Stagno 2008.

111 *Ibidem*. The cartoons were sent to Brussels, were the tapestries were made.

112 All the pieces are in Palazzo del Principe, except the entre-fenêtre depicting Spain, which is in a different private collection.

113 Stagno 1999.

114 Cf. Le Thiec 2007, pp. 39-40; Strunck 2011.

No Virgin, saints or angels are visible here, no religious figures of any kind. The commentary joined to the narrative scenes is entrusted to the personifications and emblems that frame them, which refer, through an allegorical vocabulary rooted in classical tradition, to the virtues, skills, good luck, final victory and deserved fame of the Christians engaged in the enterprise. The visual motifs that compose this symbolic discourse mostly come from Cartari's *Images of the Gods of the Ancient* and, above all, Valeriano's *Hieroglifica*, volumes which are listed in a later catalogue of the Doria library including a high number of mid and late 16th century volumes, presumably Giovanni Andrea's own books (some of which are known to have been rare and precious)[115].

The last two tapestries of the set represent the final phase of the battle, with the flight of seven Ottoman galleys commanded by Uluç Ali (the only Ottoman commander to survive), and the triumphal return of the victorious fleet to the Christian stronghold of Corfu. In the lower sections, Turks (rather than the allegories prevailing in the other pieces of the set) are depicted, two for each tapestry (figs. 11 a, b, c, d). All of them are surrounded by a wealth of sumptuous weapons. Three have their arms tied or chained behind their back, a position which obviously denotes them as "captivi" and which finds an obvious model in the Ottoman in the foreground of Titian's Lepanto allegory for Philip II, as well as in other permanent or ephemeral visual celebrations of Christian victories; the fourth is lying dead on a shield. It can be observed that their figures are afforded a high degree of dignity. The very last one, close to the personification of Fame (fig. 11d), is given a classical outlook, with a naked torso and a sort of Phrygian cap; but the others display a rich apparel and good, non-grotesque facial features, devoid of marked indicators of specific ethnicity[116]. Their exotic characters are not exasperated; they do not even wear turbans: their headgear is among the objects represented around them, together with the splendid arms discreetly emblazoned with the crescent. By comparing them, for instance, with Vasari's Turks in the Sala Regia's Lepanto frescoes, evoked by the personifications of their vices with their tragic consequences (Death, Fear, Weakness, Ruin, Pride) or represented as physically oppressed by the allegory of Faith[117], and with the prisoners depicted by Ligozzi in the *Return of the Knights of saint Stephen from Lepanto* in the order's church in Pisa, whose barbarian, almost animal-like appearance has been noted[118], it can be understood that in

115 See Stagno 2008, pp. 73-80. The list, which appears to be the catalogue of the family library in Palazzo del Principe, comprises mid 17th century titles, but has an important nucleus of 16th century books. Giovanni Andrea certainly was the owner of a library, which included rare volumes. Albert V of Bavaria, for instance, sent him a letter asking for the loan of some books which were written "in lingua affricana".

116 On the perception and depiction of Ottoman ethnicity, see Kaplan 2011, pp. 41-66.

117 Scorza 2012b, pp. 160, 184.

118 Strunck 2011, pp. 224-225. For another instance of allegorical representation of the Christian triumph in Lepanto centred on the Turks' vices, see Francesco Sorce's analysis of Lattanzio Gambara's fresco in Palazzo Lalatta, Parma (Sorce 2016).

this case the role assigned to these figures is that of worthy enemies, rather than intrinsically inferior and almost diabolical infidels. This choice is consistent with the way the battle itself is presented: the inscription under its depiction in the fourth tapestry states that DIV UTRINQUE AC FORTITER PUGNANTUR TANDEM FOEDERATORUM CLASSIS SUPERIOR EVADIT: they fought long and bravely on both sides, at last the League's fleet prevailed. The aim of this kind of representation – as it will happen in the much later frescoes in the Palazzo Colonna in Rome, exalting Marcantonio[119] – is clearly that of underlining the greatness of the feat accomplished by the Christian fleet that had Giovanni Andrea among its top commanders, in a context that was shaped by an intent of celebration (or defence) of Doria's political and military role, rather than by a religious agenda. Marina Formica states that the passage of the confrontation with the Other from a religious to a political/military plane, which allowed recognition of the enemy's valour, is attested, in particular, by Francesco Sansovino's *Dell'historia uniuersale dell'origine et imperio de Turchi*[120], a three-volume opus published for the first time in 1560-1561 in which the author gathered the most important texts published on the Turks, with the aim of providing, as he states, "intera cognizione delle forze & della grandezza loro", full information on their strengths and greatness, even proposing a parallel between their empire and the Roman one[121]. It is therefore interesting to note that the already mentioned catalogue of the Doria library[122] includes both this influential work and the other one Sansovino devoted to the Ottoman theme, *Gl'Annali overo le vite de' principi et signori della casa Othomana*[123].

The lack of an explicit religious perspective in the Lepanto tapestries is partly counterbalanced by Giovanni Andrea's decision at a later date, in the mid 1590s, to have himself portrayed (probably by Lazzaro Calvi)[124] as Constantine on the eve of the battle at the Milvian Bridge (312 a.D.), gazing at the luminous cross in the sky, on the vault of one the ground floor rooms (fig. 12). This projection of himself as *miles* and *princeps christianus*, involving the noble *persona* of the first Christian emperor, surely draws on many aspects of Doria's life and public image, but its first obvious reference is to the continuous war waged by Giovanni Andrea toward the new enemies of Christiandom, the Ottomans, to be defeated in the name of the Cross as the pagans had been in Constantine's time; it even assumes the value of a more specific allusion to the battle of Lepanto if we consider that the Crucifix and the motto "in hoc signo

119 Strunck 2011.
120 Sansovino 1560-1561.
121 Formica 2012, pp. 42-43.
122 ADP, Scaff. 75.94, Library catalogue (untitled).
123 Sansovino 1570.
124 On the fresco, see Gorse 1980, pp. 132-136 (where it was first published and attributed to Andrea Semino, and Giovanni Andrea's features were recognized in Constantine's profile) and Stagno 2017b.

vinces", which appeared to the Roman emperor together with the cross and was inscribed on the *labarum* he brought to battle, were chosen to decorate the papal standard flown by Marcantonio Colonna on his flagship at Lepanto and later dedicated to the Virgin in Gaeta's cathedral, and were also associated to the standard presented by Pius V to Juan de Austria in the scene's depiction offered by such well known celebratory images as Giovanni Mellon's medal for Cardinal Perrenot de Granvelle[125].

This iconography has the characters of an exception in the context of the fresco and stucco cycles that Giovanni Andrea commissioned for Palazzo del Principe, for which he generally chose classical myths and (less frequently) "pagan" Roman history as subjects, in continuity with Andrea's example. But also exceptional in this sense was the artistic program of what he considered to be «la meglio pezza habbi in casa»[126] (the best room he had in his house), which was built and ornamented with the specific purpose of making it the new ceremonial heart of the palace: the Galleria Aurea (Golden Gallery), whose construction began in 1594[127]. For it, Giovanni Andrea envisioned a grand cycle, composed of a rich stucco decoration, the execution of which he entrusted to the well-known specialist Marcello Sparzo[128], and five central "vacui" (empty spaces) that had to be frescoed, for which he sought to acquire the services of the best painters, including the Carracci and probably Caravaggio, without success (he died without seeing the pictorial part of the cycle carried out)[129]. The main feature of the stucco decoration, presumably completed in 1599 when the new queen of Spain, Margaret of Austria, used the gallery to receive princes and ambassadors during her Genoese sojourn[130], is the series of "all'antica" statues (six on each long side of the gallery, one at the centre of each short side), influenced by the paradigm of the Twelve Cesars but in fact portraying the most illustrious members of the Doria house, from the medieval heroes to Andrea, in the attire of Roman generals[131]. When Giovanni Andrea – who, as his epistolary shows, was very much involved with the iconographic program – chose a seminal image of the great admiral, meant to dominate the room from its privileged position at the centre of the end side of the gallery, the preferred model was that offered by the colossal marble figure sculpted by Montorsoli. In Sparzo's stucco statue (fig. 13), Andrea is presented as a victorious Roman general or emperor, crowned with laurel; his foot rests directly on a Turk's turbaned head.

125 Scorza 2012b, pp. 147-148.

126 ADP, Scaff. 85.33, Letter from Giovanni Andrea Doria to Orazio Spinola, May 16th, 1605.

127 Regarding the Galleria Aurea, its building and decoration, see Stagno 2017b, with bibliography.

128 Sparzo was engaged in the decoration of four rooms, the gallery and the adjacent chapel; the work went on at least from 1596 to 1601 (Stagno 2017a). For an analysis of the artist's activity for Giovanni Andrea Doria, see Galassi 1999 and Sanguineti 2015.

129 *Ibidem*.

130 For Margaret's sojourn at Palazzo del Principe, see Stagno 2002b.

131 Stagno 2017b.

This explicit visual rendering of the admiral vanquishing the enemy – iconologically similar to the depiction of his trampling the prone figures of the Ottomans in the painting from Melfi – should have been narratively amplified by the planned but never executed fresco representation of his military feats on the gallery's ceiling[132], which would have completed Giovanni Andrea's vision of dynastic celebration. Doria's adoption in his own patronage (with regard to his predecessor's effigy) of the successful formula inaugurated by the publicly commissioned statue by Montorsoli, already a model for such important sculptural portraits as Leones Leoni's effigy of Charles V now in the Prado[133], was soon followed by the commission on the part of the city magistrates of a portrait sculpture of Giovanni Andrea himself – a tribute to his role as guarantor of the political preservation of the Republic ("patriae libertatis conservator") – which was programmatically and closely modelled after Andrea's one with regard both to iconography and dimensions.

Destined to guard the other side of Palazzo Ducale's entrance, in symmetry with Montorsoli's sculpture, the new "twin" statue (fig. 14), decreed in 1601[134], was executed by Taddeo Carlone. It shares the same history of Montorsoli's sculpture, and is therefore similarly damaged. On its base, Giovanni Andrea's left foot can be seen pressing down one of the two figures of Turks, quite close to its turbaned head, while the other foot is on the defeated enemies' arms. Both the tense arching of the bodies and the expressions of the heavily mustachioned, strongly featured faces convey the drama of the Ottomans' defeat and subjugation. The continuity with Andrea's exceptional legacy, pursued by Giovanni Andrea in so many aspects of his life and career, here finds an authoritative visual confirmation, significantly based on the illustration of triumph over the Turks as the distinctive character shared by the two Dorias' public *personae*. It is a fit conclusion for a relation with the enemy's image that had known, in the course of the 16th century, many variations, from Andrea's indirect approach to Giovanni Andrea's more explicit one, consistent on the one hand with transformations in the representation of the Other in post-siege of Malta, post-Lepanto Christian imagery[135], but at the same time also rooted in the necessity for the latter to openly defend a less assured position, a

132 In letters written to Giovanni Andrea in January 1597 quoted in Merli, Belgrano 1874 (and currently not preserved among the letters received by Giovanni Andrea in that period, in ADP, Scaff. 82.15), Gerolamo Doria suggested the detailed subjects of the paintings, which, according to the succinct summary offered by the 19th century scholars, should have represented the military feats of the famous men of the Doria house, and especially those of Andrea (Merli, Belgrano 1874, p. 69). The paintings were not executed because Giovanni Andrea could find no artist that satisfied him, or could not reach an agreement with the painters he thought suitable; later on, a personification of Fame and putti were frescoed, probably by Giulio Benso.

133 For instances of statues for which Montorsoli's marble figure of Andrea was a model, see Parma Armani 1987, p. 289.

134 Sborgi 1970, p. 127.

135 Scorza 2012b, pp. 177-178.

more controversial role[136]. At the same time, the two Dorias' patronage found a consistency of character in the prevalence of the military/political discourse over the religious dimension of the conflict, never translated directly into visual terms; while the two statues commissioned by the Republic's magistrates – placed in the public space at the entrance of the doge's palace and reiterating the same aulic iconography – crystallized the official, most explicit and most widely known image of the Turks' defeat (again, presented in classical terms devoid of Christian symbols) as basis of the Doria admirals' glory, celebrated by a grateful Republic.

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136 In fact, as previously indicated, the works of art commissioned by Giovanni Andrea were not themselves homogeneous, but conveyed quite different nuances of meaning according to their purpose, measured by the distance between the representation of humiliated Turks under Andrea's feet in the dynastic painting, and the defeated but dignified figures in the Lepanto tapestries.

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Appendix

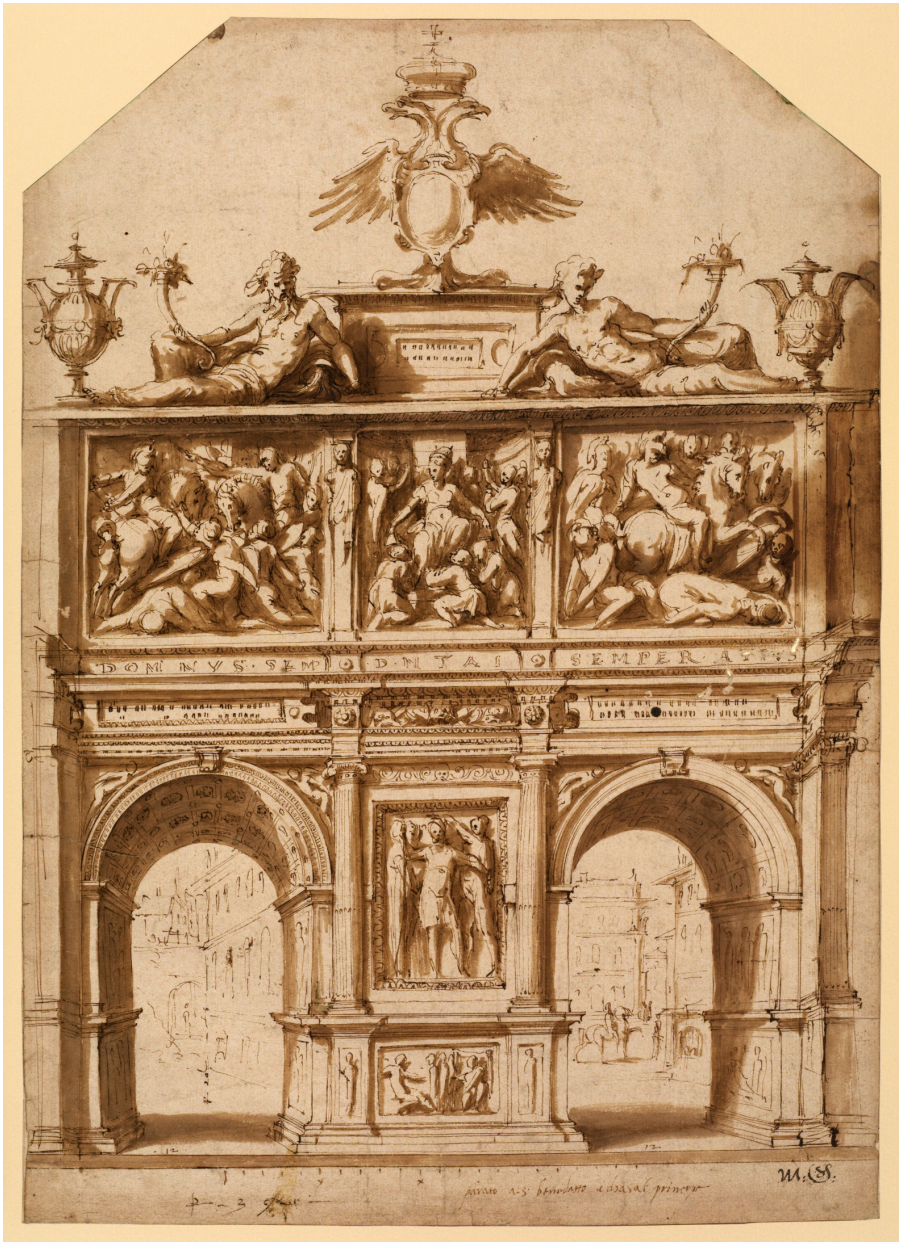

Fig. 1. Perino del Vaga, *Triumphal Arch for Charles V's 1533 entry in Genoa*, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Blunt Collection © Courtauld Institute, London

Fig. 2. *Figure of slave*, part of the Hall of the Giants' monumental fireplace, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe © Amministrazione Doria Pamphilj srl, Rome

Fig. 3. *Portrait of Andrea Doria* "VT DVX ET PRINCEPS PRELIORVM VICTOR", by Enea Vico, in L. Capelloni, *Vita del prencipe Andrea Doria discritta da m. Lorenzo Capelloni con un compendio della medesima vita, e con due tauole; l'una delle cose più generali, & l'altra delle cose più notabili*, Venezia, Gabriele Giolito De Ferrari, 1565

Fig. 4. Baccio Bandinelli, *Andrea Doria receiving captives wearing Phrygian caps*, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques © Musée du Louvre, Paris

Fig. 5. Giovannangelo Montorsoli, *All'antica portrait statue of Andrea Doria (fragments)*, Genoa, Palazzo Ducale © Comune di Genova

Fig. 6. Leone Leoni, *Giannettino Doria's marine triumph, with Andrea Doria as Neptune*, plaquette, London, British Museum © British Museum, London

Fig. 7. Leone Leoni, *Giannettino Doria sacrificing*, plaquette, London, British Museum © British Museum, London

Fig. 8. Cesare and Alessandro Semino, *Ecce Homo*, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe © Amministrazione Doria Pamphilj srl, Rome

Fig. 9. Late 16th century painter, *The Passage of Power from Andrea to Giovanni Andrea Doria (Andrea Doria's triumph)*, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe © Amministrazione Doria Pamphilj srl, Rome

Fig. 10. *"Battle of Lepanto" set of tapestries*, designed by Luca Cambiaso, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe, Neptune's Hall © Amministrazione Doria Pamphilj srl, Rome

Fig. 11a and 11b. *Defeated Turks*, detail of *The victory and the seven Ottoman galleys' flight*, fifth piece of the*"Battle of Lepanto" set of tapestries*, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe, Neptune's Hall © Amministrazione Doria Pamphilj srl, Rome

Fig. 11c and 11d. *Defeated Turks*, detail of *Return of the victorius fleet to Corfu*, sixth piece of the *"Battle of Lepanto" set of tapestries*, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe, Neptune's Hall © Amministrazione Doria Pamphilj srl, Rome

Fig. 12. Lazzaro Calvi, *Constantine on the eve of the battle at the Milvian Bridge*, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe, Constantine's Hall © Amministrazione Doria Pamphilj srl, Rome

Fig. 13. Marcello Sparzo, *All'antica portrait statue of Andrea Doria*, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe, Golden Gallery © Amministrazione Doria Pamphilj srl, Rome

Fig. 14. Taddeo Carlone, *All'antica portrait statue of Giovanni Andrea Doria (fragments)*, Genoa, Palazzo Ducale © Comune di Genova

Capriotti G., Becoming paradigm: the image of the Turks in the construction of Pius V's sanctity
«Il Capitale culturale», Supplementi 06 (2017), pp. 189-221
ISSN 2039-2362 (online); ISBN 978-88-6056-553-2
DOI: 10.13138/2039-2362/1712

Becoming paradigm: the image of the Turks in the construction of Pius V's sanctity

Giuseppe Capriotti*

Abstract

This essay uses three exemplary images to analyse how the image of the Turkish enemy was used to promote the beatification and sanctification of Pope Pius V. It shows how the Turk became the emblem of the battles the Church fought in the modern era against all forms of religious and political dissidence. Firstly, in a frontispiece published in the *Vita* by Girolamo Catena (1586), the victory over the Turks is remembered alongside the victory over the Huguenot heretics. Then in Lazzaro Baldi's 1672 painting of Pius V's beatification, the Pope is celebrated exclusively as the prophet who received the revelation about the victory at the battle of Lepanto. Finally, there is Andrea Procaccini's altarpiece (1712) that

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The author thanks Marina Caffiero, Borja Franco Llopis, Laura Stagno, Chiara Musio, Simone Settembri, Elena Santilli, Roberto Dell'Orso. This article is part of the Research Project HAR2016-80354-P, "Before Orientalism: Images of the Muslim in the Iberian Peninsula (15th-17th Centuries) and Mediterranean Connections", PI: Borja Franco Llopis.

he created following the Pope's canonization for the chapel of St. Pius V in Santa Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome. This picture shows St. Michael the Archangel as the *alter ego* of Pius V, in the process of knocking down the Turkish enemy personified as a woman. Here it is possible that the Turkish woman represents multiple layers of meaning. On the surface she symbolises the Ottoman Empire, but she may also be a representation of heresy and the battles that the Church faced at that time, as Europe became increasingly secular and more independent from the dictates of Catholicism.

Il saggio analizza attraverso tre immagini paradigmatiche come l'immagine del nemico turco sia stata utilizzata per promuovere la beatificazione e la santificazione di papa Pio V e come essa sia divenuta progressivamente l'emblema di tutte le lotte da compiere da parte della Chiesa contro ogni forma di dissidenza religiosa e politica in età moderna. Mentre nell'antiporta pubblicata nella *Vita* di Girolamo Catena (1586) la vittoria sui turchi è ricordata insieme a quella sugli eretici ugonotti, nel quadro della beatificazione, realizzato da Lazzaro Baldi nel 1672, il pontefice è celebrato solo ed esclusivamente come il profeta che ha ricevuto la rivelazione delle vittoria di Lepanto. A seguito della canonizzazione (1712) Andrea Procaccini realizza la pala d'altare per la cappella di San Pio V in Santa Maria Sopra Minerva a Roma, nella quale il nemico turco, personificato in una donna, viene atterrato da un San Michele arcangelo, che è l'*alter ego* di San Pio V. In questo caso è possibile che la donna turca rappresenti non solo l'Impero Ottomano, ma anche più in generale l'Eresia e le lotte che la Chiesa deve condurre in un'Europa sempre più laica e indipendente dei dettami del cattolicesimo.

1. *A first construction of the image of Pius V among Turks and Heretics, from before he became a saint*

Pope Pius V (born Antonio Ghislieri and later, as a Dominican, Friar Michele)[1] died on May 1st 1572, less than a year after the battle of Lepanto. It would take a further decade for him to be celebrated as a figure worthy of the honour of the altars. In the spring of 1586, Girolamo Catena published the *Vita del gloriosissimo papa Pio V*[2] in Rome and followed this with two further editions in 1587, one published in Rome and one in Mantova. This work is dedicated to Sixtus V, the Pope in office at that time, who was appointed cardinal under Pius V. Indeed, it was Sixtus who promoted the construction of Pius' grave in the 'Sistine Chapel' of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome between 1587 and 1591[3]. The two Roman editions of the book begin with a title page showing the author, title and typographic notes (the city, publisher and publishing date). Then

[1] Fernandez 1985; Feci 2000; Guasco, Torre 2012.

[2] Catena 1586. The hagiographic production linked to Pius V was analysed by Gotor 2005 e Gasti 2012.

[3] Cf. Herz 1981.

follows an extraordinarily interesting frontispiece (fig. 1)[4], which imitates the arrangement of the ephemeral arches that are used during festivals, processions, and triumphs[5]. This frontispiece uses personifications, historical scenes, and inscriptions to illustrate a complex allegory, in which the energetic Pope is celebrated as triumphant over Turks and Heretics[6]. According to Catena, «since Pius thought that Christianity had constantly been beaten and oppressed by the two evils of Turks and Heretics, he decided at the beginning of his pontificate to break down the pride of the former, and to extinguish the impiety of the other»[7].

The central image of the Pope dominates the scene. His face is in profile, with hands woven in prayer before a crucifix. The *mozzetta* (cape) is present, although the *camauro* (hat) is missing. Surrounding the portrait is an inscription modelled on the biblical passage Galatians 6, 14 (Mihi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi)[8], that is, ABSIT MIHI GLORIARI NISI IN CRVCE DOMINI NOSTRI IESV CHRISTI[9]. This iconography – the praying Pope, the crucifix and the same motto bordering the image – is found on several medals and coins forged during his pontificate[10]. In fact, Girolamo Catena stated that the reason «painters portray him with a crucifix in his hands»[11] is because the Pope kept such a crucifix in real life, alongside a copy of the same motto. On top of this oval image sits Pope Ghislieri's banded emblem, while directly underneath lie the emblems of the Dominicans to the right, and of the Cardinal-Nephew Michele Bonelli to the left[12]. The presence of these emblems proves that Catena's *Vita* of Pius V was strongly supported by both Bonelli and the Dominican Order of Preachers. Bonelli was the son of the Pope's sister Domenica and he employed Catena as his long-term secretary[13]. He also had strong ties with the Dominican Order, having acted as their prefect of the Congregation of the Regulars since 1586[14]. Bonelli also promoted his uncle's image through the Latin translation of the *Vita*, which had to be modified

4 An unbound print of the book is preserved in the Casanatense library in Rome: 20.B.I 44/361.

5 On the difference between title page and frontispiece in the modern age see Barberi 1982.

6 On the importance of illustrated title pages and frontispieces in modern age culture see Palumbo 2012. More in general see Barberi 1969; Smith 2000; Gilmont, Vanautgaerden 2008.

7 «havendo Pio considerato la Christianità esser da due gagliardi nemici, Turchi, e heretici, continuamente battuta, e oppressa, pensò a principio del suo Pontificato d'abbatter l'orgoglio dell'uno, e spegnere l'impietà dell'altro»: Catena 1586, p. 42.

8 «But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ; by whom the world is crucified to me, and I to the world».

9 «As for me, there is no other glory than the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ». A more literal translation could be: «I do not want to be glorified except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ».

10 See Toderi, Vannel 2000, III, tav. 467, file 2557. More in general see Fea 2004.

11 «i dipintori il dipingono con un Crucifisso in mano»: Catena 1586, p. 118. See Firpo 2010, p. 224; Mazzilli Savini 2012, p. 91.

12 The coat of arms of the Dominicans is capé argent and sable, in base a mullet sable. The coat of arms of Bonelli is quarterly: 1st and 4th bendy; 2nd and 3rd per fess: 1st a bull passant, 2nd bendy; chief with a cross.

13 See Patrizi 1979.

14 See Prosperi 1969.

after the Spanish Inquisition censored the first edition because the monarchy disapproved the book's discussion of the relationship between the Holy See and Spain[15]. Next, below these two coats of arms is a table containing an inscription that recalls the Pope's name, his home region of Bosco (in the province of Alessandria) as well as the order to which he had belonged: PIVS. V. P. M. BOSCO / ORIVNDVS. FORMER. ORD. / PRAED. Then below the table is a scene depicting a naval battle. The ships on the left are marked with the cross, and seem to have the upper hand over the sinking ships to the right, which are marked by a crescent moon. Meanwhile, men wearing Ottoman turbans or fez hats are falling or drowning in the water. This is clearly a scene from the Battle of Lepanto, as reported by the Christian fleets of the Holy League. It was Pius V who had constituted the league, and Catena's who later celebrated the battle as a heroic triumph in his *Vita*. The legacy of Lepanto would go on to become the greatest emblem of Pope Ghislieri's pontificate over the centuries.

The entire left side of the frontispiece is dedicated to the Battle of Lepanto. At the top is a female figure marked by the writing LIBER(ALITAS), who holds in her hands an upside-down cornucopia from which fruit spills out. According to the *Iconologia* by Cesare Ripa (first published in 1591, although it incorporates older ideas) the cornucopia is indeed one of the attributes of the personification of Liberality, the virtue of sharing one's own wealth and means for the benefit of the community[16]. Underneath this personification is a niche in which three figures are standing. In the centre, as a symbol of the papacy, there is a male figure wearing the papal tiara which is immersed in a luminescent halo. This figure watches over an embrace between a figure with the headgear and cape of the Venetian doge, representing the Serenissima, and a character wearing a crest, representing Spain. Below these characters is a table bearing the writing FOEDVS. ICTVM. / IN. TVR(CAS). ET. / VICT(ORES), meaning «the winners and the alliance against the Turks». This clearly refers to the Holy League's battle against the Ottoman empire, constituted by Pius V in alliance with the Republic of Venice and the Spanish monarchy[17]. The same iconography of this alliance appears in two medals forged by Giovanni Antonio de Rossi in 1571, where the three figures are marked by the same attributes and with a similar inscription: FOEDERIS IN TVRCAS SANCTIO, meaning «the constitution of the alliance against the Turks»[18] (fig. 2). The medals have other symbols that further characterise the three figures. Under their feet we can see: the lion of St. Mark for the Serenissima, the lamb with the cross (the *Agnus Dei*) that represents

15 The issue has been thoroughly analysed by Gotor 2005, pp. 221-240.

16 Ripa 1992, pp. 248-250.

17 Canosa 2000, pp. 129-140.

18 Samples of these medals are preserved at the British Museum in London, and at the Civic Museum in Alessandria. See Toderi, Vannel 2000, III, tav. 426, nn. 2262 and 2263; Panizza 1985. Interesting variations on the iconography of the alliance were explored by engraver Martin Rota da Sebenico to represent the Holy League. See Pelc 1992.

the Papal State, and the eagle symbolising Spain[19]. The same iconography was used by Giorgio Vasari in his painting *Preparation for the battle of Lepanto* (1572) in the Sala Regia of the Vatican, as part of a cycle commissioned by Pius V[20]. Returning to the frontispiece, under the representation of the Holy League there is a panel depicting trophies from the victory at Lepanto. Among the Turkish half-moon flags is the grisly image of a Turk being hung, still wearing his turban, while at the bottom two prisoners are chained down among the scattered weapons and turbans. These are Turkish soldiers forced into slavery following the battle. The image of the Turkish slave has a long iconographic tradition that has yet to be analysed in all its variations. However, it was probably codified in the modern age after Titian's famous painting for Philip II, which celebrates both the victory of Lepanto and the birth of Ferdinando, the first heir to the throne[21]. In the *Vita del gloriosissimo papa Pio V*, Catena describes and examines the slaves captured after the battle of Lepanto. According to him, more than 10,000 Turks were imprisoned[22]. The image of the slave was also displayed during the ephemeral celebrations for the victory. Upon returning home, the battle hero Admiral Marcantonio Colonna entered through the Porta Capena which had been decorated this way: «in front of it two big trophies were erected, showing the spoils of the enemies, and to which prisoners were tied up with their hands behind their backs»[23]. Moreover, the triumph included «about two hundred Turkish slaves, dressed in the papal livery»[24]; while «in the Capitol, flags stolen from the enemy were hanging from the windows», the triumphal procession later arrived at St. Peter in the Vatican, where Admiral Colonna kissed Pius's feet and «consigned to him the tied-up slaves»[25]. Staging the humiliation of the enslaved enemy was an important visual aspect to the victory celebrations, which highlighted the superior strength of the Christian power[26].

On its right-hand side the frontispiece illustrates the superiority of Catholic orthodoxy over heretics. At the top, opposite Liberalitas, is a long-necked bird

[19] These three figures also appear in an engraving that decorates the prophetic pamphlet *Discorso sulla futura et sperata vittoria contro i Turchi (Speech on the future, awaited victory against the Turks)*, written by Giovan Battista Nazari and published in Venice in 1570 (Nazari 1570). See Pierozzi 1994.

[20] See Scorza 2012a; Blunt 1939/1940, p. 64, note 6; more in general see De Long 1998, in particular pp. 233-234.

[21] I have been carrying out research on the development of this iconography that is soon to be published. See Capriotti 2016. On the iconography of the slave see, in general, McGrathm, Massing 2012.

[22] Catena 1586, p. 200.

[23] «avanti la quale furono eretti due gran trophei, mostrando le spoglie de nemici, a cui eran ligati prigioni con le man dietro»: *ivi*, p. 203.

[24] «andavano avanti gli Schiavi Turchi circa dugento, vestiti della livrea del Papa»: *ivi*, p. 205.

[25] «nel campidoglio pendevano dalle fenestre l'insegne tolte da nemici»; «gli consignò gli schiavi ligati»: *ivi*, p. 206.

[26] Scorza 2012b, pp. 140-142.

marked by the writing GRATITVDO, which is a personification of gratitude[27]. Underneath the bird is a niche that frames the dove of the Holy Spirit, immersed in a luminescent halo, which looks over two female figures standing face to face. Both figures carry attributes: the woman on the right holds a crown in one hand, and with the other she is using a stick to set fire to a pile of books lying at her feet; the woman on the left is looking towards the burning books, and is grasping a round temple as well as an obscure circular object. The first woman would seem the personification of Peace who usually burns weapons[28], but here is burning the weapons of heretics, their books. Because of the presence of the crown in one hand, it could more precisely be a personification of the French Crown, that defeat the heresy in agreement with the pope. The temple carried by the other woman has been used since the Middle ages as an attribute of the personification of the Church (especially in the iconography of the contrast between Church and Synagogue)[29]. If in the left-hand niche there is an allegory of the Holy League saving Europe from the Turkish threat, then in the right-hand niche there might be an allegory of the actions made by Pius V and the French Crown to eradicate heresy[30]. Next, written on the table underneath the figures is HERETI / CORUM. / CLADES, meaning «the heretics defeat». This introduces the last episode of the frontispiece: in the bottom right corner is a battle with knights and infantry, over which stands a flag bearing the coat of arms of Pope Pius V. Here, it is possible that the print refers to an episode that Catena describes: the defeat of the Huguenots at Moncontour in Brittany in 1569. Catena tells the anecdote of a Huguenot knight who converted to Catholicism upon seeing armed men appear in the air alongside the Pope's insignia. According to the author, «when they unfolded the Pope's insignia, [the Huguenot knights] saw in the air men with glittering armour and bloody swords going against them». One of the knights «immediately converted to the Catholic faith, vowing to God that if he escaped death he would always follow the signs of Pius»[31].

Exactly as it happens in the monument dedicated to Pius V by Sixtus V in Santa Maria Maggiore, where the victories against Turks and Huguenots are celebrated[32], the frontispiece consecrates Pius V as the vanquisher of these two

27 Ripa 1992, p. 169: «Donna che in mano tenga una Cicogna».

28 *Ivi*, pp. 334-337: «Donna, che nella destra mano tiene una face accesa rivolta in giù, e sotto à quella vi è un monte di arme di più sorte».

29 Kühnel 1993-1994.

30 I would like to thank the student Alessia Laudadio for suggesting me this interpretation during a lesson.

31 «videro allo spiegar dell'insegne del Papa huomini d'arme lucentissime in aria con le spade insanguinate contra loro»; «perciò subito alla fede catholica si convertì, voto a Dio facendo, se scampava, sempre seguir l'insegne di Pio»: Catena 1586, p. 74. On the issue of Huguenots in France see Penzi 2005. More in general, on the battle against heresy carried out by Pius V, see Sella 1972.

32 See Silli 1979; Borsellino 1992.

great threats to Catholicism[33]. Although Turks and heretics were both enemies of Pius V, it is the image of the Turk that has the major role in the frontispiece, since the central scene under the portrait of the Pope is specifically devoted to the battle of Lepanto. As we will see from the promotion of Pius V's image after his beatification and sanctification, the Pope's military commitment against the Turks later became increasingly prevalent. Eventually it would come to be the epitome of the struggle against heresy.

2. *The prophetic vision of the victory of Lepanto: the beatification painting*

The conflict of 1571 was merely a "disturbance on the surface" of the history of the Mediterranean, that failed to halt the eventual rise of the Ottoman empire[34]. However the battle of Lepanto became a vital part of the image of Pius V on the occasion of his beatification. Also important to the images was the 'prophecy' that Pius reportedly received during the battle[35]. Girolamo Catena says that Pius V had prayed, sighed, wept, and fasted so much before the battle that

> he deserved to be guided to victory by God on the day of the battle. Pius was far from the battlefields, in his rooms in the Vatican palace, where he was walking and dealing with important issues with Bartolomeo Busotti from Bibiena, the treasurer general. Moving away from everything, he opened a window and, turning his eyes to the sky, stared out for a long time, then closed the window, turned toward the Treasurer full of enthusiasm and said, "It's not time to negotiate, go and say thanks to God, because our army has fought with the Turkish army and this time it has won". He was leaving happily, when he turned to the Pope and saw him going to an altar and going down on his knees, thanking God with clasped hands[36].

[33] The same frontispiece, with some modifications, is used in the volume *De vita et rebus gestis Pii V Pontificis Maximi*, written by the Barnabite Giovanni Antonio Gabuzzi and published in Rome in 1605. Under the portrait the table carries a new inscription: PII. V. PONT. MAX. / VERA. EFFIGIES. The personification on the top left side is identical to that of the 1586 edition, carrying a cornucopia, but she is marked with the writing BENEFICENTIA. The personification on the top right side, on the contrary, has been completely modified: the woman holds in her hands a flame and a cross, accompanied by the writing RELIGIO. The two personifications under the niche on the right are identical to those of 1586, but are described with the words ZELVS. CATH.(OLICAE) / FIDEI., meaning «zeal and catholic faith». Also, the coat of arms under the Pope's portrait has been replaced by those of the Order of Barnabites: the oval on the left has a St. Paul with the sword, while the one on right hosts the Barnabites' coat of arms – a cross dividing the letters P(aulus) and A(postolus). At the moment it is difficult to establish the reasons for these slight modifications. On this *Life* see Gotor 2005, pp. 235-240; Gasti 2012, p. 62.

[34] See Formica 2012, pp. 65-102, in particular pp. 66-67.

[35] On this topic see the unrivalled work by Caffiero 1998, pp. 103-121.

[36] «meritò, che nel detto giorno Dio gli rivelasse la vittoria, stando Pio lontano tanto spatio di mare, e di terra, nel palagio Vaticano, alle sue stanze, per le quali passeggiando, e trattando negotij

Catena continues, saying that the treasurer stayed silent and simply wrote down the exact time when the Pope had received the revelation. When he learnt that the Christian fleets had in fact won, the treasurer recounted the episode to the cardinals and many other people, especially after the Pope's death. The same story was also told in 1605 by the Barnabite Giovanni Antonio Gabuzzi, in *De vita et rebus gestis Pii V Pontificis Maximi*, and later by the Dominican Arcangelo Caraccia in *Vita del beatissimo papa Pio Quinto*, edited in Pavia in 1615[37].

This prophecy forms the central theme of the official painting of the beatification of Pius V (fig. 3), created on the hundredth anniversary of his death (1st May 1672) under Pope Clement X[38]. In his *Breve relatione delle cerimonie et apparato della basilica di San Pietro nella beatificazione del Glorioso beato Pio V dell'ordine dei predicatori*, Giuseppe Elmi tells us that «over the Altar of the Chair was located a wonderful painting of Blessed Pius the Fifth, painted by the famous Lazzaro Baldi, depicting how an angel showed the naval battle to the Pope»[39]. Baldi (1624-1703) was a painter originally from Pistoia, but who later moved to Rome. He specialised in creating banners for canonisations and beatifications, supported by an extremely organised workshop that could work to very short deadlines using sketches and drawings that could be adapted to different needs[40]. His painting for this occasion portrays the Pope looking out the window with his arms wide open. Cherubs are holding open the curtain while an angel points to where Pius should direct his gaze. Beyond the curtain we glimpse a naval battle: some ships are marked with half-moons, others with the cross. Then, to the left, there is a kneeling stool that supports the papal tiara, a book, and a lily. All reference to the battle against heresy is absent from the painting. Instead, the image of Pius V is now exclusively that of the Pope prophet. Finally, above the battle and among the clouds is another small and interesting detail: the image of a tiny Madonna with Child, which has a particular hagiographic history and is connected to a prodigy.

d'importanza, e in specie con Mons. Bartholomeo Busotti da Bibiena Thesorier generale, spiccatosi d'improviso da loro, aprì una finestra, e rivolti gli occhi al Cielo, tennevigli fissi per un gran pezzo, indi riserrando la fenestra, e mostrandosi pieno di gran cose, riguardò il Thesoriere, e dissegli, "Non è tempo da negozia questo, andate à ringratiar Dio, perché la nostra armata ha combattuto con la Turchesca, e su quest'hora ha vinto". Et egli incontanente se n'andò, ma inandando rivoltosi indietro vide il Papa, che s'era corso à uno altarino, e gittatosi in ginocchion ringratiava Dio con le man giunte»: Catena 1586, p. 195.

37 Gabuzzi 1605, p. 133; Caraccia 1615, p. 133.

38 A painting with a similar subject is found in the cloister of Santa Maria sopra Minerva and was made by Giovanni Luigi Valesio from Bologna, who had moved to Rome following Gregory XV (1621-1623). The painting does not, however, represent the vision or the prophecy: at the bottom the Pope is holding a crucifix and is saying the rosary without looking up, where an angel is looking at the Virgin with Child, showing them a canvas with a scene of the battle of Lepanto. See Baglione 1642, p. 354.

39 «sopra l'Altare della Catedra stava collocato un bellissimo Quadro del Beato Pio Quinto, dipinto dal celebre Lazzaro Baldi, in questo rappresenta vasi come da un angelo gli fu mostrata la Rotta Navale»: Elmi 1672.

40 Casale 1982; Casale 2011, pp. 67-70.

In his *Vita* of 1586 Catena says that in the Sala Regia of the Vatican two frescoes were painted (they were in fact created by Giorgio Vasari in 1572), one with the Holy League and the other with

the naval battle represented in its crucial moment, when Christ, St. Peter and St. Paul and many angels appeared in the sky with weapons in their hands, threatening the Turks, driving demons away and favouring the Christians. They say that all this was clearly seen by some of the Turkish prisoners[41].

Therefore, according to the author some Turkish prisoners had seen Christ, alongside Saints Peter and Paul, and with other angels in the sky, all threatening the Turks and driving away demons that clearly represent the Turkish enemy. In 1615 Arcangelo Caraccia recounted that

some slaves had said that on the day of the battle, they saw in the air Christ and two saints (seemingly St. Peter and St. Paul), accompanied by many Angels, who had swords in their hands with which they threatened the Turks[42].

For Ludovico Iacobilli, the Protonotary Apostolic, this miraculous vision became something else entirely. In his life of Pius V published at the time of the beatification in 1661, he stated:

after four hours of very hard battle, the Christians defeated the Turkish army, with the help of the Virgin, who was seen by many people in the sky going against the Turks and the demons that were helping them; she was also seen inciting the Catholics against the Turks and blowing the wind towards them[43].

The presence of the Virgin among the clouds in Baldi's painting clearly derives from Iacobilli's account, although the painter represents her in a non-threatening attitude. The appearance of the Virgin is also present in a fascinating engraving made for the beatification of Pius V (fig. 4), one example of which is now preserved in the Casanatense library in Rome. In the lower part of the print, a long inscription in Latin recalls the fundamental stages of the Pope's life, from birth to beatification. In this image we again find the theme of prophecy exactly as Catena described it. Pius V is kneeling in front of the crucifix with his hands woven in prayer. However,

41 «la battaglia navale rappresentata al vivo, con Christo, e S. Pietro, e S. Paolo, e con di molti Angeli, che soprastanno in aria con l'arme in mano, minacciando à Turchi, e cacciando demonij, e così favoreggiando à Christiani. Tutto cio da alcuni Turchi prigioni s'intese essere stato apertamente veduto da loro»: Catena 1586, pp. 207-208. For the paintings by Vasari cfr. De Long 1998.

42 «S'intese da alcuni schiavi, che il giorno dell'Armata videro in aria Christo, e due Santi, e si stimò fossero San Pietro, e San Paolo, accompagnati da molti Angioli, c'havevano le spade in mano, con le quali minacciavano il Turco»: Caraccia 1615, p. 134.

43 «Doppo quattr'hore di durissima battaglia, i Christiani sconfissero l'Armata Turchesca, con l'aiuto dell'istessa B. Vergine, la quale fu vista da molti in aria agitar contro i Turchi, e contro i Demonij, che l'aiutavano; e animar i Cattolici contro Turchi, e soffiar vento contro essi»: Iacobilli 1661, p. 80.

this time he is looking up the other way, toward the angel who is opening the curtain to show him the defeat of the Turkish fleet in the background. Between the kneeling Pope and the naval battle there are also Dominican friars carrying a statue of the Madonna and Child, holding a rosary in her hand just like the one in the sky. Remembering the day of the battle, Caraccia says: «The seventh of October […] was Sunday and it was the day dedicated to the Holy Rosary, during which throughout Christianity, the Holy Rosary processions are held»[44]. Therefore, in the image the Virgin of the Rosary is repeated in the procession and in the sky to highlight the fact that the battle took place on the 7th October 1571. This was the first Sunday of October, the day that Romans used to celebrate the Virgin of the Rosary. By the 17th century, she had become the patron of the victory of Lepanto and was often celebrated with a rich iconography, especially among the Dominicans [45].

For the solemnization of August 7, 1672, Baldi's painting was taken to the church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva and placed in the higher altar of the sixth chapel[46]. In the *Vita di S. Pio V* published on the Pope's canonisation in 1712, biographer Paolo Alessandro Maffei tells us that Baldi's picture played an important role in the «solemn celebrations, held by the Order of Preachers in their church, Santa Maria Sopra Minerva» for the beatification:

> In the gallery, which was the most beautiful and adorned part of the whole church, a sumptuous Altar was erected, on which appeared the painting by Lazzaro Baldi, an excellent painter, with S. Pius on his knees, lost in the ecstasy of an angelic vision, which showed him the victory of the Christian army over the Ottomans at Lepanto[47].

Maffei states that during the festivities the church was decorated with eight canvases showing the Pope's greatest miracles, accompanied with Latin inscriptions explaining the significance of each scene. One canvas was devoted to the «ceremony of the delivery of the stick and banner of the Holy Church to Marcantonio Colonna, for his great expedition against the Ottomans, accompanied by the prophetic prediction of victory»[48]. Another five canvases were then placed outside the church:

[44] «Il settimo d'Ottobre […] fu giorno di Domenica dedicata al Santissimo Rosario nel quale per tutto il Christianesimo, si fanno le processioni del Santissimo Rosario»: Caraccia 1615, pp. 128-129.

[45] Čapeta Rakić, Capriotti 2017.

[46] Casale 2011, pp. 181-183. A preparatory sketch for this painting is preserved in the Department of Drawings of Uffizi museum (inv. n. 3238). See Pampalone 1979, pp. 40-41. The same episode appears in a painting realised by Lazzaro Baldi following the beatification, in the Chapel of the Collegio Ghislieri in Pavia, see Angelini, Raimondo 2005, p. 64.

[47] «feste solennissime, fatte dai Padri Predicatori nella loro Chiesa di S. Maria sopra Minerva»; «Nella tribuna, che come capo della medesima Chiesa, avanzava di molto nella bellezza, e nell'ornamento le altre membra, venne eretto sontuosissimo Altare, su cui compariva dipinto da Lazzaro Baldi, eccellente dipintore, S. PIO genuflesso, e rapito in estasi nell'Angelica visione, che gli mostrò l'armata Cristiana, vittoriosa della Ottomana presso Lepanto»: Maffei 1712, p. 635.

[48] «funzione della consegna del bastone, e dello stendardo Generalizio di S. Chiesa a Marcantonio Colonna per la gran spedizione contro l'Ottomano, accompagnata dalla profetica predizione della vittoria»: *ivi*, p. 638.

Above the main portal, the most important place, St. Pius was depicted in a majestic throne and surrounded by a splendid crown of cardinals, in the act of appointing D. John of Austria as General of the Catholic League against the Turks. And to represent the certainty of the victory, for it was said that the saint had been given divine revelation, the painter had painted in the distance a complex confusion of ruined Turkish vessels, under some horrific clouds, among which one could see the Blessed Virgin of the Rosary, aiming to fill the Christian army with happiness through her presence[49].

This ephemeral cycle consisted of 14 canvases in total, including Baldi's. Three were dedicated to the victory at Lepanto, and one to the expedition against the Huguenots in France. Although no trace of them remains, Maffei's description shows that the battle of Lepanto and the Virgin's prophecy and intervention were the focal point of the celebrations, while the Pope's struggles against the heresies played a much lesser role.

The beatification took place during the pontificate of Clement X, at a time when his greatest problem was the threat of the Turks. The Kingdom of Candia had fallen into the hands of the Turks in 1669, yet the major European powers of France and Spain remained mostly indifferent to this advance because they had business relations with the Ottoman Empire. But the Pope was extremely concerned, so continuously sent large sums of money to fund defences in places such as Poland. Having lost its authority among the European powers, it was difficult for the Church to group the Christian principalities against the Turkish enemy[50]. For Clement X, Pius V was the model of a resolute and rigorous Pope, who had successfully added strength and prestige to his Church, even though it had been in crisis in the second half of the 17th century[51].

3. *The Turk as the paradigm of the enemies of the faith: the altarpiece by Andrea Procaccini*

The canonisation of Pius V, proclaimed on 22nd May 1712 by Clement XI, also took place in a period of great uncertainty for the papacy[52]. Pope Clement's decision to support Philip V in the war of the Spanish succession had great consequences. Philip was the nephew of King Louis XIV of France, and had been

[49] «Nel sito di mezzo sopra la gran porta, come in un luogo più ragguardevole, veniva figurato S. Pio in maestoso trono sedente, e circondato da splendida corona di cardinali in atto di conferire a D. Giovanni d'Austria la dignità di Generalissimo della Lega Cattolica contro il Turco: e per mostrare quella sicurezza di compiuta vittoria, che si disse avere avuta il Santo per Divina rivelazione aveva fatto il dipintore in lontananza una confusione artifiziosissima di vascelli Turcheschi sdruciti, sotto l'orrore di alcune nubi, dalle quali si lasciava vedere la Santissima Vergine del Rosario, intenta a colmare di felicità l'armata Cristiana colla sua presenza»: *ivi*, pp. 641-642.

[50] Petrocchi 1955, pp. 91-92; Osbat 1982.

[51] Caffiero 1998, pp. 116-117.

[52] *Ivi*, pp. 118-119.

chosen as heir to the Spanish Empire by the deceased Carlos II of Spain. Philip's claim to the throne was challenged by Emperor Joseph I of Habsburg, who occupied several territories of the Papal state. This forced Clement to recognise Joseph's brother, Carlos III, as King of Spain. Then in retaliation, Philip V cut off relations with the Roman curia and halted payment of the Pope's annuity in France. As more territories fell under Imperial rule, the Pope would lose even more annuities from the region[53]. Even for the unstable sphere of religion and dogma, Clement XI's papacy was a succession of uncertainties and failures. It was a time that also included the spread of Jansenism especially in France, where papal measures against such heresy were not respected, and the Papal bull *Unigenitus* (1713) was even refused by many prelates[54]. Against this backdrop of instability, and following the Turkish declaration of war against Venice (1714), Clement XI tried to redeem the fall of his international prestige and to overcome the divisions between the Catholic European powers. He re-emerged as a leader of a Christian League against the Ottoman Empire, perhaps attempting to halt the crisis of the papacy by using fear of the Turks as a rallying point. However, the results were disappointing and «European Catholic countries made the defence against Turkey an instrument to increase their claims and to consolidate their anti-curia policy»[55].

There are marked differences between the papacies of Pius V and Clement XI. However, in Maffei's biography of Pius V he offers a dedication to the Pope in office, in which the author claims to have been

> driven to the enterprise by the perfect resemblance between the heroic actions of the Saint, and those of YOUR BEATITUDE. So I think it is superfluous to make a comparison, since each one in the history of this great Pontiff, whom you have placed with solemn and utmost pomp in the sacred Canon of the Saints of the Church of God, will see the reality of your SANCTITY; so that in reading this the World will always have accurate information of two excellent and Holy Pontiffs[56].

Furthermore, in his account of the sanctification of Pius V at the end of the volume «in such catastrophic times», Maffei is again explicit: all the virtuous enterprises of Pius V

> are Yours, HOLY FATHER, for he has made them and You have approved them, and by approving and authenticating them, sublimating him to the degree of SAINT of the Church of God, You have made them almost entirely Yours. They are Yours because you have learned to

53 Andretta 1982.
54 Cognet 1978a; Cognet 1978b; Rosa 2015, pp. 28-31.
55 Andretta 1982, p. 309.
56 «animato all'impresa dalla perfetta rassomiglianza, che corre tra l'eroiche azioni del SANTO, e quelle di VOSTRA BEATITUDINE. Quindi è, che io stimo affatto superfluo il farne il confronto, mentre ciascuno nella Storia di questo gran pontefice, ch'ella ha con solenne, e massima pompa collocato oggi appunto nel sagro Canone de' Santi della Chiesa di Dio, vedrà espressa al vivo la SANTITÀ VOSTRA; di maniera che nella lettura di quella averà il Mondo per sempre un'esatta informazione di due eccelsi, e Santi Pontefici»: Maffei 1712, initial dedication, non-numbered pages.

imitate them, as far as possible in these present and ungrateful times, in which You have been able to heroically exercise Your High Virtue and all the great talents that God has given you for the benefit of the Christian world, miraculously appointing you to its government[57].

The comparison between Pius V and the Pope in office is also present in *Vita S. Pii Sommi Pontificis*, written by the Dominican Tommaso Maria Minorelli on the occasion of the sanctification of 1712. Clement XI follows the legacy of Pius V; he equals his dignity and is close to his sanctity, even though the Christian world is tormented by calamities and shaken by wars[58]. On the 7th August 1712, Minorelli gave an oration in front of the Pope as part of the octavary of the canonisation in Santa Maria Sopra Minerva. Here, Minorelli made the same comparison and then asked the new saint to pray for the Pope in office: «Pray God, so that Clement can happily see Europe finally in peace and the Church made greater, once the enemies of faith have been repressed and defeated. In short, may he successfully accomplish what you have just started»[59]. Minorelli also gives encouragement to Clement XI:

> God wanted you to be Head of the Church in this time of calamity: a Pope who fears no hardship, who is unafraid of any danger, and does not avoid any responsibility in order to protect it from attacks and to preside over it with the great glory of your virtues and the increasing acquisition of prestige[60].

Of course, such a portrait bears less resemblance to the Pope in charge, who was unable to handle international politics and the defence of faith. Rather, it is a better description of the newly-appointed St. Pius V, who was perpetually celebrated as the tenacious opponent of religious dissidence and of the Turkish threat. This portrait also resembles the image of Pius V in an altarpiece by Andrea Procaccini, made for the chapel of St. Pius V in Santa Maria Sopra Minerva (figs. 5 and 6).

This painting was undoubtedly created after the canonisation of the Pope and before the painter's departure to Spain in 1720[61]. The altarpiece is mentioned

[57] «in tempi tanto calamitosi»; «sono Vostre, SANTISSIMO PADRE, perché egli le ha fatte, e Voi approvate le avete, e coll'approvarle e autenticarle, sublimandolo al grado di SANTO della Chiesa di Dio, le avete fatte quasi interamente Vostre: perché avete impreso ad imitarle, per quanto vien permesso dai presenti infelicissimi tempi, ne' quali avete avuta occasione di esercitare in grado eroico la somma Virtù Vostra, e tutti quegli alti talenti, che Dio vi ha conceduti per benefizio del Mondo Cristiano, al cui governo miracolosamente vi ha chiamato»: *ivi*, p. 667.

[58] Minorelli 2012, pp. 113-114.

[59] Gasti 2011, p. 14: «Deum exora ut Clemens videat ac laetetur Europam demum pace compositam, Ecclesiam Fidei hostibus repressis et profligatis amplificatam atque – ut paucis omnia amplectar – quae ipse morte nimis propera Christianorum ereptus votis dumtaxtat inchoasti successu feliciore perficiat».

[60] Gasti 2011, pp. 13-14: «Ecclesiae te praeesse his calamitosissimis temporibus Deus voluit, ut is Pontifex esses qui nullam pertimesceres difficultatem, nullo terrereris periculo ac nullum refugeres laborem, ut illam adversus incurrentium in eam conatus tuereris atque maxima tuarum virtutum gloria meritorumque maiore in dies accessione gubernares».

[61] For an updated profile of the painter see Zolle Betegón 2016.

for the first time by Nicola Pio in 1724 and later in *Roma ampliata e rinovata* in 1725 as positioned on the high altar of St. Pius V's chapel [62]. This work had thus taken the place of Baldi's beatification, which was moved to the right-hand wall, where it can still be found today[63]. The chapel of St. Pius V had been given to the Mellini family on 2nd July 1711, as part of the dowry of Giulia Cevoli Mellini[64]. In the centre of the chapel floor is an epigraph from 1726, which reminds us that Giulia Mellini had prearranged to be buried there on her death[65]. On 1st January 1727 she donated the relics of Saint Victory to the Fathers of Minerva, «so that they can put them under my Altar to St. Pius in the front part of the church and preserve them there for public veneration […] and for this I can freely donate everything, as I did, to my Chapel of St. Pius»[66]. Again, the relics can still be found in the chapel today. In the entry arch of the chapel we can see the coat of arms of the Mellini family, together with that of the Cevoli family[67] (fig. 7). It is difficult to define Guilia Mellini's role in the commissioning of Procaccini's painting, as we have no other information about her. The iconography of the piece was probably conceived in agreement with Antonin Cloche, general master of the Dominicans from 1686 to 1720 and promoter of the canonisation of Pius V[68]. Or it may have been the already mentioned Tommaso Maria Minorelli, the Dominican and biographer of Pius V and librarian of Casanatense library from 1711[69].

We do know that Procaccini studied for the composition, with a drawing that is now preserved at the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen. Its quality of finish and its format (39 x 25.5 cm), identify it as a sketch that would have been presented to the commissioner (fig. 8)[70]. The final painting shows Pius V wearing the papal tiara and robes, sitting on a throne inside a church framed by two columns on high plinths. He is holding up a crucifix with his right hand, but his face is looking to the left where an angel is holding a book with a lily on it. In the open volume we can see the *incipit* and several verses of Psalm 109, announcing to the eternal minister the defeat of all his enemies:

62 Pio 1977, p. 16; *Roma ampliata* 1725, p. 114.

63 Casale 2011, p. 182; Pampalone 1979, pp. 40-41.

64 Palmerio, Villetti 1988, p. 178.

65 «D(IO) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO) / IULIA CEVOLI MILLINI ROMANA / SS. DOM. ET PIUM V EIUS PATRONO / ET MORTUA AD FUTUROS SPERANS / HUNC SEPULCHRI LOCUM / SIBI EYT SUIS HAEREDIBUS / VIVENS DELIGIT / QUO SUA OSSA CONDANTUR / ANNO DOMINI MDCCXXVI». See Forcella 1869, p. 512.

66 «affinché si compiaccino di collocarle sotto il mio Altare di S. Pio in detta Chiesa dalla parte anteriore, e ivi tenerle e conservarle alla pubblica venerazione […] e perciò di tutto posso far libero dono, come lo fo a detta mia Cappella di S. Pio»: Archivio di Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Cm II.i. 2.1, *Chirografo di dono delle reliquie di Santa Vittoria ai PP. della Minerva*.

67 The coat of arms is per fess, first bendy, chief charged with letter M, supported by a filet; second barry, chief charged with three mullets. We have scant information about the Mellini family. See Cecchelli 1946, pp. 39-49 e pp. 54-55.

68 In his *Vita*, written in 1721 by Conrado Pio Mesfin, Cloche's commitment to promoting the cult of Pius V is recalled, but no mention is made of the altarpiece in the chapel. See Mesfin 1721.

69 Minorelli 2012, pp. 19-21.

70 The drawing carries an old inscription: «Andrea Procaccini Romano A[lliev]o di C. maratti 1671». See Turčić 1985, p. 795.

The Lord said to my Lord: Sit thou at my right hand: Until I make thy enemies thy footstool. The Lord will send forth the sceptre of thy power out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thy enemies. With thee is the principality in the day of thy strength: in the brightness of the saints: from the womb before the day star I begot thee. The Lord hath sworn, and he will not repent: Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchizedek. The Lord at thy right hand hath broken kings in the day of his wrath. He shall judge among nations, he shall fill ruins: he shall crush the heads in the land of the many. He shall drink of the torrent in the way: therefore shall he lift up the head[71].

At the feet of the pontiff, the annihilation of the enemy from David's psalm is taking place in the foreground. A female character wearing a crescent moon turban is looking down, a symbol of the Ottoman empire. Behind her is a quiver, and beneath her are a bow, a shield and a red flag carrying the Turkish insignia of the silver crescent moon. The woman raises a blue cape with her left hand, to protect herself from the attack of an armed angel. The angel is looking at her and pointing at the Pope with one hand, while the other hand is about to strike her with a sword. The benign angel in Baldi's painting who points the Pope towards victory, is replaced in Procaccini's altarpiece with an angel who physically knocks the Turk down. He is in all evidence the Archangel Michael, the angel of judgment, who is normally the destroyer of Satan. The fact that Satan has been substituted with a representative of the Ottoman Empire creates a significant semantic overlap between Turks and Demons. The archangel is also a namesake of the Pope who, as a Dominican, had just taken the name of Michael. Therefore, the Pontiff with the crucifix is reflected in the archangel with the sword, who becomes his *alter ego*. In some sense, such a connection had already been promoted by Pius V himself when he was still alive. For the church of Santa Croce in his native village of Bosco, the Pontiff asked Giorgio Vasari in 1566 for a *Final Judgment*. This painting portrays St. Michael the Archangel striking the damned with his sword, which is next to a portrait of the commissioner of the same name (fig. 9)[72]. In a print of 1567 to celebrate the virtues of the Pope in office, St. Michael the Archangel appears at the bottom holding a sword and a scale, crushing a Hydra with seven heads, one of the traditional symbol of heresy. Around him are the words «heretici respicientes» and «hebrei convertiti» (fig. 10)[73]. For the same church in Bosco, Pius V in 1568 commissioned his own mausoleum decorated with St. Michael defeating the

[71] Psalms 109, 1-7. «Dixit Dominus Domino meo: Sede a dextris meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum. Virgam virtutis tuae emittet Dominus ex Sion: dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum. Tecum principium in die virtutis tuae in splendoribus sanctorum; ex utero, ante luciferum, genui te. Juravit Dominus, et non poenitebit eum: Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech. Dominus a dextris tuis; confregit in die irae suae reges. Judicabit in nationibus; implebit ruinas, conquassabit capita in terra multorum, de torrente in via bibet; propterea exaltabit caput».

[72] Ieni 1985a, pp. 49-62.

[73] Silli 1979, p. 63, tav. LXXXIX.

Devil[74]. Then in 1570 the Pope commissioned Giorgio Vasari to decorate one of the three chapels of his apartment in the Vatican with the stories of St. Michael the Archangel, who, in the vault, leads the seven archangels against the seven deadly sins, while in the lunette St. Thomas Aquinas crushes the heretics[75]. In all these cases, there is no representation of the Turks. However, the Archangel who is a namesake of the Pope, is shown triumphing directly or indirectly over the evil representation of heresy.

Procaccini's image reinvigorates this association between Pius V and St. Michael, which the Pope exploited in his war against heresy. The altarpiece is conceptually and figuratively very close to the iconography of the theological controversy, which usually has a saint as the protagonist, intent on humiliating the opponent who falls to the ground with his books. This iconographic tradition is also rich among Dominicans. In the Louvre hangs Benozzo Gozzoli's *The Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas on Averroes*, which he made in the 1470s for the Duomo of Pisa. In the scene, the Arabic Aristotelian philosopher is lying at the feet of the saint in glory with a book in one hand, while the saint is in the act of showing other books[76]. In Filippino Lippi's *Triumph of S. Thomas Aquinas over the heretics* (1493) in the Carafa chapel of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome, the saint pins down the personification of Evil at his feet, while heretics in oriental clothes take part in his triumph having thrown their books to the ground[77]. There can also be political meaning within the iconography of the submission of the religious enemy. For example, in Mattia Preti's *Allegory of the Triumph of the Order of St. John* (1666), a personification of the Order is shown triumphal over three Turkish prisoners (fig. 11). The prisoners symbolise a religious enemy since they are unfaithful, but also a political-military threat as representatives of the Ottoman Empire[78]. While in this series the political and religious enemy is always depicted as a male figure, in the painting by Procaccini there is a curious gender change. Melancholy female figures dressed in Turkish clothes had already appeared in the ephemeral apparatus of the sixteenth century in Spain and in the Spanish domains of Southern Italy, probably as a personification of those territories. These were sometimes accompanied by more easily identifiable personifications of Africa and India[79]. In Procaccini's

74 Ieni 1985b, pp. 31-48.

75 Chiodo 2008; Aurigemma 2013; De Girolami Cheney 2013. More in general on the works commissioned by Pius V to Giorgio Vasari see Conforti 2012.

76 See Guerrini 1993. In this case Benozzo most probably is inspired by the *Triumph of S. Thomas* in the church of Santa Caterina in Pisa, realised by Lippo Memmi and his helpers around 1323. See Romano 1999.

77 For a correct identification of all the heretics present in among the crowd, who can be identified thanks to the writings, see Geiger 1986.

78 Capriotti 2009.

79 Franco Llopis (in press). The personification of Victory, between those of Asia and Africa, in a melancholic attitude, is also present in the map with the *Battle of Lepanto* by Francesco Tramezzino. See Scorza 2012a, p. 179.

image the woman might indeed represent a geographic area. Although Turkey was still not a modern state in the 18th century, and although the personification of Turkey is not present in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, expressions like "Turk", "Turkish", "Turkish army" or "Turkish nation" were widely used throughout the modern age. Given these considerations, and above all the comparison with the ephemeral apparatus of the 17th century that rarely reached the status of monumental art, we can hypothesize that the primary purpose of Procaccini's Turkish woman is to represent a personification of the Ottoman Empire. However, the fact that she is attacked by St. Michael the Archangel, the paladin against heresy, perhaps gives her a second-level, deeper meaning. In my opinion this is best understood in the context of the canonization of Pius V. Under the pontificate of Clement XI, the major European powers preferred to establish peaceful commercial agreements with the Ottoman Empire. The Turks were mainly a paradigmatic enemy that the Church needed to restate its supranational prestige. This prestige was lost primarily because of the political situation following the war of Spanish succession and the Church's inability to assert its own power against the Jansenist heresy. Pius V's bull of canonisation references the hard times the Church was going through, as its enemies brought their hatred of the Holy Cannon to attack the orthodoxy. These foes were re-invigorating false ideas long before condemned by the Church, presenting them as new[80]. Therefore, it may be that Procaccini's Turkish woman represents something more than just the Ottoman Empire. She may also allude to the Jansenism that could barely be contained in an increasingly secular Europe that was growing more independent from the precepts of the Holy See. The victory against the Turks had become over time the emblem of the struggle of Pius V for the defence of Catholic religion against the attacks of the infidels and of the purification of Catholicism from any misinterpretation[81]. In the same way it is possible that the Turkish woman has also become a representation of Heresy, which was normally personified as a female figure[82]. If this is true, then there has been a shift since the frontispiece of Catena's book in 1586. In that image, there was a division between the fight against the Turks and the fight against heretics. Centuries later, Procaccini in his painting reunites these two battles in the single image of the Turkish woman. She has become a paradigmatic representation of all the enemies of the faith, for which Pius V had always been an unyielding guardian.

80 Gasti 2012, p. 65.

81 Caffiero 1998, pp. 112-113.

82 The gender of personification obviously derives from the gender of the names. See Gombrich 1978. The personification of heresy that appears in an 18th century edition of the *Iconologia* by Cesare Ripa (Ripa 1765, II, pp. 350-351) is a woman with sagging breasts, a book, and snakes in her hands.

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Appendix

Fig. 1. Frontispiece of the *Vita del gloriosissimo papa Pio V* by Girolamo Catena, Roma 1586. Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense (20.B.I. 44/361). Su concessione del MIBACT. Biblioteca Casanatense

Fig. 2. Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi, *Medals of Pius V*, London, British Museum. Photo: © Warburg Intitute, London

Fig. 3. Lazzaro Baldi, *Pius V and the vision of the victory of Lepanto*, Roma, church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva (Fondo Edifici di Culto, Direzione Centrale per l'Amministrazione del Fondo Edifici di Culto del Ministero dell'Interno). Photo: Roberto Dell'Orso

Fig. 4. *Pius V and the vision of the victory of Lepanto*, print, Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense (20.B.I. 44/359). Su concessione del MIBACT. Biblioteca Casanatense

Fig. 5. Andrea Procaccini, *St. Pius V triumphing on the Turks*, Roma, church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva (Fondo Edifici di Culto, Direzione Centrale per l'Amministrazione del Fondo Edifici di Culto del Ministero dell'Interno). Photo: Roberto Dell'Orso

Fig. 6. Chapel of St. Pius V, Roma, church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva (Fondo Edifici di Culto, Direzione Centrale per l'Amministrazione del Fondo Edifici di Culto del Ministero dell'Interno). Photo: Roberto Dell'Orso

Fig. 7. Coat of arms of the Mellini and Cevoli family, Roma, church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva (Fondo Edifici di Culto, Direzione Centrale per l'Amministrazione del Fondo Edifici di Culto del Ministero dell'Interno). Photo: Roberto Dell'Orso

Fig. 8. Andrea Procaccini, *St. Pius V triumphing on the Turks*, drawing, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst

Fig. 9. Giorgio Vasari, *Last Judgment*, Bosco, church of Santa Croce

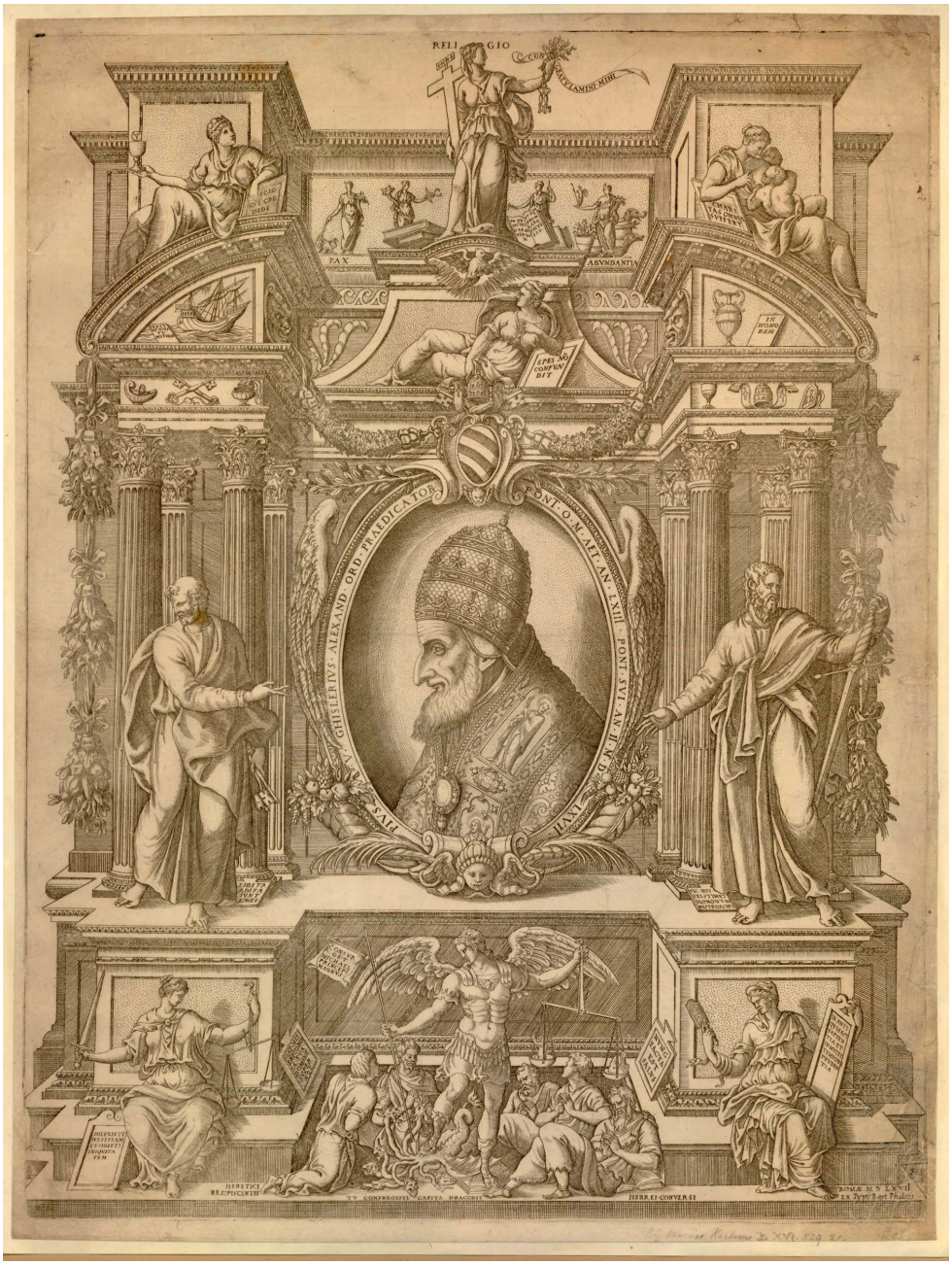

Fig. 10. *Celebration of pope Pius V*, print, London, British Museum. Photo: © British Museum, London

Fig. 11. Mattia Preti, *Allegory of the Triumph of the Order of St. John*, La Valletta, co-cathedral of St. John the Baptist

Rega Castro I., Vanquished Moors and Turkish prisoners. The images of Islam and the official royal propaganda at the time of John V of Portugal in the early 18th century
«Il Capitale culturale», Supplementi 06 (2017), pp. 223-242
ISSN 2039-2362 (online); ISBN 978-88-6056-553-2
DOI: 10.13138/2039-2362/1704

Vanquished Moors and Turkish prisoners. The images of Islam and the official royal propaganda at the time of John V of Portugal in the early 18th century

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Abstract

The article deals with an analysis of the image of Islam in visual arts produced within the Portuguese royal propaganda, with a particular reference to the wars of religion dating back to the beginning of the 18th century. In such a context, the enemy continues to be the "Moor" or the "Turk" par excellence. In the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, similar examples in the artistic field are relatively few, though the Muslim is sometimes evoked in allegorical compositions. These circumstances change radically as for the Portuguese royal propaganda, deployed by the House of Braganza at the Holy See, when the idea of a "holy war" against the Ottoman Empire still continued to be active in Rome. Here the Turk is sometimes represented as a

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I would also like to thank Dr. Franco Llopis for the recommendations made by him when drafting this article. This article is part of the Research Project HAR2016-80354-P, "Before Orientalism: Images of the Muslim in the Iberian Peninsula (15th-17th Centuries) and Mediterranean Connections", PI: Borja Franco Llopis.

slave. Such images of Islam, which do not exist in Spain, are to be considered as a particular production, elaborated by the Portuguese propaganda for its public and for the Roman public. Such constructions reflect the disparities characterizing the Iberian reigns and the Papal States in their political and cultural situations.

Questo articolo analizza l'immagine dell'Islam nelle arti visive prodotte in seno alla propaganda reale portoghese, con particolare riferimento alle guerre di religione dell'inizio del XVIII secolo. In questo contesto il nemico continua ad essere per eccellenza il "moro" o il "turco". Nel resto della penisola iberica, esempi simili in campo artistico sono relativamente pochi, benché talvolta il musulmano venga evocato in composizioni allegoriche. Queste circostanze cambiano radicalmente se analizziamo la propaganda reale portoghese, dispiegata dalla Casa di Braganza presso la Santa Sede, nel momento in cui, a Roma, l'idea di una "guerra santa" contro l'Impero Ottomano continuava a essere attiva. Qui il turco viene talvolta addirittura raffigurato come schiavo. Tali immagini dell'Islam, che sono assenti sul suolo spagnolo, vanno considerate come una produzione particolare, elaborata dalla propaganda portoghese appositamente per il proprio pubblico e per quello romano. Tali costruzioni riflettono dunque le disparità che caratterizzano nella situazione politica e culturale i regni iberici e lo Stato Pontificio.

1. *Propaganda in the Spanish territories in the early 18th century*

Despite Burke's historiographical polemic[1], concepts such as "propaganda", "public opinion", or "ideology" are not as strange in the 18th century as they might be in the 17th century, or at least not in the Hispanic tradition[2] (apart from the religious environment and when preaching for the conversion of infidels). In this context, the propaganda and publicity of Iberian Monarchy acted according not only to the idea of dominating or subjugating their subjects, but also of turning them into an active part of a certain ideology or political discourse[3].

Therefore, the aim of this paper is to partially analyse the images of Islam in the visual arts at the service of regal propaganda (more or less explicit), and in a particular way, the circumstances of the wars of religion in the beginning of the 18th century, against an enemy that takes on the form of religious otherness: the "Moor" or the "Turk".

All European states (Catholics and Protestants) believed that they had been chosen to defend and sustain the faith[4], but in a few places in the West the idea of "holy war" remained present as much as it did in Iberia[5].

1 Burke 1992, pp. 2-7.

2 Pérez Picazo 1966; Egido López 2002.

3 On this paradigm shift, see Medina Domínguez 2009, pp. 17-18.

4 In both Protestant and Catholic countries, the same ideas of "messianic imperialism" spread in modern times, according to Parker 2001a, pp. 148-149 and 153-154. The term "messianic imperialism" was first mentioned by Parker in relation to Carlos V and his son Felipe II. Cf. Parker 2001b, pp. 324-325, 336-337.

5 Flori 2004, pp. 10-11.

The idea had not only survived the Spanish Golden Age[6], but in the early years of the 18th century it was more current than ever thanks to the publicity and propaganda of the supporters of Philip of Anjou and Archduke Charles of Austria during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713 / 1715).

This dynastic conflict between Catholic princes was quickly converted by pro-Bourbon propaganda into a "new crusade" against "Austrian heretics" (that is, the forces of the Holy Empire and its allies, England, the United Provinces, Savoy and Portugal), conditioning immediately the understanding of the conflict by the contemporaries themselves[7]. The Bourbon party, with the support of a large part of the clergy, built an image of Philip V as a defender of the "true religion", which propaganda and art did not take long to exploit. This was visually standardised in his official image, which is well known thanks, in large part, to the works of Morán Turina[8].

Just like his predecessors on the throne, Philip V was represented defeating heretics both in art and in literature, not only English and Dutch Protestants, but also Muslims[9]. Especially in vice-regal America he was represented as the antithesis of the Grand Turk, portrayed alongside the reliquary of the altars of the churches, especially in the Andes region[10].

Inspired by the iconography of the Habsburgs as a defender of the Eucharist and active combatant against the heretics[11], the king was portrayed as an enemy of the unfaithful Turk and as a legitimate custodian of the religious fervor of the Spanish Monarchy. Even in La Paz, then belonging to the Viceroyalty of Peru, Philip V was compared to «the sun of both monarchies to eclipse the Ottoman moons» at the celebrations of the birth of Prince Louis Ferdinand I in December 1708[12]. In fact, these symbols responded to an idea widely disseminated in printed pamphlets and sermons: the need to cut off Ottoman power in both the Mediterranean and North Africa.

In this sense, the pro-Philip propaganda claimed that the war of succession was a distraction for Philip V from his dynastic obligations as the legitimate king of Spain; at that moment he was deeply involved in defending the enclaves of the coast of Barbary, such as Ceuta (in permanent siege since the late 17th century) or the squares of Oran and Mazalquivir, occupied by the Algerians in January 1708[13], and advancing in the North African conquest.

6 García Martín 2004, pp. 101-125.

7 Egido López 2002, pp. 231-239. See too González Cruz 2002.

8 Morán Turina 1990, p. 44; Morán Turina 1988, n.p.

9 Pascual Chenel 2014, p. 272.

10 Morán Turina 1990, p. 44. An ephemeral altar was erected for the feast of Corpus Christi in the city of Potosí during the Viceroyalty of Peru in 1720. It included a tabernacle in which Philip V was represented in the front defending the Eucharist of the Turk. Cf. Mújica Pinilla 2007, pp. 175-176. This "Allegory of the Defense of the Eucharist" frequently served as a compositional scheme in order to underline the fervor and spiritual leadership of the King of Spain, whether it was Charles II or his successor, Philip V. Montes González 2011, pp. 140-141. State of the art in Iglesias 2014.

11 Pascual Chenel 2013, pp. 57-86.

12 Bridikhina 2007, p. 197.

13 An updated state-of-art, in Torrecillas Velasco 2006, pp. 225-229, 243-246.

On the other hand, the *Austracistas* (unsuccessfully) tried to oppose this propaganda strategy by exploiting the prestige accumulated by the Habsburg dynasty of Austria – which still kept the Ottoman Empire at bay as «an antemural to the Christianity incontestable to its enemies»[14].

And in this sense, they condemned the conduct of the kings of France in respect of their strategic partnerships. A pamphlet published in Barcelona in 1702 (re-edited numerous times until 1710), recalled the circumstances of the siege of 1683 and the "opportunism" of France. It compared for example the French with the Turks, calling them astute, false and misleading[15] – adjectives traditionally applied to Moors in religious literature of the Spanish Golden Age. Also, during these years, an anonymous text replying to Cardinal Luis Belluga, famous defender of the Bourbon cause, insisted on the claim that France had an alliance with the Turks[16]. An accusation that was even reported in the *Gazeta de Barcelona*, in November 1710[17].

Therefore, the presence of the Turkish in sermons and publications of religious content was abundant in these years. On the other hand, there are few examples regarding this matter in the artistic field that we can mention in the Iberian Peninsula, let alone cases of explicit representations, that is to say, not evoked by allegorical images. Such is the case of «a dragon with a crescent on the head» in the mythological fable of Andromeda saved by Perseus, designed in April 1701 for the festivities celebrating the entrance of Felipe V in Madrid. In the printed book for this event, it was explained that «the dragon is the perfidious Moor that has oppressed […] the best Andromeda of Africa»[18]. It is probably an allegorical representation of contemporary reality, in relation to the siege of Ceuta by the Moroccans, which started in 1694[19].

There is a commemorative representation of warlike events documented years later, perhaps more concrete than the mythological fable of Andromeda and

[14] *Clarin de la Europa* 1710, p. 14. Cf. González Cruz 2002, pp. 32-33.

[15] In the text it reads as follows: «cotejese la Francia y los Turcos, […] astutos, dobles, engañosos […]». *Ivi*, p. 9.

[16] «La verdad es, señor mío, que los franceses, holandeses, e ingleses, criados con la leche de Maquiavelo, y Bodino, son faccionarios de la religión, que más conduce a su interés. Con los turcos son turcos, con los católicos son católicos, y con los herejes […] / […] y saben también que la ha tenido [alliance], y tiene, Francia con los Turcos, y con más firmes juramentos que con la Iglesia Católica». In *La Verdad sin doblez* 1706, pp. 29 and 31.

[17] The text reads as follows: «por cartas de […] 27 de Setiembre, se dize aver alli llegado un Persiano venido de Constantinopla; quien refiere las vivas diligencias; y ofertas que avia hecho la Francia a los Turcos, para que entrassen en la Guerra»: in *Gazeta de Barcelona, publicada dia 30 de noviembre de 1710*, n. 29, Barcelona, Rafael Figuerò, 1700. Cf. González Cruz 2002, p. 58, note 76.

[18] «Es el Dragon el perfido Moro, que procurando cobrar feudo, tiene oprimida la belleza de la mejor Andrómeda de Africa y siendo aquel Perseo Gentil (o Fabuloso) espera deste verdadero Perseo su libertad». In *Descripción del adorno* 1701, pp. 19-20. Cf. Morán Turina 1990, pp. 46, 128, note 16. Morán Turina 1995, p. 94.

[19] Montes Ramos 1999.

Perseus. That is particularly the case regarding the *Fountain of Fame* erected in the gardens of La Granja de San Ildefonso around 1730[20]. Shown is a female figure that mounts a winged horse, over a large rock, with a trumpet in her mouth. In this context, the Pegasus horse is described as «running over Moors and the others, falling around the rock». It is clear that these figures allude to the power of Catholic Monarchy (in fact, it is the only fountain, among all the artworks, that can be clearly interpreted this way) although there are other rather contemporary readings of the statue which are quite surprising. The sculptural group is described as «representing the destruction of the Moors» in Spain[21]. It is an interpretation to which the events of the reign of Felipe V added a new validity. After the loss of Oran and Mazalquivir, the African question had been marginalized in the international politics of the Crown. However, between 1731 and 1732 the Spanish expedition to recover these places was prepared and then carried out in the summer of 1732. An undertaking that was interpreted, by the king and by his contemporaries, as the greatest success of his reign and that once again brought the struggles against the Moors into the European collective imagination[22]. The truth of the matter was that neither Moors, Turks nor Moorish are represented, or at least not in the conventional way, but simply evoking them through archetypal images (classical and outside of historical time) of defeated warriors.

In fact, this review on how the discourse of otherness around the figure of the "Moor" (and Islam) was created at the beginning of the 18th century offers us the portrait of a sort of non-visible enemy, since it was non-represented. It is an iconographic category that must be related to other forms of "heresy" or other religious conflicts of the modern age, in which "the other" is deprived of an "explicit" representation; be it the "common" enemy of Christianity, the Turks-Ottomans, or the "close" enemy, the Moors of the Maghreb.

[20] Obligatory texts are: Bottineau 1986, p. 465; Morán Turina 1990, pp. 47 and 65. For a current state-of-art and an up-to-date bibliography see: Herrero Sanz 2012, n.p.

[21] In the manuscript it reads as follows: «[…] la qual significa la destruccion de los moros quando les obligaron a salir de su / Reino los Españoles, y está dicha Fama en lo alto de un peñasco sobre el Caballo Pegaso, con alas, tienen en cada mano una trompeta […] y dicho caballo está atropellando a los moros y otros estan caidos alrededor del peñasco […]»: in *Descripción general de los diámetros y figuras que hacen los estanques de las fuentes como también de las obras de sculptura… en los Jardines de San Ildefonso*, h. 1740-1745, Biblioteca Nacional de España (hereinafter BNE), Mss/2197, ff. 37r.-v. A full transcript in: Martín Pérez *et al.* 2002, p. 202. An anonymous handwritten description preserved at the BNE has been used, but there are other similar ones, which were used as guides of the Royal Palace during the development of the works. Cf. Lozano López 2005, pp. 341-346.

[22] Torrecillas Velasco 2006, pp. 144-145 (It is not by chance that the majority of the Moors expelled from the Peninsula between 1609 and 1616 were directed precisely towards Algerian territory). The Spanish expedition of 1732 is well-known and well documented, although for a state of the matter see: Fé Cantó 2016, pp. 89-110.

2. *The Portuguese "crusade" and its official propaganda in Rome*

Such an absence of representations may seem paradoxical in the light of the abundant propaganda and religious writings of the early years of Philip V's reign, although not so much if we put it in parallel with what happened in Portugal. In this sense, the Iberian Peninsula describes a coherent and differentiated situation if we compare it with other regions of southern Europe. The circumstances of the royal propaganda of the Braganza dynasty do not differ greatly from those described.

Thus, a quick revision of royal entries and funerals, along with other forms of ephemeral art between the late 17th century and during the early years of the reign of John V of Portugal, indicates an absence of explicit images of Moors, Turks or Berber pirates[23]. Paradoxically, these circumstances change if we hold them up against the diplomatic strategy deployed by the Portuguese before the Holy See, in order to make the interests of the House of Braganza present in the political and cultural life of Rome in the early 18th century[24].

It begins with the embassy of André de Melo e Castro, Count of Galveias, extraordinary envoy of John V before Clement IX since 1707, who made his solemn entry into Rome in April 1709, with six allegorical carriages of Roman manufacture, rich in works of carved gold – to which historiography, however, has paid little attention[25]. In the first carriage or coach, a front panel was painted, presided over by the personification of «Lusitania represented as Pallas Athena» sitting on an orb or globe and accompanied by Hercules, at whose feet there were «barbarians prisoner bounded by strong chains»[26]. On this occasion, the archetypal image of the barbarian or heathen materializes in a concrete and usual iconographic type in the Roman artistic context, that of the Muslim prisoners: a Moor and a Turkish-Ottoman, subjugated and chained, as observed in the engraving that illustrates the book published with that motive (fig. 1). Among the most similar predecessors for these motifs, there is the tomb sculpted in Rome in 1686 of Nicolas Cotoner, Grand Master of the Order of Malta, for the church of San Giovanni in Valletta[27].

[23] Montes 1931, pp. 39-41; Alves 1986, pp. 50-73; Pereira 2000, pp. 151-164. An exception may be made to the solemn entrance to Lisbon of the wife of King Peter II, Maria Sophia Elisabeth of Neuburg, in August 1687, see: Borges 1985.

[24] On the diplomatic relationship between Lisbon and the Holy See in the time of John V, an obligatory text is: Brazão 1937. For Portuguese royal patronage in Rome in the first half of the 18th century, see: Quieto 1988; Rocca, Borghini 1995. On the propaganda policy of John V of Portugal, see also: Bebiano 1987; Pimentel 2002.

[25] On the extraordinary embassy of Count Galveias, see: De Bellebat 1709. For the study of the carriages that composed the procession, see: Pereira 1987, pp. 77-91; Gomes *et al.* 2000, cat. 59, pp. 172-173.

[26] The text reads as follows: «Na poppa da dita carroça està pintada a grande Lusitania vestida de Pallas, amagestradamente assentada sobra hum globo; tem a seu lado o famoso Hercoles armada da sua tã temida massa, e pelle de Leam. A os pes da Lusitania se vem repetidos despoios de seos triunfos representados ja em barbaros presos com fortes cadeas ja en rendidas armas, reliquias de tam continuadas batalhas […]»: in De Bellebat 1709, p. 38.

[27] Bacchi 1996, p. 81. I would like to thank G. Capriotti for the news provided on this subject.

In this same sense, a sculpture group was realised in the back of the same carriage, headed by an allegorical figure of Religion enthroned between Africa and America. This allegorical figure is undoubtedly subjecting a Turkish slave, easily identifiable by his shaven head and the tuft or lock of hair on top[28], although in the text he is generally referred to as a Moor (fig. 2)[29]. Generally, the sculptures and allegorical figures of the carriages at the Roman triumphal entrances were intended to glorify the power and virtues of the monarch commissioning the work of art. The figure of the Turk who is falling from the carriage and extends his right hand trying to reach the true Religion symbolizes, therefore, the spiritual Catholic mission deployed by the Portuguese Monarchy throughout their travels around the world, in a permanent struggle against paganism and, in a particular way, against Islam, not only through the «force of arms»[30], but also by means of preaching.

It is an iconographic program with which John V of Portugal first tried to demonstrate his adherence to the idea of a crusade against heresy and, secondly, to counteract the negative opinions about his intervention in the War of the Spanish Succession by allying the Portuguese Crown to the Protestant powers.

On the other hand, the scheme of the composition was not entirely new since it was inspired by a design for a ceremonial carriage by Filippo Passarini, published in Rome in 1698[31], and destined for the entrance of an ambassador of the Order of the Knights of Malta – perhaps related to the monument of Nicolas Cotoner in Valletta: the model is certainly Roman. In Passarini's design, a female figure, armed and armoured, who for her attributes can be identified as a personification of the Order of Malta, was enthroned over triumphs and military spoils. A personification that clearly resembles that of Lusitania represented as Pallas Athena, which presided over the carriage of the ambassador of Portugal, the Count of Galveias. Moreover, the carriage's rear train had the shape of a battleship's helmet, and on it were also depicted, on both sides, two slaves (perhaps two Turkish prisoners, because of their shaved heads) which were surrounded by military and marine motifs. Passarini can therefore be considered a source of inspiration for the iconographic programs of the Portuguese ceremonial carriages, not only those of the entry of 1709, but also those of 1716[32].

It is the second of these ceremonial processions that traditionally catches the attention of historians, since it is the culminating moment of the diplomatic activity

[28] In Turkish Algeria, in the 18th century, the Spanish sources describe the renegade Christian in this way: «[…] viste el traje de turco, se pone el turbante y se corta el cabello, dejando en lo alto o superior de la cabeza el copete o *chuf* de su propio pelo»: Barrio 2006, p. 197.

[29] The text reads as follows: «[…] Entre Africa e America se ve a Religion dando a mam a hum mouro, que vaj cahindo do carro. He emblema do Cattolico Zello Dos Reis de Portugal, nam se contentaram com expulsar de seos Reinos heresia, senam que em partes tam remotas deram a man a muitos pellas forças de suas armas […]»: De Bellebat 1709, p. 39.

[30] *Ibidem.*

[31] Passarini 1698, pl. 24. For an updated bibliography, see Di Castro 2009.

[32] Delaforce 2001, p. 143.

of the extraordinary ambassador of Portugal, Rodrigo de Sá Almeida e Meneses, Marquis of Fontes[33]. His official entrance in Rome was celebrated in July 1716, although by then much of his mission was already fulfilled – as emphasized by Delaforce, who had been in Rome since 1712. Three carriages with much symbolic content (presently at the Museu Nacional dos Coches in Lisbon) were at the front of his procession. Their iconographic program was to be read in connection with the title traditionally given to the kings of Portugal, «Lord of Guinea, and Lord of the Conquest, Navigation and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India», and were designed by the Maltese architect Carlos Gimac, in collaboration with the Portuguese artist Vieira Lusitano[34].

However, the aim of this work is focused on the second of the carriages, dedicated to presenting the imperial title «Lord of the Navigation»[35], and therefore, in the rear, the personification of the city of Lisbon. This figure has at her feet trophies of war and two prisoners: once again, one Ottoman Turk and one Moor (figs. 3 and 4) – this was also explained in the printed book for the occasion[36].

These figures are traditionally interpreted as personifications of Africa and the Orient, whose faces are characterized by their plastic quality and their ability to capture psychological aspects, which allows them to be considered as worthy heirs of *I Quattro Mori* by Pietro Tacca in Livorno. The attitudes and concepts represented by these two figures are different, as highlighted by Delaforce: «A Turk looks down as though unable to bear the light of the "true faith" while a Moor gazes up as if illuminated by his conversion to Christianity»[37]. This interpretation, although not supported by the documentation preserved, favours an allegorical reading in parallel with the Conde das Galveias' coach made in 1709, which was presided over by the personification of Religion shaking hands with a Moor, implicitly identifying Religion with Lisbon.

33 Apolloni 1993, pp. 89-103; Delaforce 1995, pp. 23-26; Delaforce 2001, pp. 117-164; Pinho 1996, pp. 51-57.

34 Carvalho 1960, pp. 292-296; Pereira 1988, pp. 56-57; Delaforce 1993, p. 55; Pinho 1996, pp. 51-57; Levenson 1993, p. 291, n. 115; Delaforce 2001, pp. 141-143.

35 To quote Count Ciantar, for example, on the role of Carlo Gimac, in his *Malta illustrata*: «Al nostro Carlo [Carlo Gimac] diede l'incompenza d'ordinare le cose necessarie e così pomposa funzione. Ond'egli tra le altre cose fece i vaghi disegni delle suntuose carrozze con alcuni geroglifici, o simboli allusivi ai titoli, e alle provincie soggette alla Maestà Portoghese: e tra gli altri nella prima carrozza fece porre appresso il timone due cavalli marini per indicare il titolo di Signore della navigazione, di cui si pregia quel Monarca […]», in Ciantar 1780, p. 579. Cf. Apolloni 1995, p. 422; Delaforce 2001, p. 141.

36 «Conformavansi le bracci della parte posteriore del Carro all'invenzione della anteriori, […]. Con / grave contegno armata di lorica il petto su lo scanno à guisa di roversciata conca, spirante maestà l'aspetto, sedeva Lisbona, collo scettro disteso, che teneva nella destra mostrava atto imperioso, e colla sinistra raccoglieva paludamento Reale; conculcava co'piè gran fascio d'armi barbare sostenute dal corpetto à forma di grande cartella terminata da capriccioso giro di voluta. In atto dimesso ed umile […] sedevano mezzo ignudi, ed incatenati due schiavi; quello della destra rappresentava un Moro, ed un Turco l'altro della sinistra»: in *Distinto raguaglio* 1716, pp. 15-16.

37 Delaforce 2001, pp. 141-143.

On the other hand, it explores the idea that the Moors are not only enemies, but also allies and, at times, they can also fulfil the role of subject of the evangelization[38]. It's a (re)conceptualization of the image of the "other" especially useful to the interests of the Portuguese Empire, whose enclaves extended from West and East Africa until India, since the late 15th century. Unsurprisingly, the diplomatic mission of the Marquis of Fontes was intended, amongst other matters, to resolve urgent questions concerning the former privilege of the Portuguese «Real padroado» in their missions in China, which sanctioned the autonomy of these establishments in relation to the jurisdiction of the Roman Church.

But it is not the "Good Moor", the only figure who looks at Lisbon (fig. 4). The city is also represented here as a woman clad in armour and royal insignia: sceptre, mantle and crown (that suspends Glory on her head), and at whose feet appears a dragon that is looking her[39]. This small dragon destroys a crescent (symbol of the Muslims), and it was explained as the heraldic emblem of the of the Braganza dynasty. It perfectly exemplifies the polysemy of the images related to the representation of the Muslim, since the dragon, snake or hydra, historically related to evil, sin and heresy, does not always represent "the perfidious Moor" such as in the celebrations of the entry of Philip V in Madrid, 1701[40]. However, as in the first of the examples, this is an allegorical representation of contemporary reality, directly related to the preparations made by the Royal Portuguese Navy since March 1716 to aid Venice, the Pontifical State, the Church and all of Christianity, in the face of the Turkish threat in the Mediterranean.

3. *Roman propaganda, a reflection of the Portuguese Empire*

In the spring of 1716, a first fleet set out from Lisbon to break the siege of Messina. Shortly thereafter the carriages of the cortege of the Marquis of Fontes, through the art of propaganda, (re)presented the Portuguese Empire in the eyes of the Romans, and of the entire papal court, as a thalassocracy capable of tackling the threat of Islam. However, these types of allegories were already part of the visual culture of the contemporaries, or at least we can assume it from the themes or subjects proposed for the contest convened by Clement XI at the Roman academy (the *Accademia del Disegno*), in 1706. In fact, «a cart loaded with spoils, and

[38] See previous quotes by Franco Llopis in the same volume.

[39] The text goes on: «[…] fra questi feroce slanciavasi [one Ottoman Turk and one Moor] un Drago, che con gl'artigli spezzando una mezza Luna col capo elevato come pendente da cenni, risguardava Lisbona, che dalla parte destra veniva assistita dalla Providenza […]. Prolisso riuscirebbe, volersi con essa rappresentare il glorioso trionfo delle soggiogate Africa et Asia»: *Distinto raguaglio* 1716, p. 15.

[40] See previous quotes by Franco Llopis in the same volume.

trophies with some Ottoman slaves tied behind it»[41] is proposed as the theme for second-year students. Therefore, these projects created in some way the conditions conducive to «the desired triumph that will come for the Christian weapons» in the war against the Turks that had been promoted by the Pope[42].

Only a year later, in June 1717, something similar happened in the battle fought at Cape Matapan in southern Greece against the Turkish navy, which brought together the forces of the Portuguese navy, Venice, Portugal, the Papal State and Malta[43]. The victory achieved against the Muslims, and more directly against the Ottoman Empire, not only reaffirmed the commitment to the "holy war" of John V of Portugal, but also legitimized the political-religious project of Portugal beyond the Mediterranean.

The theme, based on the identity-otherness duality within the Portuguese transoceanic empire, was already present in the funeral apparatus designed by the architect Carlo Fontana in Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi, for the funeral of Pedro II of Portugal, celebrated in September 1707[44]. According to the illustrated source, inside, on the side aisles of the funeral apparatus, they arranged twelve sculptures from different Portuguese territories in Africa and Asia (such as Angola, the Cabo Verde Islands, Mozambique, São Tomé, Goa or Macao), whose distribution does not correspond, however, with the text[45].

Nevertheless, the figures representing these Portuguese enclaves and territories in Africa and Asia were archetypes of the exotic for the Roman public, without any distinction of religion, ethnicity or culture of origin. Thus, they were depicted with turban and folkloric caps, dressed indistinctly in their gowns, halfway down their legs, tightened at the waist by a girdle, according to the 17th century Turkish fashion. These personifications materialized, however, a specific iconographic type, images of a "close" religious otherness well known to all the inhabitants of the Italian peninsula, like those of the Iberian Peninsula, but which had nothing to

41 In the text it reads: «Per la seconda classe: Un carro carico di Spoglie, e Trofei, con alcuni Schiavi Ottomani dietro ad esso legati»: Ghezzi 1716, p. 8. Cf. Levenson 1993, p. 291, n. 115.

42 «Relazione: Siccome le gravi passate turbolenze, non sono state per l'addietro […], cosí al presente i nuovi abbenchè a Roma, e dalla Cristiana Repubblica, formidabili movimenti dell'Ottomana nemica potenza non sono bastante a far sì, che dopo di avere […] implorato la Santità Sua il Divino prima, indi l'umano ajuto, per far argine all'empito di que'Barbari […], non sono, dissi, bastante a far sí […]. / […] furono stabiliti per la concorrenza de' Premi gl'infrascritti soggetti i quali sotto varie rappresentanze anticipassero al nostro sguardo la vista di quel desiderato trionfo, che sperano l'Armi Cristiane dalla pottente assistenza di quel Dio, il quale propizio al Paese del suo Popolo si arma contro i nemici de' suoi Servi»: Ghezzi 1716, p. 7.

43 Monteiro 1996, pp. 97-109.

44 *Funerale celebrato* 1707, pl. V. Cf. Rocca, Borghini 1995, cat. 41.I/5, pp. 268; Fagiolo 1997, pp. 23-24, n. 49, fig. 14.

45 Text reads as follows: «dodici Statue di chiaro scuro, quali nelle divise delle vesti rappresentavano dodici principali Paesi soggetti al Dominio di Portogallo additati in altrettanti scudi, […], cioè in una parte Portogallo, Isola Madera, Ternate, Capo Verde, Maragnone, e Regno d'Algarve, nell'altra opposta Macao, Brasile, S. Tommaso, Goa, Regno di Angola, e Mozambique»: in *Funerale celebrato* 1707, p. 4.

do with the experience of cultural interaction that was so real to the Portuguese of that vast and geographically discontinuous set of territories that connected Europe and Asia to the East.

Therefore, these images of Islam are, in fact, Roman products that allow the construction of an "implicit spectator" and through this a remarkably different "audience" from that of the Iberian kingdoms, for which the figures of the Turkish and Moorish slaves, to give an example, never had validity. An audience that is that of Portugal in the early 18th century, similar to the Spanish one, who seems to have lost "fear of the Moors" as an immediate, near, alive and constant danger[46].

The theoretical conformation of this "implicit spectator" presupposes the existence of individuals who actively participate in a particular "ideology" or political discourse, which in Rome and throughout the Italian peninsula seems to have been based on the threat of the Ottoman Empire. This propaganda becomes more intense and explicit, if possible, during the pontificate of Clement XI, in which the war against the Turks is intensely promoted. A good example of this is the canonization of Pope Pius V in August 1712, which was used by the Papacy to relaunch the idea of "holy war", as highlighted by Capriotti[47]. The festival that concludes the eight celebration in honour of St. Pius V and, in particular, the fireworks commissioned by the Dominicans of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, on the evening of August 14, is of great interest in this relation. For this reason, a firework machine was designed and built in the same Piazza Navona where Bernini built the *Fontana del Moro*, in the form of combat, and shaped by three Christian galleys, and in the other three Turkish galleys so that it represented the Turkish armada and the three galleys encircled with the moon, the coat of arms of the Barbarian Empire[48].

In the light of these sources, it is easy to formulate a hypothesis, although adventurous, about the geographical distribution of these representations, since the "explicit", that is, non-allegorical images of Muslims subjected by force of arms (such as the Turkish and Moorish prisoner) seem to have triumphed mainly in frontier places such as the Pontifical State or Malta[49], whose coastal enclaves were continually exposed to the threat of the Turkish fleet or attacks by pirates and privateers.

[46] To this fear and fantasy about Moors reconquering the Iberian Peninsula, so common during the 15th century: Hess 1968; Kimmel 2012.

[47] Capriotti 2016, pp. 357-374. Cf. Caffiero 1998, pp. 103-121.

[48] Text reads as follows: a «macchina del fuoco artificiale» was designed «in forma di combattimento, esendo disposte da una parte le tre galee de' collegati cristiani, e dall'altra le tre galee turchesche», so that «rappresentavasi […] tutta l'armata formabili dei Turchi ni tre Galee contrasegnate colla Luna, stemma di quel Barbaro impero»: in *Istorico motivo* 1712, pp. 2 and 3. Cf. Fagiolo 1997, p. 30.

[49] It is an iconography that had its roots in the south of the Italian peninsula, since the 15th century. As a distant antecedent, it is worth mentioning the triumphant entry of Alfonso the Magnanimous in Naples in 1443, in which he also used images of subjugated Moors, as noted by Franco, in this same volume. Among the most recent references, see also: Molina 2011, pp. 97-110; Molina 2015, pp. 201-232; Delle Donne 2015, pp. 114-155.

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Appendix

Fig. 1. "Emblem" for the coach of the Conde das Galveias, engraving in *Relation du Voyage de Monseigneur Andre de Mello e Castro a la Cour de Rome*…, 1709, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Fig. 2. Design for the coach of the Conde das Galveias, engraving in *Relation du Voyage de Monseigneur Andre de Mello e Castro a la Cour de Rome*…, 1709, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Fig. 3. Allegory of the Continent of Asia: the "Turk" prisoner. Detail of the second coach of the Marquês das Fontes. Carved and gilded wood, 1716, Lisbon, Museu Nacional dos Coches. Foto: Henrique Ruas. Direção-Geral do Património Cultural / Arquivo de Documentação Fotográfica (DGPC/ADF)

Fig. 4. Allegory of the Continent of Africa: the "Moor" prisoner. Detail of the second coach of the Marquês das Fontes. Carved and gilded wood, 1716, Lisbon, Museu Nacional dos Coches. Foto: Henrique Ruas. Direção-Geral do Património Cultural / Arquivo de Documentação Fotográfica (DGPC/ADF)

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JOURNAL OF THE **SECTION** OF **CULTURAL HERITAGE**
Department of Education, Cultural Heritage and Tourism
University of Macerata

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http://riviste.unimc.it/index.php/cap-cult/index

eum edizioni università di macerata

ISSN 2039-2362
ISBN 978-88-6056-553-2

Euro 25,00