

Table of Contents

	Page
Preface	1
Introduction	3
Chapter One- Bush Radio	10
Chapter Two- Brazil	21
Chapter Three- Berlin	34
Conclusion	49
Bibliography	55

**The Question of Success in Seventeenth-Century Spanish
Propaganda**

Marisa Davis
Spring 2002

Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
Preface	1
Introduction	3
Chapter One- Buen Retiro	10
Chapter Two- Breda	21
Chapter Three- Bahia	34
Conclusion	49
Bibliography	55

List of Illustrations

- Fig. 1- Diego Velazquez, *Surrender of Breda*, 1635
- Fig. 2- Juan Bautista Maino, *Recapture of Bahia*, 1635
- Fig. 3- Diego Velazquez, *The Conde-Duque de Olivares*, 1622-27
- Fig. 4- Reconstruction of the Hall of Realms in the Buen Retiro
- Fig. 5- Francisco de Zurbaran, *Hercules cycle*, 1634
- Fig. 6- Francisco de Zurbaran, *Hercules cycle*, 1634
- Fig. 7- Diego Velazquez, *Philip III on Horseback*, 1634-35; *Philip IV on Horseback*, 1634-35
- Fig. 8- Diego Velazquez, *Margaret of Austria on Horseback*, 1634-35; *Isabella of Bourbon on Horseback*, 1634-35
- Fig. 9- Diego Velazquez, *Prince Baltasar Carlos on Horseback*, 1634-35
- Fig. 10- Jan Vermeyen, *Conquest of Tunis and La Goletta*, 1554
- Fig. 11- Diego Velazquez, *Surrender of Breda*, 1635
- Fig. 12- Jusepe Leonardo, *Surrender of Julich*, 1634-35
- Fig. 13- Diego Velazquez, detail of Nassau and Spinola from *Surrender of Breda*, 1635
- Fig. 14- Jacques Callot, *The Siege of Breda*, 1627
- Fig. 15- Juan Bautista Maino, *Recapture of Bahia*, 1635
- Fig. 16- Juan Bautista Maino, detail of foreground from *Recapture of Bahia*, 1635
- Fig. 17- Juan Bautista Maino, detail of middleground tapestry from *Recapture of Bahia*, 1635
- Fig. 18- Illustration of *Victory* from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*

Preface

When beginning my research on the two seventeenth-century battle paintings by Velazquez and Maino, *Surrender of Breda* and *Recapture of Bahia*, I frequently encountered information concerning the declining state of the Spanish Monarchy. When describing the problems of Philip IV's government, many historians identified the Count-Duke of Olivares, Philip's first minister, as the main obstacle to the needed restoration of Spanish greatness. Because the two paintings upon which my research focused were housed in the Buen Retiro, a palace that Olivares had constructed for his king during the 1630s, my inquiries turned to the paintings inside and their influences, in addition to information about the count-duke and the declining condition of Spain.

From Jonathan Brown and J.H. Elliott's book, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV*, came the majority of my research. Covering the history behind the Buen Retiro and the Spanish empire from the beginning of Philip's reign through the 1640s, this book also included an extensive study of the two most important paintings in the palace, Velazquez's *Surrender of Breda* and Maino's *Recapture of Bahia*. Though these two authors described the general Spanish distrust of Olivares and his plans for the Monarchy, they did not identify the two battle paintings commissioned by Olivares as successful images of propaganda. Undoubtedly, these paintings were successful works of art, but as pieces meant to restore the hope of the Spanish people and present images of Spanish strength and capability on the part of the military and the king, the success became a little less certain.

Because I never encountered "facts" about the Spanish reception of the paintings by Velazquez and Maino, I set out to recreate a generalized opinion by incorporating the messages within the paintings with information about Olivares and his policies, sentiments about his placement within the government, and facts about the reality of the declining

Spanish Monarchy. At the end of this paper I try to convince my readers of two points: that the paintings by Velazquez and Maino were both successful pieces of art, but not successful for restoring hope in the Spanish people concerning their king and his first minister. In my attempt to prove these themes, I have synthesized ideas on art, literature, history and opinion.

... of its conquered territories brought glory to her kings. In these images, the genius of the monarch and the strength of his glorious armies exhibited Spain's ability to conquer enemies. Because Spain at one time had the funds and credibility to display her wealth and power, propagandistic images that massaged the ego of the monarch and frightened his foes were appropriate decorations for the walls of her palaces. Mankind as a whole, however, has always had an obsession with commodities and possessions as a means of satisfying the ego of the owner, whether the owner has an ego worth satisfying. Often this obsession becomes so central to a person, or an entire monarchy, that the desire to acquire and conquer- to obtain and display- takes over the individual or the empire so powerfully that they themselves become conquered, losing all that they once treasured as important.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Habsburg kings of Spain possessed more territory than any other nation of that time, causing the Spanish people to view themselves as part of the most powerful empire in the world. Their ventures into the New World won both new land and new sources of income from the natural resources of the Americas. When conflicts arose, Spain almost always prevailed. Although its expenditures increased as income stagnated towards the end of the sixteenth century, her people maintained faith in their monarch. When Philip III ascended to the throne at the end of the sixteenth century, however, the Spanish people began to doubt the strength and ability of their king. These doubts were exacerbated twenty-three years later when Philip IV, at the tender and impressionable age of sixteen, took the place of his father.

Like the Spanish kings before him, Philip IV took an immediate interest in displaying his power at court. With the help of his favorite, the Count-Duke of Olivares,

Introduction

For Spain, which once boasted vaster realms than the ancient empire of Rome, visual representations of its conquered territories brought glory to her kings. In these images, the genius of the monarch and the strength of his glorious armies exhibited Spain's ability to conquer enemies. Because Spain at one time had the funds and credibility to display her wealth and power, propagandistic images that massaged the ego of the monarch and frightened his foes were appropriate decorations for the walls of her palaces. Mankind as a whole, however, has always had an obsession with commodities and possessions as a means of satisfying the ego of the owner, whether the owner has an ego worth satisfying. Often this obsession becomes so central to a person, or an entire monarchy, that the desire to acquire and conquer- to obtain and display- takes over the individual or the empire so powerfully that they themselves become conquered, losing all that they once treasured as important.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Habsburg kings of Spain possessed more territory than any other nation of that time, causing the Spanish people to view themselves as part of the most powerful empire in the world. Their ventures into the New World won both new land and new sources of income from the natural resources of the Americas. When conflicts arose, Spain almost always prevailed. Although its expenditures increased as income stagnated towards the end of the sixteenth century, her people maintained faith in their monarch. When Philip III ascended to the throne at the end of the sixteenth century, however, the Spanish people began to doubt the strength and ability of their king. These doubts were exacerbated twenty-three years later when Philip IV, at the tender and impressionable age of sixteen, took the place of his father.

Like the Spanish kings before him, Philip IV took an immediate interest in displaying his power at court. With the help of his favorite, the Count-Duke of Olivares,

the king began to commission plays, literature, and paintings to embellish his court and decorate his palace walls. Although Philip commissioned paintings of all subjects, those which displayed his personal possessions and strength most likely had the most powerful, lasting effect in terms of emphasizing to the viewer the worth of the king and his country. Paintings that depicted subjects like royal heirs to the throne or palace facades brought pride to the royal observer, but for the viewer who wanted the experience of seeing not only a royal possession, but one earned through the combination of strategic decision making and military might, the battle painting served as the most successful image of power and strength. Also, for a country that sometimes questioned the capacity of its monarch, the battle painting provided the most effective form of propaganda for convincing both enemies and allies of the crown's ability. Philip and his first minister Olivares were aware of the power these military representations possessed, and for various reasons, battle and territorial images were often commissioned as palace decorations.

Throughout Spain's long history of imperial power, probably the most important battle scenes appeared in a seventeenth-century cycle meant to adorn the walls of a pleasure palace. At the beginning of the 1630s, when the count-duke began the construction of the Buen Retiro, a palatial retreat for the monarch, Olivares had a glorious cycle of battle scenes produced to decorate one of the main rooms. Along with other paintings and fresco representations, Olivares hoped to display most directly the military capabilities of his king. Through these victories, however, Olivares planned to advance his own credibility and reputation as the man behind every decision of his monarch.

Though each of the twelve battle scenes depicted on these walls presents a Spanish victory to its viewers, two paintings have always risen above the others as triumphs showing both Spanish strength and character: Diego Velazquez's *Surrender of Breda* (fig. 1) and Juan Bautista Maino's *The Recapture of Bahia* (fig. 2). While both of these paintings not only received the most acclaim and attention upon their initial

¹Carl Justi, *Diego Velazquez and his Times* (London: W. Gravel, 1889), 201.

installation, they also have more similarities in terms of influence and intention than any other paintings in the cycle.

Velazquez's *Surrender of Breda* (1635) revolves around the 1625 scene of victory on the part of the Spanish general, Ambrosio Spinola, and his soldiers. The artist uses a light source that enters from the top left corner and falls directly onto Spinola's face, an indication that this is a morning scene. The event takes place in Breda in the Netherlands at 10:00 a.m. just three days after Spinola's contract of surrender had been signed by the defeated Netherlandish governor, Justin of Nassau.¹

The Dutch leader stands in the center of Velazquez's composition, handing the keys of his city to the Genoese leader of the Spanish army, Ambrosio Spinola. Justin advances toward his victor, left leg before the right, head meekly raised, in the process of genuflecting before Spinola. Spinola, who stands before Justin on the right, meets him on equal ground, placing his right hand on the governor's left shoulder in order to halt Justin's act of submission. With a look of kindness and regard, Spinola leans over toward his adversary in this joint display of respect.

Both the Dutch and Spanish armies display contrasting appearances and manners. In the immediate left foreground, the Dutch wear ragged clothing, some choosing to don hats, others not. Their beards and shaggy light brown hair give them a more youthful appearance than their Spanish foes. The man wearing a tan jacket with his back to the viewer shifts his weight, resting against a tall wooden lance. Like this man, other soldiers assume relaxed positions: one carries a gun perched over his shoulder, making eye contact with the viewer. Of the five lances that stand above the crowd, three stand in erect positions, while the other two sag into a diagonal. The direction of focus of the Dutch soldiers present at this scene, does not point toward their governor in the middle, but rather all around the scene, as they take in different aspects of the event.

¹Carl Justi, *Diego Velazquez and his Times* (London: H. Grevel, 1889), 201.

The Spaniards on the right, in contrast, exhibit a more stoic appearance, giving no sign of their inner emotions. Like the Dutch, these men do not focus wholly on the scene involving their general; they look all around, speaking with one another and observing their surroundings. Unlike the Dutch, their faces are more fully revealed, while at least three make eye contact with the audience. Spinola's horse, whose rear faces the viewer on the far right, unsteadily moves around behind the general, blocking out the faces of a few of the Spanish officers. As another visual contrast to the Dutch, all of the Spaniards surrounding Spinola display costumes of ornate design. In addition, all of the foreground officers have removed their hats, a sign that they are within the inner circle.² Behind the foreground group of Spaniards stand the flute players and lance bearers. They turn their backs on the scene focusing instead on those marching past.³ Of the twenty-nine lances that stand over six feet above their heads, only three fall into a slightly reclined position; the others stand rigid and uniform.

Behind the foreground scene, Velazquez paints a landscape that makes up both the distant middle and backgrounds. The middleground shows both the Dutch and Spanish armies on the left and right sides, respectively. Further behind these armies, in shadow, appears Paul Baglioni's headquarters, detected through the outlines of a flag and tents.⁴ Behind this, the background recedes into the distance. A great cloud of smoke rises up from a fire at the left, and behind that, a body of water intersects with a dyke (the "black dam") comprising part of the artificial inundation that Spinola hoped to use for defensive purposes.⁵ In the great distance behind all of this, the viewer can make out the silvery streak of the Mark river.⁶

²Justi, 205.

³Ibid., 206.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid. Spinola hoped to use the "black dam" to flood the lowlands in order to ward off attacks of relieving forces.

⁶Ibid.

Unlike the strikingly lifelike painting by Velazquez, that by Maino depicts a more fictive, allegorical environment. Here, the artist strays from the archetypal mode of battle representation to present both the victories and consequences of war. Maino's scene of surrender portrays images of both the king, Philip IV, and his favorite, Olivares, and thus stands as the only battle painting in the Buen Retiro in which these portraits appear.

Maino's *The Recapture of Bahia* (1635) shows the aftermath of the combined Spanish/Portuguese efforts to win back the territory of Bahia from the Dutch, taken from Spanish troops in 1625. In this painting, Maino depicts two postwar scenes on a rocky elevation overlooking the Bay of All Saints.⁷ A group of Portuguese natives of Bahia tend to a wounded soldier in the left foreground. Three Portuguese men converse and gesture toward him in the far left, while a woman to the right rests her upper body on a rock in order to look over at the wounded man. On the left side, just in front of the three men, two women-- one standing and the other seated-- watch the wounded soldier, while a child lowers his head and covers his eyes in grief. Two smaller children playfully hold onto each other, while an even smaller child tries to slip out from under the grasp of the seated woman. Just left of center, a Portuguese man holds the wounded soldier from behind as a woman wearing a white veil kneels before him attending to his wounds.

On the right side of the painting, the Spanish General don Fadrique de Toledo gestures toward a tapestry bearing the image of King Philip IV of Spain. A group of Dutch soldiers kneel all around don Fadrique, looking up toward the General and the tapestry. Don Fadrique and the tapestry stand upon elevated ground, forcing the kneeling Dutch to raise their eyes and heads toward their Spanish victor. Two Spaniards converse with one another to the left of the general. The man directly behind the Spanish General enjoys the higher position on elevated ground, as he looks down toward the other

⁷Steven Orso, "Why Maino?: A Note on the Recovery of Bahia" *Source; Notes in the History of Art* 10, no. 2 (1991), 26.

Spaniard standing in the crowd below. With the Dutch at his mercy, don Fadrique faces the viewer, gesturing with his right arm toward the tapestry on his left.

King Philip appears in the tapestry tall and poised, resting his left hand on a stick and grasping a palm of victory with his right hand. Minerva, goddess of war, positions herself behind Philip on the left, handing him the palm while using her other hand to help place a crown of laurels over the king's head.⁸ Olivares, the king's first minister, looks stoic and proud behind Philip on the right side of the tapestry. The count-duke uses his right hand to assist Minerva in crowning Philip while carrying a sword and an olive branch in his left hand. Underneath the feet of these three figures lie the defeated personifications of Heresy, Discord, and Treachery. A canopy extends over the top of the tapestry while an expensive rug lies on the ground before it. Above the canopy two putti hold a panel with the quote from Psalms 43, *sed dextera tua*.⁹ In the background on the left side of the painting, two large fleets are visible in the bay, while a few smaller boats sail around the water. The yellowish sky, marked with shadowed clouds, makes the scene appear to take place at dusk.

From each of these paintings, the observer receives a sense of Spain's military prowess. More importantly, however, the viewer leaves the image with a sense of the superior Spanish character inherent in her people, in her soldiers, and in her monarch. In addition to gaining an understanding of the Spanish character, examining the influences of these two paintings tells stories about the environment of Philip IV's seventeenth-century court, the goals of his reign, and the ambitions of his first minister, the Count-Duke of Olivares. Unlike the ten other battle paintings, the triumphs of these two paintings have provided lasting visual reminders of the artistic glories of Philip IV's reign, while at the

⁸Jonathan Brown and J.H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980), 188.

⁹Brown and Elliott, 188.

same time demonstrating the power of propaganda to instill hope and glory in what was, in reality, a failing regime.

Buen Retiro

For his monarch, the Count-Duke of Olivares (fig. 3) proposed the building of a pleasure palace just outside Madrid. Here, Olivares hoped his king could escape the pressure and strain of his office, while reveling in the entertainment of court plays and festivals. After construction began to expand the church of San Jeronimo into Olivares' grand new palace, the first minister changed the name of the house from the Royal Apartment of San Jeronimo to the Royal House of the Buen Retiro, or the *good retreat*.¹⁰ Because the construction and decoration of the palace consumed the attention of Olivares, making it an obsessive task for the first minister, the palace became a diversion not only for the king, but also for Olivares, who overburdened himself with the concerns of his country and this country estate.

In 1630, Olivares hired an architect to expand the existing apartments of the church and monastery, and in the summer of 1632 the plans to turn San Jeronimo into a royal palace became official.¹¹ Although the execution of the initial building plans became complete in 1633, Olivares continued to announce expansions that indicated his desires for a palatial retreat on a grand scale.¹² Because Olivares started new projects before others had been completed, while at the same time rebuilding areas that had already been constructed, work on the palace continued into the 1640s, although most of the interior had been decorated by the middle 1630s. For the obsessive first minister, the Buen Retiro arrived as yet another Spanish project into which he poured his time and energy. Because the design and construction of the pleasure palace became sole responsibilities of Olivares,

¹⁰ Brown and Elliott, 49.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 56-57.

¹² *Ibid.*, 50.

I *Buen Retiro*

For his monarch, the Count-Duke of Olivares (fig. 3) proposed the building of a pleasure palace just outside Madrid. Here, Olivares hoped his king could escape the pressure and strain of his office, while reveling in the entertainment of court plays and festivals. After construction began to expand the church of San Jeronimo into Olivares' grand new palace, the first minister changed the name of the house from the Royal Apartment of San Jeronimo to the Royal House of the Buen Retiro, or the *good retreat*.¹⁰ Because the construction and decoration of the palace consumed the attention of Olivares, making it an obsessive task for the first minister, the palace became a diversion not only for the king, but also for Olivares, who overburdened himself with the concerns of his country and this country estate.

In 1630, Olivares hired an architect to expand the existing apartments of the church and monastery, and in the summer of 1632 the plans to turn San Jeronimo into a royal palace became official.¹¹ Although the execution of the initial building plans became complete in 1633, Olivares continued to announce expansions that indicated his desires for a palatial retreat on a grand scale.¹² Because Olivares started new projects before others had been completed, while at the same time rebuilding areas that had already been constructed, work on the palace continued into the 1640s, although most of the interior had been decorated by the middle 1630s. For the obsessive first minister, the Buen Retiro served as yet another Spanish project into which he poured his time and energy. Because the design and construction of the pleasure palace became sole responsibilities of Olivares,

¹⁰Brown and Elliott, 49.

¹¹Ibid., 56-57.

¹²Ibid., 60.

the first minister who desired the best for his monarch could never quite settle for the work put into the Retiro. Like all of his other projects and policies designed to aid the cause of the Spanish Monarchy, Olivares wanted the Buen Retiro to represent the hard work that he devoted to his king and his country. In one room of the palace in particular, Olivares hoped to vindicate his name and policies from the suspicion and disagreement that surrounded his decisions for the monarchy.

Undoubtedly the most important room in the palace, the *Salon de Reinos* (or Hall of Realms) provided those who entered into it with the most powerful images of Spanish glory. As the ceremonial center of the palace, the Hall of Realms served as a throne room in which the king presided over all of the court ceremonies, festivities and entertainments that took place at the Retiro.¹³ For this room, Olivares envisioned a decorative scheme to represent the military might of Spain's past, present and future monarchs, her armies, and the expansive domain resulting from her military victories. He also hoped the propagandistic scheme would demonstrate Spain's military capabilities to all enemies of the crown who entered the palace.

When completed in 1635, the Hall of Realms (fig. 4) offered its spectators a long rectangular space in which the glories of the Spanish Monarchy could be visualized.¹⁴ The name of the room came from the ornate fresco that decorated its ceiling. In this fresco, twenty-four escutcheons representing the twenty-four kingdoms under Spanish rule decorated the vaults above the windows.¹⁵ The most important features of the room, however, decorated its lateral and end walls.¹⁶ On the side walls between each window, Olivares commissioned from court artists twelve large battle paintings to represent some of the great victories of Philip IV's armies. Between these paintings and above each

¹³Margaret Rich Greer, *The Play of Power: Mythological Court Dramas of Calderon de la Barca* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 78.

¹⁴Brown and Elliott, 142.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

window on either side of the room, Francisco de Zurbaran painted ten scenes from the life of Hercules (figs. 5 and 6). For the decoration of the two end walls, Velazquez painted five equestrian portraits (figs. 7, 8, and 9): Philip III and his queen representing the past, Philip IV and his wife Isabella as the present, and Baltasar Carlos, the son of Philip and Isabella, as the future of the Spanish empire. Because each of the male equestrian portraits depicts the men in military fashion, these portraits adhere to the martial theme that dominated the majority of the decoration.¹⁷ For the inspiration of the Hall of Realms, Olivares simply embellished upon the popular use of Halls of Princely Virtue for glorifying the exceptional moral and physical qualities of the ruler.¹⁸

During the sixteenth century, Halls of Princely Virtue had become popular forms of propaganda for representing the splendor of the monarch and his dynasty.¹⁹ For the Spanish kings, the example set by Charles V became the most influential upon the Spanish style of commemoration.²⁰ Because Charles never established a permanent ceremonial residence, the emperor traveled with his own portable decorative schemes of tapestries that visualized the virtuous characteristics of the ruler.²¹ Although the emperor had several tapestry series commissioned throughout his lifetime, one series in particular became the most important and most frequently traveled because of its message about Charles' character and his empire. This series, known as the *Conquest of Tunis and La Goletta* (1554) (fig. 10), illustrated in twelve tapestries the 1535 military campaign to recover Tunis from Turkish forces.²² The first tapestry in the series depicted a map of the campaign, while the remaining eleven demonstrated in episodic fashion different highlights

¹⁷Ibid., 156.

¹⁸Ibid., 147.

¹⁹Ibid., 147.

²⁰Ibid., 148.

²¹Ibid.

²²Steven Norgaard Orso, *In the Presence of the "Planet King": Studies in Art and Decoration at the Court of Philip IV of Spain* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1978), 161.

from the expedition.²³ Throughout Charles' reign and continuing into the reigns of his Spanish descendants, the *Tunis* tapestries maintained preferential status among court decorations because of the several fundamental Habsburgian themes they incorporated.²⁴

First, the tapestries promoted the dynasty of the Habsburgs by glorifying its most important figure, Charles V.²⁵ Second, by showing the restoration of Spanish control over foreign territories, the tapestries illustrated the superior military ability of the emperor.²⁶ Also, because the war in Tunis matched the Christian Spanish army against infidel Turkish forces, a religious theme of the glory of the Christian cause over that of all others pervaded the decoration.²⁷ Through the combination of these motifs, the political and theological mission of the Habsburg kings, or at least of their palace decoration, was made manifest.²⁸

During the seventeenth century, when Olivares began to conceive of the decoration for the Hall of Realms, the count-duke deliberately used each of these themes made popular by Charles, hoping to represent Philip IV as a successor of the great emperor and an equal match to the emperor's cause, ability and character. In addition to the subject matter found in the *Tunis* tapestries, the number of tapestries that Charles used to illustrate his military victories had an influence on the number of battle paintings Olivares commissioned for the Hall of Realms.

During the sixteenth century, Hercules became a popular symbol of the prince because of his long associations with Virtue and Strength.²⁹ During this time, Charles designed his own emblematic device using the mythical Columns of Hercules as his

²³Brown and Elliott, 148.

²⁴Orso, "Planet King", 172.

²⁵Ibid., 172.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid., 173.

²⁹Brown and Elliott, 157.

inspiration.³⁰ From this point on, sixteenth-century princes associated the emperor with the ancient hero and his symbolic characteristics, while each of the Habsburg kings following Charles identified with the figure of Hercules adopted by their great ancestor.³¹ From the popular tale of Hercules and his Twelve Labors, Charles most likely decided to represent his Tunis victories in a series of twelve tapestries. The number twelve naturally translated into Olivares' conception for the number of battle paintings in the Hall of Realms, and this influence from Charles' *Tunis* tapestries and his identification with Hercules is reaffirmed through the ten paintings of Hercules between each of the battle pieces. In this context, Zurbaran's Hercules images helped emphasize the idea that although Herculean demands had been made upon Spain's monarchs to maintain their Catholic hold on power, they, like Hercules, had the ability to withhold and overcome obstacles.³² Like the mythic hero who had to perform the Twelve Labors in order to achieve immortality, the twelve battle paintings representing Philip IV's victories are quasi-symbols of the king's own twelve labors that would prove to the world the glory, power and durability or immortality of the Spanish crown.³³

From the examples set forth by former Halls of Princely Virtue and Charles V, Olivares clearly understood how to use certain figures and scenes for the purpose of glorifying the image of his king's power and greatness. The first minister also understood the lasting power these visual images had upon those who viewed them. Through the combination of the equestrian portraits, the battle paintings, the twenty-four escutcheons and the Hercules scenes, Olivares sought to create an environment that illustrated the glory of the Spanish dynasty in both battle and character. Like the themes of glory expressed in Charles' *Tunis* tapestries, Olivares combined the images in the Hall of Realms

³⁰Ibid., 157.

³¹Ibid. (CT: Yale University Press, 1988), 3.

³²Ibid., 162.

³³Edward Tripp, *Crowell's Handbook of Classical Mythology*, A Crowell Reference Book (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970), 279.

to emphasize the ideas of dynastic lineage, military ability and superior religious purpose. The count-duke attempted to compare his king to the great emperor Charles V through his use of these themes but, unlike Charles, Olivares saw that there was one elemental difference between Philip's reign and that of Charles: the presence of a first minister.

Following the end of Philip II's reign, the state of the Spanish Monarchy had begun to decline. With this diminishment of Spanish power came the addition of the elevation of a favorite, a person whom many Spaniards believed weakened the ability of king and country. As the favorite under Philip IV, and in order to help defend his importance at court, Olivares used the established themes made popular by Charles V and other Halls of Princely Virtue to glorify his homeland. Along with these motifs, however, Olivares included an additional message about the power and ability of the king's first minister. As the main creator behind the Buen Retiro and the Hall of Realms, Olivares knew he had a vehicle with which to boost his own reputation and importance. By using the images of military glory that reflected upon his king, Philip IV, Olivares hoped to promote his own policies and decisions as the sole force behind the powers of the king, and of Spain itself.

Shortly after Philip IV came to power, Don Gaspar de Guzman, a member of the powerful Guzman branch from Seville, became the Count-Duke of Olivares, or more generally known by the Spanish as the king's new favorite.³⁴ With Olivares' ascension to power, the prime task became the restoration of Spain's greatness, an ambitious goal for an even more ambitious figure.³⁵ In order to achieve a greater Spain, Olivares believed the young king needed to be molded and trained to become the ideal image of a Habsburg king.³⁶ Focusing on different characteristics from Philip's ancestors, Olivares hoped to

³⁴J.H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 3.

³⁵R. Trevor Davies, "The Rule of Olivares (1621-17th January 1643)," In *Spain in Decline 1621-1700* (New York: MacMillan, 1957), 4.

³⁶Elliott, 171.

combine these traits in the young Philip and turn him into the greatest Spanish monarch in history.

Throughout the first decade of Olivares' tenure at court, the first minister encouraged war (a heavy burden upon the declining Spanish economy), proposed numerous policy changes for the established government, and fixed his own influence and power at court by replacing many of the king's former courtiers with allies to his cause. Through his many propositions and changes to the Spanish court, Olivares hoped to further the reputation of the Spanish empire. Because reputation was an extremely important idea to Olivares' ancestors, this theme became a main concern to the count-duke's plans for the king and policies for the empire.³⁷ Naturally, because Olivares placed such high importance upon the reputation of his king and his country, the count-duke worried a great deal about his own reputation and worth at court, as well.

For Olivares, reputation naturally translated into a more forceful assertion of the rights and interests of his king.³⁸ Possessing a bellicose temperament, the count-duke saw war as a necessary tool if it aided the king and his empire in asserting their rights and regaining the worldly position to which they were entitled.³⁹ With this temperament, Olivares pushed his nation into war, a move that had lasting repercussions for Spain.⁴⁰ Because of the high costs necessary for maintaining an empire as expansive as the Habsburg domains, Olivares' reform programs met little success due to the amount of money needed for Spain's endless military ventures.⁴¹

³⁷Ibid., 82.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Nancy Posner, *Retaking Brazil: Glimpsing Ideology in Two Golden Age Comedias (Lope and Correa)* (Santa Barbara, CA: University of California, 1996), 3.

⁴¹Greer, 77.

By the end of the 1620s, Spain had entered into a Great Depression.⁴² Engaged in war with both Italy and Flanders, hopes for the elusive peace with the Dutch had once again been lost, and possible confrontations with the Netherlands and Sweden seemed imminent; Spain could find no peace.⁴³ During this difficult period for the Spanish Monarchy, Olivares sought an outlet for his impatient king to avoid unnecessary foreign policy commitments or hasty military ventures that would only squander the Monarchy's hard-won resources.⁴⁴ Viewing the extension of the royal apartments attached to the monastery of San Jeronimo as a fruitful enterprise, Olivares encouraged the king to embrace this new project, hoping Philip could momentarily forget about the cares of his office and his military ambitions, and receive the due honor bestowed upon a king as magnificent as himself.⁴⁵ With his plans for the Buen Retiro, Olivares also hoped to find a vehicle with which to boost his own reputation and cause, issues that had long been treated with skepticism by the Spanish people.

Although Philip completely trusted the ability of Olivares, delegating power to the count-duke not out of his own personal weakness, but because he truly saw Olivares as the best man for the job, most courtiers and Spaniards were very wary of the first minister's motives and the abrupt changes he had made in the Spanish court.⁴⁶ From the beginning, Olivares had to face down the challenge that because of his maneuvering, the future of the Spanish Monarchy no longer resided in the king's power; it belonged rather to Olivares' own power and decision making. Because Olivares believed in his motives to restore the greatness of the Spanish Monarchy, making personal sacrifices in both time and energy, the first minister desired the recognition that he believed his sacrifices and changes

⁴²Elliott, 409.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶John Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, vol. 2, Spain and America: 1598-1700 (New York: New York University Press, 1981), 68.

deserved.⁴⁷ For this reason, Olivares viewed the Buen Retiro as the perfect tool through which to praise the reputation of his country and elevate his own name. By demonstrating the majestic glory of his nation, Olivares would thus demonstrate the glory of his personal ability.

Because of the influence of the themes that had dominated Charles V's earlier ceremonial decoration, the Hall of Realms emphasized the military glory of Philip IV and Spain. Although a room modeled after typical Halls of Princely Virtue with military scenes would have been an obvious addition to the new royal palace, this room had particular importance during Spain's current encounters with war. Because Spain had reentered into battles with both the United Provinces following the close of the Twelve Years' Truce and other European nations, Spain's economy and resources had suffered greatly. Believing that Philip had to return to war with the Dutch and their Protestant allies in order to maintain Spain's greatness, Olivares pushed his monarch into an exhausting series of battles that weakened Spanish forces and often cost Spain the possession of crucial territories.⁴⁸ Because Olivares believed so strongly in warfare, the count-duke was criticized for the declining state of the empire following her many military ventures. In order to prove to the Spanish people and himself the necessity and benefits of his insistence on military involvement, Olivares used the Hall of Realms to celebrate many of the victories that had occurred following Philip IV's rise to power. For Olivares, the Hall of Realms was visual proof of his country's continuing ability in the field of imperial domination.

The criticism surrounding Olivares' handling of his country's government did not end there, however. As the king's first minister, Olivares clearly understood the costs involved in the construction of a new pleasure palace. Despite Spain's current state of

⁴⁷Davies, 4.

⁴⁸Posner, 3.

war and the first minister's initial insistence on frugality, Olivares encouraged the expansion of San Jeronimo, using money that could possibly support the war for the purpose of festivities, entertainment and decoration.⁴⁹ The desire for what seemed like frivolous display of propaganda had consumed the count-duke. In order to defer criticism concerning his choice for the crown's expenditures, Olivares used the military scheme to remind the Spanish of the importance of war and to renew their hope regarding its seemingly neverending state.⁵⁰ Though intended to influence unknowing Spaniards and other visitors to the palace, the Hall of Realms' military scheme also had its own power over the minds of the king and his first minister, helping to convince them of Spanish potency during a time of decline.

For the twelve battle paintings used to decorate the Hall of Realms, Olivares carefully chose victories that would both demonstrate Spain's military capabilities and prove her lasting hold on imperial domination. Naturally, each of the twelve battles depicted took place during Philip IV's rule. Five of the painted battles occurred in 1625, Spain's *annus mirabilis* (year of victory), in which Philip was first officially termed Felipe el Grande, the king great in both the arts of war and peace.⁵¹ At the beginning of this triumphant year, Spain initially faced defeat, but then miraculously recovered with a series of military successes.⁵² Another three paintings represented victories from the 1620s, and the remaining four depicted images from 1633.⁵³ Because four had occurred in 1633, when Olivares proposed the decorative scheme for the Hall of Realms, the count-duke may have hoped to represent that year as another *annus mirabilis*.⁵⁴ By doing so, 1633

⁴⁹Davies, 4.

⁵⁰Elliott, 466.

⁵¹Ibid., 241.

⁵²Brown and Elliott, 164.

⁵³Ibid., 164, 166.

⁵⁴Ibid., 166.

would then be seen as another turning point for the Spanish Monarchy in which the crown's immediate victories were visualized.⁵⁵

Among the twelve battle paintings that once decorated the Hall of Realms, Velazquez's *Surrender of Breda* and Maino's *Recapture of Bahia* have always received a disproportionate amount of acclaim as achievements in both purpose and design. Both of these paintings, which depict victories from 1625, help promote the glory of the Spanish cause and military might, the character of Spanish victory in both art and war, and the influence of Olivares upon his country's accomplishments. By overburdening himself with the concerns of his king and his country, Olivares found himself responsible for each of his country's achievements and victories. Through the Hall of Realms, the count-duke utilized the visual decor not only to demonstrate his country's glory, but to also provide himself with what he believed deserved respect concerning his own power and ability. In the paintings by both Velazquez and Maino, the viewer is offered visual statements about the glory and the character of the Spanish people, while at the same time being provided with a medium through which to view Olivares as an important addition to the Spanish Monarchy. Although these two paintings present successful images of Spanish glory and character, they also represent Olivares' obsession with image and reputation, obsessions that might have hindered his ability to convince the Spanish people of his worth.

⁵⁶Grady McKim-Smith and Marcia L. Welles, "Topographical Tropes: The Mapping of Breda in Calderon, Callot and Velazquez," *Indiana Journal of Hispanic Literatures*, vol. 1 (Fall 1992): 127.

⁵⁷McKim-Smith and Welles, 187.

⁵⁵Ibid. 186, Justi, 201.

II *Breda*

When Velazquez began working on *Surrender of Breda* in 1634, the actual situation in the Dutch territory had changed greatly from the scene of surrender memorialized by the artist on canvas. The event surrounding the conquest of Breda from 1625 had brought with it an initial hesitancy over whether the territory was actually worth the time and effort that a military pursuit would inevitably bring. Although Velazquez's painting survives as possibly the greatest surrender representation ever produced, the amount of money and energy spent to secure victory and then to reproduce it pictorially causes one to reevaluate the importance of this battle and the decision making of those in charge.

Because of Breda's location at the junction of the Dutch rivers Mark and Aa, the Spanish capture of Breda led many experts to believe that Spain would attempt an economic blockade on Dutch trade.⁵⁶ Also, because this location belonged to descendants of William of Orange, a Protestant heretic who had initiated the rebellion against Spain, its return to Catholic Spain had immense political and propagandistic appeal to those who viewed Catholicism as the true and only form of Christianity.⁵⁷ For these reasons, many believed in the necessity of a military effort in this direction.⁵⁸ Other Spanish strategists, however, viewed Breda as a useless effort.⁵⁹ Because the Dutch had proved so obstinate in the past, it seemed almost inevitable that another attempt towards

⁵⁶Gridley McKim-Smith and Marcia L. Welles, "Topographical Tropes: The Mapping of Breda in Calderon, Callot and Velazquez," *Indiana Journal of Hispanic Literatures*, vol. 1 (Fall 1992): 187.

⁵⁷McKim-Smith and Welles, 187.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid., 186; Justi, 201.

gaining Dutch territories would only end in futility. Many questioned the usefulness of Breda's natural resources, an issue of great importance during a time of economic decline.⁶⁰ As another point of contention, Breda was almost universally viewed as an impregnable fortress, and it was thought that efforts toward her capture would prove yet another waste of precious resources during Spain's program of reform.⁶¹ In 1624, despite discouragement from military circles all across Europe, Ambrosio Spinola, the Genoese commander of the Spanish army of Flanders, made the decision to attack Breda.

For just over nine months, Spinola and his army countered each Dutch attempt to flood the countryside where the Spanish army resided. Throughout the siege that forced the Spaniards to brave frigid winter elements, both sides exhibited the perseverance and skill needed to win the battle.⁶² By the end of May 1625, the Dutch, unable to relieve their weakened garrison, offered terms for an honorable surrender.⁶³ Although the Dutch army chose to surrender, the troops fighting under Justin of Nassau were apparently in better physical condition than their Spanish foes, who suffered greatly from cold and hunger during the long winter months.⁶⁴ The articles of surrender were agreed upon on June 2, and on June 5 Nassau and his Dutch army marched out of the city with their colors flying.⁶⁵ Just ten days later, news of the Spanish victory reached the court in Madrid.⁶⁶

Because Spinola had received discouragement from military circles all across the continent, his victory quickly became regarded as the most brilliant strategic event of that time.⁶⁷ While the countrymen of Spain and the Netherlands obviously focused their

⁶⁰Ibid., 186.

⁶¹Justi, 201.

⁶²Brown and Elliott, 179.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Simon A. Vosters, "Again the First Performance of Calderon's *El Sitio de Breda*," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, vol. 6 (Autumn 1981): 128.

⁶⁵Brown and Elliott, 179.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Justi, 199.

attention upon the battle, so too did men and women in England, France, Italy, Germany, and other European countries, making this battle and subsequent Spanish victory even more important for Spanish political propaganda.⁶⁸ Although momentarily asleep, Spain seemed on the brink of reappearing as the largest and most powerful empire in the western world.

As the news of Spain's victory was received in Madrid, plays, poems and images were commissioned to demonstrate Spanish pride and patriotism. Among the plays produced after Breda's fall was Pedro Calderon de la Barca's *El Sitio de Breda*, which had a lasting effect upon its viewers and those interested in producing works dealing with the same subject. Calderon premiered his rendition of the siege in Breda sometime after 1625.⁶⁹ The exact date of the play's debut has been disputed, as some believe it premiered within the same year of the victory, 1625, while others find more reason to place its completion in 1628.⁷⁰ Disagreement also arises over the play's intended audience. Those who believe the play premiered in 1625 usually feel it had a courtly audience, but others who argue for a later date in 1628 believe the play was intended for an audience in Spinola's home on the occasion of the general's visit to Madrid.⁷¹ Whenever the play actually premiered, and for whom, does not matter as much as the importance it had for those beyond its original audience in Madrid.

In Calderon's interpretation of the siege of Breda, the climax and main theme of the play come in the final scene of the final act, which recalls the ultimate scene of surrender. In this concluding scene, Spinola and the Spaniards enter the stage along with Justin of Nassau, who holds the keys to the city of Breda. As he receives the keys, Spinola announces,

⁶⁸Ibid., 201.

⁶⁹Vosters, *Smith and Welles*, 191.

⁷⁰Ibid. *See* Brown and Garrido, *Peisage: The Technique of Genius* (New

⁷¹Ibid., 130. *Yale University Press*, 1998), 81.

Justin, I take these keys in awareness of your valor;
 for the valor of the defeated makes famous the victor.
 And in the name of Philip IV, who for centuries has ruled,
 winning more victories than all others, as joyous as always,
 I accept this possession.⁷²

The exchange between the Dutch governor, Nassau, and the Spanish general, Spinola, displays to the audience the excellence and magnanimity of not only Spinola, but also Philip IV, in whose name the general accepts the keys. By acknowledging the ability and character of Nassau and his army, Spinola displays chivalrous qualities important to Spanish gentlemen during this time. Using not only words to acknowledge the excellence of the Dutchman, Spinola also stands on equal ground with the governor. Through this extraordinary act, Spinola honors his foe and acknowledges him as an equal, an act not common to scenes of surrender: usually, when a defeated enemy participated in a surrender ceremony, the victor remained mounted on horse, elevated above the enemy, confirming the custom of hierarchical superiority. Through the actions of Spinola, Calderon directly contrasted the usual mode of surrender, demonstrating the compassion and thus the excellence of his Spanish victors and their national values as a whole.⁷³

Although extremely powerful and important to the pride of the Spanish people, this act of clemency displayed on the part of the Italian general never actually occurred, making the final and thematically potent scene of magnanimity and clemency a fiction created in the playwright's mind.⁷⁴ For the inspiration of this famous scene, Calderon

⁷² "Justino, yo las recibo,/ y conozco que valiente sois; que el valor del vencido/ haze famozo al que vence. Y en el nombre de Filipo/ Quarto, que por siglos reine, con mas victorias que nunca,/ tan dichoso como siempre, tomo aquesta posesion." Pedro Calderon de la Barca, "El Sitio de Breda," *Primera Parte de Comedias de don Pedro Calderon de la Barca*, 181-82.

⁷³ McKim-Smith and Welles, 191.

⁷⁴ Jonathan Brown and Carmen Garrido, *Velazquez: The Technique of Genius* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 81.

embellished the historical actions of Spinola. Agreeing upon the articles of surrender on June 2, Spinola allowed the Dutch governor and his army to march out of the city three days later with their flags flying, while also granting them the ability to maintain every other custom enjoyed by an army on the field.⁷⁵ In addition to these unusual privileges, Spinola treated the surrendered city with exceptional respect, displaying to both Spain and her enemies the majesty of his own and his king's person.⁷⁶ Although this scene would have undoubtedly provided the same climax for Spinola and his army during the actual nine month battle, Calderon changes the historical exchange just enough that the true character of Spinola and his army are not lost on any viewer. For Calderon, a man who became famous during this time for his literature about Spain, the ability to embellish and obscure the realities that inspired his subject matter presented itself in another aspect of this play.

Although the historical duration of the siege of Breda amounted to nine months and nine days, Calderon denied a real sense of time, suggesting in his play that the battle lasted roughly eight weeks.⁷⁷ In his two-month war, Calderon not only overlooked the long, difficult winter endured by Spanish troops, he also failed to address the cold and hunger that affected his countrymen, elements that wore them down far beyond it did their Dutch foes.⁷⁸ In direct contrast to the reality of the weakened, sick Spaniards, Calderon illustrated them as robust and persevering, thus suggesting that Spain and her king were unstoppable forces.⁷⁹ Through Calderon's alterations and vagueness toward the reality of events in Breda, the playwright sought to glorify the morality and physical abilities of his country as a whole.

⁷⁵Brown and Elliott, 179.

⁷⁶Ibid. *Smith and Welles*, 189.

⁷⁷Vosters, 128.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Ibid.

In Calderon's play, the author exchanges a familiarity with the different characters' personal psychology for an overall presentation of Spain's moral values, a decision that plays out in the importance of gesture in Velazquez's *Surrender of Breda*. Gridley McKim-Smith and Marcia Welles have viewed *Breda* as a form of ceremonial drama, as the play serves as a vehicle for displaying to a generally courtly audience the superior character and heroism of the country and its monarch in question.⁸⁰ The only conflict present in this genre comes in the form of external clashes between two warring countries and their religious faiths-- in this case, Catholicism versus Protestantism.⁸¹ According to these authors, the lack of internal conflict causes a disinterest in the personalities and psychology of the different characters.⁸² Without this internal interest, the play's external plotline becomes the focus, which then causes a greater emphasis to be placed upon the distinctive gestures and poses of the characters, rather than their actual personalities.⁸³ By not concentrating upon individual characters, Calderon understood the potency of action and gesture for displaying his thematic purpose of representing Spain and Philip IV as a magnanimous, compassionate whole. The idiosyncrasies and alterations upon the actual siege of Breda that imbued Calderon's play with patriotism gave Velazquez a starting point for the creation of his emotional, personal, and propagandistic *Surrender of Breda*.

Commissioned by Olivares for the Buen Retiro in the early years of the 1630s, Velazquez strayed from the archetypal mode of battle representation and instead fused the influences of Calderon's play and other images of the city with his own working technique to produce a lasting image of an altered moment in the history of Spanish military might. For the composition of his painting, Velazquez borrowed directly from Calderon's final

⁸⁰McKim-Smith and Welles, 189.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid.

scene of *El Sitio de Breda*. This aspect of Velazquez's painting demonstrated one of the first ways in which the artist strayed from the normal mode of battle representation. Like most battle depictions, the general or victorious ruler occupies the foreground of the canvas, while a battle or landscape decorates the background. Unlike the typical battle or surrender scene, however, Velazquez placed the victor, Spinola, on the same ground as the defeated governor, Justin of Nassau. The idea to show both men meeting each other at the same level came from Calderon's scene of surrender, in which Spinola, an Italian general for the Spanish army, accepted the keys to Breda with respect and praise for his defeated foe. Like Calderon, who viewed the spirit of Spinola's, and thus Spain's, magnanimity as the main point of his play, Velazquez also began with this idea, building upon it to present his own understanding of the Spanish moral code.

The foreground of Velazquez's composition shows Spinola joined by his army on the right, along with Nassau and his Dutch army on the left. Customarily, the defeated general or commander in a scene of surrender would have met his victor unescorted (fig. 12).⁸⁴ In Calderon's play, the author allowed Spinola to enter the stage accompanied by a few soldiers, while Nassau entered the stage meeting the Spaniards alone. In Velazquez's scene, the artist conceived of a slightly different and more chivalrous interpretation of Spinola's character. Not only granting Nassau the comfort of his army, Velazquez makes the honor of depicting Spinola on the same ground as the Dutchman more evident and remarkable through the presence of the general's horse on the far right.⁸⁵ Here, the presence of the fidgety horse reminds the viewer that the usual role of horse and rider in a battle painting was made to humiliate and reduce the position of the defeated, presenting the victorious ruler mounted on top of the horse. The horse in Velazquez's scene, however, has just been dismounted, allowing its rider to join his foe more graciously as an

⁸⁴Brown and Elliott, 181.

⁸⁵Ibid. New York: Greenwich House, 1983, 144.

equal. By balancing out the composition with an equal showing from both the Dutch and Spanish armies, Velazquez may have been making a statement about a desire for unity between Spain and her conquered territories.

Gridley McKim-Smith and Marcia Welles feel that the horrors of war in both Calderon's play and Velazquez's painting have been ignored.⁸⁶ In the romantic model of Calderon's play, the author yearns for a unified world where all people are viewed as one.⁸⁷ This longing for oneness may be the reason behind Velazquez's presentation of both the Dutch and Spanish armies at the surrender. By representing both generals along with their armies, Velazquez unites both armies in a ceremony that acknowledges not only the equality of Nassau and Spinola, the equality of both armies. The artist treats both sides with compassion and decency, while rendering the Spaniards in a way that presents them as the victor. Throughout his time as first minister to the king, Olivares made it his goal to unify Spain's government and her territories, and the theme of his regime possibly filtered its way into many of the great Spanish minds.⁸⁸

Moving forward with the idea of magnanimity and clemency portrayed in Calderon's play, Velazquez also understood how to demonstrate true character through the use of action and gesture. From Calderon's play, where the emphasis is placed on external conflicts and an overall understanding of Spanish ideals, Velazquez began with the play's stress on gesture to demonstrate both the outstanding character of his country and the utterly human qualities of his main figures. As the protagonist of his composition, Velazquez's depiction of Spinola suggests a real understanding of this man's character.

During Velazquez's first trip to Italy, beginning in August 1629, the artist became personally acquainted with Spinola while traveling with him from Barcelona to Genoa.⁸⁹

⁸⁶McKim-Smith and Welles, 192.

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸Davies, 14.

⁸⁹Jose Gudiol, *The Complete Paintings of Velazquez: 1599-1660*, trans. by Kenneth Lyons (New York: Greenwich House, 1983), 144.

Because Velazquez's painting shows the general in profile, it has been suggested that Velazquez made sketches of the general while the two traveled together, because no other surviving images of Spinola represent him from the side.⁹⁰ Carl Justi implies that due to the general's shameful loss in the siege of Casale, a battle that took place shortly after Velazquez's journey with the general, Spinola grieved so greatly over the loss of his military honor that he died shortly thereafter.⁹¹ Because Velazquez became close with the general during their journey, Justi believes that the artist desired to vindicate the true character of Spinola and raise a permanent monument to his name.⁹² Although Velazquez may not have truly desired to represent Spinola's outstanding character as the focal point of his painting, he did succeed in paying tribute to the general's successes, while making a statement about the honor of his country.

The main focus of Velazquez's painting, the exchange of keys, occurs in the center foreground of the composition (fig. 13). In this compassionate scene of surrender, Spinola dismounts from his horse to meet Nassau, who offers the general the keys to Breda. In typical surrender fashion, Nassau begins the process of lowering his body and head to kneel before his conqueror. Unlike any other surrender scene, however, Spinola kindly looks toward Nassau and extends his right hand toward the Dutchman, halting his act of kneeling. Rather than receive the keys from a humiliated, lowered figure, Spinola desires to extend his feelings of respect and compassion towards Nassau; such feelings acknowledge the defeated man as an equal. Through Velazquez's masterful knowledge of body movement, the use of friendly eye contact, the tilt of each man's body toward the other, the position of legs one in front of the other, and the extension of Spinola's arm toward Nassau, the artist demonstrates in one brief moment the completely human and gentle characters of each man in question. The viewer sees Nassau as a gracious and

⁹⁰Enriqueta Harris, *Velazquez* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 77.

⁹¹Justi, 203.

⁹²Ibid.

humble foe to Spinola's magnanimous and reverent inner character, a character that reflects upon his army, his country, and his king. Velazquez clearly understood the importance of choosing the right moment to deliver his powerful message, because like the real men his figures represented, the figures in Velazquez's painting will momentarily disrupt the scene through their inevitable shift in body movements as time continues to pass. Velazquez captures, as though in a snapshot, this brief but lasting scene of Spanish glory.

Like Calderon, who overlooked the weakening effects of the nine-month battle, Velazquez also appears to deny his viewers the reality of the Spanish army's mental and physical state, exchanging it for an image of Spanish strength.

On the right side of the canvas, Spinola's Spanish army appears in formal dress with stoic, serious facial expressions. All of the men stand straight and proud, and appear ready for any challenge. The rigid, and most determined character of this army is echoed in the background by the army of lances which rise over six feet above the heads of those who guard them. The lances, which give this painting its alternate title of *Las Lanzas*, stand tall and proud like the army of Spaniards, offering a double challenge to its foes. As Spinola represents the magnanimous, compassionate character of Spain, the lances reinforce its attentive, unyielding determination in the act war. The combination of the firm lances with the gentle character of Spinola creates a powerful image of Spain as the ideal state-- determined in war, while gentle and compassionate in victory. Although the lances were used in battle and most likely were present in a scene of surrender, the men who held the lances during the real surrender in Breda were tired, weakened, and in worse physical condition than their Dutch foes. Not wanting to concentrate on the negative aspects of this Spanish victory, however, Velazquez used his own understanding of the surrender to create a deceiving image of Spanish strength and tenacity.

While Calderon's play offered many points of reference for Velazquez's conception, other influences made their way into his composition. The background of

Velazquez's painting shows a topographical view of Breda. This landscape, filled with faint illustrations of the opposing armies, their camps, and different military sites, came from an engraving by Jacques Callot from 1627 (fig. 14). After surveying the area in July of 1627, Callot produced a six-sheet engraving for the Infanta Isabella, the king's sister, faithfully depicting Breda's geography and the locations of each camp.⁹³ This interest in mapped representations of conquered territories became a popular form of palace decoration for the Habsburg kings.

A survey of palace decor throughout the different Habsburg kings' reigns, reveals an extreme interest and preference for mapped representations over other forms of visual decor. For Spanish monarchs, cartography served as an obvious metaphor for expressing the expanse of the empire's territorial possessions.⁹⁴ Through these mapped illustrations, the monarch and his people could consider rarely seen territories, offering the viewer pride and honor as a member of this powerful empire.⁹⁵ Not only were these mapped scenes presented as Spanish possessions, they represented the strength of the military and country as a whole because they had been gained through the country's military prowess rather than given to Spain as gifts of royalty. These images symbolized the hard work, effort, and military strategy characteristic of a nation that could boast vaster realms than any other nation in the world.

Throughout the age of Habsburg domination, inventories of palace furnishings demonstrate the interest and prominence of location given to maps. In the Alcazar in Madrid, for example, the Great Hall contained representations of Spanish possessions throughout the reigns of Philip II, Philip III, and Philip IV rather than paintings created by famous masters.⁹⁶ The Spanish reverence for maps becomes understandable when

⁹³Brown and Elliott, 180.

⁹⁴McKim-Smith, 195.

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Ibid., 196.

observing the legacy of Charles V, who commissioned the most influential map series of the day, the tapestries dedicated to the *Conquest of Tunis and La Goletta*.⁹⁷

For Charles V, mapped illustrations of his realms played an important role in court decoration and ceremony. In 1535, the emperor engaged in a military campaign to recover Tunis from Turkish forces.⁹⁸ Following his victory, cartoons were commissioned for a tapestry series to commemorate what came to be regarded as one of Charles' most glorious achievements.⁹⁹ The *Conquest of Tunis and La Goletta*, from 1549-51, comprised twelve tapestries, the first illustrating a map of the campaign and the remaining eleven depicting in chronological order, various highlights from the expedition.¹⁰⁰ Because Charles never permanently resided in one palace, he used these tapestries as portable decorations, bringing them with him on most of his travels.¹⁰¹ Whenever Charles had the tapestries unrolled and displayed, the success of the expedition demonstrated to viewers the power and capabilities of the Spanish empire. Because he preferred mapped views for the commemoration of his victories, Charles set a precedent for Spanish interest in mapped decoration.¹⁰²

During the seventeenth century, when Velazquez and other artists worked on their depictions of the siege in Breda, the *Tunis* tapestries were on display in the Alcazar.¹⁰³ Because of the importance this series had for Spanish imperial propaganda, Velazquez would have undoubtedly been familiar with its design and message. By quoting Callot's map of Breda, Velazquez understood the double impact of combining a foreground scene of surrender with a background representation of a conquered territory. Velazquez could

⁹⁷Ibid.

⁹⁸Orso, "*Planet King*", 161.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Brown and Elliott, 148.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²McKim-Smith, 196.

¹⁰³Ibid.

depict a maplike image of possession while at the same time he presented a propagandistic image of power for Spain's enemies, of the army whose strength and abilities could earn any prize. Although Velazquez's integration of the two scenes does not completely work out in a realistic manner, the artist may have done this intentionally.

Because Velazquez tips the background landscape so that its design can be seen by the viewer, the foreground figural groups look as though they stand in front of a painted backdrop rather than the actual Dutch countryside, an effect that makes his painting seem almost like a scene from a play.¹⁰⁴ Because little information survives about theatrical stage sets during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, similarities between their design and maps can only be presumed, although one would imagine that playwrights had a knowledge of the importance of maps similar to that of artists of the day.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, it seems possible that Velazquez painted a scene from a play where the figures stand before a theatrical backdrop of Breda, while participating in a surrender ceremony. Although the background is not fully integrated with the foreground scene, Velazquez's composition seems more realistic than a play because of its completely realistic and human qualities. While figures stand in front of a background that represents Spanish domination, the foreground scene demonstrates the realities of life, its compassion, its more humbling moments, and its energetic uncertainties. In this painting, Velazquez has demonstrated his skill with depicting reality, and his abilities of displaying more realistically on canvas than on stage his understanding of human character.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 198.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 197.

III *Bahia*

Juan Bautista Maino probably began working on the *Recapture of Bahia* in 1634, completing the piece for its installation the following year. Like Velazquez's subject matter, Maino's painting dealt with the recovery of a Spanish territory from the same "golden" year of 1625. Like Breda, the recapture of Bahia had immense political import for the Spanish monarchy, but its significance came from the manner in which the city was regained, rather than because the odds were against her recovery.

At the beginning of the 1620s, the Dutch West India Company prepared a plan to occupy Bahia and other locations in Portuguese Brazil.¹⁰⁶ When in May 1624 the Dutch invaded the Bay of All Saints, the first stages of the plan seemed to work, forcing the Portuguese inhabitants of Bahia to flee into the countryside.¹⁰⁷ When news of the invasion reached Madrid, Olivares, fearing the loss of this profitable settlement, immediately organized two fleets, one from Spain and the other from Portugal, to set sail for Brazil.¹⁰⁸ Under the command of the Spanish General don Fadrique de Toledo, the combined armies began their attack on the Dutch on April 1, 1625, forcing them to offer terms of surrender four weeks later.¹⁰⁹ On May 1, the feast day of St. Philip and St. James, the Spanish and Portuguese entered the city after dictating terms of surrender. Despite the severity of the terms, don Fadrique apparently treated the Dutch with the type of kindness and temperance that caused them to sing his praises upon their arrival back in Holland.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶Brown and Elliott, 184.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 185.

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 186.

¹¹⁰Ibid.

For the count-duke, the victory in Bahia helped to vindicate some of his proposed policies at home in Spain.¹¹¹ Not only had Olivares promoted Spain's renewed state of warfare against the United Provinces with the expiration of the Truce of Antwerp in 1621, he had also proposed a Union of Arms defense plan to help unite the territories under Spanish rule.¹¹² Through the Union of Arms, Olivares proposed that different parts of the Monarchy commit to furnishing and maintaining a decided number of men to make up a military reserve for the Monarchy as a whole.¹¹³ He believed that his program of defense would bring an end to the 'separation of hearts' felt between the various kingdoms of the Spanish Monarchy.¹¹⁴ Although Olivares received criticism for his plan, the joint Spanish-Portuguese recovery of Bahia clearly illustrated the benefits and successes of the Union of Arms to those who challenged his ideas at home. Without the joint efforts of both Spain and Portugal, the Portuguese would not have had the means to defend themselves and retake their possessions in Brazil. Following this unique success, artistic images and literature appeared in Spain commemorating the Spanish-Portuguese victory.

Early in July, 1625, the first news of Bahia's recapture reached Madrid.¹¹⁵ Although the Spanish fleet did not arrive in Madrid until the 24th of October, Lope de Vega's *El Brasil restituído* dates to October 23, clearly written on the basis of accounts of the siege that had reached Madrid ahead of the main portion of the fleet.¹¹⁶ Lope's play premiered at court days later on November 6.¹¹⁷

A Sevillian, like Olivares, Lope de Vega most likely came into contact with the count-duke during his early days in Seville. Both attended private meetings at the house

¹¹¹Posner, 9.

¹¹²Ibid.

¹¹³Elliott, 247.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁵Brown and Elliott, 186.

¹¹⁶Ibid.

¹¹⁷Ibid.

of Francisco Pacheco, Velazquez's early master and a famous humanist from the seventeenth century.¹¹⁸ From these early encounters, Lope's desire to win the favor of Olivares was probably born. Lope eventually became one of the court's favorite playwrights, due in no small part to his talents for presenting a favorable image of the king and his first minister. Throughout his career, Lope put all his efforts into winning the favor of Olivares, dedicating plays to both him and his wife.¹¹⁹ In 1625, with the premiere of his new play, *El Brasil restituido*, Lope made one of his many futile attempts to gain Olivares' patronage by dedicating the play to the first minister.¹²⁰ Although the two had an affectionate relationship, the count-duke and his wife never actually gave Lope the personal patronage he so greatly desired.¹²¹

In Lope's play, like Calderon's, the author obscures reality in a way that benefits the appearance and cause of the Spanish forces. For Calderon, the actual time and duration of the nine-month siege changes; for Lope, a concrete sense of place does not exist.¹²² The denial of an actual location became a feature of almost all of Lope's plays. For this Spanish playwright, specific events of the battles he commemorated became contained within the larger scheme of good versus evil, or Catholicism versus Protestantism.¹²³ For *El Brasil restituido*, Lope allegorically personified the causes of the Spanish Catholics versus those of the Dutch Protestants in the figures of "Religion" and "Heresy."¹²⁴ In this play, time and space exist in a divinely governed realm, ruled by both God and mythical Olympian figures.¹²⁵ Because of the presence of allegorical and

¹¹⁸Elliott, 21.

¹¹⁹Gregorio Maranon, *El Conde-Duque de Olivares (La Pasion de Mandar)*, 4th ed. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1959), 149.

¹²⁰Ibid.

¹²¹Ibid.; Elliott, 176.

¹²²McKim-Smith and Welles, 190.

¹²³Ibid.

¹²⁴Ibid.

¹²⁵Ibid.

mythical figures, Lope's rendition of the events in Bahia literally occur in a utopic environment, ignoring the actual historical events that gave form to the four-week battle.¹²⁶

In Lope's more mythical illustration of the battle in Brazil, the author relies on the use of allegorical figures to help glorify the cause of the Spanish-Portuguese victory. Allegorically personified characters like Brazil, Fame, Religion and Heresy help develop the action of the play, while historical figures like soldiers and generals remain less important to Lope's cause. Brazil, personified by an attractive Indian maiden, complains at the beginning of the play about Jewish treachery that has caused a heretic army to trespass on soil that makes up part of the Catholic empire.¹²⁷ Here, Lope's concern for conveying the superiority of his and his country's Catholic faith over the faiths of other countries becomes an apparent theme that will shape the length of his play. As a further emphasis on the Catholic Spanish hold on Bahia, Lope creates the character Religion, a woman who represents the unyielding presence of Catholic Spain in Brazil.¹²⁸

In the second act, the audience sees figures from both the Dutch and Spanish armies. Here, the author has contrasted the manner of both sides, rendering a Dutch commander as an ignorant braggart, while imbuing the Spanish generals with a sense of hope and knowledge. Lope paints the Spaniards as men who place their confidence in the goodness of their cause, the valor of their soldiers, and the assistance of divine help rather than their personal, mortal abilities.¹²⁹ During the battle, Apollo, wearing his characteristic laurel crown, makes his appearance on Olympus discussing the heroism of

¹²⁶Ibid.

¹²⁷Gino de Solenni, *Lope de Vega's EL Brasil Restituido Together with a study of Patriotism in his Theater* (New York: Instituto de las Espanas en los Estados Unidos, 1929), xiv.

¹²⁸Adrien Roig, "Vision del Brasil por Lope de Vega en la comedia *El Brasil Restituido*," *La Torre: Revista General de la Universidad de Puerto Rico* (Apr/Jun 1987): 246.

¹²⁹de Solenni, xv.

the Spanish and Portuguese with the Muses and Brazil, hoping that they will entrust the former to eternal fame.¹³⁰ Later, the roles-- or lack thereof-- given to Apollo and Brazil in Maino's painting will be examined for the powerful political message it contained for those who viewed the painting.

At the end of the battle, Heresy and Brazil appear on stage. In this scene, Heresy urges the Catholic to abandon her faith, but Brazil, believing in the truth and power of her religion, leaves Heresy's remarks unheeded.¹³¹ Again, Lope reinforces the idea of Catholicism as the true, unyielding faith. Heresy's position in this scene marks her as a temptress, alluding to parallels between her and the devil in the Garden of Eden, a completely propagandistic tool used to glorify Catholicism.

The climax for Lope's play occurs in the final act when the defeated Dutch present their terms of surrender to the Spanish general, don Fadrique de Toledo. In this scene, don Fadrique contemptuously tears apart the terms, admonishing the Dutch for their insolence and stupidity; the general continues, however, saying that because he knows the true character of his divine monarch, a monarch, who though at times severe, is also capable of exhibiting a pious conscience, he will speak to a portrait of the king in his tent in order to decide how to deal with the Dutch.¹³² While he goes to his tent, don Fadrique commands the Dutch to wait for his reply on their knees.¹³³ When the general finishes speaking with the portrait, he returns to the Dutch telling them that the king wishes to pardon them, and that they will be provided with the ships needed to return home to Holland.¹³⁴ After this scene, Brazil and Religion reappear to crown the triumphant don Fadrique with laurels of victory.¹³⁵

¹³⁰Ibid., xvii.

¹³¹Ibid.

¹³²Brown and Elliott, 186.

¹³³Ibid.

¹³⁴Ibid., 187.

¹³⁵de Solenni, xxi.

Through his use of various allegorical characters and mythic figures, Lope hoped to convey the idea of Spain and her leaders, particularly Philip IV, as promoters of the true faith, and recipients of divine favor. Because Lope viewed the Spanish cause as the true and only cause, unlike that of the Dutch or any other country and religion that opposed Spain, Lope conveyed to his audience the idea that only Spain deserved and received divine assistance. As new converts to the Catholic faith, the Brazilians were viewed with compassion and praise for their loyalty to the Monarchy and its religion, despite the inevitable challenges posed by the Dutch heretics.¹³⁶ Using the victory against the Dutch in Bahia, Lope praised the glory of his country, his king, the unity of the Spanish-Portuguese army and his faith, believing that the recent Spanish victory reaffirmed divine confidence in the honesty and purpose of the Spanish mission.¹³⁷ From the thematic concepts in Lope's play, Juan Bautista Maino conceived his ideas for a battle painting that completely transcended the other depictions making up the cycle of paintings in the Buen Retiro's Hall of Realms.

By April 28, 1635, Maino's *Recapture of Bahia* was installed in the Hall of Realms along with eleven other battle scenes representing Philip IV's glorious victories since his ascension to the throne in 1621. While all of the other eleven compositions had various similarities in their designs, Maino's piece differed completely in appearance and message. As mentioned before, the archetypal mode of battle representation presented the victorious general or leader in the foreground, while members of the defeated forces kneeled below the elevated victors. Unlike Velazquez, who completely did away with hierarchical superiority by allowing both the victorious and the defeated to meet on equal ground, Maino included a scene that demonstrated the superiority of the Spanish general and his army over that of the conquered, kneeling Dutch. Maino's scene of surrender

¹³⁶Roig, 249.

¹³⁷Ibid.

does not appear in the foreground, however. Instead of emphasizing the victorious Spanish through foreground importance, Maino illustrated a scene of the casualties of war (fig. 16). In this scene, the viewer sees a wounded Castillian soldier attended by a Portuguese woman, while many other figures surround the two.¹³⁸ The woman who tends to the soldier, along with the other figures, most likely represents the returning Portuguese inhabitants of Bahia who fled to the countryside during the initial invasion by the Dutch.¹³⁹ Maino's inspiration for including these figures may have derived from Lope's mention of old men, women and children in the deserted fields outside Bahia, returning to their homes.¹⁴⁰ These foreground natives of Bahia present a powerful contrast to the defeated Dutch in the middleground who briefly deprived them of their homes.¹⁴¹ Partly for this reason, Maino may have decided to place in the foreground the natives of Bahia rather than the Dutch. The artist may have greatly sympathized with the Brazilians who had not only recently fallen under the rule of Portugal and the Catholic church, but because of foreign domination had become vulnerable to attacks from other foreign countries who desired to win the territory from the Portuguese. Because of this, Maino would have found more importance in viewing the humanity of the natives over that of the worthless, defeated Dutch army. Because Maino's foreground scene depicts Portuguese inhabitants of Bahia helping a wounded Castillian soldier, the significance of the foreground takes on greater importance.

Involving the collaboration of both the Spanish and Portuguese armies, the victory in Bahia had great importance for the Count-Duke of Olivares' proposal for a Union of Arms. Through his mutual defense plan, Olivares hoped not only to have a military system of support for the different kingdoms under Spanish rule, but also hoped to establish a

¹³⁸Brown and Elliott, 188.

¹³⁹Ibid.

¹⁴⁰Ibid.

¹⁴¹Ibid.

'union of hearts' among the different kingdoms.¹⁴² In Maino's painting, the foreground scene clearly illustrates Olivares' idea of a union of hearts. Here, the Portuguese help take care of a wounded Castillian man. Two kingdoms under the Spanish Monarchy have become united in this simple act of compassion. Because of Olivares' Union of Arms, not only have the Spanish contributed men and arms toward the recapture of Bahia, the Portuguese have returned the favor by devoting time, energy and care to the wounded men who helped recover their homes. As a painting that represented Catholic members under the Spanish crown, Maino's foreground group had further religious significance.

As a member of the Dominican order, Maino had extensive knowledge of Christianity's historical figures and their standard modes of representation, and because of this the friar may have wanted to add his own symbolic Christian references to the meaning of the painting.¹⁴³ A further examination of the woman tending the soldier reveals similarities with basic seventeenth-century Spanish representations of St. Irene tending to the wounds of the martyred St. Sebastian.¹⁴⁴ By casting the image in these terms, Maino desired to convey a sense of divine cause and purpose among Catholic worshippers. Like St. Sebastian, the wounded Castillian represented a martyr figure, risking his life for the Spanish Catholic cause against the Dutch Protestants, while the Brazilian woman helping him exhibited the saintly, compassionate characteristics of St. Irene. For the Catholic viewer, understanding the painting in these deeply religious terms would have had great significance.

From Lope de Vega, the main influences of *El Brasil restituído* become evident in Maino's middleground scene of surrender. Here, the viewer finds general don Fadrique gesturing toward a portrait of Philip IV, while a group of Dutch soldiers kneels before the elevated Spanish figures. Borrowing from the play, Maino used the idea of the Spanish

¹⁴²Elliott, 244.

¹⁴³Orso, "Why Maino?: A Note on the *Recovery of Bahia*", 28.

¹⁴⁴Brown and Elliott, 188.

general speaking to a portrait of the king while the Dutch humbly waited on bended knee. In his painting, however, Maino has combined the general and the portrait with the waiting Dutch to produce a more powerfully dramatic image of submission and glory. Unlike in the play, the Dutch actually see the tapestry image of Philip IV to which don Fadrique speaks in order to decide how to treat the surrendered army. Not only do the Dutch know they have been conquered by Spain, they are also given a visual image of the conquering country's glorious ruler, Philip IV. Gesturing toward the image of his king, don Fadrique gives further praise and credit to the strength and ability of Philip, a strength and ability that has made possible the victory in Bahia. Wide-eyed and awed, the Dutch stare up at don Fadrique and his king, pointing towards and revering the combined image of might.

Although Maino chose to adhere to the standard form of battle representation by illustrating don Fadrique and the tapestry raised on ground above the kneeling Dutch, the presence of the tapestry helps to soften the normal feelings of cruelty and anger directed toward the defeated army (fig. 17). Because the tapestry image of the king in Lope's play exhibits the sort of kindness and compassion characteristic of a good ruler, the Dutch are treated with mercy and allowed the proper necessities for their return trip to Europe. In the painting, the tapestry image of Philip reminds the viewer of the clemency enjoyed by the Dutch, despite their schemes to steal territory from the Spanish crown. Interestingly, a closer examination of the tapestry reveals almost all of the thematically important elements of this painting.

Through his inclusion of the tapestry image of Philip IV from Lope's play, Maino seized upon the opportunity to present a powerful message about his king's cause and the particular elements that helped to shape that cause. In the hanging tapestry on the right side of the painting, the viewer sees the regal image of Philip IV dressed as a soldier.¹⁴⁵ Outfitted in armor, wearing the sash of command and firmly gripping a stick with his left

¹⁴⁵Ibid.

hand, the king presents the image of conqueror.¹⁴⁶ Not only does this king succeed at home and in matters of government, he also succeeds as a mighty soldier on the battlefield. Behind Philip on the left, Minerva, goddess of war, hands Philip a palm of victory and helps crown him with laurels.¹⁴⁷ To the king's right, Olivares soberly makes eye contact with the viewer, while assisting Minerva in crowning the king with one hand and holding a sword and olive branch in the other.¹⁴⁸ Beneath Philip's feet lie the defeated personifications of his enemies, Heresy, Discord, and Treachery.¹⁴⁹ For the tapestry, Maino carefully chose the particular objects and personifications represented in order to carry out a further message of regality.

Published at the end of the sixteenth century in Rome, Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* provided artists and writers with standard forms of symbolic representation. From this book, Maino most likely found his illustration for the figure of Minerva. Although the woman in Maino's tapestry is identified as Minerva, she is merely the personification of Victory, as discussed in the *Iconologia* (fig. 18). According to Ripa, Victory is a young woman who wears armor over white robes.¹⁵⁰ In one hand she holds a crown encircled by a snake, and in the other she holds the palm leaf of victory and honor.¹⁵¹ Ripa notes that Victory wears a laurel wreath around her helmet, but Maino has taken the wreath usually given to Victory and awarded it to Philip.¹⁵² In this painting, Victory also gives her palm branch to the glorious king, a further sign that because of the king's magnificent character and strength in the process of war, the same attributes of Minerva/Victory

¹⁴⁶Ibid.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., 190.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., 188.

¹⁵⁰Cesare Ripa, *Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery*, trans. by Edward A. Maser, ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), 78.

¹⁵¹Ibid.

¹⁵²Ibid.

should be bestowed upon him. The attributes of Olivares help mark him as a similar deliverer and bestower of goods upon the king.

Like the king, Olivares appears as a soldier. Dressed in armor, covered with a sash and holding a sword in his left hand, Olivares appears eager and prepared to defend the mission of his king. In his left hand the count-duke holds a doubly symbolic olive branch. Not only does the branch symbolize the olive groves of the first minister's title, it also represents reconciliation.¹⁵³ The crown of laurels that Olivares and Minerva jointly bestow upon the king represents victory and virtue.¹⁵⁴ Through the combination of images held by Olivares and offered to the king, along with his placement behind Philip, an extremely powerful message of propaganda becomes strikingly clear.

The appearance of Olivares behind his king seems initially to signify the count-duke's support for the decisions and actions of his monarch. Understanding the attitude of the first minister and the strict manner in which he governed the court, however, the viewer sees Olivares as the man behind each action and victory of the king, and thus as the man responsible for each decision, action and victory awarded to Philip and his Spanish empire.

Olivares' purpose in the tapestry becomes clear as the bestower of both the objects- the symbols of victory and reconciliation- that make significant the image of Philip. Though Philip's presence in the tapestry defines him as a glorious ruler, victorious against the Dutch heretics who vainly attempted to steal territory belonging to him, and still compassionate and forgiving in their treatment, Maino did not choose to depict Philip wearing the symbols of his glory- the crown of laurels and the olive branch. Rather, the artist chose to present Olivares as the bestower of these attributes upon his king, and thus as the provider of the characteristics of victory and reconciliation.¹⁵⁵ Though Olivares

¹⁵³Brown and Elliott, 190.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., 188.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., 190.

holds the olive branch in his hand, the count-duke makes no effort to give this symbolic object to his king, making Philip's display of clemency toward the Dutch even more an attribute of the first minister. After understanding Olivares in this light, his position behind the king seems less that of a dutiful soldier and more one of a strict teacher who rewards his disciplined pupil for good deeds. Olivares' position becomes even more powerful when the height of the minister is observed above the head of his king. Although Olivares stands behind the king, his head still rises above Philip's and his body appears much larger than that of the fair-skinned monarch, making him appear an equal if not greater match to Philip's power. Because this portion of the painting came directly from events in Lope's play, Maino's reinterpretation (or rather manipulation) of those events offers further insight into the power and influence of the count-duke.

At the end of Lope's play, the victorious general don Fadrique receives a crown of laurels from the personification of Brazil.¹⁵⁶ Due to a falling out between the general and Olivares in 1634, there was no question of representing don Fadrique with the honorable crown of laurels.¹⁵⁷ Because Apollo also appeared on stage wearing the crown of laurels and was frequently equated with Philip during court festivities, it seemed perfectly normal to replace the crowned image of don Fadrique with that of the king.¹⁵⁸ The artist's decision put Olivares in the place of Brazil as the bestower of honor upon the king, making Olivares' influence upon the painting's message very clear. Don Fadrique now occupies the hierarchical middleground. Situated one tier above the heretic Dutch, the general directs the viewer's attention toward the mortal figures occupying the highest level of power, Philip IV and Olivares. Through Maino's reinterpretation of the events in Lope's play, the artist evidenced Olivares' power to change the fate of many who worked for the Spanish court.

¹⁵⁶de Solenni, 113.

¹⁵⁷Elliott, 478; Brown and Elliott, 188.

¹⁵⁸Brown and Elliott, 188.

Beneath the feet of the king lie Heresy, Discord and Treachery. Heresy, holding a broken cross in his hands and mouth, was equated with the Protestant Dutch.¹⁵⁹ Because this painting represents a victory of the Spanish over Holland, Philip appropriately stands directly over the body of Heresy, reinforcing this particular triumph over the heretics. Next to Heresy lies Discord, read here as the English, whose head of hair is made up of snakes.¹⁶⁰ On the far right side of the tapestry, Treachery or Fraud has met its fatal end. This two-faced creature, a representation of France, has its left and right hands reversed, offering peace with one hand and a stab in the back with the other.¹⁶¹ In this painting, Maino makes a statement about Philip's triumphs over the Dutch, the English, and the French as a product of divine assistance.¹⁶²

During this time in Europe, Spain represented one of the few major forces that still adhered to the canons of Catholicism. When engaged in war, Spain fought not only for the protection of her territory, but for her beliefs in Catholicism as the one true faith. The outcome of her wars were both a manifestation of her country's strength and capabilities, and also and more importantly an indication of divine sanction of her purpose. As the leader of Catholic Spain and defender of the true faith, Philip's image in the tapestry suggests the ruler's own divinity. Similar to a god, Philip is awarded a crown of laurels by Olivares and the mythical figure, Minerva. Like the god Apollo who became associated with the laurel crown, Philip appears as a quasi-Apollo, victorious in war and knowledgeable in all things.¹⁶³ Because rulers often used the presence of mythical figures to ward off charges of blasphemy in deification images, the appearance of the goddess Minerva in this tapestry helps provide the symbolic vehicle for Philip's deification, while at the same time serving to deflect any possible charges of blasphemy on the part of the

¹⁵⁹Ibid.

¹⁶⁰Ibid.

¹⁶¹Ibid.

¹⁶²Ibid.

¹⁶³Ibid.

king.¹⁶⁴ Philip, the divine Catholic ruler, stands over two figures who represent Protestant nations. In this Catholic victory over the Protestants, Maino includes an indicator that marks this victory as made possible through the assistance of God.

On a panel held by two putti above the tapestry, a quotation from a particular Biblical verse directs the viewer's attention to the real reason behind the Spanish victory in Bahia.¹⁶⁵ The words on the panel above the tapestry read, *sed dextera tua*, and come from Psalm 43.¹⁶⁶ Through this verse, the reader understands the derivation of Philip's strength for his cause:

Vindicate me, O God, and defend my cause against an ungodly people; from those who are deceitful and unjust deliver me! For you are God in whom I take refuge; why have you cast me off? Why must I walk about mournfully because of the oppression of the enemy? O send out your light and your truth; let them lead me; let them bring me to your dwelling. Then I will go to the altar of God, to God my exceeding joy; and I will praise you with the harp, O God, my God. Why are you cast down, O my soul, and why are you disquieted within me? Hope in God; for I shall again praise him, my help and my God.¹⁶⁷

From this verse, the reader understands that the king prays to God for both defense of his Catholic mission, and for a 'light' to guide his way on this mission. In these religious wars in which Spain engages, the Dutch and other people are not only the enemies, they are viewed as 'ungodly' people whose oppression causes many of the true believers to encounter hardship and confusion. Because of their God, however, Philip and his Catholic Monarchy believed that their mission would, in the end, prove successful due to their

¹⁶⁴Kristiaan P. Aercke, *Gods of Play: Baroque Festive Performances of Rhetorical Discourse*, *The Margins of Literature* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), 101.

¹⁶⁵Brown and Elliott, 188.

¹⁶⁶Ibid.

¹⁶⁷Michael D. Coogan, ed., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 3rd. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 812.

devotion to the true mission directed by the true faith. What seems ironic to the contemporary student of the Spanish middle and golden ages, is that rather than suffering persecution or hardship because of their faith, Catholics in Spain were actually the first to inflict pain and oppression upon those of opposing religious backgrounds who also dwelt in the Iberian peninsula. Strangely, this fact had no significance for the seventeenth-century Spaniard whose country's power had begun to totter on the verge of collapse, due to the double impact of Spain's indulgences and laziness and other nations' religious opposition. Despite the attitudes of many Spaniards, their once invincible country was now facing the reality of decline.

More often than not, messages in paintings demonstrate more politically powerful and attractive messages than those offered from facts. From *Recapture of Bahia*, Juan Bautista Maino hoped to offer his viewers, especially those who directly occupied court positions, his own reality of Spain as a cooperative, compassionate, powerful, and pious nation. As evidenced through his painting, Maino believed in the ability of his nation and his monarch, but more appropriately, the artist demonstrated his belief in the power of propaganda, an important tool used by the count-duke of Olivares to further the reputation and power of Spain during the reality of a failing regime.

Exercising his control in almost every aspect of the Spanish Monarchy, Olivares devised new plans and programs for his king and country in order to return to the former days of Spanish glory. Although the first minister devoted so much of his life to the reformation of Spain, some believe that Olivares' most successful campaign lay in his royal

Conclusion

For the purpose of glorifying the character and power of the Spanish monarchy, Velazquez's and Maino's paintings, along with the other images from the Hall of Realms, presented images of Spanish majesty under the sway of propaganda. What made the paintings by Velazquez and Maino more triumphant and important than the others lay in the artists' handling of emotion and meaning. In receiving the commission to depict Philip IV's victories, these two artists rose above the expected form of representation by creating works of art that combined manual skill with intellect and feeling. Unlike the other artists who received the honor of depicting Philip's military glories, Velazquez and Maino understood the nature of their duty to represent both the physical abilities of the king and his country and at the same time the virtuous, compassionate characteristics of his person. In doing so, both artists made similar statements about the moral character of their countrymen and women as determined, forgiving and loving individuals. These paintings, successful in their outward purpose of displaying the outstanding physical abilities of the king and his men, his and his country's character, and their religious mission, seem a little more questionable when dealing with the actual success they had in convincing their audience of these aspects. After Olivares devoted so much effort to renewing the hopes of his countrymen, did he succeed, and if so, did he also succeed in convincing Spain of his worth?

Exercising his control in almost every aspect of the Spanish Monarchy, Olivares devised new plans and programs for his king and country in order to return to the former days of Spanish glory. Although the first minister devoted so much of his life to the reformation of Spain, some believe that Olivares' most successful campaign lay in his royal

image making.¹⁶⁸ In desiring a better Spain, Olivares understood that his country needed a better monarch, and with this knowledge, the count-duke devised a character into which he hoped to mold Philip. The Hall of Realms in the Buen Retiro became the canvas onto which Olivares' could display the image of the ideal king that he had worked so hard to form: strong in dynasty, triumphant in war and compassionate in character. With the artists whose propagandistic images glorified the figure of Philip IV and the poets and playwrights whose words sang his triumphant praises, Olivares found his supporters for this campaign of image-making. The only element missing from the equation was Olivares' praises for himself. After devoting over a decade to furthering the reputation and power of both his king and his country, Olivares surely desired his own recognition, and on the empty walls of the Hall of Realms, the count-duke found his canvas.

In the Hall of Realms, Olivares presented the images of Spain in which he truly believed. Equestrian portraits of his country's royal line, symbols of the monarchy's twenty-four possessed territories and paintings that visualized twelve of Philip's victories all presented factual figures, possessions, and victories. Had the first minister altered reality within these painted lines?

For the images of Spain's dynastic strength, the reality of the family line became evident in the sickness and death that overcame Philip's heirs to the throne. Prince Baltasar Carlos, the king's son so majestically depicted in his equestrian portrait, died in 1646 just before his seventeenth birthday.¹⁶⁹ Charles II, Philip IV's son who eventually took control of Spain following the death of his father, became known for his feeble, sickly character. When Charles died in 1700, he left his country without an heir to the throne, thus ending two hundred years of Habsburg rule.

¹⁶⁸Greer, 78.

¹⁶⁹Brown and Elliott, 218.

The twenty-four escutcheons that boasted of Spain's imperial control also presented a facade of power. Although Spain had once basked under the praise and glory of being the largest and most powerful empire in the history of the world, this glory had ended with the death of Philip IV's grandfather, Philip II. While Spain still maintained her hold on many of the territories acquired under the rules of Charles V and his son Philip II, this hold was quite precarious and strained. The pressure that maintaining and defending such extensive territories had upon Spain's military, and the temptation to forget about the cares of the Monarchy for more pleasurable entertainments that took over Philip II's heirs to the throne, took their toll on the once glorious empire. While Spain's artists and writers rejoiced in their heritage (making the seventeenth century a golden age for the arts), the country's politics fell into a rapid decline, threatening the future of Spanish imperialism.

Surely the twelve battle paintings representing Spanish victory had not been similar impressions of Spanish greatness. Although each of the military scenes did indeed depict Spanish glory on the battlefield, some of the gained or defended territories had already been lost by the time the paintings made their debut in the Hall of Realms. For both the paintings by Velazquez and Maino, successful for the combination of power and emotion, the reality of the situation in these two territories no longer matched the glory that decorated their canvases. Though Ambrosio Spinola's Spanish army appears well-dressed, stoic and powerful in Velazquez's painting, the Dutch army that matched them was in fact in far better shape than they were. While the Spaniards won this battle, the harsh financial reality of the situation resulting in an underpaid, underfed, overworked army, did not make its appearance on Velazquez's canvas.¹⁷⁰ Following the battle, Olivares failed to strike a balance between the high expectations that this victory created and the reality of the financial burden it placed on the Crown and her army; the

¹⁷⁰Elliott, 235.

count-duke urged Spain into more battles that his country had neither the funds nor the energy to sustain.¹⁷¹ Two years after the Hall of Realms boasted its completion, Breda fell to French forces.¹⁷²

A similar reality became the fate of Spain's 1625 victory in Bahia. Olivares' Union of Arms, praised in Maino's painting for its ability to join together Spanish kingdoms for the purpose of one defense, never actually came to fruition. This plan, which had joined together Castillian and Portuguese forces for the recapture of the Portuguese Brazilian territory, failed to convince the Portuguese of its worth and fairness. With the 1634 postponement of a projected Brazil relief expedition, the glorious victory of the joint army found itself without a sequel.¹⁷³ Portugal never became a full participant in Olivares' Union of Arms, due to the expenses and to its distrust for the program's true aim.¹⁷⁴ The Dutch eventually recaptured the territory of Bahia, and in 1638, Spain faced French threats boasting complete allegiance to both Brazil and the Dutch.¹⁷⁵ It seems that many of Olivares' initial achievements were now meeting their limits.

With these facts in mind, the praises of the Hall of Realms for its glorious, triumphant monarch appeared as just another illusion passed off upon the Spanish people. What made this illusion more damaging however, was its power over those who controlled the fate of the empire. In trying to renew the faith of his countrymen to Spain's continuing hold on imperial power, Olivares had become blinded to the facts. Desiring immediate action and change for every issue with which he dealt, Olivares' vigor and impatience caused him to take shortcuts to objectives that required a more labored approach.¹⁷⁶ This naive ambition eventually surfaced when many of the count-duke's

¹⁷¹Ibid.

¹⁷²Ibid., 524.

¹⁷³Ibid.

¹⁷⁴Ibid.

¹⁷⁵Ibid., 533.

¹⁷⁶John Lynch, *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change: 1598-1700, A History of*

programs and achievements began to unravel. Even the Buen Retiro, the celebrated pleasure palace that marked the greatness of Philip IV, never became fully appreciated by the Spanish people. Aside from the Hall of Realms, whose decoration and function marked it as a worthy environment for a king, the haste with which Olivares carried out the construction of the Buen Retiro failed to culminate with the completion of a distinguished building. For the majority of Spain, the Buen Retiro became known as the Gallinero, a mere glorified chicken coop.¹⁷⁷

Although Olivares' most successful campaign may have been his royal image-making, the count-duke never met full success in this venture. By the end of the 1630s, the Spanish people had had enough of Olivares' exercise of control. With the count-duke in charge, the Spanish failed to honor their king with the respect and support deserved of a good king. The time had come for Philip to wake up and assume the duties of his country.¹⁷⁸ Quevedo, one of Olivares' former literary allies, published words expressing his own disgust for the actions of the first minister saying, 'Whoever relieves the king of the work and the fatigue of his office is a thief, for he takes away the honor, pride and fruits of that office.'¹⁷⁹ With these words, Quevedo clearly believed that Philip, whose person assumed the ceremonial role of king, no longer possessed power, and thus no longer merited respect. Olivares' run on power had begun to near its conclusion. In 1632 Olivares made the comment about his countrymen, saying, 'We Spaniards are very good when subject to rigorous obedience, but if we are left to our own devices we are the worst of the lot'.¹⁸⁰ Clearly, the man in Maino's picture who gloriously crowned his

Spain (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992), 90.

¹⁷⁷Brown and Elliott, 60.

¹⁷⁸Elliott, 555.

¹⁷⁹Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, 69.

¹⁸⁰J.H. Elliott, "Staying in Power: The Count-Duke of Olivares," In *The World of the Favourite*, eds. J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 120.

triumphant king, had strayed from the same obedient behavior he had spoken of just a few years earlier. With the Buen Retiro and the Hall of Realms, Olivares' faults and excesses shone through the architectural lines and brushstrokes that made up this palace. The count-duke's obsession with reformation and reputation had overtaken him so greatly that he became a frivolous figure in the history of his country. The canvases by Velazquez and Maino, gloriously praising their country and people, retained their success and honor as great works of art in a period of decline for their country's politics.



Fig. 1- Diego Velazquez, *Surrender of Breda*, 1635

Fig. 2- Juan Bautista Maeno, *Capture of Breda*, 1632



Fig. 2- Juan Bautista Maino, *Recapture of Bahia*, 1635

Fig. 3- Diego Velazquez, *The Conde-Duque de Olivares*, 1602-27



Fig. 3- Diego Velázquez, *The Conde-Duque de Olivares*, 1622-27

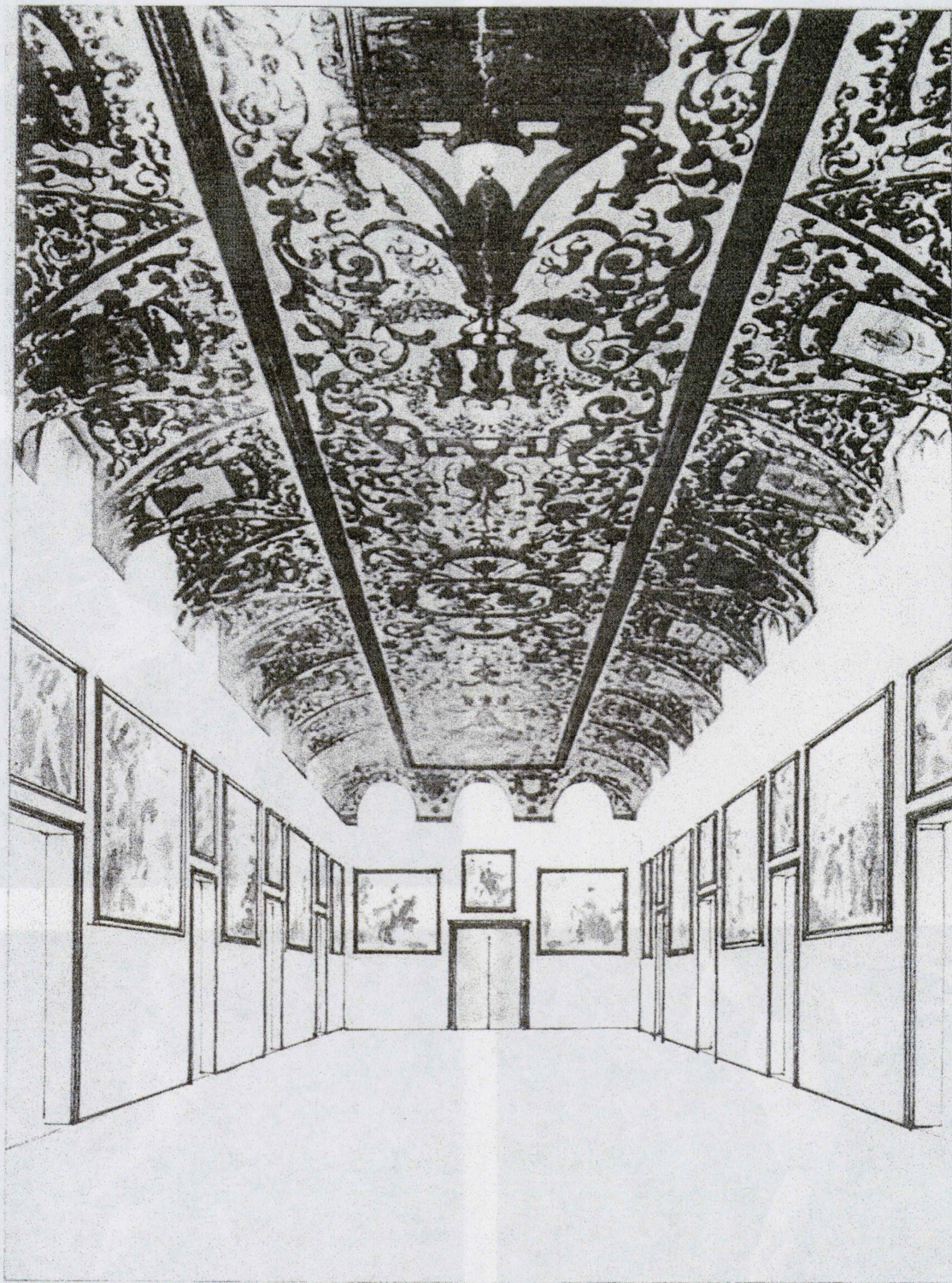


Fig. 4- Reconstruction of the Hall of Realms in the Buen Retiro

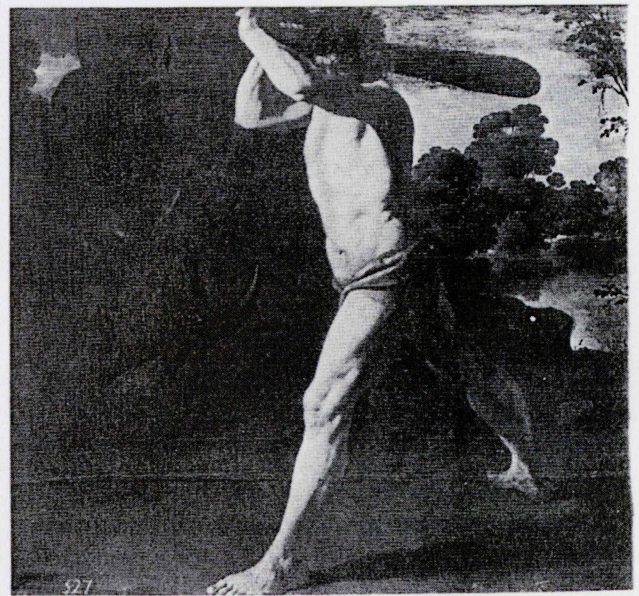
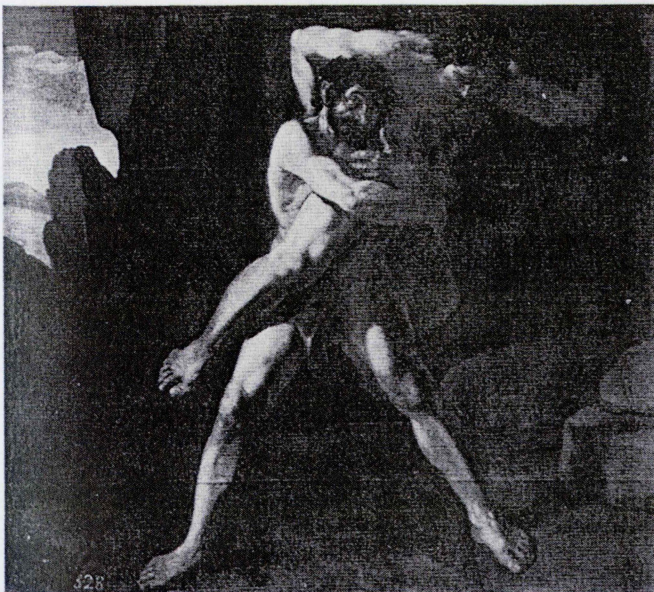
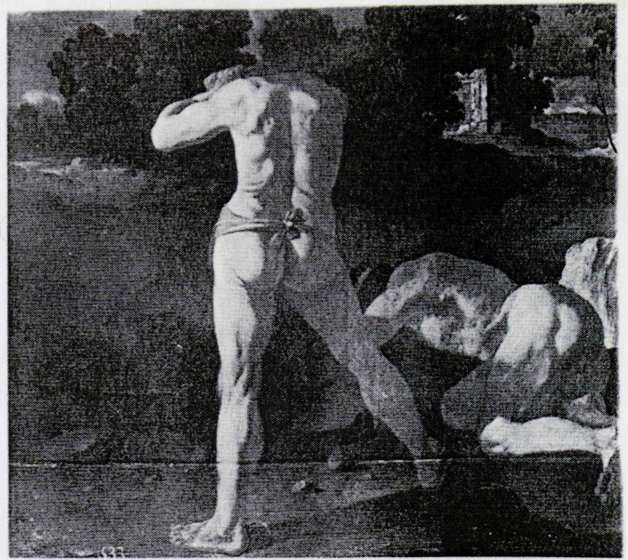
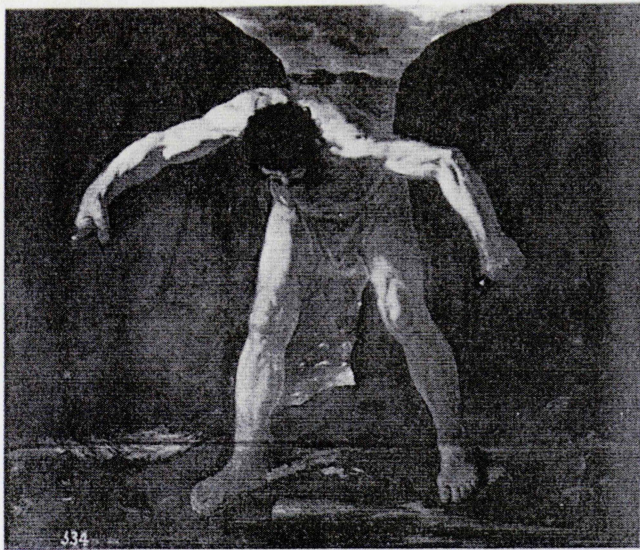


Fig. 5- Francisco de Zurbaran, *Hercules cycle*, 1634

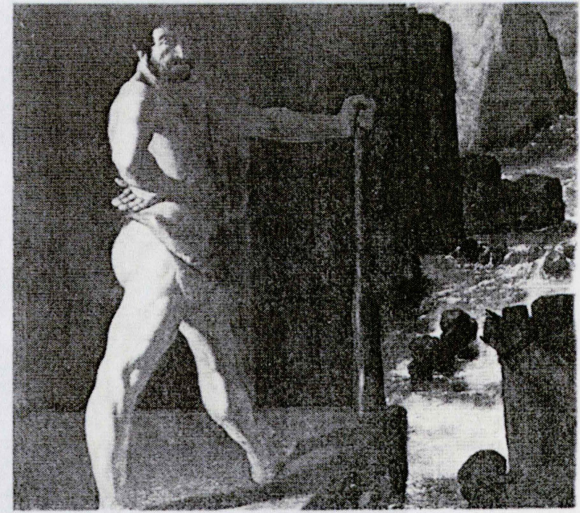
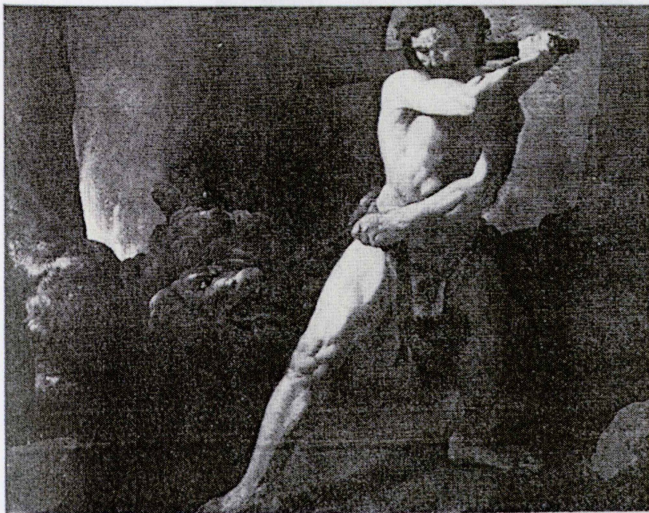
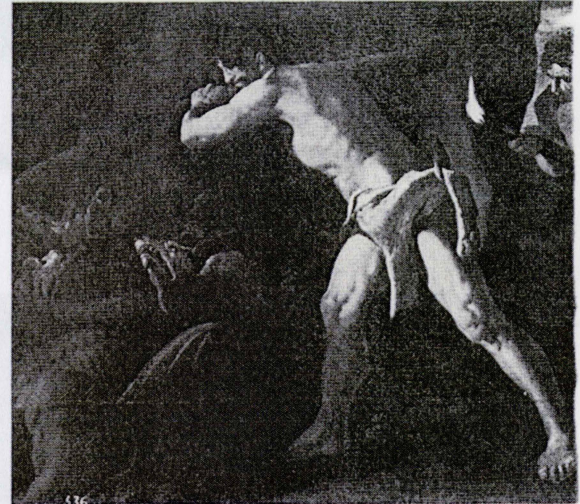
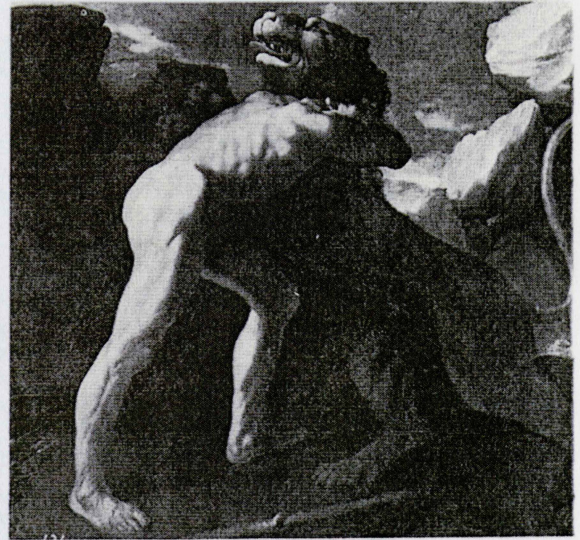
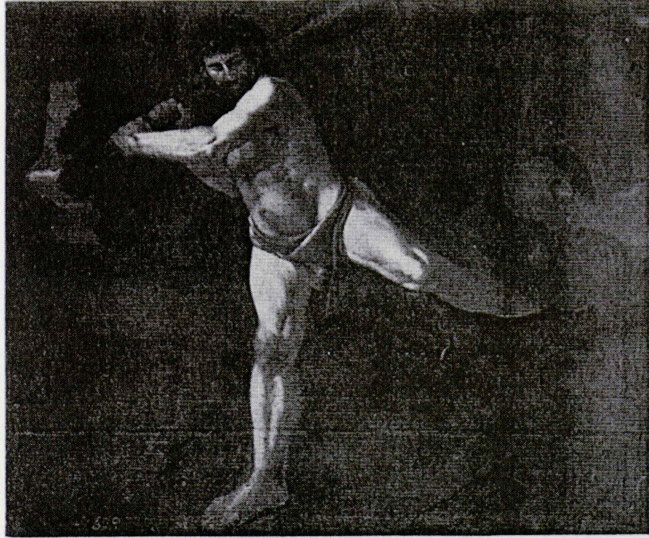


Fig. 6- Francisco de Zurbarán, *Hercules cycle*, 1634

Fig. 7- Diego Velázquez, *Philip III on Horseback*, 1634-35,

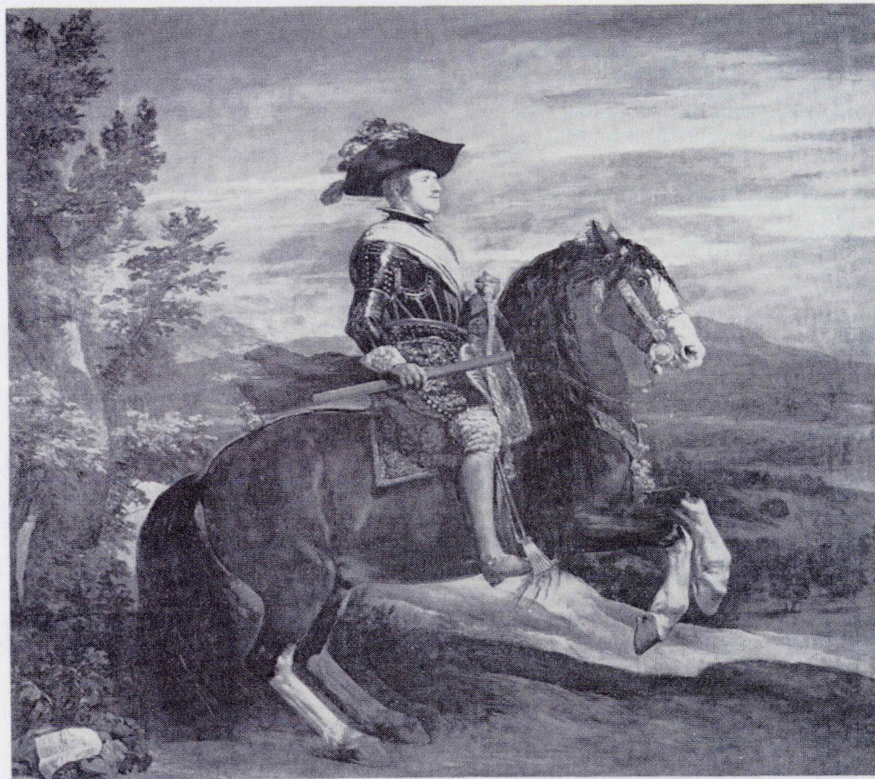


Fig. 7- Diego Velazquez, *Philip III on Horseback*, 1634-35;
Philip IV on Horseback, 1634-35

Isabelle of Bourbon on Horseback, 1634-35

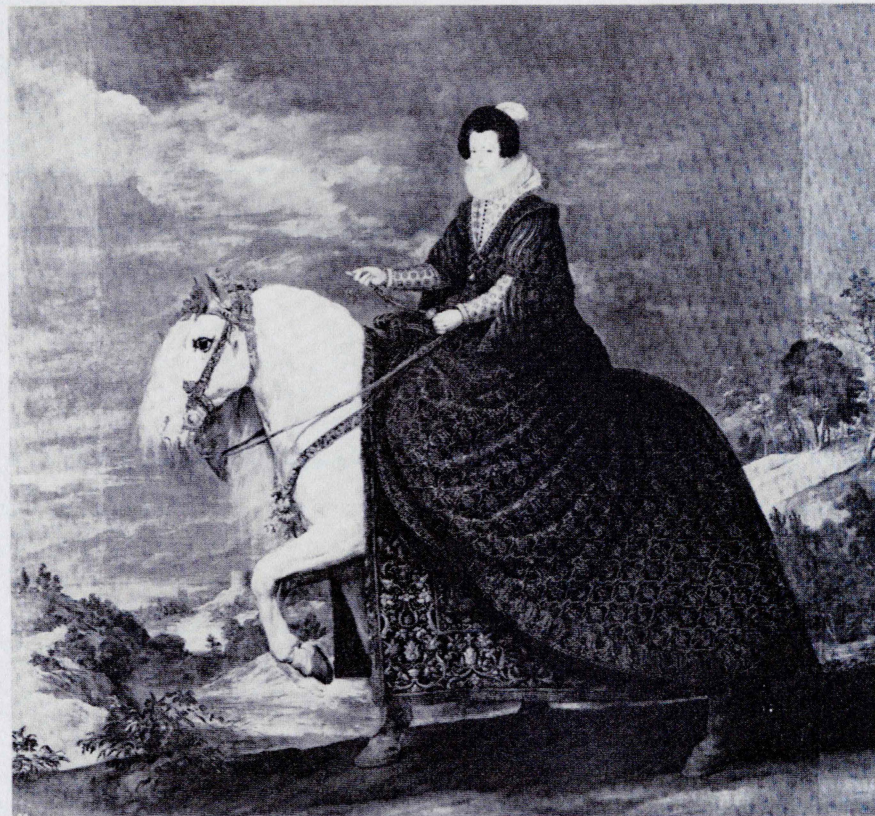


Fig. 8- Diego Velázquez, *Margaret of Austria on Horseback*, 1634-35;
Isabella of Bourbon on Horseback, 1634-35

Diego Velázquez, *Prince Baltasar Carlos on Horseback*, 1634-35



5. 9- Diego Velazquez, *Prince Baltasar Carlos on Horseback*, 1634-35

1554



Fig. 11- Diego Velazquez, *Surrender of Breda*, 1635

Fig. 12- Inazio Leonardo, *Surrender of Julich*, 1634-35



Fig. 12- Jusepe Leonardo, *Surrender of Julich*, 1634-35

Fig. 13- Diego Velazquez, detail of Nassau and Spinola from *Surrender of Breda*, 1635



Fig. 13- Diego Velazquez, detail of Nassau and Spinola from *Surrender of Breda*, 1635



Fig. 14- Jacques Callot, *The Siege of Breda*, 1635



Fig. 15- Juan Bautista Maino, *Recapture of Bahia*, 1635

Fig. 16- Juan Bautista Maino, detail of foreground from *Recapture of Bahia*, 1635



Fig. 16- Juan Bautista Maino, detail of foreground from *Recapture of Bahia*, 1635



Fig. 17- Juan Bautista Maino, detail of middleground tapestry from *Recapture of Bahia*, 1635

Fig. 18- Illustration of *Heroes* from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*



I. Wächsmuth sc.

Der Sieg.

Über ob siegt und die Feinde fäst
mit vil Triumph den Kundug hält.

Eichler

Hertzl excud.

Fig. 18- Illustration of *Victory* from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aercke, Kristiaan P. *Gods of Play: Baroque Festive Performances as Rhetorical Discourse*. The Margins of Literature. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994.
- Brown, Jonathan and John Huxtable Elliott. *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980.
- _____, and Carmen Garrido. *Velazquez: The Technique of Genius*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Calderon de la Barca, Pedro. *El Sitio de Breda*. In *Primera Parte de Comedias de don Pedro Calderon de la Barca*, ed. A. Valbuena Briones. Clasicos Hispánicos. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1974.
- Coogan, Michael D. *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Davies, R. Trevor. "The Rule of Olivares (1621-17th January 1643)." In *Spain in Decline: 1621-1700*. New York: MacMillan, 1957.
- de Solenni, Gino. *Lope de Vega's El Brasil Restituido Together with a Study of Patriotism in his Theater*. New York: Instituto de las Espanas en los Estados Unidos, 1929.
- Dominguez Ortiz, Antonio, Alfonso E. Perez Sanchez, and Julian Gallego. *Velazquez*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989.
- Elliott, John Huxtable. *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986.
- _____. *Spain and its World: 1500-1700: Selected Essays*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989.
- _____. "Staying in Power: The Count-Duke of Olivares." In *The World of the Favourite*, eds. J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Galinsky, G. Karl. *The Herakles Theme: The Adaptations of the Hero in Literature from Homer to the Twentieth Century*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1972.

- Greer, Margaret Rich. *The Play of Power: Mythological Court Dramas of Calderon de la Barca*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Gudiol, Jose. *The Complete Paintings of Velazquez: 1599-1660*. Translated by Kenneth Lyons. New York: Greenwich House, 1983.
- Harris, Enriqueta. *Velazquez*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Justi, Carl. *Diego Velazquez and his Times*. London: H. Grevel, 1889.
- Kahr, Madlyn Millner. *Velazquez: The Art of Painting*. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.
- Lafuente Ferrari, Enrique. *Velazquez: Biographical and Critical Study*. Translated by James Emmons. Cleveland, OH: Skira, 1960.
- Lynch, John. *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change: 1598-1700. A History of Spain*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992.
- _____. *Spain under the Habsburgs*. Vol. 2, Spain and America: 1598-1700. New York: New York University Press, 1981.
- Maranon, Gregorio. *El Conde-Duque de Olivares: La Pasion de Mandar*, 4th ed. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1959.
- McKim-Smith, Gridley and Marcia L. Welles. "Topographical Tropes: The Mapping of Breda in Calderon, Callot and Velazquez." *Indiana Journal of Hispanic Literatures*, vol. 1 (Fall 1992): 185-212.
- Orso, Steven Norgaard. *In the Presence of the "Planet King": Studies in Art and Decoration at the Court of Philip IV of Spain*. Vol. 1. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1978.
- _____. "Why Maino?: A Note on *The Recovery of Bahia*." *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 10, no. 2 (1991): 26-31.
- Posner, Nancy. *Retaking Brazil: Glimpsing Ideology in Two Golden Age Comedias (Lope and Correa)*. Santa Barbara, CA: University of California, 1996.
- Ripa, Cesare. *Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery*. Translated by Edward A. Maser, ed. New York: Dover Publications, 1971.

- Roig, Adrien. "Vision del Brasil por Lope de Vega en la Comedia *El Brasil Restituido*." *La Torre: Revista General de la Universidad de Puerto Rico* (Apr/Jun 1987): 227-249.
- Rosenthal, Earl E. *The Palace of Charles V in Granada*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Tripp, Edward. *Crowell's Handbook of Classical Mythology*. A Crowell Reference Book. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970.
- Turner, Jane, ed. *The Dictionary of Art*. Vol. 20, *Juan Bautista Maino*. New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 1996.
- Utz, Hildegard. "The *Labors of Hercules* and Other Works by Vincenzo de Rossi." *Art Bulletin* 53, no. 3 (Sept. 1971): 344-366.
- Vosters, Simon A. "Again the First Performance of Calderon's *El Sitio de Breda*." *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, vol. 6 (Autumn 1981): 117-134.