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**The Defence of Mary and the Triumph over Heresy
in Post-Tridentine Images in Spain**

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The 17th-century printed books preserved in the collections of the University Library of Santiago de Compostela (Spain) reveal the theme of the defence of Mary as the Immaculate Conception both in the text and in the iconography of the frontispiece of works, among others by José de Ormaza on *El Sabio dichoso y político infeliz* (Segovia, 1672) and Gaspar de la Fuente entitled *Armamentarium Seraphicum et Regestum Universale tuendo title Inmaculatae Conceptionis* (Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1649). In the first book the figures of the Virgin Mary and King Charles II represent the defence of the Immaculate Conception by the Habsburg monarchy. This defence of the Immaculate Conception is proclaimed and diffused, in a very special way, by the Franciscan and the Dominican orders and it is evident in the work of Gaspar de la Fuente - on the frontispiece of De la Fuente's book, St Dominic and St Francis shake their hands before a tower where the image of the Immaculate is represented. From the iconography of these post-Tridentine images, we try to justify the relationship between the image and text and to demonstrate how the frontispiece became the allegorical summary of the contents of the book.

Keywords: iconography, Mary, emblematic, frontispiece, engraving, Immaculate Conception, Counter Reformation, Post-Tridentine, heresy

The 17th century is undoubtedly the golden century of Spanish Mariology. In the decree of 1563 of the Council of Trent the aspects related to the image of devotion were regulated, thus taking a stand against the Protestant revolution regarding some notions of religious theory and practice.¹ The Counter-Reformation was supported by the whole of the Catholic community - greatly influenced by the new religious orders who, together with theologians and the clergy, undertook the task of writing the history and the life of the Virgin, as well as on a variety of specific issues such as her Assumption, or Crowning, leaving an imprint on the treaties of spiritual life, comments on liturgical feasts, on the Marian feasts, books of piety or brief doctrinal catechisms.² From this point of view, the devotion to Mary became one of the main themes in the printed works published throughout the 17th century. This article will look at the iconographic and emblematic aspects of the covers of some printed works of the 17th century which represent Marian themes. The books are part of the catalogue published by José de Bustamante y Urrutia³ and they are preserved in the collection of the library of the University of Santiago de Compostela.

Before embarking on an iconographic and iconological analysis of the engravings, it is essential to start from a basic premise: the close connection existing between the Baroque image and the text. Throughout the 17th century, book iconography - provided funds were available - deliberately attempted to strike a balance between aesthetics and the didactical and propagandistic nature of the engraving. One example is the cover for the book by Jesuit José de Ormaza on the *Grano del Evangelio en la Tierra Virgen*, printed in Madrid in 1677 (fig. 1); the presence of Mary with the Child and a bundle of spikes in her right hand dominate the centre of the composition. The Virgin, surrounded by a crown of clouds, looks up to the sky to see the Dove of the Holy Spirit descend from Heaven carrying an ear of wheat in its beak. From this ear, seeds - a symbol of fertility, alluding to the fruit that Christ left with his life and works - fall off. It was this same activity that was made by Conde Peñaranda, D. Gaspar

de Bracamonte y Guzmán, whose arms are shown at the base of the pedestal being held by two little angels that lean on the volutes that crown the cartouche of the pedestal.⁴ On the upper section, a garland decorates the cartouche, from which ribbons and grains dangle, providing a frame for the typographic data of the work detailed in the central plaque. Surrounding Mary, the following sentence can be read "*Venter tuus sicut acervus triciti vallatus liliis*" (Cant 7)⁵ which is completed with the festooned cartouche on the upper section that reads "*Granum frumenti cadens interram*" (John 12)⁶ and "*Convalles abundabunt frumento*" (Pslm 64).⁷ Two winged figures - represented as half-length - draw aside the curtains to show the irradiation of light on Mary cast by the Dove of the Holy Spirit.⁸ The title of the work is explained in the Prologue: "*Se llama Grano de Trigo con tanta expresión, que no necesita de la explicación que da San Agustín, San Ambrosio (...) y los demás Padres comúnmente... También es común en los Padres llamar tierra bendita, tierra de los vivientes... Como en este primer tomo solo llevo al nacimiento de Cristo Señor nuestro, y lo más que se trata es de las prevenciones que hizo en su madre para encarnar, le doy nombre de Grano en la tierra Virgen.*"⁹

The same frontispiece appears in a book by the same author written some years before, in 1672, entitled *El Sabio Dichoso y Político Infeliz* (fig. 2), which corresponds to the second part of the Grain of the Gospel and is dedicated to King Charles II of Spain. The presence of the print is explained by the date engraved at the foot of the plate that illustrates the first tome which, although being published in 1677, was made by Pedro de Villafranca fourteen years before, in 1663 and his plate is undoubtedly the one that provides the model for the one made in 1672. The cover carries no signature, which leads us to believe that it was hastily made with the addition of the monarch in the centre of the composition. On a high pedestal King Charles II of Spain kneels down and joins his hands together before a bundle of spikes sprouting from the earth, which symbolizes the arduous work and effort accomplished in favour of the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.¹⁰ The motif of the spikes appears in one of the "Empresas Morales" by Juan de Borja with the motto *Non Metentis Sed Seminantis*¹¹ and in the commentary: "*Por grandes, que sean las dificultades, y trabajos, que le ofrecen, para alcanzar alguna cosa, que mucho se desea, se pasan con facilidad, si son acompañados de esperanza, de conseguir el fin, que se pretende. Con esta esperanza no solo el Labrador trabaja, y afana todo el año, pero aun derrama el grano, que tiene cierto, por sola la esperanza (aunque dudosa) de coger con acrecentamiento el fruto, de lo que siembra. Cuando esto da mayor gusto, y contentamiento, cuando prósperamente sucede, tanto por lo contrario lo siente más, el que mucho ha trabajado, y afanado, si al tiempo, que espera el premio, de lo que ha servido, y merecido, ve coger, y gozar a otro el fruto de sus trabajos (...) Porque con razón el fruto, no es del que le coge sin trabajo, sino del que le sembró, y trabajó.*"¹²

Juan Francisco de Villava, in one of his spiritual enterprises, shows us an ear of wheat that bends under the weight of its grains accompanied by the motto *Quia plena recumbor*¹³ in reference to effort and humility; the notion of rewarded effort is underscored in the work by Juan de Borja with the motto *Sic Vitam Invenies*.¹⁴ The painting of the enterprise consisting of two hands rubbing spikes with the following meaning: "*Que el que quisiera sacar grano de la espiga, es menester, que apriete las manos, y trabaje; así también el que quisiera alcanzar el premio de la virtud, y de aquí abajo, honra, nombre, y aún hacienda, ha de trabajar y apretar los puños, y si no lo hiciera, no tendrá razón de quejarse, sino de sí mismo, por haber dejado de ayudarse, sabiendo que no hay cosa, que se dé de balde (si bien se mira) sino a trueque de gran afán, y trabajo.*"¹⁵

The meaning of this scene is completed by the presence of an angel holding a cartouche with a heading taken from the Book of Genesis: "*Consurgere manipulum meum, et stare, manipulos circumstantes adorare manipulum meum*" (Gen 37).¹⁶

The theme of the Immaculate Conception formed an iconographic type whose roots go back to the beginning of Christian art with the figure of Mary represented alone or with the Child in Roman catacombs.¹⁷ There was a long theoretical debate on many aspects of Marian iconography and the one linked to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was undoubtedly the most heated. In the 8th century Andrea di Creta in his Canon on the "Holy Grandmother of God, Ana" was among the first to pronounce the existence of a feast day celebrating the Conception of Mary.¹⁸ One century later, Pascasio Radberto or Benedictine Eadmero with his work *Tractatus de*



1 José de Ormaza, *Grano del Evangelio en la Tierra Virgen*, frontispiece, Madrid, 1677



2 José de Ormaza, *El Sabio Dichoso y Político Infeliz*, frontispiece, Segovia, 1672

*conceptione sanctae Mariae*¹⁹ contributed to the theological definition of the Immaculate, a theory that would be followed by the great theologians of the 13th century, including Albertus Magnus, Saint Thomas Aquinas or Bonaventure. The notion of the Immaculate Conception was particularly disseminated by the Order of the Friars Minor, especially by Duns Scotus as the leader of the School of Theologians and Preachers. The topic is represented on the cover that illustrates the work of Gaspar de la Fuente *Armamentarium Saraphicum & Regestum Universale tuendo titulo Inmaculate Conceptiones* (Madrid, 1649; fig. 3) where a fortified tower is at the centre of the composition with the image of the Immaculate Conception in the upper section. Two figures appear on both sides of the fortress: on the left side, Saint Thomas de Aquinas - wearing the habit of the order and a star placed on his right shoulder is shaking hands with Saint Francis of Assisi, who is placed opposite him and in the same position. They both raise their hands towards Mary symbolizing the union of the orders in the defence of the Immaculate Conception. This support of the immaculists' notion is joined by the monarchy represented in the royal coat of arms of Philip IV of Spain, placed under the Crown of clouds of the Virgin. The scene is completed with a group of little angels playing violas, harps and trumpets and holding plaques with a variety of inscriptions that read "*Mille clypei pendent ex ea, Aedificata est cum propugnaculis*" and "*Omnis armatura fortium*". From the lateral embattlements



3 Gaspar de la Fuente, *Armamentarium Saraphicum & Regestum Universale tuendo titulo Inmaculate Conceptionis*, frontispiece, Madrid, 1649

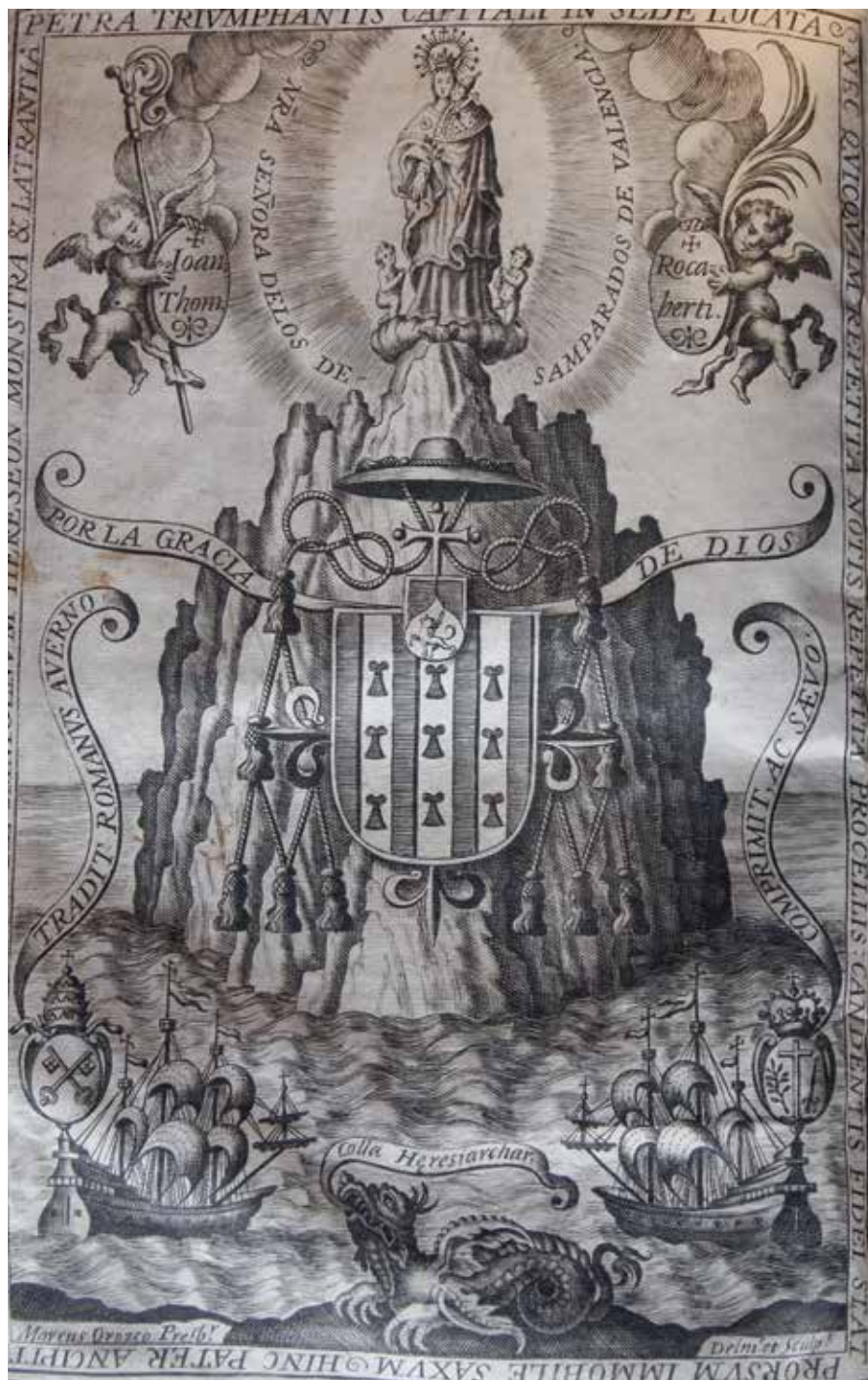
there hang several military trophies which symbolize the victory of the Immaculate Conception in the doctrine of the Catholic Church, their base being two pedestals where a group of heavenly figures are removing a cloth in which the title of the work can be read. The idea of the tower is not fortuitous as it alludes to the Tower of David (*Turris Davidica*) and the Ivory Tower (*Turris Eburnea*), attributions that the Litanies give to Mary and which Nicolás de la Iglesia includes in his work *Flores de Miraflores* in reference to the Virgin as the defender of the Church.²⁰ J. Boschius takes up the notion of the Tower as a symbol of strength that protects the faithful from adversities with the motto *In aeternum non commovebitur*.²¹

Above it, two other plaques represent two emblems that complete the meaning of the print. On one side, a book burns on a bush with the motto *Veritas Moysi rubus* whilst on the other hand, there is a cluster of flowers with a mountain in the background and the motto: *Ab hyeme gratior*. The burning bush relates to the suffering of Christ under a crown of thorns and is determined by a Bible passage from the Book of Exodus: "Now Moses kept the flock of Jethro his father-in-law... and he led the flock to the backside of the desert, and came to the mountain of God, even to Horeb. And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked and behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed. And Moses said, I will now turn aside, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt..." (Ex 3:1-4 KJV).²² The bush is the symbol of the spiritual fire that does not burn and Mary could be a Mother, being a virgin who knew no man, as expressed in one of the hieroglyphics of Nicolás de la Iglesia with the motto *Rubis incombustus*.²³ The open book represents the tables of the Law and the Commandments that God gave to Moses: "And the Lord said unto Moses, come up to me into the mount, and be there: and I will give thee the tables of Stone, and a law, and commandments which I have written, that thou mayest teach them..." (Ex 24:12 KJV). Roses are also a symbol of the purity and humility of Mary, and these are indeed among the attributions that she is given in the Litanies. Nicolás de la Iglesia alludes to the notion of the Mystic Rose as the image that reflects the Immaculate Conception expressing it in one of the emblems where a rose is shown surrounded by thorns with the motto *Rosa Mystica* and the subscription "*De las espinas de Adán/ Intacta sale la Rosa/ Rosa en todo misteriosa*."²⁴

The foreshortening of the figure, as well as the crossing of the hands and the curly hair sliding down her shoulders tell us of some pictorial models that were being made contemporaneously to the print and which could have been the source of inspiration for Herman Pannells.²⁵

The Virgin Immaculate with the Child in her arms, the twelve-star Crown, and the triple cherub at her feet can be seen in *De Maria Advocata Nostra Adnotationes, et Exempla* (Madrid, 1668) by Jesuit Juan Antonio Velázquez. The plate, reused from previous printings, includes a biblical quote from Psalm 145, 9: "*Pupillum et viduam suscipiet, et vias peccatorum disperdet*."²⁶ Surrounded by angels, Mary meets the canons of sweetness and humanity that are characteristic of the iconography of the 17th century with a perfect integration of the Mother and the Son through the movement of the hands and the tilting of the Virgin's head.²⁷ The same features are repeated in the *Primera, Segunda, y Tercera Parte de los Ejercicios Espirituales, para todas las Festividades de los Santos*, by Augustinian Pedro de Valderrama and dedicated to *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*.²⁸ With some features that are still mannerist, Mary is depicted on the throne tilting her head towards the Child who, seated on her lap, raises his right hand in a posture of blessing; musical angels are on both sides of the composition. The baldachin is crowned by a scallop flanked by the jars that top the lateral pilasters. The accuracy in the drawing and the sharp contours of the figures speak of the influence of Renaissance prints, characteristics that the engraver had probably seen in the collections of San Lorenzo de El Escorial. The print, small in size, illustrates the work of Franciscan Friar Juan Zamora *Ceremonial Romano, Nuevamente Reformado. El cual la Beatitud del Señor Papa Clemente VIII en toda la universal Iglesia manda guardar*, printed in Burgos in 1603.

The figure of the donor or that of the devotee who beholds the Immaculate Conception is a frequent one in the figurative arts of the 15th and 16th centuries and is widely found in altarpieces and convent paintings throughout the whole Baroque period. Indeed, we find it on the cover of the work by Andrés Pérez de Ibarra on the *Doctrina Cristiana ad Parochos*, printed in Madrid in 1625. Mary - with a half-moon at her feet and the Child in her arms - is being raised by four angels placed on both sides of the figure.²⁹ Andrés Pérez de Ibarra with a bonnet in his hands and the cross of the Order of Santiago - to which he belongs - kneels down on the right side of the illustration, before the heavenly vision represented on a higher register and isolated by a crown of clouds. On the floor, we can read the signature of Alardo de Popma, a Flemish engraver who worked in Madrid and Toledo, where he met Antonio Pizarro, a disciple of Greco,³⁰ who would greatly influence the iconography of his Immaculate Conceptions. However, his northern background can be seen in the typology of the composition with a clear separation of the registers where he resorts to the famous device of the window which, in this case, is closed in



4 Felipe Fermín *Tractatus de Capellaniis, seu beneficiis Minoribus de Jure Patronatus...*, frontispiece, Granada, 1697

* All images are courtesy of the University Library of Santiago di Compostela

reference to the cell of the convent. The presence of the angels that transport the Mother of God had also become widespread in the print shops in 16th-century Flanders as exemplified by the engraving *Asunción y Coronación de la Virgen* signed by Cornelis Cort in 1574 on a design by Federico Zuccari and reprinted two years later, in 1576.³¹

Marcos de Orozco signs the cover that illustrates the work of Felipe Fermín *Tractatus de Capellaniis, seu beneficiis Minoribus de Jure Patronatus...* (Granada, 1697; fig. 4). On the reverse of the frontispiece Mary is represented

under the title of the Virgin of the Destitute of Valencia with a lily, the symbol of her purity and the child with the cross.³² With a crown and an aureole, she is enclosed by a mandorla of rays with the presence of the *putti* on the clouds that support her. Oral tradition indicates that it was built by three angels who left it in the Chapel of Capitulo. In 1810 she was proclaimed supreme commander of the army and navy against the French and named Canonical Patron in 1885 and canonically crowned in 1923. In 1854, she was proclaimed Honorary Mayor of Valencia and in 1947 she was granted the sash of Captain General of the Armies.³³

A rock in the sea alludes, by way of a speaking emblem, to the surname of Juan Tomás de Rocabertí, but it also symbolizes the strength and clarity with which the Archbishop of Valencia had defended the theory advocated by the Church. His arms are represented at the centre of the composition, crowned by the cardinal's hat and the bishop's tassel. In the forefront two vessels sail out to sea,³⁴ one of them bears the coat of arms of the Inquisition³⁵ with the banner and the motto: *Comprimit, ac saevo*. The other bears the papal coat of arms and the inscription *Tradit Romanus Averno*. Above them, the phrase *Por la gracia de Dios*. In the hieroglyphics by Nicolás de la Iglesia the motif of the ship alludes to the notion of the purity of Mary with the motto *Navis a longe portans panem*³⁶ and the epigram *Lexos estuvo esta nave/De la tormenta de Adán/ Por ser su lastre de pan*.³⁷ However, the vessel is also a symbol of the Church, an allegory of the faithful soul and penance of the Christian who flees from sin and vanquishes heresy, represented in the lower section of the frontispiece through the figure of the dragon.

By way of conclusion, we cannot lose sight of the important role engravings played during the Modern Age in promoting religion, its dogmas and encouraging pious feelings in the readers of the books they illustrated.³⁸ The defence of the Immaculate Conception as well as the image of the *Tota Pulchra*, accompanied by all the symbols from the *Song of the Songs*, were the protagonists of most Baroque frontispieces. In them, the role of Mary was not merely emblematically represented using her main attributes (lily, mirror, tower...) but also, in many cases, the printed image was what led to its translation into sculptural and pictorial representations. Consequently, the use of engravings not only contributed to the creation of common iconographic types in various regions of Europe, but it was also an instrument of a didactical nature in such missionary lands such as America or Asia.³⁹ It is far from surprising, therefore, that one of the most widely represented themes has been that of Mary, which - throughout the Modern Age - was adapted to the new titles as they appeared and to the evolution of the doctrine that would come to a head with the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

1 "La Chiesa di Roma sente la necessita di ribadire il valore dei suoi fondamenti e di rafforzare i legami con la sua tradizione, anche mediante la conferma del ruolo della comunicazione attraverso le immagini, della loro funzione didattica e devozionale". S. PISANI, *Maria nell'Arte. Iconografia e iconologia mariana in venti secoli di cristianesimo*, Roma, Gangemi editore & Iter mundi, 2003, p. 83.

2 S. DE FIORES-S. MEO, *Nuevo Diccionario de Mariología*, Madrid, Ediciones Paulinas, 1988, pp. 867-869.

3 This catalogue is the result of a variety of fruitful contributions generously made to the university by both donors and bibliophiles.

4 This fruitful activity is alluded to in the dedication to the count: "La vida de Christo Señor nuestro, busca en la de V.E. mejor estampa, que en mis escritos: quedase en este primer tomo en las pajas del Nacimiento, y halla en V.E. lo granado: nada acredita mas su Nacimiento, que unir con él los frutos del Agosto à la virtud nacida, independiente de discurso de tiempo, por regularse al discurso de la razon. Es la empresa de la Encarnación, summa imis, hazer extremos, y unirlos: vence la exageración del imposible, juntandose el Cielo con la tierra. Ocupar las eminencias della, no facilita esta Union; mas la dificulta, que las alturas yazen mas lexos del Cielo, inclinado a lo humilde... Tener la suma del Gobierno, del Imperio, y bienes humanos (doy este nombre a los del ánimo, que los demás caen muy fuera de V.E.) y después de tanto recibo, quedar haciendo alcance al Cielo, es superior credito de persona de questa". J. DE ORMAZA, *Grano del Evangelio en la Tierra Virgen, Christo*, Madrid, Herederos de Pedro de Val, 1677, s.p.

- 5 "Tu vientre como montoncito de trigo, cercado de azucenas" (Canticles 7:2).
- 6 "Si el grano de trigo arrojado a la tierra" (John 12:24).
- 7 "Y los valles se cubren de trigo" (Psalm 64:14).
- 8 The iconography of the Immaculate Conception with her titled head, looking aside, under a canopy drawn back by angels is a frequent image in book illustrations in the 17th and 18th centuries. Y. BARRIOCANAL LÓPEZ, *El Grabado Compostelano del Siglo XVIII*, A Coruña, Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 1996. p. 215.
- 9 J. DE ORMAZA, *op. cit.*, 1677, s. p.
- 10 Philip IV of Spain has already included in his will his fervent desire regarding the dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception: "*Ruego muy encarecidamente y afectuosamente a los Reyes que me sucedieren continúen las instancias que en mi nombre se hubieren hecho con grande aprieto, hasta que la alcancen de la Silla Apostólica*". I. VÁZQUEZ JANEIRO, *Las negociaciones inmaculistas en la Curia Romana durante el reinado de Carlos II de España (1665-1700)*, Madrid, 1957, p. 7.
- 11 "No del que los siega, sino del que los siembra".
- 12 J. DE BORJA, *Empresas Morales*, Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española, 1981, pp. 84-85.
- 13 "*Cuando estoy llena, me inclino*". It is explained in the commentary: "*Y como todo lo que tiene un justo es de Dios, vase baxando en sus ojos de manera que viene a hazerse nada, Y es cosa que admira, que siendo la humildad hija de la Caridad, quanto la Caridad sube para hallar a Dios, tanto baxa la humildad... esto tienen los justos, que mientras más llenos, más se humillan, y al pesso que suben, baxan en sus ojos. No hallé con qué significar este pensamiento mejor, que en la espiga, pues quando está vazía de grano está yerta y empinada, como lo suelen estar los vazíos de virtud, y quando está llena se inclina, según lo hazen los justos*". A. BERNAT VISTARINI-J.T. CULL, *Enciclopedia de Emblemas Españoles ilustrados*, Madrid, Akal, 1999, p. 324.
- 14 Así se gana la vida".
- 15 J. DE BORJA, *op. cit.*, 1981, pp. 112,113. A. BERNAT VISTARINI-J. T. CULL, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 325.
- 16 "And, lo, my sheaf rose and also stood upright; and, behold your sheaves stood round about, and made obeisance to my sheaf" (Genesis 37:7).
- 17 R. PISANI, *op. cit.*, 2003, p.13.
- 18 V. FRANCIA, "L'Immacolata Concezione: alla ricerca di un modelo iconográfico", in *Una donna Vestita di Sole. L'Immacolata Concezione nelle opere dei grandi maestri*, G. MORELLO-V. FRANCIA-R. FUSCO (eds.), Milano, Motta Editore, 2005, p. 33.
- 19 A treaty where it is admitted that nowhere in the Sacred Scriptures it is said that Mary had been conceived free from the original sin but it states that Christ redeemed the sinners and Mary partook this work: "Ella que fue creada para ser palacio del Redentor de los pecadores, estuvo por ello libre de la esclavitud del pecado". H. GRAEF, *María: la mariología y el culto mariano a través de la historia*, Barcelona, Herder, 1968, p. 216.
- 20 The motto: "Turris David cum Propugnaculis" ("Torre de David con almenas"; Song of the Songs 4:4) is explained in a commentary of the emblem: "*No fuera razón dexar en olvido la armería de la Iglesia, figurada en la torre de David; viendo, que en la viña que atento plantó aquel padre de familias, edificó una torre para su defensa, y hermosura. La defensa de la viña del Señor, la armería de la Iglesia militante está cifrada en la torre, y en ella como en cifra veremos a María, y su pureza*". A. BERNAT VISTARINI-J. T. CULL, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 778; "*Pinta el esposo Santo en los Cantares con admirables metaphoras, y colores, la hermosura de su esposa, sin dexar en ella parte que con finísimos matices no dibuxe (...) Es tu hermoso cuello como la Torre de david, que esta edificada con almenas que la adornan, y defienden (...) El cuello de su esposa la Iglesia, compara el esposo Santo à la torre de David (...) la cabeza de la Iglesia es Christo, el cuello de la Iglesia es María, porque es la cosa que està mas inmediata à la cabeza (...) Maria es la cosa mas inmediata à Christo, y por ella passa el alimento de la gracia, que dà vida al cuerpo mystico y a los miembros de la Iglesia...*". N. DE LA IGLESIA, *Flores de Miraflores, hieroglíficos sagrados, verdades figuradas, sombras verdaderas del Misterio de la Inmaculada Concepción de la Virgen y Madre de Dios*, Burgos, Diego de Nieva y Murillo, 1659, p. 142.
- 21 Torre eternamente inquebrantable". H. BIEDERMANN, *Diccionario de símbolos*, Barcelona, Paidós, 1996, pp. 452-453.
- 22 The King James Version (KJV) was used as the source of the translation for all the quotes in this text.
- 23 "La arza que no se quema". It is explained in the commentary: "*De aquí infiero yo, que según la exposición deste Autor por el fuego, se entiende el ardor de la concupiscencia, padre de la corrupción, y cuchillo de la virginidad. Este, como siempre acompañava a la concepción actual de las mugeres, parece que exteriormente, en opinión de algunos, cercaba à María, viendo la Madre: pero segun la verdad no la quemò, pues siempre fue virgen pura... El fuego en la zarza, es la concupis-*

- cencia, que para prueba, y merito, queda en el justo, después de perdonada la culpa. N. DE LA IGLESIA, *op. cit.*, 1659, p. 54.
 “Vio Moisés una zarza cercada de llamas, la qual en medio del fuego conservaba su verdor; y aviéndola visto, quiere verla, porque es muy para vista nuestra zarza... El Mysterio de la zarza, significa la Concepción y Nacimiento de Christo, de las entrañas de María, salva su Virginidad... esta zarza sin quemarse en medio del fuego, es María Virgen, antes del parto, en el parto, y después de aver parido”. A. BERNAT VISTARINI-J.T. CULL, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 832.
- 24 “Cumpla por las flores de este guerto la rosa, pues la flor de las flores... Esta misteriosa rosa, nos ofrece el olor de su pureza, saliendo hermosa, suave, agradable y olorosa, del tronco rudo, áspero, espinoso, y basto. Por esto el Espiritu Santo compara la excelencia de María a la planta de la rosa abstrayendo de la planta... Porque la excelencia desta Virgen, consiste en aver salido rosa pura, y sin resabio de espina, de un tronco rudo, y espinoso, sin calidades de rosa”. N. DE LA IGLESIA, *op. cit.*, 1659, pp. 93-95. A. BERNAT VISTARINI-J.T. CULL, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 698.
- 25 As a disciple of Rubens, he was familiar with the works of the Spanish Baroque and allowed the symbolism that characterized the Spanish Golden Age into his illustrations. In his engravings, an influence of Velazquez’s portraits can be sensed in the accuracy of the drawing that takes us back to the Immaculate Conceptions painted by his master Francisco Pacheco. A. GALLEGO GALLEGO, *Historia del Grabado en España*, Madrid, Cátedra, 1999, p. 168.
- 26 “Al huérfano y a la viuda sustenta, pero trastorna el camino de los pecadores”. Under the wreath is written: “HISPANIAE ADVOCATA” (“ABOGADA DE ESPAÑA”); iconography that is repeated in the book of Martín Ruíz de Mesa *Vida y Obras del Maestro Juan de Ávila Predicador Apostolico del Andaluzia, dividida en dos tomos*, (Madrid, 1618) and “dirigidas a la Inmaculada Virgen María, Señora y abogada nuestra”.
- 27 *La Vergine nel Rinascimento en el Barocco*, Roma, Società Editrice d’Arte Illustrata, 1924, p. 7.
- 28 “... Que si a los Principes de la Tierra, a los Presidentes, y a los que estan cerca de las personas Reales (por lisonja, ò por esperanza de favor) se suelen dirigir los libros, con mas razon a vos Princesa de los Cielos que presidis a tantos coros de Angeles, y que tan cerca estays de las divinas personas, que ningun bien haze Dios a los hombres que no sea por vuestras generosas manos, de quien espero favor para con el Padre, que os hizo Madre de su hijo, y para con el hijo, que os hizo hija de su Padre, y para con el divino amor, que os dio la gracia, con que fuisteys hija del Padre, Madre del Hijo, y Esposa del Espiritu Santo...”. P. DE VALDERRAMA, *Primera, Segunda, y Tercera Parte de los Ejercicios Espirituales, para todas las festividades de los Santos*, Madrid, Alonso Martín, 1610, s.p.
- 29 “La Virgen María ha sido elevada a la mansión celestial, donde el Rey de los reyes está sentado en un trono adornado de estrellas” (segunda antífona de laudes); “En este día, la Virgen María subió a los cielos; alegraos, porque reina para siempre con Cristo”. J.B. CAROL, *Mariología*, Madrid, BAC, 1964.
- 30 A. GALLEGO GALLEGO, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 153.
- 31 The print was printed in Rome at Antonio Lafrery’s shop, its model being the Immaculate Conception that the very Zuccari painted for the prayer room of *Santa Concezione di Pesaro* (c. 1592).
- 32 “Una sola es la excelsa abogada de los pecadores, la protectora celeste de los afligidos: una sola la Virgen hermosa, perfecta, divina que impera en las alturas. Pero el pobre mortal al asirse de su misericordioso manto para enjugar su lloro, le ha dado en los países católicos nombres distintos que simbolizan una idea única: la de su completa confianza en la inmensa bondad y el infinito poder de la Madre de Dios. Entre esos nombres no existe ninguno tan conmovedor como el de “Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados”. FELICIA, “La Virgen de los Desamparados”, in: *Galicia: revista universal de este Reino*, vol. 2, Año III, 1862, p. 20.
- 33 A. DE SALES FERRI CHULIO, *Iconografía Mariana Valentina*, Valencia, José Huguet, 1986, p. 85.
- 34 The sea is represented because Valencia is a city open to the sea of civilisation, culture and life “pues de sus entrañas sacaban los pescadores del Grau o el Cabanyal su razón de existencia, cuyas buenas gentes reconocieron a su Madre Amparadora como especial protectora de las gentes del mar, y Ella, la Estrella del Mar, se enseñoreó de las costas valentinas y recaló, como buen puerto, en la devoción marítima de los pescadores”. A. DE SALES FERRI CHULIO, *Iconografía Popular de la Mare de Déu dels Desamparats*, Valencia, Domenech, 1993, s.p.
- 35 Friar Juan Tomás de Rocabertí also held the position of Grand Inquisitor of Spain, for which reason he is often represented with his Dominican habit and his pectoral cross. His area of influence was not confined to the Valencian society; throughout his life he lived for an extended period of time in Rome as the General of his Order and was close to the Court as well. J.V. LLORENS MONTORO, “Fr. Juan Tomás de Rocabertí y Vicente Victoria. Mentores de los Programas pintados por Antonio Palomino en Valencia”, in: *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, Año LXX, 1989, p. 53.

- 36 "Nave que trae el pan de lejos".
- 37 A. BERNAT VISTARINI-J.T. CULL, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 560. "... Digo que es suyo, es de la nave el pan Christo, porque este pan es el lastre de la nave; y el lastre sirve principalmente a la nave, no sirve a los mercaderes. Ya saben todos, que para que las naves estén firmes, y seguras sobre las ondas del mar, sin peligro de dar vaivenes que las sepulten en las aguas, les cargan un peso razonable, ò ya sea de arena, ò ya de piedra, con el qual se aseguran del peligro de los aires, de la inconstancia de las olas... Fue tan dichosa esta nave, que le cupo la suerte de tener por lastre el pan del cielo...". N. DE LA IGLESIA, *op. cit.*, 1659, pp. 150-151.
- 38 J. PORTÚS-J. VEGA, *La Estampa Religiosa en la España del Antiguo Régimen*, Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española, 1998, p. 213.
- 39 M. COTELO FELÍPEZ, "Nuestro Padre San Benito: libros benedictinos versus obra de arte en el monacato gallego", in: *La huella impresa. Textos e imágenes para una historia del arte gallego*, J.M. MONTERROSO MONTERO (ed.), Santiago de Compostela, 2014, p. 218.

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Obrana Marije i trijumf nad herezom – post-tridentski prikazi u Španjolskoj

Sedamnaesto stoljeće je nedvojbeno zlatno doba španjolske mariologije, u kojem su brojni teolozi pisali o različitim aspektima njezina Uznesenja i Krunidbe ponajprije u pobožnim ili kratkim doktrinalnim tekstovima. Ove su knjige, tiskane od druge polovice 16. stoljeća, usvojile norme Tridentskog koncila u odnosu prema slikama, pa tekstovi i ilustracije postaju jedno od najznačajnijih sredstava promocije religije, njezinih dogmi i poticanja pobožnosti u čitača. Obrana dogme Marije kao bezgrešno začete prikazana je u tekstu i ikonografiji ilustracija naslovnice *El Sabio dichoso y político infeliz* Joséa de Ormaza (Segovia, 1672) te *Armamentarium Seraphicum et Regestum Universale tuendo title Inmaculatae Conceptionis* Gaspara de la Fuente (Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1649). U prvoj je knjizi Djevice Marija prikazana s kraljem Karlom II, predstavnikom obrane Bezgrešnog začeca od strane Habsburške Monarhije. Ovu su temu također poticali i promicali franjevci i dominikanci, na poseban način vidljiv na ilustraciji naslovnice knjige Gaspara de la Fuente, gdje se sveti Dominik i sveti Franjo rukuju ispred tornja s prikazom Imakulate. Marijanska se ikonografija pojavljuje i u drugim grafikama poput *Tractatus de Capellaniis, seu beneficiis Minoribus de Jure Patronatus...* Felipea Fermína, tiskanog u Granadi 1697. Na temelju ikonografije ovih post-tridentskih prikaza, u tekstu se pokušava objasniti veza između slike i teksta, kao i uloga naslovnica, koje postaju alegorijski sažeci sadržaja ovih knjiga.

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