

Johannes Sambucus's *Arcvs aliquot triumphal* (Antwerp, 1572)

Visual and Written Propaganda for the Victor at Lepanto

News of the Christian victory at the Battle of Lepanto on the Italian coast quickly led to rejoicing and celebrations in the main cities involved in the conflict. At both St Peter's Basilica in Rome and St Mark's Basilica in Venice, *Te Deum* were organized and followed by joyful processions, parties, and other acts of remembrance, demonstrations of the happiness over the defeat of the Turks, with whom various skirmishes had been fought. A large body of apologetic literature was printed as part of a state policy aimed at praising this naval exploit, and this literature had a large impact on the population. Such works are exemplified in the 26 December 1571 premiere of Celio Magno's musical drama *Trionfo di Christo per la vittoria contra Turchi*, which took place after a reception attended by the doge and the senate.¹ Elizabeth R. Wright, Sarah Spence, and Andrew Lemons have studied a number of Latin poems written in the years following the battle, and they suggest that these works provide evidence that Lepanto was indeed the most celebrated international event of the sixteenth century. In their study, they provide an anthology of twenty-two poets — all of whom were Italians (save one Spaniard) from different regions: Liguria, Venice, Tuscany, and Naples — who all remark, in Virgilian style, on the parallels between this victory of the Holy League and the great maritime adventures

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- 1 Gibellini, *L'immagine di Lepanto*, pp. 56–59.

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described by writers of Antiquity: Carlo Malatesta, Belisario Gadaldini, Cornelio Amalteo, Marc Antonio Tritonio, Nicolò Paladino, Alessandro Allegri, Davide Podavini, Giovanni Canevari, Maffeo Galladei, and Juan Latino. Their titles are representative of their epic, triumphant nature, and of their purported classical air: *Nereidum cantus ad Serenissimum Ioannem* [...], *Proteus, Hectors dum recolit maerens*, *De Actiaca victoria* [...], *Ecloga Nautica*, and *Victoria Naupactiaca*. The longest and perhaps most interesting poem is *Austrias Carmen*, published in October 1572, and written by Juan Latino (1518–1596), a black son of slaves who was educated in Granada. After his emancipation, he served as the chair of Latin Language and Grammar at Granada Cathedral.²

In Rome, an ancient-style triumph was organized to welcome their local hero, Marcantonio Colonna, admiral of the papal galleys, as was documented by Domenico Tassolo in *I trionfi feste, et livree fatte dalli signori conservatori, & Popolo Romano, & da tutte le arti di Roma, nella felicissima, & honorata entrata dell' Illustrissimo Signor Marcantonio Colonna* (Venice, 1571). Other Italian cities that were assimilated into the Spanish Crown also celebrated the victory. Of note was Messina, for the consequential role its port played in the naval campaign. There, even before the battle, on 26 August 1571, an ephemeral triumphal arch was drawn up on the wall of the port in honour of John of Austria taking on the rank of supreme commander of the fleet. Architect and sculptor Andrea Calamecca — who would later create a life-sized sculpture of the admiral for this very port — has been credited with its design. We know this thanks to a large-sized print dedicated, in Italian, to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (Royal Library, Madrid).³ The print is divided into two parts. The upper part shows a gigantic square construction supported by sixteen pairs of columns adorned with bands inscribed with the motto of Charles V — *Plvs Ultra*. These columns support an elegant Renaissance-style series of arches. On top of all of this lies an architrave that has been topped with crests, wreaths, allegories, and the figures of Mars and Mercury. There are two sculptures that appear in front of the large ephemeral scene in the engraving. They both show Hercules; in one, he is defeating the Nemean lion, and in the other, he is slaying the giant Cacus. In the lower part of the print there are several galleys, a *nao* (large sailing ship), and some smaller boats sailing. After the battle, another arch was created in Messina on 14 October to celebrate the victory. Compared to the Roman and Sicilian festivities in honour of Colonna and Austria, the celebration in Venice was more subdued, and although Sebastiano Venier was received by the senate and the doge, and acclaimed by the people, he was not given a formal ancient-style reception, as the Most Serene Republic was hesitant to create a personality cult around any of its citizens.⁴

2 Wright, Spence, and Lemons, eds, *The Battle of Lepanto*. The book compiles the twenty-two poems with their original Latin text, followed by the English translation.

3 Mariás, 'Una estampa con el arco triunfal de Don Juan de Austria'.

4 Gibellini, *L'immagine di Lepanto*, pp. 85–87.

This prior relationship between celebrations and books in the moments leading up to the battle is relevant to properly understanding the object of our present study, Johannes Sambucus's *Arcvs aliquot trivmphal*. Also relevant is analysing to what degree this book is related to these traditions: apologetic literature dedicated to the heroes of Lepanto, the preparation of celebrations in their honour, and the recreations of the classical world in such literature and celebrations. It is also important that we briefly analyse the political profile and particularities of the person to whom this work is dedicated: the commander of the fleet of the Holy League and illegitimate son of Charles V, John of Austria. His renown as a military leader came from his suppression of the Moorish revolt in Granada in 1569 and 1570, known as the War of the Alpujarras, in which a contingent of Turkish Janissaries who had arrived in Andalusia participated. John of Austria was conceived by the emperor — after becoming the widower of empress Isabella — and Barbara Blomberg, daughter of the Regensburg bourgeoisie, whom the emperor met in the spring of 1546 while preparing the campaign against the Schmalkaldic League that would come to an end a year later at the Battle of Mühlberg. He was born on 24 February 1547 in Regensburg. Henry Kamen, recounting the bibliography that William Stirling-Maxwell wrote about John of Austria in the nineteenth century, says that he arrived at Spain as a five-year-old child in 1551, incognito as a pageboy in his unsuspecting stepbrother Philip's entourage after his trip through the north of Europe. A Flemish violinist, Frans Massi, and his wife, Ana de Medina, looked after the young boy.⁵ For two years, he lived in Leganés in the care of the Massis and under the name Jeromín. Then, he was entrusted to Luis Méndez de Quijada, lord of Villagarcía de Campos in Valladolid and steward of the emperor, and his wife Magdalena de Ulloa, both of whom would see that he was educated. After the abdication of Charles V, the young John would finally meet his father in Yuste during the summer of 1558. The emperor did not officially recognize him as his son, even though he was mentioned in his will. Philip II was made aware of the provisions in his father's will in Brussels, and taking advantage of a meeting of the Distinguished Order of the Golden Fleece, bestowed upon his half-brother, without ever having met him, the badge of the order, which John would receive later, on 14 July 1566. The brothers first met in 1559, on a hunt, once Philip was back in Spain. It was then that Philip II officially recognized his half-brother, who was almost twenty years younger, and gave him his new name, Juan, in remembrance of a deceased brother. He was brought up in the court along with two other princes: Don Carlos, the monarch's son, and Alessandro Farnese, the son of Margaret of Parma.⁶ However, Philip II refused to grant him the title Highness, instead simply bestowing upon him Excellency.

5 Kamen, *Poder y gloria*, pp. 153–54; Stirling-Maxwell, *Don John of Austria*.

6 Kamen, *Poder y gloria*, pp. 154–55.

In 1568, the same year during which, on 28 July, the Crown Prince Carlos died under strange circumstances, John, at only twenty-one years of age, was named captain-general of the fleet of the Mediterranean, substituting the infirm admiral García Álvarez de Toledo y Osorio, and thereafter participating in various engagements with Berber pirates. At that time succession to the Spanish throne was uncertain: in 1568, Don Carlos died, and a successor would not be born until 4 December 1571, Infante Ferdinand, who would not be recognized as Prince of Asturias until 31 May 1573. At the end of 1568, the Moorish revolt broke out in the Alpujarra mountains — led by Aben Humeya, descendant of the Cordovan caliphs — just after the majority of the royal army was sent to the Netherlands to squash the rebels from the north. In 1569, there were tens of thousands of armed insurgents in the kingdom of Granada, supported by thousands of Berbers and Turks, and they threatened to spread into Valencia and Aragon. Philip II designated his half-brother as supreme leader of the forces from Aragon and Italy that were sent to quell the rebellion. After months of all-out war and numerous massacres, confrontations ended in the summer of 1570 with John of Austria's victory. This resulted in a significant part of the Moorish population of Granada scattering throughout all of Castile, and in the enormous growth of John's reputation. However, it was not easy for the members of the Holy League to reach an agreement about designating a Christian admiral, though they understood that having a single person in command was necessary to avoid certain disaster. It was up to the King of Spain to submit a proposition, and he chose Giovanni Andrea Doria, a decision that was vetoed by the pope and the Venetians, who considered Doria to be responsible for the naval campaign of 1570, the failure of which prevented the saving of Nicosia and Famagusta. Philip II then suggested John of Austria, whose candidacy was supported by the Society of Jesus and their superior general Francis Borgia. John of Austria was closely allied with the Jesuits and made up for his youth with the military fame he had earned in the Alpujarras. For Philip II, it was a convenient solution: it distanced his half-brother from conspiring in the court, as he was the only heir to the throne at that time.⁷ It should also be noted that John of Austria tried to take part in the expedition that freed Malta from a Turkish siege in 1565 against the will of his brother and king, and only an envoy from Philip II managed to dissuade him from embarking.⁸

John already had a notable image before the battle for obvious reasons: he was a person related to the imperial family, brother of the King of Spain, and he had already won battles in the terrible war in the Alpujarras. Painters for the court of Madrid had the opportunity to paint him in the years leading up to Lepanto. According to Francisco Pacheco, John of Austria frequently visited the home of painter Alonso Sánchez Coello, where he had his portrait

7 Rivero Rodríguez, *La batalla de Lepanto*, pp. 125–28.

8 Martínez Lainez, *La guerra del turco*, p. 139.

painted many times. After 1571, paintings depicting John at Lepanto began to appear, especially in prints used in propaganda, which sometimes depicted the events that took place. The highest quality post-Lepanto portrait of John of Austria comes in the form of an oil painting on canvas and is attributed to Juan Pantoja de la Cruz. It is titled *Don Juan de Austria* (sixteenth–seventeenth century, Prado Museum, Madrid), and it is believed to be a copy of a lost portrait that Scipione Pulzone painted of the admiral in Naples after his campaign in Tunis.⁹ It was in Messina, the port from which the fleet of the Holy League sailed into battle and to which they returned triumphantly, that the greatest monument to the hero of Lepanto was erected. The senate of the city charged sculptor and architect Andrea Calamecca — disciple of the Florentine Bartolomeo Ammannati — to create a statue of John of Austria next to the Palazzo Reale, a job that the artist would work on from 1571 to 1573, when the piece was placed in the main square near the Chiesa della Madonna del Piliero, the Castilian church in the city, where it remained until it was moved in 1853 to the Piazza della Annunziata. The relevance of the sculpture in the urban layout of Messina can be appreciated in the axonometric map of the port created by Antonio Giosso during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. In it, we can perfectly make out the figure at the most important point of the city, alongside the Palazzo Reale; the statue is even mentioned in the map legend included on the print.¹⁰

It is in this context of excitement and praise towards John of Austria that the impactful piece that is the object of the present study was created by Johannes Sambucus (or János Zsámboky, 1531–1584), humanist, historian, doctor, and Hungarian emblemist at the service of the Habsburgs.¹¹ Sambucus was born in what is today the Slovakian city of Trnava, and he died in Vienna as a doctor and historian in the court of Maximilian II of Habsburg. Before this, he worked at the universities of Vienna, Leipzig, Wittenberg, Ingolstadt, Strasbourg, and Paris, as well as serving on the court of Rudolf II.¹² He was the author of an incredibly important book on emblems, *Emblemata, et aliquot nummi antiqui operis*, first published by Christophe Plantin in Antwerp in 1564.¹³ Eventually, five Latin editions would be printed (in 1564, 1569, 1576, 1584, and 1599) in addition to one edition in Dutch in 1566 and another in French in 1567.¹⁴ The first edition included 167 emblems, and the second added another 56 more, the first of which was dedicated to Maximilian II of Habsburg. However, the work that we consider herein is the *Arcvs aliqvot triumphal et monumenta victor. classicae, in honor. Invictissimi ac Illustrib. Iani*

9 Two of Pulzone's portraits are now lost: this one and another showing Don Juan with Ali Pasha's son. Pérez de Tudela, 'Alonso Sánchez Coello, Don Juan de Austria armado'.

10 Gutiérrez and Benito, *Ciudades y fortalezas del siglo XVII*, pp. 100–01.

11 Praz, *Imágenes del Barroco*.

12 Almási, *The Uses of Humanism*.

13 Viser, *Johannes Sambucus and the Learned Image*.

14 Sambucus, *Emblemata cum aliquot nummis antiqui operis*.

Avstriae, victoris non quietvri (Antwerp, 1572), a publication somewhere between commemorative literature and something evoking celebration, as it deals with literary construction. For the present study, we have consulted and studied the copy that is housed in the Getty Research Institute (Los Angeles, United States). The volume is an apologia for John of Austria, composed of sixteen triumphal images (accompanied by Latin text) that show frontispieces, triumphal arches, cenotaphs, columns, and other monuments in which we see captive Turks, mythological gods, trophies, galleys, and other nautical and allegorical depictions. Javier Pizarro Gómez has already studied this work, and he made special note of the connections between this fictitious triumphal piece and emblem literature. He also thoroughly analysed each of the sixteen compositions in terms of their architectural elements — noting the political use of classical language and the preferred use of the composite order — and their visual elements. Furthermore, the study by Pizarro includes the first and, up to now, only Spanish translation of the epigrams, which was done by Professor Jesús Ureña.¹⁵ Each of the sixteen emblem images is accompanied by an epigram or a declaration in Latin, in addition to the title: *Navali triumpho, Gratiae memori, Thvrca desper., Neptvn. Vltor, Iovi sospiti*, etc. We analyse the images in the order in which they appear in the publication before finally providing an interpretation of the entire set.

The first of the images is titled *Navali triumpho*, and it shows an altar on top of an architectural frontispiece between the words *Zelus* (diligence) and *Domus* (home) and vases full of wheat spikes (Fig. 7.1). On the frontispiece is an inscription, some liturgical objects, the coats of arms of Spain and Venice, bunches of agricultural produce, and joyful cherubs carrying olive branches. On the pedestals there are trophies, and there is an underground cavern with captives being punished where we can also read *Infamia sola superstes*. We understand that this allegorical structure is truly an ancient-style humanist machination, as the inscription on the central part of the altar and the epigram accompanying the image are dedicated to Mars, god of war, to whom Spain, Venice, and the papacy offer the votive altar via the victor, John of Austria. In fact, all of the entablature composition is a reference to the ceremonial Roman traditions, specifically, offerings to Mars following the triumphant return of the legions: in the centre, there is a burning pyre emitting smoke and incense in honour of the god; on either side there is a vase with wheat spikes; and in the lower part, there are the inscription and liturgical Roman objects, among which the awls, libation vessels, and various amphorae are of note. Thus, this is a reimagining of Roman altars to the god of war, and it includes, according to Pizarro, an allusion to the abundance and commencement of a new golden age via the wheat spikes in the vases. This new age is also alluded to in the epigram in an exaggerated way, with a comment on obedience stretching from one side of the interior sea to another.

15 Pizarro Gómez, 'Entre la emblemática y el arte efímero'.



Figure 7.1. *Navali triumpho*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliqvot triumphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

Although stability improved in the western Mediterranean after the Battle of Lepanto, control of the eastern part of the sea was merely wishful thinking. The prisoners and trophies in the part beneath the altar allude, once again, to imperial ceremonies and the participation in these ceremonies of captured enemies, weapons, and trophies (or spoils of war), the so-called *spolia opima*.¹⁶ However, in this case, the victory is not presented to Mars, but to John of Austria, in the central inscription, as well as to Spain and Venice, with their coats of arms on the side pillars.

The second illustration, *Gratiae memori*, is composed of a triumphal arch presided over by Neptune (strangely) riding a representation of Pegasus in a scallop shell; he is flanked by sea coral and a bunch of dittany (*Dictamnus*), which Pizarro understands to reference internal and external strength — that is, in soul and body — against paganism (Fig. 7.2).¹⁷ The spaces between the Corinthian columns on either side of the arch contain the coats of arms of the Mediterranean countries. Below the arch sits Oceanus, from whom flow the Nile, as a crocodile, and the Danube, allegorized with a sturgeon: the main rivers in the Mediterranean Basin. In this case, the arch is designed in memory of John of Austria, to whom the godly moniker ‘Itacoibero’ must refer, as he is linked to the Iberian world and was the victor along the coasts of the Gulf of Patras, which just so happens to end at the heroic island of Ithaca. This ‘Itacoibero’, or Janus of Austria, is shown to be a genuine naval victor, with a speedy arrival to Ithaca via Neptune flying on Pegasus, which is shown on the top of the triumphal arch, dominating the lower part, which can be understood to be a representation of the Mediterranean Sea, its two main rivers, and the coats of arms of the kingdoms that occupy its shores. The speed and fame of Pegasus, and the internal and external strength of the *Dictamnus* and the coral can be seen as representing virtues: the qualities of John of Austria as a bringer of peace to the Mediterranean.

Thvrca desper. is the title of the third emblem, and it includes an image of an Ionic arch, on top of which appear Neptune, Juno, Jupiter, and Erichthonius (Fig. 7.3). In the space between the left-side columns there is a sun in flames, and in the space between the right-side columns there is a moon over a stag. Hanging under the arch there is an Asian head attached to a chain, and a sea monster is preparing to devour it. This arch might serve as a symbolic representation of the Battle of Lepanto itself: that which is under the arch representing the resounding defeat of the Ottomans, with the head of the enemy hanging from a chain about to be eaten by sea creatures. The space between the left-hand and right-hand columns represents the two fleets facing off. On the one side, we can see the victors, with the flame alluding to piety and faith, and the sun referencing the success that will be a new golden age. On the other side we have the Turks, represented by the stag — an allusion to fear, cowardice, and

16 Versnel, *Triumphus*; Beard, *El triunfo romano*.

17 Pizarro Gómez, ‘Entre la emblemática y el arte efímero’, p. 156.



Figure 7.2. *Gratiae memori*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliqvot trivmphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.



Figure 7.3. *Thvrca desper.*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliquot triumphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

fickleness — and the moon in a stormy sky, as if harbouring bad omens for the Ottoman Empire. Here we should comment on the relevance of identifying the stag with fickleness and fear. This was a recurrent reference in Western, allegorical tradition, from Virgil and John Chrysostom to modern emblems, as conveniently noted by Pizarro Gómez.¹⁸ Sambucus himself even published similar references in emblems some years prior to this one.¹⁹ In the emblem titled *Temeraria Ignorantia*, he includes a stag in the background behind the hero, and the corresponding epigram explains that the deer is hiding, spitefully concealing his horns among the grass, fleeing from defeat. Tamar Cholcman gave another interesting interpretation: allegories of the four elements in the gods at the top of the arch, and also in the side pillars, and a global sense indicating the damages of war, as the Ottoman desperation in the title was, in fact, affecting both sides.²⁰ Traditional Christian representations of the Battle of Lepanto tend to include a double typology, either with two fleets facing off, describing the actual confrontation, or changing them into cultural mechanisms that include the heavenly participation of Christ, Our Lady of the Rosary, or Saint James as defenders of the Holy League in the battle.²¹ In this case, it seems that Sambucus makes use of a similar strategy, but in a more old-fashioned way, in that in the allegorical confrontation and defeat of the Turks, an open Olympus is shown on the attic of the arch, with Neptune, Jupiter, Erichthonius, and Juno all present, along with their symbols.

The fourth emblem, *Neptvn. Vltor*, shows a Neptunian sea giant carrying a dolphin with an olive branch and quiver as he prepares to strike a Turk, who is sinking into the sea, with his trident (Fig. 7.4). On one side of the figure is the Habsburg eagle, and on the other is the Venetian lion. Two arms with interlocking hands hold the keys of Saint Peter around his waist. This visual device could be interpreted as an allegory of the Holy League itself, which would be personified in the Neptune figure and his trident, supported by allegories of the three main states in the League: the keys of Saint Peter, the lion of Venice, and the eagle of the Hispanic monarchy. It may also represent the defeat of the infidels at sea, as it shows, in the lower part of the print, a Turk sinking into the water with the help of the Christian religion, which is referenced by the arms holding the keys of Saint Peter around the Neptunian figure's waist. However, we believe that the essence of this emblem lies in the title of the epigram. Here, Sambucus changes the traditional Roman avocation from *Mars Ultor* to *Neptun Ultor*, that is, Neptune the avenger. As spelled out in the rest of the epigram, the piece is likely a warning to Turks that they should not continue to provoke conflict with Christianity via their corsair raids: 'If I am provoked, I shall attack, I shall overwhelm, and I shall not

18 Pizarro Gómez, 'Entre la emblemática y el arte efímero', p. 158.

19 Sambucus, *Emblemata cum aliquot nummis antiqui operis*, pp. 66–67.

20 Cholcman, "Make Peace, Not War", pp. 161–62.

21 Mínguez, *Infierno y gloria en el mar*.

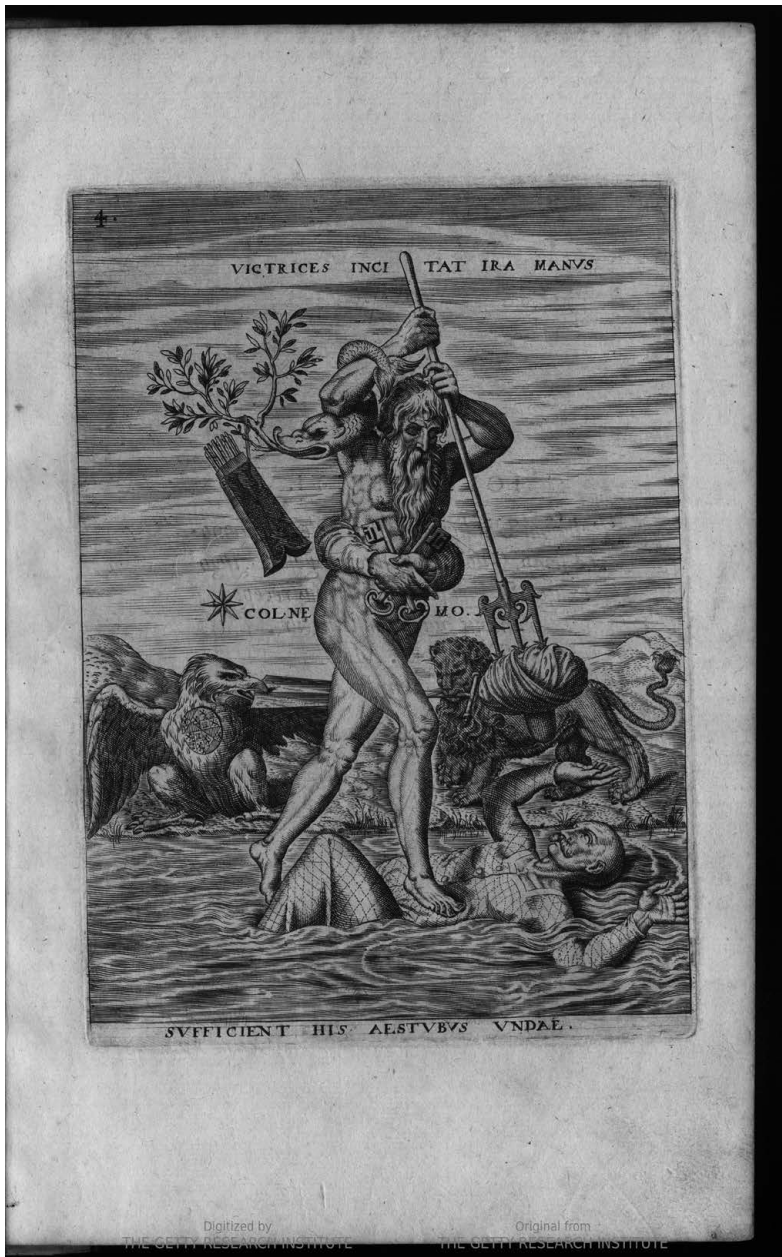


Figure 7.4. *Neptvni Vltor*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliquot triumphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.



Figure 7.5. *Fvulmini bethico, Iano Avstriae*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliqvot triumphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

cease.²² This warning is probably a reference to the other symbol of Neptune, the dolphin, that we can see wrapped around the godlike figure's right arm, presenting the Turk with two options: peace (the olive branch) or war (the quiver of arrows hanging from the branch).

The fifth emblem, *Iovi sospiti*, shows a Corinthian-order arch with the inscription *Love et astris* across the top. In each of the spandrels of the arch we can find a swan, and under the arch a Jovian eagle flying triumphantly in front of an eclipsed moon. This arch is in line with the general direction of the whole volume: the great victory of the Holy League and the eclipsing of Ottoman powers, represented in the eclipsed moon and the turban that appears on the attic of the arch. The inscription and epigram allude to a saviour Jupiter, represented here in the form of an eagle with lightning bolts in his talons, which could be understood to represent the monarchy, a traditional allusion from the times of the Roman Empire and one that is very present in modern age celebrations, for example, its abundant use in ephemeral triumphal arches. *Fvlmini bethico, Iano Avstriae*, the sixth in the series, focuses on a Corinthian triumphal arch topped with a representation of Janus in a scallop shell, with two faces, but transformed into the giant Atlas (Fig. 7.5). Under the arch we find the goddess Diana with her two symbols, the spear and the deer, Acteon. Between the two columns on either side of the arch are elephants accompanied by lions. The gods on the attic and under the arch give way to the eclipse of the empire of the infidels: Atlas holds up the head of a Turk in his right hand while Diana reins in the deer with her hands, another allusion to fickleness and maliciousness. The pachyderms allude to John of Austria's subsequent campaign in Tunis after his victory at Lepanto, and the lions to the strength of the Hispanic monarchy, safeguarding Christianity against its future enemy.

The emblem *Orae Qvietis* is a military trophy in the style of a classical rostral column, made of armour and parts of a ship (Fig. 7.6). The tradition of Roman military trophies originated on the battlefields, when the legions built triumphal structures with the weapons of defeated armies. These structures would then be shown in processions in the streets of Rome during republican triumphs. For naval battles, rostral trophies would also be built, as Sambucus demonstrates in this image. Its relationship to the sea is further emphasized with the representation of a body of water, an anchor, and a trident. Two elements highlight its link to the Battle of Lepanto: first, the turban speared by the trident, and second, the anchor with its surrounding text, an allusion to the stabilization of the Mediterranean after the battle. The eighth emblem, *Cenotaph. Barbb*, shows a triangle with Latin phrases written in its sides, and in its centre the inscription *VICTOQVIETVRO*. On the top vertex of the object there is a hand in the act of blessing, and at the two base vertices there are spheres: one is accompanied by a weasel — a reference to bad omens and misfortune — and the other makes reference to regretting

22 Sambucus, *Arcus aliquot triumphal*.

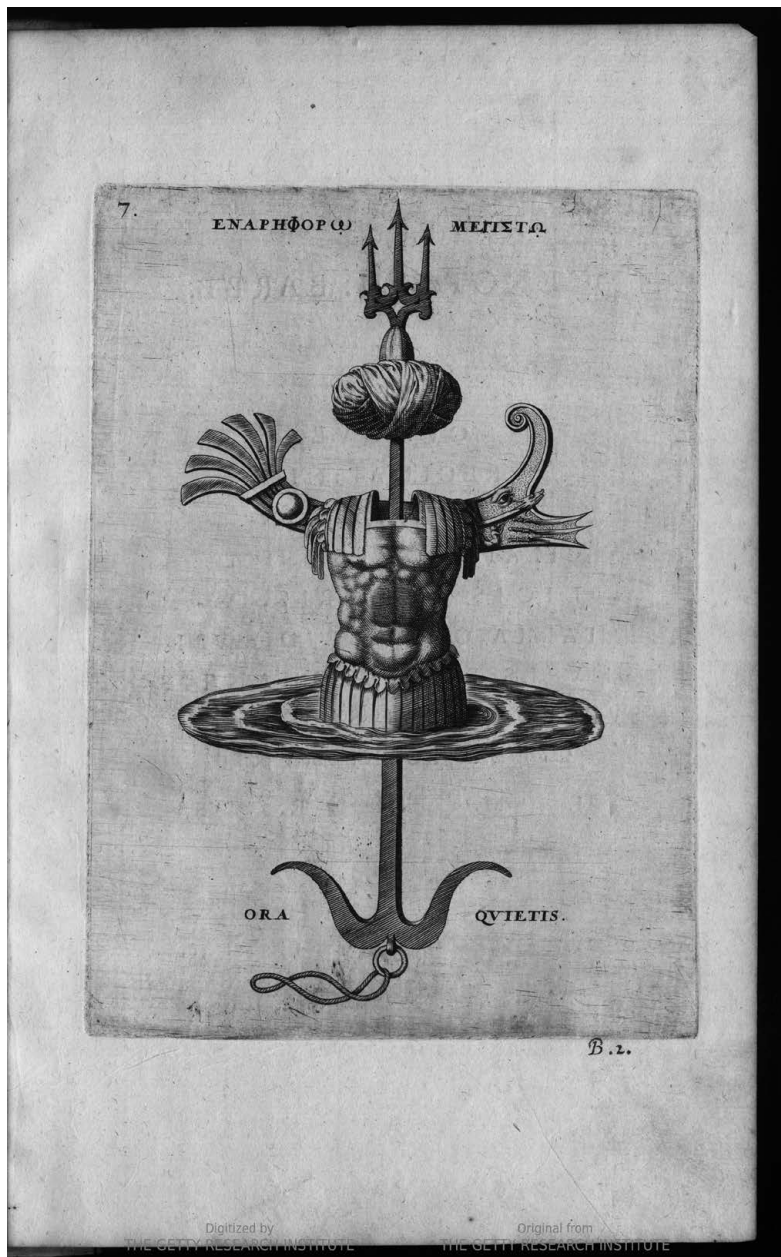


Figure 7.6. *Orae Quietis*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliqvot triumphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

recklessness. According to the epigram, Sambucus wanted this image to symbolically represent a cenotaph for the Ottoman Empire, the barbaric enemy of the Christian empire, successor of the Scythians, and whose fame and glory was eclipsed at Lepanto.

We find a rusticated triumphal arch in the ninth of the images, *Aeqvoris omnipotenti* (Fig. 7.7). On the attic we can see a rudder in front of an armillary sphere between opposing obelisks, one with laurel and the other with ivy. The pilasters are decorated with fish, and in the spandrels opposing figures seem to be crowning with laurels a quail emitting manna under the intrados of the arch. The land and the sea are represented both in the attic, with the armillary sphere and the rudder, and in the base, with representations of the ocean and Cybele, and thus, they are the protagonists of this emblematic construction. We understand that this arch is an allusion to the Christian mastery of the land and the sea after the victory of John of Austria at Lepanto, spreading peace, like manna, throughout the Christian world. Javier Pizarro wisely gave meaning to the plant-based elements winding around the obelisks: the victory over the Turks is the laurel, and the need to remember is the ivy.

The tenth composition, *Principi Iuvent et avrei saevuli.*, shows a Doric-order arch with a crow with an arrow through his eye on the attic, while in the frieze the winds blow. Under the intrados there is a stork that has captured a serpent standing on the temple of Janus. After John's victory, shown clearly in the defeat of the crow and the snake, the temple of war has its doors closed. The crow, associated with royalty according to Andrea Alciato, is an allusion to the defeated sultan, as is the serpent being devoured by the stork, a symbolic victory over evil that appears in Saint Augustine's writings and in medieval bestiaries. Cholcman added to this emblem another interesting meaning, linking the crow with an arrow in its eye to a visual tradition used in the fourth triumphal arch for the entry of Charles V in Milan, in 1541,²³ and by Andrea Mantegna in the fresco of the *Martyrdom of Saint Christopher* in the Eremitani Church, as a reference to the blind and unjust leader, a new allusion to the unfairness of wars.²⁴ Also of note here is the form Sambucus used to head the emblem, with the title *Principus Iuventutis*, or prince of youth, which was mostly used during the Julio-Claudian dynasty, and which we believe may give new meaning to this volume.

Temeritas gethica is the title of the next emblem, which shows a Doric arch topped with a Cerberus chained to and framed by obelisks, one decorated with an eye and the other with a star (Fig. 7.8). Under the arch is an allegory of Victoria with wings and a laurel, and on either of the shafts of the two columns are hung emblems, one showing a Medusa and the other a spindle in their *pictura*. As a whole, the arch is dedicated to the victory of the Holy League over the Turks: the composition is centred around the figure under

23 Checa, 'La entrada de Carlos V en Milán', p. 27.

24 Cholcman, "'Make Peace, Not War'", pp. 166–67.



Figure 7.7. *Aeqvoris omnipotenti*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliqvot triumphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.



Figure 7.8. *Temeritas gethica*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliquot triumphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

the arch, the representation of victory itself, while the right side of the arch is dedicated to the Christian belligerents and the left side to the Turks. In the obelisk on the right, the star alludes to Divine Providence, while the spindle on the column foreshadows the connection between the Christians and the defeat of the Turks. Then, the left-side obelisk with an eye, which is understood by Pizarro Gómez to symbolize vengeance, and the Medusa on the column represent the horrors created by the infidels.²⁵ Thus, it is no surprise that the vengeful, barbarous, hellish Cerberus is shown defeated and chained to the obelisk on the left.

The following construct is *Irae et cavssae ivstiss*, an arch with Doric pilasters, and topped with an obelisk with a crescent moon at its apex (Fig. 7.9). There are animals on the shafts of the columns, and an allegory of justice under the intrados: a rider with the sun as his head holds a sword in one hand and a scale in the other while mounted upon a stag. As victory was the predominant element in the previous arch with the winged Nike, in this arch it is the triumph of justice, the rider, over the volatility of the infidel, the stag, which Sambucus uses on other occasions to reference barbarians and the Turks. Additionally, this triumph of justice and virtue over the Ottoman Empire is universal and includes Africa and Asia, as stated on the arch's inscription and as shown in the plants from these continents in the vases on either side of the obelisk topped with the crescent moon.

A triumphal column decorated with astrological symbols for the moon, Venus, and Mercury, transformed into a lighthouse that is unable to illuminate the night, is the figure we see in the thirteenth image under the title *Neptuno potente*. This column likely makes reference to the ephemeral power acquired by the Ottoman Empire over three hundred years, but which would be no more than a lighthouse without light, erased in an instant — five hours — in the Gulf of Patras by the Christians' naval might.

Each of the next two emblems shows, once again, triumphal arches. First, *Virtvti christianae*, a Corinthian-order arch topped with a unicorn in a curvet position, shows a Christian galley ploughing through the sea, following the course marked by a star — Providence — under the arch (Fig. 7.10). In the galley are the new Argonauts, the captain John of Austria (labelled with the moniker *Labor*), and rowers, as symbols of their varied virtues: diligence, strength, guidance, and swiftness. The triumph of Christian righteousness is the central theme of this arch created by Sambucus, allegorized by the Christian galley leading to a new golden age for Europe beneath a unicorn, the symbol of profit and virtue in all modern emblems, including those by Sambucus.²⁶ *Libertati Religione*, the following emblem, shows a Corinthian arch with a cross and a sword framing the Phrygian cap of liberty on its attic. Under the arch, allegories of Asia, Greece, and Africa make sacrifices at an altar upon

25 Pizarro Gómez, 'Entre la emblemática y el arte efímero', p. 158.

26 Sambucus, *Emblemata cum aliquot nummis antiqui operis*, pp. 166–67.



Figure 7.9. *Irae et cavssae ivstiss*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliquot trivmphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.



Figure 7.10. *Virtvti christianaee*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliqvot trivmphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

which we find a serpent, symbolizing public health, the common welfare. On the side columns we see bees and a combat helmet. This composition is inspired by two of Alciato's emblems: no. CXLIX and no. CLXXVII.²⁷ On the one side, the bees highlight the important role of peace, necessary for the proper functioning of the public health of the states, which is opposed by war, symbolized in the combat helmet on the other column. Tamar Cholcman provided a deep and accurate interpretation of this emblem, linking it to the benefits of peace and the damages of war.²⁸ Finally, *Genio victoris* shows a triumphal column topped by Geryon riding a dolphin and holding up the head of Medusa in one hand and a basilisk in the other. On the shaft of the column, we can read two words, *Panico* and *Terrori*, both associated with the terror cultivated around the Mediterranean by the Turks, which has now been stopped thanks to John of Austria, who is associated here with Geryon, because of his naval feats.

As we have discussed, various studies have linked the object of our present consideration to the far-reaching dissemination of emblematic literature during the second half of the sixteenth century and to the apologetic literature that overwhelmed Italian, Hispanic, and central European printers after the Battle of Lepanto. Other authors, like Tamar Cholcman, have interpreted it as a text demanding a peace process with the Ottoman Empire.²⁹ In our study, in addition to providing new interpretations of some of the emblems considered, we aim to add a link to the world of symbolic Habsburg creations,³⁰ which were spurred on by the invention and popularization of the moveable-type printing press.³¹ The political and cultural link between the first large printers and the House of Habsburg explains, in part, their relevance in the propagandized spread of ideology by members of this dynasty. Since the reign of Maximilian I as Holy Roman Emperor, any possible advantage was taken of the enormous capacity brought about by modern printing to copy and disseminate text and images. The relevance of Gutenberg's invention for Maximilian I's reign and as part of the general political strategy of the House of Habsburg has been noted by a great number of academics, from Fernando Checa to Larry Silver.³²

Here, we should note that engraving truly became the artistic medium most linked to the Habsburg's expression of power. This central-European house knew, like no other, how to take advantage of printing and the fact that the cities most on the forefront of publishing belonged to their states. This also encouraged the most famous artists of the day to take to engraving, so much so that in the mid-fifteenth century, we can find only basic, unremarkable examples, and by the end of the century and into the beginnings of the

27 Alciato, *Emblematum liber*.

28 Cholcman, "Make Peace, Not War", pp. 155–56.

29 Cholcman, "Make Peace, Not War".

30 Mínguez and Rodríguez Moya, *El tiempo de los Habsburgo*.

31 Clair, *Historia de la imprenta en Europa*.

32 Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*; Checa, *Carlos V y la imagen del héroe*.

sixteenth century we can find works by noted artists such as Albrecht Dürer, Hans Holbein, and Albrecht Altdorfer. Under these favourable circumstances, and despite not giving up extensive programmes promoting sculpture and series of paintings, first Maximilian and then his grandchildren Charles and Ferdinand invested great effort in spreading knowledge of their glory and ideology via engravings, a medium that would serve a truly global empire in ways painting and sculpture could not.

A good example of this is one of the most thought-provoking projects from this time, one envisaged by Johannes Stabius (1450–1522)³³ from 1515 to 1518, known universally as *The Triumphs of Maximilian*, a large number of prints that make up a triumphal arch, a triumphal carriage, and an enormous procession. What differentiates these projects from other celebratory manifestations is that they are inventions: in reality intellectual exercises that aim to provide support for the policies and government of the Habsburgs, not just text and engravings that show specific ephemeral celebratory constructions. Rather, they were designed to enhance the image of Maximilian, and they were sent to other princes and monarchs and kept in the major European libraries as an example of the bold and righteous spirit of the emperor as well as his support of the arts. To arrange the thousands of concepts that Stabius came up with for these complex rhetoric programmes, a veritable legion of artists, engravers, and publishers were hired to work together intensively over many years.³⁴

We believe the object of the present study, the *Arcvs aliquot triumphal* by Johannes Sambucus, is singled out by the way that it carries on the tradition of celebratory Habsburg inventions — which started with the *Triumphs of Maximilian* and continued with Charles V's large *Triumphal Carriage* — and that with emblems, it turns a series of invented, ephemeral constructions that were never built into powerful propaganda and ideological weapons to praise the achievement at Lepanto, extol the House of Austria, and promote, perhaps even as a possible successor, the figure of John of Austria. In it, we find arches, obelisks, columns, and cenotaphs that showcase not only the great virtues of the young commander, but the impact his achievements had on bringing peace to the Mediterranean and his role in the beginning of a new golden age for Western Christianity. Along this line, we believe that one of the emblems, the tenth, may offer an additional meaning that would result in a new understanding of Sambucus's book. In its title, we see the Roman expression *Principis Iuuentutis*, or prince of youth, which was used mostly in Julio-Claudian times to refer to an heir who, though not officially, was considered to be the successor to the emperor. In fact, the title was held (until their deaths) by the children of Agrippa, princes of youth in the times of Augustus. In 1572, when this volume was published, the heir Charles of

33 Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, pp. 41–45.

34 Michel and Sternath, eds, *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer*; Matilla, ed., *Durero*; Huidobro, *Durero, grabador*.

Habsburg had been dead for nearly four years. Although Prince Ferdinand was born on 4 December 1571, he was born after the Battle of Lepanto, and until 1573 he would not be officially recognized as the Prince of Asturias. This print, and the whole book itself, while obviously offering him praise, might be subtly nominating John of Austria as the best option for succession, perhaps as a young prince of a new golden age.

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