A Question of Morals:
Philip II and Achille Bocchi in a Roman Engraving (1588)*

Emily Monty

Abstract

This article analyses an engraving of Philip II of Spain published in Rome in 1588 by Marcello Clodio. The portrait is based on Sofonisba Anguissola's famous painting of the king by way of Alonso Sánchez Coello's copy in Florence. The Roman engraving offers a rare example of a Spanish painting copied in Italian print. A historiated frame surrounding the portrait, comprised of emblems from Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicae Quaestiones* (Bologna, 1555), represents the most significant reuse of Bocchi's emblems by a contemporary artist. The unusual frame is interpreted as a tactful representation of the polarising Spanish monarch.

Keywords: Portrait, Emblems, Engraving, Copying, Spain

Una questione di principi morali: Filippo II e Achille Bocchi una incisione romana (1588)

Abstract

L'articolo analizza l'incisione raffigurante Filippo II di Spagna, pubblicata a Roma nel 1588, da Marcello Clodio. Il ritratto si basa sul famoso ritratto eseguito da Sofonisba Anguissola per mezzo della copia di Alonso Sánchez Coello a Firenze. L'incisione romana offre un raro esempio di un dipinto spagnolo tradotto in una stampa italiana. La cornice istoriata che circonda il ritratto, composta da emblemi appartenenti alle *Symbolicae Quaestiones* (Bologna, 1555) di Achille Bocchi, rappresenta il più significativo riuso degli emblemi bocchiani da parte di un artista contemporaneo. La inusuale cornice è interpretata come una tattica rappresentazione del polarizzante sovrano spagnolo.

Parole chiave: ritratto, emblemi, incisione, copia, Spagna

★★★

Print facilitates the movement of images and ideas across time, space, and media. Portable and multiple, printed images can transport designs across vast geographic distances to different cultural contexts, where they are often transformed in the hands of new makers and conditions. The role of prints in transferring images and ideas between Italy and Iberia in the early modern period is most clearly visible in the important role that imported prints played as artistic models in Iberian and colonial Latin American workshops[1]. An engraving of King Philip II of Spain published in Rome in 1588 is a rare example of a design traveling in the opposite direction [fig. 1]. This article is about that engraving and the various sources on which it was based.

The engraving consists of a portrait and a historiated frame that knit together visual traditions pulled at once from the Spanish court and from humanist circles in Bologna. It combines these

[1] Within the vast literature on the topic, see: B. Navarrete Prieto, *La pintura andaluza del siglo XVII y sus fuentes grabadas*, Madrid, Fundación de Apoyo a la Historia del Arte Hispánico, 1998; A.E. Ojeda di Ninno, *La reconstrucción histórica del arte colonial a través de sus fuentes grabadas: el caso de PESSCA*, «Norba: Revista de arte», 40 (2020), pp. 175-184; A.M. Hyman, *Rubens in Repeat: The Logic of the Copy in Colonial Latin America*, Los Angeles, Getty Publications, 2021; ; S. Porras, *The First Viral Images: Maerten de Vos, Antwerp Print, and the Early Modern Globe*, University Park, PA, Penn State University Press, 2023.

sources into a new Roman format while ensuring that the origins of the images remain distinct and recognizable. At centre, the Spanish monarch stands tall in a three-quarter view. His likeness draws on conventions of Spanish court portraiture, which were known internationally through a programmatic culture of copying in painting, sculpture, and print[2]. In particular, the portrait in the Roman engraving closely follows a famous painting made by Sofonisba Anguissola (c. 1532-1625) at the Spanish court when she was lady-in-waiting to Philip's third wife, Isabel de Valois (1545-1568) [fig. 2][3].

Like that painting, the Roman engraving places the Spanish sovereign within a shallow space and a tight frame. Philip wears a tall pleated hat, a ruff, and a cape. The insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the chivalric order of which the Spanish monarch is the head, hangs on a ribbon around his neck. His detached and distant gaze is an unmistakable hallmark of the genre of Spanish court portraiture[4]. Below the portrait, an inscription in lapidary lettering confirms the identity of the sitter: «*EFFIGIES VERA D PHILIPPII AUSTRIACI Z HISPANIAPUM* (sic) *CATTOLICI REGIS POTENTISS*» (true effigy of Philip of Habsburg and Spain, most powerful Catholic King). Marcello Clodio (fl. 1587-1598)[5] announced his responsibility for the engraving of Philip II in cursive script at the bottom centre of the print: «*Marcelli Clodii formis Romae, 1588*» (Marcello Clodio has published this plate in Rome, 1588)[6]. He also included notice of a ten-year papal privilege protecting the work from imitators. In the absence of any indication of the designer or engraver on the print itself, Clodio effectively claimed authorship for the print.

A prominent historiated border frames the engraved portrait and vies for the attention of the viewer. The frame fills more than two-thirds of the composition, disrupting the expected hierarchical

---

[2] L.R. BASS, *The Drama of the Portrait: Theater and Visual Culture in Early Modern Spain*, University Park, PA, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008; W. EISLER, *Arte y Estado bajo Carlos V*, «Fragmentos», 3 (1984), pp. 21-39; Á. SOLER DEL CAMPO (ed.), *The Art of Power: Royal Armor and Portraits from Imperial Spain, exhibition catalogue (Washington, DC; Madrid),* Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, 2009; J. WOODALL, *Anthonis Mor: Art and Authority. Art and Authority*, Zwolle, Waanders Publishers, 2007. Beginning with Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I (1459-1519), Habsburg rulers used art to promote their political power. D. BODART, *Pouvoirs du portrait sous les Habsbourg d'Espagne*, Paris, CTHS, 2011; ID., *Les visages d'Alexandre Farnèse, de l'héritier du duché de Parme au défenseur de la foi*, «Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles», posted online 03 April 2018, consulted 26 November 2023 URL: http://journals.openedition.org/crcv/14759; DOI : https://doi.org/10.4000/crcv.14759; B. DUCOS, *Frans Pourbus Le Jeune (1569-1622): le portrait d'apparat à l'aube du Grand Siècle entre Habsbourg, Médicis et Bourbons*, Dijon, Faton, 2011; L. SILVER, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2008; ID., *The Face is Familiar: German Renaissance Portrait Multiples in Print and Medals*, «Word & Image», 19 (2003), pp. 6-21.

[3] For the most recent discussion of this portrait, see: A. PÉREZ DE TUDELA, *Sofonisba Anguissola. Philip II*, in L. RUIZ GÓMEZ (ed.), *A Tale of Two Women Painters: Sofonisba Anguissola and Lavinia Fontana*, exhibition catalogue (Madrid), Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 2019, p. 152, n. 28. For the artist more generally, see: M.W. COLE, *Sofonisba's Lesson: A Renaissance Artist and Her Work*, Princeton; Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2019; M. JONKER, N. DE VRIES (eds.), *Sofonisba Anguissola: portrettist van de Renaissance,* exhibition catalogue (Enschede), Zwolle, Waanders Uitgevers, 2023.

[4] On the paradigm of visibility in Spanish Habsburg portraiture, see: D. BODART, *Pouvoirs du portrait*, cit., pp. 277-322.

[5] G.L. MASETTI ZANNINI, *Stampatori e librai a Roma nella seconda metà del Cinquecento: documenti inediti*, Roma, Fratelli Palombi, 1980, pp. 282-283.

[6] On print publishing in Rome, see: E. LINCOLN, *Printers and Publishers in Early Modern Rome*, in M. CONEYS WAINWRIGHT, E. MICHELSON (eds.), *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492-1692,* Leiden; Boston, Brill, 2021, pp. 546-563; ID., *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker*, New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 2000, pp. 111-164; ID., *Brilliant Discourse: Pictures and Readers in Early Modern Rome*, New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 2014; MASETTI ZANNINI, *Stampatori e librai a Roma*, cit.; R.M. SAN JUAN, *Rome: A City out of Print*, Minneapolis; London, University of Minnesota Press, 2001; C.L.C.E. WITCOMBE, *Print Publishing in Sixteenth-Century Rome: Growth and Expansion, Rivalry and Murder*. London, Harvey Miller Publishers, 2008.

relationship between frame and framed, and, curiously, diminishing the visual presence of the king. It features sixteen pictures with accompanying Latin mottos, which are simplified copies in reverse of emblems appearing in a publication by the humanist Achille Bocchi [7] (1488-1562) (*Symbolicarum quaestionum de universo genere quas serio ludebat libri quinque* [Five books of symbolic questions about the creation of the universe, the subject of serious play], Bologna, 1555; 1574). The book includes one hundred and fifty-one plates as well as a portrait of Bocchi engraved by Giulio Bonasone[8] (1500/10-1574) after drawings by the Bolognese painter Prospero Fontana (1512-1597) [9]. Framing Philip II with emblems from the *Symbolicae Quaestiones* highlights Bologna's long-standing position at the crossroads between the papal and Spanish courts.

Bocchi's *Symbolicae Quaestiones* addressed universal knowledge, including questions of the soul, the city, the prince, the cosmos, God, virtues, and true religion. Bocchi drew heavily on texts from Greek, Latin, and Hebrew antiquity as well as contemporary Latin writers[10]. He issued the book with an academy of philosophers and humanists in Bologna, known as the *Accademia Bocchiana*, which was active in the city between 1546-1556 under the protection of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1529-1589). Bocchi's emblems combine esoteric knowledge and philosophy, mixing history, mythology, and Christian iconography[11]. Bocchi called his emblems *symbola,* a term that allowed him to play with polysemy in the interpretation of word and image[12]. Many of the emblems are

---

[7] A. DE BENEDICTIS, *Umanesimo civile e sapienza civile nel rinascimento bolognese*, in D. BENATI, G.A. CALOGERO (eds.), *Arte e umanesimo a Bologna*, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2019, pp. 1-17; I. BIANCHI, *Iconografie accademiche: un percorso attraverso il cantiere editoriale delle* Symbolicae Quaestiones *di Achille Bocchi*, Bologna, CLUEB, 2012; F. BONDI, *Il principe per emblemi: letteratura e immagini del politico tra Cinquecento e Seicento*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2016; C. GURRERI, I. BIANCHI (eds), *Le virtuose adunanze: la cultura accademica tra XVI e XVIII secolo*, Avellino, Edizioni Sinestesie, 2015; E. DE LUCA, *Silent Meanings: Emblems, Lay Culture, and Political Awareness in Sixteenth-century Bologna,* «Emblematica», 12 (2002), pp. 61-81; A. LUGLI, *Le "Symbolicae Quaestiones" di Achille Bocchi e la cultura dell'emblema in Emilia*, in A. EMILIANI (ed.), *Le arti a Bologna e in Emilia dal XVI al XVII secolo*, Bologna, CLUEB, 1982, pp. 87-96; A. ROLET (ed.), *Dans le cercle d'Achille Bocchi: culture emblématique et pratiques académiques à Bologne au XVIe siècle*, Tours, Presses universitaires François-Rabelais, 2019; A. ROLET, *The Taming of the Lion: Passions, Power and Religion in Achille Bocchi's "Symbolicae Quaestiones" (Bologna, 1555)*, in K.A.E. ENENKEL, P. J. SMITH (eds.), *Emblems and the Natural World,* Leiden; Boston, Brill, 2017, pp. 473-518; A. ROLET, *Raphaël, Raimondi, Bonasone: de l'imitation à la lecture "évangélique" dans un emblème d'Achille Bocchi*, in R. DEKONINCK, A. GUIDERDONI-BRUSLÉ (eds.), *Emblemata sacra: rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2007, pp. 165-186.

[8] M. FAIETTI, *Giulio Bonasone*, in M. FAIETTI, D. CORDELLIER (eds.), *Un siècle de dessin à Bologne, 1480-1580 de la Renaissance à la réforme tridentine*, exhibition catalogue (Paris), Paris, Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2001, pp. 105-107; M. FAIETTI, K. OBERHUBER (eds.), *Bologna e l'umanesimo 1490-1510*, exhibition catalogue, (Bologna), Bologna, Nuova Alfa Ed., 1988, pp. 5-6, 105, 277; E. ROSSONI, *La fortuna visiva di Raffaello nella grafica del XVI secolo da Marcantonio Raimondi a Giulio Bonasone. Un dialogo tra le arti a Bologna nel segno di Raffaello*, Rimini, NFC edizioni, 2020, especially pp. 153-162.

[9] Carlo Cesare Malvasia first attributed the drawings to Prospero Fontana and prints to Giulio Bonasone in his *Felsina pittrice* of 1678: E. CROPPER, L. PERICOLO (eds.), C.C. MALVASIA, *Felsina Pittrice = Lives of the Bolognese Painters: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation*, London, Harvey Miller Publishers, 2012, 2 vols., I, pp. 154-155. For more on Bonasone, see: G. CUMBERLAND, *Some Anecdotes of the Life of Julio Bonasoni, a Bolognese Artist, Who Followed the Styles of the Best Schools in the Sixteenth Century: Accompanied by a Catalogue of the Engravings, with their Measures, of the Works of that Tasteful Composer. And Remarks on the General Character of His Rare and Exquisite Performances. To Which Is Prefixed, a Plan for the Improvement of the Arts in England*, London, W. Wilson, 1793; S. MASSARI (ed.), *Giulio Bonasone*, exhibition catalogue (Rome), Rome, Ministero per i beni culturali e Istituto nazionale per la grafica–Calcografia, Quasar, 1983, 2 vols.

[10] A. ROLET, *Achille Bocchi's Symbolicae Quaestiones*, in K.A.E. ENENKEL, A.S.Q. VISSER (eds.), *Mundus emblematicus: Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2003, pp. 101-130 (129).

[11] A. LUGLI, *Le "Symbolicae Quaestiones"*, cit., pp. 87-96.

[12] For Bocchi and the symbol, see: E.S. WATSON, *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form*, Cambridge,

dedicated to men of letters, including members of the academy, political leaders, and senior members of the Catholic clergy. Modern scholars have noted their Neoplatonic content and proximity to Nicodemism[13].

The Roman engraving of Philip II is a rare example of a Spanish painting whose design was rendered in and circulated through an Italian print. At the same time, it represents the most important reuse of Bocchi's emblems by a contemporary artist. Beyond the Roman print, Bocchi's emblems did not spark the proliferation of copies and applications characteristic of other emblem books composed by Italian authors in the sixteenth century[14].

Unlike Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata* (Augsburg, 1531)[15] or Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (Venice, 1593)[16], which were mined as ready sources of images, the *Symbolicae Quaestiones* was an arcane publication whose images were less legible and, therefore, less appealing as artistic models. The text is circumscribed by an internal logic that creates a web of references linking the mottos, pictures, and poems[17]. This structure made it difficult to extract individual images and adapt them to new purposes[18], although Annibale Carracci (1560-1609) did use elements from the *Symbolicae Quaestiones* in paintings in the Camerino Farnese in Rome (1595-1596)[19]. Clodio's Roman print, therefore, offers valuable evidence of the continued interest in Bocchi's emblems fourteen years after the second edition of the book appeared in Bologna in 1574.

Despite the important visual evidence contained in this engraving, the print has received little critical attention. Eckhard Leuschner has discussed the print in relation to a concurrent project to produce and publish a new edition of Bocchi's *Symbolicae Quaestiones* at Clodio's press in Rome[20]. Leuschner has identified four extant impressions of the plates from this unrealised project. Like the portrait of Philip II, these prints are dated 1588. They were prepared by an unknown engraver working after drawings by the Florentine-born artist Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)[21]. All four

---

Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 96-113.

[13] D. CANTIMORI, *Note su alcuni aspetti della propaganda religiosa nell'Europa del Cinquecento, 1 planche hors-texte, 4 reproductions*, in G. BERTHOUD (ed.), *Aspects de la propagande religieuse*, Genève, E. Droz, 1957, pp. 346-348. For further context on Bocchi's religious views, see: WATSON, *Achille Bocchi*, cit., pp. 23-50. For these ideas in relation to the Catholic Reformation, see: A. ROLET, *Achille Bocchi's Symbolicae Quaestiones*, cit., pp. 123-129.

[14] For the critical fortune of Bocchi's emblems, see: A. LUGLI, *Le "Symbolicae Quaestiones"*, cit., pp. 87-96.

[15] M. GABRIELE (ed.), *A. Alciati, Il libro degli emblemi: secondo le edizioni del 1531 e del 1534*, Milan, Adelphi Edizioni, 2015; A. ROLET, *André Alciat (1492-1550): un humaniste au confluent des savoirs dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2013.

[16] S. MAFFEI, *L'Iconologia di Cesare Ripa tra tradizione cinquecentesca e sensibilità barocca*, in M. GABRIELE, C. GALASSI, R. GUERRINI (eds.), *L'Iconologia di Cesare Ripa: fonti letterarie e figurative dall'antichità al Rinascimento*, Atti del convegno (Certosa di Pontignano, 3-4 May 2012), Firenze, Olschki, 2013, pp. 1-13; S. MAFFEI (ed.), C. RIPA, *Iconologia*, Torino, Einaudi, 2012; S. MAFFEI (ed.), *Cesare Ripa e gli spazi dell'allegoria*, Atti del convegno (Bergamo, 9-10 September 2009), Napoli, La Stanza delle Scritture, 2010.

[17] For a basic description of an emblem, see: J. MANNING, *The Emblem*, London, Reaktion Books, 2002, p. 18.

[18] A. LUGLI, *Le "Symbolicae Quaestiones"*, cit., pp. 90-91.

[19] C. VOLPI, *Odoardo e il Camerino Farnese. 'Virtù' politica' o 'virtù' privata*, in M.G. BERNARDINI, S. DANESI SQUARZINA, C. STRINATI, D. MAHON (eds.), *Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Denis Mahon*, Milan, Electa, 2000, pp. 81-94. For Annibale Carracci in Rome, see: D. BENATI, *Annibale Carracci e i "Bolognesi" a Roma*, in A. ÚBEDA DE LOS COBOS (ed.), *Annibale Carracci, gli affreschi della Cappella Herrera*, exhibition catalogue (Madrid, Barcelona, Rome), Milan, Skira, 2022, pp. 46-61; S. GINZBURG CARIGNANI, *La Galleria Farnese: gli affreschi dei Carracci*, Milan, Electa, 2008. For the Camerino and its patron Odoardo Farnese, see: O. MANSOUR, *Cardinal Virtues: Odoardo Farnese in His Camerino*, in M. HOLLINGSWORTH, C.M. RICHARDSON (eds.), *The Possessions of a Cardinal, Politics, Piety, and Art 1450-1700*, University Park, PA, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009, pp. 226-248.

[20] E. LEUSCHNER, *Antonio Tempesta: ein Bahnbrecher des Römischen Barock und seine Europäische Wirkung*, Petersberg, M. Imhof, 2005, pp. 150-154.

[21] LEUSCHNER, *Antonio Tempesta*, cit., pp. 150-154.

designs follow Bonasone's original etchings closely, varying only in small details[22]. Tempesta and the unknown engraver enlarged the pictures and clarified them with more refined modelling, making the new images both more legible and more appealing to buyers who would have expected such quality from Clodio's press. Clodio's interest in producing this new edition of an old publication aligned with his broader practice of acquiring and re-issuing copper plates previously published elsewhere[23]. By commissioning new copper plates for the *Symbolicae Quaestiones,* Clodio was investing in a product that would appeal to a lucrative existing market.

The artists in Clodio's employ were evidently working closely with Bocchi's *Symbolicae Quaestiones* in the same years that Clodio published the portrait of Philip II. But if these circumstances help to explain the reuse of Bocchi's emblems, they do not clarify why the emblems surround a portrait of Philip II, or why the likeness of the king would so closely follow the conventions of Spanish court portraiture. The most logical explanation for the appearance of the engraved portrait is that it would have appealed to Clodio's clientele.

As Leuschner has noted, Clodio had close ties to the Spanish community in Rome[24], an allegiance he expressed through the subjects and dedications of the prints he published[25]. Just one year before issuing the portrait of Philip II, Clodio worked closely with Spanish patrons on the publication of *Vita et Miracula D. Bernardi Clarevalensis Abbatis* (Life and Miracles of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, 1587). The picture book included fifty-four engravings designed by Tempesta for the Spanish Cistercian congregation of Saint Bernardo in Valladolid[26]. In 1588, Clodio issued an engraving designed by Tempesta of Saint Didacus, also known as Diego de Alcalá (c. 1400-1463), a Spanish-

---

[22] *Ibidem.*

[23] M. BURY, *The Print in Italy, 1550-1625*, exhibition catalogue (London), London, The British Museum, 2001, p. 225; E. LEUSCHNER, P. ROUILLARD, *Metamorphoses of a Plate: "The Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa" by Villamena after Tempesta*, «Print Quarterly», 19 (2002), pp. 235-253 (240).

[24] While Thomas J. Dandelet describes Spain's soft imperialism in early modern Rome, Maria Antonietta Visceglia and Michael Jacob Levin emphasize the indeterminate nature of Spanish power in Rome: T.J. DANDELET, *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2002; M.J. LEVIN, *Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 2005; M.A. VISCEGLIA, *Vi è stata una 'Roma Spagnola'?*, «Roma moderna e contemporanea», 11 (2003), pp. 315-25. For the role of diplomats in promoting artistic exchange between Italy and Spain, see: M. VON BERNSTORFF, S. KUBERSKY-PIREDDA (eds.), *L'arte del dono: Scambi artistici e diplomazia tra Italia e Spagna, 1550-1650*, Milan, Silvana Editoriale, 2014. For Spanish culture and artistic patronage in Rome, see: P. BAKER-BATES, *Sebastiano del Piombo and the World of Spanish Rome*, London; New York, Routledge, 2017; J. FREIBERG, *Bramante's Tempietto, the Roman Renaissance, and the Spanish Crown*, New York, NY. The most in-depth study of Spanish artists in Rome in this period is: G. REDÍN MICHAUS, *Pedro Rubiales, Gaspar Becerra y los pintores españoles en Roma, 1527-1600*, Madrid, Departamento de Historia del Arte, Instituto de Historia, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2007. A. PÉREZ DE TUDELA, *El papel de los embajadores españoles en Roma como agentes artísticos de Felipe II: Los hermanos Luis de Requesens y Juan de Zúñiga (1563-1579)*, in C.J. HERNANDO Sánchez (ed.), *Roma y España: Un crisol de la cultura europea en la Edad Moderna*, Madrid, Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, 2007 describes how Spanish ambassadors in Rome acted as informal artistic agents. P. BAKER-BATES, *Tierra Tan Extraña". Spanish Artists in Rome": 1516-1621*, in A. VARELA BRAGA and T-L. TRUE (eds.), *Roma e gli artisti stranieri. Integrazione, reti e identità (XVI-XX s.)*, Roma, Artemide, 2018 gives a good overview of the movement of artists in both directions, from Spain to Rome, and vice versa, and the socio-cultural reasons for these migrations. For this topic, also see: A. ANSELMI (ed.), *I rapporti tra Roma e Madrid nei secoli XVI e XVII: Arte, diplomazia e politica*, Rome, Gangemi, 2015. For Spanish patronage of architecture in sixteenth-century Rome, see: J. FREIBERG, *Bramante's Tempietto, the Roman Renaissance, and the Spanish Crown*, New York, NY, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

[25] E. LEUSCHNER, P. ROUILLARD, *Metamorphoses of a Plate*, cit., p. 240.

[26] For the production of the book, see: V. PAGANI, *The Dispersal of Lafreri's Inheritance, 1581-89 – III the De' Nobili-Arbotti-Clodio Partnership*, «Print Quarterly», 28, 2 (2011), pp. 119-136 (122-123); L. DAL PRÀ, *Un libro illustrato nella Roma del tardo Cinquecento. Saggio introduttivo*, in G. VITI (ed.), *Vita et miracula D. Bernardi Clarevalensis abbatis 1587-1987*, Florence, Certosa di Firenze, 1987, pp. VII-XXII.

born Franciscan lay brother and missionary to the newly conquered Canary Islands who had been canonised that year[27].

Clodio's appeals to Spanish buyers and patrons find parallels in the careers of other artists and publishers active in Rome, such as Antoniazzo Romano (active after 1461, d. 1508/09) and Sebastiano del Piombo (c. 1485-1547)[28]. Such appeals were especially common in the realm of print, and Spanish books published in Rome played an important role in the exchange of culture between the Italian and Iberian peninsulas in the sixteenth century[29]. Clodio's portrait of Philip II is an early example of a single-sheet print engaged in this exchange. The well-known prints of Spanish festivals and exequies held in Rome, for example, are mostly published in the seventeenth century[30].

The engraved portrait of Philip II braids together Spanish and Italian visual traditions to create a new, distinctly Roman portrait that would be legible across diverse audiences. Conceiving of various sources for this image as strands in a plait, or *intreccio,* as prompted by the context of this special issue of *Intrecci,* will clarify how each of these visual traditions remains both identifiable and yet distinct in the Roman print. The braid is also a useful framework for understanding how the combination and reformulation of copied sources can offer something wholly new to the viewer. By their very nature, the emblems ask the viewer to judge the sovereign, reversing the normal conventions of Spanish state portraiture in an innovative and effective form particularly suited to print.

Spanish Models for the Roman Engraving

The Roman portrait of Philip II draws on standard conventions of pose, setting, and costume developed in Spanish court portraiture to communicate the political and moral authority of the Spanish monarch[31]. The exemplar of that genre, the portrait by Sofonisba, circulated in painted copies made for foreign courts as well as in the more portable format of prints, including as an illustration in a chronicle of the city of Cremona, *Cremona fedelissima città* (Cremona Most Loyal City; Cremona, 1585), which was dedicated to Philip II [fig. 3][32].

---

[27] This print is discussed and illustrated in LEUSCHNER, *Antonio Tempesta*, cit., pp. 149-150. For Diego de Alcalá, see: C. COPELAND, *Spanish Saints in Counter-Reformation Italy*, in P. BAKER-BATES, M. PATTENDEN (eds.), *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, cit., pp. 103-123; L.J.A. VILLALON, *San Diego de Alcalá and the Politics of Saint-Making in Counter-Reformation Europe*, «The Catholic Historical Review», 83, 4 (1997), pp. 691-715.

[28] P. BAKER-BATES, *Antonio Salamanca: A Spanish Friend of Sebastiano del Piombo*, «Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History», 81, 4 (2012), pp. 211-218; P. BAKER-BATES, *Sebastiano del Piombo and the World of Spanish Rome*, cit., pp. 26-30, which discuss Antoniazzo Romano and the Spanish market for Roman art; J. FREIBERG, *Bramante's Tempietto*, cit.

[29] M. MARINI, *Il libro spagnolo a Roma nel XVI secolo*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Sapienza Università di Roma, 2013.

[30] P. GONZÁLEZ TORNEL (ed.), *Los Habsburgo: arte y propaganda en la colección de grabados de la Biblioteca Casanatense de Roma*, Castelló de la Plana, Universitat Jaume I, 2013; ID., *Forging an Image for the Spanish Monarchy in Seventeenth-Century Rome. Habsburg Religiosity and Visual Propaganda*, «Hispanic Research Journal», 19, 5 (2018), pp. 481-499.

[31] For the standardisation of Spanish Habsburg portraiture, see: BODART, *Pouvoirs du portrait*, cit.

[32] For copies after Sofonisba's portrait, see: A. PÉREZ DE TUDELA, *Sofonisba Anguissola*, cit., p. 152; KUSCHE, *Retratos y retratadores*, cit., p. 374. Kusche describes copies of royal portraits painted by Alonso Sánchez Coello sent to Rome for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589) and Pope Greogry XIII (r. 1572-1585) as diplomatic gifts. She speculates that one of these portraits of Philip II may have been a copy after Sofonisba that the artist also used as a model for the portrait he later sent to the Grand Duke of Tuscany in the winter of 1587-1588. The portrait in *Cremona fedelissima città* is based on the version of Sofonisba's portrait owned by Charles Emmanuel I, Duke of Savoy (1562-1630): A. CAMPI, *Cremona fedelissima città et nobilissima colonia de romani rappresentata in disegno col suo contado*

A closely related painting arrived in Florence in the winter of 1587-1588 along with the Spanish court jester Gonzalo de Liaño (d. 1588), who in addition to his role as an entertainer, acted as a powerful cultural mediator between Philip II and the Grand Duke of Tuscany Francesco I de' Medici (1549-1609) [fig. 4][33]. Gonzalo was often responsible for collecting diplomatic gifts and purchases of art from Italy and bringing them back to Spain. On one occasion, Philip's *pintor de cámara* (court painter), Alonso Sánchez Coello[34] (c. 1531-1588), sent the jester to Italy with two portraits—a portrait of the *Infanta* Doña Isabel (1566-1633), intended as a gift for the Grand Duke, and the abovementioned portrait of Philip II, intended as a gift for Pope Sixtus V (r. 1585-1590). The Grand Duke asked to keep the portrait of the king, and the painting remains at the Pitti Palace to this day[35].

In the Florentine painting, Philip appears full-length, standing in three-quarter view. The painting performs its diplomatic function by introducing the monarch, with his unmistakable likeness, via an inscription on the plinth of a column in the background. Just below the inscription, Philip rests his left hand on a sword in a gesture used by court portraitists to represent military power and authority. This message would not have been lost on the intended recipient of Coello's painting. As leader of the Papal States, Sixtus V relied on the naval and military protection provided by Philip II. In the winter that the painting arrived in Italy, there was increased focus on the Spanish navy as the infamous Spanish Armada prepared to set sail to overthrow Elizabeth I of England (r. 1558-1603) with the support of the Pope[36].

In both paintings, the king is dressed in a black cassock, a multivalent symbol of his political power and moral authority[37]. The sombre garment was understood as a sign of Philip II's humility. Given its association with monastic attire, the dress also communicated the monarch's commitment to an ascetic life[38]. The costume placed Philip in a line of Spanish monarchs who had dressed in luxurious black fabric since the time of Charles V[39]. Viewed from the perspective of the global economy, the

---

et illustrata d'vna breue historia delle cose piu notabili appartenenti ad essa et de i ritratti naturali de duchi et duchesse di Milano e compendio delle lor vite da Antonio Campo pittore e caualier cremonese al potentissimo e felicissimo re di Spagna Filippo II d'Austria, Cremona, in casa dell'istesso auttore, 1585, IV, fol. 114. E. Tietze-Conrat, *Notes on portraits from Campi's "Cremona fedelissima"*, «Raccolta Vinciana», 17 (1954), pp. 251-260. For the cultural context of the engraver and author of *Cremona fedelissima*, Antonio Campi, see: M. Marini, *"Cremona fedelissima" tra Milano, Venezia e Ferrara: dai fratelli Campi al Caravaggio*, in F. Caroli (ed.), *Il Cinquecento lombardo: da Leonardo a Caravaggio*, exhibition catalogue (Milan), Milan, Skira, 2000, pp. 539-549.

[33] S. Salort, S. Kubersky-Piredda, *Art Collecting in Philip II's Spain: The Role of Gonzalo de Liaño, King's Dwarf and Gentleman of the Bedchamber: Part I*, «The Burlington Magazine», 148, 1243 (2006), pp. 660-665; Id., *Art Collecting in Philip II's Spain: The Role of Gonzalo de Liaño, King's Dwarf and Gentleman of the Bedchamber: Part II*, «The Burlington Magazine», 149, 1249 (2007), pp. 224-231.

[34] M. Kusche, *Retratos y retratadores: Alonso Sánchez Coello y sus competidores: Sofonisba Anguissola, Jorge de la Rúa y Rolán Moys*, Madrid, Fundación de Apoyo a la Historia del Arte Hispánico, 2003; E. Rapoport, *The Portraits of Philip II of Spain: A Comparative Study*, «Bulletin / Hamilton Kerr Institute», 5 (2014), pp. 57-65; J.M. Serrera, *Alonso Sánchez Coello y el retrato en la corte de Felipe II*, exhibition catalogue (Madrid), Madrid, 1990.

[35] R. Mulcahy, *Alonso Sánchez Coello and Grand Duke Ferdinando I de' Medici*, «The Burlington Magazine», 138, 1121 (1996), pp. 305-308.

[36] T.J. Dandelet, *Spanish Rome*, cit., p. 84 and pp. 53-108 more generally for relations between Philip II and the popes.

[37] For portrait conventions at the courts of Philip II and Philip III, see: R. Mulcahy, *Philip II of Spain, Patron of the Arts*, Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2004, pp. 265-308.

[38] J.L. Colomer, *El negro y la imagen real*, in J.L. Colomer, A. Descalzo (eds.), *Vestir a la española en las cortes europeas, siglos XVI y XVII*, Madrid, Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2014, pp. 86-92; G. Parker, *Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip II*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2014, p. 295.

[39] Colomer, *El negro y la imagen real*, cit., pp. 77-111. S. Jolivet, *Dress and Illuminated Manuscripts at the Burgundian Court: Complementary Sources and Fashions (1430-1455)*, in W. Blockmans, T.-H. Borchert, A. van Oosterwijk (eds.), *Staging the Court of Burgundy / The Splendour of Burgundy (1418-1482): A Multidisciplinary Approach*, exhibition catalogue (Bruges), London, Miller, 2013, pp. 279-285, and especially pp. 282-

colour was literally an index of the Spanish kingdoms, as *palo de campeche*, a tree native to Southern Mexico, was exported and used to create a uniquely colourfast and intensely pigmented black dye called *ala de cuervo* (raven's wing)[40].

The designer of the Roman engraving appears to have been familiar with Sánchez Coello's portrait, suggesting the important role of print in extending the reach of paintings exchanged between foreign courts as acts of cultural diplomacy[41]. Whereas Sofonisba portrayed Philip II holding the rosary, the Roman engraving follows the Florentine painting by portraying the king with his hand positioned on the hilt of a sword. Both the engraving and the Sánchez Coello painting include a column on a tall pedestal in the background, introducing a new architectural element into the empty background of Sofonisba's composition. Whereas Sofonisba portrayed Philip II seated, his right hand resting on the wooden arm of a red velvet chair, the Roman engraving shows more of the monarch's body, likening him to the standing, full-figured image in Florence.

There are parallels in the affect of the monarch in the Florentine painting and the Roman engraving as well. Sánchez Coello transformed the pleasant, idealized expression seen in Sofonisba's portrait into a more mature guise, characterized by a furrowed brow, salt and pepper hair, and hollows under the eyes. In the engraved portrait, Philip appears equally tired and sombre, with sunken cheeks. The facial hair in the engraving also closely follows the example of the Sánchez Coello painting, where the king wears a longer moustache with turned-up ends. Finally, in both the Florentine painting and the Roman engraving, the monarch wears a simple ruff without the lace trim visible in Sofonisba's painting.

Given Tempesta's involvement in Clodio's project to publish a new edition of Bocchi's *Symbolicae Quaestiones*, and the artist's close ties to the Medici by way of his master and Florentine court artist Giovanni Stradano (1523-1605), the design for the Roman portrait of Philip II should be attributed to Tempesta. The voluminous curtain gathered in the upper left corner of the Roman engraving provides further support for this conclusion. Though not uncommon in Italian or Spanish portraiture of the period, there is no curtain in any of the abovementioned models for the image of Philip II.

However, a similar curtain can be found in a portrait of the Archbishop of Spanish-ruled Milan, Carlo Borromeo[42] (1538-1584), also published by Clodio in 1588 and signed by Tempesta in small letters at the bottom right corner of the image below the ruled margin [fig. 5][43]. It is possible that Tempesta also signed the portrait of Philip II in the same place, but the two impressions that I am

---

283, which describes how Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (1396-1467) began wearing black clothing with the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece in the 1430s after founding the Order in 1430. The grand mastership of the Order of the Golden Fleece passed to the House of Habsburg through the marriage of Mary of Burgundy (1457-1482) to the Austrian archduke Maximilian (1459-1519), Holy Roman Emperor from 1508-1519.

[40] COLOMER, *El negro y la imagen real*, cit., p. 93.

[41] For more on the role of art in cultural diplomacy between the Papal and Spanish courts, see: A. PÉREZ DE TUDELA, *El papel de los embajadores españoles en Roma como agentes artísticos de Felipe II: los hermanos Luis de Requesens y Juan de Zúñiga (1563-1579)*, in C.J. HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ (ed.), *Roma y España*, cit., Madrid, Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, 2007, pp. 391-420; P. BAKER-BATES, *Beyond Rome: Sebastiano del Piombo as a Painter of Diplomatic Gifts*, «Renaissance Studies», 27, 1 (2013), pp. 51-72.

[42] A. CAILLOT, *Vie de St. Charles Borromée, Archevêque de Milan, traduite et abrégée du latin du P. Basilicopetri*, Paris, Boiste, Fils aîné 1825; A. SALA (ed.), *Documenti circa la vita e le gesta di San Carlo Borromeo: pubblicati per cura*, 3 vols, Milan, Z. Brasca, 1857-1861; C. Sylvain, *Histoire de St. Charles Borromée*, 3 vols., Desclée, De Brouwer, Lille, 1884.

[43] LEUSCHNER, *Antonio Tempesta*, cit., pp. 299-304. The discussion includes an iconographic reading of the historiated frame. For more on the iconography and imagery surrounding Borromeo, see: S. COPPA, *Icone "parlanti": stampe, immagini e libri illustrati al servizio della devozione e del consumo collettivo*, «Studia borromaica», 25 (2011), pp. 255-274, 483-484; F. FRANGI, *Tra "vero ritratto" e fervore devozionale: riflessioni sull'iconografia di san Carlo in Lombardia nel tardo Cinquecento e nel primo Seicento*, «Studia borromaica», 25 (2011), pp. 211-253, 482-483.

aware of are both trimmed[44]. By framing the Spanish monarch with a secular genre of images that trade in multiple meanings and interpretations, Tempesta and Clodio left the judgement of the sitter's character up to the viewer—a question to which we will now turn.

A Moralising Frame

Historiated frames appeared frequently in Roman publishing in the last quarter of the sixteenth century[45]. This framing convention is typical in Roman prints picturing holy figures and high clergy, whether saints, cardinals, popes, or even the *Salus populi romani* (Salvation of the Roman People), the venerated Byzantine icon housed in the Roman basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. Such prints were often connected with a canonization campaign, featuring a saint surrounded by stories of their life in a tradition and format that recalls the *vita* icon popularised in late Byzantine art[46].

By picturing the Spanish monarch in this format, the print underlined Philip's own belief in his ancestral right to act as *Rex et sacerdos* (king and priest)[47]. Through an extraordinary set of ecclesiastical privileges known as the *patronato real* (royal patronage), Philip II personally selected bishops and abbots to serve in his territories. In this way, he was able to oversee the administration of the Catholic Church in his Kingdoms from at home in his own court[48]. The placement of the papal printing privilege just below the caption identifying Philip II in the Roman engraving visually emphasises the important relationship between the Spanish Monarchy and the Papal States. The format of the print, perhaps even more so than the content of the image, suggests the legitimacy of Philip II's temporal and spiritual authority and communicates the visibility of his power within the Papal States.

Tempesta's abovementioned portrait of Cardinal Borromeo presents a model for understanding the symbolic role of the historiated frame in the engraving of Philip II. The two frames are exceptional within the genre in that they do not explicitly pertain to the life of the central figures. Leuschner interprets the Bible scenes surrounding Borromeo as portraying the corporeal and spiritual works of mercy in a way that presents the Cardinal as an individual who is fit to be a future saint (Borromeo would be canonized in 1610)[49].

By framing the portrait of Philip II with a series of emblems, Tempesta and Clodio might have hoped to appeal to buyers in Spain, where emblems were gaining in popularity. Juan de Borja (1533-1606) published the first original treatise on emblems written by a Spanish author while he was the ambassador to Philip II at the court of Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576-1612)[50]. Tempesta and Clodio, like Borja, evidently understood that emblems could speak across linguistic divides as they appealed to a broad humanistic culture. Yet, the ambiguity at the heart of this tradition challenges

---

[44] In addition to the impression from the British Museum illustrated here, there is also an impression at Schloss Wolfegg, illustrated in LEUSCHNER, *Antonio Tempesta*, cit., p. 148.

[45] For an overview of this framing type with a focus on its use in Roman publishing, see LEUSCHNER, *Antonio Tempesta*, cit, pp. 275-306.

[46] P. CHATTERJEE, *The Living Icon in Byzantium and Italy: The Vita Image, Eleventh to Thirteenth Centuries*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

[47] M. SERRANO-COLL, *Rex et Sacerdos: A Veiled Ideal of Kingship? Representing Priestly Kings in Medieval Iberia*, in M. HERRERO, J. AURELL, A.C. MICHELI (eds.), *Political Theology in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Discourses, Rites, and Representations*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2017, pp. 337-362.

[48] PARKER, *Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip II*, cit., pp. 89-91.

[49] LEUSCHNER, *Antonio Tempesta*, cit., pp. 299-304.

[50] J. DE BORJA, *Empresas morales* (*Moral Symbols*, Prague, 1581). P.F. CAMPA, *Emblemata Hispanica: An Annotated Bibliography of Spanish Emblem Literature to the Year 1700*, Durham, Duke University Press, 1990, pp. 36-39.

the emphasis on clarity prized in Spanish portraiture. Emblems are meant to be puzzled over to decipher the dialectical relationship between image and text. Since they take time to interpret, they prompt viewers to reflect in a practice that was meant to be social[51]. They convey universal knowledge and wisdom, but they also deliberately confuse[52].

Adapting Bocchi's emblems from the form of a codex to the historiated frame of a single sheet print inevitably changed their function and meaning. In contrast to the book, where each emblem fills a two-page spread, with the motto and picture appearing on the left folio and the accompanying poem appearing on the right, the historiated frame combines sixteen emblems and mottos into one pictorial space [fig. 6][53]. Just as readers of the *Symbolicae Quaestiones* would have found links among emblems across pages[54], the composition of the single sheet print allows new relationships to emerge. The emblems include simplified mottos. Without the poems found in the *Symbolicae Quaestiones*, which help explain the symbols, the emblems in the portrait print call upon the imagination of the viewer, who may not have had ready access to Bocchi's book, to decode the emblem and supply an interpretation.

Even outside of the context of the *Symbolicae Quaestiones*, however, the emblems retain interest as a game in visual archaeology. Bocchi's emblems drew on the rich visual culture of Emilia and Rome, and particularly on works by Michelangelo (1475-1564), Raphael (1483-1520), Correggio (c. 1489-1534), Parmigianino (1503-1540), and Nicolò dell'Abate (1509/12-1571)[55]. For example, a viewer familiar with Roman prints might notice that emblem XCVI, located in the upper right of the frame, draws on a fragment of a composition by Raphael, engraved in Rome by Marcantonio Raimondi (c. 1470/1482, d. 1527/1534), showing scenes from Book I of the Aeneid [fig. 7][56]. That print was inspired by the first-century bas-relief known as the *Tabula Iliaca* at the Capitoline.

Viewers of the Roman print would have also found references to relevant historic events, such as the ceremonial crowning of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (r. 1519-1556), which took place in a pair of ceremonies in Bologna in 1530[57]. Bocchi's emblem dedicated to Charles V (XXI) is positioned at the bottom of the Roman engraving, to the left of the central inscription that identifies the portrait of Philip II, the son of Charles V and heir to the Spanish crown [fig. 8]. The emblem shows the emperor seated on a throne. A young man extends an offering toward the emperor and points upward to a simplified version of the imperial standard, which carries the image of the Habsburg double-headed eagle. The Latin inscription on the banderol below the picture proclaims the divine nature of imperial rule: *Principium et finem habet desuper* (He has the beginning and end from above).

---

[51] K.A.E. ENENKEL, *The Invention of the Emblem Book and the Transmission of Knowledge, ca. 1510–1610,* Leiden; Boston, Brill, 2019, pp. 294–309.

[52] MANNING, *The Emblem*, cit., p. 20.

[53] The diagram links each of the emblems with the number of the corresponding symbol in Bocchi. In that diagram, as throughout the text, I refer to Bocchi's emblems using the Roman numerals that correspond to the 1574 edition, which corrects mistakes in the 1555 sequence. WATSON, *Achille Bocchi*, cit., pp. 66-70 describes the production of the book. She mentions that students of the academy did some of the printing, which explains variations and idiosyncrasies both within the text and between impressions. Anne Rolet uses the 1574 numbering in her critical edition of Bocchi, which I make use of throughout this article: A. ROLET, *Les questions symboliques d'Achille Bocchi: Symbolicae Quaestiones, 1555*, 2 vols., Tours, Presses universitaires François-Rabelais de Tours, 2015.

[54] These links are clearly described throughout Rolet's critical edition: ROLET, *Les Questions Symboliques*, cit.

[55] ROLET, *Achille Bocchi's Symbolicae Quaestiones*, cit., pp. 106-111; ROLET, *Les Questions Symboliques*, cit., II, pp. 498-499; 614-615.

[56] ROLET, *Les Questions Symboliques*, cit., II, pp. 498-499; A. VON BARTSCH, *Le Peintre-Graveur*, 21 vols., Vienna, De l'imprimerie de J.V. Degen, 1803-1821, XIV.264.352.

[57] For Charles V in Bologna, see: G. CLARKE, *The Emperor's Hat: City, Space, and Identity in Contemporary Accounts of Charles V's Entry into Bologna in 1529*, «I Tatti», 16, 1/2, (2013), pp. 197-220; G. SASSU, *Il ferro e l'oro: Carlo V a Bologna (1529-30),* Bologna, Ed. Compositori, 2007.

Most of the emblems used in the Roman engraving explore general themes about morals and virtues. Emblem LXVIII, for example, stresses prudence in decision making[58]. Two bearded men—a philosopher and a scribe—sit at a table [fig. 9]. One has just finished writing and pours powder on top of the wet ink on his document. The other man places his hand on an hourglass. Together, they hold a pendant inscribed *quod sat est* (what is enough). The motto on the banderol below—*semper uidet quod sat est in omnibus* (always see what is enough in everything)—reinforces these themes. Similarly, emblem LXXIIII counsels that great deeds are accomplished by intelligence, not force: *Res consilii ope haud uirbus magnas geri* (A great man accomplishes things not by means of brute force but by means of intelligence)[59]. The symbol shows a ship. A bearded man sits calmly at the helm while sailors bustle around the hull [fig. 10]. The seated man makes a pointing gesture, suggesting that he can command the crew without contributing manual labour.

Aside from the picture of Charles V, which connects clearly with the portrait of his son Philip II, the emblems in the portrait frame communicate generic statements about the virtues of a ruler rather than messages specific to the identity of the person at the centre. Compared to the hagiographic frames that Tempesta and Clodio used for portraits of saints, or the scenes from the Bible surrounding the image of the Catholic reformer Borromeo, Bocchi's emblems could have been used to frame a portrait of any political or moral leader.

In this way, the portrait of the Spanish monarch becomes the final puzzle in the game of emblems by offering the viewer a chance to decipher the character of the sitter. Portraits, like emblems, were considered vehicles of memory and collective imagination. The Archbishop of Bologna Gabriele Paleotti (1522-1597) observed in his *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane* (Essay on sacred and profane images, Bologna, 1582)[60], that both portraits and written biographies can effectively communicate the virtues of a person[61]. The engraving, therefore, turns the genre of Spanish court portraiture on its head, skilfully transforming an iconographic paradigm meant to convey *auctoritas* into an invitation for the viewer to become the judge[62].

This judgement carried significant weight in the political climate of 1588. The print came on the market in the same year that the aforementioned Spanish Saint Didacus was canonized. The celebration of his canonization on the 2nd of July represented a victory for Philip II and the group of Spanish ambassadors and clerics who had campaigned for twenty-six-years for that outcome[63]. This triumph was particularly noteworthy as it made Didacus the first saint canonized since 1523, turning him into a symbol of the Catholic reformation.

---

[58] ROLET, *Les Questions Symboliques*, cit., II, p. 387.

[59] ROLET, *Les Questions Symboliques*, cit., II, pp. 403-404.

[60] G. PALEOTTI, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, Introd. P. PRODI; Transl. W. MCCUAIG, Los Angeles, Getty Publications, 2012. For Paleotti's image theory, see: G. ARBIZZONI, *Immagini per le vite dei santi*, in E. ARDISSINO, E. SELMI (eds.), *Visibile teologia: il libro sacro figurato in Italia tra Cinquecento e Seicento*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2012, pp. 83-113, especially p. 88; I. BIANCHI, *La politica delle immagini nell'età della Controriforma: Gabriele Paleotti teorico e committente*, Bologna, Ed. Compositori, 2008; C. CIERI VIA, *Gabriele Paleotti e il ruolo delle immagini fra figurabilità e memoria nell'età di Gregorio XIII*, in A. VANNUGLI (ed.), *Amica veritas: studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Claudio Strinati*, Roma, Edizioni Quasar, 2020, pp. 89-100; P. PRODI, *Arte e pietà nella Chiesa tridentina*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2014.

[61] L. BOLZONI, *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2001, pp. 223-227.

[62] D. BODART, *Enjeux de la présence en image. Les portraits du roi d'Espagne dans l'Italie du XVIIe siècle*, in E. CROPPER (ed.), *The Diplomacy of Art: Artistic Creation and Politics in Seicento Italy*, Milan, Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 2000, pp. 77-99.

[63] VILLALON, *San Diego de Alcalá*, pp. 691-715 describes the importance of the saint to the Spanish royal house and the political campaign leading to his canonization.

Also in July 1588, the Spanish Armada arrived off the English coast to realise a plan three years in the making[64]. Known optimistically as the *Armada invencible* (invincible army), the Spanish Armada attempted to overthrow Elizabeth I of England in a disastrous and costly operation. The Spanish fleet set sail from Lisbon on 30ᵗʰ May 1588[65]. A series of miscommunications resulted in the Armada failing to meet up with the army of the Duke of Parma (1545-1592) that was waiting off the Flemish coast. This mistake created an unintentional opening for the English navy to pummel the Spanish fleet with gunfire. The failed mission cost the Spanish Crown dearly in money, resources, and human lives. Fifteen thousand men died in the operation and one-third of the ships were lost. It was an embarrassing setback whose news spread widely through broadsheets[66].

Spanish theologian Fray Jerónimo de Sepúlveda (1490-1573) wrote about the devastating news: «The grief it caused in all of Spain was extraordinary: almost the entire country went into mourning […] People talked of nothing else»[67]. But the events of the Spanish Armada were initially misreported, with early news telling of a Spanish victory[68]. Considering the stakes of this historical moment, and the extent to which Sixtus V was invested in the success of the Spanish Armada, an emblem like LXXIIII, showing a seated man at the helm of a ship, and the accompanying motto about the importance of intelligence rather than force in accomplishing great things, might have been interpreted by viewers as a commentary on the power and politics of the Spanish state. Before the armada set sail, the emblem might have communicated a message of hope. After news of the disaster, however, one could easily read the emblem as censure of the Spanish king.

Unlike a similar engraved portrait of Charles V, in which Enea Vico (1523-1567) included celebratory allegorical figures set within a triumphal arch[69], the engraving of Philip II does not unequivocally praise its subject [fig. 11]. Instead, the emblem frame provides prompts for judging the moral character of the king. As Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529) observed in *Il libro del cortegiano* (The Book of the Courtier, Venice, 1528), an ideal courtier should wear black to «show that sobriety which the Spanish nation so much observes, since external things often bear witness to inner things»[70]. Castiglione's proposal, that one can judge a person's morals based on their appearance, finds a parallel in this reading of the Roman portrait engraving.

By leaving the interpretation of the portrait up to the viewer, the emblem frame lent the image potential on the broader European print market, where it could promote the Spanish king in his overseas realms as successfully as it could appeal to Protestant collectors north of the Alps who would have been critical of the king. Considering the tumultuous relationship between Philip II and Sixtus

---

[64] C. MARTIN, G. PARKER, *The Spanish Armada*, Manchester, UK, Mandolin, 1999, pp. 89-136.

[65] *Ibidem*, cit., p. 140.

[66] See, for example, C. DE LARA, *Relación de lo que hasta oy a los cinco de Septie[m]bre, de 1588. A las tres horas después de media día, se ha sabido por las relaciones que an venido a su Magestad de la felice armada en que yua por General el Duque de Medina, en la conquista de Inglaterra*, Seville, en casa de Cosme de Lara, [1588?].

[67] PARKER, *Imprudent King*, cit., pp. 305-323, quote at 323; J. DE SEPÚLVEDA, *Historia de varios sucesos y de las cosas notables que han acaecido en España y otras naciones desde el año de 1584 hasta el de 1603*, in J. ZARCO CUEVAS (ed.), *Documentos para la historia del Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial*, 4 vols., Madrid, Imprenta Helénica, 1916-1924, IV, 1924, p. 59.

[68] A. PETTEGREE, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself*, New Haven, Yale University Press New Haven, 2014, p. 3.

[69] J. SPIKE (ed.), A. VON BARTSCH, *The Illustrated Bartsch: Enea Vico, Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century*, XXX, New York, Abaris Books, 1985, [formerly XV], 172.255; R. MULCAHY, *Enea Vico's Proposed Triumphs of Charles V*, «Print Quarterly», 19, 4 (2002), pp. 331-340.

[70] D. JAVITCH (ed.), B. CASTIGLIONE, *The Book of the Courtier: The Singleton Translation: An Authoritative Text, Criticism*, New York, NY, W.W. Norton, 2002, p. 89.

V[71], Clodio was wise to take such a tactful approach. In these ways, the Roman print remained remarkably neutral in the highly charged political climate of late sixteenth-century Rome.

Conclusion

The Roman engraving of Philip II adapts the historiated frame design often used by Tempesta and Clodio to create space for allegorical representation in a portrait genre where there was otherwise little room for variation. By surrounding Philip II with emblems, the Roman engraving sagely blends the strict demands and conventions of Spanish court portraiture with an alternate tradition of representing state figures using allegory. This practice was distinctly foreign to the genre as it had developed in Spanish portraiture. And yet, when Charles V arrived in Bologna in the fall of 1529, these conventions had not yet been established. Parmigianino even painted an allegorical portrait of the emperor during that visit[72].

By using emblems from the *Symbolicae Quaestiones*, and especially by including the emblem of Charles V, the Roman engraving identifies Bologna as a juncture of Italian and Spanish cultural exchange in the arts, learning, and diplomacy. After all, since the fourteenth century, the city had been home to the *Colegio de España*, a dedicated space for Spanish education in the respected university city. Bologna was also where Titian (c. 1488-1576) first painted Charles V, beginning a long and fruitful collaboration between the artist and patron[73]. By braiding emblems from the *Symbolicae Quaestiones* into the edges of the portrait of Philip II, the engraving commemorates that vibrant exchange of art and learning.

Whereas painted portraits were subject to regulated uses at court and within diplomatic networks, a printed portrait could not be controlled in the same way. By copying Spanish paintings in print and framing the likeness of the Spanish king with Bocchi's arcane emblems, Tempesta and Clodio used the medium of print to its full potential. They drew on an established format to integrate a Spanish portrait into a Roman context, and they made use of the genre of emblems to ask viewers to form their own opinions about the Spanish monarch. But no matter the assessment of the viewer, the Roman engraving makes one thing abundantly clear: Philip II, the Most Catholic King, was a figure whose image was deeply intertwined with, and even indebted to, the art and learning of the Italian peninsula.

---

[71] M. PATTENDEN, *Rome as a 'Spanish Avignon'? The Spanish Faction and the Monarchy of Philip II*, in P. BAKER-BATES, M. PATTENDEN (eds.), *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy,* cit., pp. 73-74; DANDELET, *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700*, cit., pp. 86-87.

[72] The portrait is known through a copy. F. CHECA CREMADES (ed.), *Carolus: Museo de Santa Cruz,* exhibition catalogue (Toledo), Toledo, Spain, Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000, n. 227, p. 430; S. FERINO-PAGDEN, L. FORNARI SCHIANCHI (eds.), *Parmigianino und der europäische Manierismus*, exhibition catalogue (Vienna), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; Cinisello Balsamo, Silvana Editoriale, 2003, pp. 260-261.

[73] F. CHECA, *La definición de la imagen imperial: Carlos V y Tiziano en Bolonia (1530 y 1532),* in J.L. COLOMER, A. SERRA (eds.), *España y Bolonia: siete siglos de relaciones artísticas y culturales*, Madrid, Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica Fundación Carolina, 2006, pp. 89-102; Sebastiano del Piombo may have also been in Bologna with the papal retinue as suggested by a drawing of Clement VII and Charles V seated at a table. See, J.A. GERE, P. POUNCEY, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum Raphael and His Circle*, 2 vols., London, British Museum, 1962, I, n. 279; II, pls. 263-265; P. JOANNIDES, *L'incontro di Papa Clemente VII e dell'imperatore Carlo V*, in C. STRINATI, B. WOFGANG LINDEMANN (ed.), *Sebastiano del Piombo 1485-1547*, exhibition catalogue (Rome; Berlin), Milan, F. Motta, 2008, pp. 328-329.

1. Unknown engraver after a design by Antonio Tempesta (?): *Effigies Ver A.D. Philippi,* published by Marcello Clodio in Rome, 1588 (© The Trustees of the British Museum, London. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution–NonCommercial–ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY–NC–SA 4.0) license)

2. Sofonisba Anguissola: *Philip II*
Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado
(© Archivo Fotográfico Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid)

3. Agostino Carracci: *Portrait of Philip II of Spain*,
in *Cremona fedelissima città*, book IV, p. 112, written and published
by Antonio Campi in Cremona, 1585
(© The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles)

4. Alonso Sánchez Coello: *Portrait of Philip II of Spain*
Florence, Galleria Palatina/Palazzo Pitti
(© Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali /
Art Resource, NY)

5. Unknown engraver after a design by Antonio Tempesta: *Carlo Borromeo*, published by Marcello Clodio, 1588
(© The ALBERTINA Museum, Vienna)

LV	LI	Coat of Arms	LXXIIII	XXXI
XVIII				XCVI
XLIIII				LXVII
CXXII				CXXVI
LXXXIX				LXVIII
CXLIII	XXI	Inscription	LXXXVII	CVIII

6. Emblems in the frame of fig. 1, identified by Roman numerals
corresponding to the 1574 edition of Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicae
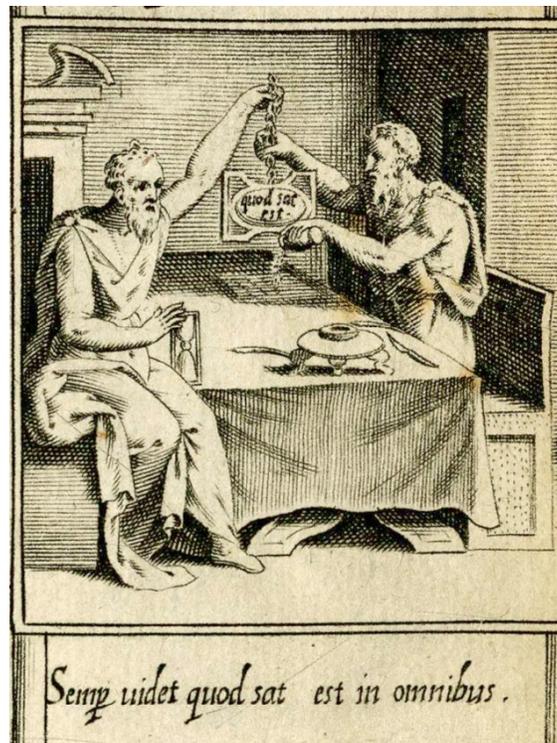Quaestiones*
(© Diagram by author)

7. *Emblem XCVI*, detail of fig. 1
(© The Trustees of the British Museum, London. Shared under
a Creative Commons Attribution–NonCommercial–ShareAlike 4.0
International (CC BY–NC–SA 4.0) license)

8. *Emblem XXI*, detail of fig. 1
(© The Trustees of the British Museum, London. Shared under
a Creative Commons Attribution–NonCommercial–ShareAlike 4.0
International (CC BY–NC–SA 4.0) license)

9. *Emblem LXVIII*, detail of fig. 1
(© The Trustees of the British Museum, London. Shared under
a Creative Commons Attribution–NonCommercial–ShareAlike 4.0
International (CC BY–NC–SA 4.0) license)

Res consilij ope haud uiribus magnas geri.

10. *Emblem LXXIIII*, detail of fig. 1
(© The Trustees of the British Museum, London. Shared under
a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0
International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) license)

11. Enea Vico (designer and printmaker): *Portrait of Charles V*
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum
(© Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)