A Picture Perfect Prince: Spanish Emblems and Machiavelli's *Il principe*

by
Joseph Barzetti
Bachelor of Arts, Brock University, 2013

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Supervisory Committee

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Dr. Pablo Restrepo-Gautier, Department of Hispanic and Italian Studies
Supervisor

Dr. Lloyd Howard, Department of Hispanic and Italian Studies
Departmental Member

Abstract

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This thesis compares Spanish Golden Age emblems on the education of the prince to Machiavelli's *Il principe* to determine how Spanish emblem writers position themselves with respect to Machiavelli's ideas on the topic. Keith David Howard's *The Reception of Machiavelli in Early Modern Spain* serves as the theoretical and methodological basis for this study. Howard identifies three categories that historians have used to classify Spanish authors and their positions towards Machiavelli's ideas: those who reject Machiavelli's ideas, those who accept them almost completely, and those who attempt to blend Machiavelli's ideas with Christian values. Howard believes that the first two categories are oversimplifications that lead to a misunderstanding of the Spanish reception of the works by the Florentine author. This research project aims to determine whether Howard is correct in stating that the first two groups are oversimplifications and explores how Spanish emblem writers position themselves vis-à-vis Machiavellian ideas. Three case studies provide an analysis and comparison of emblems to Machiavelli's *Il principe*. Machiavelli's *Discorsi* offer further material for analysis and comparison.

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Dedication

Like a siren of the ocean you call to me and I am entranced by your song.
I cannot resist it and I know the danger, but somehow I find comfort through it all.
Blind to the risk and impending peril, I cannot regain control over the song you sing.
The sweet melody distracts me from the misery that you will bestow.
Overwhelming beauty above the surface disguises the monster below.
In your clutches you drag me into the deep and drown me in the sea.
Yet in these depths is where I wish to be, and from these depths I will not leave.

Introduction

When *Il principe* arrived and circulated in Spain, shortly after its publication in Italy, over sixty years had passed after the union of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile in 1469. Their marriage marked the beginning of the unification process in Spain and established the Catholic Monarchy on the peninsula.

By the time the emblem gained popularity in Spain, the Counter Reformation was in full motion.

> The first half of the sixteenth century constituted an important chapter in the emergence of the modern state. The […] Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella and then Charles I […] saw a significant increase of royal authority vis-à-vis its principal competitors, the feudal nobility, the town, and the church. In the long run the Reformation resulted in greater governmental control of religion in Catholic as well as Protestant states (Bireley 19).

The Counter Reformation was the

> …epoch in history of the Catholic Church stretching roughly from the mid-1540s, with the opening of the Council of Trent, to about 1700 and characterized by efforts at internal reform both personal and institutional, the defeat of Protestantism, and updating or accommodating to contemporary society and culture (Bireley 3).

The Catholic Kings reclaimed the City of Granada in 1492 and had expelled the Moors from the peninsula in 1502. The Spanish Inquisition had already been established to punish *prácticas islamizantes y judaizantes* and other heresies in the Peninsula. Catholicism was a driving force during the time of the Counter Reformation in Spain. Religion was used as a means of unifying the country and its people. The government was firmly bound to the Church because Christianity insisted upon the Divine origin of authority and the obedience of the subjects (Bireley 231). Notions of the separation of Church and State, such as those of Machiavelli, were rejected and seen as heretical. The

prospering Spanish Empire under the rule of the Catholic Monarchs proved that religion could be united with politics. During this time, Spain became a leading power in Europe and, after the Italian Wars that lasted from 1494 to 1529, the time in which Machiavelli lived, Spain was in control of Milan and Naples. Spain had the most extensive empire that the world had ever seen.

Years before in Italy, after a wrongful accusation of conspiring against Giovanni de' Medici, imprisonment, torture and six yanks of the *strappado,* Niccolò Machiavelli was released from custody. A month had passed as Machiavelli tried to recover what he had lost before his captivity. He was poor and the estate he inherited from his father was burdened with debt (Hale 139). His reputation was ruined which made finding work difficult. As a result, Machiavelli left Florence, his beloved city, and retired to a family farm near San Casciano. The farm was seven miles from the city he cherished and served. Machiavelli was deprived of the political atmosphere that surrounded him in Florence. Although he was far from the political happenings of Florence, he was not blind or deaf to them. His boredom with the minor distractions in San Casciano and yearning for the political life he once led, Machiavelli began to write. During the years of exile, between 1513 to 1517, Niccolò Machiavelli wrote the *Discorsi* [*The Discourses*]. During this same time, Machiavelli composed perhaps his greatest work, *Il principe* [*The Prince*].

Machiavelli was an influential writer whose works were widely distributed in Europe in the time of the Italian Renaissance and Spanish Golden Age. Indirect evidence has shown that Charles V of Spain would often read Machiavelli's *Discorsi* (Howard 7). "In 1522, a Castilian translation of this treatise entitled *Discursos de Nicolas Machiavelo* was published with the approval of Charles and dedicated to his son, the future Philip II"

(Howard 7). Many of the political ideas that are expressed in the *Discorsi* overlap with many of the ideas written in *Il principe*. In the *Discorsi*, Machiavelli theorizes about ideals of the state and forms of government; on the other hand, *Il principe* is a practical guide-book to the art of ruling over such states.

In his work entitled *The Reception of Machiavelli in Early Modern Spain*, Keith David Howard sets out to establish how the Spanish interpret Machiavelli during the Golden Age. He establishes three categories that historians have used to classify Spanish authors and their positions towards Machiavelli's ideas. Howard states:

> …historians have tended to divide these writers into three groups or "schools" based on their relationship to Machiavelli's works…in general they may be described as follows: first, those who rejected the Florentine's ideas altogether; second, those who accepted these ideas more or less completely…third, those who attempted to reconcile Machiavelli's ideas with traditional Christian values. (97-98).

Howard believes that the first two categories are "oversimplifications" that lead to the misunderstanding of the Spanish reception of Machiavelli because they are founded in false and incomplete understandings of the interpretations of Machiavelli's works in the Spanish Golden Age. He believes that no author fully agreed or disagreed with Machiavelli's ideas.

The purpose of this study is to analyze Spanish Golden Age emblems of various Spanish writers to determine if the three categories that historians have created can be applied to the Spanish emblem tradition. In doing so, the research also explores whether Howard is correct in stating that the first two are oversimplifications of the Spanish dialogue of Machiavelli. This will be carried out with a series of three case studies in which an analysis and comparison of emblems to the writing of Machiavelli in *Il principe*

will take place. Some of Machiavelli's supporting theory from the *Discorsi* will be used to further display the author's ideas. Chapters 1 and 2 provide an introduction to Machiavelli and emblems respectively in order to provide a basis with which the case studies can be interpreted. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 will provide the individual case studies of three Spanish emblem writers: Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, Juan de Horozco y Covarrubias and Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco. The ideas displayed in their emblems demonstrate the positions that the authors take with regards to Machiavelli's ideas in *Il principe*. The controversial ideas and behaviours for which Machiavelli advocates in this work have intrigued many and sparked heated debate among *reason of state* writers, politicians, men of the court and undoubtedly emblem writers as well. These emblem writers try to teach lessons to those in positions of power while trying to entertain them as well.

Chapter 3 focuses on the emblems of Saavedra. Saavedra's *Idea de un príncipe politico-cristiano* is dedicated to Prince Baltasar Carlos with the intent that he may be entertained and educated in the proper conduct of a prince and in the art of ruling. Saavedra advises his princes to be prudent. For Saavedra, prudence represented a type of reason. It should combat irrationality and prevent the prince from choosing the wrong course of action. "Prudence, or reason, moderated the ruler's ambition and gave him a sense of his limitations" (Bireley 201). He should moderate his focus on that which he can control and act appropriately, according to Saavedra. Looking beyond this would be dangerous to a ruler. Dissimulation is part of Saavedra's advice for the appropriate actions of a prince. Instead of lying and going to the extremes that Machiavelli describes, he should moderate this deceitful behaviour. Saavedra tries to explain that dissimulation

is not lying; it is speaking in a manner that is not clear and therefore hides the truth. In actuality, Saavedra blurs the lines of deceit and lying in his advice to a prince for the purposes of self-preservation. It becomes acceptable to not be truthful in order to avoid being lied to. Saavedra, like Machiavelli, believes in a duality in the personality of a ruler. A ruler should know when to demonstrate good virtues that will bring him praise and he should know when to abandon these good qualities in favour of vices that will allow him to gain and maintain power, using prudence to distinguish between the two. Both Machiavelli and Saavedra believe this should be done for self-serving reasons, but Saavedra uses religion to justify his reasons. Machiavelli states that this is something that simply needs to be done to obtain power or continue to have it.

Chapter 4 analyzes emblems from Horozco's *Emblemas morales*. The emblems of Horozco are meant to provide moral guidance for those who view them. They provide general guidelines on how one should behave in varying situations. Horozco advises his kings and princes to do favours for people, whether they are genuine or not, to make friends and have trusted men in the court. Machiavelli does not see the need for genuine relationships; however, relationships with others in the court are important. In order to keep them faithful, according to Machiavelli, it is important to establish a relationship with them. This relationship should be based on fear more than love because a prince can control fear. In addition to this, relationships with men based on the types of favours that Horozco suggests will not last. Machiavelli stresses the importance of avoiding the hatred of people while still being feared. The two authors believe that rulers need men around them in the court; however, they take different positions on how these relationships should be formed.

Horozco further demonstrates that he has conflicting points of view about Machiavelli. He suggests that a ruler should be without vices, where Machiavelli sees the need for vices when they will help the prince. Horozco believes that a ruler should sit idle and put faith in God in times of adversity, seeing problems as opportunities to learn. This is quite contrary to what Machiavelli advises, as he believes that a prince needs to have *virtú*. A prince must be wise enough to prepare for any change that *fortuna* could bring and willing to act when presented with the opportunity.

Chapter 5 compares the emblems of Covarrubias to Machiavelli's ideas. Covarrubias also published his book under the title *Emblemas morales*. While entertaining, his emblems give advice on moral behaviour and general rules of conduct. Concerning the education of a prince, Covarrubias believes that having knowledge of the liberal arts and mechanical arts is adequate; however, a ruler should not attempt to master them. Covarrubias shows that, like Machiavelli, he believes the education of a king or prince should focus on something other than the liberal or mechanical arts. Covarrubias offers no suggestion as to the topic in which the ruler should focus his studies. Machiavelli on the other hand, believes that a prince should study the art of war so that he may have success in battle. Machiavelli sees war as something that could elevate ordinary men to the status of a prince and it may also cause a prince to lose his power. Covarrubias does not oppose Machiavelli's ideas about the education of a prince nor does he agree with them because he does not specify a subject that a prince should study. The two authors do believe that a ruler should not waste time mastering the liberal or mechanical arts.

The emblems chosen from the authors in this study focus on providing advice to kings, just as *Il principe* does. Machiavelli's book and these emblems belong to the *de regimine principum* and *speculum principis* genres. *De regimine principum* is an established tradition of treatises that discuss the education of a prince. These types of treatises "…were commonplace in political literature before Machiavelli…" (Ruffo-Fiore 30). *Speculum principis* literature is a type of political writing that is meant to directly instruct kings, princes, rulers and political figureheads in their reign. Choosing emblems from the same genre as *Il principe* allows for a pointed comparison among the Spanish authors to Machiavelli as well as a concise display of their position and conflicting opinions of Machiavelli's writing. Further study, beyond the scope of this thesis, could include other emblem writers and emblems that have political messages not just pertaining to political leaders. The focus of this study is *Il principe*; however, the *Discorsi* will provide some supporting evidence of Machiavelli's thoughts. Direct comparisons to the *Discorsi* and other works by Machiavelli would be part of a longer, separate study.

The Spanish Reception of Machiavelli

In his research, Howard explores how the Spanish interpret Machiavelli during the Golden Age. He states that the topic of the early modern reception of Machiavelli on the Peninsula has been neglected and misunderstood. The modern studies that were conducted on Machiavelli in Spain by Giuliano Procacci, a *reason of state* author, and others, have been neglected and Howard explains that this is possible because of "…the traditional view that the Spanish Inquisition prevented Spaniards from reading Machiavelli's works early on" (7). It has been proven that his works were published and

circulated in Spain shortly after their publication in Florence in the 1530s and 1540s. "Machiavelli's works are among the many books in Italian that Spanish nobles and clergymen collected throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (Howard 7). Notwithstanding the Roman index of 1559, a list of works deemed heretical by the Church, Machiavelli was not censored in Spain until Inquisitor General Gaspar Quiroga's Index was issued in 1583-84. This allowed for *Il principe* to circulate around the Iberian Peninsula for some time before the work was officially deemed heretical. Howard has made a significant contribution to our understanding on the influence *Il principe* in Spain during this time before it was outlawed.

There were benefits to referencing Machiavelli in the latter half of the sixteenth century in Spain. Howard's research shows that "…Spaniards incorporated Machiavellian discourse into their own fashioning of an aggressive, Catholic Hispanic imperial ideology" (8). This will be demonstrated by one of the aforementioned emblem authors who uses religion to justify his position for pro-Machiavellian behaviors.

Machiavelli became associated with the term *reason of state* during the Counter Reformation and Spanish authors have contributed greatly to the anti-Machiavellian *reason of state* tradition. *Reason of state* literature became common in well-established kingdoms and states. This literature discussed the ethics of politics and the flaws that existed in the technicalities of a constitutional and legal system (Anglo 191). Necessity is the motivation of the sinister deeds that Machiavelli encourages in order to accomplish the goal of achieving and maintaining power at all costs. His writing sparks discussion and criticism of the *reason of state literature* due to the extremes that he suggests. "Although his name is commonly associated with the term *reason of state*, Machiavelli

never once employed this term" (Howard 8). The term became more popular in 1589 with the publication of Giovanni Botero's *Della ragione di stato* [*On Reason of State*] and began a long tradition of this subject (Howard 8).

Il principe arrived and circulated in Spain shortly after it was published in Italy. Over four decades had passed after the union of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabel I of Castile in 1469, which marked the unification of Spain and established the Catholic Monarchy on the Peninsula. The Catholic monarchy had time to strengthen in the years that passed until 1549 when Alciati's emblems arrived in Spain. The religious ties of the Spanish Monarchy to the Church during the time of the Counter Reformation should create an atmosphere in which Machiavelli's immoral ideas of only appearing religious would have been dismissed as heresy. This research shows that this is not true and, in fact, some emblem writers had conflicting points of view concerning Machiavelli's ideas. *Il principe* suggests that a religious man could not have success as a political figure because religion would not allow for the underhanded deeds that politics would demand in order to gain and maintain power. The Catholic Monarchs were proof of the successful union of religion and politics. Machiavelli became infused in the *reason of state* literature and many politicians and thinkers referred to his ideas. Machiavelli's ideas did not escape the emblem literary tradition. This thesis illustrates how Spanish emblem authors did have knowledge of *Il principe* and displayed varying positions to the Italian author's political ideas. Emblem authors convey complex thoughts about ideas in *Il principe* despite the simple form of the emblem. Their positions are not just limited to the categories that historians have previously outlined in terms of the Spanish reception of Machiavelli.

Chapter 1. Machiavelli and His Times

Family History and Early Years

Very little is known about the early life of Niccolò Machiavelli. The Machiavelli family was an old Florentine family that came into property in the south of Florence as the result of an endowment. This settlement came with certain rights of patronage but it did not amount to very much when it was divided among the different branches of the Machiavelli family. Bernardo Machiavelli, father to Niccolò, inherited lands in San Casciano from an uncle, which also along with some houses in the city, including the house in which he lived and died.

The Machiavelli family was noted to have had a great deal of involvement with political and civic life in Florence. Ruffo-Fiore, in her account of the Machiavelli lineage, explains, "Although the family was not nobility, they were considered *popolani grassi*, rich commoners, and possessed a coat of arms from which their name derived" (1). The coat of arms consisted of a blue cross on a silver background with four blue nails in the corners of the intersection of the cross. Variations of the Italian *mal chiavelli,* meaning "bad nails", more than likely references the nails of Christ's crucifixion.

The little that is known about Niccolò's early years is attributed to the discovery of his father's book in which he kept track of finances. Niccolò was born on May 3rd in 1469 into a once prestigious Florentine family that had fallen on bad times; however, the family was not as poor as Niccolò has alluded to (Belliotti xv)[1]. His father was a tax lawyer but it seems that he rarely or never practiced this profession. Instead, the family relied on a small farm as the main source of income. He married Bartolomea and had four

[1] Belliotti explains that the Machiavelli family was well respected but not wealthy; however, they were not as impoverished as Niccolò suggested at times.

children. Bernardo was cheap and he struggled with debt. Despite this debt he was a collector of books, which he bought in the less expensive loose form and then had them bound. From this he amassed a small library to which his son had access.

At the age of seven in 1476, Bernardo's journal indicates the beginning of Niccolò's education in Latin with the purchase of *Donatello* a standard textbook of Latin. Thanks to his father's bookkeeping, it is made clear that Niccolò had access to many of the Latin and Greek classic authors, philosophers, rhetoricians, orators, historians and authors of natural science in translation. This becomes increasingly evident in his later works. He did not have a refined humanist education due to the financial circumstances of his family; however, it was as broad an education as his family could afford which was customary for this time.

It is speculated that Niccolò went to Rome to work as a banker for Berto Berti during the years 1487-1495 where he showed great promise in the business world. This career was cut short by the death of Berti and marked the end of Machiavelli's career in the business world, to which he would not return.

Political Atmosphere of Machiavelli's Italy

Medici Family and the French and Spanish Claims in Italy

The Medici family was a rich banking family of Florence. This family aided in a flourish of culture and art in Italy during the Renaissance. Italy was a financial nerve center in Europe, specifically Florence, whose currency held the highest value for some time. The Medici managed important accounts like those of the Vatican and the Pope. It is important to note that Italy was an up and coming power of Europe. Families like the Medici funded the arts and inventors, allowing for good technology of weapons and the

rise of the arts and cultural advancement that took place during the Italian Renaissance. The Medici family played a part in the greatness of Florence and Italy during this time.

The Medici family entered a Golden Age of sorts beginning with Cosimo de' Medici born in 1389 who reigned as head of the family until his death in 1464. When his father died he was forty years old and became the figurehead of the family. Machiavelli describes Cosimo's father as well as Cosimo in his *Florentine History* with the following statement:

> Ne' magistrati grazioso; non di molta eloquenza, ma di prudenza grandissima. Mostrava nella presenza melanconico, ma era poi nella conversazione piacevole e faceto. Morí ricchissimo di tesoro ma piú de buona fama e di benivolenza. La cui eredità, cosí de' beni della *fortuna* come di quelli dell'animo, fu da Cosimo non solamente mantenuta ma accresciuta.
> [In his magistracy he was gracious, not eloquent, but very prudent. He demonstrated a melancholic presence but in conversation he was pleasing and witty. He died very rich in treasure, but more so in fame and goodwill. The great inheritances of wealth as well as of mind were not only maintained but increased by Cosimo.] (*Istorie fiorentine*, IV 293).

All noted the family's wealth and prestige that began even before Cosimo. They were patrons of the arts and controlled much of the Florentine state.

Cosimo's son Pietro, or, as he was commonly called, Piero de' Medici, was forty-eight when his father died in 1464, and had neither the moral nor the physical strength necessary for his position" (Badger 82). He had gout and gained the name *il Gottoso*. He was stern and had a sharp political insight. Piero, like his father, inherited a love for letters and the arts. Before Piero died he recommended that his son consult with Diotisalvi Neroni and follow his advice that nearly ruined the Medici family. In December 1469, Piero died and was buried in San Lorenzo, near his father.

Piero's son Lorenzo succeeded him at age of 21. He had received the education of a prince and not that of a merchant's son (Badger, 143). He was a well-educated and adept politician.

> "While he never for a moment relaxed his hold on politics, among philosophers he passed as a sage, among men of letters for an original and graceful poet, among scholars for a Grecian, sensitive to every nicety of Attic idiom, among artists for and amateur gifted with refined discernment and consummate taste" (Badger 144).

He truly was a man of the Renaissance. He earned the title of Lorenzo *il Magnifico*. Lorenzo was an accomplished poet as well. "… Lorenzo wrote in defence of the Italian language, placing it on a level with the classics, giving their full due to Dante and Boccaccio, and setting the love poems of Petrarch…" (Brinton 173). He was a talented poet that used the Italian language as apposed to Latin in his sonnets and verses, bringing prestige to the vernacular like his predecessors Dante, Boccaccio and influencing contemporaries like Petrarca. Along with his education, and through diplomacy, Lorenzo was able to bring the Italian Peninsula as close to unification as it could have been while still remaining separate city-states. He was able to get the Italian city-states of the peninsula of cooperate as a unit. He aided in the creation of the League that was made of the Italian city-states to protect the Peninsula from foreign invaders.

In 1492, the gout that Lorenzo had inherited from his father became worse and his condition became critical (Brinton 215). Lorenzo died of gout that same year. Lorenzo's son Piero was unpractised and unskilled and trusted into a position of power at the age of twenty. "Pietro was nicknamed 'lo S*fortuna*to', the Un*fortuna*te− inaccurately because most of his mishaps were of his own doing" (Brion 127). Pietro like is grandfather was also called Piero. He began to rule during a time of unease that had begun with his father.

He was an ambitious man that sought the title of duke. Politically, on the other hand, Piero was inept. His greatest mistake was breaking up the League that had been elaborately put together by the Italian states to repel foreign powers.

Piero wished to create a new League that would serve his own interests, one that he thought he could control (Brion 131). The Borgia Pope, Alexander VI, invited him to Rome and declined Lodovico Sforza's invitation to enter Rome together with the other allies. Sforza felt some deeper meaning to Piero's rejection and withdrew from the alliance and formed a new one with the Pope and Venice (Brinton 218). Sforza was the Duke of Milan, a position that was not rightfully his and he was also jealous of Naples. He invited Charles VIII, King of France, to defend his claim. The French monarchy had claims to the Duchy of Milan and Naples and therefore the French king, Charles VIII, would have to invade the Italian Peninsula and battle Spain to enforce the claim. Piero welcomed the French king to enter the peninsula and, in 1494, Charles VIII invaded Italy.

Piero allowed the French king to pass through Florence in order to travel to Naples forsaking his alliance with the king of Naples. Piero was willing to ally himself with the French as long as it benefited him. In the same year of the French invasion, Ferdinand of Aragon intervened and a war between France and Spain began on Italian soil. The people of Florence were not happy with Piero's actions and revolted. Piero was proclaimed to be an outlaw. The mob was furious and Piero had to flee Florence and headed for Venice. The rest of Italy was left with cleaning up the political mess that Piero made. They banded together against Charles VIII. In 1495, in Fornovo, the Italians attacked Charles VIII who was trying to leave with his troops. This was neither a victory for the Italian forces, nor was a loss because the French were trying to leave Italy in the

first place. After Charles VIII of France died, Luis XII succeeded him and threatened new invasions of Italy. Piero de' Medici prepared for a return to Florence and was looking for military support from Luis XII. However, the French king decided that he did not want to reinstate the Medici to their position and did not support Piero. Piero died in a shipwreck in 1503. Piero's actions prove to be the exact opposite of what Machiavelli is looking for from his 'principe'.

Much of Machiavelli's ideas were influenced by the historical events and his political experiences during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In this time, the Italian Peninsula was divided into city-states consisting of Venice, Milan, Florence, the Papal States and the Kingdom of Naples. In Florence, Machiavelli was witness to much spiritual and civic corruption. Machiavelli was alive during the reign of the Medici family over Florence. The decay and corruption of Florence increased with each succeeding heir (Ruffo-Fiore 3). This was a time in which political factions, hereditary rule, economic weakening and foreign intervention all acted as threats to the city-state of Florence. This was amplified by the greed of the Italian city-states and the Pope, who had claimed temporal power over the Papal States. All of this prevented the unification of the Italian Peninsula.

Girolamo Savonarola

Girolamo Savonarola, a Dominican friar, came into the limelight in 1487 when he began to preach about the tyranny and injustice that was taking place in Rome and Florence. Savonarola came from Ferrara and installed himself in the Dominican convent of San Marco, patronized by the Medici family. At the end of the Quattrocento, Europe was on the verge of a religious revolution that was marked with outbursts of reformation.

Savonarola was a representative of this reform in Florence. He spoke out against the Medici family and the corruption and moral decay of politics and the Florentine populace. This was the first time that someone had opposed the Medici with religion and morality instead of political reason or popular wisdom (Brion 123). He thought that he could bring unity, liberty and order to the Italian Peninsula with virtue. In 1494, he was at his most popular with the overthrow of Piero de' Medici. Given the fractured state of Italy during his time, it becomes obvious why the people were seeking a change that would bring peace to the city-states. He foresaw the intervention of a divine power that would arrive in order to right the wrongs in Florence. His prophecy became a reality with the arrival of the French King Charles VIII who wanted to establish Florence under French rule.

When Lorenzo de' Medici died in 1492, Savonarola became a minister of God that was chosen to bring back liberty to Florence and restore the moral decay that had taken place. His way with words gained him popularity and inspired determination to reform the Church. He believed that the Medici were political tyrants and responsible for the corruption of the souls of the people of Florence. He also spoke out against Pope Alexander VI who was a Borgia and the father of Cesare Borgia. They let him rant as much as he pleased. Savonarola gained a huge following that proved to be dangerous to his enemies. A rival Dominican monk demanded a trial by fire and Savonarola spent much time debating the acceptance and participation of the event. On the date of the trial, after a long exchange of words by both sides it began to rain, which extinguished the embers. Although it was seen as an act of Divine intervention, Savonarola faced much backlash and was seen as a fake. Finally, the Borgia Pope lost his patience and

excommunicated Savonarola. The Signoria took sides against Savonarola while he was tried for heresy. After this, he was arrested, tortured, tried and sentenced. In May of 1498 he was hanged and burned.

Soderini and the return of the Medici

At this point in time Florence needed another leader that should be chosen by the people. As a result, Piero Soderini was appointed Gonfaloniere. This position was a chief magistrate and comes from the word *gonfalon* which was the banner that represented a republic or commune. Soderini was the barer of the *gonfalon* of Florence.

> Soderini was an honest, conscientious and intelligent man. His genuine devotion to the public good was well known. He was a citizen who was widely respected for his upright life, for his impeccable morals and for the modesty of his ambitions. (Brion 135)

Despite his good intentions, Soderini was neither a good nor a bad leader. He became the head of state of a weak Florence and his attributes appear to be opposite to those of Piero de' Medici and a much-needed change in Florence. Machiavelli worked for Soderini as an advisor, under whom he came into contact with Cesare Borgia.

Piero's brothers tried to restore the Medici name and the power of Florence to the family. One of Piero de' Medici's brothers, Giovanni de' Medici, a cardinal and the future Pope Leo X, organized a meeting of the internal and external powers that were interested in the future of Italy as a step in the restoration of power to the family. This meeting took place in 1511 between King Luis XII, the Emperor Maximilian, King Ferdinand and Pope Julius II to create peace in Italy. By doing so, Giovanni secured military forces to overthrow Florence's resistance and allow his family to return. As part of this arrangement the Medici family must return to power and Soderini was to be exiled. "Soderini was happy to exchange places with the exiled Medici for it saved his

life" (Brion 136). Giovanni restored his brother Giuliano as head of the state and he continued the Medici practice of patronage to the arts.

Charles V and the Spanish Claims in Italy

Charles V was the son of Juana (daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella) and Philip the first Habsburg King of Spain. He was Charles V in the Habsburg dynasty but the first of his name to hold the Spanish crown. He inherited the title of Holy Roman Emperor and became the head of an extensive kingdom that extended from Europe to the Americas. By the time of his reign, Spain had become an extensive Kingdom. The discovery of the Americas and its gold and silver was supposed to bring vast riches to Spain. Charles V also inherited the Spanish claims to the Kingdom of Naples and the Duchy of Milan in Italy.

Even after peace was struck among the foreign powers in Italy, French military pressure began to build in Naples in 1528. Francis I of France sent new troops against Naples. The Medici family's attention shifted to Rome because of Leo X and Clement VII, both of whom were Medici family members. "As Medici interests and the family's power shifted to Rome under two popes, Leo X and Clement VII, they never found a family member suited to governing Florence…" (Najemy 414). The Medici family entrusted the governing of Florence to functionaries what were not very popular among the people of Florence. Pope Clemente VII turned his back on Charles when the Spanish tried to take power in Milan. Clemente made a deal with France and Venice that limited foreign power in Italy to Naples (Najemy 447). This resulted in the sack of the city of Rome by Charles V and a new exile of the Medici family leading to a short-lived republic style government in Florence. The Spanish troops that sacked Rome had taken Pope

Clement VII prisoner. Having the Pope as a prisoner could damage the king's reputation and all his Christian subjects may turn against him. Charles took advice from his counsellors and set the Pope free.

Andrea Doria, a Neapolitan navel commander, was employed by Francis I and was very unhappy with his treatment by the French. This caused him to enter the service of Charles. With this, Charles had taken control of Genoa from the French and made an alliance that would prove to be useful because "…from now on Genoa adhered to the Imperial side and its naval power strengthened Charles substantially" (Alvarez 77).

Charles challenged Francis I to a personal combat and he accepted but he did not follow the procedure to reply so Charles had to repeat it (Alzarez 78). After setting a date and location, Francis interrupted Charles' messenger and made it clear that he did not want to partake in the personal battle and signified Spain's victory.

Charles V made a trip to Italy for his coronation by the Pope to secure his position and title. He also wanted to create peace in Italy after his victory over the French. Upon meeting with Pope Clement VII to restore peace, the Pope demanded that Charles V send troops to Florence to recover the city and reinstall the Medici to power and he complied because he needed the support of Rome for his Italian policy (Alvarez 84). Charles also pardoned Francesco Sforza who fought against him as he sided with the French, and restored the duchy of Milan to him. He helped settle the land disputed between Venice and the Papal States and redefined the territories. Charles was in league with many of the Italian city-states and formed a solid unification against other foreign threats.

Cesare Borgia

Cesare Borgia is part of another Spanish presence in Italy. His family name was one of wealth and prestige in Spain. The rise of the family began starting with Don Alonso de Borja[2] born in 1378 (Sabatini 3). He was educated in Law and served Alfonso I of Aragon, the King of Naples and the Two Sicilies, as a secretary. He eventually became a Cardinal in 1444 and soon after was the first Borgia Pope, Calixtus III.

In 1431 Rodrigo, Alonso's nephew, was born. He was a Cardinal-Deacon and Vice-Chancellor of the Holy See and he gained this all with the help of his uncle the Pope (Sabatini 5). Rodrigo continued to advance his position under the reigns of other Popes and twenty-six years after his uncle, he eventually became Pope Alexander VI in 1492.

While Rodrigo was a cardinal he had several children. His son Juan became captain of the Papal army, and Duke of Gandia and Duke of Beneventum. His second son, Cesare, was born in 1475. In the court of his Father Alexander VI, "…Cesare had an excellent opportunity of gaining an insight to the politics of all the States, for he came into contact with ambassadors from all the monarchs of Europe" (Mathew 80).

Cesare's sister Lucrezia and daughter of Alexander was the subject of many scandalous accusations, including incestuous relationships with her brothers and father. Rodrigo was said to have scandalous affairs with Giulia Farnese who bore a child while he was pope. Scandal and shock was a major part of the lives of the Borgia family in Italy.

Cesare was sixteen and attending the University of Pisa when his father was elected pope. At the age of nineteen he became the Cardinal-Deacon of Santa Maria Nuova and he earned many other titles. He was best known for his cunning and ruthless

[2] Borgia is the Italian spelling and Borja is the Spanish spelling.

means of practicing politics. He did whatever was necessary to maintain and advance his position like killing generals he did not wish to be associated with. Machiavelli served Soderini as an ambassador to Borgia, a key period that shaped Machiavelli's political thinking.

Borgia, Duke of Valentinois, applied for new ambassadors after a conspiracy against him and his family was discovered in 1502 is when Machiavelli first met Cesare Borgia. Machiavelli was sent to protect the Florentine interests. During this time Machiavelli praised the Duke for his military tactics and the strategy that he displayed during his reign. Borgia was looking for a political alliance with Florence, which the Duke stated was necessary for the city-state. However, Machiavelli delayed any alliance with Borgia because he did not have enough support from the French to make a commitment to the Duke. It was not until he received more support from France that a deal was made.

While Machiavelli was in the Duke's camp he noted how secretive Borgia was. He writes in his correspondence that it seems that he never really learns the Duke's real thoughts. He would receive word about the Duke's plans and would never see the stated actions become a reality. He realized that nothing that was said by Borgia could be trusted. His generals said that the course of action was often decided upon in the moment when action was needed and never planed, which made it hard to understand the actions of the Duke.

In addition to the military success that Borgia had, Machiavelli chronicles an event that offers an even closer glimpse into the mind and personality of the man that had greatly influenced Machiavelli's thoughts in *Il principe*. Borgia had seized a trusted

servant, Ramiro d'Orco, who aided in the suppression of the Romagna, and left his body cut in two pieces in the public square of Cesena. "This extraordinary sacrifice of a faithful servant, in order to impress the populace, not surprisingly made a considerable impact on Machiavelli, who later referred to the incident in *The Prince*" (Anglo 35).

In addition to this, a few days later Borgia met with disobedient captains from the Orsini and Vitelli families and had them arrested and killed shortly after. This was an event that inspires in Machiavelli, notions of ferocity and fear in a leader, qualities that he discusses at length in his work. The time spent with Borgia proves to be very influential in the political writing of Machiavelli and the methods of the Duke reflect the desired qualities of a leader that are proposed in *Il principe*.

Il principe

Il principe was written between the years 1513-1515 while Machiavelli was in exile from Florence after being wrongfully accused of being a conspirator against Giovanni de' Medici. It is thought that he originally dedicated the work to Giuliano de' Medici who died, and was rededicated to Lorenzo de'Medici, his successor. This was most likely done to redeem himself as an attempt to return to a political career. *Il principe* is famous for the blatant statement of facts and concepts that were considered to be immoral and at times evil. It is an instruction manual for the behaviour of a prince in order to gain and maintain power. Machiavelli is not concerned with the moral or ethical values of a ruler; his concern is simply gaining power and having success in keeping power as the head of state. He does this by providing practical advice that is supported by historical and modern examples of princes, kings and heads of state. On numerous occasions, *Il principe* explains that in order to obtained and hold power in the state men

must often conduct themselves in an immoral, unethical fashion. Not all men live their life virtuously all the time and therefore leaders too must conduct themselves in non-virtuous ways.

Il principe is composed of four main sections: the different types of principalities, the use of armed forces, specific advice regarding the qualities of a successful prince, and applying the previous concepts to Italy. All these sections include examples of the doings of other men of note whose actions should be imitated or avoided in order to be a successful ruler. Machiavelli implies a desire to unify Italy much like other writers and thinkers of the era. Machiavelli uses many Roman examples in his work, which suggests that desire for a return to the greatness of the ancient Roman Empire that was achieved by its unity. All of his advice is given in hopes that a new leader would be able to rise to power and unite the city-states that made up the Italian Peninsula.

Lack of Morals

Machiavelli's *Il principe* is often thought of as an immoral piece of literature that advocates for wrongdoing all in the name of achieving and maintaining power. He is associated as being the author of the philosophy that 'the ends justify the means'; however, he never stated this phrase in this way. "For Machiavelli, the ends of political life were the acquiring and holding down of power, the stability of the state, the maintenance of order and general prosperity" (Ramsay 177). *Il principe* simply provides a set of instructions that one can follow to achieve this end. Machiavelli's morality is often questioned due to this notion. Machiavelli never states whether these political ends are rational or good. He accepts them as the reality because, as Ramsay explains, "…he assumed that order and security were universal ends that all human begins aspire to, and

these were necessary for human welfare" (Ramsay 177). Ramsay continues to suggest that there is a case to be made that perhaps Machiavelli was more moral than he is interpreted to be because he is concerned with an end that is good for all.

It was not Machiavelli's purpose to set out moral rules that should be followed by men of power. He is concerned with the qualities that rulers should have to establish power and stability. In Chapter XV of *Il principe*, Machiavelli lists qualities for which princes are often praised and blamed. This list includes being liberal and miserly, cruel and compassionate, faithless and faithful, brave and cowardly, sincere and cunning. He does not deny that liberality, mercy, honesty nor kindness are virtues and good qualities that princes should possess; on the other hand, he explains that not every prince can have all these qualities because the human condition would not permit it. Machiavelli writes that for a prince:

> …è necessario essere tanto prudente che sappia fuggire l'infamia di quelle che lo torrebbano…se si considerrà bene tutto, si troverrà qualche cosa che parrà virtù, e seguendola sarebbe la ruina sua; e qualcuna altra che parrà vizio, e seguendola ne riesce la securtà et il bene essere suo.
> […it is necessary to be prudent so that he may know how to avoid the infamy of those that would torment him… and if everything is carefully considered it would been seen that something that appears to be virtue, if followed would be his ruin; and while something else that appears to be a vice, if followed brings him security and success.] (*The Prince* XV, 88)[3]

Here Machiavelli explains that instead of trying to possess all of these qualities, a prince should be wise enough to know how to avoid those vices that may cause him to lose his state; however, when all is considered, it may be necessary for him to act contrary to these admirable virtues in order to save his position. Machiavelli is not concerned with maintaining these virtues because it is the honourable thing to do. On the contrary, he is

[3] The quotations chosen come from a dual-language edition of the work entitled *The Prince*. For this reason, the title of the work appears in English in citations.

stating that one must act in the way that would preserve his power, whether it is moral or not, if a prince wishes to hold security and order as prince.

Chapters XVI-XVIII all express qualities that princes should have. More importantly, these chapters demonstrate that morally good actions can lead to evil results and immoral actions may lead to a beneficial end. Although Machiavelli is in favour of all the qualities that he lists and considers to be good, he demonstrates that a combination of both are required in order to rule successfully.

Virtù

One quality that all successful princes must have that is mentioned throughout *Il principe* is *virtù. Virtù* is often translated to mean "virtue"; however, it does not mean good, moral behaviour. Machiavelli never really defines this concept; in fact, the meaning of the word changes throughout the work. It is not exactly implying to live a virtuous life, as he states that not all men live virtuous lives. It is the action that is required for a circumstance. This is not a fixed action and it involves a flexibility that can change according to what various situations require in order to maintain power and stability. It involves wisdom or cunning and the capability to act accordingly to situations as they arise. *Virtù* is a quick wit that responds to *fortuna*.

In one of the many times that the *virtù* of a prince was exemplified, those that have attained their principality through wickedness demonstrate well the lack of interest in morality that *virtù* is meant to describe. Harvey C. Mansfield, in his book about virtue in Machiavelli's writing, looks to this chapter as well to illustrate the startling contradiction and the varied use of the term virtù in *The Prince*. Machiavelli recounts the

story of Agathocles who became the king of Syracuse through criminal acts and murder. After telling this story Machiavelli writes:

> Non si può ancora chiamare virtù ammazzare li sua cittadini, tradire li amici, essere sanza fede, sanza pietà, sanza relligione; li quali modi possono fare acquistare imperio, ma non gloria.
> [It cannot be called virtue to kill one's citizens, to deceive friends to be without faith, without piety, without religion; such methods may acquire empires but not glory.] (*The Prince* VIII, 48)

Machiavelli does not commend the bad behaviour of Agathocles and does not want to call his actions *virtù.* However, in the very next paragraph he talks about the *virtù* of Agathocles and does not understand why he should be less esteemed than any other notable man. Mansfield explains that Machiavelli uses the word in many different ways and "…in two contradictory senses as to whether it includes or excludes evil deeds" (7). This juxtaposition represents how this work is not meant to look at the morality of actions, he is instead expressing a boldness, ability and action that princes must exude in their rule in order to achieve power. Machiavelli did not mean the Christian or classical notions of morality. Although Agathocles did not act in the most virtuous way, his actions and his *virtù* lead him to power.

fortuna is what provides the chance for princes to practice *virtù*. "Machiavelli sometimes writes as if *fortuna* is a personified, natural force that consciously and capriciously plays with the circumstances of human beings" (Belliotti 5). There are other instances when *fortuna* is just a set of events in which humans are presented and must choose alternative courses of action. However, it is clear that *fortuna* presents obstacles that interfere with man's intended course of action. Machiavelli dedicates chapter twenty-five in *Il principe* to *fortuna* and how it can affect in human affairs and how one can cope with it. Early in the chapter Machiavelli makes the statement: "…iudico potere essere

vero che la *fortuna* sia arbitra della metà delle azioni nostre…" [I say that Fortune is the arbiter of one-half of our actions] (*The Prince* XXV, 142). Machiavelli concludes that fortune only is responsible for half of all man's action, leaving the other half to our own free will, or better-stated *virtù*. He makes the simile of *fortuna* and compares it to a flooding river that can devastate land if no precautions are taken against flooding. There is always a gamble when leaving things to fortune, as the term is translated, because fortune is fickle and will change who and how it favours. With this in mind, Machiavelli concludes this chapter by explaining and personifying *fortuna*:

> …perché la *fortuna* è donna, et è necessario, volendola tenere sotto, batterla et urtarla. E si vede che la si lasia più vincere da questi, che da quelli che freddamente procedano. E però sempre, come donna, è amica de' giovani, perché sono meno respettivi, più feroci e con più audacia la comandano. […because Fortune is a woman, and it is necessary, if you wish to keep her under, to beat and strike her. And it is seen that she allows those that do so to win than those that proceed coldly. And therefore always, like a woman, is a friend to young men because they are less cautious, more violent and with more audacity commande her.] (*The Prince* XXV, 147)

This demonstrates how *fortuna*, supposedly like a woman, will change her mind, and therefore needs to be beaten into submission, and will allowed herself to be dominated by those that are willing to take chances and be adventurous to avoid her fickleness and command her.

In the closing chapters of *Il principe,* Machiavelli effectively separates the traditional Catholic values that held strong in his time from politics, while saying without saying that a Catholic man could not be a successful ruler. He points to the temporal power of the Church as a factor that has contributed to the political failure of Italy. For this reason, Machiavelli tries to supply guidelines to change the social order that rejects the values of the Roman Church because religion would not allow for the necessary

conduct that a ruler must practice in order to achieve power, and ultimately unify Italy. Machiavelli follows other Italian patriots that had similar notions about the separation of the Church and State such as Dante and Petrarch.

Machiavelli and Religion

Throughout *Il principe*, one cannot help but wonder about the relationship that Machiavelli has with religion. He did after all live in Italy, the country in which the highest institution of the Roman Church was established. It would only be natural to assume that he held some views about religion and the government. Machiavelli does hold some regard for the Church in his writing; however, in its current state, he is unimpressed. He sees the importance of religion as a tool for gaining control over the masses but he suggests that his prince should only maintain the appearance of being religious. His personal religious beliefs and whether or not he was a man of faith is unclear. This leads to some critical statements that demonstrate his frustration with the temporal power that the Church holds in Italy and the means in which this was obtained.

Machiavelli notes that the Church has increased its temporal power with the succession of the popes. The popes were supported by the different city-states and therefore acted in the interests of themselves and their supporters. This worsened the factionalism that existed in Italy. “His desire for the union of Italy against the foreigner has been sufficiently emphasized, and he hated the temporal power because he saw in it the obstacle to the realization of his aims” (Muir 162).

It also seems that Machiavelli shows little regard for practicing these religious beliefs, at least for those in positions of power. Machiavelli makes it clear that a prince should only appear to be religious in order to keep his power, be commended among his

people, and keep order in his land. Muir explains that Machiavelli sees in religion "…a force which, if controlled by the State and used to reinforce its authority, will be useful, and nothing more" (169). For Machiavelli, the Church and its officials are corrupt and prevent unification on the Italian Peninsula and therefore he expresses some animosity towards the Church. In addition to this, Machiavelli demonstrates how religion is just a tool that has been brought into government by the gain of temporal power by the Church and therefore princes only need to appear religious as a tool for ruling the people and nothing else. He expresses no need of spiritual life and only sees the practical benefits to the appearance of this characteristic in a prince's life.

Chapter 26 of *Il Principe*

Chapter 1-25 of Il Principe are written in a clear and concise manner. There is little literary embellishment. Machiavelli provides advice for princes and rulers for a successful rule and uses contemporary and historical examples to prove his points. All of this changes in the final chapter of *Il principe*.

Chapter 26 of *Il principe*, entitled "Exhortation to Seize Italy and free Her from the Barbarians," Machiavelli's message becomes very clear. In the current political disarray of Florence and the Italian Peninsula as a whole, the time is right for a prince to come and unite all of the city-states and remove foreign powers. Machiavelli says that Italy

> …fussi più stiava che li Ebrei, più serva ch'e' Persi, piu disperda che lo Ateniensi, sanza capo, sanza ordine; battuta, spogliata, lacera, corsa, et avessi sopportato d'ogni sorte ruina.
> […she is more enslaved than the Hebrews, more oppressed than the Persians, more scattered than the Athenians; without a head, without order, battered, rotten, torn, overrun; and has experienced every kind of desolation.] (*The Prince* XXVI, 148)

Italy lacks leadership and is enslaved to foreigners, rundown from war between alien forces. In all this disarray, an opportunity for glory can be found, if the people can unite under one leader to dispel the foreign intruders. He says that at one time a prince had emerged that might be able to accomplish this but was undone by *fortuna*. Machiavelli does not reveal the identity of this prince. It is clear that he is looking for a leader, perhaps like Charles V of Spain, to take control of Italy using his advice. Ironically Charles V was the foreigner who came to Italy and humbled the Peninsula with the sacking of Rome in 1527. Charles V did read Machiavelli and perhaps this contributed to his success as Holy Roman Emperor. Machiavelli is longing for a prince to take his advice and do the same for Italy.

The purpose of *Il principe* becomes more specific with this chapter. The work is dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, the great grandson of Lorenzo *il Magnifico*. Machiavelli is trying to inspire him and explains that he should take the favour that God has shown to his family and be the prince that Italy needs. Given the cultural advancement of Italy during the time, Machiavelli sees that Italy should be in a much better state, a state comparable to that of Spain under Charles V. Italy lacks a leader like Spain and therefore is doomed to continue in its current state of decay without unity and leadership. This chapter acts as a call of patriotism and leadership that Machiavelli sees as crucial for the future of the Italian Peninsula.

The Question of Language

"La questione della lingua" [The question of the language] came into heated debate during the sixteenth centaury in Italy. The debate revolved around whether to write in Florentine or in Latin. The standard Italian language that we refer to today comes

from the Florentine dialect. The Italian Peninsula was divided into many city-states, each with regional vernaculars or dialects most of which evolved from vulgar Latin. The dialects were spoken and written by all people of the Peninsula, except for clerics and the educated (largely men) who wrote in Latin for more formal communication. The lack of political unity meant that no single language was recognized as a standard for all to speak and communicate. Latin was adopted by clerics and the educated to communicate beyond the region where their dialect was used, and therefore political documents and important or theoretical works were written in Latin. The dialects were typically used in minor works that were meant to entertain (such as courtly love poetry).

Many scholars indicate that Machiavelli did learn Latin and had a decent knowledge of it. For this reason, it seems strange that Machiavelli chose to write *Il principe* and *I Discorsi* in the Florentine language and not in Latin due to their theoretical nature. *Il principe* was dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici and perhaps Machiavelli did not intend for the work to be seen by others.

Machiavelli joined the language debate and wrote *Discorso o dialogo intorno all nostra lingua* [*Discourse of Dialogue on our Language*]. In this work, he discusses Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia* [*On Eloquence in the Vernacular*] and whether the language that the great writers of the past should be called Florentine or Italian (Hale 188). Machiavelli provides his opinion in the form of a letter to a friend. Machiavelli expresses that "…the language of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio was that of Florence, and that, as a result, wherever the best Italian is employed, it derives from the Florentine tongue" (Hale 188). These writers were from Florence (in Petrarch's case through his father) and therefore Florentine should be the language of the entire Peninsula. Dante's

De Vulgari Eloquentia was a treatise on language, ironically written in Latin, and spoke to the need for a common one, essentially Florentine, if his *Divine Comedy* is any example, which he wrote while he was in exile. Machiavelli also had similar notions and therefore the use of Florentine serves a purpose. In Machiavelli's desire for a political unity of Italy, a country will need an official language. By using the Florentine language in *Il principe* he is suggesting a unity of the Peninsula and a unity of the language as well.

I Discorsi

I Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio [*The Discourses on the first Decade of Titus Livy*] are a work written by Machiavelli during 1513-1517, the same time period as the *Il principe*. Machiavelli uses this work to explain and defend how republics are a better form of government. "Livy (59 BC-17 AD) was a fabled Roman scholar who wrote about 145 books, 35 if which still exist, chronicling the history of Rome" (Belliotti 31). Machiavelli uses the first ten of Livy's books as a means of making his political ideas. He believed in the stability and military success as well as the expansive domination that the Roman republic obtained during its time and used the republic as an example for stable government.

The title of the work implies that it is a commentary on Livy; however, Machiavelli uses *I Discorsi* as an opportunity to discuss the recent history of Florence and the Italian Peninsula in comparison to the Roman Republic. It is obvious that Machiavelli admires the Republic and its government. He juxtaposes the discipline and military force and the commitment to the common good at its peak with the corruption, fractures of the city-states, and greed of Florence during his time. Machiavelli sees the

time of the Roman Republic as the "glory day" of sorts, and the current condition of the Peninsula is a result of not learning for the examples of the republic.

Many rule a republic and therefore it seems strange that while writing *Il principe*, and stating the need for one man to rule the Peninsula, the Florentine author is simultaneously composing *I Discorsi*. Machiavelli never states that one form of government is best and certain situations will not allow for the creation of a republic. Machiavelli's exertion of one man embodying *virtù* is needed to reform a corrupt state is also reflected in *I Discorsi* (Belliotti 31). Machiavelli refers to each work in the other, which demonstrates he sees the value in both forms of government and recognizes what Florence and Italy need given their current state.

Both works were written during Machiavelli's exile, while he was left bitter and unable to be involved in politics. Writing about his political ideas was all that he could do to provide political advice. This explains the overlap of some of the ideas that are presented in *Il principe* and *I Discorsi*. This study focuses on Spanish emblems and *Il principe*, works which are directed to princes, kings and monarch figures who rule governments lead by one man. Many rule Republics and therefore *I Discorsi* can only play a supporting role in this study with ideas that are shared with *Il principe*. An inclusive study of other works by Machiavelli that would incorporate further comparison to *I Discorsi* and Spanish emblems would prove to be fruitful in the future. With regards to the current research, *I Discorsi* will be used to support Machiavelli's ideas in *Il principe*.

Other Works by Machiavelli

In addition to political works like *Il principe* and *I Discorsi*, Machiavelli also wrote other literary works. Machiavelli wrote a piece entitled *L'Asino d'oro* [*The Golden Ass*], which seems to be an allegory of Machiavelli's own life and a comment on the situation of Florence during the time. Only eight chapters of the work were completed before Machiavelli abandoned the work.

Machiavelli also wrote *Dell'arte della guerra* [*The Art of War*]. It is written in the form of a dialogue between individuals. It expresses ideas of citizens imitating "…the best qualities of the ancients−to honour and reward *virtù*, not to despise poverty, to esteem the good discipline of warfare, to love one another, to live without faction, and to value private interest less than public…" (Anglo 130). An obvious connection of these ideas can be made to Machiavelli's other works and ideas.

Machiavelli wrote the *Istorie fiorentine* [*Florentine Histories*] in which he presents a history of his beloved Florence and the politics of the time. He also gives insight to the Medici family and their individual personalities and the public opinion of them.

Machiavelli is also the author of three comedies; *Andria* [*The woman from Andros]*, *La mandragola* [*The Mandrake*] and *Clizia*. *La mandragola* is perhaps his best know play. It is a play in which the desires of a man Callimaco to have sexual relations with Lucrezia, a beautiful woman and wife to a much older man. Throughout the work Ligurio advises Callimaco on how to corrupt the young woman. It is perhaps through the character of Ligurio that Machiavelli himself is represented as he wishes to play an advisor to princes and government figures with his other works.

Chapter 2. The Emblem: Italy to Spain

Description

The emblem is a Renaissance device of expression involving words and images, meant to teach a general lesson to be understood by readers that were mainly of an educated audience. Priests would use emblems in their sermons and the stained-glass windows of churches contributed to extending the reach of emblems to the less educated masses. Emblem writers intended for their work to be viewed by a larger educated audience who could interpret and understand them. The following description of emblems and their main characteristics pertain to the emblems that will be presented in this study. There are three fundamental parts to the emblem: *inscriptio*, *pictura* and *subscriptio*. Together they are known as *emblema triplex*.

Inscriptio

The *inscriptio* or motto is an inscription that appears in the engraving of an emblem that often, but not always, expresses a common saying; it often introduces the theme of the emblem. The *inscriptio* was ideally written in a language not of the target audience and captures the attention of the reader and reflects the pedagogical nature of the emblem tradition. The foreign-language text initiates the thinking process and engages the reader. It is usually a clever way of expressing what the author will say later in the epigram or *subscriptio* of the emblem. It can also give a small clue or indication of the theme of the emblem, or simply describe what is depicted in the *pictura*. The *inscriptio* is usually located above the image and usually offers very little information as to what will come to follow in the rest of the emblem. In his book about Spanish emblem literature in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Aquilino Sánchez Pérez explains that

> …según los tratadistas contemporáneos, tiene la función de avivar la curiosidad presentándose como algo que oculta un cierto interés escondido [According to contemporary writers, it has the function of stimulating curiosity by presenting itself as something that hides a certain interest.] (Pérez 22)

The inspiration for these mottos can come from but are not limited to biblical sayings, proverbs, ancient poems, and theologians.

Pictura

The second part of the emblem is the *pictura* or image/picture. These images can vary from mythological and religious figures, animals, plants to everyday objects. The *pictura* can illustrate a story that pertains to the theme and/or message of the *subscriptio*. It is the visual representation of the lesson that is taught by the emblem as a whole. The quality of the pictures can vary depending on the skill of the artist and his engravings.

It is important to understand that images that are incorporated in the *pictura* vary in meaning and motif. Each image in the *pictura* symbolizes an idea or notion that can change with the intended meaning. These images are taken out of their original context in order to give meaning to the emblem as a whole. Peter Daly uses Mario Praz's idea to explain that "of course, at times it would be difficult to assign the given motif to one area, because a heraldic device and a moral emblem may use the same motif from the sphere of hieroglyphics" (8). This displays how motifs in emblems are represented in various forms through different images. The images in the *pictura* hold different meanings in varying motifs and symbolize very different things; an image can be used in more than one emblem conveying different meanings in each case.

Subscriptio

The *subscriptio* adds meaning to *inscriptio* and *pictura*. It usually is written in verse and this is thought to be because poetry is easier to retain; however, not every author wrote in verse and many opted to include a *subscriptio* in prose. The prose or verse that follows the *pictura* could be a short explanation of the images or lesson that the emblem teaches. At times, pages of prose could follow in the form of essays as well. In the Spanish emblem book tradition, pages of prose that accompanied the image were a common variation of the triplex structure of the emblem. Whether it is written in verse or prose, the text that accompanies the emblem serves the purpose of explaining what the image depicts. Combined with the *pictura*, the *subscriptio* gives meaning to its visual accompaniment and together teach the intended lesson.

Origins

The visual and written components of the emblem have different individual origins and inspirations. Understanding the Renaissance thought that combines the three parts of the emblem is important in understanding the widespread appeal of the emblem during its time. Of the many inspirations, those that contribute most to the individual parts that compose the tripartite structure of the emblem include: the Greek epigram, hieroglyphics, and the *impresa*.

The Greek Epigram

The Renaissance represents a time in which "…human designs and actions conformed to an ideal system and are elevated from the plane of mere practical, instinctive activity to the status of a spiritual creed, a programme of life" (Chabod 163). The programme that Chabod defines consists of man turning his though inwards. This movement began in Italy and resulted in a flourishing of education, art, literature and

philosophy, which were inspired by classical art and thought. “The Italian merchant and banking families gave their sons (and sometimes their daughters as well) an intensive education in the Latin classics in order that the aristocratic style and temperament might be inculcated in the rising generation” (Cantor and Klein 2). The newly emerged merchant class was able to afford education for their children and broke the tradition that only those from wealthy families could go to school. “The products of this wealthy social background and this humanistic educational system saw themselves as the continuators, almost the reincarnation, of the great men of classical antiquity” (Cantor and Klein 3). The Italian Renaissance was a ‘rebirth’ of the classical age. “The classical ideal of excellence became the Renaissance ideal of *virtù*; the best man was he who fulfilled all the potentialities of his being, who cultivated all the arts…” (Cantor and Klein 3). Studying the past was a way to learn prudence and virtue, much as the ancient philosophers and historians had thought. This explains the admiration for classical art forms and the desire to recreate, even surpass and prefect them. For this reason, it is no surprise that the Greek epigram is an inspiration to the emblem tradition.

The Greek epigram was an inscription that was placed with many monuments, statues and images. “Beginning early in the seventh century and increasingly in the sixth, fine dedications attracted inscriptions, the earliest of which were predominantly composed in poetic meters, that is, they were epigrams” (Day 3). These inscriptions were used to add either meaning or explain the purpose or supply a dedication of a moment, image or statue. These epigrams were associated with offerings to the divine. In his book regarding the reception of the Greek epigrams, Joseph W. Day explains,

> These dedications were meant to be attractive to human viewers and divine recipient; and people may have often felt that well-carved epigrams in

> competent meter added to their attractiveness, perhaps, especially if the verses displayed a touch of originality. (Day 3)

Andrea Alciati, the father of the emblem tradition who will be discussed later, was translating Greek epigrams in the early 1520s and used these as inspirations for his later works (Daly 9). The epigrams that accompany emblems help to enhance the impact of the message in a manner much like the epigrams the Greeks used as dedications. They provided an explanation and or gave meaning to the monument they accompanied. Emblem artists mirrored this practice by using poetry or pages of prose to explain or give meaning to the *pictura*. The *pictura* and *subscriptio* work together with the *inscriptio* to create the meaning of the emblem. The relationship between text and image is very important to the comprehension of the emblem much like the Greek epigrams that accompany monuments. The Greek epigrams offer inspiration to the Renaissance emblem tradition not only in form but also in reception of entertainment for those that read them.

Hieroglyphics

Hieroglyphics also prove to be a source of influence in the creation of emblems. Egyptian hieroglyphics are a system of ideograms, which are characters that symbolize the idea of something without indicating the phonetic sounds used to express them. The system combines ideograms with other characters that have only a phonetic purpose and are separate from the image that represents them. This included alphabetical signs as well as other ideograms that classified words and eliminated ambiguity.

The Greeks had studied Egyptian hieroglyphics, which of course led to the Renaissance interest in them. “The Greeks were not concerned with the phonetic aspects of the language, only with the symbolic system, which they viewed in the light of their

own theory of Platonic ideas" (Daly 15). The Greeks' interest in hieroglyphics laid in their capability of expressing abstract ideas by the images of real world objects.

The humanists studied the classical Greek writers during the Renaissance. Much of the classical writers explained that hieroglyphs expressed ideas in a symbolic or metaphoric manner. In his essay about "Hieroglyphics in the Early Renaissance", Rudolf Wittkower explains this misconception:

> In this the classical writers were, of course, absolutely wrong: they projected into hieroglyphic writing their own Hellenic mode of interpretation. Late classical authors had no idea that hieroglyphic writing was ideographic and phonetic. (65)

This classical understanding of the Egyptian hieroglyphs leads to the Renaissance misunderstanding. Daly explains that "[t]he renaissance humanists believed that each picture sign represented a word, that is, they took the hieroglyphs for ideograms" (11). While the Egyptian hieroglyphic system does include ideograms, Europeans were unaware of the combination of ideograms and phonetic signs that led to such misinterpretation. "For a long time, the European imagination relished fantastic interpretations of the enigmatic (and misleading expressive) signs of hieroglyphic writing" (Betrò 19). Without a full comprehension of the system, the symbols were misunderstood. This misunderstanding does explain the appeal and the popularity of the emblem tradition in Europe. Europeans felt that they had an understanding of the ancient wisdom that Egyptians obscured in their inscriptions and tried to replicate the style while refining the images and messages in accordance to Renaissance tastes. The notion that pictures can express abstract ideas is exactly what the emblem does. It conveys a message without using exact words that are combined with images.

Impresas

The *impresa*, also known as a 'device' was a popular form of expression during the Renaissance. Paolo Giovio wrote a treatise on the *impresa*, which became the basis for its form and style. In order for it to be considered an *impresa*, a word/image combination had to meet five requirements according to Giovio. In his *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose* Giovio outlines these five requirements:

> Prima, giusta proporzione d'anima e di corpo. Seconda, ch'ella non sia oscura di sorte ch'abbia mestiero della sibilla per interprete a volerla intendere, né tanto chiara ch'ogni plebeo l'intenda. Terza, che sopra tutto abbia bella vista, la qual si fa riuscire molto allegra entrandovi stelle, soli, lune, fuoco, acqua, arbori verdeggianti, instrumenti meccanici, animali bizzarri e uccelli fantastici. Quarta, non ricerca alcuna forma umana. Quinta richiede il motto che è l'anima del corpo e vuole essere communemente d'una lingua diversa dall'idioma di colui che fa l'impresa perché il sentimento sia alquanto più coperto.
> [First, the correct proportion between soul and body. Second, it should not be so obscure in a manner that the educated cannot interpret or understand it, neither so obvious that every commoner can understand it. Third, above all it should have a pleasing appearance, one that makes the reader feel joyous with stars, suns, moons, fire, water, greenery, mechanical instruments, strange animals and fantastic birds. Forth, it should have no human image. Fifth it requires a motto, which is the soul of the body and should normally be in a different language than that of he who chose it, so that the thought be somewhat covert.][4] (Giovio, *Dialogo*, 12)

The image was referred to as the body, and a motto as the soul. It could not be too obscure nor too plainly understood. The image had to be visually striking and could not include the human form. Finally, in order to hide its meaning, the motto had to be in a language other than that of its bearer. These are rough guidelines that were not always followed, not even by Giovio at times (Zimmermann 249).

Daly simplifies this list and writes, "…the basic form and content of the *impresa* are not hard to define: the *pictura* contains only one or two motifs and its *inscription* may

[4] This is my own translation of the passage.

not contain more than three words…unless it is in verse" (21). The *impresa* only has two parts but the emblem has three.

The addition of the epigram to the emblem was seen as poetic explanation. The *impresa* and emblem usually convey similar motifs and relay similar meaning. This could include a personal perspective, a general moral concept of behaviour, or personal philosophy held by the individual the *impresa* represents.

There is no set of defining differences between the two in terms of content or form, with exception to the absences of the epigram or subscript in the *impresa*. The main difference between the *impresa* and the emblem is its purpose or function. In the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco, an emblem writer included in this study, provides the following definition of the word emblem:

> Metafóricamente se llaman emblemas los versos que se subscriben a alguna pintura o talla, con que sinificamos algún concepto bélico, moral, amoroso o en otra manera ayudando a declarar el intento del emblema y de su autor. Este nombre se suele confundir con el de símbolo, hieroglífico, pegma, empresa, insignia, enigma etc.
> [Metaphorically, the verses underneath a painting or carving are called emblems, with which we signal some concepts of war, moral, love or otherwise help to declare the intent of the emblem and its author. This name is often confused with that of symbol, hieroglyph, pegma, company, badge, enigma etc.] (*Tesoro*, 763).[5]

Covarrubias then refers his readers to the emblem book of his brother Juan de Horozco who writes a treatise on emblems in the introduction of his emblem book.[6]

The emblem relied on pictures to convey a meaning and words to enhance the understanding of the overall concept. The *pictura* of an emblem does not act alone in

[5] In this definition, Covarrubias believes that emblems are verses that are added to an image. His definition is unclear in stating that the words and images function together as a unit. This demonstrates the difficulties that writers had in defining the emblem and separating it from other similar forms of word/picture combinations.
[6] Horozco's definitions will be cited later in this chapter.

conveying meaning to the reader. It relies on the combination of images and words to express meaning. The *impresa* was used by one person to express their personal goal or desired achievement. Giovio's motive with the *impresa* was,

> ...a restricted form of *explicato*, the presentation of an individual's life and philosophy to an audience of the educated and the courtly… Giovio's devices were vehicles of disclosure in which the mystery of the symbol served primarily to limit the revelation to the educated and conceal it from the vulgar. The device was an outward display of the bearer's inner truth… (Zimmermann 248)

Emblems were intended to convey a more general message meant to teach a lesson as well as entertain.

Andrea Alciati

The origins of the emblem begin with Andrea Alciati. In 1522, on the 9th of December, Alciati wrote to a printer named Francesco Calvo. In this correspondence Alciati stated he had completed an emblem book, written in Latin, and entitled it *Emblemata*. He saw this book of emblems as a form of entertainment and a distraction from his academic work during the holiday period. It was his hope his book would entertain his educated humanist friends. With the announcement of this book, Alciati announced the birth of a new genre: the emblem.

Alciati, also known as Alciato, was born on May 8th in 1492 in Milan, Italy. He was the only child born to Ambrogio Alciati and Margarita Landriana. His father Ambrogio was a cavalry officer and an ambassador for Milan to the Republic of Venice and his mother Margarita was a noble woman. The Alciati family was of considerable lineage, with several members of note, including Lucretia Alciata who was a woman famous for her virtue and sanctity, Benedict Alciatus, a general of the Humiliati from 1321-1336, and Margarita Alciata who wed Gaspar Vicecomes.

The family name derived from the Latin "Alciatus" meaning elk or *alce*, which became the badge of the family, '…the shield of which was distinguished by a crown or coronet, and a spread-eagle standing on the two towers of a castle." (Green 3).

As a young boy, Alciati was well educated and immersed in his studies as he was the pupil of well-noted rhetorician James Parrhasius, and in Pavia where Jason de Maino tutored him in jurisprudence and in Bologna by Carlo Picini. At the age of 15 he composed his Paradoxes of the Civil Law, demonstrating his great intelligence.

After his study of law, he earned a Doctorate of Laws in 1514 at the age of 22 and for four years after he pursued a career in law in which he showed great promise. It was during this time that Alciati married, however there is no record of the woman's name. It is thought that perhaps she died young, and left no surviving children at the end of her life.

In 1518 Alciati was called to be a professor of law in Avignon. It is suggested that he was unhappy with his salary, as it was not enough to care for his sick mother and support his wife. After three years of teaching in France, Alciati returned to Milan. It is in this year the Alciati met and befriended Erasmus. Many of Alciati's ideas about religious notions are similar to those of Erasmus. After his return to Milan, it is said that Alciati printed his first book of emblems that contained one hundred topics. It was so poorly executed that he withdrew it and destroyed all the copies he could.

For seven years Alciati followed the duties of his profession in Milan, but no records of his life, private or public, are known. He was summoned by King Francis I of France to the University of Bourges to take up a professorship. Francis Sforza recalled him from Bourges to Pavia, in his Duchy of Milan.

Alciati produced many emblems throughout his life and had a great influence on other emblem writers and critics across Italy and Europe as well. His emblems elevated the status of the emblems "…out of their grotesqueness and frequent absurdities..." (Green 49) and formed them from the classical sources with which he and other men of the Renaissance were familiar. Nearly one hundred and fifty editions of *Emblemata* were produced. His writing style, which allowed him to express concepts in few words, refined the epigram that would accompany the image of the emblem. The contemporaries of Alciati did not publish any of their emblem books until after his death, which means that his emblems were the standard to which all were modeled after. His emblems became well known in the cities in which he taught (Bologna, Ferrara and Pavia) and ignited the popularity of emblems and emblem books.

The First Emblems

By the time of his death in the year 1550, Alciati had produced well over 200 emblems, all of which had been printed. The *princeps* edition of his emblem book (Augsburg, 1531) contained only 104 emblems, and later editions would include up to 212 emblems. Editions of his emblem book were published in Augsburg, Paris and Venice. Later collections were rearranged by topics. His emblem book is often known simply as *Emblemata*.

> El número de las ediciones de los *Emblemata* entre los siglos XVI y XVII se acerca a ciento cincuenta, lo que da una idea del éxito e influencia que tuvo la obra en toda Europa de aquellos tiempos.
> [The number of editions of *Emblemata* between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is close to one hundred and fifty, which gives an idea of the success and influence that the work had in all Europe in those times.] (Zafra 22)

With numerous editions nearing one hundred and fifty, it is plain to see the genius and popularity of Alciati's emblems.

Speculations about Alciati's first emblems and their appearance add to the understanding of form of the emblem. It is thought that in some of the earliest stages of Alciati's emblem book, the emblems appeared without a motto (Manning 39). These emblems were a new style of literature and therefore the process for printing them was also new. The sources of the emblems can also account for the absence of a motto. Alciati's first emblem books were inspired by Greek epigrams. Manning explains that "Alciato published some epigrams in 1529 in a collection of Latin translations made from the Greek Anthology" (39) and sometimes they were identical to those found in classical works (Manning 39). Not only were the themes copied but also the content was as well. This means that if there was no motto in the Greek originals, then Alciati's translation did not have one either.

The visual components of the emblem also went through some changes from their first editions. Manning explains that *picturae* were also missing: "…Alciato's original manuscript epigrams were 'naked' – i.e., devoid of pictures. When Alciato published his complete works at the end of his life, they appeared simply as lemmatized epigrams" (40). Later editions of *Emblemata* and the works of other emblem writers rarely adopted this un-illustrated format (Manning 40). This evidence shows that the author had given the approval for some editions to be printed without the images. For Alciati the image was implied by the Latin text and therefore was only redundant. The epigram was plain to understand by anyone who could read the Latin epigram, and if it was not, this was the author's intention. "There is a calculated ambiguity in some of the emblems that meant they could not be visually construed with absolute confidence" (Manning 41). This can

account for the addition of pictures, as well as the variation of pictures that were added to the epigrams.

The 1531 *princeps* edition contains 104 of Alciati's emblems, which were put together in a book and dedicated to his friend Conrad Peutinger. Heinrich Steiner published this collection in Augsburg and gave it the title *Emblematum Liber*.

> Fue este editor quien decidió ilustrar cada una de las composiciones con un pequeño grabado, dando lugar así a la aparición de la estructure triple de lema-*pictura*-epigrama…
> [It was this publisher who decided to illustrate each of the compositions with a small engraving, thus giving rise to the appearance of the triple structure of motto-picture-epigram...] (Zafra 15-16)

Steiner added woodcut images that were stamped on the page to accompany the epigrams. As a result, it has been thought that Alciati was not the father of the *emblema triplex*. Indeed, it is Steiner's illustrated edition of Alciati's *Emblematum Liber* that codifies the triplex structure of the emblem.

In Latin and in translation, Alciati's emblems became popular outside Italy. Henry Green explains,

> Out of Italy, during the half century which followed Alciati's death, there prevailed a marked cultivation of the emblem-literature. More notable was the interest manifested in France; next in the Netherlands; also in England, Germany and Spain. (54)

Alciati's own emblems were translated into French, German and Spanish. The editions of the *Emblematum Liber*, in Latin and the vernaculars, gained a wide spread popularity in Europe. They became the model on which other authors could base their emblems. From this they could make adaptations and modifications according to individual and or popular tastes as well as innovations to the emblem tradition.

Alciati in Spain

The first Spanish edition of Alciati's *Emblematum Liber* was printed in Lyon, France, in 1549. It was translated from the Latin by Daza Pinciano and was published with the tittle: *Los emblemas de Alciato traducidos en rhimas españolas*. *Añadidos de figuras y de nuevos emblemas en la tercera parte de la obra Dirigidos al ilustre G. Juan Vazquez de Molina. En lyon por Mathia Bonhome 1549.* It is probable that he saw the popularity of Alciati's emblems and dedicated himself to a translation of the work into Spanish. The translation is not of the highest quality as Sánchez Pérez explains:

> En general, la rima no es más que un emparejamiento de las terminaciones finales, con valores poéticos pobres y a veces, muy pobres.
> [In general, the rhyme is only a pairing of the final word endings, with poor poetic value and at times very poor.] (62)

Pinciano's translation sometimes renders the original message of the epigrams difficult to understand. Nonetheless, this translation of Alciati's *Emblematum Liber* contributed greatly to the expansion and popularization of the emblem genre in Spain.

Alciati's Latin-language emblem book was also well known in Spain where it gained popularity.[7] Sánchez Pérez explains:

> Pero la traducción a las lenguas nacionales no significa que ya anteriormente no fuesse conocido por los eruditos. El libro estaba escrito en latín y ésa era la lengua de los estudiosos. La traducción a otras lenguas fue un paso hacia la vulgarización y popularidad del género.
> [But the translation into national languages does not mean that scholars did not previously know it. The book was written in Latin and that was the language of scholars. The translation into other languages was a step towards the vulgarization and popularity of the genre.] (61)

[7] Before the work was published in Spanish in the year 1549 does not mean that it was not already popular in Spain. Choosing to write his emblems in Latin demonstrates that Alciati intended his emblems to reach a learned audience all over Europe. Latin was widely studied and spoken in Europe. His emblems would reach a larger educated audience in Italy and Europe than any Italian dialect. Given the intended pedagogical nature of the emblem, the choice to write in Latin only enforces the fact that emblems were designed to entertain and teach readers. Writing in Latin also contributed to the circulation and success of Alciati's emblems.

Pinciano saw the success of the work and only made it more accessible to the masses by translating it in to Spanish.

In his discussion of the Spanish Emblem literature, Sánchez Pérez observes that many of the Spanish emblem books deal with themes of morality, religion and politics. He states:

> El Barroco y sus expresiones culturales son muy complejas. De igual manera, los libros de emblemas reúnen en sí una gran amalgama de elementos que, arrancado del jeroglífico egipcio y recogiendo residuos de la mitología griega, de las historias de hazañas, aventuras y dragones, así como de los bestiarios y herbarios de la Edad Media, desembocaron en la atormentada vitalidad de los siglos XVI y XVII. La exposición moralizadora de los libros de emblemas no ofrece un tratado de moral católica, como es de suponer, sino más bien un 'conglomerado' en el cual abundan y predominan los citados aspectos.
> [The Baroque and its cultural expressions are very complex. In the same way, the emblem books bring together a great amalgam of elements that, draw from the Egyptian hieroglyph and collecting residues from Greek mythology, stories of feats, adventures and dragons, as well as bestiaries and herbaria of the Middle Ages, which led to the tormented vitality of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The moralistic exposition of emblem books does not offer a treatise of Catholic morality, presumably, but rather a 'conglomerate' in which the abovementioned aspects abound and predominate.] (Pérez 74)

The hieroglyph, Greek myths and fantastic beasts are only a few of the sources of inspiration for Spanish emblem writers, who borrowed from many other sources. Emblematic images were not always original ideas of the emblem writer and we know Alciati's emblems were mostly translations of Greek epigrams.

An important point of departure within the Spanish emblem tradition is the terminology that was used for the emblem and other devices that function much like them. Pedro F. Campa conducts a study that helps to dissect the vocabulary of these other devices in his essay entitled *Emblematic Terminology on the Spanish Tradition*. Emblematic structures were popular in Spain for about one hundred and seventy years

which accounts for variation of style and structure as well as variation in the vocabulary and terminology that is used to describe emblems and other devices.

Spanish language terms that describe the emblem can include *emblema*, *empresa*, *jeroglífico*, *mote*, *pegma*, *cifra* and *enigma*. All seem to describe very similar things but Campa tries to better identify what is being referenced by these terms in Golden Age Spain. This aids in the identification of an item as a true emblem as well as how emblems were adopted and adapted in Spain. Juan de Horozco wrote a treatise that defines the differences between *emblema*, *empresa*, *jeroglífico, enigma*, and other terms as part of the introduction to his own book of emblems. Regarding these terms Horozco states the following:

> Emblema es pintura que significa aviso, de baxo de alguna, o muchas figuras…Empresa se dize la figura de alguna proposito, que por ser el fin de lo que se emprende… hierogliphicos es otro nombre de los más propios que las emblemas y empresas tienen, por aver sido imitación de aquellas antiguas letras que los Egypcios llamaron assí…
> [An emblem is a picture that gives advice, under one or many figures…A device is a figure with a purpose, of which is learned… hieroglyph is another most appropriate name gives to emblems and devices since they are an imitation of those ancient ciphers used by the Egyptians…] (*Emblemas morales* 20-25)

"All to little or no avail, since Golden Age writers apparently continued to misuse the terms" (Campa 16). Horozco tries to distinguish the terms that Spaniards used for emblems but these terms continued to be used in place of each other to describe the emblem.

"As we can see from the writings of theoreticians of the period there is a lack of precision in the terminology" (Campa 16). This lack of precision allows for individual preference with regards to terminology as well as style in order to change the reception of readers of the emblem books in Spain. The *empresa* (*impresa*) form of image and motto

became increasingly more popular in Spain. Campa explains this effect: "The almost exclusive use of … *empresa* for most forms of emblematic endeavour during most of the seventeenth century also heralds the end of the popularity of the Alciato-type emblem in Spain" (16).

Important Emblem authors in Spain

The words *empresa* and *emblema* became interchangeable in Spain leading to the popular use of the *empresa* term. Some Spanish emblem writers would call their word/picture combinations *empresas* and include an *inscriptio* and *pictura* like an *impresa* and write a long *subscriptio* in prose. This accounts for a very different Spanish adaptation to the Italian *impresa*. "This is evidenced in Juan de Borja's *Empresas morales* published at Prague in 1581" (Campa18). Juan's grandson, Francisco de Borja, reprinted the book with one hundred and twenty-four additional *empresas*. In the prologue, he states that he is aware of the rules of the Italian *impresa* but he does not follow them because those who wrote the rules did not always follow them. Borja's *empresas* function more like emblems because they give general rules for conduct unlike the Italian function of providing an individual goal or philosophy. In addition to this, they include a lengthy prose explanation that functions much like a *subscriptio* of an emblem, which makes the empresa more emblem-like.

Soon after this, Diego de Saavedra Fajardo published his emblem book *Idea de un príncipe politico christiano* in which he ignores the Italian rules to the *impresa*. A lengthy essay and description written in prose follows each emblem. His emblem book is meant to teach lessons about the conduct of a prince. Saavedra Fajardo is traditionally

considered to be anti-Machiavellian because he is against the extremes that Machiavelli promotes.[8]

Hernando de Soto is another Spanish emblem writer that is note worthy. The Spanish emblem tradition of moral conduct and religious themes consisted mostly of clerics like Borja, Covarrubias and Horozco. Soto is an exception because he was an accountant and wrote *Emblemas moralizadas* [*Moralized Emblems*], another emblem book of moral guidelines (Pérez 107). The publication of his emblem book in 1599 worried him because he feared criticism from the literary world (Pérez 107). He mentions in his prologue that he is foreign to the field and his education is not in literature but that does not deter him from writing. His emblems provide practical advice for everyday life and social relations.

Empresas espirituales y morales [*Spiritual and Moral Devices*] by Juan Francisco de Villava was published in 1613. His choice of the term 'empresas' over 'emblemas' in the title is explained in his prologue. Villava explains that emblems are made up of various figures and his devices consist only of real figures of nature, art, history or antiquity and not those of the imagination like emblems. Pérez explains that

> La confusión es, sin embargo, meramente teórica, puesto que en realidad sus empresas en nada se diferencian de los emblemas.
> [The confusion is, however, merely theoretical, since in reality his devices are in no way different from the emblems.] (126)

Empresas espirituales y morales contains one hundred items and each follows the triplex form of Alciato.

[8] Saavedra Fajardo will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 3. I have chosen to include him in this list only to demonstrate his variation from the triplex emblem, an important adaptation to the Spanish emblem tradition.

Other important Spanish emblem books and their authors include; *Emblemas regio-políticos* (1651) by Juan de Solórzano y Pereyra, *Triumphos morales de…* (1565) by Francisco Guzmán and *Proverbios morales y consejos christianos* (1612) by Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera.[9] These books along with many others establish the Spanish-language tradition of emblem literature.

[9] This is just a short list of other Spanish emblem authors. *Embelmas morales* by Horozco and *Emblemas morales* by Covarrubias have been excluded because they will be discussed at greater length in chapters 4 and 5.

Chapter 3. Diego de Saavedra Fajardo: Religion Makes it Right

The first emblem writer that will be discussed is Diego de Saavedra Fajardo. He was born in 1584 in Murcia. At the age of 16 he began his studies of jurisprudence and law at the University of Salamanca and graduated with a bachelor's degree in canon law in 1606 (García de Diego vii-ix). At the age of 21 he went to Rome and became the legal secretary to Don Gaspar de Borja y Velasco, the ambassador of Spain in the pontifical court. He held many different positions and titles such as secretary of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, Secretary of State and War during Borja's tenure as Viceroy of Naples, and minister to the court of Maximilian of Bavaria. Saavedra held many illustrious positions all while contributing to and publishing many works. The work that concerns this thesis is *Idea de un príncipe politico-cristiano* [*The Concept of a Political-Christian Prince*], the dedication of which was signed in Vienna (Dowling 17). This work was translated into English in 1700 under the title *The Royal Politician* and often appears as such in criticism. It was dedicated to Prince Baltasar Carlos, the heir of the Spanish Hapsburg dynasty. Saavedra's book of one hundred emblems was written with the purpose of teaching the prince the proper moral and political doctrines that were required of a Christian ruler of the time (Dowling 79). The book consists of emblems that include an *inscriptio* and *pictura*. In place of an epigram or poem as a *subscriptio*, the author writes a prose explanation of the *pictura* in order to better express his thoughts to the reader. His religious and political influences foreshadow the Christian and political theme of his work. Saavedra is often perceived as anti-Machiavellian; however, a side-by-side comparison of his emblems and *Il principe* shows that Saavedra has conflicting

ideas about Machiavelli's thoughts, agreeing with some and rejecting others while at times using religion to justify them.

The forty-third emblem of *Idea de un príncipe político cristiano* (Figure 1) contains the *inscriptio* "Ut Sciat Regnare" which means "In order to reign." Saavedra explains that he took inspiration for his motto from a statement by Louis XI of France Saavedra writes:

> …el mote *Ut sciat regnare*, sacado de aquella sentencia que el rey Ludovico XI de Francia quiso que solamente aprendiese su hijo Carlos VIII, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*; en que se incluye toda la sciencia de reinar. […the motto *Ut sciat regnare* taken from the sentence that King Louis XI of France said was the only one his son Charles VIII needed to learn: *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*; in which the whole science of government is included.][10] (*Idea,* XLIII, 165-66)

This *inscriptio* establishes Saavedra's stance on dissimulation and its acceptable use by the prince.[11] Most seventeenth century reason of state authors attribute the phrase used in this motto to Luis XI; however, it is unclear in what context that the king may have uttered this statement or even if he did at all (Bakos 400-01). King Louis XI was central to the reason of state literature of France. He practiced much of the Machiavellian traits and therefore became central to the topic in his country. "'Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare' was considered to be Louis XI's motto…It became a central axiom of *raison d'état* [reason of state] thought and Louis XI its most illustrious practitioner" (Bakos 401). Saavedra begins the emblem with a quote from a king who agreed with much of what Machiavelli wrote and put this teaching into practice.

[10] All English translations of Saavedra Fajardo are my own.
[11] Dissimulation will be discussed later in this chapter.

The second part of the emblem is the *pictura*, which depicts a lion skin adorned with a crown made of snakes. Saavedra provides an explanation of his choices for the emblem and states:

> Antes en esta empresa deseo que tenga valor; pero no aquel en esta bestial y irracional de las fieras, sino el que se acompaña con la justicia, significado en la piel del león, símbolo de la virtud, que por esto la dedicaron a Hércules…No siempre ha de parecer humano. Ocasiones hay en que es menester que se revista de la piel del león, y que sus vasallos y sus enemigos le vean con garras, y tan severo, que no se le atreva el engaño con las palabras halagüeñas de que se vale para domesticar el ánimo de los príncipes…
> [In this emblem, I desire that the prince have courage, but not that which is bestial and irrational, but one that is accompanied by justice, signified with the lion skin, a symbol of virtue, which is why they dedicated it to Hercules… He does not always have to appear human. There are times when it is necessary for him to wear the skin of the lion, and for his vassals and his enemies to see him with claws, and so severe, that he will not be deceived by the flattering words of which are used to tame the spirit of princes…] (*Idea*, XLIII, 164-65)

Saavedra is explaining that a prince does not have to be fierce all the time; however, there are times when he needs to have the courage to act in such a way and strike fear in others like a lion so that he can maintain his position when the occasion requires him to do so. Saavedra references Herakles, the brave Greek hero who slayed the Nemean lion in his first labour, which accounts for the numerous images of him wearing the skin of a lion. The Greek hero and son of Zeus, Herakles preformed twelve labours that proved his divine lineage and demi-god abilities. Herakles tried to kill the lion with weapons but found that the hide of the lion was impenetrable and concluded that strangulation was the only way to defeat the beast. Timothy Gantz explains the origins of the lion skin from a poem that is attributed to be by the Greek author Theokritos and states, "…Herakles stunned the animal with his club, and used the creature's own claws to cut the skin so that he could take it off and wear it" (Gantz 384). This reference accounts for the imagery of

wearing the lion skin, which represents the feigned actions of a prince to convince others that he is ferocious and to be feared and respected by others.

The snakes with which the lion skin is crowned are Saavedra's own addition. The idea comes from Machiavelli's concept of the lion and the fox, in which one must choose to be ferocious like the lion but have the cunning of the fox.[12] The borrowing of concepts and images are typical in the process of emblem writing. Authors often borrow, change and recompose ideas that have already been expressed from various other sources, in this case of Saavedra's use of Machiavelli's lion and fox. This process allowed emblem writers to manipulate meaning to fit their concepts. Saavedra has opted to replace the concept of the fox in favour of snakes. Saavedra explains:

> Pero, porque alguna vez conviene cubrir la fuerza con la astucia, y la indignación con la benignidad, disimulando y acomodándose al tiempo y las personas, se corona en esta empresa la frente del león, no con las artes de la raposa, viles y fraudulentas, indignas de la generosidad y corazón magnánimo del príncipe, sino con las sierpes, símbolo de imperio y de la majestad prudente y vigilante, y jeroglífico en las sagradas letras de la prudencia…mira a su defensa propia, no al daño ajeno.
> [But because it is sometimes necessary to cover strength with cunning, and indignation with benevolence, concealing and adjusting to time and people, the lion's forehead is crowned in this emblem, not with the skills of the fox, vile and fraudulent, unworthy of the generosity and magnanimous heart of the prince, but with serpents, a symbol of governing well and careful prudent majesty, and a symbol of prudence in the sacred letters... Looking to its own self-defence, not to the prejudice of others.] (*Idea*, XLIII, 165)

Saavedra makes it clear that the out right deception and deceit that the fox represents is not what is desirable for a political leader. Instead Saavedra instructs the reader to be more like the snake, careful and ever vigilant, deceiving only for self-preservation using prudence to do so.

[12] Further discussion of Machiavelli's notions in comparison to Saavedra's writing will appear later in this chapter.

Saavedra is assuming that for all, the snake represents the same general ideas of carefulness and alertness and deception used with prudence. Daly explains,

> Nature can be interpreted in this way because the observer recognizes good and evil qualities in the objects of nature. Recognition of meaning depends on an understanding of the thing portrayed… the properties of things portrayed in the emblem is assumed by the emblem writer… (Daly 43)

Meaning is derived from the reader's background and knowledge. The *Tesoro de la lengua* provides insight to the properties of the snake. The definitions of *serpiente* and *culebra*, both Spanish words for snake, in the *Tesoro de la lengua* include biblical references to cunningness, sneakiness etc. Under the term *serpiente*, Covarrubias writes,

> Comunmente llamamos serpiente a un género de culebra que fingimos tener alas y grandes uñas en los pies…Esta bestia dicha serpiente tomó por instrumento el enemigo universal del género humano, y revestido un ella engañó a nuestra madre Eva.
> [Commonly we call serpents a type of snake that pretends to have wings and big nails on its feet ... This beast is called serpent and was taken as an instrument by the universal enemy of the human race, and clothed in it deceived our mother Eve.] (*Tesoro* 1438)

The definition then includes verses from Genesis that recount the story of Eve begin deceived by the devil that is disguised as the snake. *Culebra* has a much longer definition in the *Tesoro*. The definition states:

> En las Sagradas Letras se toma muchas veces por el demonio y por el Anticristo; lo demás se dirá en la palabra SERPIENTE… símbolo de prudencia, como por tener en sí grandes provechos medicinales, en el pellejo, en la carne, en la enjundia…Comúnmente decimos del que es astuto y recatado, «Sabe más que las culebras».
> [In the Sacred Letters, it is often taken by the devil and the Antichrist; the rest will be said in the word SERPIENT… symbol of prudence because it has great medical properties, in the skin, in the mean, en the substance…Usually we say of the one who is cunning and modest, 'He knows more than the snakes'.] (*Tesoro* 652-3)

The definitions use the terms astute or prudent as qualities of the snake. These ideas are part of Saavedra's basis of knowledge that he uses in his selection of the snake to

represent the qualities that he implores his prince to have. This can be seen when Saavedra explains that the snake is a "…símbolo del imperio y de la majestad prudente y vigilante, y jeroglífico en las sagradas letras de la prudencia… […symbol of governing well and careful prudent majesty, and a symbol of prudence in the sacred letters…" (*Idea,* XLIII, 165). In this particular case Saavedra uses Machiavelli's system of meaning of the duality of man represented by the fox and the lion and replaces the fox with the image of a snake. The snake carries a different meaning to represent the ever-vigilant individual that is careful and prudent in his use of deception.[13] He recomposes Machiavelli's system with a new image and meaning.

The reader of this emblem would also be reminded of the religious connotations that come with the image of a serpent. Saavedra's emblem book is directed to a "Christian prince" and therefore the biblical image of a snake would also hold meaning to the audience. In the book of Genesis, the snake was the devil in disguise and uses his cunning to trick Adam and Eve into disobeying God's rule to never partake in the fruit of the forbidden tree. This results in the need to absolve children of the original sin during the sacrament of baptism. The snake uses his cunning and dissimulation without lying illicitly for his own self-fulfilling purposes. It is specifically the cunning and dissimulation that Saavedra approves of in his explanation.

Despite the fact that Saavedra Fajardo, like many others of his Spanish counter-parts, is against the Machiavellian notions of practical politics, his emblems and the prose explanations that accompany them contain messages that show he did agree with some of Machiavelli's ideas. This deviation of thought becomes most apparent in emblems XLIII

[13] The meaning implied by the image of the snake will be discussed further in the chapter.

and XLIV, which discuss the dissimulation of a prince. Dissimulation deals with the concealment of one's thoughts, feeling characters, and motives. It is a wilful and conscious method of "…pretending not to be what one actually is…" (Zagorin 3). According to the *Tesoro de la lengua* written by Covarrubias the verb *disimular* [to dissimulate] is defined as follows: "No darse por entendido de alguna cosa… Disimuladamente, con silencio y como al descuido…" [To pretend not be aware of (or not understand) something… Sneakily, silently and carelessly…] (*Tesoro* 719). Dissimulation is achieved by concealing the truth by pretending or confusing others with the intention to deceive and or fool others.

There is an established discussion of dissimulation among the reason of state writers as well as other *speculum principis* writers during the Renaissance and Baroque periods. It plays a fundamental role in the literature and theory of politics and statecraft. "Here it is related to the well-known theory of reason-of-state as an aspect of the problem of preserving and increasing the state's or ruler's power, without regard to morality if necessary" (Zagorin 6). However, dissimulation is a prudent Christian's version of deceit. It became the accepted course of action for those in positions of power in the process of self-preservation and the acquisition and maintenance of power. Machiavelli's *Il principe* and Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* [*The Book of the Courtier*] are examples of this type of instruction manual for princes and courtiers that discuss the theme of deceit and dissimulation.[14] These established works become the example for writers in Spain

[14] Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* is a book in the form of a dialogue at a dinner party during which the guests discuss the qualities of the perfect courtier. The guests do not exclude dissimulation from their conversation and see it as a necessary tool in courtly life (Zagorin 8). A key concept of *Il Cortegiano* was the term *sprezzatura*, which lacks an appropriate English translation. It can be understood as an effortless manner of doing

who "…drew on…Machiavelli to weigh the legitimacy of ruler's use of *dissimulación* and *simulación*" (Zagorin 7). Zagorin explains the difference of these two terms by stating "…dissimulation is pretending not to be what one actually is, whereas simulation is pretending to be what one actually is not" (3).

There is a fine line between real deceit and what Saavedra considers to be permissible dissimulation and in this emblem Saavedra attempts to distinguish this difference in the prose explanation. Saavedra writes:

> Solamente puede ser lícita la disimulación y astucia cuando no engañan ni dejan manchado el crédito del príncipe; y entonces no las juzgo por vicios, antes o por prudencia, o por virtudes hijas della, convenientes y necesarias en el que gobierna. Esto sucede cuando la prudencia, advertida en su conservación, se vale de la astucia para ocultar las cosas según las circunstancias del tiempo, del lugar y de las personas, conservando una consonancia entre el corazón y la lengua, entre el entendimiento y las palabras. Aquella disimulación se debe huir que con fines engañosos miente con las cosas mismas; la que mira a que el otro entienda lo que no es; y así bien se puede usar de palabras indiferentes y equívocas, y poner una cosa en lugar de otra con diversa significación, no para engañar, sino para cautelarse o prevenir el engaño, o para otros fines lícitos.
> [Dissimulation and cunning can only be licit when they do not deceive nor stain the credit of the Prince, in which case I do not consider them vices, but prudence or virtues, the daughters of her, both being advantageous and necessary in he who governs. This happens when prudence, aware of its need for self-preservation, uses cunning to conceal things according to the circumstances of time, place and people, keeping a consonance between heart and language, between understanding and words. That concealment with which for deceitful purposes disguises the truth of things should be avoided; that which would make one understand that which is not; and thus, doing so one may use words that are indifferent and ambiguous, and put one thing in place of another with different meaning, not to deceive, but to be cautious or prevent deception, or for other lawful purposes.] (*Idea*, XLIII, 167)

Saavedra is trying to outline the permissible use of dissimulation by explaining that it is valid when it does not deceive others or harm the reputation of the prince. In other words,

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things whether one actually knows how to do them. This overlaps with Machiavelli's ideas pretending to be what one is not.

a prince may speak unclearly and ambiguously so that the truth is concealed under certain circumstances. Saavedra states:

> Aquella disimulación se debe huir que con fines engañosos miente con las cosas mismas; la que mira a que el otro entienda lo que no es…
> [That concealment with which for deceitful purposes disguises the truth of things should be avoided; that one that tries to get the other to misunderstand the issues…] (*Idea*, XLIII, 167)

This implies that lying for the sake of lying should be avoided and if one wishes to make someone believe something that is not true it should be done with ambiguity of words. This seems to be more of an instruction of how to lie and not an explanation of the difference of dissimulation and lying. It seems that Saavedra blurs the line between licit dissimulation and lying in order to prevent one's self from being lied to for matters of the state. The action of the self-preservation by the prince is a viable excuse for a more deceitful action. Saavedra sees nothing wrong with deceit and that one may "…poner una cosa en lugar de otra con diversa significación…" […put one thing in place of another with different meaning…] so that a prince may keep himself in the position of power or for the good of his state, as long as the intentions are lawful. This idea describes lying more than it does dissimulation which is accordance with Machiavellian notions. Saavedra displays his uncertainty in this attempt to separate and define dissimulation and licit lying.

Dealing with dissimulation and concealing plans from ministers and others, emblem XLIV (Figure 2) displays a serpent and the *inscriptio* 'Nec a quo nec ad quem' [Neither where nor whom]. In the first few lines of the *subscriptio* Saavedra provides further description of the snake, which allows for more insight to his interpretation of the qualities it possesses. The author writes:

> Dudoso es el curso de la culebra, torciéndose a una parte y otra con tal incertidumbre, que aun su mismo cuerpo no sabe por dónde le ha de llevar la cabeza; señala el movimiento a una parte, y le hace a la contraria, sin que dejen huellas sus pasos ni se conozca la intención de su viaje. Así ocultos han de ser los consejos y desinios de los príncipes. Nadie ha de alcanzar adónde van encaminados … Con tanto recato deben los príncipes celar sus consejos, que tal vez ni aun sus ministros los penetran…
> [Uncertain is the course of the snake, twisting to one part and another with such uncertainty, that even his own body does not know where the head may lead; he signals motion to one place and he does the opposite, without leaving his tracks or knowing the intention of his journey. So hidden should be the counsels and designs of a prince. No one should know what they plan… Princes should conceal their designs with such care, that even their Ministers cannot discover them…] (*Idea*, XLIV, 173)

In this emblem Saavedra advises a prince to keep his plans hidden from all so that he may always have the advantage of surprise as well as protect himself from others. Princes in their attempts to conceal their plans for others should imitate the winding motion of a snake, to appear to do one thing while having another intended course of action. Saavedra creates the image of the contortion of a snake's body by saying "…torciéndose a una parte y otra con tal incertidumbre…" […twisting to one part and another with such uncertainty…] which symbolizes the contortion of words and actions that a prince should use to hide his plans. Saavedra further exemplifies the snake as a representation for cunning and deceit with this metaphor.

Saavedra is aware of the writings of Machiavelli as he does mention him and his ideas twice in the prose explanation while taking a stance in opposition to acting in the way Machiavelli suggests.

> De donde se infiere cuán impío y feroz es el intento de Macavelo, que forma a su príncipe con otro supuesto o naturaleza de león o de raposa, para que lo que no pudiere alcanzar con la razón, alcance con la fuerza y el engaño...
> [Where it may be inferred how impious and ferocious is the intent of Machiavelli, who forms his prince on another condition or nature of the lion or the fox, so that what is not attained with reason is gained with force or deceit…] (*Idea*, XLIII, 163)

This statement implies that Saavedra believes that acting according to Machiavelli's notion of the lion and the fox is an extreme because when intellect and cunning cannot be used, a prince should turn to force and violence, which he does not advocate. A second general statement in which Saavedra references Machiavelli by saying "…huyendo de los extremos de Macavelo" […avoiding the extremes of Machiavelli…] (*Ideas*, XLIII, 166), which demonstrates further disagreement with Machiavelli's extremes of deceit;[15] however, in contradiction to what Saavedra has previously stated in this essay.

When comparing what Machiavelli has written in regards to the ways in which a prince should keep the faith, Saavedra ignores the so-called extremes of deceit. The eighteenth chapter of Machiavelli's *Il principe* is where Machiavelli explains when it is permissible for a prince to use deceit. At the beginning of the chapter Machiavelli explains that many princes that have done great things have had little regard for keeping the faith, or in other words through the use of craftiness and deceit. Machiavelli continues:

> Dovete adunque sapere come sono dua generazione di combattere: l'uno con le leggi, latro con la forza: quel primo è proprio dello uomo, quel secondo delle bestie: ma, perché el primo molte volte non basta, conviene ricorrere al secondo. [You must know that there are two ways of combating, one with the law, the other with force; the first is proper to men, the second to beasts; but because the first is often not enough, it becomes necessary to resort to the second.] (*The Prince* XVIII, 98)

[15] The extremes that are expressed by Machiavelli are a result of the political situation and moral decay of Italy that the Florentine witnessed during his time. Italy was the battleground of foreign wars, it did not have political stability and lacked leadership. Machiavelli writes in extremes because he believes that these extremes were needed to rectify these problems. In Chapter 26 of *Il principe* Machiavelli hopes that someone will take his advice and unify the peninsula.

This bestial reference is attributed to deceit. Acting in such a manner should not be one's first course of action but Machiavelli states there are times when this necessary. When these times are required, he chooses two particular animals whose actions a prince should imitate:

> Sendo adunque, uno principe necessitato sapere bene usare la bestia, debbe di quelle pigliare la golpe e il lione; perché il lione non si defende da' lacci, la golpe non si difende da lupi.
> [Therefore, a prince, when knowingly compelled to be bestial, should choose the fox and the lion; because the lion cannot defend himself against snares and the fox cannot defend himself against wolves.] (*The Prince* XVIII, 99)

Machiavelli uses the fox and the lion to embody and represent the ways by which the prince can obtain what he wants, through deceit as the fox, and through fear as the lion. Machiavelli then sates when it is permissible for a prince to use the traits of a fox and to be deceitful:

> Non può per tanto uno signore prudente, né debbe, osservare la fede, quando tale osservanzia li torni contro e che sono spente le cagiono che la feciono promettere.
> [Therefore, a prudent lord cannot nor should not keep faith, when such observance may turn against him and when the reasons that made him pledge it no longer exist.] (*The Prince*, XVIII, 99)[16]

[16] This concept is mirrored in the *Discorsi* Book I Chapter 6. Machiavelli poses the question of if it were possible for Rome to establish a state that eliminated the enmities between the people and the Senate. He discusses the union of Rome between the government and the people and examines republics that were free for a long time, using Sparta and Venice as examples. He states that Sparta had a small population that was governed by few and did not accept foreigners into the state. In the Republic of Venice, many people came together, ordered a form of government, and then did not allow new inhabitants into the government (Mansfield 49). Eventually when many inhabitants were outside the government they called those in the government "gentlemen" and the others "people". He notes that Sparta used the general population in war, and Venice did not. If someone wished to establish peace between the people and senate in Rome, they would have to not use the people in war like Venice or not open the government to foreigners like Sparta. Machiavelli then provides an alternative for someone wishing to order a republic anew, and not just to remake Rome (Mansfield 51). This person would have to decide if he wanted a republic to grow or stay at smaller size. He concludes that necessity would dictate if the republic would have to grow or stay the same and it would have to act accordingly to avoid ruin. Machiavelli then states:

This proves to be the inspiration for Saavedra who writes that certain circumstances permit a prince to be deceitful when it means that it will secure his position and protect his power. This coincides directly with Machiavelli's advice about dissimulation and not keeping the faith. Machiavelli cautions this to those that would always be honest and keep the faith:

> E, se li uomini fussino tutti buoni, questo precetto non sarebbe buono; ma perché sono tristi, e non la osservarebbano a te, tu etiam non l'hai ad osservare a loro." [If men were all good, this precept would not be true; but because they are bad, and will not keep faith with you, you do not need to keep it with them.] (*The Prince* XVIII, 99)

Saavedra's *Idea de un príncipe* reflects this advice and demonstrates his acceptance of Machiavelli's thoughts. Saavedra knows that not all men are good which accounts for why he excuses princes from deception. This notion of trusting no one and taking precautions against others is a reflection of Machiavelli's thoughts on the innate goodness of humans.

Machiavelli concludes the chapter with the following statements:

> … quello che ha saputo meglio usare la golpe, è meglio capitato. Ma è necessario questa natura saperla bene colorire et essere gran simulatore e dissimulatore: e sono

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> Ma sendo tutte le cose degli uomini in motto, e non potendo stare salde, conviene che le salghino o che le scendino, e a molte cose che la ragione non t'induce, t'induce la necessità…
> [But because the affairs of men are always in motion and cannot remain stable, States will be stable or decline, and many things that reason will not induce, will be induced by necessity…] (*Discorsi* I, 6)

If necessity demands that a republic expands and does not, then it will be ruined. Those that run a republic must be able to recognize when to expand or not. This is mirrored in the advice that Machiavelli gives in *Il principe* about knowing when not to keep the faith. When reason may compel a prince to keep the faith; necessity may demand him to break it if it saves him from losing his power or position. If a prince is to gain or maintain his power he cannot always keep his word and must be deceitful and break his word and he must have the ability to recognize when to do so.

> tanto semplici li uomini, e tanto obediscano alle necessità presenti, che colui che inganna troverrà sempre chi si lascerà ingannare.
> […he who has known best how to employ the fox has succeeded best. But it is necessary to know how to disguise this skill, and to be a great pretender or dissembler: and men are so simple and subject to present needs, that he who deceives will always find someone who will allow himself to be deceived.] (*The Prince*, XVIII, 100)

With this statement Machiavelli is explaining that the talents of the fox are qualities that allow for the best leaders. But in doing so one must be able to disguise the deceit and hide it well from others. A good prince is a good dissembler and can confuse and make the truth unclear.

This chapter is a clear inspiration for Saavedra who, despite disagreeing with the extremes of Machiavelli, does promote the same course of action on behalf of a prince. In fact, there is very little difference between the ideas of the two authors in these chapters. Saavedra has taken the Machiavellian notions previously established and recreated them, adding his own interpretations to what Machiavelli has already written. In *Idea, de un príncipe político* Saavedra uses the concept of a duality in a prince, who must adopt different methods and behaviours depending on the circumstances in which he finds himself. The fox and the lion in Machiavelli's *Il principe* represent this dual natured prince, however Saavedra changes the imagery in an attempt to better explain and excuse the deceit of princes. The lion is used as a symbol of majesty and strength by both authors. Saavedra has fractured Machiavelli's concept of the fox and restructures it with a snake to represent the cunning and deceit of politicians. Saavedra is advocating for some of the same behaviours that Machiavellian practices insist upon. Concerning the devious and often contradictory nature of *Idea de un* príncipe, Monroe Z. Hafter explains that "…the diplomat sometimes advised Machiavellian practices to attain the righteous end,

or, as it were, confused the highest with a less perfect prudence" (Hafter, 162). Saavedra makes much use of the words *astucia* or *prudencia* to represent the judgment of a prince to know when and how to employ the cunning of the snake and be deceitful with dissimulation. In the *Tesoro de la lengua, astucia* is defined as "El ardid con que uno engaña; del nombre latino *astutia*... astuto, el sagaz y cauteloso" [The trick with which one deceives; from the Latin name *astutia* ... astute, the wise and cautious] (*Tesoro* 238). *Prudencia* is defined as

> …una de las virtudes cardinales. Prudente, el hombre sabio y reportado, que pesa todas las cosas con mucho acuerdo… […one of the cardinal virtues. Prudent, a wise and dedicated man, weighing all things with much agreement…] (*Tesoro* 1380)

These definitions use Spanish equivalents of the word 'wise' to define *prudencia*. This enforces the idea of a prince needing to be wise and able to choose when to behave in the manner indicated by Saavedra and Machiavelli. A prince is to act in the best interests of his state and the subjects that inhabit it, therefore when a politician uses these methods for the greater good of the state and to allow him to continue to do good, his actions are excused because he is only acting for the greater good.

Saavedra discusses the virtues of a Prince who should be a model of Christian virtue. However, *Idea de un príncipe político-cristiano* includes situations in which a prince can put aside his obligation of exemplary behaviour in favour of dishonest actions that will preserve his position of power. Saavedra is sure to explain that virtuous actions are always more favourable than vices; however, there are times in which vices can be excused.

Emblem VLVII (Figure 3) cautions how excessive observance of virtues can be a vice as well. The emblem depicts the method that shepherds use to catch crows. A crow

is tied to the ground and when it sees other crows it cries for help. When the other comes to aid the trapped bird, it is caught. This is meant to be a lesson of vigilance for princes in situations of helping friends and foreign princes. The prose explanation does extend beyond coming to the aid of others as Saavedra does discuss all virtues. The explanation commences with the following statement:

> Aun en las virtudes hay peligro: estén todas en el ánimo del príncipe, pero no siempre en ejercicio. La conveniencia pública le ha de dictar el uso dellas, el cómo y el cuándo. Obradas sin prudencia, o pasan a ser vicios, o no son menos dañosas que ellos.
> [There are dangers even in virtues: they should always be in the mind of a prince, but not always in exercise. Public interest should dictate when and where to use them. Used without prudence they become vices or are no less harmful than them.] (*Idea*, XLVII, 201)

Saavedra explains that a prince must use prudence in order to recognize the best course of action in certain situations. This action may require displaying Christian virtues that would be considered good and praiseworthy for a prince, on the other hand it also includes knowing when to abandon these virtues in order to avoid a potentially dangerous situation that may harm the prince's reputation, state or position. The rest of the explanation gives examples of men that have come to the aid of others only to end in a worse situation than they began, leading to ingratitude and resentment among both parties. One of these examples is Germanicus who was adopted by Tiberius. Saavedra explains that Tiberius appointed Germanicus to succeed him. Germanicus was called away from his true glory in Germany because he was obliged to serve Tiberius. He was resentful of this and had hatred towards his benefactor. Ultimately under the service of Tiberius, Germanicus was poisoned and died. After helping Germanicus, he resented Tiberius and when Germanicus was sent to the eastern provinces he was killed. Tacitus chronicles the events of the death of Germanicus in The Annals. Book II states that on his

death bed Germanicus implies his suspicion of Tiberius. Tacitus writes "[t]this was said openly; other words were whispered, pointing, it was supposed to his fears from Tiberius" (*Annals*, II 72, 72). People suspected Tiberius of instructing Piso to poison Germanicus. Tiberius was under suspicion by his people and left in a worse sate than he was before helping Germanicus.

Saavedra only recommends princes to aid friends and foreign princes when the danger is common to both. Hafter clarifies this notion by explaining

> There is no obligation, be it in the name of kin, friend, or piety, which can justify a ruler's sacrificing his own country. If, however the danger is common to both, it is more prudent to struggle with it in another's state than in one's own. (166)

The self-interest for which Saavedra advocates displays Machiavellian tendencies that go against the Christian morals set forth by the Catholic Monarchs of his country.

In order to support this blatant rejection of a Christian practice of helping those in need, Saavedra cites the Bible. Saavedra quotes Proverbs 6:1-2 which states "My son, if thou be surety for thy friend, if thou hast stricken thy hand with a stranger, thou art snared with the words of thy mouth, thou art taken with the words of thy mouth" (*King James Bible*, Prov. 6.1-2). This verse explains that if one provides security for a friend or a stranger, then one is trapped by what is promised. Saavedra uses this to explain that a prince should work to free himself from the need of aid from others. He should not have to rely on others, nor should he come to their aid for he might be ruined in providing help. Saavedra continues with the religious theme by stating that his readers should learn from the example of God who

> …hace siempre bien aun a los que no son agradecidos. Pero es prudencia estar con tiempo advertidos de que a una correspondencia buena corresponde una mala…

> […always does good even to those that are ungrateful. But it is prudence to be advised that when you do someone a favour you may not get one in return…] (*Idea,* XLVII, 211)

Saavedra explains that we should learn from God who blesses the ungrateful but is prudent to know when He should do so. A prince should be prudent to know when he should help others as well. Saavedra uses biblical and religious references to justify not acting like a Christian and helping others. This is important because he uses religion as a means to support his acceptance of Machiavellian ideas on charity. He ironically uses the Bible and Catholic teachings to oppose Christian moral practices and explain his acceptance of Machiavelli's writing.

Saavedra's emblem echoes Machiavellian ideas from *Il principe* when the Florentine writer discusses things for which princes are praised or blamed. Machiavelli writes the following:

> Onde è necessario a uno principe, volendosi mantenere, imparare a potere essere non buono, et usarlo e non usare secondo la necessità.
> [Therefore, it is necessary for a prince, wanting to hold his own to learn how to do wrong, and use it or not according to necessity.] (*The Prince* XV, 87)

Machiavelli is explaining that at times is it necessary for rulers to know how to do wrong and know when the situation calls for it. His explanation for this piece of advice includes a list of qualities that would be considered good and praiseworthy followed by their opposite counter part. The list includes being: liberal and miserly, generous and rapacious, cruel and compassionate, faithless and faithful, effeminate and cowardly and bold and brave, affable and haughty, lascivious and chaste, sincere and cunning, religious and unbelieving. He explains that it would be ideal for every ruler to exhibit all the positive qualities and avoid the negative but this is not possible because human conditions would not allow it. Therefore, rulers should use prudence to avoid the vices

that would lose him the state and keep those that would not but his position in danger. In addition to this, Machiavelli goes one step further to say that acting virtuously all the time can be dangerous as well. Chapter XV of *Il principe* concludes with the statement:

> …si troverrà qualche cosa che parrà virtù, e seguendola sarebbe la ruina sua; e qualcuna altra che parrà vizio, e seguendola ne riesce la securtà et il bene essere suo.
> […one would find that something that looks like virtue, and is followed would be his ruin; and something else which looks like vice, if followed results in his security and benefit.] (*The Prince* XV, 88)

This means that constantly conveying qualities that are favourable and virtuous can lead to the misfortune and demise of a ruler and his state, while actions that seem to be vices may lead to the benefit and security of said ruler. For Machiavelli

> The 'rationality' of the human beast is prudence; he must know when to adopt which nature…Such necessities have the character of chance particulars; one knows *that* they will come but not *when* or *in what form.* (Mansfield 38-39)

Machiavelli calls for a kind of prudence to know when to exhibit these qualities. Saavedra express the same concept in this essay. A prince should be generous and compassionate only when it is good for a ruler and his state. It should not be done to appease certain individuals, however, it should be done in the best interest of a ruler, for his needs and purposes when he sees fit.

Machiavelli's *Il principe* serves to be a clear inspiration for many of Saavedra Fajardo's emblems in *Idea de un príncipe politico-cristiano*. Saavedra incorporates the notion of prudence that guides a ruler to choose between acting virtuously and doing wrong for the purposes of self-preservation. These choices are self-serving in two ways: first they eliminate any direct danger from others, second, they allow the prince to maintain a good image for his subjects. Saavedra struggles with the ideas of keeping the faith. He takes a Machiavellian stance by advising rulers to use dissimulation to protect

themselves from the plotting of others. He agrees that princes should use dissimulation but struggles to clearly define the difference between dissimulation and lying. He says that outright deceit is wrong but then contradicts himself by excusing princes from doing so with good intentions when it is done for his subjects as well as to maintain his power. Saavedra is inconsistent because he accepts some Machiavellian concepts and he rejects others. Saavedra use religious references to justify Machiavellian concepts for which he advocates in order to condone this behaviour. Saavedra accepts Machiavellian ideas on charity and helping others when he advises rulers to only do so when it serves his own selfish interest. Saavedra expresses contradictory thoughts about Machiavelli's ideas. He does his best to separate himself from the extremes of Machiavelli and at the same time advocates for the same behaviour.

Chapter 4. Juan de Horozco y Covarrubias: Dogs, Men and God

Juan de Horozco y Covarrubias was the son of Sebastián de Horozco, a man known for his compilation of songs and glossary of proverbs (Pérez 96). His uncle Diego de Covarrubias was a theologian, philosopher and politician as well as a professor of law at the University of Salamanca. For this reason, he had access to some of the greatest private libraries containing classical and contemporary works (Pérez 96). Horozco was a doctor of theology and was appointed canon of the church of Segovia. His emblem book entitled *Emblemas morales* was published in 1591. The book is divided into three parts, the first of which is a discussion of emblems. He provides information about the origins and form of the emblem and its relationship to hieroglyphics. Pérez reminds us that Horozco is not a poet, and the *subscriptio* of the emblems is not very good and at times crude (100).

Horozco states that it is his purpose with *Emblemas morales* to help men in their actions to be moral and better individuals. With this book, he wishes to supply a more modern and different way of teaching lessons with illustrations, which are pleasing to the viewer. In his emblems, Horozco demonstrates that he agrees with Machiavelli's ideas about relationships with others in the court; however, he believes they should be made under different pretenses. He also shows that he does not accept Machiavelli's notion of *virtù* in a prince, and contrarily believes that a prince should make learning experiences out of adversity.

Emblem XXIII (Figure 4) of the third book of *Emblemas morales* presents conflicting ideas that suggest Horozco agrees with Machiavelli's notions in *Il principe* about the relationships of the king; however, he advises rulers to make these friendships

in a very different way. The emblem does not contain an *inscriptio* and is composed of a *pictura* and *subscriptio* followed by a prose explanation. The *pictura* is the image of a king seated on a throne wearing a crown and holding a sceptre. The king is surrounded by a total of five dogs, three on the left and two on the right.

The second part of this emblem is the *subscriptio*, which reads as follows:

> En qué estava la dicha y la grandeza
> de aquel Rey Masinisa yo que querría
> saber, pues no bastava su riqueza
> su Imperio ni los hijos que tenía,
> ni aun la amistad de Roma y la nobleza
> con que a sus aliados defendía,
> Y de todos muy poco assegurado
> De perros solamente era guardado.
> [In what rested the happiness and greatness of that King Massinissa I would like to know, since neither his wealth, nor his empire, nor the children that he had were enough, not even the friendship of Rome and the nobility with which he defended his allies. And not fully trusting all of them, only dogs were his guard.][17]
> (*Emblemas morales*, Book III, emblem XXIII)

The *subscriptio* reveals the identity of the king in the *pictura* as King Massinissa, the first king of Numidia. Massinissa did not become king at the death of his father due to the customs of his people, therefore granting his uncle, Oezales, the title. Oezales was the brother-in-law of Hannibal Barca. Once his uncle died and a relative murdered his cousin, a civil war arose in Numidia. He gained the support of Rome and won the kingship. "During his long reign, which extended from the Second Punic War into the Third, he prospered despite being caught between Rome and Carthage, eventually siding with the former and playing a decisive role in the destruction of the latter" (Roller 11). With this Roman support, Scipio formally addressed him as king and, according to Livy; Scipio stated he was the foreigner most respected by Rome (Roller 13). He was

[17] All translations of Juan Horozco de Covarrubias are my own.

considered to be a learned man who earned a fascination among Romans. Roller writes that "Contemporary Romans were fascinated with the tale of the witty and cultured barbarian king, who had lived so long and fathered the last of his forty-four sons at 86, and was noted for such ability and strength in extreme old age" (Roller 16). Evidence suggests that Massinissa was an intelligent man and the first barbarian to hellenize his court with many famed Greek and Roman visitors.[18]

The *subscriptio* reveals key themes that are discussed in the short explanation that accompanies the emblem. Horozco explains that friends and riches are not enough in a successful reign of a ruler, not even children are enough. Loyal friends in the court and citizens are the most important things for a king or prince. This king does not have any trusted friends or citizens in his company and only has the loyalty of his dogs. In this emblem, as well as the prose explanation that follows it, Horozco conveys two concepts: the necessity of loyal friends and subjects, as well as the manner in which these are gained. Both Machiavelli and Horozco demonstrate they take a similar position on the issue. They believe that rulers need loyal friends. Regarding the manner in which these relationships are made, Horozco takes a contrary stance to Machiavelli, suggesting that favours, not fear, will make trusted friends.

Horozco agrees with Machiavelli about the need for wealth in a successful reign. In the third line of the *subscriptio*, Horozco states "…pues no bastava su riqueza…"

[18] Perhaps Covarrubias may have mistaken the identity of King Massinissa for another individual, as there are two men of the same name that lived in different times. It is also possible that this is a legend deriving from his 'barbarian' ancestry and that the story of his guard dogs derives from another source not pertaining in this study. The important fact is that Juan de Horozco y Covarrubias believes this to be true and uses it to teach a lesson. It should also be noted that Machiavelli mentions King Massinissa's name twice in the *Discorsi* (II 1 and II 30). Machiavelli notes that Massinissa was an ally to the Romans and this friendship gave the Romans entry power in Africa.

[…since his wealth was not enough…]. This short statement implies that he recognizes that wealth plays a part in the successful reign of a ruler but it is not enough. This idea is not developed or discussed in the explanatory paragraphs that follow the emblem, as it is not the main theme. Machiavelli also emphasizes the importance of wealth and a ruler who can rely on his own means. Chapter VI of *Il principe* discusses a princes' own foundations[19], mainly wealth, and the importance it has in raising military forces. In this chapter Machiavelli states "…quando dependono da loro proprii e possano forzare, allora è che rare volte periclitano" […when they can rely on themselves and use force, then they are rarely in danger] (*The Prince* VI, 31). Machiavelli is explaining that a prince who commands his own army will often be more successful in acquiring a principality. This requires funds to arm the men properly with weapons and defensive protection as well as providing payment to one's own countrymen as motivation to participate in combat. It is important for a prince to be able to support himself and not rely on others to provide money because a prince will find himself in debt to those that help him. Auxiliary troops are dangerous for this reason according to Machiavelli. The Florentine author writes,

> Queste arme possono essere utile e buone per loro medesime, ma sono, per chi le chiama, quasi sempre dannose: perché, perdendo rimani disfatto, vincendo, resti loro prigione.
> [These arms can be useful and good for themselves, however, for he who calls them, they are almost always damaging: because in losing one remains undone, in winning, one is their captive.] (*The Prince* XIII, 76)

This explains that calling for the aid of others is harmful to a prince because if the forces called lose, the prince shall remain the loser; however, if they win, the prince is then in the debt to the person that has come to his aid. This notion would be the same for those

[19] Machiavelli refers to 'fondamenti' or the foundations of a prince which reference the princes' own wealth that allow for a ruler to build an army and or fortify cities.

that borrow money to support their armies. The necessity of wealth for a ruler is a commonplace idea. Neither author presents new ideas about the topic; however, they both recognize its importance. Horozco believes that wealth is not enough as it is just one component that is needed for success as a ruler.

Despite the fact that Horozco sees the aspects of this king's rule that should amount to success, he calls the prosperity of the king into question. Horozco implies that there is something strange about the rule of this king and the reasons for which he is considered to be great. Horozco notes that the king had wealth, empire, children, and an alliance with Rome. These are all things that successful rulers need. Horozco then draws attention to the lack of courtly figures that should surround a king in court. For example, guards, advisors, staff and favoured people or dignitaries are usually in the presence of the king. Instead, the *pictura* displays only dogs in his presence. The lack of people strikes the poetic voice of the epigram as strange. In the three pages that follow the emblem, Horozco provides an explanation to this peculiar element of the emblem and of the king's reign. Horozco writes:

> Y bolviendo al proposito de nuestra Emblema dezimos, que se puede contar a mucha de la gracia de un Rey tenido por otra parte por dichoso, que aviendo de tener consigo guarda huviesse de ser de perros, pues era falta de subditos tan leales, que con razón pudiera fiarse dellos haziendoles tanta merced y favor, que se creyera tenía en ellos quien de veras le amasse y que fuessen amigos; pues por los tales se ha de entender lo que Platón dize en una epistola a Dion, que los Principes se pierden no por faltarles el oro, sino los amigos.
> [And returning to the purpose of our emblem, we can account for much of the grace of a King who was otherwise *fortuna*te, who needing guards these happen to be guard dogs, for it was a lack of loyal subjects, which with reason he could rely on them, doing many favours for them and showing them preference, so it would be believed that he had truly loved them and they were his friends; for by which it could be understood what Plato says in an epistle to Dion, that princes are lost not because they lack gold, but friends.] (*Emblemas morales*, Lib III Emb. XIII)

According to the author, the king, lacking loyal subjects and favoured individuals, only surrounds himself with dogs that are bred and trained to be loyal.[20] By surrounding himself only with dogs, the king also effectively impedes the possibility of establishing friendships with people.

Horozco is also explaining that a king can show certain individuals favour as well as grant them favours in order to gain their affections and build a friendship. The phrase

> "…haziendoles tanta merced y favor, que se creyera tenía en ellos quien de veras le amasse y que fuessen amigos…"
> […granting them favours, so it would be believed that they truly loved him and were his friends…]

creates some ambiguity. Horozco's choice of the adverbial phrase "de veras" [truly] implies that the king is pretending to be friends with these individuals. The entire sentence can also be read as the king favouring his subjects by allowing them to be in his presence, so therefore they should feel honoured and privileged to have such a position. This interpretation has a true Machiavellian implication, as it implies that the appearance of having these relationships is more important than having genuine friendships. Nonetheless, it still implies that the king needs to keep people in his court. In his final thoughts of the explanation Horozco writes:

> Y sin duda es assi que los Principes tienen necessidad de hazer amigos de sus siervos y subditos, haziendo mucha merced a los que lo merecieren en ellos y en sus cosas, y disimulando, si fuere menester, con los que no lo merecen, dandoles por otra parte a entender la merced que se les hace…
> [And without doubt that it is clear that the princes have the need of making friends of their servants and subjects, granting favours to those that deserve it in them and things that pertain to them, and dissimulating, if necessary, with those who do not deserve it, making them understand the favour that is being granted to them….] (*Emblemas morales*, Lib III Emb. XXIII)

[20] Horozco y Covarrubias writes that a King should show both "merced" and "favor". "Merced" means the act of doing a favour and "favour" indicates that the individual is favoured by the king.

This continues with the theme that a ruler needs friends in his court whether they truly have his favour or whether it is only feigned. If it is only pretending, they should understand that it is a favour that is being done for them by the king.

Horozco believes that it is strange that King Massinissa does not have men in his company. He lacks subjects, men of the court and friends. This is something Machiavelli suggests is important for a ruler in *Il principe*. Machiavelli does not suggest genuine friendships but maintains that relations with servants and other men are important.

In chapter XXII of *Il principe*, Machiavelli discusses the secretaries of a prince and how he chooses them. When choosing servants, a prince needs to recognize a bad servant to prevent any danger that may threaten his position. This can be detected when a secretary is thinking of their own personal interest rather than that of the prince. What is important from this chapter is not how a prince must choose good servants, but rather the fact that Machiavelli infers the need for these individuals to be in the presence of the prince. A prince should surround himself with good and faithful men. Machiavelli states

> E la prima coniettura che si fa del cervello d'uno signore, è vedere li uomini che lui ha d'intorno; e quando sono sufficienti e fedeli, sempre si può reputarlo savio, perché ha saputo conoscerli sufficienti e mantenerli fideli.
> [And the first conjecture which one makes of the understanding of a lord, is to observe the men he has around him; and when they are capable and faithful, he can be considered wise, because he has known to recognize the capable and how to keep them faithful.] (*The prince* XXII, 133-134)

The type of men with whom a ruler surrounds himself speaks to the kind of man he is. He is considered wise not only if he keeps capable men at his side, but is he keeps them faithful as well. Machiavelli then advises

> …per mantenerlo buono, debba pensare al ministro, onorandolo, facendolo ricco, obligandoselo, participandoli li onori e carichi…

> […to keep his servants honest, the prince must think of the minister, honouring him, enriching him, doing him kindness, participating in honours and cares…] (*The Prince* XXII, 135)

Not only should a prince keep servants around him, he should do his best to keep them faithful with a relationship of some kind that would build trust and a desire to stay in the company of their lord. Machiavelli wrote *Il principe* while in exile after being falsely accused of conspiring against the Medici family. By dedicating the work to Lorenzo de' Medici, grandson of Lorenzo '*il Magnifico*', Machiavelli is perhaps trying to show that he would be a loyal advisor to Lorenzo. This is part of his attempt to return to political life in Florence. With this chapter, Machiavelli demonstrates a need for a prince to surround himself with other capable servants and secretaries in order for him to be considered wise and successful. The writer sees the need for a prince to have others around him, which is also demonstrated by Horozco in emblem XXIII of book two in *Emblemas morales*.

Horozco's position on friendships in the court differs greatly from that of Machiavelli. While the two authors suggest that these relations are necessary, the means in which these friendships should be made are very different according to each author. Horozco advises a king to do favours and bribe his subjects while Machiavelli believes that these relationships should be based on fear.

In chapter XVII of *Il principe*, Machiavelli discusses clemency and cruelty, and whether it is better to be loved or feared. In this chapter, the author explains that it is much better for a prince to be considered clement rather than cruel. Machiavelli then makes an interesting statement,

> Debbe, per tanto, uno principe non si curare della infamia di crudele, per tenere e sudditi sua uniti et in fede; perché, con pochissimi esempli sarà più pietoso che quelli e' quali, per troppa pietà, lasciono seguire e' disordini…
> [Therefore, a prince should not be bothered by the infamy of cruelty as long as he keeps his subject united and loyal; because, with few examples he will be more merciful than those, with too much mercy, allow for disorder to follow…" (*The Prince* XVII, 93)

Machiavelli explains that being known as cruel should not bother a prince because in making examples of those who deserve to be punished, he will inspire others to avoid punishment and therefore keep the peace. This course of actions is more merciful as it prevents theft, murder and other injustices. As long as his subjects are united, orderly and loyal, it will not matter if the prince is cruel.

The Florentine does place a limit on cruelty and has a note of caution he says the following

> Non di manco debbe essere grave al credere et al muoversi, né si fare paura da sé stesso, e procedure in modo temperato con prudenza et umanità, che la troppa confidenzia non lo facci incauto e la troppa diffidenzia non lo renda intollerabile.
> [Never the less he should be cautious to believe and to act, nor should he show fear, but proceed in a temperate manner with prudence and humanity, so that too much confidence does not make him incautious and too much distrust renders him intolerable.] (*The Prince* XVII, 94)

With this statement, it can be seen that Horozco y Covarruvias expresses the same idea as Machiavelli. A prince should not act in such a cautious way in which he becomes difficult to be around, nor should he be so suspicious and distrustful of others that he pushes men away. In this point, Horozco y Covarruvias agrees with Machiavelli's statement, explaining how the king depicted in his emblem has made an error and his success is therefore strange.

The second half of chapter XVII in *Il principe* is a point of departure from the similarity that the authors share with regards to their beliefs of the friendships of rulers.

Machiavelli takes the discussion further by then posing the question of whether or not it is better to be feared or loved. Machiavelli states that the obvious answer to his question is to be both feared and loved; however, because it is difficult to unite these two traits it is safer to be feared. Machiavelli explains his reasoning by writing that

> …le amicizie che si acquistano col prezzo, e non con grandezza e nobiltà di animo, si meritano, ma elle non si hanno, et a' tempi non si possano spendere. E li uomini hanno meno respetto a offendere uno che si facci amare, che uno che si facci temere; perché l'amore è tenuto da uno vinculo di obbligo, il quale, per essere li uomini tristi, da ogni occasione di propria utilità è rotto; ma il timore è tenuto da una paura di pena che non abbandona mai.
> […friendships that are attained by a price, and not with greatness or nobility of mind, may be earned, but they are not secure, and in times of need they cannot be relied upon. And men care less in offending one that is beloved, than one who is feared; because love is kept by a bond of obligation, which, due to the sad state of men, at every opportunity for their gain is broken; but fear is kept by a threat of punishment which they never abandon.] (*The Prince* XVII, 94-95)

With this statement, Machiavelli discredits the type of friendships that Horozco advises his rulers to make based on favours. Machiavelli states that these types of friendships are doomed because men have less respect for others that are beloved than those that they fear. This type of bond is easy to forsake when the opportunity for personal gain arises. He opts for a friendship based on greatness and nobility. This is followed by a note of caution to a ruler that if he is to be feared he should do so in a manner in which he avoids being hated. He can avoid this by refraining from taking the property of his citizens without having just cause in the execution of individuals. If one is to be cruel he must not be hated.

The chapter ends with a simple explanation to why it is better to be feared rather than loved. Machiavelli concludes with the following statement,

> …amando li uomini a posta loro, e temendo a posta del principe, debbe uno principe savio fondarsi in su quello che è suo, non in su quello che è d'altri…

> […men loving according to their own will and fearing according to the will of the prince, a wise prince should find himself on that which is his, and not on that which belongs to others…] (*The Prince* XVII, 97)

This explains that a ruler can control this fear, but the love and esteem of other men is out of his domination and therefore cannot be relied upon for truth and loyalty at all times. In an explanation of chapter XVII of *Il principe*, Belliotti aids in the comprehension of Machiavelli's idea of fear over love and states,

> Fear has a greater hold because it includes dread of punishment. Love, then, appeals to the better angels of our natures, making it thoroughly discretionary and unreliable. Fear addresses our consistent aversion to coercion, suffering and physical harm, making it completely reliable and predictable. (Belliotti 18)

A prince can control fear and not love; therefore, he should seek to rule by means that are in his control. Machiavelli demonstrates that buying the love of friends will not result in the presence of men in the court that will be forever loyal to a ruler as Horozco suggests.

Machiavelli clearly sees the need to have men at the side of a ruler, much like Horozco. The theme of avoiding an unbearable suspicion and hatred that would repel others is the key to Machiavelli's concepts of maintaining relationships with others. However, the two authors disagree on the way these friendships should be formed and how they should be relied upon. Machiavelli advises not to form friendships based on favours while Juan de Horozco encourages this exact practice. Horozco and Machiavelli take different positions on the issue. Machiavelli puts little value on relationships built on bribes because they cannot be trusted. Therefore, the concern of a prince should be having control over others with fear while avoiding hatred and not biding for the friendship of other men through favours.

Horozco y Covarrubias' *Emblema XXIII* demonstrates a mixed opinion of Machiavelli's advice in *Il principe*. Horozco recognizes that despite having other traits

that Machiavelli states as being necessary for a ruler, the king in his emblem does not have any trusted individuals or friends at his side. This should be a problem for the king because Machiavelli previously wrote that a ruler does need to have others by his side. Machiavelli does not see the need to have true friendships, but princes should have relationships with their ministers, servants and others. These relationships should not be based on bribes like Horozco suggests. As long as he does not become intolerable or hated then these relationships are sufficient to aid in the success of a prince according to Machiavelli. The two authors share the option that a ruler should surround himself with men and create bonds with these men. The means in which these bonds are created is a topic in which Horozco takes a different approach from Machiavelli in his advice to a king and disagrees with the use of fear to sustain relationships.

Emblem IIII (Figure 5) of the second book in *Emblemas morales* shows that Horozco takes a contradictory position of *virtù* and *fortuna* in comparison to that of Machiavelli. This emblem contains all the traditional parts of the emblem form (*inscriptio*, *pictura*, and *subscriptio*). Much like the other emblems, Emblema IIII is also followed by an explanatory passage in prose, which provides further insight into the meaning and interpretation of the emblem as a whole. Its strong religious overtones are evident in every aspect of the emblem, starting with the *inscriptio*, which reads "Servir deo regnare est," meaning "To serve God is to rule". This implies the necessity for rulers to practice religion and sets the tone for the rest of the emblem. The *pictura* depicts two angels holding a crowned shield with three stars on it above a mountain identified as Mount Carmel in the explanation that follows the emblem. The final component of the emblem is the *subscriptio* that reads:

> No haze Rey a nadie la riqueza
> no de Tyro el color más esmerado,
> no la insignia Real en la cabeça,
> no el costoso vestido recamado.
> Sólo aquél será Rey que con firmeza
> el odio y el temor ha desechado,
> El que puesto en lugar seguro viene
> A ver debaxo quanto el mundo tiene.
> [Wealth does not make a king, nor of Tyro the most careful color, nor the royal insignia on the head, nor the costly embroidered gown. Only he can be King who, with certainty, has rejected hate and fear, he who, put in a safe place, comes to see as much as the world has to offer.] (*Emblemas morales*, Book II, Emblem IIII)

This *subscriptio* is explaining that money, crowns, and expensive clothing do not make a king. He who reaches the safe place or secure[21] place by rejecting hatred and fear from his nature by serving God is the one that can enjoy the title of true king.

Horozco provides an explanation for his emblem. This explanation ensures that those that read it can correctly understand his exact meaning in the interpretation of the word/picture combination. In this explanation, Horozco explains that dressing like a king does not make a king. A crown and expensive garments do not make an apt ruler. Horozco continues,

> …si lo que es al parecer Rey, no se mirasse bien, y el verdadero se buscasse, no se hallaria en la riqueza, ni en las vestiduras costosas, y menos en la corona guarnecida de diamantes, y piedras de gran valor: y solo se hallaria en la paz y sosiego, de quien ni teme, ni aborrece a otros, y con la seguridad que con sigo tiene, se halla en lugar tan seguro, que todas las cosas que le podian ofender no le alcançan.
> […if he who resembles a king is not looked carefully upon, and if one were looking for a true king, it would not be found in wealth, nor in costly garments, and less in the crown clad in diamonds, and stones of great value: he would only be identified by the peace and quiet, of he who neither fears nor hates others, and who, with self assuredness, finds himself in a safe place, such that things that could offend, do not affect him.] (*Emblemas morales*, Libro II, Emblema IIII)

[21] This safe place is explained more thoroughly in the explanation that follows the emblem. The "safe place" or "secure place" is representative of a virtuous life without vice and serving God.

Horozco explains that what makes a king a ruler is not ornate jewels and expensive clothing. He is free of vices and does not hate or fear anyone. The prose explanation states that this 'safe place' can only be reached by serving God. In doing so, there would be no time for vices such as fear, greed or hate. Horozco gives the example of Mount Olympus as a sanctuary for the gods to represent this 'safe place' because the myth of this mountain explains that it was so tall that the gods would not be bothered by strong winds.

Horozco explains that religious men such as monks should be recognized as kings before those of royalty because monks are more concerned with their service to God. The emblem writer then provides another example of another relatable 'safe place' and references Mount Carmel that appears in this emblem. The importance of Mount Carmel begins with the prophet Elijah as Horozco y Covarrubias mentions. In Christian belief, Mount Carmel is the site where Elijah evoked the judgment of God. Aharon Wiener uses St Augustine's commentary to Genesis and explains that

> [a]ccording to a legend which presumably arose in the early middle ages, the rain-cloud which rose up from the sea after Elijah's prayer on Mount Carmel revealed the mystery of Mary, and it is said that Elijah himself together with his pupils erected a chapel dedicated to the worship of Mary. (Wiener 148)

The first Christian monks chose the former meeting places of Elijah and his disciples on Mount Carmel for their cloistered existence. After the crusades in the thirteenth century the Carmelite order established monasteries and convents in which the tradition of Elijah was revived. "The Carmelite monks and nuns see in the 'prophet and father Elijah' a model of simplicity, of asceticism and of religious devotion and accordingly lead a life remote from the world" (Weiner 148). This tradition explains Horozco's choice to use Mount Carmel and Carmelite monks as a representation of religion and serving God. The

Carmelite order itself is represented by the crowned shield with the three stars. Horozco states,

> Y porque las insignias de la orden son tres estrellas, que significan la grandeza y contemplación, y el resplandor de las virtudes, y sobre el escudo una corona, que da bien entender, que el servir a Dios es verdadero reinar, se puso todo en compañía del monte, con la letra sabida: SERVIRE DEO REGNARE EST. [And because the insignia of the order consists of three stars, which signify greatness and contemplation, and the radiance of the virtues, and above the shield a crown, which signifies that to reign is to serve God. All of this was placed in the company of the mountain, with the famed motto: *servire Deo regnare est.*] (*Emblemas morales,* Libro II, Emblema IIII)

The dark triangle in the middle of the shield represents Mount Carmel, the foundations of the order. The shield would have been a very recognizable symbol to the viewers of Spain. Different variations of the shield were made that eventually became the coat of arms to the order. The crown is still present in the modern coat of arms with an arm holding a sword on fire. The crown represents the kingdom of God and the sword and flames represent the actions of Elijah holding the flaming sword and proclaiming to be the 'zeal' of God. In this representation of the shield, the crown appears to be one that would be worn by a monarch and not a simple crown that would be more appropriate considering the tradition of simplicity of the order. The Carmelite order was known for its traditional minimalist attitude towards material possessions. For example, jewellery was considered a luxury item and should not be owned by those that have been inducted to the order. This further represents Horozco's notion that kings should be devout, religious, and serve God and less concerned with material possessions and wealth.

It is the next section of the explanation that displays anti-Machiavellian notions. Horozco explains the benefits of serving God and reaching this 'safe place' and paraphrases a teaching of Saint Ambrose. The passage states the following:

> Dichoso tal estado, y que solo se puede alcançar con servir a Dios: porque segun san Ambrosio, entonces se dize reinar el bueno, quando con la esperança y promesa esta seguro (esto es, quieto y sossegado) y se goza en las adversidades que le suceden; y en el nombre de Christo las lleva con paciencia, teniendo por ganancia, y no por desgracia y perdida lo que assi se le ofrece.
> [Blessed is such a state, which can only be achieved by serving God: for according to St. Ambrose, then the good is said to reign, when with hope and promise he is secure (that is, quiet and relaxed) and rejoices in the adversities that happen to him; and in the name of Christ he bears them with patience, having for gain, and not for misfortune and loss, what is thus offered to him.] (*Emblemas morales*, Libro II Emblem IIII)

This passage explains that in the service of God, a calm state will be reached and in the face of adversity one will have patience in one's troubles, understanding these adversities as moments from which to learn and not see them as losses, for knowledge is gained. This positive outlook on adversity goes against the Machiavellian notion of creating one's own destiny and using *virtù* to combat *fortuna*.

Machiavelli, throughout *Il principe*, expresses his opinion that self-reliant rulers have an advantage because they have no need to rely on the help of others. One of their defining qualities is the ability to create their own future. They should be prepared for any situation so that in the event of an unexpected obstacle, the prince may take action and steer events in his intended course and take control of the circumstances. Machiavelli often discusses *virtù* and *fortuna*, notions that are usually misinterpreted due to English translation.[22]

Virtù is not meant to express morality having virtue or being virtuous. The idea is never really defined by Machiavelli. Virtue is a concept that expresses the necessary action for varying situations.[23] It is the ability to be prepared to change one's course of

[22] *Virtù* and *fortuna* are explained initially in Chapter 1.
[23] Machiavelli also discusses virtue in the *Discorsi*. Book III, Chapter 9 is entitled "Come conviene variare co' tempi, volendo sempre avere buoona *fortuna*" [How One Must

action spontaneously when the intended course is no longer an option. This means that being rigid and inflexible will not allow for the necessary action to change to the circumstances. Virtue also calls for a quick wit and cunning to be able to recognize when there is a necessity for this action and how to act accordingly.

Fortuna offers the opportunity for rulers to exercise *virtù*. *Fortuna* is a natural force that alters the circumstances of man. It presents obstacles to men that make the original intended actions impossible. If a prince prepares and plans accordingly for these obstacles a ruler may practice *virtù* to avoid a failure and to gain what was intended for his own interests. In Chapter XXV of *Il principe*, Machiavelli expresses this relationship between the obstruction of *fortuna* and the exertion of *virtù* stating

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Change With the Times, If He Wants To Always Have Good Fortune]. In this chapter, Machiavelli does not specifically mention *virtù*; however, he does describe the behavior that he defines with the term elsewhere. The chapter opens by stating

> "Io ho considerato piú volte come la cagione della trista e della buona *fortuna* degli uomini è riscontare il mondo del procedere suo con i tempi: perché e' si vede che gli uomini nelle opere loro procedono, alcuni con impeto, alcuni con rispetto e con cauzione. E perché nell'uno e nell'altro de questi modi si passano e' termini convenienti, non si potendo osservare la vera via, nell'uno e nell'altro si erra. Ma quello viene ad errare meno ed avere la *fortuna* prospera che riscontra, come ho detto, con il suo modo il tempo, e sempre mai si procede secondo ti sforza la natura."
>
> [I have considered many times that the causes of the bad and good fortunes of men result in the manner in which they proceed with the times: for it can be seen that some men in their doings proceed with force (or drive), some with deliberation and caution. And because acting in one of these suitable ways in convenient terms, not being able to observe the correct course of action, in one or the other errors. But he who comes to make less errors and has good fortune in turn, as I have said, with his actions according to the circumstances, and always proceeds with the force of his nature] (*Discorsi* III, 9 416-17).

This explains that men must act according to the circumstances and change their behaviour in order to have 'good fortune'. *Virtù* is a call to action; it requires a republic and a leader to act in order to change the way in that he proceeds according to the time. Failure to act when it is required to change with the times could result in ruin of empires and leaders as well.

> Similmente interviene della *fortuna*: la quale dimonstra la sua potenzia dove non è ordinate virtù a resisterle, e quivi volta li sua impeti, dove la sa che non sono fatti li argini e li ripari a tenerla.
> [As so it happens with fortune, who shows her power where virtue[24] has not prepared to resist her, and there she turns her surges, where she knows that barriers and defences have not been made to resist her.] (*The Prince* XXV, 143)

When a ruler lacks *virtù*, he is unable to prepare or act quickly in order to counter *fortuna* when she strikes. Having the quick-wit and courage to act is very important to Machiavelli's notions of a self-reliant ruler and the shaping of one's own destiny to avoid loss. Unlike Horozco, Machiavelli is expressing a need to be prepared and act in circumstances in which a loss or failure may take place that could harm to the ruler's position. Horozco suggests that when serving God, a ruler should take these losses as they come and use them as learning lessons for next time; on the other hand, Machiavelli suggests not letting them happen at all.

Machiavelli's virtue requires action. The ideas that Machiavelli expresses in *Il principe* are not concerned with religion or morality and therefore the action required by Machiavelli's *virtù* may not always be moral or in the service of God. In a chapter of his book, Harvey C. Mansfield discusses Machiavelli's virtue and how the meaning of this term changes with translation. If *virtù* is understood to mean moral or virtuous, as it is in English, Mansfield writes

> Virtue is in need of its contrary; it does not shine, or not sufficiently, on its own; it needs the added brightness that comes from contrast with vice. Virtue needs vice as a constant possibility, and in order to keep vice possible, virtue must practice vice occasionally. (18)

Behaving virtuously all the time is impossible, especially when it comes to rulers maintaining their power or position. When the circumstances arise for a ruler to exhibit

[24] A reminder that in this case *virtù* references Machiavelli's notions of wit and action, not virtue as it means for us in English today.

virtù, the morality of his actions cannot be questioned. Machiavelli is only concerned with the outcome being favourable for a ruler.

Horozco's emblem expresses ideas contrary to Machiavelli's *virtù*. The explanation that follows the emblem expresses passivity in serving God, which may result in failure or loss to a ruler. These moments should be understood as moments to be thankful for what God provides in his service. Machiavelli's *virtù* expresses the necessity for action when circumstances require it. These actions, moral or immoral, virtuous or not, should take place to prevent the foils of *fortuna*, reinforcing the need for rulers to be proactive and self-reliant in order to create one's own destiny and reign successfully.

Chapter 5. Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco: Over Achieving and Under Watch

Emblemas morales by Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco was printed in the year 1610. He studied in Salamanca and became a priest in 1567. He was made a member of the Council of Castile in1572 and followed the Court with his famous cousin Don Diego de Covarrubias y Leiva, the bishop of Segovia (Moir v). He eventually became the Chaplain of the King and went to Rome where Pope Gregory XIII made him Cannon of Cuenca, a position he maintained until his death. In 1595, the Duke of Lerma, Viceroy of the Kingdom of Valencia, to whom the emblem book is dedicated, asked Covarrubias for a poem to entertain him (Moir vi). Covarrubias only had access to a notebook from his youth, which he would later form into a series of moral emblems (Moir vi), with the help of an artist who drew the *picturae* that would accompany his writing. While in Madrid in the year 1610, the printing of his *Emblemas morales* and *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* began. His brother Juan is said to have been a great influence to Covarrubias' emblem book (Moir vi). The two brothers chose the same tittle for both their emblems books, *Emblemas morales*.

Emblemas morales by Covarrubias is divided into three sections, each called a *centuria*, each containing one hundred emblems. Being a man of the court, Covarrubias was witness to King Philip II's reign first hand. His time as a courtier and the dedication to the Duke of Lerma in *Emblemas morales* denotes a political perspective. Although, not every emblem contains political themes, the few in question contain notions that are directed to kings, princes and individuals in positions of power. Covarrubias shows knowledge and understating of Machiavelli's *Il principe,* as demonstrated in the following emblems of *Emblemas morales*.

The eighteenth emblem of the third *centuria* in *Emblemas morales* (Figure 6) presents the topic of the education of a prince in the liberal and mechanical arts, specifically music. The *inscriptio* reads "Aliud plectrum, aliud sceptrum," which translates to "The plectrum is one thing, the sceptre is another". This sets the tone for the rest of the emblem as it implies a contrast between the plectrum, which is a piece of material used to pluck the strings of a musical instrument, and the duties of a ruler. The musical theme is continued in the *pictura*, which displays a *vigüela* and bow crossed in front of a sceptre standing upright. A *vigüela* is a stringed instrument, which resembles a cross between a guitar and a violin without frets and requires a pick or bow to play it. The slant of the bow and musical instrument in contrast to the upright position of the sceptre implies the superiority of the art of ruling versus the art of music.

It is important to note that in the 1610 edition of *Emblemas morales* printed in Madrid by Luis Sánchez, the *pictura* of this emblem is printed upside down. The sky is at the bottom of the frame while the ground is at the top. It becomes more noticeable when reading the *inscriptio,* as the letters all appear upside down as well. Upon first viewing the upside down *pictura*, it could be thought that this is an intentional aspect required for the interpretation of this particular emblem. However, this is highly unlikely because the *inscriptio* would be difficult to read. Although obscurity is a large part of the emblem tradition, turning the image upside down seems unnecessary. The emblem form relies on its three separate parts (*inscriptio*, *pictura* and *subscriptio*) functioning together to be understood. Usually these parts are meant to be understood as a whole and do not reveal the entire meaning separately, creating ambiguity. If this *pictura* were to be purposefully

printed upside down, the *inscriptio* would be unnecessarily difficult to understand, hindering the interpretation of the emblem.

The *subscriptio* of the emblem states the following:

> Dichoso el reyno, cuyo Rey prudente,
> Es sabio, pero no puede ser tanto
> Que no vea en la baja, y pobre gente,
> Virtud alguna que le cause espanto:
> El arte de reynar, es diferente,
> Del que está en la vigüela, y en el canto,
> Y si al músico grande reprehende,
> Dará claro a entender, que no lo entiende.
> [Blessed is the kingdom, whose prudent king, is wise. He should not be so wise as to overlook, in the low and poor people, some virtue that would cause him surprise or marvel: the art of reigning is different from that of playing the *vigüela* and singing If he were to chastise a great musician, one would clearly know that he does not understand this issue.] (*Emblemas morales*, Cent. III Emb. 18)

There is some ambiguity with this *subscriptio* as its wording is difficult. Covarrubias is proposing that a king can be wise and learned but should not try to be an expert in all fields. A king should not have full knowledge of everything because he must focus on the art of ruling. If a king proves to be practiced in a certain instrument or in singing, for instance, he may appear wise but the reality is that he is unwise because these arts take time away from his duties and the art of ruling. This epigram is then followed by a short prose explanation that allows the viewer to fully understand the meaning that is intended by the author.

In the prose explanation, Covarrubias explains that a ruler may acquire some knowledge of the mechanical arts, however, he should pay some more attention to the liberal arts. Covarrubias states:

> Bien seria que los Reyes supiessen por relación algunas menudéncias de las artes mecanicas, y con algun mas cuidado lo que toca a las artes liberales, y todo lo demas que se puede ofrecer en que ellos reparen, desseosos de saberlo todo, y quándo se ofrecen las ocasiones, deven sus maestros advertirles en quanto

> alcançaren, y lo demas procurar saberlo de los peritos en toda arte y facultad, y sin que el Principe ponga mano en la obra del platero, del escultor, del pintor, del sastre, del çapatero, y todos los demas, pueda entender y juzgar, si la obra es buena, o mala: pero no poner mano en ninguna dellas, ni hablar en sus menudencias, que solo pertenecen a los que las trata..
> [It would be good if kings knew from some accounts details about the mechanical arts, and a little more so about the liberal arts, and about everything else that they may be interested in. Given the opportunity, their teachers should be able to advise them on whatever is necessary, and the rest the prince should seek to know from experts in all arts and faculties, and, without ever laying hands on the work of the silversmith, the sculptor, the painter, the tailor, and all others, the prince should be able to understand and judge, whether a work is good, or bad: but he should not try his hand mat any of those arts, nor speak about their details, which is the job of those who practice them…][25] (*Emblemas morales*, Cent. III Emb. 18)

This explanation expresses that a ruler may have some knowledge of the mechanical arts and a little more knowledge of the liberal arts. More detailed knowledge of either must be left for his advisors and teachers who are well versed in the fields. A prince should know enough about the work of the silversmith, the sculptor, the painter, the tailor and others, but not try his hand at such trades, nor speak about them in detail, for this should be left to those who make a living of them. Commenting and critiquing these arts could make him look foolish, as he should have a limited knowledge of them.

The liberal arts were the arts that the educated men of the Renaissance studied. During the Renaissance, the liberal arts were "…particular subject matters, which could be explored anew by taking up where classical statements and examples of them left off (McKeon 168). They were invented by the Greeks, and cultivated and organized by the Romans (McKeon 162). The Romans would call them the "human arts" or the "good arts". They were considered to be the arts of free men and not the arts of slaves. Mechanical arts are the trades of lower class men and involve manual labour. There was a transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance with regard to the liberal arts and

[25] All translations of Covarrubias are my own.

mechanical arts. During the Middle ages, the liberal arts were the seven arts of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, divided into the art of words (grammar, rhetoric and logic) and the arts of things (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music) (McKeon 161). Developments of philosophers and critics during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries resulted in a transition of the liberal arts. "The transformation of the liberal arts in the early Renaissance was a reaction and response to the degradations or inadequacies of arts conceived as disciplines…" (McKeon 168). The earlier notions of the arts as disciplines made the content become universal and left no room for interpretation. Mechanical arts then derived from new developments and increased complexity in math and logic. A clear divide among the arts is present from Roman times and is held during the time of Covarrubias as well. He makes it clear that the liberal arts are of more importance than the mechanical arts, however, he does not see much importance in any of them in the education of a ruler.

Covarrubias' message becomes very clear in the conclusion to his prose explanation. He explains that if a king wanted to know something about music, he should not tire himself out in order to become a musician or a composer, nor waste time in trying to learn how to play musical instruments. Music was considered to be a liberal art and part of the education of any privileged man during the Spanish Golden Age. This high regard for music as a liberal art makes it strange that Covarrubias states that even this is not something a ruler should learn. He references a story about Philip of Macedonia and a comment he makes to his son after the latter sang and played the *vigüela* at a party. The king reprimands his son and says,

> …Ten empacho de aver cantado tan bien. Y como el arte de Reynar comprehenda en si tantas cosas y tan graves no se compadecen con las vulgares y ordinarias…

> […You should be embarrassed to have sung so well. And as the art of reigning is serious and is composed of many things they do not correspond to the vulgar[26] and ordinary…] (*Emblemas morales*, Cent. III Emb. 18)

According to Covarrubias, King Philip meant that his son spent too much time learning to sing and not enough time focusing on being a good leader and learning the art of ruling. The art of reigning is superior even to the liberal arts, which were included in the education of a learned Renaissance man.

Machiavelli's advice regarding subjects of study for the prince differs from Covarrubias' proposal as the latter suggests the art of ruling as part of the education of the prince. Although both authors agree that the education of a ruler should be limited and precise, they do not agree what specific topic should be the main focus of a prince. Machiavelli does believe the art of reigning is important as *Il principe* is an instruction manual to aid rulers; however, with regard to the education of rulers, Machiavelli believes that the art of war should be the main field of study of a prince. In chapter XIV of *Il principe*, Machiavelli opens with the following statement:

> Debbe adunque uno principe non avere altro obietto né altro pensiero, né prendere cosa alcuna per sua arte, fuora della guerra et ordini e disciplina di essa; perché quella è sola arte che si espetta a chi comanda. Et è di tanta virtù che non solamente mantiene quelli che sono nati principi, ma molte volte fa li uomini di private *fortuna* salire a quel grado…
> [A prince should have no other goal or thought, nor choose anything else for his study, than war and its rules and discipline; because this is the only art that belongs to he who rules, and it is of such force that it not only maintains those that are born prince, but is often allows men to ascend from a private position to the rank of a prince…] (*The Prince* XIV, 82)

According to Machiavelli, a prince should only study the art of war because it can make or break a prince's reign. Machiavelli is very specific with regards to the education of a

[26] Mechanical arts were known to be of the vulgar or lower classes. Here the king is categorizing music as a mechanical art, despite the fact that is was considered a liberal art, in a comparison to the art of ruling.

prince, as he makes no reference to the liberal arts or mechanical arts. He precisely states that war is the only thing that a ruler should study and it is the only art that belongs to rulers. Machiavelli states that in order to win at war one must be the master of the art.

Machiavelli then discusses the situation of Francesco Sforza and how he, a private citizen, became a Duke of Milan through the use of arms and war and his descendants, who avoided war and arms, returned to the status of private citizens. With this story Machiavelli explains the necessity of war and having armed forces at the disposal of the prince, as well as knowing when to go to war. If a prince does not understand the art of war his army will not respect him nor can he rely on them. To further his point Machiavelli writes:

> Debbe per tanto mai levare el pensiero da questo esercizio della Guerra, e nella pace vi si debbe più esercitare che nella Guerra: il che pió fare in dua modi; l'uno con le opera, l'altro con la mente.
> [He ought never, therefore, to have out of his thoughts this subject of war, and in peace he should addict himself more to its exercise than in war; this he can do in two ways, the one by action, the other by study.] (*The Prince* XIV, 83)

Even in times of peace Machiavelli recommends that a ruler should be 'addicted' to the study of the art of war. His study should include action, which involves the organization of his men and subjecting them to drills. His study should also include gaining a knowledge and understanding of the landscape of the battle zone. This will allow him to understand how to take defense in his own country as well as in landscapes elsewhere. A prince should study other men who have gone to war and be aware of the causes of their defeats and victories as to avoid or follow their example.

In his chapter concerning the study of the art of war, Machiavelli makes it abundantly clear that a prince should always study war and all the aspects that would

allow him to succeed in war. He also advises princes to be prepared for war at all times. Machiavelli concludes the chapter with a final remark:

> Questi simili modi debbe osservare uno principe savio, e mai ne' tempi pacifici stare ozioso, ma con industria farne capitale, per potersene valere nelle avversità, acciò che, quando si muta la *fortuna*, lo truovi parato a resisterle.
> [A wise prince should observe some similar such rules, and never in peaceful times be idle, but with industry increase his resources, so that they may available to him during adversity, so that if fortune changes it may find him prepared to resist her blows.] (*The Prince* XIV, 86)

Machiavelli states once again that in times of peace he needs to be active and prepare for war, increasing resources and preparing for all circumstances.

In addition to emphasizing the need to constantly study and prepare for war, Machiavelli makes another reference to *Fortuna* and her capricious ways. Preparing for war and studying the art would allow a prudent prince to combat *Fortuna* and be prepared for any turn of events. Studying the art of war would provide a prince with the necessary information and preparation to lead and army, strategize in combat and succeed in battle.

Machiavelli and Covarrubias share a common idea about the education of a political leader. Covarrubias suggests that the art of ruling encompasses many important things. Any knowledge of anything else is desirable; however, the focus of a good ruler should be on the art of reigning first and foremost. In terms of the education of a leader, Covarrubias offers no specific subject that should be mastered, he only indicates the liberal and mechanical arts as being less important to a king than the art of ruling. Both Machiavelli and Covarrubias understand that the art of ruling is important. In terms of the education of a leader, Machiavelli specifically advises princes and leaders to study the art

of war over anything else, as war is something that could make ordinary men kings or cause rulers to lose their power.

The twenty-third emblem of the third *centuria* of *Emblemas morales* (Figure 7) by Covarrubias displays Machiavellian notions about a ruler serving and guarding his subjects. Covarrubias agrees with Machiavelli's ideas about a ruler pleasing his subjects. The *inscriptio* reads "Pervigilant ambo," which is Latin for "They both are keeping watch." This is referring to the *pictura* in which a lion and a hare sit facing each other in a field, each watching the other. The *subscriptio* is as follows:

> Vela el león valiente, y generoso,
> Sin jamás cerrar ojo, noche, y día,
> Símbolo y hieroglífico famoso,
> Del que govierna en suma monarchía:
> La liebre, animalejo temeroso,
> Se desvela también por cobardía,
> Duerma la liebre, y duerma la ovejuela,
> Si el león por guardarlas se desvela.
> [The lion watches vigilantly, and generously (or nobly), without ever closing his eyes, night and day. He is a famous symbol and hieroglyph of the perfect monarch. The hare, a small timid scared animal, remains awake as well, but rather by cowardice. Let the hare and the little sheep sleep, if the lion guards them and loses sleep (or does his upmost).] (*Emblemas morales*, Cent. III Emb. 23)

The emblem explains that a prince, represented by the lion, must watch over his subjects, represented by the hare (and the sheep), and keeps them safe, as they look to him for protection. It is also important to note that the hare is watching the lion. This can be interpreted to mean that the subject watches their leader to make sure he protects them and does his job as leader. This suggests that a ruler must protect and serve his subjects well; otherwise, there may be consequences.

The different meanings of the verbs *velar* and *desvelar* subtly change or alter the meaning of the emblem. *Velar* means to watch, guard or protect. The lion is guarding and

protecting the hare while the hare watches the lion in the *pictura*. The lion guards the hare and out of fear the hare stays alert. *Desvelar* can mean to not sleep, as both creatures are losing sleep. It can also mean to do one's best or utmost. This would mean that the lion is losing sleep to protect the hare or he loses sleep to do his best as a protector. This second meaning puts emphasis on the hare, or subjects, while they observe their ruler and his performance as a leader and protector, making sure he does a good job. This double word meaning can create some ambiguity; however, both interpretations reflect Machiavellian ideas.

The emblem is then followed by a brief explanation of its content and its ideas. The prose explanation states that some conditions are common between people for opposite reasons. He makes the connection between a miser and a spend thrift because both seek to obtain money. The former seeks money to save it and the latter seeks money to spend it. Covarrubias compares this to the situation of the lion and hare, and by extension, to a prince and his subjects. Covarrubias Horozco writes

> El león representa el principe, y en tanto que el vela, bien pueden dormir sin miedo sus subditos.
> [The lion represents the prince, and as long as he watches over them, his subjects may well sleep without fear.] (*Emblemas morales*, Cent. III Emb. 23)

Both animals lose sleep for different reasons, the lion, as king of the domain, stays awake to guard and protect the hare, which loses sleep out of fear. This is reflective of the relationship between a ruler and his subjects. If the ruler protects his subjects and treats them well, they can rest easy knowing they are safe and secure. They rely on him for protection from foreign enemies and stability within their city.

Covarrubias Horozco appears to have agreed with some of Machiavelli's ideas about a prince's relationship with his subjects. Machiavelli makes it clear in his advice to

rulers that they should protect and guard his subjects to gain their favour and avoid being hated by them. Chapter X of *Il principe* discusses the ways in which strength of all principalities should be measured, in which Machiavelli urges princes to fortify his city to protect his citizen by using German cities as an example. Machiavelli says that these cities are free and only obedient to the emperor when it suits them, and do not fear foreign attacks because they are so well fortified. These towns have provisions of food and water as well. Machiavelli explains further that

> …per potere tenere la plebe pasciuta e sanza perdita del pubblico, hanno sempre in commune per uno anno da potere dare loto da lavorare in quelli esercizii che sieno el nervo e la vita di quellla città e delle industrie de' quali la blebe pasca. Tengono ancora li esercizii military in preutazione, e sopra questo hanno molti ordini a mentenerli.
> […to keep the people happy without loss to the state, they always have the means of giving work to the people in those labours that are the strength and life of the cities and industries of which the people are supported. They still hold military exercises in reprisal, and above that they have many orders to maintain them.] (*The Prince* X, 61)

Machiavelli states these fortified towns are not only protected in times of war, but they also have designated tasks for the cities to maintain their food and water supply, and hold military exercises and a plan of action that keep them supported and safe. The chapter ends with the following:

> Onde, se si considerrà tutto, non fia difficile a uno principe prudenete tenere prima e poi fermi li animi de' sua cittadini nella ossidione, quando non li manchi da vivere né da difendersi.
> [Therefore, if everything is considered, it will not be difficult for a prudent prince to keep the minds of his citizens, first to last, when he does not fail to support and defend them.] (*The Prince* X, 62)

This makes it clear that defending the citizens and taking them into consideration is important to Machiavelli. All of this is motivated by the desire to not be hated by the citizens. Keeping the citizens happy and busy during times of war is one way to avoid

being hated by the people according to Machiavelli. Even though it is motivated by self-serving purposes, Machiavelli does advise a leader to protect and guard his people.

In Chapter XX, Machiavelli continues developing the topic of whether or not fortresses are advantageous or harmful. He states that a custom among princes is to build fortresses to hold their states more securely. The fortresses serve as a means of protection to enemies and a place of refuge in a first attack, yet they have their disadvantages as well. Their usefulness is determined by the circumstances. Machiavelli expresses that those rulers that fear the people more than foreign attack should build fortresses and those that fear foreign attack more should not build them. He then makes this statement:

> Però la migliore fortezza che sia, è non essere odiato dal populo; perchè ancora che tu abbi le fortezza, et il popula ti abbi in odio, le non ti salvono; perchè non mancano mai a' populi, preso che li hanno l'armie forestieri che li soccorrino. [But the best fortresses there is, is not to be hated by the people, because although you secure the fortress, they will not save you if the people hate you, there have never lacked foreigners to assist a people who have taken arms against you.] (*The Prince* XX, 126)

This demonstrates that building a fortress will do no good for a prince whose subjects hate him. Fortresses can be used to withstand enemy attacks so that a prince can buy time and devise a plan of action to defeat his enemies and help his citizens. But if his citizens hate him, they will not be of use or protect anyone.

Keeping the people safe and guarding them is part of the duties of a prince. This will allow a prince to avoid being hated by them. Machiavelli mentions several times in *Il principe* that a prince must avoid being hated and despised by the people in order to maintain his position and power as ruler. Machiavelli specifically writes about this notion in Chapter IX, which concerns civil principalities. There are principalities that have been obtained by either the favour of the nobles or the favour of the people. According to the

author, it is much better to gain the favour of the people because there are more of them. In times of unrest, there are more commoners than nobles and in hostile situations a prince could never secure himself against their numbers. A prince must live with the same people, he can, however, live without the same nobles. Machiavelli's advice is to gain the favour of the people and keep them friendly. If a ruler becomes a leader by the favour of the nobles, he should seek to win the favour of the people. In order to win their favour, Machiavelli encourages princes to take the people under his protection. He explains that

> E perché li uomini, quando hanno bene da chi credevano avere male, si obbligano più al beneficatore loro, diventa el populo subito più suo benivolo, che se si fussi condotto al principato con favori sua…Concluderò solo che a uno principe è necessario avere el populo amico: altrimenti non ha, nelle avversità, remedio. [And because men, when they receive good from whom they expected evil, they are bound more to their benefactor, they quickly become more devoted to him than if he had gained the principality by their favours…I will only conclude that it is necessary for a prince to have a friendly people: otherwise he will not have security in adversity.] (*The Prince* IX, 57)

This demonstrates that part of gaining the favour of the people is to protect them and keep them safe. Machiavelli recognizes that because the population of the people is much greater than that of the nobles, a leader must gain the favour of the people. Protecting the people is an easy way to gain their favour and keep them happy. In times when protection is needed and not obtained, the people would be ready to abandon a prince. However, if a prince does his best to guard and protect his people they will be obedient and friendly. This would create a favourable atmosphere in which a prince may reign. Therefore, protecting the people not only benefits them, but the prince as well.[27]

[27] In *I Discorsi*, Machiavelli also discusses the importance of gaining the favour of the people and avoiding their hatred. He uses the Roman Republic as an example to demonstrate that the common people are watching their leaders just as leaders watch their

Covarrubias concurs with Machiavelli's advice about a prince protecting his people. According to both authors, a prince should work to secure his land and the people that inhabit it. While the prince does his utmost to protect his subjects, they may have fear of no threats and rest easy knowing that the prince is doing his job. Covarrubias agrees with the advice that Machiavelli gives to rulers. Machiavelli's motives behind the protecting of citizens are more self-serving than those of Covarrubias. Machiavelli sees this favour of the people as a means to avoid their hatred that could cause greater harm to his reign and his position. Covarrubias makes no note of the reason behind his advice; he simply states that that a ruler protects his people so they can rest without fear. Nonetheless, both authors agree that a prince must protect his subjects.

In both emblems, Covarrubias shows a clear influence of Machiavellian ideas that are found in *Il principe*. Covarrubias takes concepts about the education of the prince as well as the need for a prince to protect his people. In the first emblem of this chapter, Covarrubias varies only slightly from Machiavelli's advice about a prince only studying

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subjects. Covarrubias' emblem reflects this notion with the hare that also watches the lion. Machiavelli explains that

> …il popolo romano lo vedrà essere stato per quattrocento anni inimico del nome region, e amatore della gloria e del bene commune della sua patria…
> […one would see that for four hundred years the Roman people have enemies of the of the name of royalty, and lovers of glory and the common good of their country…] (*Discorsi*, II 58, 265).

The Roman people are opposed to bad leaders and desire glory and the common good of all. If this did not happen, Machiavelli continues,

> E quando era necessario commuoversi contro a un potente, lo faceva… e quando era necessario ubbidire a' Dittatori ed a' Consoli per la salute pubblica, lo faceva.
> [And when it was necessary to move against a powerful one, they did so…and when it was necessary to obey Dictators and Consuls for the safety of the public, they did so] (*Discorsi* I, 58 262-3).

When the Romans turned against those that were against the common good of the people and obeyed rulers that safeguarded the interests of the people. This idea is also reflected in *Il principe* when Machiavelli advises that his prince protects his people because they are watching him. If he fails them and gains their hatred for they will turn against him.

war. He does not specify in what subject that a prince should focus his studies; however, he does realize and admit that liberal arts and mechanical arts should not consume all of the prince's time. He offers the suggestion of focussing on the art of reigning, an umbrella term that encompasses all things that concern ruling, which does include war. Protecting his subjects and keeping the interest of his people in mind at all times is also a concern of a ruler. Covarrubias does not explain any further why this must be done, while Machiavelli explains that it is crucial to do these things in order to gain the favour of the people. The favour of the people plays a key role in maintaining one's position as a leader, for their hatred could bring an end to a prince's power.

Conclusion

The side-by-side analyses of Machiavelli's text in *Il principe* and the selected emblems by the various authors in this study have shown how these Spanish emblem writers position themselves vis-à-vis Machiavelli's ideas. They have taken Machiavelli's ideas and interpreted them in different ways. Some of them have shown that they agree with Machiavelli's positions in *Il principe* for reasons that are different from the Florentine writer. They also disagree with Machiavelli at times and give full explanations as to why. In some cases, they use religion to explain why they agree or disagree with Machiavelli as well.

The case studies that have been presented illustrate that the categories that historians have created with regards to the Spanish interpretations of Machiavelli, outlined by Howard, are not accurate in the Spanish emblem tradition. They oversimplify those who agree with Machiavelli's ideas and those that do not, because they do not take into account the reasons for the emblem writers' stance on the Italian author.

The groupings of historians lack the complexity to categorize how some authors have a varied stance on Machiavelli's ideas in *Il principe*, for example, Horozco, who accepts Machiavelli's notions of having friendships in the court in one emblem and rejects the concept of Machiavelli's *virtú* in another. Both of these emblems are found in the same emblem book and therefore Horozco cannot be placed in one single category mentioned. These emblems authors, like *reason-of-state* authors that Howard writes about, do not accept or reject all of Machiavelli's notions as a whole, they have varied opinions about each one of them. Therefore, Howard's notions apply to emblem writers as well. With more comparison and analysis of other emblems by the authors of this

study to *Il principe*, their varying opinions and interpretations would demonstrate further that Howards categories are in fact oversimplifications in the Spanish emblem tradition as well.

This research could be applied to another separate study expanded to other emblem artists as only three have been chosen for the present study. Other emblem writers of the time were also creating emblems that provided ideas about the actions and behaviours of monarchs. For example, Andrés Mendo wrote an emblem book entitled *Príncipe perfecto y ministros ajustados, documentos politicos, y morales* [*Perfect Prince and adjusted ministers, political, and moral documents*]. This was published in 1642 in Lyon, France. His emblems include an *inscriptio* and *pictura* and in place of using an epigram or verse for a *subscriptio*, Mendo opts for an explanation written in prose. Each emblem is separated and called a *documento*. The *inscriptio* of *Documento XXXIII* (Figure 8) is "Pungat et ungat" which is Latin for "Let him sting and anoint". The *pictura* depicts two trees with a beehive in each while bees fly between them. Mendo explains that bees have the ability to make honey with sweetness and to punish with their sting. This is a metaphor for a king who must show clemency and punish accordingly. This coincides with Machiavelli's ideas of clemency and cruelty in *Il principe*. Machiavelli believes every prince should strive to be considered clement by his people, but he should not misuse this clemency. He should use prudence to distinguish when to show his wrath and not be afraid to exert. Machiavelli explains that bonds of love can be easily broken, while respect from fear will last due to the threat of punishment and therefore he believes that it is better to be feared than loved, and sees no problem with cruelty. Mendo, on the

other hand, sees it necessary to have a balance between both so that the prince can be known as just and fair.

Another Spanish emblem artist that demonstrates Machiavellian ideas is Francisco Gómez de la Reguera. He published his emblem book *Empresas de los Reyes de Castilla y de León* in 1632. This work is most notable for being the first political emblem book that was published in Spain, predating Saavedra's *Ideas de un príncipe politico-cristiano* by ten to twelve years (Sueiro 343). In *Empresa VII* (Figure 9) Gómez shows his stance on religion and the crown. The *inscriptio* reads "Buena Guía" [Good Guidance] and the *pictura* displays a ship at sea being guided by the North Star. The *subscriptio* is a poem that expresses a safety at sea while following the star. The ship is a representation of a monarch and the North Star represents God. Gómez believes that a ruler should have confidence in God, contrary to Machiavelli who believes that a prince should only keep the appearance of being religious.

A final example of Machiavellian notions used by a Spanish emblem artist is Juan Francisco Fernández de Heredia. His emblem book entitled *Trabajos, y afanes de Hércules, floresta de sentencias, y exemplos*… was published under a much longer name in 1682 and in the title, it states that the book is directed to Charles II, the last Habsburg King of Spain. This indicates a political motive, which is further demonstrated by some of the emblems. For example, one emblem depicts Hercules' task in which he slays the Nemean lion (Figure 10). The *inscriptio* reads "Vis maior cum ratione" [Strength is greater with reason]. The *pictura* shows Hercules, dressed in animal skins fighting the Nemean lion. His club and arrows are lying on the ground in the background. Heredia does not include a poem *subscription*. He does, however, write in prose to explain the

emblem. He compares a tyrant king to the Nemean lion who without reason will feed on the blood of the poor. This is a representation of tyranny and a ruler that taxes his people too much. They have the power to do so but they must moderate this power and not be greedy. If a ruler proves to be greedy and tax his people too much, he will be despised and overthrown when it cannot be tolerated or supported by the commoners, which is represented by Hercules. This reflects a difference of opinion from Machiavelli's advice in *Il principe*. Machiavelli suggests that if a prince lives a lavish lifestyle or is too generous with his money he will have to tax his people to support this lifestyle. This could earn him the reputation of a miser, which would be detrimental to his position. Machiavelli states it is better to have the reputation of a miser from the beginning of a reign. At first this will not be well received, but the public opinion will change when he has secured funds to avoid taxing people later. Heredia neither agrees nor disagrees with Machiavelli. Instead, he suggests an alternative as a solution to the problem: moderation.

This is only a small set of further examples that could be incorporated in another study. It should be noted that each emblem artist mentioned in this research has created a number of emblems that are directed to princes, or deal with themes that pertain to monarchs. According to the *Enciclopedia de emblemas españoles ilustrados* [*The Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Spanish Emblems*], there are at least seven other artists with one or multiple emblems who deal with the themes of princes, kings, monarchs, and heads of government. One of these authors includes Juan de Borja's *Emblemas morales*, another well-known emblem artist who provides a general moral code of conduct and behaviours, some of which are directed at a prince.

This research is limited to *Il principe*; however, room for further development is possible with an inclusion of comparisons to other works by Machiavelli in a separate study. For example, direct comparisons with the *Discorsi*, *La mandragola* and *Dell'arte della guerra*. This would expand the types of emblems that could be examined and widen a study to a greater amount of emblem artists and their different interpretations.

This study proposes that previous understandings of the Spanish reception of Machiavelli have been incomplete or misunderstood. The categories in which authors have been placed are oversimplifications and this rings true for emblem literature as well. Many authors have taken different opinions and varied interpretations of Machiavelli that are too complex to be categorized in only three groups. This study suggests that perhaps these groups could be redefined and changed to include various interpretations as well as the explanations that the emblem authors provide. Machiavelli had complex ideas about government and statecraft and emblems are simple word/picture combinations that can convey elaborate ideas. Emblems that contain Machiavellian notions therefore cannot be defined with such simple categories. As the Spanish interpretations of Machiavelli are being re-evaluated and emblems are becoming an area of increasing inquiry among hispanists, finding more connections between Machiavelli and Spanish emblem literature is inevitable.

Appendix

Figure 1. Emblem XLIII (*The Royal Politician Represented in One Hundred Emblems Translated into English by Sir. James Astry* 303).

Figure 2. Emblem XLIV (*The Royal Politician Represented in One Hundred Emblems Translated into English by Sir. James Astry* 310).

Figure 3. Emblem XLVII (*The Royal Politician Represented in One Hundred Emblems Translated into English by Sir. James Astry* 329).

Figure 4. Emblem XXIII Cent. 3 (*Emblemas morales* 146).

Figure 5. Emblem IIII Cent 2 (*Emblemas morales* 7).

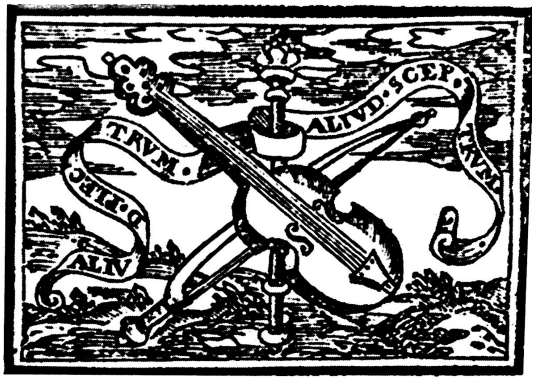

Figure 6. Emblem XVIII Cent. 3 (*Emblemas morales* 218).

Figure 7. Emblem XXIII Cent. 3 (*Emblemas morales* 223).

Figure 8. Documento XXXIII (Vistarini and Cull 31).

Image 9. Empressa VII (Vistarini and Cull 559).

Figure 10. *Trabajo grande, el vencimiento de León Nemeo* (Vistarini and Cull 407).

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