

A TEMPLE OF BOTH FAME AND INFAMY: PORTUGUESE EMBLEMS AND SATIRE DURING THE WAR OF RESTORATION*

Un templo de fama e infamia: emblemas portugueses y sátira
durante la guerra de restauración portuguesa

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ABSTRACT

The emblem book *Templo da fama...* written and drawn by Manoel Pinheiro Arnaut contains a series of original emblems on the theme of warfare. Eight of these drawings are rare examples of visual satire and are the focus of this study. Following a preliminary discussion the historiography on visual satire and political critique in early modern Spain and Portugal, an overview is provided of the formal and iconographic dimensions of Arnaut's book with regard to the political context and the visual sources he is likely to have drawn on, above all Saavedra Fajardo's *Idea de un principe politico Christiano* (...) Then a close analysis is undertaken of the iconography of the eight satirical emblems, and

RESUMEN

El libro de emblemas *Templo da fama...* escrito y dibujado por Manoel Pinheiro Arnaut, contiene una serie de emblemas originales sobre el tema de la guerra. Ocho de los dibujos son ejemplos singulares de sátira visual, y son el tema principal de este estudio. Tras un análisis preliminar de la historiografía sobre la sátira visual y la crítica política en España y Portugal durante la Edad Moderna, se ofrece una visión general de la técnica e iconografía del libro de Arnaut en lo que respecta al contexto político y las fuentes visuales en las que se podría haber inspirado, sobre todo el *Idea de un principe politico Christiano...* de Saavedra Fajardo. A continuación, se analiza detenidamente la iconografía de

their significance is discussed in relation to possible precedents.

KEYWORDS: Satire, Emblems, Drawings, Prints, War of Restoration, Manuscripts.

los ocho emblemas satíricos y se considera su significado en relación con posibles precedentes.

PALABRAS CLAVE: sátira, emblemas, dibujo, estampa, guerra de restauración portuguesa, manuscritos.

1. SATIRE AND POLITICAL CONFLICT IN EARLY MODERN IBERIA

In *Imatges d'atac*, Cristina Fontcuberta's study of the diverse roles art played in European political and religious conflict during the early modern era, she notes that 'seemingly none' of the internal revolts that beset the Spanish Monarchy during the seventeenth century prompted patrons or artists on either side to make recourse to imagery as a means to attack or critique their respective adversaries.¹ With regard to Portugal, the focus of this article, in recent years considerable attention has been devoted to the imagery created during the Union of the Crowns (1580-1640) and the subsequent War of Restoration (1640-1668). A range of scholars have shown how Portuguese paintings, prints, drawings and ephemeral spectacle were deployed by both the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies, along with their secular and religious supporters, to defend the House of Habsburg and Bragança's respective claims to the throne.² However, images of conflict or violence were rarely articulated in visual media. The renowned titlepages produced by Quellinus and Droseshout for the *Philippus Prudens* and *Lusitania Liberata* respectively are the best known examples of the use of allegory and emblems to articulate the confrontation between

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¹ Fontcuberta, 2011, p. 162

² Amongst other publications, see: Curto, 2011; Fernández González, 2015; Fraga, 2013, 2021; Fraga and Palos, 2016; Krass, 2017, 2023; Roe, 2017, 2022; Roe and Barreto Xavier, 2021; Serrão, 2001; Torres Megiani, 2004; Varela Flor, 2025; Barreto Xavier and Cardim, 1996, 2005.

Castile and Portugal.³ Droeshout also depicted John IV with a general's baton on an idealised battlefield, but it was not until later in the war—most notably following the major Portuguese victories won at Elvas on 14 January 1659, Ameixial on 8 June 1663, and Montesclaros on 17 June 1665—that artists commemorated real battles in prints and drawings. Dirk Stoop and Pedro de Santa Coloma created elaborate visual records of the battle of Elvas, while an anonymous artist produced a dual cartographic and topographic depiction of the battle of Ameixial.⁴ The focus of this article is a series of drawings that form part of two manuscripts created in 1663 and 1665. Both used emblematic representations to represent both sides of the ongoing conflict, and they are to date the only evidence of visual satires of Castile produced in Portugal during the war. Aside from the engraving *La rencontre et combat des ambassadeurs d'Espagne et de Portugal, arrivé à Romme* (1642, Paris, Jean Boisseau), made by an unidentified French engraver possibly involving a Portuguese diplomatic agent at the French court, no other satirical prints or drawings linked to this conflict have come to light.⁵ Given that few examples of early modern visual satire have been traced in either Portugal or Spain during the early modern era the rare examples studied here merit a searching analysis, above all as iconographic ingenuity was a key component of their visual critique.

In his pioneering study *The Indignant Eye*, Ralph Shikes highlighted the absence of 'visual comment' on social issues in Spain, laying the blame upon the Inquisition and the social control it exerted.⁶ In the intervening decades art historians such as Bertiére and Fontcuberta, amongst others, have revealed how the social conditions that shaped the production of art and its patronage were far more complex than Shikes suggested.⁷ In particular with regard to issues such as the professional status of native painters and engravers, the mechanisms for the control and censorship of imagery, and also issues such as the 'asymmetry' of visual satirical exchange, as discussed by Fontcuberta.⁸ A further and profound indication of this complexity is provided by Castro-Ibáñez's recent monograph

³ Caramuel, 1637; Macedo, 1645. See also: Rodríguez Moya, 2008.

⁴ See: <https://purl.pt/11703>; <https://purl.pt/4410>; <https://purl.pt/11710>. A precedent for this series of battles is the topographical drawing recording the battle of Alcântara in 1580: <https://purl.pt/1237>. On the works made by Stoop in Portugal, see Varela Flor, 2015, pp. 429-434. In addition to these commemorative images, the war also gave rise to a series of cartographic survey such as Lucas Vorsterman's *Carta da fronteira entre o Alentejo e a Estremadura espanhola*, <https://purl.pt/918>. See also: Sánchez Rubio, 2022.

⁵ Fraga, 2013, 212-215; Roe, 2017, pp. 164-65.

⁶ Shikes, 1969, pp. 58-60.

⁷ Bertiére, 1991; Fontcuberta 2006, 2017.

⁸ Fonctuberta, 2006, pp. 647-652. Also, see the recent studies by Portús, 2015 and Vázquez, 2015, who provides an extensive bibliography.

on Spanish literary satire, *Beware the Poetry: Political Satire and the Emergence of a Public Sphere in Madrid, 1595-1643*, which continues the work of scholars, including Egidio, Gatti and Castillo.⁹ Nevertheless, Castro-Ibáñez's extensive study of his chosen literary corpus has revealed no further visual satires apart from the renowned depiction of Philip IV and the Count-Duke of Olivares—or, as Castro-Ibáñez has argued, Francisco de Quevedo—as El Quijote and Sancho Panza, respectively. The drawing is conserved in the Hispanic Society of America and Castro-Ibáñez identifies it as 'the only preserved satiric cartoon of early seventeenth-century Spain'.¹⁰ Although the authorship of this anonymous satire is unknown, the existence of a single Iberian visual satire seemingly lends weight to Shike's argument, albeit elucidated with more recent historiographical perspectives. Nevertheless, closer scrutiny of Portuguese reports of festivities, and in particular manuscripts celebrating victories provides a series of additions to the corpus of satires targeting Castile.

Amidst the documents recording the celebrations held for the acclamation of John IV in Coimbra there is a brief manuscript account of a satirical procession that included figures representing Philip IV, the Count-Duke of Olivares, Diogo Soares, Miguel de Vasconcelos and the Count of Villa Nova.¹¹ Aside from this brief account there is no corroborating testimony as to whether this event took place, and it should be interpreted with caution. Might this document be a carnivalesque fictional procession that was invented as an imaginary yet nonetheless vitriolic disregard for social decorum? It is beyond the scope of this study to address this question, but whether a report of a real event or a fabrication, this account provides a key example that signals the possibilities for festive visual satire. The manuscript records how the procession emulated the customary spectacle used for religious and political festivals with each figure being accompanied by a painted shield and inscription. However, these textual and decorative elements were used to satirise each figure.

⁹ Egidio López, 1971; Gatti, 2007; Castillo Gómez, 2012.

¹⁰ Castro-Ibáñez, 2025, pp. 171-172. The drawing, catalogued by the Hispanic Society of America, HC 397/97, was first published by Elliott 1986, pp. 620-621, and has since been discussed by a range of scholars including García de Enterría, 2006, pp. 423-424; Montero, 2006, pp. 444-445; Castillo, 2017, p. 89; and Bodart, 2018, pp. 94-95. The drawing concludes a manuscript copy of the anonymous *Cartel de desafío*, 1642, which has been discussed by García de Enterría and Montero, amongst other scholars. I have sought to shed further light on the Spanish, or perhaps Portuguese, provenance of this manuscript copy of *Cartel* and the drawing that concludes it, but as yet to no avail.

¹¹ Extensive festivities were organised by the Jesuits in Coimbra, which have been studied in Marques, 1991. The manuscript discussed here was commented on in Oliveira, 1990, p. 266.

An indication of the satirical tone of this manuscript is revealed by the representation of Philip IV. Rather than the royal arms on his shield there was an *empreza* of the rape of Cassandra, a motif the author declares the king had begun to use following the scandalous and much satirised events that took place in the Convent of San Placido.¹² The decorum of Philip IV's royal image was further defamed by replacing the *toison* (the golden fleece pendant worn by members of the Military Order of Santiago) with a silk cord bearing the inscription *Luxuria* and the accompanying motto claimed the king was more concerned with womanising than losing his kingdoms. Whether imagined or real, I am unaware of any comparable Iberian account of a satirical spectacle having been staged, and seemingly the acclamation celebrations provided an opportunity to vent dissatisfaction and dissent against Castile.¹³

A more decorous yet critical representation of Philip IV was presented in a play staged in Cochin in 1641, serving as a counterpoint for the virtues of Portugal's new king.¹⁴ The latter event signals how decorum could be adhered to as part of a political critique, and this perhaps signals the authorities' concern to avoid providing precedents for popular and public critique at a time of political instability. On the other hand, the fact that the 'event' staged, or at least imagined in Coimbra, was circulated in manuscript form reveals how satire was circulated amongst a literary milieu. The fact that the title declares that the event took place in the university, together with its references to myth and other learned allusions, underscores how this text, and perhaps the spectacle it describes, was addressed to a select public. As such it marks a clear contrast to the public images circulated in Northern European Protestant countries, such as those compiled in the English Broadside Ballad Archive, as well as the Dutch imagery studied by Joke Spaans. The scarcity of Iberian imagery, along with Italian images, such as the caricatures drawn by Guercino and Bernini, signals that in the Catholic states of Southern Europe satire and caricature tended to be addressed to a more select public. Nevertheless, it must be noted the latter Italian examples engaged in very different form of critique to the English and Dutch images, as well as the Portuguese examples discussed in this study.¹⁵

¹² For an overview of the scandal that broke out concerning the Convent of San Plácido in Madrid, see Castro Ibáñez, 2025, pp. 108-117. He also provides a bibliography of the relevant historical studies as well as the satires this event prompted.

¹³ Philip IV and his court were represented with greater respect in the play staged in Cochin during the acclamation celebrations held in 1641. A study of this play is being prepared for publication by José Camões and José Pedro Sousa. The issue of theatrical representation cannot be addressed here, but it has been addressed in: Valladrares, 2002; Sousa, 2016.

¹⁴ Surunga, 1641, see also Gato, 1644; Krass, 2023, pp. 158-174; Roe, 2022; Tavim, 2002.

¹⁵ Spaan, 2011; Lavin, 2007; Marder, 2023; Turner, 2023; English Broadside Ballad Archive, 2003.

In contrast to the account of the Coimbra procession the images studied below deployed erudite strategies that adhered to visual decorum, while still critiquing or satirising their target. The aforementioned play staged in Coimbra is one precedent for a less vitriolic or scabrous mode of critique, another is provided by the *Joyeuse entrée* staged for John IV in Évora in 1643. A number of aspects of this festive spectacle were intended to belittle Castile's military capacity, and this was done by veiling the critique with emblematic imagery, historical references and ecclesiastical and Jesuitical imagery. Towards the end of the festivities held for the feast of St Ignatius, which took place in Évora's cathedral, a figure representing the legendary Medieval general, the Condestable Nuno Alvarez Pereira (1360-1431), presented John IV with the 'captured Castile'. He declared: 'Lord, here I lay [Castile] already vanquished at the feet of Your Royal Majesty, wishing you a very special celebration'.¹⁶ Although the diverse religious and political dimensions of this event cannot be discussed in here, it was clearly an opportunity for an optimistic eulogy of John IV's capacity to win the war, as well as presenting Castile as a weak opponent. While it is impossible to discern if this ephemeral spectacle can be considered satire, this example reveals how allegory and emblem culture provided a decorous means of critique, one that was taken up by authors of emblem books. Two of these emblemists, Gabriel da Purificação and Manoel Pinheiro Arnaut, contributed to the Portuguese critique of the Spanish Monarchy by exploiting military defeats inflicted by the Portuguese forces. The discussion that follows examines how these authors produced a series of emblems that extoled the Portuguese generals and their armies while also mocking the Spanish forces, and thereby the monarchy's efforts to maintain its control over Portugal. In the case of Arnaut, he used his skills as a draughtsman and literary wit to create a series of striking and erudite visual satires.

2. THE *EMBLEMA SINGULARE* AS A SPACE FOR SATIRE

The emblematic spectacles recorded in Coimbra and Évora may be classified as examples of the '*emblema singulare*' as discussed in John Manning's *The Emblem*.¹⁷ Manning discussed how the numerous early modern festivals were a key element of emblem culture, and this erudite literary-visual discourse was deployed for a range of events including royal acclamations and entries. Another example of the *emblema singulare* discussed by Manning is the manuscript emblem book, works dedicated to a single individual and created to mark

¹⁶ Anon., 1643, f. 37 r. <https://purl.pt/35091/2/>

¹⁷ Manning, 2002, pp. 185-219.

a specific event. For example, two manuscripts record the decorative programmes created for the exequies of Duarte de Bragança, John IV's brother, in 1649,¹⁸ and the Infante Theodosio in 1653. While it has not been possible to consult the former manuscript, Ferreira's analysis of the four emblems, designed by Francisco Manuel de Melo for Theodosio, along with the accompanying description of the exequies reveals how these images adhered strictly to funerary decorum; a further example is the four allegorical engravings published in Luis de Sousa's *Tumulus serenissimi principis Lusitaniae Theodosii. . .*¹⁹ Amaral has also discussed the literary references to at least one lost emblem book also by Melo,²⁰ as well as the emblematic titlepage conserved in the Biblioteca Publica de Évora drawn for Melo's *Theodosio del nombre, segundo, Principe de Bragança*, which signals a broader interest in creating emblems amongst Portuguese writers and scholars.²¹ Furthermore, Cardim and Barreto Xavier have published an invaluable critical edition of a manuscript produced in 1665, which provided a visual record, 27 watercolour illustrations, of the emblems and other decorations created to celebrate the marriage of Afonso VI to Maria Francisca of Savoy.²²

The military victories won by Portugal, finally fulfilling the optimism that had been expressed in Évora, as well as the providentialist discourse expounded by preachers, provided another motive for scholars to create manuscripts of emblems.²³ In 1663 the Hieronymite friar, Gabriel da Purificação, dedicated *Emprezas Luzitanas contra Castelhanas*

¹⁸ Sider, 1997, n. 83, p. 55 lists: *Emblemas, e hyeroglificos na morte do serfinissimo infante D. D[ua]rte*, ms. 54-XI-38, Biblioteca da Ajuda. Seemingly, this is an exclusively textual description, see Martínez Pereira, 2008, p. 192.

¹⁹ Ms. 335 BGUC: <https://web.bg.uc.pt/cman/show.asp?i=335&p=50>. Reproduced and transcribed in Ferreira, 2016, pp. 616-617: <https://estudogeral.uc.pt/handle/10316/31586>. Sousa, Luís de (1653?). *Tumulus serenissimi principis Lusitaniae Theodosii, ornatus virtutibus, oppletus lachrymis / illius immortalitati à D. Ludovico Sousa, Comitis Mirandæ filio, vno ex intimis aulæ erectus*. N.p., n.p.. For a discussion of the exequies held for the infante and the accompanying commemorative publications, see, Ferreira, 2016, pp. 256-276, 601-607.

²⁰ Amaral Júnior, 2009, pp.12-16; Barbosa, 1747, pp.187-188. Melo's book *Verdades Pintadas e Escritas* contained one hundred moral impresas drawn by the author with accompanying texts. Melo compared his emblems to Saavedra Fajardo's *Idea de un principe politico christiano, representada en cien empresas*. Despite not knowing the latter book Melo discovered that fourteen of their emblems had the "same body, letter and allegory". Amaral has also noted that Melo's *Hospital das Letras* includes a reference refers to a possible second work entitled, *Arte Simbolatória e Tratado das Insígnias Religiosas, Militares e Políticas*.

²¹ Amado, 2017, p. 129. Biblioteca Publica de Évora, Ms. CIII-1-17. Francisco Manuel de Melo discussed the meaning of this frontispiece in a letter to António Luís de Azevedo. Melo, 1981, pp. 246-247.

²² Barreto Xavier and Cardim, 1996, 2005; Martínez Pereira, 2008, p. 192.

²³ Marqués, 1986, pp. 395-404.

Empresas to the Count of Vila Flor, and it was intended to mark the victory won by this general at the battle of Ameixial.²⁴ Then, in 1665 Manoel Pinheiro Arnaut dedicated *Templo da fama: consagrado ao valor de Portugal & construído das ruinas de Castella em Montes Claros, na sempre memorável victoria a 17 Junho de 1665* to the Count of Castelo Melhor as a tribute for the victory won by the Portuguese at the Battle of Montes Claros.²⁵ As well as extolling the virtues of the commanders and other members of the Portuguese forces, both authors also satirised Castile's army. Furthermore, Arnaut's manuscript was produced with considerable artistic skill and inventive iconography, which he applied to a broader critique of the Spanish Monarchy.

The format of the two manuscripts is similar. Purificação's text consists of 19 folios, and the recto of each is used as follows. Folio 1 consists of a titlepage and dedication to the Portuguese general, the Count of Vila Flor, surrounded by a coloured ornamental border. Folio 2 contains an acrostic based on the words 'Vitor Dom Sancho', accompanied by a first emblematic image. In folios 3 -18 the top half of the sheet is filled with an image accompanied by mottos formed from biblical quotations, while the lower half contains the accompanying *decima*. The image of the final folio depicts portraits of Vila Flor and Afonso VI and a longer eulogistic verse. All Purificação's images are produced in pen and watercolour.

Arnaut's manuscript consists of 54 *folios*, comprising a titlepage, followed by a dedication to the Count of Castelo Melhor, who served as Afonso VI's *escrivão da puridade* and *valido*.²⁶ Two frontispieces follow, firstly the count's coat of arms above a spherical astrolabe accompanied by a motto taken from Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* 'Manens cuncta'.²⁷

²⁴ Conserved in the Biblioteca do Palácio Ducal de Vila Viçosa. See, Amaral Júnior, 2009, pp. 12-13; Barbosa, 1747, pp. 320-321. Amongst the various literary tributes to this victory the following work includes an equestrian portrait of Vila Flor: Cunha, 1673.

²⁵ MS Typ 250. Houghton Library, Harvard University. See: Barbosa, 1752, p. 342; Viterbo, 1911, pp. 135-136; Hofer, 1951, p. 36; Harvard University Library, 1955, p.39; Martínez Pereira, 2008, p. 195. Barbosa records that Arnaut was born in Lisbon and studied Law at the University of Coimbra. On completing his bachelor's degree, he went on to serve as a lawyer for the Casa de Supplicação, the High Court of Appeals in Lisbon. Barbosa also notes that he was a skilled poet, writing in Portuguese and gaining renown for the elegance and conceptual wit of his verse. A further feature of his writings was his mastery of calligraphy. No other biographical details are provided, except that he died on 17 May 1685 and was buried in the parish church of São Nicloão. However, Barbosa provides a list of his publications, which reveal he was a member of Lisbon's Academia de Singulares. Archival research and closer scrutiny of his poetry may shed further light on his life.

²⁶ On Castelo Melhor, amongst other studies, see: Faria, 2021.

²⁷ A sense of Arnaut's intended meaning is provided by O'Donnell (1984) 'you give [cause] all things to be moved'.

The second drawing depicts a triumphal arch, which the accompanying inscription states was ‘built [with] the trophies from Castile’.²⁸ A series of twenty-two subjects are addressed each by a poetic *empreza* (hereafter *impresa*) and a drawn *hieroglyphico* (hereafter *hieroglyph*) accompanied by one or two mottos, all taken from Classical Roman authors. Throughout the manuscript’s sequence the title and its corresponding *impresa* occupy the recto and verso of a folio, and the accompanying *hieroglyph* occupies the following folio. The closing folio sheet combines a final *impresa* and *hieroglyph*. Folio 51^r contains a brief manuscript note identified as ‘an ecclesiastical censor’s note … [that] grants permission to have the manuscript bound’.²⁹ The latter note is dated 25 October 1665, which means Arnaut completed this manuscript just over four months after the victory was won.

Arnaut’s dedication to the Count of Castelo Melhor expressly distinguished between the book’s poetic *impresa* and drawn *hieroglyphs*. While this highlights the author’s knowledge of emblem culture it also signals the overlapping currency of these terms, along with device and emblem. For example, their semantic range was later commented on by Bluteau:

‘... chegou a palavra *Empresa*, a ter na lingoa Portugueza a mesma extençao que a palavra *Divisa*... [in the Portuguese language the word *Impresa* has come to have the same range as the word *Device*] and ‘Hoje por *ieroglphyico* se entende qualquer imagem, ou *empreza* da *animas*, ou de *corpos naturae*, que sem palavras manifestaraõ alguna calidade natural, ou moral... [Today *hieroglyph* is understood as any image, or as an *impresa* based on animals, or else natural forms, which without words represents some natural or moral quality]’.³⁰

For the present study my discussion of Arnaut’s poetic *impresas* is restricted to their role in clarifying the sense of his *hieroglyphs*. The latter are the most original feature of his manuscript, and the focus of this study.

In formal terms Purificação seemingly sought to emulate the simpler more direct aesthetic of woodcut engravings of emblems. His choice is likely to have been prompted

²⁸ Arnaut, 1665, f. 4r.

²⁹ Harvard University Library, 1955, p. 39. The censor in question was Bento Pereira (1605-1681), who Fernando Bouza has identified as the Jesuit and scholar of this name recorded by Barbosa. Having served as ‘*revisor*’ of books for the Society of Jesus in Rome, he went on to serve as rector of Lisbon’s Irish College, and it was while serving in that role that he approved Arnaut’s manuscript. Barbosa, 1741, pp. 508-509.

³⁰ Bluteau, 1712, p. 72; 1713, pp. 39-40. A range of scholars have addressed the significance of these terms and their use to refer to erudite textual and visual genres; with a focus on authors and territories linked to Spain, amongst other works, see Arranz and Leal (2020) and López Poza (2012), pp. 60-84.

by his limited skills as a draughtsman, as is evident in his weakly drawn depictions of a lion representing Castile. Besides formal considerations, the emblems he created were also far simpler and less creative than Arnaut's. For example, his depiction of Portugal's victory was represented by Vilaflor placing his foot upon the recumbent lion representing Castile, whose red tongue protrudes as a sign of defeat. There are also two emblems that evoke Castilian cruelty by depicting the lion as a wolf, while a third one shows Vila Flor with the lion's skin as a trophy of war. In contrast, Arnaut was a far superior draughtsman and more creative inventor of emblems, and his twenty-two hieroglyphs range from the eulogistic to the satiric.

3. ARNAUT AS DRAUGHTSMAN AND EMBLEMATIST

The formal and technical aspects of Arnaut's drawings merit far closer scrutiny than is possible in this study, and their close comparison to contemporary drawings must be postponed to a future study. Nevertheless, one key aspect of his drawings must be singled out: he clearly sought to emulate the graphic possibilities of engraved images, which prompts two questions.³¹ Did he aspire to have his book printed? What other printed imagery may he have known? It seems highly likely Arnaut would have intended to have his book printed, and a parallel may be drawn between his manuscript and the manuscript copy of Geoffrey Whitney's *A choice of emblemes*, c.1585, which is thought to have been dedicated to the Earl of Leicester.³² Amongst other factors, Castelo Melhor's subsequent fall from grace would have scuppered any aspirations to publish *Templo da fama*. However, it may also have been thought that circulating images that satirised Castile and its army might hinder the diplomatic negotiations that led to the Peace of Madrid in 1668. As a result, Arnaut's work remained an *emblema singulare* and was conserved in the Castelo Melhor library until its contents were sold in the nineteenth century.³³ The issue of printing aside, Barbosa commented that Arnaut's life was vexed by economic constraints, thus his primary concern in creating this volume may have been to create a unique manuscript for a bibliophile patron in order to secure favour or patronage. It is also possible that Arnaut was aware of Purificação's manuscript, and this may have prompted him to ensure that the work he

³¹ It has not been possible to examine the physical manuscript for this study, and this analysis is based on the Houghton Library catalogue and publications.

³² MS Typ 14. Houghton Library, Harvard University. Whitney's book was published in Leiden in 1587.

³³ Anon., 1878, p. 50. For its subsequent provenance, see Sousa de Viterbo, 1911, p. 136.

created for Castelo Melhor was far superior in terms of length, as well as conceptual and visual quality.

Discerning what visual sources Arnaut drew on, is challenging. The clearest example is provided by the closing image of his book. Presiding over the *decima* closing his ‘temple of fame’, a winged Victory jubilantly hails King Afonso VI’s triumph, and this recalls Lucas Vorsterman’s frontispiece to Francisco Manuel de Melo’s *Eccō politico* (figs. 1-2)³⁴. The impact of Vorsterman’s image has also been noted by Maria Fanjul in one of the five drawings collected by Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, while a prisoner in Portugal.³⁵ Besides this specific example, Arnaut may well have known the aforementioned engravings produced by Dirk Stoop, Bouttats, Coloma. However, as an ‘amateur’ artist Arnaut’s impressive ability to depict landscapes, many of which include battles, as well as natural and scientific phenomena suggests he drew on a still wider visual corpus. Closer connoisseurial scrutiny may shed greater light on this, while also exploring the parallel drawn by Sousa de Viterbo between Arnaut’s drawings and the work of Callot.³⁶ One final visual source Arnaut clearly drew on was emblem imagery, and while there is no clear indication of the sources he used, a series of parallels and possible engagements with precedents are discussed in the final part of this study.

The question of the precedents Arnaut drew inspiration from must also consider the inventive originality of his images. His mastery of naturalistic representation enabled him to create more far more visually engaging images than Purificação’s for example. Furthermore, Arnaut combined his concern for verisimilitude with a creative appropriation of the formal conventions of emblem design, and in particular he used contrasts of scale and perspective to great effect. With his depictions of symbols, such as arrows, banners, mirrors, as well as hands and animals, he created a novel emblematic aesthetic.

Arnaut clearly sought to provide both engaging recreations of existing emblematic imagery and original inventions of new themes. As was mentioned above Francisco Manuel de Melo knew of Saavedra Fajardo’s *Idea de un principe politico Christiano...*, and this is a source Arnaut is likely to have also known, and a comparison of images from Saavedra’s book to those created by Arnaut offers a valuable insight into the originality

³⁴ Melo, 1645. The frontispiece may be consulted here: <https://purl.pt/26490>. For a second emblematic frontispiece, designed and engraved by Vorsterman, depicting Faith and Fortitude, see: Pimentel, 1650. On the works produced by Vorsterman in Portugal, see Varela Flor, 2014, pp. 418-423.

³⁵ López-Fanjul, 2010, p. 469.

³⁶ Viterbo, 1911, p. 136.



Fig. 1. Manoel Pinheiro Arnaut, *Winged Victory*, 1665. Drawing from *Templo da fama: consagrado ao valor de Portugal & construido das ruinas de Castella em Montes Claros, na sempre memoravel victoria a 17 Junho de 1665*: manuscript, 1665. Ms Typ 250. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/dr:474447269\\$113i](https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/dr:474447269$113i)



Fig. 2. Lucas Vorsterman, *Winged Victory*, 1645, engraved frontispiece to Francisco Manuel de Melo. *Ecco polytico: responde en Portugal a la voz de Castilla y satisface a un papel anonymo, ofrecido al Rey Don Felipe el Quarto*. Lisbon, Paulo Craesbeck. <https://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/s/k7au3o>

of *Templo da fama*.³⁷ In his tenth hieroglyph Arnaut depicted the symbolic image of an arrow on a huge scale within a landscape with a battle. He seemingly transformed Saavedra's precedent (fig. 3),³⁸ just as his image sought to convey a different meaning to that discussed by Saavedra; decisive military action as opposed to the Spanish author's reflection on the transience of nature. Then, in the twentieth hieroglyph (fig. 4)³⁹ Arnaut depicted hands pruning a tree to represent the injuries suffered by the Portuguese soldiers. Previously, Saavedra, concerned with instructing rulers to emulate natural methods of husbandry, merely depicted a pruning knife hanging from a tree with cut branches below.⁴⁰ A key aspect of Arnaut's aesthetic is the sense of movement and dynamism he bestowed on his imagery, as opposed to the static precedents of Saavedra's for example. Further parallels are drawn below between Saavedra's impresas and Arnaut's series of eight satirical images. More significantly it is shown how Arnaut invented his own emblematic iconography, and one clear example of this is his twelfth hieroglyph (fig. 5), dedicated to Monsieur de Balandrin, a sergeant major from the Portuguese army's foreign battalion. To depict this soldier's French origin as well as his bravery, Arnaut's poetic impresa recounts how a new flower was born in Portugal, the *Lirio espadanal* (Spanish Lily). Yet, as his uncanny image reveals this was no ordinary lily, but instead a delicate flower on a menacing monumental scale, whose threat is enhanced by its swordlike thorns.⁴¹

³⁷ Further evidence for Portuguese emblemats' use of Saavedra Fajardo's book is discussed in Argelich and Rega's forthcoming chapter (at press) 'Emblemática antislámica y Reconquista en la fiesta barroca ibérica: la iconización del "otro" musulmán', which analyses how the decorations created for the wedding celebrations held for Afonso VI and Maria Francisca of Savoy drew on Saavedra's book. A broader study of other Portuguese emblem books may offer further insights into the wider circulation of *Idea de un principe politico Christiano...*

³⁸ *O Svirb o Bajar*, engraving from Saavedra Fajardo, 1642, *Idea de un principe politico christiano, representada en cien empresas*, Milan, n.p., p. 453. Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE). <https://bnedigital.bne.es/bsd/viewer?oid=0000038205&site=bdh&page=479>. [Consulted 07-10-2025].

³⁹ *Poda no corta*, engraving from Saavedra Fajardo 1640, *op. cit.*, p. 505. BNE. <https://bnedigital.bne.es/bsd/es/viewer?id=ad0a7537-826a-42fc-83e1-7c5c4d2f5fe9&page=72>. [Consulted 07-10-2025].

⁴⁰ Saavedra Fajardo, 1642, p. 505.

⁴¹ Given that the lily is perhaps best known as a Marian symbol, its inclusion provides a timely reminder that Arnaut may also have drawn on religious prints and emblem books when composing his manuscript. Although the lily is not included as an emblem in Nicolás de la Iglesia's *Flores de Miraflores, Hieroglificos Sagrados, Verdades Figuradas...*, this book contains a series of depictions of thorny roses as decorative adornment. See for example, Nicolás de la Iglesia, 1659, ff. 55r and 58r.



Fig. 3. Manoel Pinheiro Arnaut, *Et Pace et Bello*, 1665. Drawing from *Templo da fama...* [https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:474447269\\$63i](https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:474447269$63i)



Fig. 4. Manoel Pinheiro Arnaut, *Arboris Ictu*, 1665. Drawing from *Templo da fama...* [https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:474447269\\$103i](https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:474447269$103i)

Fig. 5. Manoel Pinheiro Arnaut, *Protulit Enses*, 1665. Drawing from *Templo da fama...* [https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/dr:474447269\\$71i](https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/dr:474447269$71i)



4. ARNAUT AS SATIRIST

During the era of simmering tension between Castile and Portugal prior to the events of 1 December 1640, a pivotal representation of the potential conflict was provided by the depiction of the Spanish Monarchy as a lion subjugating Portugal as a dragon in the aforementioned titlepage designed by Erasmus Quellinus designed for *Philippus Prudens*—Juan Caramuel’s defence of the Spanish Habsburg claim to the Portuguese throne. Then, following the acclamation of John IV and the ensuing conflict, Sousa de Macedo rebutted Caramuel’s claims in *Lusitania Liberata*, which was accompanied by John Droeshout’s combative visual response of the Bragança dragon gaining the upper hand on Castile’s lion. However, to date no subsequent use of the lion-dragon imagery is noted during the reign of John IV. Nevertheless, it was revived by the German merchants of Lisbon as part of the decorative programme they created for an arch built to mark the aforementioned wedding celebrations held for Afonso VI. The Portuguese victories won at Elvas, Ameixial and Montesclaros would have prompted a revival of this motif, yet a highly diplomatic depiction of the two beasts was designed for the wedding: they were shown as equally

matched rivals, rather than the dragon as victor over the vanquished lion.⁴² As was mentioned above, prior to these nuptial festivities Purificação had depicted the Castilian lion as being trodden on by the Portuguese general, Vila Flor, vilified the Castilian soldiers for using wolflike tactics, and then showed Vila Flor with the lion's skin draped over his shoulder as a 'blazon'. Significantly, Arnaut developed the theme of the Castilian lion further but dispensed with the literalism of Purificação's representations to create a more potent visual satire.

The theme of the lion is introduced in Arnaut's second hieroglyph. The impresa's verse recounts how four lions can be seen fleeing across the hills in the midground (fig. 6). Their flight has been prompted by a cockerel standing proudly with one leg raised, representing the French general, Count of Schomberg. The bird offers a clear demonstration of Arnaut's skills as a draughtsman, yet his artistic skills are matched by his conceptual ingenuity as a satirist. The lions have fled from the coat of arms lying at the cockerel's feet: two from the first quarter, the arms of the Crown of Castile; one from the fourth quarter, the arms of Brabant; and a final one, from the arms of Flanders. Arnaut left two clearly discernible features, the coat of arms of Granada, and the *toison* of the Order of Santiago, although the latter is depicted as a lamb; both of these visual motifs are alluded to in the impresa's reference to the '*vergonha de Granda... fraqueza o Cordeiro* (shame of Granada... weakness of a lamb)'.⁴³ The first of the image's mottos, *Bella Canendo*, from Seneca's *Troades*, alludes to the cockerel's crowing as inspiring the Portuguese to fight. The second, *Hoc tantum refert*, from Juvenal's seventh satire, alludes to the Portuguese using novel and more effective methods of warfare.⁴⁴

Having lucidly depicted the oxymoron of a cowardly lion, in the ninth hieroglyph (fig. 7) Arnaut depicts the lion as a dangerous protagonist, yet one that has been outwitted by a rival of a very different nature. The decima recounts how the humble bramble, representing Joao da Sylva de Sousa, battalion sergeant major of the province of Alentejo and general of the cavalry of the Algarve, proved to be an insurmountable line of defence that protected the blooming royal excellence of Afonso VI. The full form of the motto, *[Audacia] pro muro habetur* (boldness is a bulwark), taken from Sallust,⁴⁵ signals that the image's

⁴² Barreto Xavier and Cardim, 2005, pp. 32-34. It should be noted that this animal symbolism was fluid. Barreto Xavier and Cardim have interpreted the depiction of the dragon being killed by St George on the Arch of the Standard of St George as symbolising Castile's defeat and the rescue of Portugal, represented as the maiden. Likewise, they record how the Arch of the Flemish merchants depicted Portugal's European allies as lions attacking Castile.

⁴³ For an example of the full coat of arms see this detail of Popma's title page in Caro de Torres, 1629.

⁴⁴ Seneca, 1917, pp. 196-197; Juvenal, 1957, pp. 136-37.

⁴⁵ Sallust, 1965, pp. 120-121.



Fig. 6. Manoel Pinheiro Arnaut, *Bella canendo*, 1665. Drawing from *Templo da fama...* [https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:474447269\\$31i](https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:474447269$31i)



Fig. 7. Manoel Pinheiro Arnaut, *Pro mivo habetur*, 1665. Drawing from *Templo da fama...* [https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:474447269\\$59i](https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:474447269$59i)



Fig. 8. Manoel Pinheiro Arnaut, *Migat ore trisculcis*, 1665. Drawing from *Templo da fama...* [https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drds:474447269\\$79i](https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drds:474447269$79i)

primary theme is to extol the bravery of the Portuguese troops, but in visual terms this was achieved by depicting the lion as a vanquished and seemingly lesser force.

The lion is satirised once more, explicitly so, in the fourteenth hieroglyph (fig. 8), and in this case Arnaut deployed an original and non-naturalistic visual tactic. Albeit it not one of his most accomplished drawings, the Portuguese ‘serpent’ or dragon occupies the visual and metaphorical high ground, while the lion lies in the foreground.⁴⁶ The cartouches issuing from the dragon’s mouth, *Angliae*, *Lusitanica*, *Galliae*, highlight the support Portugal received from its two allies, England and France. The accompanying motto, *[et Linguis] Migat ore trisculcis* (from his mouth a three-forked tongue) is taken from Virgil’s description of a Calabrian serpent, and provides a neutral reference to natural history.⁴⁷ In contrast, the second motto, *violentus in armis* (impetuous in arms), borrowed from Ovid, seemingly suggests the lion should be triumphant.⁴⁸ However, in the image we see how it is weighed down by 19 cartouches that list the numerous territories that placed demands and pressures on the Spanish Monarchy: *Legronecis*; *Aragonica*; *Navarra*;

⁴⁶ Arnaut, 1665, f. 31v.

⁴⁷ Virgil, 1999, pp. 206-207.

⁴⁸ Ovid, ed. 1939, pp. 442-443.

Castallanica; Insubrica; Sicula; Napolitana; Austriaca; Hispanica; Italica; Gallacia; Germanica; Valonica; Bohemica; Helvetica; Hungarica; Croatia; Hibernica; Burgundica. Arnaut succinctly evokes the wide range of territorial concerns that beset the Spanish Monarchy and overburdened its supposedly powerful strength. And were the reader to trace the second motto to its full context, they would see how Arnaut's image has reversed the sense of Ovid's words, as it is not the lion's enemies who 'suffer the missiles' of its tongue. Instead, it is overwhelmed by its numerous tongue-like cartouches.

The final image to address the theme of the Castilian lion is the sixteenth hieroglyph (fig. 9), which is dedicated to the 'To the cowardly enemy prisoners'. The impresa's *decima* recalls the image of General Schomberg as a cockerel, but recounts how the Castilians acted like chickens to ingratiate themselves to the Portuguese general. Admittedly, Arnaut was not fully successful in meeting the challenge of drawing a timid lion while making it clear that their wings are those of a chicken. His image lacks a degree of clarity, and depends on the impresa for its sense, as well as the motto taken from Virgil, *timor addidit alas* (Fear lends wings).⁴⁹ Nevertheless, for a contemporary Portuguese reader, the image would have carried greater weight.



Fig. 9. Manoel Pinheiro Arnaut, *Timor addidit alas*, 1665. Drawing from *Templo da fama...* [https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:474447269\\$87i](https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:474447269$87i)

⁴⁹ Virgil, 1960, pp. 74-75.

The final three images to be discussed reveal how Arnaut invented three original iconographies to satirise the Castilian enemy. His fifteenth hieroglyph depicts a clock-work device with an alarm (fig. 10), and he may have drawn inspiration from Saavedra's impresa *Vni reddatur*.⁵⁰ Saavedra's explanation of his image was intended to highlight the need for '*concierto i correspondencia... entre el principe i sus consejeros* (agreement and correspondence... between the prince and his advisers)', or to put it more literally an administration that operates with clockwork precision. However, Arnaut's *decima* reveals his image depicts the opposite: his device is a failed mechanism. It represents the Marquis of Caracena's ineffective command of the troops, and the title claims he fled the battle.⁵¹ In contrast to Saavedra's elegant clock, as well as others found in Spanish still life paintings such as Antonio de Pereda's *Vanitas* (1632-36, Kunsthistorisches Museum), Arnaut's device is clearly rudimentary, and its fragility is underscored by setting it in an uneven terrain. While it is possible Arnaut responded to Saavedra's emblem, the broader contemporary currency of the image and metaphor of the clock, needs to be studied in greater



Fig. 10. Manoel Pinheiro Arnaut, *Sic omnia verti cernimus*, 1665. Drawing from *Templo da fama...* [https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:474447269\\$83i](https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:474447269$83i)

⁵⁰ *Vni reddatur*, engraving from Saavedra Fajardo, 1640, *op. cit.* p. 505. BNE. <https://bnedigital.bne.es/bd/es/viewer?id=ad0a7537-826a-42fc-83c1-7c5c4d2f5fc9&page=72>. [Consulted 07-10-2025].

⁵¹ Arnaut, 1665, f. 33r.

depth, as signalled by another contemporary example, Benito Remigio Noydens' *Relox espiritual, político y moral para componer la vida del hombre*.⁵² Given the focus of texts such as Saavedra and Noydens' on a mechanistic ideal of the state, in 1665 Arnaut may have also have been alluding that Mariana of Austria's regency was not the best example of the enmeshed gears of government. Once more the motto, *Sic omnia verti cernimus* (so we see times changing), takes on a more politically charged meaning when Ovid's full sentence is read: *atque illas assumere robore gentes concidere has* (and some nations putting on new strength and others falling into weakness).⁵³

The final two images to be discussed in this study return to animal imagery, deer and silkworm moths. Both are invoked to mock the Castilian army's failings. The title of the seventeenth impresa and hieroglyph (fig. 11) is 'On the enemy's customary procedure in all its campaigns'. The image depicts a herd of seven deer, six of whom have only the stubs of what were their antlers, which we see lying at their feet. Although the second quotation, *Omnibus annis amitunt* (they shed them every year), provides a naturalistic



Fig. 11. Manoel Pinheiro Arnaut, *Fugam meditari docent*, 1665. Drawing from *Templo da fama...* [https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:474447269\\$91i](https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:474447269$91i)

⁵² For a discussion of this theme see Peyrebonne, 2024.

⁵³ Ovid, ed. 1929, vol. 2, pp. 394-395. The modern edition, whose translation I cite, reads: 'sic tempore verti cernimus'.

allusion to this scene, the seventh deer, on the far left-hand-side, with one remaining antler, and the other displaying a jagged break signals that Arnaut is not concerned with any natural process.⁵⁴ The fact that the deer trample their fallen antlers under foot suggests there is a moral dynamic to this image. The impresa explains the twofold symbolism of this image. Firstly, past pride had led the army to vaunt its greater power and determination, as displayed by their weapons. Secondly, that having learnt to ‘*pressumir* (flaunt)’ its strength, the Castilian army had in fact mastered the art of fleeing rather than complying with orders to conquer. Thus, it becomes clear that the deer have discarded their antlers-arms and are fleeing en masse. The quotation from Pliny’s Natural History, *Fugam meditari docent* (they teach them to practise escaping), adds a further level of satire, suggesting that flight is part of the Castilian troops’ training.⁵⁵

The penultimate image to be examined reveals contrasting aspects of Arnaut’s draughtsmanship and inventiveness. The eighteenth hieroglyph (fig. 12) is dedicated to ‘To the ill-fated power of the enemy and their failed escape’, a theme represented visually by a depiction of a silkworm moth emerging from its chrysalis and being drawn directly to the

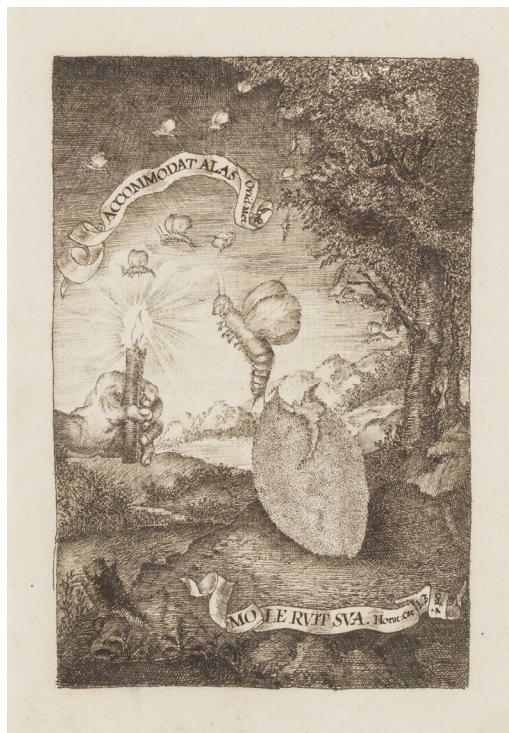


Fig. 12. Manoel Pinheiro Arnaut, *Accomodat alas*, 1665. Drawing from *Templo da fama...* [https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/dr:474447269\\$95i](https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/dr:474447269$95i)

⁵⁴ Pliny, 1940, vol. 3, pp. 82-83.

⁵⁵ *Id.*, pp. 80-81.

flame of a candle. Regarding the two mottos—*Accomodat alas* (fits the wings) and *Mole ruit sua* (sinks beneath its own weight)—it may be argued that Arnaut intended to stir his reader's curiosity, prompting them to consult Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Horace's *Odes*.⁵⁶ By doing so the reader could better grasp the mottos' meaning. The phrase from Ovid is taken from the description of Daedalus preparing Icarus's wax and feather wings for his tragic flight, thus underscoring the moth's inevitable fate. The second motto is taken from Horace's Ode to Calliope, which extols the victories of Jupiter and the other gods. The complete line *Vis expers consili, ruit sua mole* (Force devoid of judgement, sinks beneath its own weight) underscores the disdainful depiction of the enemy as an unwillingly, and above all, unthinking moth.⁵⁷ Arnaut's image is another clear example of his capacity for inventing original iconographic designs, as well as his capacity to depict both natural forms and the chiaroscuro of nocturnal scenes. The bright light of the candle that the moth flies towards provides a contrasting focus, one that also highlights the strength of the Portuguese army.

For the final hieroglyph of his series of twenty-two drawings (fig. 13), Arnaut chose a set of scales as his symbol. Previously, Saavedra had used this symbol to advocate



Fig. 13. Manoel Pinheiro Arnaut, *Producit ad astra Triumphus*, 1665. Drawing from *Templo da fama...* [https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:474447269\\$111i](https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:474447269$111i)

⁵⁶ Ovid, ed. 1929, vol. 1, pp. 420-421.

⁵⁷ Horace, ed. 1895, p. 91. See also Tenney, 1921, p. 171.

prudence: ‘*debe el principe pesar bien lo que puede herir su espada, i defender su escudo, advirtiendo, que es su corona un circulo limitado* (the prince should carefully weigh up what harm his sword can do, and his shield defend [him from], considering how his crown is a limited circle’); the scales evoking the equilibrium of the ideal of princely judgement. However, Arnaut chose to depict the opposite. His poetic *impresa* contrasts Portugal’s valour to Castile’s *pesar* (sorrow or regret, as well as weight), and in the corresponding image the coat of arms of the Spanish Monarchy—on this occasion complete, although the golden fleece still looks distinctly ovine—crashes to the ground while the Portuguese arms spring skyward. The accompanying mottos underscore the message. The inscription alongside the Spanish arms reads *Sedet aeternumq[ue]l sedebit* (sits and evermore shall sit),⁵⁸ while that beside Portugal’s declares, *Producit ad astra Triumphus* (raises me at last to heaven).⁵⁹ Albeit a simple concept, Arnaut’s final image provides a potent image of the respective rise and fall of Castile and Portugal, with Castile’s descent shown as an indecorous crash. Given the historically imbued cultural and protocolary significance of the coat of arms, the decision to depict it in this manner provides a final indisputable satire of the decline of the Spanish Monarchy in the wake of the battle of Montesclaros. Furthermore, were the reader acquainted with Saavedra’s *impresa*⁶⁰ their knowledge would have bestowed a further layer of ironic satire on this image, as it becomes an example of the Spanish Monarchy’s imprudence and incapacity to judge the strength of its sword and shield, as well as the limits of its crown.

5. CONCLUSION

The eight satirical drawings from Arnaut’s *Templo da fama*, in addition to Purificação’s drawings, provide a rare testimony of visual satire in seventeenth-century Portugal. Given the scarcity and above all the limited circulation of these images, Shikes and Fontcuberta’s analysis of the scarcity of visual satire and critique in Spain and Portugal goes unchallenged. Yet, these images suggest three lines of enquiry to explore this theme further. Firstly, a survey of the use of emblems to articulate political and social critique may offer a broader context to assess works such as Arnaut’s, as well as trace other examples of satire. Paulson’s study of eighteenth-century satirists’ and their knowledge of Renaissance

⁵⁸ Virgil, 1999, pp. 574-575.

⁵⁹ Silius Italicus, 1927, vol. 2, pp. 332-332.

⁶⁰ Saavedra Fajardo, 1642, p. 604. BNE. <https://bnedigital.bne.es/bd/es/viewer?id=d7dc04d1-84bb-443c-8e58-85e72b7e2733&page=50>. [Consulted 07-10-2025].

and Baroque imagery provides a point of departure for a closer scrutiny of this visual corpus.⁶¹ Furthermore, the examples studied here lend weight to the view that in Southern Europe satire circulated amongst a more restricted readership in manuscripts that were often dedicated to specific readers. Closer study of drawings in manuscripts, especially by erudite authors rather than artists may reveal further relevant examples.

Finally, aside from the issue of the censorship of public critique, the foregoing discussion has highlighted two key themes that merit closer scrutiny. Firstly, what other examples are there of the codes of visual decorum being contravened to satirical effect, above all with regard to portraiture or heraldry, as well as emblems more broadly? In this regard public festivals held during moments of political change or unrest, as well as carnival, may prove insightful. A final theme that merits a deeper enquiry is the public celebration of military triumphs. Purificação and Arnaut's manuscripts need to be analysed in the broader context of the literary works written to celebrate Portugal's victories, as well as accounts of the festivities that were held. A broader study of the public visual discourse of military triumph in both Spain and Portugal would likewise provide an essential framework. The studies devoted to the Hall of Realms in the Buen Retiro are clearly of fundamental importance, as are the studies of noble art collections such as Gaspar de Haro, both of which open up a richer bilateral enquiry into the Portuguese-Castilian corpus of imagery and sources.⁶² Finally, Fanjul's aforementioned study demonstrates how closer scrutiny of drawings, as well as prints is of key importance for this area of study, and future research may yield further emblematic parallels to Arnaut's *Templo da fama*.

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⁶¹ Paulson, 2007.

⁶² Brown and Elliott, 2003; Úbeda de los Cobos, 2005.

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