

ON THE ORIGINS OF SPANISH HIEROGLYPHS (II)

SOBRE LOS ORÍGENES DE LOS JEROGLÍFICOS ESPAÑOLES (II)

Pedro Germano Leal
Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte

ABSTRACT: In this two-part article the Spanish reception of hieroglyphs, and their outcomes, are presented as an important aspect of the process of transmission of hieroglyphs in Early-Modern Europe. This change of perspective is important because it gives a general context for the phenomenon in Spain, clarifies its ties with the rest of the continent though the process of the diffusion of ideas and –perhaps more relevantly– highlights the distinctive characteristics that hieroglyphs achieved in Spain as a reflection of their adaptation to a different mentality, culminating in the creation of what the author regards as «classic Spanish hieroglyphs».¹

KEYWORDS: Hieroglyph, Emblem, Diffusion, Genre.

RESUMEN: En este trabajo, dividido en dos partes, la recepción española de los jeroglíficos y sus desenlaces se presentan como un aspecto importante del proceso de transmisión de los jeroglíficos en Europa. Este cambio de perspectiva es importante porque da un marco general para el fenómeno en España, aclara sus vínculos con el resto del continente a través del proceso de difusión de ideas y –quizás lo más relevante– pone de relieve las características distintivas que jeroglíficos lograron en España como un reflejo de su adaptación a una mentalidad diferente, que culminó con la creación de lo que el autor se refiere como «jeroglíficos clásicos españoles».

PALABRAS CLAVES: Jeroglífico, Emblema, Difusión, Género.

This is the second part of a paper that appeared in the previous volume of IMAGO. The first part discussed the diffusion of hieroglyphs in the Renaissance and the first two stages of their transmission to Spain: the first explorations and the consolidation of the use of Horapollon and Valeriano in ephemeral art and literature.

Third Stage: The Normalization of Hieroglyphs in Spain

The diffusion of hieroglyphs outlined in the first two stages –discussed in the previous paper– would undergo a major intensification in the 1580s. The popularity of *ephemeral hieroglyphs* reached a new threshold and became generally accepted. Apart from that, I think that two factors emerged to consolidate the new identity and role of hieroglyphs in Spain: the inclusion of hieroglyphs in the poetic competitions held in preparation for festivals and the emergence of the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum* (see Pavur 2005).

Poetic Competitions and Norms: Hieroglyphs in Transition

When hieroglyphs entered the *justas poéticas* of the festivals, norms had to be conceived in order to evaluate them and this resulted in a process of *normalization* that delineated a new text-image genre with specific rules. The *justas* also had several collateral effects: (a) they decentralized the iconographical programmes, allowing other people to participate. On the one hand, this meant that more people were interested and apt to do it. On the other hand, the division of work also contributed to the rise of more complex constructions (and the search for new sources), as more time could be spent on one single composition; (b) they multiplied

the number of hieroglyphs created and displayed; and (c) they affected the education of the poets – including hieroglyphs in the set of skills that they would need to practice, also eventually requiring a partnership between writers and painters, this certainly affected the a significant hieroglyphic presence in Spanish literature.

In addition, from a grammatological/literary perspective, some of these changes are more or less evident, in this transitional decade. For instance, hieroglyphs gradually became more of a text-image entity: from images taken from Horapollon and Valeriano, often without a motto, the meaning is incorporated as a Latin *inscriptio* (or, to use the Spanish nomenclature, *letra* or *lema*); approximately at the same time this *inscriptio* can be replaced by a biblical passage in Latin or other compositions.

When the genre is finally stabilized, a new practice emerges: the incorporation of an exegesis in the form of popular poetic forms, such as *terceto* (tercet) or *redondilla* (quartet). This made hieroglyphs look like the tripartite emblems (*inscriptio*, *pictura* and *subscriptio*), thus fostering the confusion between the genres.

Different from emblems, which often appeared in print together with their images, in the case of Spanish hieroglyphs the phenomenon was not so frequent. As reproductions of the paintings were expensive, and due to the ephemeral character of these hieroglyphs, it became common to collect or present these literary compositions with a description in lieu of the image, generally introduced by the formula «painting an [description]».²

1. This paper is largely based on the eighth chapter of the author's PhD dissertation, *The Invention of Hieroglyphs: A Theory for the Transmission of Hieroglyphs in Early-Modern Europe*, written and defended under the supervision of Prof. Laurence Grove and Prof. Alison Adams at University of Glasgow, 2014. The author manifests his highest gratitude to his supervisors.

2. «Pintase...», «pintandose» and variations.

JESUITS AND THE *RATIO STUDIORUM*

The rules for composing these hieroglyphs, and their popularity, are not the only elements that contributed to their general spread and consolidation. As in many aspects of Spanish society of the time, the Jesuits were a determinant moving force here.³

Beyond doubt, hieroglyphs were perceived as an effective rhetorical tool by the Jesuits and proved to be an excellent vehicle of politico-religious propaganda. As a result of this and other factors, they were included in the *Ratio Studiorum*, the general curriculum for Jesuit schools.⁴

In the section dedicated to the teaching of Rhetoric, item 12 says the following:

The class contest or exercise should include such things as correcting the mistakes which one rival may have detected in the other's composition, questioning one another on the exercise written in the first hour, discovering and devising figures of speech, giving a repetition or illustrating the use of rules of rhetoric, of letter writing, of verse making, and of writing history, explaining some more troublesome passages of an author or clearing up the difficulties, reporting research on the customs of the ancients and other scholarly information, *interpreting hieroglyphics* and Pythagorean symbols, maxims, proverbs, emblems, riddles, delivering declamations, and other similar exercises at the teacher's pleasure (My emphasis. *Ratio Studiorum* apud Farrell 1970: 77).

In this passage it is clear that *interpreting hieroglyphs* was taken as an important subject: in fact, the first of a series of intricate literary genres. More than that: interpreting a hieroglyph became a class exercise. Furthermore, according to the *Ratio*,

For the sake of erudition, other and more recondite subjects may be introduced on the weekly holidays in place of the historical work, for example, hieroglyphics, emblems, questions of poetic technique, epigrams, epitaphs, odes, elegies, epics, tragedies, the Roman and Athenian senate, the military system of the two countries, their gardens, dress, dining customs, triumphs, the sibyls, and other kindred subjects, but in moderation (*Ratio Studiorum* apud Farrell 1970: 78).

Again hieroglyphs appear as the first of a series of complex subjects to be studied «for the sake of erudition».⁵ Now, I would say that whereas for an Italian student «hieroglyph» would mean essentially Horapollon and, overall, Valeriano, for a Spanish student the concept would gain another contour: a literary genre with growing popularity and frequent use in festivals.

The consequences of this increasing normalization could be seen, of course, in the apparatus of festivals created by Jesuits, and soon would appear in manuscript and published accounts of such events.⁶ In 1589, for example, Gabriel de Mata publishes his *Vida, Muerte y Milagros de San Diego... con*

3. For the Jesuit appropriation of emblems, see Dimler (2007).

4. The first committee to create such a curriculum was established in 1581, but it did not attain the expected outcomes. In 1584 another committee was formed and the first version of the *Ratio* appeared in 1586. The document was sent to the schools in order to receive more contributions which resulted in the 1591 version –which was adopted by all Jesuit colleges around the world for three years. The final version was published in 1599. For a translation in English, see Farrell 1970. It comes as no surprise that the Jesuits patronized the Roman edition of Horapollon's *Hieroglyphica* in 1597.

5. Advice that Athanasius Kircher took quite seriously.

6. For an excellent resource on Spanish festival books, see the section «Relaciones de Sucesos» in the *Biblioteca*

las Hieroglyphicas y versos que en alabança del Sancto se hizieron en Alcalá (1589) and at the 1592 visit of Felipe II to the Colegio de los Ingleses in Valladolid many hieroglyphs and emblems were widely exhibited.⁷

FOURTH STAGE: THE RISE OF CLASSIC JEROGLÍFICOS

The funerary celebrations in honour of Felipe II in 1598 confirmed the social status and popularity of ephemeral hieroglyphs in Spain:

A partir de este momento, el mundo de la época consideró a los jeroglíficos como la parte más sorprendente y entretenida de las exequias; se pintaban en grandes pliegos de papel que se colgaban en cuerdas en torno al túmulo o pendientes del propio túmulo, el público se los disputaba y arrancaba, y se ponían guardias durante el día y la noche para que duraran los días de las celebraciones; la universidad o los ayuntamientos convocaban los concursos para su ejecución y sólo se exhibían los premiados y aceptados (Allo Manero and Esteban Lorente: 86).

In different cities, the king's ephemeral tombs were covered with *jeroglíficos*: in Seville, eight were hung on the catafalque alone, largely inspired by Valeriano, and their description follows the model *ekphrasis* (of the corresponding image) + Latin motto + translation of the motto + exegesis, e.g.:

... Estaban en el primero cielo dos manos trabadas, y en medio dellas un manojo de espigas y flores; luego estaba un círculo con unas letras que decian:

FIDES PUBLICA.
PUBLICA FIDELIDAD.

Las dos manos asidas significaban, que es la fidelidad del pueblo á su Rey, demás que significa en otros lugares otras cosas, según lo trata Valeriano en sus Hieroglíficos: el manojo de espigas, y ellas, significaba la grande abundancia que hay en todas las cosas naturales, porque les dan su grano cultivadas de los hombres, que eso significaban las flores (Apud Collado 1869: 35).

In Zaragoza, the iconographical programme comprised thirty-eight hieroglyphs, the product of a literary competition; in Murcia even more (Almela 1600; Allo Manero and Esteban Lorente 2004: 86), and so on (cf. Anonymous 1600). In these accounts, hieroglyphs would be placed together with, for example, emblems. This forms vital evidence that they were regarded as independent genres: and that they, in fact, had a privileged place amongst other text-image codes used in the programmes.

This new status of hieroglyphs (and their success) is perhaps the best explanation why, soon after Felipe II's funerals, the College of the Society of Jesus would publish a report of the exequies of María de Austria (1603), founder of the college, in which the thirty-six hieroglyphs would not only be described, but *printed* (Society of Jesus 1603) [fig. 1]. This time, the lemma (mostly quotations from the Scriptures, in Latin) would appear in banderoles as part of the woodcut, and a *subscriptio* would appear in varied verses (in Spanish or Latin).

In fact, the Jesuit colleges embraced the *hieroglyphic genre* in Spain diligently, and another case of great interest is the festivals held in honour of the beatification of Ignacio de Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus, in 1609. In the celebrations prepared in Salamanca (Salazar 1610), for example, the outcome of the poetic contests is described in detail and includes sixteen «naked» hieroglyphs,⁸

Digital Siglo de Oro (<http://www.bidiso.es/Relaciones/>), established by the *Grupo de Investigación sobre Relaciones de Sucesos (1500-1800)*.

7. Eclesal 1592a; 1592b; Anonymous [1592?].

8. i.e. With a textual description instead of an actual image.

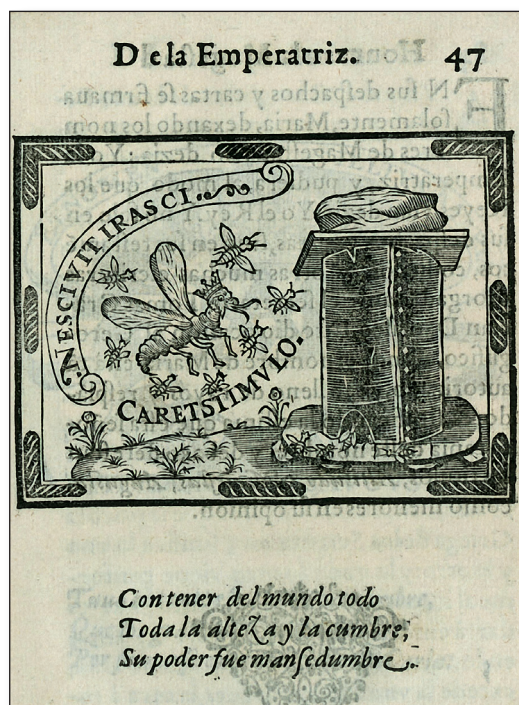


Fig. 1. Society of Jesus, *Libro de las Honras...* (1603): p. 47.

such as Pedro de Aragon's *Hieroglyphico al Glorioso Padre San Ignacio*.⁹

Pintase el sancto con una diadema, y en ella al rededor Padres de la Compañía, con las insignias de sus martirios, con esta letra:

Corona senum filii filiorum. Prov.c.17.

Mas abaxo.

Quas velit multis sumat sibi quisquibus coronis,

Est mea sed soboles grata corona mihi.

Letra Española

Elijan con regozijos

Todos para sus victorias

Coronas, que yo mis glorias

Las corono con mis hijos. (Salazar 1610: 11v)

Besides «classical» constructions such as Aragon's, creative interpretations of the genre also appeared as in José (Ioseph) Sánchez's¹⁰ hieroglyph (Salazar 1610: 73f), that obtained the first prize, in which the painting (*un ave Fenix, abrasandose en su llama à los rayos de un Sol, en que està un Iesus*) receives the motto «Muriò Inacio» (that can be interpreted as «Ignacio has died» or «He died and was born»); and Antonio de Solís' invention where the hieroglyph receives two different exegetical Latin epigrams, one according to the sacred letters (Salazar 1610: 73f) and another according to human letters (Salazar 1610: 73r). More importantly, the book includes Alonso de Ledesma's *Discurso en Hieroglyphicos de la Vida, Muerte y Milagros de San Ignacio de Loyola* –which is comprised of no less than thirty-five hieroglyphs¹¹ about the life and deeds of the Jesuit patriarch.¹² Ledesma's compositions are representative of a new standard for ephemeral hieroglyphs discussed here and, at the same time, they develop the genre to beyond its applications in iconographic programs.

In the celebrations that took place in Seville, the poetic contests were so prolific that not all resulting creations could be hung...

9. As one can observe, the formula involves the ekphrasis –now introduced by *pintase* [one paints], which together with *pintòse* [it was painted] became the typical opening of a hieroglyph *when described in books of festivals*; a religious quotation; Latin verses and their reinterpretation (and not verbatim translation) in Spanish verses. This structure tended to be adopted in the whole book, but variations could be expected (excluding the Latin verses, for example).

10. «Joseph Sanchez» was son of the famous humanist scholar Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, el Brocense. His father was responsible for an edition and commentary on Alciato's *Emblemata* (Sánchez de las Brozas 1573) and was friends with Mal Lara.

11. All of which follow the formula: dedication (to different qualities or biographic events of Loyola); ekphrasis (introduced by «pintose», «pintase», «pintandose»), religious motto; Spanish verses (varied).

12. The book also includes a similar work, this time based on forty emblems, by Felipe Tirletti (Salazar 1610: 84f).

No es de passar en silencio, la multitud de papeles bizarramente pintados, y con gallardas letras escritos assi de varia poesia, Latina y Castellana, como de Hieroglyphicos, Enigmas y obras de ingenio, en alabanza del Santo, de manera que no siendo posible acomodarse todos, sin notable estoruo, al adereço del Claustro, que se quedaron mas de setezientos carteles, por fixar: tales que pudieran ser adorno, en qualquiera demonstracion, de fiesta solemnísima (Luque Farjardo 1610: 26r).

...or even described in the festival book (Luque Farjardo 1610), which includes no less than seventy-five emblems and thirty-five hieroglyphs, that use the same formula employed in Salamanca:

Hieroglyphico XI. (sic)

Pintòse un ave Fenix renaciendo de unas cenizas, con una letra Latina del Psalmo. 102. que dezia. Renovabitur ut Phoenix juventus tua. Y la Castellana.

En la misteriosa lumbre
Que Ignacio dexa escendida,
Consiste mi nueva vida.

The way hieroglyphs were structured in two different places at the same time gives a clear indication that by 1609 hieroglyphs had achieved a stable formula of genre. This can be confirmed two years later by the celebration in honour of Margarita de Austria's death, held at the University of Salamanca (Céspedes 1611). The winner of the hieroglyphic competition was the rector of the University, Melchor de Moscoso y Sandoval, who declined the award which was then given to José Sánchez (the same as is mentioned above). Sánchez's hieroglyph follows almost the same structure employed in the previous festival:¹³

Era este Hieroglyphico de muy vistosa pintura, que representava levantada del suelo una gran tumba cubierta de un paño negro y encima una almohada, que tenia una corona Real grande de oro, y en medio de el cerco della estava un circulo vazio, dando à entender que faltava una piedra redonda, ò perla preciosa de alli. (...) En medio del arco desta portada estava una hermosa perla, que era la que faltava à la Corona, y la letra dezia:

PORTA NITET MARGARITA

(...) La perla estava rodeada de unos gloriosos rayos de luz significando, que la preciosa Margarita, que avia faltado de la Corona de España, estava gloriosa en el cielo. Debaxo de la tumba estava tres versos en Romance muy ingeniosos, que dezian asi:

*El cielo para su puerta
Adonde tal piedra hallara
Si de aqui no la quitara? (Céspedes 1611: 33v).*

Although the examples offered so far in this paper are very representative of the genre and, I think, they support my argument regarding its consolidation, the divergence is also telling. At the same time that the *Spanish jeroglífico* was reaching a stable form, one can find a voice against the general formula of hieroglyphs: Jerónimo Martínez de la Vega. In his account of the *fiestas* for the beatification of Tomás de Villanueva in Valencia, in 1618, Martínez de la Vega criticizes what he considers the faults of almost all festival books of the time in which hieroglyphs: a) include the human figure; b) adjoin Latin or Spanish verses (*letra*), or both; c) name what was painted in the body (i.e. figure) of the hieroglyph.¹⁴ In his opinion, «b» and «c» would mean conveying two or three times the same message.¹⁵

His book contains a considerable number of hieroglyphs [fig. 2], described accor-

13. Instead of a quotation from the scriptures, Sánchez employed an epigram involving the name of the deceased—the same strategy employed for the hieroglyph he prepared for the beatification of Ignacio of Loyola.

14. Martínez de la Vega 1620: 97.

15. Curiously, although he attacks the subscriptions as something superfluous, in his descriptions of hieroglyphs he adds an exegesis in prose of the meaning of the hieroglyph...



Fig. 2. Martínez de la Vega, *Solenes i grandiosas fiestas...* (1620): Hieroglyph 1.

ding to the place where they are displayed: in the church, there were thirty of his own authorship; on the walls of the cloister, close to the chapel, more than forty (which were probably lost the following day); on the façade of one of the houses in the convent square another twelve, conceived by Martínez la Vega;¹⁶ and finally another thirty *Geroglyficos* by Antonio Juan Terraza exhibited close to the university.¹⁷ Martínez de la Vega states that more hieroglyphs were made, but he did not collect them because

the quality was not so good, as they were «very characteristic of student festivals», and that the book would be too big (p. 404).

In total fifty-three hieroglyphs appear with woodcuts and another nineteen naked. The number is impressive in contrast with his attitude toward the general practice, which is very conservative. His «purism» seems to resist the recently stabilized genre of hieroglyphs (in the form that became popular in the universities, as he confirms) in favour of a more traditional genre, in the format suggested by Valeriano, Mignault's comments on hieroglyphs and *imprese* authors.¹⁸

THE PROLIFERATION OF PRINTED HIEROGLYPHS AND THE APEX OF THE TRADITION

In the next years the use of *classic Spanish jeroglíficos* would become widespread and appear in most festivals and poetic competitions –documented or not. Attestations of its popularity will be found even in verse:

*La poesía de esta edad
a mi intento se acomoda
que es jeroglíficos toda.*¹⁹

But images would also flourish. Some fine examples of illustrated festival books would provide an excellent parameter for the status of hieroglyphs in the period. When Isabel de Borbón died in 1644, a major funeral took place in the Convent of St. Jerome, Madrid. The account of this event appeared in 1645,²⁰ with the engravings of

16. All of them are illustrated with woodcuts (1620: 313-336), and having a heart as main motif.

17. Of which fifteen are illustrated, and fifteen described (1620: 405-435).

18. The prohibition of the use of human figures is one of the rules for composing *imprese*, according to Gioivo 1551: 37-38.

19. *Justia Poética a San Isidro* (1620). Apud Entrambasaguas (1969: 27-133).

20. Anonymous. *Pompa Fvneral Honras...* (1645).

the twenty-four main hieroglyphs used in the programme –eight large ones displayed on the façade of the convent, painted in oil and with golden frames, and another sixteen that decorate the catafalque, also illustrated. Interestingly, although these hieroglyphs are engraved, their explanation follows the tradition of being introduced by *pintòse* followed by an ekphrasis:

Pintòse una Muerte, dividiendo un Coraçon coronado, en dos partes. La letra Latina. Siccine separat amara mors? I. Reg. Capit. 15. vers. 32. Y la Castellana.

*Assi el consorcio Real,
Que la unión mayor advierte,
Partiò, i dividió la muerte. [fig. 3]*



Fig. 3. Anonymous. *Pompa Fvneral Honras...* (1645): Hieroglyph 1.

In fact, besides these engraved examples the book describes another forty-two hieroglyphs which used the same model (Anon-

ymous 1645: 83r-93v), suggesting that they were all conceived/collected in this way and later painted/engraved.

Another event in which illustrated festival books containing hieroglyphs were produced is the death of king Felipe IV –celebrated in provinces around the Hispanic world. For the exequies that took place in Madrid, Pedro Rodríguez de Monforte elaborated perhaps the most elegant volume (Monforte 1666). The engravings that Pedro de Villafranca Malagón made for the forty-one painted hieroglyphs are of such fine quality that further descriptions were dispensable [fig. 4].



Fig. 4. Monforte, Pedro Rodriguez, *Descripcion de las honras...* (1666): Hieroglyph 1.

The funerals for Felipe IV in New Spain (Mexico) also resulted in printed *jeroglíficos* (Sariñana y Cuenca 1666), sixteen in total

[fig. 5]. In this particular case, the *subscriptio* is longer than traditionally used, and for that he presents an explanation that could contemporize Jerónimo Martínez de la Vega's angst about the length of hieroglyphs:



Fig. 5. Sariñana y Cuenca, *Llanto del occidente...* (1666): Hieroglyph 1.

Aunque es regla de los Geroglíficos la brevedad en las letras, siendo como observò Claudio Minoes [side note: idque sententia brevi, arguta, vel adagio, aut etiam hemistichio] en su sintagma de symbolis, lo mas à que llega la licencia un verso; esto se entiende entre los motes, no en lo que se subscribe al Geroglífico, que la subscriptio, como explicacion, y aplicacion de lo pintado sufre toda la latitud que necesita (Sariñana y Cuenca 1666: 42r).

In other words, the rules for the brevity of the textual component of a hieroglyph

apply only to the motto, and not necessarily to all other elements included in the composition. He further elucidates how Alciato used long epigrams and how helpful his *Emblemata* were for composing such hieroglyphs.²¹ It is worth noticing that each time a creator moved away from the canon, he tended to feel the need to justify his choice...

Returning to Spain, the second half of the 17th century still produced memorable events abundant in hieroglyphs, two of them resulting in excellent festival books that sum up the canon of the time: Torre Farfán's *Fiestas de la Santa Iglesia...* (1672) and Vera Tassis y Villaroel's *Noticias Historiales de la Enfermedad...* (1690).²²

The first of these accounts contains a plate of Seville Cathedral's façade, decorated with paintings and other devices, plus forty-four etchings of the hieroglyphs used in the festival. The engravings were produced by Juan de Valdés Leal and Matías de Arteaga, who probably painted the originals. Here, the hieroglyphs follow the classic model, with a minor variation, a Latin distich:

El Primero [hieroglyph] contenia un Braço Armado de las Pieças competentes. En la Mano, que tambien estava Calçada de la Manopla, empuñava una Espada, semejante à la de Nuestro Glorioso SANTO. Del Lado Contrario salia otro Braço desnudo, esgrimiendo un Alfange Morisco, cruzado à la Espada; Sobre esta dominava una Corona Real, y sobre aquel, un Turbante rodeado de Tocas Africanas. Significando assi, que de la Complicacion de aquestas Armas resultò la mejor Vida del Moro, y la Mayor Gloria del Santo Rey, cuya Claridad se adelantava con el Mote:

UTRIQUE SALUS

*Cruza, Moro, que esta Cruz,
 Que haze mia la Victoria
 Harà de entrambos la Gloria.*

*Crux, Maure, Fides, Victor, quam porrigit, ensis:
 Victori, & Victo, Spesque, Salusque data est.
 (Torres Farfán 1672: 43) [fig. 6].*

21. He also quotes Valeriano and other sources, which gives a good sense of his inspiration.

22. Vera Tassis y Villaroel was the editor and publisher of Calderón de la Barca.



Fig. 6. Torre Farfán, *Fiestas de la Santa Iglesia...* (1672): Hieroglyph 9.

A point of interest in this book is the documented association between the painter and engraver Valdés Leal and the ephemeral hieroglyphs. Since the original paintings of hieroglyphs are almost all lost²³ this association becomes important because two of Valdés Leal's most important works are the *Jeroglíficos de Nuestras Postrimerías* («Hieroglyphs of our End» in a free translation): *In Ictu Oculi* («In the Blink of an Eye» [fig. 7]) and *Finis gloriae mundi* («The End of Earthly Glory»), painted in the same year, 1672. These two oils on canvas were part of the iconographic programme conceived by Miguel de Mañara for the Hospital de la Caridad de Sevilla, and are located in the church's nave. In my opinion, *these paintings*



Fig. 7. Valdés Leal, *In Ictu Oculi*, 1672.

are the most suitable indication of how the finest hieroglyphs painted in oil would look. There can be no doubt that Valdés Leal knew what a hieroglyph meant at the time.

Moving on to Vera Tassis y Villaroel, *Noticias historiales de la enfermedad...* (1690), this work's importance extrapolates the forty beautiful etchings by Francisco Ignacio Ruiz de la Iglesia [fig. 8] that reproduced the original painted hieroglyphs (approx. 2.5 m² each), which according to the autor:

(...) estaban dibuxados, y coloridos de valiente, y hermosa pintura; tanto, que parecía que sus científicos Artifices, à imitación del singular Apeles, pintaban para la eternidad, y no para el limitado tiempo que sirvieron, pues los mas peritos, y escrupulosos en esta noble sciencia, no hallaron defecto que ponerles (p. 170).

The hieroglyphs follow the classic Spanish model, and are not described in the text (the engravings, again, are sufficient). The lack of explanations regarding each hieroglyph gives rise, however, to an elabo-

23. Only few sets of ephemeral hieroglyphs are extant, but they are of late production and painted on card/paper (in contrast, many hieroglyphs composed for important events in the apex of the tradition were painted in oil). See Azanza López and Molins Mugueta 2005.



Fig. 8. Vera Tassis y Villaroel, *Noticias historiales de la enfermedad...* (1690): Hieroglyph 1.

rated and unique theory of hieroglyphs and other iconographic apparatus. Vera Tassis y Villaroel explains that hieroglyphs are different from other genres (1690: 171); discusses their origin and history (saying that hieroglyphs «originated from the Egyptian notes», 1690: 176), quoting many sources; acknowledges the problems with the definition of the genre and finally produces an

extraordinary and precise definition of the Spanish hieroglyph:

The hieroglyph must have much soul, and little body; an obscure clarity, a mysterious explanation, an independent union of the Latin and Castilian mottoes, since although one is linked to the other, they must not be a version of each other, and none of them should declare the figure entirely –instead, only a little of it, without mixing living things in human nature; the Latin lemma must have one or half verse, and the Castilian three or four verses (Vera Tassis y Villaroel, 1690: 180).

My perception is that *Vera Tassis y Villaroel's definition is the crown of the classic Spanish hieroglyph*, in which not only the rule is declared²⁴ but this specific notion of hieroglyph is theoretically harmonized with other conceptions, genres and the whole hieroglyphic phenomenon.²⁵ Moreover, one should observe that this discussion is actually unexpected since it does not take place in a theory book where it could belong perfectly. It would not take long for a similar (albeit simplified) conception to finally appear in a famous *Ars Poetica*²⁶ or painting manual.²⁷

24. The norm naturally already existed, both in tacit or written forms, but here it is incorporated in the account.

25. Caussin's conception of hieroglyph is central for Vera Tassis y Villaroel's argument: «*En definición de Causino (... hieroglyphs) no son mas que imagines, ò caractères mudos, los quales necesitan de divina sabiduría que los declare, como añade Iamblico, por ser unas señales de las mysticas, y obscuras inteligencias*» (1690: 179).

26. In the form of Joseph Vicens' additions to Rengifo's *Arte Poetica Española...*: «*Hieroglyphico, viene del griego Hieros, sacer, y de glypho, sculpo, que suena lo mismo que sagrada escultura. Es el Hieroglyphico: Figura significativa de otra cosa ordinariamente Sagrada. Se declara con Lema, ò Letra. Los Egypcios, y Chaldeos usaron de los Hieroglyphicos en vez de letras viniendo por ellos en cognición de los arcanos mas ocultos (...). El Hieroglyphico se puede explicar con qualquier genero de Poema; pero ordinariamente con un Lema, ò Mote, que es una sentencia, dicho, ó agudeza, que declare lo que representan las figuras; despues con un Terceto, ò Redondilla*»... (Joseph Vicens in Rengifo 1703: 177).

27. Not surprisingly, Vera Tassis y Villaroel's collaborator Antonio Palomino affirms that: «*El Geroglífico, es una Metaphora, que incluye algun Concepto doctrinal, mediante un Symbolo, ò Instrumento sin Figura humana, con Mote Latino de Autor Clasico, y Version Poética en Idioma vulgar*». (Palomino 1715: 54).

SPANISH HIEROGLYPHS AND LITERATURE

This prominence of *ephemeral hieroglyphs* did not prevent other original explorations of the phenomenon in Spain, rather it fostered them. Generally speaking, I think that whereas in Italy hieroglyphic codes made their way into visual arts codes, such as painting, Hispanic hieroglyphs more or less descend from the result of this transition. They were at least originally a painted text-image genre –nurtured by other codes, motifs and ideas– that permeated a literary genre (the festival books), by which they are known nowadays, and not the contrary. If such a hypothesis is accepted, this inverted dynamic could pose an interesting problem for the notion of Spanish hieroglyphs as an *applied* language.

Furthermore, one can observe that there are intense transitions between the cultural levels, and I think that the intensity of the process of diffusion, or the strength of a particular notion of hieroglyph, can be perceived by this power of *transition*. To better illustrate this idea, I will take the infiltration of Spanish hieroglyphs in conventional literature as a brief case in point, with the *caveat* that the details of this phenomenon could not be included in the scope of the present study.

Given that the educational model (largely influenced by Jesuits) stimulated the composition of hieroglyphs, that the most important literary competitions offered prizes for hieroglyphs, and that they were largely employed in the festivals, and the positive environment of Hispanic *Conceptismo*, it is easy to conclude that hieroglyphs had an

impact on Spanish literature. At least two basic strategies can be observed in this influence, which can of course overlap –the appropriation of motifs; and the use of hieroglyphs as rhetorical devices.

The vast conjunct of hieroglyphs and the habit of composing them facilitated their infiltration in Spanish prose, poetry and drama.²⁸ An excellent prototype of this phenomenon can be found in the novel *Los Entretenimientos de la Pícaro Justina* (1603), attributed to Francisco López de Úbeda. In this novel hieroglyphic motifs are implanted by Justina in her monologues.²⁹ In a study of the text-image techniques used in this work, Joseph R. Jones (1974: 415-429) has inventoried all the *geroglíficos*,³⁰ which are frequently introduced by the same introductory formula employed in festival books (*pintase...*, or similar expression).³¹ *Pícaro Justina* is not an exception, but a symptom of a paradigmatic practice in the Hispanic literature of the time: in some authors, who actually produce hieroglyphs in poetic competitions, such as Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca and many others, the reference to genre (and examples) would be evident in their linear literature. In others, among which Quevedo can be cited, the hieroglyphic structures were dissolved in the text, without direct reference to the concept, in such a way that it can hardly be detected. Moreover, in the late 16th century the word «hieroglyph» seems to be explored as a metaphor in a literary medium –for example, in the work of the Mexican Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (see Paz 1982).

Regarding this *strategy*, I think that a pertinent open question resides in the use of *jeroglíficos* in popular theatre (especially in Calderón's work): given the temporal nature

28. This relationship has been consistently addressed by Spanish scholars, but in most cases the notion of hieroglyph is replaced by that of emblematics.

29. John T. Cull published recently a detailed study exploring emblematic aspects of the *Pícaro Justina*: «The Emblematic Marriage of Guzmán de Alfarache and the Pícaro Justina», *Emblematica* 21 (2014): 1-35.

30. A word profusely used in the *scholia* of the novel, with many variations.

31. For a more recent treatment of the subject, see Torres (2004).

of a performance, the actual reference to hieroglyphs³² would be compromised, since the aimed «synergraphic» effect would not have to be explored (something that would naturally be possible in conventional literature or visual arts). This suggests that even non-elite audiences were aware of the genre, and familiar with a number of hieroglyphic motifs (I suppose, thanks to their wide use in ephemeral apparatus). Further research could establish this phenomenon as another evidence of the popularity of hieroglyphs and emblems in Spain –and how critically they were able to influence the mentality of the *Siglo de Oro* beyond the educated elite.

HIEROGLYPH AS A RHETORICAL DEVICE

Having a separate item for hieroglyphs as rhetorical devices does not mean that their literary uses mentioned above are not rhetorical. Instead, here the finality of *convincing* has a preponderant role.

Since the earlier stages of the hieroglyphic phenomenon in Spain hieroglyphs entered the realm of sermons. Valeriano's statement that one could «*speak* through hieroglyphs» together with his attestation of Christian sources certainly facilitates the adoption of these mysterious images in theological discourse –that became official with the Jesuits. In a paper entitled *Los Jeroglíficos en los Sermones Barrocos*, Giuseppina Ledda gives an excellent overview of this custom, as well as the resistance some priests expressed to it, especially from late 16th until mid-17th century, which invari-

bly reaffirms the extent of the practice in Spain (Ledda 1994: 111-128).

For the sake of brevity I will mention only a single unconventional book here, which seems to consist of a monumental defense of the use of hieroglyphs in predications, written by Lorenzo de Zamora: *Monarquía Mística* (1594).³³ Conceived at a crucial moment for the phenomenon in Spain, the work aims to present essential theological fundamentals (identified in divine hieroglyphs) through «human symbols». In Zamora's words:

Y como me halle con alguna letura de las letras humanas y que comenzava ya a ver algo de las divinas, quise hacer con todas una ensalada, y mistura, declarando los jeroglíficos de las divinas con los simbolos y pinturas de las humanas (Zamora apud Torres 2004: 644).

This synthesis of sacred and profane literature constructed in the aegis of the hieroglyphic phenomenon uses a rather *dissolved* form of hieroglyph (i.e. related to a notion of hieroglyph closer to Valeriano's, without the genre features of classic *jeroglíficos*), *exegetical* (mostly anagogical but with potential topological meanings).³⁴ This work's importance does not reside only in its conceptual justification of profane letters, but in the precedent it sets for other explorations of the idea.

BOOKS OF CLASSIC JEROGLÍFICOS

In the section above I presented the case of hieroglyphic traits entering conventional literature, as an example of «termination».

32. Something, I would say, that is *different* from finding inspiration in emblem books, to the extent that the «synergraphic» value is intended, and the public is not necessarily highly educated.

33. This work is auspiciously introduced by an «Apology against those who reprehend the use of human letters in sermons and commentaries of the Sacred Scriptures».

34. An extremely helpful rationale with all 109 hieroglyphs and related information can be found in Torres (2004: 646-651).

Here, however, not only is a hieroglyph inserted in another code, but the whole genre structure is transposed to a discursive code. Two examples illustrate my point: Alonso de Ledesma's hieroglyphs and Nicolás de la Iglesia's *Flores de Miraflores*.

Ledesma, already mentioned as a famous poet, friend of Lope de Vega, explored many different literary genres in his religious poetry. In his miscellanea *Conceptos Espirituales* (three volumes, 1600-1612), for example, he assembles variations of *redondillas*, *letras*, *glosas*, *quintillas*, *décimas*, *ensaladas*, *conceptos*, *jeroglíficos* and *enigmas*. The hieroglyphs collected here consist of no less than eighty-six compositions following the classic structure, introduced by a dedication:

A LA CONCEPCIÓN DE NUESTRA SEÑORA

Pintóse un Sol, y una Luna llena, y en medio la tierra, sin hacer sombra.
Tota pulchra es amica mea, et sine macula.
(Cantic. 4)
Gratia plena
Pues la tierra de la culpa jamás del Sol la enajena, siempre será Luna llena. (Ledesma 1600-1612: III, 182).

Already in this work, which resembles the outcome of a poetic competition, hieroglyphs are taken as a specific and stable poetic genre, employed in independent pieces. For the already mentioned beatification of St. Ignatius (1610), Ledesma composed his *Discurso en Hieroglyphicos de la Vida, Muerte y Milagros de San Ignacio de Loyola* (see Flor 1982) and at this point something changed –not in the inner structure of the hieroglyphs, but in how they were brought together. What he refers to here as a *discourse*, is in fact, a sequence of thirty-three classic hieroglyphs, such as:

Sentencia, a las armas de su illustre familia, y a las de su sagrada religión.
HIEROGLIFICO I

Pintose un Iesus en una targeta, y en otra una Luna. En la del Iesus está esta letra. Sol iustitia. Mala. 4. En la de la Luna esta letra. Et luna sub pedibus eius. Apocal. 12.

Tuvo por armas la Luna
Este bizarro Español,
Mas trocola por el Sol. (Ledesma apud Salazar 1610: 76v).

The example suffices to demonstrate that the classic structure is applied (although eventually the tercets can be replaced by other poetic forms) and that each hieroglyph is dedicated to a specific episode in the life of Ignatius of Loyola. The *ekphrasis* and *lemmata* associate each event to a passage from sacred scriptures, and the vernacular verses introduce a strong ideological message. Ledesma was most probably aware of Zamora's *Monarquía*, therefore aware of the discursive possibilities of hieroglyphs (Torres 2004: 643) and possibly developing this idea enabled him to create a whole discourse on the life of Loyola through a poetic code that he mastered – Spanish hieroglyphs. Although presented in a festival, these compositions are not miscellaneous creations, but a concise literary project: a book of hieroglyphs. Ledesma will follow the same path to produce his last published work: *Epigramas y Hieroglíficos a la Vida de Christo* (1625).

Another interesting work in which the hieroglyphic genre will compose a whole book (and cohesive discourse) is Nicolás de la Iglesia's *Flores de Miraflores* (1659). Between 1653 and 1654, Nicolás decided to cover the chapel of the Immaculate Conception in Burgos with hieroglyphs of his own authorship (Iglesia, 1659: fol. 5v). Later, he commissioned woodcuts of those painted and new ones in order to produce a whole book [fig. 9] in honour of Mary. Each of the fifty-one *classic hieroglyphs* is followed by a lengthy exegetical comment by de la Iglesia (see Escalera Pérez, 2009). In *Flores de Miraflores* the pre-existent structural components of hieroglyphs are brought together,



Fig. 9. Nicolás de la Iglesia, *Flores de Miraflores...* (1659): Hieroglyph 1.

in a harmonious way, while previously they were virtually exclusive to emblem books.

In both cases mentioned in this section, one can observe what I have been calling an *alternation* between cultural levels: *grosso modo* and disregarding parallel phenomena, hieroglyphic repertoires (codes) such as Horapollon and Valeriano in Italy are individually used (at a sign-level) for ephemeral apparatus (code), this practice is transmitted to Spain where it undergoes a process of normalization to become a specific genre (code); which is applied (sign) in iconographic programmes (code) of Spanish festivals and eventually transposed to festival books (code) –not as a painting with textual components, but as text (not always including prints). Later, following the model of these compilations and external factors, a collection of hieroglyphs becomes a literary project (code), which can incorporate the function and medium of emblem books.

DISCUSSION: RELATIONSHIP WITH EMBLEMS

On an earlier occasion I had the opportunity to address the commonly accepted confusion between hieroglyphs and emblems in Spain, although not in a fully systematic manner (Leal, 2011). I still agree with my central argument –that the confusion takes place both in primary and secondary sources, and affects the analysis of the phenomenon –but present circumstances allow me to tackle a more nuanced perspective, regarding the phenomenon as a hybrid genre.

In the first place, conceptual discussions on the relationship and difference between hieroglyphs and other text-image genres in primary sources is not unique to Spain. In fact, as I have discussed elsewhere (Leal, 2014, Chapters Seven and Ten), this debate is widespread in Europe, and this is justifiable for three fundamental reasons: hieroglyphs are widely perceived as a precursor of these other genres; there is an intense exchange and cross-influence between these genres; and they are –at least superficially– very similar.

In Spain this debate will be «imported» by Juan de Horozco. In his *Emblemas Morales* (1589), under the heading «what are emblems, *imprese*, insignia, devices, symbols, pegmas and hieroglyphs» he affirms that:

We should not be surprised by the fact that these ancient letters [*letras*] of the Egyptians are used in many parts of the New World until our times. Of all letters only those that teach the truth and the path of virtue should be called letters. They called them [hieroglyphs] «sacred» and those [letters] that we call Emblem in this book were invented by imitating them. (Horozco: *Book I*, 17r)

The notion of hieroglyph he is referring to, however, is that of Horapollon and Valeriano –and not of the «Classic Spanish Hieroglyph». ³⁵ There is, clearly, a conceptual difference between the second and the third stage of the phenomenon in Spain; there is also a further conceptual difference between the Spanish phenomenon and emblem).

Although it is true that a few authors use these concepts as synonyms (or similar alternatives), there is a fairly strong preoccupation in distinguishing the genres which should not be ignored. In many festival books ³⁶ both emblems and classic hieroglyphs are collected, with clearly different poetical structures and labelling.

I think that it is important contemporary scholars take these differences into consideration. A 16th-century scholar opinion about hieroglyphs may not apply to a late 18th-century *jeroglífico* –and vice-versa. And the same applies to the complex relationship between emblems and hieroglyphs, which can be observed in each of the stages discussed in the present paper.

In the first stage, I would suggest that applied hieroglyphs in Italy (which predates Alciato) are the inspiration for the use of hieroglyphs in Spain –thus implying that emblems and hieroglyphs have different routes of diffusion. The prevalent idea of hieroglyphs in this stage is that of Horapollon and Valeriano's codes. Although emblems are introduced in Spain around the same time, they do not seem to be directly associated to hieroglyphs, which at times were painted/sculpted without corresponding mottoes.

With the second stage, the use of hieroglyphs in ephemeral apparatus becomes widespread. One of the factors for the success of hieroglyphs at this point is certainly Valeriano's profusion of signs: for the sake

of comparison, Alciato could offer a maximum 212 emblems to be applied, with a strong pagan thematic, whereas Valeriano compiled around two thousand hieroglyphs of notoriously religious character. At some point, Valeriano (different from Alciato and non-religious emblem authors) gained institutional support from the Society of Jesus, which would be determinant for its spread in Spain. Hieroglyphs are now perceived as an image-text genre (in which a painting is followed by a Latin motto).

During what I have called the third stage, norms are created for the composition of hieroglyphs in poetic jousts –following their constant use in educational environments (especially because of the *Ratio Studiorum*). This process of normalization delineated yet new differences and approximations with emblems. Religious emblem books (especially those produced and divulged by Jesuits) now can become a more frequent source of motif for hieroglyphs –whereas their function is still clearly different.

Finally, in the third stage, the classic Spanish hieroglyphic genre is consolidated. Although it can be argued that emblems offered the model for the addition of a «*subscription*» to the genre, there is no direct evidence for that. The *scriptio* of the Spanish hieroglyph tends to be different from those of emblems: it rarely follows the Italian metric (giving preference to Spanish popular literary forms); it is inclined to be more succinct; and it has a preponderant anagogical value. The constant communication between hieroglyphs and emblems at this stage, happens in many different levels (the exchange of motifs, their use together in ephemeral apparatus, etc.), which makes me think of the «classic Spanish hieroglyphs» as a hybrid genre, with clear roots in the phenomenon of transmission of hieroglyphs in Early-Modern Europe.

35. Which is the case with Vera Tassis y Villaroel (1690).

36. Such as Luque Farjardo (1610).

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