

The Face of the Exemplar Ruler. The Engravings of Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros in the Early European Modern Age.

El rostro del gobernante ejemplar Los grabados del Cardenal Ximénez de Cisneros en la Edad Moderna europea

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RESUMEN

El cardenal Ximénez de Cisneros (1436-1517), sin duda de las figuras más destacadas de la temprana Edad Moderna en España, es uno de los gobernantes más representados en el grabado. Nos interesa estudiar no sólo las representaciones de su persona en este medio técnico, entre los siglos XV y XVIII, sino también explicar las causas por las que fueron realizadas, de forma tan sostenida, en este período, así como los medios en que aparecen y los modelos iconográficos que presentan. El texto se ocupa brevemente de ejemplares bien conocidos, y se centra en otros hasta ahora no estudiados, para ofrecer una visión completa del asunto y poner de manifiesto la importancia de estos retratos del cardenal, y sus diversas genealogías visuales.

Palabras clave: Cardenal Ximénez de Cisneros; grabado; genealogías visuales; libro ilustrado; Edad Moderna.

ABSTRACT

Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros (1436-1517), undoubtedly among the outstanding figures of the early Modern Age in Spain, is one of the most widely portrayed Spanish statesmen in engraving. This article examines not only the representations of the figure of Ximénez de Cisneros in this technical medium from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, but also explains why these engravings were produced in a sustained manner during this period, as well as the media in which they appeared and their iconographic models. The text deals briefly with well known exemplars, but especially with others never discussed until now, in order to offer a complete view of the case and highlight the importance of the cardinal's portraits, and their diverse visual lineages.

KEYWORDS:

Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros; engraving; visual lineages; illustrated book; Early Modern Age.

Cardinal Archbishop Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros of Toledo (1436–1517) was one of the most illustrious figures of the Modern Age in the history of Spain.¹ A Franciscan, confessor to the Queen, Archbishop, twice regent of the Crown of Castile, inquisitor, reformer of the religious orders, conqueror of the African city of Oran, founder of the University of Alcalá de Henares and promoter of the *Complutensian Polyglot Bible* and religious reform, Ximénez de Cisneros formed part of a group of men between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries that contributed to the creation of the modern state under the Spanish Monarchy. Moreover, the personal image of Ximénez de Cisneros was one of the earliest to be portrayed with a more modern vision in diverse visual media.² Following his death in Castile in the early Modern Age, he became a political and cultural reference, and as such his image was reproduced on numerous occasions, first in the environment of those directly benefited by his actions, and afterwards in the context of his figure as a model of good government, even outside the Spanish frontiers.

The most frequent and probably most interesting medium in which Ximénez de Cisneros is depicted is engravings. This article aims to analyse the image of such a central figure of Spanish history in this technical medium. Particular attention is given to the engraved representations that were produced after his death since they reflect the importance of disseminating a visual prosopography which prominently displayed his political, military, religious and cultural accomplishments.

The first engraving depicting Ximénez de Cisneros dates from 1502–03 when the prelate was still alive but not yet a Cardinal, although he was already working tirelessly as a religious reforming Archbishop. The engraving appeared in Ludolph of Saxony's book *Vita Christi* (Life

of Christ; Alcalá de Henares: Estanislao Polono, 1502–03) translated into Spanish by Ambrosio Montesino. In this piece, the figure seen kneeling is none other than Ximénez himself. He is shown presenting the book –one of the first fruits of his political and religious activities– to the Catholic Monarchs who are seated on a throne in a palatial hall, and whose coat of arms is situated at the bottom of the engraving. His face is turned to reveal his thin, severe features, which would become the Cardinal's personal mark of identity. Although the name of the engraver is unknown, he was undoubtedly a craftsman of the Flemish trend that was in vogue in Castile at the time and most likely a member of Estanislao Polono's printing office.³

Unlike other artistic manifestations employed by the Archbishop to promote his political and religious aims, we do not know of more engravings realized during the life of this prelate that depict his figure. Two works would subsequently serve as a visual source for the execution of many others, including some engravings, following the death of Ximénez de Cisneros, who was elevated to Cardinal in 1507. The first, probably the oldest, is a medal which must have been cast to commemorate the first scholars to attend the University of Alcalá in 1508 as evidenced in the inscription it bears and the reference to the fact that Ximénez de Cisneros was already a Cardinal.⁴ The other, dated circa 1518, after his death, is a marble relief that represents him in profile as was customary (not only in medals) during his lifetime. Since we have proof of the existence of this work, it was preserved in the university that Cisneros founded and considered his *vera imago*.⁵

¹ The literature on Ximénez de Cisneros is very extensive. Recent publications (with prior references) include GARCÍA ORO, José, *El Cardenal Cisneros. Vida y empresas*, BAC, Madrid, 1992. GARCÍA ORO, José, *Cisneros: un cardenal reformista en el trono de España*, La Esfera, Madrid, 2005. PÉREZ, Joseph, *Cisneros, el cardenal de España*, Taurus, Madrid, 2014.

² ANGULO, Diego, *Juan de Borgoña*, CSIC, Madrid, 1954, pp. 13–24. MATEO GÓMEZ, Isabel, *Juan de Borgoña*, Fundación de Apoyo a la Historia del Arte Hispánico, Madrid, 2004, pp. 85–99. GAETA, Leticia, *Juan de Borgoña e gli altri. Relazioni artistiche tra Italia e Spagna nel '400*, M. Congedo, Galatina, 2012.

³ MARTÍN ABAD, Julián, *La imprenta en Alcalá de Henares, 1502–1600*, Arco Libros, Madrid, 1991, I, p. 52. MARTÍNEZ RIPOLL, Antonio, "Cisneros in figuris. Del sueño del asceta al pragmatismo político", in *Una Hora de España. VII Centenario de la Universidad Complutense*, Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 1994, pp. 26–33.

⁴ GÓMEZ-MORENO, Manuel, *La escultura del Renacimiento en España*, G. Gili-Pantheon, Barcelona-Florence, 1931, plate 21. CASTILLO OREJA, Miguel Á., "El cardenal Cisneros", in *Una Hora de España. VII Centenario de la Universidad Complutense*, Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 1994, pp. 96–7. MARTÍNEZ RIPOLL, Antonio, "Cisneros...", opus cit., p. 33.

⁵ CASTILLO OREJA, Miguel Á., "El cardenal...", opus cit., p. 96. GONZÁLEZ RAMOS, Roberto, *La Universidad de Alcalá de Henares y las artes. El patronazgo artístico de un centro del saber. Siglos XVI–XIX*, Universidad de

From early on, Ximénez de Cisneros was held in high esteem at the University of Alcalá. During much of the sixteenth century his figure and historical endeavours attracted great admiration, so the academic institution ('Academia Complutensis') commissioned several images of him.⁶ The first group of engraved images of the Cardinal can be found in the book entitled *Publica Laetitia* (Public Happiness; Alcalá de Henares: Juan de Brocar, 1546), and published to commemorate the visit by the recently appointed Archbishop of Toledo Juan Martínez Silíceo to the University of Alcalá de Henares.⁷ In keeping with the university's emblematic tradition, the book was intended to print the winning emblems the students had presented in an academic competition held to demonstrate their skill as creators of visual images accompanied by Latin texts. As expected, many of the emblematic works requested the new Archbishop to protect the university. Among the many that were printed, some employ the image of the Cardinal in a symbolic manner or use his clearly identifiable figure. In some of these prints, Ximénez de Cisneros appears in person where he is clearly identified not only by the portrait, while in others he is depicted symbolically, even personifying the university itself. The name of the engraver is unknown, but he undoubtedly worked for the university's printing press where the work was edited. Cardinal Ximénez is displayed as a figure in elaborate scenes, a tradition that was discontinued when portraits would become the preferred representation, as we shall see.

Alcalá, Alcalá de Henares, 2007, pp. 73–5, with further references.

⁶ GONZÁLEZ RAMOS, Roberto, "Cisneros: iconografías de prestigio y Santidad", in *F. Ximénez de Cisneros: Reforma, Conversión y Evangelización*, Universidad San Dámaso, Madrid, 2018, pp. 97–157.

⁷ MARTÍNEZ-BURGOS, Palma, "Publica Laetitia, humanismo y emblemática", in *Cuadernos de Arte e Iconografía*, i, 1988, pp. 129–42. ALASTRUE CAMPO, Isabel, *Alcalá de Henares y sus fiestas públicas (1503–1675)*, Universidad de Alcalá, Alcalá de Henares, 1990, pp. 57–70. CÁMARA, Alicia and GÓMEZ, Consuelo, "Ceremonias y fiestas de la Universidad de Alcalá de Henares", in *La Universidad Complutense y las Artes. VII Centenario de la Universidad Complutense*, Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 1995, p. 99. CORDERO DE CIRIA, Enrique, "Álvar Gómez de Castro y la introducción en España de la cultura emblemática sin Alciato", in *Boletín del Museo e Instituto 'Camón Aznar'*, lxxiii, 1998, pp. 59–99. GONZÁLEZ RAMOS, Roberto, *La Universidad*, pp. 116–20.

The first biography on Ximénez de Cisneros to be printed was published by the university as well, entitled *De Rebus Gestis a Francisco Ximenio Cisnero, Archiepiscopo Toletano* (The History of Francisco Ximénez Cisneros: Archbishop of Toledo; Alcalá de Henares: Andrés de Angulo, 1569). The work was written by the former complutensian professor and renowned Latinist Álvar Gómez de Castro,⁸ and contains two engravings alluding to his figure, one of them a profile portrait of Ximénez de Cisneros in an oval frame bearing an inscription identical to that of the medal mentioned above and the same formal and physiognomic features (tonsured, of fine and long nose, with a vein in his temple and the upper lip slightly arched above the lower lip), as well as the cope and large mose. Thus, we suspect that the medal served as a model for this work. The university commissioned both engravings specifically for the book and paid the painter Bartolomé de Escudera (ca. 1510–74) for the drawing, and an engraver whose surname is Hoz but has no other known works.⁹ The profile portrait appears above an epigram composed by one of the students who participated in the Latin contest organized by the university for the occasion which refers to the cardinal's accomplishments and virtues. The dissemination of this biography made this engraved portrait a fundamental reference for an important number of other exemplars in the following decades. The features soon came to identify not only the Cardinal himself, but his virtues and as a model of outstanding political action.

The portrait of this book was used to illustrate the biography of Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros contained in a book edited in Antwerp in 1587 entitled *Imagines L. Doctorum Virorum qui Bene De Studiis Literarum Meruere Cum Singulorum Elogiis, nunc primum editae et aeri*

⁸ ALVAR EZQUERRA, Antonio, *Acercamiento a la poesía de Álvar Gómez de Castro. Ensayo de una biografía y edición de su poesía latina*, Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 1980, I, pp. 94–201. GARCÍA PINILLA, Ignacio J., "El humanista ante la historia oficial: la podadera en el *De Rebus Gestis a Francisco Ximenio Cisnero de Álvar Gómez de Castro*", in *Textos castigados. La censura literaria en el Siglo de Oro*, Peter Lang, Berna, 2013, pp. 173–187.

⁹ GONZALEZ RAMOS, Roberto, "Pintores y escultores del siglo XVI al servicio de la Universidad de Alcalá. Algunas noticias inéditas sobre sus producciones artísticas", in *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, 14, Madrid, 2002, pp. 110–111.

incisae opera Philippi Gallaei (Images of Fifty Wise Men Who Well Merited Eulogies for their Literary Studies, Now for the First Time Edited and Engraved in Copper by Philips Galle).¹⁰ This is a production of the office of the printer Philips Galle (1537–1612), closely linked to the figure of a former scholar of Alcalá, Benito Arias Montano, who participated in other compilations of biographies with engraving portraits made by Galle. Thus, it is not surprising that the work is based on the 1569 engraving mentioned above and surely helped to a large extent to spread the image and prestige of Ximénez de Cisneros in that area of Europe,¹¹ as well as on the very close version of the engraving made by Theodoor Galle for the book entitled *XII Cardinalium Pietate Doctrina Rebusq. Gestis Maxime Illustrum Imagines et Elogia* (Images, Praises and History of Twelve Illustrious Cardinals for their Piety, Doctrine and History; Antwerp, T. And P. Galle, 1598), in which the engraving heading the biography of Ximénez appears in first place, without respecting the chronology.¹² Both engravings are very similar to the model found in the biography of 1569 in their facial features and details, which are more delicate, and show Ximénez in half-length and square format (fig. 1).

At the end of the sixteenth century the figure of Ximénez de Cisneros ceased to be considered a historical hero and came to be venerated as a true saint, at least in the University of Alcalá. The year 1604 a portrait was commissioned to preside over the university Rectoral Hall that depicts him in profile again, dressed in armour and wearing the vestments of a Cardinal seated before a table with volumes of the *Complutensian Polyglot Bible* and the battle of Oran in

¹⁰ See PÁEZ, Elena, *Iconografía Hispana. Catálogo de los retratos de personajes españoles de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, 1966, II, p. 619.

¹¹ BATAILLON, Marcel, "Philippe Galle et Arias Montano", in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, II, Paris, 1942, pp. 132–160. HÄNSEL, Sylvie, *Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598), Humanismo y arte en España*, Universidad de Huelva, Huelva, 1999, pp. 108–38. See also DOLDERS, Arno, *Netherlandish Artists. Philips Galle*. Abaris Books, New York, 1987. On the edition, the engravings and on Theodoor Galle's book and engraving, see: SELLIK, Manfred, *Philips Galle (1537–1612): engraver and print publisher in Haarlem and Antwerp*, Amsterdam, 1997, II, pp. 228–229.

¹² GALLE, Phillips and Theodor, *XII Cardinalium pietate doctrina Rebusq. gestis maxime illustrum imagines et elogia*, P. Galle, Antwerp, 1598. See: PÁEZ, Elena, *Iconografía*, opus. cit., II, p. 619.

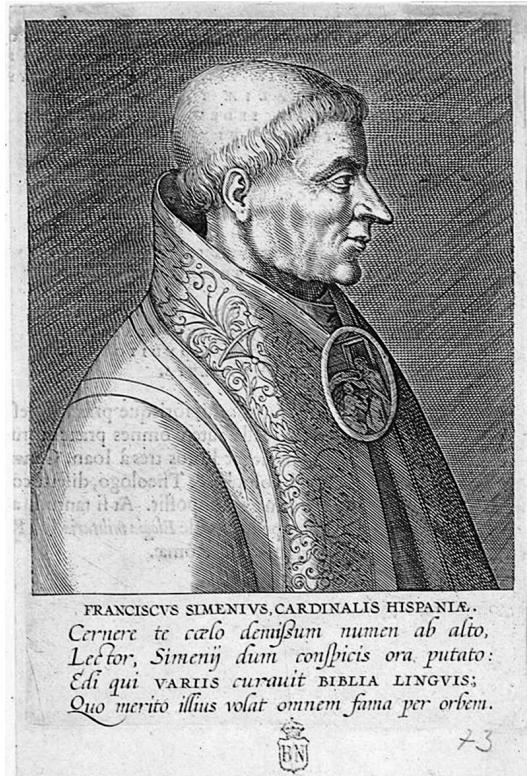


Fig. 1. Theodoor Galle, *Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros*, 1598, etching, from P. and T. Galle, *XII Cardinalium pietate doctrina Rebusq. gestis maxime illustrum imagines et elogia*, (Antwerp, 1598) 170 x 12 mm.

the background, an important reference for some engravings I shall discuss later.¹³ In addition, the prelate's second biography—almost a hagiography—written by Eugenio de Robles and entitled *Compendio de la vida y hazañas del Cardenal don Fray Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros* (Compendium of the Life and Deeds of Cardinal Fray Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros; Toledo: Pedro Rodríguez, 1604) was published the same year. The book contains an engraving portrait of Cardinal Ximénez of a better quality than the one mentioned above, where he is again depicted in profile, since it is based on the marble portrait to which we referred earlier. This new visual reference was to become the source of another line of engraving portraits, a second visual genealogy of the Cardinal that would appear later.¹⁴

¹³ ANGULO, Diego and PÉREZ SÁNCHEZ, Alfonso E., *Pintura madrileña. Primer tercio del siglo XVII*, CSIC, Madrid, 1969, pp. 255–6. ASTIAZARAIN, Isabel, "El cardenal Cisneros", in *Una Hora de España. VII Centenario de la Universidad Complutense*, Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 1994, pp. 244–245.

¹⁴ The engraving portrait was a work of Pedro Ángel. See GALLEGOS, Antonio, *Historia del grabado en España*,

The production of engravings with the figure of Ximénez de Cisneros would increase significantly during his beatification process initiated in Rome and led mainly by the University of Alcalá de Henares.¹⁵ Not surprisingly, these engravings glorified the spirit of the Counter-Reformation and the Baroque of the seventeenth century, and a large number of representations of all kinds were commissioned by the representatives of the academic institution to serve as propaganda for Ximénez de Cisneros's cause.¹⁶

The phase of the beatification process that began in 1649 thanks to the personal initiative of the Franciscan Pedro Aranda y Quintanilla, who had ties with the university, was the most productive as regards the commissioning of engravings with the image of Ximénez de Cisneros. The friar designed a complete programme of propaganda intended to exalt the figure and image of the prelate, which included paintings, sculptures, engravings and even new iconographies. In addition, he wrote books in which he included some interesting prints. Aranda y Quintanilla became the hagiographer of the university's founder and the university's agent to oversee the beatification process in Rome, where he remained for almost ten years.¹⁷

Upon arriving at the papal court, he decided to commission engravings, among other imag-

es, for which he took with him the books of Gómez de Castro and Eugenio de Robles. He informed the university that he planned to have Ximénez de Cisneros portrayed in the siege of Oran and other diverse iconographies.¹⁸ In 1653, he published the prelate's hagiography in Palermo, entitled *Archetypo de Virtudes, espejo de Prelados, el Venerable Padre y Siervo de Dios D. F. Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros* (Archetype of Virtues and Mirror of Prelates: The Venerable Father and Servant of God, Fray Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros; Palermo: Nicolás Bua, 1653), for which he commissioned two prints. In the one that serves as the book cover, Ximénez de Cisneros is presented in an ornate frame held by angels in which he appears in three-quarter profile, one of the few portraits of the Cardinal not in profile. However, the mood of the piece is rather glum. In the full-page engraving on the inside of the book, signed by the engraver Francesco Negro (1590–1653),¹⁹ Ximénez de Cisneros is shown standing, dressed as a Franciscan and Cardinal and holding a crucifix in the act of baptizing a group of people. The scene makes reference to the episode of Ximénez de Cisneros's biography when he baptized the Moors of Granada by sprinkling. In the upper left-hand and right-hand corners of the piece appear his coat of arms and a window through which the battle of Oran can be seen.

Shortly thereafter, Aranda y Quintanilla commissioned further engravings intended for two propaganda books published in Rome at Francesco Moneta's press office entitled *Breve Sommario dell'apostolica vita del Venerab. Servo di Dio D. Fr. Francesco Ximenez de Cisneros* (Brief Summary of the Apostolic Life of the Venerable Servant of God Friar Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros; Rome: Francesco Moneta, 1654) and *Oranum Ximenii Virtute Catholicum seu De Africano Bello* (Oran Catholic by Virtue of Ximenez, or the African War; Rome: Francesco Moneta, 1658). The first contains a print by an unknown author (with the uppercase initials R. MA), and the other was made

¹⁵ Cátedra, Madrid, 1979, pp. 128–129. ROTETA, Ana M., "El retrato-grabado español en Pedro Ángel", in *Goya. Revista de Arte*, cxxx, Madrid, 1976, pp. 220–227. ROTETA, Ana M., *La ilustración del libro en la España de la Contrarreforma. Grabados de Pedro Ángel y Diego de Astor. 1588–1637*, IPIET, Toledo, 1985.

¹⁶ POU, José M., "El proceso de beatificación del Cardenal Cisneros", in *Archivo Ibero-American*, 17, Madrid, 1922, pp. 5–28. FERNÁNDEZ DE RETANA, Luis, *Cisneros y su siglo. Estudio histórico de la vida y actuación pública del Cardenal D. Fr. Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros*, El Perpetuo Socorro, Madrid, 1930, pp. 524–538. MESEGUE FERNÁNDEZ, Juan, "Memoriales y cuestionarios del P. P. Pedro de Quintanilla sobre Cisneros", in *Archivo Ibero-American*, 37, Madrid, 1977, pp. 153–171. RODRÍGUEZ-MOÑINO, Rafael, *El Cardenal Cisneros y la España del siglo XVII*, Artes Gráficas Soler, Valencia, 1978. MARCHAL, José M., "La empresa de beatificar a Cisneros. Un proceso europeo (1507–1680)", in *Construyendo identidades. Del protoneoliberalismo a la nación*, Universidad de Alcalá, Alcalá de Henares, 2013, pp. 149–162.

¹⁷ GONZÁLEZ RAMOS, Roberto, "El mecenazgo artístico de la Universidad de Alcalá en la Roma del Barroco (siglo XVII)", in *Madrid. Revista de Arte, Geografía e Historia*, 5, Madrid, 2002, pp. 247–291.

¹⁸ GONZÁLEZ RAMOS, Roberto, *La Universidad*, opus cit., pp. 307–311.

¹⁹ GONZÁLEZ RAMOS, Roberto, *La Universidad*, opus cit., p. 312.

¹⁹ ARICÒ, Nicola, "Introductory study", in NEGRO, Francesco and VENTIMIGLIA, Carlo M., *Atlante di città e fortezze del Regno di Sicilia*, Sicania, Messina, 1992. MILITELLO, Paolo and Pietro, *Ritratti di città in Sicilia e a Malta: XVI–XVII secolo*, Officina di Studi Medievali, Palermo, 2008, pp. 24–25.

by the renowned and excellent French engraver Dominique Barrière (ca. 1622–1678).²⁰ Following the indications of the Spanish friar, both engravings represent Ximénez standing, dressed as a Franciscan and Cardinal, holding a crucifix and a general's staff before the siege of Oran. In both representations, which bear an inscription identifying the figure, Ximénez de Cisneros's face appears in profile, as was custom. We know that the pieces were printed not only to complete the books, but also taken from loose series that were distributed throughout Rome.²¹ The process of beatification continued at a slower pace from the end of the seventeenth until the eighteenth century, and although paintings of Cisneros continued to be commissioned, we do not know if more engravings were also commissioned, but it seems that the plates for the above prints continued to be used to disseminate the Cardinal's image.²²

In the seventeenth century, Ximénez de Cisneros had gained a certain international renown, especially in France where his figure was considered a model of political action, as the French thought he was the main person responsible for the success of the Spanish Monarchy in the country's Golden Age.²³ An engraving portrait of Ximénez that is very similar to Roble's book (as can be seen in the representation of the Cardinal's frown as well as his chest, but in this case enhancing the shadows and reversing the position of this profile view) appeared in a biography of the Spanish Cardinal dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu published in France in 1635 (fig. 2). The preface of this biography written by Baudier praises the figure of Ximén-



Fig. 2. Anonymous artist, *Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros*, 1635, etching, from M. Baudier, *Histoire de l'administration du Cardinal Ximenes Grand Ministre d'Estat en Espagne* (Paris, 1635), 133 x 82 mm.

ez, declaring him 'the most grand minister Europe has ever had', and proposes him as an example to Richelieu,²⁴ showing how the figure of the Cardinal served as a reference for foreign rulers, especially in France, where he was held to be a true model of good government.²⁵ The translation to English of this book led to the copy of its engraving. The editions of London, 1671 and 1679, show an exemplar made by Thomas Cross.²⁶

The same trend is evidenced by an engraving made by the Flemish engraver Frans van der Wyngaerde (1614–1679),²⁷ one of the fifty por-

²⁰ NEGRO SPINA, Annamaria, "Dominique Barrière: Un incisore francese nella Roma del Seicento", in *Prospettiva. Rivista di storia dell'arte antica e moderna*, 57–60, Florence, 1989–1990, pp. 255–264.

²¹ GONZÁLEZ RAMOS, Roberto, *La Universidad*, opus cit., p. 337.

²² GONZÁLEZ RAMOS, Roberto, *La Universidad*, opus cit., pp. 402–403. The engraving of Barrière travelled to Spain with Aranda and was used to illustrate other books by the friar and by others, such as FERNÁNDEZ DEL PULGAR, Pedro, *Vida y motivos de la común aclamación de santo del venerable siervo de Dios Don Fr. F. X. de Cisneros*, Viuda de Melchor Alegre, Madrid, 1673.

²³ On the fame and editions of biographies of Ximénez de Cisneros in France, see: ARANDA PÉREZ, Francisco J., "Memoria y fortuna de Cisneros: entre la postergación y el mito", in *Cisneros. Arquetipo de Virtudes, Espejo de Prelados*, Catedral de Toledo-Antonio Pareja, Toledo, 2017, pp. 35–37. SCHAUB, Jean-Frédéric, *La Francia española. Las raíces hispanas del absolutismo francés*, Marcial Pons, Madrid, 2004, pp. 255–267.

²⁴ BAUDIER, Michel, *Histoire de l'administration du Cardinal Ximenes Grand Ministre d'Estat en Espagne*, Sébastien Cravoisy, Paris, 1635.

²⁵ PÉREZ, Joseph, *Cisneros*, opus cit., pp. 268–269.

²⁶ BAUDIER, Michel, *The History of the administration of Cardinal Ximenes, Great Minister of State in Spain*, John Wilkins, London, 1671, and *The History of the administration of Cardinal Zimenes, Great Minister of State in Spain*, Peter Parker, London, 1679.

²⁷ DUVERGER, Erik and MAUFORT, Danielle, "Franciscus van den Wyngaerde," *Anthony van Dyck as a printmaker*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1999, p. 390. HOLLSTEIN, Friedrich. W. H., *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700*, Sound & Vision,

traits of Catholic Cardinals made by him for the book entitled *Eloges Historiques des Cardinaux Illustres Francois et Estrangers mis en Parallelle avec leurs Pourtraits au Naturel* (Historic Praises of Illustrious French and Foreign Cardinals with their Portraits from Life; Paris: A. De Cay, 1644), a work by the Jesuit Henry Albi. The engraving (signed F.V.W. ft) is clearly based on the model used for the biography of Ximénez written by Gómez de Castro (fig. 3). This model was, in fact, taken from the Galle exemplar discussed above,²⁸ as it shows the veins in the temple and straight, thin nose of the figure who appears wearing a mozzetta instead of a cope—as in the Baudier's book—and bears the inscription “FRANCISCVS CARD. SIMENIUS. CREAT. Anº. 1507. Mort. 1518”.

Another exemplar is an engraving that appeared in the French biographical repertoire of Isaac Bullart edited in Amsterdam in 1682.²⁹



Fig. 3. F. van Wyngaerde, *Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros*, 1644, etching, from H. Albi, *Eloges Historiques des Cardinaux Illustres Francois et Estrangers mis en Parallelle avec leurs Pourtraits au Naturel* (Paris, 1644), 129 x 92 mm.

Rotterdam, 2000, vol. LV, pp. 201 and 212. On the engraving, PÁEZ, Elena, *Iconografía*, opus cit., II, p. 620.

²⁸ DOLDERS, Arno (ed.), *Netherlandish Artists. The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 56, Abaris Books, New York, 1987, p. 193.

²⁹ BULLART, Isaac, *Academie des sciences et des arts, contenant les vies, & les éloges historiques des hommes illustres*, Daniel Elzevier, Amsterdam, 1682, I, p. 19.

The engraving that illustrates the biography of Ximénez was made by the French engraver Nicolas de Larmessin (1632–1694)³⁰—again based on the portrait of the book by Gómez de Castro or its versions by Galle or by van Wyngaerde—is a striking adaptation of that profile view model (fig. 4). The engraving shows the bust of Ximénez occupying the available space, thus lending it a narrow appearance, but keeping the main features portrayed in its reference and a very good quality in the treatment of the mozzetta. As we can see, this first visual lineage produced an important group of descendants. Interesting enough is the engraved portrait of Ximénez of Paulus Freherus book *Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum*, (Compilation of Men Famous for their Erudition) edited in Nuremberg in 1688, again a compilation of biographies. The portrait, which shows almost identical physiognomic details to those of its references (Galle, Wyngaerde), appears in



Fig. 4 N. de Larmessin, *Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros*, 1682, etching, from I. Bullart, *Academie des sciences et des arts, contenant les vies, & les éloges historiques des hommes illustres* (Amsterdam, 1682), 206 x 141 mm. (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid).

³⁰ BÉNÉZIT, Emmanuel, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs & graveurs de tous les temps et de tous les pays*, Librairie Grunel, Paris, 1960, v, p. 416. PRÉAUD, Maxime, (ed.) *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime*, Promodis, Paris, 1987, p. 215.

a full page engraving accompanied by another fifteen cardinals.³¹

We can find a similar interest in Ximénez in the French translation of the biography written by Gómez de Castro, certainly the most famed and influential produced until then in France, entitled *Histoire du Cardinal Ximenés* (History of Cardinal Ximénez; Paris: Jean Anisson, 1693) and edited by the Bishop of Nîmes, Esprit Fléchier. The engraving that adorns this edition was made by G. Edelinck (1640–1707)³² who, in this case, based the piece on the engraving Pedro Ángel realized for the work of Eugenio de Robles given its formal characteristics (or perhaps more plausibly on the version of Baudier's book of 1635), but situated the portrait in an oval frame: not only did the engraver invent to some extent most of Ximénez's features, but even the position of his chest, and added the skullcap for the first time. There are at least two Spanish editions of the work, one published in 1696 in Zaragoza, Pascual Bueno, with the engraving of Edelinck, and another entitled *Historia de el Cardenal Don Fr. Francisco Ximenez de Zisneros* (History of the Cardinal Friar Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros; Lyon: Antoine Briasson, 1712) that contains an engraving of the portrait by Sébastien Leclerc (1673–1714).³³ Surprisingly enough, the Spaniards had the first Spanish version of the first and best biography of the Cardinal from the French, since a direct Spanish translation from Latin was made much later, in 1984.³⁴ Another similar exemplar was a work of the German engraver Egid Verhelst (1733–1804) from Mannheim. In 1768 a Spanish book was illustrated with an engraving of Cardinal Ximénez's portrait in a circular

frame, based not on the original Spanish versions, but the Edelinck model.³⁵ Conversely, the work of Etienne Jehandier Desrochers, dated in 1726, is based on the original of Robles' biography, as the engraving maintains details taken from its referent such as the frown, the nose, the lip and others, but with the skullcap instead of the tonsure.³⁶

In 1693, another biography, by J. Marsolier, insists in the relevance of the figure of Ximénez for the French. The biography was dedicated to Cardinal De Bonzi, an important ambassador of Louis XIV, as a model to emulate in political behaviour.³⁷ The book is, in the opinion of J. Pérez, a poor work,³⁸ but it contains an interesting anonymous engraving of the portrait of Ximénez again in an oval frame. In this engraving, the prelate is shown in profile with his distinctive physiognomic characteristics, based in this case almost literally on the engraving of Edelinck, even in the design of the frame containing the text below the image. This biography, despite its scarce quality, had several editions, one in 1694 with another similar engraving of lesser quality but with the inscription on the oval frame and signed by Jean Crespy (ca. 1660–1739)³⁹ and the other two in 1704 and 1739, and was translated to German in 1719. This latter edition contains an engraving of the Cardinal based on the French editions but is of even lesser quality. Perhaps a work by Thomas von Wiering from Hamburg, the engraving shows the text below the portrait in German.⁴⁰ There is a similar version of this portrait but with the inscription in Italian from

³¹ PÁEZ, Elena, *Iconografía*, opus cit., p. 621.

³² SAVILL, Merilyn, *The French Reproductive Engraver in the Seventeenth Century with Special Reference to Gérard Edelinck*, Master, Victoria University of Wellington, 2000. SAVILL, Merilyn, "The Triple Portrait of Pierre Bernard, Gérard Edelinck and Nicolas de Largillière and the Debate in the French Academy in 1686 over the Status of Engravers", in *Melbourne Art Journal*, V, Melbourne, 2001, pp. 41–52. PRÉAUD, Maxime, "Les arts de l'estampe en France au XVIIIe siècle", in *Perspective. Actualité in Histoire de l'Art*, III, Paris, 2009, pp. 357–90.

³³ JOMBERT, Charles A., *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre de Sébastien Leclerc*, Charles Jombert, Paris, 1774, pp. lvii and lxxxv, where he is credited with the engraving in Esprit's edition of 1693, although it appears in the Amsterdam edition of 1700 (unsigned). MEAUME, Edouard, *Sébastien Leclerc, 1673–1714, et son ouvre gravé*, G. W. Hising and Co., Amsterdam, 1969.

³⁴ GARCÍA PINILLA, Ignacio J., "El humanista", opus cit., p. 174.

³⁵ ROJAS Y CONTRERAS, José, *Historia del Colegio viejo de S. Bartolomé. Segunda Parte*, Andrés Ortega, Madrid, 1768. See PÁEZ, Elena, *Iconografía*, opus cit., p. 621.

³⁶ DESROCHERS, Etienne J., *Recueil des portraits des personnes qui se sont distinguées tant dans les armes que les belles lettres et les arts, comme aussi la famille royale de France et autres cours étrangères*, Etienne J Desrochers, París, 1726. DRUGULIN, Wilhelm E., *Allgemeiner Portrait-Katalog*, Kunst-Comptoir, Leipzig, 1860, n. 23556 and 23558. This catalogue make reference to another engraving portrait of Ximénez made by François Bonneville (1791–1814), probably dated after 1800.

³⁷ MARSOLIER, Jacques, *Histoire du ministère du Cardinal Ximenes, Archevêque de Tolède et Régent d'Espagne*, Guillaume-Louis Colomyez, Toulouse, 1693.

³⁸ PÉREZ, Joseph, *Cisneros*, opus cit., p. 269.

³⁹ PÁEZ, Elena, *Iconografía*, opus cit., p. 621.

⁴⁰ MARSOLIER, Jacques, *Historie von dem Staats Ministerio des Cardinals Ximenes Ertz Bischoffs von Toledo und Regentens von Spanien*, Thomas Wiering, Hamburg, 1719.

an Italian translation of Ximenez's biography by Marsolier: *Storia del ministero del Cardinale Ximenes* (History of the Ministry of Cardinal Ximénez; Toulouse, 1696).⁴¹ Jean François Cars (1661–1738)⁴² signed another engraving also based on the Edelinck model for one of the several editions of the Marsolier biography.

We know of another example produced in Spain around this time, which is based on the portrait painting of 1604 showing the Cardinal seated. The engraving is the work of the Spanish etcher Gregorio Fosman y Medina (1653–1713) whose family was of Flemish origin, but the circumstances of its commission are unknown.⁴³ The text below the portrait indicates that it was probably commissioned in the context of the beatification process.

During the eighteenth century, in which Ximénez de Cisneros's international fame endured to some extent, other images appeared in engravings, such as that which shows Ximénez in conversation with Cardinal Du Bois in the book *Gespräche in dem Reiche derer Todten . . . Entrevue, zwischen dem Cardinal Ximenes . . . und dem Cardinal Du Bois . . .* (Conversations in the Kingdom of the Dead . . . Interview between Cardinal Ximénez . . . and Cardinal Du Bois . . .; Leipzig: Cörnerischen Erben, 1723). This book is an interesting gathering of conversations between several pairs of people, apparently enemies or adversaries in history, or divergent personalities, not necessarily contemporaries. The engraving was a new type of representation created specifically for the theme of the book in which it appears, and depicts a new iconography in which Ximénez appears standing, as in works made in Rome almost a century be-

fore, although here too he is seen in profile. He is shown facing his opponent, both of whom appear in an interior that may be an office or library as we can see packages of state affairs papers, as indicated by the inscriptions.

An iconography of Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros that became very popular in the eighteenth century was that which represented him on horseback based on the legend the inhabitants of Oran told the ecclesiastical officials who interrogated them during the beatification process. According to their account of these miraculous episodes, during the numerous attempts by the Moors to attack the city since its conquest, the Cardinal appeared riding on the back of a white horse, like a new Saint James. Several paintings were made with this image, but also engravings. One of them represents the ephemeral monuments constructed in Valencia to celebrate the anniversary of the conquest of the city to the Moors. The book published in 1740 to commemorate the celebrations contains an engraving depicting the monument in which the Cardinal is seen on horseback in the centre of an elaborate scene with the signature of the engraver Juan Bautista Ravanals (1678–ca. 1746).⁴⁴ The figure of Ximénez, seated on horseback over a defeated enemy, appears very small in the middle of a gigantic representation of the city of Oran below a big sun (fig. 5). In fact, the representatives of the University of Alcalá in the beatification process of Ximénez de Cisneros had commissioned paintings that depicted the Cardinal restraining the sun, as a new Joshua, to ensure the success of the military campaign to take this African stronghold; a miracle that was attributed to him. Indeed, the appearance of suns in engravings of Ximénez, as well as in other representations related to him, refer to this episode of his legend. The book's text makes reference to the episode of the conquest of Oran and that the ephemeral monument was erected in the Franciscan convent of Jesus of Valencia. Another very interesting engraving with this eighteenth-century theme was probably commissioned by a former

⁴¹ See, *Biografia universale antica e moderna*, Giovanni B. Misiaglia, Venice, 1827, XXXVI, p. 44.

⁴² PRÉAUD, Maxime, "Jean-François Cars", in *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime*, Promodis, Paris, 1986, pp. 73–74. MARTIN-DE-VESVOTTE, Sylvie, *Dictionnaire des graveurs-éditeurs et marchands d'estampes à Lyon au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Presses Universitaires, Lyon, 2002, p. 30–34.

⁴³ The piece is preserved in the Royal Academy of History, Madrid, and has been studied very briefly by MANSO PORTO, Carmen, "Retrato de fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros", in *Isabel la Católica en la Real Academia de la Historia*, RAH, Madrid, 2004, pp. 219–223, n. 66. Dated 1650–99. For more on Fosman, see GALLEGOS, Antonio, *Historia*, opus cit., pp. 180–82. CARRETE, Juan, CHECA, Fernando and BOZAL, Valeriano, *El grabado en España. Siglos XV–XVIII, Summa Artis XXXI*, Espasa, Madrid, 1988, pp. 240 and 288.

⁴⁴ ORTÍ, José V., *Fiestas centenarias con que la Insigne, Noble, Leal y Coronada ciudad de Valencia celebró el día 9 de octubre de 1738 la Quinta Centuria de su Christiana Conquista*, Antonio Bordazar, Valencia, 1740, p. 154. For more on the engraver, see: CEÁN BERMÚDEZ, Juan A., *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*, Viuda de Ibarra, Madrid, 1800, IV, pp. 160–61. GALLEGOS, Antonio, *Historia*, opus cit., p. 249.



Fig. 5. J. B. Ravanals, *Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros on Horseback before the walls of Oran*, 1740, etching, from J. V. Ortí, *Fiestas centenarias con que la Insigne, Noble, Leal y Coronada ciudad de Valencia celebró el día 9 de octubre de 1738 la Quinta Centuria de su Christiana Conquista* (Valencia, 1740), 172 x 95 mm.

student of Alcalá, who later became the Bishop of Santiago de Compostela, Felipe Fernández Vallejo.⁴⁵

In another context unrelated to the ecclesiastical world and having nothing to do with the university or its students, we can find what was probably the last engraving would be made in the eighteenth century. In 1796 Fernando Selma (1752–1810), engraver to King Charles IV of Spain, made an engraving with the image of Ximénez de Cisneros for a government project aimed to pay tribute to illustrious Spaniards in different fields of activity. The engraving is represented in the work *Retratos de los españoles ilustres* (Portraits of Illustrious

Spaniards; Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1791–1882); an enormous biographical undertaking of the Spanish Enlightenment. As specified in the print itself, the engraving is based on a drawing by José Maea (1760–1826). It is an academic work depicting the image of the Cardinal in profile and based on the painting mentioned above that was commissioned in 1604 for the Rectoral Hall of the University of Alcalá, preserved today in the Prado Museum of Madrid.⁴⁶

The representations of Ximénez de Cisneros in engravings, which continued to be created in the following centuries, were produced in an almost uninterrupted way throughout the early Modern Age for various reasons and in clearly different contexts and places. This may explain why we have found works of varying quality and by different craftsmen, as well as of very diverse themes, in which the Cardinal and Spanish statesman is depicted not only in portraiture, which is the most important production, but also in a large array of iconographies and formats ranging from symbolism to political and military action.

The way in which the two portraits made during the lifetime of Ximénez or soon after his death (the medal and the marble portrait—the principal references in our case) were transferred to engravings in Spain and spread throughout the Netherlands, France and elsewhere enabled the development of two visual lineages of the Cardinal's face. The portraits, whose physiognomic features progressively weakened with respect to their original referents but retained important details, were disseminated along with the ideas of rectitude and the prominent political role of the represented figure.

The image of the prelate almost always appears linked to the publishing, editorial world. Although Ximénez de Cisneros's engraved images were usually used to illustrate erudite works, biographies and hagiographies, in which he is normally seen as a model of virtues or of perfect government, there is no lack of other uses for the popular dissemination of the image of someone is certainly a prominent depicted figure in the field of engraving.

⁴⁵ The engraving was entrusted to the silversmith and engraver Ángel Piedra (1735–1800) from Santiago de Compostela and dates around 1797. See: BOUZA BREY, Fermín, 'El grabador y platero compostelano Ángel Piedra (1735–1800)', in *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos*, xxv, Santiago de Compostela, 1976, pp. 165–99. BARRIOCANAL, Yolanda, *El grabado compostelano del siglo XVIII*, Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, Santiago de Compostela, 1996, pp. 175–78. GONZÁLEZ RAMOS, Roberto, "Cisneros", opus cit., p. 144.

⁴⁶ BARRENA, Clemente, MATILLA, José Manuel and VILLENA, Elvira, *Fernando Selma, el grabado al servicio de la cultura ilustrada*, RABASF, Madrid, 1993, p. 72. MOLINA, Álvaro, "Retratos de españoles Ilustres con un epítome de sus vidas. Orígenes y gestación de una empresa ilustrada", in *Archivo Español de Arte*, LXXXIX, Madrid, 2016, pp. 43–60.