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## Neostoic Virtues in the *Empresas políticas* of Saavedra Fajardo<sup>1</sup>

### The Influence of Justus Lipsius

A large part of Emblematics simply consists of an attempt to translate the precepts of moral philosophy into images. Moral philosophy, or what we now call Ethics,<sup>2</sup> taught two fundamental things in the 16th through 18th centuries: to pursue happiness or the greatest good and to endure evils (to enjoy prosperity with moderation and to suffer adversity with strength). He who managed to attain this goal was considered a wise man (*sapiens*), and by extension, those who persisted in the error that distanced them from this end were considered fools (*stulti*).<sup>3</sup> The wise man, the *sapiens*, lives according to the dictates of virtue and reason, in harmony with nature, free of emotions such as wrath, fear or hope. He is able to differentiate correctly between important things and those which are unimportant (wealth, health, success, etc.); he knows how to distinguish between those things that are truly worthwhile (*proegetna*) and those which ought to be rejected. The stoic wise man accepts the will of God, he confronts adversity with constancy and he is willing to accept public responsibilities because he is concerned about human beings whose sufferings he views with objectivity and

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<sup>1</sup> Translation from Spanish by John T. Cull.

<sup>2</sup> Ethics is the road to virtue, just as logic is the road to truth. The metaphor of the road to perfection reflects the idea which had been formed about morality, and it belongs to the category of *proficientes* in which the disciples and followers of Crisipo were placed. In order to help the proficient to better his moral situation, the Stoics composed numerous ascetic treatises on vices and virtues, on education, and on remedies against vice. Some of Seneca's dialogues and many of his letters are evidence of this practice, as are the writings of Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and also fragments of the ancient stoics and the references in Cicero.

<sup>3</sup> See Emmanuele Tesaurò, *Filosofía moral, derivada de la alta fuente del grande Aristoteles Stagirita* [...]. Traducela en español D. Gomez de la Rocha y Figueroa [printed by Juan Garcia Infanzon and edited by Florian Anisson]. Madrid 1692, pp. 1-12. The work was written for the education of the royal infant Victorio Amadeo Francisco, prince of Piemonte (later duke of Savoy), and its translator indicates that it has been a study tool for noblemen, sovereigns, and even «sacred wits».

mercy. And, finally, the *sapiens* must make good use of his *otium* in order to attain *negotium animi* and make progress in philosophy.<sup>4</sup>

Of the diverse philosophical trends that offer a systematization of the principles of moral philosophy, Neo-stoicism<sup>5</sup> helped to create a secular ethics in the sixteenth century that was spread by Erasmus, and above all, by Justus Lipsius. The latter was much admired, not only for his vast knowledge of ancient history, but also for his essays on morality and political theory. This lay humanist undertook the task of systematically presenting Stoicism as a philosophy that could offer comfort to common people in times of misfortune, such as those that plagued contemporary Europe, devastated by the horrors of war. In addition, he set out to reconcile Stoicism and Christianity, detailing how the latter could correct the former. What initially attracted him as a philologist (the preparation of corrected texts of authors such as Tacitus and Seneca) soon led him to a deft philosophical and political utilization of the same texts in order to constitute a practical guide to the civil society of his time.

Lipsius had a profound influence on several Spanish writers, such as Jerónimo de la Cruz,<sup>6</sup> Quevedo,<sup>7</sup> Pedro de Ribadeneira,<sup>8</sup> Juan de Vera<sup>9</sup> and others less studied. Likewise, even though he hardly even mentions him, Lipsius had a very significant influence on the creation of the *Empresas políticas* of Saavedra Fajardo.

One of the creative works of Justus Lipsius that had the greatest influence among his contemporaries was *De Constantia libri duo, qui alloquium praecipue continent in publicis malis*, published in Leiden in 1584, when he was 36 years old. The work merited 49 editions and was translated into French, German, Polish, Dutch, Italian, English and Spanish. It is a dialogue, a genre that is typically didactic, between two characters: Lipsius, who, as a youth, asks the questions, and Langius (Charles de Langhe), who had died some ten years earlier, and in whose mouth the erudite Belgian places the doctrine that he was interested in

<sup>4</sup> The classic source for the definition of *sapiens* is *Epistle 75* of Seneca.

<sup>5</sup> The first occurrence of the term «Novi Stoici» seems to be in a passage of Calvin's *Institutio Christianae Religionis* that condemns those who adhere to that form of philosophy: Joannes Calvinus, *Opera Selecta*. Ed. Petrus Barth. Vol. 4: *Institutio Christianae Religionis*. 3. ed. emendata. Munich 1968, lib. III, cap. 8, 9.

<sup>6</sup> Jean Gottigny, «Juste Lipse et Jerónimo de la Cruz (Le renouveau du Stoïcisme aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles)». In: *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 41 (1970), pp. 219-277.

<sup>7</sup> Lía Schwartz, «Justo Lipsio en Quevedo: neoestoicismo, política y sátira» [forthcoming]; Henry Ettinghausen, *Francisco de Quevedo and the Neostoic Movement*. Oxford 1972.

<sup>8</sup> Ribadeneira uses passages from Lipsius's *Politicorum sive Civilis Doctrinae Libri Sex* in his *Religión y virtudes que deue tener el Príncipe cristiano*. Madrid 1595.

<sup>9</sup> His work *El embajador* (Sevilla 1620) is inspired by the Spanish versions of *Politicorum sive Civilis Doctrinae Libri Sex* and *De Constantia*.

spreading. He sought to provoke his fellow countrymen to resist the adversity which the Netherlands endured, at war with Spain, after the pillage of Antwerp (1576) and the burning of Louvaine (1578). Lipsius confesses to his friend that he fled Belgium because of the problems that the Duke of Alba had unleashed and because his regime of terror in the Netherlands prevented him from working and deprived him of tranquility. Wise Langius urges him not to evade problems by fleeing from them, and recommends *constantia* which he defines as «rectum et immotum animi robur, non elati externis aut fortuitis, non depressi» («the right and unmovable strength of mind that neither rejoices in nor despairs about external or casual events».<sup>10</sup>

The influence of this work among Spanish intellectuals was enormous, although they were not always free to admit it. Lipsius was the object of attacks that accused him of «taking from lagoons what he could have taken from the purest fountain of sacred letters», as he explains in the prologue to the second edition.<sup>11</sup> He defends himself by stating that he did not pretend to be a theologian, but rather a philosopher, and a Christian philosopher at that. On the other hand, upon accepting a chair at Leiden, Justus Lipsius was seen by Spaniards as a traitor who had crossed over to the Calvinist side. Things changed in 1591 when he opted for Catholicism, but that did not prevent the Inquisition from examining this dialogue with a magnifying glass. When Juan Bautista de Mesa translated it into Spanish, thirty three years after *De Constantia* was published in Latin, chapters 11 and 12 had to be suppressed.<sup>12</sup>

Another text by Lipsius that evoked the admiration of his contemporaries and which was imitated more than is commonly believed, since it is seldom cited explicitly as an influence, was his *Politicorum sive Civilis Doctrinae Libri Sex*.<sup>13</sup> In the brief space of 200 pages Lipsius encapsulates the knowledge acquired during a whole lifetime of reading classical authors, and he uses this knowledge as the foundation for his guide to good government in sixteenth century Europe. In it he combines a personal and political ethics with an impeccable methodology which only a person with an exceptional memory could pull off successfully, since the work consists of a series of quotes from classical authors (primarily

<sup>10</sup> Iustus Lipsius, *De Constantia libri duo, qui alloquium praecipue continent in publicis malis*. Leiden 1584, lib. I, cap. IV.

<sup>11</sup> Id., *De Constantia libri duo, qui alloquium praecipue continent in publicis malis*. Iterata ed., melior et notis auctior. Leiden 1585, Prologue.

<sup>12</sup> Iusto Lipsio, *Libro de la Constancia*. Traducido de latín en castellano, por Iuan Baptista de Mesa; natural de la ciudad de Antequera [by Matias Clavijo]. Sevilla 1616.

<sup>13</sup> Iustus Lipsius, *Politicorum sive Civilis Doctrinae Libri Sex. Qui ad Principatum maxime spectant* [published by Raphelengius]. Leiden 1589.

from Tacitus) linked together by a commentary and arranged so that they seem to form a coherent theory. Its four constituent components – quotes and commentary (highlighted by the use of Roman type and italics), and in the margins a summary and references to the sources – represent a systematic effort to bring together in one place, in a practical way, the combined knowledge of classical authors on the governance of a modern state. The work met with problems with the Inquisition in Spain, where three chapters of book four were banished to the Index for all of the seventeenth century (in these chapters Lipsius deals with the question of whether there should be a single religion in the State and if it should be preserved and maintained at the expense of political stability). Nevertheless, this fact did not prevent a translation into Spanish fifteen years later by Bernardino de Mendoza, and dedicated to the Spanish nobility without a knowledge of Latin. Lipsius's work is addressed to princes, kings and emperors (and their ministers), with the intention of stimulating them to virtue, which in turn would influence the populace to imitate them. In a laconic and compendious style, he cuts to the chase, to what really matters, although at the same time he uses very interesting metaphors that without doubt influenced political emblematisers like Saavedra and later Solórzano Pereira.

In addition to these works, Lipsius authored others that were also well known to Spanish authors with intellectual preoccupations. I am referring to those which he dedicates to the study and diffusion of the philosophy of the Stoics, *Manuductionis ad Stoicam Philosophiam Libri Tres*, in 1604, and *Physiologiae Stoicorum Libri Tres* (an exposition of cosmology and the metaphysics of the Stoic School), in the same year.<sup>14</sup> Both works were intended to accompany an edition of the complete works of Seneca. Another brief volume must also be considered in order to appreciate the extent of the influence exercised by the erudite Belgian on Saavedra and other authors of treatises on education and emblematics: *Monita et exempla politica libri duo qui Virtutes et Vitia principum spectant*,<sup>15</sup> and we must not forget the many epistles he published, imitated so often by intellectuals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Saavedra surely must have passionately devoured Lipsius's works, judging by the significant evidence found in his own writings. The Belgian humanist stimulated in Saavedra a spirit of responsibility of the intellectual towards his country; he influenced Saavedra to use a compendious and laconic style which he was

<sup>14</sup> Iustus Lipsius, *Manuductionis ad Stoicam Philosophiam Libri Tres*. L. Annaeo Senecae Aliisque Scriptoribus illustrandis. Antwerp 1604; id., *Physiologiae Stoicorum Libri Tres*. L. Annaeo Senecae Aliisque Scriptoribus illustrandis. Antwerp 1604.

<sup>15</sup> Id., *Monita et exempla politica libri duo qui Virtutes et Vitia principum spectant*. Antwerp 1605.

proud of (so much so that in the prologue to the *Empresas políticas* he boasts to be the first to use it in Spain), and Lipsius provided him with material to develop an ethical itinerary in the education of the Christian prince which would allow him to become not only prudent, but *sapiens*, so that the people, by imitating him, would forge a happy and prosperous State. In addition, we find a trace of the work of Lipsius in several of the *picturae* or bodies of the *Empresas políticas*.

One of the most important Neo-stoic goals was to serve mankind. In contrast to the self-absorbed Epicurean, the Neo-stoic looks towards others in his friendships and seeks to have his experience serve the public good. Lipsius, by adapting Roman Stoicism to the daily reality of the 16th century, considered friendship from three different perspectives: the notion of *contubernium*,<sup>16</sup> occasional relationships with like-minded spirits, and friendship with intellectual peers, by means of written correspondence. As part of *contubernium*, Lipsius lodged students at his home in Louvaine, always the sons of privileged families who were destined to occupy high offices with political or religious responsibility. He felt that it was necessary to teach them not only facts but also virtue, so that society could in turn benefit from what they had learned.

That same spirit of service exists in Saavedra who, writing the *Empresas políticas* and dedicating them to the young prince, Baltasar Carlos, son of Felipe IV, hoped that his knowledge of diplomacy in the service of the Spanish monarchy in Italy and in central Europe, acquired over the course of 34 years, would not be completely lost. The same can be said for his concept of friendship revealed in the many letters to friends and political leaders throughout Europe, only partially published by Quintín Aldea Vaquero.<sup>17</sup>

The use of the emblem genre to transmit his teachings to the prince (although he calls them *imprese* they are more of a moral than heroic nature) suggests the influence of Erasmus, who was the basis for all of those who, in order to educate, sought the most effective ways to impart a moral lesson in a pleasant manner so that it would remain in the memory. Saavedra's *imprese* fit this model perfectly.

In his *Política* Lipsius expressed that civil life should have two guides: virtue and prudence. Nobody can be a good citizen if he is not a man of good, and

<sup>16</sup> In ancient Rome it meant to share a tent (*taberna*), and then its meaning broadened to refer to the young, inexperienced youth who shared a tent or living quarters with a more mature and experienced man at the battlefield. Among Roman intellectuals, the word was associated with the daily and continual intercourse between the pair which resulted in their mutual moral and intellectual enrichment. The idea of friendship among the Epicureans, on the other hand, did not necessarily encompass high moral principles.

<sup>17</sup> Quintín Aldea Vaquero, *España y Europa en el siglo XVII. Correspondencia de Saavedra Fajardo*. 2 vols. Madrid 1986 / 1991. It contains the correspondence of 1631-1634.

prudence without virtue is simply malice and slyness. Only virtue endures, since other qualities taken as good (glory, wealth, beauty) are short-lived. Virtue, in turn, is divided into piety or religion and goodness or *probitas*, that is to say, an upright life in one's customs and actions.

Prudence, in turn, is subdivided into domestic and civil prudence; it is engendered by experience or habit and stimulated by memory or history. In contrast to the tyrant, who seeks his own interest, the prince who acts correctly seeks the public good. To that end he must be molded as *sapiens* in prudence and virtue, because he will be a model for his vassals, and the republic will be virtuous if he is. This was extremely important if we bear in mind providentialism, which held that God punished non-virtuous republics. The means by which the prince can procure virtue in his subjects is through law and example. Unlike the commoners, who are subject to letting themselves be carried away by negative feelings such as inconstancy, irrationality, envy, wrath, a desire for change, imprudence while speaking, the prince and his ministers must foment a prudent, wise and virtuous attitude.

In the second part of the new structural division that Saavedra imposes on the *impresa* of the Milan edition of 1642, which would remain the definitive one,<sup>18</sup> he develops with more intensity a posture that we can classify as Neo-stoic. It bears as its epigraph «How the prince must comport himself in his actions». In the final *impresa* of this section (from 31 to 37), in which he urges the prince to allow himself to be guided by those who might strengthen his knowledge, Saavedra includes a considerable number of Neo-stoic precepts intended to endow the prince with virtue as *sapiens*. Let us consider this point more closely.

Even in the first group of *impresa* Saavedra manifests his admiration of the stoics. Thus in number 7 («Auget et minuit»), he laments that princes have many Galens (physicians) for the body, but hardly a single Epictetus for the soul. The mention of the foremost teacher of Stoicism is not casual. In *impresa* 26, while commenting that Christians possess great strength even though at times they appear to be tame, Saavedra's affinity towards the stoic doctrine is revealed:

No son opuestas a la fortaleza la humildad y la mansedumbre, antes tan conformes, que sin ellas no se puede ejercitar ni puede haber fortaleza donde no hay mansedumbre y tolerancia y las demás virtudes. Porque solamente aquel es verdaderamente fuerte que no se deja vencer de los afectos, y está libre de las enfermedades del ánimo, en que trabajó tanto la secta Estoica y después con más perfección la escuela Cristiana.

<sup>18</sup> All references are to this second edition of the *impresa*, extensively amplified by Saavedra when compared to the first (Munich 1640): Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, *Idea de un príncipe político christiano, representada en cien empresas*. Milan 1642.

Prudence, the maximum political virtue, anchor of States, compass needle of the prince who governs, to which Saavedra dedicates *impresa* 28, consists of many parts (according to him), but all of them can be summed up in three: memory of the past, intelligence of the present and providence with respect to the future. It is one of the *impreses* in which he follows Justus Lipsius the most faithfully. Saavedra established that experience can be innate or acquired, and the latter can only be obtained either by means of communication with knowledgeable people or through history. One should study history for its *utilitas*, a notion defended by Lipsius. It resolves doubts, stimulates heroic behavior and teaches through the errors of others:

Gran maestro de príncipes es el tiempo. Hospitales son los siglos pasados, donde la política hace anatomía de los cadáveres de las repúblicas y monarquías que florecieron, para curar mejor las presentes. Cartas son de marear en que con ajenas borrascas o prósperas navegaciones están reconocidas las riberas, fondeados los golfos, descubiertas las secas, advertidos los escollos, y señalados los rumbos de reinar.

Saavedra invites the prince to contrast present times with those past, especially the reigns of Fernando el Católico and Felipe II, in order to see if arts flourish to the same extent as arms, and if commerce and culture are lacking. Without daring to criticize the deterioration of Spain in the time of Felipe IV openly, Saavedra asks the young prince to consider if the evils proceed from a list that he offers of political follies that constitutes a clever and veiled denunciation as a projector (*arbitrista*).

Precisely because he gives so much importance to the teaching of history, almost 37.5% of the 1855 quotes brought to bear as authorities by Saavedra in the *Empresas políticas* originate in the works of Tacitus, his *Annales*, *Historiae*, *Agricola*, and *Germania*. The only other group of quotes that comes close are biblical (559, or 30.13%). These two groups combined represent almost two-thirds of all the sources indicated.

Saavedra, like other notable predecessors, employs the knowledge of ancient Rome *ad usum vitae*. And in this he also follows Justus Lipsius who, with his edition of the works of Tacitus in 1574, had already made this historian fashionable and provided a political reading of his work. The notion of the *utilitas* of history narrated by Tacitus, which permits the acquisition of prudence and lessons of good governance, is what interests Saavedra as well.

On the other hand, Saavedra follows the same method as Lipsius in his *Politica*: he links together a mosaic of sentences from Tacitus and other classical authors and ties them together with a commentary. They are then arranged in such a way as to seem to be a political theory. This is precisely what caused



Saavedra problems that forced him to modify much of the second edition of his *Empresas*, because his excessive use of pagan quotations and relative scarcity of biblical references must have been censured by important personages of the Court. As a consequence, for every biblical quote in the first edition, he included 7.5 in the second edition, with the result that the total number grew from 72 to 547. Of the books in the Bible, Saavedra was most interested in the historical ones. If to these figures we add the number of quotes from modern historians such as Father Mariana (*Historia general de España*), the *Anales de Aragón* of Zurita and the historical works of Antonio de Nebrija, we find that nearly 80% of all the quotes used in the imprese were based on historical texts, be they profane or pagan, ancient or modern.

Now then, the prince must bear in mind the experiences of his ancestors and of history, but he should not follow them slavishly, since events rarely recur in the same way, and therefore at times it is necessary to innovate, and not to follow in the same footsteps as one's ancestors. Experience is achieved by means of one's own actions. This is the basic meaning of *impresa* 29: just like the fishermen who allowed themselves to be carried away by greed, some princes, impelled by the successes of others, set out to repeat their deeds, even though it is very unlikely that the same circumstances will repeat themselves.

It is not surprising that, in addition to Lipsius, Seneca is the other major influence on the composition of the *impresa* of Saavedra. If Tacitus was a fount of political *prudentia*, Seneca entailed a practical guide of how to live in accordance with the virtue that corresponded to a political leader; he was a source of *sapientia*, the virtue of the stoic wise man who confronts adversity with constancy and who is willing to assume public responsibilities because he is worried about human beings whose sufferings awaken a feeling of mercy in him.

Beginning with *Impresa* 31 and continuing through 37 is where we find the greatest presence of the Neo-stoic influence on the *impresa* of Saavedra, and where he develops some of the virtues most prized by Lipsius and his followers (*constantia, patientia, firmitas*).

In *impresa* 31, when he deals with how the prince acquires authority and reputation (based on causes linked to his person and his state), Saavedra indicates that one of the principal ways by which a prince can obtain esteem and respect is through the practice of a supreme virtue: constancy of the soul. The prince must not show any sign of distress in the face of adversity, nor gloat excessively over his successes; the consequence will be an air of divinity that is becoming to his dignity as king, and it will give him a good reputation.

In the following *impresa* 32, Saavedra recommends to the prince that he not let himself be swayed by common opinion, and that he remains constant when confronted with rumors. The more important the prince is, the more subject he is to great malice that might perturb his spirit, therefore, he must arm himself against common opinion and adversity, and show himself to be valerous and constant.

*Impresa* 33 also deals with constancy, and is perhaps the one that best shows it in the *pictura*. The prince is a public mirror in which the world looks at itself. Saavedra turns to historical examples taken from Alfonso X and Tacitus and he synthesizes some verses from Claudianus in a sentence intended to motivate the prince. Translated, it says: «He who changes along with fortune admits that he does not deserve it». The topic allows him to show off his erudition, using examples of figures from ancient and contemporary history who were subjected to situations in which constancy in fortune or adversity made them admirable, such as Pisón, Otón, Alonso Nono, the Catholic king don Fernando, emperor Charles V, Cardinal don Fernando, the Duke of Bavaria, and the elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Maximilian, commander of the German Catholics in the War of Thirty Years. The discourse continues in this vein, replete with sentences supported by *exempla*, all relating to the constancy of the spirit.

Philosophical recommendations are followed by pragmatic ones, recommendations which point to efficiency in the acts of princes. This is a constant in Saavedra Fajardo that sets him apart from the philosopher and turns him instead into a practical advisor. If the prince is not able to maintain constancy and allows himself to be overcome by fear, he should in no way allow it to be perceived, he must hide it for the good of his kingdom, since his subjects would feel compelled to be fearful as well. The last part of the *impresa* transcends the recommendations to the prince and addresses itself to all courtiers and noblemen, urging them to practice constancy.

Similar to the preceding *impresa* is number 34, on perseverance in one's endeavors which yields good fruits. The gloss of the *impresa* insists that one must not be too confident in times of prosperity nor despair when adversity presents obstacles. To this Saavedra adds a consideration that is very typical of the Neostoics: the need to act, since we must not confuse this equanimity with the pusillanimous attitude of one who is indecisive. «He who watches the wind will not sow and he who looks at the clouds will not reap», is a sentence from the Ecclesiastes (11:4) that Saavedra develops. He comments that tears in adversities are an effeminate weakness and that great spirits attempt to satisfy themselves or console themselves with another generous action.

*Impresa 35* reveals another point in the itinerary of the prince towards virtue. The prince should not merely distance himself from misfortune, but he should also show himself to be challenged by difficulty, which enlivens the wit, and in difficult times, virtues shine brighter. On the other hand, power is never so threatened as in times of prosperity, since confidence leads to carelessness and to disaster. Thus arises the paradox that, although we consider adversity as a punishment, in reality it is a reward, since it induces us to correction.

Marine motifs, like those found in *impresa 36* and *37*, provide adequate material to express some of the abilities of the captain of the ship of state, just as they had served Lipsius, who uses many marine motifs. And indeed if being firm in the face of adversity is something that characterizes the stoic wise man in moral materials, in matters of the state wisdom manifests itself at times in the ability to adapt to the shifting winds, and allow oneself to be guided to port in the midst of a storm, rather than to obstinately face them head-on. All of political science is based on the recognition of brewing storms and the study of what is the best course to take in each instance, whether to face them or allow oneself to be carried along, since at times a storm delivers one into port faster than calm seas. Once again, the pragmatic vision of Saavedra the diplomat emerges. If the adversity is too great, the prudent thing to do is not to resist it (translation by S.L.P.):

Let strength be tempered with sagacity. Let art provide that which power cannot. Impeding danger gives no less glory than conquering it. Fleeing it is always a weakness. Awaiting it is usually due to a lack of understanding or confusion due to fear. Despairing is a flaw of the spirit. Those who are valiant face up to fortune. The job of the prince and his goal is not to rock his republic lightly over the waves, but to deliver it to the port of its conservation and greatness. Valorous wisdom is that which derives benefits from opposing accidents, that which most quickly attains its ends when faced with resistance. Kings, the lords of things and of time, bring them under advisement, they do not follow them. There are no ruins that cannot be rebuilt to even greater heights with their fragments, and with what industry tends to add. There is no state so destitute of fortune that cannot be conserved and augmented by valor, if prudence takes into account misfortunes, and knows how to make good use of them, and twists them around to be used for its own greatness.

The *impresa* ends with advice for ministers and others who work near the prince. It compares them to the sails of the ship. Adverse fortune, in any event, can be so great at times that Saavedra recommends the prince to choose the lesser of two evils (*impresa 37*):

The strength of the prince consists not only in resisting, but also in weighing dangers, because, just as it is the duty of prudence to prevent that which it could not flee, it is also the obligation of strength and constancy to tolerate it.

Therefore it is very important that the prince not allow himself to be carried away by fear, and that he remain constant.

Saavedra deals with fortitude, the main virtue in the creation of the disposition of the virtuous man, in *impresa* 3, since it needs to be applied to the education of the prince:

Such effects, contrary among themselves, originate from the birth and growth of this tree and from that flower, regardless of how morbid or hard the ground in which they grew. Such effects are seen in the education of princes who, if they are raised among ermines and delicacies, and are shielded from the sun and the wind, and do not experience any other aura than that of perfumes, turn out sickly and useless for governance, and on the contrary, those who undertake fatigue and labors wind up robust and able. Toils lengthen life, pleasures shorten it. A glass goblet formed by blowing it is broken by a breath of air; one of gold, forged with the hammer, stands up to the hammer. He who struts through the world idly can allow himself to be delicate; he who has to bear the brunt of it on his shoulders must be raised to be robust. The republic does not need a prince brought up among vessels of fragile glass, but among dust and arms. God punishes vassals by giving them an effeminate king.

But, faced with a stoic posture that encouraged the wise man to live a life of retirement, conversing with himself, removed from the passions of the court, a paradox is established: for those such as Lipsius or Saavedra whose desire is precisely to form a public man who will live in harmony with nature but in the midst of the tensions and difficulties of politics. In order to attain this, action is necessary. It is not possible to conceive of a mystical prince or one who is removed from the world, since he would be a danger to the republic. Therefore Saavedra implores the prince to labor in *impresa* 71, in which he praises patience and tenacity, and he does the same with more clarity in *impresa* 30, where he makes clear the imperious need to act in the disciples of Lipsius, an example which motivated so many to intervene in politics, such as Quevedo. In this *impresa* he deals with speculative and practical understanding, and he concludes that without the latter, complete wisdom is not possible. Examples of speculative understanding are men of religion. The retreat offered by monastic life is not appropriate for the prince, precisely because this type of life lacks action, although it offers a great deal of contemplation. In *impresa* 30 he analyzes the fact that the Catholic King Fernando made use of men of religion for his political business, but Saavedra does not agree that they should be utilized as advisors except for spiritual matters, because secrets cannot be entrusted to them (they owe obedience to their superiors more than to the prince) and if they die, their papers are passed on to the superior.

Likewise, it is important that doubt, a reasonable caution, not paralyze the prince to a point that he fails to take action. Saavedra defends this stance in

*impresa* 51 («Fide et diffide»): «This doubt must not delay him from acting, but merely serve as a warning». Action, not immobility, is above all else. Indeed, one can even obtain a useful lesson from errors committed in the course of action.

We have already indicated that further evidence of the influence of Lipsius on the work of Saavedra is manifested in the images of the *Empresas políticas*. It is not difficult to appreciate that some of the concepts expressed metaphorically by the Belgian author in his works have been configured as the body or *picturae* of the *impresa* of the Spaniard. This influence can be seen in the following *impresa*.

*Impresa* 19: «Vicissim traditur» («It is passed on successively»). A hand is seen in the pose of delivering a lit torch to another hand. The lit torch of the state (the scepter), that the prince receives from his predecessor, is one that he must maintain without seeking others by illegitimate means, and which he must not abandon before it is time; at the end of the race, that is his life, he must hand it over so that it is shining even more brilliantly, if that is possible, to his successor, than when he received it. It is possible that Saavedra took as his source of inspiration for this image chapters V and VI of Lipsius's *Politica*, in which he identifies the king as an «athlete» who runs a race and warns that many princes are loved at the beginning of their governance and later despised.

*Impresa* 24: «Immobilis ad immobile numen» («Fixed towards firm divinity»). Beneath a starry sky and next to the seashore is a compass whose needle points towards the North Star. God is like a magnet that attracts human hearts, and just like the needle of a sailor's compass moves continuously until it locates North (a fixed star), in the same way men live disquietly until they come to recognize the North Star that is God, in whom there is repose and safety. The prince, as the captain of the republic, must fix his eyes on the North Star of God, without averting them towards other heavenly bodies, if he is to guide the ship of state safely to port. In book 1 of Lipsius's *Politica*, he identifies virtue with the magnet, which ought to steer the prince's rudder of prudence. This image could have inspired the body of this *impresa*, although there are other emblems with a similar motif.

*Impresa* 27: «Specie religionis» («With the appearance of religion»). An artificial horse mounted on a platform with wheels passes through a breach in the walls of Troy. The prince must be alert and not let himself be deceived by the masks of piety (superstition) used in politics by his adversaries to destroy cities, provinces or states, such as was the case in the stratagem of the Trojan horse, with which the Greeks managed to penetrate the city's defenses and destroy it. Picinelli sup-

ports Saavedra's motto with two quotes that may have inspired this *impresa*: «Ambitio et avaritia saepe velantur religionis mantello» and «Fallit enim vitium specie virtutis et umbra».<sup>19</sup>

*Impresa 36*: «In contraria ducet» («He governs even in unfavorable conditions»). The image depicts a ship (symbol of the state) with crosswinds blowing across the bow (ambition, rocks hidden beneath the surface [enemies], storms of the populace, according to Saavedra). The prince, like the expert captain who knows how to use the wind to his best advantage, arranging the sails so that the winds carry him in the direction he wants, will steer the ship of state, utilizing the difficulties that oppose him with prudence and valor. The motif is quite popular in emblematics, from Alciato's emblem XLIII, «Spes proxima», which uses the metaphor of the ship buffeted by storms as the Republic, and the governor as captain.<sup>20</sup> Saavedra uses the concept frequently (at least in *impresa* 13, 21, 24, 101). The motif is ancient and employed both by classic authors (Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares* 12, 25) as well as by the Fathers of the Church (Gregorius Naciancenus, *Sententiae* 1; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Paedagogus* 1, 7) and modern writers who influenced Saavedra a great deal, such as Justus Lipsius.<sup>21</sup>

*Impresa 37*: «Minimum eligendum» («[Of dangers] choose the lesser»). A ship that has run aground in order to avoid shipwreck, but safe in the middle of a storm, indicates that the captain has prudently chosen the lesser of two evils. The prince, just like this captain, must weigh the dangers, and if he cannot overcome the greater ones, he must surrender to the lesser ones. The virtues exemplified by this action are fortitude and constancy to tolerate that which could not be prevented through prudence. The motto proceeds from the juridical canon, according to Picinelli: «De duobus malis minus est eligendum».<sup>22</sup> The concept, quite popular, is expressed in refrains such as: «Del mal, el menos» («Of evils, the lesser»), «Mal por mal, el más chico tomarás» («Of one evil or another, you should take the smallest»), «Más vale padecer que perecer» («It is better to suffer than to perish»), «Más vale quedar tuerto que muerto» («It is better to wind up one-eyed than dead»). Of the many emblematisers who use the ship as the body

<sup>19</sup> Picinellus 1687, lib. V, no. 355, cites Iustus Lipsius, *Adversus dialogistam liber de una religione*. Leiden 1590, and Juvenal, *Saturae*, 14, v. 109.

<sup>20</sup> Alciato 1531, B 6 b.

<sup>21</sup> Iustus Lipsius, *Epistolarum selectarum centuria singularis ad Italos & Hispanos, quæ in iis locis*. Antwerp 1601, ep. 28, as well as in several passages of Lipsius 1589 (note 13), especially in book III, chap. 5, in which he uses the image to illustrate the virtue of constancy in the ruler, who must adapt himself to the circumstances, and if indeed he is always heading for the same port, he does not always follow the same route.

<sup>22</sup> Picinellus 1687, lib. II, cap. 4, 89.

of their emblems,<sup>23</sup> the one whose argument follows Saavedra's the closest is Juan de Borja.<sup>24</sup> In his *Politica*, Lipsius uses the allegory of the ship as the state in a similar way.<sup>25</sup>

*Impresa* 49: «Lumine solis» («By the light of the sun»). Against a nocturnal and starry sky the moon, in the phase of its waning quarter, shines. The favorite (*valido*) – like the moon – and the other ministers – like the stars – do not shine with their own light, but rather with that borrowed from the prince – the sun – who must choose his aides well. It is not appropriate for the prince to entrust all of governance in them, but only that part that exceeds his limits. The concept is in Lipsius's *Politica*, which warns the minister not to attribute the reputation of his actions to himself, but rather act in such a way that «he comes to be like a moon whose sun is the prince, to whom he should direct all light and the splendor of his glory».<sup>26</sup>

*Impresa* 52: «Mas que en la tierra nocivo» («More dangerous than on the ground»). A scorpion is seen against a starry sky, and represents Scorpio, the constellation of the zodiac. Princes should take great care in the selection of persons to occupy the positions of magistrate, or other high positions, since if they are not rooted in virtue, they can go too far in the exercise of their authority and do much harm from their lofty positions, which, even fixed in the sky, does not lose its harmful condition, but rather extends its poisonous influence over all of creation. The scorpion, used to express different negative concepts, is used by several emblematisers, such as Corrozet, La Perrière, Holtzwardt, Camerarius, Taurellus, Bruck,<sup>27</sup> and, among other Spanish authors, Villava,<sup>28</sup> but these have little to do with Saavedra's application, which is totally original. Saavedra's application to some degree can be identified with Lipsius's representation of the king as sun and his ministers as satellites or stars.<sup>29</sup> This allows for the establishment of a metaphorical correspondence between the man of little virtue elevated to the position of minister and the constellation that tends to set in motion a series of harmful effects.

<sup>23</sup> Henkel / Schöne 1976, cols. 1453–1470.

<sup>24</sup> Juan de Borja, *Empresas morales*. Praga 1581, pp. 48f. (the ship docked, waiting for the winter to ease up) and pp. 188f. (it takes port valerosusly).

<sup>25</sup> Lipsius 1589 (note 13), lib. III, cap. 5ff.

<sup>26</sup> On this topic cf. Filippo Picinelli, *Los cuerpos celestes. Libro I (El mundo simbólico)*, Zamora 1997, I, VIII.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Henkel / Schöne 1976, cols. 903–907.

<sup>28</sup> Juan Francisco de Villava, *Empresas espirituales y morales*. Baeça 1613, I, 9, fol. 31<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> Lipsius 1589 (note 13), lib. III, cap. 2, p. 96.

*Impresa 53*: «Custodiunt non carpunt» («They keep watch without deriving benefits»). We see statues of the god Terminus at the entrance to a garden. These statues, depicted as a block of stone and a head (sometimes that of Hermes), do not have arms and are traditionally custodians of gardens. In the same way, ministers and magistrates have to keep vigil and watch over the public treasury, but they must be free of the vice of greed, which would cause them to appropriate for themselves what they should be protecting. Several emblematisers, from Aliciato on, use the figure of Terminus to establish a number of correspondences concerning its immutability.<sup>30</sup> None of these emblematisers present the sense developed by Saavedra; he is closer to that of Lipsius's *Politica*, which recriminates the greed of ministers (whom he calls «men with six hands, of the caste of Geriones»<sup>31</sup>). For Saavedra, avarice is one of the vices that ruins kingdoms.<sup>32</sup>

*Impresa 55*: «His praevide et provide» («With them prevent and provide»). An arm covered by armor holds a scepter with three open eyes. The prince needs advisors to help him with vigilance and provide him with information, so that their advice will help him to prevent possible misfortunes and provide in case of need. The eye is an ancient hieroglyphic of vigilance: in Pierio Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*, associated with the scepter, it tends to represent the moderator;<sup>33</sup> in Ripa's *Iconologia*, it is an allegory of *modestia*.<sup>34</sup> Among the emblematisers, Barthélemy Aneau uses a scepter with an eye in order to indicate the vigilance and justice of the prince.<sup>35</sup> A metaphor of Justus Lipsius fits the concept of this *impresa* perfectly, since it considers ministers to be the eyes and ears of the prince.<sup>36</sup> Of course, this is a widely used cliché, as Saavedra himself explains in the declaration.

*Impresa 56*: «Qui a secretis ab omnibus» («He whose job is [to guard] the secrets of all»). A hand writing on a piece of paper with one of the needles of a compass is depicted. The secretary must not limit himself to writing what he is ordered; he is like the compass of the prince, who measures, traces and adjusts his resolutions; his job is a delicate one that is essential to the prince. Ripa in his *Iconologia* associates the compass to equanimity, and that is the sense in which it is used in Fine Arts. In some cases the focus is on the shape of the circle traced

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Henkel / Schöne 1976, cols. 1777ff.

<sup>31</sup> Lipsius 1589 (note 13), IV, 11.

<sup>32</sup> See Saavedra 1642 (note 18), p. 167.

<sup>33</sup> Ioannes Pierius Valerianus, *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii*. Basle 1556, no. 33.

<sup>34</sup> Ripa 1603, s.v. «modestia».

<sup>35</sup> Barthélemy Aneau, *Picta Poesis*. Lyons 1552, p. 81; cf. Henkel / Schöne 1976, col. 1266.

<sup>36</sup> Lipsius 1589 (note 13), III, 2, p. 75.



by the compass, and in others on its needles, as in the well-known printer's device of C. Plantin. It has the motto: «Labore et constantia» and depicts a compass, one of whose needles is still («constantia») while the other turns, tracing a circle («labore»). Emblematisers used it with different meanings; among them, Corrozet and Rollenhagen and, among the Spaniards, Borja, Horozco, Núñez de Cepeda and Remón.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, Lipsius associates the ruler, level and compass with prudence with which the building of civil life must be constructed.<sup>38</sup>

*Impresa* 60: «O subir o bajar» («Either rising or falling»). An arrow is seen ascending. Just as the arrow, once it has reached its zenith, will begin to descend, kingdoms will start to decay and decline if their rulers are not concerned with their constant growth. It is because monarchies are subject to the same laws of nature, in which there is nothing permanent. The drawing is signed: «Blanc. Fec.». Other emblematisers use the arrow as a motif, but applied to different concepts. Picinelli, in the article that he dedicates to this *impresa* of Saavedra cites Lipsius as a source: «Magna imperia, limites suos habent, quo cum venitur, sistunt, retroeunt, ruunt».<sup>39</sup>

*Impresa* 88: «Volentes trahimur» («We are guided voluntarily»). A hand emerging from a cloud holds a magnet, which in turn holds by the point of its blade a knife. Just as the magnet attracts iron, thus conquering the natural law of gravity, the prince must allow himself to be guided by divine will. By doing so, he transforms what should be obligatory into something voluntary, even though he might not understand it. The motif of the magnet identified with God is used by Georgette de Montenay, and, in another sense, by Jacob Cats.<sup>40</sup> The concept developed by this *impresa* could have been inspired by Justus Lipsius who deals with the theme of divine providence in a very similar manner in his *De Constantia*, and who uses metaphors very close to those in this *pictura*.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Gilles Corrozet, *Hecatongraphie*. Paris 1543, fol. N<sup>b</sup>; Rollenhagen 1613, cent. II, no. 9; cf. Henkel / Schöne 1976, cols. 1419f.; Borja 1581 (note 24), *impresa* 12; Juan de Horozco y Covarrubias, *Emblemas morales*. Segovia 1589, II, 40; Francisco Núñez de Cepeda, *Idea de el Buen Pastor, copiada por los SS. Doctores. Representada en Empresas sacras [...]*. Leon 1682, *impresa* 12; Alonso Remón, *Discursos elogicos y apologeticos. Empresas y divisas sobre las triunfantes vida y muerte del glorioso Patriarca San Pedro de Nolasco [...]*. Madrid 1627, fol. 61<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Lipsius 1589 (note 13), lib. I, cap. 6f.

<sup>39</sup> Id., *Epistolarum selectarum centuria tertia ad Belgas*, ep. 31; cited from Picinellus 1687, lib. II, cap. 21, 14, 95.

<sup>40</sup> Georgia Montanea, *Monumenta emblematum Christianorum [...]*. Frankfurt/M. 1619, no. 5; Jacob Cats, *Emblemata moralia et aconomica*. Rotterdam 1627, no. 37; cf. Henkel / Schöne 1976, cols. 82ff.

<sup>41</sup> Lipsius 1584 (note 10), lib. I, cap. 13f.

In conclusion, we can affirm that we note a considerable influence of the erudite Belgian Justus Lipsius in the *Empresas políticas* of Saavedra Fajardo, both in the laconic style and in the method followed in the elaboration of the discourse. There is also an influence in the ideas and Neo-stoic posture, as well as in the metaphors of the Belgian, which Saavedra transforms into *picturae* at times. Nevertheless, Saavedra cites Lipsius only once, in *impresa* 43, and as a consequence critics have failed to appreciate the influence. Another reason that Lipsius's presence has remained hidden may be linked to the fact that although Lipsius was a writer much venerated by Spanish intellectuals, his work was expurgated and included in the Index of the General Inquisitor Sandoval, due to chapters 11 and 12 of *De Constantia* and chapters 4.2-4 of his *Politica*, which remained on the Index of prohibited books during all of the 17th century.

In spite of the fact that Lipsius had converted to Catholicism and maintained good relations with Spanish authorities during the latter part of his life, some were still convinced that there was malice and slyness behind the writing of his *De Constantia*, directed against the Spanish invaders of the Netherlands. These same critics perceived an identical dual intention in the abusive reliance on quotes from Tacitus in his *Politica*, where he surreptitiously establishes a correlation between the facts of a decadent Rome that had separated the political action of ethical princes (which led to disaster) from the Hispanic monarchy of the Habsburgs. A sharp mind could detect between the lines a parallelism between the legions of Quintilius Varus annihilated in Germania, which embittered the old age of Augustus, and the Spanish troops that, after the fleeting victory of Nördlingen (1634) and the conquest of the plaza de Aire suffered terrible deterioration and decadence following the death of the young Cardinal Fernando de Austria (1641). These same troops would themselves be annihilated in Rocroi (although this happened shortly after the publication of the second edition of the *Empresas políticas*). For some then, it was clear that by reading Lipsius, and also Tacitus, they were witnessing a prophecy of the end of Spanish military and political supremacy in Europe. As a consequence, the influence of Lipsius had to be veiled, although Saavedra does not manage to hide it completely. One who saw the influence quite clearly was one of the disciples of the erudite Belgian, Erycius Puteanus, who wrote some very favorable letters praising the *Empresas políticas* of Saavedra and his laconic style. The Spanish author, with great pride, inserted these letters in his second edition.