



ARTICLES

CHARLES V'S DEATH: CRAFTING WORDS AND IMAGES FOR THE SECOND CAESAR

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Many contemporary sources confirm that Charles V (1500-1558) was very fond of mental prayer and devotional images, especially during his retirement at Yuste. These works of art did not function as portrayals or replicas of something concrete, but rather like signs that sought to facilitate evocation through visualisation. By examining specific books, manuscripts and paintings, I will consider how visual and textual media interacted to activate the devout imagination of the Emperor so that he could experience the time, space and emotions of the sacred things depicted, and how he used them at the end of his life as a systematised *Ars Moriendi*. In addition, I will analyse comparatively the funerary rituals of the Emperor and his wife, and the procedures of relocation of the royal bodies ordered by Charles V and Philip II, until their final rest in Granada or in the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

When the greatest monarch in Christendom renounced of all his worldly titles, and retired to Spain and the monastic solitude of Yuste to make peace with his Creator, Charles V entered the world of legend [Fig. 1]. The Europe on which he turned his back after some forty years of personal rule was a very different Europe from the one into which he had been born in the opening year of the new half-millennium. The salvation of his soul and the reminiscences of his deceased relatives had been populating his mind at the end of his life¹. Contrary to common belief —even among specialists—, this attitude had nothing to do with gloomy necrophilia, but implied a certain consent to conformity, expecting Death's arrival without fright or suffering. The weakest moment in the 'art of dying' was agony, the most sublime and dangerous moment for the soul, since under these

¹ Antonio Marichalar, *Los descargos del Emperador* (Madrid, 1956), p. 15.

circumstances, the Devil had total freedom to tempt the dying person with lack of faith, despair, impatience, spiritual pride, and avarice. In order to fight bravely against these temptations, some basic redeeming instruments were considered, like prayer and meditative readings. One of these was *Le Chevalier délibéré* (1488), written by Olivier de la Marche, which the Emperor had translated from French into Spanish in his spare time and had given to Captain Hernando de Acuña to be poeticised (1553)². There were two manuscripts of this text in his retreat in Yuste, one in French —here tentatively identified and illustrated— and the other one in Acuña's versification, illustrated by Arnold Nicolai in pen and pencil (National Library of Spain, Madrid)³.

The plot of *The Resolute Knight* stems from blending the Pauline concept of the *miles Christi* in its later medieval incarnation with *The Pilgrimage of Human Life* by Guillaume de Digulleville, which Charles read in his youth. It represents several allegorical confrontations of the Christian knight —the 'Author' of the book— against the worldly vices and passions, as a psychomachia that concludes in the ultimate battle against Death. In the vein of an *Ars Moriendi*⁴, it shows a tournament presided over by 'Atropos' or Death [Fig. 2], where the ancestors of the Emperor (Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, Mary of Burgundy, Isabella the Catholic, Philip the Fair, Ferdinand the Catholic and Maximilian I), fight individually against the invincible knights 'Accident' and 'Weakness', while the 'Author' awaits his turn (scheduled by a small page or 'Term') next to the protecting 'Memory', in a clear reference to the evocative and exemplary character of these last moments⁵. Before his very eyes a whole dynasty perishes, paradoxically

² Guillaume van Male, *Lettres sur la vie interieure de l'Empereur Charles Quint* (Brussels, 1843), pp. 15-6.

³ Fernando Checa Cremades, 'El caballero y la muerte (Sobre el sentido de la muerte en el Renacimiento)', *Revista de la Universidad Complutense*, 4 (1982), pp. 242-57.

⁴ Javier Varela, *La muerte del rey. El ceremonial funerario de la monarquía española 1500-1885* (Madrid, 1990), pp. 35-9.

⁵ Giovanni Caravaggi, 'Un traduttore entusiasta: D. Hernando de Acuña', *Studi sull'epica ispanica del Rinascimento*, 23 (1974), pp. 7-50.

the one that had made the chivalrous ideal the goal of their activities. The two final scenes leave the 'Author' expiring in his deathbed, comforted by a hermit, the 'Understanding' [Fig. 3], and his last struggle against Death, who appears in skeleton form [Fig. 4].

The crucifix (which brought the Passion of Christ to the memory) and the candle (that reproduced the light of faith, received in the baptism, and the hope of the resurrection)⁶, would be the last weapons —the candle as a spear, the crucifix as a shield— that the Emperor grasped in life. On Wednesday, 21 September 1558, at 2:30 in the morning⁷, he asked for the wooden crucifix with which his wife had died, took it in his hand and later crossed his arms on it⁸. The other devotion that Charles V had before him during his closing moments was a small panel garnished in silver with the Virgin of Montserrat⁹, also worshipped by Empress Isabella on her deathbed¹⁰. Philip II inherited both images, together with the penitential scourge used by Charles on Lent Fridays¹¹. Almost exactly forty years later, also at daybreak, Philip requested the same candle and crucifix just before giving up his soul at El Escorial, as did his successors, Philip III, Philip IV and Charles II¹².

Unlike most of his descendants, Charles V was neither a learned man nor an art lover, but an art user interested in its devotional and propaganda capabilities. Whereas his son was guided by his personal taste and preferences in art, he saw art mainly as an instrument of affirmation of his

⁶ Rebeca Sanmartín Bastida, 'Desarmando el rostro de la muerte: El ritual alegórico del *Ars Moriendi*', *Iberoromania*, 60 (2004), pp. 42-57.

⁷ Louis-Prosper Gachard, *Retraite et mort de Charles-Quint au Monastère de Yuste. Lettres inédites publiées d'après les originaux conservés dans les Archives Royales de Simancas*, vol. ii (Brussels, 1855), p. 45.

⁸ Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, *Obras* (Madrid, 1616), fols. 409v-10.

⁹ Gachard, *Retraite et mort de Charles-Quint*, p. 50.

¹⁰ Domingo Sánchez Loro, *La inquietud postrimera de Carlos V*, vol. i (Cáceres, 1957), p. 345.

¹¹ José de Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, vol. ii (Salamanca, 2000), p. 166.

¹² Fernando Martínez Gil, *Muerte y sociedad en la España de los Austrias* (Cuenca, 2000), p. 381.

own sovereignty. Lacking a truly humanistic formation during his childhood, Charles was not fond of books and his tastes and literary interests were more personal and contemporary than moulded to a pedagogical, classical profile of the princely culture of the Renaissance¹³. The paintings and volumes he took to his retirement illustrate the preoccupations and intimate needs of his final years, divided between ascetic practices and intellectual pastimes. However, while the Emperor preferred to spend his last months devoted to religious activities to save his soul, he did not withdraw from his political and social occupations: until his death he never failed to offer advice to his son and daughter, Philip and Joanna¹⁴; or request information on major events; or receive ambassadors and noble visitors¹⁵. For instance, in 1558, shortly before passing away, Mary of Hungary came to Yuste perhaps due to her depression as a result of the death of her sister Leonor of Austria. She stayed in the lower summer quarters housed by her brother, as years later Philip II would lodge the Cardinal Infante Albert of Austria in his palace of El Escorial.

The Emperor lived in the Palace-Monastery of Yuste separated from the monks in keeping with the lifestyle and dignity of an old ruler. His private rooms were on the second floor. There, his Bedchamber was upholstered in black and adorned with Flemish tapestries [Fig. 5]; not far off, his study served as reception room, dining room and library¹⁶.

Some maps and city views, framed in wood and hung on the walls¹⁷, would

¹³ José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Regia Bibliotheca. El libro en la Corte española de Carlos V*, vol. i (Mérida, 2005), pp. 232-9.

¹⁴ Pierre Chaunu and Michéle Escamilla, 'En la cristiandad desgarrada: la trayectoria espiritual de Carlos V de Worms a Yuste', in *Carlos V. Europeísmo y universalidad [Charles V. Europeanism and Universality]*, co-ords Juan Luis Castellano Castellano and Francisco Sánchez-Montes González, vol. v (Madrid, 2001) pp. 166-7.

¹⁵ Vicente de Cadenas y Vicent, *Carlos de Habsburgo en Yuste 3-II-1557 - 21-IX-1558*, 3rd ed. (Madrid, 2000), pp. 99-100.

¹⁶ Juan José Martín González, 'El palacio de Carlos V en Yuste', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 23 (1950), pp. 40-1.

¹⁷ Martín González, 'El palacio de Carlos V', pp. 250-1.

bring to his memory long-gone military campaigns and travels across Europe and, at the same time, would embody a sort of *vanitas* that would remind him of his former dominions. In that chamber there was also a small workbench where he could devote himself to his hobbies: clockmaking and the operation of quadrants, astrolabes, compasses, astronomical rings and ephemerides books. This penchant for mechanics and geometry —one of the few aspects that, for the period eye, related the sanguine temperament of Charles V to a certain melancholic and saturnine deviation or *facies melancholica*¹⁸ — was savoured with the assistance of his ‘clock architect’¹⁹, the Italian mathematician and engineer Gianello Torriano [Fig. 6]²⁰. The sense of time obsessed the Emperor at the end of his life; a sense that, bound to the urge for wisdom and self-control, would adopt a new meaning for him, that of the unstoppable flow of days and the passing of life.

At Yuste, Charles V enjoyed perusing Caesar’s *Commentaries* in the Italian translation by Agostino Ortica della Porta (1528, Royal Library of the Monastery of El Escorial) [Fig. 7]²¹. The *sermo imperatorius* of the Caesarean style, its vigorous, soldierly prose²², perhaps evoked the glory of his past triumphs and certainly inspired his famous *Memoirs*²³; but those distant victories would also provide an incentive for reflection on the deceitful and illusory fame and a worthy preparation for death. The Emperor, indeed, not only took pleasure in reading panegyrics dedicated to

¹⁸ Miguel de Ferdinandy, *El Emperador Carlos V. Semblanza de un hombre* (Río Piedras, 1964), pp. 184-8.

¹⁹ Ángel del Campo y Francés, ‘Juanelo Turriano, relojero de Carlos V e ingeniero de Felipe II. El busto de Leoni y la medalla de Trezzo’, in *El Arte en las Cortes de Carlos V y Felipe II [Art in the Courts of Charles V and Philip II]* (Madrid, 1999), pp. 69-78.

²⁰ José Antonio García-Diego, Juanelo Turriano. *Charles V’s Clockmaker. The Man and his Legend* (Madrid, 1986), pp. 55-128.

²¹ Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Regia Bibliotheca*, vol. ii, pp. 220-1.

²² Lois Carlos Pérez Castro, ‘Naturaleza y composición del *sermo castrensis* latino’, *Emerita. Revista de lingüística y filología clásica*, vol. 73, 1 (2005), pp. 73-96.

²³ Lodovico Dolce, *Vita dell’invictissimo e gloriosissimo Imperador Carlo Qvinto* (Venice, 1561), p. 163.

him; in emulation of his grandfather Maximilian I, he even tried to secretly compose the rough draft of an autobiography —the aforesaid *Memoirs*— which were to establish the foundation of his official biography, to be later expanded by the court humanists²⁴. This account of Charles's life, written in French, was left incomplete for fear of him committing the mortal sin of vanity, something that he simply could not allow himself at death's door, despite his original intention to silence his conscience²⁵.

The Consolation of Philosophy by Boethius had to help the Emperor find himself in the closing years of his life. There was a French manuscript of this treatise in Yuste, illustrated on parchment (National Library of Spain, Madrid) [Fig. 8]²⁶. Jean de Meun translated the original Latin version at the beginning of the fourteenth century and offered it to Philip IV of France²⁷. On the first folio, the translator and miniaturist figured himself in a double scene: writing down the text before the King, and presenting him the finished work. In addition, the post-mortem inventory of Charles V records another two translations, in Spanish (1521) [Fig. 9] and Italian (1527), kept at the Royal Library of the Monastery of El Escorial²⁸.

Another similar manuscript was the *Book of Hours of Charles V* (National Library of Spain, Madrid), which he browsed every morning assisted by his confessor²⁹. The value of this moralising volume, composed in Paris, in Latin and French, in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, was twofold: dynastic —for its likely provenance (the estate of Philip the Fair or

²⁴ Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Regia Bibliotheca*, vol. i, pp. 306-7.

²⁵ Manuel Fernández Álvarez (ed.), *Corpus documental de Carlos V*, vol. v (Salamanca, 1979), p. 463.

²⁶ Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Regia Bibliotheca*, vol. ii, pp. 215-6.

²⁷ Jesús Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas. Notas para un inventario de los conservados en colecciones públicas y particulares de España*, vol. i (Madrid, 1933), p. 409.

²⁸ Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *Regia Bibliotheca*, vol. ii, pp. 214-5.

²⁹ Sigüenza, *Historia*, pp. 163-4.

Margaret of Austria)— and symbolic —because of the issues unfolded in its illustrations, a real encyclopaedia in images, which reveals that the Emperor made an iconic use of this work, skimming through its miniatures rather than reading it. They comprised the *Creed*; the *Chronicle of David's life*; the *Three Living and the Three Dead*, the *Dance of Death* and the *Final Judgment*³⁰, all of them extracted from the Office of the Dead and popularised since the mid-fourteenth century in the Burgundian court as a meditation on the Four Last Things and a warning against the dangers of vainglory³¹. Almost in the middle of the codex (pp. 176-7), a double-folio depicting *David slaying Goliath* opens the Penitential Psalms [Fig. 10].

Since his formative years in the Low Countries, young Charles had a personal predilection for the Psalter. He included the Book of Psalms in his *Horæ* and possessed several 'elucidations' (or commentaries) on the Psalter written by the Flemish theologian Frans Titelmans (1548) and his preacher, the Dominican friar Tomas of Portocarrero. The psalmist himself was formulated by the imperial apologists as a *typus* or biblical prefiguration of Charles V³², in a programmatic exaltation of the messianic power of the Emperor, chosen by God to guide his people just like David before him³³. This association pleased Charles, who gladly adopted the name of 'David' as a model and personal device³⁴. Also, King David's Psalms constituted a stoic approach to death³⁵.

³⁰ Ana Domínguez Rodríguez, *Libros de Horas del siglo XV en la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid, 1979), pp. 82-105.

³¹ Francesca Español Beltrán, *La imagen de lo macabro en el gótico hispano* (Madrid, 1992), p. 11.

³² Prudencio de Sandoval, *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V. Máximo, fortísimo, Rey Católico de España y de las Indias, Islas y Tierra firme del mar Océano*, vol. iii (Madrid, 1956), pp. 568-9.

³³ Anna Muntada Torrellas and Elisa Varela Rodríguez, *Libro de Horas de Carlos V (Biblioteca Nacional – Vitr. 24.3). Catálogo y comentarios* (Madrid, 1999), pp. 105-7.

³⁴ Fernando Checa Cremades, *Carlos V y la imagen del héroe en el Renacimiento* (Madrid, 1987), pp. 151-4; Fernando Checa Cremades, '(Plus) Ultra Omnis solisque vias. La imagen de Carlos V en el reinado de Felipe II', *Cuadernos de Arte e Iconografía*, vol. 1, 1 (1988), pp. 70-3.

³⁵ José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, *Así murió el Emperador. La última jornada de Carlos V (Yuste, 21 septiembre 1558)* (Salamanca, 1995), pp. 95-6.

During the Emperor's retirement, the dynastic memory of his ancestors, the dukes of Burgundy, was projected into the images of a magnificent vellum codex on the Order of the Golden Fleece, illuminated by Simon Bening and others and written in French (1531-47, Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid)³⁶. The manuscript contains the portraits of Philip the Good, the founder of the Order, and the rest of its heads and sovereigns: Charles the Bold, Maximilian I, Philip the Fair and Charles V (fols. 110v-1) [Fig. 11], and it had to be invested for the latter with deep family and political values³⁷. Although Charles had lost his condition of Grand Master when abdicating in his son's favour, he belonged to the Most Illustrious Order until his demise and liked to wear the associated badge. Moreover, masses in honour of the deceased knights were celebrated in the Monastery Church on the orders of the Emperor.

Everyone who had dealings with Charles V at Yuste noticed, and in some cases set down, his unyielding faith and the rigorous expressions of his piety. These devotional habits, most of them concordant with those of the Trastámara, his grandparents, came to define the religious virtues of the Spanish Hapsburgs hereafter³⁸. The *Pietas Austriaca* was distinguished, first and foremost, by its Eucharistic fervour³⁹, followed by providentialism; the devotion to the Trinity, the Holy Cross, the Virgin, the saints and their relics —specially to the *Lignum Crucis*, worn by the Emperor at his

³⁶ Javier Docampo, 'El Códice', in *Status de l'Ordre de la thoison d'or*, co-ords. Bonifacio Palacios Martín and Manuel Fuertes de Gilbert y Rojo, facs. ed. (Valencia, 1998), pp. 105-14.

³⁷ Carlos Clavería, 'En torno a la intimidación y el borgoñismo de Carlos V', *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, 113 (1958), pp. 93-117.

³⁸ Juan Luis González García, 'La sombra de Dios: *Imitatio Christi* y contrición en la piedad privada de Felipe II', in Fernando Checa Cremades *et al.*, *Felipe II. Un Príncipe del Renacimiento [Philip II. A Renaissance Prince]*, exhib. cat., Madrid, The Prado Museum (Madrid, 1998), pp. 185-201.

³⁹ Gachard, *Retraite et mort de Charles-Quint*, pp. 33-4.

deathbed—;⁴⁰ and a singular affection for the sacraments [Fig. 12]⁴¹.

Before going to sleep, Charles was in the habit of kneeling down before an image and saying a customised adaptation of the Creed⁴². This profession of faith, hand-written on parchment, appears at the beginning of the so-called 'Librico' [Little Book] of Charles V (National Museum of Decorative Arts, Madrid) [Fig. 13]. This tiny book pendant, bound in an exquisite Renaissance-style in gold, rubies and enamels, could be identified with the 'memory booklet' with gold covers that is mentioned in the Yuste inventory, where the Emperor surely wrote down his favourite prayers to keep them always at hand.

Memory was one of the five parts of Ciceronian oratory, along with Invention, Disposition, Elocution and Pronunciation. Erasmus of Rotterdam, in his *De ratione studii* (1529)⁴³, considered that memory was an extremely valuable and useful tool, not only for the preacher but also for any educated Christian⁴⁴. The *artes memoriæ* or 'memorative arts' of the Renaissance — like that written by Lodovico Dolce (1562), orator and biographer of Charles V⁴⁵ — were typically based on visual aids. The empathic image helped the devout to fix the thoughts of meditation in one's memory, since the most effective memory training was rooted in mental pictures, as maintained by the rhetorical tradition. Images such as these did not function as portrayals or replicas of something concrete, but rather like signs that sought to facilitate evocation through visualisation. Meditative techniques were, as a

⁴⁰ Tellechea Idígoras, *Así murió el Emperador*, p. 99.

⁴¹ Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, 'Carlos V, paradigma de la *Pietas Austriaca*', in *Carlos V. Las armas y las letras [Charles V. Arms and Letters]*, exhib. cat., Granada, Royal Hospital (Madrid, 2000), p. 243.

⁴² Sandoval, *Historia*, pp. 565-6.

⁴³ Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Obras escogidas* (Madrid, 1964), pp. 443-4.

⁴⁴ Cesare Vasoli, 'Arte della memoria e predicazione', *Medioevo e Rinascimento. Anuario del Dipartimento di Studi sul Medioevo e il Rinascimento dell'Università di Firenze*, vol. 3 (1989), pp. 301-21.

⁴⁵ Lodovico Dolce, *Dialogo nel quale si ragiona del modo di accrescere et conservar la memoria* (Venice, 1562).

rule, mnemonic acts.

The Emperor always had before his eyes a selected collection of religious images, some of them painted by Titian and Michiel Coxcie (The Prado Museum, Madrid), which eventually would be inherited by his son Philip II together with many pious customs. Numerous contemporary sources confirm that Charles V was very fond of these devotional images⁴⁶. He also practised mental prayer on a daily basis⁴⁷. This sort of worship did not consist in reciting to himself the words of previously composed vocal prayers, but combined personal reflections on a text from the Bible or from some other spiritual work with words of his own, spoken to God in a heart-to-heart conversation⁴⁸. Consequently, his private piety was silent, iconic and, needless to say, mnemonic⁴⁹.

There were only devotional paintings and family portraits at Yuste. Unlike Philip II, who was fascinated by the works Titian referred to as *poesie* and the narrative-allegorical works of a religious nature which made him famous, Charles V valued him foremost for his portraits and on a secondary level for his religious images. In the final years spent in his refuge, he would contemplate the works of Titian to attain the peace and consolation he needed. The Emperor chose these subjects not just because of his taste, but also for reasons of *decorum*, taking into account the vicinity of the Monastery and the Church. Those were the two pictorial genres he asked to contemplate just before undergoing his last illness: the portrait of his wife, *Empress Isabella of Portugal* (1548, The Prado Museum) [Fig. 14], who had passed away almost twenty years before, and two religious images, one of them being *The Glory* (1551-4, The Prado Museum) [Fig.

⁴⁶ Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus y España. Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI*, 5th reprint (Madrid, 1995), p. 386.

⁴⁷ Marqués de Valparaíso, *El perfecto desengaño*, ed. María Dolores Cabra Loredo (Madrid, 1983), p. 80.

⁴⁸ See, for example, Francis Borgia, *El Evangelio meditado. Meditaciones para todas las dominicas y ferias del año y para las principales festividades*, ed. Federico Cervós (Madrid, 1912).

⁴⁹ Alfonso de Valdés, *Diálogo de las cosas ocurridas en Roma* (Madrid, 1946), pp. 132-3.

15]. There was a similar combination of images in a bag made of twisted silk which contained three portraits of Isabella on parchment and two representations of the judgment of the soul. This bond speaks to us of a dear, intimate meditation, which coupled the death of his wife with his own.

At the obsequies of Ferdinand the Catholic (Brussels, 1516) and Maximilian I (Barcelona, 1519), Charles V resorted to rituals devised to visually express his legitimate sovereignty⁵⁰. He knew well the propaganda capabilities which stately mausoleums had, especially that designed by Maximilian and settled in the Hofkirche [Court Church] of Innsbruck. In the first testament drafted by Charles (22 May 1522), conducted along the lines of Philip the Fair's, the Emperor had expressed his desire to be buried in the Royal Chapel of Granada —together with his grandparents and his father— if he died within Spanish territory. Isabella of Portugal, in the testament dictated in May 1527 (Valladolid), before the impending birth of his firstborn, also ordered that her body be buried in the Royal Chapel of Granada. In subsequent wills (8 March 1529; 7 March 1535; 27 April 1539), the Empress would renounce to indicate her last destination, leaving it in the hands of her husband⁵¹.

Isabel of Portugal died in Toledo on 1 May 1539, nearly two weeks after giving birth to a dead child. Her health had never been robust. The Emperor was at that juncture in Madrid, accompanied by Prince Philip. When Charles arrived at Toledo, he wept inconsolably beside the corpse of his wife, lacking the courage to preside over her mourning, and withdrew to the nearby Hieronymite Monastery of Sisle, where he lived for more than a month⁵². Thus, the reason for his withdrawal among the Hieronymites at

⁵⁰ Olaf B. Rader, *Tumba y poder. El culto político a los muertos desde Alejandro Magno hasta Lenin* (Madrid, 2006), pp. 128-33.

⁵¹ María José Redondo Cantera, 'La Capilla Real de Granada como panteón dinástico durante los reinados de Carlos V y Felipe II: Problemas e indecisiones. Nuevos datos sobre el sepulcro de Felipe el Hermoso y Juana la Loca', in *Grabkunst und Sepulchralkultur in Spanien und Portugal [Funerary Art and Sepulchral Culture in Spain and Portugal]*, eds. Barbara Borngässer, Henrik Karge and Bruno Klein (Frankfurt, 2006), pp. 403-18.

⁵² María del Carmen Mazarío Coletto, *Isabel de Portugal. Emperatriz y Reina de España* (Madrid, 1951), pp. 177-94.

Yuste would not be explained just by the strong ties that existed between the order and generations of Spanish kings, who kept the tradition of lodging in their monasteries when they were travelling, but also because of this preliminary retreat.

In order to solemnly transfer the Empress from Toledo to Granada, the escorting ceremonial used to relocate the remains of the Catholic Kings (from St Francis Convent in the Alhambra, on November 10, 1520) and Philip the Fair (from Tordesillas, on 15 December 1525), was taken as a model. Her corpse entered the Andalusian town on 17 May 1539. There, as it used to be done, her face was unwrapped to be recognised by those close to her; one of these was Francis Borgia. He had been commissioned to convey her body to Granada. The decayed view of Isabella taught the nobleman the vanity of life and of its grandeurs and detached him progressively from the court [Fig. 16]. John of Avila preached the funeral sermon, and Francis, having made known to Charles his desire of reforming his life, returned to Toledo resolved to become a perfect Christian. A provisional, but sumptuously decorated monument was placed in memory of the Empress at the side of Isabella the Catholic's tomb. It was planned by the architect and painter Pedro Machuca, and can be considered the first Spanish funerary monument built in the classicist style, in contrast with the medieval canopies and baldachins⁵³. On 5 November 1539, Charles wrote a testamentary codicil stating that his burial should be next to his wife's, an idea that he would uphold until his last testament (6 June 1554), but that changed in a new codicil dated 9 September 1558 which assigned Yuste with this purpose, followed by a verbal command that referred everything to Prince Philip's wishes.

The latest regal bodies delivered in Granada were those of Maria Manuela,

⁵³ María José Redondo Cantera, 'Artistas y otros oficios suntuarios al servicio de la emperatriz Isabel de Portugal', in *Portugal: Encruzilhada de culturas, das artes e das sensibilidades [Portugal: Crossroad of Cultures, Arts and Sensibilities]* (Coimbra, 2004), p. 658.

Princess of Portugal —first wife of Philip II—, and the Infantes John and Ferdinand, sons of Charles V, brought on 30 March 1549 from Valladolid and Madrid⁵⁴, whose catafalque was also designed by Machuca⁵⁵.

When Isabella died, her likeness had only been reproduced on a few occasions and in works of lesser quality or size. Thus, the Emperor found that he did not have her portrait, so he had the idea of commissioning a portrait from the best artists if he could find a suitable model. In 1543 Charles sent Titian a small portrait of his spouse, 'molto simile al vero, benché di trivial pennello' [very similar to the true one, although done by a trivial brush], according to Pietro Aretino. In 1545 Titian finished a portrait of the Empress dressed in black with flowers in her lap and with the imperial crown behind her, destroyed in 1604 but known through copies and prints [Fig. 17]. This lost portrait acted as a model for the Prado version, and culminated the process of the 'recovery' of Isabella through her image. In this work Charles did not seek a faithful reproduction of her appearance (given that he already had one 'molto simile al vero'), but rather wished to visualise his own memorised one. In fact, he asked Titian to retouch Isabella's nose, not because it was badly painted, but rather because Titian had painted it as it really was. The portraits of the daughter of King Manuel of Portugal made during her lifetime show her with an aquiline nose, a feature also remarked on by contemporary commentators, and not with the improbably straight and classically perfect nose which Titian painted. The moving, personal nature of this portrait explains why it was one of the few paintings that Charles always had with him, even during his final moments⁵⁶.

⁵⁴ María Dolores Parras Arcas and Luis Moreno Garzón, 'Granada: Panteón Real de los Reyes Católicos y de la Casa de Austria', in *Jesucristo y el Emperador Cristiano [Jesus Christ and the Christian Emperor]*, ed. Francisco Javier Martínez Medina, exhib. cat., Granada, Cathedral (Córdoba, 2000), pp. 395-408.

⁵⁵ Miguel Ángel Zalama, 'En torno a las exequias de la princesa doña María de Portugal en Granada y la intervención de Pedro Machuca', *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, vol. 62 (1996), pp. 307-16.

⁵⁶ Miguel Falomir Faus, 'Imágenes de poder y evocaciones de la memoria. Usos y funciones del retrato en la corte de Felipe II', in *Checa Cremades et al., Felipe II*, pp. 203-4.

The unusual composition of *The Glory* commissioned from Titian in Augsburg, must correspond as well to precise instructions on the part of the Emperor [Fig. 19]. It is presided over by the Holy Trinity, with the Virgin and behind her St John the Baptist on the right; to the left of the Trinity, angels with palms accompany members of the imperial family, who are barefooted and wrapped in shrouds, posed in supplicant attitudes but practically unrecognisable in their physical appearance. Charles has the imperial crown next to him and is next to his deceased wife Isabella, while behind and slightly below are his son Philip and other family members. The painting's meaning is difficult to establish, since although it might initially be considered a visual representation of the Trinitarian orthodoxy of the Hapsburgs, and therefore endowed with dogmatic dynastic values, it had a devotional character for Charles V and depicted his hopes for eternal salvation (in the Emperor's codicil it is entitled a 'Last Judgement'), as a representation of the judgement of his own soul and that of his family, pleading for entry into heaven. The fact that Titian included his own portrait indicates the extent to which he too shared this hope for redemption. Most likely, the textual source for this work is a passage from the *Meditations* of the Pseudo-Augustine (1st ed. 1511) which narrates the celestial vision of the blessed⁵⁷, whose presence among Charles's books was reinforced by the gloss which Louis of Granada wrote on it on his treatise *Of prayer and meditation* (1st ed. 1554), one of the favourite reads of the Emperor and Philip II⁵⁸.

Some books inherited or acquired by Philip II from the library of his father had for him a dynastic meaning similar to this picture⁵⁹. Such was the case of the devotional manuscripts, which, in addition, were indicators of prestige

⁵⁷ Augustine of Hippo, *Confesiones. Meditaciones. Manual* (Barcelona, 1961), pp. 655-6.

⁵⁸ Luis de Granada, *Libro de la Oración y Meditación*, ed. Álvaro Hueriga (Madrid, 1994), pp. 208-9; 217.

⁵⁹ Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers. The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art*, exhib. cat., New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 3rd reprint. (New York, 2004), pp. 19-20.

and courtly magnificence. Apart from his *Book of Hours*, mentioned above, the richest illuminated manuscript in Yuste was *Breviary of Charles V*, made up of four volumes profusely illustrated with full-page miniatures, historiated capitals and borders (c. 1516-40, Royal Library of the Monastery of El Escorial)⁶⁰. This work gathered together, in an accessible format, different parts from books necessary for prayer such as the hymnbook, lectionary, passionary, homiliary and antiphonary. Like the Catholic Kings or Maximilian I, Charles was very interested in his literal, heraldic or allegorical self-representation for propaganda purposes. There are plenty of works of art aimed at public dissemination that contain his portrait, and his distinctive profile can also be found in manuscripts and paintings intended for private use. For example, some of the illustrations of the *Breviary* make direct reference to the Emperor. Besides being depicted praying in bust form, inscribed in some medallions with a bold numismatic sense, he emerges as *dramatis persona* in certain miniatures: entering Granada in an incarnation of his grandfather Ferdinand the Catholic (t. I, fol. 165v) [Fig. 19]; playing the part of Caspar in the *Adoration of the Magi* (t. I, fol. 183v) [Fig. 20]; or kneeling in prayer in a deliberate parallel with *The Agony in the Garden* (t. II, fols. 1v-2) [Fig. 21], as a perfect diptych whose heraldic borders show, respectively, Passion themes and other subjects from the life of David, accompanied by allegories of the cardinal virtues⁶¹. In this folio, Charles, clad in armour, kneels down as a paradigm of the *miles Christi*, holding the Cross in one hand and a shield with the Five Wounds in the other. This one was the third image that the Emperor asked to see before falling critically ill⁶². A case of sunstroke was, according to the doctors, the beginning of his end.

⁶⁰ Javier Docampo, 'El *Breviario de Carlos V*: Estudio del Códice y sus miniaturas', *Reales Sitios*, 145 (2000), pp. 31-5.

⁶¹ Juan Luis González García, 'Imágenes empáticas y diálogos pintados: arte y devoción en el reinado de Isabel la Católica', in *Isabel la Católica. La magnificencia de un reinado [Isabella the Catholic. The Magnificence of a Reign]*, exhib. cat., Valladolid, Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de Prado (Salamanca, 2004), pp. 99-114.

⁶² Sigüenza, *Historia*, pp. 171-2.

Immediately after his death, the body of the Emperor was washed, anointed and embalmed, and also dressed appropriately. The coffin and any necessary materials were made according to his provisions, with the aim of celebrating his nine-day obsequies. The Monastery Church was garnished with the mourning clothes that were employed when Charles honoured his parents and his spouse, and the tomb was adorned with imperial and royal coat-of-arms, the Golden Fleece and insignia of the Spanish military orders. On 23 September 1558 the formal delivery of the body took place, his face was recognised, and then he was deposited under the main altar, sealing the opening afterwards⁶³. For sixteen years Charles V's body remained alone at rest in Yuste. Philip II, unsatisfied with this situation, wrote: 'it is unfitting that the body of the Emperor, my father, may his name be praised [...] is indecently in Yuste where he died'⁶⁴. In 1573 he decided to regroup the bodies of the royal family in San Lorenzo de El Escorial, where the Hapsburg dynastic pantheon was to be erected. To transfer Leonor of Austria, buried in Mérida, and those who still were in Granada, an itinerary protocol was arranged so that all of them gathered in Yuste to pay homage to Charles V, and then, finally reunited, travelled together to their final destination. By order of the Prudent King, the body of Joanna of Castile — in the interim buried in the Convent of St Clare of Tordesillas in 1555 and then led to El Escorial— was deposited in Granada, where she met with her husband on 28 February 1574. Previously, on 28 December 1573, the remains of the Empress, Princess Maria and the Infantes Juan and Fernando had left the Royal Chapel, once unveiled and recognised their faces [Fig. 22]. For this transfer, Philip II appealed to the codicil clauses by which both Isabella and Maria had decided to be buried where their husbands lay. On 3 February 1574, the royal travellers were finally placed in El Escorial [Fig. 23].

⁶³ Cadenas y Vicent, *Carlos de Habsburgo*, pp. 166-7.

⁶⁴ Jesús Sáenz de Miera, "‘Ecce elongavi fugiens, et mansi in solitudine’. El retiro del emperador", in Fernando Checa Cremades *et al.*, *Carolus*, exhib. cat., Toledo, Museo de Santa Cruz (Madrid, 2000), p. 171.

Funeral rites were held in suffrage for Charles V's soul in every major city under imperial rule. Thanks to written chronicles and prints issued on these occasions, we know of three obsequies of great interest: Valladolid, Mexico and Brussels⁶⁵. The tomb erected in the Convent of St Benedict of Valladolid —then residential city of Philip II, who attended the funeral— was probably designed by the architect and decorator Jerónimo Corral Villalpando [Fig. 24]. It was ornamented with allegorical paintings taken from *El caballero determinado*, chosen by the humanist Juan Calvete de Estrella not unintentionally, since he had edited the translation of Hernando de Acuña. The latter, in his *Adición al caballero determinado* (1590), would add an account of Charles V's combat with death in which Atropos's difficulties in overcoming the invincible Emperor were much greater than those Olivier de la Marche described for his predecessors. The combat ended, however, with the victory of equalising Death, who threw her fatal dart at 'The Resolute Knight'. Once again, in the inner conflicts and final demise of the man born on St Matthias's day in the year 1500, could be foreshadowed the funeral strategies of the Spanish Hapsburgs.

⁶⁵ Antonio Bonet Correa, 'Túmulos del Emperador Carlos V', *Archivo Español de Arte*, vol. 33, 129 (1960), pp. 55-66.



Fig. 1

Anton van den Wyngaerde

Palace-monastery of Yuste, 1562-1570

Albertina Museum, Vienna



Fig. 2 - 3
Olivier de la Marche
Le chevalier délibéré, 1547
III. manuscript
Private Collection, Brussels



Fig. 4
Olivier de la Marche
Le chevalier délibéré, 1547
III. manuscript
Private Collection, Brussels



Fig. 5
*Bedchamber of Charles V
at the palace-monastery of Yuste
(modern reconstruction)*



Fig. 6
Pompeo Leoni (attributed to)
Portrait bust of Gianello Torriano, c. 1585
Museo de Santa Cruz, Toledo

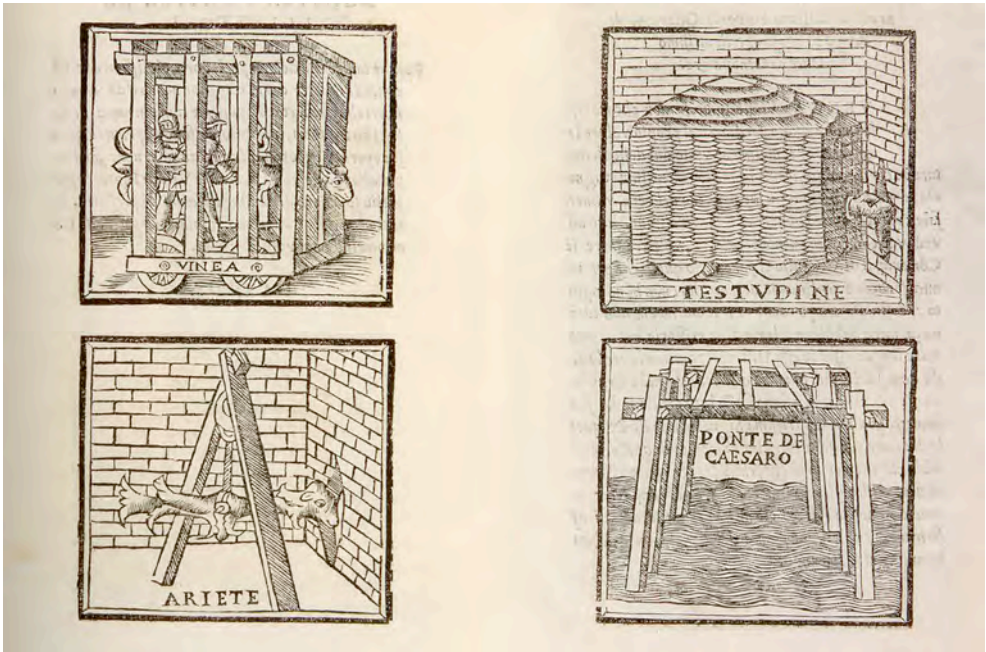


Fig. 7
Venetian School
War Machines, in J. Caesar, *Commentarii*, 1528
RBME, San Lorenzo de El Escorial



Fig. 8
Jean de Meun
Ci commence le liure de Boesce, early 14th-century
 BNE, Madrid



Fig. 9

Sevillian Master

Libro... de la consolacion de la philosophia, 1521

RBME, San Lorenzo de El Escorial



Fig. 10
Master of Petrarch's Triumphs
Book of Hours of Charles V, early 16th-century
BNE, Madrid



Fig. 11
Simon Bening
Portrait and Arms of Charles V, c. 1537
IVDJ, Madrid



Fig. 12
Charles Degroux
Charles V receiving the viaticum, 1860
Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels

Fig. 13
Anonymous Spanish Master
Librico' or Little Book of Charles V, mid-16th century
MNAD, Madrid



Fig. 14
Titian
Isabella of Portugal, 1548
Museo del Prado, Madrid



Fig. 15

Albrecht de Vriendt

Charles V staring at Titian's 'Glory', 1874

Verzameling Richard Celis, Antwerp



Fig. 16

Jean-Paul Laurens

Francis Borgia before the corpse of Isabella of Portugal, 1876

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brest



Fig. 17
Pieter de Jode (after Titian)
Isabella of Portugal, c. 1550
RAE, Madrid



Fig. 18
Titian
The Glory, 1550-1554
Museo del Prado, Madrid



Fig. 19 - 20
Bernardino de Canderroa et al.
Breviary of Charles V, c. 1516-1540
RBME, San Lorenzo de El Escorial



Fig. 21
Bernardino de Canderroa et al.
Breviary of Charles V, c. 1516-1540
 RBME, San Lorenzo de El Escorial

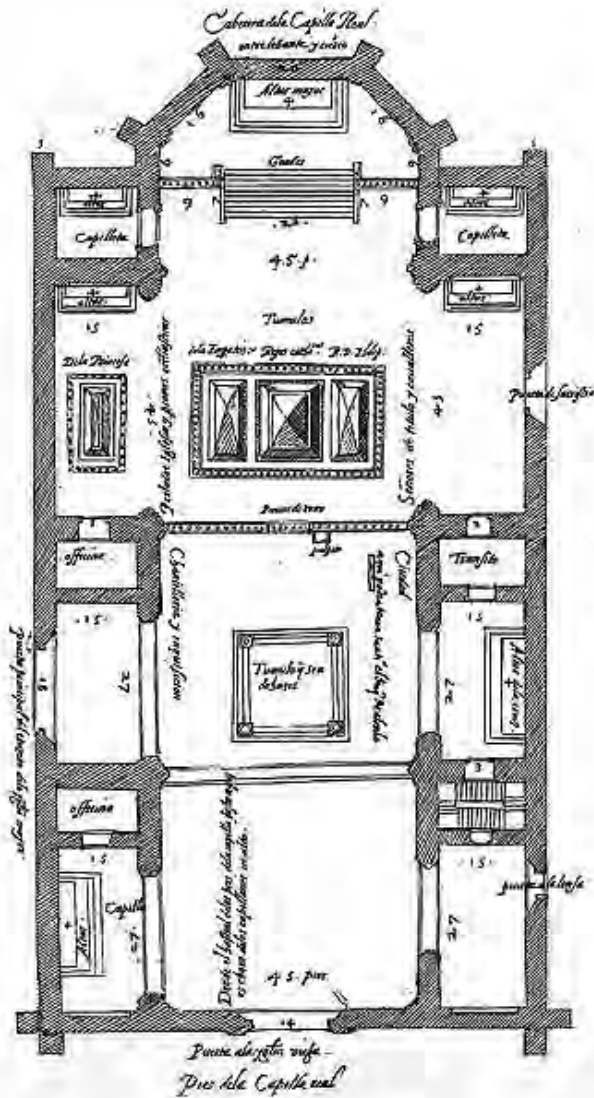


Fig. 22
Juan de Maeda
Royal Chapel, Granada, 1573
Archivo General de Simancas, PE



Fig. 23
Friar Juan de San Jerónimo
Libro de memorias, post. 1574
RBME, San Lorenzo de El Escorial

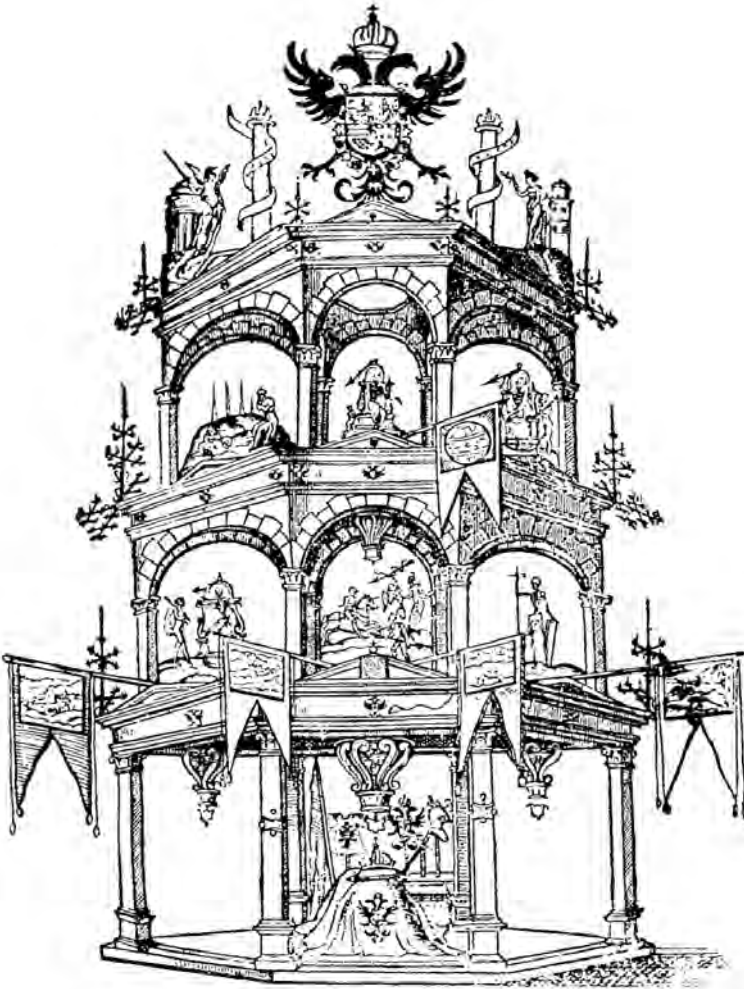


Fig. 24
Jerónimo Corral Villalpando
Funerary monument of Charles V at Valladolid, 1559

