

Iacobus Verulitius, Jacques Vervliet, and the Latin Verses on Mancelli's Engraving of the Plaza Mayor de Madrid (ca. 1623)

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Since Jesús R. Escobar (2005) announced his discovery in the British Library of what remains the only known surviving copy of Antonio Mancelli's (or Manzelli's) engraved and etched print of the Plaza Mayor of Madrid (ca. 1623), a puzzle has hovered over the identity of the author of a commemorative Latin distich included in the engraving.¹ The verses in question are of a type called a chronogram, a kind of textual game in which all letters corresponding to Roman numerals must be capitalized and their values, when totaled, must correspond to the date of an event which the text was composed to commemorate. In this case, the numerical total is 1619, the year in which the rebuilding of the Plaza Mayor, which commenced in 1617, was officially declared to have been completed, though Escobar has shown that the work actually continued into 1622 (2005, 36). The author of these verses is identified as Iacobus Verulitius, who until now has remained, in Escobar's words, a "mysterious figure" (2005, 36; cf. Escobar 2007, 66, and 2022, 33). The British Library catalogue follows Escobar in stating that "Nothing is known of Iacobus Verulitius," while José Miguel Muñoz de la Nava Chacón has hazarded two highly circumstantial conjectures about his identity (2018, 154-55). I have recently found unambiguous evidence, however, that "Iacobus Verulitius" is a Latinized form of the name of Jacques Vervliet, a Flemish printer employed in Madrid at the Imprenta Real under Tomás Junta (or Junti), a member of the famous Junta or Giunta family of printers, whose surname's spelling varied with the languages in which they operated as their multiple outposts came to dot the maps of their native Italy, as well as Spain and France (Santoro; Pettas; Morales Barrero; Escapa). Though my identification of Vervliet as the author of the chronogram clears up the issue of authorship, it raises other questions: why was a printer recruited to compose these verses, and does his participation in Mancelli's engraving suggest that the Imprenta Real itself might have been involved the printing of it? In addition to exploring these questions, I offer a suggestion that Vervliet may also have written the Latin lines contained in one of the print's other cartouches. Finally, my analysis of the chronogram, two Latin epigrams by Vervliet published in other books, and the additional couplet on the Mancelli engraving that he may have written, offers a glimpse of the learnedly creative activities of an expatriate tradesman in Baroque Madrid and the nature of his contribution to an important document in its history.

The Mancelli engraving, formally titled *Verdadero retrato del suntuoso edificio de la plaza de la muy noble villa de Madrid*, is a significant document in architectural history because it provides the earliest view of the rebuilt plaza, the focus of urban life in the Spanish capital. The rebuilding of the plaza had been undertaken by the *Ayuntamiento* of Madrid, which, upon completion of the project, commemorated its achievement by commissioning Mancelli's print, along with a plan of Madrid as a whole, though no surviving copies of the plan are known to be

¹ Mancelli is the Hispanized form of the artist's name used on the engraving, and so I use it; Escobar prefers the more properly Italian form Manzelli. Antonio Mantilla Tascón transcribes the name as Marcelli in his study of the contract between in which *Ayuntamiento* of Madrid commissioned the print (103-7); the spelling Manceli appears on the artist's engraved 1608 plan of Valencia (Doménech). José Miguel Muñoz de la Nava Chacón has partially summarized the issue (2018, 151-52). As will be seen, variant spellings of names are something of a motif throughout this article.

extant (Matilla Tascón). In addition to a grand aerial view of the plaza, the *Verdadero retrato* contains multiple inscriptions: the title along the top border; statements along the bottom extolling the speed and difficulty of the renovation and the diligence of its overseers; and four cartouches with texts of various sorts. The cartouche on the upper left contains Manzelli's dedication of the work to the city of Madrid and the *Ayuntamiento*; one on the upper right records the dimensions and other technical specifications of the plaza; and one each in the lower right and left bear Latin verses, including the chronogram in the one on the left. Escobar and José Miguel Muñoz de la Nava Chacón have established the significance of both the print and the Plaza Mayor itself as symbols of urban pride and the Habsburg monarchs' emulation of ancient Rome, a theme strongly hinted at in Mancelli's praise of the aldermen for imitating "a los mejores Enperadores de la Monarquia Romana que hiçieron mucho por Illustrar a su Roma" (Escobar 2005, 36; Muñoz de la Nava Chacón 2018, 153). The rebuilt Plaza Mayor symbolizes, through its ordering of space in an urban environment, a harmonious political order founded on good laws and justice (Escobar, 2018), a theme suggested also by Mancelli's reference, in his dedicatory inscription to the town fathers, to the equal contributions of "edificios" and "Leyes" to the glory of ancient Rome. Ordering the production of 300 copies, the town fathers showed their desire to disseminate the image of their city's glory and their contribution to it.

Both Escobar and Muñoz de la Nava Chacón have insightfully discussed the chronogram by Verulitius in the context of the Spanish monarchs' image as successors of the Roman emperors, but, in addition to the authorship questions, several of its formal and thematic aspects have remained unexplored. Given its brevity, the entire text may be quoted completely:

F. M. D.
CHRONOGRAPHICVM
MDCXIX
IVpIter In CVnCtas Cernens eX nVbIbVs Vrbes,
nVM VastI aspICIet pVLChrIVs orbIs opVs?
Iacobus Verulitius
Iço estos bersos

F. M. D.
Chronographic [poem]
Will Jupiter, examining all cities from the clouds,
behold a more beautiful work in the whole wide world?
Iacobus Verulitius
Made these verses

The meaning of "F. M. D." in the title is obscure, though Muñoz de la Nava Chacón has plausibly suggested that it could stand for a formulation such as "Felici memoriae dicavit," that is, "Dedicated to happy memory" (2018, 154).² In the verses themselves, the most conspicuous features are, of course, those relating to the chronogram's requirements for the treatment of Roman numerals, including their capitalization and the use of *I* and *V* where a modern reader might expect a *J* or a *U*; the equivalence of *i/j* and *u/v* in early modern orthography facilitates this aspect of chronogrammatic composition. Once these peculiarities have been noted and the

² I here correct the grammar of Muñoz de la Nava Chacón's formulation "Felice Memoriae Dicavit." The past participle *dicatum* might further be substituted for *dicavit* ("he dedicated").

mathematical puzzle they pose has been solved, however, the text has other interesting and evocative elements. One fundamental point to note is that the distich is an epigram in the elegiac meter, the preferred verse form of Martial, the first-century Roman epigrammatist who set the standards followed by early modern practitioners of that form. Escobar has described the lines as a “panegyric ode” (2014, 54), a characterization repeated in the British Library catalogue, but “ode” designates a much longer composition, usually one with multiple stanzas. Nevertheless, Escobar’s description evokes the tone of praise in the verses, which imply that the beauty of Madrid outdoes all other cities even in the eyes of the king of the gods himself. Other appealing aesthetic qualities include the use of alliteration, consonance, and assonance in the verbal pairs “cunctas cernens” and “orbis opus.” Verulitius not only has numerical skills but also a good poetic ear.

As for this poet’s identity, Muñoz de la Nava Chacón has attempted to solve the enigma of “Iacobus Verulitius” by proposing that Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, “influyente jurista y diplomático del reinado de Felipe IV, autor de una difundida obra inspirada en los *Emblemata politica* de Angermunt,” may have adopted that *nom de plume* for this occasion. Muñoz de la Nava Chacón rightly cites the equivalence of the Latin name Iacobus with the vernacular Diego and guesses that “Verulitius” is a compound of the Latin roots *veru-*, “true,” and *lit-*, “lawsuit,” a fitting pen name for a jurist (2018, 155). Secondarily, he suggests that Gil González Dávila, the author of *Teatro de las grandezas de la Villa de Madrid, Corte de los Reyes Católicos de España* (1623), a work that contains verbal echoes of texts that appear in the print of the Plaza Mayor (some of which will be discussed below), is another plausible candidate for the verses’ authorship (2018, 142, 149, 155). Another dedicatory distich in elegiac meter published in Madrid in 1623, however, rules out any Spaniard as the man behind the name Iacobus Verulitius. Among the preliminary writings in Bernabé Gallego de Vera’s *Controversiae Artium in Defensionem Doctrinae Angelici Doctoris D. Thomae*, following an epistle addressed “Ad lectorem” (“To the Reader”), appear a set of verses titled “Ad eundem” (“To the Same,” i.e., to the reader):

IACOBI VERVLITII

Antuerpiensis distichon

Quisquis amas rectam Logicae perdiscere normam,
Huc propera; veram nam tibi VERA dabit. (sig. 4r)

A Distich by Iacobus Verulitius of Antwerp

Whoever you are who love to thoroughly learn the right rule of Logic,
Hurry hither; for VERA will give you the true one.

The identification of “VERVLITIUS” as coming from Antwerp, however, provides an important clue for his identification. Two early modern printers sometimes used “Verulitius/Vervlitius” as the Latin form of their surname: Daniel Vervliet, who plied the printer’s trade in Antwerp from 1570 to 1610 after having worked in Spain for six years, and his son Jean (or Jan) Vervliet, who owned a print shop in Valenciennes, France, from 1601 to 1641 (Rouzet, 235-36; van Ortro, 311; Cuper; Álvarez). Regarding the slight difference between Verulitius and Vervlitius, one must keep in mind again that *u* and *v* were different forms of the same letter in the early modern era, with *u* typically being employed where the lower case is called for, especially in a medial position in a word, and *v* being used in capitals and initial lower-case positions. The *u* in

Verulitius could thus yield the pronunciation *Ver-vlitius*, like the capitalized spelling in the epigram on Gallego de Vera, rather than *Ver-u-litius*. This surname, combined with the first name Iacobus, links this poet to Jacques Vervliet (or Jaques, his preferred spelling), who worked in the *Imprenta Real* in Madrid in the second and third decades of the seventeenth century. The great bibliographer Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, incidentally, also made the connection between the names of the Flemish printer and the author of the commendatory verses on Gallego de Vera: in the index to his magnum opus *Bibliografía madrileña*, the entry on “Jaques Veruliet” refers the reader to volume 3, page 145, where the description of Gallego de Vera’s *Controversiae artium* gives the attribution of the epigram on Gallego de Vera is given as “Jacobi Verulitii” (3.562, 145).

Now that the question “Who was Iacobus Verulitius?” has been solved, the logical next question is “Who was Jacques Vervliet?” Clearly, he was Flemish, and his employment at the *Imprenta Real*, where he seems to have held an authoritative position for at least a while, is fairly well documented. One of the curious features of this print shop’s operations was that the name of its owner Julio Junta (1549-1619) did not appear in the books printed there; rather, he delegated the task of printing *per se* to members of the shop, such as his nephew Tomás Junta, Juan Flamenco (who was also known as Ioannes Flandrus and whose surname hints that he was of Flemish origin, as William A. Pettas has observed [73]), and Vervliet. These men would sometimes be identified as the printers of the volumes they oversaw through production, while other times, no name besides that of the firm appeared (Pettas, 68-73). Like his Junta/Giunta employers and his colleague Flamenco, Vervliet was one of the countless foreigners working in Spain’s printing industry during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, attracted by the “[a]vailability of work and a lack of labour restrictions . . . combined with the high wages that could be earned there” owing to the paucity of skilled workers (Griffin, 81, 76). According to multiple authorities, he served as the foreman of the shop from 1612 to 1614, though his name appears variously as Vervliet is called “Jacques Veroliet,” “Jaques Veruliet,” and “Jacobo Veruliet,” in these sources (Pettas 73; Pérez Pastor, 1:xxxv; Morales Barrero, 9). Further, there survive copies of two books printed in 1614 in which he is named as the printer: one a collection of moral discourses on the benefits of hard work and the harmfulness of sloth (de Guzmán, 439), and the other a collection of canons and decrees of the council of Trent (*Sacrosancti*, sig. KK8v). I have been unable to determine the relationship between Jacques Vervliet and the father and son with whom he shares a surname, but, given the familial nature of the early modern printing trade, some degree of kinship is very likely. His dates correspond more with Jean Vervliet’s than with Daniel’s, so he may have been brother or cousin to the one and son or nephew to the other. At any rate, these other Vervliets’ use of the name Verulitius explains the surname of the author of the chronogram, and, just as the forename Diego, suggested by Muñoz de la Nava Chacón corresponds to the Latin Iacobus, so, obviously, does the French equivalent, Jacques. It is thus evident that Iacobus Verulitius is Jacques Vervliet. The fact that a man from Antwerp produced the chronogram on the Mancelli engraving is, incidentally, unsurprising, since, as James Hilton, the leading student of the form, puts it, “the art of composing chronograms attained its greatest development in the Flemish provinces” along with German-speaking countries and Hungary (1885, vi), a point reiterated by F. N. White (63), another of the few scholars who have paid deep attention to the chronogram as a genre. Hilton also notes the elegiac meter and epigrammatic mode as characteristic of Flemish chronograms, in preference to other verse forms and even prose chosen by many other practitioners of this kind of alphabetical-numerical puzzle (1882, 89).

That epigrammatic style is important to note because it characterizes each of the other compositions by Vervliet that I have succeeded in locating. In addition to the epigram on Gallego de Vera, a third effort from his pen is to be found in a French-language edition of his fellow Fleming Jean Zuallart's popular account of his travels to the Holy Land, *Le tresdevot voyage de Jerusalem*, published in Antwerp in 1608 (sig. **v). This book was printed by Arnout s'Coninx, who, in an unusual arrangement, had some years earlier shared with Daniel Vervliet the work of printing the second edition of the works of Jan van der Noot, the internationally famous Brabantine humanist, from 1588 to 1595 (van der Noot, 64-170). For this occasion, Jacques composed an anagram on Zuallart's name, accompanied by verses elaborating on the anagrammatic phrase; like his other two epigrams, it is composed in elegiacs:

Anagramma Iacobi Vervliet Antuerpiensis. In nomen
eximij D. Ioannis Zuallardi, E. SS. S. Antuerp. 1607.
IOANNES ZVALLARDVS.
AN LAVS, ZOILE, DVRANS?

Nomina doctorum cum sint, monumenta[ue], nullo,
(Quamuis liuor edat) deperitura die:
Zuallardi dubitas erit AN LAVS, ZOILE, DVRANS?
Zuallardi, Solymae qui loca sacra refert.
Haec loca, quae roseo Christi maduere cruore,
In quibus est nobis reddita nostra salus.
Certe hic, aut nullus, viuet, bustoque superstes,
Effugiet victos (sic mihi crede) rogos.
Dumque cani lepus, aut aquilae nocitura columba est,
Zuallardi nomen, Zoile, dente teres.

Anagram by Jacques Vervliet of Antwerp. On the name of the distinguished Master Jean Zuallart, Knight of the Holy Sepulcher of our Savior. Antwerp, 1607.

JEAN ZUALLART
IS PRAISE LASTING, ZOILUS?

Since the names and monuments of the learned
(Though envy eat at them) will never perish:
Do you doubt, Zoilus, whether Zuallart's praise, is lasting?
Zuallart, who relates the holy places of Jerusalem.
These places, which dripped with the rosy blood of Christ,
In which our salvation was rendered to us.
Surely he, or no one, will live, and surviving the pyre,
Will escape (yes, believe me) the defeated fires.
And when the hare will harm the dog or the dove the eagle,
You, Zoilus, will rub out the name of Zuallart with your tooth.

Assuming that Daniel and Jacques Vervliet were related, a close working arrangement between the elder Vervliet and s'Coninx might explain why a poem by an unknown figure like Jacques

Vervliet came to be added to the commendatory verses that the French edition carried over from the first Italian edition of 1587, whereas other additions to the front matter carried more cultural authority, such as that of a friar and lecturer in theology named Petrus Carpin, which a recent discussion has suggested was useful in displaying bonds between Zuallart's Knights of the Holy Sepulcher and the Franciscan order (Armstrong, 178).

Like chronograms, anagrams were popular during the Baroque period, and the coupling of an epigram with the anagram was thought to be especially popular north of the Pyrenees: the English antiquary William Camden wrote that "the French compare *Anagrammes* by themselves to gemmes, but when they are cast into a distich or Epigram to gemmes enchased in enameled gold" (Camden, 147, 151). Though the Zuallart book was printed in Antwerp, the fact that it was a French-language translation of his narrative might have made the anagram-plus-epigram combination seem appealing to Vervliet on the assumption that Francophone readers would especially admire such a poetical flourish. In addition to the cleverness of the anagram itself, this piece exemplifies the "naturaleza renacentista y humanista" that Escobar rightly senses in "Verulitius's" chronogram on the Mancelli print (2007, 66). Vervliet skillfully manipulates multiple classical topoi and allusions, including the notion that the author's work stands as his living monument and the repudiation of envious, hostile critics as represented by Zoilus, the ancient grammarian infamous for his harsh comments about Homer (Howatson, "Zō'ilus"). The fourth couplet, moreover, combines echoes of two ancient Roman poets. The phrase "bustoque superstes" ("and surviving the pyre") is borrowed from a passage in the fourth-century poet Claudian's "Panegyricus de quarto consolatu Honorii Augusti," asserting the power of man's higher, rational soul to live on after death, in contrast with the lower, mortal forces of passions and appetite (234), while "effugiet . . . rogos" recalls the Augustan poet Ovid's claim in his funeral elegy for his poetic predecessor Tibullus (*Amores* 3.9.28) that only poems escape the crematory flames that consume human bodies ("Effugiunt avidos carmina sola rogos").³ These allusions are well chosen for the anagram's theme that the learned Zuallart's work will produce lasting praise. Vervliet clearly received a competent classical education, as demonstrated not only by these allusions but also by the metrical competence of the elegiac couplets in which each of his epigrams is composed. It is perhaps worth noting in this regard that his possible relative Daniel Vervliet's knowledge of Latin, as well as multiple vernacular tongues, was attested by the famed Antwerp printer Christophe Plantin in the certificate of proficiency he awarded him in 1570 (Rouzet, 235; van Ortrooy, 311). It is possible that the Vervliets formed a smaller-scale version of the families of "humanist printers" such as the much better-known and influential Manutius, Plantin-Moretus, Estienne, and Elsevier clans whose role in disseminating classical culture in early modern Europe Paul White has recently discussed—(181-84).

Given that Vervliet's specialty appears to have been Latin epigrams in elegiacs, it is tempting to wonder if he also composed the Latin distich in that meter that appears on the Mancelli print in a cartouche in the lower right. These verses, which are presented without authorial attribution, laud the aldermen for completing the renovation of the Plaza Mayor on behalf of future generations:

ÆTERNITATI SACRVM

Rectores urbis, maneat ne ea cura nepotes,

³ I quote Ovid from the 1619 edition of his *Opera* because, in editions from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the verb *effugiunt*, which is the reading of early modern texts of the poem, is replaced by *defugiunt*; the elegy on Tibullus is numbered *Amores* 3.8 in the 1619 edition, not 3.9 as in modern editions.

Ædibus hanc ornant, fontibus, hocque foro.

CONSECRATED TO ETERNITY

The rulers of the city, so that this task would not be left for their descendants,
Adorn it with buildings, fountains, and this forum.

The status of these lines as a miniature poem in their own right has gone unremarked in prior discussions, but their placement in symmetrical arrangement with the chronogram, along with their shared metrical form, suggests that the texts in these two cartouches are to be read as complementary to one another. Certainly, they share a classical frame of reference: the chronogram centers on Jupiter, while, as Escobar (2005, 36) and Muñoz de la Nava Chacón (2018, 153) have pointed out, the allusion to a “forum” in the second cartouche posits Madrid as a successor to Rome. The couplets also complement one another with their themes of temporality: the chronogram commemorates a particular moment, 1619, and emphasizes the present beauty of Madrid, while the other couplet emphasizes the present leaders’ consideration of the future and, in its title, gestures toward eternity.

The botched engraving of this other epigram also contains a potential clue about who authored it—or rather, who did not author it. As Muñoz de la Nava Chacón explains, the lettering of the text was too large for the last word of the first verse, *nepotes* (“descendants”), to be contained within the cartouche, so the engraver initially inscribed *ne* at the end of that line and placed *potes*, along with the entirety of the second verse, on a line beneath it (2018, 152). This original line has been partially erased but it still legible, while the fragment *potes* has been squeezed in above the first line and a new version of the second verse, beginning with *Ædibus*, has been written below the erasure. Muñoz de la Nava Chacón further explains the correction as the engraver’s attempt to space the text more generously, the initial attempt at the second verse having been too close to the first line, leaving too much space in the lower part of the cartouche (2018, 152). This analysis may be partly correct, but attention to the metrical form of these lines offers another explanation: to format them properly as an elegiac couplet, the first line must end with *nepotes* and the second begin with *Ædibus*. Escobar implies that it is Mancelli who “praises the regidores” here (2005, 36), and though the artist undoubtedly commissioned the composition of these verses and possibly dictated their central idea, the precise words and poetic form are likely attributable to someone else: the error in lineation suggests that the engraver did not compose them, since their author would have known from the start that *nepotes* had to stay on the top line. Mancelli could write Latin prose, it seems, since his 1608 plan of Valencia includes a Latin dedication signed by him (Doménech, 180), but he apparently failed to recognize a fundamental aspect of Latin versification. If Mancelli did not write the verses, however, it is slightly puzzling why they remain unattributed, while the effort was made to acknowledge “Verulitius’s” authorship of the others. Muñoz de la Nava Chacón suggests the awkwardness in this part of the engraving resulted from a hurried production schedule—only eight months elapsed from Mancelli’s commissioning to produce the prints to his receipt of payment (2018, 152). Perhaps that same rushed schedule could be the reason that no attribution is given for this couplet: Mancelli might have left it out in his haste to complete the project. If it was in fact Vervliet who authored both couplets, perhaps a phrase such as “eiusdem distichon” (“a distich by the same author”) was meant for the blank space. While the name that was possibly meant to go there may never be known, that of Vervliet seems a strong possibility given the shared formal

and thematic elements of this distich with the chronogram. It may be the case, then, that the phrase “Iço estos bersos” in the other cartouche applies to these verses, as well.

Identifying “Verulitius” as Vervliet raises the question of how and why he became involved with Mancelli’s depiction of the Plaza Mayor. One wonders why Mancelli did not seek out a person of greater political or literary stature for this task, given the social and political symbolism of the print. It could simply be a matter of two men in related professions knowing one another and the engraver inviting his poetically inclined printer friend to participate in the Plaza Mayor project: as Paul White has noted, “The Renaissance printing house often served as a meeting place and a space of intellectual exchange” (181). On the other hand, Vervliet’s contribution of verses also makes one wonder if he assisted the artist with the printing, and, if so, whether the *Imprenta Real* itself was involved in some way: production of an engraved print would be a highly collaborative effort, and the Junta shop certainly had the equipment required for producing both chalcographic prints and etchings (Pettas, 80-87; Paul White, 181; Morales Barrero 17-18; Muñoz de la Nava Chacón, 2005, 2006). Moreover, given that the print was commissioned by a governing entity such as the *Ayuntamiento* and that it commemorates a site so central to the ideology of the realm as a whole, the participation of the *Imprenta Real*, the “official (though unpaid) royal press” would be wholly appropriate (Pettas, 68). While there is no evidence on the print itself indicating where it was produced, Escobar infers from the speed in which the job was executed that it was done in Madrid (2005, 33). Since the other epigram that Vervliet published in 1623 appeared in a book printed at the *Imprenta Real*, it seems at least possible that his services as a poet were enlisted under similar circumstances for the Mancelli piece: that is, when verses were needed to plump up a publication, Vervliet was at hand and able to turn out an apt distich or two. (A similar scenario might also explain his contribution to Zuallart’s book, if he was employed at that time in s’Conincx’s shop.) The Junta firm’s willingness to employ its workers in this kind of literary capacity is shown not only in the verses Vervliet composed for Gallego de Vera’s volume but also in the contribution of a commendatory poem in Spanish by the shop’s proofreader Gonzalo de Ayala in a book published by the *Imprenta Real* in 1624 (Mesue, 21-23). Thus, despite Muñoz de la Nava Chacón’s reasonable supposition that “Verulitius” would likely be an important figure such as an influential jurist and diplomat such as Diego de Saavedra Fajardo or the author of a large and significant work book like Gil González Dávila, Mancelli chose a lesser-known figure of lower social status—though skilled tradesmen were certainly not among the lowest ranks of society and, among tradesmen, some printers enjoyed a “privileged position,” as Paul White puts it, above other practitioners of mechanical crafts (178). Mancelli’s reasons for such a choice, however, remain a mystery, but expediency is one likely motive, though it might not explain the prominence given to Vervliet’s name in the cartouche—the only name of a contributor to the work anywhere on the print. It may be that the Flemish expatriate had a local reputation based on other pieces that remain unknown, perhaps circulating in manuscript. Whatever the case, his contribution is emphatically noted in the statement that he “made these verses.”

The presence of this maker of verses in Junta’s shop might also further illuminate Escobar’s observation of the similarity between the chronogram on the Mancelli print and a snippet of poetry that appears in the preface to González Dávila’s *Teatro de las grandezas de la Villa de Madrid*: “Iupiter ex alto cum totum spectet in orbem, / Nil nisi Romanum, quod tueatur, habet” (“When Jupiter looks from on high upon the whole world, / He has nothing to see but what is Rome’s”) (3). Escobar has brilliantly argued that the reference to Jupiter evokes the contemporary association of the Habsburg rulers with the gods of Rome—and one might add that

Mancelli's description of the late Felipe III as an "Imortal Monarca" in his dedication of the print to the *Ayuntamiento* also hints at this practice. Escobar presents the lines in González Dávila's book as a "direct parallel" to those of Verulitius (2014, 67 n.28), but the similarity may be more than a matter of two authors drawing on the same ideologically charged imagery: Vervliet may have been writing not so much in "parallel" with the *Teatro de las Grandezas de la Villa de Madrid* as under its direct influence. González Dávila's book was, as it happens, printed in the Imprenta Real, with Tomás Junta as the printer named in the colophon. It is therefore quite likely that Vervliet may have seen González Dávila's book—and perhaps typeset or otherwise worked on it—during its printing and taken inspiration from it. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that the connection between the chronogram and the *Teatro de las Grandezas de la Villa de Madrid* is even richer than Escobar indicates. In the lines that Escobar cites, González Dávila is quoting Ovid's *Fasti* 1.85-86, though he does not merely repeat them: rather, he offers his own Christianized and Hispanized rewriting of them: "Cum Deus ex alto totum prospectet in orbem, / Vix nisi Iberiacum, quod tueatur, habet" ("When God looks from on high upon the whole world, / He hardly has anything to see but what is Spain's") (3). A striking feature of González Dávila's treatment of Ovid's verses is his attempt to outdo the Latin poet's celebration of Rome in his own praise of Spain. He dismissively states, "Borre Ouidio de sus Fastos los verses, co[n] que quiso sublimar la fortuna de a Monarquia Romana, diciendo della, por complacer à sus Principes, que quando Iupiter miraua desde los cielos la redondez de la tierra, en quanto ponía los ojos, todo se intitulaua de los Cesares de Roma." González Dávila then introduces his own rewriting of the verses as being composed "con mas verdad de la Monarquia de España" (3). Thus, if one attends both to the Ovidian original and González Dávila's updating of it, it is apparent that both he and Vervliet not only depict a deity gazing on the world but doing so with a particular interest in Spain. It is perhaps worth stating, too, that the lines from Ovid and González Dávila's rewritten version are both elegiac couplets, the same form used by the author of the distich in the lower-right cartouche and all of Vervliet's other known verses.

The identification of Verulitius as Vervliet thus enhances our understanding of the themes, structure, style, and context of Mancelli's engraving of the Plaza Mayor. It suggests that Mancelli sought assistance in composing text for the print not from well-known authors but from a professional associate whose other, similar compositions show that he had a talent for such work. That talent, it should be stressed, is displayed in the learned tongue of Latin, managed with suitable allusions, puns, and other manifestations of wit, including the manifest difficulties imposed by the chronogrammatic form. Moreover, it shows that this intensely patriotic print was produced perhaps entirely by non-Spaniards, a testimony to both the printing industry's reliance on foreign workers and the cosmopolitanism of the empire that the engraving celebrates. Vervliet will never be regarded as a major poet, but knowing that he is "Iacobus Verulitius" clears up the mystery of the authorship of the chronogram and offers some clues about the production of Mancelli's important *Verdadero retrato del suntuoso edificio de la plaza de la muy noble villa de Madrid*.

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