

MARÍA LUISA GABRIELA DE SABOYA AS THE WOMAN OF THE APOCALYPSE: CEREMONY, ORATORY, AND MILLENARIANISM IN NEW SPAIN, 1701-1714

MARÍA LUISA GABRIELA DE SABOYA COMO LA MUJER DEL APOCALIPSIS: LA CEREMONIA, LA ORATORIA Y EL MILENARISMO EN LA NUEVA ESPAÑA, 1701-1714

Frances L. Ramos¹

Recibido: 24/01/2023 · Aceptado: 18/04/2023

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5944/etfvii.11.2023.36676>

Abstract

Organizers of public commemorations held in early eighteenth-century New Spain during the War of the Spanish Succession characterized Philip V as a defender of the faith and queen consort Maria Luisa Gabriela de Saboya and crown prince Luis I as agents of providence. An examination of a corpus of sermons given between 1707 and 1710 reveals that orators assured *novohispanos* that the birth of Luis I of Spain would inaugurate a messianic age, marked by fecundity and prosperity. The queen, moreover, put the rebirth of the empire in motion before her death. As various orators suggested, her role in bringing about a sort of «Bourbon millennium» had been foretold in the *Book of Revelation*. In cities throughout New Spain, orators characterized the queen as the fecund vehicle of God's providence, or the Woman of the Apocalypse, a figure associated with the Immaculate Conception. As the mother of Spain's messiah, the queen assured the prosperous future of the empire.

Keywords

Saboya; Luis I; Bourbon; oratory; ceremony; propaganda; New Spain; millenarianism

Resumen

Los organizadores de las conmemoraciones públicas novohispanas durante la Guerra de Sucesión Española caracterizaron a Felipe V como defensor de la fe y a la reina consorte María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya y al príncipe heredero Luis I como agentes de la providencia. Un examen de un corpus de sermones dados entre 1707 y 1710 revela que los oradores aseguraron a los novohispanos que el nacimiento

1. Associate Professor, University of South Florida. C. e.: framos@usf.edu
ORCID: <<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8226-2578>>

de Luis I de España inauguraría una era mesiánica, marcada por la fecundidad y la prosperidad. La reina, además, puso en marcha el renacimiento del imperio antes de su muerte. Como sugirieron varios oradores, su papel en la realización de una especie de «milenio borbónico» había sido predicho en el Libro del Apocalipsis. En las ciudades novohispanas, los oradores caracterizaron a la reina como el vehículo fecundo de la providencia, o la Mujer del Apocalipsis, una figura asociada con la Inmaculada Concepción. Como madre del mesías de España, la reina aseguró el futuro próspero del imperio.

Palabras clave

Saboya; Luis I; Borbón; oratoria; ceremonia; propaganda; Nueva España; milenarismo

.....

ON OCTOBER 29, 1714, New Spain's viceregal court held funerary honors for the queen consort of Spain, María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya, in its cathedral. The ephemeral funerary «pyre,» or catafalque, covered almost the entire floor directly below the cupola. Decorated with one thousand candles, the ephemeral structure also held twenty-two statues representing virtues, each clutching a bouquet of flowers, as well as emblems featuring roses intended to represent the queen. At the very top of the pyramidal structure, onlookers could admire a lily growing upwards until just grazing the side of the dome².

As the Jesuit Lucas Fernández del Rincón explained in his description, flowers acted as a metaphor for youth and served as a fitting symbol for a queen who died at just 25 years of age and at the height of her beauty³. Yet, in 1714, orators, artisans, and bureaucrats in New Spain had just started to emerge from over ten years of war over the Spanish succession and an influence campaign intent on legitimizing Spain's new ruling dynasty⁴. The messages contained in the queen's funerary honors should therefore be understood as part of a broader campaign to legitimize Philip V and Spain's new ruling dynasty in the minds of *novohispanos*.

Taking cues from ecclesiastics in the metropole, designers of public commemorations held in the viceroyalty framed the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1714) as a holy war, and Philip V and crown prince Luis Felipe Fernando José as defenders of the faith. Ceremonies held in viceregal cities provided a cohesive interpretation of Philip V's providential role not only in Spain's future, but also in the future of the Catholic world. The priests chosen to give the commemorative sermons marking royal milestones commonly came from the highest echelons of New Spain's ecclesiastical hierarchy or, at the very least, from the ecclesiastical elite of their local communities. A sponsor desiring to ingratiate himself with the Crown would often pay for a sermon's printing, thereby potentially distinguishing all who contributed to the commemoration. Leaders of specific corporations like Mexico City's cabildo or cathedral then sent manuscript accounts of their group's ceremonies to Spain, while imprints of select sermons also traveled to Spain or circulated within the viceroyalty, continuing to be read and becoming part of the author (and sponsor's) permanent record of royal service. Keeping this in mind, my analysis builds from the assumption that regardless of their individual political ambitions, these actors no doubt shared the hope, to varying degrees, that Spain's Bourbon dynasty would play a providential role in the future of the Catholic world.

At key moments during the War of the Spanish Succession, orators in New Spain claimed both directly and indirectly that Philip V's victory over the Austrian Alliance would inaugurate a messianic age, marked by fecundity and prosperity. The

2. Fernández del Rincón Lucas: *Llanto de flora. Desatado en sepulchrales rosas sobre el magestuoso tumulo, que la Imperial Corte Mexicana erigio al obsequio, y voto a la memoria de su florida reyna Doña Maria Luisa Gabriela de Saboya*. Mexico City, Viuda de Miguel de Ribera, 1715, pp. 1-29

3. *Idem*, pp. 1-5.

4. For a general history of the War of the Spanish Succession, see Albareda Salvadó, Joaquim: *La Guerra de Sucesión de España (1700-1714)*. Barcelona, Crítica, 2010. For a study of the political and economic implications of the succession crisis in parts of the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, see Olivas, Aaron Alejandro: «Loyalty and Disloyalty to the Bourbon Dynasty in Spanish America and the Philippines During the War of the Spanish Succession (1700-1715)», (Ph.D.), University of California, Los Angeles, 2013.

queen, moreover, served as a vehicle of providence. As her funerary honors made clear, by giving birth to princes, the queen set the rebirth of the Catholic world in motion before her death. The degree to which this narrative dominated oratory in New Spain hints to widely shared beliefs. Clearly, priests chose themes intended to resonate with, influence, and inspire listeners and readers.

A recent heightening of interest in the role of queen consorts in early modern European courts has enriched our understanding of the varied ways these figures exercised both hard and soft power⁵. But, while Philip V relied on the queen's political talents while on campaign, for subjects throughout the Spanish Empire, she remained an ambiguous, if benevolent, abstraction⁶. While still in her teens, María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya, the daughter of Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, and sister of Maria Adelaide, the wife of the French delphine, married Philip V and helped to govern the empire while her husband fought in campaigns, accruing increasingly more responsibilities as the war persisted and she matured⁷. Eventually, the queen fulfilled her primary role and gave birth to four children, all male, with three that survived past infancy. In New Spain, she came to embody the promise of succession and a millenarian age, as many orators insisted that her role in securing Spain's future had been foretold in the Book of Revelation. As the Woman of the Apocalypse, a vehicle of providence associated with the Virgin Mary, the queen played a pivotal role in encouraging loyalty to Spain's Bourbon dynasty.

As David González Cruz first observed in 2002, imprints produced in both Spain and the viceroyalty of New Spain characterized the War of the Spanish Succession as a conflict between good and evil, and framed Philip V as the instrument of God's will⁸. Little work, however, has been done on the celebrations surrounding the birth of the first Bourbon crown prince. In a short article, Gloria Ángeles Franco Rubio argued that while the Spanish court did not usually commemorate the pregnancy of queens for fear of an unsuccessful birth, with María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya's first pregnancy, Bourbon administrators could not resist the opportunity to order commemorations of thanksgiving and supplication throughout the empire; this allowed pro-Bourbon

5. Watanabe-O'Kelly, Helen; Morton, Adam: *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c.1500-1800*. London, Routledge, 2007; Fleiner, Carey; Woodcare, Elena: *Virtuous or Villainess? The Image of the Royal Mother from the Early Medieval to the Early Modern Era*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016; Campbell Orr, Clarissa: *Queenship in Europe 1660-1815: The Role of the Consort*. Cambridge University Press, 2004. Also see the recent study of Mariana of Austria under Charles II's minority; Mitchell, Silvia Z.: *Queen, Mother, and Stateswoman: Mariana of Austria and the Government of Spain*. University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019.

6. For studies focusing on the queen consort's political influence, see Pérez Samper, María de los Ángeles, «María Luisa Gabriella di Savoia», en Mafrici, Mirella (ed.): *Alla Corte napoletana. Donne e potere dall'età aragonese al vicereame austriaco (1442-1734)*. Nápoles, Fridericiana Editrice Universitaria, 2012, pp. 213-242 and López Anguita, José Antonio: «María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya: poder y dinastía durante la Guerra de Sucesión española (1701-1714)», en Borgognon, Ezequiel (ed.): *Reinas, virreinas y aristócratas en las Monarquías Ibéricas. Estudios sobre mujer, cultura y diplomacia en la Edad Moderna*. Madrid, Dykinson, 2022, pp. 215-245.

7. González Cruz, David: «Actitudes e imagen de las reinas en tiempos de crisis: La transición de los Austrias a los Borbones», en González Cruz, David (ed.): *Virgenes, reinas y santas: modelos de mujer en el mundo hispano*. Huelva, Universidad de Huelva, 2007, pp. 75-104.

8. González Cruz, David, *Guerra de religión entre príncipes católicos: el discurso del cambio dinástico en España y América (1700-1714)*. Madrid, Ministerio de Defensa, 2002. González Cruz published widely on the role of propaganda, including González Cruz, David: *Propaganda e información en tiempos de guerra: España y América (1700-1714)*. Madrid, Sílex, 2009. He, in turn, built on other foundational work, including Pérez Picazo, María Teresa: *La publicística española en la Guerra de Sucesión*. Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1966.

clerics to imbue the development with providential meaning.⁹ In a recent study on the dukedom of Alburquerque's cultural contributions to New Spain, Francisco Montes González has outlined the extensive festivities held in Mexico City for the pregnancy of the queen, the birth of the prince, and the eventual oath ceremony for the crown prince two and a half years later¹⁰.

While building from this previous work, this study examines oratory given in New Spain during this period to understand the role of the queen consort in the Bourbon influence campaign. Concurring with González Cruz's general assessment that both pro-Bourbon and pro-Habsburg supporters imbued the war with providential meaning, this article examines how New Spain's orators placed María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya within a millenarian narrative that equated the war with the End of Days and the beginning of a golden age.

Over the past few decades, a handful of scholars have demonstrated increasing interest in the variegated ways supporters of Bourbon rule used imprints, oratory, and ephemeral art to bolster the political legitimacy of Spain's Bourbon dynasty. For New Spain, scholars have touched on the «hispanization» of Philip V at the onset of the crisis, as well as the increasing influence of a French aesthetic in the viceroyalty's pro-Bourbon ceremonies¹¹. Others have explored the ability of royal ceremonies to condense a multiplicity of meanings, tying loyalty to the monarch to loyalty to other regions and figures within Spain's composite monarchy¹². Yet, as Iván Escamilla González and I gestured toward in a recent article, for designers of large-scale public ceremonies held during the war in New Spain, the Bourbon dynasty promised imperial rebirth.¹³ Further research indicates that during this volatile period of dynastic change, New Spain's skilled orators keyed into a long

9. Franco Rubio, Gloria Ángeles: «Rituales y ceremonial en torno a la procreación real en un contexto de crisis: el primer embarazo de María Luisa de Saboya (1707)», en Nieto Soria, José Manuel; López-Cordón Cortezo, María Victoria (eds.), *Gobernar en tiempos de crisis: las quiebras dinásticas en el ámbito hispánico: 1250-1808*. Madrid, Sílex, 2008, pp. 235-266. Scholars have also emphasized the shaping of the queen's image during the conflict. See Pérez Samper, María de los Ángeles: «La figura de la reina en la nueva Monarquía Borbónica», en Pereira Iglesias, Juan Luis (ed.): *Felipe V de Borbón, 1746-1701*. Córdoba, Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Córdoba, 2002, pp. 273-317 and López Anguita, José Antonio: «Una nueva reina, una nueva dinastía: la imagen de María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya tras su instalación en la corte española», en Linares González, Héctor; Perruca Gracia, Marina (ed.): *Ceremonia, magnificencia y ostentación. La representación del poder de las élites en la Edad Moderna (siglos XVI-XVIII)*. Madrid, Sílex, 2022, pp. 209-233.

10. Montes González, Francisco: *Mecazgo virreinal y patrocinio artístico. El ducado de Alburquerque en la Nueva España*. Sevilla, Real Maestranza de Caballería de Sevilla, 2016, pp. 352-363.

11. Ramos, Frances L.: «Arte efímero, espectáculo, y la reafirmación de la autoridad real en Puebla durante el siglo XVIII: La celebración en honor del Hércules Borbónico». *Relaciones. Estudios de Historia y Sociedad* 25, 97 (2004), pp. 179-218; Escamilla González, Iván: «Razones de la lealtad, cláusulas de la fineza: poderes, conflictos y consensos en la oratoria sagrada novohispana ante la sucesión de Felipe V», en Mayer, Alicia; Torre Villar, Ernesto (eds.), *Religión, poder y autoridad en la Nueva España*. Mexico City, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2004, pp. 179-104; Urrejola Davanzo, Bernarda: «Felipe Quinto, de austríaco a Borbón, según sermones de la época (Nueva España, 1701-1747)». *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 25, 4 (2016), pp. 465-491; Sandoval Villegas, Martha: «'Traje Español' vs. Traje de Francés' La transición de la casa gobernante, un problema de identidad personificado en la imagen del funcionario. El caso de Nueva España (finales del siglo XVII, principio del siglo XVIII)», en Domínguez Cáceres, Roberto; Gayol, Víctor (ed.): *El imperio de lo visual. Imágenes, palabra y representación*. Zamora, Colegio de Michoacán, 2018, pp. 313-360.

12. Ramos, Frances L.: «War, Legitimacy, and Ceremony in 18th-Century Mexico City: The Annual Funerary Honors for Fallen Soldiers», en López, John F. (ed.): *A Companion to Viceregal Mexico City, 1519-1821*. Leiden, Brill, 2021, pp. 114-133.

13. Ramos, Frances L.; Escamilla González, Iván: «Sucesión y renovación del cuerpo de la monarquía: las representaciones de Felipe V y la familia real en Nueva España durante la Guerra de Sucesión». *Colonial Latin American Review* 31, 3 (2022), pp. 381-410.

tradition of monarchical messianism to foretell the dawn of a golden age, a prosperous future made possible by María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya.

MONARCHICAL PROPHECY IN THE IBERIAN WORLD

Before the succession crisis of 1700, Spain's Habsburg dynasty grappled with similar anxieties related to royal succession as other European monarchies. With the birth of Philip IV's and Isabel of Bourbon's only son Baltasar Carlos in 1629, the empire celebrated accordingly with spectacular celebrations, and when the crown prince died a mere 16 years later, municipalities throughout the empire participated in collective demonstrations of grief¹⁴. His next two male heirs, Felipe Próspero (1657-61), and Fernando Tomás (1658-59) did not survive early childhood, and not until the arrival of Carlos II in 1661 and his survival into adulthood did Habsburg succession seem more secure, albeit temporarily. Although daughters could legally assume the Spanish throne, by the reign of Philip IV the dynasty had come to imagine the empire like a *mayorazgo*, or entailed estate, passed down intact to the eldest son¹⁵. However, with Carlos II's inability to conceive an heir, in 1700 Spain confronted the most dramatic of all succession crises: the end of an entire ruling dynasty and the threat of full-scale war. Indeed, the crisis would devolve into what many consider the «first world war,» and the first large-scale military operation to engulf the Spanish kingdoms since the Reconquista (711-1492). Understandably, many learned observers came to believe that these momentous circumstances signaled a cataclysmic and, potentially, millenarian turn for the empire.

Although several strains of prophecy would shape the narrative of Bourbon millenarianism, the Book of Revelation played an outsized role in sermons given in New Spain. After the siege of Judea by Roman soldiers and the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem around 70 AD, John of Patmos claimed that Jesus, appearing with his face «shining like the sun,» announced a final conflict between good and evil. Seeing the Savior, he declared: «behold the lion of the tribe of Juda, the root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loosen the seven seals thereof». Among other visions, the prophet witnessed a slaughtered lamb standing next to God's throne before trumpets blared and the four horsemen of the Apocalypse appeared, presaging war, famine, and death. John then observed an angel marking the loyal members of the twelve tribes of Israel so that they would be spared from eternal damnation before, up in Heaven, two signs appeared: a pregnant woman laboring to give birth to the messiah, and a bright red dragon set to devour the child before it miraculously ascended to Heaven, after which an eagle whisked the pregnant woman (associated commonly with the Virgin Mary) away. After Jesus defeated Satan, the prophet described how the faithful who had died

14. Ball, Rachael: «Court Cities Celebrate Prince Baltasar Carlos: Loyalty, Status, and Identity in the Early Modern Spanish World», *Royal Studies Journal* 5, no. 2 (December 2018), pp. 129-146.

15. Geevers, Liesbeth: «The Miracles of Spain: Dynastic Attitudes to the Habsburg Succession and the Spanish Succession Crisis (1580-1700)». *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 46, no. 2 (2015), pp. 291-311.

then rose again and entered a New Jerusalem, a heavenly city, where they enjoyed peace, prosperity, and abundance for a thousand years¹⁶.

In justifying the rise of a Bourbon prince to the Spanish throne, orators in New Spain drew on prophetic scripture like the Book of Revelation, but also on a long and rich tradition of millenarian prophecy. By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a form of millenarianism foretelling the conquest of Jerusalem and a coming utopian age developed largely from the prophecies of the Calabrian abbot Joachim de Fiore (1145-1202) and the application, and expansion, of his prophecies by others. Fiore predicted that history would move through three stages (like the Trinity), culminating in a golden age (the Age of the Holy Spirit) preceding the Last Judgement, and popularized the study of the Old and New Testaments for clues for the unfolding of that final stage of history. Likely guided by the mystic's writings, as well as by the eleventh-century transcription of a fourth-century Sibylline prophecy regarding a Last World Emperor, followers of Fiore began attributing prophecies regarding the unification of the Church and the conquest of Jerusalem to the mystic; these «Joachimite» prophecies foretold the renewal of the Church by a «New David» (usually a Pope), who worked together with an Emperor of the Last Days (a monarch) to reform the Church and reconquer Jerusalem. Authors of Joachimite prophecies then applied them to Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (1194-1250) or to (Saint) Louis IX or Louis X of France¹⁷. Later, influenced by Fiore, court physician Arnau de Vilanova and other Franciscan Spirituals began regarding Spanish history as teleological, and destined to culminate in a «rebirth». The physician redirected Joachimite prophecy to claim that Pedro III of Aragon and Sicily (c. 1239-1286) would reconquer Jerusalem and establish a Universal Catholic Empire¹⁸.

Later, millenarianism, especially as applied to the Spanish monarch, influenced people on both sides of the Atlantic. As John Leddy Phelan, Alain Milhou, and Luis Weckman established long ago, Joachimite prophecies regarding a third stage of history and the creation of a Universal Catholic Empire headed by a ruler from Spain influenced fifteenth- and sixteenth-century exploration and the eventual evangelization of New Spain¹⁹. Franciscans, in particular, regarded the millennium as imminent following the discovery of the Americas, and Antonio Rubial Garcia has demonstrated how these ideas, while subdued, remained influential in seventeenth-century New Spain, particularly among the Franciscan order. As evidence for the eschatological preoccupations of clergy in New Spain, he cites several significant works of art commissioned by the order referencing Apocalyptic themes, as well as

16. For a good contextualization of the Book of Revelation, see Pagels, Elaine: *Revelations: Visions, Prophecy, and Politics in the Book of Revelation*. New York, Penguin Books, 2012.

17. For a classic but still excellent introduction to these themes, see Cohn, Norman: *The Pursuit of the Millennium; Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1970.

18. For a deep discussion of the development of millenarianism in the Spanish kingdoms, see Milhou, Alain: «La chauve-souris, le Nouveau David et le roi caché (trois images de l'empereur des derniers temps dans le monde Ibérique : XIII^e-XVII^e s.)». *Mélanges de La Casa de Velázquez* 18, 1 (1982), pp. 61-78.

19. Phelan, John Leddy: *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1970; Milhou, Alain: *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica en el ambiente franciscanista español*. Valladolid, Casa-Museo de Colón, 1983; Weckman, Luis: «Las esperanzas milenaristas de los Franciscanos en Nueva España». *Historia Mexicana* 32, 1 (1982), pp. 89-105.

some paintings depicting both Fiore and Saint Francis in the same frame. Furthermore, he notes how in sixteenth-century New Spain, the hermit Gregorio López wrote a detailed commentary on the Book of Revelation, and this would be printed for the first time in 1678, although it previously circulated in manuscript form²⁰.

In the Spanish kingdoms of Iberia, writers continued to push for their monarch to reconquer Jerusalem. In 1684, Rodrigo Gómez de Aguilera y Saavedra gathered prophecies together predicting that Charles II would somehow conquer Jerusalem and complete Spain's eschatological mission. In addition to referencing medieval prophecy, he cited the prophecies of the sixteenth-century Valencian mystic Nicolás Factor (1520-1583), who foresaw that a Pope known as the «New David» would purify the Church and then unite with the *Encubierto por la Gracia de Dios* (The Hidden One by the Grace of God) to gather an army, cross the Strait of Gibraltar into North Africa and eventually, cause the Grand Turk to flee²¹.

MILLENARIANISM AND THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

When a duke from the French Bourbon dynasty assumed the Spanish throne in 1700, New Spain's orators utilized monarchical messianism to explain the rise of a new ruling dynasty. Between 1707 and 1709, sermons referencing providence noticeably surrounded the pregnancy of María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya, the birth of the first Bourbon crown prince of the Spanish Empire, and the subsequent oaths of loyalty by communities throughout New Spain to Luis I. In this group of sermons, orators referred to the child as a new version of David, almost like a mnemonic device to evoke the Book of Revelation, monarchical millenarianism, and, of course, the prophesized figure of the «New David.» Despite making numerous comparisons between Philip V and other warrior-kings in scripture, orators in New Spain returned again and again to the son of Jesse (or Isai) who defeated Goliath, succeeded Saul, united Israel and Judea, and prefigured Christ. Among both orators and listeners in cities throughout New Spain, King David likely triggered a host of associations.

Prelates in both Spain and New Spain frequently equated Philip V with King David. In 1701, Miguel Nuñez de Godoy, cathedral canon in Guadalajara, gave the commemorative sermon for the cabildo, cathedral, and audiencia of Nueva Galicia's oath ceremony for Philip V and in this same year, cathedral canon Joseph Gómez de la Parra gave a funerary sermon for Carlos II in Puebla. Both men argued that the story of King David, chosen by God to rule Israel, foretold Philip V's rise to the

20. Rubial García, Antonio: «El Apocalipsis en Nueva España. Los cambios de una tradición milenaria», en Álvarez Sánchez, Adriana (ed.): *Conocimiento y cultura: estudios modernos en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras*. Mexico City, Ediciones y Gráficos Eón, 2018, pp. 9-58; Also see his «Civitas dei et novus orbis. La Jerusalén Celeste en la pintura de Nueva España». *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 20, 72 (1989), pp. 5-37.

21. Gómez de Aguilera y Saavedra, Rodrigo: *Jerusalem libertada, y restauración de toda la Palestina. Caída y desolación de la secta de Mahoma. Profezia del santo varon Nicolas Factor, anunciándola, y señalando la parte por donde han de entrar los exercitos christianos à conquistar la morisma. Lamentaciones, y vaticinios dolorosos con que el Sabio filosofo Achàm Turuley, Natural de Arabia Felize, llora la ultima ruina de su agarena gente*. Madrid, Lucas Antonio de Bedmar y Baldivia, 1684..

Spanish throne²². A sermon given in honor of deceased Franco-Spanish soldiers held in Mexico City's Jesuit church of the Casa Profesa in 1707 also equated the king and David, as did a sermon given in Antequera on May 3 of that same year; significantly, the sermon marked the saint day of the king, as well as the feast day of the patron saint of the Spanish Empire, Santiago²³.

While making comparisons between contemporary individuals and biblical figures proved a common strategy in commemorative sermons, orators clearly regarded the war as a millenarian contest, and indications to do so came from Spain. In a pastoral letter published in 1706, Bourbon loyalist and Bishop of Cartagena Luis de Belluga y Moncada described the Austrian Alliance as heretical savages and asked «Que sacrilegios no han executado en los Templos, Sagrarios de Jesu-Christo, haziendo los Santuarios, establos de brutos, los Pulpitos cathedras de demonios, explicando en ellas sus profanos ritos, sacrilegos errores para perdicion, y condenacion de sus sectarios . . . [?]

»²⁴. Later, after the decisive Bourbon victories at the Battles of Brihuega and Villaviciosa in 1710, various orators in New Spain made vague references to imprints from Spain that reported on the sacrilege and iconoclasm committed by Protestant soldiers while apathetic, self-interested Austrian leaders looked on. Preaching in the Convent of San Francisco in Querétaro, Juan de Guevara summarized the setbacks that befell loyal Spaniards in the months preceding the December 1710 victories. He described how Protestant soldiers dismembered images of the Virgin Mary and emptied the sacristies that held the holy wafers to hurl them to the ground or sell them one by one for 2 reales, the price of a sheep. Still, he reminded the audience that just as God assured David's victory against his enemies, he guaranteed Philip V's succession²⁵.

Inspired by news arriving from the Spanish kingdoms, orators in cities throughout the viceroyalty clearly regarded the war as apocalyptic and various sermons given on both sides of the Atlantic referred to Philip V as a «second» or «new» David²⁶. However, in 1707, with the pregnancy of María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya and the eventual birth of Luis Fernando, orators started characterizing the first Bourbon crown prince of Spain as the New David, the messianic figure promised by the Book of Revelation and millenarian prophecy. But for *novohispanos* to perceive Luis Fernando (as he was commonly referred to) as *the* New David, similar to the «lion

22. Núñez de Godoy, Miguel: *Prognostico Philippico hallado en la sagrada historia del real propheta David. Discurso panegyrico, que en el sermón de la missa de gracias, que por la aclamación de nuestro rey, y señor Don Philippo Quinto [Que Dios Guarde].* Mexico City, Francisco de Ribera Calderón, 1712.

23. Goycoachea, Juan de: *Philippo Quinto David Segundo, en la piedad primero rey de las Españas; honrando sus fuertes, celebrando exequias á sus militares diffuntos, reyna entre los leones; vence sus enemigos; restaura los términos de su imperio.* Mexico City, Juan Joseph Guillena Carrascoso, 1707.

24. Belluga y Moncado, Luis: *Carta pastoral, que el Illustrissimo señor Don Luis Velluga, Obispo de Cartagena, del Consejo de su Magestad, escriue a los fieles de su Opispado [sic] principalmente a la gente sencilla.* S.l., s.n., 1706.

25. Guevara, Juan de: *Sermón, que los solemnes cultos, que el muy religioso parrochial Convento de N.S.P. San Francisco de la ciudad de Santiago de Queretaro, Consagró á Maria SS. N. Señora en el misterio de su Concepción sin culpa, patente el augustísimo señor de cielo, y tierra sacramentado, En accion de gracias por los felices sucessos, que en la Batalla de Brihuega, y Villaviciosa consiguió victorioso de sus enemigos, nuestro amabilísimo, legitimo rey, y señor de las Españas. D. Phelippo V.* Mexico City, Viuda de Miguel de Ribera Calderón, 1711, pp. 2-14.

26. In addition to the sermons previously mentioned, see Aranaz, Jacinto de: *El Señor Phelipe es el rey de las Españas verdadero, dado por la mano de Dios torre incontratable, del segundo David perseguido, y victorioso, guarnecida en tres propugnáculos, justicia, religión, y política.* Pamplona, Francisco Antonio de Neyra, 1711.

of the tribe of Judah, the root of Jesse,» they likely required a plethora of comparisons and associations. As Víctor Mínguez has argued, the Spanish Habsburg dynasty associated itself with the age of Solomon, the golden age of Israel helmed by the heir of King David. The *Salón de Espejos*, the principal ceremonial space within Madrid's Real Alcázar, contained six buffet tables sustained by twelve bronze lions supported by globes, and these referenced the lions gracing the stairway to the throne of Solomon²⁷. References to the lions, therefore, could be interpreted as evoking continuity with the Habsburgs, and the continued role of Spanish monarchs as defenders of the faith.

Yet, in New Spain, where missionaries introduced millenarian prophecy and teachings early on, many observers would have been encouraged to see the current war as an apocalyptic contest. Prelates, moreover, centered María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya in this narrative as the key to the coming golden age. Indeed, orators dispersed throughout New Spain informed their audiences that not only did the prince arrive miraculously during a time of catastrophic war against heretics, but he also literally descended from the tree of Jesse, noting, significantly, that the House of Savoy claimed descent from the Virgin Mary.

THE QUEEN AS THE WOMAN OF THE APOCALYPSE

In New Spain, orators characterized María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya as a vehicle of providence, like the Marian figure on the verge of giving birth to a messiah in John's vision. Eventually, various orators in New Spain predicted that the queen would give birth to a messiah because she descended from the Virgin Mary, mother of Christ and wife of Joseph, her cousin, who also descended from the tree of David. But, even at the beginning of Philip V's reign, organizers of royal ceremonies emphasized reproduction and succession. After so many decades of infertility in Spain's ruling house, pro-Bourbon thinkers recognized the utility of having a crown prince born in Castile, as this would clearly indicate God's preference for Bourbon rule. So, from the very beginning, organizers of ceremonies in both Spain and New Spain used flowers to signify the figurative and literal rebirth of the Spanish Empire through the introduction of a more fertile dynasty. Flowers, and especially roses (representing Spain) and lilies (representing France) figured prominently in the decorations for the oath ceremonies in Madrid, Mexico City, and Guadalajara. Viewed within the proper context, flowers and plants evoked the promise of rebirth and hope in the future, as they were often associated with Paradise. The Book of Revelation, for example, described the New Jerusalem as a gated city that descended from the sky, but also described «a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of

27. Mínguez, Víctor: *La invención de Carlos II: Apoteosis simbólica de la Casa de Austria*. Madrid, Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2013, pp. 107-115, 130-133, 143-165.

the throne of God and of the Lamb», as well as a tree of life which bore twelve types of fruit each month and whose leaves served to heal nations of people²⁸.

The natural world could, therefore, communicate a multiplicity of messages, but in this context, they revolved around hope, fertility, and prosperity. Roses, of course, symbolized Castile, but also the Immaculate Conception²⁹. Significantly, in 1612, Philip III named the Immaculate Conception patroness of the Spanish Empire, and from henceforth, all Spanish monarchs lobbied the papacy for recognition of the immaculate conception of Mary's mother. Then, amidst the War of the Spanish Succession in 1708, the papacy finally declared the Immaculate Conception obligatory belief, albeit not dogma³⁰. For the oath ceremony in Guadalajara, the royal standard bearer (the stand-in for the king) wore a coat embroidered with roses, while his lackeys all donned verdant green dress; the *jura* platform bore both roses and lilies, signaling toward a fertile and abundant future. As a phallic symbol, lilies connoted male fertility, while an open rose evoked femininity. Yet, most flowers were associated with reproduction, as they bloomed before producing fruit, a common symbol for heirs. For Mexico City's oath ceremony, spectators could view a large metal statue resting atop the *jura* platform; it represented a large golden rose in full bloom emerging from the top of a silver lily. Below it, spectators could read these words: «Esta Hermosa Flor de Lys, Que en Flamante dosel brilla, También es flor de Castilla»³¹.

Between 1707 and 1709, orators in New Spain associated the queen with the Virgin Mary, and often through the symbol of the rose. No other responsibility loomed as large for a queen than the conception and healthy delivery of a male heir, but after forty-six years of infertility in Spain's ruling house, pro-Bourbon writers rejoiced and credited the queen with abundant references to nature. One imprint sent to New Spain following the birth celebrated the child's health and beauty, and then asked in verse «Pero que nacer podia de dos Arboles tan bellos, como Felipe, y Luisa, sino un Pimpollo del Cielo?»³².

Likewise, in New Spain, orators peppered sermons surrounding the royal birth with abundant references to nature and, of course, to the tree of Jesse. In a sermon of supplication for a healthy birth in the Church of San Francisco in San Luis Potosí, Antonio de Salazar predicted that the baby would be male, and informed his audience that through the queen, the prince would descend from the root of Jesse. Significantly, he argued that «el fructo, que nos ha de dar nacido Nuestra Reyna, ha de ser el Redemptor, y Liberador de las Espanas». While giving thanks for the

28. Book of Revelation 22:1-2.

29. For a discussion of the meanings of specific flowers and fruit in early modern art, see Impelluso, Lucia: *Nature and Its Symbols*. Los Angeles, Getty Publications, 2004.

30. Rubial García, Antonio: *El paraíso de los elegidos. Una lectura de la historia cultural de Nueva España*. Mexico City, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2011, pp. 232-238.

31. Mendieta Rebollo, Gabriel de: *Sumptuoso, festivo real aparato, en que explica su lealtad la siempre noble, ilustre imperial, y regia ciudad de Mexico, metrópoli de la América, y corte de su Nueva España. En la Aclamación del muy alto, muy poderoso, muy soberano Príncipe. D. Philipe Quinto su Catholico dueño rey de las Españas, emperador de las Yndias*. Mexico City, Imprenta de Juan Joseph Guillena Carrascoso, 1701, p. 18.

32. *Parabien de parabienes, que embia el alcalde de Cabanillas, Jorge Mocho, al Rey Nuestro Señor D. Phelipe Quinto, (Que Dios Guarde) del nacimiento del Principe de Asturias D. Luis Fernando Gines*. Madrid, Juan de la Puerta, n.d.

birth of the prince in Puebla's Franciscan convent, Jacinto de Bernárdez de Ribera argued that the birth of the prince had been prophesized by Ezequiel when he saw four cherubs with distinct faces: human, representing the prince, lion representing majesty, ox (which he claimed was actually a mule) representing Spain, and eagle, representing Mexico City. Ezequiel, moreover, prophesized that the line of David would be restored and so Bernárdez de Ribera declared that the prince was the «heir of David»³³. Similarly, in the preface to an imprint of a sermon that Puebla's Gómez de la Parra considered to be the crowning achievement of his career, the cathedral canon declared that María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya was «descendiente de la real prosapia de Judea, dando a luz un Príncipe que nace Leon Español victorioso y triunfante»³⁴. Furthermore, while preaching in Durango in 1709 in honor of the oath of loyalty to crown prince Luis I, cathedral chanter Antonio García de Valdéz declared that «cuando nace PRÍNCIPE DE ESPAÑA de una rama del Imperial árbol de María Santísima se ha de perpetuar su principado, que es descendiente de David, a quien en profecía para España se lo ofreció Dios perpetuar»³⁵.

Several ecclesiastics in New Spain predicted that like the Virgin Mary and the Woman of the Apocalypse, the queen would give birth to a savior. In the license for the publication of a sermon given in Durango in honor of the crown prince, the rector of the University of Mexico, Manuel Butrón y Moxica, made declarations that alluded to Sibylline and Joachimite prophecy. He stated that like Christ, Luis Fernando was born from the root of Jesse, and for this reason, he had the right to inaugurate a third stage of history that would correspond with a new or third testament. He cited the Apollonian oracle at Erythrae, which supposedly claimed that a prince with a handsome face would be born in Spain and that he would «reinar en todo el mundo». Butrón y Moxica cited the prophecy as reading that «El Leon quebrantará a toda el Asia, hasta enflaquecerla y hasta hazer pedazos de las cabezas de la bestia, y colocará sobre el Cetro de la bestia el Cordero»³⁶. He interpreted this as meaning that Luis Fernando would destroy the Ottoman Empire and that he would take the lamb from the collar of the Golden Fleece and place it on the Ottoman throne. Significantly, he added that while many oracles predicted that the Emperor of the Last Days would be a Catholic King from Spain, others applied it to the Most Christian Kings of France. He made known his belief that the Emperor of the Last Days would descend from *both* ruling dynasties. In the actual sermon, Juan

33. Bernárdez de Rivera, Jacinto: *Sermón que en acción de gracias ofreció a Dios, y a su purísima madre el Convento de Las Llagas de Nuestro Seraphico Padre S. Francisco de La ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles: por el nacimiento de N. Príncipe y Señor Don Luiz Phelipe*. Mexico City, Imprenta por la Viuda de Miguel de Ribera Calderón, 1708, fs. 4v-8, 10.

34. Gómez de la Parra, Joseph: *Famosos Triunfos y victoriosos tropheos, que el día 15 de Julio del año de 1708 el primero de el festivo triduo, que celebró el Illmo. V. Dean y cabildo, sede vacante, de la santa iglesia cathedral de la ciudad de La Puebla de Los Angeles en la Nueva-España en honor de La Immaculada Concepcion de Maria SS. N. S. su titular, para dar gracias a Dios N.S. por el feliz nacimiento de tu Alteza. El Sr. D. Luis I, Principe de Las Asturias*. Puebla de los Angeles, Oficina de D. Joseph Perez, 1709, not paginated.

35. García de Valdés, Antonio: *Sermón que en la gozosa jura que hizo a nro. serenísimo señor el Señor D. Luis Fernando Príncipe de Asturias: la Muy Noble, y Leal ciudad de Durango Reyno de la Nueva-Viscaya*. Mexico City, Francisco de Ribera Calderón, 1711, p. 11.

36. San Miguel, Juan de: *Sermón, Que en acción de gracias por el feliz nacimiento del príncipe de España Nuestro Serenísimo Señor Don Luis Fernando dijo el R. P. F. Juan de San Miguel del Orden de N.S.P.S. Francisco [...] en el segundo día de el novenario con que la Santa Iglesia Cathedral celebró dicho nacimiento*. Mexico City, Imprenta Plantiniana de los Herederos de Juan Joseph Guillena Carrascoso, 1709.

de San Miguel, the Franciscan guardian of the Convent of San Antonio, claimed that the queen gave birth to a prince who would rule over the entire world, including England, Portugal, and the Holy Roman Empire, and that the faith will take root everywhere where it was lost, including Africa and Asia, and especially Palestine³⁷. Perhaps this is why Butrón y Moxica declared that the «rama de raiz de Jesse, y Cassa de David, ha dado DIOS por señal a todo el Mundo, para que le tributen adoraciones las Naciones,» adding that «Avia prometido antes el Propheta, naciera al Mundo el PRÍNCIPE desseado, y que como hermosa Flor, brotaría fragante de la fecunda raíz de Jesse».

Orators repeatedly emphasized the prince's lineage as evidence for his providential role in the succession crisis. Preaching in the cathedral of Mexico City in 1708, the Franciscan Blas del Pulgar declared that most people knew that the House of Savoy descended from the Tree of Jesse. The crown prince's mother, therefore, assured Bourbon rule, and as arguably forecast in the Book of Revelation, a warrior (or Lion) from the line of David would guarantee the people of the Spanish Empire a peaceful future. Citing Mark II, Verse 10 Pulgar announced that the kingdom of David was upon them. The prince's birth on August 25, the feast day of Saint Louis of France who famously sought to reconquer Jerusalem, also indicated that the birth would lead to «*La restauracion de la tierra Santa y ultima ruina del Othomano Imperio, y secta Mahometana*»³⁸. Indeed, the orator did not believe in coincidence, and asked his audiencia to contemplate the following in regard to recent events. He asked:

«Por esso no a caso ha conservado en el mundo reliquia de la estirpe de David, y raiz de Jesse; no a caso de esa raiz vino a ser Reyna de España en esta coyuntura esta Señora; no a caso en su grata union con las lysas de Francia, quizas para alguna concordia entre estas dos Coronas, cuya oposición fue siempre embarazo al bien de la Christianidad, no a caso nació en Agosto este Principe; no a caso con el nombre de flor, que es Luys, tan nuevo en Español [sic]; ni a caso le dió esse nombre San Luys Rey de Francia, que con todo zelo solicitó la restauración de la tierra Santa. Que todo hace para mi Augustissimo este Nacimiento en novedades, en reformas, y en conquistas y triumphos, a favor de nuestra España, con ruina de todos sus enemigos»³⁹.

The queen's lineage and the prince's birthdate hinted toward his messianic future, as did his name, which tellingly resembled «lily» or «lis».

Orators throughout the viceroyalty worked in similar ways to extract providential meaning from the birth, engaging in prophetic exegesis while drawing on symbols of fertility pulled from the natural world. Preaching in San Luis Potosí in praise of the queen's fertility and in supplication for a healthy birth, the Franciscan Antonio de Salazar focused largely on extracting insight from the Book of Revelation, and

37. *Idem*, pp. 27-31.

38. Pulgar, Blas del, *Sermón que en acción de gracias ofreció a Dios, y a Su Santísima Madre, en su devotissima imagen de los Remedios, en su iglesia metropolitana, la Muy Noble, Leal, e Imperial Corte de Mexico. Por el Augustissimo parto de la reyna nuestra señora la serenissima Doña Maria Luysa Gabriela Emmanuel de Saboya, en que dio a luz, día de S. Luyz Rey de Francia a 25 de Agosto a Nuestro Principe Luys Phelipe*, Mexico City, Viuda de Miguel de Ribera Calderon, 1708, pp. 10-11.

39. *Idem*, p. 10.

compared the queen to the Woman of the Apocalypse. He relayed how John saw a vision of a beautiful woman, or better stated, a «queen» with twelve stars surrounding her head like a Crown. Heavily pregnant, she was «Deseosa de sacar a luz el fruto de sus entrañas, porque havia de gobernar todo un Mundo.» He cited Isaiah, who stated that «Nacerá de la Rayz de Jessé una Vara, y de esta Vara la hermosa flor de un tierno niño», clarifying that «Es la rayz de Jessé Maria Señora Nuestra, de cuya Real Estirpe tiene origen la Nobilísima Casa de Saboya»⁴⁰. Salazar equated the Woman of the Apocalypse who labored with a messiah to the Immaculate Conception, as both wore twelve stars around their heads like a crown. But, in the context of war and heresy, the queen also acted as a Marian figure, promising to give birth to a millenarian prince. Described in both Isaiah and the Book of Revelation as a New Jerusalem or as a walled city and garden, the millenarian age would be one of peace and abundance, and «entonces darán saltos de placer los Españoles», as the immediate future following the war would take the shape of the age following the return of Christ. At this time, peace and unity would reign. The Roman Empire/Austrian Alliance symbolized by a great beast would no longer make war against the «Lamb». Instead, «se estrechará con él» and «entonces los insolentes Philisteos, esto es, los Hereges enemigos de Dios, y de su Yglesia, que aora habitan los Mares, huyan fugitivos a su tierra, porque el nacido Infante los amanecerá con su feliz Nacimiento». He declared that «entonces finalmente el Leon de Nuestro Invicto Monarcha, la Obeja de su Amantissima Esposa, el tierno Ternerillo de su Principe, morarán en paz, union y quietud»⁴¹. A prosperous future, moreover, would be guaranteed because, as José de las Heras y Alcocer noted in a sermon in San Luis Potosí, María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya's pregnancy helped to reveal her as the beautiful queen seen by John who «alvergaba en su vientre un animado Infante, destinado para Principe»⁴².

In sermons given through the war, references to nature signified dynastic change, but also hope for the future. Perhaps significantly, Joachim de Fiore, whose last name literally means flower, decorated his manuscript with flowering trees of life rising upward toward the «future», the millenarian age⁴³. But, regardless, people commonly associated flowers with spring, fertility, and birth. In a sermon given in honor of the prince in Mexico City in 1709, cathedral canon and ex-rector of the University of Mexico, Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursúa described Luis I in customary terminology pulled from the natural world. The sermon itself is titled *Fructo de bendicion de la Rosa de Castilla, y la Flor de Lyz francesa*. Held in the church dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe inside the Convent of San Bernardo, he

40. Salazar, Antonio de: *Importancias de la fecundidad, y desseado parto de la reyna N. Sra. Doña Maria Lvisia de Saboya. Sermon, panegyrico, predicado [. . .] En el solemne octavario, que celebro en la Yglesia del Sr. S. Francisco de la ciudad de S. Luyz Potosi*. Mexico City, Herederos de la Viuda de Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1707.

41. *Idem*, p. 17

42. Heras y Alcocer, José de las: *Sermón que en el solemne novenario, que hizo el convento grande de Mexico de el Real Orden de Nuestra Señora de La Merced Redempcion de Captivos, En Acción de Gracias por la felice noticia de estar en cinta nuestra serenísima señora Dôña Maria Luyza Gabriela Emmanuel de Saboya, Reyna de Espana*. Mexico City: Herederos de la Viuda de Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1707, p. 9.

43. Reeves, Marjorie: «The 'Arbores' of Joachim of Fiore». *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 24 (1956), pp. 124-136.

equated the Virgin of Guadalupe, who resembled the Woman of the Apocalypse described in the Book of Revelation, to the New Jerusalem. While clearly centering Mexico City as the capital of the millenarian age, he associated the prince with reproduction, fertility, and abundance by tellingly crediting the health of the prince to San Bernardo, Mexico City's patron saint of agriculture⁴⁴.

CONCLUSION: 1714 AND THE DEATH OF THE QUEEN

By the end of her short life at 25, the queen had assured the continuation of Spain's Bourbon dynasty. After years of hearing (or reading) stories of apocalyptic conflict in the Spanish kingdoms and predictions regarding a coming millenarian age, royal subjects in New Spain could then fit María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya's funerary honors comfortably within a narrative of monarchical millenarianism and imperial rebirth. The catafalque in Mexico City's cathedral equated Maria Luisa Gabriela de Saboya to a rose and her husband and surviving sons to lilies. As the Jesuit Fernández del Rincón made clear in his description of the catafalque, the queen represented the rose who died at the height of her beauty and power, leaving behind three «pimpollos». Another emblem depicted a rose threatened by fire and embraced by a skeleton, representing death. However, as the orator made clear, fire served as a tool that horticulturalists used «para irritar, y propagar la fecundidad de su raíz». Given this, he felt that «Asegurada queda la de nuestra Reyna en sus tres hermosos renuevos, que a despecho de las presentes llamas, colmaron la sucesion Española de Regias plantas»⁴⁵.

As *novohispanos* just started to settle into life under the Bourbon dynasty, they lost the queen that orators repeatedly claimed had unleashed a millenarian age. Like a beautiful flower, the queen guaranteed male heirs in the form of fruit or even lilies. As the Woman of the Apocalypse, she acted like a Marian figure, a «rose» that gave birth to a messiah, a new David. If mourners in Mexico City harbored doubts regarding the destiny of the Spanish Empire, they could cast their eyes upwards toward that lily which, like the Tree of Life in the New Jerusalem, ascended boldly toward the future.

44. Castorena y Ursua, Juan Ignacio de, *Fructo de bendición de la rosa de Castilla, y la flor de lyz francesa, el rey, y la reyna, en nvestro amado príncipe, que Dios prospera, por intercessión del gran San Bernardo, santo Frances, patrón Español de los frutos de Mexico, metrópoli de estos reynos, coraçon de la América, y cabeça de la Nueva-España oración panegyrica, que el día de sv fiesta, en el convento de sus religiosas en su Iglesia dedicada à Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe la Mexicana, y al Santo Abbad*. Mexico, Guillena Carrascoso, 1709.

45. Fernández del Rincón, Lucas: *op. cit.*, p. 29.

REFERENCES

- Albareda Salvadó, Joaquim: *La Guerra de Sucesión de España (1700-1714)*. Barcelona, Crítica, 2010.
- Aranaz, Jacinto de: *El Señor Phelipe es el rey de las Españas verdadero, dado por la mano de Dios torre incontratable, del segundo David perseguido, y victorioso, guarnecida en tres propugnáculos, justicia, religión, y política*. Pamplona, Francisco Antonio de Neyra, 1711.
- Ball, Rachael: «Court Cities Celebrate Prince Baltasar Carlos: Loyalty, Status, and Identity in the Early Modern Spanish World», *Royal Studies Journal* 5, no. 2 (December 2018), pp. 129-146.
- Belluga y Moncado, Luis: *Carta pastoral, que el Illustrissimo señor Don Luis Velluga, Obispo de Cartagena, del Consejo de su Magestad, escriue a los fieles de su Opispado [sic] principalmente a la gente sencilla*. S.I., s.n., 1706.
- Bernárdez de Rivera, Jacinto: *Sermón que en acción de gracias ofreció a Dios, y a su purísima madre el Convento de Las Llagas de Nuestro Seráfico Padre S. Francisco de la ciudad de la Puebla de los Ángeles: por el nacimiento de N. Príncipe y Señor Don Luiz Phelipe*. Mexico, Imprenta por la Viuda de Miguel de Ribera Calderón, 1708.
- Campbell Orr, Clarissa: *Queenship in Europe 1660-1815: The Role of the Consort*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Castorena y Ursua, Juan Ignacio de, *Fructo de bendición de la rosa de Castilla, y la flor de lyz francesa, el rey, y la reyna, en nvestro amado príncipe, que Dios prospera, por intercessión del gran San Bernardo, santo Frances, patrón Español de los frutos de Mexico, metrópoli de estos reynos, coraçon de la América, y cabeça de la Nueva-España oración panegyrica, que el dia de sv fiesta, en el convento de sus religiosas en su Iglesia dedicada â Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe la Mexicana, y al Santo Abbad*. Mexico, Guillena Carrascoso, 1709.
- Cohn, Norman: *The Pursuit of the Millennium; Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Escamilla González, Iván: «Razones de la lealtad, cláusulas de la fineza: poderes, conflictos y consensos en la oratoria sagrada novohispana ante la sucesión de Felipe V», en Mayer, Alicia; Torre Villar, Ernesto (eds.), *Religión, poder y autoridad en la Nueva España*. Mexico City, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2004, pp. 179-104.
- Fernández del Rincón, Lucas: *Llanto de flora. Desatado en sepulchrales rosas sobre el magestuoso túmulo, que la Imperial Corte Mexicana erigió al obsequio, y voto a la memoria de su florida reyna Doña Maria Luisa Gabriela de Saboya*. Mexico City, Viuda de Miguel de Ribera, 1715.
- Fleiner, Carey; Woodcare, Elena: *Virtuous or Villainess? The Image of the Royal Mother from the Early Medieval to the Early Modern Era*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Franco Rubio, Gloria Ángeles: «Rituales y ceremonial en torno a la procreación real en un contexto de crisis: el primer embarazo de María Luisa de Saboya (1707)», en Nieto Soria, José Manuel; López-Cordón Cortezo, María Victoria (eds.), *Gobernar en tiempos de crisis: las quiebras dinásticas en el ámbito hispánico: 1250-1808*. Madrid, Sílex, 2008, pp. 235-266.
- García de Valdés, Antonio: *Sermón que en la gozosa jura que hizo a nro. serenísimo señor el Señor D. Luis Fernando Príncipe de Asturias: la Muy Noble, y Leal ciudad de Durango Reyno de la Nueva-Viscaya*. Mexico City, Francisco de Ribera Calderón, 1711.
- Geevers, Liesbeth: «The Miracles of Spain: Dynastic Attitudes to the Habsburg Succession and the Spanish Succession Crisis (1580-1700)». *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 46, no. 2 (2015), pp. 291-311.

- Gómez de la Parra, Joseph: *Famosos Triumphos y victoriosos tropheos, que el día 15 de Julio del año de 1708 el primero de el festivo triduo, que celebró el Illmo. V. Dean y cabildo, sede vacante, de la santa iglesia cathedral de la ciudad de La Puebla de Los Angeles en la Nueva-España en honor de La Immaculada Concepción de María SS. N. S. su titular, para dar gracias a Dios N.S. por el feliz nacimiento de tu Alteza. El Sr. D. Luis I, Príncipe de Las Asturias*. Puebla, Oficina de D. Joseph Pérez, 1709.
- Gómez de la Parra, Joseph: *Grano de trigo fecundo de virtudes de la vida, fecundísimo por la successión en la muerte, la Catholica Magestad del rey Nuestro Señor Don Carlos Segundo, Que Dios Aya. Assumpto paneryrico funeral*. Puebla, Los Herederos Del Capitan Juan de Villa Real, 1701.
- Gómez de Aguilera y Saavedra, Rodrigo: *Jerusalem libertada, y restauración de toda la Palestina. Caída y dessolacion de la secta de Mahoma. Profezia del santo varon Nicolas Factor, anunciándola, y señalando la parte por donde han de entrar los exercitos christianos à conquistar la morisma. Lamentaciones, y vaticinios dolorosos con que el Sabio filosofo Achàm Turuley, Natural de Arabia Felize, llora la ultima ruina de su agarena gente*. Madrid, Lucas Antonio de Bedmar y Baldivia, 1684.
- González Cruz, David: *Propaganda e información en tiempos de guerra: España y América (1700-1714)*. Madrid, Sílex, 2009.
- González Cruz, David: «Actitudes e imagen de las reinas en tiempos de crisis: La transición de los Austrias a los Borbones», en González Cruz, David (ed.): *Virgenes, reinas y santas: modelos de mujer en el mundo hispano*. Huelva, Universidad de Huelva, 2007, pp. 75-104.
- González Cruz, David: *Guerra de religión entre príncipes católicos: el discurso del cambio dinástico en España y América (1700-1714)*. Madrid, Ministerio de Defensa, 2002.
- Goycoachea, Juan de: *Philippo Quinto David Segundo, en la piedad primero rey de las Españas; honrando sus fuertes, celebrando exequias á sus militares diffuntos, reyna entre los leones; vençe sus enemigos; restaura los términos de su imperio*. Mexico City, Juan Joseph Guillena Carrascoso, 1707.
- Guevara, Juan de: *Sermón, que los solemnnes cultos, que el muy religioso parrochial Convento de N.S.P. San Francisco de la ciudad de Santiago de Queretaro, Consagró á Maria SS. N. Señora en el misterio de su Concepción sin culpa, patente el augustísimo señor de cielo, y tierra sacramentado, En accion de gracias por los felices sucessos, que en la Batalla de Brihuega, y Villaviciosa consiguió victorioso de sus enemigos, nuestro amabilísimo, legitimo rey, y señor de las Españas. D. Phelippo V*. Mexico City, Viuda de Miguel de Ribera Calderón, 1711.
- Heras y Alcocer, José de las: *Sermón que en el solemne novenario, que hizo el convento grande de Mexico de el Real Orden de Nuestra Señora de La Merced Redempcion de Captivos, En Acción de Gracias por la felice noticia de estar en cinta nuestra serenísima señora Dña Maria Luyza Gabriela Emmanuel de Saboya, Reyna de Espana*. Mexico City: Herederos de la Viuda de Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1707.
- Impelluso, Lucia: *Nature and Its Symbols*. Los Angeles, Getty Publications, 2004.
- López Anguita, José Antonio: «María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya: poder y dinastía durante la Guerra de Sucesión española (1701-1714)», en Borgognon, Ezequiel (ed.): *Reinas, virreinas y aristócratas en las Monarquías Ibéricas. Estudios sobre mujer, cultura y diplomacia en la Edad Moderna*. Madrid, Dykinson, 2022, pp. 215-245.
- López Anguita, José Antonio: «Una nueva reina, una nueva dinastía: la imagen de María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya tras su instalación en la corte española», en Linares González, Héctor; Perruca Gracia, Marina (ed.): *Ceremonia, magnificencia y ostentación. La representación del poder de las élites en la Edad Moderna (siglos XVI-XVIII)*. Madrid, Sílex, 2022, pp. 209-233.

- Maldonado, Ángel: *Oración evangelica. Predicada en el santuario de N. Señora de La Soledad de Antequera*. Mexico City, Juan Joseph Guillena Carrascoso, 1707.
- Mendieta Rebollo, Gabriel de: *Sumptuoso, festivo real aparato, en que explica su lealtad la siempre noble, ilustre imperial, y regia ciudad de Mexico, metrópoli de la América, y corte de su Nueva España. En la Aclamación del muy alto, muy poderoso, muy soberano Príncipe. D. Philipe Quinto su Catholico dueño rey de las Españas, emperador de las Yndias*. Mexico City, Imprenta de Juan Joseph Guillena Carrascoso, 1701.
- Milhou, Alain: *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica en el ambiente franciscanista español*. Valladolid, Casa-Museo de Colón, 1983.
- Milhou, Alain: «La chauve-souris, le Nouveau David et le roi caché (trois images de l'empereur des derniers temps dans le monde Ibérique : XIII^e-XVII^e s.)». *Mélanges de La Casa de Velázquez* 18, 1 (1982), pp. 61-78.
- Mínguez, Víctor: *La invención de Carlos II: Apoteosis simbólica de la Casa de Austria*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2013.
- Mitchell, Silvia Z.: *Queen, Mother, and Stateswoman: Mariana of Austria and the Government of Spain*. University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019.
- Montes González, Francisco: *Mecenzago virreinal y patrocinio artístico. El ducado de Alburquerque en la Nueva España*. Sevilla, Real Maestranza de Caballería de Sevilla, 2016.
- Núñez de Godoy, Miguel: *Prognostico Philippico hallado en la sagrada historia del real propheta David. Discurso panegyrico, que en el sermón de la missa de gracias, que por la aclamación de nuestro rey, y señor Don Philippo Quinto [Que Dios Guarde]*. Mexico City, Francisco de Ribera Calderón, 1712.
- Olivas, Aaron Alejandro: «Loyalty and Disloyalty to the Bourbon Dynasty in Spanish America and the Philippines During the War of the Spanish Succession (1700-1715)», (Ph.D.), University of California, Los Angeles, 2013.
- Parabien de parabienes, que embia el alcalde de Cabanillas, Jorge Mocho, al Rey Nuestro Señor D. Phelipe Quinto, (Que Dios Guarde) del nacimiento del Príncipe de Asturias D. Luis Fernando Gines*. Madrid, Juan de la Puerta, n.d.
- Pagels, Elaine: *Revelations: Visions, Prophecy, and Politics in the Book of Revelation*. New York, Penguin Books, 2012.
- Pérez Picazo, María Teresa: *La publicística española en la Guerra de Sucesión*. Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1966.
- Pérez Samper, María de los Ángeles: «La figura de la reina en la nueva Monarquía Borbónica», en Pereira Iglesias, Juan Luis (ed.): *Felipe V de Borbón, 1701-1746*. Córdoba, Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Córdoba, 2002, pp. 273-317.
- Pérez Samper, María de los Ángeles, «Maria Luisa Gabriella di Savoia», en Mafri, Mirella (ed.): *Alla Corte napoletana. Donne e potere dall'età aragonesa al vicereame austriaco (1442-1734)*. Nápoles, Fridericiana Editrice Universitaria, 2012, pp. 213-242.
- Phelan, John Leddy: *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1970.
- Pulgar, Blas del, *Sermón que en acción de gracias ofreció a Dios, y a Su Santísima Madre, en su devotissima imagen de los Remedios, en su iglesia metropolitana, la Muy Noble, Leal, e Imperial Corte de Mexico. Por el Augustissimo parto de la reyna nuestra señora la serenissima Doña Maria Luysa Gabriela Emmanuel de Saboya, en que dio a luz, dia de S. Luyz Rey de Francia a 25 de Agosto a Nuestro Principe Luys Phelipe*, Mexico City, Viuda de Miguel de Ribera Calderon, 1708.

- Ramos, Frances L.: «War, Legitimacy, and Ceremony in 18th-Century Mexico City: The Annual Funerary Honors for Fallen Soldiers», en López, John F. (ed.): *A Companion to Viceregal Mexico City, 1519-1821*. Leiden, Brill, 2021, pp. 114-133.
- Ramos, Frances L.: «Arte efímero, espectáculo, y la reafirmación de la autoridad real en Puebla durante el siglo XVIII: La celebración en honor del Hércules Borbónico». *Relaciones. Estudios de Historia y Sociedad* 25, 97 (2004), pp. 179-218.
- Ramos, Frances L.; Escamilla González, Iván: «Sucesión y renovación del cuerpo de la monarquía: las representaciones de Felipe V y la familia real en Nueva España durante la Guerra de Sucesión». *Colonial Latin American Review* 31, 3 (2022), pp. 381-410.
- Reeves, Marjorie: «The 'Arbores' of Joachim of Fiore». *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 24 (1956), pp. 124-136.
- Rubial García, Antonio: *El paraíso de los elegidos. Una lectura de la historia cultural de Nueva España*. Mexico City, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2011.
- Rubial García, Antonio: «El Apocalipsis en Nueva España. Los cambios de una tradición milenaria», en Álvarez Sánchez, Adriana (ed.): *Conocimiento y cultura: estudios modernos en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras*. Mexico City, Ediciones y Gráficos Eón, 2018, pp. 9-58.
- Rubial García, Antonio: «Civitas dei et novus orbis. La Jerusalém Celeste en la pintura de Nueva España». *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 20, 72 (1989), pp. 5-37.
- Sandoval Villegas, Martha: «'Traje Español' vs. Traje de Francés' La transición de la casa gobernante, un problema de identidad personificado en la imagen del funcionario. El caso de Nueva España (finales del siglo XVII, principio del siglo XVIII)», en Domínguez Cáceres, Roberto; Gayol, Víctor (ed.): *El imperio de lo visual. Imágenes, palabra y representación*. Zamora, Colegio de Michoacán, 2018, pp. 313-360.
- Salazar, Antonio de: *Importancias de la fecundidad, y desseado parto de la reyna N. Sra. Doña Maria Lvis de Saboya. Sermon, panegyrico, predicado [. . .] En el solemne octavario, que celebro en la Yglesia del Sr. S. Francisco de la ciudad de S. Luyz Potosi*. Mexico City, Herederos de la Viuda de Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1707.
- San Miguel, Juan de: *Sermón, Que en acción de gracias por el feliz nacimiento del príncipe de España Nuestro Serenísimo Señor Don Luis Fernando dijo el R. P. F. Juan de San Miguel del Orden de N.S.P.S. Francisco [. . .] en el segundo día de el novenario con que la Santa Iglesia Catedral celebró dicho nacimiento*. Mexico City, Imprenta Plantiniana de los Herederos de Juan Joseph Guillena Carrasco, 1709.
- Urrejola Davanzo, Bernarda: «Felipe Quinto, de austríaco a Borbón, según sermones de la época (Nueva España, 1701-1747)». *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 25, 4 (2016), pp. 465-491.
- Watanabe-O'Kelly, Helen; Morton, Adam: *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c.1500-1800*. London, Routledge, 2007.
- Weckman, Luis: «Las esperanzas milenaristas de los Franciscanos en Nueva España». *Historia Mexicana* 32, 1 (1982), pp. 89-105.

