

**EPINICIOS GRATULATORIOS AL CONDE DE GALVE:
COLONIAL VASSALAGE, NOVOHISPANIC PRIDE AND POETRY**

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VASSALAGEM COLONIAL, ORGULHO NOVO-HISPÂNICO E POESÍA**

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Abstract: This paper circumscribes “Epinicios Gratulatorios al conde de Galve” within the textual corpus written during the Nine Years’ War that simultaneously confirms their vassalage to Spain and demonstrates a Novohispanic pride. This merging can be appreciated in all the silvers and sonnets that commemorate Gaspar de la Cerda’s triumph. In “Epinicios”, the colonial landscape denatures the European encomiastic tradition. The Pythoness, Daphne, Thetis, Mars, among others, are adapted to the “Novohispanic peculiarities” making a difference between the self and the other.

Keywords: Epinicios Gratulatorios; Gaspar de la Cerda; Nine Year’s War, encomiastic poetry; colonial vassalage; Novohispanic pride.

Resumen: Este trabajo circunscribe “Epinicios Gratulatorios al conde de Galve” dentro del corpus textual escrito durante la Guerra de los Nueve Años, a la vez que confirma su vasallaje a España y demuestra un orgullo novohispánico. Esta fusión se puede apreciar en todas las silvas y sonetos que conmemoran el triunfo de Gaspar de la Cerda. En “Epinicios”, el paisaje colonial desnaturaliza la tradición encomiástica europea. La Pitonisa, Dafne, Thetis, Marte, entre otros, se adaptan a las “peculiaridades novohispánicas” marcando la diferencia entre el yo y el otro.

Palabras clave: Epinicios Gratulatorios; Gaspar de la Cerda; Guerra de los Nueve Años, poesía encomiástica; vasallaje colonial; orgullo novohispánico.

Introduction

As can be noted from the title of this paper, the relationship between colonial vassalage and the presence of Novohispanic pride in poetry serves as the basis for analyzing the “Epinicios Gratulatorios al Conde de Galve” from a perspective that not only takes into

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account the European encomiastic tradition, but also examines the form in which these poetic compositions are the result of a creative process produced by a group of Novohispanic poets who have been influenced by specific geographical, social, cultural, and historical factors.

In general terms, this paper is divided into two parts. Firstly, I allude to the coincidence in time between Gaspar de la Cerda's administration and the Nine Years' War. Secondly, I carry out a descriptive analysis of "Epinicios Gratulatorios", which allows me to demonstrate how these poets eulogize Gaspar de la Cerda, the figure of power, but at the same time ennoble the territory of New Spain. This research approach, in fact, is based on the hypothesis that these *epinicia*² constitute a good "specimen" on the harmonious relationship between colonial vassalage and Novohispanic pride within the Novohispanic Baroque.

Based on the aforementioned, it is important to circumscribe "Epinicios Gratulatorios" within a textual corpus that simultaneously confirms their vassalage to Spain and demonstrates a Novohispanic pride. This merging can be appreciated in all the *silvers* and *sonnets* that commemorate Gaspar de la Cerda's triumph. In "Epinicios", the colonial landscape denatures the European encomiastic tradition. The Pythoness, Daphne, Thetis, Mars, among others, are adapted to the "Novohispanic peculiarities" making a difference between the self and the other.

1 Gaspar de la Cerda's administration and the Nine Years' War

Gaspar de la Cerda's government, which started in 1688 and ended in 1696, is chronologically linked to the Nine Years' War, also known as the War of the Grand Alliance or War of the League of Augsburg (1688-1697). This armed conflict originated in Europe as a result of the succession crisis in Cologne and the Palatinate, after which Pope Innocent XI (in the case of Cologne) and the Holy Roman Emperor, Leopold I (regarding the Palatinate) refused to support the candidate suggested by Louis XIV and presented their own aspirants. After these nominations, the French monarchy decided to invade Cologne and attack the Palatinate, which led to the breakdown of the Truce of Ratisbon (1684) and a return to the appalling spiral of violence (TAIANO, 2014, p. 94-97). The aftermath of this French aggression were diplomatic troubles and war: Spain, England, the Holy Roman Empire,

² Epinicion, Greek epinikion, also spelled epinician, plural epinicia or epinikia, lyric ode honoring a victor in one of the great Hellenic games or in a war.

Bavaria, the Margraviate of Brandenburg, Saxony, the Palatinate, Portugal, and the United Provinces of the Netherlands –namely the League of Augsburg’s member countries– decided to fight against France, whose allies were the Ottoman Empire and the British Jacobites (TAIANO, 2014, p. 97).

As a consequence, hostilities between the two opposing camps took place in different European places. Ireland (battles of Boyne and Aughrim), the Dutch Republic (battles of Walcourt, Staffarda, Ceachy Head, Steinkerque, Landen), Italy (battle of Marsaglia) and several Mediterranean locations, in which France caused considerable damages. Foremost among these was the siege of Barcelona in 1697, whose immediate effects were the Spanish capitulation on August 8th; the removal from office of the viceroy Francisco de Velasco; the momentary presence of two viceroys: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y Sandoval (the Spanish crown’s representative) and Louis Joseph de Bourbon (the French crown’s representative). Subsequently, it gave rise to the signing of the Treaty of Ryswick, in December of the same year, in which Spain recovered Catalonia, the fortress of Mons, Luxemburg and Coutrai; the Holy Roman Empire recovered Freiburg, Breisach and Phillipsburg; and France obtained the territories of Strasbourg, Pondicherry, Nova Scotia and the western part of Hispaniola (GUTIÉRREZ LORENZO, 1993, p. 76).

The expulsion of the French enemy from Hispaniola was precisely one of the most pressing goals of Gaspar de la Cerda. In fact, the most important military operations that happened during his mandate were those against those the French who dwelled in the island:

1. The first one took place in 1691, in a ground and naval offensive, which concluded with a Spanish victory in the Guárico savannah (La Limonade); the death of Pierre-Paul Tarin de Cussy, French governor of the island; the death of several lieutenants and 400 rank-and-file French soldiers against 47 Spanish dead and 130 slightly injured. Furthermore, the Spanish obtained a booty of 52,235 pesos from two frigates and other smaller vessels.

2. The second one happened in 1695, in which Spanish and British captured French vessels, took African slaves and made a large number of prisoners (GUTIÉRREZ LORENZO, 1993, p. 78).

The first triumph was widely publicized in two texts written by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora: *Relación de lo sucedido a la Armada de Barlovento* and *Trofeo de la justicia española*, the latter includes the “Epinicios Gratulatorios” (LEONARD, 1929, p. 67).

2 Remarkable encomiastic poetry written during the Nine Years' War

It is remarkable that while there is extensive literature on palatial poetry in New Spain and many studies on Gaspar de la Cerda's literary patronage, little has been said about the "Epinicio Gratulatorio". Although there is no information on the way the *epinicia* were performed in the viceregal court, the fact that its program was included in the *editio princeps* of *Trofeo de la justicia Española* may reflect that they had some magnitude within the Novohispanic cultural life.

A closer examination of its paratextual elements allows us to see that what at the first sight appears to be a stilted frontispiece and a convoluted dedication, characteristic of the Spanish Baroque, are revealing records of a Novohispanic sentiment. The *epinicia*'s creators are part of a delimited intellectual and ideological core: the "cultísimos ingenios mexicanos"³. Their inspiration has a geographic connotation. They are located in a specific *civitas*: The Mexican or Novohispanic. Even though there are no anti-Spanish sentiments within the poems, there is a desire to differentiate Novohispanics from Europeans.

EPINICIOS

GRATULATORIOS

CON QUE ALGUNOS DE LOS CULTISIMOS INGENIOS MEXICANOS, VATICINANDOLE CON
NUMEN POETICO MAYORES PROGRESOS EN EL FELICISIMO TIEMPO DE SU GOBIERNO

CELEBRARON

Al Excelentísimo Señor

DON GASPAR DE SANDOVAL, CERDA, SILVA

Y MENDOZA

Conde de Galve, Virrey de la Nueva España

CON LA OCASIÓN

De deberse únicamente a sus providentísimos influjos

LA VICTORIA

Que por mar y tierra, consiguieron las católicas armas americanas de los franceses poblados en

EL GUARICO

Lugar de la Costa Septentrional de la

ISLA ESPAÑOLA,

³ These "cultísimos ingenios mexicanos" were Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, Francisco de Ayerra, Alonso Ramírez de Vargas, Antonio de Peralta, Francisco de Acevedo, Gaspar de Guevara, Antonio Morales Pastrana and Juan de Guevara. The event was organized by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora and Francisco Ayerra.

El día 21 de enero de este año de 1691

The *epinicia* have as common factor the image of New Spain as the scenario of Gaspar de la Cerda's glory. Accordingly, the poetic voices overlap the main action of the victory with allusions to Gaspar de la Cerda's providencialism. As a result of this merger, the poets give a mythological dimension to the battle itself, to the Novohispanic soldiers and to the viceroy administration. They adopt the Greek *epinicia*'s formal characteristics to create a series of encomiastic *cantos* that immortalize the victors of Guárico and praise the divine origin of Gaspar de la Cerda's lineage. Nevertheless, the poems diverge from the Greek tradition by means of the aggrandizement of the Novohispanic *imago*. The "ingenios mexicanos" make evident their double purpose: to praise Gaspar de la Cerda and to ennoble the intellectual-military-picturesque Novohispanic grandeur.

The first *epinicion* was written by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. This composition has been underestimated by several literary critics who have focused on its "abortive" motifs and its excessive artificiality (BUXÓ, 2006, p. 224). Substantially, most of the scholars had unnoticed the fact that "The Tenth Muse" transfers to New Spain the *Aeneid*'s episode in which the Pythoness prophesies Aeneas's victory, who, according to tradition, was an ancestor of Gaspar de la Cerda (FERNÁNDEZ DE BÉTHENCOURT 145). The spatial transfer from Europe to New Spain is progressive within the poem. In the incipit, the poetic voice confesses her impossibility to picture the momentous feat that heralded the advent of Gaspar de la Cerda's immortality and the Armada de Barlovento's prestige. The poem refers to the Hippocrene as the *laudador*'s place devoted to writing. However, the poetic voice cannot find the words to embody Gaspar de la Cerda's heroic matters. Her creation is an abortion. Her raucous voice cannot be harmonized with the grandeur and majesty of the battle. Nevertheless, she arrives to break the silence to laud the viceroy. She is swamped by confusing thoughts, but she does not fail to recognize Gaspar de la Cerda's perfection as well as the courage and devotion of the Novohispanic soldiers. Her vision is a combination of delirium and fascination. Her rapture is a dominant motif within the poem. The abortive images reflect the effort and inability to see the mystical, enigmatic and symbolic elements of the Novohispanic victory. At the same time, she interprets the warlike encounter as a perfect coalition between the concrete-earthly state and the subtle-mystical World. The victory has a

spatial character (Novohispanic), a temporal context (the Nine Years' War) and a divine origin (According to tradition, Gaspar de la Cerda is a descendant of Aeneas).

en orden bien dispuesto, el conveniente
no esperado socorro, remitiendo
la que al Mar de Occidente
defensa es auxiliar, valiente Armada,
que dominando el viento
por su título goza el Barlovento:
náutico alivio a míseras querellas
de los que el insufrible
peso ya en el recelo padecían,
del extranjero yugo que temían (vv. 111-120).

Francisco de Ayerra's *epinicion* refers at the outset to Gaspar de la Cerda's commandment, in which he gave the order to fight against the French in Santo Domingo. The viceroy is described as a prominent strategist in warfare. This *silva* praises his talent as an army-builder. His heroism consists in his discipline and successful war tactics. The poet refers to the "pluma providente" to indicate that Gaspar de la Cerda has been destined to be the ideal governor of New Spain. He is provident, sagacious and pious, surrounded with valuable Novohispanic soldiers, who fight against the impious French enemies and are protected by the providence. Ayerra uses Greek mythology as a literary resource. He refers to Nereid Thetis, mother of Achilles, as the patron goddess who protects the viceroy and his soldiers. She assumes a geopolitical role since she acts in defense of the Spanish crown's interests and the security of the Novohispanic people.

Al corte de tu pluma providente
No solo Tetis dividió su plata
Mas vistieron las lises escarlata,
Tintos los campos en carmín ardiente (vv. 1-4).

The *silva* alludes to the finest symbol of French monarchy: the fleur-de-lis⁴, in the poem these flowers are stained with the French soldiers' spilled blood. Ayerra delegitimizes the divine right of the French monarchy to promote the legitimate character of the Spanish

⁴ The French heraldic coat of arms is formed by three fleur-de-lis, namely lilies, which evoke the Most Holy Trinity (Montagnier, 1998, p. 199).

Crown. Additionally, the French presence in West Indies is labelled as illegal through the lexical association “francés pirata” (v.6). It is evident that Ayerra is trying to pigeonhole the adversaries in the category of *Hostis humani generis*, namely enemies of all humankind. In his epinicion, Cussy and his men are not only committing an offense against the Spanish crown, but their presence in Santo Domingo becomes a crime against the universal law of society. Finally, the poetic voice continues to sing its praises to Gaspar de la Cerda and his providentialism. He wonders what could have happened if, besides signing the order of attack, the viceroy would have participated personally in this battle:

¿Qué fuera si el arnés de Marte armado,
El Guárico entre sangre, y entre espuma
Vibrar te viera estoque acicalado? (vv. 9-11).

As I pondered this question, it seemed to me that it includes two important elements. The first one is the desire to justify Gaspar de la Cerda’s absence in the battlefield. In fact, the *silva* concludes by stating “no fue menester tu espada en suma” (v.12). The second one, as a result of the first one, implies that those who overcame superhuman obstacles, understood the complexity of the circumstances that surrounded them and won the battle were the Novohispanic soldiers. As such, the count of Galve becomes the individual hero whose glory is based on the anonymous Novohispanic heroes who defend Spain by putting their lives on the line during the Nine Years’ War.

In Francisco de Acevedo’s sonnet, there is also a desire to justify the viceroy’s absence. Gaspar de la Cerda is assimilated to the mythological representation of the sun-hero, whose reflection defeats the enemy. The poem is an exaltation of his brilliance:

El influjo del Sol está presente.
El rayo con el golpe mata ardiente,
Pero amedrenta con la voz tonante;
Y para que se logre lo triunfante,
El amago le sobra a lo valiente (vv. 4-8).

Naturally, the sun’s rays that reflect Gaspar de la Cerda’s splendor are the soldiers who are fighting in their own territory. The Novohispanic *plethus* is the one that undertakes the challenge of war. They are the anonymous people whose strength and loyalty complements Gaspar de la Cerda’s illuminated heroism.

Juan de Guevara, on his part, uses the concept of triumph to indicate that military reward, ovations and the honors of war should be granted to Novohispanic soldiers. Although he does not undermine Gaspar de la Cerda's providentialism, his poem points out that the salvation of the empire and its inhabitants are due to the brilliant Novohispanic collaboration.

Si infestaba el francés el continente
De costas españolas,
Que con alternas olas,
Circunda el espumoso mar indiano,
Triunfo es ya del valor americano (vv. 1-5).

Xavier Zapata's turns Gaspar de la Cerda into the protector of "la Isla Española", the first territory to be conquered by the Spanish Empire. The association between "la pluma providencial" and the battlefield highlight the importance of the event. Despite the presence of an aggressive external enemy. New Spain can never be at risk of instability because the Count of Galve's position as head of the viceroyalty is unassailable. Gaspar de la Cerda's power is devolved to him by God. By virtue of his divine power, he has the privilege of victory. The triumph of Guárico is a *donum Dei*.

Como era tuya, gran Señor, la gloria
Con que la Isla Española aseguraste
Por eso a su defensa adelantaste
Aunque antes que las armas, la victoria (vv. 1-4).

In the same vein, Antonio Morales de Pastrana's sonnet establishes a link between Spain and the New World. The poet highlights the function that, since the days of Columbus, Santo Domingo had for the Monarchy of Spain. This reference illustrates and reconfirms the collaboration between the Armada de Barlovento and the Count of Galve. It also states the French illegitimacy in these territories. The military importance of Guárico, Gaspar de la Cerda's strategic geniality and the Novohispanic's expertise and warrior spirit are the elements that provide the blessing, the power and the victory for Spain.

En el valor isleño fue notoria
Contra francés impulso provocarla;
Dando su ardiente esfuerzo al intentarla,
Voz a la fama, asuntos a la historia (vv. 5-8).

On the other hand, Gaspar de Guevara's sonnet praises directly the Spaniards from the New World, whose *virtus* and physical courage ensure constant victory over the enemy. They lead to success in battle, with the notable exceptions of military skill and wisdom.

Al soberbio francés que abatió luego
El coraje español del occidente
De su contraste dicen lo impaciente,
Con voces de metal, lenguas de fuego (vv. 1-4).

Like previous poets, Alonso Ramírez de Vargas draws attention to the importance of Gaspar de la Cerda's influence to guarantee the victory. In his poem, the poetic voice defines virtue in terms of warfare. He praises the viceroy for exercising his providential talent to ensuring military assistance to the Armada de Barlovento. The poem seeks to explain the relationship between the viceroy and his army. The first one undertook his responsibility as commander of the Army. The second one was the example of military virtue, whose prowess assumes an essential role in the rehabilitation of Spain's grandeur.

Por tierra, y mar la ardiente bazaría
Tus órdenes guardó, dando a la historia
Materia, en que celebre tu memoria,
De donde nace, a donde muere el día (vv. 5-8).

As regards Antonio de Peralta's *epinicion*, it constitutes a poem of kleos. Gaspar de la Cerda and his soldiers have a transcendent mission. The poetic voice's approach to glory and immortality is openly focused on annihilating the French adversary reputation in order to increase the glorious reputation of the viceroy and the Armada de Barlovento. This *epinicion* connects the heroes of New Spain with the usage of mythological exempla of the past. His poem is the necessary condition for posterity to learn about Gaspar de la Cerda and Novohispanic soldiers' reputation.

Voló en tu orden su ardor tan encendido,
Que antes que de fuego dieras muestra,
Ya a Francia había llegado el estallido (vv. 12-14).

In fact, Peralta's *epinicion* creates a necessary *philia* among the viceroy and the soldiers. Additionally, the poet reintegrates the victors into their geographic group and civic community through different strategies, one of which is by the appropriation and

transformation of the Hellenic tradition. *Kleos* becomes a part of the Novohispanic ideology of war.

No a ti, sino al Francés la bizzaría
Española, dio asunto a tanta historia,
Que tendrá siempre día su memoria
De tu memoria en el eterno día (vv. 5-8).

In his *epinicion*, Diego Joseph de Bustos uses the image of the Byzantine emperor Justinian to praise the viceroy. By means of this assimilation, the poet presents Gaspar de la Cerda as the restorer of the Spanish Empire in the West Indies. In parallel, his government becomes a golden period for New Spain. From an economic, martial and civil perspective, the victory of Guárico is comparable to the military campaigns led by Belisarius and Nanses that resulted in the annexation of new territories.

De el Príncipe al rescripto Justiniano
Habla (no acaso) le llamó divina:
Porque si como oráculo fulmina,
Como sentencia se resiste en vano (vv. 1-4).

As can be observed from the descriptive analysis of the “Epinicios Gratulatorios”, these poems fulfilled their encomiastic function towards Gaspar de la Cerda. They also promote the image of Novohispanic soldiers. The “Epinicios Gratulatorios” state that both, the viceroy and the soldiers, deserve immortality. The *epinicia* were ornaments to promote the Count of Galve’s triumph in the court. Nevertheless, they praise not only Gaspar de la Cerda’s providential order, but also eulogize with ardor the Novohispanic soldiers, who fight valiantly in the armies of their viceroy. They are the anonymous, but heroic *plethus* from overseas. The “ingenios mexicanos” go beyond the mere imitation of the Greek literary canon, which extols the victor from a family of noble descent. They also grant to the anonymous Novohispanic soldiers their access to immortality.

The poets take over the essential features of Pindar's encomiastic poetry such as the finest tributes to the victor’s lineage and extoling the praises of the territory. They emphasize that the victors’ strength lies in their characteristic courage and sense of honour. By means of poetry, the count of Galve and his Novohispanic subjects will go on record for posterity. In a complex system of *encomion*, the Mexican *laudadores* are an active part of the Spanish

empire, since they are the witnesses of extraordinary feats. They are the heralds of Gaspar de la Cerda's fame and the Novohispanic soldiers' glory. The *epinicia* are configured as an instrument that celebrates the victory of the viceroy against the illegitimate French presence in Santo Domingo. They also embed the Novohispanic community to which belong the "ingenious novohispanos". These poets are the demiurge who offer their *Novohispanic Sophia* to the Spanish empire.

The combination of flatteries to the authority who represents the Spanish hegemony, to the soldiers who embody the courageous Novohispanic men and enhancement of the territory causes that the "Epinicios Gratulatorios" gain a double importance: they simultaneously pray vassalage to the Spanish crown and become a sort of Historic-Artistic Monument about the Novohispanic soldiers' courage and the Battle of Guárico. They are the proof of consciousness-raising forms of Novohispanic regionalism, which under the guise of a poetic building transmit a message of territorial identity.

Consequently, there is a strong correlation between the encomiastic purpose of the texts, the function of memory and the questions of territorial identity within the *epinicia*. These not only immortalize Gaspar de la Cerda, the Novohispanic soldiers and the "ingenious mexicanos", but are the proof of a collective identity created on a territorial basis. The "Epinicios Gratulatorios" combine eulogies to the viceroy with an important Novohispanic symbolic load, giving them a considerable persuasive power in the Mexican palatial life and the Madrilénian Royal Court. They show the strategic talent of Gaspar de la Cerda, a Spanish nobleman, while bringing to light the importance of the Novohispanic subjects.

Conclusions

This paper analyzed the "Epinicios gratulatorios al conde de Galve" by considering not only the influence of European encomiastic tradition, but also how these poetic compositions were the result of a process of interpretation/creation that the "ingenios mexicanos" made of their spatiotemporal situatedness. In order to carry out an effective analysis, I elected to follow the line taken by those scholars who defined Novohispanic Baroque as a foundational period of Latin American Literature. This perspective allowed me to discuss the possibility of a harmonious relationship between the poets' vassalage to the

Spanish King and the presence of a regional sense of pride. In addition, it was possible to establish the poets' discursive strategies used to commend Gaspar de la Cerda administration and extol New Spain.

After close examination of the poems, it may be concluded that they are part of a Novohispanic text corpus. They incorporate a great many traits characteristics of Classic European literature as well as characteristics directly borrowed from Spanish sources. The "Epinicios Gratulatorios" provide a meeting point of traditional European culture and Novohispanic identity. They represent a clear expression of acculturation which remained one of the constant traits of Novohispanic Baroque.

In conclusion, the study of these poems is important for understanding both the modes of reception and integration of European literary forms and the process of the creation of a Mexican literary tradition. The adoption and adaptation of literary models from European encomiastic poetry provide yet another type of evidence for the profound cultural and historical links between Spain and New Spain.

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