



# POWER IN YOUR POCKET

IMAGES OF RULERS  
IN SPANISH COINS  
(18TH TO 21ST CENTURY)

Power and  
Propaganda  
Cycle



## POWER AND PROPAGANDA. THE REASONS FOR AN EXHIBITION CYCLE ON GOVERNMENT AND REPRESENTATION.

Rafael Company (MuVIM director)

I  
The *Diccionari Normatiu Valencià*, composed by the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua (AVL) gives us the following -translated here- definition of propaganda: "Systematic action exercised on public opinion in order to spread certain ideas or doctrines and get followers, or to make something known with commercial intent", and also establishes a second meaning: "leaflets, posters, video or other materials used to disseminate something and make it known".<sup>1</sup> These entries reflect the amphibious character the term has ended up assuming throughout the years. In fact, according to the second meaning and the end of the first, any broadcasting material may be considered propaganda; on the other hand, if we follow the beginning of the first entry, we would only consider propaganda activity -and of course, propaganda messages and materials- when faced with a systematic communication programme destined to affect citizens' opinions and changing them. Thus, a programme aimed at persuasion: "Persuasive discourse destined to modify the attitudes and behaviour of public opinion", is -translated from Catalan- what the second edition of the *Diccionari de la llengua catalana* from the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (IEC).<sup>2</sup>

If we enquire about the term's etymology, the *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* reminds us that the word comes from "the Latin *propaganda*, "what needs to be spread", taken specifically from the expression [Sagra] Congregatio de propaganda fide, "*Congregation to propagate the faith*".<sup>3</sup> When referring to this institution, in charge of missions and founded in 1622, it is in a context defined by a rivalry among religious denominations, and because of this, we'll notice the term was born with an undoubtable connotation of proselytism.

Centuries have passed, and the proselytist component of *propaganda* mechanisms has reached a point of hypertrophy: in fact, if we were to ask any regular mortal, the term propaganda would be probably linked, mostly and for most, to the systematic action carried out by the great totalitarian regimes of the 20th century, pig-headed on their proselytist purpose to the point of employing deceit and the starkest of manipulations in their instruments of political communication: this, in order to enable pure domination over all addressed, thus eliminating or minimising as much as possible any social repercussion alternative discourse could have.

However, such extremes haven't always been reached in the ruling classes' exercise of persuasive will: often, those in power have issued -and issue- messages that don't involve flagrant lies or perverse intentions, and that only intend to legitimise the ruling power -or the insurgent's intentions- through the display of power, strength, status or convictions, while requesting respect, obedience or devotion. These are moderate intensity attempts at building social consensus through propaganda mechanisms. Actually, very often, the more those in power feel secure in their hegemony, the more they've limited themselves to "showing off", identifying themselves to those addressed, displaying their emblems with the intention -at most- of reinforcing their own prestige and reputation.

We are evidently treading an area full of nuances and gradations, where it's sometimes hard to tell if the ruling class is only showing itself or going beyond its purposes and, if that's the case, to what point and extent. And, as we well know, societies immersed in massive and effective propaganda processes may undergo a process of collective narcotization of sorts, where it's very hard to publicly invalidate the power in place and its supporting propaganda apparatus (be it full of fake information in its discourse or not).

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1 <<http://www.avl.gva.es/lexicval>>

2 <<http://dlc.iec.cat>>

3 <<http://dcvb.iecat.net>>

Having said this, it's time to consider the opinion of a renowned analyst in these matters such as Peter Burke. In *The fabrication of Louis XIV*, the researcher was very thorough in his evaluation of the two opposing views of scholars on rulers and their images, symbols or portrayals, a *cynical* and an *innocent* one:

From a comparative point of view, we could say both rival models emphasise certain perceptions at the cost of excluding others. The cynical is certainly reductionist, and refuses considering myth, rite and devotion as responses to a psychological need. It takes for granted too easily that the ruling classes of the past were just as cynical as they are. On the other hand, the opposing model takes for granted too easily that everyone in a given society believed its myths. It's unable to acknowledge specific examples of forgery and manipulation [...] The processes by which images support power are more effective the more they are partially unconscious [...] Thus, both models have their use. One could consider the tension between them to be fruitful.<sup>4</sup>

These reflections may lead us to state that public manifestations of ideologies and rulers' portrayals -their ways of conceiving reality and representing it- are necessarily correlated to likely psychological needs -conscious or not- in those under their rule: they would be susceptible of feeling, interpreting and reply in their minds to the power of signs involved in the "symbolic construction of authority", or, to put it in vulgar terms, in the public "sale" of those ruling.

Furthermore, these perceptible attitudes in the governed may, in certain cases, be found in the midst of the very environments where images of power are produced and issued. Paul Zanker brought this up regarding the first Roman imperial

period, in his work *The power of images in the Age of Augustus*: while there are those who see a refined propaganda apparatus behind Augustus' behaviour -regarding the development of the emperor's public image-, the whole process presents itself as a much more complex one, precisely because those in power fell under the influence of the very symbols they were using.<sup>5</sup>

It is also verified that in the epicentre of one of the textbook examples of totalitarianism in the first half of the last century -mussolinian fascism- the authors of its massive propaganda intoxication in Italy would end up being prey to their creation, sincerely devoted to the symbolic abyss they'd just dug.

It bears reminding the reader that we're talking about the great neo-Roman mystification stating that Italians were *I romani della modernità*, reaching its paroxysm in the mid-30's bloody conquest of Ethiopia (with its associated *Proclamazione dell'Imperio*, or figured resurrection of the Roman Empire). Those around Benito Mussolini -considered a new Julius Caesar, and later, practically the second coming of Augustus- would prove to be incorrigible romantics, imbibed with a repairing optimism of sorts in a rhetoric that would rinse the tears of the past and allow them to close their eyes to the uncomfortable truths of the present.<sup>6</sup>

5 Translated from *Augusto y el poder de las imágenes* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2002, 1st reprint. [1st ed. in Castilian 1992]).

6 «[...] per quanto il fascismo avesse sempre proclamato che la "politica è l'arte delle cose reali", e che ogni politica poggiava necessariamente su posizioni di forza, pure i suoi discepoli non erano che degli incorreggibili romantici, pronti a figurandosi un mondo di loro comodo, basato su considerazioni indubbiamente propagandistiche e lontanissime dai reali rapporti tra le nazioni. [...] In fondo il fenomeno fascista era nato e si era giustificato su una speciale componente del carattere nazionale, una "fuga dalla realtà" che aveva lontanissime radici, e che si era concretata, come livello di aspirazione, nelle "radiose giornate" dell'Impero, proclamato in Roma all'atto della presa di Addis Abeba. [...] la retorica mussoliniana dell'Impero rappresentava in modo sostanzialmente perfetto la massima soddisfazione che le frustrazioni nazionali maturate negli ultimi cento anni potessero assegnare a se stesse» (Franco Bandini: *Tecnica della sconfitta. Storia dei quaranta giorni che precedettero e seguirono l'entrata dell'Italia in guerra*. Florencia: Nuova Editoriale Florence Presse, 2013, págs. 174-175).

4 Translated from *La fabricación de Luis XIV* (San Sebastián: Nerea, 2003, 2nd ed., pages. 20-21).



### III

At this point in the text we ought to keep the reader from being confused: the exhibitions making up MuVIM's cycle "Power and propaganda" don't focus on images forged by rulers in fascist Italy, nor on those that would come to define Louis XIV's long reign over France, or the ones accompanying Augustus' time. But this should disappoint no one: evidently, these three historic moments aren't -at all- the only ones we could analyse -with interesting results- from the perspective of the relationship between rulers and the mechanisms they employ to portray themselves and spread their government's messages: our museum has chosen diverse historic periods and geographical areas that will surely awaken the interest of visitors from both Valencia and elsewhere.

The smallest of our programmed exhibitions, located in MuVIM's Parpalló Hall, carries the title "Cartel cubano 1959-1989. Crónica gráfica de la historia reciente de Cuba" (*Cuban posters 1959-1989. Graphical chronicle of the recent history of Cuba*). It is an iconographic compilation of works by very prominent artists for propaganda use in those 30 years by Fidel Castro and the other leaders of the Cuban revolution, one of the paradigmatic political events of the 20th century's second half. This movement would topple Fulgencio Batista's -extremely tyrannical and corrupt, as well as *handed over* to the USA and mafia interests- military government, and would enjoy a very perceptible consensus at first to, soon after, become the object of taunts from significant sectors in both Cuba and western countries. New authorities in the island ended up embracing the communist ideology, and would align with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, USSR: thus, the political and social process experienced in Castro's Cuba became, for many years, the biggest example of revolutionary leftist ideals, both for industrialised societies and developing countries.

Against the backdrop of strong public controversy incited by the current nature and behaviour of the Cuban government, historical castrism -a one-party regime now as it was back in the day- also raises polarised outbursts of passion: from

absolute and inflamed *laudatio* to the most belligerent of denounce and condemnation, by way of self-proclaimed *equidistant* stances, which tend to excuse the methods to point out the social achievements in contrast (in the context, as is well known, of *poor* America and the secret harassment and public hostility -the embargo- from the Washington government).

### IV

In regard to the bigger exhibition, "The images of power", we're actually dealing with three clearly delimited spaces located in the Alfons Roig Hall: the first, "Kings of Africa. Photographs by Alfred Weidinger", shows portraits of contemporary African monarchs. But these are monarchs with no effective administrative power, harboured by republican nation states maintaining traditional tribal structures, and under their shelter, they show themselves to Weidinger's camera. Such an exotic portrayal of power is surprising to the usual western eye, in its combination of poor architectures, pretend luxuries and, at times, objects of overwhelming and unexpected -seductively strange- relevance, far from royal European canons, or sometimes directly inspired by them.

These images' indisputable beauty is coupled, though, with a slightly unnerving feeling, produced by a more than likely internal contradiction: African kings and their autochthonous symbolic resources are arranged according to the rules of a method of reality building, photography, of distinctly western origin. There is, indeed, an acculturation of sorts in these portrayals of power when, in spite of the panoply of authenticities in front of us, the staging of their protagonists is in great debt to traditional European portrayals of monarchic power and to western photography history, while also being continuist to the way the West has treated those worlds it deemed exotic.

### V

The second space in "The images of power" isn't exotic at all to us Valencians: "Portrayals of power" is organised around the pictorial effigies of kings, queens, regents and dictators of the nation-state

known as Spain, and by their side, portraits of some presidents of Valencia's Diputación (local government). A mixture, a dialogue, then, between Power with a capital "P", most often formally monarchic, Madrid-based and conceived in Castile, and peripheral, provincial, non-autonomous power, which was practically the backbone of Spanish state organisation from the days of Fernando VII to pre-autonomous and autonomous institutionalisation (until the late 70's and early 80's of the last century).

Among the succession of portraits showing us rulers and their peripheral correlates, we'd like to point out one depicting the Spanish autocrat better known as "the Chieftain" (*Caudillo*), the work of a creator who'd embodied the best qualities of Valencian design during the Second Republic, Luis Dubón. Dubón left us -on this work commissioned by the Diputación in 1952- an absolutely exceptional, memorable pictorial *vendetta*, especially considering it in the context of a regime such as francoism. It is a very intelligently constructed pictorial piece, currently little known by the greater public and glossed by Michelle Vergniolle Delalle in *Peinture et opposition sous le franquisme. La parole en silence*: "[...] the painter gets to show the public, under the pretence of utmost classical respect, a discreet caricature of the usurping midget".<sup>7</sup> Amador Griñó pointed out, in his collaboration to the catalogue for "The images of power", how Dubón's portrait of Franco was indebted in its composition to the excellent portrait of general Narváez produced by another Valencian, Vicente López (and currently kept in the Valencian capital's Museum of Fine Arts and the Royal Palace in Madrid).

Néstor Morente Martín points out in his doctoral thesis on republican iconography in Valencia<sup>8</sup> that "painter Luis Dubón ended his days without renouncing his style, personality or republican-

ism", and MuVIM, having already exhibited several of his works in its halls (including the exhibition "Republican modernity in Valencia. Innovations and survivals in figurative art (1928-1942)"), would now like to close the circle with the exhibition of such a caustic work, finished shortly before the artist's passing.

The painting's surprising quality is even more evident when compared to Franco's portrait as painted five years later by José Segrelles, so glorifying and exalting: exhibiting both works together is one of the high points of the "Power and propaganda" exhibition cycle.

## VI

One last note on the space dominated by painting; in it, we've located "Ruler portrayals on Spanish coins: from Fernando VII's death to the euro". This is a selection of monetary pieces -classified in twelve chronological scopes- as a complement to the pictorial views of monarchs and dictators and, in a given case, as counterpoint to them: thus, one of the exposed coins displays an offensive political counterstamp (a stamped inscription), used between 1871 and 1873 against king Amadeo I of Savoy by supporters of future Alfonso XII.

As many scholars in numismatics have pointed out, monetary mint has been -for centuries, and still today- a privileged instrument of general political communication and in particular, in spreading the image of -political- power. And while the exhibition intends to offer a minute taste, in this work we intend to reflect more profoundly on what we've come to call *Power in your pocket. Images of rulers in Spanish coins (18th to 21st century)*. This deals very particularly with the formulas through which personal (royal or dictatorial) power has legitimated itself, such as the pretended possession of "the Grace of God" (in Latin, *Dei Gratia*) as single or accompanied source of power for a reign or dictatorship's exercise, as well as the reference to a monarchy's constitutional character -or lack of it-. In the case of republican regimes -and the Provisional Government born in 1868-, we find iconographic embodiments of a power that claims to be collective: from Hispania and

<sup>7</sup> Translated from *La palabra en silencio. Pintura y oposición bajo el franquismo* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008, pages. 42-43).

<sup>8</sup> *El art déco en la imagen alegórica de la II República Española en Valencia: Vicente Alfaro promotor de las artes*. Valencia: Universitat de València, September 2016, page 444.

its Roman origins (with its mural garlands) and the loose-haired matron, the Iberian and Roman horseman on the first francoist mint, etc.

In order to carry out this enhanced view, we counted on José M. De Francisco Olmos' invaluable participation. He's a member of the Department of Historiographic Sciences and techniques at Universidad Complutense de Madrid, UCM, and the author of the text introducing the initiative: "Coin, much more than money". We also had Natalia Pérez-Aínsua Méndez's priceless work on stamped paper specimens.

## VII

"The evanescence of power today", the last space in "The images of power", has an absolutely original premise, since the photographic material exposed has been hand-picked by the managers of the politics section from hand-picked mass media with an editorial office in Valencia city. These are either digital-only media, or with both paper and digital editions. In alphabetical order: *eldiario.es*, *El Mundo*, *Las Provincias*, *Levante-EMV* and *Valencia Plaza*. Each of these professionals chose photographic images that are representative of the notion of power, according to them, under the museum's premise that this power be located in the Valencian Country, or else with an incidence -be it direct or indirect- on Valencian society (which, if we think of it, really broadens the available range to choose from). The other orientation given by the direction of MuVIM was chronological: chosen pictures had to be dated after Francisco Franco's death.

Reasons for the final selection of pieces are explained by the journalists themselves in the catalogue, in an unprecedented exercise that we are proud of as a museum.

## VIII

The introduction to MuVIM's exhibition cycle "Power and propaganda" is reaching its end. And our farewell starts by stating that our contribution -two exhibitions, four different areas, posters, artistic photographs, pictorial portraits (with monetary mint), journalistic photographs- is just one of

the many we could have chosen: to the available and immense labyrinth of geographical spaces crossed with historic periods we should add, focusing in the Late modern period, the range of media through which rulers (or at times, insurgents) spread images of their power: coins and bank notes, medals and decorations, architecture and portable art, lampoons and posters, postcards and stickers, postal stamps and prepaid postal goods, seals and stamped paper, vignettes and photographs, TV shows and cinema or theatre fictions, tapestries and silverware, weapons and painted paper, bindings and fabric for dresses, uniform buttons and tabletop or children's games, watches and jewels, wooden furniture, etc. Indeed, we are faced with a greatly fertile thematic range; also, fertile in regard to museum instances. Our museum's bet, then, isn't so risky, despite initial appearances; in a way, we are playing things rather safe.

Valencia, June 29, 2017



Introduction

# COIN, MUCH MORE THAN MONEY

José María de  
Francisco Olmos





## I. FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL USES

Coins as we know them in the Western hemisphere were an invention intended to improve commercial and fiscal transactions, as well as the reliability of public payments and monetary offerings made in sanctuaries: they allowed the offering of a fixed amount of metal -determined by weight and grade, or percentage of noble metal in relation to the total- while also being guaranteed and backed by a government authority. All this made constant “haggling” on the value of pieces of precious metals unnecessary, since it was determined by the legal system and guaranteed by the issuing political power. Given these characteristics, coins could have stayed as metal disks with an inscription showing only their weight and fineness along with the symbol of the issuing authority, which would have allowed them to circulate freely in the markets accepting them, and to still embody the value standard for goods and services.



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Their financial function, though, was immediately accompanied by a political and representative function, as authorities realised that this new format -this new form of money- would become the issuing states' best medium for political propaganda: be it for rulers in the community's political system, for the religious ideology (with iconographic references to gods and heroes), for foundational myths or even national holidays, monuments or the main products of their economies. All these appeared on coins minted by the Greeks and other peoples in the Aegean area from the 7th to the 4th centuries B.C.; let us point out as an example an exceptional piece, the gold or silver creseid. This was minted in Lydia -current day Turkey- by order of the famous Croesus, a king in the 6th century B.C. whose name reached our times as a synonym of wealth. This monarch had to fight the Persian empire ruled by Cyrus II the Great, and the coin we bring seems to remit symbolically to the conflict: it shows a roaring lion, the emblem of Lydia, facing a bull coming from the east, which may represent the Achaemenid Persians.

Several explanations have been offered for such an attractive design formed by the protomes (heads and hind quarters) of two great confronting animals, but if the hypothesis we've developed here is true, we are faced with a clear declaration of



political principles, much clearer to the Lydian king's subjects and their enemies. The great paradox was that -beyond the truthfulness or lack thereof of the anti-Achaemenid interpretation of the motif- creseids were still being minted by the Persians after Croesus' defeat against Cyrus' armies.

## II. MONETARY PORTRAIT

Starting in the 4th century B.C., we'll find the portraits of rulers on coins: mints from Alexander the Great's successors in Hellenistic kingdoms would be the model for monetary portraits of Roman emperors, medieval kings and later European monarchs, all united in referring to a protecting or power-granting divinity. We can thus state that ancient Mediterranean civilizations shaped the specific uses that would turn coins into a privileged format for political propaganda throughout the ages: the most widespread at the time. Here is an image of a sestertius issued in the name of Marcus Aurelius, emperor of Rome, as an example.



Later on, kingdoms in the West that were heirs to Rome portrayed the monarch in their coins as ruling by “the Grace of God” (D[ei]. G[ratia]. in Latin). This legitimization formula -in abridged or complete form- remained widespread until the French Revolution, to gradually fade away as liberal revolutions in various countries succeeded. However, even today we can find coins legitimising the monarch by “the Grace of God”: these are British pieces, minted in a state with no written constitution that formally maintains a historical traditional system in which the monarch -nowadays Elizabeth II- theoretically holds her traditional political power unhindered (even though the institutional reality is, of course, very different).



### III. COATS OF ARMS ON COINS

Together with monarch’s portraits, which have been on coins -as we’ve already discussed- since Ancient History, and just as inscriptions referencing the source of power or other matters, western currency has displayed heraldic emblems since the Middle Ages. These are the coats of arms and other elements that have formed and still form a non-verbal language of great predicament in the past. Thus, thanks to heraldry, subjects and foreigners alike have been shown which dynasties were identified with which territories. And it’s also thanks to heraldry that symbols were popularised such as fleur-de-lys in France, Austria’s fesses, the lion with forked tail of Bohemia, England’s Plantagenet leopards, Florence Medici’s roundels, quincunxes in Portugal, chains in Navarre, castles and lions in Castile and Leon, the Crown of Aragon’s paletts (or “bars”), etc. All these and other monarchies’ blazons have displayed royal (or Grand Ducal, or Ducal or Comital) houses’ origins, the expanses of land they governed, the ones they aspired to rule and couldn’t, or

those they thought their right to, all through images great numbers of people could understand. We can see here Napoleon Bonaparte's coat of arms as king of Italy and its translation to the coins with the highest face value at the time, as well a second version of the II Reich coat of arms, and the corresponding inclusion of the piece of greatest diameter during Wilhelm II's reign (as Kaiser of Germany and king of Prussia).



Imatge de Sodacan



© David Liuzzo



## IV. EASTERN AND SOUTHERN MEDITERRANEAN SHORES

The Byzantine Empire -Eastern Roman Empire- was based on the combination of powers or caesaropapism, the idea by which the emperor was considered a representative for the divinity. This way of exercising power was tangibly displayed on coins; the emperor may appear as designated by God himself (*manus Dei*) and was always portrayed as his representative and servant. The idea of divine designation was, logically, incompatible with any succession law that intended to *compete* with divine wishes; that's why these mints were used by emperors to proclaim and defend their dynastic, familiar succession; sons, daughters, sisters, wives and other family members will be shown as successors in autocratic dignity, and forefathers' images were brought up to prove God-given right to rule as received by the dynasty.



© Tonegawa Collection

In this rushed historical overview, we reach the time of Islam's spreading on the southern and eastern latitudes of the Mediterranean. Empires of Muslim creed showed in their cash the divinity's primacy: after transitional, Byzantine and Sasanian Persian-influenced issues, most mint was exclusively epigraphic, full of religious inscriptions inviting to submit to God and, one may add, to the precepts of Islamic faith. Coins would thus become a means of proselytism, regardless of their displaying rulers' names -those who issued them - later appearing on minted metal. In any event, these -caliphs, emirs- always proclaimed being at the divinity's service: such is the case of famous Abd-ar-Rahman III of Córdoba, one of whose dirhams we reproduce here.

## V. REVOLUTIONS AND REFORMS

All the symbolisms we've mentioned so far were shaped in far past times, but there is no doubt of the current validity of the identifying and evocative -in short, symbolic- contents in monetary mint: not only it hasn't diminished over contemporary times, but is currently valid for many reasons, since the use or assumption of a money implies -de facto- accepting its political message. In line with this, it would be interesting to note that, during the War of Independence, between 1808 and 1814, Carlos IV's duros -accepted by everyone- were valued higher than coins issued in the name of Fernando VII or



Joseph Napoleon, because using one of the latter meant the carrier was a supporter of one side or the other, and could indeed cost their life, depending on circumstance.

We should also bear in mind that one of the first actions after the 1868 Revolution in Spain was changing currency, considering that the mottos and types appearing on it should always display the political system and its values while bearing no reference to the past. That's how the new types of peseta were born, and the same process had happened already and would happen in later revolutions; the Netherlands against Hispanic Hapsburgs in the late 16th century; Cromwell's in England in mid-17th century; the one that led -with the declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776 as its foundational text- to the birth of the USA; the one in France that symbolically started on July 14, 1789, and its grand proclamation of the "Declaration of the rights of man and citizen" that same year; those in France in 1830 and 1848; Russia's in 1917, which would result in the birth of the Soviet Union, etc. All these revolutions always considered it a priority to modify the symbols and inscriptions on coins, incorporating on them -for example- the bust or figure of an embodiment of liberty or the republic, intending to signal as soon as possible the shift in political system or even the conformation of society's structure (as was the case in the Bolsheviks' rise to power).



Here, we'll reproduce some classical allegories of liberty on two French coins (two *sous* minted by private company Société Monneron Frères, and two *décimes* from the 1st Republic) and another from the USA (a silver half-dollar piece): upon close inspection of the first French piece -displaying the Phrygian cap on a pike-, one can confirm the validity of the French revolutionary calendar at the time, as it was dated on the 4th year of liberty in its exergue or lower side.

The piece on the left shows *Marianne's* bust (a woman with the Phrygian cap). She would become the embodiment of the republic in France and elsewhere; finally, the USA piece on the right shows the word LIBERTY on the lower side of the Phrygian cap.



The intention of using coins to represent transformations in political and social aspects has occurred in Spain much earlier -and later- than 1868: we may recall to that end Felipe V's time and the Succession War, the Liberal Triennium during Fernando VII's reign, the successive stages of the Revolutionary six-year period that reached its end in late 1874, the Bourbon restoration in 1875-1876, Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, the 2nd Republic, Franco's government, or pieces from the Transition or democracy. We'll analyse all these in depth in the second and third part of the work following this introduction.

## **VI. KNOWLEDGE AND OPINION**

All we've stated so far confirms the idea -which many share- that money became something far beyond its actual financial value and, undoubtedly, the cash we handle daily is presented to us in our everyday life with this added character. We can thus conclude that monetary issues still transmit both a verbal and non-verbal message, intended for the population to see and assume -to make their own- the values of the ruling regime and, by metonymy, of the country they live in; this makes those little metal disks we keep in our pockets, wallets and purses both true works of art (in some cases) and tiny political treatises (always), whose contents we should be

able to understand if for no other reason, so we can consider -and if need be, voice- our consensus or dissidence with what it intends to transmit. After all, since the iconographic and epigraphic contents of monetary issues have always been decided by the highest instances of a certain government, conscious as said political rulers are and were of the transmitting format's importance, and the consequent massive effectiveness of the message, it's only logical to try and put ourselves -as citizens- in the proper position to understand the statements on minted metal and to make up our own opinion on them.







In this sense, all that's left is to celebrate the appearance of *Power in your pocket. Images of rulers in Spanish coins (18th to 21st century)*, the work these lines precede. Hopefully, the reader will concur it constitutes an educational synthesis within reach of all kinds of audiences, including those with no training in numismatics, on the mechanisms used to legitimate power on Spanish monetary mint in the last -nearly- 300 years.

This document -which we owe to Rafael Company- translates into paper, with a greater chronological arc and thematic broadness, the section on numismatics of the "The images of power" exhibition (within the "Power and propaganda" cycle) of the Valencian Museum of Enlightenment and Modernity, MuVIM, and my collaboration on it should come as no surprise, after having dedicated a good part of my professional life to unravel the messages rulers broadcast on mint in Spain and other latitudes. A task I have had the honour of carrying out accompanied by the invaluable complicity and high standards of Javier de Santiago Fernández and other members of the Department of Historiographical Sciences and Techniques at Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

Let this text, "Coin, much more than money", be a testimony of my support to the development of such educational initiatives as the one about to be carried out by the aforementioned Valencian museum's governing body. And my hope that it will spur future proposals of the same, or similar, kind.

Madrid, May 11, 2017



RAFAEL COMPANY I MATEO

# POWER IN YOUR POCKET

Images of rulers  
in Spanish coins  
(18th to 21st century)



## AN APPROACH TO POLITICAL CONTENT IN COIN ISSUES



This coin showed -with great artistic skill- a sugar-coated vision of the historical relationship Native Americans and the settlers of European descent in the territories that are the U.S.A. today; the mystification of that bloody tragedy are also present in the following text, glossing the mint from the biased -one could say imperialist- perspective, of the winning side in this war on the natives: "The Oregon Trail commemorative [half dollar] is certainly outstanding in its draftsmanship and symbolism. The observe of Indian clad in ceremonial bonnet and dignity, standing before a map of the United States with arm outstretched toward the east in the futile posture of primitive defiance, eloquently depicts the age-old conflict between the free nomad and the tinkers and farmers who flowed across the land like a sea of tar, felling the forests and furrowing the plains, rooting more firmly than the oak and pine whose shadow they brush from the hills. On the reverse, a Conestoga wagon rolls irrevocably toward the setting sun, conquering with oxen and wheel, prevailing through numbers" (Clifford Mishler: *Coins. Questions and Answers (An Official Whitman® Guidebook)*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998, page 97).

Besides the well-known socioeconomic dimension of coins and bank notes, their circulation among the population has turned them into a means of political communication one could define in adjectives of very similar nature: massive, general, omnipresent. Little reflection is needed to see how such epithets point to the nationalisation processes societies went through. Given the existing debate regarding when nations really appeared, we should put the term nationalisation in quotes when dealing with times prior to the Late mod-

ern period.<sup>1</sup> However, beyond the logical caution, we can easily build an idea on what we're talking about: that is, the role monetary issues played in forming societies' political dimensions, the public perception of displays of power and thus, of rulers or insurgents' ability -or lack thereof- to build consensus around them. By this, we mean "national" consensus, with or without quotation marks, depending on the case, achieved through methods of diverse nature (from the commonplace *epiphany* or seductive pose to hidden interest and unbridled manipulation).



This may be the most politically meaningful design to appear on coins from the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, USSR, prior to other, commemorative, issues. This silver ruble dated in 1924 evinces the desire to build a new society under the guide or paternalism, of the strong -muscular-working class, and so, of the communist party acting as its

interpreter. The scene is overlooked by the sun casting its powerful rays in the first hours of the day, a typically enlightened, *aufklärer*, image, including factories and the portrayal of a robust peasant surrounded by his crops, with a sickle on his left hand. The character is, *nolens volens*, pushed into class consciousness and brotherhood and -so we're to suppose- to future happiness by the worker with his hand on his shoulder, and both characters show Slavic ethnical traits: when push comes to shove, the USSR is Russia enhanced.

- 1 "An essential dichotomy persists in social sciences, a translation of the same duality existing in the historical definitions of nation since the early 19th century (the objective or organic-historicist, and the voluntarist): on one hand, *modernist* authors and theories building or making up a nation according to their interests and circumstances, and on the other, *primordialist* authors and theories, considering nations as ethnically-defined collectives with an objective existence, preceding nationalism, with more or less nuances in their extremes (Smith, 1986). We will opt for a relatively mixed approach, [...]" (Xosé M. Núñez Seixas: *Movimientos nacionalistas en Europa. Siglo XX*. Madrid: Síntesis, 1998, page 11).

In regard to paper money, although the Bank of England incorporated the effigy of Britannia on a medallion in its bills as early as 1697, the fact is that inclusion of -iconographical and epigraphical- symbols of political power on this financial instrument was a slow process. Much slower, surely, than the one undergone by metallic coins appearing in the 7th century B.C. in western Asia Minor and the islands of the eastern Aegean. Another point to notice that shows metal pieces' *advantage* in our subject: widespread use of paper money as a means of payment wasn't a fact until the late 19th century. Be it as it may, we will put bank notes aside for this work and focus on coin issues.<sup>2</sup>

Such issues may be -first- coins with a lesser face value, on base metal or, in ancient times, silver, ordinarily used by people of humble means (even though such issues have also been used on occasion by the other members of society).



Nowadays, and since the mid-19th century, the smallest coin in the USA is valued at one cent. Made of diverse metallic compositions throughout time (although never gold or silver), the cent -commonly named penny- is very present in the lives of less well-off Americans:

- 2 Here we have a recent, rather synthetic, approach to the origins and uses of the monetary phenomenon (keeping in mind that while coins are money, many other elements have also been used as such beyond coins): "The coin, understood as a disk-shaped piece of metal, appeared around 600 BC in the kingdom of Lydia or one of the Asia Minor Greek cities to allow these city-states to pay and receive payments in cash: to pay their mercenaries and employees as well as to receive taxes. Coins were also used as reserves of goods, easing the stockpiling of wealth and the quantification of offerings in the sanctuaries in Greek cities at a time of intense development in maritime commerce. Coins soon acquired a financial function, too, used as measurement pattern when calculating goods' costs. The appearance of coins also brought the abandonment of barter and other old forms of pre-monetary "money", such as skewers of iron spits used until then in Greece. From then on, coins have worked mostly as a means of exchange facilitating commercial transactions and allowing the acquisition of goods and services" (Antonio Bellido and Fernando Pérez Rodríguez-Aragón: «El poder de la imagen en las monedas romanas», in *Numismática romana en Valladolid. Arqueología, libro y antiguo coleccionismo* [catalogue to the exhibition with the same name, held at the Museo de Valladolid]. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2011, pages 13-26; quote on page 13).

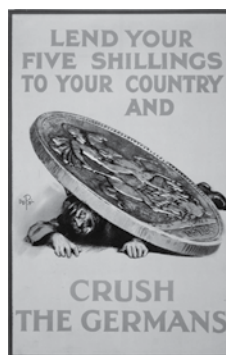
the cent, as well as the five-cent piece or nickel, called so because of the metal most commonly used in its minting. In 1907, the year this image's piece was issued, many impoverished looked closely at the face of Liberty adorning the obverse of this bronze cent. It was a female head in feathered headdress in the Native American fashion; a Liberty -as stated near her forehead- only supposedly nativized, as her face does show European rather than Native American ethnical traits. In the country of war against tribes and the establishment of the reservation system, some thought it would only be natural for Liberty to look like a Native American. But only look like one, though...

Hard cash in ancient times was equally gold mint -big or small- and silver pieces of considerable size which fundamentally served the needs of both the rich and the most relevant merchants.



A silver crown dated in 1887, during the much celebrated 50th anniversary of queen Victoria of England's enthroning. This is the biggest and heaviest of British pieces from the time, valued at either 60 pennies, 5 shillings, or a quarter of a sterling pound (which at the time was minted in gold). Thus, it was a coin for the wealthy or sufficiently well-off. Regarding

its motif, one of the most spectacular in the history of European cash, it represents the patron saint of England, Saint George, nude in the Greek fashion and slaying the dragon. The design was first minted towards the end of the second decade of the 19th century: the author was Italian Benedetto Pistrucci, very adept at neoclassical aesthetics. It's also logical to consider the dragon to be a veiled allusion to the "abominable" Bonaparte, the enemy British troops had just overcome at the time. A very veiled allusion, of course.



This is one of the most famous British posters during World War I: "Lend your five shillings to your country and crush the Germans". It was part of a public campaign to raise private funds to face the war effort and remind the public that without money the war couldn't be won. Its author was D.D. Fry, and it was printed on the initiative of the Parliamentary War Savings Committee in London. The hypertrophied 5-shilling coin is dated in the year the poster was created, 1915 (the last crown with the design of Saint George slaying the dragon was minted in 1902), and using this monetary specimen in the satirical scene emphasises for the public that it is a huge and powerful



piece. If the antinapoleonic hypothesis about the original design from the early 19th century was true, the use of the same piece in this anti-German context would follow a tradition (though now with a clearly explicit phobia). The image comes from the Library of Congress in Washington D.C.: <<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003675229>>

Regarding the existence of a *de facto* double monetary circulation, Elena García Guerra -in the book *Las alteraciones monetarias en Europa durante la Edad Moderna*<sup>-3</sup> states the following: “gold [and, one should add, the biggest silver coins] was exclusive to princes, great merchants or the church: silver was destined to ordinary transactions, while copper, the lowest level, was considered as a “black” coin for the masses and the poor” (p. 24). She goes on:

The two “coins”, that is, the small and the big one, rather than being different elements in a single, organic monetary system, soon became two different ones, each with its own distinct area of circulation, be it geographical, social or business-related. To further enforce the idea, common speak at the time underlined the distinction, calling coins made of alloys or copper alone “small coins”, and those of gold or silver “big coins” (pages 24-25).

But regardless of the greater or lesser cross-circulation of monetary specimens among different sectors of society, the fact is that gold pieces, as well as a big or small silver and base metal ones were massively produced, and assigned to a single, *de iure*, general circulation mainframe (a single market), and they normally flowed constantly through financial life. Because of all this, messages engraved on mint might be the most widespread of all put in circulation -by the authority, or those who called themselves the authority- in a given social and geographical space. And in qualitative terms, monetary circulation was an efficient means of political communication with a propaganda profile.

We resort once again to Elena García Guerra to delve into these *added* uses of coin:

Nevertheless, the pride of issuing noble metal pieces in and out of the confines of their state, spreading the rulers’ image and emblem, made up in spades for the loss of mint. At a time with no social communication media, going from hand to hand and moving in time and space -as decades-old specimens still circulated along the recently minted new pieces-, coins were the most efficient means for rulers to make themselves known and admired (p. 26).

Naturally, we must consider a determining factor to the success of this propaganda: the ability of these messages’ intended recipients to understand or decode them. First, and regarding a strict reading -that of writing engraved on monetary pieces-, this could be accessed by the illiterate just as well as printed material or public inscriptions are: with outside help. And the same could be said of a wider reading (*literacy*) of iconic content (including symbols) and especially of those images that hadn’t had the repercussion or reached the popularity of renowned emblems.

We’ll use a coin from the French Revolution as an example -made of metal from molten bells and in neoclassical style- where we find a very different iconography to the one appearing in previous French mint from the time of monarchic absolutism, full of royal crowns, fleur-de-lys and, it should be taken into account, Christian religious inscriptions.



A two-sou coin issued in 1792 in the name of who was, in September 1791, the French constitutional king: Louis XVI. The main iconographic motif is a fasces or bunch of rods, forming a cylinder, tied with ribbons and crossed by a pike or spear. This figure showed French rulers’ admiration for Roman ancient times, at whose political regime they looked

for inspiration and everlasting example. Keep in mind that the fasces-carried by Roman lictores or public Roman

officials guarding magistrates -particularly consuls and praetors- had been the physical symbol of power for those ruling near the Tiber after being elected by the "people". Here, the bundle is crowned by another emblem of ancient origins, known as the Phrygian or liberty cap, identified with the pileus, present in the process of freeing slaves in Rome. In the inscription, LA NATION LA LOI LE ROI, the king appears last -which was extremely telling- after the nation (the French nation, only holder of sovereignty) and the law (pointedly, the highest-ranked one, the Constitution, come from the people through its representatives). Nation and law the monarch swore loyalty to on September 14, 1791, on the occasion of his acceptance of the Constitution, and even before. The design's author was Augustin Dupré, friend and *alter ego* in the art of designing coins and medals to Jacques-Louis David, the well-known neoclassical painter. And a last note: while the obverse of this piece shows the king's bust with a Christian date, the lower part of the image reads a date from the first revolutionary calendar, the calendar of Liberty, which started counting from July 14, 1789 (on the day of the Storming of the Bastille, the symbolic start of the French Revolution).

While the socialising role of messages on physical money can't be said to have disappeared, there's no denying the -qualitative and quantitative- incidence of coins in building the image of power has dwindled considerably over time. In any event, this decline is by no means exclusive to the monetary phenomenon, and has occurred in parallel to the one other media have undergone, media that have been fully valid for centuries, but which couldn't keep their former relevance over technological and social changes. In the same vein, we may consider a nuance in the social role of messages appearing on coins from given times in the past: thus, if we were to talk about Ancient times, it is well known that monetisation processes didn't advance at the same speed and depth in all territories; but also that, in the case of perceptibly monetised classical societies such as the Roman, there are also many interesting doubts, such as the true degree of social penetration of the "discourse in images" displayed on mint from the latter days of the republic.

Regardless of the situations we just exposed, there are cases-such as late- 19th century France- in which the leading role of political messages on coins was indisputable, and all this among controversies stoked by newspapers, which actively echoed the social transcendence of the debate. An exponent from that *coin war* in France was

la Semeuse, the sower, designed in a modernist style -*art nouveau*- by artist Oscar Roty, appearing on 50 cents, 1 franc and 2 francs silver coins from 1897/1989 and 1920.



In an agricultural scene lit by the first rays of the sun (in the same way as on Enlightenment engravings), Marianne, embodiment of the French Republic and /or Liberty -portrayed with Hellenistic-reminding attire and wearing the Phrygian cap, or liberty cap- sows the land and, metaphorically impregnates France with the lights of Reason, the *Lumières*: an incredibly

beautiful visual synthesis of the republican, laicist and progressive state ideology than came to power toward the end of the 19th century, with the 3rd republic -which had started in the hands of conservatives- already deep in its course. This magnificent design's propaganda character was missed to no one: neither to its devotees, nor to those defending a more traditional view of the French nation, who judged it sternly even on grounds of sexual (im)morality "[...] elle sème le désordre, l'ivraie, la graine de mensonge et d'immoralité".



*La Semeuse* not only lived on French silver coins for two decades: she also appeared on post stamps (on the upper left corner of the image) and was reproduced on many physical formats, including postcards, which were immensely popular at the time (see other images of *La Semeuse* in appendix O)

After all we've stated, it is very evident that, on issuing a coin, those in charge not only need to think long and hard about its metallic composition, format and minting technique before releasing it to the public, its face value (since these are supposed to be money that'll enter the circulatory flow), or its aesthetical language; they also need to ponder, heavily, on what messages and symbolic codes need to adorn the mint. And all



this regardless of any consideration on the real -intended or achieved- propaganda effectiveness, given that this is, at the very least, a *signum principis* or *signum rei publicae*: “[...] Vederi nella loro tematica l’affermazione perentoria che le monete sono *signum principis*, come lo già notato. Se le monete una propaganda fanno, è questa”<sup>4</sup>

Definitively, coins are the homeland to those issuing then. And evidently, they are also the homeland to those who use them.



A year after the start of World War 1, the kingdom of Prussia -the hard core of Germany’s Second Reich- issued this coin commemorating the centennial of the Battle of the Nations, or Battle of Leipzig, in 1813: *Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig* in German. This monetary celebration of Napoleonic France’s bust against the coalition of Prussia, Austria, Russia, etc. deserved such an expressive design: the eagle, a German totemic animal, was portrayed about to finish off the reptile ready to hit with its poisonous, lethal bite.

Anyone looking at the 3-mark silver coin, with no need for a deep knowledge of international politics in the time of imperialism -but a notion of European history- could get the picture that German rulers weren’t precisely in love with France. And the attack in Sarajevo would prove them right shortly after.

But we shouldn’t put our hopes up: more often than would have been desirable, studying the reasons for using a given type over another -dealing, of course, with motifs and/or inscriptions- hasn’t taken centre stage in research on numismatics, even though it would seem normal to consider it a nodal matter. That’s why we appropriate the words of renowned specialists in Islamic currency when they said “coins are also historical facts in themselves. That is, not only are they documents carrying explicit data, but objects from a given society, manifesting the ideas and values of that society”.<sup>5</sup> That’s why incisive

words such as these from François de Callatay are so on the nose, there being a fight for numismatic research to become deeply intertwined with historical narration: «Il appartient dès lors au spécialiste des monnaies de ne jamais oublier le lien avec l’histoire, sans quoi ses travaux ne seront pas lus, [...]».<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, this need to link research in numismatics and historical study has another side to it: the existence of historians’ debt to the contributions of numismatics. Or, in the very author’s refrained words: “[...] et [il appartient] à l’historien généraliste, c’est à dire le plus souvent un historien des sources littéraires, de prendre la mesure renouvelée des apports de la numismatique”.<sup>7</sup> And that’s because besides the usual mint, which are always useful in the sense we’re dealing with, a particularly well thought out coin may at times gather in its diameter lots of *quality* information: the piece at hand informs, and teaches us on, the ideological climate of a given historical period, to the point of spewing pages upon (figurative) pages of written documents to the peering eye. Such is the case of a coin minted under the rule of someone who -in spite of later pro-socialist leanings- came to power as a far-right nationalist politician, founding a mass political movement baptised as *fascism*.



Fascist Italy’s ideology synthesised in this silver 20-lire coin. It was minted in the sixth year since Benito Mussolini’s march on Rome and the subsequent acceptance by king Victor Emmanuel III of the blackshirts’ dictatorship. One of this piece’s -and others from the same period’s- characteristics is precisely its indirect reference to the fascist’s coming to power:

by the date according to the Christian calendar, 1927, to the left of the image we read -in Roman numerals- the mint being from year 6, sixth year of the Fascist Era or calendar that considered its start Mussolini’s proclamation as head of government. As José M<sup>a</sup> de Francisco points out when he refers to “alternative dating” in totalitarian regimes,

4 Gian Guido Belloni: *La moneta romana. Società, politica cultura*. Roma: Carocci, 2002, p. 123.

5 Miguel Vega Martín, Salvador Peña Martín and Manuel C. Hería García: *El mensaje de las monedas almohades. Numismática, traducción y pensamiento islámico*. Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2002, pages 224-225.

6 François de Callatay: *La monnaie grecque*. Paris: Ellipses, 2001, page 40.

7 *Ibid*

"In this context of consolidation of the fascist totalitarian regime there was the issuing of a public notice on December 25, 1926, commanding the use of a Roman numeral indicating the year of the "fascist era" along traditional dates in all public and private documents, even in correspondence. Its official start would be on October 29, 1922, the date Mussolini and the fascists ascended to power. The law was enforced from October 29, 1927, at the start of the sixth year of the fascist era (E.F.)."<sup>8</sup>

The piece's author was one of the most celebrated Italian artists engraving medals and coins, Giuseppe Romagnoli, who was able to masterfully combine images from Ancient Rome and a united Italy under the Savoy dynasty. First, to the left of the design, we find a nude, classical lictor, like a Roman doryphoros leaning on a fasces or bundle of rods with an axe of notable archaeological verisimilitude (the ancient bundle -*fascio littorio* in Italian- was embraced by mussolinian fascisti as a "*talking*" symbol). The lictor salutes with his arm held high, in a gesture recalling Ancient Rome, and, ever since the fascists' irruption, also the new Italy: ancient Romans had come back from the grave in Mussolini's (and many others') mind, and they were proposed as the Italians' -who were expected to become *i romani della modernità*- political and vital role models. Facing the lictor we have a sitting, rotund and classical Italy, carrying the torch of liberty that was supposed to reign in the country. The Savoy's white cross on red background appears under the Italic matron's left arm. It had been this dynasty who institutionalised Italy in the Risorgimento wars of independence and the conquest of Rome from the Pope's hands. It was, then, a dialogue through centuries, as the mussolinian state intended to be: the fusion of eternal, imperial Rome and nationalist, irredentist Italy and its colonialist -and as such, also imperial- vocation. Such fusion came to life in the regime of il Duce, an extremely arrogant dictator who saw himself as the new Julius Caesar and, later on, would pretend to be a reborn Augustus of sorts. All this information from a metallic disk a few centimetres in diameter.



Detail from a *pagella scolastica* or school card-used on school year 1927-1928- showing the Savoy's coat of arms flanked by two fasci littori with axes. The design is very similar to the one that would be declared lesser coat of arms for fascist Italy in April 1929, the most used emblem in Italy from then until Mussolini's fall in 1943.

A penultimate point: on previous pages we haven't spoken of coins with rulers' portraits or coats of arms on them because they will be -very- present in this work. Indeed, most pieces we'll analyse in the two following sections display either the bust of a monarch or a dictator's portrait; and royal or state coats of arms are also protagonists in the compilation of coins we have put together for this occasion. Besides, José María de Francisco Olmos's introduction preceding these lines, "Coin, much more than money" is reference enough about this type of motifs on cash.

We'd like to finish this introduction of sorts with the author whose quote opened these vey pages, the aforementioned José María de Francisco Olmos. He started one of his articles, "Propaganda política en la moneda de los Borbones (1700-1868)",<sup>9</sup> with a series of indisputable -forceful, synthesising- statements on the relationship between currency and power we transcribe here, which we consider to be a fine invitation to keep reading the next few pages:

8 "Los calendarios propios de los regimenes totalitarios en el periodo de entreguerras. La doble datación en la documentación oficial del "bando nacional" durante la guerra civil española (1936-1939)", *Revista General de Información y Documentación*, 19. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2009, pages 265-295; quote on page 273.

9 En Juan Carlos Galende Díaz y Javier de Santiago Fernández (dirs.): *VI Jornadas Científicas sobre Documentación borbónica en España y América (1700-1868)*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2007, pages 177-234.

Monetary types and inscriptions are always a reflection of the issuing party's conception of power, of the legitimacy they want to transmit to their subjects and other states, the sovereignty they exercise or territories they intend to claim as their own. All of this in a financial document becoming the best representative for the ideals of power.

On a coin, types and inscriptions are related to the figure in power, their (greater or lesser) coat of arms, the places they rule over, their reign's representation, their legitimacy, etc., and in the case of the period we are studying, covering these nearly two centuries of Spanish History, given that by definition types of coins only change because rulers want to inform about a political change (a new sovereign accessing the throne), or one in the currency's parity and exchange rate, so users can tell new pieces from the old ones.

Financial troubles and reforms will be dealt with in other chapters of this conference, while we'll focus on the political intention of monetary types and inscriptions from this period.

In our case, there is no conference to refer to regarding financial troubles and reforms: we'll consider ourselves satisfied if readers wonder about the -political- intentions of those metallic disks in their wallet or purse, or on display in private collections and museums. No coin is innocent indeed; but it's also true that no analyst of coins is (as we've seen regarding the commemorative half-dollar piece on page 38): after all, it's power we talk about here.

## PART II

# IMAGES OF ROYAL POWER ON SPANISH COINS

From the Ancient Regime  
to Isabel II's dethroning

## 1.SPANISH BOURBONS ON MONETARY TYPES BETWEEN 1728 AND 1772

If there was one characteristic trait of the Ancien Régime regarding the exercise of royal power, it was that monarchies claimed divine right for themselves. Talking about monarchies in the Modern period -thus including most of the 18th century- means referring to most countries in Europe and, given the existence of vast colonial territories, most of the world under western rule: in fact, until the USA and France's revolutionary outbursts in the late 18th century or Age of Enlightenment, very few territories were ruled by republics: the Republic of the Seven United Provinces, that is, Holland and other areas which achieved independence from the Hispanic Hapsburgs and had it acknowledged between the late 16th century and the first half of the 17th; the Swiss or Helvetic Confederacy; the Most Serene Republic of Venice; Genoa; Corsica's ephemeral experience with Pasquale Paoli; some free cities in the midst of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation...

### 1.1 Divine right monarchies

Focusing on the specific case of Bourbon Spain and its constellation of overseas possessions, it's a well-known fact that the Hispanic empire was ruled by Catholic kings -it was indeed called "the Catholic Monarchy"-, absolute in the exercise of their power. It was stated at this time that the source of this absolute power was the Christians' only god, and as a consequence, the Spanish monarchy saw itself as holding divine right: kings with their court in Madrid were so by "the Grace of God". Like so many other monarchs throughout Europe, on the other hand. In late 18th century France, under the reign of Louis XV, who also claimed to be sanctioned by divine right, a dictionary shed light on what it was like to be proclaimed king *par la grâce de Dieu*:

pour faire voir que nos Rois ne tiennent leur sceptre & leur pouvoir que de Dieu seul, & qu'ils ne reconnaissent aucun supérieur sur la terre ; en sorte même qu'ils disputent cette qualité à tous autres Princes qui ne sont pas souverains, soit qu'ils relèvent d'eux en fiefs, ou de quel qu'autre Souverain.<sup>1</sup>

The writer left no doubt that kings, and kings alone-the dictionary definition talks about French monarchs, but those conclusions could be easily applied to others-, received the sceptre and power only from the hands of God and so could acknowledge no higher power on Earth (although it should be pointed out that Christ's vicar, the Roman Pope, may have been the exception to some)



*Louis XV, king of France (1730), by Hyacinthe Rigaud -Jacint Rigau-Ros I Serra in Catalan- (Versailles Palace). The painter was born in Perpignan -on the eve of the Treaty of the Pyrenees- and is universally famous for a magnificent portrait of Louis XIV kept in Paris, at the Musée du Louvre: the work became a paradigm of baroque pictorial portrayal of monarchic power, and what's more, one of the reference models of court portraits that would be popular in later centuries.*

While it's true that the portrait of Louis XV reproduced here hasn't acquired the relevance of the aforementioned painting, it is also true that -by using grandiloquent shapes and a very evident technical expertise- it is a perfect example of a French monarch's *grandeur* holding absolute power and allegedly imbued with "the Grace of God". By the way, fleur-de-lys spread around the picture's lit areas are uncountable.

PAR LA GRACE DE DIEU, est la formule qui sert de commencement aux Lettres Royaux,

<sup>1</sup> Claude-Joseph de Ferrière: *Dictionnaire de droit et de pratique. Nouvelle édition, revue, corrigée & augmentée, Tome second*. Paris: Veuve Brunet, 1769, page 283b.

It would be logical to assume, given what we've just discussed, that this divine -thus, other-worldly- legitimization of the power of royal people ought to be present not only on the heading of official documents, but also on the coins issued by said monarchies. Including Spain.



This coin [↑] -sanctioned by legal rulings from July and September 1728, but minted in 1732- shows the long royal title of the first Spanish Bourbon on its obverse (or heads). It does so by using up to five abbreviations, among which are the letters “D” and “G”; these are the signs the piece uses to state the legitimization by “the Grace of God”, *Dei Gratia* in Latin: “PHILIP[US] · V · D[EI] · G[RATIA] · HISPAN[IA] · ET IND[IA] · REX” or rather, Felipe V, king of the Spains and the Indies by the Grace of God. This inscription appeared on many coins issued in the monarch’s name before and after 1728, when it was decided that the royal bust would also appear on gold pieces [↗].

## 1.2 A much too simplified Bourbon coat of arms

However, unlike many Spanish coins (or coins from elsewhere in the world), 8-reales coins minted since 1732 would feature an inscription alluding the monarch, but no royal portrait, no profile view of the sovereign to accompany it, as had been the case throughout the centuries, from ancient Roman and Greek times, a paradigmatic image of power or, more precisely, of the one holding it. Nevertheless, continuing deeply-rooted traditions in currency from Castile and Leon, the inscription is joined by an element intending to substitute the royal bust: a crowned coat of arms, one of the most famous in history. This is

the *reduced, abridged, simplified, small or lesser* coat of arms, a heraldic emblem for the Spanish Bourbon dynasty kings, only charged with Castile and Leon’s quarterly, the pomegranate -from the kingdom of Granada, pomegranate in Spanish-, and a central escutcheon with three fleur-de-lys. Such a reduced range of emblems refers clearly the symbolic consequences of Felipe’s victory in the Succession War (and the subsequent abolition of the fueros in Valencia and Aragon, and Catalonia’s Constitutions): cornering the “four paletts” emblem to the few coins issued in or for territory under the crown of Aragon (except for one in times of Fernando VI, as we’ll discuss later), as well as the later absence of said blazon in most general issues by the monarchy. *Justo derecho de conquista* (fair right of conquest), Felipe V *dixit*, and Castile and Leon as the peripheries’ centre of gravity.



*Felipe V (1720), by José Amorós (Museu de l'Almodí, Xàtiva). The Battle of Almansa (1707)-winning king's portrait remains upside down ever since it was put this way -in the early '60's of last century- by then-curator of the Setabense municipal museum, Carles Sarthou. The reasons to such an exceptional behaviour are to be found in the early 18th century: during the Succession*

War, Xàtiva city had embraced archduke Carlos de Austria-Carlos III de Hapsburg for Valencians, Catalonians, Aragonese, etc.-’s cause, and thus, the capital city of the Costera region strongly opposed Felipe de Anjou’s troops. Felipist final victory brought great repression on the city with it, including later arson of the city and changing its name to *Nueva Colonia de San Felipe*, an almost sarcastic allusion to the king who had ordered such punishment. Xàtiva’s remaining inhabitants -who after the arson are known locally by the nickname *socarrats*, or burned- remembered the Bourbon’s misdeed, as well as their resent of the first Spanish king who bore the fleur-de-lys on his coat of arms. Turning the portrait upside-down was the expression of a centuries-old feeling among citizens, and also a spectacular symbolic attack on the rhetoric of royal power.

When dealing with the lesser coat of arms, we consider the emblems that would continually appear on Hispanic (including Hispanic-American) monetary issue from Felipe V's reign to the end of Isabel II's. The same emblem, only flanked by pillars of Hercules -a symbol of Spain's Atlantic expansion, and thus, expansion to American territories- would appear on coinage a bit later: in 1772, by command of Carlos III de Bourbon, but then only on Spanish monarchy coins produced in American mints. As a matter of fact, this monetary type would remain valid until the extinction of Spanish power, and thus, until the birth of the new independent countries. Regarding the peninsula, the Liberal Triennium would translate the model with pillars to some silver issues from 1821 to 1823, Isabel II doing the same from 1850 to 1868, the year of her dethroning.

After the Revolutionary six-year period, and after a decree signed by Antonio Cánovas del Castillo in January 1875, the Bourbon lesser coat of arms would regain its legal status in Spain and its possessions in the numismatic field, too: Alfonso XII's silver 5-peseta or duro coins, dated in 1875 and 1876, would bear it in their reverse (or tails), with pillars. However, 1-peseta and 25-peseta coins in 1876 already showed the coat of arms with paletts and chains (it's the presence of these elements that fundamentally differentiates the old Bourbon coat of arms from what is currently the kingdom of Spain's coat of arms) [7].

On their few monetary issues, carlists would only include Castile and Leon's quarterly coat of arms, with the pomegranate and fleur-de-lys, and no pillars. However, the last appearance of the reduced Bourbon coat of arms on mint would come in the second half of Alfonso XII's reign, from 1880 to 1885, on coins for the Philippines alone: two values with the pillars and two without. In any event, this emblem -which in truth was not the *national* coat of arms of Spain in the 19th-20th century- would be present during Alfonso XII's reign on several formats other than numismatics- It would coexist -at times in confusing terms- on the ground of custom, and at times in such contradictory terms as the nation's coat of

arms having elements added to it which evidently belonged to the sovereign's personal emblem (especially, the Golden Fleece and the mantle), also in contexts of use that were to be strictly limited or displaying the *national* coat of arms [↓].



### 1.3 An allegedly universal monarchy

We've already pointed out at the beginning of this section the nature of power exercised by Spanish monarchs of the house of Bourbon during the Ancien Régime: absolute and based on divine right. But how far did this power reach in terms of territory? We can gather such information from the 1812 Constitution mentioning, in its 10th article, the latitudes Spanish kings ruled over at the time:

Spanish territory includes, in the Peninsula with its territories and adjacent islands, Aragon, Asturias, Old Castile, New Castile, Catalonia, Córdoba, Extremadura, Galicia, Granada, Jaén, Leon, Molina, Murcia, Navarre, the Basque Provinces, Seville and Valencia, the Balearic and Canary Islands with the other territories in Africa. On northern America, New Spain, with New Galicia and the Yucatán Peninsula, Guatemala, inland provinces of the West, the Island of Cuba, the two Floridas, the Spanish part of Santo Domingo, and the Island of Puerto Rico, with others adjacent to them and to the continent on one sea and the other. In southern America, New Granada, Venezuela, Peru, Chile, the Río de la Plata provinces and all adjacent islands in the Pacific sea and the Atlantic. In Asia, the Philippine islands and those depending on their government.



A really long roster, indeed. But faced with such thorough written record, appropriate to a lawmaker's work, the Spanish monarchy had found, in the early '30s of the 18th century, a way to sum up visually this meticulous list. An image that may have been worth a thousand words. And even more than that, an image of power.



What we see in this coin is, indeed, what we get: the Spanish crown sitting on -ruling as one- two world hemispheres (portrayed as two globes, or rather, *worlds*). Or, without the exaggerated and rhetoric mystifications, the king of Spain holding sovereignty over a considerable portion of the Old and New world, both sitting on a land mass on water: "the two pillars crowned by the plus ultra, bathed by sea waves, and between them two worlds united by the crown ruling them" (edict LXI. 1728/IX/8).

This domination over West and East is reinforced by the Latin inscription "VTRAQUE VNUM" or, on other issues, "VTRA QUE VNUM": one and the other (world) are one, taken from the Latin vulgate, specifically from the Epistle to the Ephesians (2, 14: "[...] qui fecit utraque unum [...]") We're clearly in the presence of a very intelligent allegory (or baroque emblem), made to the greater glory of a personal power -through the ad hominem imbuing of divine grace, that is, being chosen by the Highest, thus having constant celestial support and help- that intended to be universal.

Portrayal of the hemispheres (or of the globes) hadn't been missing on coin from the Spanish Hapsburgs: in 1684 -in Naples-, a *ducato* or silver piastra was minted in the name of Carlos II displaying the spheres on its reverse, a good-sized sceptre and crown in the centre, and an inscription as boastful -or more- as the one on the 8-reales piece: "· VNVS · NON · SVFFICIT ·", on a tefillah (another clear baroque emblem). We would also find the two hemispheres on coins in the name of Felipe V de Bourbon and Fernando VI, although

not on such courtly specimens, but on 4-, 2- and 1-maravedí copper pieces, produced in Castilian mints, and as a display of the "castilianising" standardisation in early 18th century, as well as on mints from Zaragoza, Barcelona and Valencia. On the reverse of these coins -issued from 1718 to 1720, and two decades later, from 1739 to 1746-, a crowned lion regardant carries a sword in its right fore paw, and a sceptre on its left, both elements



being accompanied by two globes (the hemispheres). The inscription that goes with this motif intending to represent imperial Spain is "VTRUM·Q[UE] · VIRT[UTE] · PRO·TEGO" (*I protect both [worlds] with virtue*).

Beyond coetaneous or precedent issues, it's true that the 8-reales coins with the hemispheres -globes or worlds- under the crown were minted, with slight changes in their design, in several mints in the American viceroyalties for 40 years, from 1732/1733 to 1772. Thus, their obverse displayed the royal titles of Felipe V, his son Fernando VI, and another of his sons, Carlos III. There are no coins of this type in the name of Felipe V's elder son, Luis I, who died prematurely in 1724, shortly after starting his reign following his father's abdication.



*Felipe V's family* (1743), by Louis-Michel van Loo (Museo del Prado, Madrid). An excellently finished piece of great baroque magnificence, with some particularly meaningful details from a political perspective: the crown sits on a pillow near Isabel de Farnesio, Felipe's second wife, and not near the king himself. He -sitting and staring at his wife- has future monarch Fernando VI to his left. Future Carlos III -then Carlos VII of Naples and Carlos V of Sicily- is the tall male character standing to the right. As José Luis Sancho stated in "Retratos de familia de los Borbones 1700-1801" (in *Arte, poder y sociedad en la España de los siglos XV a XX*. Madrid: CSIC, 2008, pages 123-138; quote on page 131), "The whole composition expresses the triumph of her (Isabel de Farnesio's) politics, as she has put two of her sons as sovereigns in Italy, a princess heir in Portugal, a prince in the Church; and she's about to marry two of her daughters to France and Savoy. [...] In fact, save for the yet-to-be-married infantas, they are all geographically arranged West to East, as if in an imaginary journey from Lisbon to Naples by way of Parma. Altogether, the painting offers a perfect image of Felipe and Isabel's dynastic ambitions, well- manifested prolific monarchs, developing [...]".

For a minimal outline of the transcendence of 8-reales pieces from a financial perspective, see appendix I

## 1.4 Navarrese currency and the first Spanish Bourbons

Navarre held a peculiar place among the Spanish Bourbon monarchy's possessions: having sided with Felipe de Anjou, the winner of the Succession War, allowed it to retain the autonomous government that was denied to the "four paletts" crown (with the exception of the Val d'Aran). Among the defining traits of Navarre in the Modern period, there was the ability of issuing money: this fuero kingdom reached its peak with Felipe VI (IV of Castile, III of the Aragon crown), but in times of Carlos V -II of Castile, II of the Crown of Aragon- Navarrese territory only issued coins with very low face value. According to tradition, and the law, pieces issued in Pamplona could only feature the Navarrese royal title (and not the general Spanish one), and so, the monarch's numeral corresponded to Navarre's own, and not the one used in Castile.

José María de Francisco Olmos summed up the changing circumstances of Navarrese coinage in Bourbon times in his article "Propaganda política en la moneda de los Borbones (1700-1868)".<sup>2</sup> Here are some lines dedicated to the reigns of Felipe VII, Fernando II, Carlos VI and Carlos VII (in Castile, Felipe V, Fernando VI, Carlos III and Carlos IV):

During Felipe V's reign an important change occurred regarding the typology of Navarrese pieces, as the monarch decided to keep his Castilian numeral and title Hispaniarum Rex, against Navarrese tradition and customs that specified the use of the Navarrese numeral (in which case he would be Felipe VII), as well as the royal title appropriate to the kingdom alone, but we should bear in mind the Navarrese kingdom's special set of problems, where Luis XIV of France was the

2 In Juan Carlos Galende Díaz and Javier de Santiago Fernández (dirs.): *VI Jornadas Científicas sobre Documentación borbónica en España y América (1700-1868)*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2007, pages. 177-234; quote on pages 187-188.

legitimate heir to the House of Foix-Albret and his documents and coins showed him as king of France and Navarre, so Felipe V wanted no “trouble” with his grandfather and only ally.

This novelty was kept during Fernando VI’s reign, who intended to return to traditional legality and minted coin with both Castilian and Navarrese numerals (Fernando II), while maintaining the title *Hispaniarum Rex*.

Only during Carlos III (VI of Navarre) that the traditional title of *Rex Navarre* was used alone, as well as did Carlos IV (VII of Navarre).<sup>3</sup>

Caroline coinage shall be treated at a later point. Here, we’ll reproduce two pieces: one from Felipe’s reign, another from Fernando’s. In the first case, we show the smallest piece issued, a *coronado* or half *maravedí*, displaying the Castilian numeral, V; for Fernando, we include images of a 1-*maravedí* with the Navarrese ordinal, II. In both cases, the obverse is filled by the royal name’s monogram, and the reverse has the crowned coat of arms with chains.



3 For years, coins in the name of Felipe V with the royal title from Navarre were thought to exist, but this type of cash (or rendering money) would have never been issued. (Miguel Ibáñez Ártica *et alii*: *La colección de útiles de acuñación del Gobierno de Navarra*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra / Institución Príncipe de Viana, 2003, pages 230-231).



*Fernando VI of Spain (s/d), by Louis-Michel van Loo (Spanish Embassy in Buenos Aires, in store in El Prado Museum). This character got to be king of Spain -and Navarre, like Fernando II- because his elder brother -Luis I- died suddenly in 1724, a few months into his reign: Felipe V -father of Luis, Fernando and also future king Carlos III de*

Bourbon- rolled back his abdication of the same year and named Fernando his successor (as was due, according to his sons’ ages). The red mantle shows golden castles and lions, as well as fleur-de-lys, in reference to Spanish royal heraldry at the time.

### 1.5 A coin for the prince of Catalonia

The defining centralising trend of the new dynasty regarding the crown of Aragon -so evident also regarding money- was unexpectedly broken in the issue of *ardites* for Catalonia: after two decades with no coins produced in or for the Crown of Aragon, Fernando would appear on said copper *ardites* as prince of Catalonia by “the Grace of God” (a behaviour with only one precedent: essays produced for Louis XIII of France during the Reapers’ War). All the same, *ardites* for this *princeps Cataloniae* included the “four paletts” coat of arms as heraldic emblem. José María de Francisco Olmos pointedly tells of this in the aforementioned article “Propaganda política en la moneda de los Borbones (1700-1868)” (pages 223-224):

Between these Principality-specific mint we should note the ones produced in the time of Fernando VI, due to the scarcity of existing small coins, given that pieces from as early as the 17th century were still in use for commerce. [...] These pieces (dated in 1754 and 1755) show as the main type of the obverse the lesser royal coat of arms (of Castile [and Leon]), and it’s only on the reverse that we find an epigraphic and heraldic reference to Catalonia, both of which were problematic. The inscription shows a



title [“PRINCEPS CATALON(IÆ)”] that had never been used before (save for French issues for Louis XIII produced in Paris during the Reapers’

War), since former sovereigns had always used the title of Count of Barcelona, who held the right to mint, and since said right has disappeared with the Nueva Planta, the monarch was free to mint with another title, in this case that of Prince of Catalonia, which may have been used with the express intent of making it clear that these pieces had nothing to do with those minted previously.

We should only add that nowhere in the coin do we see references to the Spanish royal title, and that, in Fernando VI’s time, nothing of the like ever happened -as we’ve already seen-, even in the kingdom of Navarre, where fueros were still in force, unlike the territories of the Crown of Aragon.



José María de Francisco Olmos also spoke with great knowledge about the coat of arms on the pieces’ reverse (page 224):

The heraldry in use also demands our attention, as the decree said that they would feature [a *quarterly cross* with] the coat of arms of Catalonia, but instead, a quarterly coat of arms with five palets and the cross of Sobrarbe (of only Aragonese tradition) was put on it, which drove the Royal Audience of Catalonia to express its disagree-

ment with the design (August 30, 1755), stating in the document that the coat of arms of Catalonia had four palets Gules on field Or, not five, as shown on the coin; and that [...] *the cross stamped on the coin was not that on Barcelona’s coat of arms (Saint George’s), as this was of ordinary figure and equal being pattée, with a pointed lower extreme like that of Sobrarbe*. It was probably this protest that ended the issue of pieces of this type, and those minted in 1756 had a different reverse, this time with Catalonia’s traditional coat of arms, the four palets, filling up the reverse.

It’s very likely the Audience of Catalonia mistook the cross of Sobrarbe for that of Íñigo Arista (the first king of Pamplona), traditionally -and mistakenly- considered to be the heraldic sign of old Aragon. An emblem, by the way, Valencians often see in argent on azure on the mantle of the helm in the current coat of arms of the (Valencian) Generalitat. In any event, the episode is hard to believe in the days of Bourbon absolutism: besides finding no mention on Spanish pieces-the quarterly of castles and lions is included as “the coat of arms of Castile and Leon”- we should add the Catalanian complaint and final revision of the design of pieces produced in the Segovian mint.

## 2. SPANISH BOURBONS FROM THE MONETARY REFORM OF 1772 TO THE WAR AGAINST NAPOLEON

### 2.1 Legends on the gold reverses

As we've already discussed, 1772 was the last year of issue for 8-reales pieces with their composition -imperialist to the core, but extraordinarily effective in terms of political communication- of the hemispheres, or globes (worlds) under the Spanish crown. From then on, coins with new types were minted in the peninsula and the Americas according to the rulings of two pragmatic sanctions dated on May 5, 1772, regarding copper maravedís, and May 29 for silver and gold mints. Gold pieces -expressed in escudos and with the royal portrait since 1728 [↯]- had already changed their aspect in 1760, when the greater coat of arms of Carlos III de Bourbon first appeared on the reverse, together with a sentence that is paradigmatic of said monarchy's way of understanding and ruling: "IN UTRO[QUE] FELIX AUSPICE DEO", proclaiming the monarch to be under protection of God and happily ruling over both hemispheres [↯].



Carlos III of Spain (ca. 1765), by Anton Raphael Mengs (Museo del Prado, Madrid). A restrained court portrait, as befits the classicist leanings of this painter, famous in Europe and born in Bohemia. The work is brilliantly executed and recalls, in some formal aspects, portraits of Felipe IV of Castile -III in the crown of Aragon- by Diego Velázquez. Like on Fernando VI's portrait by Louis-Michel van Loo, the red mantle

with ermine lining, folded here in the painting's lower right side, shows golden castles, lions and fleur-de-lys, emblems of the lesser royal Spanish heraldry. Carlos III de Bourbon's reformist impulse was in line with the European trend of

enlightened absolutism -or despotism-, although this was not a king with a particular fondness for printed words (this is by no means a peninsular version of Frederik II of Prussia). Despite many of the policies put in motion bearing no fruit, Carlos III's reign projected a positive image in the Castilian collective perception, especially when contrasting it to that of his son, Carlos IV. His work at transforming -in urban development and monumental dimension- the city holding the court awarded him the description of *Madrid's best mayor*. Carlos III de Bourbon has been traditionally associated in the crown of Aragon with his lack of response to the *Memorial de Agravios* (*Catalogue of grievances*) in 1760; to the generalisation of teaching in Castilian and thus the official banishing of the local language in that field; and finally, for dictating the rule allowing entrance of free commerce with America to the ports of Catalonia (Tortosa and Barcelona), Valencia (Alicante) and the Balearic Islands (Palma de Majorca).

Before such an exultant inscription referencing the two worlds, Bourbons had incorporated two more on gold pieces, both with a religious background:

Inscriptions on the reverse of these [Felipe V's] pieces have a clear religious meaning, very present in coins from medieval times. The arranged motto says INITIUM SAPIENTIAE TIMOR DOMINI (fear of God is the beginning of wisdom [psalm 111.10]). It was kept until Fernando VI's reign, when it was substituted for another, extolling the monarchy's virtues: NOMINA MAGNA SEQUOR (I follow great names). The inscription links the king to his predecessors and states his intent of following the steps of the great monarchs who had occupied the throne before him.<sup>1</sup>



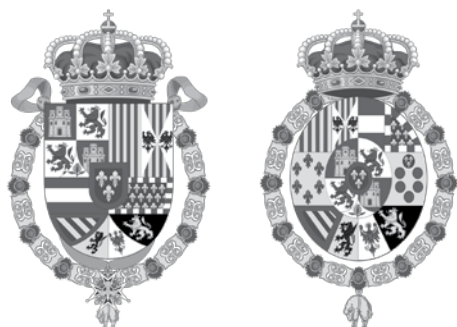
1 Javier de Santiago Fernández: "La imagen del poder en la moneda moderna", in Javier de Santiago Fernández and M<sup>a</sup> Teresa Muñoz Serrulla (dirs.): *Moneda, escritura y poder. Comunicación, publicidad y memoria*. Madrid: Asociación de Amigos del Archivo Histórico Nacional / Grupo de Investigación NUMISDOC, 2016, pages 97-128; quote on page 122.



## 2.2 The most complete Bourbon coat of arms

We have mentioned the greater coat of arms of Carlos III de Bourbon and seen an example of its presence on the king's money. This Bourbon royal emblem was very long-lived; so much so, it was used on coins until the times of Isabel II and, on the rest of formats, until Alfonso XIII's reign ended. What's more: in 1937, the Civil War having started, a peseta banknote issued by the francoist government in Burgos displayed it.

Carlos III de Bourbon's greater coat of arms constituted a clear mutation of the one used by Felipe V, Luis I, Fernando VI and Carlos himself at the beginning of his reign. Here are the two heraldic coats of arms (the one made in Felipe V's times and the one remade for Carlos III de Bourbon, the latter having more quarters)



At first glance, those with little or no knowledge of heraldry will find both coats of arms practically indecipherable. We'll try to make them more accessible:

Have a look at the upper left side of Felipe V's and the centre of Carlos III's: both show examples of the lesser coat of arms with castles, lions, the pomegranate and fleur-de-lys, but in Felipe's the Bourbon escutcheon isn't in the middle of the quarterly from Castile and Leon;

Let us now move to Felipe's upper right side and Carlos' upper left; here are the four paletts, and beside them, the four paletts with two black eagles: they were the emblem of Sicily (these are the Hohenstaufen eagles, a lineage Frederik I Barbarossa belonged to);

Pay attention to the left and right of Felipe's Bourbon escutcheon and Carlos III's upper right side: we find Austria (stripes of red-white-red, like it is now) and modern Burgundy (semé-de-lys and a *chequered* bordure compony of argent and gules);

We will now look at the lower parts of both coats of arms; they are identical: from left to right, Old Burgundy, Flanders, Tyrol and Brabant).

Finally, all that's left is look at Carlos III's coat of arms, on both sides of the lesser emblem; here are the only two elements not present in Felipe V's times: blue fleur-de-lys on yellow from the Parma Farnese (Carlos' mother's lineage), and red roundels -with a blue one on top, as in the French royal coat of arms- for the Medici (the Duchy of Tuscany)

Evidently, many of the blazons on both coats of arms are "aspirational", indicating no effective rule over the territories they depicted. As Javier de Santiago points out in "Imagen del poder en la moneda moderna" (page 121):

[...] we should consider that European territories lost in the Treaty of Utrecht are still featured in the lower part of the coat of arms. By keeping the Habsburg coat of arms, Felipe V claimed his legitimate right to Carlos II's inheritance and his refusal of the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. This goes with his foreign policy starting in 1714,

with the common denominator of an effort to modify the diplomatic consequences of the Succession war; this is what has been called revisionist foreign policy.<sup>2</sup>



2 In Javier de Santiago Fernández and M<sup>a</sup> Teresa Muñoz Serrulla (dirs.): *Moneda, escritura y poder. Comunicación, publicidad y memoria*. Madrid: Asociación de Amigos del Archivo Histórico Nacional / Grupo de Investigación NUNMISDOC, 2016, pages 97-128.

In any case, our description of the coats of arms has been very far from the traditional way of blazoning and so, how an expert in heraldry would have deconstructed them. We have done it so because, nowadays, these coats of arms are, frankly, arcane matter to most people; they were made back in the day for them to have political interpretations rulers -in the peninsula and abroad- could interpret: thus, the first greater Bourbon coat of arms puts great emphasis on the fleur-de-lys in the very centre; this 1700 incorporation was an excellent way to tell everyone that “there were no Pyrenees”, that Felipe V’s (and his successor’s) Spanish monarchy and French royalty were forever linked.<sup>3</sup>

Regarding Carlos III de Bourbon’s coat of arms [7], it is very meaningful that all emblems are organised around the lesser coat of arms, occupying the centre of the emblem; it’s a splendid way of making it perfectly clear symbolically what was politically very clear: that since the Bourbon victory in the Succession War, if not *de facto* earlier than that, monarchy residing in Madrid had a hard core, an essential territory, and this fact rendered absolutely useless the old “tanto monta, monta tanto” (which could be roughly translated as “equal opposites in balance”) between Castile and Leon on one side and the crown of Aragon on the other. This primordial egalitarianism was reflected in the heraldic emblem arranged in quarterlies held by the Catholic Kings: Castile and Leon/ Aragon and Sicily/ Aragon and Scilly/

Castile and Leon ( with Granada since 1492)<sup>4</sup> [↓].



We find another high point of heraldic *centralism* of the times can be found in the reverse of copper coins, in which a very decorative composition bore no emblem



unlike those on the lesser coat of arms: not even the pomegranate was there, as had been the case on other Bourbon mints such as Fernando VI’s ardite.

3 We won’t focus particularly in the presence of the Order of the Golden Fleece on Spanish coins, nor on the occasional appearance of the French order of the Holy Spirit; José María de Francisco Olmos -in “La Orden del Espíritu Santo en las onzas de Felipe V”, *Hidalguía* 46 (267). Madrid: Instituto Salazar y Castro, 1998, pages 169-192- pointed out that “Felipe V put it (the order of the Holy Spirit) on his ounces from the beginning of his reign, together with that of the Golden Fleece, as was proper to the Spanish Monarchy given its link to the House of Burgundy, and the highest honour the king could bestow. At first, the collars of both orders were kept separate, and surrounded by the Monarchy’s greater coat of arms, but later on, only the Fleece collar was left, and over the Fleece, only the cross of the Holy Spirit, such model remaining until Carlos III’s monetary reform” (pages 170-171).

4 “First, that the title on letters patents, proclamations, money and stamps shall be common to both rulers, king and queen, whether they are present or absent, but that the name of said king shall precede, and the coat of arms of Castile and Leon shall precede that of Sicily and Aragon”: section of the Concord of Seville signed, in 1475, for Fernando and Isabel’s reign over Castile. The text is transcribed by José María de Francisco Olmos on page 132 of “Europa en las grandes armas de los reyes de España” (*Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica*, nº 30. Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2013, pages 129-156), and right after the transcription, the author reminds us that “this was followed to a T, as can be seen on coins, lead stamps, seals, etc., which were exclusive to the Crown of Castile, but it’s surprising that Fernando would accept this heraldic order also in his patrimonial territories, maybe conscious of the greater demographic, financial and military power of Castile, or because he saw himself as the representative and older member of his dynasty and intended to build a single territorial unit. [...]”.



### 2.3 Laureate and laurel-less portraits

Let's leave the heraldic element aside for a moment. One of the novelties introduced to Hispanic issues by 1772's pragmatic sanctions was the



transference to silver and copper of a trait already present on gold mint: the systematic presence of the royal bust on the obverse. Here is what was said about the portrait on *vellón* (copper):

[...] on one side, my royal bust to the left, nude, with the inscription CAROLUS III D. G. HISP. REX, the year of mint, Segovia mint's own emblem where it is to be coined and the number showing each piece's value: that is, eight, four, two or one maravedí respectively.

From then on, very few Spanish coins have lacked the ruler's portrait, an element we formerly described as the "paradigmatic image of power; of those exercising power" (remember: on coins from ancient Greece and Rome). Nevertheless, when talking about the images of power and kings' portrayals, what's most interesting about the legal framework in 1772 is the distinction made -when dealing with silver coins- between American and peninsular mints regarding the royal bust.



Here is, for the first time, what was ruled for coins minted in the Iberian peninsula: "[...] it shall bear my nude royal bust, with a Royal mantle of sorts, and around it the following words, CAROLUS III D[E]I. G., and the year underneath, as in other coins".

And here is what he wanted to appear on pieces for the New World: "[...] shall have on the obverse my Royal Bust, dressed in heroic fashion with a chlamys [or ancient military cloak] and



laurel [wreath], and around it the inscription CAROL. III. DEI GRATIA under the year it's minted in". Carlos III's directive was later nuanced with the adding of a piece of armour "vambrace or pauldron -normally made in leather".<sup>5</sup>

When Carlos IV got the throne, the transformation obeyed the logical change in ordinal and royal portrait.



José María de Francisco Olmos summed up the typological peninsula vs America dichotomy on page 203 of "Propaganda política en la moneda de los Borbones (1700-1868)": "Notice the difference in typology on peninsular silver of a "civilian" king and a "military" one in the Indies, in the heroic or Roman fashion [...]". And Javier de Santiago -in "Imagen del poder en la moneda moderna", page 125- describes accurately both of the king's attires or representations:

The king appears on American silver in the Roman fashion, with a laurel wreath, armour and a mantle. Regal exaltation is evident. The king is the key figure of Enlightened Despotism; the sovereign embodies in theory and practice all of the State's power, both being at times hard to tell from one another. [...] On peninsular silver the monarch loses his military character and is depict-

5 Ramón María Serrera: "La introducción de la "moneda de busto" en España e Indias: la real pragmática de 29 de mayo de 1772", *Revista de Estudios Extremeños*, Volume LXXI, N.º III, 2015, pages 1973-1990; quote on page 1988.

ed covered by a mantle. The propaganda exaltation shows him now as a ruling king, a philosopher king protecting enlightened ideas, and as a father figure, ready to help all his subjects. It doesn't seem to be a coincidence for the military and triumphant king to appear on coins aimed at foreign trade, as that's the image other states would receive of him.

Wreathed portraits of monarchs weren't uncommon on coetaneous European money, with either civilian mantles or contemporary military attire; there were even those in vaguely Roman poses. All the same, a given king may appear on the different values of his coins with one attire or the other regardless, or with his bust completely bare. But the rotund distinction depending on the location of mints on either side of the ocean was only possible in Spain or Portugal, and Portugal never did it.



The ghost of a dollar or the banker's surprise (ca. 1808) by William Charles. A well-known cartoon of Stephen Girard, a Philadelphia merchant and financier, here under the name "Stephen Graspall, Banker & Shaver". The merchant appears behind a counter -with a slot in it- while staring, blinded, at the appearance of an 8-reales coin in the name of Carlos IV, dated in 1806 and, judging by the text accompanying the drawing, a very scarce monetary specimen in that context: "Surely my eyes do not deceive me -It certainly must be a Dollar!- I declare I have not seen such a thing since I sold the last I had in my Vaults at 18 per Cent Premium -If thou art a real Dollar do drop in my till and let me hear thee Chink- As I have been sued for payment of part of my notes in Specie I must collect some to pay them for quietness sake or the game would be up at once". The business's sign sits behind the counter, where we may read "Paper Wholesale and Retail. NB No foreign Bank notes taken on Deposit except such as are about 5 per cent above par". The image comes from the Library of Congress (in Washington DC): <<https://www.loc.gov/item/2002708983>>

We'll go back for a moment to Carlos IV's portrait, which we've seen on coins and a trustworthy copy as a caricature: we may compare these numismatic images to Goya's work, as well as that of other painters who shaped our idea of the monarch's appearance.



Carlos IV's family (1800-1801), by Francisco de Goya (Museo del Prado, Madrid). We are certainly not looking at the grandiose painting the Spanish kings may have expected (especially considering that Louis-Michel van Loo had, some six decades earlier, achieved the exalting of a monarch). But it seems the royal family was not unhappy with the result. Regardless of this, the work has raised all types of comments: it is said that, upon visiting the Prado Museum, Pierre-Auguste Renoir said, "The king looks like an innkeeper, and the queen like a landlady...or a bit worse, but what diamonds did Goya paint on her!" *E si non è vero, è ben trovato*. Goya stares at us from the shadows.



King Carlos IV of Spain (ca. 1789) by José Vergara (Museu de Belles Arts, Valencia). The painter became a conspicuous representative of academicism in the Valencian area, and thus, paintings such as this no longer have the grandiloquence of so many baroque portraits, in spite of the richness of the portrayed fabrics.

## 2.4 Public and hidden reasons to the change of money

We shouldn't forget, however, that beyond the aspects we have been talking about, currency exists mainly because of its economic dimension, since it's money we're dealing with at the end of the day. And regarding the 1772 rulings,

the intention wasn't just to reflect the changing attire of the portrayed or the presence or lack of laurel wreaths on their heads. In fact, launching *bust* money was also a means to retire defective and (hand) hammered coins, and at least as important as that, to reduce the coins' fineness or percentage of pure metal:

From an intrinsic point of view, monetary issues during Carlos III's reign were characterised by secret ordinances proclaimed by the monarch, destined to lower the grade of both gold and silver coin. The first such ordinance, on March 18, 1771, [...].<sup>6</sup>

Manuel Vilaplana unravelled the whole process in two pages of a work that is still essential, *Historia del real de a ocho*:<sup>7</sup>

[...] the main reason to extinguish coins in circulation up to that point was to issue the new ones with the same grade as foreign ones, while maintaining their value; thus, doing what other nations were, which was publishing a higher grade in their ordinances than was really issued; thus, there being no difference, it wouldn't be exported. [...]

Such measure being secret is surprising. The king had every right to lower the fineness in order to adapt the coins' value to that of foreign ones, and even to try to avoid currency leaving the country by diminishing the likely profit. It was then a normal practice which didn't justify such secrecy, which in turn couldn't, as was the case, be kept from the public forever.

On February 25, 1786, almost two years before Carlos III de Bourbon's death, the -secret again- directive on the new loss of fine metal content on gold and silver pieces wouldn't come accompanied by changes in its design: And once Carlos IV was on the throne, no *mischief* in such direction was documented. In any event, Javier de Santiago Fernández -in "Legislación y reforma monetaria en la España borbónica" (page 413)<sup>8</sup>- portrayed Carlos' secrecy quite harshly:

This explicit statement was but a falsehood intended to hide what can't be named but as State fraud or forgery. Shortly before, on March 18, 1771, Carlos III, through his viceroys, had sent a secret document to the superintendents in mints commanding them to lower the fine metal in his coins. The measure constituted a tax imposed on coin mint. The modernisation and technical improvement purposes had as their background an undercover devaluatory policy.

Secrecy was, again, the characteristic trait of the February 25, 1786 ordinance, reducing gold and silver content without altering their weight. It seems like profits derived from both devaluatory measures were destined to fund the costly task of modernising the coin underway, despite the Monarch having promised to foot the operation himself. Thus, it was the users of the currency who actually paid for its technical improvement.

## 2.5 Coats of arms with and without pillars

Let's now come back to the political dimension to point out that, as was to be expected, 1772 rulings on new coins also dealt with their reverses. And as was the case with obverses, there was also a

6 M<sup>a</sup> Teresa Muñoz Serrulla: *La moneda castellana en los reinos de Indias durante la Edad Moderna*. Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia · UNED, 2015, page 103. On the same page of the work, specifically on notes 95 and 94, we find the transcriptions of Carlos III's pragmatic sanctions we quoted earlier.

7 Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1997, pages 174-175.

8 In Juan Carlos Galende Díaz and Javier de Santiago Fernández (dirs.): *VI Jornadas Científicas sobre Documentación borbónica en España y América (1700-1868)*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2007, pages 403-436.

difference between the peninsula and America in silver coins. In the case of European Spain, “[...] its reverse shall have my coat of arms, just as the one on the Indies’ silver coin, but with no pillars [...] and on the reverse’s circumference the obverse’s inscription shall continue with letters saying HISPANIARUM REX” [↵].



For silver coins minted in the New World, “[...] the reverse shall feature the main coat of arms of my royal emblem, with the Royal Crown on top and two columns on its sides, with a band inscribed PLUS ULTRA, [...] and on the reverse’s circumference, the obverse’s inscription shall be finished by the letters HISPAN. ET INDIAR. REX”[↗].

Unlike the type with hemispheres or worlds, Hispanic American coins minted according to 1772 ordinances had the inscription cover both obverse and reverse: “CAROLUS · III · DEI · GRATIA / HISPAN[ IARUM ] · ET IND[ IARUM ] · REX” or “CAROLUS · IIII · DEI · GRATIA / HISPAN[ IARUM ] · ET IND[ IARUM ] · REX” (the ordinal at times being written “IV”). Also unlike money with globes, on the stamp introduced by Carlos III with the pillars of Hercules on them, these are not crowned, the tefillah is much more flared, and pillars are more stylised.

## 2.6 The column emblem

These last details are, however, practically minor. What really mattered is the meaning of the emblem of royal power at a time and in places where -one would suppose- political communication had a very limited number of formats to be expressed in. We would like to close this section with some final considerations on said emblem, and to do

so, we’ll recover this, written in a recent article:<sup>9</sup>

The coat of arms with two columns -linked to demigod Hercules’ tenth task [that is, stealing Gerion’s cattle]- was a distinctive of the Spanish monarchy from the time of Carlos of Ghent’s reign, and related particularly to the Hapsburgs, Bourbons and Bonapartes’ American possessions (in the case of the Napoleons, it was so since José also proclaimed himself in theory to be king of the Indies). Also, starting in 1868, the pillars, accompanied by the motto “Plus Ultra” -with or without water beneath them, crowned or not- have been part of all versions of the Spanish state coats of arms (what is called the national coat of arms): from the Provisional Government derived from the Glorious Revolution to our days, when Spain claims to be a parliamentary monarchy (with an organisation in autonomous regions and *nationalities*). The pillared emblem, a humanist enterprise suggested by Milanese Luigi Marliano, was in its origin a reference to young Carlos’ dynamism, who held so many possessions in the Iberian peninsula and in continental and insular Europe, the beneficiary of overseas conquests and thriving leader of a new dynasty; however, this attractive and classical motif would soon point to the idea of leaving behind the mythical pillars where the world of ancient times ended (the sea by the Strait of Gibraltar), and thus to push the set geographical boundaries westward, challenging the then feared “dark sea”. Thus, the “Plus Ultra” motto, “beyond” the pillars, *Plus Oul-*tre in French (Carlos’ mother tongue), would

9 Rafael Company i Mateo: “Nación e imperio en la cartofilatelia del régimen franquista. Mapas, planos y globos terráqueos en los sellos de ‘la España una’ y sus colonias”, in Guillermo Navarro Oltra (ed.): *Autorretratos del Estado (II). El sello postal del franquismo*, 2nd ed. (Cuenca / Santander: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha / Editorial de la Universidad de Cantabria, 2015, pages 148-178; quote on page 163).

point to the reward Christopher Columbus' bravery had brought forth: the appearance of the Indies, the New World or America in Iberian sight.



*The pillars of Hercules (1550)*, by German Heinrich Aldegrever or Aldegraf (Metropolitan Museum of New York; a gift from Felix M. Warburg and his family in 1941). According to the mythical tale, the demigod had built two pillars in the Strait of Gibraltar to commemorate his passing through the area. The engraver's monogram is on the lower left corner and imitates, as much as it can, the one Albrecht Dürer put on his creations. The characteristic letter "A" here -for Aldegrever- covers a "G" (one should suppose it's related to the second part of his surname); in the case of Dürer, the "A" was for his name, and the "D" to his surname.

## 2.7 Navarrese currency and the last Bourbons before the war against Napoleon

Regarding Navarre, Carlos III de Bourbon reintroduced the privative royal title on coins in 1768, as well as the exclusive use of the corresponding ordinal. Thus, pieces issued in his name in the city of Pamplona displayed, besides chains, Carlos VI's monogram. His successor's only issue received the same treatment, and so, the monogram ought to be interpreted as Carlos VII's own.



*Carlos III, hunter (1786-1788)* by Francisco de Goya (Museo del Prado, Madrid). The monarch reintroduced ancient practices -validated by fuero tradition- in Navarrese currency, such as the exclusive presence of the Navarre royal title and privative ordinal on pieces.

## 2.6 BIS. CONTRAST IN “TIMBROLOGY”\*, 1: THE TWO GREAT COATS OF ARMS OF SPANISH BOURBONS ON STAMPED PAPER\*

### INTRODUCTION

The back cover to *El papel sellado en el antiguo y el nuevo régimen. Heráldica y alegorías en el sello* (*Stamped paper in the ancien and new régime. Heraldry and allegories on stamp*), the first of two books about (revenue) stamped paper, or sealed paper, by Natalia Pérez-Aínsua Méndez<sup>1</sup>, accurately sums up the work's subject of study, and, by extension, “timbrology” itself:

On December 15, 1636, Felipe IV imposed the use of stamped paper for contracts, deeds and other uses determined in their corresponding legal regulation in the realm of Castile. This was intended to avoid the existence of false deeds while also collecting taxes for the royal funds. From then on, a difference is marked between blank, common paper and stamped or sealed paper. From the beginning, this paper included a black ink stamp in its protocol showing the royal coat of arms followed by an inscription indicating the stamp's class, its price and the year it would be valid for. Iconic signs would evolve in time, while we can easily perceive the succession of kings and dynastic changes. The 19th century brought great changes to the physiognomy of this stamp, a product of the move from an absolutist system to a constitutional one, the

use of lithography as printing media, the appearance of coloured ink, mobile stamps, the presence of allegoric and mythological images, changes in the monetary system and new security systems against forgery.

The work's prologue writer -Manuel Romero Tallafigo- elaborated (page 14) on the transcendence of using stamped paper in the exercise of monarchic power, both in its symbolic and effective dimensions:

The Royal seal was put on papers for the Council's Minute Book, not just for the payment of a tax to the king's vaults, but also because it sacralised and granted a privilege to the blank territory and enclosure on which ink writing was settled. [...] Writing a document, taking minutes, executing a contract as a public deed, all mean breaking up and demarcating a territory of power. A territory from which isolation is lost, communicating to others in order to provoke attitudes, imaginaries and organization.

Besides, and in the aspects this book is concerned with in particular, from 1702 on, royal heraldry appearing in a circle on stamped paper incorporated around it the monarch's title, with reference to the source -or sources- of legitimation of their

\* This term is used here with the same meaning as in Spanish (*timbrológia*) or in Valencian/Catalan (*timbrologia*): ‘the study of (revenue) stamped paper’.



power (which originally mentioned only “the grace of God”, of course)<sup>2</sup>. And between 1707 and 1718 it was established that the tax which had been the norm for the Crown of Castile from the 17th century would from then on also be applied to the Crown of Aragon (except for the Valley of Aran, loyal to Felipe de Anjou during the Succession War): it’s easy to infer that, given the standardizing -and taxing, too- purpose of the triumphant Bourbon power over the “four- barred” lands defeated in Almansa and Barcelona, no specific linguistic and/or iconographic provisions were set for stamped paper imposed on Aragon (1707), Valencia (1707), Catalonia without Aran (1715) and Majorca (1718). As a matter of fact, these territories were simply forced to adopt the one from Castile, including the use of Castilian language in the test part of the stamp, that is, the inscription stating the class, price and year it was intended to be used in (usually a biennium in the case of America).

## PURPOSE

All these circumstances, as well as the extensive usage of these papers in everyday life in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, drove us to include in *Power in your pocket* images of the stamps coetaneous to the coins we bring up, even though - attending to the possibility of further corrobora-

rating what’s been said about the legitimization of power on stamped paper and issues, or reviewing it in more depth for the reader-the chronological arc we’re dealing with in this field may only encompass from Carlos III de Bourbon’s reign to the eve of the proclamation of the 1845 Constitution, with a special focus on the periods of 1808-1814 (French invasion, war against Napoleon and the proclamation of the Cádiz Constitution), 1820-1823 (Liberal Triennium) and 1833-1837 (the first years of Isabel II’s reign).

To this effect, we have grouped the images of these stamps in eight section -always under the umbrella term of “Contrast in ‘timbrology’”-, but without the intention of reconstructing the whole historical series of royal coats of arms and portraits, as well as the allusions to the Grace of God, and at times, to the Constitution, on stamped paper issued between 1759 and 1845: such a task has already been addressed in Ángel Allende’s catalogue *Timbres españoles*<sup>3</sup> and, from an academical standpoint, by Natalia Pérez-Aínsua Méndez’s aforementioned book, as well as her other volume published on the subject (*De sellos, heráldica y alegorías: el papel sellado en España*)<sup>4</sup> (*On stamps, heraldry and allegories: stamped paper in Spain*). Thus, we refer to these three works, together with the compilation *El papel timbrado en España · 1637-2009* (*Stamped*

2 The first issue of stamped paper -used in 1637- for the first and last time, the following series of data: the king’s name and his corresponding ordinal, his epithet or soubriquet, title and an expression of his rule, and also, a reference to the year of his reign; all this information weren’t inset in the round coat of arms stamp, but in the text part (before stating the stamp class, its price and date), and were partially in Latin, but mostly in Castilian: “PHYLPPPO IIII: el Grande, Rey de las Españas, Año XV. de su Reynado [...]”. As Natalia Pérez-Aínsua Méndez mentions (*De sellos, heráldica y alegorías: el papel sellado en España*). Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2014, p. 46) (*On stamps, heraldry and allegories: stamped paper in Spain*), “The ‘el Grande’ the Great Felipe IV received on the stamp was the subject of much mockery from the people, who called him Felipe IV the Great Taxer, referencing the many complaints and incidences produced by the imposition of stamped paper. The following year, 1638, the Count Duke of Olivares ordered the suppression [of said epithet and also of the king’s name and ordinal] from stamped paper” (the author of the text alludes to Ángel Allende’s work, *Timbres españoles* (Barcelona: Documentos Antiguos, 1969, p. 12). Thus, stamped paper issued between 1638 and 1701 would only display the royal coat of arms as a reference to the monarch: up until 1684, the Hispanic Hapsburgs’ blazon with the Portuguese escutcheon; and from 1685, the same coat of arms, but without the Portuguese emblem. In 1702, the whole royal title would appear, together with the first greater Bourbon coat of arms.

3 Barcelona: Documentos Antiguos, 1969.

4 Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2014.



*paper in Spain. 1637-2009*), by Ricardo Pardo Camacho<sup>5</sup>, and some monographic contributions that will be brought up as needed.

We would like to stress that our purpose is only to compare the presence of heraldic emblems (and royal busts in certain cases) to their corresponding titles in monetary issues and stamped paper, considering one and the other as public -official- and massive -by their very nature- instruments of political communication. As such, we will find at times a perfect or nearly absolute juxtaposition between what's represented and written on coins and drawn and printed on stamped paper. The paper, nevertheless, would at times present us with a "state of the matter" that coins wouldn't get to reflect such as *a*) the existence of military governments in the territories north of the Ebro river, isolated from Joseph Bonaparte's administration and ruled directly in the name of emperor Napoleon, including Catalonia's *Govern*, it being finally annexed to the French Empire; *b*) the use of their own emblems by some of the anti-bonapartist "superior boards"; or *c*) settlement of the legitimation of Ferdinand's royal power over the Cádiz constitution between 1813 and 1814. At other times, we'll notice slight timing differences between coins and designs on stamped paper in acknowledging political *novelties* (such as when isabelline stamped documents were *delayed* in referencing the constitutional regime's validity). Finally, we'll also witness -with varying degrees of formal care- modifications being incorporated to original stamps with the aim of pointing out changes in political context (upon the suppression

in 1814 and 1823, of the 1812 Constitution, or its establishment in 1820 and 1836).<sup>6</sup>

### "TIMBROLOGY" AND PHILATELY

Almost last of all, before going in depth into specific examples, we must note that, in comparison to the importance of stamped paper in giving credit to the vicissitudes undergone by monarchs' legitimation formulas -at the apex of power in Spain- throughout the first half of the 19th century, nothing of the like can be found on postal stamps, due -first of all- to the first post stamp in Spain not being issued until 1850, after a lustrum of the 1845 Constitution's validity, and 213 years after the birth of the first stamped paper<sup>7</sup>. But it should also be pointed out that in Spain, classic post stamps -like in the rest of countries- would never mention aspects such as monarchs' source of power: at most, in the specific case of Spain, we find some (few) royal or national coats of arms, crowns and, indeed, many monarch's busts, but the latter weren't accompanied by their name or title (which isn't surprising when compared to what happened at the time in other latitudes).

The only aspect left to reflect upon would be the very diverse chapter on what was called "Spanish revenue, or fiscal, stamps", formally related to postal stamps- and on occasion *used* as such-, but commonly used to pay official taxes and fees: in this field, which appeared in the late 19th century (1852) there is an abundance of royal and Spanish national coats of arms, though those aren't accompanied by the monarch's full title, and thus, offer no information on the legitima-

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5 Castelló de la Plana: Castalia Iuris / Ministerio de Defensa. Subdelegación de Defensa en Castellón de la Plana / Aula Militar "Bermúdez de Castro", 2009: <<http://www.aulamilitar.com/timbrologia.pdf>>.

6 I would like to thank Natalia Pérez-Ainsua Méndez's kindness in supervising and correcting the texts related to timbrology in this work.

7 The first stamp ever intended for post was put in circulation in the United Kingdom, and dated in 1840, ten years before the first Spanish post stamp.

tion of power (unlike Spanish stamped paper from 1702 onwards)<sup>8</sup>.

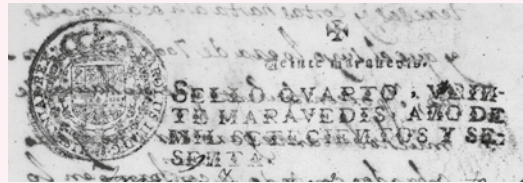
### GREATER COATS OF ARMS

On our first foray into the universe of “timbrol-ogy”, through stamped or stamped papers, lets us notice the presence of two models of the greater Royal coats of arms, or more complex blazons, used by members of the Spanish House of Bourbon: first, the coat of arms introduced by Felipe de Anjou [↓], which remained valid until the first days of Carlos III’s reign; after that, the blazon established by the latter monarch, which endured until the final stages of Alfonso XIII’s enjoyment of his privileged position [↘].

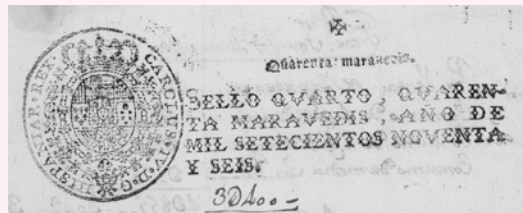


Here the images that will illustrate this dichotomy come from two samples of “fourth class stamp”. While the first was priced at 20 maravedís, 40 were paid for the second. Such papers were dated as follows: the first in 1760, that is, the beginning of Carlos III de Bourbon’s time as sovereign of Spain, in the last year of validity on stamped paper for Felipe V’s greater coat of arms (present in such documents from 1702).

In 1823, in absolutist- controlled Catalonia alone, the greater coat of arms of the first Bourbon would make an extremely short reappearance.



Regarding the second document, it is dated in 1796, well into Carlos IV’s reign, and the last year -until its resurfacing in 1819, 1820 and, in absolutist Catalonia, 1823- of Carlos III’s greater coat of arms, introduced on June 10, 1760 (and already present on stamped documents prepared for 1761).



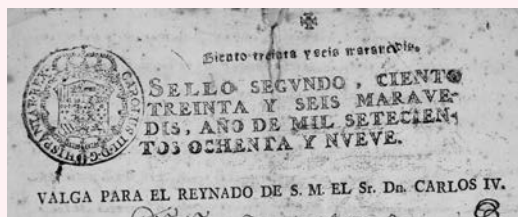
In America, 1798-1799 was the last biennium of the mainland Carlos III’s greater coat of arms.

### REMINDER

One of the habitual executories of Spanish stamped paper would be the validation for years after those indicated -carried out through corresponding inscription/s- on documents from the current year at the time, or even from earlier years: such a practice would first be made effective on the 1642-1643 biennium for overseas territories and in the year 1643 in peninsular Castile. Also -from the enthronement of ephemeral Luis I, in 1724- validations were made for new reigns: in this case, transforming specimens issued in the name of sovereigns who had abdicated *motu proprio*,

8 «In the realm of fiscal philately, a legendary first is the history of Johannes van den Broecke, a Dutch tax official who invented the world’s first documentary revenue stamp. Simply stated, his invention was a wafer of sealing wax or glue sandwiched between squares of paper, embossed with a colorless seal and attached to a document with one or more pieces of string. These *CLEIN SEGEL* (small seal) “adhesives” featured a rampant lion and were denominated in *stuyvers*. Van den Broecke’s idea was accepted and implemented by decree of 13 August 1624» (Donald O. Scott and Frank A. Sternad: *The Revenue Stamped Paper of Mexico 1821-1876. Handbook and Catalog. Second Edition*. Fulton, California, page 1a).

had recently passed, or even had been *substituted* under the appearance of an abdication (as in the case of events subsequent to the Napoleonic invasion). Bear in mind that, in order to avoid forgeries, new models were issued yearly (or every two years, although not all the time, in the case of specimens destined to be used in America and the Philippines), and that monarchs' biographical avatars may render may printed papers obsolete: this surplus was made usable thanks to formulas such as the one contained in the specimen in the following image (which reads: "VALGA PARA EL REYNADO DE S. M. EL Sr. Dn. CARLOS IV." (*valid for the reign of H. M. Don Carlos IV*).



As can be seen, the document at hand was prepared to be valid throughout 1789, but appears adorned with the stamp of Carlos III de Bourbon, who passed in 1788: the -laborious- manufacturing had been carried out during the monarch's last year of life.

## THE OLD AMERICA

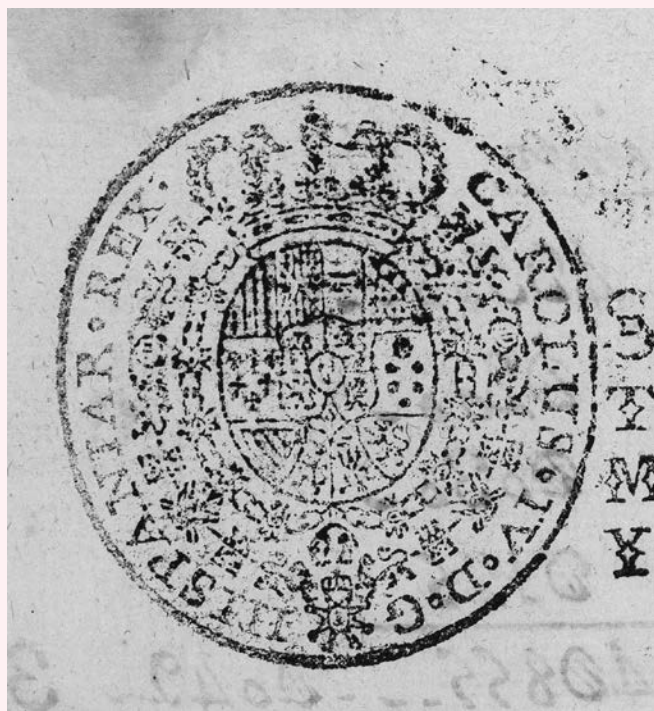
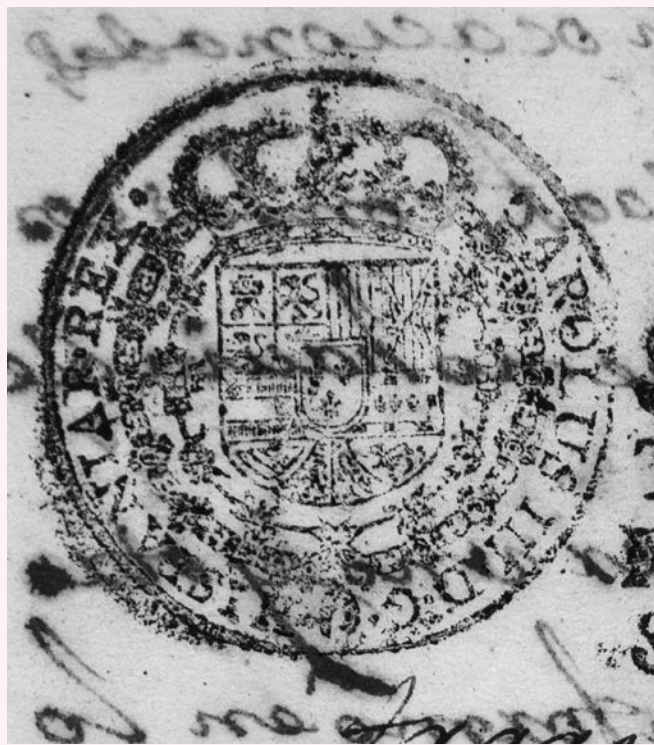
Stamped paper for use in the Indies was first issued in the biennium 1640-1641, with a slight three-year delay, given that, in contrast to peninsular Castile, it had generally -as we've just pointed out- a biennial validity, as well as a bigger cost than in Spain: both characteristics were due to the fact that bundles of stamped documents had to be transported from the peninsula, obviously by ship, in extremely long trips<sup>9</sup>.

Besides, "it is common to find validated stamped paper in American archives, and quite rare to locate a sheet used in the years pointed out in the biennium"; connected with this last idea, "in Hispanic America, validations were more varied than on stamped paper from the peninsula"<sup>10</sup>. In any event, and given the New World's peculiar circumstances in relation to the Old World's context, Indian practices -not only in regard to validations- could perceptibly stray from what was common in European Spain; consider as an example of this how the price of paper in America was expressed in reales -or their fractions- unlike the maravedís -and, on occasion, and partly, reales (1658-1659) and *de vellón* reales (since 1819)- used in the peninsula. All the same, in the Indies "the royal coat of arms is given more importance than in Spain, and so appositions are made in line with what's stamped or -in other examples- even superimposed over it"<sup>11</sup>.

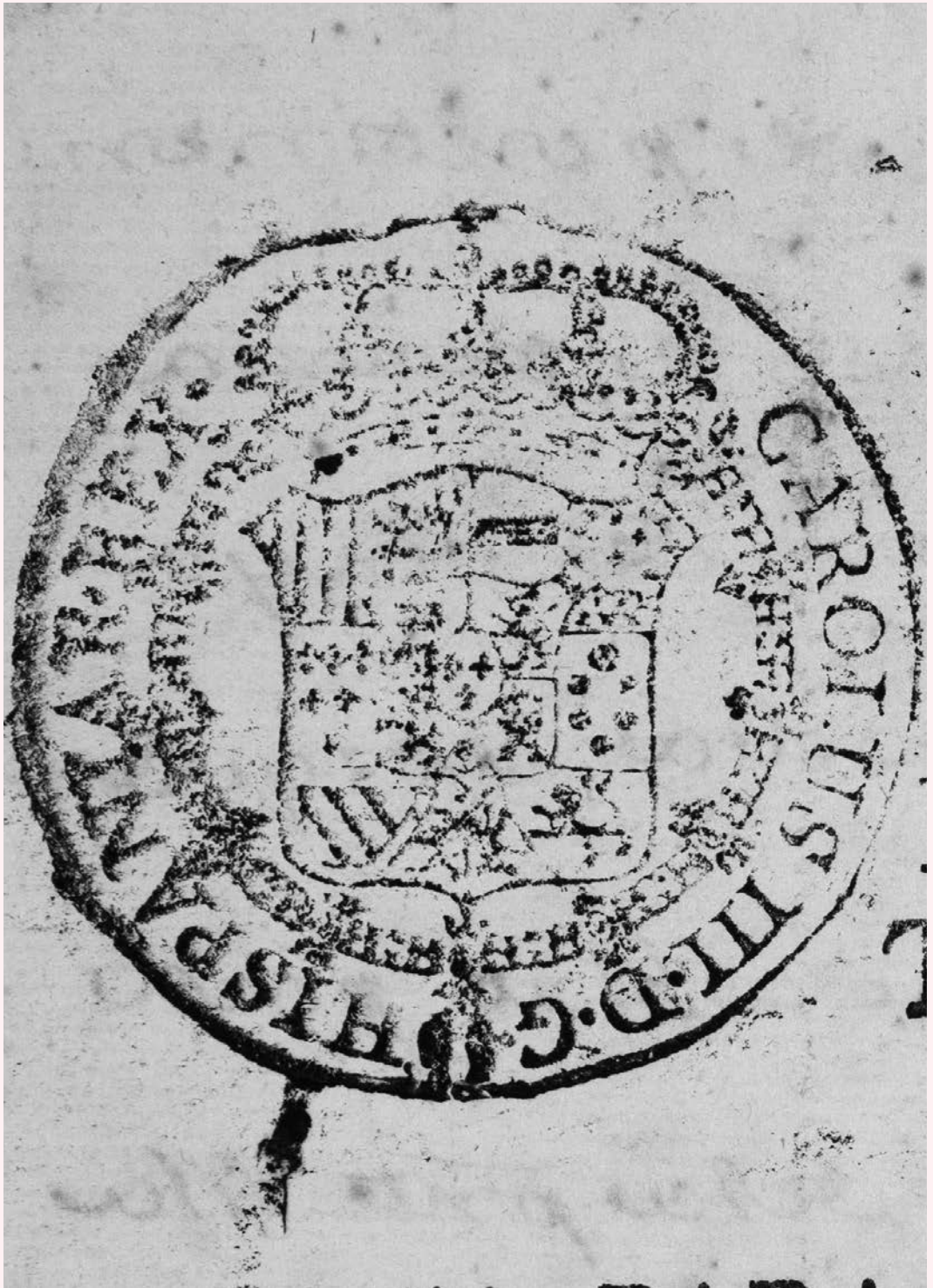
9 Ángel Allende: *Timbres españoles*. Barcelona: Documentos Antiguos, 1969, page 27, and s/a: *Timbres españoles en textos y legajos antiguos*: <<https://elblogdelcoleccionistaeclectico.com/2016/09/06/timbres-espanoles-en-textos-y-legajos-antiguos>>. See images of the first stamped paper design for the Indies - spectacular from an iconographic perspective and only printed in the biennium 1640-1641- in the following webpages; as can be seen from the pictures, this is a round stamp with a strong monetary influence in its conception, coinciding -except for the Golden Fleece collar on the first class stamp- with the first illustration of the book *Regimiento de navegación* (Andrés García de Céspedes; Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1606): <<http://bibliotecavirtualdefensa.es/BVMDefensa/118n/consulta/registro.cmd?id=1178>>; <<https://www.filateliallach.com/flach4/catalogo/d/0094/1160>> ("Lote 1169" & "Lote 1170")>; <<https://www.todocoleccion.net/manuscritos-antiguos/papel-sellado-excepcional-sello-3-primero-para-uso-indias-1640-1641-para-1650-1651-x102615799>>. The upper part of the motif shows the crowned quarterly of Castile and Leon - without Granada-, and most of the design is filled by the pillars of Hercules and, between them, a galleon sailing the ocean full-sail to the west. I would like to thank Margarita Gómez Gómez's kindness in correcting this text related to the first stamped paper for the Indies.


10 I owe being reminded on the complexities of Indian stamped paper to some personal communications with Natalia Pérez-Aínsua Méndez I, of course, am deeply grateful for.

11 All these are literal words from personal communications with Natalia Pérez-Aínsua Méndez.











Tu real.  
 SELLO TERCERO. VN REAL.  
 AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS  
 Y SETENTA. Y SETENTA Y  
 VNO.



 El real.

**SELLO TERCERO. VN° REAL  
 AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS  
 NOVENTA Y NOVENTA Y VNO.**

En la Ciudad de México a primero de Abril  
 de noventa y uno. Ante mi el Excmo.  
 testigo el Muy Reverendo Padre Maestre  
 Fray Toribio Aguirre de Ocho, Procurador de  
 la Provincia de San Agustín y en  
 que dei fee como, Otorro que hai visto  
 Don Manuel de Carrillo Don Toribio Aguirre





Un cuarto.

CUARTO, VN QVARTO.  
 AÑOS DE MIL OCHO-  
 CECOS Y OCHOCIENTOS  
 TRES.

Valga para el bienio  
 de 1808 y 1809.  
 En la Villa de Madrid a 10 de Mayo de 1808.  
 Yo el Rey.

Don Juan de Montoza

052



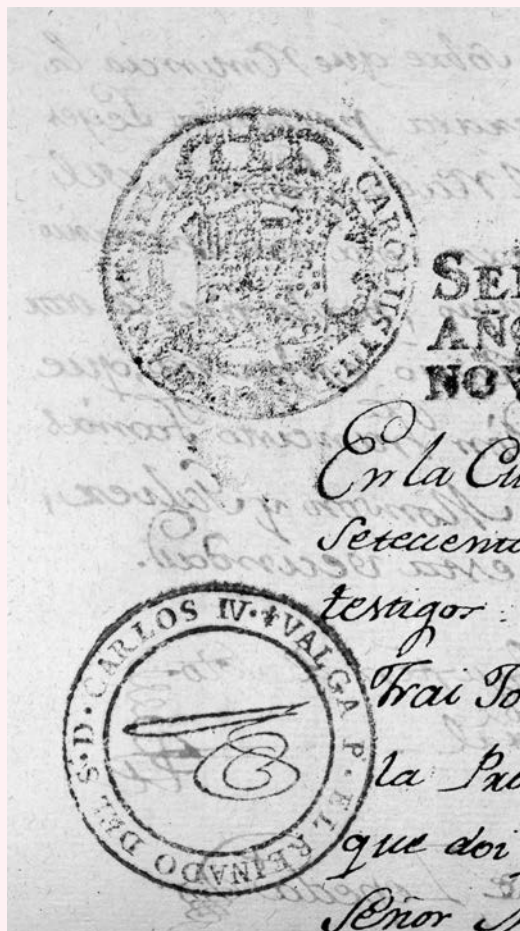


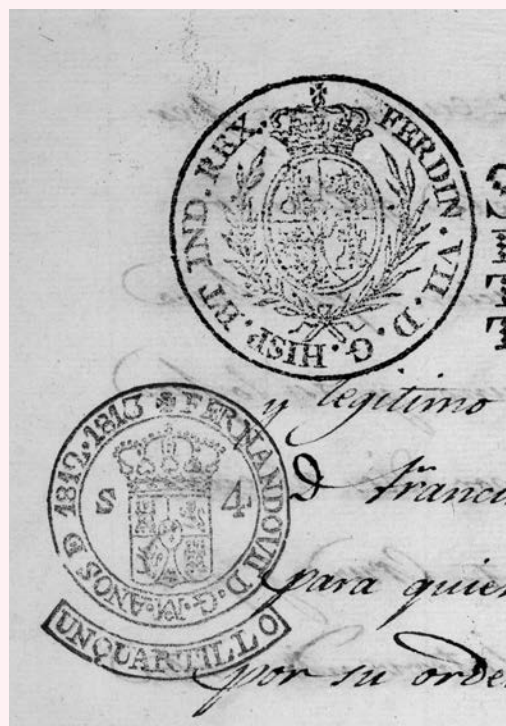
Regarding the sixth and last of our testimonies, the original stamp -showing the aforementioned quarterly- referring to the years 1811 and 1812, and an added stamp -with another version of the lesser coat of arms- for the biennium 1812-1813, that is, with an enjambment of one of its dates.



1811-1812 stamped paper was validated for 1812-1813 because “no papers were sent for 1813, and so the next stamped sheets to be sent to America were for 1814-1815”. While considering the periodization of stamped paper for the Indies, we should finally clarify that, despite the usually biannual delivery of sheets, “there were occasions -such as this one in 1813- on which no stamped papers were sent, and this kind of behaviour may be prolonged even further; at time, they would be delivered for a single year, and other shipments were valid for more than two years”. All of this comes to explain for it to be “a common practice to use papers from earlier bienniums, validated for many years after the date”<sup>12</sup>.

12 Also literal words, from a personal communication with Natalia Pérez-Aínsua Méndez.





### 3. JOSÉ BONAPARTE'S RULE (1808-1813) AND THE NAPOLEONIC CATALONIA (1808-1814)

In October 1807, Carlos IV and Manuel Godoy's Spain and Napoleon Bonaparte's France signed a secret treaty known to history as the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Its main objective was dismembering Portugal, a traditional ally of the British, that is, the ally of the great enemy to Napoleon's plans and at the same time, the great enemy of the Hispanic empire. The alliance not only allowed French armies to cross the country on their way to Portugal, but also the settlement of a considerable contingent of Napoleon's soldiers in Spanish territory, which was evidently at the mercy of the French emperor's ambitions.

#### 3.1 Abdications, enthronings and wars

In such an explosive context, which did include some display of power on the side of French troops, Fernando, the heir to the Spanish throne, got his father to abdicate after the Mutiny of Aranjuez. The revolt in March 1808 had Manuel de Godoy and king Carlos himself as targets, as well as all policies carried by them, by way of queen Maria Luisa. Although Fernando VII did reign, Napoleon's intrigues with his alter ego in Spain, Joachim Murat, the new king's aspirations and those of the dispossessed king's, led to a practically theatrical meeting in Bayonne being called. The end result, in the short term, was that both kings in conflict abdicated and Napoleon was left as trustee of the Spanish crown. Mid-term, it meant José Bonaparte, his brother, would be enthroned as king of Spain.



Portrait of king José I (ca. 1809) by Joseph-Bernat Flaugier, or Josep Bernat Flaugier in Catalan (Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, MNAC, Barcelona). José Bonaparte's figure has suffered a practical process of *damnatio memoriae*, fitting a member of a dynasty threatening the continuity of the royal family that would end up winning the war. Given the existence of numerous tales of infamy around the

monarch, who was presented as an alcoholic deserving the nickname "Pepe Botella" (Joe Bottle), and because of this, was the subject of the fiercest caricatures. The existence nowadays of palace iconography such as this, kept from anti-Napoleonic revenge, is surprising.

Against the backdrop of anti-French uprisings during the abdications process (such as the tragic and well-known May 2, 1808 in Madrid), opposition to the new monarch consolidated and quickly got armed, leading to a bloody war of years, including guerrilla warfare. The common purpose of this revolution -as was called at the time- was the return of Fernando VII (called *el Deseado* because of this) who was held or imprisoned in France, to guarantee Spain's independence from Napoleon's rule and imperial interests. Obviously, the Spanish conflict was a part of the wars Napoleon's France waged on several European fronts. We should also bear in mind that in this state of things, there would be those in Spain who thought the Bonaparte dynasty may carry out enlightened reforms -or even reforms beyond the ideas of Enlightenment- the Bourbons had never taken seriously enough, or plainly impeded. These were nicknamed -in no loving terms, of course- *Frenchified*. The existence of supporters of regimes led by members of Napoleon's family -*napoleonids*- wouldn't be, though, a specifically Spanish trait.





*Emperor Napoleon at his studio at the Tuileries.* (1812) by Jacques-Louis David (National Gallery of Art, Washington DC). By the warlike Napoleon and the arrogant emperor, we find a legislating Napoleon, willing to steal hours from sleep (that's what the almost burnt candle in the painting means), inspiration to one of the legal monuments of the West: the -nonetheless patriarchal- *Code civil des Français*.

Jacques-Louis David had been a jacobine revolutionary (remember the spectacularly Christ- like *Death of Marat*), and was close to paying his being accessory to the Terror with his own life. But the most celebrated of neoclassical painters found a new political and artistic life in the shadow of Napoleon: some of the most imposing icons from Bonaparte's times are owed to David's talent.

### 3.2 A constitutional reign that didn't seem like one

José's reign had a reference text: the Bayonne Constitution or Bayonne Statute, which his adversaries could see being cared for by Napoleonic guns. On the 4th article of the document -actually a "Given Carta" instead of a Magna Carta, designed to Napoleon's taste and aimed at being the framework for José I's rule over Spain, and the intended successors in the Bonaparte lineage- established that:

In all edicts, laws and rulings, the titles of the King of the Spains shall be: D. N..., *BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND THE STATE'S CONSTITUTION, KING OF THE SPAINS AND THE INDIES*.

This explicit statement of the monarchy's constitutional character was never translated into coins, which also kept their Latin inscriptions: "IOSEPH[US] · NAPO[OLEON] · DEI · GRATIA /

HISPANIARUM ET IND[IARUM] · REX", for example, is what appeared on silver pieces.<sup>1</sup>



In 1772, this title -with its explicit reference to the Indies- was foreseen to appear on silver issue for American mints, but the inscription had already appeared in the peninsula: in the Segovia mint, with Felipe II of Castile on the throne; in Madrid, during Felipe V's reign.<sup>2</sup> Regarding the remaining divine legitimation on coins, José Bonaparte was the only napoleonid to use it.<sup>3</sup>

On José I's gold pieces, the Golden Fleece remained, as well as the inscription first used in times of Carlos III de Bourbon: "IN UTROQ[UE] FELIX AUSPICE DEO". As stated by José M<sup>a</sup> de Francisco, "[...] king José's coins are surely the most traditional of all carried out by European Bonapartes, showing none of the traits of new political regimes born from the Revolution".<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Royal seals on josephine stamped paper -from the specimens kept- carry the title in Castilian: "JOSE NAP[OLEON]. I. P[OR]. L[A]. G[RACIA]. DE DIOS REY DE ESPAÑA Y DE L[AS]. IND[IAS]." (*José Napoleon I king of Spain and the Indies by the Grace of God*) and "JOSE NAP[OLEON]. I. P[OR]. L[A]. G[RACIA]. DE DIOS REY DE L[AS]. ESP[AÑAS]. Y DE L[AS]. IND[IAS]." (*José Napoleon I king of the Spains and the Indies by the Grace of God*).
- 2 However, in Bourbon America, pieces were minted with no explicit mention of the Indies title: both in the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada and the Viceroyalty of Peru.
- 3 Vid. Jean de Mey and Bernard Poindessault: *Répertoire des monnaies napoléonides*. Brussels / Paris, 1971, and José M<sup>a</sup> de Francisco Olmos: "Las acuñaciones de los Napoleónidas. Imagen de una Nueva Europa (1803-1815)", *Documenta & Instrumenta*, Vol 5. Madrid, 2007, pages 157-192.
- 4 In "La moneda en la Guerra de la Independencia (1808-1814). Documento político e instrumento de guerra", *Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica*, n° 25, 2008, pages 215-264; quote on page 227.

### 3.3 A roman bust and a practically territorial coat of arms

Continuity with 1772's provisions would also be broken when dealing with the characteristics of the royal portrait: no mantle, just a bare bust; on silver, the king would appear with his hair in the Roman consular fashion, as Napoleon had in French monetary issue. Copper coins would follow suit, as would one gold piece, while the other two gold pieces would show a bust adorned with a band -that is, a hairband in the Hellenistic tradition-. We also find a rupture when dealing with the coat of arms, and an especially meaningful one from an ideological perspective: not only are



gone the fleur-de-lys that Louis XIV had put there on the occasion of his grandson Felipe V's arrival to the throne, but the new coat of arms also shows a degree of egalitarianism in how it presents the castle and lion on the upper side, the Crown of Aragon's four paletts, Navarre's chains, Granada's pomegranate and -representing the In-

dies- two globes and the pillars of Hercules, all of which will be familiar to the reader by now. A coat of arms showing the Spanish monarchy as an egalitarian conglomerate of territories, with none of the Castilian-Leonese centralisation originated in Almansa on April 25, 1707 and in Barcelona on September 11, 1714. The coat of arms, however, does show Napoleon's unavoidable omnipresence, seen in the eagle at the very centre, in the oval space formerly destined to the Bourbon fleur-de-lys.

#### 3.4 Jupiter's eagle, "egalitarian" Spain and Castile-centric Spain

In fact, we find the jupiterine emblem the emperor chose in 1804 in the middle of José Napoleon's coat of arms: the majestic napoleonic eagle on the escutcheon carries in its claws a depiction of Zeus' or Jupiter's thunder. This may be so as to leave no

doubts on the nature and capabilities of imperial power, and, one would suppose, of he who held it by delegation: the Bonaparte destined to rule Spain with the almighty brother's acquiescence.

And so, a coat of arms explains the other's centre. And in a way, José's coat of arms became an early form of later Spanish coats of arms: of those who intended to be inclusive of all territories. On the birth of this emblem, we follow the writing on page 211 of Faustino Menéndez-Pidal de Navascués seminal article "El escudo de España":<sup>5</sup>

In the assembly of notable Spanish citizens held in Bayonne, France, in July 1808, sir Juan Antonio Llorent, the well-known secretary and Inquisition detractor, read a long speech about the coat of arms José I should take on becoming King of Spain and the Indies. He recommended two models. The preferred one disposed of old heraldic emblems and included the two pillars and two worlds on a field Gules under a chief Azure with a sun, in a manifest attempt at erasing and forgetting the distinction of old kingdoms and regions of Spain between them, and those of the metropolis and overseas territories, whose differences disturbed the present. The second proposal was a quarterly of Castile, Leon, Aragon and Navarre, enté on top by the Indies (the hemispheres and pillars) and with an escutcheon with Napoleon's eagle. These precedents make it even more meaningful that José Bonaparte chose -although slightly modified- Llorente's second proposed model.

In the end, the official emblazoning of the Spanish Bonaparte coat of arms was carried out in the following terms:

5 In Faustino Menéndez-Pidal de Navascués, Hugo O'Donnell and Duque de Estrada and Hugo and Begoña Lolo Heranz: *Simbolos de España*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales y Políticos, 2000, pages 15-225.





The Crown's coat of arms from now on shall be an emblem in six quarters: the first of them shall be that of Castile, the second Leon, the third [the Crown of]

Aragon, the fourth, Navarre, the fifth, Granada, and the sixth for the Indies, portrayed as per ancient custom with two globes and two pillars; and in the centre of these quarterlies, the escutcheon with the eagle shall be superimposed, appointing our Imperial and Royal Family.

In contrast to all this, on minor silver pieces -the ones called provincial- kept the traditional Bourbon designs of castles, lions and pomegranate, with the absolutely logical exception of the fleur-de-lys, substituted by the eagle: a lesser Bonaparte coat of arms of sorts, incoherent with the (fundamentally territorial) building method of king José's new coat of arms and their "egalitarian" meaning [↓].



The 8-maravedís coin's reverse [↑] -the only minted piece on copper with José's bust (by the way, without the Indies title, as in 1772) - also remained, save for the escutcheon, as it was in times of Carlos III and Carlos IV: with castles and lions.

### 3.5 A faceless, nameless power in napoleonic Catalonia

One last *excursus* on José Bonaparte's times: in Barcelona under Napoleonic rule, coins were minted as pesetas (and quartos) -dated 1808 and

1814- adorned with the city's coat of arms (the crosses of St. George and the four paletts) and



the inscription "EN BARCELONA".

These pieces had no reference to the issuing power: neither José Napoleon nor, after the annexation of Catalonia to the French empire in 1812, to Napoleon Bonaparte. Such a strange circumstance has had attempted explanations, one of which ponders the possibility that emperor Napoleon already foresaw, at the time of invasion, the future incorporation of Catalanian territories to France. In this case, bonapartist authorities had decided in 1808 to symbolically brush theoretical sovereign José I aside.<sup>6</sup> Whatever the reason, this was the first currency to have the words "PESETA" (1809) and "PESETAS" (1808) written on it.

In Girona (then officially Gerona), Lleida (then officially Lérida) and Tarragona, reference to pesetas was made in 1809 through abbreviations: "5 P" or "5 PS". During the war against Napoleon, the first coins to show their value in duros came up: in the Girona capital ("UN DURO"), in 1809 but dated 1808, and in Tortosa ("DURO"), in 1810.

6 For more on the aforementioned controversy *vid.* E. Gozo: *La moneda catalana de la Guerra de la Independencia*. Barcelona: Cymys, 1977 (2nd ed.; 1st ed. 1974), pages 34-37 and 68-75; José M<sup>a</sup> de Francisco: "La moneda en la Guerra de la Independencia (1808-1814). Documento político e instrumento de guerra", *Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica*, n° 25, 2008, pages 215-264: pages 229-233; and Albert Estrada-Rius: «Les emissions de la Casa de Moneda de Bracelona sota l'ocupació francesa», in Albert Estada-Rius (dir.): *Monedes en lluita. Catalunya a la Europa napoleònica*. Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya · MNAC, 2008, pages 61-71: p. 63.



*Napoleon on the imperial throne* (1806), by Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres (Musée de l'Armée, Paris). The glory of Roman emperors, Charlemagne and the old kings of France seems to imbue this august figure with a soft light, the -possible- peak of pompousness in the portrayal of personal power in a painting.

A military leader, victorious in the revolutionary wars, and a very popular general among his people because of it; first consul of the French Republic

after a coup and, later on, lifelong consul; self-proclaimed emperor of the French Republic -a position he held at the time of the painting- and later on, emperor of the French Empire, Napoleon Bonaparte holds in this portrayal all kinds of court symbols, interlaced in a new syntax: the one at the service of his own, personal glory. It is the indelible victory of the Corsican who arrived in Paris as a young man.

**PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT REESTABLISHING  
THE OLD MINT IN BARCELONA CITY  
TO ISSUE GOLD, SILVER AND COPPER  
21-VIII-1808**

Among the several measures adopted for the good of these neighbours, at a time in which, manufactures stopped and commerce stagnant, artisanal and factory officers and workers have been left without an occupation and sunk in misery, which has also affected owners and workshop foremen, and landowners are unable to get their rents for several reasons; one has been to restore in the city the mint of provincial coin, thus increasing the country's currency, exhausted after a long deprivation that has been draining its wealth, and to remedy the need of those still keeping their metal jewels, unable to enjoy their product for lack of buyers, or because those willing to buy would do so for such low prices it wouldn't remedy their need, their grief increased after selling them. To carry it out, a council has been appointed that, under the rules established, put in order all that was necessary to verify such a beneficial idea; and having examined what the council stated, it's been decided that, from the current month's twenty-seventh day, the mint shall be open, and because of what's been stated it will be established in this city, so provincial coins in gold, silver and copper shall be minted in it.

The ones minted in gold will be two escudos or four duro doubloons ["20 pesetas" on the coin] and two duros pieces or escudos [never issued], exactly the same in weight, carats and size or magnitude as those recently issued in Madrid ["80 / R .", on the coin].

Minted in silver there will be pesos duros ["5 PESETAS" on the coin], half duros ["2 ½ PESETAS" on the coin],

pesetas and half pesetas, and on these coins the same rule will apply that, in weight, carats and size, they shall be equal to their equivalents lately issued in Madrid ["20 / R .", "10 / R .", & "4 / R ." on the coins].

Pieces in copper will be made with a value of four and two quartos, one quarto and one ochavo.

Gold and silver coins will have a reeded rim, and copper ones will not.

The seal or stamp on said coins will be the coat of arms of this city with a slight adornment, which shall be different for each coin type.

The reverse of each coin shall display an expression of its value on its centre, and the trim, the year of mint and its place, which is this city.

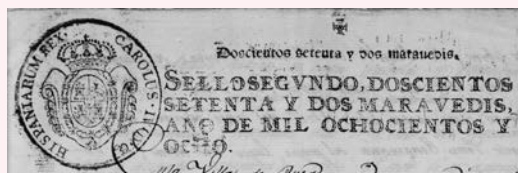
All these coins will have free course in this Province [of Catalonia] for the value stated on them, either alone or with others like them, with no difference or preference of ones over others.

And in order to enforce the aforementioned's timely compliance and to be pointedly acknowledged, treated and admitted as true coins in virtue of the expressed providence to issued them in this mint in the already stated circumstances; the matter conferred in the General Council on the twentieth of the current month presided by H.E. His Excellency Sir Captain General, and made of the Royal Accord, Sir Superintendent, Town hall and the Mint Council, it is commanded to publish and fixate this proclamation. Issued in Barcelona on August the twenty-first, 1808. = THE COUNT OF Ezpeleta. = *Approved.* = Don Joseph Maria Vaca de Guzman, Sub-Deacon on the Royal Audience. = Miguel de Prats y Vilalba, Secretary of the Royal Accord\*.

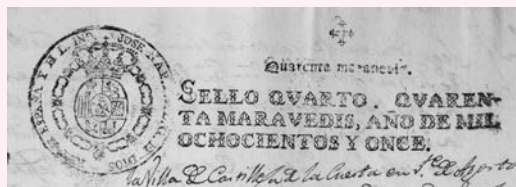
\*Josef Salat: *Tratado de las monedas labradas en el Principado de Cataluña con instrumentos justificativos*, Volume I. Barcelona: Antonio Brusi, 1818, pages 40-41 on the "Appendix of documents".

### 3.5 BIS. CONTRAST IN “TIMBROLOGY”, 2: THE BONAPARTES AND THEIR ENEMIES’ RUPTURES ON STAMPED PAPER

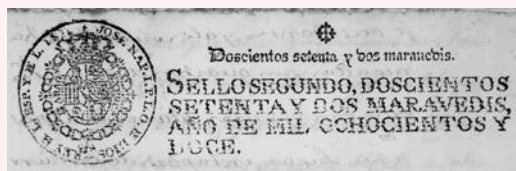
It has been highlighted that, while Joseph I’s reign constituted a great novelty in the heraldry aspect (as shown in monetary issues to his name, though not all of them), Josephine coins displayed inscriptions in Latin, following the tradition of monarchs from the houses of Hapsburg and Bourbon and, at the same time, showing a clear dissonance in the use of the diverse “national” languages throughout Napoleon and other Napoleonic ruler’s possessions. But this conservative trait in king Joseph’s policy isn’t reflected on the stamped paper of his that’s lived to our days, on which he used Spanish to depict his royal title accompanied by his coat of arms. This break with the past can be proved upon seeing these two images; one corresponding to a document from 1808, with a reference to Carlos IV, where -according to tradition- the title surrounding the lesser coat of arms (which was present since 1797, 1800-1801 in America) in the stamp comes in Latin, and on which the inscription coincides with that on coins from peninsular mints: “CAROLUS · IV·D[EI]· G[RATIA]· HISPANIARUM REX.”.



The other image includes a Josephine stamp for the year 1811, whose inscription reads “JOSE NAP[OLEON]. I. P[OR]. L[A]. G[RACIA]. DE DIOS REY DE ESPAÑA Y DE L[AS]. IND[IAS]. “ (with interlaced Ds and Es on all “DE” prepositions).



It should also be mentioned, besides the use of Spanish, unprecedented on royal titles at the time of Josephine monetary issues, the peninsula’s corresponding toponym is in singular (“ESPAÑA”), also unlike the case for coins. Nevertheless, another version of Joseph I’s stamped paper presents the plural name (“ESPAÑAS”), following the contents (translated from Latin) of monetary issues: “JOSE NAP[OLEON]. I. P[OR]. L[A]. G[RACIA]. DE DIOS REY DE L[AS]. ESP[AÑAS]. Y DE L[AS]. IND[IAS].“.



According to Natalia Pérez-Aínsua Méndez, it’s likely that there was a Latin version of the Josephine royal title on stamped paper<sup>1</sup>, even though a specimen is yet to be found: such testimonies are greatly uncommon in Joseph Napoleon’s regime, in direct proportion to -contemporary and later- Bourbon authorities’ animosity toward what they classified as “intruding reign”, a period that’s always been described in similar, and always denigrating, terms to this by its enemies.

1 De sellos, heráldica y alegorías: el papel sellado en España. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2014, page 66.









"We find what is probably the last symbol of Joseph I's reign over Spain, his coat of arms, on the façade of San Benito el Real church in Valladolid. During the War of Independence, San Benito was imperial headquarters and an ammunition depot. Back in the day, I got in contact with mister Teófanis Egido, chronicler of Valladolid city, to find out more about the coat of arms. Here is his kind explanation on the subject: *Joseph Bonaparte's coat of arms, on display on the portal, was traced, as is natural and well known, during the French occupation and first secularization of the monks. It was put instead of the royal arms formerly on display. Although this wasn't documented, it makes historical common sense. Naturally, Joseph Bonaparte's coat of arms, which was flat, was covered in plaster and remained as such until 2001, when the portal was restored. After the War of Independence, the monks were in no position to carry out construction work, being focused on their immediate subsistence after two other secularizations: one during the Liberal Triennium, and shortly after (1835) the definitive one. Once the temple was reopened for worship by the discalced Carmelites (in 1897), or maybe shortly after, the space taken by the coat of arms was covered by a plank with a painting of the other coat of arms of the Order of Discalced Carmelites. A day in August 1996, the plank was removed in the hopes of finding beneath it a relief from Benedictine time as figured on an engraving or drawing from the 18th century, but only a flat plaster surface, with no relief on it was found, hiding this coat of arms of Joseph I's, which may be the only one to be recovered in a public building and corresponding to coins issued at the time*". Miguel Ángel García García: <<http://www.batalladetralfalgar.com/2008/12/escudo-de-jose-i-en-la-iglesia-de-san.html>>. Image courtesy of Miguel Ángel García.

In fact, Cadiz Courts forbid, through a notice on September 16, 1812, the reusage of paper stamped with Joseph I's seal: "[...] Also, H.M. wants no stamped paper from the intruding government to be validated, and any specimen of its kind found is to be burned"<sup>2</sup>. Despite this extreme ruling from the anti- Napoleonic side, validations were made to Josephine paper during Fernando VII's reign, and these have endured until our time<sup>3</sup>. There are also specimens of King Joseph's that have been manually *attacked*, with crossings over the round stamp obscuring the sovereign's name, the central escutcheon, etc.



We'll return for the last time to the language on (the royal coat of arms' inscription on) stamped paper for the Josephine reign. And we do so to point out how, through legal ruling from said regime on the subject, no specific instruction was given regarding what language the king's name should appear in, a circumstance that left an open door to a free choice on the matter:

Stamped paper. First Title. (1). Establishment of a single stamp instead of those current for stamped paper. / 1st Art. Single stamp will be substituted by the four instituted by law, under the denomination of 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th. This stamp will include the royal coat of arms, the reigning monarch's name, the year it can be used in, and the

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>3</sup> Natalia Pérez-Aínsua Méndez: *El papel sellado en el antiguo y el nuevo régimen. Heráldica y alegorías en el sello*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla / Ayuntamiento de Écija, 2007, page 106.



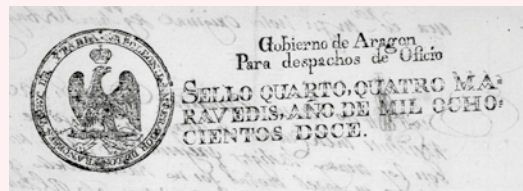
price for half a sheet.<sup>4</sup>

If we were to confirm the presence of Spanish alone as suggested by the -few- surviving specimens of stamped paper with the Spanish Bonapartist coat of arms (dated from 1809 to 1813), an enigma of no lesser stature would persist: what factors would have moved the government to choose that language -on this given medium alone- to the detriment of Latin, which, as we've already mentioned, was the only language on monetary issues in the name of Joseph Napoleon. The question would be trying to explain, then, why those authorities decided to coordinate such a patent bet on "modernity", so much in line with French revolutionary values and Napoleon's, with the Castilianisation of stamps on stamped paper, with a no less evident nod to tradition as the fidelity to Latin on gold, silver [₞] and copper pieces. This is put into even greater contrast if we consider both media -stamped documents and coins, that is- as

highly strategic instruments in the external display of power, as well as relevant (absolutely vital in the case of monetary issues) to the support of financial everyday life.



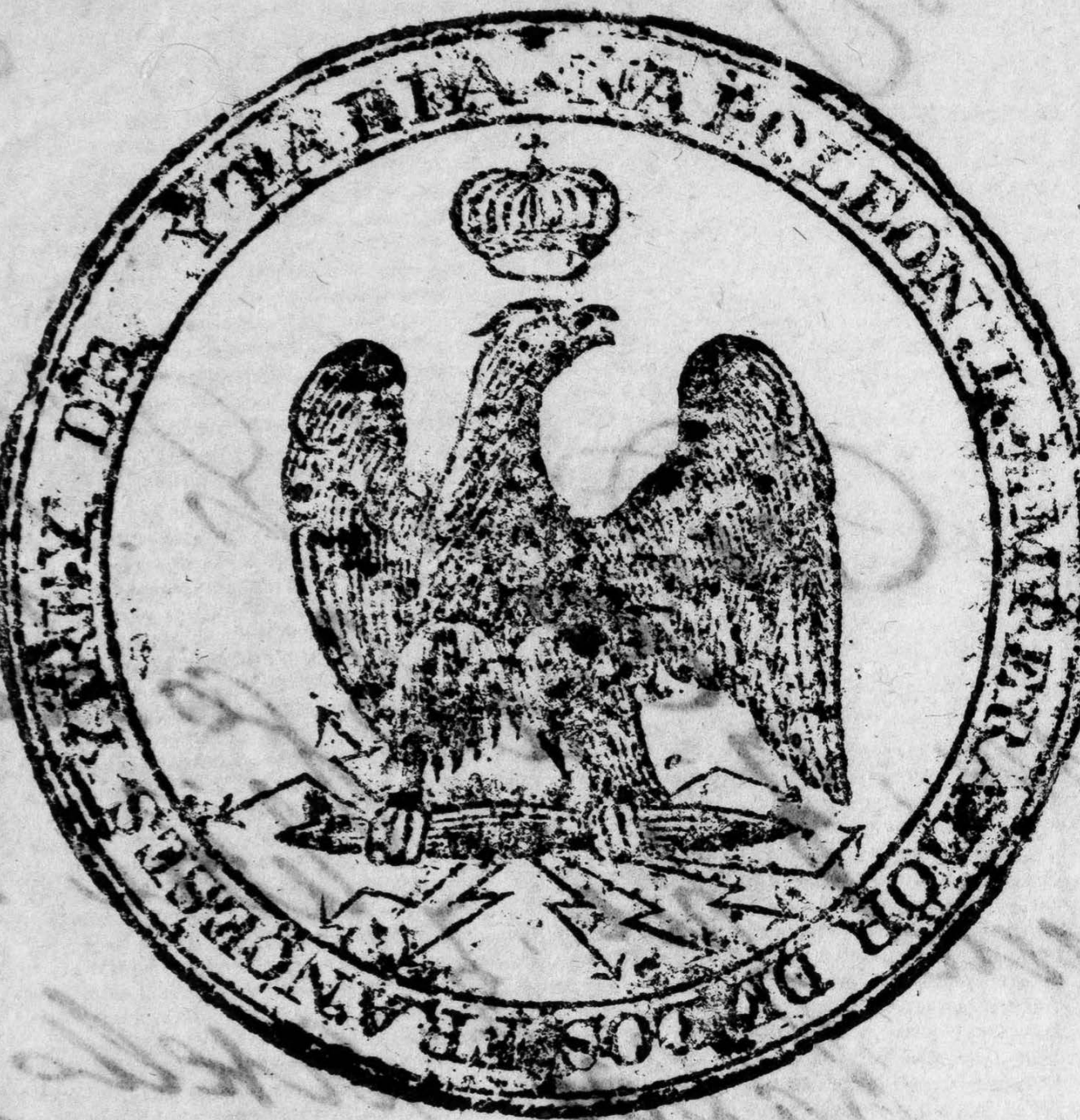
In any case, the presence of Spanish on Joseph Napoleon's royal title was by no means an event isolated to that context of the issuing of stamped papers by Frenchified or straight-up French authorities. To that point, have a look at this image of a stamp from 1812 and notice the fact that on this paper, issued in the name of the Gobierno de Aragón (which was to *manage* one of the territories Napoleon detached from direct Josephine administration in 1810) one can read a Spanish legend stating the imperial title of the most famous Bonaparte: around the regadant French imperial eagle grasping thunder with lightning in its claws, an inscription "NAPOLEON · I · EMPERADOR DE LOS FRANCESES Y REY DE YTALIA ·" (*Napoleon I Emperor of the French and King of Italy*), with no mention to the Corsican's other titles: "protector of the Rhine Confederacy" and "intermediary of the Swiss Confederacy")<sup>5</sup>.



Compare the previous design with a central fragment of the counter-stamp, reverse or flip side of a great imperial seal (*grand sceau impérial*), from 1805, kept at the Musée national de la Légion d'honneur et des ordres de chevalerie, in Paris.<sup>6</sup>

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- 4 The foreseen unification of the four classes of stamps into one never came to fruition. The quoted text appears in Juan Miguel de los Ríos' compilation *Código español del reinado intruso de José Napoleón Bonaparte, ó sea coleccion de sus mas [sic] importantes leyes, decretos é instituciones* (Madrid: Ignacio Boix, 1845, p. 174): <[cervantesvirtual.com/obra/codigo-espanol-del-reinado-intruso-de-jose-napoleon-bonaparte-o-sea-coleccion-de-sus-mas-importantes-leyes-decretos-e-instituciones](http://cervantesvirtual.com/obra/codigo-espanol-del-reinado-intruso-de-jose-napoleon-bonaparte-o-sea-coleccion-de-sus-mas-importantes-leyes-decretos-e-instituciones)>.
- 5 See also the images in: <<http://www.todocoleccion.net/manuscritos-antiguos/muy-raro-fiscal-gobierno-aragon-sello-segundo-napoleon-1812-guerra-independencia-x75514923>>.
- 6 "Les matrices du grand sceau impérial (constitué d'un sceau et d'un contre-sceau) furent réalisées en 1805 par le graveur Nicolas-Guy-Antoine Brenet (1770-1846), sous la direction de Vivant Denon (1747-1826), directeur du Musée Napoléon": <<https://www.napoleon.org/histoire-des-2-empires/objets/matrices-du-sceau-et-contre-sceau-de-majeste-de-napoleon-ier-1805>>. The image comes from a photograph by Jabulon: <[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Counter\\_Seal\\_Great\\_Seal\\_Napoleon.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Counter_Seal_Great_Seal_Napoleon.jpg)>.







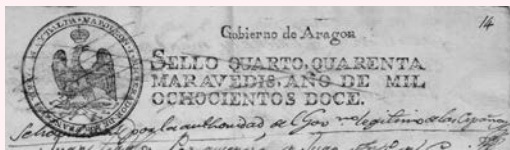


This constitutes an erasure, a true *damnatio memoriae* carried out with “ferocity” and an undoubted political background, (as in the coins [↓]) explained to the reader through a manuscript inscription: “Se havilitan [sic] por la autoridad del Gov[er]no. [sic] legitimo de las Españas” (*validated by the legitimate Spanish Government authority*), referring to authorities favourable to Fernando VII.



Special attention should also be paid to the -manually drawn- scribbles crossing out most of the heraldic stamp of this other stamped paper specimen, equally dated for 1812 for the Napoleonic Government of Aragon:

Notice the scribbles also affect the stamp's inscription (the one indicating its class, price and year), leaving the expression "Gobierno de Aragon" [sic] untouched.<sup>7</sup>



Stamped paper with the French imperial - as well as Italian royal- stamp of Napoleon and the designation of the Government of Aragon was issued in 1811 and 1812.<sup>8</sup>

Castilian was also vehicular in the inscription stamped on the stamps for fiscal documents such as the following, issued in Valencia while the city was ruled by Marshal Suchet's Napoleonic troops.



While its header -following the preceding Bourbon model- would refer to S[u]. M[ajestad]. (H[is].M[ajesty.]), and this expression should be considered as referring to Joseph Napoleon, in fact the coat of arms only showed Jupiter's Bird grasping thunder, and such a trait could remit to the emperor: although this is a heraldic element that was part of king Joseph's blazon (appearing in an escutcheon at its centre, as we mentioned earlier) the eagle's isolated portrayal may induce us to see the stamp as an allusion to Napoleon himself, who held as coats of arms "d'azur à l'aigle à l'antique d'or, empiétant un foudre du même" as stated on an imperial decree from July 10, 1804.<sup>9</sup>

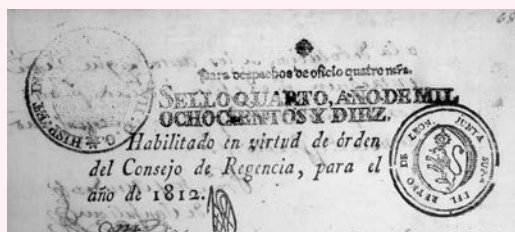
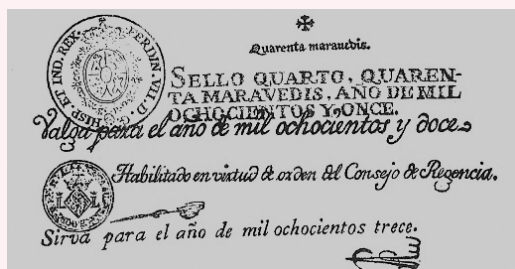
On the other side in this fight, that of the anti-Bonapartists, Spanish was also featured on stamps appearing in several stamped papers dated between 1808 and 1813: both in documents issued for use in areas of Catalonia under those loyal to Fernando VII, as on those adorned with the emblems of the "High Councils" -linked to the fernandine Regency Council- of Valencia, Galicia and León.<sup>10</sup>

- 7 To see a much more aggressive crossing out against the napoleonic symbol, and also against the expression "Gobierno de Aragon" [sic], see the images in: <<http://www.todocoleccion.net/manuscritos-antiguos/doc-notarial-raro-sello-fiscal-napoleon-bonaparte-tachado-epoca-validado-mano-aragon~x52693943>>
- 8 To see a manual validation for 1813 on a stamped paper for the Government of Aragon in 1812, see the images in: <<http://www.todocoleccion.net/manuscritos-antiguos/rarisimo-fiscal-sello-segundo-1812-habilitado-1813-gobierno-aragon-napoleon-da-roca~x57019261>>.
- 9 "L'aigle / Composante principale du nouveau blason, l'oiseau de Jupiter, emblème de la Rome impériale, est associé depuis la plus haute antiquité aux victoires militaires. Le décret du 10 juillet 1804 stipule que les armes de l'Empereur sont : " d'azur à l'aigle à l'antique d'or, empiétant un foudre du même ". Cette aigle, très différente des motifs de l'héraldique traditionnelle, s'inspire aussi de l'aigle carolingienne. Dès le lendemain du sacre, Napoléon fait placer le symbole au sommet de la hampe de tous les drapeaux des armées napoléoniennes": <<https://www.napoleon.org/histoire-des-2-empires/symbolique-imperiale>>.
- 10 The image of stamped paper with the Junta Superior del Reino de Valencia's stamp - including the Valencian capital's coat of arms- comes from page 130 of Ángel Allende's work *Timbres españoles* (Barcelona: Documentos Antiguos, 1969). On other local stamps, including stamped paper from Catalanian fernandine town councils, the language in use was Latin, as well as on the royal stamp on paper issued in the Valencian capital in 1814, after Suchet had left. Besides the references to all these stamps on pages 127 to 130 of Ángel Allende's aforementioned book, the images can be found on the Internet: Ricardo Pardo Camacho: *El papel timbrado en España · 1637-2009*. Castelló de la Plana: Castalia Iuris / Ministerio de Defensa. Subdelegación de Defensa en Castellón de la Plana / Aula Militar "Bermúdez de Castro", 2009: <<http://www.aulamilitar.com/timbrolologia.pdf>>.









and 1813, before and after the annexation to the French Empire in 1812. On those documents, Bonaparte's eagle appeared inked twice: one of the versions displayed it inset in Napoleon's greater coat of arms (with mantle, etc.); the other bore the "barred" symbol on its chest and carried the imperial crown on its head.<sup>11</sup>



We can also read words in Catalan on other stamped papers with another emblem than the aforementioned *Govern* of Catalonia, instituted in 1810. One such case is the document reproduced below, on which external manifestations of three instances of power converge:

- The original Spanish Bourbon, printed on paper in the name of Carlos IV for its use in the year 1807 and a round heraldic stamp (with the lesser coat of arms of castles, lions, lys and pomegranate);
- A second instance of power, the general Spanish Frenchified, which revalidated the document for the reign of Joseph Bonaparte, the Bourbon's cause formal adversary, and specifically for the year 1810: "VALGA PARA EL REYNADO DE S. M. EL Sr. D. JOSEF NAPOLEON I. AÑO DE 1810"<sup>12</sup>;
- The third instance manifested itself through another inked stamp, being the Frenchified Catalonian government: this was portrayed as a round heraldic stamp, with a party per pale of a Napo-

11 Vid. Ángel Allende: *Timbres españoles*. Barcelona: Documentos Antiguos, 1969, pages 123, 124 and 126 (the last one contains the image), and Ricardo Pardo Camacho: *El papel timbrado en España · 1637-2009*. Castelló de la Plana: Castalia Iuris / Ministerio de Defensa. Subdelegación de Defensa en Castellón de la Plana / Aula Militar "Bermúdez de Castro", 2009: <<http://www.aulamilitar.com/timbologia.pdf>>.

12 On other papers, the validation for Joseph's reign uses different formulas: "VALGA PARA EL REYNADO DE S. M. EL Sr. D. JOSE I.", "POR EL REY NUESTRO SEÑOR D. JOSE NAPOLEON I.º", "Valga para el Reynado de S. M. D. Josef Primero", "Valga para el Reynado de S. M. C[atólica]. el Sr. D. José Napoleon I.º [...]".

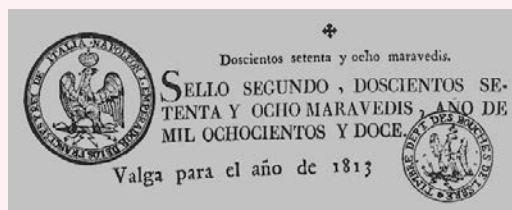


leonic eagle and “four bars”, surrounded by the inscription “GOV[ERN]. DE CATALUNYA”<sup>13</sup>.



We should finally consider the existence of stamps written in French. Ángel Allende apprises us of their presence<sup>14</sup> -including and image- accompanying a paper from 1812-1813 with Napoleon’s stamp as emperor of the French and king of Italy, and considering its Catalanian, with no reference whatsoever to the Government of Aragon: the French inscription occupies a round garland in a stamp added by the Department of the Mouths of the Ebro river -“TIMBRE DEPT. DES BOUCHES DE LSBRE [*sic*]”-, in the south and south-west of Catalonia.

We will also consider specimens validated by Napoleonic rule in the Principality which -over the embossed seal’s round garland- hold the



inscription “GOUVERNEMENT GENAL. DE LA CATALOGNE” written around a Napoleon’s coat of arms which, rather incongruously, is surrounded by the Golden Fleece collar.



### STAMPED PAPER’S POLITICAL SUBSTANCE

Stamped paper’s importance and transcendence in the first decades of the 19th century, granted by both administrators and their administered is beyond the shadow of a doubt: we’ve already seen some examples, and there are many yet to be seen throughout the remaining sections of “Contrast in ‘timbrology’”. In any case, we wouldn’t like to finish these without reminding the reader that the formal start of Catalonia’s uprising against Napoleonic occupation -and

13 See also images contained in: <<http://www.todocoleccion.net/manuscritos-antiguos/papel-sellado-napoleon-ano-1808-sello-gov-catalunya-guerra-independencia-timbre-fiscal-x39996965>>..

14 *Timbres españoles*. Barcelona: Documentos Antiguos, 1969, page 126 (where the image comes from).

the *trigger* of the ensuing war- was the public burning, in the city of Manresa on June 2, 1808, of the new stamped paper the French had imposed on the territory. Those *virgin* documents, which were to hold writings meant to have official validity in the municipality, incorporated a sentence with a reference to Napoleon Bonaparte's *alter ego* in Spain, Joachim Murat ("VALGA POR EL GOBIERNO DEL LUGAR-TENIENTE GENERAL DEL REYNO."), which proved -sufficiently for the insurgent- the French emperor's intention of holding and keeping power. Those stamped paper's flame lit, almost practically the fuse.<sup>15</sup>



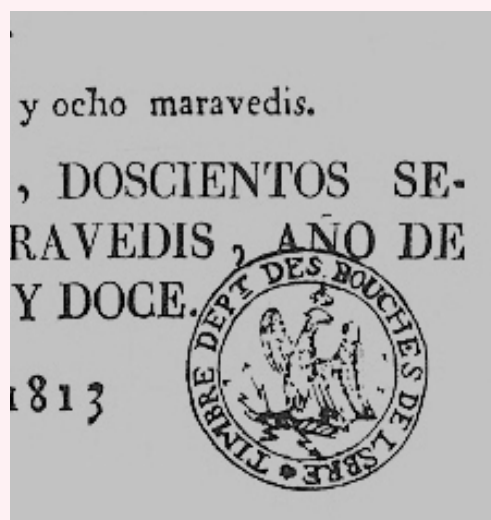
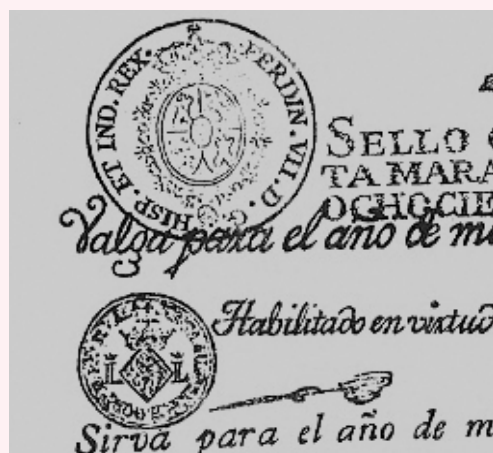
"I'll show today some stamped paper where history has left its imprint. It was issued in the year 1808 for Carlos IV's reign, the seal having a value of 40 maravedís, being a fourth-class stamp. After the Mutiny of Aranjuez in March and Fernando VII being proclaimed King of Spain, the paper was revalidated for this monarch's reign. After the events of May 2 in Madrid, Murat takes hold of the government, and after naming Napoleon deputy of the reign, the document would be restamped. This paper would not be used for the remainder of 1808 and would be counterstamped again in 1809, besides its use in Catalonia (at the time of the Napoleonic *Govern*), for which a embossed seal and an inked stamp from said government would be added"; Miguel Ángel García García: <<http://www.batalladetralfagar.com/2010/01/un-papel-marca-do-por-la-historia.html>>.

Image courtesy of Miguel Ángel García García.<sup>16</sup>

15 Besides affecting stamped documents issued for 1808, the reference to Murat was also introduced in paper validated for 1809.

16 <[http://1.bp.blogspot.com/\\_6zzpV6eARU8/S14eyfc\\_gUI/AAAAAAAAABf8/fH\\_HifxbOuo/s1600-h/papel+sellado.jpg](http://1.bp.blogspot.com/_6zzpV6eARU8/S14eyfc_gUI/AAAAAAAAABf8/fH_HifxbOuo/s1600-h/papel+sellado.jpg)>.





## 4. FERNANDO VII AND THE DRAMA IN SPAIN AND HISPANIC AMERICA (1808-1833)

### 4.0 An introduction to the reign's periods

Fernando VII's reign -the king for whom multitudes lost their lives in Spain- was extraordinarily complex in its monetary iconography and the inscriptions on those issues. In the midst of war against Napoleon (and José), unprecedented portrayals of power appeared, as a consequence of exceptional circumstances, at times of the direst of needs, against a backdrop as convulse as this was.



*The third of May 1808 (1814)*, by Francisco de Goya (Museo del Prado, Madrid). One of most famous paintings in the history of art, it transcended beyond the specific event it depicts: the dramatic composition has become a paradigm to denounce war and repression. The focus of attention is the central character in a Christ-like pose and white shirt -an allegory of purity-. The work is also shocking in its analysis of the attitudes or positions of different human groups, including the bleeding corpses and the anonymous killing machine formed by Napoleonic soldiers. These are, precisely, the ones by the lamp, by light: a possible reference to the tragic fact that it was revolutionary France -a beacon of liberty to so many in the last days of the Age of Enlightenment- that had ended up taking the shape of such a cruel and insensitive apparatus of repression.

To keep it safe during a francoist blitz, *The third of May 1808* was evacuated from Madrid to Valencia during the Civil War. It suffered an accident in transit, and the imperfections this caused motivated, back then and years later, a series of restorations.

After the war, Fernando's history as king is made up of three historical cycles and thus, by

at least three possible ways to manifest the legitimacy and reach of his royal power:

-The first stage was a six-year period of absolutist victory, which lay waste to the work put into the 1812 Constitution, thus cornering the first liberalism;

-The second was defined by a triennium of liberal hope that would die at the hands of a hundred thousand French soldiers. They -sent by Louis XVIII, brother of beheaded Louis XVI- would proclaim themselves to be the Sons of St. Louis and restorers of the absolute monarch;

-The third and last stage, in the decade that was to be named ominous, was the revenge against a demonised liberalism; Granadina Mariana Pineda -the author on the flag of the words liberty, equality and law- was executed, as in Valencia would be Russafa teacher Gaietà Ripoll, a victim to the Valencian dioceses' Junta de Fe (*Faith court*) -the Inquisition's methods by any other name-, who had accused him of heresy to great outrage in Europe.

In the early days of this third act, the king himself would -secretly- condemn to death Valencian Gabriel Ciscar, a notable naval officer, and one of the assistants to the conference in Pairs where the metric system was instituted. And three times a member of the Regency of Spain. One of the French come to restore absolutism would rescue Ciscar in a ship and send him to Gibraltar, were the British would protect him from the monarch's foolishness.



*Portrait of Fernando VII with royal mantle (1815)*, by Francisco de Goya (Museo del Prado, Madrid). The author of this painting would spend the last days of his life exiled in Bordeaux, while Fernando VII exercised as absolute monarch in Spain: a contrast in their biographies that serves as a very good portrait of the ruler also known as the *treacherous king*.

The following are a series of coins, issued by general authorities and those in charge of several Iberian territories, showing these revolutions and involutions around Fernando VII's legitimization confirmed on coined metal. We won't pay too much attention to emergency issues from Catalonia and Majorca, on which the monarch's title was very briefly expressed (probably because of the circumstances at the moment and their associated technical difficulties): these coins only mention the king through an abbreviation of his name and ordinal, not mentioning his title: with the letters "FER/ VII" or "FER" and "VII" written with simple punches (and slight variations). We have also excluded the many royalist issues in America that departed from the official overseas model. We have put special emphasis, on the other hand, on coins minted in Pamplona; we have reproduced a selection that lets us follow the events leading from the Ancien Régime and its fuero local laws to Unitarian isabelline liberalism, by way of the Liberal Triennium (also with Unitarian leanings) and the (*de facto* fuero-inclined) absolutist restoration.

#### 4.1 The war against Napoleon and the absolutist six-year period (1808-1820)

The first fernandine coins we'll examine were issued in Seville and Valencia while both capitals remained under the rule of those loyal to Fernando VII, that is, those opposed to Napoleon and his brother. The *wanted* king is portrayed in these following the 1772 directives regarding peninsular mints: with a "royal mantle of sorts", without a laurel wreath (the Sevillian bust is called *the Seneca* [↓], and the Valencian portrait was the work of engraver Manuel Peleguer Tossar [↓]). Their reverses also follow what was the norm in times of Carlos



III and Carlos IV: the lesser coat of arms and the royal title at the end (with no explicit reference to the Indies, unlike José I's coins)



The third coin we'll deal with was produced in the parts of Catalonia unoccupied by the French in 1810 (issued until in 1814). The piece's reverse shows the four palets coat of arms, crowned, and the Latin inscription "PRINCIP[ATUS] · CATHAL[ONIÆ] ·", that is, Principality of Catalonia; unlike Fernando VI's ephemeral issue proclaiming himself Prince of Catalonia, the royal title on this coin is only Spanish, and the Catalanian reference is only territorial, or, as was said at the time, *provincial* [↓].



The coin's obverse displays a quarterly [↕] of castles and lions, the pomegranate and fleur-de-lys, with the inscription, again in Latin, "FERDINANDUS · VII · HISP[ANIARUM] · REX" (or, less likely, HISP[ANIÆ] · REX), with no mention of "the Grace of God": Fernando VII, king of the Spains (or Spain), with no divinity in there. This inscription is rather surprising in its rupturist character towards a tradition that had been held for centuries.

A year earlier, in 1809, the Gironan and Lleidatan capitals issued 5-peseta pieces during the French siege; they were, then, obsidional mints. But these coins had gone beyond the one we previously observed regarding the modernity of their

political language: in threatened cities, they'd said Spain instead of the Spains, and done so in Castilian and not Latin. The piece from *Gerona* proclaimed "FERNANDO · VII REY · DE · ESPAÑA", featuring a classical-looking bust of the monarch, more Roman than was stated on 1772 ordinances for the Indies, the work of Lluís Desoy, a goldsmith born in Genoa.



In the case of *Lérída*, the inscription only changed in the location of its decorative elements -"FERNANDO · VII · REY · DE · ESPAÑA"-, but the artistic quality of this mint was much worse than the Gironan one.



These coins give credit to the foundational moments of Spanish nationalism (also present in the Catalonia of the time), and are currently extremely rare.<sup>1</sup>



Obverse and reverse of the celebrated propaganda medal, due to engraver Félix Sagau y Dalmáu de Galcerán and the initiative of two particulars (Ramón Roblejo Lozano and Ciriaco González Carvajal), commemorating the proclamation of the Constitution in 1812.

The double legitimization of the king's power appearing on the obverse -"[...] POR LA G[RACIA]·DE DIOS Y LA CONST[ITUCION]·DE LA MON[ARQUIA]· [...]" (by the Grace of God and the Monarchy's Constitution)- won't appear on Spanish coins, with an equivalent formula, until the Liberal Triennium (on the occasion of the reestablishment of the constitutional text, repealed by Fernando VII on his return to the peninsula). Such absence won't happen on royal emblems on Fernando VII's stamped paper for the year 1813 and, partially, 1814: "FERD[INANDUS]. VII. D[EI]. G[RATIA]. ET CONST[ITUTIONE]. MONARCH[IAE]. HISP[ANIARUM]. REX".

Here is Marina Cano Cuesta's description of the reverse of this absolute work of neoclassical art in the year 2015 (*Catálogo de medallas españolas*. Madrid: Museo

- 1 Very recently, Joan-Lluís Marfany wrote the following regarding the founding of Spanish nationalism during the war against Napoleon and the later birth of Catalan nationalism (translated from Catalan):

"[...] for it was then that a bourgeoisie started to form decisively in Catalonia, and because, closely related to this process, a new feeling of Spanish collective identity rose, not anymore dependant on the relationship of a common monarch, but with the territory itself, in its (at least apparent) timelessness, rising this collectiveness to a subject in history and the source of legitimacy of political power. [...] What needs to be considered is when , how and why a sector of the Catalan intelligentsia -whose origins and members should be determined- stopped recognising itself in the Spanish identity, or maybe stopped recognising itself fully or sufficiently, how this crisis evolved, and how it spread to all sectors of society. In brief, how Spanish nationalism weakened and cracked, and how Catalanian nationalism started to appear. [...]» (*Nacionalisme espanyol i catalanitat. Cap a una revisió de la Renaixença*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 2017, page 16 and pages 17-18)".



Nacional del Prado, page 238b): “On a Cliff, the allegories of Spain and America, embodied by two Warriors with their attributes, hold hands and the Constitution book, leaning on two earth globes. On the book, the inscription CONSTI / TUCI- / ON / POLITI / CA // DE LA / MONAR- / QUIA / ESPAÑO / LA. A lion lays at the first’s feet, two pillars with the motto PLUS ULT by it, and by the second, on the floor, a cornucopia [“loaded with coins”]. On top, a shining star [“a symbol of immortality”] and a ship in the horizon [“as the means of communication between both hemispheres”] In the field, to the left, F. SAGAU- F[ECIT]” (the writing in quotes come from the 1812 project description of the medal. [vid. page 238 of Marina Cano’s aforementioned work]. The original text said “emisferios” instead of “hemisferios”).

Far more common than these were 12-dineros coins issued by the Catalonia’s Mint in the name of king Fernando in 1812 (the Balearic Islands weren’t occupied by the French during the war). This piece’s choice for this selection is due, fundamentally, to the unprecedented royal title which -divided among obverse and reverse- ended with a direct reference to the Balearic Islands (*Balearium*, that is, “of the Balearic Islands”). This should be a great surprise, given that during the Middle Ages the expression in use when referring to the royal possession of the archipelago was *Maioricarum* (that is, “of the Majorcas”). In any event, the word *Balearium* appears immediately after the abbreviation for *Hispaniarum* (of the Spains), in the way overseas mints did with *Indiarum* (of the Indies): “FERDIN[ANDUS] · VII · DEI · GRATIA / HISP[AN]IARUM] · ET BALEARIUM · REX”.



In all other aspects, the reverse [↑] is equally suggestive: the coat of arms isn’t crowned by a closed (hoop) crown, but by an open one, and also, the blazon recovers the monetary design from the two first decades of the 18th century with a Latin cross pattée -its arms narrower in the centre and widened in their extremes- going

over the emblem’s field in its lower part and sides, of Medieval origin.<sup>2</sup>

Before moving on to the next coin in our selection -in our journey through Fernando VII’s first years- we should point out some silver pieces, with a face value of 4 *vellón* reales or 2 silver reales, with the Barcelona mint mark on them, dated in 1812 with Fernando VII’s bust on the obverse (“FERDIN · VII · DEI · GRATIA”) and the crowned coat of arms with castles and lions, fleur-de-lys and pomegranate on the reverse. Unlike the obverse, though, the reverse shows a Castilian inscription (“REY DE LAS ESPAÑAS”, as it would a decade later, in times of the Liberal Triennium), which was unprecedented and unexplainable. E. Goig analysed these strange coins in *La moneda catalana de la Guerra de la Independencia*,<sup>3</sup> and considered them to be forgeries: “All we’ve seen seems to confirm surely this is a forged mint” (page. 63).<sup>4</sup>

The seventh of the pieces we’ll reproduce here was minted in the Viceroyalty of Peru, following the content of the 1772 pragmatic sanction. Given that no Hispanic territory in America backed Bonaparte’s side during the war, coins from the time of the war, as well as those issued after it, were either issued in defence of Fernando VII, or in favour of local insurgent powers, and, in certain cases, of the new countries. These last examples come

2 “This is the first time we have such denomination in Spanish monetary history, given that the kingdom’s official title is Majorca, and not the Balearic Islands, and the reverse uses the long Majorca cross typical in Medieval coins from Majorca, used to divide the traditional coat of arms of castles and lions used by the Bourbons. The model for these coins in the name of Fernando VII were the treseta pieces Felipe V and Luis I coined in the early ’20s of the 18th century (in the period 1722-1724) for use in the Islands” (José M<sup>a</sup> de Francisco Olmos: “La moneda en la Guerra de la Independencia (1808-1814). Documento político e instrumento de guerra”, *Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica*, n<sup>o</sup> 25, 2008, pages. 215-264; quote on page 236).

3 Barcelona: Cymys, 1977 (2nd ed.; 1st ed. 1974), pages 53 and 59-63.

4 On X. Calicó’s catalogue *Numismática española. Catálogo general con precios de todas las monedas españolas acuñadas desde los Reyes Católicos hasta Juan Carlos* -Barcelona: Aureo & Calicó, 2008- it is considered authentic (reproduced in the section dedicated to the Barcelona mint) the 1812 4-reales value with B marking (page 721).



from a process of independence that lasted more than 15 years which -led mostly by creoles, that is, population of Spanish lineage- would turn the old



Bourbon possession into a mosaic of sovereign republics that were very often in conflict with each other. This piece, however, was issued by authorities still loyal to king Fernando, on the year of the Cádiz Constitution.

It should be pointed out that, during the Napoleonic occupation of a sizeable part of peninsular territories, issuing coins with the *wanted* king's portrait -and with good art on them- was an incentive and a reason for hope for the supporters of the fernandine side. The author of the mould for the common model, Félix Sagau, thus contributed to "breathe life on the peoples' enthusiasm seeing a public sign of authority from their legitimate monarch".<sup>5</sup>

The monetary reverse reproduced below also belongs to the side that remained loyal to the Spanish monarchy, and also complements the former piece in showing a following of 1772 directives -well documented here- on a reverse minted deep in the 19th century (the obverse no longer showed the vambrace that had adorned Carlos III and Carlos IV's busts on silver coins from the Indies). The piece was minted in Lima, in the viceroyalty of Peru, dated from 1816, once the penin-



sular war was over, and no one could predict the Battle of Ayacucho (1824), the last great military conflict between the independentist insurgency and troops determined to preserve the Spanish empire.

The Bourbons' disaster in this death field was the writing on the wall announcing the end: Fernando VII's 8-reales coins were minted for the last time in the Indies -specifically, in Potosí- dated in 1825. While we could still consider a part of America as under Spanish rule, this would only include Cuba, Puerto Rico and, for a few short years, the Dominican territory. 1898 marked its requiem, when the USA decided where to start their march towards becoming a global power.



An example of the caste paintings existing in Spanish viceroyalties in America. The anonymous work from the 18th century is found in the Museo Nacional del Virreinato (Tepotzotlán, Mexico). This is evidently not an innocent taxonomy of enlightened sign, harboured by a scientific curiosity of dubious ethics: these paintings had a social role, since differences in appearance derived from one's birth -that is, ethnological, biological, inherited components- were given great importance in societies as unequal as that of Hispanic America at the time. The Spanish empire was ethnically stratified into castes, so as to exercise power over those deemed inferior; also stratified, on the other hand, to guarantee the exercise of privilege by those considered superior. And some other caste left in between.

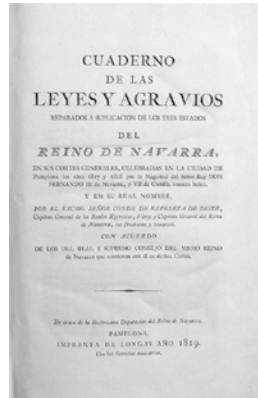
It would be Spanish citizens born in the viceroyalties, from the top of this supposed ethnic pyramid for the Hispanic New World, who would be the main instigators of the destruction of that empire.

The following coin points out how royal absolutism could be permissive at times, if it wanted to be so. It was minted in a territory where the king was Fernando VII, but there is no expression of this on the given piece; all the same, it was issued because the king of Spain decided not to impede it, but this toponym is nowhere to be found in the coin's inscription.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by Marina Cano Cuesta: *Catálogo de medallas españolas*. Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2005, page 235.



This “FERDIN[ANDUS] · III · D[EI] · G[RATIA] · NAVARRAE · REX” (Fernando III king of Navarre by the Grace of God) is Fernando VII, although in Navarre he was Fernando III, this -the ostentation of royal numerals from each territory-being an expression of self-government that had been systematically denied to Aragon, Valencia, the Balearic Islands and the principality of Catalonia (as we mentioned before). The Navarrese, Alavese, Gipuzkoans and Bizkaitars, as well as natives of the Aran Valley had remained loyal to Felipe V during the Succession War, and thus, no Nueva Planta decree was proclaimed to lay the kingdom of Navarra’s self-government to waste (no *justo derecho de conquista* was applied, that is). The right to mint coin was one of the most prized external signs of holding power, and the Navarrese -despite some interference from Madrid, grievances and other difficulties-were able to exercise it. Together with the right to keep privative monetary issue, we should note in particular how these coins were also different in their design: their reverse showed Navarre’s coat of arms with chains had a cross with eight arms with pomeis (that is, with spheres on their extremes) accollated, and a royal crown over the whole composition. The inscription around it was the same as on Carolingian coins from way back in the 9th century: “CHRISTIANA RELIGIO”. No need to translate that. No need, either, to look for the Spanish Bourbon coat of arms, or castles and lions: they are nowhere to be found.



The title of this 1819 volume is a thorough summary of the characteristics of a fuero regime in the context of the fernandine absolutist system, pointing out the parallelism between the Navarrese case and the disappeared Valencian fuero regime (and in the same vein, that of other countries such as the Crown of Aragon). Indeed, this tells of laws and grievances, that is, *fueros* and *contrafueros*; of the three states of Navarre (military,

ecclesiastical and that of universities or *Buenas villas* -certain villages in Navarre deemed “good” because of their loyalty-) equivalent to the three *arms* of the kingdom of Valencia (military, ecclesiastical and royal, the last formed by Valencian towns under direct control of the crown); there are general courts of the kingdom like the ones existing in the times of Valencian fueros; the Navarrese royal title appears with the privative ordinal, and not the Castilian one, just like in Valencia until the early 18th century; there is also mention of the Viceroy’s figure, very prominent in Valencia during the 16th and 17th centuries. The book’s printing is also stated as being carried out *De orden de la Ilustrísima Diputación del Reino de Navarra* (by command of the most Illustrious Council of the Kingdom of Navarre), an institution that would be the equivalent to the *Diputació del General* or *Generalitat* of the Valencian kingdom. We are, indeed, in the presence of a title summing up a whole legal system: *Cuaderno de las leyes y agravios reparados á suplicacion de los tres Estados del Reino de Navarra, en sus Cortes Generales, celebradas en la ciudad de Pamplona los años 1817 y 1818 por la Magestad Real del Señor Rey don Fernando III de Navarra, y VII de Castilla nuestro Señor. Y en su Real Nombre por el Exmo. Señor Conde de Ezpeleta de Beire, Capitán General de sus Reales Egércitos, Virey y Capitan General del Reino de Navarra, sus fronteras y comarcas [...]* (Book of laws and grievances repaired by demand of the three States of the Kingdom of Navarre, in its General Courts, held in the city of Pamplona in the years 1817 and 1818 by His Royal Majesty the King Don Fernando III of Navarre, and VII of Castile, our Liege. And in His Royal Name by His Excellency Sir Count of Ezpeleta de Beire, Captain General of His Royal Armies, Viceroy and Captain General of the Kingdom of Navarre, its frontiers and regions [...])

[Image by kindness of Subastas Appolo (de Pamplona)].

The path before liberals reached power between 1820 and 1823 reaches its end with these humble copper pieces, destined to general issue, which still uphold the basic 1772 directives with

the exception -on one of them- of the use of a laurel wreath on the head, not planned by Carlos III de Bourbon. The royal title appears complete in the obverses, with no mention of the Indies being made: "FERDIN[ANDUS] · VII · D[EI] · G[RATIA] · HISP[ANIARUM] · REX". Reverses display a motif we have seen on mint in the times of Carlos III himself: two castles, two lions, three fleur-de-lys and a central figure in the shape of a *sui generis* cross, with baroque fleur-de-lys outlines. This last element was defined in a pragmatic sanction from 1772 as "the cross called of Infante Don Pelayo", in a dubious attribution, since the only Pelayo of true renown at the time would have been the Asturian king from the 8th century. As a matter of fact, the legal ruling said nothing of the escutcheon with fleur-de-lys: "the two castles and two lions of my coat of arms". And around them there was a laurel wreath -"surrounded by laurel".



#### 4.2 The Liberal Triennium (1820-1823)

The same humble piece we've just witnessed proclaiming the principles of divine legitimation would be transformed -with the introduction, during the Liberal Triennium, of reference to the 1812 Constitution, valid once again- into a plea of liberalism's ideology. As a consequence of the Court decree from May 1821, the king's portrait shall appear unidealised, human after all (it is in fact popularly

known as bighead): "2nd. The obverse of all types of coins will show the Royal bust of M. without laurel [wreath], as was the custom in coin from the Peninsula in former reigns, and also with no attire or object that may alter the original's character". The coins would also state that the rule was founded, in theory, on a double source of legitimacy: the traditional one, in its reference to "the Grace of God" (which makes us consider the approach of those Spanish liberals as moderate), and the legitimacy derived from having sworn the constitutional ruling approved in Cádiz during the war against the French (a text, let it be said, far from the radical contents absolutists would attribute to it). The new inscription was thorough, and despite using abbreviations, there was no room for it on the obverse of maravedí pieces: "FERNANDO 7º POR LA G[RACIA] · DE DIOS Y LA CONST[ITUCION] · / REY DE LAS ESPAÑAS" (*Fernando 7th by the Grace of God and the constitution/ king of the Spains*) (with the royal ordinal in Arabic numerals instead of Roman ones). As a consequence of the final part of the inscription creeping into the coin's reverse, the laurel wreath intended in 1772 was eliminated (the wreath did, thus, disappear): according to said decree, "6th. The copper one shall remain as it is, save for the disappearance of the wreath, indispensable to the positioning of the new inscription".



We should now stop and ponder the reasons for the inscriptions on these coins -as well as all others minted in Spain after 1833- not being in Latin but Castilian. First, we need to point out that while liberals ruled Spain for the first time (1820-1823), most pieces issued in America for Fernando VII held the types of absolutism and with them, divine power as the only source of legitimation and Latin inscriptions. But opposed

to this practice, coins minted with the types of the Liberal Triennium, that is, those mentioning the double legitimation, had their inscriptions in Castilian (in the Philippines, too). There are, however, two exceptions to the norm: a mint from Navarre in 1823 keeping Latin (as we'll see later), and a 2-reales piece from 1822 where the same was done in San Juan del Pasto (in current day Colombia). The latter doesn't include the Indies title -"FERD[IN]D[US] · 7 · D[EI] · G[RATIA] · ET · CONST[ITUTIONE] · / HISPANIAR[UM] · REX"- and is the only issued in the whole Hispanic America to show the double legitimation appropriate to the Liberal Triennium: this Pasto issue -with a mint mark of a "P"- was traditionally attributed to the Popayan mint (also, "P", and also in current day Colombia).



From 1833 on, the Castilian language was the only one present in Spanish monetary specimens, with the exception of carlist pretender Carlos V: thus, Isabel II, enthroned with the liberals' support and later constitutional monarch, only issued coins with their inscriptions in Castilian. And the tradition has endured to these days with very few surprises, and these always located on pieces with no real circulation; take for contrast the fact that the United Kingdom still uses Latin to express royal titles in all its coins.

The extinction of Latin -the traditional court language in western Europe- in Spanish currency happened, from what can be gathered from everything previously exposed, with the arrival at power of liberalism and Spanish nationalism, which were inseparable at the time, and the option of using Castilian as the national language. This ideology of Castilian as high and common language -its condition as a "discursively con-

structed political artefact", and, in any event, its choice as the only language in which to proclaim personal or collective authority on Spanish coinage- had its parallel in France: revolutionary France had brushed Latin aside from coins forever, and French nationalism had been rotund in stating -if needed, with a language-killing vehemence towards any language besides French itself- that only the French language would be the "national" one in a country that was intended to be unbreakable.<sup>6</sup>



This engraving was part of a deluxe edition of the 1812 Constitution printed in 1822, with many images, by José María de Santiago, "Chamber Engraver and Royal Etcher of H.M.". The iconographical compendium collected in this work is staggering: Fernando VII honours his title during the Liberal Triennium and states the two sources of legitimation of royal power: God, portrayed by the triangle spewing lightning, and the 1812 Constitution, located on a pillar with the royal coat of arms (crowned and between pillars, but with no fleur-de-lys). Over the king's head, two winged cupids are about to crown him with laurel wreaths and present him with flowers. A naked, winged genie -a flame over his head- witnesses the whole scene, holding

6 The consideration of Castilian as "a discursively constructed political artifact" comes from page 18 in José del Valle's "Language, politics and history: an introductory essay", introduction to a collective work edited by the same author: *A Political History of Spanish. The Making of a Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, pages 3-20). There is a Castilian edition: José del Valle: "Lenguaje, política e historia. Ensayo introductorio", in José del Valle (ed.): *Historia política del español. La creación de una lengua*. Madrid: Aluvión, 2016, pages 3-23.



the constitutional text and handing a chalice of sorts to the monarch. The genie also lays his right foot on the head of an exotic warrior laying on the ground, a turban on his head and armed with a sword, near an abandoned sceptre. The king has the throne to his back, and to his sides, a lion (portraying peninsular Spain) with a world globe, and a crocodile (representing the Indies). We find a caduceus (the emblem of trade, linked to god Hermes or Mercury) and a cornucopia at the monarch's feet, both elements a clear allusion to the foreseeable benefit and progress the Constitution would grant to financial life. The lower part also includes a symbolic message of deep meaning: in virtue of the need for symmetry, the author incorporated the design with two castles and two lions from the lesser royal coat of arms (not the fleur-de-lys), the pillars with the "Plus Ultra" motto, and two globes or hemispheres, besides a central still life of emblems of sorts, with a crown, victory laurels, sceptre and the scales of justice. The great surprise to be found is on the pillars and castles: two fasces or lictor bundles, the ancient emblem of authority in classical Rome, now incorporating axes. Lictores bundles were extremely popular during the French Revolution (generally accompanied by Phrygian caps and pikes), but the fact that we see them here with axes would -presumably- point to another source.

Here is another monetary type from the Liberal Triennium -with a *bighead* on its obverse- giving credit of the practically exclusive use of Castilian on issues from these times. Besides, and because these pieces were the result of reminting -re-using- French half-escudo or three pounds silver coins, complementary information had to be added on the reverse, also in Castilian: the expression "RESELLADO" (*restamped*).



The next monetary specimen is the last of those issued for general circulation coined by the Triennium authorities we'll analyse in these pages: the obverse of the piece also displays Fernando VII' bighead, and the reverse fulfils one of the directives of the May 1821 decree: "1st. The coin type shall be uniform in the Peninsula and Overseas in national gold and silver. / 4th. The reverse [...] of Peninsula national silver shall be uniform with

the one currently in use Overseas, thus adding the pillars on display in the latter". The national silver the decree refers to are the bigger silver coins: the 20-reales *vellón* coin (equivalent to 8 reales) and the 10-reales *vellón* coin (equivalent to 4 reales).



These were the first minted pieces in the Iberian Peninsula to show the pillars of Hercules accolated to the royal coat of arms, that is, flanking it.

Let us now consider the Navarrese exception to the practically absolute Castilianisation -in regard to language- in constitutionalist monetary issue. The piece was manufactured -with metal extracted from cannons- while Pamplona was under siege of the absolutists, and translated to Latin the inscription -all on the obverse- proposed by the liberal government for general issue: "FERDINANDUS · VII · D[EI] · G[RATIA] · ET C[ONSTITUTIONE] · HISP[ANIARUM] · REX ". But Latin is, itself, the only trait of traditional Navarrese currency not to be erased by the Liberal Triennium on this coin (so reckless in its manufacture, on the other hand, with an inappropriate metal composition):

-The monarch -while still adorned with traditional laurel wreath- was no longer titled as king of Navarre, but of Spain. The minds behind the 1812 Constitution considered the former title invalid because according to the current constitutional legal framework, Navarre was a *former* kingdom, not a kingdom; the only proper kingdom according to law was -already- Spain, and the Navarrese territory was but a province (although with its privileges);

-Thus, logically, the king no longer held the ordinal corresponding to Navarrese royalty, III, but VII;

-Reference to the (1812) Constitution as source of legitimation was made, instead of the prior single reference to the Grace of God;



-The piece no longer had privative Navarrese face value, but 8-maravedís, according to 1772 ruling; and finally;

-The Navarrese symbology on the reverse, which had stayed until 1820 on Pamplona-issued pieces, was now substituted by the one ruled in 1772 for general circulation (with the laurel, the alleged cross of Infante Pelayo, with castles, lions and fleur-de-lys).



The next-to-last example of currency from the Liberal Triennium we'll present was minted in the province of Barcelona ("PROVINC[IA] · DE BARCELONA") in 1823, and it was the coat of arms of the Barcelonese province -crosses of St. George, paletts, crown and bat (*ratpenat* or *rata pinyada*), and laurel branches that adorned the issue's reverses.

On these coins, an exceptional case in the whole history of Spanish currency, king Fernando VII's title does without any reference to "the Grace of God", but also to the toponym itself: "FERNAN[DO] · 7º · REY CONSTITUCIONAL". That is all.

We close our selection of coins from the Triennium by referencing a practice partially related to the one we pointed out on the former piece.



This is the fragmented incorporation of the royal title: since the reverse on certain coins was filled by a specific motif, and also taking into account that few abbreviations were used on the obverse,

there were only references to Fernando 7th by the Grace of God and the Constitution, thus with no mention of his status as king of the Spains. This happened on two occasions; the first, on a coin issued in Palma de Majorca in 1823, 5 silver pesetas. The reverse in this case was occupied by the toponym of the archipelago the island of Majorca is part of, "YSLAS BALEARES", on two lines and surrounded by a laurel wreath. The piece's heads read "FERN[ANDO] · 7º P[OR] · LA G[RACIA] · D[E] · DIOS Y LA CONST[ITUCION] ·" (with some variants), and the coat of arms the inscription swirls around is Palma de Majorca's quarterly: the four paletts and the castle on waves with a palm tree on top.



The second piece is politically much more meaningful. It is, indeed, the most prominent of its era, and not precisely because of the obverse's incomplete inscription where power is portrayed.



The given coin's great political interest we mentioned is really found on its reverse, showing a heraldic emblem and an inscription. These elements constitute no image of power, which is featured through the engraving of the king's bust and his title, but they make for a document -a proclamation- on metal.

This is an obsidional coin, that is, one minted in an emergency situation -due to lack of cash-produced in the midst of the urban precinct under siege during military operations. In this case, we are referring to the siege of the city of Valencia by the allies of duke of Angouleme's French troops, in the context of the invasion of Spain by the "Hun-

dred Thousand Sons of Saint Louis”, an initiative promoted by the Holy Alliance of European absolutist powers. The Liberal Triennium was about to be swept from government, and the Valencian capital’s authorities opposed the reactionaries forces; on their way, they left one of the most shocking rhetoric accounts in the world history of money. Not only did they provide a reliable chronicle of the siege (which wasn’t extraordinary in this type of issues); the piece’s great originality was in the way -a radically modern form of propaganda from political and ideological perspectives- they described the besieging troops: “VAL[ENCIA]. SI-TIADA POR LOS ENEMIGOS DE LA LIBERTAD” (*Valencia, under siege by the enemies of liberty*). After the victory of the besiegers on their journey through the peninsula, the inscriptions on coins would change to publicly state that king Fernando had all kinds of power. Thus, the references on this Valencian coin would be rendered obsolete, both the one on its reverse as that on its obverse.



Right in the middle of this memorable reverse was the Valencian capital’s coat of arms with its historic four red pallets: the *cairó* or square on its vertex, with the four paletts on a yellow (gold) field, crested by the

crown and a bat -*ratpenat*, tiny in this case- and flanked by the two “L’s”. These letters were incorporated to the urban emblem during the Modern period in remembrance and logical vindication of events from Medieval times: Valencia’s resistance -a city loyal to Pedro el Ceremonioso, king of the Crown of Aragon- against two sieges from Castilian troops. Valencia, then, a twice-loyal city as the supporters of the Liberal Triennium understood it. In Castilian language, as we can again realise.



Louis Antoine of France received from his uncle, Louis XVI, the title of duke of Angoulême. He was the son of who would be -from 1824 to 1830- the last French king of the Bourbon dynasty, über-reactionary Carlos X, thus making this military France’s dauphin for those years. The duke of Angoulême had a very important role to play in Spanish history, commanding the troops sent -by the coalition of absolutist powers- to free Fernando VII of his constitutional monarch status. This is how the major beneficiary of the successful French military adventure:

My august and beloved Cousin the Duke of Angoulême, facing a valiant army, triumphant in all my territories, freed me from the slavery in which I groaned, restoring me to my beloved vassals, loyal and constant.

On Louis Antoine of France’s death in 1836, his supporters acknowledged him as king under the moniker of Louis XIX, but it was Louis Philippe de Orléans who ruled in Paris, as consequence of a liberal, bourgeois revolution in July 1830.

### 4.3 The Ominous Decade (1823-1833)

The restoration of absolutism in 1823 had an immediate effect, as was to be expected, in the formulas of expression of royal power, with the return of the only legitimation of the monarch by “the Grace of God”, and also in resuming the use of Latin. There is only one exception to this: the 5-pesetas piece minted in Majorca in 1823 -following the aforementioned coin with the toponym “YSLAS BALEARES”- where the title refers to Fernando as absolute king (“FERN[AN-DO]. 7º P[OR]. L[A]. G[RA-CIA]. D[E]. DIOS REY D[E]. ESPAÑA. E YND[IAS]”, with slight variations on certain pieces).





*Execution by firing squad of Torrijos and his partners in the beaches of Malaga (1888), by Antoni Gisbert (Museo del Prado, Madrid). The work was requested, during María Cristina de Habsburg, by a liberal administration. The dramatic episode portrayed here took place on December 11, 1831, during the last years of the ominous fernandine decade: general José María de Torrijos' liberal uprising had failed a few days earlier because of treason, and the military leader, together with 48 other insurgents were executed without trial. Fernando VII's absolutism would die killing.*

The work is one of the most emblematic examples of the historical genre in Spanish painting. And there's no denying its resonances from *The Third of May 1808* (1814), by Francisco de Goya.

Unlike the piece we've just shown, coins to come would credit the generalised return of Latin to issues during the Ominous Decade. These were copper pieces where the royal title again appeared complete on the obverse - "FERDIN[ANDUS] · VII · D[EI] · G[RATIA] · HISP[ANIARUM] · REX"-; the reverse of these 8-maravedís specimens again in-



cludes castles, lions and fleur-de-lys in the alleged cross of Infante Don Pelayo surrounded by the laurel wreath. As is evident upon gazing at these obverses, the royal portrait could be kept bare, with no laurel wreaths, in mint after the Liberal Triennium, but between 1823 and the year of the monarch's death, 1833, it was much more usual to find laureate and very idealised portraits on coins, to the monarch's greater glory.

We will now focus on American possessions in the last period of Fernando VII's reign: the last coins minted overseas in the name of the Spanish king carried the traditional types of absolutism, and were dated in 1824 (in Lima and Cuzco), 1825 (in Potosí [↓]) and -it seems- 1826 (in El Callao, formally Lima, on a 2-reales piece)



Our section on the Ominous Decade can't be closed without going back to Navarre: how did coinage from the old kingdom change upon the restoration of Fernando as absolute monarch of Spain? Navarre fuero authorities proceeded to mint again according to the typology before the Triennium (with the inscription on the reverse stating "CHRISTIANA RELIGIO") and later created a new type, with the traditional royal title spread between the coin's obverse and reverse, abbreviating only the reference to the Grace of God ("FERDINANDUS III · D[EI] · G[RATIA] · / NAVARRÆ · REX"). The chains coat of arms appeared crowned on the reverse of the last Navarrese coins with privative motifs. (see next page).



A last note: in the very small half-maravedí -square- pieces from 1832, the obverse only showed the complete royal title (in three lines and using five abbreviations), while the reverse was adorned with the crowned coat of arms. Thus, epigraphic *heads* and iconographic *tails*.

**Manuel Sanchis Guarner: *La ciudad de Valencia. Síntesis de Historia y de Geografía urbana* (City of Valencia. Synthesis of urban Geography and History). Valencia: Ajuntament de València / Generalitat Valenciana · Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Ciència / Consell Valencià de Cultura, 1999, translated to Spanish by Roc Filella, p. 431-434. [1st ed. 1972.]**

“The Civil War had already burst in a great part of Spain, where absolutists already controlled wide areas.

As early as 1821, absolutists had already revolted in Orihuela, and the Crevillente mountain range was Jaime Alfonso, a mythical ferocious and generous bandit nicknamed “el Barbut” (the Bearded One), who would become a royalist guerrilla fighter and receiving the title of “general de la Fe”, general of the Faith”.

The day after Elío’s death, Valencian former guerrilla fighter and friar Ascensio Nebot would march into Valencia with troops from the Madrid

National Militia, to a triumphant welcome. People put laurel wreaths on their rifles in remembrance of their victory against the Royal Guard on July 7. Nebot came to battle Elche-born Rafael Sempere’s factious parties, as well as other guerrilla fighters from the Country, who made themselves at ease in the Maestrazgo mountain ranges since June of 1822.

Highlanders having always been hostile to the liberalism in coast cities and villages, as well as other rural elements in favour of class society and unhappy with the constitutionalists’ anticlerical policies, Sempere put together a powerful guerrilla, which he put at the command of the absolutist Regency established in la Seu d’Urgell on August 15 of that same year.

Sempere, who had won over the castle of Sagunto without shooting a single bullet because of traitors in it, set to siege the city of Valencia on March 27, 1823, and got to occupy some of its suburbs. But had to run away on the 29th of that

same month with the arrival of a column of liberal troops from Castellón and Tarragona.

However, on April 8, having acquired lots of artillery, Sempere took Valencia under siege again, bombarding it heavily. Despite the weakness of its walls, the city resisted decidedly, under the efficient command of general Baron of Andilla. Facing financial scarcity, silver taken -mainly from convents- was used to produce obsidional coins in the Mar street Mint, with the inscription "Valencia, under siege by the enemies of Freedom. 1823" surrounding the four pallets of the city's coat of arms; their other side featured Fernando VII's bust. General López Ballesteros' arrival forced Sempere to lift the siege on Valencia on May 1.

In disarray, constitutional Spain had the hostility of the Holy Alliance of European anti-revolutionary monarchies, who had organised again after Napoleon's defeat. Given the decision made in Verona to intervene again Spanish constitutionalists -whose disturbing example had already spread to Naples and Piedmont-, the duke of Angoulême invaded Spain on April 7, 1823, heading the powerful French army, "the 10,000 Sons of St. Louis".

The Spanish regular army was unable to react, as the French were now received as liberators by a population that was either hostile to or disappointed with the liberal experience. On May 23, the duke of Angoulême entered Madrid, a city that preferred the French's orderly occupation to the royalist guerrillas' violence.

General López Ballesteros' Spanish governmental troops, in retreat against the French, received supplies from a practically exhausted Valencia, thanks to councillor Luis Lamarca's management. The batallions of Valencian liberal volunteers in the National Militia, fearing the absolutists' revenge, preferred to join the demoralised column of the regular Army when general López Ballesteros left Valencia on June 11, following the tactic of avoiding all contact with the French.

### *The reactionary decade*

On April 25, during the second siege on Valencia, Sempere, already an absolutist general, constituted a High Governing Council for the Kingdom of Valencia in Burjassot, where his headquarters were. It was formed by military personnel, priests and runaway aristocrats from the city of Valencia.

This council got in contact with the duke of Angoulême, the chief of the French occupation army in Spain. A column of this, under command of the Count of Molitor, having already taken Aragon, entered the Kingdom of Valencia finding no resistance there, and entering its capital on June 13, 1823. While Molitor's French entered the city through the Serrans gate, Sempere's troops did so through the portal Nou or Sant Josep gate; both columns were acclaimed as liberators by those loving public order [...].

Sempere brought with him Burjassot's absolutist Council to Valencia, and it took charge of the city. A new city council was appointed, with brigadier Fernando Pascual as its chief magistrate, as well as courts of Purification and public Safety, who soon took to their mission of exercising utter repression on the population [...].

All in all, the Higher Governing Council was forced to dissolve on July 29, as the absolutist Regency in Madrid sent brigadier Luis María Andriani to exercise authority in Valencia. He was the same brigadier who had defended the castle of Sagunto in 1813 against Suchet. Military command of Valencia and Murcia was given to French general De Saint-Marc Dostel.

The National Militia's Valencian liberals who had left the city with López Ballesteros' regular army were distinguished in their defence of Alicante and Cartagena against the French but ended up returning to Valencia captive and defeated in November 1823 to the dismay of neighbours and laments of their relatives. [...].».





#### 4.1 BIS. CONTRAST IN “TIMBROLOGY”, 3: 1812-1814, A TWO-WAY CONSTITUTION

As discussed earlier, there is no known coin minted between 1812 and 1814 in the name of Fernando VII displaying reference to the constitutional text passed in Cádiz in 1812. But such absence wasn't felt in the production of medals: to that point, consider the work reproduced beneath, a gold version of the silver specimen -by Félix Sagauwe glossed earlier. Gold specimens such as these ones “were only given to the three regents of the reign, Cádiz's town council -as a sign of the singular esteem Cadiz's people owe to the Courts for their support of the Spanish Monarchy's political Constitution, and its loyalty to the king'-, to Spanish and foreign embassies, the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo and two of its patrons, don Ramón Roblejo Lozano and don Ciriaco González Carvajal” (Marina Cano Cuesta: *Catálogo de medallas españolas*. Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2015, page 240b). In total, “Finally, sixteen specimens of this medal were minted in gold, four hundred and sixty-two in silver, and other four hundred and twenty-four in copper. [...]” (page 240b).<sup>1</sup>

Regarding “timbrology”, things were very different from how they were in the field of monetary issues and the approach surpassed by far that of medals in regard to representing political controversy: indeed, there was not only stamped paper where -like in the previous medal- the royal title reflected the validity of the Constitution from Cádiz. We also find stamps with words referring to that constitutional text crossed out (in America as well); the equivalent of this behaviour would have been that the constitutionalist part of an engraving on certain medals issued in 1812 were found scraped or eliminated.

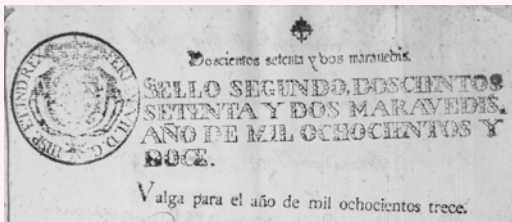
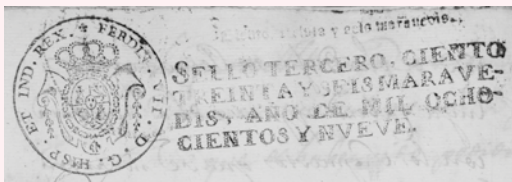
Both types of testimonies on stamped paper, the untouched and the altered ones, show perfectly the “legitimacy fight” between monarchic absolutism -and its closed defence of royal power only being held by “the Grace of God”- and constitutionalist purposes- which, while respecting the mention of power being legitimated by the divine, also included the Constitution as a source of legitimacy. In order to illustrate this, we present images



1 Image courtesy of SINCONA · Swiss International Coin Auction AG (Zurich).

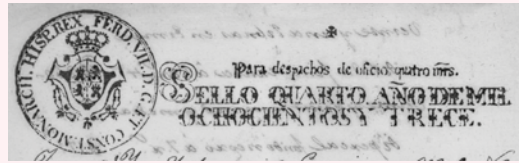
showing these stamps, all of which bear inscription in Latin, as well as coetaneous fernandine coins.

These first images show Fernandine's royal stamps as they appeared on a third class stamped paper (priced at 136 maravedis) for 1809 -the first year paper was issued with a round stamp in the name of Fernando VII- and a second class one (272 maravedis) for the year 1812 (validated for 1813). Both examples follow traditional titles, incorporating exclusively the reference to "the Grace of God", and like many coins produced in American mints, added an explicit reference to the Indies: "FERDIN[ANDUS]. VII. D[EI]. G[RATIA]. HISP[ANIARUM]. ET IND[IARUM]. REX".



Contrary to the former, the two following images display documents with stamps posing "the Monarchy's Constitution" as royal source of power (together with divine grace). The first of these specimens, dated in 1813, reads clearly "FERD[INANDUS]. VII. D[EI]. G[RATIA]. ET CON-ST[ITUTIONE]. MONARCH[IÆ]. HISP[ANIARUM]. REX": it's a Latin version of what we could see in

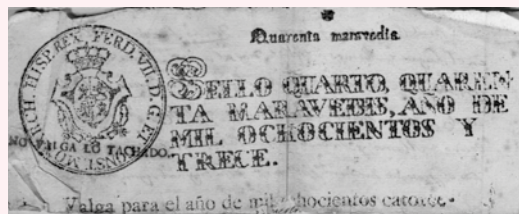
Sagau's medal. In America, to find this, we would have to wait for stamped papers dated in 1814-1815.



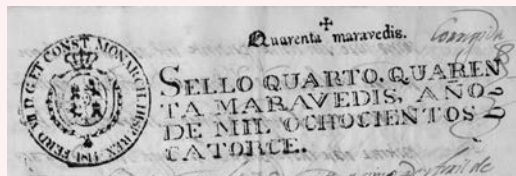
The second of these stamped papers, on the other hand, shows precisely a crossing over the constitutionalist reference: in fact, it's an added text with the instruction "NO VALGA LO TACHADO." (*what is obliterated is no longer valid*).



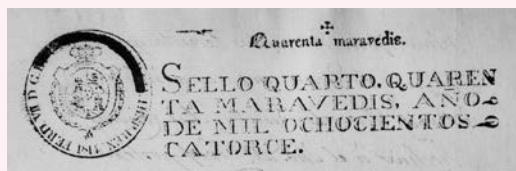
Thus, let it not be that Fernando VII is king by the work of Cádiz legislators: that's what the Royal Decree from May 4, 1814 intended, establishing the vital need to convert stamps mentioning the -Monarchy's- Constitution on seals which only reference the supernatural sphere. In any event, this stamped paper was issued, like the former, to be used originally in 1813, but as is noticeable, it includes the inscription "Valid for the year 1814", which logically means it was validated -legally authorised, usable- at the time of the transforming intervention.



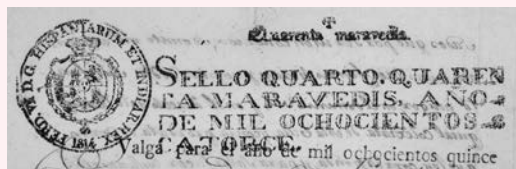
The next couple of papers also shows, on the one hand, a stamp stating the validity of the Spanish Monarchy's Constitution, and on the other, a crossing out of this same reference from 1812. First, let's have a look at the unaltered document.



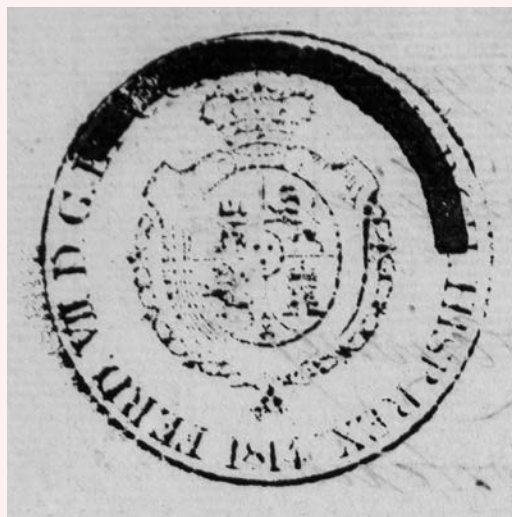
Close inspection of stamped paper that has undergone this partial *damnatio memoriae* we notice, in this case, such censorship wasn't carried out through a stamped inscription, but a pure and simple blot of ink over the fraction of the inscription to be eliminated.



The last of all stamped papers we offer in this section shows things going back on their pre-constitutional track: the stamp's inscription points only to "the Grace of God" as Fernando's source of power, and the title from the Indies occupied again its former place (in the year 1814, biennium 1816-1817 in America): "FERD[INANDUS]. VII. D[EI]. G[RATIA]. HISPANIARUM ET INDIAR[UM]. REX."



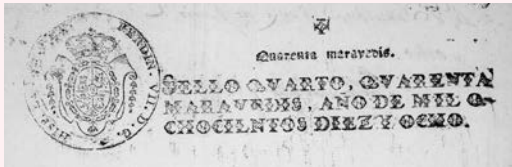
Transformation -through crossing out with ink, or stamping -from constitutionalist stamps



to absolutist ones would last some time, attending to a "scarcity of 'official' paper for 1814 and 1815 forcing the validation of existing paper from 1813 and 1814 (with coats of arms with inscriptions referring to the Constitution)".<sup>2</sup>

2 Eladio Naranjo Muñoz: «Papel sellado durante la invasión de los 100.000 hijos de San Luis»: <<http://www.filateliadigital.com/papel-sellado-durante-la-invasion-de-los-100-000-hijos-de-san-luis>>.

In 1819, on the eve of the events that would lead to the proclamation of the 1812 Constitution and consequently the beginning of the period called the Liberal Triennium, stamped paper still displayed an absolutist rhetoric, although the small sign of the Christian cross -superimposed on the textual part of the stamp since 1637- had made its last appearance on the previous year, 1818 (biennium 1820-1821, at last, in America).<sup>3</sup>



3 Eladio Naranjo Muñoz: "La cruz en el papel sellado": <<http://www.filateliadigital.com/la-cruz-en-el-papel-sellado>>.







## 4.2 BIS. CONTRAST IN “TIMBROLOGY”, 4: DURING THE LIBERAL TRIENNIUM

### IN 1820

While the first coins for the Spanish monarchy to include the constitutional legitimation of royal power date from 1821, Fernando VII accepted the 1812 Constitution a year before, in March of 1820, in what is considered as the formal starting point of the Liberal Triennium. However, unlike on monetary issues, in Spain, stamped paper does show references to the Constitution in the same year, 1820; but in truth, these documents show an executory that couldn't be more improvised: paper was modified, by manuscript or stamped inscription, to show explicit reference to the royal oath of the constitutional articulate and thus, to announce the associated change in the monarch's power's legitimation: “Habilitado, jurada por el Rey la Constitución [sic] en 9 de Marzo de 1820” (*validated, the king having sworn the Constitution on March 9, 1820*), “Habilitado, jurada por el REY la Constitución [sic] en 9 de Marzo de 1820.”, “Habilitado: jurada por el rey la Constitución [sic] en 9 de Marzo de 1820.” or “Habilitado [sic]: Jurada por el Rey la Constitución [sic] en 9 de Marzo de 1820.”. The following images show some of these improvised transformations,



which coexisted with royal titles appropriate for the absolutist six-year term (which defined, in general terms, the Ancien Régime).

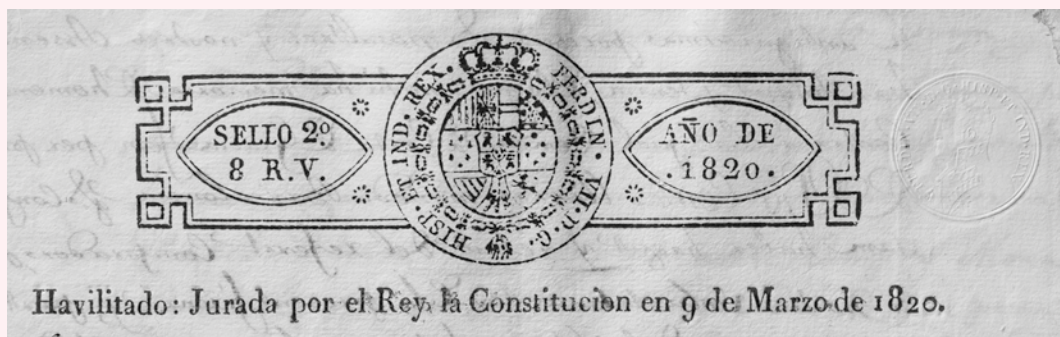
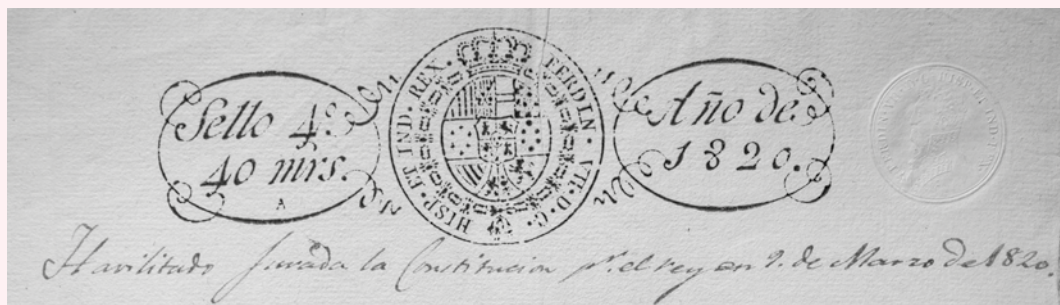
There would also be an extremely frugal validation from the rhetoric standpoint: simply, “POR LA CONSTITUCION” (*by the Constitution*).

In the field of medals, and like in 1812, the change in political parameters was made patent.



Although Fernando VII made his oath on the Constitution of 1812 effective on March 9, 1820, the royal decree proclaiming the monarch would swear on the constitutional text was published two days earlier, on March 7: this is the date we can read on the previous image. This medal was the work of two French artists: Jean-Jacques Barre was the author of the reverse, where the main figure is Athena or Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, standing and looking to the left, with an olive tree (which is associated to the goddess) behind her. The character's left hand holds a pike and a buckler with the heraldic emblem that appeared on the reverse of 20 reales coins from the Triennium (and had appeared on American issues from the time of Carlos III): the lesser coat of arms of castles,









SABIDURIA DE LA MONARQUIA ESPAÑOLA

CONSTITUCION POLITICA

DE LA MONARQUIA ESPAÑOLA

7 DE MARZO 1820.



lions, fleur-de-lys and pomegranate, and the Plus Ultra accolated columns, an element that could establish the identification between Athena or Minerva and the impersonation of Spain. The goddess' right hand lifts a mantle or veil covering a double slab, its shape associated to the biblical Tablets of the Covenant, or Tables of the Law: on the left, in five lines, we read "CONSTITUTION / ON / POLITI / CA" (political Constitution), and on the right one, also in five lines, "DE LA / MONAR / QUIA / ESPAÑO / LA" (of Spanish monarchy). The slab's lower part includes the scales of justice. The inscription surrounding the scene confirms the meaning of the aforementioned symbols: "RESTABLECIDA [LA CONSTITUCION DE 1812] POR LA SABIDURIA DEL REY [FERNANDO VII] Y LA CONSTANCIA DE LA NACION [ESPAÑOLA] / [REAL DECRETO DE] 7 DE MARZO 1820." (REINSTITUTED [THE 1812 CONSTITUTION] BY THE KING'S [FERNANDO VII] WISDOM AND THE [SPANISH] NATION'S PERSEVERENCE/ [ROYAL DECREE FROM] MARCH 7, 1820). While it was Jean-Jacques Barre who designed the reverse of the medal commemorating Fernando VII's -apparent- conversion to constitutionalism, we owe the obverse to its author, Armand-Auguste Caqué. Almost completely surrounding Carlos IV's son's laureate bust, the inscription retakes the classic Spanish formula on the double legitimation of power, established in 1812: "FERNANDO VII POR LA G[RACIA]· DE DIOS Y LA CONST[ITUCION]· DE LA MON[ARQUIA]· REY DE LAS ESPAÑAS Y DE LAS YND[IAS]." (in another variation, the inscription finishes after the word "ESPAÑAS").



### FROM 1821 TO 1823

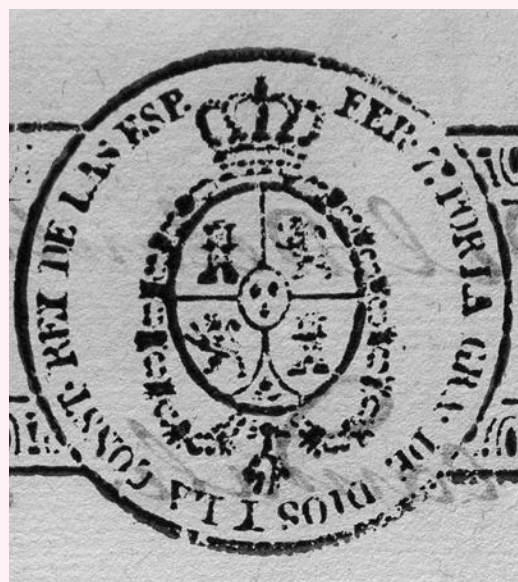
In Spain we would have to wait for stamped paper specimens dated in 1821 (but 1820-1821 in America) to gaze upon a stamp whose inscription was conceived according to liberal postulates, where composition in force during the 1812-1814

period was retaken. Thus, we once more have the title of the Indies disappear and the address to the Constitution of Monarchy return. And the same in 1822: "FERD[INANDUS]· VII· D[EI]· G[RATIA]· ET CONST[ITUTIONE]· MONARC[HIAE]· HISPAN[IARUM]· REX." (a Latin version of the writing on the obverse of the medal we just described, and on the same side of Sagau's from 1812).



The novelty introduced by stamped paper in 1823 (biennium 1824-25 in America) was the royal title's language: for the first time since the times of Joseph Napoleon, and two years later than in monetary issues from the Liberal Triennium, Spanish appeared to fulfil this task on stamped paper (and like on coins, together with a suppression of any mention to the word "monarchy" and the use of Arabic numerals): "FER[NANDO]· 7º. POR LA GRA[CIA]· DE DIOS Y LA CONST[ITUCION]· REY DE LAS ESP[AÑAS]."



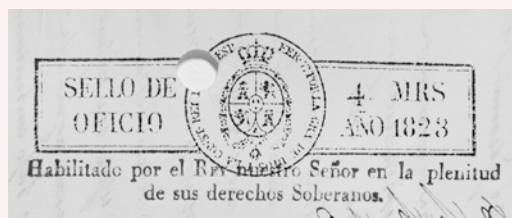
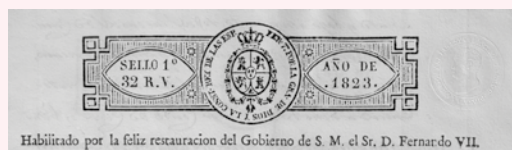
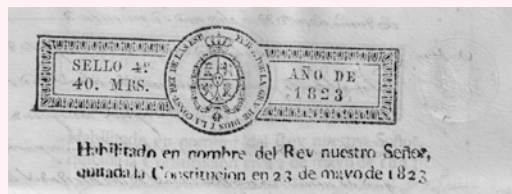




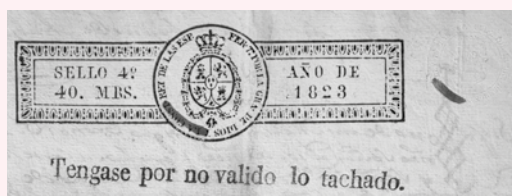
### 4.3 BIS. CONTRAST IN “TIMBROLOGY”, 5: AFTER THE LIBERAL TRIENNIUM

#### FROM 1823

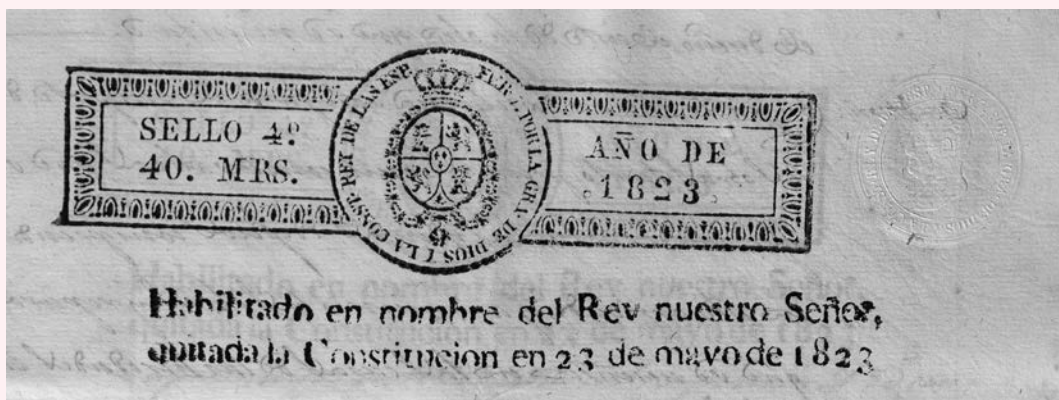
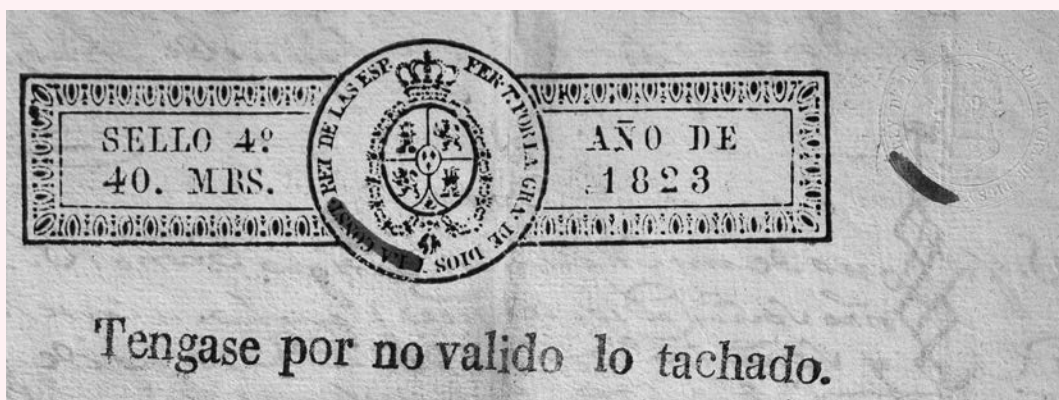
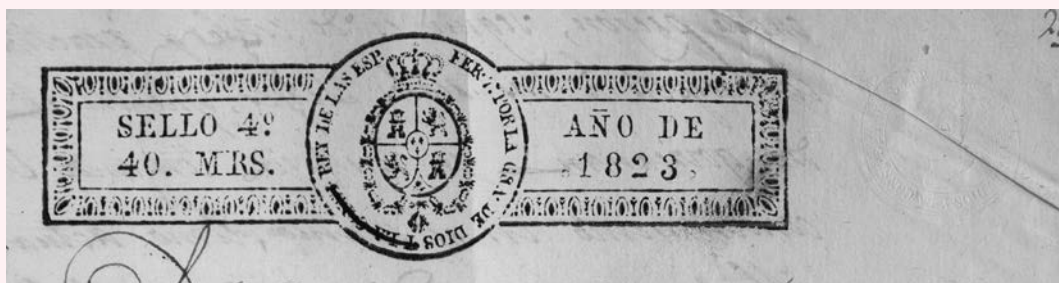
With the entrance of the One Hundred Thousand Sons of St. Louis in the peninsula, and the subsequent military defeat of liberals and restoration of Fernando VII as absolute monarch, stamped paper's appearance would be logically altered -in a reactionary direction- regarding the legend surrounding the royal stamp, just as coins would shortly afterwards go back to displaying traditional inscriptions. Besides, and paying special attention to “timbrology”, we witness a repetition, mutatis mutandis, of decisive censorship of documents we already saw in 1814: again, the urgent inscriptions -more or less thorough- and or crossing by ink blots of paper stamps in use in 1823. Here are some examples showing diverse examples holding varied actions in place, with sentences so politically meaningful -so unquestionably absolutist- as those found in the last three images: “Habilitado en nombre del Rey nuestro Señor, quitada la Constitución [sic] en 23 de mayo de 1823” (*validated in the name of the king our Lord, having removed the Constitution on May 23, 1823*), “Habilitado por la feliz restauracion [sic] del Gobierno de S. M. el Sr. D. Fernando VII.” (*validated because of the joyful restoration of H.M. Don Fernando VII's reign*) and “Habilitado por el Rey nuestro Señor en la plenitud de sus derechos Soberanos.” (*validated for the King our Lord in full use of his Sovereign rights*).



One of the medals issued in 1823 to bear witness of the return to Ferdinand absolutism and extol the process. It was minted in Seville, as stated -besides the inscription's start on the obverse- under the coats of arms on the reverse: "NO8DO", a monogram associated with the Sevillian capital, read as "no-madeja-do" ("no me ha dejado", he didn't leave me), referencing an episode from the Middle Ages: the loyalty of Sevillians towards Alfonso X el Sabio in his conflict with his son Sancho, who would become Sancho IV. The inscription in this work is -as much or more than on constitutionalist medals- of utter political belligerence, covering its obverse and reverse: "SEVILLA POR SU REY Y SEÑOR DON FERNANDO 7º. / EN LA REST[AURACION] · A LA PLENIT[UD] · DE SU SOVERANIA [sic] · AÑO DE [intertwined letters] 1823" (SEVILLE









Habilitado por la feliz restauracion del Gobierno de S. M. el Sr. D. Fernando VII.



Habilitado por el Rey nuestro Señor en la plenitud de sus derechos Soberanos.

TO ITS KING AND LORD DON FERNANDO VII/ ON THE REST[ORATION] OF HIS FULL SOVEREIGNTY). We have to relate this message with the spirit and practically all the text of the last inscriptions on validations on stamped paper we just pointed out: “Habilitado por el Rey nuestro Señor en la plenitud de sus derechos Soberanos.” (*validated by the king our lord in his full Sovereign rights*), also from 1823. Lastly, it’s very much worth pointing out that, by the lesser coat of arms of castles, lions, fleur-de-lys and pomegranate we find the Bourbon escutcheon instead of the Sevillian coat of arms, as might be expected: said escutcheon is the coat of arms to Luis XVIII’s France, a power that was a member of the Holy Alliance who had sent troops to fight for Ferdinand’s absolutist cause and who had re-established Fernando to “his full sovereignty” on their military success.

We shouldn’t be at all surprised by all these absolutist statements given that the Royal Decree from June 11, 1823 left no doubts as to how important it was to suppress constitutionalist statements on stamped paper from public rhetoric and eliminate them from the subjects’ sight:

The Reign’s Regency has decided that all superintendents arrange the recalling of all stamped paper existing [*sic*] in their respective provinces from the revolutionary Government, and request that the words “and of the Constitution” be branded (crossed out) inside the stamp, and to print the following note: take what’s crossed as non- valid; and that in order to avoid fraudulent sale and forgery of said paper, said superintendent’s signature should be stamped at the foot of the note, for which they are authorised to use the stamp in this case only; that in provinces where this stamped paper was already validated, although in diverse form and with different notes, their authorisation shall be valid, as long as the superintendent’s sig-

nature is stamped, and branding (crossing out) the aforementioned words [*sic*] and of *the Constitution*, since these cannot exist, being distressing of the KING our lord’s sovereignty and his indefeasible rights: that use of non- revalidated paper be absolutely forbidden; [...].<sup>1</sup>

However, and as written by Eladio Naranjo Muñoz,

It’s obvious that, while the order was clear and circumscribed, we should bear in mind that the country was agazin in a state of war, so new laws weren’t always fully enforced in every settlement, and because of this, there were many “peculiar” concessions in many provinces’ validations: We find many Administrations wouldn’t amend stamped paper, or only do it intermittently, both on the “crossings” as in the validations. In this occasion, there was much greater disparity in the (more or less elaborate) amending formulas, and on some of the commemorating occasions of ephemeris.<sup>2</sup>

The author -who passed away prematurely- emphasised the existence of specific absolutist types in Catalonia, appearing in connection with the 1823 restoration and whose “use and distribution was necessarily irregular, depending on the state of (armed) conflict” with the liberals.<sup>3</sup> These papers appeared adorned with all possible Bourbon coats of arms: the lesser coat of arms, Carlos III’s greater coat of arms and, against all odds, Felipe V’s greater coat of arms, missing

1 Quoted in Natalia Pérez-Aínsua Méndez: *De sellos, heráldica y alegorías: el papel sellado en España*. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2014, page 68, taken in time from Manuel Romero Tallafigo: *Historia del documento en la Edad Contemporánea. La comunicación y la representación del Poder Central*. Carmona: S & C, 2002, page 537. Also appearing in: Eladio Naranjo Muñoz: “Papel sellado durante la invasión de los 100.000 hijos de San Luis”: <<http://www.filateliadigital.com/papel-sellado-durante-la-invasion-de-los-100-000-hijos-de-san-luis>>.

2 «Papel sellado durante la invasión de los 100.000 hijos de San Luis»: <<http://www.filateliadigital.com/papel-sellado-durante-la-invasion-de-los-100-000-hijos-de-san-luis>>.

3 *Idem*.

since 1760 (as stated before).

Having crushed every sign of liberal resistance in 1824, absolutism would reign unrestricted on coinage and stamped documents (biennium 1826-1827 in American papers): one could read once again on these instruments of mass communication the title of the Indies (except on coins from the peninsula), the exclusivity of “the Grace of God” and Latin writing. And so it would be, barring variations on the abbreviations in use, until the king’s passing in 1833: “FERD[INANDUS]· VII· D[EI]· G[RATIA]· HISP[ANIARUM]· ET IND[IARUM]· REX.”.



## THE NEW AMERICA

In the aforementioned Indies, the part of the Americas ruled from Madrid, the different territories’ processes of independence from the metropolis -which concluded, with the exception of the Greater Antilles, shortly after the end of the Liberal Triennium- left frankly interesting testimonies both in numismatic and timbrologic terms: we’re talking about new coins and stamped papers, which -adorned with revolutionary emblems and new national symbols- would proclaim the existence of a bunch of countries over the north-west and centre of America and the South Cone.

Here is an image of a document incorporating at the same time symbols from the dying regime and one from the rising sovereign states.<sup>4</sup> Thus, first of all, this was issued by the Spanish monar-

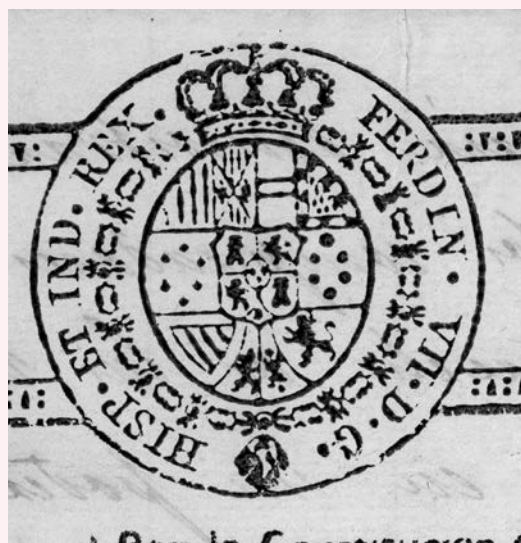
chy -with the greater coat of arms of the House of Bourbon- for use in the Indies in the years 1822 and 1823: “FERDIN[ANDUS]· VII· D[EI]· G[RATIA]· HISP[ANIARUM]· ET IND[IARUM]· REX.” (*Fernando VII, king of Spain and the Indies by the Grace of God*) and “Habilitado, jurada por el Rey la Constitucion [sic] en 9 de Marzo de 1820” (*validated, the King having sworn the Constitution on March 9, 1820*). Later, the paper at hand would be re-stamped by Mexico (the successor state to Hispanic power in most parts of the New Spain) and, specifically, for the republic that ended the ephemeral independent “Empire” of Agustín Iturbide: “HABILITADO POR LA REPUBLICA MEXICANA PARA LOS AÑOS DE 1824 Y 25.” (*validated by the Mexican Republic for the years 1824 and 1825*). The document would finally be manually revalidated for the years 1826 and 1827.



On the Mexican stamp, on the lower left part of the image, we can see the scene of the Mexican eagle on a prickly pear cactus while killing a serpent: this is the national emblem that’s survived to this day in full validity as the coat of arms of the United Mexican States.

4 «The last papel sellado printed in Spain and shipped overseas for use by the viceroyalty of New Spain was this rectangular frame and royal seal design» (Donald O. Scott y Frank A. Sternad: *The Revenue Stamped Paper of Mexico 1821-1876. Handbook and Catalog. Second Edition*. Fulton, California, pág. 185).





Habilitado en



## 5. ISABEL II'S FAILED REIGN (1833-1868)

Fernando VII passed away in the year 1833, being absolute king and convinced of holding the throne by the Grace of God. Her only daughter at the time was three years old, and became queen under the moniker of Isabel II (and her portrait adorned coins); Fernando's widow and the child's mother, María Cristina de Bourbon, became the regent or "Ruling Queen". But the dead king's brother -Carlos María Isidro, whose supporters knew as Carlos V, and was even more absolutist than Fernando VII - was responsible for an armed insurrection with the intention of gaining power and stopping liberal reforms in their tracks, thus beginning the first carlist war.

In that context, the liberals -supporters of a constitutional monarchy- advocated for Isabel and the regent. Evidently, Carlos María Isidro's ironclad absolutism could never be embraced by the liberal cause, and faced with the quandary, an option was taken that seemed to offer a more favourable field of play (already in the later stages of fernandine reign, a wide amnesty for exiled liberals had been decreed).



*Child queen Isabel II of Spain (ca. 1835), by Carlos Luis de Ribera (Museo del Romanticismo, Madrid, in deposit of the Museo del Prado). Isabel II's reign started, at the age of three, between her mother's -at times shameful- interests' rock and the hard place of a man capable of declaring war on his very little niece. A child forced, from a very early age, to being the most decorative piece of the representation of power in Spain.*

### 5.1 The three first years of a child queen and a regent

On the first three years of the new reign, no constitution was passed, nor was the one from 1812 applied. The liberal winds of change did get to the proclamation of a "Consented Magna Carta", the Royal Statute of 1834. In the absence of a valid constitutional text, coins from the initial stage of isabelline power showed her title in the traditional fashion. Thus, on copper, spread between the obverse and the reverse, the inscription read: "ISABEL 2ª POR LA GRACIA DE DIOS / REYNA DE ESPAÑA Y DE LAS INDIAS" (*Isabel 2nd by the Grace of God/ queen of the Spains and the Indies*).



As we've stated before regarding the matter of language, the fact that inscriptions on these pieces are in Castilian and not Latin should be seen as a liberal trait, or one of complicity towards the approach of liberalism: it is no petty fact that, at the end of the Ominous Decade, when the attitude towards a sector of liberals softened, a 20-reales piece was minted with its inscriptions in Castilian: "FERNANDO 7º POR LA G[RACIA] · DE DIOS / REY DE ESPAÑA Y DE LAS INDIAS" (*Fernando 7th by the Grace of God/ King of Spain and the Indies*). Finally, this "prototype" coin from 1833 -foreshadowing the inscriptions on obverses and reverses in the first isabelline stage and introduced the Golden Fleece collar in silver peninsular coins- wouldn't be issued for ordinary circulation. In any event, the piece's edge already displayed the motto to appear



on Isabel II's preconstitutional coins: "DIOS ES EL REY DE LOS REYES" (*God is the king of kings*).



## 5.2 Isabel II and regent María Cristina under the 1812 Constitution

A series of military revolts rose in the summer of 1836, peaking at what was known as the "Mutiny of sergeants of the Granja", in Segovia; this detachment of the royal guard forced María Cristina de Bourbon to re-establish the validity of the 1812 Constitution.



*María Cristina de Bourbon-Two Sicilies (1830) by Vicente López (Museo de Prado). Consort queen of Fernando VII and regent of Spain from 1833 to 1840, she died in exile in 1878, while her grandson Alfonso XII reigned over Spain. An enormously controversial character, she plotted to control her daughter's reign and was deep into many business ventures, among them slave trade.*

Here are two issues minted for the principality of Catalonia in the context of said revolts' success and the early establishment of the liberal regime in the times of the new queen. These copper pieces -the popular *Catalonian calderilla* (loose change)- were minted until 1848; their obverses featured the inscription "ISABEL 2ª REYNA CONST[ITUCIONAL].

DE LAS E[SPAÑAS]." (*Isabel 2nd constitutional queen of the Spains*) [↯] and their reverses showed the four paletts, crowned and surrounded by the inscription "PRINCIP[ADO]. DE CATALUÑA" (*principality of Catalonia*) in Castilian [↴].



On the presence of the traditional Catalanian heraldic emblem and the title of principality of Catalonia on coins from the 19th century, Xavier Sanahuja i Anguera conjectured, in "Les emissions locals d'emergència (1808-1809) i les de la Seca del Principat de Catalunya (1809-1814)" (page 79), that these mints issued between 1810 and 1855 constituted -together with Catalan language, that is, with the maintenance and care in the core of a society of its own language- the only, or one of the few referents of Catalan identity at the time, before the literary *Renaixença* (*Renaissance*), and much prior to political Catalanism.<sup>1</sup> But still, and at the very same time, the use on the obverse of these pieces of the Spanish royalty's lesser coat of arms and the presence -from 1836, on both obverse and reverse- of Castilian, would contribute to the settling of a conscience of Spanish national identity, then being built in Catalonia and the whole of Spain under the initial influence of liberalism.

Regarding the -ephemeral-: they were only minted in 1836 and 1837- silver pieces, they read: "ISABEL 2ª REYNA CONST[ITUCIONAL]. DE LAS ESP[ÑA]S." (*Isabel 2nd, constitutional queen of the Spains*). As was the case in times of the Liberal Triennium, ordinals appeared in Arabic numerals instead of Roman ones. (See next page).

1 In Albert Estada-Rius (dir.): *Monedes en lluita. Catalunya a l'Europa napoleònica*. Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya · MNAC, 2008, pages. 73-81. (translation in pages 175a-178b, quote on page 178a)





The fact that, in the case of silver issue, this piece was metrologically equivalent to those in general circulation but with a privative face value and exclusively Catalan motifs, would have

provoked a certain degree of political malaise in the state capital, as well as difficulties to those responsible for the issue: surprisingly, the monarch's title was not accompanied by her portrait, nor by the lesser coat of arms, but by the Catalan coat of arms with four palets. Because of all this, and by higher-up choice, no other signs of movement towards *avant la lettre* autonomy would show up in issues from the City of Counts, and pieces from this module in Barcelona would only display designs pleasing to the Madrid-rooted rulers, that is, types considered "general": thus, the coins's face value would not be expressed in pesetas, but in an equivalent form, 4 (*vellón*) reales, and their iconography would never stray from the motifs and inscriptions used on other Spanish mints, which is to say, the well-known royal portrait of the queen on the obverse and the Spanish royal lesser coat of arms -thus, with no four palets- on the back.<sup>2</sup> All other silver coins from Barcelona would suffer the same fate, as well as metrologically non-privative copper and gold pieces (although on the latter, the second greater Bourbon coat of arms would often be used).



Be it as it may, these *controversial* silver coins bore the word "PESETA" for the second time in history (after Barcelonan issues from Napoleonic times), but a historical notoriety shall accompany

this numismatic one: as they were mostly used to pay soldiers defending the cristine or isabelline cause (who were paid a peseta per day), carlists baptised their opponents with the moniker "pe-seteros", which is where the pejorative character of the term has lasted until today.

It is equally interesting to know that after these copper and silver coins, none of the issues from the -few- Spanish monarchs under a Constitution has stated again that their appropriate title is "constitutional king", plain and simple, with no reference to the Grace of God complementing or adding nuance to the statement.

### 5.3. Against Isabel II (and liberalism): the First Carlist War (1833-1840)

On the carlist side, the late king's brother would get to mint in Berga, Catalonia, from 1838 to 1840, with inscriptions in Latin ("CAROLUS V D[EI] · G[RATIA] · HISPANIAE REX" [*Carlos V, king of Spain by the Grace of God*] on the biggest copper piece). Also, for just ten days in 1837, carlist pieces were issued in Segovia, on the occasion of a successful military incursion.

2 Marta Campo, Albert Estrada-Rius and Maria Clua i Mercadal: *Guia numismàtica (Guide of numismatics)*. Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya · MNAC, 2004, page 188. In words almost contemporary to the facts, "Few of these pesetas were manufactured, since the need was later felt to make this issue equal to the one on National Coin, so as to avoid minting two classes for a single State: especially having the same size, weight and value. It was perceived as such by people in high places, who considered it strange not to see H.M.'s bust on them. This made the engraving on pesetas change, making it the same as that on the ones from other Spanish Mints, and the same type has been followed with the numbers after it, their only change being the year of issue" (Francisco Paradalits y Pintó: *Tratado de monedas. Sistema monetario y proyectos para su reforma*. Barcelona: Imprenta de Tomás Gaspar, 1847, page 114).



Insurgents modified Fernando VII's portrait on 8-maravedís pieces, adding the pretender's trademark moustache [R], and the inscription on the reverse: "CAROLUS · V D[EI] · G[RATIA] · HISP[A]NIARUM · REX" (*Carlos V king of the Spains by*

the Grace of God). The piece's reverse remained anepigraphic, as ruled in 1772.

Glenn S. Murray, in *La historia del Real Ingenio de la Moneda de Segovia y el proyecto para su rehabilitación*,<sup>3</sup> reminds us that the transformation of the royal portrait and the inclusion of the inscription for the pretender were “the fruit of having forced the retired engraver from the factory to work in his own home”. The same author closes the gloss on this piece with this:

On two other occasions, with the troops about to return, and to avoid another carlist issue, workers dismantled the flywheels and took them to Madrid with the stamps. As the superintendent said about the carlists: the “*only incentive they might have to go to Segovia*” was the “*satisfaction and glory they’d find in seeing a coin in the name of their alleged king, as they’d tried to before*”



Carlos María Isidro de Bourbon (s/d), by Vicente López (Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid). López’s mastery of painting left us this account of one of the most significant characters in Spanish political life in the 19th century: the carlist quarrel would divide the Bourbon dynasty in Spain and would be the point of three wars, the first of which was directed by the portrayed character.

#### 5.4 Isabel II under the constitutions of 1837 and 1845: from the end of María Cristina’s regency to her dethroning

Shortly after the revolutionary events of 1836, the proposal to reform the 1812 Constitution brought forth the 1837 Constitution, of a more moderate character. And in 1845, an even more moderate

Magna Carta came into force (the 1856 Constitution, more progressive than its predecessor, was approved but never proclaimed).

From 1836 on, general isabelline coins show a change in their inscriptions in order to include references to the constitutional legal system, whether it be the one from 1812, 1837 or 1845: “ISABEL 2ª POR LA G[RACIA] · DE DIOS Y LA CONST[ITUCION] · / REYNA DE LAS ESPAÑAS” (*Isabel 2nd by the Grace of God and the Constitution/ Queen of the Spains*). With this, coins gave reason of how -under liberal inspiration- the monarch’s power’s legitimation had changed (a monarch declared of age at 13, in 1843, after three years of regency by general Baldomero Espartero)



On silver 20- and 10-reales coins, from 1837 (and 1840) on, the inscription on the edge was “LEY PATRIA REY” (*Law Country King*), substituting the former “DIOS ES EL REY DE LOS REYES” (*God is the king of kings*): the new inscription reminds strongly the one on the reverses of coins for Louis XVI as (constitutional) monarch of the French: “LA NATION LA LOI LE ROI”. The motto *Ley Patria Rey* would perpetuate itself in the edges of several isabelline coins until her expulsion from the throne in 1868.

Regarding Navarre, 1837 would be the year of the last issue made in Pamplona, although with no specific Navarrese trait in it (not even the stay of Latin language). It’s an 8-maravedís piece following the model of those produced in the rest of active Spanish mints: with the corresponding identifying sign of the mint and its inscription in Castilian (spread over the obverse and reverse); this was in line with the ruling from October 1836, establishing the uniformisation of monetary types in the whole of Spain.

3 Segovia: Fundación Real Ingenio de la Moneda de Segovia, 2006, page 37.

In the case of pieces from Pamplona in 1837 -manufactured under carlist siege- the technique was not mint but foundry, and the results seem to us to be terribly messy. The final forge of the liberal state condemned Navarrese cash to oblivion, certainly, but it also did so with an ugly, at times almost unreadable, issue with no nuance. About inscriptions on this swan song of the Pamplona mint, we find two types: "ISABEL 2ª POR LA G[RACIA]. DE DIOS Y LA CONST[ITUCION]. / REYNA DE ESPAÑA Y DE LAS INDIAS" (*Isabel 2nd by the Grace of God and the Constitution. / queen of Spain and the Indies*) (with the inscription on the reverse that one would find on "preconstitutional" pieces), and "Isabel 2ª por la g[racia]. de Dios Y LA CONST[ITUCION]. / Reyna de las Españas" (*Isabel 2nd by the Grace of God and the Constitution. / Queen of the Spains*), already with the usual reverse then.



Queen Isabel II -not yet a child of seven- points in this scene to the 1837 Constitution, sat on a column where the royal crown, sceptre and collar of the order of the Golden Fleece are. The Lion of Spain guards the constitutional and monarchic altar, while an ape looks at the whole with a gesture of grief. Fame's winged figure sounds her trumpets. This engraving was included in the deluxe edition of the 1837 Constitution edited in Madrid,

on the same year, by the National Print. At the foot of the adorned oval was this inscription: "PROMULGADA EN 18 DE JUNIO DE 1837, / SIENDO GOBERNADORA DEL REINO, / EN NOMBRE DE ISABEL II., / su augusta madre / DOÑA MARIA CRISTINA DE BORBON / RESTAURADORA DE LA LIBERTAD ESPAÑOLA." (*Proclaimed on June 18, 1837/ being the ruler of the kingdom/ in the name of Isabel II., / her august mother/ Doña María Cristina de Bourbon/ restorer of Spanish liberty.*).

[We owe this image to the kindness of Susana Bardón (from the firm Delirium Books, in Madrid).]

In relation to the heraldic aspect of isabelline coinage we ought to remember, first and foremost, the stay -throughout most of her reign- of Carlos III de Bourbon's greater coat of arms in gold issues. This is by no means a surprising characteristic, since, with the only exception of the small half-escudo pieces, gold coins for Carlos IV and Fernando VII also displayed the same greater coat of arms.



In second place, we should note that the biggest silver coins held lesser coats of arms surrounded by the Golden Fleece until 1850 (according to the "prototype" for Fernando VII's last 20-reales coin), and the same year that the pillars of Hercules would reappear on peninsular issue (after a 27-year interval).



This was the second time this executory would appear in the history of Hispanic currency.





"POLITICAL MAP OF SPAIN showcasing the territorial division and the political classification of all provinces of the Monarchy, according to the special regime ruling them", on the first volume of *Cartografía hispano-científica, o sea, Los mapas españoles, en que se representa á España bajo todas sus diferentes fases*, by Francisco Jorge Torres Villegas (Madrid: Imprenta de D. José María Alonso, 1st ed., and Imprenta de D. Ramón Ballone, 2nd ed.; 1852, 1st ed., and 1857, 2nd ed.). The image is from a specimen of the second edition kept at the Biblioteca Regional de Madrid. Here are the author's comments on various groups of provinces or possessions:

"ESPAÑA UNIFORME Ó PURAMENTE CONSTITUCIONAL (Uniform or purely constitutional Spain), including the thirty-four Provinces of the crowns of Castile and Leon equal in all financial, legal, military and civilian aspects.

ESPAÑA FORAL (fuero Spain), comprised of these 4 exempt or foral (as in under fuero regime) provinces, keeping their special regime different from others.

ESPAÑA INCORPORADA Ó ASIMILADA (incorporated or assimilated Spain). Being the eleven Provinces of the crown of Aragon, still different in their way of contributing and some points of private law.

ESPAÑA COLONIAL (colonial Spain). Including possessions in AFRICA, AMERICA and OCEANIA, all ruled by special laws under the all-embracing authority of military leaders.

ISLAS CANARIAS (canary islands). The Canary Islands are considered part of the kingdom with all the advantages of peninsular provinces and not as a colony."

In the eves of the fleet revolt -in Cádiz- that started the Glorious Revolution of 1868, Spain had changed its monetary unit for the escudo, but Isabel's issues still said the same things, with the same rhetoric formulas as decades earlier: by the Grace of God and the Constitution (finally, the one from 1845). Shortly after, the monarch's life would be shaken: exile awaited her, as well as the poignant memory of the court and the country, where the struggle between moderate liberals, progressive liberals and carlists had left its print, at times a bloody one, on the existence of millions of people. The queen "of sad fates" would die in Paris.



Queen Isabel II of Spain and her daughter Isabel (1852), by Franz Xaver Winterhalter (Palacio Real de Madrid). In the tradition of baroque or neobaroque portrayal of power, appearances and opulence were all that mattered. But under the velvet, silk and precious stones hid, at times, a marriage of convenience to a hated person who, to make things worse, wasn't sexually attracted to the occupant of the throne. Under the portrayal of royal majesty often laid the little talent for ruling, as well as

court camarillas interested -spuriously- in influencing the monarchy's destiny. Beyond the marble columns intended to give credit to the institution's solidity, or hidden



behind the heavy curtains of lively colours and luxurious textures, one could also discover illegitimate children from the conservative, catholic and traditional perspective that, through the workings of the state, would get to rule. All of this, of course, by “the Grace of God” and, at times, the Constitution.

The Glorious Revolution’s first monetary issue -probably produced in October 1868- looked more like a tiny commemorative medal than a piece aimed at circulation, despite the presence of its face value (25 thousandths of an escudo). The only image here of this commemorative coin was a view -surrounded by a round garland of laurel, with small circles- of the heraldic emblem of the city of Segovia: a portion of the aqueduct as seen from Azoguejo square and on top, a small human head that may refer to the expression “head of Extremadura”, linked to the Castilian capital. The piece’s motif, then, would have no revolutionary meaning, but would only tell of its place of manufacture: the Mill Mint of Segovia, the mint that would close shortly after its issue. Inscriptions on the coin were indeed political: on one side, “SOBERANIA NACIONAL” (*National sovereignty*); on the other, “ESPAÑA LIBRE” (*Free Spain*) and, in an oaken garland and in three lines, “29 DE / SETIEMBRE / 1868” (*September 29, 1868*), the date of the uprising’s victory in Madrid (the day after the Battle of the bridge of Alcolea, which ended in favour of the revolutionary).



Left: photograph of queen Isabel II of Spain in 1860. Likely, the work of Jean Laurent. Right: *Joan Prim i Prats, marquis of Castillejos* (1870), by Luis de Madrazo (Palacio del Senado, Madrid). The following text was taken from the proclamation of the Glorious Revolution, written by Adelarado Pérez de Ayala on the night of September 19, 1868, and signed by the insurgent military, including Prim, who added the final cry:

“Let each of us review their memory, and you will all take your arms./ Fundamental law trod, turned always into a trick rather than a defence of the citizen; suffrage corrupted by the threat of bribery; individual safety no longer dependent on one’s right, but on the irresponsible will of any of our authorities; [...] the Administration and Revenue prey to immorality and profiteering [speculation]; learning under tyranny; the press, mute; and this universal silence only broken by the frequent news of new improvised fortunes, new business, new royal orders aimed at evading the Public Treasury; [...] that is the Spain of today. Spaniards, who hates this enough to dare exclaim: “Is this to be forever? / No, it shan’t be. Enough scandals. [...] Long live Spain in honour!”

#### 5.4 BIS. CONTRAST IN “TIMBROLOGY”, 6: ISABEL II, FROM A QUEEN WITHOUT A CONSTITUTION TO CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCH

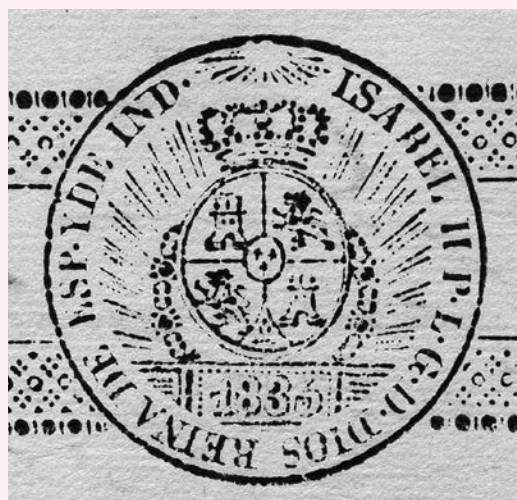
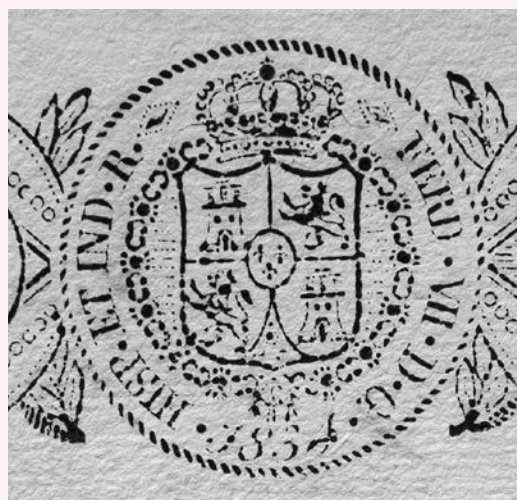
##### FROM 1833 TO 1835

In this section, let us first observe that stamped paper for 1834 would have been designed expecting Fernando VII, father of Isabel II, to have reigned the following year (biennium 1834-1835 in America). That's why it still features the Fernandine title and, facing his premature obit in September 1833, also an inscription (re) validating already printed paper in the name of the deceased. This was made through a reference -hand-written or stamped- to the new monarch's reign: “VALGA PARA EL REINADO DE S. M. LA SEÑORA DOÑA ISABEL II.” (*valid for the reign of H.M. Lady Isabel II*).



It's also worth noting that, from 1835 (biennium 1836-37 in America), the royal title appeared in Spanish (as had been the case with Joseph Bonaparte and the last year of the Liberal Triennium). Such novelty was due to certain liberal *airs* which, *nolens volens*, had seeped into the official spheres in spite of their initial opposition to the constitutional regime after Fernando's passing: “ISABEL II P[OR] L[A] G[RACIA] D[E] DIOS REINA DE ESPAÑA Y DE IND[IAS]” (*Isabel II, queen of Spain and the Indies by the Grace of God*) or “Y DE LAS IND[IAS]”, the second text being the same as that appearing on coins.











### 1836 AND 1837

Regarding liberals and constitutionalists in Isabelline times: we've seen how in 1836, shortly after Isabel II's ascent to the throne, and after an armed rebellion, the 1812 Constitution was reinstituted. And how, also shortly after this, the 1837 Constitution was enacted (more moderate than the one from Cádiz); we also know of the political vicissitudes being reflected upon coins from 1836 on.

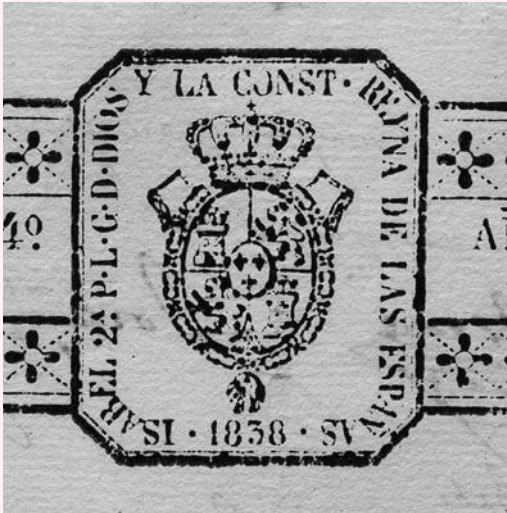
On stamped paper, and to leave proof of the political metamorphosis, hand-written or stamped inscriptions were first employed, certifying the publication on August 15, 1836, of the 1812 Constitution. Such inscriptions were under the headings of specimens dated for the years 1836 and 1837: "HABILITADO, publicada la Constitucion [sic] en 15 de Agosto de 1836" (*validated, the Constitution having been published on August 15, 1836*).





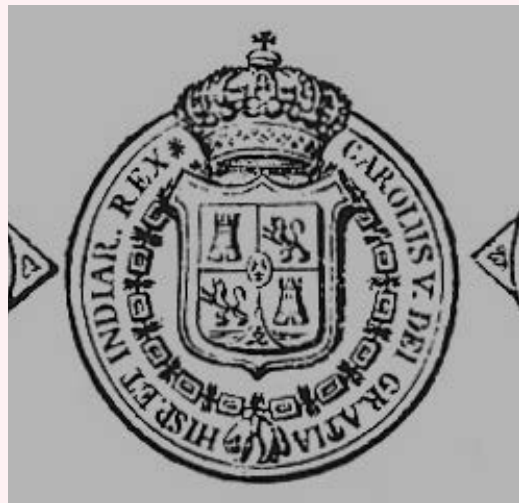
## FROM 1838

On the occasion of designing stamped paper for use during the year 1838 (biennium 1840-1841 in America), finally, constitutional legitimization of the queen's power -that is, 1837's Constitution- an inscription surrounding the stamped coat of arms was incorporated: "ISABEL 2ª. P[OR] L[A] G[RACIA]· D[E]· DIOS Y LA CONST[ITUCION]· REYNA DE LAS ESPAÑAS" (*Isabel II, queen of the Spains by the Grace of God and the Constitution*).



The change to the constitution of 1845 -of an even more moderate character than the one from 1837- didn't alter the Isabelline royal title neither on stamped paper, precisely on embossed seals, nor monetary issues (which, as we've already discussed, would keep their inscriptions unaltered until the Glorious Revolution and the monarch's dethroning in 1868).

Needless to say, stamped paper issued -from 1836 to 1840- in the name of Carlist pretender to the throne Carlos V would be continuist regarding symbology on the aspects that were the rule on the two absolutist reigns of his late brother Fernando VII. It should come as no surprise then that we find an inscription in Latin, divine legitimization alone, and also the inclusion of the title of the Indies: "CAROLUS V. DEI GRATIA HISP[ANIARUM]."



1 See Ángel Allende: *Timbres españoles*. Barcelona: Documentos Antiguos, 1969, pages 147 to 149 (the last one shows the image), and Ricardo Pardo Camacho: *El papel timbrado en España · 1637-2009*. Castelló de la Plana: Castalia Iuris / Ministerio de Defensa. Subdelegación de Defensa en Castellón de la Plana / Aula Militar "Bermúdez de Castro", 2009: <<http://www.aulamilitar.com/timbologia.pdf>>..







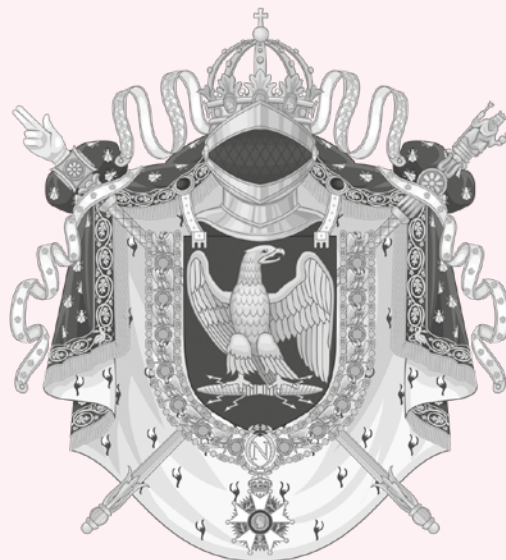


## 5.4 TER CONTRAST IN “TIMBROLOGY”, 7: EMBOSSED SEALS

All we've said so far has mostly referenced inked heraldic stamps, which are easily seen on stamped paper, but should also be applicable to achromatic embossed seals -which we have mentioned in passing- that were part of the design on many of those documents and incorporated a relief of the royal coat of arms and/or portrait and, around it, the monarch's title if such was the case. The inclusion of embossed seals on stamped paper from the Spanish monarchy dates from 1819, but we should also remember that -in the context of the *Guerra del Francès* (War on the French)- Catalonia's Napoleonic Govern had already started incorporating this technique on its documents<sup>1</sup>, or on Bourbon papers validated by the French (as is the case of the following image).



Accompanying emperor Napoleon's coats of arms, located in the centre, the lower part of the round garland in this embossed seal contains the expression "GOVERN DE CATALUNYA" (Government of Catalonia).



Considering the very nature of embossed seals, they weren't as apparent as inked stamps and would thus deserve *less attention* from anyone looking at the paper (even though their presence could be detected on touching the paper or putting it at an angle from a light source). In any event, it was necessary to include a more in-depth analysis of embossed seals in this section dedicated to "Contrast in 'timbrolology'": authorities incorporated it with the initial intent of "familiarizing vassals with their king's portrait", as was the case with Hispanic monetary issues continuously -save for few exceptions- from 1772 on<sup>2</sup>. In 1827, eight years after incorporating an embossed seal of the monarch's bust, the royal arms was introduced using the same technique.

- 1 Ricardo Pardo Camacho: *El papel timbrado en España · 1637-2009*. Castelló de la Plana: Castalia Iuris / Ministerio de Defensa. Subdelegación de Defensa en Castellón de la Plana / Aula Militar «Bermúdez de Castro», 2009: <<http://www.aulamilitar.com/timbrolologia.pdf>>.
- 2 Inclusion of the royal portrait on stamped paper was due to the 2nd article of an 1818 ruling: the Revenue General Directorate's notice from September 28. The quote comes from Natalia Pérez-Aínsua Méndez's book, *El papel sellado en el antiguo y el nuevo régimen. Heráldica y alegorías en el sello* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla / Ayuntamiento de Écija, 2007, page 112).

The following are several images to attest to this other component of Spanish stamped paper, dated between their general apparition in 1819, in the midst of Fernando's absolutist six-year term, and 1868, Isabel II's reign's final year; chosen examples appear in chronological order, with an indication of their corresponding years and the most politically relevant data. Besides fragments of inscriptions referring to the legitimation of power, the language used on inscriptions and their heraldic components, special attention should be paid to Fernando VII's and her daughter's portraits, which can -obviously- be compared to those used on coetaneous coins. Thus, for example, this was written on Fernando VII's portrayal on the stamp for 1823:

The great difference between this and previous samples is evident on the royal effigy, which appears divested of any kind of attire, showing his neck and a bit of his bare chest with no badge on it. [...] The manifest austerity in this portrait stands in contrast to those [portrayals] used in earlier and later years, with such a lack of elements that may denote the king's supreme authority [and] humanizing him, as a reflection of liberalism and the change produced by the Constitution of 1812.<sup>3</sup>

We're evidently talking about a royal portrait coinciding, in essence, to the big-headed (*cabezón*) type we saw in coins minted during the Liberal Triennium.



3 Natalia Pérez-Aínsua Méndez: *De sellos, heráldica y alegorías: el papel sellado en España*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2014, page 102.

**FERNANDO VII, ABSOLUT KING  
(STAMP IN LATIN LANGUAGE)**

1819 · 1820 (almost identical)



**FERNANDO VII, CONSTITUTIONAL KING  
(STAMP IN LATIN LANGUAGE)**

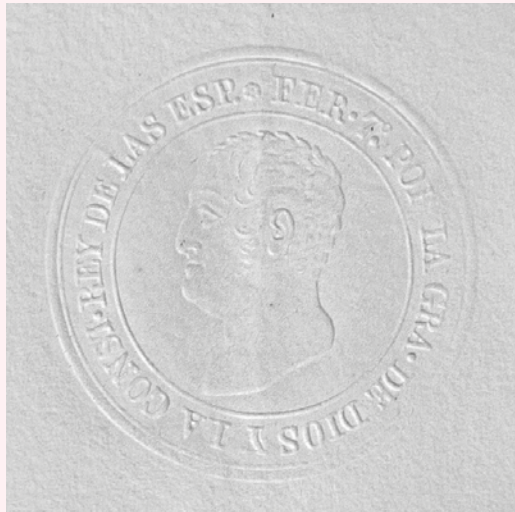
1821 · 1822 (almost identical)





**FERNANDO VII, CONSTITUTIONAL KING  
(STAMP IN SPANISH LANGUAGE)**

1823



**FERNANDO VII, ABSOLUT KING (STAMP  
ALTERED WITH CROSSING-OUT)**

1823 · 1823 (two different densities of ink)



**FERNANDO VII, ABSOLUT KING  
(STAMPS IN LATIN LANGUAGE)**

1824 · 1827 (both identical)



1828 · 1833 (almost identical)



**ISABEL II, NON- CONSTITUTIONAL QUEEN, WITH  
A PORTRAIT OF FERNANDO VII, ABSOLUT KING  
1834 (almost identical to those for 1828 and 1833)**



**ISABEL II, NON- CONSTITUTIONAL QUEEN  
(STAMP IN SPANISH LANGUAGE)  
1835 (ISABEL II REINA DE ESPAÑA Y DE IND.)**



**ISABEL II, CONSTITUTIONAL QUEEN  
(STAMP IN SPANISH LANGUAGE)**

1836 · 1837 (almost identical)



1838 · 1843

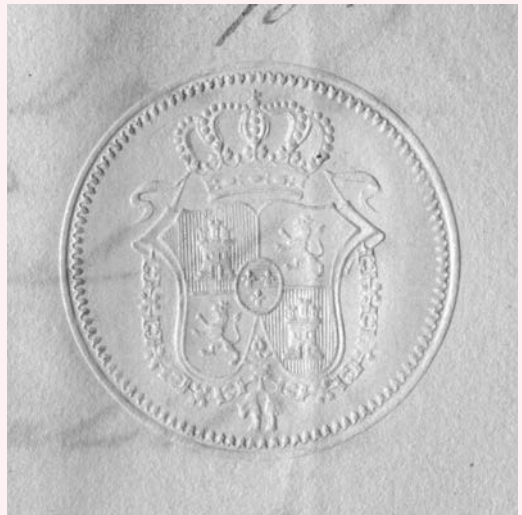




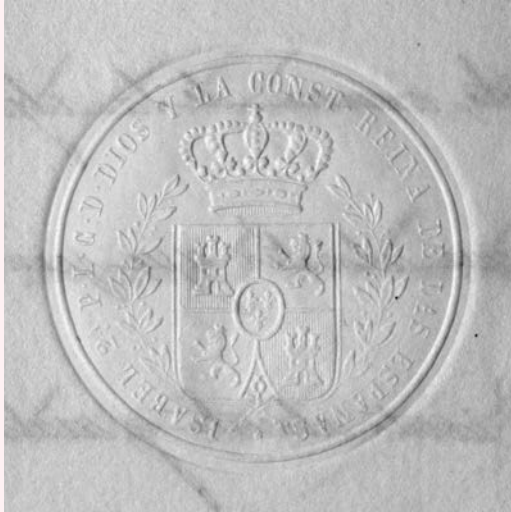
**FERNANDO VII,  
LESSER ROYAL COAT OF ARMS**  
1828



**ISABEL II,  
LESSER COAT OF ARMS**  
1835 · 1842



1853 · 1868



ISABEL II,  
GREATER ROYAL COAT OF ARMS  
1863



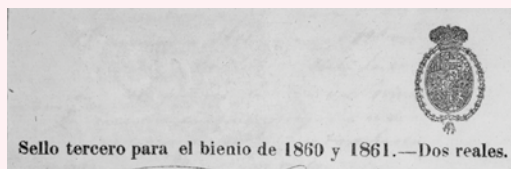
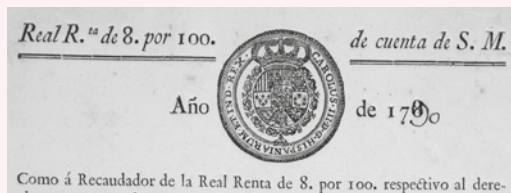


## 5.4 QUATER CONTRAST IN “TIMBROLOGY”, 8: PERPETUATION OF CARLOS III’S GREATER COATS OF ARMS

This last section dedicated to “Contrast in ‘timbrolgy’” includes examples of the presence on several peninsular fiscal papers and American stamped paper, in inked format, of the greater coat of arms defined in Carlos III de Bourbon’s time, which, as stated before, would endure until the end of Alfonso XIII’s reign. Here we bring up three specimens issued in a period comprising nearly eighty years: on the first, Carlos III’s royal title surrounds the coat of arms, although, attending to the hand-written date of 1790, the document was in effect at the time of Carlos IV. The second document dates from the biennium 1860-1861 and as such, was issued for its use in those American territories still under Spanish rule: specifically, Cuba.<sup>1</sup> The last of these specimens dates from 1867, the year prior to Isabel II’s dethroning, and the last the queen would spend whole in the peninsula.

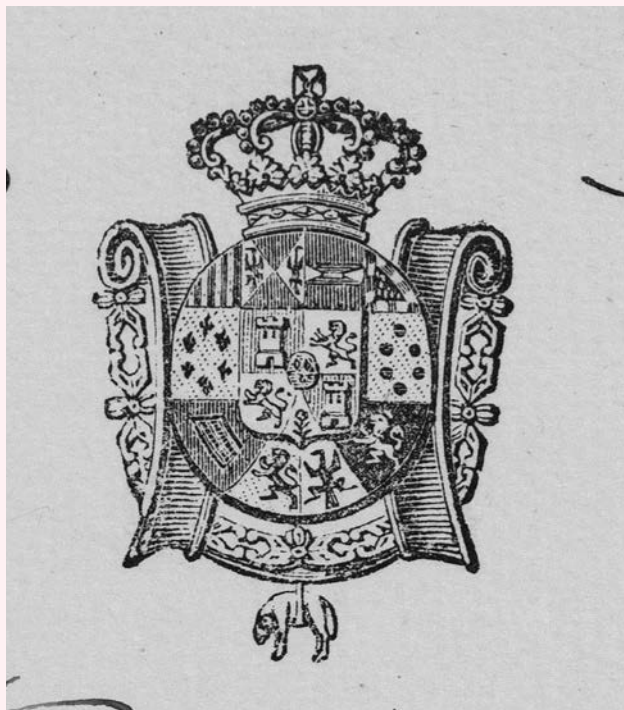


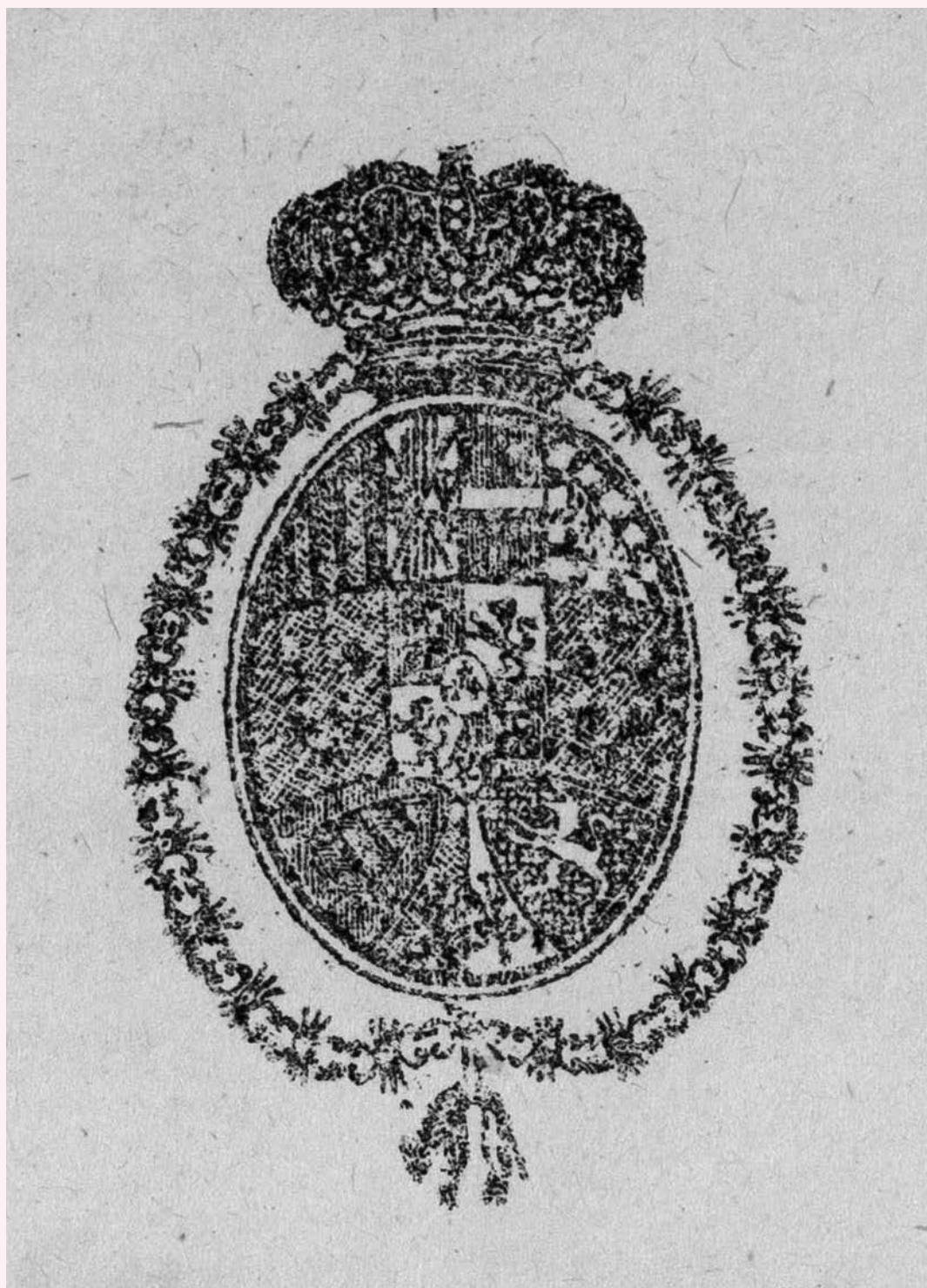
The second and third examples are related to the presence, until the later parts of her reign, of the greater Bourbon coat of arms on Isabel II’s gold coins, a point we’ve touched upon in its corresponding section.



1 «Papel Sellado impreso en La Habana [...] / Papel sellado impreso para el bienio en curso. Lleva rúbrica de los funcionarios a cargo y de Wall» (Adolfo Sarrias Enríquez: *Catálogo de papel sellado de colonias españolas usado en Cuba. Tomo I* (1640-1868). Arenys de Mar: [www.filateliadelahabana.es](http://www.filateliadelahabana.es), 2013, page 176).







PART III

IMAGES OF  
PERSONAL AND  
COLLECTIVE  
POWER ON  
SPANISH COINS

From the Revolutionary  
Six-year period to the euro

## O. Double dating on Spanish coins

It should be noted that between the last year of Isabel II's reign, 1868, and 1982, most Spanish coins showed their date of mint, of effective manufacture, in between small six-pointed stars-★"- located somewhere on the piece's obverse or reverse, and generally, by the clearly visible year.



The fact that there are six points in the star tells us of the location of the Mint where the minting was carried out is the one in Madrid city (although, on occasions, the Spanish capital's Mill Mint has only figured to formal effects,

the issue being in fact commissioned to another mint).

At times, the date in between these stars wouldn't change despite a new year having come, and this should be taken into account on some issues. In any event, and having said all this, there is one question left to answer: in some coins with tiny stars, what do the larger, more visible

numbers mean? The answer requires some refinement: at times -at the start of manufacturing- both dates may coincide, and then, the big one may also indicate the date of mint. If not, the year written in more visible numbers would allude to the date that the legal ruling the issue is covered by was published.



Manuel Vilaplana pointed out concerning the double dating on Spanish coins, in *Historia del real de a ocho* (pages 296-297)<sup>1</sup> that "No document has been found to explain this innovation. The intention may have been to make

forgery harder. However, we believe the [date's] repetition may suggest the idea of keeping the date on the obverse as indicating that of issue, and varying the one between stars according to the minting date. Facts seem to prove so".

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1 Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1997.

## 1. THE REVOLUTIONARY SIX-YEAR PERIOD (1868-1874)

### 1.1 The Provisional Government and the Executive Power (1868-1870)

We begin our overview of monarchic, dictatorial and collective ("national") power on Spanish coins, from the Revolutionary Six-year period to our times, with a specimen depicting with extraordinary ability -from an artistic perspective, but also from an ideological one- the "imaginary" Spanish national community (including the irredentist drive existing at its core).

When the design of this 5-pesetas coin or silver duro -and the rest of silver values holding the years 1869 and 1870 in large numbers- came to its author, Luis Marchionni, Isabel II's exile was

in its first stages, having been dethroned in September 1868. The Provisional Government had announced a competition for the design of Spanish coins, that would be left vacant in the case of silver, but the 1869 Constitution was yet to be created, and thus, no one knew if the future regime was to be monarchic or republican. This would be one of the reasons the female figure on the coin's obverse -Spain- wears a mural crown, an emblem considered to be politically neutral (despite the





authorities' ruling that she should wear a "diadem on her head"). The other reason for the presence of this element would be tradition of portraying it on Spain's head in other artistic representations.

The mural crown had been previously chosen as the crest for the new national coat of arms, and thus appeared on the -exclusively heraldic- reverses of silver mint from the Provisional Government: 1-, 2- and 5-peseta pieces, 50-cent coins and also the 20-cent piece for collectors. The crown made of towers and walls had been validated by a report from the Academy of History produced in 1868, and the same document established -logically so if we consider that Spain was going through a revolutionary time against the Bourbon dynasty- that the national coat of arms would reproduce no personal emblem, and thus would be circumscribed to the fusion of five symbols considered regional: the ones from Castile, Leon, Navarre, Granada and the one for the countries under the Crown of Aragon, the whole composition being surrounded by the pillars of Hercules.



Some months after Marchionni finished these designs for the reverse and obverse, at the moment the coin was put in circulation in 1870, both the rulers and the people knew that the state's highest mandate would

be held by a king, but the new monarch would be approved by the Parliament. In any event, never before had a coin been minted in Spain where the absence of the royal portrait would be accompanied by the collective prominence of the citizens. That is: up until then, there hadn't been such a "national" coin in Spain, nor as nationalist. As stated on the decree approving the peseta as new monetary unit, on October 19, 1868,

[...] there being in Spain no power but the Nation, nor any other source of Authority but the national will, the coin must only offer to the sight the country's figure, and

Spain's coat of arms, symbolising our glorious history up until the moment of constituting into a political unit under the Catholic Kings; forever erasing Bourbon fleur-de-lys from this coat of arms, and any other sign or emblem of patrimonial character, or that of any given person.

It should come as no surprise, then, that the coin's edge showed the motto "SOBERANIA NACIONAL" (*National sovereignty*).

According to the obverse (or heads)'s iconographical content, the piece was popularly known in Valencia as *el duro de la mà al cul* (*duro of a hand in the bum*), and in all of Castilian-speaking Spain was also identified with ironical descriptions, such as "el tío sentao" (sitting guy), or the same one, "el duro de la mano en el culo". But the design was far from being at all anecdotal: it followed, in its principles, the directives from the *Informe dado al gobierno provisional sobre el escudo de armas y atributos de la moneda*, written by the History Academy -specifically, by Aureliano Fernández-Guerra y Orbe, Cayetano Rosell, Eduardo Saavedra and Salustiano de Olózaga- and dated in Madrid on November 6, 1868. As we've already seen and seems evident by the presence of the word "ESPAÑA" -a toponym that appeared for the first time by itself, in singular, on a monetary disk-, the female figure is the embodiment of Spain as a whole, portrayed as a matron with an olive branch in her right hand, as an emblem of peace- The motif is inspired in the allegory of Hispania, which appeared on Roman emperor's Hadrian's coins: on aurei which, as their name implies, were made of gold, on silver denarii and bronze sestertii and assēs.

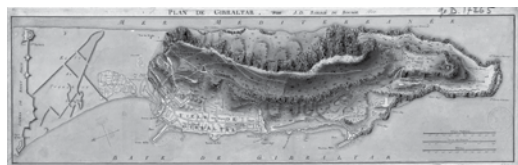


Reverse of a Roman denarius minted between 133 and 138 A.D., in the times of the emperor of Hispanic origin Hadrian. The piece shows an allegory of Spain, the territory formed at the time by two imperial provinces, *Tarraconensis* and *Lusitania*, and a senatorial one, *Bætica*.

As was the case with pieces from the 2nd century, Marchionni's figure is portrayed leaning on rocks we must identify as the Pyrenees; the great novelty from Roman times is that the figure's feet lay on a realistic depiction of the Rock of Gibraltar as seen from the Bay of Algeciras (North/South direction), implying that the most prominent part of the rocks stands on the coin to the viewer's left.

As is well known, recovery of *the Rock* from British hands is and has been nodal in the ideology of Spanish nationalism. And it is from this ideological context that we should interpret the fact that, in January 1869, the authorities of the general direction of the public Treasury asked for the strait area to be depicted on the obverse of silver coins: "Spain", portrayed by a matron leaning back on the Pyrenees, surrounded by ocean, her feet on the Strait of Gibraltar [...]"

According to all this, we'd be facing a synthesis of, on one hand, fidelity to the cultural heritage of the ancient Roman world -also attending to the neoclassical style imbuing the production- and, on the other, an explicit Spanish nationalist vindication, irredentist, contemporary and fully political.



Map of Gibraltar (1799), by Jean Denis Barbier du Bocage (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris).

The type of the matron leaning back on the Pyrenees may be the peak of contemporary Spain's contributions to the field of numismatics (and also, a milestone in monetary art in general). In any event, in the years of the regime that followed Isabel II, two other designs for the new peseta system would see the light. We may see them as brothers, and instrumentalised by the will to depict the strait area: on the one hand, the one on the obverse of the gold 100-pesetas coin

in 1870, an issue that wasn't finally put in circulation; on the other, its corresponding bronze coin. The matron in this case would be depicted sitting, and this composition would appear on massively manufactured pieces: on issues of 1-, 2-, 5-, and 10-cent coins.



10-cents pieces such as the one in the image -and those that would come after it in Spain in the name of king Alfonso XII, which we'll address later- were known in Valencia as *xavos* or *xavos negres*. In Castilian, they

received the nickname of "*fat dog*", given the appearance of a not very conventional depiction of a lion on the reverse of these coins from the Provisional Government -standing on its hind



legs with the head turned towards its back-, susceptible of being caricaturised as a dog (or confused with one when the piece got worn by use). This lion was holding a coat of arms of Spain, also rather original: oval and with no crest.

Back to the obverse of this 10-cent piece: unlike the silver 5-pesetas coins and the rest of values in this metal from the Provisional Government, the sitting matron didn't wear a mural crown on her head, but a diadem: only in this respect does the design approximate emperor Hadrian's Roman model.

We should evidently conclude that the figure -wearing very elaborate classical attire, full of creases in the Greek or Roman style- sits on the Pyrenees, but the natural landscape is totally different from the one featured on silver, and doesn't recall the Rock of Gibraltar at all: to the mountains' right we see a sliver of coast and a lighthouse which we may have to interpret as the one located on Cap de Creus, a maritime landmark separating Catalonia from "Northern Catalonia" (Roussillon and part of Sardinia), or the Spanish

and French states; the lighthouse was inaugurated in 1853. It should be known that Lluís Plañiol's -the artist who won the competition announced to this effect, but who ended up seeing his project greatly modified by Luis Marchionni- proposal had the sitting matron looking left, and the chosen perspective let the viewer naturally identify the Rock of Gibraltar (we are always referring to "compressed" images, an absolute summary of Iberian geography)

One final, but no lesser consideration on the piece: the upper side of the obverse's inscription tells us the coin weighs "DIEZ GRAMOS" (*ten grams*), but neither the issuing state's name (no reference to Spain, then), nor the name of the authority in whose name the mint was done. Inscriptions on the reverse add nothing to the point, either: "CIEN PIEZAS EN KILOG" (*a hundred pieces in a kilogram*) and "DIEZ CÉNTIMOS". This is an unexplainable, absolute anomaly, seemingly without precedent in mints of its ilk in Europe or America: coins, among other things, are useful to introduce rulers and countries to the world, to tell everyone -or at least everyone in the territorial vicinity- of authorities' power and the existence of a human community linked to it, and this has been so for centuries and centuries.

But this wasn't an anomaly only in the context of Spain after the Glorious Revolution in 1868: on the obverse of the first one peseta coin issued by the Provisional Government in 1869, the inscription accompanying Marchionni's leaning matron only states "GOBIERNO PROVISIONAL", begging -screaming for- the question "provisional government of where?". Such inadvisable procedure hadn't been carried out in Italy two decades earlier, in 1848, when -with the *Resorgimento* in full swing- Lombard authorities supporting the unification stamped on silver and gold coins the inscription "GOVERNO PROVVISORIO DI LOMBARDIA". *Qui habet aures audiendi, audiat.*



5-lire coin issue in the capital of Lombard after the armed uprising known as *le cinque Giornate di Milano*, from March 18 to 22, 1848: victory against the Austrians at this time allowed for the construction of an insurgent government, in favour of unifying Italy and also marked the beginning of the "first Italian war of independence", with the people of Piedmont sup-

porting the Lombards. This episode of the *Risorgimento* ended on August 5, 1848, when the Hapsburgs recovered control of Milan.

For more information on the obverse with the leaning matron, see appendix II, where references are included to the small rabbit -absent from 5 peseta coins and most other silver pieces from the provisional government- that appeared on the obverse of 1869 pesetas, lacking the toponym for Spain. For complementary information on the obverses of 100-pesetas coins from 1870 and bronze mint from the date, see appendix III

## 1.2 Amadeo I (1870-1873)

After the Glorious Revolution of 1868, which achieved the dethroning of Isabel II de Bourbon, the new rulers proclaimed the 1869 Constitution. The text stated that Spain was a monarchy, but the first king was to be chosen by the Courts. General Joan Prim was finally the great promoter of Amadeo de Savoy, son of Victor Emmanuel II of Italy, becoming the new constitutional king, but the military leader was murdered before the sovereign arrived in Madrid.

*General Prim in the Africa war (1865)*, by Francesc Sans i Cabot (Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya · MNAC, Barcelona).



Prim's assassination and the adversities plaguing the new reign -political instability, opposition from the financial elites, animosity from nobles and the Catholic Church (the latter due to the annexation of Rome by the kingdom of Italy), lack of popular support, Bourbon and republican unrest, carlist insurrection, the war in Cuba, etc.- would finally lead to Amadeo's abdication and the subsequent proclamation of the First Spanish Republic in 1873.

Despite the constitutional character of the monarchy installed in 1869, this point was never brought up on Amadeo's mints, and neither was his full royal title, "Amadeo I, king of Spain by the Grace of God and National Will", which coincided -in regard to the legitimization formula- with the imperial title Napoleon III of France had employed.<sup>2</sup> These coins would then only read "AMADEO I REY DE



ESPAÑA" (*Amadeo I king of Spain*) around the royal portrait on the obverse, a motif returning to coinage after the Provisional Government's parenthesis. The edge of Amadeo's duros read "JUSTICIA Y LIBERTAD" (*Justice and Liberty*).

These coins, by the way, were the first to bear the title "REY DE ESPAÑA" in singular, in Castilian and without the added "Y DE LAS INDIAS" or "E YND[IAS]." (*and [the] Indies*), ever since the issue of 5-pesetas coins produced in Girona and Lleida in 1809 in the name of Fernando VII, in the context of the war against Napoleon.

José María de Francisco Olmos pointed out -about the title held by Amadeo- how,

It is surprising for a monarch to maintain

the traditional title of King of Spain, and not that of king of the Spanish, which would have been more in line with the [1868 Glorious] Revolution's principles, following the aforementioned model of other democratic monarchies whose monarch had been elected by the people, such as the king of the French, the king of the Belgians, emperor of the French, king of the Hellenics, Czar of the Bulgarians.<sup>3</sup>



The only iconographic motif on the reverse of Amadeo's duros was a heraldic emblem: the Provisional Government's coat of arms as it appeared on 5-pesetas coins, though crested with a royal crown and with the Savoy escutcheon (a white cross on a red background) added in the middle.

### 1.3 Amadeo I's bourbon enemies

The inscription on the obverse of the following 5-pesetas (or duro) coin, after Amadeo I's ephemeral reign, incorporates a political counter-propaganda and insulting countermark after the term "rey": "AMADEO I REY **MEMO** DE ESPAÑA" (*Amadeo I, DUMB king of Spain*).



Among the many political enemies Amadeo had, responsibility for this manipulation -done while he was still king, between 1871 and 1873- would fall on the heads of alfonsoines, those supporting the enthroning of Alfonso de Bourbon, son of Isabel II and future Alfonso XII. As Javier de Santiago Fernández explains in his absolutely essential book *La peseta. 130 años*

2 José María de Francisco Olmos: "La Monarquía Democrática en España: Amadeo I de Saboya", in José María de Francisco Olmos, María Jesús Cava Mesa and Amadeo-Martin Rey y Cabieses: *Amadeo de Saboya. Homenaje a un rey desconocido*. Madrid: Real Academia Matritense de Heráldica y Genealogía, 2012, pages 11-236; quote on page 99 and note 81.

3 *Ibid*, page 108 note 84.



de la historia de España,<sup>4</sup> “These type of pieces shows clearly the alfonsines’ MO, a group with financial resources that initially worked in the shadows; it was no moot point that their candidate was



4th 1872).

14 at the time, and it was in their interest to slowly undermine the [amadeist] regime, inflaming unrest, hoping to have Don Alfonso perfectly ready to take the throne”.

“The enthusiasm, immense; the multitude, undescribable”  
Cartoon of king Amadeo I by José Luis Pellicer in the satirical magazine *Gil Blas* (August

in Spain; “SEDAN” on Napoleon III of France’s pieces, reminding the military defeat of the same name, “VOTES / FOR / WOMEN” defending female suffrage, or “R[EAL] I[RISH] R[EPUBLICAN] A[RMY]” in British territory; “U[LSTER] V[OLUNTEER] F[ORCE]”, on Irish coins, etc.

The use of political restamps on coins is by no means exceptional, and while those used against Amadeo I were cruelly ironic and disrespectful to the monarch’s figure, in most cases -before and after the Savoy’s reign- we find messages without this kind of hurtful tone: take as examples “F° / 7” supporting Fernando VII in Spain and against José Bonaparte’s presence on the throne, “MAURA / NO”, against the Spanish politician of that surname, “OBRERO / NO / VOTES” (*Worker / don’t / vote*) or “C. N. T. / OBREROS / NO VOTAR / F. A. I.” (*C.N.T. / Workers, don’t vote / F.A.I.*), all four



4 Madrid: Castellum, 2000, page 41.



#### 1.4 The First Spanish Republic and the Cantonal Revolution (1873-1874)

The First Republic -proclaimed after the abdication of Amadeo I- didn't get to issue any specific types: in those two years, coins were still minted with the motifs of Amadeo I, the Provisional Government and even Isabel II.

Although the Academy of History and the Academy of Fine Arts put together a report proposing a new currency for Spain, the republican regime's short life would have kept it from being implemented. The proposal was as follows for the obverse of new coins:



The other federation, a political one, can't be embodied but by the image of the Nation, who, as her own mistress, occupies the obverse in the place formerly destined for the prince's bust. For the 1868 coin, a depiction was already proposed, in her entire figure, in resting attitude, as corresponding to a time of truce or suspension in the country's political evolution. Several reasons force us today to change this type, and among them, the main one is the need for this change in the times to be reflected in a change of allegories. As useless as inventing a new coat of arms would be intending to engrave an image of Spain devoid of all historical or customary precedent, for without an explaining leaflet, surely one would under-

stand the artist's thought. An appropriate model can only be found where the first was, in ancient Numismatics, and if from it we took the prosperous and civilised Spain of



the times of Hadrian, we can also get from there the Nation, now unified in its natural borders, being the first to rise, outraged and powerful against the insensible tyranny of the last Caesar, and deserving after

her triumph to see her memory perpetuated on [denarii] bronze, and on the auri of Galba, acclaimed as the liberator of the Roman world. The head of Hispania appears on these issues with a youthful appeal, with the successful headdress of their own twisting hair and a simple laurel wreath, accompanied on one side by two darts and a shield, on the other by two spikes of pomegranate. More rigidly classical examples could be found in the heads of Greek models; none more gracious nor directly allusive to our circumstances.

A proper "national" female allegory did indeed appear on post stamps from the republican regime: a sitting matron accompanied by an oval Spanish coat of arms, an olive branch on her right hand and a tall sceptre on her left, and a laurel wreath on her head forming a diadem (and not a mural crown) [4].

This figure was a clear modification of the allegory adorning the first seal [7] of stamped paper

from 1844 to 1854.<sup>5</sup>

Besides, on prepaid postal stock known as postal stationery, the republican regime incorporated female busts wearing the Phrygian cap, in its origin a symbol of liberty, converted to republican emblem which the report from the academies had advised against in 1873:

On the other hand, even if this mistake wasn't such, spread by Paris jacobins on accepting the cap of prisoners amnestied in 1790 as their emblem, a Government intending to guide the Republic down the roads of justice, order and progress ought to keep a symbol raising memories of horror and grief from its stamps. A symbol, also, that may enforce some's hope of disorder and absolute loss. Even in its proper and classical form, as a sinister forecast, the freedman cap appears on Brutus' medals between two daggers and the cruel date of the Ides of March under it. And finally, is it Roman liberty the one modern people claim for and defend? Is it the liberty of a generous liege

giving his serf the stuff of a citizen, or that of the free man acknowledging his right and obligation on an act of his own free will? Thus, this emblem should be banned, as it is false if we attend to Ancient times, and inconvenient to Modern ones.

Regarding the precautions in the joint pronouncement of the Academy of History and the Academy of Fine Arts on the reverses of monetary mint, here is how the coat of arms intended to adorn them -that is, the Spanish republic's coat of arms- should have looked like:

What ought to be changed in the reverse is the crest [of the coat of arms of Castile, Leon, the Crown of Aragon, Navarre and Granada]. The inconvenient pointed out by the Academy of History no longer present, nothing better than the civic crown, which, far from denoting domination or inequality of any kind, nor bring with its leaves painful memories of bloody battles or desperate assaults, represents in a Transatlantic way the Republic's maintenance and the salvation of the State, frequently depicted in Roman casts with the inscription of *cives servatos*, which it held in its centre. It may be hard to harmonically fit it in a place where the masses are used to seeing a royal diadem; but the obstacle isn't of such size, and the artist in charge of the work will no doubt surmount it successfully.

5 «[...] a sitting lady turning to her left, resting her arm on a half-column and holding a sceptre tucked back with a fleur-de-lys on her left hand, while the right holds a laurel wreath. Her hair is loose on the lower part and tied back



on top, separated by a crown with triangular endings. In the background, a lion, of which we only see the head. // Sceptre, laurel, crown and lion are the attributes forming this iconography. The sceptre and crown correspond to some portrayals of the goddess Hera or Juno, [...]»: Natalia Pérez-Aínsua Méndez: *De sellos, heráldica y alegorías: el papel sellado en España*. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2014, page 109.

On the occasion of the Cantonal Revolution following the proclamation of the democratic federal republic, coins were minted, but these were adorned with no image; neither was any reference made to the federal power the insurgents declared being at the service of, nor did any specific organization take the decision of putting them in circulation: this happened in the city and naval base of Cartagena on the occasion of the one-sided proclamation of the Murciano canton, during the prolonged resistance to the siege by the authorities rooted in Madrid. Besides their

face value, those obsidional pieces read “REVOLUCION - CANTONAL”, “CARTAGENA SITIADA POR LOS CENTRALISTAS” (*Cartagena under centralist siege*) and “SETIEMBRE - 1873”.

Revolution would soon spread across many Spanish territories, including a multitude of Valencian municipalities (which embraced the cantons of Orihuela, Torrevieja, Alicante, Alcoy, Valencia and Castellón), but surely, the most dramatic episode of cantonalism was that of Cartagena, and evidently, this was the best known.<sup>6</sup> In any event, the movement didn’t include -despite several interested accusations and what it may seem attending to certain behaviours- real separatist temptations: it intended to organise the nascent republic from the ground up, through the federation of cantons with a territorial reach equal to

or inferior to that of provinces.

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6 “Under direction of Antofiete Gálvez, Cartageneros [...] decided as a part of their strategy to coin their own coins, and to that effect used the boilermaking workshops in the Artillery Armoury of the Navy Arsenal, and all forgers imprisoned in its penitentiary were amnestied on the condition that they collaborate in the production of dies and the manufacture of the pieces. // This event was chronicled by Benito Pérez Galdós in his *Episodios Nacionales*, specifically in the first pages of the one titled “De Cartagena a Sagunto”, where he stated the cantonals having coined duros whose fineness was higher than that of duros from the central Government, praising the perfection of their dies saying that “it had been done by the good kids suffering a sentence in jail for making fake coins, ... and since these authors had been masters before being criminals, they honed their craft in prison, and Freedom enabled them to serve the Republic with diligent honesty”, also adding that before the issue of these coins, services were paid with silver bits that were later exchanged by the snazzy and soon accredited Cartagena duros” (José María de Francisco Olmos: “La peseta: nueva unidad monetaria y medio de propaganda política (1868-1936)” in Juan Carlos Galende Díaz and Javier de Santiago Fernández (dirs.): *VII Jornadas Científicas Sobre Documentación Contemporánea (1868-2008)*. Madrid: Departamento de Ciencias y Técnicas Historiográficas de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2008, pages 121-192; quote on pages 147-148 // note 26 on page 148).



## 2. THE BOURBON RESTORATION, THE 1876 CONSTITUTION AND PRIMO DE RIVERA'S DICTATORSHIP (1874-1931)

### 2.1 Alfonso XII before the 1876 Constitution

In the final days of December 1874, general Arsenio Martínez Campos lead a military uprising, of conservative orientation, in Sagunto. As a consequence of the success of this coup -one of the many, of all sign, spread across the Spanish 19th century-, the Bourbon dynasty returned to the throne of Spain, and prince Alfonso -son of queen Isabel II, who'd been expelled some years earlier- would become monarch under the name of Alfonso XII. This would be the start of the Bourbon Restoration and the end of the period known as the Six Revolutionary Years, started in 1868 with the Glorious Revolution, the exile of said queen and the establishment of a Provisional Government.



The only title appearing on the obverse of this 5-pesetas silver coin minted in 1875 is "ALFONSO XII REY DE ESPAÑA" (*Alfonso XII king of Spain*), in the same vein as the inscription on 1871 issue for Amadeo de Savoy,

the elected king according to the rulings of the 1869 Constitution. At the time of this alfonsine piece, a constitution for the regime was yet to be proclaimed. The coin's edge kept the motto on Amadeo's duro coins: "JUSTICIA Y LIBERTAD" (*Justice and Liberty*).

But the absence of a constitution was no obstacle for alfonsines to return the Bourbon coat of arms to official status as soon as they took power in Madrid:

The political Restoration of Monarchy in the figure of queen Isabel's son had to recover symbols from the past. The importance of signs to spread the new order among the

population is manifest in the speed at which decisions are taken about it. Thus, a Royal Decree from January 6, 1875 ruled that "the royal crown and coat of arms of the Spanish monarchy, in its form and all its emblems -including the escutcheon with the fleur-de-llys of the House of Bourbon- up until September 29, 1868, shall be restored from the date of this decree on the flags and standards of Army and Navy, as well as on coins, stamps and official documents, as well as on any other cases previously sanctioned by law of custom. (Javier de Santiago Fernández: *La peseta. 130 años de la historia de España*, page 49).



These last two pieces on this page also show the lesser Bourbon coat of arms the Bourbon restoration wasted no time in bringing back to public life. But we have incorporated them in this compilation because they let us introduce, with reference images, a very important phenomenon in monetary history: forgery, an activity that would threaten -thus spurring it-

the legally instituted financial order.<sup>1</sup> We should first mention the activity of delinquents, whether individuals or in bands or mafias -the kind of forgery most people know-, with the only intention of getting benefit from fooling users, and also monetary and financial authorities. But -following Albert Estrada-Rius's argumentation- we should also consider another type of forgers: those who, throughout history, and holding public power or being its agents in monetary matters, have abused and perverted their position of guarantors of the system and been part in several ways of the illegal and fraudulent manipulation of their own currency or a foreign one.<sup>2</sup>

Public powers forging money under their responsibility only pursue a fraudulent financial benefit; when the forged currency is foreign, political causes may intervene in the matter, both in a context of war and out of it. Be it as it may, the social success of a forged coin hasn't been determined by whether the initiative behind it was private or public, but by the degree of credibility of the imitation when comparing its appearance with that of officially minted pieces -or printed bank notes- covered by all guarantees.

Despite the threat of severe prison stays or death sentences, everything, everywhere has been forged from the beginnings of currency, and so in several countries and historical times, this fraudulent activity has affected even metallic pieces and paper money of very little value and very limited geographical circulation. Contrarily, other criminals preferred higher face values (and, if possible, from more international and/or cov-

eted currencies), which would grant them bigger benefit with less specimens in circulation, and thus a more reduced risk and less investment in terms of time and manufacturing expenses.<sup>3</sup>

When it comes to the Bourbon restoration (with the constitutional reigns of Alfonso XII and Alfonso XIII as corollaries), we have enough historical reference -and enough accessible specimens in numismatics businesses, museums and private collections- telling us of the huge extent of forgery as a phenomenon in those decades: as the price of silver as a metal got to be much lower than the face value on those coins, not only were base metals used in forging these coins, and particularly duros -popularly known as "Alicantinos", such as the calamine 5-pesetas coin reproduced here-, but there were also silver coins put in circulation (such as the other coin photographed here): these last cases were "Sevillian" duros, which -in the end- were exchanged for original coins with no loss of value for their holders.<sup>4</sup>

To close this point, we should mention that both photographs show the edges of pieces being dented: given the huge amount of forgeries -in all types of metals- of 5-pesetas coins, as well as other values, it was common practice to make them bounce on shops' counters, floors or other surfaces, so they'd jingle, the sound making it possible to tell what pieces were silver and which not. The repeated exercise of dropping these duros logically made their rims show many dings, besides those caused by accidental drops. In other cases, we notice the signs of tests done on coins suspect of being forgeries, in order to check their quality: hits with punches or similar instruments, cuts with shears, clippings, shavings, etc. Finally, when a forged coin was put away from circula-

1 In this regard, Albert Estrada-Rius's "Introduction" in *La moneda falsa de l'antiguitat a l'euro* is particularly clarifying. Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya · MNAC, 2010, pages 8-11.

2 In Albert Estrada-Rius: "Els reis falsaris medievals i la fabricació de moneda fraudulenta", page 50, in Albert Estarda-Rius (dir.): *La moneda falsa de l'antiguitat a l'euro*. Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya · MNAC, 2010, pages 50-55.

3 As has been the case in the last few decades, of forgeries of 100-dollar bills from the USA, one of the most widespread illegal activities worldwide.

4 A recent sythesis on "duros alicantinos" and "duros sevillanos" is found on pages 96-97 of Julio Torres Lázaro's article "La falsificació de la moneda metàl·lica a l'edat contemporània", in Albert Estarda-Rius (dir.): *La moneda falsa de l'antiguitat a l'euro*. Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya · MNAC, 2010, pages 94-101.

tion it may be altered by monetary authorities, through milling or by incorporating telling signs proving their condition as evidence of a crime: great incise crosses, countermarks stating their falsehood, holes, adhered papers, etc.

## 2.2 Against Alfonso XII (and prior regimes): pretender Carlos VII

Carlist wars were uprisings lead by absolutist Bourbon pretenders, opposed, then, to liberalism, in the periods 1833-1840, 1846-1849 and 1872-1876. Given the chance, these self-proclaimed carlist kings would rule over many Spanish territories, including some Valencian regions: on August 20, 1874 Carlos VII got as far as creating the

Royal Council of the Kingdom of Valencia (and under this administration issued a privative post stamp).



Half-real post stamp issued on September 1, 1874 in the name of Carlos VII in the Valencian municipality of Vistabella (engraved by Juan Vilás, 25 x 21 mm in size). Note the stylisation of the fleur-de-lys on both

sides of the portrait.

Carlist kings' motto was "Dios Patria Rey" (*God Country King*), an expression evidently not the same as the one found on the edge of "constitutional" coins for Isabel II: "Ley Patria Rey" (*Law Country King*) (moderate).

Carlos VII's political program included defending the fueros in Álava, Biscay, Guipuzkoa and Navarre, and -as we've seen in the institution of a council for Valencian territory, and also the creation of two others for the principality of Catalonia and the kingdom of Aragon (all three in force from 1874 to 1875)- the monarch kept his decentralising intent, respectful of traditional frontiers within the territories of the Crown of Aragon. Besides, the pretender's rhetoric -flattering and paternalistic- intended to repair the effects of the disagreements of Catalonians, Aragonese and Valencians with the Bourbon dynasty in the early 18th century; an example of all this would be this extract from the *Manifiesto a los pueblos de la Corona de Aragón* (*Manifesto to the peoples of the Crown of Aragon*) from July 16, 1872:

« [...] A lover of decentralisation, as I stated

in my Letter-Manifesto of June 30, 1869, today I declare to you, publicly and solemnly:

Intrepid Catalonians, Aragonese and Valencians: a century and a half ago, my illustrious grandfather Felipe V thought it his duty to erase your fueros from the book of the Country's Franchises.

What he took from you as King, I as King return to you; for, if you once were hostile to the founder of my dynasty, you are now the bastion of his lawful descendent.

I give you back your fueros, for I am the keeper of all justices, and to do so, years don't go by idly, I shall call you, and together we will adapt them to the demands of our times.



And Spain will know again that the banner that says God, Country and King has legit liberties written on it".

Pretender Carlos VII (mid, bearded but without beret) among officials and troops of the carlist army. This picture may have been taken near Tolosa between 1873 and 1875, during the last carlist conflagration. The photograph's author may be Felix Tournachon (Nadar), and the image was later used on propaganda postcards.

Carlist armed opposition ended up defeated in 1876. Besides post stamps (the previously shown from Valencia and others), Carlos VII's control over a part of the State also left monetary pieces to remember him by.



The image on the coin

is very meaningful politically. One of the first things to note in this obverse is that the inscription -completely surrounding the pretender's bearded portrait, "CARLOS VII P[OR]. L[A]. GRACIA DE DIOS REY DE LAS ESPAÑAS" (*Carlos VII by the Grace of God king of the Spains*)- is antithetical to that on previous duros for Amadeo I and Alfonso XII, and this because king Carlos appears legitimated by "the Grace of God", by divine design, like a monarch from the Ancien Régime.

The fleur-de-lys on the lower part states the portrayed's Bourbon lineage, and besides, the country's toponym appears in plural: a Castilian translation of the Latin titles formerly employed by monarchs from the houses of Hapsburg and Bourbon, "HISPANIARUM REX", far from the frugal denomination of the Nation state, "ESPAÑA".

As is easily seen on this carlist coin, unlike the portraits of Amadeo I and Alfonso XII on 5-pesetas coins from 1871 and 1875 (and 1876), respectively, Carlos VII's portrait is crowned: it is certainly not a royal crown, nor a band as a diadem, but he boasts a laurel wreath -a symbol associated to the idea of victory- around his head. The laureate bust had been present on the coins of many rulers from ancient, classic times, and centuries after,

For more information on the elements employed to crown heads in coins, see appendix IV, and on the existing controversy around the place of manufacture of this piece -and its 5-cent sister-, see appendix V

also within the Hispanic monarchy: in fact, Alfonso XII's mother -Isabel II- wore a laurel wreath in a non-insignificant number of her monetary pieces.

In a reference work directed by Rafael Fera,<sup>5</sup> emphasis is put on the portrait's high quality, and

the possible origin for such formal perfection: "It certainly seems the "style" of the pretender's portrait [...], as well as the coat of arms on the reverse closely resemble those appearing on coins for king Leopold II of the Belgians, evidently minted in the Royal Mint of Brussels".

On the obverse, we find the dynastic Bourbon coat of arms, the quarterly of Castile and Leon, Granada and Bourbon, crowned and with laurel wreath, that is, the well-known lesser coat of

arms, here becoming the emblem of the pretender to the throne's intended legitimacy. We also find again the separate fleur-de-lys, and two monograms with the "C" and "7" of his royal title under a royal crown, as well as a

daisy, an allusion to Margarita de Bourbon-Parma, Carlos' kind-hearted wife at the time (*"Margarita" is "daisy" in Spanish*). An unexpected gallantry on monetary issues.<sup>6</sup>



### 2.3 Alfonso XII under the 1876 Constitution

After the proclamation of the Constitution in June 1876 -inspired by Antonio Cánovas del Castillo- Alfonso XII's coins changed the royal title: following a Royal Bidding in August 1876, the pieces' ob-



verse would feature the inscription "ALFONSO XII POR LA G[RACIA] DE DIOS" (*Alfonso XII by the Grace of God*), and their reverse (or tails) "REY

5 *La peseta. Historia de una época*. Madrid: Expansión (Grupo Recoletos), 2002, page 64.

6 "Margaritas" was the nickname for women taking part in the carlist sector of the insurgent side of the Spanish Civil War.



CONST[ITUCIONA]L DE ESPAÑA” (*Constitutional King Of Spain*).

Reference to the “Grace of God” -as a source of legitimation of power- linked alfonsine coins to those from divine right monarchies in all Europe (and from the carlist pretender who issued the piece in the point above), but the traditional formula on these pieces minted in Madrid was made compatible with the explicit statement of the regime’s constitutional character. Miguel Martorell, in *Historia de la peseta. La España contemporánea a través de su moneda*,<sup>7</sup> accurately synthesises this in the sentence: “[...] inscriptions on coins proclaimed the double nature of the restored monarchy”.

As stated in the second part of this work, alfonsine behaviour had similar precedents on Spanish coins: during the Liberal Triennium, and throughout most of Isabel II’s reign, mints had shown equivalent formulas -some with a clearer writing, even- to state the double legitimation of power: “FERNANDO 7º POR LA GRACIA DE DIOS Y LA CONSTITUCION / REY DE LAS ESPAÑAS” (*Fernando 7th by the Grace of God and the Constitution/ king of the Spains*) and “ISABEL 2ª POR LA GRACIA DE DIOS Y LA CONSTITUCION / REINA DE LAS ESPAÑAS” (*Isabel 2nd by the Grace of God and the Constitution/ queen of the Spains*), with the corresponding abbreviations when needed.

In order to understand the political meaning of the presence of double legitimation on alfonsine coins, we can consult a text by Javier de Santiago Fernández extracted from the book *La peseta. 130 años de la historia de España* (page 50):

The inscription is meaningful regarding the new political order on which the Restoration’s building would lean. The King’s power comes from God and the [1876] Constitution. Thus, it combines monarchic tradition, the Bourbon heritage that allows him access to the Throne, and the regulation of his power by the legislative text written by Cánovas. The King and the Courts are the two fundamental institu-

tions of the system. The Constitution stated that the sovereignty is shared: the power to write laws is held by the King’s Courts, and it is him who commands the formation of government, regardless of parliamentary majorities. It is an inscription intended to exalt the Monarch and shows clearly the essence of his power does not come from parliamentary

For more information on the beginnings, in France, of the double legitimacy of royal power, see appendix VI

decision. The Crown is considered as one of the keys of the system, as an “institution of faith”, as Canovas himself decribed it. It is the constitutional monarchy Alfonso XII promised in [the] Sandhurst [manifesto].

Some more information about Alfonso XII’s coinage. First of all, on the very noticeable changes in portraits, as had been the case with his mother; indeed, the monarch’s face would go through a transformation on the obverses of coins as new issues were made: from the first, formed only by a duro coin in 1875 and 1875, showing a very young king (which we’ve already reproduced in this work), to the last mints, in 1902, the coinage of Phillipine, with dense inscriptions (in the need



7 Barcelona: Planeta, 2001, page g2.

Regarding the reverse of the previous piece, the coat of arms should be familiar, perforce, to those living in the territory of the Kingdom of Spain: it was instituted in 1875 and, with some slight differences (particularly the absence of crowns on top of each of the pillars of Hercules, and the water under them), it is basically the same emblem that is currently the State's official coat of arms (established in 1981).



Left: return stamp -for internal use in the Post administration and not usual postage- issued on September 25, 1875. The author of the design on this specimen was Gabino Rodríguez. Right; official version of the current coat of arms of Spain.



A mere glance will let us notice that the strict coat of arms is divided into four main parts, and also has a pointed element in the lower part and an oval in the centre. The four bigger parts contain the following historical emblems:

- On the upper left side, a yellow (gold) castle on red background, the symbol of the kingdom of Castile;

- Also on the top part, but to the right, a purple (between pink and violet) lion over a white (silver) background, the emblem of the kingdom of Leon;

- To the left of the lower part, four red palettes on a yellow (gold) background, originally the monarchs of the Crown of Aragon's *senyal*, and in time, the common blazon for several territories: the kingdom of Aragon, the kingdom of Valencia, the kingdom of Majorca and the County of Barcelona, which ended up becoming the Principality of Catalonia;

- On the lower right, yellow (gold) chains on a red background, with an (obviously green) emerald, representing Navarre, or, to be strict, the five *Merindades* (a country subdivision smaller

than a province but larger than a municipality, in charge of a Merino, roughly equivalent to a bailiff in English) of the kingdom of Navarre south of the Pyrenees, or Upper Navarre.

Finally, the central elliptic element represents the Bourbon dynasty, rooted in Spain from early 18th century: this emblem's presence on the Spanish royal coat of arms comes from Louis XIV of France, who -as we've already mentioned in a former section- imposed this condition during deliberations leading to Felipe V's enthroning.

The coin only shows three yellow (gold) fleur-de-lys, two on top and one below, over a blue background. But, in truth, this blazon is the one from France: since no French king came to rule Spain, but rather a member of the Gaul royal family -Felipe, duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV-, this duro for Alfonso XII should have had a red bordure surrounding the fleur-de-lys. This -called cadency in heraldry terms- would tell the (oval) escutcheon represented *someone* "of French blood", *issu de France*: specifically, from the branch known as Bourbon-Anjou.



Left: version of the kingdom of Spain's coat of arms as used on coins from 1875 to 1931. Right: completely correct version of the same coat of arms, with the red bordure on the central escutcheon. The current official model of the coat of arms of Spain where we also see the red bordure.

For further considerations on the currently valid coat of arms, see appendix VII

The next-to-last information we'll provide on this point is in regard to the edge of coins: on the big silver pieces minted in the name of Alfonso XII from 1877, the political inscription on the edge -"JUSTICIA Y LIBERTAD" (*Justice and Liberty*) on duro coins from 1875 and 1876- was substituted by 27 fleur-de-lys split in three groups of nine. Evidently, the fact of incorporating the king's dynastic emblem *par excellence* is also a political option. In any event, the rim of 50-cent (of peso) coins minted in Madrid -dated between 1880 and 1885-, but destined for circulation in the Philippine Islands, a



surprise awaits: there are three fleur-de-lys and the motto "LEY PATRIA REY" (*Law Country King*), exactly the same one that also adorned the edge of Isabel II's issues as constitutional monarch from 1837 to 1868.

But these pieces have another exceptional trait in the context of alfonsine constitutional mints: the presence of the quarterly coat of arms without the Crown of Aragon's paletts or the Navarrese chains. The same as during all of Isabel II's reign -in Spain and the Philippines- and on 5-pesetas coins from 1875 and 1876.



Alfonso XII visiting cholera patients in Aranjuez (1887), by José Bermudo Mateos (Museo de Historia de Madrid). The painting depicts one of the facts about Alfonso XII most appreciated by the population: the king's trip -in 1885 and without Antonio Cánovas del Castillo's consent- to Aranjuez, with the intent of visiting the victims of a very serious cholera epidemic, and putting the facilities of the royal palace in the city at the disposal of the sick.

## 2.4 Alfonso XIII under the 1876 Constitution

As long as Alfonso XIII didn't swear on the Constitution in 1902, regency of Spain was exercised by his mother, María Cristina de Habsburg, but this fact was not reflected on monetary issues; the obverse of pieces only showed Alfonso XII's posthumous son's portrait, king from the very moment of his birth in 1886.

The child-king's portrait on coins changed as he came of age; this has been recalled with a good deal of quality photographs in the work directed by Rafael Feria *La peseta. Historia de una época* (pages 65-68):<sup>8</sup> he was depicted as a baby with his hair close to his skull (the "pelón" (*bald*) type), as a child with curly hair ("bucles" (*ringlets*) type), or with a pompadour (the type aptly named as "tupé" (*pompadour*)), besides a variant of the last type for issues destined for Puerto Rico and the Philippines, or type "rizos" (*curls*), and maybe the type on gold 100-pesetas coins from 1897, "on which Alfonso XIII seems to be a bit older" (page 66). His mother's regency over, monetary portraits of Alfonso XIII kept morphing as the king entered adult life; the "cadete" (*cadet*) type (his neck adorned with the uniform of a captain general), the "prusiano" (*Prussian*) type, after his wedding (with the same military collar), and finally, the "adult" portrait used during the primoriverist dictatorship.

The three first coins reproduced beneath (see next page) show the first portrait of Alfonso XIII on coins, the "pelón" type: although the portrayal of child-kings has happened on monetary coinage, it is exceptional for the monarch depicted on pieces to be such a small baby. Regarding the images, we should note that while the one on top is from an authentic coin, of 900 silver thousandths, specimen 1FA is a good forgery in noble metal, and thus a part of the fraudulent copies known as "Sevillano" duros. Piece 1FB is also fraudulent and made of silver: in this case, the forgery is easy to tell, because the coin has a dark reddish streak, telling of an irregular pounding of the metals during the smithing -silver

8 Madrid: Expansión (Grupo Recoletos), 2002.

and copper, at least- done by forgers. Specimen 2 is a test that wasn't adopted, showing a transitional portrait on the obverse, between "pelón" and "bucles" types (3).



Institutional worry and that of the general public was the same: forgery of the main silver piece of the Spanish monetary system -the 5-pesetas duro- had reached huge proportions: a recall of "Sevillano" (produced in many Spanish cities) duro coins was undertaken, starting in 1908, but the deadline to change false coins for legal ones had to be postponed: beyond December 1909, the date considered at first for the operation to start closing down. As Javier de Santiago Fernández points out in *La peseta. 130 años en la historia de España* (page 62), "To ease the task of the Bank's civil servants, a detailed report was produced and spread with all the data necessary to tell false currency from authentic one". The cover of *Nuevo Mundo* magazine for August 1908 proves the -social and financial- importance of this exchange initiative; inside this issue, "El canje de los duros sevillanos" (The exchange of sevillano duro coins) detailed aspects of the operation.

Whether a product of monetary forgery in the late 19th century-early 20th century, or the consequence of government mint, the circulatory torrent was flooded with royal portraits; there was a ruling to that effect in the 1876 Constitution, which Alfonso XIII swore on at the age of 16. Indeed, article 54 from the text established that "It also befits the King: [...] Sixth. To take care of coin mint, which shall feature his bust and number" This ruling followed the one in article 171 of the 1812 Constitution, which already established that "Besides the king's prerogative to proclaim and sanction laws, the following faculties correspond to him as principal ones: /Eleventh. To take care of the manufacturing of coin, on which his bust and number shall appear" But the Cádiz constitution didn't only inspire the one from 1876: the ruling for the name and bust of the monarch to appear on coin also appeared on article 47.7 of the 1837 Constitution, 45.7 of the 1845 Constitution, 52.6 of the unproclaimed 1856 Constitution and, as a last example before the Restoration, on article 73.6 of the 1869 Constitution -the one that would lead Amadeo I de Savoy to the throne.



Alfonso XIII and Doña María Cristina, queen regent (1898), by Luis Álvarez Catalá (Palacio del Senado, Madrid): "Recreates an illusory palace space, lacking none of the characteristic symbols of the Court portrait, the Palace portrait, still owing to the baroque model: throne, heavy curtain-canopy, royal coat of arms, crown, sceptre and architectural elements such as the column and the balustrade. The two royal figures stand up front [...], acutely capturing the shyness of a child overwhelmed by his responsibility, while Doña María Cristina, while still showing the sadness of her situation, protects him with a gesture that is at the same time motherly and regently" (Jesús Gutiérrez Burón, in *El Arte en el Senado*. Madrid, 1999, page 208).

The portrait on this 5-pesetas (or duro) silver coin minted in 1899, corresponds to the "tupé" type. The piece holds the same royal title Alfonso XII used as constitutional monarch, with the





logical change in ordinal: “ALFONSO XIII POR LA G[RACIA] DE DIOS” (*Alfonso XIII by the Grace of God*) on the obverse and, on the back, “REY CONST[ITUCIONA]L DE ESPAÑA” (*Constitutional King of Spain*). The edge had no inscription: only 27 fleur-de-lys, as on Alfonso XII’s duros from 1877 and all previous others in the name of Alfonso XIII.

A brief note on the two 1-peso pieces that -with the same metrological characteristics as Alfonso XIII’s 5-pesetas coins and the same coat of arms as those- were minted in Madrid for Puerto Rico (dated in 1895) and the Philippine silands (dated in 1897): as the reverse of these coins displays the denominations suitable to their respective territories, the obverse used six abbreviations so the royal title could fit around the monarch’s portrait (in the type “rizos”, as stated before) “ALFONSO XIII P[OR]. L[A]. G[RACIA]. D[E]. D[IOS]. REY C[ONSTITUCIONAL]. DE ESPAÑA” (*Alfonso XIII by the Grace of God. Constitutional king of Spain*).

Alfonso XIII’s last issues to display the title of constitutional monarch appear dated between 1910 and 1913: coins from later in his reign correspond to the period of general Miguel Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship.



We wouldn’t want to finish this point without reminding the reader of the existence of embossed postcards which -in the late 19th to early 20th century- collected the currency of several countries with dry stamps covered in gold, silver or bronze ink (according, of course, to the metallic composition of the coins reproduced). Among the states appearing on these cards -edited in several languages-, there was Spain. Here is one of the versions of the card dedicated to the kingdom of Spain, written in German, adorned with an *approximation* of the merchant banner of the time, and showing the equivalence of some of the Spanish monetary values to the specimens of the financial powers of the moment: the German mark; Austria and Hungary’s crown; the sterling pound from Great Britain, divided into 20 shillings or 240 pennies; coins from the Latin Monetary Union (the French franc, Italian lira, the Belgian franc, Swiss franc, the drachma from Greece, and by extension, coins from other countries which followed the monetary directives without being members); the Netherlands’ florin or gulden, the Russian rouble; coins from the Scandinavian Monetary Union (Denmark’s crown, as well as those from Sweden and Norway); and the USA dollar.



These postcards contributed to the diffusion over a great number of places of monetary types from many territories of the planet, so the monarchs’ portraits, coats of arms and other motifs gave the users information on who held power in each territory.

## 2.5 Alfonso XIII during the primoriverist dictatorship and the “Dictablanda” (1923-1931)

General Miguel Primo de Rivera’s uprising got the King Alfonso XIII’s acquiescence, and as a consequence, a military dictatorship was installed in Spain in September 1923: in spite of initial attempts at finding a rhetorical accommodation to fith the new situation, from then on, the 1876 Constitution stopped being valid in Spanish territory. On this 50-cent silver coin from 1926, the inscription used was “ALFONSO XIII REY DE ESPAÑA” (*Alfonso XIII King of Spain*), logically with no reference to the monarchy’s constitutional character as well as no mention of the intended divine legitimatation (like in times of Amadeo I and AlfonsoXII’s first period).

This was the last Alfonso XIII portrait to appear on a coin, and it was produced “in a very “veiled” modernist style”, according to José María Aledón in *Historia de la Peseta*.<sup>9</sup> The two other pieces minted during the Dictatorship (25-cents from 1925 -with a galleon- and 1927 -with a hammer, flowers and spikes) used no royal bust: after all, if the 1876 Constitution wasn’t in force then, and neither was the 54th article of the text the king had sworn upon, ruling the monarch’s depiction



disturbance, the good days ahead we are preparing for the Nation. Spaniards: Long live Spain and the King!”.

[Photograph donated to Wikipedia Commons by the Deutsches Bundesarchiv, the German federal archive.]

on monetary disks.<sup>10</sup>

King Alfonso XIII -to the left- and former dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera on March 1930. The general -who was diabetic- had left power on January 30 of the same year, and would die on March 16. Far gone were then the times when, on the proclamation of the 1923 coup, Primo de Rivera would state: “This is a movement of men: whoever doesn’t feel masculinity completely characterised may wait in a corner, without



10 In regard to the crowns cresting the coat of arms on the coin’s reverse and also on the reverse of the 1925 25-cent piece and the obverse of the same value from 1927, we ought to consider their appearance, then, as a consequence of the creative freedom of artists, showing three fleurs-de-lis instead of the traditional five, and two diadems were put there instead of the eight corresponding to the royal crown (five visible). Just like in Habsburg times. In no case would there be a cryptic message on the decrease in royal power in the times of the primoriverist dictatorship.

9 Madrid / Valencia: Real Casa de la Moneda · Fábrica Nacional de Moneda y Timbre / Dobler Difusiones, 2002, page 58.

### 3. THE SECOND SPANISH REPUBLIC (1931-1939)

#### 3.1 The Second Republic during the reformist and counter-reformist bienniums

We saw, on the occasion of the 5-pesetas coin for the Provisional Government in 1870, to which extent a monetary piece could constitute a clear and absolute denial of personal power, thus affirming the collective one. The same -but with no apparent nationalist burden (save for the exclusivity of Castilian on inscriptions) and, specifically, with no irredentist connotation- happened when the Second Spanish Republic produced its coins with allegorical figures, most of which were influenced precisely by the matron designs of Luis Marchionni six decades earlier. In doing so, monetary issues from the 1931-1939 period were fully coherent with Europe's republican tradition *par excellence*, that of France: not putting the effigies of rulers on coins and, on the contrary, using a female (most of the time) allegory to embody liberty, the republican regime, and, if it is the case, the national community itself.<sup>1</sup>

The Second Republic was proclaimed in Spain -on April 14, 1931- through a revolutionary process nurtured by a great collective eagerness: in great cities, candidacies intending to bring monarchy down had won the municipal elections held two days earlier, and finally, the tide could be held back no longer. A few months later, elections to Constituent Assembly would be held: with this procedure, the republican form of state settled in Spain together with usual democratic forms, and the Constitution would be proclaimed in December that same year.



Cover of a pen-manuscript specimen of the 1931 republican Constitution. Kept at the Congress in Madrid.

But the ideological and symbolic effervescence of the times wouldn't find a correlate on monetary mint: that republican power issued late and with little variety. As the authors of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya's *Guia numismàtica*, the Republic's Government was focused on financial and political problems such as capital outflow or the ongoing crisis as a consequence of the crash of international markets in 1929, which would justify the executive not taking serious measures of renewal for metallic coin until the year 1933. The same authors point out that this fact should stand out in its exceptional nature, and so because in the history of Spain (and, one could add, in that of France, Germany, Italy, etc.), one of the very first acts of sovereignty in the establishment of new regimes had been the issue of its own symbols, those that let them proclaim the change in regime iconographically. Despite this, the first republican coins wouldn't start circulating until 1934.<sup>2</sup>

The monetary types finally minted by the central authorities of the Second Republic were six, out of which five were adorned with female allegories (with four different designs). All these coins incorporated the inscription "REPÚBLICA ESPAÑOLA" (*Spanish Republic*), and only two were in circulation before the Civil War.

1 While French republican regimes were in force, this executive was only infringed once: during the Second Republic, when -in 1852- president Louis Napoleón Bonaparte's bust occupied some obverses (this was the time when Napoleon's nephew was about to become emperor Napoleon III of France, successor in imperial position to his most famous relative).

2 Marta Campo, Albert Estrada-Rius and Maria Clua i Mercadal: *Guia numismàtica*. Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya · MNAC, 2004, pages 206-207.



On the first piece -a 25-cent coin in cupronickel from 1934- a half-length portrait of a matron looking right and holding an olive branch -a symbol of peace, at eye height- in her right hand; the allegory wore her hair loose and curly at the nape, and her facial features (and generally, her body's features) were so marked as to distil a certain androgynous look.



The other piece from these years -designed in times of the reformist biennium but put in circulation during the counter-reformist biennium- was a 1-peseta silver coin, dated in 1933 (although 1934 is stated between the stars), where the matron appeared in full length, looking left, sitting on a practically cubic stone block and also holding an olive branch between the fingers of her right hand. Again, her facial features were treated with a certain harshness, and her physical attributes had a certain influence of Michelangelo. The figure's hairstyle was, more or less, like the one on the 25-cent coin.



This photomontage -titled "III. Siglo XX: Amor financiero" (III. 20th century; financial love), the third in the *Amor en la historia* (Love throughout history) series- was produced by Josep Renau and appeared on issue n° 149 of *Estudios. Revista Ecléctica* (Studies. Eclectic magazine) (Valencia, January 1936). As can be seen in the image, the concept of money isn't embodied -symbolised- by the republic's silver pesetas, or by bank notes, but by silver

duro coins put in circulation in the late 19th century, such as those of Amado I and Alfonso XIII (of the types "pelón" and also, "bucles")

### 3.2 The Second Republic during the Civil War

After the military and civilian uprising against the Frente Popular's government (on July 17 and 18, 1936), and after the partial failure of this coup or revolt, the Second Republic stopped ruling over a good part of the territory and had to face -for three years- the insurgents' military offensive. These were soon commanded by general Francisco Franco, who would have hitlerian Germany and mussolinian Italy as his main political and military allies.

The process -one of the most dramatic and bloody in the Interwar Period, with religious prosecution, extremely tough and often deadly political repression (against both "fifth columnists" and declared enemies), and terrible bombings on the civilian population- entered history as the Spanish Civil War, and its complexity implies having to refer to facts such as the existence of numerous ideological fractures on the republican camp, some of which could even lead to internal armed conflicts. Dissidence within the ranks of francoist Spain was eliminated -quickly and from the top- without a qualm, as happened to falangists opposing the political neutralisation of their fascist party.

In this context of war that led to the siege on the republican executive -and its immediate pilgrimage through the territory- monetary authorities (with Juan Negrín, minister of Revenue, behind) put in circulation other specimens adorned with female allegories, three in total, all of them dated in 1937: we'll start with the copper 50-cent coin, just to state that its obverse took the design from the silver 1-peseta coin. On the other



hand, iron 5-cent coins added a very remarkable iconographic novelty: they added the Phrygian [or liberty cap] cap to the depiction of the allegorical bust, with a very French appearance.



The bust with Phrygian cap was also very scarce on post stamps of the Second Republic: we only find a series with this element, from April 1938. On bank notes issued by the central authority we also had to wait for a long time, until 1937, to see two specimens with the same iconography, put in circulation the following year.

Lastly, besides local issue of bills and coins by the Ibi Municipal Council, in the Valencian Country, the female bust wearing a Phrygian cap also appeared on issues from the Basque autonomous government, and in its corresponding section we'll discuss this emblem of liberty, and how and when it became the republic's.



*Republic (1931)*, by Teodoro Andreu (Collecció Joan Gavara Prior). The painter avoided in this work any kind of symbolic idealisation when representing the new order of April 1931, and the beauty of a modern woman -Valencian Carmen Viadel Haro, 20 years old at the time- looking at us, frank and without shame, was more than enough; a short-haired girl, wearing plain clothes but also a Phrygian or liberty cap,

with the Spanish republican flag (with an embroidered inscription) on her shoulder. We shouldn't miss the rich -and well crafted- traditional Valencian set of jewellery, where the city of Valencia's coat of arms can be seen on the jewel at chest level.

The work remained hidden during francoism, studded backwards in the back of a wardrobe property of the artist's daughter.



*Spanish Republic (1932)* by Ricardo Boix. One of the most elegant art-deco sculptures, and most representative of progressive artistic trends in the republican period. The work remained hidden in times of francoism inside a wardrobe in a corridor at the artist's home.



In our overview of female allegories on republican coins we should also consider the 1937 brass peseta coin, on which only the head of the matron appeared -also with her hair loose, but with softer features than those on issues from 1934-, looking left.

Delving deeper into the 1937 peseta (with the same weight and diameter as the silver one), the first thing we should point out is that, because of the siege of Madrid by francoist troops, and during the republican government's stay in Valencia city, the mint moved to Valencian territory, too: Castellón and Aspe. This coin specifically -for which there are proofs dated in 1935 and produced in Madrid- was minted in an estate near the city of Castellón de la Plana (known as Factory C), under logically precarious circumstances as befits a conflict of the dimensions and intensity as the one then underway: José María Aledón -in *Historia de la Peseta* (page 62)- wrote that "The trouble around this hurried emergency measure and the precariousness of means, lack of metals, etc., of the Republic's second stage showed on coins, which lost quality and quantity as the war progressed". In the times of the move to Castellón, the city of Valencia -provisional *capital* of the Second Republic- suffered violent bombings from the aviation of fascist Italy, a state supporting Franco, as we already stated.



Mussolinian bombings in 1937, on the Estación del Norte (North train Station) in Valencia city, and its adjacent neighbourhood of Russafa.

The image is a fragment of a photograph kept at the Ufficio Storico dell'Aeronautica Militare, Rome.

Despite the technical deficiencies in the 1937 peseta issue (“pesetas de Valencia”, as they were known in Castilian), we are in the presence of one of the most popular issues in the history of Spain, stylistically modern in the time of its conception and liable to end with a specific nickname for it: “Rubia” (blonde). Javier de Santiago Fernández explained it in *La peseta. 130 años de la historia de España* (page 78):

The use of a new alloy gave this coin a very peculiar colouration, with a yellowish hue, which drove to the popular nickname of “rubia”, referring to the dame on the obverse, and the Peseta by extension. Curiously, such denomination remained in use in popular language to refer to later pesetas, which didn’t feature a woman, but Franco’s head, a fact probably motivated by the colour of copper used in its manufacture.

Two last appreciations or considerations on such an emblematic piece and others we’ve described in the two sections about the Second Republic. The first, that, attending to the reverse of the 1937 1-peseta coin including a branch, a vine leaf and a bunch of grapes, some said it was the “ruin of men”: on a single coin, money, a (blond) woman and wine, three elements that were alleged to be able to drive *usual* heterosexual men of the time to the abyss...

The second consideration is that, unlike Luis Marchionni’s old matron -who, remember, leaned on the Pyrenees and extended to Gibraltar- and the many republican representations prior and coetaneous to “the blonde”, on coins of the Second Republic the heads of matrons weren’t covered by mural crowns. This heraldic element had been chosen to crest the coat of arms of Spain in 1868, in times of the Provisional Government, since -as stated before- it was considered a “neutral” element that took no option in the controversy between monarchy and republic.

But in 1873, in the absence of a symbology to appropriately represent the First Republic, that is, given that no officially adopted new state coat

of arms was present, the 1868 coat of arms was again put in circulation in Spain.



Despite its aseptic origins, the mural crown would become a republican emblem in most areas of the Iberian Peninsula, to the point that the Provisional Government of the Second Republic established in April 27, 1931, that the centre of the yellow band on the tricolour flag “shall feature the Coat of arms of Spain, adapting to what appears on the reverse of five-pesetas coins minted by the Provisional Government in 1869 and 1870”.

As stated by José María de Francisco Olmos in “La peseta: nueva unidad monetaria y medio de propaganda política (1868-1936)” (page 168),<sup>3</sup> that was “the first time Spain had a coat of arms unique to the State and all its institutions”, in contrast to the proliferation of heraldic designs having populated the institutional landscape since early 1875.

The 1931 reference to an old coin was very original, indeed, in the emblazoning of countries’ official coat of arms.<sup>4</sup> By the way, unlike models



from the late 19th century, there was no absolute criterion on the lion’s crown on the coat of arms: at times, it wore none -as on the reverse of 1-peseta coins from 1934-, and others it did.

3 In Juan Carlos Galende Díaz and Javier de Santiago Fernández (dirs.): *VII Jornadas Científicas Sobre Documentación Contemporánea (1868-2008)*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2008, pages 121-192

4 “[...] a curious ‘numismatic’ way to tell the State’s organisms and the citizens about the new national symbol’s characteristics”, in Rafael Fera (dir.): *La peseta. Historia de una época*. Madrid: Expansión (Grupo Recoletos), 2002, page 79).



Metallic plaque in the outside of a school (58,5 x 46,5 cm), dated during the Second Spanish Republic, indicating the holding entity and its character as an educational centre: Ministry of Public Instruction · Graded National School for Girls. In this case, the lion on the coat of arms wears a crown on its head.

[Domènech Soler Collection.]

### 3.3 Euzkadi's autonomous government

Article 11th of the Constitution of the Second Republic stated that "If one or several contiguous provinces with common historical, cultural and financial characteristics reach an agreement to organise into an autonomous region to form a core of administrative power within the Spanish State, they shall keep their Statute [...]". Under this provision, Catalonia became autonomous in 1932 and the Basque Country saw its statute approved in October 1936, with the Civil War already underway. Although the text attributed no competence regarding coin to the Basque autonomous government, the conflict's circumstances drove it to mint pieces in the name of the Basque executive. The decree to do so was dated in February 23, 1937, and was published on the following March 17 in the *Diario Oficial del Pais Vasco / Euzkadi'ko Agintaritzaren Egunerokoa (Official Journal of the Basque Country)*:

Lately, a scarcity of fractionary coin has been noticed in the territory under the Government of Euzkadi, which has produced hindrance in commercial transactions.

In order to avoid them, the Euzkadi Government has prepared the issue of one- and two-pesetas nickel coins [...].

Regarding the appearance of these coins' obverse, the legal ruling stated that they should feature the inscription "GOBIERNO DE EUZKADI" (*Government of Euzkadi*), as it effectively did. But the result of this issue was very meaningful from an iconographic perspective, owing to the fact that both values showed a female bust covered by the Phrygian or liberty cap.



The motif wasn't -a priori- to be expected, coming from a government which -despite the presence of members of the Frente Popular- had a majority and clear hegemony of Partido Nacionalista Vasco (Basque

Nationalist Party) militants, a catholic centre right formation allied to the republican cause, mainly because of the finally delivered promise of an autonomous government. Evidently, the image of this obverse -appropriate as it is to French republican tradition, and in being so, so distant from the icons of Basque nationalism- may have been chosen by the central republican authorities themselves: that was the case at almost the same time with the obverse of the iron 5-cent coin from the same year, 1937, manufactured in the Valencian Country and displaying a bust with a Phrygian or liberty cap (as we saw already on an earlier section). The context of issue of metallic coin in Euskadi was the Republic's minister of Revenue, Juan Negrín, forbidding not much earlier the issue of a Basque kind of paper money formed by the issue of cheques from the Bank of Spain in Bilbao.

It's true those nickel pieces seemed to belong to an independent country in their lack of explicit reference to the Spanish republic or Spain, but it is very noticeable that these one and two-peseta coin mints for the Government of Euzkadi didn't use the Basque language in their inscriptions, nor did they use the coat of arms of the autonomous executive on the reverse of these two coins, for example (as had been the case on the obverse of paper money).



Even though the 1st article of the 1936 Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Country stated that "According to the Republic's Constitution and this Statute, Álava, Gipuzkoa, and Biscay constitute an autonomous region within the Spanish State, adopting the name of "Basque Country"", the coat of arms used by the Government of Euzkadi

/ Euzko Jaurlaritza at the time included not only the emblems of Álava, Gipuzkoa and Biscay, but also the Navarrese chains (on the lower right, on the fourth quarter).

It is now time to ponder on the nodal element of this allegory on Basque coins: the red Phrygian or liberty cap. While it is often considered as a solely republican symbol, this consideration should be more nuanced, as the emblem was, for centuries, used exclusively as a symbol signifying liberty. For example, during the French Revolution it was also very present, long before the proclamation of the republic in September 1792; so much so, that we can see it among the elements of the famous painting on the no less celebrated declaration of rights written by the French National Assembly in August 1789.



*The Declaration of rights of men and citizens (1789), by Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier (Musée Carnavalet, Paris).*

We can also see an equivalent disposition on the constitutional two sous coin from 1792 -issued in the name of Louis XVI as (constitutional) king of the French- appearing in the first part of this work. But while all this is true, there's no denying that on many depictions, the female head or figure with the liberty cap has been accompanied -both in France and out of it- by the denomination of a territory's republican regime, and this favoured the identification or symbolic fusion of, on one hand, the Phrygian cap and the bust of full figure of Liberty, and on the other, the depiction of the republic as a form of state.

For the reasons  
for the assimilation  
between the terms phry-  
gian cap and liberty cap,  
see appendix VIII

A last note on coins from Euskadi, beyond the symbolisms of the Phrygian cap: as was the case on coins by Luis Marchionni (from 1869 and 1870) and on those issued by the general authorities of the Second Republic, in the case of Basque pieces we find monetary specimens where no depiction of personal power appears, and thus, they opt for a -female- allegory to remit to the collective; the Basque one, in this case.

During the Civil War, the Generalitat de Catalunya -together with the Basque government, the only institution of territorial autonomous government established according to the provisions of the 1931 Constitution- didn't issue metallic coins, but it did issue paper money.



## 4. THE FRANCOIST REGIME (1936-1975)

### 4.1 Franco's dictatorship before the Succession Law of 1947

General Francisco Franco -a military veteran of the African wars, with great experience in the battlefields of Morocco and in the repression of revolutionary focal points (in Asturias, in 1934)- doubted at first whether to support the insurgency that intended to bring down the Frente Popular government. In the end, he not only participated in the July 1936 uprising, but also -general José Sanjurjo having died in an accident- became the rebellion's highest leader in late September and October 1 of that year (general Emilio Mola's later death, which we are to presume was also accidental further contributed to the "Generalissimo"'s personal power). Although the coup seemed at first to respect the republican state form, the insurgency turning to war brought the creation of a new regime with totalitarian intentions, and that would annihilate the Second Republic to the beat of military campaigns: thus was born the Spanish State built around the figure of Franco and his practically absolute power.

One of the formulas employed for the visualisation of this nascent power -inherited from no one- was the incorporation of the dictator's bust on post stamps, as was common for kings who transmitted their dynastic inheritance from generation to generation: the effigy of who would also be known as the "Chieftain" (*Caudillo*) was featured in Spanish postal values following a ruling in late April 1939, just four weeks after the end of the Civil War. Differently, however, Franco's presence on the obverses of coins wouldn't happen until nine years later.



One of the values in the series of postal stamps with the portrait of general Franco on them, issued in 1939.

During this long period, two monetary motifs were put in circulation which -in the absence of the portrait of the highest ruler- have been interpreted as allegories of the Spanish national community as a whole and, given the hierarchical and militarised nature of the regime, as a depiction of a collective power of sorts in the abstract, which evidently could never be exercised through the democratic mechanisms of political participation (nothing to do, then with the intention behind the allegories of the Provisional Government or the Second Republic).

The first design glorifying this *sui generis* shared power of sorts appeared in 1938, with the war in full swing, on the obverse of a 25-cent piece dated in 1937; besides representing everything the sunrise symbolises (the homeland's rebirth), the coin incorporated an unofficial and quite dynamic version of the yoke and set of arrows, the emblem of the regime's single party, the Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista (*Traditionalist Spanish Phalanx of the Committees of the National Syndicalist Offensive*) (*FET y de las JONS*). It also incorporated the country's toponym -"ESPAÑA"- and two ideological inscriptions: "VNA · GRANDE · LIBRE" (*One great free*), the motto of the francoist state, and "II AÑO TRIVNFAL" (*2nd triumphant year*), a propaganda proclamation which number should increase until the final victory date of April 1, 1939. In contrast with the modernity of this composition, the typography used is in a medieval style (see next page).

The reverse of this coin displayed the laurels of victory and the coat of arms of Spain, used on francoist coins -for 5 and 10 pesetas- dated in Burgos in 1936 which would have no continuity: the quarterly used by the Provisional Government and the First and Second Republic but crested by a medieval-style open royal crown (see next page).



*Por las armas. La patria, el pan y la justicia (Through arms. Country, bread and justice) (1937-1939), by Juan Cabanas (Arxiu General i Fotogràfic de la Diputació de València · Posters b65/4)*



Minting of this 25-cent coin gave credit of the excellent relationship between Franco and fellow German dictator Adolf Hitler: the manufacturing of these pieces was done in Vienna and Berndorf, in *Ostmark*, the new toponym of former Austria, a territory that shortly before had been integrated into the national socialist 3rd Reich.<sup>1</sup>

The second of these pieces we will deal with in this section is antithetic to the former in many aspects: production was carried out in Spain once the war was over, and the main motif on the obverse wasn't a modern political imagotype, but the resurrection of a practically bimillennial design (its possible remote origins even roughly two centuries earlier than that); the toponym wasn't accompanied by militant mottos. In short, tradition had imposed itself over a partial modernity, and francoism embodied in a way the "eternal Spain". Javier de Santiago Fernández (in *La peseta. 130 años de la historia de España*, page

98) accurately described the issue (in truth, two values: -5 and 10 cents- by ruling of an initial decree from May 1940, dated in 1940 and 1941, 1945 and 1953, and minted from 1941 until 1957 and 1960, respectively):

These coins' types [...] display on their obverses a cavalryman with a lance riding towards the right, inspired on the type of Hispanic-Roman coins from Osca, as mentioned in the decree from February 11, 1941. This obverse is nothing but an adaptation of the most characteristic type of coins issued on Iberian cities in the first times of Roman domination over the Peninsula, an iconography that the renamed city of Osca (the old Iberian Bolsacan) had kept. It is an absolute carbon copy, both in the cavalryman's position and in the plumed helmet covering his head and the apron belt and the cuirass he wears. The name of the State, ESPAÑA, is put in the same position as the inscription in Iberian characters -or already Latin, in the case of Osca- had been in before, which in ancient times identified the toponym of the city issuing the coin.

Thus, a francoist coin written in Castilian that was directly inspired by an Iberian-Roman one written in Latin, which derived from even earlier pieces with their inscriptions in Iberian alphabet. But coins with the Iberian rider may have had their faraway origin in Greek Sicily, specifically Syracuse, where currency was issued -from the 3rd century B.C.- were issued after tyrant (who would die a no-nagenarian) Hiero II's victory over the Mamertines.<sup>2</sup>

This is evidently a thought-out ideological choice, taken in the context of the intended second foundation of Spain in the hands of those who'd defeated the forces they considered the embod-

1 The yoke and set of arrows appeared together, overlapping in the falangist way, on coins from francoism, but always in a heraldic context: beside the great "1" on the 1-peseta coin (from 1944) and the lower part of the 50-cent piece honouring the Spanish navy.

2 On the hypothesis regarding the origins of the coins with the Iberian cavalryman, see: Manuel Gozalbes Fernández de Palencia: "Jinetes sin escudo. Las representaciones ecuestres en la Citerior", *Nvmisma*, n° 250, 2006, pages 295-317 <<http://www.tesorillo.com/articulos/mgoz/jinetes.htm>>.

iment of anti-Spain. On this coin, as well as on its smaller sister, the new francoist Spain expressly manifests itself as rooted in ancient history, in the “millennial Hispanic tradition” and “the ancestral roots of the Spanish people”, as Santiago interpreted them (page 99). After all, in the historical discourse divulged from Madrid coexisted, with no major trouble, the glorifications of collective suicide in pro-Roman Sagunto and the collective suicide in anti-Roman Numantia: in truth, both philiias would have been antagonistic, if not for the intervention of a tendency to resolve ideological matters quickly, but they were reconciled for the benefit of a Spanish nationalism that was very essentialist and primordialist, able to distil that both anti- and pro-romans were equally honourable “Spaniards”. This would be the reason in 1941 for the choice of resurrecting a “coin with a rider”, but not just any of the kind, but a hybrid of sorts: the reverse of Augustus of Huesca’s as coin (minted until 14 A.D.), where

the “indigenous” tradition converged with the fruits of Romanisation; an ancestral typology, on one hand, but Latin language on the other. Historical conciliation on a reverse from Augustus; the plural peninsula of old framed



and given meaning -unified- by Rome.<sup>3</sup>

A few last details, though not lesser ones, on

<sup>3</sup> Historical invasions in Spain are judged by the creators of opinion under a very different light: depending on where those entering the country come from, and, in the end, their attitude towards Christianity.

this thrilling issue appeared between 1940 and 1941: first, the unit on the date appearing on it is written in such a way as to resemble the Roman numeral “I”; second, on the aluminium form, the rider’s attire was lightly retouched from the original, in what seemed to be an attempt to add some Roman features to it; lastly, when choosing an armed rider with a lance, they in time dismissed a good deal of coins with non-bellicose riders. But, who among the Spanish rulers at the time didn’t want to seem bellicose? None: military and civilian alike, they had won a three-year war, and if Hitler ended up giving Gibraltar to Franco, as well as an empire in Africa, Spain might join a continental war. The failure in the Hendaye in-

terview -in October 1940- wouldn’t be, evidently, the last word between the two dictators.<sup>4</sup>

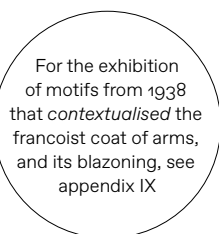
A final word on these first francoist mints: the reverse of these aluminium coins already incorporated the dictatorial regime’s privative coat of arms arranged in quarterings, built taking as a base: a) the Catholic Kings’ coat of arms, with the eagle of St. John linked to Isabel I of Castile; b) the pillars of Hercu-



rial regime’s privative coat of arms arranged in quarterings, built taking as a base: a) the Catholic Kings’ coat of arms, with the eagle of St. John linked to Isabel I of Castile; b) the pillars of Hercu-

<sup>4</sup> Spanish monetary authorities’ behaviour in the ‘40s of the last century could be compared to an event from five decades later: in 1991, the Royal Mint of Spain (Fábrica Nacional de Moneda y Timbre, FNMT, in Madrid) started commercialising their third series of special issues dedicated to Barcelona ‘92, the games of the 25th Olympiad to be held in the capital of Catalonia in 1992; the reverse of one of the silver pieces with a face value of 2000 pesetas showed an Iberian rider, in fact, but instead of attacking with a lance, he carried a palm in his right hand (following a typology that was very recurring in a good number of mints from the ancient *Hispania Citerior*, including some located in current day Catalonia and Valencian Country). Evidently, if a bellicose rider had been featured in that reverse, the initiative would have been in very little consonance with the peaceful “olympic spirit”.

les from the coat of arms of Carlos of Ghent, king of the Spains and emperor of the Holy Roman Empire; and c) Navarre's chains blazon, absent from Isabel and Fernando's coat of arms. The new heraldic ensemble was, evidently, coherent with the regime's discourse about the historical past: the Spain that was to inspire Franco's dictatorship was the one considered to be the most glorious, from the late 15th century and the 16th, that is, the one that was the main actor in events such as: a) the conquest of the emirate of Granada, a military event considered as the final stage of the "Reconquista" (*reconquest*); b) the "discovery", conquest and Christianisation of America, as well as the great overseas journeys that would follow; and c) the forge of an empire confronted to Protestants (the German Lutheran princes) and Muslims (the Ottomans), both enemies of the Catholic faith. The presence of the new coat of arms with



the yoke and set of arrows -elements from the Catholic King's blazon in the sense that it was both monarchs' gallant emblem- allowed for the inclusion of a reference to the Falangist symbol that, precisely, had been formed by the fusion of those two historical emblems.

#### 4.2 Franco's dictatorship after the Law of Succession of 1947

1946 and 1947 monetary laws ruled that Franco would appear on Spanish coins, and although the first regulation would never be put into effect, the second did: it was dated after the proclamation in July 1947 of the Law of Succession of the Head of State.

This law of succession, considered one of those "fundamental" to francoism, stated that "the position of Head of State corresponds to the

Chieftain of Spain and the Crusade, Generalissimo of the army, don Francisco Franco", and this long title -appropriate to the dictatorship's official rhetoric- would be depicted on coins by putting God on them: "FRANCISCO FRANCO CAUDILLO DE ESPAÑA POR LA G[RACIA]. DE DIOS" (*Francisco Franco, Chieftain of Spain by the Grace of God*), as stated on this 5-peseta piece, or nickel duro, minted shortly after the decision was taken that the "Generalissimo"'s portrait



would appear on coins. The bust for this issue was initially designed by a sculptor of such relevance as Valencian Mariano Benlliure, although his proposal suffered a technical adaptation. The resulting portrait remained unchanged until 1966 because, as has been stated with no little degree of irony, "Francisco Franco didn't seem to age".<sup>5</sup>

As was the case with alfonsoine royal pieces (and those of carlist pretenders), the reference to the "Grace of God" linked the francoist dictatorship with the Ancien Régime monarchies of divine right. But, unlike pieces from the Bourbon



restoration and the equivalent carlist behaviour, in Franco's case the traditionalist formula was the

5 Rafael Feria (dir.): *La peseta. Historia de una época*. Madrid: Expansión (Grupo Recoletos), 2002, page 70.



only one used, and would remain so until the regime's last days: consider the 100-pesetas coin, or 20 silver duros, put in circulation with the dictator already elderly, in the times of the Organic Law of the State.

This second monetary portrait of Franco -where one could find a "graphical ascertainment of the General's accelerating senectitude"-<sup>6</sup> was made by Juan de Ávalos, famous for the colossal sculptures in the Valle de los Caídos or his work in the alabaster mausoleum of the Teruel lovers. The coin carried in its edge the motto of the francoist regime with a *desideratum* about Spain: "UNA GRANDE LIBRE" (*One Great Free*) (these words were also present around the neck of the eagle in the official coat of arms).

Javier de Santiago Fernández (in *La peseta. 130 años de la historia de España*, page 103) highlighted that the formula used, "POR LA G[RA-CIA]. DE DIOS" on Franco coins is "[...] a way to legitimise himself, in the absence of a dynastic tradition or a Constitution. At the same time, this divine imbuing of his power should relate to the Crusade's spirit, its defence of Catholicism and the Catholic hierarchy's explicit support of the Regime". Also (pages 102-103),

[...] the use of the term "CAUDILLO" (Chief-tain) has clear connotations. It has no institutional character, nor is it official; it is Franco who proclaims himself the "Chief-tain" of the Spanish people, and so the title acquires a charismatic, absolutely personal character. Its precedents are likely medieval, as this was the time when king-chieftains appeared in the Peninsula who, in the face of the Muslim invasion, got together the reign's forces and become providential leaders, saving the people in a dangerous situation. The parallelism with the time we are studying is clear; by using this title, Franco intended to transmit the idea of being a



guide, protector and saviour of the Spanish people, with a clearly paternalist character, against the dangers represented by Marxism.

6 Rafael Fera (dir.): *La peseta. Historia de una época*. Madrid: Expansión (Grupo Recoletos), 2002, page 70.

Photograph of Spanish dictator Francisco Franco in a 1969 issue of Argentinian magazine *Siete días Ilustrados* dedicated to Franco's Spain. The character's physical aspect practically coincides with that depicted by sculptor Juan de Ávalos in 1966, on the occasion of the production of the obverse of the 100-pesetas silver coin (except the double chin was lifted in the coin, and not in the photograph)



As a comparison between, on the one hand, francoist dictatorship and, on the other, the behaviour of the far right European dictators that supported him during the Civil War, remember the portrait of *Führer* Ad-

olf Hitler -head of state of Germany since 1934- appeared in many occasions on German post stamps, but not once on monetary pieces from the country (a space reserved to dead president Paul von Hindenburg, on 2- and 5-Reichsmark coins).

Regarding Benito Mussolini, despite having become dictator of Italy, he was never the head of state (it was king Victor Emmanuel III who held the title): thus, no coins were minted in Italy with Mussolini's bust, although some commemorative stamps were issued with the *Duce's* figure on them. When, well into World War 2, the Italian Social Republic of Italy was proclaimed with Mussolini as head of state, in this ephemeral puppet-state -in the hands of nazis- stamps didn't depict him (and, besides, no coins were minted at all).

In regard to the use of the francoist coat of arms on regime monetary issues, it should be kept in mind that, before the 1947 Law of Succession, the "eagle" coat of arms was featured on 5- and 10-cent aluminium coins -which we've already seen- and also on a 1-peseta coin (called "peseta de a uno", produced in copper and aluminium, dated in 1944). During the years that coins normally displayed the dictator's effigy, the francoist blazon was also practically omnipresent on currency: the eagle appeared on the copper and aluminium peseta (minted from 1948 to 1975), the 2,50-peseta, also made of copper and aluminium (1954-1971), and the big nickel duro coin (1949-

1952), but also on the small duro coin (or 5-pesetas cupronickel coin, 1958-1975), on the 5-duros coin (or 25-pesetas, also in the same metal, 1958-1975) and the 10-duros coin (or 50-pesetas cupronickel coin, 1958-1975). On these three last cases, the coat of arms on the obverse showed a lesser version -also known as "bureaucratic", without the emblem arranged in quarterings- of the coat of arms, with the emblems of Castile, Leon, the Crown of Aragon, Navarre and Granada only appearing once.

Evidently, the bureaucratic version of the dictatorship's coat of arms picked up the Provisional Government and Second Republic's quarterly, except for the type of crown, the eagle of St. John and the yoke and set of arrows. Castile holds a place of preference, with Leon taking the second place of honour in the heraldic composition, and so on: the Crown of Aragon, Navarre, and Granada in fifth place. About this reverse's aesthetic appearance, there's no doubt that for its time, it's a modern conception, with a magnificent design that deviates from traditionalist canon.

## 5. THE BOURBON ESTABLISHMENT, THE 1978 CONSTITUTION AND THE PARLIAMENTARY MONARCHY (1975-2017)

### 5.2 Juan Carlos I before the 1978 Constitution

In 1969 Franco named Juan Carlos de Bourbon and Bourbon as his successor as head of state, which led to him entering the scene with the title of “Prince of Spain”. The succession would be effective upon the dictator’s -former “Chieftain”- death, and the prince would become king of Spain in November 1975.

The inscription on coins for the new monarch would show no inscription making a reference to “the Grace of God” (a very meaningful political aspect, given the extensive francoist use of this legitimising formula), and the obverse only read “JUAN CARLOS I REY DE ESPAÑA” (*Juan Carlos I King of Spain*). This act

put the coins in line *-no lens volens-* with what had been the rule during the reigns of Amadeo I, Alfonso XII before the 1876 Constitution and Alfonso XIII after the establishment of Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship.

When the designs of the first coins in the name of Juan Carlos were made public, not only did the absence of the reference to “the Grace of God” not go unnoticed, ever so present as it was on francoist pieces: it was also pointed out that, while Franco looked right on coins, the king looked left, and there were those who wanted to see a cryptic political message of some sort in the portrait’s change in orientation. But the veracity of this speculation has never been accredited.

In any event, while the inscriptions on the first coins issued for Juan Carlos I already deviated perceptibly from francoist times, this was not the case with some of the reverses we’ll show here: the new reign’s formal continuity with the former regime had its maximum iconographic

expression in monetary form on the reverses of 1- and 100-peseta (or 20 duros) coins. The same continuity was on display on the edges of 25-, 50- and 100-peseta coins, which kept the francoist

motto “UNA GRANDE LIBRE” (*One Great Free*) (in the case of 25 and 50-peseta pieces, their edges remained as such until 1982; 100-peseta coins, until 1980, the date of the last issue in this format).



For a compilation of motifs from 1938 that contextualised the francoist coat of arms, and for its emblazoning, see appendix IX

### 5.2 Juan Carlos I after the 1978 Constitution

The proclamation in December 1978 of the Constitution brought no change in the formulation of inscriptions on coins. The new Magna Carta stated the monarch’s title to be “King of Spain”, besides establishing that the head of state could also use the other titles corresponding to the Crown.

Here, we reproduce the obverse of a 100-peseta piece minted in 1980 to announce the celebration of the 1982 football world championship. The inscription on the edge is still “UNA GRANDE LIBRE”, as we’ve already seen, and the obverse shows no allusion to the Spanish monarch’s power being limited by the Constitution (it only reads “JUAN CARLOS I REY



DE ESPAÑA”). As such, these two inscriptions could mislead us to think they come from his reign’s early days, before the 1978 Constitution was proclaimed.

The year after this 100-peseta coin was minted, the francoist state coat of arms ceased to be official, and the one currently in use was approved, but the coin commemorating the ’82 world championship would still boast “the eagle”, that is, the previous regime’s iconographic heritage, and in doing so, the clear traces of the king’s reign having been legitimised by the francoist regime, up until the issue with the “82” star.

The bill supporting the state coat of arms being changed -originally prepared by the Socialist Group- entered the Congress of Deputies on November 23, 1979, and was accepted for procedure in February 27, 1980 (with the Centre Group’s support), to come to fruition as late as October 1981, more than seven months after the attempted coup in February 23, 1981.



For the centre group’s response, in the February 1980 meeting, to the socialist proposal to change the state coat of arms, see appendix X. To access the political inscriptions on coin edges, see appendix XI



The first coins to feature the new coat of arms were the “white” aluminium 1-peseta coin and the 100-peseta coin of 1982: the latter was very popular and included commemorative reverses without the state coat of arms.

The last time Spain’s current coat of arms was engraved on 100-peseta coins was in the year 2000.

Besides the political and parliamentary avatars of the state coat of arms, we still find another blazon related to the francoist legitimization of the monarchy established in 1975. In fact, Juan Carlos, as king of Spain, has held a private coat of arms ever since 1971, which appeared on the reverse of 5- and 50-pesetas coins minted since 1976: this design remained in use until 1989 in the case of 5-peseta or duro coins, and until 1984 on 50-pesetas or 10-duro pieces, to reappear from 1998 to 2000 on the reduced in size and peculiarly-shaped- 50-pesetas coins.



The coat of arms we’re dealing with -which has also appeared on post stamps and three Bank of Spain notes- is practically identical to the one Juan Carlos I held as “Prince of Spain, save for the crown: as a prince, the crest had four pearled diadems (3 visible), and as king, it would feature eight (five visible). The projected coat of arms was in preparation from autumn of 1970, and picked up suggestions made to Juan Carlos I by military and historian Dalmiro de la Válgoma y Díaz-Varela.<sup>1</sup>

The prince’s emblem was described in the BOE (Boletín Oficial del Estado, Official State Gazette) -Decree from April 22, 1971, on BOE from April 26, 1971- as follows:

1 Faustino Menéndez-Pidal de Navascués: “El escudo de España”, Faustino Menéndez-Pidal de Navascués, Hugo O’Donnell y Duque de Estrada and Hugo and Begoña Lolo Herranz: *Simbolos de España*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales y Políticos, 2000, page 15-225; quote on page 220.



“As symbols of the Movimiento Nacional (National Movement), the coat of arms has the red cross of Burgundy accollated, and, to its points’ side, the yoke Gules in its proper position with ribbons of the same and the set of five arrows Gules with their tips down and ribbons of the same”



Standard of Juan Carlos de Bourbon and Bourbon as "Prince of Spain".

These “Movimiento Nacional” symbols -the Burgundy cross appropriated by carlists and the yoke and set of arrows appreciated by falangists- have accompanied Juan Carlos I throughout his reign, and haven’t disappeared either from the coat of arms, standard or guidon of he who is now king emeritus; however, the blazon’s description after the monarch accessed the throne -Decree from January 21, 1977 on BOE from July 1, 1977- refrained from all explicit reference to the “Movement”. From then on, these controversial elements appeared -and still do- on Juan Carlos

I’s coat of arms with no line of argument or official explanation behind them.



Standard for Juan Carlos I as monarch of Spain, with the coat of arms that would appear on 5- and 50-pesetas coins. Regarding the collar around the blazon, the Golden Fleece, it had appeared on no Spanish

coin since 1904.

Javier de Santiago Fernández gave the version we’ll take as “politically correct” of the reasons for the presence of the cross of Burgundy and the yoke and set of arrows on Juan Carlos I’s coat of arms in page 113 of *La peseta. 130 años de la*

*historia de España*:

“As exterior ornaments, the cross of St. Andrew (or Burgundy paletts) was added, this being a heraldic sign often linked to the army since the times of the House of Austria [...], and the traditional yoke and set of arrows, intended as a homage to the unity of Spain achieved by the marriage of the Catholic Kings, as the Royal Academy of History’s report accredited at the time, breaking any link between these signs and any political interpretation”.

This is, evidently, a reinterpretation of symbols that -in 1971- everyone knew why they were there, starting with prince Juan Carlos. The aforementioned report, then, attempted to create an argument *pro domo* for the monarchy.



### 5.3 Juan Carlos I before and after the euro

The piece opening this section was originally minted in 1987 to celebrate the 25th wedding anniversary of the King

and Queen of Spain. Acceptance of the module by the users, and monetary authorities’ decision to keep the obverse’s motif, allowed, against all odds, for an initially commemorative design to remain in use for nearly fifteen years, until the peseta was substituted by the euro. In any event, this composition doesn’t emphasise as clearly as may be expected the couple’s royal condition: thus, nowhere on the coin can one read “REYES DE ESPAÑA”, or any equivalent expression.

All this would be a way to emphasise the characters’ s human dimension, as they’re simply introduced as “JUAN CARLOS I Y SOFÍA”, in an inscription whose only nod to royalty is the ordinal after Juan Carlos’ name. This is a relevant design for Spanish numismatics (with some precedents in the history of medals), intending to point out the will of monarchic institutions -a will proclaimed constantly since 1975- to “be close” to citizens; the king and queen portrayed on this mint almost seem to be a *normal* couple,

almost like any other couple celebrating their silver wedding.

But how would the user know these pieces are a commemoration of that wedding? The answer lies on the coin's edge, where two interlaced wedding bands appear by two crowns.

The fact that Doña Sofía's head appears in the background, partially covered by Juan Carlos', is emphasising the queen's role as consort monarch -with no constitutionally-provided functions as such, save in the case of regency; expliciting her husband, the king's pre-eminence.

One last aspect to consider: the royal couple's appearance on monetary pieces has been exceptional in Iberian latitudes (unlike on postal stamps). In fact, we'd have to look back as far as gold coins issued in the name of Fernando of Aragon and Isabel of Castile, the Catholic Kings, or of Carlos I and his mother, Juana, where the portraits of each monarch in the couple faced each other, or to 1898, when the busts of king Carlos I and queen Amelia of Portugal were depicted on some commemorative silver coins on the occasion of commemorating the 400th anniversary of Vasco de Gama's overseas trip (he was the navigator who, in 1498, established the route between western Europe and India after passing the Cape of Good Hope). On these two Portuguese pieces, the double portrait also gave pre-eminence to the king -Carlos in this case- to his wife's loss, but these monarchs appeared in "royal" attire, unlike on 500-peseta (or 100-duro) coins, showing Juan Carlos I and Sofía's heads bare.

But the chapter on the exceptionalities of contemporary Spanish numismatics isn't closed by the obverse on this 500-peseta coin. As a matter of fact, the 200-peseta one first minted in 1990 is a true milestone: "[...] the obverse on these pieces is again innovative, in the sense that it shows [...] the king and his heir's busts, in order to reinforce the idea of monarchical continuity. Never before had an heir to the throne appeared on Spanish coins", as José María de Francisco Olmos points out in his article "Estudio de la tipología monetaria como documento propagandístico de la

evolución política española (1975-2003)".<sup>2</sup> Indeed, as Ana Vico Belmonte and José María de Francisco Olmos himself point out, "the presence of the reigning monarch and his heir hadn't appeared on (peninsular) Spanish coin since Visigoth times".<sup>3</sup> On postal stamps, prince Felipe appeared for the first time in December 1977, and on the first 1000-peseta bill issued by the Bank of Spain -with a ruling of issue of 1985-, which had him as its human protagonist on its reverse.

The prince's presence -with or without Juan Carlos- on stamps, bills or coins hasn't, though, constituted a depiction of power shared with his father. If we stick exclusively to the field of monetary issues, we should emphasise the fact that the busts' position -which character is front of which- shows preference, while also confirming the inequality between

the two. On the 200-peseta coin -where Juan Carlos' portrait overshadows that of his son-, power is held, then, by the monarch proclaimed in 1975; besides, the only title on the coin is "JUAN CARLOS I REY DE ESPAÑA", as usual.

One of the most prominent characteristics of the last private Spanish monetary system was the appearance -on obverses, reverses, or both of 5-, 10-, 25-, 50-, 100- and 200-peseta pieces- of patrimonial elements, characters, events, imagotypes, etc. specifically linked to the 16 autonomous communities, the fuero community and the two autonomous cities Spain is divided into as a consequence of the proclamation of the 1978 Constitution (nationalities and regions in the "Spain of autonomies"). Unlike all other "autonomies" save for Catalonia, Andalusia and Galicia, the Royal Mint had never minted a coin



2 On Volume 15, nº 2 of the *Revista General de Información y Documentación*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2005, pages 5-38; quote on page 21.

3 *Introducción a la numismática*. Madrid: Paraninfo, 2016, page 151.

dedicated to the Valencian Community. The only piece adorned with a motif related to the Valencia Country was -in 1993- the one that featured Joan



Lluís Vives on it.

The territories most featured on the obverses or reverses of these “autonomic” pieces were four: Galicia, with 6, Catalonia and Andalusia with 8 each, and Madrid with 15, fundamentally attending to the event of the Jubilee (Xacobeo) and the Camino de Santiago (*Pilgrimage of Compostela*), the celebration in 1992 of the 25th Olympic Games in Barcelona and the Universal Exhibition in Seville, Madrid becoming that year’s European cultural capital, and the rooting in the capital of Spain of great reference cultural institutions. Navarre got to be represented on these coins with 2 obverses and 2 reverses, and the other 14 territories with just 1 obverse and 1 reverse.

Nationalities and regions	Pieces dedicated (Obverse and reverse)	Motif on Obverse	Motif on reverse	Total
Andalusia		3	5	8
Aragon	x			2
Asturias	x			2
Balearic Islands	x			2
Basque Country / Euskadi	x			2
Canary Islands	x			2
Cantabria	x			2
Castile and Leon	x			2
Castile-La Mancha	x			2
Catalonia		3	5	8
Ceuta	x			2

Extremadura	x			2
Galicia		3	3	6
Madrid	x	3	10	15
Melilla	x			2
Murcia	x			2
Navarre	x	1	1	4
Rioja, La	x			2
Valencian Community		1	1	2

Source: José María Aledón: *La peseta. La moneda española de 1868 a 2001 y los billetes desde 1783 hasta 2001*. Valencia: self-published, 2003, pages 96-111 [bound with *El euro. Las monedas de la Unión Europea acuñadas desde 1999 hasta 2003*].

Despite the last coins expressed in pesetas being dated in 2001, there are Spanish coins for the Euro system with their year of issue stated as 1999. This was the starting point in the latter part of Juan Carlos I’s reign in regard to monetary issue. Just in case, a reminder: on the European Central Bank (ECB)’s website, Eurosistema states that “Unlike banknotes, euro coins are still the competence of each country, and not the ECB”. However, “if a country in the Euro zone wishes to issue a coin with a new design [...], it must inform the European Commission”<sup>4</sup>

Having said that, we should also bear in minds that the project for a European single currency took years to be put in practice, but in the last days of the last century and early of the current, it became a tangible reality:

On January 1, 1999, the euro became the currency for more than 300 million Europeans. During the first three years, it was a non-circulating coin, and was only used for accounting purposes, such as electronic payments. Cash in euros didn’t start circulating until January 2002, the date it replaced national banknotes and coins [...]

<sup>4</sup> Said website is available in 23 languages, Castilian being one of them, but none other of those considered official in Spain.

at irrevocable exchange rates.

The Eurozone doesn't correspond to the whole of the European Union (EU); in parallel, the Euro (EUR, €) is the currency for countries outside *integrated* Europe.

Euro coins and banknotes are currently legal tender for 19 out of the 28 member states of the European Union, including their overseas territories and those on islands that are part of said states or with a statute of association with them. These countries form the zone of the euro. Microstates Andorra, Monaco, San Marino and Vatican City also use the Euro in virtue of a formal agreement with the European Union. Montenegro and Kosovo



also use the single currency, even though there is no formal agreement.

On the subject of Spanish coins, with the exception of the 2014 issue we'll focus on later,

2- and 1-euro -non-commemorative- coins are reserved for the figure of the head of state in function. Indeed, together with the 12- star crown of the EU, these pieces only display the reigning monarch's effigy: from 1999 to 2014, that of Juan Carlos I -through a slightly unusual "three quarter" portrait -and later, that of his son, Felipe VI -this in classic profile. This bust, though, isn't

accompanied by the king's name, nor any title or even a small monogram with the character's initials; we only see the date, the mint's monogram -the crested "M" of the Madrid Royal Mint- and the state's toponym, displayed only in Castilian: "ESPAÑA".

The use of Spanish languages other than Castilian on coins minted in the Kingdom of Spain's mints are and were very rare. The same has been and is the case for postal stamps, and none of the banknotes issued in the name of the Bank of Spain included inscriptions in a language but Castilian.

According to Fabio Gigante & Cayón's work *Eurocoins. Coins y billetes del euro*<sup>5</sup> (page 25a), in the case of Spanish coins in the euro system, the motifs were chosen by the Spanish Government President, José María Aznar".

Back to the absence of the royal name and title: intending to appear as a monarchy that's "close" to the people -representing itself less emphatically, according to democratic custom- may suppose the use of daring executories. And it is, indeed, daring that on 1- and 2-euro Spanish pieces with the royal portrait, Juan Carlos -as would Felipe after him- is as equal to the rest of citizens as to become anonymous, and the coins' design to not even imply that he is the monarch (we can only guess that he's the head of State, and no further details). On these pieces, in the current context of "democratic" and "modern" monarchies in Europe, the highest ruling position in government would be minimally identifiable at first sight, and this falls in line with government decision-makers having opted out of iconographic grandiloquence or pomposity, as well as of the instruments of power propaganda formerly present on currency. Even the reproduced image is devoid of the basic resources of political communication traditionally in place to show the mere presence of Kings (such as the monarch's name and title). On these metallic objects we carry in our pockets, the powerful -now- decidedly depict themselves as *normal people*, as plain citizens we could have a

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5 Madrid: Jano, 2003.



coffee with at a corner bar (only that, upon paying for the coffee, their effigy would show up in our wallets or purses).

#### 5.4 Felipe VI head of state in a parliamentary monarchy of the Eurozone

All the points we've raised in the previous section concerning the treatment of the figure of the king



of Spain on 1- and 2-euro coins apply fully in the case of Felipe VI. No name, no royal title or ordinal, no monogram, no language other than Castilian (Spanish) [↓].

But as we announced earlier, we'd like to focus on a special issue deserving special attention. It is, indeed, a commemorative [↑] 2-euro piece from 2014 adorned with a unique image: Felipe VI's portrait -that is, the bust of the new king- over that of the king who's just given up the throne, Juan Carlos I (certainly, a negative version of the obverse of the 200-peseta piece we described earlier). The circumstances of transmission of power from father to son would certainly have been absolutely different just a few years earlier: the abdication had been forced by a series of events that -upon being known by the public or happening in a very short time span- had eroded the monarchic institution's prestige. The list of matters that made up that absolute spiral towards abdication included accusations of corruption on members of the royal family, and the "discovery" of the monarch having had extra-marital sentimental relationships, as well as the verification of him having kept money in Swiss accounts. As was to be expected, the 2-euro coin only put into metal the final result of that year's bustle: the arrival of a new effective monarch and

the maintenance as king emeritus (a journalistic, but not legal, term) of his father. Pure institutional run-of-the-mill stuff, and again, with no name or mention of royal dignity.

We should mention, though, that on the composition chosen to reflect the transition between the two kings, Juan Carlos' face is heavily cut out: it could be compared to the treatment his wife Sofia received in the 500-peseta coin, and also

to the space occupied by -then- Prince of Asturias (and Girona, and Viana, and duke of Montblanc, count of Cervera and liege of Balaguer) on the obverse of the big format 200-peseta piece.



Standard of Felipe VI as king, with a crimson background -traditional for Hispanic royalty-, perceptibly deviating from the blue used on standards and guidons by his father, Juan Carlos I. A great difference is also noted between both coats of arms: the royal emblem no longer features the cross of Burgundy or the yoke and set of arrows, precisely the elements described by francoist authorities in 1971 as "symbols of the Movimiento Nacional". It is, symbolically, a whole new era. And also, a trigger for us to ask this: if the "cross of Burgundy (or Burgundy pal- etts) is a "heraldic symbol very linked to the army since the times of the Austrias", and the "traditional yoke and set of arrows" has its *raison d'être* "in being a homage to the unity of Spain achieved by the marriage of the Catholic Kings", as noted at the time by the Royal Academy of History's report, "denying any link between said symbols and any political interpretations", if so, how come the coat of arms of Juan Carlos I's son is missing the Burgundian cross and the yoke and set of arrows?

One last note on coins in Felipe's reign: some of the commemorative mints on noble metal -which despite being legal tender have no effective circulation- have displayed Felipe VI's portrait surrounded by the royal title; then, the obverses of these gold and silver coins have included the inscription "FELIPE VI REY DE ESPAÑA", with no mention of the constitutional limits of monarchical power and following the model set by the reigns of Amadeo I, Alfonso XII before the 1876 Constitution, Alfonso XIII during Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, and also Juan Carlos I throughout his time as effective king.

#### 5.5 The European Union's Eurozone



We wouldn't want to finish our overview of personal or collective power on display on Spanish coins without showing what undoubtedly constitutes the new monetary tradition from an iconographic

point of view, forged by European institutions: it is located on the common side of 1- and 2-euro coins and, with a different artistic composition, on 10-, 20- and 50-cents of euro coins.

The European Central Bank's website described this design as a geographical depiction of Europe, that is, a map of the Old Continent with no inside borders. Before January 1, 2007, the map was coherent with the European Union as it stood before the extension in January 1, 2004, though perceptibly (very much so in the case of cents coins) indicating the borders between states.<sup>6</sup> These initial fragmentary depictions were coherent with the fact that,

The euro was installed as a materially effective mechanism that could simultaneously be designed in a symbolically striking way, in order to further strengthening identification of and with Europeanness. In general, this new identity is not intended to substitute for national identifications, but just to add a new, transnational level, as the E[uropean]U[nion] is not intended as a federation that would replace nation states. [...]

The currency is explicitly treated by the EU itself (for instance in the draft constitution from 2003) in terms of an identifying symbol, and not only (or even primarily) as practical tool for economic value transfer. Indeed, the euro does signify one of the four fundamental 'free movements' for the EU

-goods, services, people and money- but none of the other three has in any similar way been transformed into a key symbol.<sup>7</sup>

In sight of all this, we may wonder what European citizens in 2017 should imply by the inclusion of this map with no borders -and neither Iceland nor Turkey, and with the Canary Islands and Cyprus in incorrect positions- on the European single currency. We know maps are abstractions or representations helping us visualise -"imagine" in the sense described by Benedict Anderson-<sup>8</sup> communities inhabiting the planet, and that they're the means for cartographers to represent reality. We also know that when a map depicts in a more or less precise way the profile of a political entity, this images then "becomes a patriotic allegory", in the words of María Carmen Montaner.<sup>9</sup> But what may be happening in these times of flagrant European separation, of North-South fractures and multi-state buildings threatening to collapse, is that this design -with Europe floating in such an undivided, naturally integrated, *map-as-logo* form, to use Anderson's own words- seems deeply inconsequent with the euro crisis (deeply ingrained as it was with the Great Recession of the first decade of this century).

In this sense, it is very paradoxical to think that in times of unrest regarding the European union's very existence in the future and the -neoliberal- ideological and financial paradigm of its behaviour, coins sitting in our pockets sing the never-seen-before unity of Europe (in keeping with the wishes of their "founding fathers"), and that power is in the hands of everyone inhabiting the map's limits. Frankly, a *contradictio in terminis*.

6 "Italian coins (including those from San Marino and Vatican City), Austria and Portugal show the most recent design only if their year of issue is 2008 or later" (<<https://www.ecb.europa.eu/euro/coins/common/html/index.es.html>>).

7 Johan Fornäs: "8. Currency", in *Signifying Europa*. Bristol / Chicago: Intellect / University of Chicago Press, 2012, pages 205-249.

8 *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.

9 "Mapes de Catalunya: de la imatge al símbol", *Revista de Catalunya* 137 (febrer). Barcelona: Fundació Revista de Catalunya, 1999, pages 59-76; quote on page 60.

is between the discourse appearing on coins on one hand -designed in times of apparent economic bonanza and political consensus, of believable integration despite the failure of the project for a European Constitution-, and, on the other hand, what may be perceived as the real world of today. There is one last question we consider to be timely about it: in the context of violent fluctuation in risk premiums over countries' bonds, what kind of currency is a single European currency with no Eurobonds? The answer to this and many other likely questions -of similar tone- may start here:

Although the participating member-state governments primarily justified their adoption of the single currency on economic grounds, citing the expected positive returns of greater financial stability, economic efficiency, price transparency, and lower interest rates and transaction costs, the historical record nonetheless suggests that their original pursuit of monetary integration was not especially well-founded in economic theory [....].



Their initial commitment to adopt the euro, moreover, was at least as much politically motivated as it was economically motivated [...]. Regardless of its potential economic risks, adopting the euro was imperative in order to facilitate the larger political project "of building a Europe that was integrated politically as well as economically" [...].

The common face of this German commemorative piece from 2008 ought to show the map of all Europe, but instead -as a consequence of a mistake- the coin only incorporates a map of the states in the European Union, and that without the eastern countries: the cartography on the first 1- and 2-euro coin mints, started in 1999. This

piece's national side shows St. Michael's church in Hamburg: in 2008, this federated state was to house the Bundesrat presidency, the parliamentary chamber for German *Länder*. The letter "F" appearing in the coin's field refers to the mint of production, Stuttgart, where the aforementioned erroneous inclusion of the map happened.





APPENDIX O  
**La Semeuse by Oscar Roty,**  
 far beyond coins



**LA FRANCE L'ALLEMAGNE**  
 Même dans le timbre-poste  
 chacune des deux nations se représente  
 telle qu'elle se voit, telle qu'elle se sent.

La France semeuse, reine d'éternel lin, dans le grand geste ouvert des semences, étend à tous les vœux les grains de la civilisation.  
 Espérance de merveilleux labours, elle étend ses épaules fleuries, ses promesses inviolées, les découvertes paternelles du génie français : elle étend avec amour elle qui vous sème, peuple de la terre, vous récoltez l'âme et qu'un jour vous donnez, pour l'humanité, l'incroyable million.

L'Allemagne, à la face dure, est comblée d'une couronne mailles ; son sein ramène dans le sein égoïste qui se voit au dedans : capitale de mailles, cette reine serra ses poignets de chaînes, c'est la semence. Les millions se répandent par deux rondelles de métal bombé, dérivant quel serait l'effacement matériel pour l'humanité à moins qu'elle n'ait le chercher dans cette fermeté.

(Extrait d'une allocation prononcée par M. PAUL HERVIEU, de l'Académie Française).



**LES CERCLES DE L'ARMÉE**  
 Organe général de ravitaillement intellectuel et moral de l'Armée  
 117, avenue des Champs-Élysées, Paris, 8<sup>e</sup>

**ALLEMAGNE**

« Germania emplit le cadre du timbre rien qu'avec la moitié de son corps. La face dure est casquée d'une couronne massivement forgée. Une seule main a pu se lever à un angle, menée dans le sens égoïste qui est vers soi-même ; et, avec un gantelet de mailles, cette main serre une poignée de glaive. La poitrine est cuirassée ; et deux rondelles de métal bombé indigènes : quel serait l'effacement matériel pour l'humanité à naître, quand celle-ci aurait à le chercher « sans cette fermeté » »

Paul HERVIEU, de l'Académie Française.

**EUX & NOUS**

**FRANCE**

« Cette Semeuse, par contre, semble toute avinée dans l'espérance, et autour d'elle, on distingue des horizons, de la place pour tous on devine de l'air respirable, de la lumière, de la liberté sous le soleil. Dans le grand geste ouvert des semences, ce que la France offre visiblement aux sillons de l'ennemi, ce sont les grains de sa civilisation, haute, profonde, que tant d'illustres siècles ont développés, afin que vous aussi, peuples de la terre, vous récoltiez vous tous, et que nous fussions ensemble l'universelle moisson. »

Paul HERVIEU, de l'Académie Française.

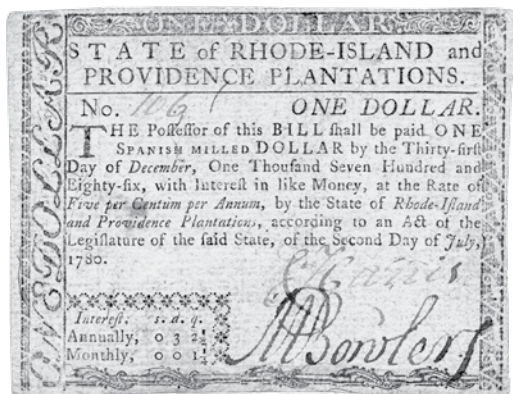
Édité par "LA GRANDE GUERRE" par les "GRANDS ÉCRIVAINS" (Mondadori, 19, boulevard Montmartre, Paris, Ab 6 fr. par an)  
 Mémoriser les tout et choisir le meilleur Le n° 01.25



## APPENDIX I

### The economic power of a symbol of royal power

Spanish 8-reales coins (*reales de a ocho* or pieces of eight in English) are considered the first truly universal, global coin, circulating through most of the planet. This monetary species kept its international hegemony through the Silver age, from the mid-16th to early-19th centuries: for example, Hispanic 8-reales coins remained as -very present- legal tender in the United States until 1857 (many notes from this country's bank used the image of what they called *Spanish milled dollar*, to strengthen the credibility of their paper money).



Obverse of a one dollar note issued by the state of Rhode Island and the Providence Plantations in the first days of independence of the United States. Note the reference to the *Spanish milled dollar*. The image comes from the National Museum of American History (in New York).

Regarding the 8-reales coins displaying -since 1732/1733- the globes or hemispheres flanked by columns and crested by a crown (known as *columnas y mundos* [pillars and worlds] in historical documentation, and nowadays as *Pillar dollar* in English), its prestige was beyond any doubt: unlike prior issues carelessly pounded by hammer, which suffered a great fraud operation in mid-17th century Potosí, these mechanical mints -produced in a machine press- kept their weight and silver content untouched during their 40-year period of production: besides, the new 8-reales coins had a ridged rim, making it impossible to file

or cut small pieces from them (the latter activity, called severing, was a very easy crime to commit back when the coin had an irregular edge).

The fact that these coins were more expensive to produce would justify the decrease in weight and fineness -or percentage of noble metal in the alloy- of these mints compared to previous ones (now generally called *macuquinas*, [coined by hammer]): following a royal document from June 9, 1728 (on the purity of silver and the size or weight of pieces), and the royal decree from September 8 of the same year (regarding monetary type), the apparition of the *Pillar dollar* meant a reduction in the weight of 8-reales coins from 27,468 grams to 27,064, and went from being produced in silver of 930,555 thousandths to a grade of 916,666. All this meant their content in pure silver went from 25,560 grams to 24,808, almost  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a gram less.

Production of the “pillars and worlds 8-reales coins” ended in 1772, and the next type to appear was the type called *de busto* (bust, or Portrait dollar at the time). The operation brought with it a small decrease in the fineness of pieces, and in this case, there were no technical reasons for it: the new types -which allowed to introduce the royal portrait of the Spanish monarchs systematically on silver mint (which also meant spreading the physical image of who held the highest rank of power in the kingdom)- were made in 902,777 thousandths silver, so the coins' content in fine metal, that is, pure silver, is 24,432 grams (almost 0,4 grams less than the worlds or hemispheres type). The executory was repeated in 1786, down to 895,833 thousandths and 24,244 grams (almost 0,2 grams less). These parameters would remain unmovable until the end of this issue, at the end of Fernando VII's reign.

For a diagram of the evolution in grade and some Spanish silver coins' weights, see appendix XII

Altogether, from ca. 1550 to the first third of the 19th century, this universal coin lost a bit more than 1,3 grams of pure silver per unit: a decrease that -when we consider the 275-plus years passed- defines a good stability in terms of its noble metal content. This characteristic is a very decisive condition, although not enough, to be a trustworthy international trade coin, which was effectively the case of the 8-reales coin. It is true, though, that this wasn't the practically absolute stability that was the calling card of the Venetian gold ducato, renamed *zecchino*, for more than five centuries: from 1284 to 1797. Nor can we compare the most international of monetary species from the Hispanic world to the *solidus* -*solidus* in Latin, *nomisma* in Greek- of Romans and Byzantines, stable in its pure gold content from its creation in the 4th century to well into the 11th (the absolute record in this monetary competition of sorts).

Neither is the 8-reales coin benefitted when compared to Athenian silver tetradrachmas: these were issued with some interruptions from 512 to 50 B.C.: that is, for a bit longer than four and a half centuries. And while original specimens weighed between 17 and 17,5 grams, the last issues -now known as "new style"- would oscillate between 16,25 and 16,95 grams (at worst, a gram and a quarter decrease in more than 470 years).

Thus, the loss of 1,3 grams in 275 years keep the "reales de a ocho" from any of the "top three" in a ranking that would be defined by the lengthy -over centuries- lasting of an issue, and its little or no decrease in its noble metal content. But we would be considering a fourth place throughout the 26-plus century history of coins.



Image of the reverse of an 8-reales coin in the name of Carlos III de Bourbon, with the mark of the Mexico City mint, then under Spanish rule. Over the left column we see the imperial crown, while the right column holds the original design's royal crown.

«The major variation in design springs from the replacement of the royal crown a top the left of the two Pillars of Hercules by an imperial crown to betoken the importance of the empire over which Ferdinand VI ruled. The usage commenced in 1754 by México City [...], was followed by Chile in 1760 and by Lima nine years later [...]. Guatemala, New Granada and Potosí abstained» (Frank F. Gilboy: *The milled columnarios of Central and South America. Spanish American pillar coinage, 1732 to 1772*. Regina, Saskatchewan · Canadá: Prairie Wind Publishing Inc., 1999, págs. 50-51)

## APPENDIX II

### The obverse of the 5-peseta coin for the Provisional Government (and other issues with the same motif)

The presence of the toponym "ESPAÑA" on the 1870 silver duro (and on other coins issued by the Provisional Government using it), is a very relevant matter in the peninsula's political history. We must support José Miguel Santacreu's line of thinking -in *Peseta y política. Historia de la Peseta 1868-2001*<sup>-1</sup> when he writes the following about it:

The most revolutionary aspect in comparison to previous issues was including the word ESPAÑA on gold and silver coins. Up to then, no coin had this word in singular. It always appeared in plural, either in Latin and Castilian. The kings of the Hispanic Monarchy, up until the end of Isabel II's reign, minted their peninsular coins with the words *Rex Hispaniarum* or Kings of the Spains, which delivered a message of patrimonial union of the several kingdoms in Spain, and not the existence of a Nation State. The word ESPAÑA, on the other hand, expressed the concept of a single sovereign nation, unified.

On this we should pay attention to some pieces that are extremely unique in the Hispanic monetary landscape, already mentioned in the second part of this work: the 5-peseta coin minted in Girona under French siege in 1809, on which the obverse proclaimed "FERNANDO · VII REY ·

1 Barcelona: Ariel, 2002, page 24.

DE · ESPAÑA” (Fernando VII king of Spain) (with a very classical-looking bust of the monarch, wearing armour, mantle and even his hair in the Roman fashion), and on pieces of the same value and from the same year issued during Lleida’s defence against the napoleonic army: “FERNANDO. VII · REY. DE · ESPAÑA”. These coins -attending to the ideological modernity of their inscription- seemed to foresee the political future, but we should bear in mind that a series of contemporary European nationalisms owed their emergence, in no small measure, to aggression from Napoleon’s troops. And the Spanish case isn’t precisely the exception to the rule.<sup>2</sup>

Be it as it may, there is no doubt the obverse put in circulation by the Provisional Government’s authorities constitutes a magnificent manifestation of how to approach the symbolization -from coins- of a human collective defined as national, and, in parallel, how to annihilate the depiction of rulers’ personal power. Javier de Santiago Fernández -in *La peseta. 130 años de la historia de España*-<sup>3</sup> pointed this out clearly:

What may be most significant from an external point of view is the portrait disappearing from the obverses of several pieces. It’s a logical measure coming from a government that had expelled a dynasty from the throne and put an end to a monarchic form of government. Power was no longer concentrated in a single person, there was no visible head or regent to receive power in a lifelong, indefinite manner. Thus, instead of assuming the traditional personal depiction, an allusive allegory of the State was engraved. The idea was to symbolize the Spanish Nation in an image, an identification that left no doubt of

its intent seeing the inscription accompanying the type. It is a motif of obvious classical inspiration, owing to the purest sources of the Ancient World.

[...] The whole is a summary of the new ideas of the Revolution: the nation recovers its sovereignty, and with it, peace, upon toppling the previous regime, centralized in the person of Isabel II.

The motif on the obverses of 5-pesetas coins was the second monetary design introduced into the circulatory torrent by the Provisional Government and expressed in the new national monetary unit, forged in times of Isabel II but finally chosen shortly after the Glorious Revolution: the original design was practically identical and had appeared, exclusively on the first 1-peseta coin dated in 1869. The piece’s obverse didn’t include the word “ESPAÑA”, but only the expression “GOBIERNO PROVISIONAL” (a unique executory we’ve already glossed before), and a rabbit appeared close to the allegorical matron’s right foot.



The rabbit had identified the Iberian Peninsula in times of Roman rule, because Romans translated the Phoenician’s name for Iberian territories, *HI-SHPHANIM*, as “land rich in rabbits”. According to a hypothesis, the term *spn* would refer to dassies instead of rabbits. Dassies are not unlike rabbits -but from a different species-, and Phoenician navigators and settlers were familiar with them, so they thought they’d found dassies in the Iberian land. In any event, we have already pointed out in the corresponding section

2 The fact that Napoleon’s feat in Spain may be globally considered as a modernizing factor can by no means deny its satellizing character, set to extract resources, and thus humiliating in its every day aspect to territories affected by it. This doesn’t mean -at all- that Fernando VII deserved to be the focus of collective thrill, nor the blood spilled in his name in Valencia and the rest of the peninsula’s territories.

3 Madrid: Castellum, 2000, pages 29-30.



that the identification of Roman Hispania with the rabbit was irrefutably proven on some of Hadrian's coins making a particular reference to the peninsula, some of which are adorned with the matron Hispania leaning on rocks (with the inscription "HISPANIA"): the rabbit on those pieces appeared at the figure's feet or behind her, with the exception of some denarii and sestertii, where it didn't appear.



"Una seconda ipotesi invece più moderna fa supporre che l'etimologia [d'Hispania] derivi del termine *I-SPAN-YA*, "isola dei forgiatori" di metalli [...]. In questo caso il coniglio sulle monete avrebbe un significato puramente allegorico: come in minatore scava 'gallerie' nelle miniere [...] così fa il roditore nel costruirsi la propria tana"

"A second, more modern, hypothesis would point out the etymology [of Hispania] to derive from the term *I-SPAN-YA*, 'island of smiths' [...]. In such case, the rabbit on coins would have a purely allegorical meaning: just as miners dig "galleries" in the mine [...], so the rodent builds its burrow" (Danielle Leoni, 2014).

Here is what the report from the Academy of History stated on the presence or absence of the rabbit on coins to be minted by the Provisional Government, in the context of proposing a composition that took the aforementioned mints by Hadrian as their starting point:

[...] the gorgeous allegory on the reverse of some of emperor Hadrian's medals. The figure on these medals is a matron wearing a diadem and leaning back on the Pyrenees; between her feet, the traditional rabbit appears and her right hand holds an olive branch. Centuries have sanctioned the meaning of such a harmonious composition; the tranquil happiness seeming

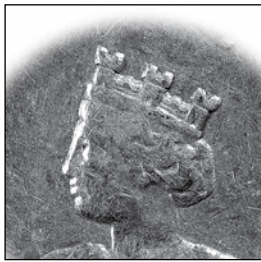
to emanate as an emblem of the glory days the nation was awarded by Spanish Caesars, and the great use a skilled artist may make of all this in creating an expressive composition, have driven the Commission to propose as figure of Spain the matron leaning on the Pyrenees, surrounded by the ocean, her feet on the Strait, the olive branch in her hand and the diadem on her head, which shall be the requested symbol for the nation's sovereignty. The rabbit's little figure doesn't seem to be up to the dignity of the matter, nor to have currently any special character, and thus, the Commission thinks should be omitted.

Both the first peseta coin from 1869 -with the inscription "GOBIERNO PROVISIONAL" (*Provisional Government*) and the rabbit -and also 5- and 2- peseta pieces, 1-peseta, 50- and 20-cent coins -which would all have the inscription "ESPAÑA" and no rabbit- boasted the allegory of the leaning matron (with the Pyrenees and Gibraltar), had their direct origin in a medal: the one Luis Marchionni, the engraver of said monetary specimens, had dedicated to the birth of the Provisional Government, dated in 1868. Marchionni left us three versions (bronze, silver and gold) of his work, the three with a diameter of 37 mm. The same diameter that the -then imminent- 5-peseta coin would have, and also the size that had come to define silver 20-reales and 2-escudos, and 5-unit pieces from the Latin Monetary Union -5 French, Belgian and Swiss francs, 5 Italian liras and 5 Greek drachmas-, being direct inspirations on the value, module and metallic composition for the biggest of the new Spanish coins in silver. We should especially

point out the fact that on the medal we saw both the inscription "ESPAÑA" and the rabbit at the feet of the depiction of Spain, a combination which, as we've seen already, never occurred on coins.



It should also be noted -as we mentioned in passing in the general description of the 5-peseta and 10-cent coins from 1870- that, instead of the diadem appearing on the forehead of the matron's Roman versions, Marchionni's medal and its adaptations show another object on the allegory's head: a mural crown that, as we've already mentioned, was chosen at the same time to be the crest of the new national coat of arms.



We've already signalled in the general text to why the mural crown was used on the matron's head and the Spanish coat of arms: those were times of political uncertainty, and the 1869 Constitution was yet to be proclaimed; as a consequence, the debate between monarchy and republic hadn't been resolved by the Courts in favour of the former. For the sake of neutrality, the Academy of History concluded that "It would be more appropriate for the artist to compose its reverse with no crest of any kind, as is the case with Swiss coins; but if that's not possible, the mural crown, or another ornament of lesser significance, will provide the needed complement, without it being judged in advance for any political matter".

In Luis Marchionni's expert hands, this mural crown chosen *in extremis* would go from the top of the coat of arms to the matron's head.



The same would happen on stamps such as the one in the image (for Cuba, 20-cent value, 1870), by Eugenio Julià.

The matron's mural crown reminds us of an image of such strength and lasting effect as that of the *Italia turrita*,

the depiction of Italy as a female figure with a mural crown on her forehead, with its origins in classical times, and used by the monarchies and republics of the country alike -by liberal, fascist or democratic regimes- indistinctly. This *Italia turrita* was also a socially widespread allegory before a united Italy came to fruition, during Victor Emmanuel II's reign: a paradigmatic example of its public relevance before 1861 is found on the 5-lire coin issued in Milan in 1848, after the *le cinque giornate* and the consequent establishment of the Provisional Government of Lombardy.<sup>4</sup>



Let us return to Iberian territory to state that the neoclassical allegory of Hispania with her headdress of towers and walls would become -also through the presence of this type of crown- such a neutral and inclusive image as the coat of arms was intended to be: the figure would embody all the members of the nation, both monar-

4 The figure on this coin appears surrounded by an inscription of deep political meaning, of a liberal and nationalist character: "ITALIA LIBERA DIO LO VUOLE" (Free Italy, as God wants), an inscription adapted in part from the famous cry in times of the Medieval crusades: *Deus lo vult* or *Deus le vult* (in vulgar Latin), *Deus hoc vult* or *Deus vult* (in classical Latin), or *Dieu le veut* (in French).

chic and republican, the whole homeland at the time of refoundation that everyone pined for after the abolition of the Bourbon dynasty. In the 1869 Magna Carta's rhetoric,

The Spanish Nation, and in its name, the Constituent Assembly chosen by universal [male] suffrage, willing to strengthen justice, liberty and security, and to provide for the well-being of all those living in Spain, proclaim and sanction the following CONSTITUTION.

There is one last question we should consider about the allegorical matron embodying Spain (with or without the rabbit), one of the most emblematic designs in European and peninsular monetary history: what were the Academy of History's foreign sources of inspiration at the time of wagering for a female allegory of this kind? Its writers never mentioned the Milanese piece from 1848; they did explain, though, in sufficient detail, how their mirrors were in Great Britain, Switzerland and 1848's republican France [777]:

The idea of representing the image of the Nation that granted us authority on mint is certainly not a new one; for many years now, England shows on its coins the sitting image of *Britannia* with the coat of arms at her side, the trident in one hand and the olive branch in the other [this latter element actually disappeared from the design after 1807], and her head covered or simply clung to by a diadem. Switzerland also puts in its most recent mints the elegant figure of *Helvetia*, sitting on the Alps and stretching her right hand over their peaks, and the France of '48, to symbolise the Republic, took the most beautiful head from ancient Sicilian medals [the monetary type known as Ceres]. Following in part this example, and also in search of a more proper representation as requested, the Commission started by examining the figures of *Hispania* Roman numismatics offer to our sight.



Evidently, sitting *Helvetia* and *Britannia* may have inspired Luis Plañiol directly -as well as re-toucher Luis Marchionni- when forming the *Hispania* that was to be present on bronze coins [78].

### APPENDIX III From 100 pesetas to 10 cents

#### A. The hundred pesetas

The first of this two *sibling* designs on coins with the leaning matron was of very little use: only to fill the obverse of a few introductory pieces -nine, or at most, a dozen- of a gold 100-pesetas coin. On this piece, the matron was standing and wore no mural crown on her head, but "a diadem clung to her hear", according to the ruling by the Treasury direction. It also fulfilled the provision that the matron "shall point to the Strait of Gibraltar with her right hand" (a composition that accentuates the irredentist, rescindable character of the coin).



This piece, which would never be issued for circulation, appeared signed by Luis Marchionni and was elaborated according to the José Lozano's -the winner of the contest announced for the design of gold coins- previous proposal, which was perceptibly different. We must imply that the fortified orographic accident to the spectator's left -with a tall tower and other smaller elements- was intended to be the Rock of Gibraltar, although in this case, the artist had chosen one of the possible views from the Alborán sea (in southwest/northeast direction), so the tallest part of the promontory was further along the horizon.

In regard to the reverse of the 100-pesetas coin for the Provisional Government,

[...] it displays the new coat of arms of Spain under a monarchic crown, on an ermine mantle and surrounded by the Golden Fleece, telling us the piece was designed after the decision by the Constituent Assembly

that Spain would be a Kingdom (thus the monarchic symbols), but before the vote for who would be the new king was cast, since there is no dynastic symbol.<sup>5</sup>



Revenue stamp of invoices and accounts for Cuba, dated in 1871, with a value of 1 peseta and 25 cents.

política (1868-1936)" in Juan Carlos Galende Díaz and Javier de Santiago Fernández (dirs.): *VII Jornadas Científicas Sobre Documentación Contemporánea (1868-2008)*. Madrid: Departamento de Ciencias y Técnicas Historiográficas de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2008, pages 121-192; quote on pages 140-141.



A few specimens of gold 100-peseta (and 25-peseta) coins were also minted in the name of Amadeo I, that in no case were destined for circulation.

## B. The 10-cents

It's already been said that the second *sibling* design with the leaning matron appeared on 1-, 2-, 5- and 10-cent issues dated in 1870; what we haven't mentioned yet is that these huge issues went beyond 743 million pieces. A great satisfaction for Marchionni, the maker of these coins, and as far as possible from the fate suffered by Luis Plaíol's design, with which he won the 1869 contest for bronze coins: it would be the exclusive object of a very reduced issue of samples (four specimens, it was said in late 20th century).

We already mentioned in the general text that, unlike the circulating coins by Marchionni, Plaíol's 10-cent pieces completely fulfilled the ruling of January 1869 (defining the process for monetary design contests), and that's why this artistic disk depicted with no possible doubt the

Rock of Gibraltar, and thus was imbued with irredentist Spanish nationalism: "For Bronze. / Obverse: 'España', depicted as a matron sitting on the Pyrenees and surrounded by the Ocean, looking at the Strait. [...]".



Another notable difference between Plaíol's project and silver coins on one hand, and bronze coins signed by Marchionni on the other, is that on the latter, the matron -appearing sitting on the opposite side of the one stated- carried no olive branch in the hand of the stretched arm, but between the fingers she keeps near her hip: as authorities had specified, "in her right hand, an olive branch".

5 José María de Francisco Olmos: "La peseta: nueva unidad monetaria y medio de propaganda



## APPENDIX IV

### Crowned heads on coins

The laurel wreath, the band as a diadem and the royal crown had been present prior to the times of pretender Carlos VII, adorning royal busts on mints for the Hispanic monarchy. As we've mentioned earlier, queen Isabel II, the mother of Carlos VII's enemy Alfonso XII, had boasted the laurel wreath in some of her monetary pieces, and the same had been the case before for Felipe V (in a short issue from Madrid in 1709), Carlos III and Carlos IV (though in both cases, only in American coins) and Fernando VII. The carlist pretender known as Carlos V de Bourbon -Fernando VII's brother- had also appeared with laurels on his head in most of his very scarce issues, produced during the first war between carlists and the supporters of the other Bourbons.

However, it bears reminding that the tradition in question was by no means exclusive to Spanish monarchy, but was well spread on coins from classical antiquity (and even more in Roman times), on some medieval examples, on many issues in modern and contemporary Europe and even in the parts of America that were independent from European power. Indeed, the laurels of victory have no homeland. Here are images from three pieces adorned with laureate portraits, issued -from top to bottom- for the Spanish monarchy (in Mexico, in times of Carlos IV but with the bust of Carlos III de Bourbon), France (during Napoleon's imperial period) and the Austrian Empire (in the name of Franz Joseph I) [777].

About the band or diadem, of recognisable Hellenistic influence, the element had adorned some monetary portraits of Fernando VII's -"bus-to diademado sevillano" (*Sevillian bust with a diadem*) from 1809-, and also of his antagonist José I or José Bonaparte (on most of his gold coins). And regarding the open royal crown with fleurons, so common on the heads of monarchs from many European territories on medieval coins, the symbol didn't endure the change from medieval times to the modern age in the Iberian Peninsula: use of this element was relegated to issues of medieval trace produced in several territories of the

Crown of Aragon during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, with its swan song being produced in Carlos de Austria's Valencia and Aragon and the first Bourbons' Majorca.



## APPENDIX V

### Were Carlos VII's cents minted in the Basque Country?

The places of mint for Carlos VII's 5- and 10-cent coins were traditionally considered to be Brussels or Paris, but in the last few years, the hypothesis of a Basque location being their origin has gathered steam: Gipuzkoan village Oñate, the carlist *capital*. An announcement published on issue 318 of *El Cuartel Real*, the carlist cause's mouthpiece, from December 18, 1875 supports this possibility:

Secretary's office of state and office of / revenue. / Royal ruling. / Most illustrious Sir: H.M. the King (May God Guard) has decided to rule for bronze 10 and 5 cents of peseta coins to be put in circulation, minted in the Royal Mill Mint of Oñate. / Which I communicate to Your Most Illustrious Honour for you to ponder and its consequent effects. / May God guard Your Most Illustrious Honour for many years to come. -Real de Durango December 15, 1875- Count of Pinar -Most Illustrious General Treasurer of Castile.

Despite the text's bluntness, we may still be allowed to doubt: in the context of the Third Carlist War, the statement that these coins had been manufactures in Gipuzkoa may be pure propaganda. It's likely objective (never to be confessed?) would be, then, to make Carlos VII's enemies believe that his control over Basque territories was absolute, or at least consolidated enough as to be able to carry out these careful issues, which demanded a notable technical infrastructure and were practically at the same level as their coetaneous Spanish and western counterparts.



## APPENDIX VI

### France in 1791: absence and presence of double legitimacy

The origin of explicit double formulas to legitimise power -divine and constitutional, the second derived from the exercise of national sovereignty (embodied by the legislative power)- is to be found beyond Spanish borders: specifically, in the beginning of the French Revolution, when that political process was at the stage of providing the country with a monarchy under control of a written Constitution (which king Louis XVI would swear on in September 14, 1791). At this historical moment, all reference

to divine right was omitted from the new revolutionary coins: the royal title -located around the portrait on the obverse- became "LOUIS XVI ROIS DES FRANÇAIS [or DES FRANÇOIS]" (*Louis XVI king of the French*).



But the National Constituent Assembly preserved the mention to the "Grace of God" -nanced by a reference to constitutional law- when dealing with the heading of laws (from October 10, 1789 on). The same was agreed upon regarding the inscription that was to adorn the new royal seal, used since the second fortnight of the month of February in 1790: "LOUIS XVI PAR LA GRACE DE DIEU ET PAR LA LOY CONSTITUTIONNELLE DE L'ETAT ROY DES FRANÇOIS" (*Louis XVI by the Grace of God and the constitutional law of the state king of the French*). In any event, appearances shouldn't obscure the truth, and they evidently didn't fool the protagonists of the events in revolutionary France:

It is a double legitimacy, the traditional one (divine right) and the new, from popular sovereignty, but one shouldn't be fooled, the deputies were very clear in stating that this title was simply an acknowledgement of tradition, given that "No authority higher than the law exists in France, the king only rules through it", and he's only king after having sworn the constitutional Accord, thus becoming the first civil servant of the State with an allowance (civilian list) of 25 annual millions of wage. Because of all this, the most concise formula to refer to the monarch was popularised: "Louis, king of the French".<sup>6</sup>

## APPENDIX VII

### A Spanish coat of arms with two lives: 1875 y 1981

Here is the emblazoning of the current official Spanish coat of arms, according to Act 33/1981 from October 5.<sup>7</sup>

One thing that stands out in the text is the absence of any link -any expressed attribution of

6 José María de Francisco Olmos: *La moneda en la Revolución Francesa. Documento económico y medio de propaganda político*. Madrid: Castellum, 2000, page 112.

7 BOE n°. 250, 19th October 1981, page 24477a.



representation- between the heraldic quarters in the coat of arms and their corresponding historical kingdoms. If it was there, this link would be precisely the key to understand visually how the Spanish

monarchy was formed by the union of several different kingdoms. Thus, whoever reads the law's articles cannot understand the reasons why the coat of arms of Spain is made up by, nor attribute a specific historical reality to each quarter. We have added in parenthesis the missing attributions (already announced in the text accompanying the 1875 stamp):

#### First article.

Spain's coat of arms is arranged in quarterings and enté. On the first quarter, in Gules or red, a castle Or, crenelated, shewing Azure masoned Sable or black [Castile]. On the second, Argent, a lion rampant in purple, armed and langued Gules or red and crested Or [Leon]. On the third, Or, four paletts Gules or red [the Crown of Aragon's "four bars"]. On the fourth, Gules or red, a cross saltire and orle of chains Or, affixed to an annulet in the fesse-point with an emerald Proper [Navarre]. Enté de Argent, a pomegranate Proper seeded Gules, supported, sculpted and leafed in two leaves Vert or green [Granada].

Accolated by two columns Argent, with base and capital Or, on waves Azure or Azure and Argent, crested by the imperial crown, the dexter, and the royal crown, the sinister, and surrounding the columns, a ribbon Gules or red, with letters of gold, "Plus" in dexter and "Ultra" in sinister.

For a Crest, a closed crown or circlet Or jewelled with eight breeches of bear or oyster plant leaves, five shown, with pearls

on points or inserted and above which rise arches decorated with pearls and surmounted by a monde Azure or blue with its equator, its upper half-meridian and a cross Or, the crown capped Gules or red.

#### Second article.

As described in the former article, the coat of arms of Spain has an escutcheon Azure or blue, three fleur-de-lys Or, two over one, a plain bordure Gules or red, befitting the ruling dynasty [Bourbon-Anjou].

In contrast to the previous absence of any allusion to historical kingdoms, we include an extract from the aforementioned *Informe dado al gobierno provisional sobre el escudo de armas y atributos de la moneda*, issued by the Academy of History -and, as we already said, written by Aureliano Fernández-Guerra y Orbe, Cayetano Rosell, Eduardo Saavedra and Salustiano de Olózaga- and dated November 6, 1868. The report was accepted at the time of forming the quarters of the Spanish coat of arms at the time (and, by extension, others after it, including the current one), and this text does include explicit references to the kingdoms of Castile, Leon, Aragon *lato sensu*, Navarre and Granada:

The coat of arms, according to this, shall be arranged in quarterings and enté; that is, it will be divided in four portions with two perpendicular lines, with a curvilinear triangle in its lower part. The first quarter will have CASTILE'S castle in gold on a red field; the second, LEON'S red lion on a field of silver, with golden crown, tongue and claws; the third, under the castle, ARAGON'S four red bars on a field of gold; the fourth, under the lion, the gold chains on a red field of NAVARRE; in the triangle, a natural pomegranate open, with its stem and leaves, on a field of silver, for GRANADA. There is no place for the usual repetition of castles and lions seen on our coats of arms of old; such doubling only comes from consanguineous alliances, or the need to adapt the propor-

tions of quarters to that of figures.

Following Faustino Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, the origin of the Academy of History's decision in 1869 is to be found sixty years earlier, when the decision to be taken was about José Bonaparte's coat of arms:

But they must have known -and very probably taken as a model- those proposed (in second instance) by Don Juan Antonio Llorente for José Bonaparte. These were described in an opusculé -of compulsory reading for informants- titled *Discurso Heráldico sobre el escudo de armas de España*, printed in Madrid in 1809, which the author contributed to the Academy upon joining it two years earlier. This coat of arms would also set an important precedent to the use of emblems with absolute independence from who the legitimate kings of Spain were. It included a quarterly of Castile, Leon, Aragon and Navarre, enté with the Indies (the hemispheres and pillars), and carrying the escutcheon with the napoleonic eagle. José Bonaparte modified it through a Royal Decree dated in October 12, 1808 in Vitoria, adding two more quarters to the four mentioned, one for the unnecessary pomegranate and the other for the symbol of the New World.<sup>8</sup>



In any event, the summary the Academy of History included in its report featured the emblazoning -"translating into technical speech all that

has been exposed"- with no historical attributions:

Coat of arms arranged in quarterings in a cross: *first*, Gules and a castle triple-towered, each three times crenelated, the middle one bigger Or, masoned Sable and shewing Azure; *second*, Argent and lion Gules crowned, armed and langued Or; *third*, Or and four paletts Gules; *fourth*, Gules

and a cross saltire and orle of chains Or; enté, Argent and a pomegranate Proper seeded Gules, supported, sculpted and leafed in two leaves Vert.

Accolated, one at

each side, the two Pillars of Hercules Argent, their base and capital Or, surrounded by a ribbon Gules, charged with the *Plus Ultra* Or [we reproduce below the silver medal by Luis Marchionni].



We must agree with Javier de Santiago Fernández on his statement in the already quoted *La peseta. 130 años de la historia de España* (page 30), that in the historical circumstances of the revolution against the Bourbons and the subsequent establishment of the Provisional Government, what the new regime needed -regarding the coat of arms- was for the public opinion to see the new coat of arms (fig. B in the following page) as the antithesis of a blazon with dynastic composition and meaning, the alternative to what the isabelline reign deemed as its own, given its nature -that of a monarchy with a patrimonial sense of the country (fig. A and, in the early days of Alfonso XII's reign, fig. D). Indeed, from the perspective of that Spanish nationalism, the new coat of arms ought to symbolise Spain as a political unit, with no allusion to the person in power: "The idea was to reproduce the image of the diverse medieval kingdoms that had one by one joined the ensemble we now know as Spain. This excludes any idea of family and alliance, in-

8 «Discurso inaugural: detrás del escudo de España», *Emblematas. Revista Aragonesa de Emblemática (ERAE)* vol. 18. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico · Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, 2012, pages 21-39; quote on page 33.



tending to express independence from any type of personal, hereditary power". But the coat of arms of Spain had already been hybridised in times of Amadeo I, when the Savoy coat of arms was put in its centre (the white -Argent- cross on a red background: fig. C); this behaviour would be reproduced in Alfonso XII and Alfonso XIII's times regarding the Bourbon escutcheon (with the three



fleur-de-lys: fig. E) and, as we've already seen, is



the one nurturing the composition of the current



official Spanish coat of arms (fig. F).

A - B

C - D

E - F

Near the end of this appendix, we would like to quote Javier de Santiago Fernández's writing -pages 50-51- focusing on the reasons for Cánovas' regime's reason to decide, in late 1875, months

after restoring the Bourbon dynastic coat of arms in a hurry and before the 1876 Constitution being proclaimed, to assume as Spain's the current coat of arms that was valid in times of Amadeo I, with the logical change in the escutcheon, and thus, to imitate the Provisional Government's heraldic reform (the nuances in square brackets are ours):

The change existing on the coat of arms of the reverse [from the 1- and 25-peseta coins from 1876 and the duro coin from 1877] is very meaningful. The one now adopted is the same created by the Provisional Government in 1868, adding the escutcheon with the Bourbon fleur-de-lys on top and the monarchic regime's identifying crown cresting the coat of arms. The coin combines elements inherited from Isabel II's times with other taken from the Revolutionary six-year period. Thus, a coat of arms that has endured to our days was created. Its composition is a copy of Cánovas' political ideas, put to writing on the 1876 Constitution. His political project was to combine tradition and modernity, and the Constitution did have two points of reference: the constitutional model from 1845, the work of moderates [or conservatives], and the 1869 text, more progressive and stating the individuals' rights and duties. This combination [which differed only in certain aspects] underlying the Magna Carta was the same presiding the new arrangement of the coat of arms. The idea to spread was that the Restoration was not a mere return to past times, but to a political system born from monarchic legitimacy, overlooking the instability of the Revolutionary six-year period while incorporating some of its achievements, and looked forward, with the introduction of important novelties in its functioning.

It is a change that only ever existed on coins [and not on those minted in the Philippine Islands from 1880 to 1885], given that the rest of objects the coat of arms usually appears on showed no mutation. Thus, the

Army and Navy's flags, as well as those of diplomatic and consular representatives still featured the traditional quarterly of castles and lions.

As a matter of fact, the delay in the incorporation of the 1875 coat of arms on bills was notorious: there is a 1904 project that was never issued; in 1905 a 50-peseta note included separate blazons for Castile, Leon, the Crown of Aragon and Navarre; in 1906, paper money tests with the new coat of arms were produced, and were finally materialised in an issue put in circulation in 1907. Regarding post stamps for regular and urgent delivery, the quarterly with the paletts and chains -and the pomegranate, fleur-de-lys, etc., of course- was incorporated in 1905, and on stamps for air mail in 1926.

Closing lines for this appendix come from a text written three and a half decades after the facts we've mentioned. The writing in question glosses the coats of arms including the paletts and chains, and appeared on the first and second editions of *El escudo de España*, published in Madrid in 1910 and 1916 (pages 25 and 30, respectively). The opusculé's author was Sevillian historian and archaeologist Narciso Sentenach, and his manner of writing could be considered as representative of the Spanish nationalist *establishment* of the time, foreseeing overseas adventures to -we are to suppose- turn green again the imperial laurels, disappeared in 1898. Almost surely in Morocco:

That is, nowadays, our coat of arms, and it might be said that it has never been more fairly expressive, nor more agreeable to the history and essence of our nationality; and if by it we intend to express the sanction to prevail in the great work of national unity, in the variety of our regions, let it be so for many centuries to come, magnified if given the case only by the emblems of our future ruling over other parts of the world, to which we must aspire in our effort and progress.

## APPENDIX VIII

### Two caps in one

Throughout the text on the 2-peseta coin for the Government of Euskadi we used practically interchangeably the expressions Phrygian cap and liberty cap to denote the element covering the female bust on the obverse. This use is not an eccentricity of ours, but the appropriation of a practice dating from the 18th century and that would result from the (con)fusion of two objects from Greek and Roman antiquity: on the one hand, the cap -with its characteristic frontal prominence- attributed to the region of Phrygia, in ancient Asia Minor, in current times Turkey, often painted red; and on the other, the *pileus*, or cap without a prominence, put on slaves' heads in ancient Rome during the ceremony of granting them their liberty.

It is precisely this Roman ceremony of turning freedmen which would explain Marcus Junius Brutus -the most notorious of Julius Caesar's

murderers- ruling for the inclusion of the pileus on his coins issued in the year 42 B.C.: he evidently intended to allude to the freedom Rome had allegedly recovered on the death of the famous ruler, accused of wanting



all power for himself and intending to become king. The reverse of these coins of great political meaning also featured two cutting weapons and the inscription "EID[IBVS] · MAR[TIIS]", in the ides of March, a direct reference to the date of the assassination. Political communication, propaganda, or any name you may chose.

## APPENDIX IX

### The francoist coat of arms

The coat of arms known popularly as "the eagle's coat of arms" became official, starting February 1938, in the area ruled by the insurgents against the Second Republic; from April 1, 1939 and until October 1981, this coat of arms was valid in the whole Spanish state's territory, although

throughout this period successive canonical versions were established, the last of which -with the eagle displayed, that is, with its wings spread and taking flight, with two modalities in the quartering of the blazon (complete and simplified), and no reference to the francoist rhetoric on official emblazoning- was approved during Adolfo Suárez's presidency in January 1977.



Some reminders and clarifications we consider to be opportune: the current Spanish Constitution was proclaimed on December 6, 1978, and none of its articles bear any reference to the state's coat of arms. Because of this, and given that the last version of this coat of arms remained in official

use until practically three years after the Magna Carta was in force, there is no sense in calling them the euphemistic epithet of "preconstitutional" or "anticonstitutional": it's enough to call the 1938 coat of arms for what it is: the francoist -and regarding the latter versions, ephemerally juancarline- coat of arms of Spain.

José María de Francisco Olmos spoke in similar terms on the preconstitutional or anticonstitutional descriptions, in his article "Estudio de la tipología monetaria como documento propagandístico de la evolución política española (1975-2003)":<sup>9</sup>

From this moment, the new [1981] official coat of arms official of Spain shall substitute the one from 1938 on flags, stamps and coins, as we'll see, but one thing should be pointed out: the former coat of arms can't be described as "anticonstitutional" or "pre-constitutional". It simply was the official one

for Spain from 1938 to 1981, and in fact an original illustrated specimen of the Spanish Constitution kept at the Congress of Deputies carries it in its first pages, given that it was official when the text was approved. It is a whole other point that after the date of proclamation of the new coat of arms several political groups used the "old one" with clear political motivations and ideologies, against the values expressed in the Constitution, which of course put them out of it (page 19)".

In the series of reasons the decree that made public the heraldic composition chosen by the francoist regime, one can read lines of argument -and rhetoric- such as these, probably inspired -at least partially- by Ramón Serrano Súñer, Franco's "cuñadísimo" (great brother in law):

On the establishment by the glorious National Revolution of 1936 of a new State, radically different in its essences from the one it came to substitute, it is necessary at this time for this change to be reflected on the national emblems. All those who cooperated with the Movimiento Nacional spontaneously chose to boast as their emblem the eagle that has been the symbol of the imperial idea since Roman times, and that appeared on Spain's blazon at the most glorious times of its history. The set of arrows and the yoke of the Catholic Kings, whose adoption as emblem constitutes one of our Falange's wisest moves, must appear on the official coat of arms to point out what is to be the tenor of the new State. Finally, to represent a Country that sums up all that is substantial in Spanish Tradition, an emblem needs to be settled that is a summary of our history and that in its beauty reflects the beauty of Spain immortal.

No heraldic composition more beautiful and more purely Spanish than the one presiding the reign of the Catholic Kings, the cusp of the Reconquista, the foundation

9 *Revista General de Información y Documentación* vol.15, n°2. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2005, pages 5-38.

of a strong and imperial State, of Spanish blazons' predominance over Europe, of religious unity, of the start of Spain's immense missionary work, of the incorporation of our culture to the Renaissance.

[...]

The eagle appearing on it is not that of the German empire, at any rate extravagant in Spain, but that of evangelist Saint John, which on sheltering in its wings the Spanish coat of arms symbolises the support of our Empire to Catholic truth, so often defended with blood from Spain; in it appear, too, the set of arrows and the yoke, then and now emblems of unity and discipline. The repetition of heraldic motifs, unnecessary, contributes powerfully to the whole's rhythm and harmony, highlighted by the brilliance of the tinctures in which the colours of our national flag prevail. However, some modifications are necessary. The coat of arms of Sicily must be suppressed, since it stopped being Spanish after the treaty of Utrecht, and in its place, we must put that of the glorious kingdom of Navarre, whose chains were incorporated with such wisdom and justice to the State's coat of arms in 1868. We must also keep the pillars with the motto "Plus Ultra", which since Carlos V have symbolised Spanish expansion overseas and Spanish navigators and explorers' drive to improve themselves.

Here is the emblazoning of the francoist coat of arms stated in the Decree of February 2, 1938 (as is the case of the currently valid coat of arms, the legal text doesn't identify the quarters' corresponding historical assignments, which we have included in square brackets):



1st Article. - The coat of arms of Spain is formed by the Catholic Kings' heraldry, substitut-

ing the emblem of Sicily by that of the old kingdom of Navarre, thus integrating the blazons of the medieval groups of States, constituting Spain today.

2nd Article. - The coat of arms shall be described as follows:

Quarterly. The first and fourth quarters too, and the first and fourth Gules, with a castle Or crenelated with three towers, with Sable and shewing Azure [Castile]; second and third Argent, with a lion rampant Gules crowned, armed and langued Or [Leon]. Second and third, marshalled; the first Or with four paletts Gules [the Crown of Aragon]; the second Gules with a chain Or, with eight segments united at the centre by a jewel, with an emerald in it [Navarre].

Enté Argent, with a pomegranate Proper, seeded gules, supported, sculpted and leafed Vert [Granada].

Circlet with eight breeches (five shown).

All this on an eagle of St. John displayed, with an aura Or, its beak and claws Gules; these armed Or. To the right of the eagle's tail a yoke Gules and its ribbons the same. On the ribbon, the words: "Una", "Grande", "Libre". The whole flanked by two columns Argent, on waves Azure, surmounted by a crown Or. On the right, a ribbon coiled with the word "Plvs"; on the left, another with the word "Ultra".

We've already stated at the beginning of this appendix that in time of Adolfo Suárez, the official version of the coat of arms was modified -in Decree 1511/1977 from January 21 (BOE 1-VII-1977) "by which the Ruling on Banners and standards, guidons, insignia and emblems"- no francoist rhetoric was employed. In fact, the description of the yoke and set of arrows on the coat of arms received a marked historicist treatment, far from any leaning toward the Falangist appropriation of these emblems, and thus, with direct references or those of Fernando and Isabel's, the true origin of what in 15th century were two gallant em-



blems (the yoke -for Isabel's "y"- to be assumed by Fernando; the arrows -for Fernando's "f", since "flecha" is Spanish for "arrow"- to be assumed by Isabel):

To the right of the eagle's tail, a yoke Gules, in its proper position, with a ribbon of the same, forming Fernando's initial, and to the left a set of five arrows Gules, their points downward and a ribbon of the same, forming Isabel's initial. Yoke and arrows convergent towards the extreme of the eagle's tail.

It bears reminding, as we stated before, that together with the full version of the francoist coat of arms there were abbreviated or simplified versions of the quarterly coat of arms: this "bureaucratic" emblem allowed for the reproduction of the coat of arms in small or very small sizes. Here we show the graphic evolution of the official coat of arms of Spain in 1938/1939 to 1945 (first models), 1945 to 1977 (second model) and 1977 to 1981 (third models, valid during Adolfo Suárez and Leopoldo Calvo-Sotelo's presidencies).

As on most of this work, the drawings of the following heraldic elements are the work of Heraldor and other users of the Wikimedia and Wikipedia-Commons project. Heraldor may be considered the most important author of Spanish coat of arms designs existing in the Internet.<sup>10</sup>

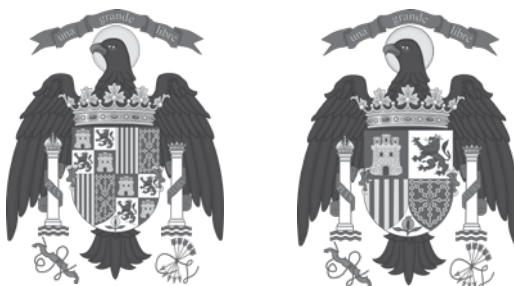
#### FIRST MODELS: 1938/1939-1945



#### SECOND MODELS: 1945-1977



#### THIRD MODELS: 1977-1981



<sup>10</sup> <<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:Heraldor>>  
<[https://ca.wikipedia.org/wiki/Escut\\_d%27Espanya](https://ca.wikipedia.org/wiki/Escut_d%27Espanya)>

## APPENDIX X

### The coat of arms that wouldn't go away

Extract of the centrist spokesman's response to the socialist initiative to change the State's coat of arms in the parliamentary Plenary Session in 1980:



According to this description -which is only a proposal-, the imperial eagle, the yoke and set of arrows and the inscription “Una, grande, libre”, would be banished from

the coat of arms. [...] To respond to the bill proposed by the socialists, the Government appointed Deputy don Joaquín Satrústegui, who started by also stating his emotions toward such a transcendent matter “giving this plenary session a historic character”. “We are about to vote -he said in the name of the centrist group- in favour of the socialist proposal.” He reminded the parliament that the coat of arms “that until recently was Spain’s coat of arms” was created by decree on February 2, 1938, with most of the war over. “Those of us who were in the national front had no idea of these matters”, he said, adding that it was a group of men, led by Ramón Serrano Súñer, “a long-time great friend of mine” -he added-, and with Dionisio Ridruejo, who created the coat of arms, in it. He stated that, had Dionisio Ridruejo been alive at the moment, he would probably say the same as he was about to in this occasion. And he said: “Why is it reasonable for us to consider returning to the coat of arms that was already there?” After telling that this coat of arms was created in 1868 and only its crown was modified by the Second Republic, he added: “It’s only logical for Spain’s traditional coat of arms to have the position it deserves in

a parliamentary monarchy. Having voted a democratic Constitution, we can’t still keep around it accessories corresponding to a totalitarian regime, where discipline prevailed and the intent was to build an Empire. I respect everyone’s feelings, but I consider it is objective and intelligent to accept a proposal of law to study peacefully what Spain’s coat of arms should look like from now on. It doesn’t seem logical for the Spanish coat of arms to stay the one that, in an emotional moment, a few men of one side of a war chose. Such a symbol can’t be representative of a Spain that is making and will continue to make great efforts to overcome the trauma of a war and to try to live in peace, with no more bloodshed.” After these words, Mr. Satrústegui proceeded to the vote on the socialist group’s proposal of law, which was accepted by 236 votes in favour, seven against, two abstentions and two void votes (“El Gobierno acepta un posible cambio en el Escudo de España”, *ABC*. Madrid, 28-II-1980, page 17).

## APPENDIX XI

### Edges of coins also tell of power (1833-2001)

Here are the political inscriptions present, at certain times, on the edges of Spanish pieces from Fernando VII’s reign to that of Juan Carlos I. In the case of the Provisional Government, we also reproduce the political mottos on the obverse and reverse of the 25-thousandths piece with the 1868 coat of arms.

FERNANDO VII · ABSOLUTE MONARCHY  
1833 (20-reales coin “prototype”): DIOS ES EL REY DE  
LOS REYES (GOD IS THE KING OF KINGS)

**DIOS ES EL REY DE LOS REYES †**

ISABEL II · NON-CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY  
1834-1836: DIOS ES EL REY DE LOS REYES (GOD IS  
THE KING OF KINGS)

**DIOS ES EL REY DE LOS REYES †**

ISABEL II · CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY  
1837-1868: three fleur-de-lys in relief and LEY PATRIA REY (LAW HOMELAND KING)

**LEY PATRIA REY +++**

GLORIOUS REVOLUTION  
PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT  
1868 (obverse and reverse of the 25-thousandths' coat of arms): SOBERANIA NACIONAL (NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY) ESPAÑA LIBRE · 29 DE / SETIEMBRE / 1868 (FREE SPAIN-SEPTEMBER 29, 1868)

**SOBERANIA NACIONAL**

**ESPAÑA LIBRE · 29 DE / SETIEMBRE / 1868**

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT  
1869-1870: SOBERANIA NACIONAL (NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY)

**SOBERANIA NACIONAL**

AMADEO I · CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY  
1871: JUSTICIA Y LIBERTAD (JUSTICE AND LIBERTY)

**JUSTICIA Y LIBERTAD**

ALFONSO XII · NON-CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY  
1875-1876: JUSTICIA Y LIBERTAD (JUSTICE AND LIBERTY)

**JUSTICIA Y LIBERTAD**

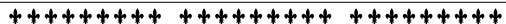
ALFONSO XII · CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY  
1877-1887: 27 fleur-de-lys in relief



1880-1885 (50-cents coin for the Philippine Islands): three fleur-de-lys in relief and LEY PATRIA REY (LAW HOMELAND KING)

**LEY PATRIA REY +++**

ALFONSO XIII · CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY  
1888-1899: 27 fleur-de-lys in relief



FRANCISCO FRANCO · DICTATORSHIP  
1958-1975: UNA GRANDE LIBRE (ONE GREAT FREE)

**UNA GRANDE LIBRE**

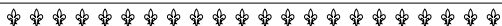
JUAN CARLOS I · MONARCHY DURING TRANSITION  
1976-1978: UNA GRANDE LIBRE (ONE GREAT FREE)

**UNA GRANDE LIBRE**

JUAN CARLOS I · PARLIAMENTARY MONARCHY  
1979-1982: UNA GRANDE LIBRE (ONE GREAT FREE)

**UNA GRANDE LIBRE**

1982-2001: 22 incuse fleur-de-lys



**APPENDIX XII**

**Grade and some weights of spanish silver coins from 1732 to 1899**

[Main source: Manuel Vilaplana Persiva: *Historia del real de a ocho*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1997]

Content in pure silver of the 8-reales piece from ca. 1550 to 1728 (with the exception of the *maría* type): **25,560 g** (total weight: 27,468 g)

1732-1772

- Content in pure silver of the 8-reales piece: **24,808 g** (total weight: 27,064 g)
- 8- and 4-reales pieces (America and the peninsula): grade 0.916,666
- 2-, 1- and half-real pieces (America): grade 0.916,666 (1-real coin weight 3,38 g)
- 2-, 1- and half-real pieces (peninsula): grade 0.833,333 (1-real coin weight 2,98 g)

1772-1786

- Content in pure silver of the 8-reales piece: **24,432 g** (total weight: 27,064 g)
- 8- and 4-reales pieces (America and the peninsula): grade 0.902,777
- 2-, 1- and half-real pieces (America): grade 0.902,777 (1-real coin weight 3,38 g)
- 2-, 1- and half-real pieces (peninsula): grade 0.812,5 (1-real coin weight 2,98 g)

1786-1833

- Content in pure silver of the 8-reales or 20 *vellón* reales piece: **24,244 g** (total weight: 27,064 g)
- 8- and 4-reales pieces or, in some cases, 20- and 10-reales *vellón* pieces (America and the peninsula): grade 0.895,833
- 2-, 1- and half-real pieces (America): grade 0.895,833 (1-real coin weight 3,38 g)
- 2-, 1- and half-real pieces or, in some cases, 4-, 2- and 1-reales *vellón* pieces (peninsula): grade 0.806,3 / (1-real coin weight 2,98 g)

1833-1848

- Content in pure silver of the 20-reales *vellón* piece: **24,244 g** (total weight: 27,064 g)
- 20- and 10-reales silver piece: grade 0.895,833
- 4-, 2- and 1-real pieces: grade 0.806,3 (half-peseta or 2-reales *vellón* piece weight, 2,98 g)

1848

- Content in pure silver of the 20-reales *vellón* piece: **23,661** g (total weight: 26,291 g)
- 20- and 10-reales pieces: grade 0.900
- 4-, 2- and 1-real pieces: grade 0.900 (half-peseta or 2-reales *vellón* piece weight, 2,62 g)

1849-1854

- Content in pure silver of the 20-reales *vellón* piece: **23,49** g (total weight: 26,10 g)
- 20- and 10-reales pieces: grade 0.900
- 4-, 2- and 1-real pieces: grade 0.900 (half-peseta or 2-reales *vellón* piece weight, 2,61 g)

1854-1864

- Content in pure silver of the 20-reales *vellón* piece: **23,367** g (total weight: 25,964 g)
- 20- and 10-reales pieces: grade 0.900
- 4-, 2- and 1-real pieces: grade 0.900 (half-peseta or 2-reales *vellón* piece weight, 2,59 g)

1864-1868

- Content in pure silver of the 2-escudos piece: **23,36** g (total weight: 25,96 g)
- 2- and 1-escudo pieces: grade 0.900
- 40-, 20- and 10-cent of an escudo pieces: grade 0.810 (half-peseta or 20-cents of an escudo piece weight, 2,59 g)

1868-1899

- Content in pure silver of the 5-peseta or 1-peso coin: **22,5** g (total weight: 25 g)
- 5-peseta and 1-peso pieces (for Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands): grade 0.900
- 2-, 1-peseta pieces and those of 50- and 20-cent: grade 0.835 (half-peseta or 50-cents piece weight, 2,5 g)
- 50-, 20- and 10-cents of a peso for the Philippine Islands: grade 0.835 (half-peseta or 10-cents of a peso piece weight, 2,5 g)