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✻ CHAPTER I ✻

Festivals in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain: An Introduction

On the 14th of May 1554, Prince Philip, already the king-consort of England's Queen Mary and a mere two years away from becoming the ruler of the vast Habsburg inheritance in Spain, Italy, Flanders, North Africa, and the lands across the Ocean Sea, departed Valladolid for La Coruña. There a small fleet waited to transport him to his joyless and unfruitful marriage and to face the displeasure and opposition of many of his English subjects.[1] Andrés Muñoz, a servant (*lacayo*) of the nine-year-old and ill-fated Prince Don Carlos (Philip's son from his first marriage) published an account of Philip's sojourn in 1554, receiving 50,000 *maravedíes* for his efforts as both the chronicler of this voyage and a member of the princely entourage that accompanied Philip (and for part of the voyage Don Carlos) on their way from the heart of Castile to England. Not unlike other late medieval and early modern accounts, Muñoz's *Viaje de Felipe Segundo á Inglaterra* provides painstaking descriptions of the garments that the prince and the high nobility accompanying him took on the voyage, of the costly jewels that were to be presented to Queen Mary as a wedding gift, and of other such details that reasserted, in the typical sycophantic fashion of such accounts, the majesty of the ruler.[2]

What interest me most in this narrative are two minor entries made along the route from Valladolid to La Coruña, a seaport town in northwestern Galicia. Philip, as was often the case in princely travels, took his time along the way, hunting, resting, and sightseeing. His young son, the Infante Don Carlos, preceded him into Benavente, a small town ruled by a powerful noble, the Count of Benavente. There, the young Infante received a sumptuous reception according to the protocol proper to princely

[1] Accounts of his progression through Castile on the way to Galicia and of his reception in England can be found in Muñoz, *Viaje de Felipe Segundo á Inglaterra*, 31. For the English reaction to Philip's arrival, see Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 119–27 et passim. As this book was going into press, I was informed of the publication of Geoffrey Parker's voluminous new study in Spanish of Philip II's life and reign. I have not been able to obtain this new work, but, as I note below, Parker has long been the authority on the subject.

[2] Muñoz, *Viaje de Felipe Segundo á Inglaterra*, 12–31.

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entries, though with far less display—in terms of the festivities surrounding the entry—than what Philip was offered during his stay there.

The prince appeared at Benavente, as was often his wont, unexpectedly.[3] Only the dust clouds created by his cortege's horses alerted the authorities to Philip's unexpected arrival, prompting Pero Hernández, the prince's *privado* (favorite) to rush out of Benavente and to plead with the prince to enter the town through its main gate. There the Count of Benavente waited to kiss Philip's hand and to give him a golden key, signifying the surrender of the fortress to the prince.[4] Philip's arrival was marked by an artillery discharge that lasted half an hour. Trumpets, drums, and singers accompanied him to the entrance of the palace where he was to rest from his travels. Muñoz does not fail to describe how elegantly and costly appointed were the prince's lodgings and the gold and silver on display.

As entries go, this one was quite unspectacular. What followed, however, was another matter. Six good bulls were fought on horseback and on foot while Philip and his young son looked on from a richly decorated stage. One thousand five hundred rockets were exploded in sequence to mark the end of the day. The next day five more bulls were run through the town before Philip stood as godfather to Pero Hernández's son. In succeeding days many events followed. They included a tournament on foot, an artificial castle, more fireworks, a fake elephant with a seminaked African riding on it, tableaux vivants, monkeys, wild men, an artificial serpent or dragon (*la tarasca*) spewing fire through its nostrils and mouth, a fake galley with real artillery, and yet more fireworks. In the next representation, one probably borrowed from *Amadis of Gaul* (an influence that runs indelibly throughout all of Muñoz's narrative and which, as we will see, was Philip's favorite book), a cart carrying a casket entered the site of the performances. Within the casket rested a maiden covered with a black cloth. She complained bitterly of Cupid (Love) who, blindfolded, rode behind her. Suddenly Cupid was lifted into the air by a slender rope, while still more fireworks lit the night. Finally, Lope de Rueda (d. 1565), one of the most important and pioneering Castilian playwrights of the day, came into the courtyard to offer to the prince and others in attendance one of his *autos sacramentales* (theatrical pieces based on the Scriptures), a heady mix indeed of the secular and the religious.[5]

On June 9th Philip left Benavente on his way to Santiago de Compostela. There similar artillery discharges, solemn receptions, jousts, trium-

[3] Ibid., 42.

[4] Ibid., 42.

[5] Ibid., 43–48. On Lope de Rueda, see Lope de Rueda, *Obras de Lope de Rueda*, ed. Real academia española (Madrid: Suc. de Hernando, 1908).

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phal arches, and the like awaited him. One item however differed from his reception at Benavente. Philip entered Compostela, site of the tomb of St. James the Greater, patron of all the Spains and Jesus' apostle, under a brocade palio or baldachin held high over him on long poles by city officials (*regidores*), as befitted the heir to the throne of the Spains and the king of England on his first official visit to Santiago. And at La Coruña a similar reception awaited him.[6]

In the chapters that follow, these festive themes will recur again and again. Late medieval and early modern accounts of princely and royal entries, tournaments, Carnival, Corpus Christi processions, and the other festivities that marked the life cycle of the great will be animated by detailed, sometimes even bizarre descriptions of such performances. Two points are clear from the above narrative. The first is the close connection between princely and royal travel and festivities; the second is the role of princes and kings in these performances. Both as prince and king, Philip spent a great deal of his time and energies attending and even participating in such events. Many other travels preceded his voyage to England; many others would follow.

For a king, allegedly jealous of his privacy and fully at home in the quiet bureaucratic routines he so happily embraced as the ruler of vast possessions, Philip II spent a great deal of time on the road, and his apprenticeship as a prince and ruler were marked by extensive travel throughout Iberia and far beyond his Spanish kingdoms into Spain's possessions outside the peninsula. In 1585, for example, a long journey disrupted the well-established routine of travel between his beloved El Escorial, his hunting lodge at El Pardo, his gardens at Aranjuez, Toledo, his woods near Segovia, and his new capital in Madrid for a year and three months. It was an arduous affair, as the voyage to England had been, and one that reveals to modern readers something of the complexities of rulership in early modern Spain and Western Europe, of the role of festivities and displays in the exercise of political power, and of the continuities and discontinuities one may discern in the relations between a king and his people in the transition from the late Middle Ages to the early modern period.[7]

[6] Muñoz, *Viaje de Felipe Segundo á Inglaterra*, 50–58.

[7] This particular voyage is described in close detail by Henry Cock (see below and chapter 5). Philip II's two best modern biographers, Geoffrey Parker and Henry Kamen, note the significance of the voyage in the political culture of the age. See Geoffrey Parker, *Philip II*, 3rd ed. (Chicago and La Salle: Open Court, 1995 [1st ed. 1978]), 147–52 detail the different political developments that took place while the king was in Aragon. Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 257–65 for the political context of Philip's sojourn to the Crown of Aragon and an extensive

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CHAPTER I

Festivals in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain

For over two decades I have been researching and plotting a book on Iberian festive traditions.[8] As I began outlining this work, my original plan was to write a traditional and chronologically-determined history of festivals—royal entries, calendrical and noncalendrical events, Carnival, Corpus Christi, and the like—from roughly the 1320s and 1330s, when Castilian chronicles began to provide some detailed accounts of these activities, to 1640, when the Spanish monarchy sank under the unbearable weight of military defeat, regional secession, social and economic upheaval, and its fragmented past. Studying Henry Cock's vivid and intriguing descriptions of Philip II's voyage to his eastern kingdom and of

paraphrasing of the highlights of the trip. Since Henry (or Henrique) Cock's narrative plays such an important role later on, it may be useful to introduce him fully. Cock, a Flemish archer, apostolic protonotary, and member of Philip's Flemish guard, has left us an extensive (more than two hundred pages in the printed edition) account of this particular voyage. He was also the author of yet another travel narrative of Philip II's arduous journey to attend the Cortes of the Crown of Aragon, gathered at Tarazona in 1592. See Cock, *Relación del viaje (1585).* Cock's manuscript account of the travels of Philip II through the eastern realms in 1585–1586 can be found among the holdings of the original Richelieu branch of the Bibliotheque Nationale (Paris) in the Espagnol section, # 272. This is the version that was superbly edited and published by Morel-Fatio and Rodríguez Villa in the nineteenth century. I saw the manuscript during the summer of 2007, while doing research at the BN. It is an easily legible, small quarto volume, with Latin (the language in which Henry Cock first wrote his account) and a Castilian translation on facing pages). The Latin version has an additional page and a half or so of text that was never translated, which seems to attest to his first rendering of the travel narrative in Latin with a simultaneous translation into Spanish. Through this book, I have used, and will cite from, the late nineteenth-century printed edition. A combination of travel narrative, ethnographic, and historical commentary, Henry Cock's accounts, as well as other descriptions of Philip's travels throughout his possessions and/or his participation in festive cycles associated with his voyages, rank, and royal authority serve as a lens through which to explore a series of interrelated issues that lie at the heart of this book.

[8] My work on festivals dates back now to more than two decades. I began with a short article on feasts and tournaments, "Fiestas, torneos, y símbolos de realeza en la Castilla del siglo XV," in *Realidad e imágenes de poder. España a fines de la edad media* (Valladolid, 1988): 249–66. This was followed by a long piece: "Festivités, couleurs et symboles du pouvoir en Castille au XVe siècle. Les célébrations de mai 1428," in *Annales E.S.C.* 3 (1991): 521–46. A few years later, I turned my attention to festive cycles in 1460s Jaén: "Elite and Popular Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century Castilian Festivals: The Case of Jaén," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, B. A. Hanawalt and K. L. Reyerson, eds. (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994): 296–318. More recently, I presented a broad panorama of late medieval and early modern festivals in my *Spanish Society, 1400–1600* (London: Longman, 2001), chs. 5 and 6.

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the festive receptions in localities along the road from Madrid to Zaragoza and beyond to other parts of the Crown of Aragon, I became aware to what an extent this particular voyage may also serve as the focus for an extended reflection on festivals and their usefulness or lack of usefulness to the complex political negotiations and confrontations that were part of statecraft in late medieval and early modern Western Europe. I will center, then, on the 1585–86 journey and on some of Philip II's other journeys throughout Spain and abroad. I wish, however, to travel back and forth in time and place, plotting the links that joined Philip II's well planned and carefully negotiated—though as shall be seen not always successfully negotiated—movements through his kingdoms and at the same time to explore the festive traditions that preceded and followed his lifetime and rule.

I will focus on a series of issues, already outlined above. At its most basic level, this book, focusing partly on Philip II's reign, hopes to present a thematic history of festive traditions in the Iberian peninsula. To this end I offer a typology of festivals, providing examples of different types of festive activities and, I hope, explicating their meanings in the context of Spain's social, political, and cultural life, and, by implication, within the wider context of Western European festive traditions. While there are numerous works, from Burckhardt's seminal study of festivals in the Renaissance written more than a century and a half ago to Sir Roy Strong's well-known works that explore feasts in other European realms during the late Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the early modern period, little attention has been given to inserting the Iberian peninsula within these traditions or of identifying Spanish contributions to European cycles of festivities.[9] Some important work has been done for Iberia. Francesc Massip Bonet's beautifully presented and enchanting book opens

[9] The bibliography on European festivals is extensive indeed. Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* was written more than a century and a half ago. It has gone through numerous editions and remains an important introduction to the subject. See the translation by S.G.C. Middlemore with a valuable introduction by Peter Burke (London: Penguin Books, 1990, 2000); part 5, 230–70 includes the influential and ground-breaking section on "Society and Festivals." Sir Roy C. Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450–1650* (Woodbridge (U.K.): Boydell, 1984) has held an influential place in shaping how we see and study festivals. See also *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics, and Performance*, eds. J. R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (Aldershot (Hants): Ashgate, 2002); *Spectaculum Europaeum: Theatre and Spectacle in Europe (1580–1750)*, eds. Pierre Béhar and Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999); *La fête au XVIe siècle: actes du Xe Colloque du Puy-en-Velay*, Marie Viallon-Schoneveld, ed. (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint Étienne, 2003); and the pioneering collection edited by Jean Jacquot, *Les fêtes de la Renaissance* (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1956–1975), 3 vols.

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new vistas on Spanish late medieval and early modern festivals, but is, as I shall discuss later, limited to a series of well presented and researched vignettes drawn from a functionalist perspective that echoes that of Sir Roy Strong. The extraordinarily scholarly and precocious third volume of Vicens Vives' watershed *Historia de España social y económica* included a short entry on festivals at a time when the topic was for the most part ignored in general histories.[10] Otherwise, what we have for Spain are either accounts of local folklore, anthropological studies—most of them of great value—and limited studies of festive forms.

A history of festivals should of course be also a history of cultural transmissions or, to be more accurate, of the circulation of certain cultural tropes, artistic motifs and artifacts, as well as of the broader movements of aesthetic forms across national and regional cultures. This circulation of culture occurred at different levels and is most readily evidenced in the internal commingling in festivals of literary themes and learned tropes with elements of "popular" culture or folk traditions. Thus, the history of festivals is as well the history of the encounters, mixing, and overlapping of different and competing cultural forms in the context of a royal entry, Carnival, Corpus Christi, or other such festive occasions. Two examples, both of which we will have the opportunity to examine in greater detail in later chapters, will suffice here. Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo's extravagant Carnival celebrations in Jaén in the 1460s combined chivalrous elements with carnivalesque revelry and almost (but not quite) Bakhtinian inversions. The young Philip's entry into Brussels in 1549 elicited lavish festivities that juxtaposed scenes from the Old and New Testament with classical allusions, chivalrous displays, the comic and bizarre, and a substantial list of other diverse themes. His entry into Benavente, glossed at the opening of this chapter, conflated martial, ludic, and religious themes seemly without the slightest dissonance.[11]

One of the arguments of this book is so obvious as to be a commonplace. The social history of festivals and ludic traditions has often been examined from stubbornly functionalist perspectives. Beyond their aesthetic and anthropological aspects (or in addition to them), celebrations served clearly delineated political agendas, or so it has been alleged. As much is explicit in the title of Sir Roy Strong's rightly famous book, *Art*

[10] See Francesc Massip Bonet's enchanting book, *La monarquía en escena* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 2003). I shall refer to this book in subsequent chapters. See also Jaume Vicens Vives, ed., *Historia social de España y América, social y económica,* vol. 3, 183–202, 302–17.

[11] For Jaén, see my "Elite and Popular Culture in Late-Fifteenth Century Castile," 313–14. For the celebrations in Brussels, see Calvete de Estrella, *El felicísimo viaje* I, 175–219.

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and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450–1600. A book with rich and evocative examples of late medieval and early modern festive cycles, *Art and Power* does not fail to make the connection between performance and the wielding of power.[12] This formulation, which has often been accepted without question, needs to be somewhat modified. It is true that spontaneous ludic outbursts devoid of political implications are difficult to document, or even to posit as a reality of late medieval and early modern life—and, for that matter, even today. I am firmly wedded to the idea that there were (and are) no festive occasions without a corresponding ideological aim or the intent to make a social statement. Whether meant to impress and lord over our neighbors, friends, or foes, or to promote and enhance royal or princely power, celebrations in the late medieval and early modern periods were, as they are today, inextricably linked to the exercise and experience of power. I have argued as much in the past. And yet, Philip II's contentious journey through his eastern realms has awakened me to the realization that in the carefully arranged ceremonial entries and processions that attended royal visits or important calendrical celebrations, a great deal more was going on than a facile display of royal splendor for political purposes. Rather than theaters of power, as we have come to read some of these spectacles from inquisitorial autos de fe to Jacobean masques to Louis XIV's ballets, many of these highly scripted events easily became sites of contestation in which kingly power was often the loser or princely authority diminished.[13]

In examining Iberian festive traditions in general, and those of Philip II in particular, I mean to critique my own and other historians' interpretations of these events. Instead of seeing them solely as projections and representations of regal power, I wish to complicate the story. It is cer-

[12] See the already cited Sir Roy C. Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450–1650,* which is written from a determined royalist perspective, one against I will argue in chapter 5. Some of his other works also present variations on the same theme, as for example his recent and most engaging work on coronations, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London: Harper-Collins, 2005), and his superb *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London: Pimlico, 1999), a reissue of an earlier version.

[13] On the English masque, see *The Court Masque*, David Lindley, ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); on ballet, see Strong's discussion and Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1992). The literature on the *auto de fe* is extensive. Any reference to the topic should begin with Henry C. Lea's monumental work, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (New York: Macmillan, 1906–1907), 4 vols. See also Miguel Avilés, "The Auto de Fe and the Social Model of Counter-Reformation Spain," in Angel Alcalá, ed., *The Spanish Inquisition and the Inquisitorial Mind* (*Atlantic Studies on Society and Change* 49, New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 249–64.

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tainly accurate to view these festivities through ideological lenses as attempts to reiterate and display royal authority, but they give witness as well to dialogues with authority and challenges to it. They tell of the nuanced ways in which festive traditions could be manipulated to demonstrate resistance to power. Kings and lords did not always get what they had planned for. In some cases, they got something very different from what they expected. The fluid ideological boundaries of festive spaces and times—what Victor Turner so brilliantly defined as liminal spaces—were more often than not places of contestation.[14] Different social groups intermingled, a large variety of messages—sometimes clear, often subtle, rarely comprehensible to all—were hurled back and forth between participants and audience. Festivals were always—and they remain so to this very day—sites for complicated and unpredictable performances open to a multiplicity of readings. Not infrequently those who promoted, scripted and paid for the festivals were displeased with the way things turned out. In reading festivals as texts, I shall, therefore, emphasize their complexity, the ambivalent and imprecise meanings that they conveyed to their contemporaries, and that often remain somewhat mysterious to us today. I wish here to make one minor point. For quite a while, I have argued that the transition from late medieval to early modern was not as sharp a break as it has usually been represented. In many respects, certainly when addressing social and cultural history, there is almost a seamless transition across the fictional chronological divide of 1500.[15] The late fifteenth century was indeed marked by a series of events, or *grandes journées*—the fall of Constantinople (1453), the invention of the printing press (1460s), the encounter with the New World (1492)—that seem to indicate a sea change in the structures of everyday life and the opening of a new age. There is an even more apparent divide in Spain, where 1492 has long been seen as a watershed dividing the Middle Ages from the early modern. It was not, of course, that simple. Festivals will serve us as a means to

[14] Here and elsewhere throughout this book, I am deeply influenced by two authors: Victor W. Turner, whose understanding of festivals and performance has had a an enduring influence on numerous historians and anthropologists; and James C. Scott, whose perceptive study of forms of resistance in the modern world has proved to be most applicable to the past. Among Turner's many works, see his *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974); *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982); and his edited collection, *Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982). For Scott, see *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985); *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990).

[15] See my *Spanish Society, 1400–1600* (London: Longman, 2001), 1–8.

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illustrate and explore continuity in at least one cultural category—that of performances and celebratory traditions—across the transition from medieval to early modern. Reading accounts of the royal entries, Carnivals, and other festivities that took place during Philip II's perambulations throughout his Iberian realms or on his visits to trans-Pyrenean imperial lands as a prince, one is forcefully struck by the ageless quality of what were essentially political and cultural performances. The core structure of a whole range of celebrations or displays of chivalrous prowess—tournaments, for example, and other forms of martial play—had endured little changed from an earlier age. The continuity of these festive forms raises serious questions as to chronological periodization and the arbitrary divide between medievalists and early modern historians. There was little, as we will see below, in these sixteenth and seventeenth century festivals that medieval men and women would not have recognized instantly. There is little in them that a historian of medieval festivals would not see as grounded in medieval practices harkening back to twelfth-century romances and courtly literature.

Yet, it would be silly indeed to argue that there was no actual change. In fact, even in the Middle Ages, shifting political contexts shaped each particular celebration and introduced small but significant differences. Moreover, by the sixteenth century, the ruler's role and place in festive performances had dramatically changed, transforming early modern celebrations into something quite different from their medieval counterparts. While the manner in which festivals were plotted, their inner structure and their appearance, if you will, remained fairly stable, their meanings and messages changed. It is this uneasy play between continuities and discontinuities that lies, I hope, at the heart of this inquiry. It is precisely this tension between the two that makes Philip II's festivals an appealing touchstone for the study of cultural change and historical process.

An examination of Philip II's festive cycle and those of other Iberian rulers sheds light as well on questions of early modern rulership. It justifies the recent questioning of Spain's royal absolutism and, by implication, the (by now much-challenged) notions of the centralization of political power and the enhanced authority of kings and the state—in this particular case, that of the Habsburgs in Spain. Indeed, while many of these festivals attest to a different, often increased, level of royal authority, in reading festivals as sites of political contestation one may end up with quite a different assessment. Certainly in the case of the Spanish monarchy, one is left with the strong impression that the power of kings, certainly that of Philip II, may at times have been quite limited. Ideas about "the absolute state" or even about "the state" have been seriously chal-

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lenged in recent years, but the evidence to be deployed in the following chapters, will show, I hope, how seriously limited, at certain times and in certain places, Philip II's power— and that of other rulers as well—really was.[16]

Finally, there is a question that remains elusive, and that concerns the role and reaction of the "audience." The people who gathered at royal entries, who paraded, whether willingly or unwillingly, past the king's window (as they did in Zaragoza in 1585 and elsewhere on numerous occasions)—what did they think about these events? Most festivals and performances were, in the end, useless without large crowds and without some attempt at influencing their allegiance to the prince. Beyond the masques at the Jacobean court or similar entertainments open only to a very restricted audience—the private Carnival celebrations in Philip IV's court at the palace of the Buen Retiro in Madrid, for example—successful rulership demanded well-attended public performances. It is, however, almost impossible to ascertain how and why the crowds gathered at these events came to be in attendance, and, far more important, how much or how little they were influenced by what they saw and heard. The chroniclers' repeated assertion that the kings were received with great happiness must always be read with a very critical eye, though it is indeed possible that such was the case.

Perhaps one way to read the participation or lack of participation of the audience is through their silence(s). What was going on in those instances in which the king waved to the crowd and nothing happened or, worse yet, something negative happened? Insofar as it is possible to reconstruct the role of nameless crowds attending these royal performances, I will attempt to do so, but the answers will be, by the very nature of the evidence, highly inconclusive.

Philip II's Travels and Festivals

This is not a history of Philip II. The Prudent King and his reign have already benefitted from the labor of gifted historians. In 1998, on the occasion of the four hundredth anniversary of his death (September 13,

[16] See Helen Nader, *Liberty in Absolutist Spain: The Habsburg Sale of Towns, 1516–1700* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990); see also Claudia Mineo's UCLA PhD thesis, "Litigation, and Power: The Struggle over Municipal Privileges in Sixteenth-Century Castile" (2006), which shows the serious limitations that Philip II faced even in ruling the supposedly centralized kingdom of Castile. See also the remarkable book by Paul K. Monod, *The Power of Kings: Monarchy and Religion in Europe, 1589–1715* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999).

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1598), a deluge of biographies, studies of his court, studies on art under Philip, and on other important aspects of his long and eventful rule, appeared in print.[17] This is not even a history of Philip II's times, or even of festivals during his reign. Nor is it an attempt at a *histoire totale* of festivals in Spain during the reign of Philip II. In many respects, this is not even a history of the king's travels and festivals—though such a history would be most welcome. My efforts on this front are modest indeed.

Philip II's Travels Revisited

Although I focus only on a discrete number of Philip II's journeys, on their medieval precedents, and on some later Habsburg reenactments, it may be useful to place these particular expeditions and the festive events that marked the king's (or Philip's as a prince) journeys though his Habsburg lands within the context of a whole life of travel. At present and for the sake of introductory remarks, I offer no more than a few glosses on a list of royal journeys. Each was shaped by a series of factors,

[17] The bibliography on Philip II is, as noted in the text, extensive. Only the most pertinent works are listed here. For a biography of the king, see the still formidable late nineteenth-century work by Martin A. S. Hume, *Philip II of Spain* (London: Macmillan, 1899). See also the most worthy biographies/studies by Geoffrey Parker and Henry Kamen (note 1), and Jean Paul Duviols and Annie Molinié, *Philippe II et l'Espagne* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999). For contemporary or quasi-contemporary accounts of the reign or life of Philip II, see Fray José de Siguenza, *Como vivió y murió Felipe II por un testigo ocular* (Madrid: Apostolado de la Prensa, 1927), which is mostly an account of the building of the Escorial and Philip's life there. Also *Felipe II. Exterior e interior de una vida* (Madrid: Torreblancas Impresores, 1998). This work has been attributed to the Abbot of San Real, as well as to Antonio Pérez, Philip's secretary and later nemesis. See also Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, *Felipe II, Rey de España* (Madrid: Imprenta de Aribau, 1877), 4 vols; this particular work was written after Philip II's death, and it is quite thorough (4 volumes), but not an eyewitness account. For Philip II's troubled relations with Catalonia, see Ricardo García Cárcel, *Felipe II y Cataluña* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1997); for his artistic patronage, see Pedro Navascués Palacio, ed., *Philippus II Rex* (Barcelona: Lunwerg, 1998); María Paz Aguiló Alonso, *Orden y decoro: Felipe II y el amueblamiento del Monasterio de El Escorial* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001); on the selection of Madrid as a capital, the always perceptive and brilliant work of Manuel Fernández Alvarez, *El Madrid de Felipe II: en torno a una teoría sobre la Capitalida)* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1987); on the administration of Castile under Philip II, see Ignacio Ezquerra Revilla, *El consejo real de Castilla bajo Felipe II: grupos de poder y luchas faccionales* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V (2000); also the always genial Felipe Fernández Armesto, *Philip II's Empire: A Decade at the Edge* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1999); the excellent work of Geoffrey Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998). Additional bibliography will be provided in later chapters and below.

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FIGURE 1. Carlos I (1500–58) and Felipe II (1527–99), oil on canvas, Spanish School, sixteenth century. Charles V and a young Philip, probably painted around the time when Philip was traveling in Flanders (1549–50) and participated in the reenactment of scenes from the Amadis of Gaul in Binche. Courtesy Universidad de Granada, Spain / The Bridgeman Art Library.

such as Philip II's age, the political context, the weather, the region visited, the state of the realm, and other sundry variables. The intersection of these different vectors generated unique types of responses and influenced the king's role in each instance. Although festivals, because of their reiterative quality, had important impacts on performers and audiences, each individual festival was also *sui generis*.

Two examples may be in order before I examine some of these travels in great detail. The young Philip's longest journey, an account of which will play a significant role in this narrative, was a two-year expedition by land and sea from Valladolid to Barcelona and onwards through Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries before returning to Spain (1548–50). It was undertaken at a time when Charles V's grasp over his realms, with the exception of Germany, was not fiercely contested. Philip's age, still in his late teens, and his youthful exuberance prompted him, in spite of reports of his aloofness and pride—the result mostly of his linguistic shortcomings—to participate in numerous tournaments and to engage in gal-

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lant repartee with the young, beautiful, and eager ladies he encountered at every turn.[18]

By 1585, the date of his lengthy sojourn in the Crown of Aragon, the king was approaching his sixtieth year. He was beset by physical maladies and facing mounting political problems. Although his courtesy, especially to young ladies, remained exemplary, and though he sought to enter the capital city of his eastern domains in the chivalrous manner dictated by tradition—on horseback—neither his spirit nor his body fully cooperated. From an active participant, he had become a passive observer, often safely ensconced on his room's balcony or in a window. That, beyond the changing political landscape, shaped the nature of the feast.

Philip II's Itinerancy

Medieval and even early modern rulers were, by the very demands of their offices, peripatetic. As Rita Costa Gomes has shown for Portuguese medieval kings, traveling throughout the kingdom served to connect and fix their territory.[19] Charles V, for example, spent most of his time away from Spain, tending to his German and Flemish domains. Philip was not very different. For a ruler allegedly reclusive and shy of public appearances,[20] he spent an inordinate amount of time perambulating his peninsular and trans-Pyrenean realms and attending all the receptions, jousts, and other festive (and exhausting) events that went with royal travel. His restlessness, as was the case with most kings in late medieval and early modern Western Europe, was most often determined by political necessity and by the nature of rulership in the period. And so, whether he wished to or not, both as prince and heir to the Habsburg realms and later as king, Philip traveled. Even after building his beloved palace within the monastery of Saint Lawrence at the Escorial and naming Madrid the capital of his Spanish monarchy in 1561, the king traveled. He often did so following a well-defined circuit dictated by the seasons and by his taste. What maybe be described as Philip's regular itinerary included the Escorial, Madrid, his gardens at Aranjuez, Toledo (he spent most of 1560 there and visited frequently), El Pardo's hunting lodge

[18] Examples of this can be found in Calvete de Estrella; see chapters below..

[19] Rita Costa Gomes, *The Making of Court Society. Kings and Nobles in Late Medieval Portugal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 298–356.

[20] See Parker, *Philip II*, 24. Parker maintains that Philip at the end of his life thought that "too much mobility in a monarch was a bad thing." His advice to his son and heir in 1598: "Traveling about one's kingdom is neither useful nor decent." This comes from someone who did a great deal of travelling and who may well have found his two last journeys to the Crown of Aragon quite "indecent."

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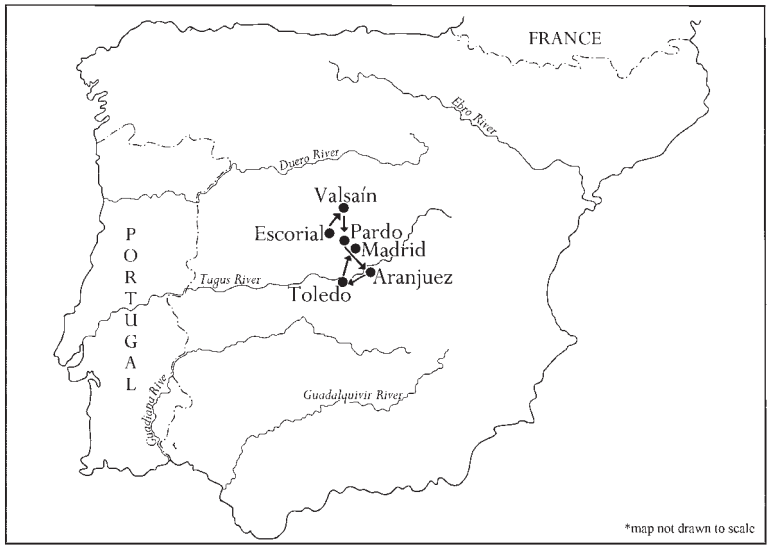

FIGURE 2. The normal route of Philip II's annual travels from the Escorial to Valsaín, El Pardo, Aranjuez, Toledo (occasionally), and Madrid. Map prepared by M. Carina Padilla.

(almost always in November), and Valsaín, his hunting lodge in the woods near Segovia. Except for Madrid, which drew increased attention as the bourgeoning administrative capital of his sprawling possessions and as a good place to spend winter, his annual circuit was not dictated entirely by politics but to a considerable degree also by pleasure, by the king's delight in his gardens, woods, hunting, and his treasures (both spiritual and artistic) at the Escorial.

In this respect Philip was not different from his Valois counterparts with their frequent visits to Vincennes, Fountainebleau, and their chateaux in the Loire valley, or the English Tudor monarchs with their sojourns at Hampton Court, Windsor, and other royal retreats. And then there were those long journeys dictated by political needs and by the well-established medieval pattern of royal itinerancy. In spite of their capital cities, ritual centers, and royal pantheons that tended to fix kings to a specific locality, they traveled often, even in the so-called early modern "centralized" monarchies.[21]

Philip's entire life, not unlike that of his restless medieval ancestors,

[21] On royal itinerancy see, once again, Rita Costa Gomes, *The Making of a Court Society,* 291–356 et passim. See also the forthcoming book by William C. Jordan, which compares Westminster and Saint Denis as devotional centers in England and France.

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such as Alfonso XI (1312–1350), his formidable great-grandparents, Ferdinand and Isabella, or even his own peripatetic father, Charles V, was deeply shaped by travel. While still a young man he embarked, at the request of his formidable father, on a long voyage intended to familiarize him with the lands and subjects he was shortly to rule. The journey also allowed Philip to become known to his subjects-to-be. Much that took place in the course of this trip, from triumphal entries, fabulous tournaments, bad weather, rebellious citizens (in Genoa), politically-uncomfortable dinners in Germany, and political intrigue have been abundantly documented by different sources, but none compare for thoroughness and eyewitness clarity with that of Calvete de Estrella, the prince's former tutor and companion. Calvete de Estrella's narrative, comprising two large volumes in the printed edition, plays a central role in our understanding of the relationship between travel and festivals. Being an account that can be easily compared to other narratives of the same events by non-Spaniards, Calvete's offers the possibility for a critical reading of these ludic events. More than that, his description of the young prince's travels abroad also provides a sense of what Calvete thought was novel in the festivals, allowing for comparisons between Spanish festivals and those in other European countries.

Of course, beyond his well-known local sojourns as a young prince, Philip had accumulated a wealth of other travel experiences. One may say, without exaggeration, that his experience of travel was also his experience of ruling. In 1542–43, there were two important trips. The first was his not well-documented formal princely entry into Barcelona; the second, the sojourn and celebrations that accompanied his voyage to Salamanca to meet his bride-to-be and first wife, Maria of Portugal.[22] Five years later came another and much longer voyage. His travels through Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries are a sad reminder of lost opportunities. Comparing the exuberance and promise of Philip's mid-sixteenth-century journeys through northern climes to the drudgery of his 1585–86 circuit through the Crown of Aragon offers telling signs of the slow but noticeable deterioration of the king's heath, hope, and possibilities. This is a point I will reemphasize throughout the book, for it serves as a reminder of how festive events allow a reading and understanding of medieval and early modern political processes and of checkered and uneven political developments.

I began this chapter with Philip II's voyage to England. He took other fairly short trips within the peninsula to nearby Toledo, Guadalajara, Madrid, and Alcalá de Henares in 1560–61, as well as a far more impor-

[22] See below, notes 24 and 25.

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tant entry into Barcelona in 1564. The latter, undertaken as king and conflated with Philip II's formal swearing of an oath to respect and uphold the privileges of the Principality, is also known to us only from an alarming paucity of sources. These travels were followed by a series of significant royal tours: to Seville (1570) and to Segovia in the same year for the reception into the kingdom of his fourth and final wife, Ana of Austria. In 1576 the king traveled to the fabled monastery of Guadalupe to meet the king of Portugal, and five years later, in 1581, he took the long road (and river) to Lisbon to assume the crown of the Luisitanian kingdom.[23]

Two other royal tours play a significant role in this story. (Though we should note that the trips mentioned here do not by any means comprise a full list of the king's travels through his lands.) When he was already in his late fifties, and then again at age sixty-five, Philip II undertook, as noted earlier, two long and painful trips to his eastern kingdoms. Documented by Henry Cock, an archer, papal protonotary, and a member of Philip II's Flemish guard, these two voyages, in 1585–86 and 1592, respectively, will be examined in great detail in chapter 5, and referenced throughout this book. In their narrative silences—that is, in what did not happen as opposed to what actually did–they speak of how very different these two long journeys were from those grand and joyous ceremonies held at Binche and elsewhere during his long-past early years. Then, the young prince was at the height of his physical power and still wedded to the *Amadis of Gaul*-inflicted imaginative expectations of a glorious and chivalrous life. By 1585–86 and, certainly by 1592, those hopes had vanished. Reality consisted in international reverses and mounting difficulties with his subjects in Spain's eastern kingdoms. In many, and quite poignant, ways, Cervantes' *Don Quixote* parallels the king's slow and inexorable descent from fantasy into the sad truths of old age, illnesses, and political decline.

The question may be validly raised: how much time did Philip II actually spend on the road? And how did the count of his days spent traveling compare to the itinerancy of his predecessors and successors? Although it is difficult to calculate exactly the days and even the years spent away from his desk, one must remember that, as heir to the throne and as king, he followed, as already noted, an annual well-established circuit that took him through most of central Castile. In 1590, when he was already past his sixtieth birthday and suffering from many maladies, including attacks of gout that rendered him partially immobile, Jehan Lhermite reports on his visit to El Pardo and almost a month spent hunting in the area's

[23] Idem.

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woods. The implication in Lhermite's account is that every November was spent there.[24] Before his formal ascent to the throne in 1556, he took an educational and introductory tour to Habsburg lands in Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries that lasted for almost two years. Four years later, he sailed to England (1554–55) after a leisurely journey—sketched in the opening pages of this chapter—from Valladolid to La Coruña, where he went to make formal his loveless and unfortunate marriage to Mary Tudor on July 26, 1554. From England, he crossed the Channel for yet another visit to the Low Countries where he attended his father, Emperor Charles V's abdication of some of his titles, the first of a series of such abdications.[25] On the peninsula, he traveled back and forth between different parts of the realm, attesting thus to the continuity of medieval royal itinerancy into the early modern period and beyond, as well as to similarities with the habits of his medieval ancestors. These trips, taking the king to politically critical sites throughout his diverse realms, represented clear departures from his usual seasonal and well-established circuit in central Castile. Included in these voyages were the entries of royal consorts. Two are of particular interest: the entry and festivities that accompanied Isabelle of Valois' reception in Toledo as the new queen in 1560, described in careful detail by Alvar Gómez de Castro and Sebastián de Horozco, and that of Ana of Austria, Philip II's fourth and final wife into Segovia and Madrid in 1570.[26]

[24] Lhermite, *Le passetemps*, 98. Lhermite indicates that Philip II's "custom" was to spend November at El Pardo. In 1596, even though the king was by then unable to ride, he was at El Pardo once again in November. See Lhermite, *Le passetemps*, 312–13.

[25] See Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, 36–65. His long tour of Italy, Germany, and Milan is described in luxurious detail by Calvete de Estrella in his *El felicísimo viaje*. His sojourn to England is related in a contemporary account by Andrés Muñoz, *Viaje de Felipe II a Inglaterra*, Pascual Gayangos, ed. (Madrid: Imprenta de Aribau, 1877). English sources often present a viewpoint that differs from Muñoz's pro-Spanish perspective. See, for example, John Gough Nichols, ed. *The Chronicle of Queen Jane, and the Two Years of Queen Mary, and Especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyat* (London: Camden Society, 1850). His second voyage to the Low Countries is told, with more emphasis on Charles V's actions and the politics of succession, in Louis Prosper Gachard, ed., *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, 4 volumes (Brussels: F. Hayez, 1874–82). See vol. 4, *Journal des voyages de Philippe II, de 1554 à 1569, par Jean de Vandenesse*. See also the edition of some of Gachard's edited documents in *Carlos V y Felipe II a través de sus contemporáneos,* trans. C. Pérez Bustamante (Madrid: Atlas, 1944).

[26] Francisco J. Pizarro Gómez's book is a short introduction to the art and spectacle created by civic authorities for the purpose of receiving Philip II during his travels. It emphasizes sculptures and the architectural aspects of the triumphal arches built for the king's visit, but it does not address the issues raised in this book. Although it provides a most useful list of the sources for all these travels, it does not offer sufficient bibliographical information to trace some of his sources. I have now consulted those that have been

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Later in life, when gout, disappointment, and often abysmal weather added to the unpleasantness of the experience, the king still traveled, propelled by the demands of statecraft (*razón de estado*) and by his finely developed sense of duty, journeying throughout his eastern kingdoms for more than a year in 1585–86, and then to a meeting of the Cortes of the Crown of Aragon in Tarazona in 1592.[27] Once again, though calculating how many days he was away from his desk at the Escorial or Madrid is next to impossible, one may categorically assert that probably more than a decade of his life and reign were spent in travel, with four of them abroad and close to two or more in the Crown of Aragon alone.

Perhaps one may obtain a good idea of royal travel by following Lhermite's careful descriptions of Philip II's movements throughout the later years of the king's life. If we look at one single year, 1594–95, when the king was already quite old, ill, and confined to a special chair in which he was carried from one location to another, we may obtain some sense of that royal restlessness that afflicted even such supposedly sedentary figures as the second Habsburg ruler of Spain. As was his custom, he left the Escorial for El Pardo (his hunting lodge) after the Feast of All Saints (November 1) and remained there for three weeks. He then left for Madrid to celebrate the feast of St. Andrew in his capital city, as well as a gathering

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published in U.S. libraries and in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. Unpublished manuscripts or rare books were examined in the Biblioteca Real and the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid during a research trip undertaken in Winter 2008 with the support of a Guggenheim Fellowship and a UCLA Academic Senate Research Grant. It may be useful to list some of the most important sources for Philip II's travels, since they will be invoked at a later time for descriptions of festivals. Of these the most significant are: *Relaciones del viaje de Su Magestad á Barcelona* (1542). A brief notice of this entry, when Philip accompanied his father and swore to uphold the privileges of Barcelona, is found in *Anales de Cataluña* III, 184; Maestro Vargas, *Relación de las fiestas que se hizo en la ciudad de Salamanca a la Príncesa Doña María de Portugal(1543)*; Alvar Gómez de Castro, *Recibimiento que la imperial ciudad de Toledo hizo á la Majestad de la reina nuestra Señora Doña Isabel, hija del rey Henrico II de Francia . . . a celebrar las fiestas de sus felicissimas bodas con el rey Don Phelipe nuestro señor, segundo de este nombre* (Toledo, 1561); *Entrada de Felipe II en Barcelona con objeto de jurar los fueros y privilegios del principado y recibimiento y fiestas que se le hicieron* (1564). This account is registered in Comes, *Libre de algunes coses asanyalades*; de Mal Lara, *Recibimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a Felipe II*; López de Hoyos, *Real aparato y sumptuoso recebimiento de D. Ana de Austria*; *Las vistas del Rey de Portugal y el de Castilla en Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, año 1576, Diciembre* in *Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles* XXXII (Madrid, 1896); I. Velázquez, *La entrada que en el Reino de Portugal hizo la S.C.R.M. de Don Philippe . . .* (Lisbon, 1583); and the anonymous *Relación de la jornada que hizo Felipe II, desde Santarem a Lisboa y de su entrada en aquella ciudad* (1581), Biblioteca nacional (Madrid), MSS/12026; Báez de Sepúlveda, *Relación verdadera del recibimiento que hizo la ciudad de Segovia (1570).*

[27] For these two royal voyages, see chapter 5 and the works of Henry Cock cited above.

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of the Order of the Golden Fleece of which he was the master. He remained in Madrid until the end of June 1595, when he traveled back to El Escorial; and in November, carried by his servants, he made his way back to El Pardo and thence, once again, to Madrid.[28] Even though his usual circuit had been reduced—no more visits, at least not every year, to Valsaín near Segovia, or to his gardens in Aranjuez, or to nearby Toledo—Philip nonetheless kept to a tour that allowed him to spend November at El Pardo, winter in Madrid, and summer in El Escorial.

Philip II's travels were so extensive and so carefully described and embellished by his contemporaries that a thorough perusal of these accounts would make for tedious reading of royal perambulations and of the ceremonies that celebrated the king's arrival, sojourn, and departure. Instead, I will select some high points in Philip II's itinerary and explore some of the festivals associated with his travels. His experiences provide a lens through which I, and I hope the reader, will be able to telescope backwards and forwards in time, to examine themes within the context of *la longue durée* of Spanish festive traditions and their transition from medieval practices under fragmented political rule to the early modern period and the nominal rule of one king over the peninsular realms.

Implicit in this approach and in the emphasis on travel may be the sense that festivals and travel are unavoidably linked. In truth, royal travel almost always prompted celebrations, whether elaborate or not. Even the absence of a reception, the initial silence in the record—as in the case of Philip II's aborted entry into Barcelona in 1585 or his incognito visit to Toledo before his formal entry in late1559 —tell us a great deal about the politics of royal performance and how, as I argued above, these festivals could easily become sites of contestation. Festive cycles could, however, follow a course independent of royal or princely travel as well, and we should not neglect these events—jousts, Carnival, Corpus Christi, births, weddings, deaths, coronations, and others—that played out across the Spanish realms even in the absence of a royal or princely personage. Similarly, the relation between travel and festivals, and the frequency of Philip II's arduous journeys throughout Spain and abroad serves as a vivid reminder that even in the sixteenth century, with Madrid as their newly selected capital city,[29] the kings of the Spains were forced by the political exigencies of their fragmented rule, to take to the road, and to do so often. Medieval itinerancy was alive and well in this world of so-called centralized monarchies. This is indeed a long preamble to make my point: namely, that even though this is not a history of Philip II, his role

[28] Lhermite, *Le passetemps*, 248–70.

[29] On Madrid's emergence as a capital of the Spanish Monarchy, see above note 17.

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in the story is so prominent that I think a brief sketch of his reign and of the social, cultural, and political context in which his travels in Spain and abroad took place may prove useful.

Philip II

Born in Valladolid on May 21, 1527, the son of Charles V (I in Spain) and Isabella of Portugal, Philip received the education prescribed for royal heirs.[30] Taught by a distinguished series of tutors, among them Cristobal Calvet (or Calvete) de Estrella and Juan Ginez de Sepúlveda, and kept to the straight by the stern hand of his "governor," Juan de Zuñiga, Philip early developed enthusiasms that became life-long passions. A youthful taste for nature and hunting remained with him throughout his life, and one may find him in his later travels paying what one could only describe as sightseeing visits to wild place and gardens. An interest in architecture is documented by visits to notable buildings. During his visit to Seville, to give just one example, he delighted in an excursion to the country house of Bellaflor.[31] But it was his two principal loves, hunting and gardens, that largely shaped the contours of his annual perambulation. Highlights were visits to his gardens at Aranjuez, to his woods near Segovia, and to his hunting lodge at El Pardo (near Madrid). The young prince also cultivated a great and enduring taste for reading, music, and painting. His avid collecting of books and paintings, and his keen interest in architecture and urban planning became the foundations for the impressive collection gathered at the Escorial; in his residence there he assembled as well a first-rate collection of Flemish paintings that would eventually grow into the Prado Museum.

Philip's youthful love of history and geography became useful tools of statecraft later on in life, as did his dogged dedication to his duties as a ruler, his deep religious feelings, his innate reserve, sense of propriety, and natural dignity. It is startling that such an accomplished ruler—and Philip II, notwithstanding the opprobrium hurled at him by some of his contemporaries and by the burgeoning Black Legend, was an exceedingly accomplished one—never wrote a memoir. Some of his later biog-

[30] On Philip II's upbringing and training, see Parker, 3–23; Kamen, 1–20. As both Parker and Kamen comment, Charles V's letters to his son and his continuous counseling played a significant role in the education of the prince. See *Vida interior del Rey D. Felipe II. Atribuida comunmente al Abad de San Real . . . ,* published by Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor (Madrid: Imprenta de Andrés Ramírez, 1788; facsimile edition with a preface by Pedro Martín Gómez, Madrid: Torreblanca Impresores, 1998), 6–10.

[31] For examples of Philip II's interest in sightseeing unusual and/or beautiful places during his travels, see chapters 3 and 5.

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raphers have argued that he would not allow anyone to write an "official" history of his reign.[32] Richard L. Kagan however has shown that the absence of a royal memoir or officially commissioned biography does not necessarily mean that Philip refused to have his story told or failed to shape how it was to be told. By examining the works of Juan Páez de Castro, Ambrosio Morales, Antonio Herrera y Tordesillas, and other humanists close to the king or in his employ, Kagan has provided a more nuanced picture of Philip's ambivalence on this matter, of his reluctance, on the one hand, and his desire, on the other, to control the telling of his reign and deeds.[33] It is possible that the restraint so crucial to his sense of self motivated his silence. Regardless of his true intentions, the result is that what we know about him directly, we know through the innumerable letters he wrote in the exercise of his office or as personal missives to his family, above all to his beloved Isabella and Catalina, his daughters by his third wife, the cherished and too-short-lived Isabelle of Valois.

Philip II's formation as a child and as a ruler deeply influenced both how he traveled and his self-representation in those festive moments that punctuated the liturgical calendar and the progression of the king through his territory. We get a clear sense of this in José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez Molero's detailed study of Philip's education. His book is an excellent guide to the complexities and challenges of a princely education. More than just an inventory of the books Philip read, Sánchez Molero offers powerful insights into the socialization of the prince and his introduction to the courtly life. Jousts, tournaments, hunting, horsemanship, fencing, dancing, courteous behavior to the ladies at court, being invested with the order of the Golden Fleece at the very young age of six, playing at being king—all this and more were important components in the young prince's education. It is not surprising that throughout his life he retained a taste for these activities even in the face of ill health.[34]

One of his favorite books, according to Geoffrey Parker, one of Philip's recent and best biographers, was the *Amadis of Gaul*, the celebrated

[32] Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, xi, argues that "Philip II refused to let his life be written during his lifetime."

[33] See Richard L. Kagan, " La historia y los cronistas del rey," in Navascués Palacios, ed., *Philippus II Rex*, 90–119. More to the point, see his *Clio and the Crown. The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 94–148, where he demolishes the myth that he "had refused to let his life be written."

[34] José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *El aprendisaje cortesano de Felipe II (1527–1546). La formación de un principe del Renacimiento* (Madrid: Sociedad estatal para la conmemoración de los centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1999), 72–75, 94–100, 103–6, 134–43, et passim.

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fifteenth-century rendition of the adventures of Amadis and a seminal text in the revival of the chivalrous romances so central to the fifteenth century.[35] That fact in itself tells us much about the king's taste and about his perspective in experiencing and responding to the celebrations that he sponsored or that were planned in his honor. The *Amadis* was a summation of medieval romances and one of the most popular examples of the genre, steeped in the hotbed atmosphere of courtly love and adventurous knights-errant. Carried in the conquistadors' knapsacks to the New World early in the sixteenth century and quoted in a key passage of Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *True History of the Conquest of New Spain,*[36] the *Amadis* fantasy and romance lies at the center of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, a text that, although a critique and ironic send-up of chivalry novels, was itself the last great example of them.[37]

Philip II's love for the *Amadis of Gaul* with its fantastic plot(s) helps explain his youthful enthusiasm for the running of the ring (*sortija*, see below), an old medieval test of equestrian skills. Although not all of his performances of knightly deeds of valor and chivalry were successful, Philip never abandoned his enduring taste for tournaments and courtly gestures. And as he advanced in years and was rendered frail by gout and other maladies, he became an avid spectator rather than a participant. He seldom failed to attend these long martial celebrations, or to rejoice in them. In 1544, when he was not yet twenty, he took part in a tournament held on boats on the River Pisuerga, outside Palencia. "His boat sank twice because of the weight," of the armor, and the seventeen-year-old prince ended in the water. Shortly afterward, in another fictitious battle, this one held on an island in a lake at Guadalajara, the prince injured both legs.[38] But neither of these early reverses quelled his appetite for the glamour of the tournament. In his long journey of 1548, the young prince and heir to his father's thrones avidly joined in the tournaments scheduled in his honor, cutting a fine figure and excelling in courtesy to the ladies, in his display of courtly manners, and in his prowess in knightly exercises.

[35] See Parker, 15. There are innumerable editions of the *Amadís de Gaula;* see the edition and introduction by Juan Cacho Blecua, *Amadís de Gaula* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1987–1988). See also Martín de Riquer, *Caballeros andantes españoles* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1967), which provides a wonderful context for the popularity of the *Amadís* story in fifteenth-century Spain.

[36] See the influential study of Irving A. Leonard, *Books of the Brave*, *Being an Account of Books and of Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the Sixteenth-Century New World* (Cambridge. MA: Harvard University Press, 1949). For Bernal Díaz del Castillo's famous and often cited quote on the *Amadís,* see chapter 7.

[37] On Miguel de Cervantes's praise of *Amadís de Gaula,* see chapter 7.

[38] Parker, 15ff.

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These performances served as a prelude to the great and rightly celebrated festivals and tournament hosted by Mary of Hungary at her palace at Binche (Bins), where portions of the *Amadis of Gaul* were performed, with Philip as one of the main knightly protagonists in the reenactment.

Although I will later have additional and lengthy comments to make about the celebrations at Binche, it may be useful now to note how Philip's youthful love for romances and, above all, for the *Amadis* shaped the way in which he experienced and reacted to festive receptions and chivalrous deeds. Toward the end of his life, when his body could hardly bear travel, and even less horse riding, he almost always insisted when coming into a town to do so mounted, usually on a white horse. This he may have done in remembrance of those long gone years when he was a new Amadis in search of adventures and knightly deeds, dreams that would be buried, but only partially, under the burdens of office and bitter defeat.[39]

By the mid 1540s, Philip, still in his teens, was drawn more and more into state affairs. He became a regent in 1543, assumed the responsibilities of married life through his wedding to the Portuguese princess Maria Manuela, and dealt with a revolt in far-away Peru two years later. But his taste for the courtly life and for tournaments remained a constant throughout his reign. In this he followed a tradition of Castilian and other peninsular rulers that was centuries old.[40] Foreign ambassadors to the court of a mature Philip provide us with sketches of the man as perceived by some of his contemporaries. Beyond the description of Philip's physique and demeanor, some of these astute, and often critical, observers of the Spanish court describe an often sympathetic and morally upright king. Federico Badoaro, Venetian ambassador to the courts of Charles V and Philip II, notes his slender looks, "his phlegmatic and melancholy" complexion, but also his inclination to do good, his liking for play and nightly adventures, his liberality, amiability, and modesty. In his report to the Venetian senate, another ambassador, Antonio Tiepolo, notes Philip II's accessibility and sense of justice, as well as his piety. This assessment is seconded several years later by an anonymous Venetian reporter (probably Lorenzo Priuli), who emphasizes the king's sense of justice, religiosity, and excessive dedication to statecraft. This account, written in 1577, also describes the king's annual circuit and confirms some of the points I made earlier about Philip's itinerancy. The writer states: "He retires between eight to ten months every year to Aranjuez, to

[39] See below chapters 5 and 6.

[40] See Jesús D. Rodríguez Velasco, *El debate sobre la caballería en el siglo XV. La tratadística caballeresca castellana en su marco europeo* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1996). For the pageantry of John II of Castile's court, see chapter 6.

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San Lorenzo de El Escorial, and to El Pardo to enjoy there the pleasures of the countryside with the queen and his children, in the midst of a reduced number of courtiers."[41]

The Reign of Philip II: Crucial Events

When he assumed full rule after his father's full resignation of the Spanish throne and its extensive possessions in 1556, Philip confronted mounting problems. First and foremost, he faced serious fiscal pressures. All the silver of the new world and the increasingly heavy burden of taxation imposed mostly on Castilian peasants could not begin to pay for the cost of Charles V's wars in Germany and for the excessive costs of maintaining the court. A chronic shortage of money forced the Crown to default on its debt payments three times during Philip II's reign. Bankruptcy was always a terrible alternative, for it made borrowing money more difficult and far more expensive.

Although some of these problems were not of Philip's making but inherited from his father, the Prudent King was never able to make Spain solvent and prosperous. Towards the end of his reign, adverse weather conditions, the increasing costs of war, plagues, and other disasters further weakened the Spanish economy, above all that of Castile, the economic and military mainstay of the monarchy. It should not come as a surprise, therefore, that Philip and his advisers sought to raise funds by every possible means: by selling offices and patents of nobility, by creating new independent municipalities at a price, and by any number of other such imprudent measures. But these efforts were neither collectively nor individually sufficient to dam the flood of expenditures that was slowly drowning Spain. In the end, they only contributed to the malaise spreading through the Iberian kingdom and its far-flung empire. Reforms were planned and, sometimes, even enacted, but all eventually foundered on the need to project Spanish military power outside Spain's natural borders, to protect its trans-Pyrenean and maritime possessions, and to face a growing number of political adversaries. The problems were many, but sectarian violence and war took center stage.[42]

Religion, War, and Diplomacy

The dire fiscal conditions that prompted Philip II's decision to allow the government to default on its debts shortly after he came to the throne

[41] See *Viajes de extranjeros* II, 280–81 (Badoaro); 314–15 (Tiepolo); 403–4 (attributed to Priuli).

[42] On Philip II's economic policies and bankruptcies, see note 17 above.

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was not the new king's only problem. He also inherited from Charles V a series of conflicts that committed Spain to a military presence in war theaters throughout Western Europe, the Mediterranean, North Africa, and Spain's overseas colonies. With the signing of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559), Philip won a respite from military engagement and was able to reassert Spanish hegemony throughout Western Europe. The advantages gained from the settlement with France and the restoration of peace were, however, short-lived. Spain, and Philip with it, faced a series of challenges that eventually drove a dagger into the heart of Philip II's plans for a Europe under the aegis of Spanish armies. If, as Parker has argued, Cateau-Cambrésis confirmed Spain's role as the gendarme of Europe, it was a role that called for immense efforts and far more wealth than Spain could generate. It also caused a great many headaches.[43] Dynastic marriages—which the Habsburgs used adroitly and with great success—neutralized or diminished conflicts at times, but they did not prevent eventual antagonisms that proved, in the long run, fatal to the Spanish monarchy.

It may be useful to enumerate the points of conflict that waxed, waned, and waxed again throughout Philip II's rule. France had been Spain's first and most significant rival for hegemony in Europe. Charles V and Francis I's long struggle for control of Italy had ended with Spain's victory, but France was wealthy and had demographic and natural resources beyond Spain's dreams. Fortunately for Philip II, France was also mired in internecine sectarian violence between Protestants (Huguenots) and Catholics. The long struggle between the two groups did not end with the massacre of Protestants on the feast day of St. Bartholomew (August 23–24, 1572). It lingered on until Henry of Navarre's (the future Henry IV) victory in the 1590 battle of Ivry, and was not definitively concluded until the Edict of Nantes (April 15, 1598) granted Protestants rights.[44]

Philip II intervened repeatedly in the affairs of France. He did so directly, claiming a legitimate interest in French affairs because of his marriage to Isabelle of Valois. When that failed, he continued to intervene in France's internal politics by means of his alliance with, and support of,

[43] On the impact of Cateau-Cambrésis and the world that emerged out of that treaty, see John H. Elliott, *Europe Divided, 1559–1598*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

[44] For France in this period, see Keith Cameron ed., *From Valois to Bourbon: Dynasty, State and Society in Early Modern France* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1989), which provides a series of articles covering diverse aspects of French society during the reign of the last Valois king. See also his older study of the reign of Henry IV and the representations of the French monarch, *Henri III, a Maligned or Malignant King?: Aspects of the Satirical Iconography of Henri de Valois* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1978). On Henry IV of France there is an extensive bibliography. See, among many other works, David Buisseret, *Henry IV* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1984).

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the Guise faction and the Catholic League during the civil unrest of Henry III's (Valois king 1574–1589) final years. Spanish policies sought to undermine French political stability; yet, in spite of France's internal problems and the gains Spain had made by the Cateau-Cambrésis treaty, France remained a difficult opponent and, much more so after 1589 when Henry of Navarre (Bourbon) came to the throne. In Philip II's last years, the Spanish king must have bitterly faced the inevitable fact that France was very much on the ascendant while Spain barely held to its initial advantages. For even in the midst of its religious conflicts, France had sided with Spain's rivals and sought to weaken its power.

The same history of alliances, uneasy relations, and antagonisms marked political dealings between England and Spain. England had long been one of Spain's natural allies. During the early phases of Hundred Years War, Peter I of Castile and the Black Prince had joined in operations against France. Then, in the 1380s, the Trastámaras reversed their allegiance, siding with France, and a Castilian and French fleet raided the English coast.[45] Castilian merchants had been trading with, and in England from at least the mid-thirteenth century.[46] Nonetheless by Philip II's reign the Spanish-English alliance had badly deteriorated. As everywhere in Europe, religious beliefs shaped the contours of political alliances and antagonisms alike. Henry VIII's rejection of Rome and his divorce from Catherine of Aragon, Philip II's great aunt, opened a period of hostility between the two powers, interrupted only by Philip II's brief marriage to the much older Mary Tudor in 1554. As consort–king of England, Philip, who visited the island for his wedding and received a reception that was lukewarm at best, had little power and less hope of succeeding Mary to the throne, but for that brief interval there seemed a possibility of reversing the Protestant tide in the British Isles and of gaining English support for Spain's war with France. In fact, English contingents fought on the Spanish side at the battle of Saint Quentin in 1557. Such hopes perished quickly when Mary died in 1558 and Elizabeth I ascended the throne (1558–1603).[47] Elizabeth, whom Philip very briefly thought of as a potential wife, proved instead to be a formidable enemy. During her long reign, the English threatened Spanish possessions in the New World, raided the sea routes connecting Spain to its overseas empire, helped the Dutch rebels, and sought to thwart Spanish policies at every possible turn. The defeat of the Spanish Armada in

[45] See Teofilo F. Ruiz, *Spain's Centuries of Crisis: 1300–1474* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 77–85 for the political context of a Castilian-English alliance.

[46] See Wendy R. Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978), especially 40–70.

[47] For Philip II's voyage to England, see notes 1 thru 6.

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1588, a defeat more the result of bad weather and worse logistic preparations than of English seafaring prowess, removed for a while English fears of a Spanish invasion and ended Philip II's hope of conquering England and restoring it to Catholicism.[48]

England and France, though formidable and resilient enemies, eventually became threats secondary to the enduring and eventually crippling revolt of the Netherlands' northern provinces. Here again, religion played a central role in the conflict, but Philip II's reluctance to compromise was driven as well by his Burgundian connection. Although born in Spain and, as noted, first and foremost a Castilian by taste and temperament, Philip could not forsake his connection to the ancestral home of both his father and grandfather. Nor could he forget those halcyon days in his youth when, whether enjoying a princely entry into Brussels, "joyous" entries elsewhere, tournaments, and Binche's great chivalrous spectacle, everything seemed like a glorious promise of prosperity and unchallenged authority. It was very difficult for Philip to cut his losses, but, despite the success of some early efforts to quell the revolt, the rebellious Protestant cities and northern provinces proved to be a quagmire in which the diminishing Spanish treasure and armies sank, quite literally, into the mud. (The Dutch were wont to open their dikes to drown their enemies.) It was the first real token of Spain's eventual demise.[49]

The history of the rebellion in the Low Countries and the rise of the Dutch Republic are complex topics and not directly pertinent to the themes of this book, but the lessons that one could derive from Philip's policies in the Netherlands provide clues to the history of festivals in sixteenth-century Spain. The intersection of deep sectarian conflicts (and Philip, like most sixteenth-century rulers, was profoundly religious) with Philip II's stubbornness in the face of any resistance to his authority were turned into performances in the elaborate festivals that marked the king's progress through his kingdom, as well as celebrations related to the ruler and his family's life cycle.

Between 1568 and 1570, while facing increased armed conflicts in the Netherlands, Philip had also to deal with the Ottoman threat in the Mediterranean and North Africa and the hard-fought and debilitating Morisco rebellion in the Alpujarras region. The victory of a league of

[48] For the Spanish Armada and Philip II, see Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *The Spanish Armada: The Experience of War in 1588* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), and Garrett Mattingly's pioneering work, *The Armada* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962, originally published in 1959).

[49] On the Dutch Revolt and Spanish efforts there, see Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567–1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

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Catholic naval forces under the command of Philip's half brother, Don Juan of Austria, over the Ottoman fleet at Lepanto in 1571 provided a temporary respite from Ottoman intrusions into the Western Mediterranean but was no permanent solution to the Ottoman threat. Likewise, the defeat of the Moriscos in the Alpujarras and the dispersal of Morisco survivors throughout Castile brought an end to open military conflict but did not at all resolve the question of how to assimilate a large group of Muslims nominally converted to Christianity but in reality living lives still deeply grounded in Islamic traditions.

Yet other problems beset Philip II during his long reign. Italy was a nest of untrustworthy allies and rivals. The papacy, for which in principle Philip II did so much, was at best a reluctant ally. Venice was always problematic. Philip's first son and heir, Don Carlos, was insane and had to be confined, dying shortly afterwards. The untimely death of Elizabeth, his beloved third wife, came as a harsh blow. His heir to be, Philip (Philip III), was indolent and did not share his father's dedication to statecraft or commitment to his duties as ruler. The eastern kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon were problematic and, at times, as was the case in 1591, openly rebellious. And then, late in life, the king's health deteriorated badly, a fitting metaphor for the fate of Spain.

Philip II's frequent travels and Spanish festive cycles must always be viewed in the context of these changing social, economic, and political landscapes. Some of the travel, ceremonials, and festive events were directly related to political problems and Philip's attempts at dealing with them through what may have been distasteful but necessary political spectacles. This does not mean that Philip II's reign was a series of unmitigated disasters. He enjoyed successes as well. His youth was quite a charmed one. He loved his books and his art collection at the Escorial, his gardens, and his woods. Cateau-Cambrésis was a great diplomatic victory, so was Lepanto, an example of the king's ability to forge a broad alliance of Christian powers and a signal victory over the Ottoman navy. Becoming king of Portugal in 1580 and adding the vast and profitable Portuguese colonies to the Spanish monarchy constituted an important gain for Spain and the culmination, albeit for only sixty years, of the enduring dream of peninsular unity. Finally there was the successful defense of the New World against attacks, mostly by the English and the Dutch, which can be counted among Philip's great achievements.[50]

Not only in the political sphere did the Prudent King made impressive gains. In the 1570s Philip II sponsored a series of ambitious humanistic and humanistic and scientific programs. A broad and liberal perspective

[50] On Philip's achievements, see notes 1 and 11.

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on knowledge and a desire to itemize the resources and record the history of the monarchy led to initiatives that included the so-called *Relaciones topográficas*, a vast survey of the history, customs, economic resources, religious practices, and many other aspects of Spanish life. Undertaken in 1575 and 1578, it theoretically aimed at gathering data throughout most of Spain and parts of the Americas (though most of the surviving surveys come from New Castile). The Aragonese realms, as was to be expected, ignored the whole affair. Although the *Relaciones topográficas* addressed purposes that were not strictly speaking humanistic and may have been indeed, as one of the anonymous readers suggested, more in the "realm of *arcana imperii* or what Portuondo has described as 'secret science,'" the *Relaciones*' emphasis on local history and religious practices were certainly symptomatic of Philip and his close circle of learned advisers' voracious appetite for the creation of knowledge.[51]

Further, Francisco Hernández's mission to collect botanical specimens and information on local medicine in colonial Mexico yielded an impressive collection of writings, among them, the *Index medicamentorum*, the *Quatro libros de la naturaleza*, and the Roman version of his *Rerum medicarum novae Hispaniae thesaurus*. In the same vein of itemizing and mapping out his vast possessions, Philip II in 1570 commissioned Anton van den Wyngaerde (known in Spain as Antonio de las Viñas) to undertake a monumental series of pictorial representations of Spanish cities, reflecting the king's keen interest in urban planning. Not surprisingly, most of these works ended up in Philip II's new library at the newly constructed monastery and palace at the Escorial. Yet, while in the heady days around 1570, Philip and his advisors sought to reshape the cultural landscape of early modern Spain, economic and political conditions worsened. Wars, fiscal constraints, and sheer exhaustion led, eventually, to the shelving of most of these projects.[52]

Culture, of course, was intrinsic to festive cycles. In a most useful in-

[51] Although Portuondo focuses on the *Relaciones geográficas de Indias,* there is a short and interesting discussion of the *Relaciones topográficas*. See María M. Portuondo, *Secret Science: Spanish Cosmography and the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 213–23.

[52] On the *Relaciones topográficas,* see Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, *La mentalidad en Castilla la Nueva en el siglo XVI: religión, economía y sociedad, según las "Relaciones topográficas" de Felipe II* (Madrid: Ediciones Escurialenses (EDES), Real Monasterio del Escorial, 1986). For the paintings of Spanish cities by Antonio de las Viñas, see the formidable study edited by Richard Kagan: *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989). On Francisco Hernandez's work and the afterlife of some of his botanical and medical treatises, see the two-volume work edited by Simon Vary, Rafael Kobrin, and Dora Weiner, *Searching for the Secrets of Nature: The Life and Works of Francisco Hernandez* and *The Mexi-*

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troduction to the topic, Francisco Javier Pizarro Gómez examines the ephemeral art and decorations built (or planned) for the occasions of Philip II's royal and princely visits or for great festivals associated with his travels.[53] Artificial constructions and temporary decorations were not however the only displays of art. In later chapters, we will have the opportunity to glimpse the Prudent King and other Spanish rulers as they acted in and/or presided over elaborate celebrations, and to look as well at the cultural artifacts—literary, musical, and architectural—that were intrinsic to ludic performances.

Organizing This Book

As I have repeatedly indicated (though the thrust of my the previous paragraphs belies my argument), this is more a book about a selective number of festivals and, to a lesser extent, festivals and travel, than about Philip II. The Prudent King, either as a young prince with dreams of unsurpassed majesty or as an aging ruler beset by disillusion and illness, plays always a central role in the narrative, but I wish to organize my discussion not around his person but rather around themes. Each chapter, while placing events in a historical context, examines the *longue durée* of specific festive traditions. My main sources throughout have been chronicles and travel accounts that provide careful descriptions of royal movement, of festivities associated with princely or royal visits, but I have also made use of local accounts of royal visits and of Corpus Christi celebrations, as well as contemporary short notices of events taking place in Madrid during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and of private chronicles, such as that of Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo. Most of my sources reflect the manner in which royal agents or municipally sponsored chroniclers sought to advance the interests of kings, princes, or local nobles. Others represent ambitions to promote one's city or one's politics within the city by festive displays and associations with the king or the sacred. Others, the most useful, let us see, almost "through a glass darkly," moments of contestation, subtle conflicts, and, in the case of tournaments and other courtly events, the culture of specific social groups.

Since a great deal of my narrative is constructed around Henry Cock's descriptions of two of Philip II's voyages to the ground of Aragon, Lhermite's complementary account of the 1592 journey to Tarazona, and Cal-

can Treasury: The Writings of Francisco Hernandez, 2 vols. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000).

[53] Francisco Javier Pizarro Gómez, *Arte y espectáculo en los viajes de Felipe II* (Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro, 1999).

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vete de Estrella's extensive account of Philip's voyage to Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, I have sought to balance these "official" accounts with "unofficial" ones, a distinction to which I will return throughout the succeeding chapters. That is, whenever possible I have sought to deploy contemporary evidence that was not royally sponsored. In many cases, my evidence comes from learned men employed by municipalities for the purpose of telling a particular story about a royal entry, but also, and most obviously, to enhance the prestige of their respective cities as well. I have sought to test the veracity of some of my sources by attempting to examine and compare all the available narratives. One should be wary nonetheless. Those who wrote, who had their works printed, and whose works survived were almost all imbricated into the structures that underpinned and justified royal and municipal power. Learning and an interest in these festive displays almost guaranteed a point of view sympathetic to authority and to the representations of that authority. There were exceptions when, as in the Crown of Aragon, various claims to power clashed. But even in Aragon, the perspective, while perhaps anti-Castilian, was nonetheless characteristic of contemporary attitudes toward authority. I am also fully aware that a close study of the rich municipal archival holdings extant in many of the towns that Philip II and other early modern kings (and queens) visited would greatly enhance the representation of royal travel and municipal receptions found in chronicles and travel accounts with their obvious ideological bias. For one, we would garner a better understanding of the economics of festivities—who paid for them, how were they organized, who did the scripting?—of the circulation of goods and foodstuffs provided for those attending the public portions of the festivities, and of the careful negotiations between municipal authorities and the Crown over the nature of royal entries and other types of pageantry. Whenever possible, as is the case with Seville, Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, and Toledo, I have sought out local information, both municipal chronicles and such other material as has been published; in the case in Barcelona, the *Llibre de les solemnitats de Barcelona* and Comes' *Libre de algunes coses asanyalades* (1583). Further years of research in the municipal holdings of all the different localities that served as sites for my story would not, I think, change the nature of my findings to any radical extent. More likely such research would only expand upon my present descriptions and analysis of royal travel and festivities. My research is grounded, then, on published primary accounts; I have not done extensive work in municipal archives, nor was it my intention to do so. This book, I hope, is about much more than just entries. It is about festive traditions in general in late medieval and early modern Spain. Moreover, as I pointed out in my preface, it is about the representations and the

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imaginings of these events and about what those imaginings tell us about power, the absence of it, and the cultural environment of late medieval and early modern Spain. It is about the social, cultural, and political uses of display, its successes and its failures.

After this introductory chapter, we will begin in chapter 2 with a general reflection on festivals and an attempt to provide a typology of the diversity of ludic events, their origins, and evolution in late medieval and early modern Spain. Chapter 3 will focus on royal and princely entries as well as royal visits. Seeking to trace the evolution of entries over time, I have contrasted different entries into Seville (to be compared in chapter 5 with Philip's entries and visits to Barcelona). Beginning with Ferdinand III's proto-entry into the city in 1248, we followed the subtle changes that occurred in how kings entered or visited the great city on the banks of the Guadalquivir, from Alfonso XI's iconic entry in 1327—the true chronological departure point of this inquiry—to Philip II's solemn entry in 1570. Along the way, I gloss one example of an entry with little political consequence, and contrast the entries of royal males with those of princesses come to rule in the realm.

Chapter 3 also draws the important distinction between the prince or king's first visit to a city and subsequent sojourns there. As we shall see, the first entry usually (but not always) called for some unusual or unique gesture. Most often this meant that the king would enter the city and progress along a pre-selected route under a *palio* (a canopy or baldachin). Triumphal entries, most notably that of Fernando of Antequera into Seville after his great victory over Granada's armies in 1401, also deserve attention. These entries and/or visits need to be explored in the context of, and in reference to, the research agenda set up early in this introduction. I am quite aware that royal entries, above all, often subsumed a good many other festive forms, but for the sake of clarity, I will attempt to discuss each of them as a discrete category of festivity.

Chapter 4 revisits the different elements of royal and princely entries, carefully examining each of the different components of a formal entry, while chapter 5 focuses on Philip II's long voyages to the Crown of Aragon in 1585–86 and in 1592, and on the king's long and conflicting relations with Barcelona. Rather than a close reading of the symbolic meaning of the festivities that accompanied the king's progression from Castile to the Crown of Aragon and back, the aim of this chapter is to elucidate the political meanings and festive performances as part of complicated political dialogues and as sites of contestation. Chapters 6 and 7 look at tournaments, jousts, *pas d'armes*, and the romance literature associated with knightly feats of arms. In chapter 8 I turn to the seemingly contradictory, but often structurally linked issues of the role of Corpus Christi

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processions and Carnival. Finally, chapter 9 discusses noncalendrical celebrations, that is, those high moments in the life cycle—birth, coming to age, coronation, marriage and death—and the celebratory, almost ritualized, aspects of events organized to mark such important moments in the life cycles of kings and their close families. A brief conclusion will attempt to tie together all of these different strands and to reiterate the research agendas laid out above. All along, I shall attempt to trace as well the changing role of audiences in medieval and early modern festivals and the shifting spaces occupied by kings. It is time now to begin.